ICSTLL48
The 48th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics

August 21-23, 2015
University of California, Santa Barbara
**Workshop Speakers**

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Pre-Meeting Workshop:
Linguistic Documentation and Sustainability
in Tibetan Minority Communities

August 20, 2015

Organizers
Mary S. Linn (Smithsonian Institution)
Robert Leopold (Smithsonian Institution)
Zoe Tribur (University of Oregon)

This workshop will bring together specialists on the languages of Tibet to discuss a new project currently being initiated by the Smithsonian Institution with The Bridge Fund that will strengthen minority Tibetan communities by reinforcing traditional cultural practices, including language, visual and performing arts, and artisan enterprises. The overall goal of this workshop is to bring language practitioners together, to introduce the project, then to structure the day as a series of conversations around specific issues that affect all linguistic field workers in the Tibetan areas, such as orthographic practices for Tibetan vernaculars, areas (geographic, language, content or genres) of immediate need for documentation, and culturally-appropriate models of community-linguist relationships.

Topic: Literary, Orthographic practices and Language Attitudes
Nathan Hill (SOAS)
Tibetan Literacy, Orthographic practices, and language attitudes: reflections on priorities in research and documentation. This informal talk will discuss the diversity of languages spoken on the Tibetan plateau and adjoining areas, with some remarks on domains of use, education policy, literacy, orthography and online literature. I will in particular focus on the difference in the sociolinguistic situation among Tibetan speakers in the PRC and other couountries such as Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh, and Nepal.

Duojie Dongzhi (Northwest University for Nationalities)
Attitudes about Language Purity in Tibetan

Topic: Culturally Appropriate Models of Researcher-Community Interaction
G.Yu Lha (University of Oregon)
Dual Perspectives on Khroskyabs Language Documentation. This talk will be about local people's language attitude of Khroskyabs and further share my experience from both a community member as well as a researcher's perspective about language documentation.
Zoe Tribur (University of Oregon)
*Something for everyone: the quest to make research relevant for communities.* After introducing my experiences with Ledu, Mgolog and Lhamocun, I will elicit discussion on community-researcher interactions and collaborations in Tibetan communities.

**Topic: Underdescribed Languages and Genres**
Nate Sims (University of California, Santa Barbara)
*The Ethnic Tibetans of Heishui County in Sichuan China*
This talk will give an introduction to the recent history of Heishui County along with the political and ethnolinguistic situation of Heishui Tibetans. I will discuss certain challenges and issues that Heishui Tibetans face with regard to ethnolinguistic identity, language maintenance, and literacy development. I also hope to open up for discussion how outside researchers are to engage with the community in grappling with these difficult issues.
Pre-Meeting Workshop:

How Grammars Encode Space in Tibeto-Burman

August 20, 2015

Organizers

Carol Genetti (University of California, Santa Barbara)
Kristine Hildebrandt (Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville)

This workshop will bring together scholars of Tibeto-Burman languages to explore the various ways in which TB grammatical systems incorporate notions of space. Seven linguists will present in-depth information on the encoding of spatial information in a particular Tibeto-Burman language for discussion by the broader group. These presentations will be followed by a summation and general discussion. Results of the workshop will be presented in a session of the ICSTLL.

Kiranti Space

Balthasar Bickel (University of Zurich)

Kiranti languages harbor some of the most complex systems of spatial deixis. The complexity is based on two dimensions: First, the central distinctions denote highly abstract quadrants in a model of space (UP, DOWN, and two ACROSS quadrants) and these quadrants are systematically polysemous (and not just vague) between various ways of mapping the model to concrete spatial situations (each associated with particular syntactic constraints). Second, the central spatial distinctions permeate a substantial variety of categories, including even case markers. In this paper I review these dimensions of complexity in Belhare (based on earlier work) and compare the findings with what has more recently been reported on closely related languages. The comparison suggests that most of aspects of the Belhare system are likely to reconstruct in at least Eastern Kiranti.

