

# **16th HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES SYMPOSIUM**

**Wednesday 1 – Sunday 5 September 2010**

**School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London**

## **ABSTRACTS**

## Discourse borrowing amidst convergence: Correlatives in the Himalayan linguistic area

Corinna ANDERSON, Yale University & LORIA (Nancy, France)

Contact between Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages in the Himalayas has contributed to a well-established zone of borrowing and mutual influence which continues to shift and develop with demographic changes (cf. Bendix 1974, Bickel 2001, Noonan 2003, 2006). This talk focuses on the spread of correlative constructions in an area with complex nominalization patterns, which cover a wide range of relativization and other modification functions, leaving no obvious gaps to be filled by borrowed structures.

Correlative constructions (illustrated in (1) with Nepali) involve two separate finite clauses, each containing an element corresponding to the semantic “head” of the relative. The relative clause appears in the left periphery of the sentence and establishes the referent with a relative-marker, and the main clause contains a demonstrative phrase (or pronoun) which refers to this. Much more widespread in Himalayan languages are structures similar to (2), a non-finite modification.

1. [ jun khānā timile hijo pakāyaũ ] tyo miTho thiyo  
REL food 2S-ERG yesterday cook-2S.PST DEM delicious was  
‘The food that you cooked yesterday, it was delicious’
2. [timile hijo pakāeko ] khānā miTho thiyo  
2S-ERG yesterday cook-PPT food delicious was  
Lit. ‘The you-cooked-yesterday food was delicious’

Correlatives are widely attested in the Western Himalayish languages, where they have been borrowed over long periods of contact with Nepali (Dryer 2000, Noonan 2008), as well as both Kathmandu and Dolakha Newar, where long-term contact with Indo-Aryan also plays an important role (Genetti 2007, Hale and Shrestha 2006).

There is also evidence of correlatives being borrowed into languages in Eastern Nepal (such as Camling and Athpare), with individual languages either using native words or borrowing the j-pronouns from Nepali (Noonan 2003). In fact, correlatives are found scattered across the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, but with their clear status of borrowed structures, they are likely to be under-reported (Noonan 2003). As in Nepali, correlatives are never the default form of relativization and exist as ‘peripheral’ strategies alongside unrestricted modification strategies.

While often considered peripheral in the grammar, a restricted or borrowed status in the language should not rule out investigation into the choice between structures that appear to fill the same function, which is often systematic at the level of discourse (Lambrecht 1994, Prince 1988a, Vallduví and Engdahl 1996). In fact, just this sort of situation under language contact can lead to the development of new sentence types which are integrated into the grammar with specialized discourse functions (Nadkarni 1975, Prince 1988b). Interestingly, the introduction of correlatives does not seem to diminish the original modification patterns, even in extreme cases of borrowing on all levels of the grammar (e.g. Chantyal, as reported in Noonan 2005, 2008).

The talk will explore documented patterns of correlatives in TB languages and suggest comparisons with the distribution of correlatives in Nepali, where, it will be shown, they are restricted based on pragmatic characteristics and relations in discourse. Despite the limited availability of data, comparisons will also be attempted between TB nominalization-type modification and correlatives in the same languages; contrasts appear to involve both the range of meanings expressed, and types of contexts in natural discourse. A brief review of similar known patterns will be provided for typological perspective.

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## **The Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project and Documentation of Himalayan Languages**

Peter AUSTIN, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

The Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project (HRELP) was established in 2002 and comprises three arms: the Endangered Languages Academic Programme (ELAP), the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR), and the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP). Since 2005 HRELP has been involved in various ways in the documentation of languages from the Himalaya region, including provision of grants worth £375,000 (US\$ 540,000) to researchers in 6 countries to document 14 languages. ELAP at SOAS has two PhD students working on languages in Nepal, and ELAR holds extensive archival materials, including text, and sound and video recordings.

In this talk I will outline and illustrate the involvement of HRELP in documentation of Himalayan languages over the past five years.

## More on Tone in North-West Indo-Aryan: Ushojo and Khalkoti

Joan BAART, SIL International & University of North Dakota

Contrastive lexical tone occurs in quite a few languages of the north-western corner of the Indo-Aryan language territory. A preliminary survey of these tone languages suggests a grouping into three classes. In “Shina-type” languages (including Shina itself, Burushaski, Indus Kohistani, and probably quite a few others), a surface contrast between a falling and a rising pitch is possible on long vowels (sometimes on bimoraic syllables in general). In “Punjabi-type” languages (including Punjabi itself, Hindko, Pahari-Pothwari, Gojri, and possibly others) there is a three-way surface contrast on stressed syllables between a mid or level pitch, a high or falling pitch, and a low or rising pitch. Finally, there are a number of languages (including Gawri and Torwali) that have more than three contrastive tonal melodies on the surface. In the current paper, I report on the tone systems of two little-known languages, Ushojo and Khalkoti. Both of these are displaced varieties of Shina. The Ushojo-speaking community is settled in a side valley of the Swat river, where the predominant language is Torwali. The Khalkoti speaking community is settled in the upper Panjkora valley, where the predominant language is Gawri. A first analysis of recently collected data on these varieties suggests that Ushojo is still maintaining a Shina-type tonal system, whereas Khalkoti has by-and-large adopted the Gawri tone system.

## Tone Perception in Walungge

Cathy BARTRAM, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Walungge is an endangered Tibetan language spoken in the far north-east of Nepal. In common with other tonal Tibetan languages, tonal contrasts have arisen from segmental loss and obstruent voicing. However, the obstruent voicing has not been lost at the phonetic level, which means that there is a synchronic correlation between tone and obstruent voicing, e.g. [ta<sup>HL</sup>] ‘horse’ versus [da<sup>LH</sup>] ‘bow’. Similarly, there is a correlation between tone and vowel length (with vowel length having arisen from deletion of coda consonants or syllables such as <ba>), e.g. [ɕa<sup>HL</sup>] ‘flesh’ versus [ɕa:<sup>H</sup>] ‘deer’. This means that there are a number of acoustic cues available to a listener in order to determine which word has been spoken. In distinguishing between [ta<sup>HL</sup>] and [da<sup>LH</sup>] there is the VOT of the obstruent, the starting height of F0 and whether F0 rises or falls. Similarly, in distinguishing between [ɕa<sup>HL</sup>] and [ɕa:<sup>H</sup>] there is the duration of the vowel, and whether F0 falls or remains level.

In order to investigate the relative salience of these different acoustic cues a perception experiment was carried out in Walungge speaking villages. VOT, vowel duration, and F0 of recordings of a selection of Walungge minimal pairs were manipulated using PRAAT, in order to create sets of experimental stimuli to play back to mother-tongue Walungge speakers as a binary forced choice test. This paper presents the procedure and results of this experiment and the possible implications for the phonological analysis of Walungge.

## Description of Chakma Phonology

Surabhi BHARATI, The English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad, India

& Susanta BARDHAN, Burdwan University, India

The paper aims at describing the phonology of Chakma, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by indigeneous communities scattered over a large area in the North-Eastern part of India such as the south western part of Mizoram, northern and southern districts of Tripura, Tirap, Changlang, Subanauri, and Lohit districts of Arunachal Pradesh, Karby-Anglalong district of Assam, Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh and eastern part of Myanmar. We describe the language spoken by the people living in south-western part of Mizoram primarily because the data was collected from this area and also because the local government is now taking an interest in preserving and developing the language with the formation of a Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC).

The paper examines in detail the bimoraic, word minimality constraint operating in Chakma. Like Assamese and other north eastern languages, Chakma does not have any phonemic vowel length. Vowels are long in monosyllabic, non-derived words with open syllables, creating sequences such as CVV (e.g. /ha/ → [haa] ‘eat’; /lθ/ → [lθθ] ‘take’). These roots lose their vowel length when they occur in derived monosyllabic (cvc) and disyllabic (cv.cv) sequences (e. g. [hθθ] → [hθη] ‘play, 1 st sing’; [Σaa] → [Σaib] ‘look, fut.’). In addition there are instances of compensatory lengthening and harmony (both regressive and progressive) which prove that Chakma conforms to a bimoraic, word minimality constraint. In other words, a minimal word in Chakma must have two moras. The analysis is done within the framework of generative phonology using the theory of autosegmental phonology (for harmony processes) and metrical phonology (for establishing the moras).

## **NE Indian languages and the origin of Sino-Tibetan**

Roger BLENCH, Kay Williamson Educational Foundation

& Mark POST, James Cook University

Conventional reconstructions of proto-Sino-Tibetan make the assumption that its speakers were fully settled agriculturalists, with a wide range of livestock and crop species. Arguments concerning its homeland vary, but the Himalayas are a common proposal (although this does not sit well with the known archaeology of the region). Moreover, Sino-Tibetan has currently no convincingly argued internal structure, which subverts the credibility of reconstructed forms. However, much new information has become available concerning the languages of NE India, in particular those of Arunachal Pradesh. It is clear that although several of these languages have conventionally been classified as Sino-Tibetan, they are very different from one another and the evidence for their genetic affiliation is somewhat tenuous. Moreover, many populations in Arunachal Pradesh were foragers until recently and show no evidence of a deep-rooted agricultural vocabulary. The paper will consider two non-exclusive possibilities; that we have been wrong about the classification of languages such as Puroik [Sulung], Bugun and Sherdukpen and that they are in fact isolates with Sino-Tibetan loans; or that the earliest speakers of Sino-Tibetan languages were in fact hunter-gatherers, and the claims concerning reconstruction of the lexicon of subsistence are erroneous.

## **Tshangla Phonology and Orthographic Development**

Tim BODT, Bern University, Switzerland

& 'Löbö Lungtaen GYATSO, Institute for Language and Culture Studies, Semtokha, Bhutan

Tshangla is spoken in parts of Bhutan, India and Tibet. Tshangla, which might very well be Bodic but is certainly not a Bodish language in the narrow sense, serves as the majority language in eastern Bhutan. Under the auspices of the Royal Government of Bhutan, the authors have been working on the orthographic development of Tshangla. The orthographic conventions of Dzongkha and Chöke could theoretically be expected to exert influence on the ultimate 'Ucen orthography of certain Tshangla vocabulary items. However, the phonology of Tshangla differs considerably from the phonologies of Dzongkha and Chöke, and unique orthographic innovations would be required to yield a viable system of writing for this Bhutanese language. No systematic or phonologically adequate orthography has yet been proposed for the language. It is the aim of the authors to propose a phonologically consistent orthographic system for the language in both the 'Ucen and Roman scripts which will prove viable in electronic and printed media if adopted in Bhutan.

## **Koĩc (Sunwar) and Surc (Surel) in contrast**

Dörte BORCHERS, Institut für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster & Himalayan Languages Project, Bern

Koĩc and Surc are two languages spoken in eastern Nepal which emerged, as it seems, from one common predecessor after the ancestors of the Surc left their village(s) on the bank of the river Likhu and moved about 40 kilometres further north east, to what is nowadays the village of Suri in the district of Dolakha. When and why the community once split is a matter of guess work. Among Surc and Koĩc opinions differ as to whether there has been any contact between the two communities or not after the Surc left and whether Surc is a dialect of Koĩc or a language in its own right. These differences of opinion are not so much motivated by any knowledge about history or about the languages concerned but are first of all the result of the current Nepalese debate about rights of indigenous minorities, definitions of identities and constructions of the self.

This paper will briefly introduce linguistic and sociolinguistic differences between Koĩc and Surc and then concentrate on a comparison of selected parts of the verbal system of Surc and Koĩc. The contrasts between the two languages are evidence for language change and the history and typology of Kiranti languages in general.

## Tone patterns in Tokpe Gola Tibetan

Nancy CAPLOW, University of North Texas

Tokpe Gola is a largely undescribed dialect of Tibetan spoken in villages along the upper reaches of the Mewa Khola in northeastern Nepal, as well as in Kathmandu and Sikkim. In this talk, I will describe the acoustic expression of tone in Tokpe Gola, comparing non-verbs (nouns, adjectives, and numerals) with verbs.

Monosyllabic non-verbs in Tokpe Gola fall into two categories based on tone register: low vs. high. Low-tone words have either a level or a rising pitch contour; high-tone words have either a level or a falling pitch contour. In disyllabic non-verbs, pitch is contrastive only on the first syllable – it may be low or high, but is always level. In the second syllable, pitch is always high, but may be level or falling.

Similar patterns have been described for other Tibetan dialects. Where there is greater variation – and considerably less actual quantitative documentation – is in the acoustic cues that correspond with these register distinctions.

In this talk I will discuss the interplay between pitch patterns (i.e., F0 trace) and other indicators of tone category membership exhibited by the syllable onset, nucleus, rhyme, and coda: manner of articulation of onsets and codas (e.g., nasal vs. oral, [-CONT] vs. [+CONT]); voice onset time (VOT) of the initial consonant; closure duration for stop onsets; and phonation of the syllable nucleus, characterized in terms of spectral balance.

I will demonstrate that, in Tokpe Gola, tone can be regarded as a bundle of features which may have various acoustic expressions, as long as enough features are expressed to preserve lexical distinctions. That is, tone register can be conveyed by the word-initial onset, by the nucleus, or – redundantly – by both. Thus correlates of tone can be said to “float about” over the domain of the syllable. For instance, the word for ‘log, beam’ (Written Tibetan *gdung*) may be pronounced as (a) [d̥uŋ<sup>1</sup>], where the voiced onset, low pitch, and breathy phonation represent the full bundle of features which co-occur in one category of low-toned words; as (b) [d̥uŋ<sup>1</sup>], where the onset is devoiced but low pitch and breathy phonation are preserved; or as (c) [duŋ<sup>3</sup>], where pitch is at a mid or neutral level and breathy phonation is absent, but voicing of the onset consonant is preserved. In any of these forms, the listener has sufficient information to distinguish this word from [tuŋ<sup>3</sup>] ~ [tuŋ<sup>4</sup>] ‘drink’.

Finally, I will discuss the systematic correlations between tone categories and Written Tibetan spelling.

## The Indo-European Origin of the Burushaski Kinship Terminology

Ilija ČAŠULE, Macquarie University

Kinship terms can be considered reliable evidence for a genetic linguistic relationship. We present an overview of thirty-two kinship terms in the Burushaski language that can be derived directly from Indo-European, and are not borrowings from Old Indian or the neighbouring Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages. We follow the systematic phonological and derivational correspondences between Burushaski and Proto-Indo-European established in Čašule (2003, 2010a). We consider more closely the correlations of the terms for ‘father’, ‘grandfather’, ‘father-in-law’, ‘uncle’, ‘great-great-grandfather’, ‘mother’, ‘son’, ‘daughter’, ‘grandchild’ and ‘husband’.

One major precise derivational correspondence in this field is between the Burushaski plural suffix –**taro** (Berger 1998 I: 48), almost exclusively added to words denoting relations and the Indo-European suffix –**ter**, which in Indo-European was regarded by Benveniste (1973) as a classifier of the lexical class of kinship terms.

Although the Burushaski and Shina kinship systems show the prevalence of a symmetrical, two-line prescriptive kinship structure, typical of Tibetan, Parkin (1987b) makes a strong case on how a non-prescriptive kinship system can be transformed and become a prescriptive one.

The coherence of the Burushaski kinship system and the comprehensive preservation of the original Indo-European kinship terms, together with all the other large body of evidence: phonological (the laryngeals and general) (Čašule 2003b), (the gutturals) (Čašule 2010a), the anatomical parts (Čašule 2003a), the shepherd vocabulary (Čašule 2009a), the numerals (Čašule 2009b), the personal and demonstrative pronouns (Čašule 2010b), grammatical in general and the nominal and verbal system (Čašule 2003b) argue strongly, if not definitively for a (North-Western ?) Indo-European origin of Burushaski, and suggest it may be the descendant of one of the ancient Balkan languages.

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## **Ralte, an Endangered Language of Mizoram**

Lalnunthangi CHHANGTE, Mizoram University, India

Ralte is a Tibeto-Burman language that was once spoken in Mizoram, and parts of northern Cachar District, Assam in northeast India. Today there are very few speakers left. There are one or two small villages in Cachar District, close to the border of Mizoram, where the language is still spoken. In Mizoram there are a few individuals who still speak the language but all these speakers are over 60 years old. A few individuals have attempted to document what they know of the language but there are no institutions or organizations actively involved in documenting the language and culture of the Raltes.

This paper consists of two parts: The first part the is a summary of the phonology and grammar of Ralte, including a comparison with Mizo. The second part is a presentation of some recordings and texts that have been collected to date.

## The Creoloid SOV Prototype and Tibeto-Burman

Scott DeLANCEY, University of Oregon

Within the Tibeto-Burman family we see two quite distinct morphosyntactic profiles. At one pole Qiangic, Nungish, and East and Central Himalayan show a morphologically complex verb, with several strictly-ordered suffixal position classes, often inflectional prefixes as well, including a complex system of verb agreement. At the other pole, Lolo-Burmese, Bodo-Garo, Tani, and the “Naga” languages, are prototypical agglutinative SOV languages with newly-minted, transparent grammar. There is indisputably at least some cognate material in verb paradigms across these groups (DeLancey, van Driem, Watters, etc.), so the complex pattern is quite ancient (though LaPolla finds less shared material, and thinks it less ancient than PTB, than other scholars). Branches with the XXX pattern, in contrast, all have innovative grammars, with only a few relict morphological constructions older than their proto-language. In Bodo-Garo the only productive grammar older than PBG is the PTB prohibitive prefix *da-* and an ancient nominalizing prefix *gu-*; in Lolo-Burmese we find a bit more, including the negative prefix *ma-* and the nominalizing prefix *?a-*. These innovative grammars, however, though not in material or in the details of the categories marked, are strikingly similar in structure. With the exception of some, usually pragmatic, flexibility about the order of elements in the noun phrase, they precisely fit Lehmann’s (1973) prototype. Thus we see older TB structures which violate prototypical SOV patterns replaced by newer constructions which conform, as in the replacement of older TB prefixal morphology with new postverbal constructions. A striking example is the replacement of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman negative prefix *\*ma-*, which is preserved in most branches of the family, but this is a marked structure for a verb-final language (Lehmann 1973), and in Bodo-Garo it has been replaced by an innovative suffixal construction (PBG *\*-ya*), just as Lehmann’s scheme would predict.

In recent work I have detailed reasons to associate this pattern with “interrupted transmission” in the sense of McWhorter 2007, i.e. the spread of Tibeto-Burman languages to new populations (DeLancey to appear a, b). Thus it seems reasonable to refer to these grammars as “creoloid”, in the sense of Ansaldo and Matthews (2001, 2007), although previously this term has been applied only to SVO grammars such as those of mainland Southeast Asia. In this paper I will describe typical mechanisms by which and the kinds of materials out of which Tibeto-Burman languages fashion these creoloid grammars.

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Ansaldo, Umberto, Stephen Matthews, and Lisa Lim, eds. 2007. *Deconstructing Creole*. (Typological studies in language 73). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.

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DeLancey, Scott. to appear b. Language Replacement and the Spread of Tibeto-Burman. *Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* 3.

Heine, Bernd, and Tania Kuteva. 2007. *The Genesis of Grammar*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Lehmann, W. P. 1973. A Structural Principle of Language and Its Implications. *Language* 49.147-66.

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## Linguistic and Cultural Perspective of West Himalayan Region: A Case Study of Kashmir

Nazir Ahmad DHAR, University of Kashmir

West Himalaya is an area of staggering linguistic and cultural diversity. The geographical terrain that cover the region stretching from Himachal Pradesh to Jammu and Kashmir State of northern part of Indian subcontinent incorporates the language sub-families like Indo-Aryan, Dardic and Sino-Tibetan besides unclassified languages like Burushaski. Kashmir Valley, that represents one of the significant regions of West Himalaya exhibit a distinct linguistic, literary and Cultural heritage. This distinctiveness derives from the fact that Kashmir has been historically at the crossroads of three great civilizations i.e. the Aryan civilization, the Buddhist civilization, and the Islamic civilization. Associated with these civilizations were three geographical areas i.e. Indian Subcontinent, Central Asian (Buddhist) and central Asian (Muslim); and three language groups i.e. Indic, Sino-Tibetan and Dardic. The synthesis of multitude of diversities of this kind resulted into the distinctiveness of linguistic and cultural heritage of the valley. This multi-aspectual distinctiveness has patterns as well as historical genesis. The architecture of Kashmir, both religious and secular, is of special stamp originating from Chinese Buddhist and Islamic form of architecture. The cultural traditions prevailing in the valley of Kashmir like “Shivaism”, Rishism”, and “Sufism” are being conceived due to the process of synthesis across the doctrines of different faiths like Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam with the aboriginal customs and faiths. These cultural traditions are transparent in the form of literary works of Kashmiri language (like epic, mystic, and romantic poetry) in the form of “Vaakh”, Shrukh” and “Watsun”. The anthropologists also hold the view that Kashmiri culture has a deep rooted influence of Isreal due to their first settlement here in Kashmir. Various place-names and surnames are among other evidences, to support this hypothesis. Linguistic affinity of Kashmiri language has remained the fascinating field of inquiry for decades. The linguistic features like absence of voiced aspirated consonants, SVO word order, three forms of demonstrative pronouns, three categories of past tense are among the linguistic features that sets Kashmiri apart from Indo-Aryan Languages. On the contrary the presence of palatal voiceless plosive similar to that of Marathi, question sentences corresponding to Sanskrit language, Kashmiri lexicography of Sanskrit origin sets Kashmiri apart from Dardic stalk like Shina. Various dialects of Kashmiri language like poguli, Siraji (spoken around Pir Panchal range) have the infinitive verb forms with suffixation –nu which corresponds to –un form of Kashmiri language favours the hypothesis these dialects to be related typologically with other Himalayan languages particularly Nepali. In the background of the foregoing description, the agenda to be framed for the discussion in the present paper should focus on the following research issues:

1. Sketch out the cultural features of Kashmiri in its tripolar context viz Indic, Central Asian (Buddhist) and Central Asian (Muslim).
2. Explore the distinctive linguistic features of language vis-à-vis Indo-Aryan and Dardic linguistic Stalk.
3. Explore the literary genesis of Kashmir language

The study shall throw light to understand on linguistic, literary and cultural aspects of Kashmiri Language. It is assumed that the research paper may pave the way for typological and comparative research on Kashmiri vis-à-vis West Himalayan context.

## Gongduk verbal conjugations and Proto-Tibeto-Burman morphology

George van DRIEM, Universität Bern

The Gongduk language is spoken in an enclave in south central Bhutan comprising several villages and hamlets in the mountains west of the Kurichu. The language occupies a distinct phylogenetic position within the Tibeto-Burman language family. The intransitive verb agrees for person and number with the subject, and the transitive shows biactantial agreement for person and number with both agent and patient. A morphological analysis has identified the individual agreement morphemes, their precise grammatical meaning and their patterns of allomorphy. What ramifications does Gongduk verbal agreement morphology have for Tibeto-Burman historical grammar? What repercussions do the Gongduk data have for the reconstructed model of verbal agreement in the common ancestral language?

The Miju language has both pre-stopped nasals (DN) and pre-nasalized stops (ND), each of which is a surface realization of a single sound in the underlying representation. Because D.N and N.D are both realized across syllable boundaries, Miju pre-stopping and pre-nasalizing provide direct evidence for online syllabification, which is assumed under most generative approaches to phonology. The presentation is based upon the author's fieldwork. Acoustic properties of the phenomena are demonstrated in the following figures:

Fig. 1. Prestopped nasal: /t<sup>h</sup>aŋ/ → [t<sup>h</sup>agŋ] 'pack tightly'

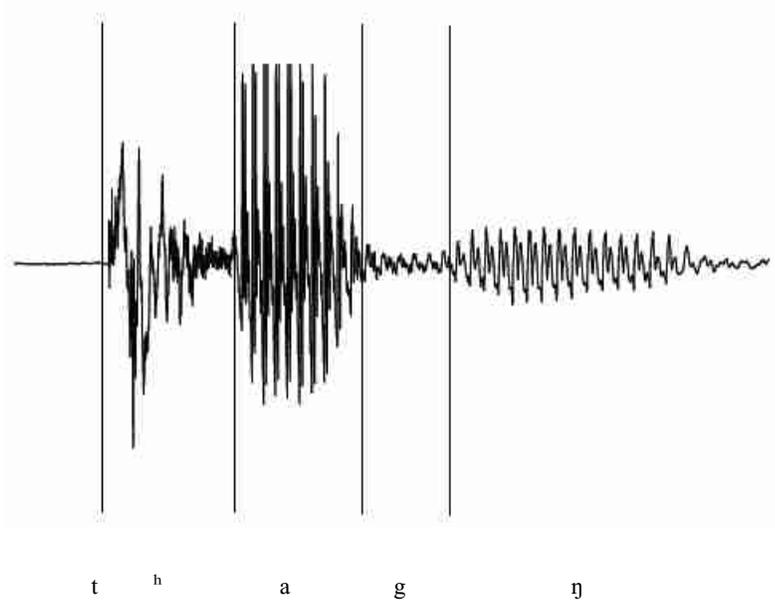
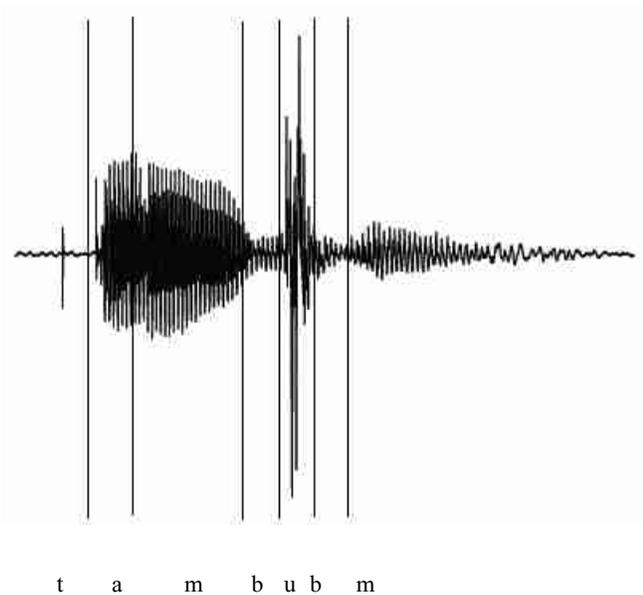


Fig. 2 Prenasalized stop: /tabum/ → [tambubm] 'to heap'



## **Working with THL's Spoken Tibetan Corpus**

Edward GARRETT, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Since its inception, the Tibetan and Himalayan Library has amassed a substantial collection of transcribed audio and video recordings in Lhasa Tibetan dialect, suitable for language learning, linguistic research, and broader cultural investigations. The corpus is publicly accessible and supports full text as well as metadata searches, with synchronized text and video snippets returned as part of the search results. This talk will outline the contents of the corpus as well as its technical underpinnings, and will demonstrate the system with reference to some of the linguistic research it has already facilitated.

## Extending a corpus analysis tool to support the analysis of field data: Bodo and Dimasa data in the *CQPweb* system

Andrew HARDIE, Lancaster University

The sub-disciplines of corpus linguistics on the one hand, and field linguistics (and typology) on the other, share a number of core concerns. Most notably, both are data-centric approaches to the study of language: collecting, annotating and analysing examples of language use is at the core of the methodology in both cases. But to date there has been relatively little interaction between the two fields, although arguably several of the technologies developed within corpus linguistics could, with relatively minor modification, be usefully applied to the storage, dissemination and exploitation of field data.

In this presentation, I will use samples of data from two languages of north-east India, namely Bodo and Dimasa, to give a practical illustration of how a single corpus analysis tool (a) can be extended and enhanced to handle field data optimally and (b) can be used to facilitate certain forms of analysis and to simplify some aspects of the process of data dissemination. The corpus tool in question is *CQPweb*, a graphical front-end to the Open Corpus Workbench (CWB). *CQPweb* was originally developed to support research and teaching in corpus linguistics at Lancaster University; however, recent work on the system has extended its capabilities with the aim of making it a useful tool for linguists with a range of interests.

I will explain how certain aspects of the *CQPweb* system – most notably, the visualisation of concordances – have been amended to support work with field data, most notably, the rendering of the traditional three-line-example format within a concordance. I will also demonstrate the compatibility of *CQPweb*'s underlying data model with annotated field data, and illustrate some steps towards automating the process of importing field data to the system. Finally, I will exemplify the pedagogical use of the system by showing how the modified *CQPweb* has been used to allow undergraduate students studying syntax and typology to explore the Bodo and Dimasa data in a semi-independent manner.

## Existential Verbs of Youle Jino

HAYASHI Norihiko, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies, Japan

Jino is a member of the Lolo-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman family and is spoken in Xishuangbanna Jinghong city of Yunnan Province, China. Jino has two main dialects, namely Youle and Buyuan. This paper aims at describing and analysing the existential verbs of Youle Jino, using my first hand data.

Apart from the authors', Gai (1986) is the only previous work that deals with the whole outline of the Youle Jino grammar, which has been most utilized by many Sino-Tibetanists. He views the sentences containing the verbs, such as,  $tʃə^{42}$ ,  $n^{42}tə^{44}$ ,  $tʃa^{42}$ , and  $khɿ^{33}$ , as existential ones, which are briefly exemplified as follows (Gai 1986: 110–111);

- (1) a.  $a^{44}pu^{44} me^{42}mi^{44}$   $khɿ^{44}$   $a$   $tʃə^{35}$   
father amomus (fruit name) field exist  
'Father is at the field of amomus.'
- b.  $tso^{42}$   $tʃho^{44}lo^{44}$   $a$   $tshə^{42}zə^{44}$   $n^{42}tə^{44}$   $mə^{44}$   $n^{42}tə^{44}?$   
house inside people exist NEG exist  
'Is there anyone inside the house?'
- c.  $jə^{42}pə^{42}$   $a$   $thə^{44}tɿ^{44}lɿ^{44}$   $la^{55}xɿ^{44}$   $a$   $tʃa^{35}$ .  
roadside pond big exist  
'There is a big pond by the roadside.'
- d.  $mje^{44}kho^{44}$   $khə^{44}$   $khɿ^{33}$   $ɛ?$   
knife where exist  
'Where is the knife?'

Gai analyzes that as in (1),  $tʃə^{42}$  and  $n^{42}tə^{44}$  are employed for expressing the animate existence, and  $tʃa^{42}$  and  $khɿ^{33}$  for inanimate. His Chinese translation for  $tʃə^{42}$  and  $tʃa^{42}$  is 'yǒu' (有) and the one for  $n^{42}tə^{44}$  and  $khɿ^{33}$  is 'zài' (在). This analysis is somewhat insufficient in that the translational difference between 'yǒu' (有) and 'zài' (在) does not reflect any behavioral distinction in this language.

This paper deals with the verbs,  $tʃə^{35}$ ,  $tʃa^{35}$ ,  $n^{55}tə^{44}$  and  $çu^{42}$ , as the existential ones, and tries to clarify their morphosyntactic behaviors and semantic differences much better than Gai (1986) and Hayashi (2007, 2009). It tentatively concludes that  $tʃə^{42}$  can occur in the sentences containing the *animate* existence, while  $tʃə^{35}$  can in the sentences containing the *inanimate* existence, and also summarizes that  $n^{55}tə^{44}$  and  $çu^{42}$  can occur in the sentences containing both types of existences. And in addition, it claims that  $n^{55}tə^{44}$  relates to the temporality of the existence and implies the existence is within the visible area of speech act participants, though  $tʃə^{42}$  and  $tʃa^{35}$  do not have such implication, etc.

Gai, Xingzhi (蓋興之) 1986. *Jinuoyu jianzhi*. Beijing: MinzuChubanshe. [*Outline of Jino grammar*. (in Chinese)]

Hayashi, Norihiko (林範彦) 2007. *Tino-go Yuuraku-hougen no kizyututeki-kenkyuu*. Ph.D dissertation (Kyoto University, Japan) [*A Descriptive Study on the Youle dialect of Jino*. (in Japanese)]

———2009. *Tino-go Bunpou (Yuuraku-hougen) no kizyutu-kenkyuu*. Monograph Series in Foreign Studies No.43. Kobe: Reserch Institute of Foreign Studies, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies. [*A Descriptive Study on the grammar of the Jino language (Youle dialect)*. (in Japanese)]

## Internal diversity in the Tamangic lexicon

Isao HONDA, Nagoya College, Japan

Tamangic is a language group comprising Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Manangba, Seke, and Chantyal, all of which are spoken in Nepal. This genetic grouping of the languages is uncontroversial, and the mutual relation among the languages does not appear to be so distant. Yet there exist several different kinds of variance in their phonological, lexical, and grammatical domains. This paper focuses on lexical variations that are observed in Tamangic languages and examines what they indicate as to the history of the group and each language/dialect.

It can naturally be assumed that those variations are due to language contacts. One of the most recent contacts is with Nepali, which is not dealt with in this paper. Contacts with other TB languages spoken in Nepal date back to much older times. Those languages include Newar, Thangmi, Kiranti languages (particularly those adjacent to the Tamang language area, such as Sunwar), Magar, Chepang, and Kham. The number of borrowings from and to those languages are relatively small; nevertheless, they tell us about their undocumented contact situations in the past.

Tibetan language and dialects have brought more profound impacts and influences upon Tamangic languages. Tamangic languages contain a large number of lexical items cognate with Written Tibetan and modern Tibetan dialects now spoken. Those items should be sorted into different groups. One group represents recent borrowings from modern Tibetan dialects and another must reflect much older contacts, while yet another may be a set of reflexes derived from a common protolanguage. This process of sorting is not an easy task and there is a limitation to our knowledge. This paper thus limits itself to exemplify each type of the lexical variations with only a couple of examples.

## Agreement in Shumcho

Christian HUBER, Austrian Academy of Sciences (Phonogrammarchiv) and University of Vienna (Dept. of Linguistics)

The language of Shumcho is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in a handful of villages in the District Kinnaur of Himachal Pradesh, India. Based on my fieldwork (ongoing since 2002), I will present an outline of the Shumcho agreement system as it emerges from the currently available data and also discuss some related issues. Topics to be addressed include:

- subject and object agreement in verbs and its interaction with number, honorificity, case, and the pronominal system
- the marker  $\zeta$  that marks verbs for pluralic subject (and/or sometimes also plurality of action)
- a peculiarity of the *expect*-construction
- switch reference in clausal complements of speech-reporting verbs as opposed to clausal complements of verbs of perception
- the conjunct/disjunct pattern (DeLancey 1992) in auxiliary selection in possessive, modal, perfect, and experiencer constructions
- (non-)interlocutorship-based selection of verbs
- gender marking in nouns

The talk will also update or complement earlier presentations of Shumcho data.

DeLancey, Scott (1992). The historical status of the conjunct/disjunct pattern in Tibeto-Burman. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 25.39-62.

## On the placement of East Bodish in Tibeto-Burman

Gwendolyn HYSLOP, University of Oregon

The term 'East Bodish' is attributed to Shafer (1954), who first proposed placement for Dwags (Dakpa) into this sub-branch of Bodish. Since then, several other languages have been identified as being 'East-Bodish', a term meant to capture the impression that these languages are closely related to, but not directly descended from Written Tibetan. While the languages within this group appear to be quite similar to each other, the placement of this group within Tibeto-Burman is yet to receive serious debate. The aim of this paper is to begin this discussion by presenting data from several East Bodish languages in a comparative light with Written Tibetan.

The East Bodish sub-family consists of 9 or so languages (e.g. Khengkha, 'Nyenkha, Chali, Phobjip, Kurtöp, Bumthap, Dzala, Dakpa, 'Olekha), depending on definition, spoken primarily in Bhutan but also in bordering areas of Tibet and Arunachal Pradesh. Michailovsky & Mazaudon (1994) have already shown how some of these languages do not share much of their core vocabulary with Written Tibetan. The current study expands on this, presenting a list of several dozen words diagnostic of Tibetan (Tournadre 2008) but clearly not cognate in East Bodish.

Many East Bodish pronouns look similar to Tibetan on first blush, such as Khengkha/Phobjip *ŋa* '1.sg'; however, other forms are quite different, such as 'Olekha *kö* (van Driem 1995) '1.sg' and third person forms involving a voiced labial stop-initial.

DeLancey (2008) has shown that much of Kurtöp grammar is similar to Tibetan. This is also true of much of East Bodish. However, a close examination reveals some problems with the idea that East Bodish and Written Tibetan have shared, innovated morphosyntax. For example, Kurtöp shares with Tibetan the irregular allomorphy associated with nominalizer *-pa*. However, Khengkha, one of Kurtöp's closest relatives, does not. This crucial fact is support against the idea that Kurtöp and Tibetan shared this innovation. Another fact at odds with the proposal that East Bodish languages and Tibetan are closely related is the complex conjugational morphology found in 'Olekha (van Driem 1995).

At first blush, the phonological, lexical, and grammatical facts suggest that the East Bodish languages are closely related to, but not directly descended from Written Tibetan. However, some problems need to be addressed. For example, whether or not 'Olekha belongs in the same family as the other East Bodish languages remains to be proven. And considering the comparative evidence internal to East Bodish, what 'East Bodish' actually means is still up for debate.

DeLancey, Scott. 2008. Kurtöp and Tibetan. In *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek: Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, 29-38. International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH.

Driem, George van. 1995. Black Mountain verbal agreement morphology, Proto-Tibeto-Burman morphosyntax and the linguistic position of Chinese. In *New horizons in Tibeto-Burman morphosyntax*, 229-259. Senri Ethnological Studies 41. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

Michailovsky, Boyd, and Martine Mazaudon. 1994. Preliminary notes on languages of the Bumthang groups. In *Tibetan Studies : Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, 2:545-557. Fagernes: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

Shafer, Robert. 1954. The linguistic position of Dwags. *Oriens, Zeitschrift der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Orientforschung* 7: 348-356.

Tournadre, Nicolas. 2008. The notion of scale in linguistic classification: is 'Tibetan' a language? or a family of languages? presented at the 14th Himalayan Languages Symposium, August 21, University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

## Can there be six tones in Nepal? – The case of Ghale

Mari-Sisko KHADGI, University of Helsinki, Finland

Several languages spoken in Nepal are tonal. Most of them belong to the Bodish section of the Bodic division in Sino-Tibetan languages (classification by Shafer 1955). Typically, the languages of the Bodish section have two or four phonemic tones and each tone is a combination of several phonetic features. Most commonly these features include pitch (F0) and phonation type (modal vs. breathy). In many Bodish tone systems the tone/s with higher pitch patterns have modal phonation and the tone/s with lower pitch patterns have breathy phonation. However, a language called Ghale does not neatly follow the pattern described above.

In this paper I will outline the tone system of the Ghale language, spoken in Gorkha District, Nepal. Ghale is considered closely related to Tamangic languages, i.e. the Gurung branch of the Bodish section. I have been working together with three Ghale speakers and collected linguistic data, in order to make a phonological analysis of Ghale. I propose that Ghale has six phonemic tones. Phonetically they are produced with a four-way distinction in pitch patterns, but in addition there is a tense-lax distinction in the two lower pitches. The tense and lax properties are, again, a combination of several phonetic features, but breathiness seems to be only a minor feature.

In the presentation I will give evidence and examples of the various tones and the tense-lax contrast in Ghale. I will also outline how I intend to continue the research of Ghale tones.

## On nouns and verbs: Karbi *-lo* perfective and *=lo* emphatic equational copula

Linda KONNERTH, University of Oregon

Karbi, a Tibeto-Burman language from Northeast India, has previously been analyzed to have a *-lo* past tense or perfect marker (Jeyapaul 1987), or a *-lo* narrative past marker that may occur not only on verbs but also on nouns (Grüßner 1978). In this paper, I argue that synchronically two morphemes need to be distinguished that separately function as a perfective marker on verbs and as an emphatic equational copula on nouns.

On simple verb stems that do not include any further grammatical affixes, *-lo* indicates that an event has happened and is completed in the past, for example (1), which is the first sentence of a personal story. In this occurrence of *-lo*, its function could indeed be interpreted as past tense marking as suggested by previous accounts.

However, *-lo* functions differently when attaching to stative or copular verbs, for example the bare stem of the negative locative/existential copula in (2). In (a), the form without *-lo* is used in case that, for example, a particular meal is vegetarian. The statement in (b), however, implies that the particular meal included meat, but all the meat is already eaten up. Similarly, *the* 'be big' takes *-lo* to mean 'have grown up/become big/an adult' in (3). Therefore, this function marked by *-lo* in example (2) is to denote a change of state: something is the case now after not having been the case before. This and other evidence from more complex verb stems involving the suffix *bom* 'continue' are presented to argue that a unifying account of *-lo* is its primary function of highlighting the temporal boundaries of an event: the completion of an action or the beginning of a state. I suggest calling *-lo* a perfective marker.

Besides this *-lo* occurring on verbs, we also find *=lo* as a clitic attaching to noun phrases (NPs). In (4), *Dili* is the predicate of an equational copular clause, and although such copular clauses typically just consist of the juxtaposition of two NPs, *=lo* may occur on the predicate NP to add some emphasis to the statement. Furthermore, the subject NP is typically indicated by the topic marker *-ke*. The two sentences in (5) provide examples of more complex NPs figuring as the nominal predicates inside equational copular clauses.

Evidence that the perfective *-lo* and the emphatic copular *=lo* are indeed two different morphemes synchronically comes from example (6), where the obligatorily overt negative equational copula *kali* is used. This sentence can either mean 'the flower is not red anymore' with *-lo* conveying the same sense of perfectivity as in examples (2) and (3). Or it can mean 'the flower is not red at all', where *=lo* appears to just add emphasis like in (4) and (5).

- (1) *a-dap prang ne-tum thur-lo*  
ATTR-morning dawn 1:EXCL-PL get.up-**lo**  
'we got up early in the morning' SH, CS: 001
- (2) (a) *ok ave* (b) *ok ave-lo*  
meat not.be.at meat not.be.at-**lo**  
'there is no meat' 'there is no meat left/anymore'
- (3) *lapen aph-ke bang + so a-jangreso the-lo*  
and.then after-TOP this ATTR-half.orphan be.big-**lo**  
'and then, that half orphan grew older/became an adult' (Gruessner 1978: 156)
- (4) *[nang-ke] [[Dili]=lo]*  
YOU-TOP PN=**lo**

'you are Dili' KT, STC: 543.2

- (5) *anke*            *[la-ke]*            *[[ne-so-pi*            *a-rep + pi] = lo]*  
and.then        this-TOP            1;EXCL-child-FEM    ATTR-bone = lo  
*[la-ke]*            *[[nang-so-pi*        *a-rep + pi] = lo]*  
this-TOP        2-child-FEM        ATTR-bone = lo

'and then, these are the bones of my daughter, these are the bones of your daughter' KT, STC: 534.6

- (6) *mir*    *ke-er*            *kali-lo/ = lo*  
flower NMLZ-be.red    not.be-lo/ = lo  
'the flower is not red anymore/is not red at all'

Grüßner, K.-H. (1978). *Arleng Alam, die Sprache der Mikir: Grammatik und Texte*. (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, Bd. 39). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

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## **Pashai language then and now: a comparison between Morgenstierne's grammar and new data from Darrai Nur**

Rachel LEHR, University of Chicago

Pashai, the westernmost Indo-Aryan language, refers to a group of dialects spoken in the mountainous region of north eastern Afghanistan. It has been classified as one of the Dardic languages but its speakers are relatively isolated from other Dardic languages. Pashai speakers are geographically adjacent to Nuristani speakers to the north and east, Pashto speakers to the south and Dari speakers to the west. All areas of Pashai speakers are in contact with the Afghan national languages – Pashto and Dari. Georg Morgenstierne identified four dialects of Pashai and compiled a three-volume Pashai Grammar over the course of 40 years, beginning in 1924.

The focus of my linguistic and ethnographic field work for the past ten years has been in the villages of the lower portion of Darrai Nur, a district in Nangrahar province in eastern Afghanistan. Darrai Nur is unique because it is almost exclusively Pashai. None of the other Pashai speaking valleys have a majority of Pashai speakers. Morgenstierne identified the dialect spoken in Darrai Nur as south-eastern Pashai.

In this paper I will compare aspects of Pashai described by Morgenstierne with my own recent data. In the nearly 100 years between the data collection some features of the phonology and morphology have altered. Morgenstierne was concerned with language loss but could not have predicted the instability and migrations of the past thirty years. Pashto language and culture have impacted the cultural practices and language as has displacement of the population to Pakistan as refugees. My account takes into consideration recent regional history, socio-cultural context, notions of ethno-linguistic identity, and the role of women in language vitality.

## Dialectology and language change: paths to tone in Tamangish languages

Martine MAZAUDON, LACITO-CNRS

The languages of the Himalayas are situated at the Southwestern edge of the vast wave of tone creation and multiplication which has swept over East Asia during the last two millenia. Chronologically they are also situated at the end of that wave, providing several examples of tonogenesis in progress. The origin of the tonal distinctions in the transphonologization of oppositions previously borne by segmental material in the margins of the syllable has been firmly established by many comparative studies over the last sixty years. Matisoff (1973) offers a compact summary of the basic principles of these evolutions. For most Sino-Tibetan groups, the evolution is completed, and traces of the earlier segmental oppositions are sparse. In several languages of Nepal, synchronic variation between older and newer phonological elements is still observable. For final-based tonogenesis, we have the testimony of Chepang (Caughley 1970), or of Khaling, where high tone corresponds to syllable final stops in verbs (Michailovsky 1975).

In the languages of the Tamang branch of Bodish, an initial-based tonal split has occurred and tone has been phonologized in all dialects and in all phonological contexts (Mazaudon 1978). But the older features of initial stop-voicing and breathy phonation are partially retained. Their progressive elimination in the diverse dialects and the conditions of that elimination are the object of the present study. They raise three questions. First, do the dialects line up along a single line of evolution from multiple-cue tonal systems to pitch-only tonal systems, or are there several paths? Secondly, can we, from the observation of the characters shared and not shared of the changes in progress, propose panchronic laws of evolution? Lastly, what is the phonological status of “tone” in the evolving languages? Our focus will be on the evolving languages themselves rather than on the original and end points of the evolution.

On the first point we find that the different dialects have each found their own way of dealing with the progressive shift from initial consonant voicing to breathy phonation and to pitch contrast. On the second, we will propose that breathy phonation, which appears as an intermediate stage between initial consonant voicing and phonologized pitch, can co-occur with high tone only under some phonological conditions which are not met by the Tamangish languages. On the last point, the theoretical status of “emergent tones”, the existence of a prolonged fluctuating equilibrium between segmental and suprasegmental cues to tone leads to the conclusion that “tone” may be defined by multiple cues and not by pitch alone.

Caughley, Ross. 1970. Pitch, intensity and higher levels in Chepang. *Tone systems of Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal*, Austin Hale and Kenneth L. Pike eds., 143-157. Urbana: Dept of Linguistics, Univ. of Illinois.

Matisoff, James A. 1973. Tonogenesis in Southeast Asia. *Consonant Types and Tone*, Larry Hyman ed., 71-96.

Mazaudon, Martine. 1978. Consonantal mutation and tonal split in the Tamang subfamily of Tibeto-Burman. *Kailash* 6: 157-179.

Michailovsky, Boyd. 1975. Notes on the Kiranti Verb (East Nepal). *LTBA* 2: 183-218.

## **Tone patterns in numeral-plus-classifier determiners: on structural similarities between Naxi, Na and Laze**

Alexis MICHAUD, LACITO-CNRS

Numeral-plus-classifier determiners have relatively complex tone patterns in Naxi, Na (a.k.a. Mosuo) and Laze (a.k.a. Shuitian). These tone patterns have structural similarities across the three languages. Among the numerals from ‘1’ to ‘10’, three pairs emerge: ‘1’ and ‘2’ always have the same tonal behaviour; likewise, ‘4’ and ‘5’ share the same tone patterns, as do ‘6’ and ‘8’. Even those tone patterns that are irregular in view of the synchronic phonology of the languages at issue are no exception to the structural identity within these three pairs of numerals. These pairs also behave identically in numerals from ‘11’ to ‘99’ and above, e.g. ‘16’ and ‘18’ share the same tone pattern, as do ‘60’ and ‘80’, ‘106’ and ‘108’, etc. In view of the paucity of irregular morphology—and indeed of morphological alternations in general—in these languages, these structural properties appear interesting for phylogenetic research. The identical behaviour of these pairs of numerals originates in morpho-phonological properties that they shared at least as early as the stage preceding the separation of Naxi, Na and Laze, referred to as the Proto-Naish stage. Although no reconstruction can be proposed as yet for these properties, it is argued that the tonal properties of numerals shared by these three language varieties do provide a hint concerning their phylogenetic closeness.

## The Mande language in Bhutan

NISHIDA Fuminobu, Reitaku University

Mangde or, in Dzongkha, མང་ཐེ་པའི་ཀ་ Mangdebi kha, is a language of the East Bodish group spoken in the Mangde river basin, on the eastern slopes of the Black Mountains of west central Bhutan and also in adjacent parts of the western Black Mountains. The language is also spoken in several villages to the east of the Mangdechu between Trongsa and Zh'ängang. The language is also known by the names 'Nyenkha, Henkha and a slew of loconyms whereby the language is named after one of the villages where it is spoken. The Mangde speaking area is bounded to the west by Dzongkha, to the east by the Bumthang language, to the north by the Lakha speaking area, and to the south by the Kheng and Black Mountain Mönpa languages.

I have been working under the auspices of the Dzongkha Development Commission of the Royal Government of Bhutan toward the completion of a grammar of Mangde.

Initial results of ongoing fieldwork on the Mande spoken in Tshangkha, Trongsa will be presented, along with comparisons with other dialects.

## Complement Clauses in Chintang

Netra P. PAUDYAL, University of Leipzig

It is known that many Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in Nepal. Kiranti is the richest subgroup of this family spoken in Nepal and in some of parts of India as well. There are approximately 32 Kiranti languages and most of them are in the verge of extinction. Chintang is an endangered language, which is spoken by around 4000 people in a very small area. This is one of the language having a complex morphological and syntactic system.

In this paper, I talk about the various complement strategies available in Chintang. There are various complement taking verbs in Chintang. They are typically verbs of cognition, phase and modal verbs. The interesting thing about these verbs is that some of them do agree with an embedded lower argument, a phenomenon also known as long distance agreement.

Unlike in English and in most other familiar languages and like in Japanese, Brazilian Portuguese, Korean and in several Nakh Dagestanian languages (Polinsky 2000), there is backward control in Chintang and in other Kiranti languages. I describe this phenomenon with some relevant data from Chintang and Puma.

- (1) kitap-ce pi-ma u-kon-no  
book-ns give-INF 3nsS-should-NPST  
'They should be given books'. (not 'He should be given books'.)

I at first describe the behaviour of infinitival clauses, and then of the nominalized complements. There is only one sentential nominalizer in Chintang: -go with an alternative form -ko is a suffix which is attached to the verb stem. In some cases, mostly in clause final situations, it can also appear as a focus marker (Bickel 1999) in question forms of the number of Kiranti languages. Generally, this type of complementation is found with the verbs of cognition and saying. It would be ungrammatical with the phase verbs like start, end, and modal verbs like should, have to and so on.

Unlike Puma where the S argument of the embedded clause obligatorily triggers agreement in the matrix verb including S agreement in the embedded verb (2), there is no S agreement in Chintang. The S argument of an intransitive embedded verb can only agree with its predicate, but not with the matrix verb (3). There is a default object agreement, but the transitive complements have nothing to do in the agreement role.

- (2) Puma (Schackow 2008)
- |        |        |                 |             |
|--------|--------|-----------------|-------------|
| ŋa-a   | khanna | tʌ-ta-a = ku    | sin-na      |
| 1S-ERG | 2S     | 2-come-PST-NMLZ | know-1S > 2 |
- 'I know that you came'
- (3) akka hana a-hab-a = go nis-u-k-u-ŋ
- |    |    |                  |                     |
|----|----|------------------|---------------------|
| 1S | 2S | 2-cry-PST = NMLZ | know-3P-NPST-3P-1SA |
|----|----|------------------|---------------------|
- 'I know that you cried.'

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Schackow, Diana. 2008. *Clause linkage in Puma (Kiranti)*, MA, Thesis, submitted at the Institute of linguistics, University of Leipzig.

## Rengmitca: the most endangered Kuki-Chin language of Bangladesh

David A. PETERSON, Dartmouth College

This paper will provide recently collected data from what are likely to be the last speakers of Rengmitca, treated by Löffler 1960 as a variety of Khumi. Speakers of this highly endangered Kuki-Chin language were located by the author during the fall of 2009 and this paper will be based on work conducted with them in 2009 and during the summer 2010 field season.

The community of speakers of this language has been rapidly shifting to Mru, which belongs to a distinct branch of Tibeto-Burman. From the standpoint of lexicon, Rengmitca is clearly a Kuki-Chin language. However, from a grammatical perspective it shows signs of language mixing (viz. use of Mru function morphemes together with Kuki-Chin roots, although it is not yet clear if they are being used in a manner identical to that of Mru; Rengmitca also has elements that are typical neither of Khumi nor Mru, but perhaps reflect other areal provenance.)

At this point, there appear to be less than ten speakers and semi-speakers of this language, all over the age of fifty. It is not being learned by children, who have completely shifted to Mru. It is thus one of the most highly endangered languages, both in Bangladesh and also in the Kuki-Chin subgroup. Although there are reportedly some Mru speakers who have passive understanding of Rengmitca, in general Mru is mutually unintelligible with it. Speakers of both varieties of Bangladesh Khumi also are unable to understand the language, making it unlikely that this is simply a dialect of Khumi.

This talk will provide a full description of the speakers of Rengmitca and its current status in Bangladesh. It will give a brief discussion of the phonological characteristics of the language, examine aspects of mixing with Mru, and, if possible, provide a brief text in the language.

From a Kuki-Chin-internal perspective, the lexicon of Rengmitca is highly conservative, regularly preserving not only Proto-Kuki-Chin (VanBik 2009) finals, but also initial prefixes. In lexicon it resembles, though is not identical to, Wakung, described in So-Hartmann 1988. It also shares lexical affinities with southerly Kuki-Chin languages spoken further to the East. A question of some significance, then, is the position of this language in the subgroup. This talk will consider whether Rengmitca ought to be taken to be a close relative of Khumi, as suggested by Löffler and possibly also implied by So-Hartmann's grouping of Wakung with Khomi, or whether it should be regarded as an early branching from the other Kuki-Chin languages.

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## Dukkaiyaa vs. kakkaa: A case of language shift in central Himalayan language Raji

Kavita RASTOGI, Lucknow University

Generally language shift occurs in an unstable multilingual language community, where more than one language is distributed in an unequal manner. Language shift is characterised by a decreasing use of a particular language in certain domains. The final product of complete language shift is called language death. Generally, language shift is viewed as a replacement of a functionally deficient code by a functionally more efficient code. Sometimes partial shift, at the formal and functional levels is also seen.

Due to post independence trends of democratisation, economic mobility and mass media exposure, many tribal communities of India which were previously living in isolation in inaccessible areas are gradually opening up for intense interaction with the non tribal world and their lifestyle and communication pattern are undergoing change.

In this paper the author aims to discuss that a lesser-known tribal language of central Himalayan region, *Raji* is experiencing enormous pressure of language assimilation by surrounding dominant language forces. It is important to note that for the last hundred years or so, this tribal community is in continual contact with completely unrelated linguistic stock i.e. *Kumauni* the language of the richer and economically prosperous neighbour and *Hindi*, the language of schoolteachers and government servants. As a result, *Raji* lexicon as well as its grammar is shifting towards the language of the dominant people. A semi-nomadic people, Rajis use *Kumauni* for reference to a wide range of ideas and objects found outside their own culture. But the matter of concern is that now they have started replacing existing *Raji* expressions with *Kumauni* words. This adoption of terms, the author submits, is clear indication of language shift. In order to assess language ties and forces lexical and grammatical data will be given from *Raji*. For example

English	Raji	Kumauni
uncle	dukkaiya	kakka
mother	ya	ija
back	bwi	puTT <sup>h</sup> i
beat	hanu	piTT <sup>o</sup>
dark	t <sup>h</sup> epε	ādiyari

Apart from this many non-linguistic factors like- use reduction, code reduction, attitude of the dominant class, etc., contributing majorly in the shifting process would be dealt in detail.

## Frame swapping in Chintang

Robert SCHIKOWSKI, Institute of Linguistics, University of Leipzig

Default intransitive clauses in Chintang<sup>1</sup> are characterised by an S in the absolutive and monopersonal agreement with S on the verb. Default transitive clauses have A marked by the ergative, P in the absolutive, and bipersonal agreement with A and P on the verb (?). Like many other languages, Chintang has ambitransitive verbs, that is, verbs that can be used intransitively or transitively without any additional marking. Below are examples for an unergative verb and an unaccusative verb.

- (1) *ci-* ‘eat’
- a. *saila ca-nik-niŋ raicha*  
third.male.child[ABS] [3sS]eat-NPS-NEG MIR  
‘(It turned out that) Saila doesn't eat.’ [CLLDCh4R09S01.0407]
- b. *kancha-ŋa c-o-hatt-e*  
youngest.male.child[ABS] [3sA]eat-3sP-TEL-PST  
‘Kancha ate it up.’ [CLLDCh4R06S03.0849]

- (2) *hutt-* ‘scorch’
- a. *nam-ŋa hutt-o-ŋs-e*  
sun-ERG [3sA]scorch-3sP-PRFV-PST  
‘The sun has scorched it.’ [CLDLCh3R01S02.257]
- b. *boda hutt-e ama*  
bean[ABS] [3sS]scorch-PST mother  
‘Mother, the beans scorched!’ [CLDLCh3R05S04.217]

Besides ambitransitive verbs, however, there are also other verbs with variable syntactic behaviour, for instance:

- (3) *tett-* ‘attach to; attach’: variable agreement (and case assignment, not visible here)
- a. *motta = kha julphi na-tett-a-s-e*  
fat = FOC pig tail 3 > 2-attach to-PST-PFV-PST  
‘Hei has attached a fat pig tail to himj.’ [CLLDCh2R08S04.1601]
- b. *hana-ko naŋ palis tec-c-o*  
2s-GEN nail polish [1A]attach-p-3P  
‘Let's put your nail polish on.’ [CLLDCh2R08S04.1466]
- (4) *tomd-* ‘lean on; sustain, support’: variable role assignment (A = supporter or supportee)
- a. *aiyau philak tom-d-e-?*  
ouch thigh[ABS] [3s > 3s]lean.on-PST-EMPH  
‘Ouch, he leaned on my thigh!’ [CLLDCh2R08S04.1598]

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<sup>1</sup> Genetic affiliation Tibeto-Burman > Kiranti (?), around 5000 speakers in Eastern Nepal > Dhankuta district > Chhintang VDC. Examples are taken from the corpus compiled by the Chintang and Puma Documentation Project (DOBES Grants No. BI 799/1-2 and II/81 961, 2004-2009)

- b.     *sa-ŋa*            *tomd-u-ku-ce*  
      who-ERG     [3sA]support-3P-NPS-ns  
      ‘Who will support them?’ [ctn talk01.252]

There are some differences between classical ambitransitives and verbs such as the ones presented above (notably, none of them has an intransitive variant). However, there is also an important characteristic shared by all of them: they are “frame swapping”, i.e. they associate multiple syntactic templates (specifying role-case assignments and agreement relations) with a single lexical form. It will be argued that this commonality is in fact more relevant than the differences between them for the description of their morphosyntactic behaviour. The aim of this talk, then, will be to explore the properties of frame swapping in Chintang and to develop descriptive variables for typologising frame swapping verbs in general.

For this, two important groups of questions have to be answered. One asks for the structural relationship<sup>2</sup> between frames: Which elements are identical? Which elements change? Does the number of elements change? The other concerns the strength of the lexical link between frames: How readily do speakers judge instances of predicates in different frames to be variants of the same word? How do the semantics of predicates differ between frames? What proportion of semantic differences can be explained by role and case semantics alone? How productive is the link between frames?

Answering these questions yields a number of frame swapping mechanisms (e.g. case swap, role swap, frame extension) that make it possible to describe classical ambitransitives and other frame swapping verbs in a more uniform and at the same time more fine-grained way. The formalism developed for Chintang can be easily applied to the description of other languages as well.

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<sup>2</sup> This is quite similar to what ? calls “semantic correlation” but more explicit.

## **‘Gama:’ Language of Newah people of Nepal**

Daya R. SHAKYA, Nepal Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NACSS), Portland, Oregon, USA

In the Newah language speaking community, a term ‘gama:’ has two connotative meanings: first as a word with an underlying reference to ‘a string of villages’; second, it is used to address the rustic values of people (Kolver & Shresthacharya 1994) of rural areas by urban native speakers. Due to the isolated and embedded negative concepts which commonly surfaces within the urban society, the rural Newah people tend to hesitate to communicate with urban speakers. A stronghold of such misleading concepts raises questions on the implication of the inter-social communication and creates a gap between the interaction amid the rural and urban Newah speakers. This behavior pushes the new generation of Newah people to adopt Nepali (Khas Language) as their mother tongue instead of continuing their own native language. This also impacts the future preservation of values of Newah dialects on the younger generation.

In this paper, comparing the data with standard dialect that is commonly available in literature, I will discuss some key features of ‘gama:’ language spoken in rural areas within the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal. Besides, I intend to focus on the importance of ‘gama:’ language that is unnecessarily considered an inferior version of language among the native speakers.

The data used in this paper was collected during field work I had conducted in the early nineties in the surrounding villages of Kathmandu Valley. The intention of this study was to address the issue of weakening the strength of language shift from Newah to Nepali. This could be one of the reasons why the educated Newah people from villages openly communicate in Nepali instead of using own native language. The impact of this shifting may ultimately lead to the extinct of local speech varieties which could lead to an irreversible loss for the study of Newah dialects.

## Differential object marking in Puma

Narayan SHARMA, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Puma is an endangered language spoken in the eastern part of Nepal belonging to the Kiranti family of Tibeto-Burman. There are approximately 4000 Puma native speakers. Puma is really a complicated language, and rich in its verbal morphology. Pronouns are frequently dropped, which makes it hard to understand agreement system for non-Kiranti speakers unless and until they have knowledge about it.

Object marking is characterised by the interaction of the animacy features of nominal and certain thematic roles. All other direct objects of monotransitive verbs are marked with dative marker ‘-lai’ but often marking is optional unless and until to demonstrate specific rather than generic. This general principle is, however, overridden in the case of ditransitive verbs, where we find that primary objects (recipients) are obligatorily marked with dative, but, themes, even if human, are never overtly marked. With detransitivization, demoted objects are obligatorily assigned nominative case (zero-marked).

Examples:

- (1) *asemλη khipa-(lai) cop-u-η* (GENERIC)  
yesterday dog-DAT see-3P-1sA  
‘Yesterday I saw a dog.’
- (2) *asemλη khipa-(lai) cop-u-η* (SPECIFIC)  
yesterday dog-DAT see-3P-1sA  
‘Yesterday I saw the dog.’
- (3) *khipa-(\*lai) cop-ηa* (DEMOTED)  
dog-DAT see-1sS  
‘I saw dogs.’ or ‘I did dog-seeing’
- (4) *narayan-a laxmi-lai dipti-(\*lai) itd-i-i*  
N.-ERG L.-DAT D.-(DAT) give-3P-3P.PAST  
‘Narayan handed Deepti to Laxmi.’
- (5) *narayan-a iskula-\*(lai) kaphekwa itd-i-i*  
N.-ERG school-DAT money give-3P-PAST  
‘Narayan donated the money to the school.’

## Manchad Verbal Stems - An old Tibetan Substrate?

Suhnu Ram SHARMA, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, India

Manchad/ Pattani is one of the pronominalized languages spoken by only ten thousand people in western Himalayas.

Manchad verbal stems present a typologically, somewhat different system where it shows regular but word-specific patterns of stem alternation. The verbal stems show regular but word-specific patterns of stem alternation. A given Manchad verb maximally differentiates four different stems in the indicative mood. The patterns of verb stem alternation immediately call to mind the well-known alternation between four verb stems in Classical Tibetan, although the Classical Tibetan system is not faithfully reflected in any modern Tibetan dialect. The Manchad system of stem alternation, on the contrary, is fully intact, albeit no longer synchronically analysable in terms of productive or flexionally transparent processes. Therefore, the Manchad patterns of stem alternation must be specified as lexical features or givens for any particular Manchad verb, just as must be done for Classical Tibetan verbs. None the less, the Manchad verb potentially yields greater insight into ancient Bodish and perhaps Tibeto-Burman verbal processes than even Tibetan because the patterns still survive, and Manchad verbal morphology on the whole retains a greater spectrum of clues than does Classical Tibetan orthography. Manchad has retained not only the patterns of alternation between four different indicative verb stems reflected in Tibetan orthography, but it also exhibits agreement morphology of the ancient and widespread Tibeto-Burman type.

Whereas Classical Tibetan verb distinguishes between a *madewa*, *düdüpa*, *maongpa* and a *d'atawa*, the Manchad verb distinguishes between a present, past, perfect and future stem. Roughly 65% of all Manchad verbs distinguish four different stems, whereas about 15% of Manchad verbs distinguish three stems, about 5% distinguish two stems, and about 15% use a single indicative stem in all four basic tenses.

The present paper will discuss various patterns of stem alternations and agreement system found in Manchad.

## Functional Prefixes in Lemi

Helga SO-HARTMANN, Foundation of Applied Linguistics

Lemi is a Tibeto-Burman language and belongs to the Southern branch of the Kuki-Chin languages. It is spoken by approximately 20 000 people in the Paletwa township of the Southern Chin Hills of Myanmar. Lemi is closest related to Khumi Chin and to Mro (also called Mrokhimi).

Lemi is a SOV language and has a nominative-accusative case system. Unlike most Chin languages it does not have verb stem alternation and also no evidence for a verbal agreement system can be found. It has however a wealth of functional prefixes, most of them also occur frozen and lexicalized with noun-roots as well as with verb-roots.

Some of the prefix morphemes effect semantic changes in verbs. They can act as de-transitivizers; derive reflexive verbs from non-reflexive ones and reciprocal verbs from non-reciprocal ones. Other prefixes act as transitivizers or causativizers and derive transitive verbs from non-transitive ones. Some prefixes effect derivations of adjectives or nouns from verbs. As will be shown, there are prefixes that have the same function but different phonological or lexical forms. Some prefixes can have several different functions.

Apart from these derivational prefixes, Lemi has also one prefix that marks possession and occurs with inherently possessive nouns like kinship and relationship terms, with body parts and parts of plants. Unless ownership or possession of these groups of nouns are shown in another way, i.e. a possessor noun with genitive case marking, the occurrence of this possessor prefix is obligatory

The chart below gives an overview over the most frequently occurring prefixes and their functions.

Function	trans/caus	detrans/reflex/re cipr	adjectivizer	nominalizer	possessive
Prefix morphem	<i>mä-/bä-</i>	<i>ae-</i>	<i>kä-</i>	<i>kä-</i>	<i>ä-</i>
	<i>tä-</i>		<i>kae-</i>	<i>kae-</i>	
			<i>kang-</i>	<i>sä-</i>	
				<i>ang-</i>	

## Creaky and pharyngealised vowels in Sangdam Tibetan (Kachin State)

Hiroyuki SUZUKI, National Museum of Ethnology

Sangdam Tibetan, a lesser-known vernacular of Khams Tibetan spoken in the most northern area of Kachin State, Myanmar/Burma, possesses a pharyngealised/ non-pharyngealised distinction in its vocalism. This paper provides a detailed articulatory phonetic description on the pharyngealisation with a historical treatment of its genesis through the comparison to Written Tibetan.

The paper shows:

- phonetic characteristics of the pharyngealisation
  - The pharyngealisation is mainly covered over the vowel in a word, and is realised as an approach of the tongue root to the pharynx during the articulation of the vowel.
  - The pharyngealisation will be followed by a weak tension of the larynx, which is sometimes realised as a creaky sound.
  - The pharyngealisation may occur even the articulation of the initial consonant, and it seems a pharyngealised syllable.
- origin of the pharyngealisation
  - The pharyngealisation has two evident origins: the phonemes *r* and *g* contained in a Written Tibetan form (close to Old Tibetan)
  - *r* in all the positions and a portion of *g* in the ending in Written Tibetan can influence the development of the pharyngealisation.
  - Some examples with a short vowel in an open syllable also show a light creaky sound although its corresponding form of Written Tibetan has neither *r* nor *g*.

## Nominalizer : a core category of Tibetan grammar

Nicolas TOURNADRE, Université de Provence and CNRS (Lacito)

This communication presents some reflexions about the syntax of nominalizers in Standard Tibetan. The category of nominalizer is central in the Tibetan grammar and it is probably responsible for the "collapse" of the archaic verbal morphology. The nominalizers form nominal clauses, relative clauses and verb endings. We will concentrate upon the syntactic behaviour of the 4 main nominalizers used in Standard Tibetan (ལྟོ *pa*, མཁན་ *mkhan*, ཡང་། *yag* and སྟོ *sa* ) and examine their interaction with verb classes as well as some differences between the functions of nominalization and relativization.

## **Mon-Khmer language and the people living along the Thai-Malaysia border: Impact of resettlement in Government sponsored housing**

Umaiya Haji UMAR, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

The presence of aboriginal people speaking the Mon-Khmer languages, locally called Ngo Paa or Orang Asli living along the Thai-Malaysia border has been widely reported by various researchers. In South Thailand, there are small communities of speakers of the .Tean-Ean. dialect in the provinces of Trang, Pattalung and Satun. On the hills in the provinces of Yala and Narathiwat in Thailand and in the states of Kedah, Perak and Kelantan in Malaysia live the speakers of Aslian languages belonging to the Negrito group such as the Kintak, Kensiu, and Jahai. Further south, more speakers of Aslian languages belonging to the Senoi group such as the Temiar, Semai and Mah Meri can be found.

This paper focuses on the current socio-economic state of the people and their languages. The researcher recently conducted fieldwork at several locations as part of an on-going study on language loss and language maintenance of the Mon-Khmer languages in Malaysia and Thailand. The .Tean-Ean. people are continuing with their nomadic lifestyle while the Kintak, Kensiu and Jahai people are resettled in government sponsored housing and their children are provided with formal education.

This paper discusses the linguistic impact of the transformation of the lifestyles of some of these indigenous peoples from one of living in the jungle to that of a semi-urban existence. They need to continue living off the jungle which is now further from their homes. The jungle is also getting smaller and giving a smaller harvest. With urbanisation, there is an increase in interaction with other indigenous groups and with the mainstream community. As a result, they are drawn into the local social and economic activities.

A comparison of the basic words of selected languages under study is presented. The basic word list consists of words from the following categories of the lexicon: parts of the body, numerals, personal pronouns, flora and fauna, adjectives, verbs, terms of address, etc. Video recordings of their lifestyles, that is, in the jungle and in resettlement areas will be shown.

## Another argument for defining culture areas in the Himalayas

Christina M. WILLIS, Rice University

The notion of a constructing South Asia as a linguistic area based on shared linguistic features has been successfully argued in the literature (Emeneau 1980; Masica 2005). South Asia truly exemplifies the notion of a linguistic area in that we find languages from six language families sharing linguistic features such as serial verb constructions, experiencer subjects, SOV constituent order and so forth. Within this linguistic area, it is possible to find additional sets of features that are commonly found in sub-linguistic areas. For example, the Dravidian languages tend to eschew ergative-absolutive alignment while the Indo-Aryan languages (and some Tibeto-Burman languages) have this feature. In a similar vein, we find that speakers of diverse languages across the sub-continent share cultural features. An obvious example is the presence of Hinduism from the southern tip of the sub-continent to the high mountain peaks of the Himalayas. Naturally, the entire subcontinent does not embrace the rituals and beliefs of Hinduism; we find people who practice other religions including Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism, and so forth. In the Himalayas we also find vestiges of the Bon religion and animism. With all of this in mind, it is no wonder that an argument has been made for linguists, anthropologists and folklorists to return to the practice of comparing cultural features to establish culture areas as well (Blackburn 2007).

In this paper, I will make two arguments. First, I will argue that we should extend the notion of linguistic area to include aspects of culture and language-use to define areas of culture. Blackburn (2007) uses oral narratives from multiple genres to assert the validity of the 'extended eastern Himalayas' as a culture area (2007: 419). I will use my own work with the Darma people (Uttarakhand, India) and related tribes to support the notion of an additional culture area. I will compare the Darma narratives that I have collected with the texts and descriptions of traditions from other Himalayan peoples to ascertain whether it is possible to establish another culture area of the Himalayas. Evidence that I have compared to date (see for example Pettigrew 1999) suggests that culture areas in the Himalayas beyond the area proposed by Blackburn (2007) do in fact exist. I will look at genres including rites of passage such as naming ceremonies and death rituals and oral traditions that center on verbal art and spontaneous word play (see for example the discussion of the Raute in Fortier 2002). Second, I will reiterate the argument made by linguists and anthropologists alike that descriptions of languages and the people that speak them must be based on natural language and culturally relevant discourse (Sherzer 1987; Urban 1991; Chelliah 2001). The urgency of adopting a methodology that emphasizes a discourse-centered approach to data collection will be reinforced by demonstrating that the paucity of texts at my disposal for comparing oral traditions of the people of the area (despite the existence of grammatical sketches) ultimately impedes establishing culture areas.

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# MEDIEVAL TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES SYMPOSIUM V

Wednesday 1 September 2010

School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London

## ABSTRACTS

## Reconstructing a lost Song edition of Zhuge Liang's *Jiangyuan* on the basis of its Tangut translation

Imre GALAMBOS, International Dunhuang Project, The British Library

Manuscript Or.12380/1840 from Khara-Khoto in the collection of the British Library is a Tangut translation of a text called *Jiangyuan* 將苑 ('The General's Garden'), written in an even and highly aesthetic calligraphy. The text, ostensibly composed by the celebrated strategist and statesman Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234), has long been suspected of being a later forgery, possibly dating to the Tang or Song periods. Since extant editions of this work go back to the Ming and Qing dynasties, the Tangut version represents the earliest edition, and thus also provides a terminus post quem for the origin of the text. The comparison of the Tangut translation with the Chinese text shows a number of dissimilarities, even though many variant readings can be matched with alternate editions. This suggests that the manuscript is a direct translation, rather than a loose adaption as has been suggested recently, although this assumption is yet to be fully demonstrated.

One of my aims in this paper is to test the claim that the manuscript is a word-for-word translation, and that the discrepancies are due to the fact that the edition used by the 12<sup>th</sup>-century translator has since been lost. It is an intriguing question whether this missing Song dynasty edition can be reconstructed from the Tangut version. While attempting to do this on the basis of a translation alone would certainly be a philologically risky endeavor, fortunately we have an array of surviving editions of this text that together can help in the task of assembling the missing original. In places where extant editions are insufficient or do not match the translation, other Chinese texts with thematic or textual parallels can also be introduced as witnesses. Because the *Jiangyuan* is most likely a later forgery claiming to have been written by Zhuge Liang, we can expect it to use imagery and language attested in the strategist's known works or other treatises of military strategy. In our own reconstruction, we can take advantage of the forger's effort to emulate the writing style of an existing body of texts.

This experiment of recovering the edition used by the Tangut translator is meaningful not only because it may produce a long lost Song edition of this work, which would then qualify as its earliest extant edition, but also as an example of the relationship between Chinese texts and their Tangut renderings. We may be able to learn about the motivation for undertaking such a task, as well as the concrete techniques used in its course.

## The etymology of "Tibet" and "*Tufan* (吐蕃)"

Iwao ISHIKAWA, The Eastern Institute

Tibetan plateau and adjoining lands was called "*Tufan* (吐蕃)" and its variants in China since the seventh century, and "Tibet" and its variants in West Asia rather later than China. Resemblance in pronunciation between "*Tufan*" and "Tibet" apparently indicates that both are derived from the same word. What is it? And what language is it of? I would like to present a new hypothesis to answer these questions on this symposium.

As the result of the survey of equivalences for "Tibet" until about the 10<sup>th</sup> century, we can reach an Old Turkish etymology, close to L. Bazin & J. Hamilton's Old Turk-Mongolian etymology. At first, Old Turkish, "*töpüt*", the plural form of "*töpü*" meaning "summit", "highland" was used referring to Tibet among Turks. Secondly, Sogdian people Sogdianize it into "*Tupāt*", "*Tupēt*" with a metathesis, i.e. switching the first vowel "ö" with the second vowel "ü". These Sogdian forms were scattered around in Eurasia through so-called Sogdian network, which produced its various versions in other languages. The early middle Chinese form "*t'ɔ'puan*" of "*Tufan*" also is a variant whose the final consonant was corrupted *-t* into *-n* with intent to imply that Tibetan people are *fān* (蕃) "barbarians".

## First discovery about Padmesambva's life story in Dunhuang document PT 849

Kha sgang bkra shis tshe ring, Northwest University for Nationalities

Religious Master Padmesambhava from India was invited to Tibet when King chisong dezan was in throng. He played quite an important role in the development of Buddhism in Tibetan area and established the first Buddhist monastery named Samye. A group of seven people became monks under Master Padmesambhava's guidance for the first time in Tibetan history. He contributed a lot to the development of Buddhist culture by translating many religious documents. Therefore, many biographies and historic documents were written in honor of his great performance and role that he played in Tibetan culture. Based on an incomplete statistics, there are as many as a little more than one thousand different versions of Master Padmesambhava's life story.

A document (PT 849), that was found in Dunhuang Cave, covered brief personal story of Master Badmesabhava using a paragraph of thirteen lines starting from the line 189, being written in ancient Tibetan characters. This paper is going to present several newly discovered points in accordance to the coverage of Padmesambhava's personal story in Dunhuang Cave: 1) A comprehensive analysis of the Sanskrit name deva-butta, which was used to refer to Padmesambhava when he first arrived in Tibetan land is conducted from the cultural as well as historical perspective. And this paper states the fact that deva-butra, meaning princess in Sanskrit, was the first name that was used among Tibetans to refer to this religious Master when he arrived in Tibetan land. 2) The Tibetan word ,rgygr-choskyi-rgylbo, which was the name for a religious king in India, proved in actuality to be the name for Sakamani used by people when they were dominated by various Tibetan kings in Tibetan history. People started to forget the original meaning of this name after the opening of Dunhuang Cave in the seventeenth century. When Tibetan Buddhism started to become popular among Tibetans for the second time after being in no practice for a lengthy period of time, Tibetan historians cited this name to refer to a religious king in India. This misunderstanding and misuse of this name led to a tremendous amount of difficulty in attempts to comprehend Tibetan historical documents correctly. 3) This document (PT 849), found in Dunhuang Cave, contains full accounts of Padmesambhava when he was in Mount Wutai in Shanxi province and when he was giving religious teachings in a place called Jiuquan in Gansu province on the way back to India. This is one of the many things that are special about this historical document (PT 849). This provides a significantly valuable reference when studies on Padmesambhava are carried out. In the process of writing this essay, Padmesambhava's personal life story and his teaching activities are covered and talked about by referring to many historical documents. New findings about Padmesambhava's life story in Duhuang Document is something worth celebrating by Tibetan scholars all over China.

## Phonological Information in the Collation of the Tangut *sūtras*

NIE Hongyin, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

In the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, there co-existed two Tangut versions of one and the same Buddhist *sūtra*, i.e., an original version and a revised version. We have already known that most revisions were made on the transcription of the *dhāranīs*, but those on the text are remained unknown. It is pointed out in the present paper that the revisions on the text, though a few in number, show us some phonological alternations in Tangut language. These alternations between intonations and so-called “circle rhymes” are strictly parallel with the rule of rhyme correspondence in the Tangut phonological system. We offer no satisfactory explanations of these phenomena, though it seems to be caused by oral interpretation at that time.

## The Lepcha Book of the Dead

Heleen PLAISIER, University of Leiden

Several Lepcha texts relating to death and funerary traditions are traditionally read aloud in the presence of a person who is dying or has just passed away, for example the works entitled རཱཱཱཱཱཱ ལྷཱཱཱ རྱཱཱཱཱ *ʔámák sa munlóm* and རྱཱཱ ལྷཱཱཱ *thókdra munlóm*. Much of Lepcha literature has been influenced by Tibetan literary traditions and as the term རྱཱཱ, *thókdra* appears to be the Lepcha spelling of Tibetan *thos h̄grol*, the Lepcha *thókdra munlóm* particularly invites comparison to the Tibetan genre of *bar do thos h̄grol* texts, more popularly known as ‘The Tibetan Book of the Dead.’ This talk presents the results of a study into Lepcha mortuary texts, where the Lepcha texts are offered in summary form and several points of comparison with the Tibetan genre are highlighted.

敦煌古藏语与安多藏语动词比较研究 (A comparative study of the Old Tibetan and Amdo Tibetan verb tense systems) – paper to be given in Chinese

Rdo rje don grub, Northwest University for Nationalities

In Old Tibetan, the tenses of verb inflections generally have two modes, namely; the inflection of the verb and the verb without inflection.

Word prefixes and suffixes to words to use voice inflection to indicate the grammatical function of verb is an important feature of the Old Tibetan verb, for example, the verb *bsgrub* (do), there are four types of morphological changes, namely: *bsgrub* (will do), *sgrub* (is doing), *bsgrubs* (have done), *sgrubs* (please do), in addition, there is no need for any end of the sentence words.

But in Amdo Tibetan morphological changes have led to morphological simplification and sentences must be explicitly marked with an affix. Based on the collected corpus, summarized three types of simplified models. This paper studies the ancient Dunhuang Tibetan language and Tibetan in Amdo dialect analyzing the historical development of verb tense.

## The sūtra of the Ten Virtues: One of the Earliest Tibetan Buddhist Texts

Sam van SCHAIK, The British Library

Tibetan Buddhist histories suggest that one of the first Buddhist texts brought to Tibet was a "sūtra of the Ten Virtues" (dge ba bcu'i mdo). An edict from the Tibetan imperial period suggests that such a text may have existed, but as an early Tibetan Buddhist composition rather than a translated work. Furthermore, a Chinese Dunhuang manuscript states that a summary of the ten virtues was circulated to all parts of the Tibetan empire, by order of the emperor. As yet, it has not been possible to identify any known text with this "sūtra of the Ten Virtues." In this paper I look at two Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang that may be identified with the "sūtra" (arguing as well that we would be better to translate the title as a "summary" rather than a "sūtra"). I attempt a relative dating of the two manuscripts using paleographical methods, and then examine their terminology, comparing the names of the ten virtues in both texts to the standardized translation terms of the Mahavyutpatti.

## A Brief Description on the Grammatical Function of Tangut 𑖇 \*djij<sup>2</sup>

SUN Bojun, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

There has been no discussion so far on the usage of Tangut particle 𑖇 \*djij<sup>2</sup>. Based on a large number of example sentences, the grammatical function of 𑖇 \*djij<sup>2</sup> is reduced in the present paper to the following: 1) Conjunction used together with 𑖇, formulates the adversative patterns as “...𑖇 𑖇, ...𑖇 ...” or “...𑖇, ...𑖇”, paralleling with “though...”, “but...”; 2) Nominalizer used after nouns, nominalizes the verbs or verb phrases as objective of the predicative.

## **Optional case marking in Literary Tibetan**

Nicolas TOURNADRE, Université de Provence and CNRS (Lacito)

This communication presents a new analysis of the case system found in Literary Tibetan. It will focus on the status of the various cases, their multifunctionality and their optionality. The extreme flexibility of the case system is mainly due to the clitic nature of the cases and to the fact that virtually every case can be replaced by some other case or may be dropped in many contexts. However, if we except some poetic texts written in verses or some tantric texts written in a telegraphic style, real optionality is, as we could expect, rather rare. We will examine some of the syntactic, semantic and discursive parameters that play a role in the presence or absence of the case marking.

## Orthography of the stone inscriptions in Yi from Guizhou and Yunnan provinces

Halina WASILEWSKA, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

Although the main function of traditional Yi writing used by some groups classified as Yi in China was mainly religious as it was used by priests or *bimo* during various ceremonies and rituals, there are other examples created without direct connection with religious purposes. They include different kinds of texts on the medicine, history, genealogy, literature works and so on, and also various stone inscriptions primarily from Qing dynasty. The paper focuses on the writing conventions of the inscriptions (mostly gravestones) from Wuding county which represent Nasu variety of traditional Yi writing. From my preliminary observations it appears that the writing conventions performed in those examples of traditional Yi writing seem to be less individual than those in texts used in religious ceremonies. I argue that the main reason for that was different function of the writing in this case.

# **WORKSHOP ON OPTIONAL CASE MARKING**

Friday 3 September 2010

School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London

## **ABSTRACTS**

## Pragmatically motivated marking of the agentive case in Tshangla

Erik ANDVIK, SIL International

The presence of the agentive case marker *-gi* in Tshangla is determined by a complex interaction between syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors instantiated within the individual clause as well as the larger discourse context, no single one of which is sufficient on its own to independently motivate agentive marking.

The Tshangla case marking system can be roughly characterized as an ergative system with an ‘active/stative’ split. In prototypical transitive clauses, the agentive case marker *-gi* marks the agent in a bi-valent clause, while subjects of intransitive and patients of transitive clauses are zero marked. This is the ergative/absolutive pattern. This pattern holds true in prototypical transitive clauses with a human agent subject and a highly affected patient object, and in prototypical intransitive clauses with an affected patient subject. However, there are a number of exceptions to this generalization.

The so-called PCU ‘perception, cognition or utterance’ verbs appear almost exceptionlessly with an agentively marked subject. Here the choice of an agentive case marking reflects not agentivity, but a natural starting point for the flow of attention.

Case marking on intransitive clauses, rather than reflecting the absence of an object, reflects the semantic relationship of the nominal to the predicate. Thus the single argument of an intransitive verb may be marked as agent or patient depending on the semantic role which it plays in relation to the predicate. In some instances, the verb itself determines whether it will take a patient or agentive subject. This the ‘split intransitive’ or ‘active/stative’ system. In other instances, a single verb may take either an agent or patient subject depending on the degree of agent-like properties such as volition or control which the subject exercises over the predicate. This is the so-called ‘fluid-S’ system.

Languages fairly closely related to Tshangla have been described as having optional ergative/agentive case marking in certain contexts. While these descriptions go some distance in predicting when ergative marking will appear, the choice of marking in the optional contexts remains unaccounted for, the problem having only been displaced to the realm of ‘speaker’s choice’, i.e. pragmatics. Tshangla agent marking appears to be ‘optional’ in both transitive and intransitive clauses, regardless of the tense or aspect. Neither is agent marking predictable on the basis of the usual expected factors like definiteness, referentiality, individuation of the object, or volitional control of the subject. Relying on data from spontaneously generated oral texts, the present paper will present evidence for semantic and pragmatic factors which correlate with choice of agentive marking. Among these factors are: volition, control, expectation, consequence or effect on the world, directed activity, directed mental state, creation and transformation.

## The pragmatics of case marking in Tibeto-Burman languages of Nagaland

Alexander R. COUPE, Nanyang Technological University

This paper discusses the influence of pragmatics on the case marking of core arguments, specifically focusing on languages of the Ao and Konyak clusters spoken in Nagaland, north-east India. The distribution of core case markers in these languages suggests that their use is primarily a function of pragmatic factors, and thus is only coincidentally related to the transitivity status of the clause. The presence of agentive case marking in naturally occurring language often correlates with some kind of pragmatically marked situation, such as increased assertiveness or willfulness on the part of a referent, the expression of socially marked behaviour, the encoding of personal choice in the performance of an activity, or the need to disambiguate the semantic roles of two animate referents in a bivalent clause, either of which could function as the agent.

To varying degrees, all of the languages investigated appear to use case marking in ways that deviate substantially from the commonly recognized ergative-absolutive pattern. In Ao, for example, agentive marking is used in both transitive and intransitive clauses for all of the above-mentioned pragmatic reasons, and the only situation in which case marking has an obligatory, purely syntactic function is in morphological causative derivations. In this type of clause, the causer argument is consistently identified by agentive marking, yet optional dative marking on the causee argument can be used to distinguish direct from indirect causation for some semantic classes of verbs. Aside from the domain of Ao causative syntax (in which agentive marking on the causer argument has undergone obligatorization), the primacy of pragmatics over syntax reflects the synchronic stage of these languages' grammaticalization of relational morphology. To be sure, there are obvious similarities between the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nagaland and "orthodox" ergative-absolutive languages, which consistently distinguish an A argument from the O argument of a transitive clause and the S argument of an intransitive clause via their morphosyntax; possibly these Tibeto-Burman languages too will eventually conventionalize a similar alignment pattern of obligatory morphosyntactic marking on core arguments. But at the current stage of their development, the strong correlation of agentive case marking with pragmatically-marked states of affairs would seem to suggest that such a system of syntactically-determined case marking is still some way off.

The case-marking distributions encountered in these languages raise some important theoretical questions. How crucial a role does pragmatics play in the evolution of morphosyntactic alignment patterns? And what is the diachronic relationship of such pragmatically organized systems of case marking to the conventionalization of obligatory grammatical structures, such as syntactic pivots, or to the diachronic development of other syntactic categories, such as voice distinctions? These questions will be addressed primarily using examples from Ao, augmented by correlations observed in the other Tibeto-Burman languages investigated.

## A study of the Burmese subject/topic marker *ka*

Inna LAZAREVA, Oxford University

The paper presents a descriptive research on the most frequent topic/subject marker *ka*, the marker used both in Formal and Colloquial Burmese. The marker *ka* is the most studied marker in the set of four subject/topic marker (the other three being *ha*, *ti* and *ma*). These markers share the feature of optionality, which means that they can be used or dropped.

The existing descriptions of the marker highlight the main functions and usages of the marker *ka*, such as the contrastive function (Sawada 1995, Okell and Allot 2001, Kasevich 1976), the function of distinguishing the agent from the patient (Okell and Allot 2001), the function of contrast between the subject and object or another subject of a sentence (Okell and Allot 2001, Kasevich 1976). These descriptions, however, fail to explain the specific conditions when the marker becomes optional.

There are few conditions under which a given marker can be said to be completely obligatory or optional. A number of linguistic factors determine the shift of the optionality towards more obligatory or more optional usage on the scale of optionality. We attempt to ‘weigh’ optionality of *ka* and explain what factors potentially determine its presence.

The basis of our research is experimental work. Questionnaires of sentences with artificially inserted and deleted markers (59 with inserted and 44 sentences with deleted *ka*) were given to 20 Burmese informants for correction. As a next step, we singled out some linguistic factors, which have never been consistently considered for Burmese, such as proximity of the *ka*-marked NP to the predicate, the semantic class of the verb (verbs of state, activity, accomplishment and achievement), coincidence with the subject of the previous sentence, transitivity of the verb, the number of arguments, the length of NP., and statistically tested the results of the experiment. The degree of the agreement of the informants on the deletion/insertion of *ka* always varies, allowing us to see the correlation between the presence/absence of a certain factor and the increase/decrease in optionality of the given marker.

The aim of our research is to complement the existing knowledge of *ka* by more formal criteria governing its usage, ultimately leading to a better understanding of optionality and information structure of Burmese.

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Kasevich, Vadim (1976) *The Brief Outline of Burmese Grammar*. In Minina and U Kwyo Zo (1976), pages 731-783.

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## Core participant case marking in Khumi

David A. PETERSON, Dartmouth College

Case marking of core participants in Bangladesh Khumi is apparently fairly straightforward, although its interaction with markers of discourse status yields some interesting analytical problems. An initial generalization is that the language has essentially nominative-accusative aligned case marking (see elicited sentences 1 and 2), with no case marking of S/A and = *aa* marking of P/R participants. (Optional = *loee* is a topic marker with fairly standard behavior; for = *moe*, see below.) There are two principal respects in which this generalization is violated. First, there is a strong tendency in discourse for lexical participants in A function to be marked with what is probably best analyzed as a focus marker (= *moe*), such that this element might almost be seen as an ergative marker. Second, a complex array of factors account for the use of the primary object marker (which marks Ps and Rs, but at first blush with a considerable degree of optionality.) This talk will begin with an outline of the basic characteristics of the system, and will then delve into a detailed consideration of these two less standard features, making use of an extensive text corpus for illustration.

The focus marker (which I previously analyzed simply as a marker of definiteness, and which is almost certainly grammaticalized from Khumi's reflexive pronoun *amoe*) is found on clearly non-A entities, including temporal and circumstantial adverbials (3, 4). In texts, however, it occurs overwhelmingly with A participants (5), although occurrence with As is not obligatory (e.g., 6), and there are even rare instances where it occurs with an S (7). Thus, although it clearly has other functions, it verges on having the distribution of an ergative case marker. Nevertheless, given that it does not occur exclusively with As, and has a range of other uses, the best analysis is that it is not a case marker at all, but instead a marker of discourse function, used especially to indicate a contrastively focused NP, or to reintroduce a semi-active participant in an A role. As such, this A-marking resembles specialized marking of non-active information placed in an A role predicted by Du Bois 1987, but does not amount to ergative case-marking.

The goal case marker, often realized simply as a shift in the tone on the last syllable of a case marked NP, also has a less than straightforward distribution. There is some indication that it may be required by particular predicates, but for the vast majority of transitive verbs its appearance is conditioned by several factors. Foremost among these, animates tend to be marked (2) and inanimates resist marking (8); marking also indicates a higher degree of individuation, often corresponding to a definite reading rather than an indefinite one (9).

Neither of these peculiarities of the system are particularly remarkable in crosslinguistic perspective. However, their confluence in Khumi yields a language which under direct elicitation looks nominative-accusative in terms of case marking, but considerations of naturalistic data yield a more tripartite appearance.

- |                                   |  |  |  |          |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|--|----------|
| (1) intransitive:                 |  | (2) transitive:                            |  |          |
| sraa( = loee/*moe)    ce-vuy      |  | sraa( = loee/moe)    uuy = <u>aa</u>       |  | caá-vuy  |
| hill.doctor( = TOP/FOC)    go-PFV |  | hill.doctor( = TOP/FOC)    dog = <u>po</u> |  | kick-PFV |
| 'The hill doctor left.'           |  | 'The hill doctor kicked the dog.'          |  |          |

- (3) = *moe* marking a temporal adverbial:
- |                              |                         |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| hní    dúeeng = <u>moe</u>   | ce-roe = bo = te        |
| this    evening = <u>foe</u> | go-INCEPT = PERF = EVID |
- 'They started out that (very) evening.' (18.125)

- (4) = *moe* marking a circumstantial adverbial:

...nayraá = moe      pee-piee-yo-bie = bo = te

therefore = FOC give-BEN-IMPV-NEXT = PERF = EVID

‘...therefore, he gave it to them next.’ (18.148)

- (5) = *moe* marking an A participant:

khúmicoo      léewng-thúung = moe      akhuuy-piee-taeng...

child      person-three = FOC      pick.up-BEN-AGAIN

‘...the three children picked them (the fruits) up for him again...’ (46.15)

- (6) A participant unmarked:

khúmi-coee      súeng-piee-bloee

human-DIM      bring-BEN-AND

‘Human boy [a personal name here] brought (these) for them, and...’ (15.47)

- (7) = *moe* marking an S participant:

tvóeeng = moe      thew-phraa      khaá = *moe*

bear = FOC      emerge-AUGVCL      time.LOC = FOC

‘When the bear came out...’ (15.92)

- (8) inanimate P participant not marked with = *aa*:

hu      jewbóo = waa      pceng      pceng      pceng      pceng      atháy

that      bag = LOC      put.inside      put.inside      put.inside      put.inside      fruit

‘Into that bag he put it and put it and put it and put it, (the) fruit.’ (46.5)

- (9) indefinite P participant not marked with = *aa*:

hu = waa      lawmaynuu      avuúng

there = LOC      widow      meet

‘There they met an (old) widow.’ (15.55) (= *aa* here would make the widow definite.)

## Case-marking of P and A in Lhaovo

Hideo SAWADA, ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign studies

Lhaovo (Maru), a Burmish language spoken in northern Burma (Myanmar), has a set of case-markers as below.

$-\phi$ (nominative)	$-TayanF$ (instrumental)	$-me\eta F$ (locative)	$-me\eta H$ (ablative)
$-reF$ (accusative)	$-fie?H$ (comitative)	$-khyoF$ (allative)	$-khyoH$ (perlative)

In core arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs, S(= intransitive subject, following Comrie 1981) is solely marked with  $-\phi$ , P(= object) is marked with  $-\phi$  or  $-reF$ , and A(= transitive subject) is marked with  $-\phi$  or  $-TayanF$ . ( $TA$  = abstract element triggering tonal alternation  $F \rightarrow L$ ,  $L \rightarrow H$ ,  $H \rightarrow H$  to the syllable immediately preceding to it.  $TA$  functions as some grammatical markers, and also is a part of instrumental case-marker.)

**Case-marking of P** If a P is separated from its head verb in VP-final position by other NP(s), it is marked with  $-reF$ .

If a P immediately precedes its head verb, it can be marked both with  $-\phi$  and with  $-reF$ . The choice of case-marking seems to depend on several semantic features of noun (or NP). When the P is human, it is marked with  $-reF$  if it is definite, as in (1), and marked with  $-\phi$  if it is indefinite.

- (1)  $mo\eta LnukH-\phi$        $mau\eta Fno\eta H-reF$        $pe?F-TA-raH$  .  
PN-NOM                      PN-ACC                      hit-RLS-RA

Mong Nuk hit Maung Nong.

When the P immediately preceding its head verb is inanimate, it is normally marked with  $-\phi$ , and optionally with  $-reF$ . The factors determining the distribution of  $-reF$  is unclear here. The presence/absence of A must play a certain role. The structural/linear position and function of the clause containing the P within higher unit (sentence or discourse) are also taken as candidates for the factors. But some instances of  $-reF$  might be simply motivated by the speaker's intention to disambiguate P from others.

Note that the generalization above is still incomplete, apart from the uncertainty of factors determining optional  $-reF$  marking. To be complete, the factors governing the relative order among dependents of V must be clarified.

**Case-marking of A**  $-TayanF$  which marks A also might be counted as an optional case-marking.

- (2)  $mo\eta LnukH-TayanF$        $mau\eta Fno\eta H-reF$        $pe? F-TA-raH$  .  
PN-INS                      PN-ACC                      hit-RLS-RA

Maung Nong was hit by Mong Nuk. (not literal translation)

Native speakers say that the sentence (2) has 'passive-like' meaning which (1) never has. However, there is no change in grammatical relation between them. No additional morphology for valency changing occurs in the former, and the status of P remains unchanged.

Native speakers' intuition that (2) has 'passive-like' meaning seems to reect that a  $-TayanF$ -marked A does not serve as the topic, different from a  $-\phi$ -marked A.

$-TayanF$ -marked A usually cooccurs with a human or animate P. When it cooccurs with an inanimate P, another human or animate NP appears in the preceding clause(s) as topic, and its topicality is still maintained in the clause containing  $-TayanF$ -marked A.

## Morphological Ergativity: Evidence from Puma

Narayan SHARMA, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Puma is an endangered language spoken in the eastern part of Nepal belonging to the Kiranti family of Tibeto-Burman. It has a rich morphological case system. In terms of case marking, the puma language can be classified as morphologically ergative because the case on intransitive subjects is the same as that on transitive objects, but different from that on transitive subjects.

It is characteristic for Kiranti languages that transitive verbs can also inflect intransitively, when reference to an object is rather generic. The zero case is marked for A- argument in the 'anti-passive' which is marked by the prefix (*kha-*) and (*kha-*) appears only with the verbs entail a human P-argument and other verbs can be antipassivized without (*kha-*), entails that the undergoer is to be understood not as a countable individual but as a generic kind. The same prefix *kha-* has also made its way into the agreement paradigm, where it marks forms with a first person nonsingular patient (Bickel & Gaenszle 2005, Bickel et al. 2007).

Though dative subject construction is found in a wide variety of world's languages, it seems to be especially characteristic of South Asian languages (Kroeger 2004). It is also common in Puma. As in other South Asian languages, direct objects take dative case only if they are animate. Inanimate objects remain unmarked (i.e appear in the absolutive form) (Sharma 2005).

The other striking feature of Puma is upside-down split ergativity in which intransitive subjects are marked in the same way as transitive objects with the first person whereas transitive subjects are marked in the same way as intransitive subjects but differently in the transitive objects with the third person.

Bickel, Balthasar 2005b *Morphological quirks in Kiranti: new findings in Chintang and Puma*, DOBES workshop, Nijmegen, May 23 (with Goma BANJADE, Martin GAENZSLE, Elena LIEVEN, Netra PAUDYAL, Arjun RAI, Iccha RAI, Manoj RAI, Novel Kishor RAI, Vishnu S. RAI, Sabine STOLL and Narayan SHARMA)

Bickel, Balthasar and Martin Gaenzle, Arjun Rai, Shreekumar Rai, Vishnu S. Rai, and Narayan Sharma 2007. 'Two ways of suspending object agreement in Puma: between incorporation, antipassivization, and optional agreement in *Himalayan Linguistics* 7 (pp1-19).

Kroeger, Paul R. 2004 *Analysing Syntax: A Lexical-functional Approach*: Cambridge.

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## Case in Lemi

Helga SO-HARTMANN, Foundation of Applied Linguistics

Lemi is a Tibeto-Burman language and belongs to the Southern branch of the Kuki-Chin languages. It is spoken by approximately 20 000 people in the Paletwa township of the Southern Chin Hills of Myanmar. Lemi is closest related to Khumi Chin and to Mro (also called Mrokhimi).

Lemi is a SOV language and has a nominative-accusative case system. Unlike most Chin languages it does not have verb stem alternation and also no evidence for a verbal agreement system can be found.

The chart below gives a tentative overview over the Lemi case system.

Semantic Role	Grammatical Relations	Case Name	Mro Case Marker
agent	subject of a transitive or intransitive verb	nominative	= <i>ma</i> / $\emptyset$
experiencer	subject of a transitive or intransitive verb	nominative	$\emptyset$
patient	object of a transitive verb	accusative	= <i>bung</i> / $\emptyset$
theme	object of a transitive verb	accusative	= <i>bung</i> / $\emptyset$
stimulus	object of a transitive verb	accusative	= <i>bung</i> / $\emptyset$
recipient	indirect object	dative	= <i>tea</i>
beneficiary	indirect object	dative	= <i>tea</i>
comitative			= <i>hai</i>
instrumental	adjunct or obl <sub>inst</sub>	instrumental	= <i>hai</i>
location	adjunct or obl <sub>loc</sub>	locative	= <i>a</i>
possessor		genitive	= <i>üng</i>
addressee		vocative	= <i>ä</i>

It seems that the agent-marking = *ma* is only obligatory with agents of a speech act. Although = *ma* marks also other agents, it does not occur frequently and agents must have special prominence in a discourse to be marked by = *ma*.

In Lemi transitive clauses human objects are obligatorily marked with the accusative = *bung*. For animates object-marking is normally omitted. However, in animal fables the object participants are marked with = *bung* like human objects in other discourse genres. Otherwise object-marking for animates depends on prominence or topicality in the discourse. Inanimate objects are usually unmarked, though there are rare occurrences when inanimate objects can be marked by = *bung*.

## Restricted ergative marking in Nyagrong-Minyag (Xinlong, Sichuan)

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Nyagrong-Minyag (rGyalrongic of Qiangic; spoken in Xinlong County, Sichuan, China; ca. 1000 speakers) is a recently described variety of the languages so-called sTau, Geshitsa, Horpa, Ergong etc. The rGyalrongic languages has an ergative construction in general, i.e. an agent will be marked in some contexts, but the case of Nyagrong-Minyag is a little different.

Nyagrong-Minyag has a common case marker /<sup>h</sup>ce/ or /<sup>h</sup>ce wə/ (emphasised form) to the ergative and instrumental cases. “Ergative” and “instrumental” are named based on their semantic role, the former is a grammatical case, and the latter is local one. The emphasised form /<sup>h</sup>ce wə/ is mainly used in case of an ergative marker. No case markers exist for the absolutive case.

The ergative marker will be added to the agent as a suffix, but its use is grammatically restricted. The ergative marker will be added (1) only to the 3rd person, (2) in the case that the verb is transitive. It will not appear unless the sentence fulfills both of conditions. If the agent is 1st or 2nd person, or if the verb is intransitive, the agent/subject is unmarked and the addition of the ergative marker is grammatically unacceptable.

In addition, the ergative marking itself is highly optional and pragmatic. The grammatical necessity of it cannot be determined in most of examples. The cases that the marking of the agent with the ergative marker is highly expected are:

1. the patient is focused and precedes the agent in the sentence
2. the agent is a causer in a causative sentence
3. the relation between the agent and the patient is not evident
4. in the answer to the question on the agent

It is notable that the ergative marker is not used in order to emphasise the subject pragmatically, even when the subject is the 3rd person (= against the grammatical restriction).

Concerning the patient, it will be unmarked or marked with a dative case marker /<sup>b</sup>je/ or /<sup>b</sup>je wə/ (emphasised form), and the selection depends on the verbs. If the agent is 1st or 2nd person, the sentence will become [agent(absolutive) - patient(absolutive;dative) - verb], which seems an accusative construction.

In the circumstances above, the ergative case in Nyagrong-Minyag does not sufficiently function in the synchronic description, and its marker may be called “agentive” (focal usage for the agent) instead of “ergative” especially because of the grammatical restriction.

## Optional Case-marking in Darma (Tibeto-Burman)

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In this paper I will explore the limitations of methodology in obtaining a full understanding of morphological case marking in a field work situation. Specifically, I will argue as others have (cf Chelliah, 2001), that multiple methods of data collection are necessary in order to discover the distribution of case marking in a language and understand the pragmatic functions of speakers choices.

It is well established that some languages of South Asia exhibit morphological ergativity (Klaiman, 1987) and that in a subset of these languages we find a split system (cf Hindi). Some argue that ergative morphology should be taken into consideration for determining South Asia as a linguistic area (Masica, 1982). So it is not a surprise that we also find Tibeto-Burman languages that are described as having ergative marking for agent arguments of transitive verbs (Genetti, 1990, Willis, 2007). Here I will present data from a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Indian Himalayas that was initially described as having a split ergative system like that found in Hindi (Krishan, 2001). The data presented here (from Willis, 2007) show that Darma marks case optionally and suggests that the ergative/agentive marker has pragmatic discursive functions that are not yet fully understood.

Because Darma was described by Krishan (2001) as patterning like Hindi in that it has overt ergative marking on agents of transitive verbs in past constructions, I anticipated finding such a pattern. In fact, initial elicitation sessions supported this hypothesis; a typical minimal pair obtained via elicitation is shown in (1) below.

- (1) dʒi gɛ lubuŋ da-di  
1SG 2SG book give-1SG.PRS  
'I give you the book.'
- (2) dʒi su gɛ lubuŋ da-jo  
1SG ERG 2SG book give-1SG.PST  
'I gave you the book.'

After working with natural discourse, however, I quickly discovered that case marking did not follow the split-ergative pattern described. This discovery was confirmed during elicitation sessions where consultants were willing to include the ergative marker in present and past constructions as shown in examples (3)-(5) below.

- (3) ʔu çile tʃil-da  
3SG turban wrap-3SG.PRS  
'He is wrapping the turban.'
- (4) ʔu nimaŋ çile tʃil-dʒu  
3SG yesterday turban wrap-3SG.PRS  
'He wrapped the turban yesterday.'
- (5) ʔu su çile tʃile-da  
3SG ERG turban wrap-3SG.PRS  
'He is wrapping the turban.'

(This latter example was contextualized as being something that is reported.)

During these elicitation sessions, however, I was unable to ascertain how the presence or absence of an

ergative/agentive marker affected the interpretation. The issue of case marking in Darma appears to be more complicated still. Analysis of texts indicates that the agentive/ergative morpheme can be used in intransitive constructions with pragmatic connotations. For this paper I aim to incorporate my findings from an upcoming fieldwork trip in an effort to better understand the pattern and function of optional case marking in Darma.

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## Practical issues of pragmatic case marking variations in the Kenhat varieties of Ladakh

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The West Tibetan dialects fall into two dialect groups, the Kenhat dialects of Upper Ladakh (including Zanskar) and the Shamskat dialects of Lower Ladakh, Lower Nubra, Purik and Baltistan. Among other, more prominent differences, both groups behave differently with respect to case marking variation, both in the elicitation context and in free speech. The Kenhat dialects tend to be more sensitive to downgrading on the transitivity scale, e.g. in the case of reflexive or reciprocal actions, allowing thus more pragmatically conditioned variation between ergative and absolutive marking of agents. The ergative - absolutive alternation is thus, so to speak, inbuilt in the case marking system of the Kenhat dialects.

Case marking alternations are also observed in the Shamskat dialects of Lower Ladakh, but they are much more restricted, less easily to be elicited, and the consultants have much more difficulties to explain the nuances of meaning involved.

In both dialect groups, and in Tibetan in general, case marking reflects the transitivity scale. In a nutshell: the more transitive a verb is, the more likely the 'subject' is to receive an ergative marker and *vice versa*. Pragmatic alternations occur mainly in the middle field, and are less likely to occur on the highest or lowest level. Case marking does not serve to discriminate 'subject' and 'object' but to highlight particular event types.

The semantic marking, however, interacts with pragmatics, and there are several Tibetan varieties, among them also the Kenhat variety of Zanskar, that have reduced case marking to a minimum.

Depending on how severely case marking is reduced, there may be different solutions to the problems of elicitation and of creating an appropriate lexical entry. In this presentation, I will mainly focus on that type of varieties where case marking is (still) quite robust, and will exemplify this type with the Kenhat dialect of Gya-Miru.

I shall begin with an outline of the semantic base of case marking in Ladakhi before presenting the main factors for case alternations (*mirativity* and *distance*). In this connection, I shall mainly focus on the alternation between ergative and absolutive marking. I shall then discuss methodological issues concerning the process of gathering the relevant data (source of data, the (mental) 'questionary', elicitation process, what type of sentences not to ask, characteristics of an ideal and not-so-ideal consultant). Finally, I shall describe how I represent the relevant information in a lexical entry. For this purpose I shall briefly introduce into my xml-based *Valency Dictionary of Ladakhi Verbs* (work in slow progress).

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