Spatial Relations in Manange (Tamangic) (With Comparative Reference to Nar-Phu & Chantyal)

Kristine Hildebrandt (Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville)

I provide an account of the forms and semantic dimensions of spatial relations in Manange (Tibeto-Burman, Tamangic; Nepal), with some comparison to sister languages Nar-Phu and Chantyal. Topological relations (“IN/ON/AT/NEAR”) in these languages are encoded by locative enclitics and also by a set of noun-like objects termed by Hildebrandt (2004) for Manange as “locational roots.” In Manange, the general locative enclitic =ri is by far more
frequently encountered for a wide range of topological relations, both in elicitation and in
discourse, while in Nar-Phu, the opposite pattern is observed, ie. more frequent use of locational
roots. While the linguistic frame of reference system encoded in these forms is primarily relative
-ie. oriented on the speaker’s own viewing perspective), a more extrinsic/absolute system
emerges with certain verbs of motion in these languages, with verbs like “come,” “go,” and
certain verbs of placement or posture orienting to arbitrary fixed bearings such as slope. This talk
also provides some examples of cultural or metaphorical extensions of spatial forms as they are
encountered in connected speech, primarily narratives collected, transcribed and archived with
the University of Virginia’s SHANTI archival initiative (e.g. https://audio-
video.shanti.virginia.edu/collection/manange# and https://audio-
video.shanti.virginia.edu/collection/nar-phu#).

Spatial Topology in Dzongkha
Stephen Watters (Rice University)

This paper extends the cross-linguistic study of topological relations (Bowerman and Choi 2001,
Kemmerer 2006) to include Dzongkha, a Tibeto-Burman language whose spatial system has not
been described. The findings of this study corroborate that many of the topological categories
found in cross-linguistic studies are relevant for distinguishing between spatial terms in
Dzongkha. In this study, I will demonstrate that Dzongkha has four locative suffixes which can
be distinguished from one another on the basis of contact, containment, support, and adjacency.
In addition to this, I include a discussion of so-called relator nouns (Starosta 1985, D. Watters
2002). These are nouns that denote intrinsic and relative space in the Figure / Ground / Observer
relationship, and that further fractionate the spatial topology indicated by the locative suffixes
with which they combine. The findings of this study reveal two things that are of interest
typologically. The first is that the animacy of an object affects spatial construal: there is a strong
tendency to locate animate referents with a posture verb such as ‘sit’ or ‘stand’, and inanimate
objects in the equivalent topological relation with predicate locative or existential clauses. The
second is that postpositional constructions in Dzongkha which involve events along a dynamic
path of motion are encoded in the same way as static spatial situations that involve an absence of
support. Both of these findings indicate a dynamic eventive construal of what is otherwise a
static topological relation. Finally, I will also explore the ways in which relator nouns and
locative suffixes in Dzongkha take on extensions of temporal meaning, particularly adverbial
clauses of time.

References
Bowerman, Melissa & Soonja Choi. 2001. Shaping meanings for language: universal and language specific in the
acquisition of spatial semantic categories. In Melissa Bowerman and Stephen C. Levinson, eds. Language
acquisition and conceptual development. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kemmerer, David. 2006. The semantics of space: Integrating linguistic typology and cognitive neuroscience.
Neuropsychologia 44:1607-1621.
Schematizing Figure and Ground in Lamkang: Directional Pre-verbs, postpositions, and semantic role markers
Shobhana Chelliah (University of North Texas)

Lamkang (Tibeto-Burman, Chandel district, Manipur state, India) uses three methods to represent the relationship between Figure and Ground. First, preverbal directionals frame the movement of a Figure with respect to a definite referent which is often left unsated in the clause (e.g., ‘climb down’). Second, the location a referent with respect Ground is indicated by a postposition and/or a semantic role marker (e.g., ‘in the trap’). All three methods of schematizing Figure and Ground relations, preverbal directionals, postpositions, and semantic role markers, also function to indicate the position of a referent with respect to time (e.g., ‘from the beginning’,) and time and space abstractly (e.g., ‘in the story’). In this presentation, I will share data from Lamkang to show how a small closed-class of grammatical elements are utilized to represent a rich array of spatial and temporal dispositions.

Space in Lisu
David Bradley (La Trobe University)

Directions and space are found in all areas of Lisu structure. In the noun phrase, the deictic system is complex, with a proximal, medial, distal and far distal distinction and a height distinction for all distals and far distals, fused locative forms incorporating the locative postposition /kwa44/and substantial dialect differences. For example, in Central Lisu:

/ṭbɔ33/ ‘this (by speaker)’ /ṭbɑ33/ ‘here (by speaker)’
/ɑ55 ṭbɔ33/ ‘that (by hearer)’ /ɑ55 ṭɑ33/ ‘there (by hearer)’
/ɡɔ33/ ‘that (same level)’ /ɡwɑ33/ ‘there (same level)’
/ŋɔ33/ ‘that (higher)’ /nwa33/ ‘there (higher)’
/ dzɔ33/ ‘that (lower)’ /dzwɑ33/ ‘there (lower)’
/ko33/ ‘that (far)’ /kwɑ55/ ‘there (far)’
/ŋo55/ ‘that (far, higher)’ /nwa55/ ‘there (far, higher)’
/ tɛɔ55/ ‘that (far, lower)’ /tʃwɑ55/ ‘there (far, lower)’

Many verbs encode direction of motion. The vertical motion verbs /dɛ44/ ‘move up’ and /jæʔ21/ ‘move down’ and the centred motion verbs /dze33/ ‘go’ and /lɑ33/ ‘come’ can combine, but only with the vertical motion verb first and the centred motion verb second, as in /dɛ44 dze33/ ‘go up’
or /jæʔ21 ɿ44/ ‘come down’. There is a frequent set of postverbal directional motion serial verbs, /je44/ ‘away’ and /lɑ33/ ‘toward’; the latter is homophous with the verb ‘come’, the former is probably ultimately derived from the same etymon as the verb ‘go’. These do not co-occur with the corresponding centred motion verbs, because they encode the same semantic distinction.

There are bound nominal suffixes of relative location, among many others /tʰæʔ21 ɿ44/ ‘on top of’, /næ55/ ‘under’ and so on, and adverbs for vertical direction of motion, /tæ35 ɿ21/ ‘upwards’, /ti55 ɿ21/ ‘downwards’ and so on. There is also a fairly productive nominal suffix /po55/ ‘direction’, which occurs on some bound location nouns such as /ɡɑʔ21 po55/ ‘on the uphill side’ and /woʔ21 po55/ ‘on the downhill side’. Some of these compounds lexicalise, for example /ŋɑ33 thu33 po55/, literally ‘be here side’ but meaning ‘everywhere’; /woʔ21 po55/ also means ‘in the shade’.

Some of these spatial forms are related across form classes, for example the verb /dæ44/ ‘move up’ is a cognate of a very widespread TB etymon *l-dak with this meaning, and possibly related forms also occur in the nominal suffix /tʰæʔ21 ɿ44/ ‘on top of’, the adverbial /tæ35 ɿ21/ ‘upward’, and the nominal object postposition /tæ55/.

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*The expression of spatial concepts in Lahu*

James A. Matisoff (University of California, Berkeley)

Spatial concepts are expressed in a variety of ways in Lahu, a Loloish language which seems to be quite typical of Tibeto-Burman as a whole in this respect. These grammatical devices include:

1. A small closed class of “spatial demonstratives” (‘up there’, ‘down there’, ‘way over there’ etc.) which situate the action along the axes of higher vs. lower or nearer vs. farther.
2. A large class of “spatial nouns” that express particular relationships in space, like ‘behind’, ‘next to’, ‘around’, etc.
3. A set of post-head auxiliary verbs that specify the direction of the verbal event (e.g. ‘V into’, ‘V out of’, ‘V away from’, ‘V upwards’).
4. A couple of general locative particles that are neutral as to direction or movement.

Of particular interest is the lack of a simple unified way of expressing the English concept FROM, in sentences like “He fell from a horse” or “He travelled from Bangkok to Chiang Mai” or “Is your house far from the river” – a nice example of the incommensurability of cross-language grammatical/semantic categories.
How Grammar Encodes Space in Rgyalrong
You-Jing Lin (Beijing University)

This paper describes and analyzes the linguistic properties of spatial description in Rgyalrong (based on its Cogtse/Zhuokeji dialect), a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by Tibetans in southwest China. Rgyalrong has long been noted for its extensive grammatical encoding of three orientation subsystems--- solar/compass (‘east’-‘west’), vertical/gravitational (‘up’-‘down’), and riverine (‘upstream’-‘downstream’--- in the forms of nominals, pronominals, adverbs, verbs, and verbal prefixes. The present study will show how these orientationally-encoded forms work with complex NPs (basically a possessive prefix plus a body part word), case markers (locative and ablative/allative) as well as verbs to describe topological relations and motion events in Rgyalrong. Related data do not only illustrate the division of labor and interactions among the four groups of elements mentioned above, they also show that Rgyalrong lexicalizes all the three frames of references: absolute, relative, and intrinsic. The spatial language has an important role to play in the key conceptualizations of Rgyalrong culture. This is on the one hand vindicated by the selection of an orientation prefix for each verb as its perfectivizer and imperative prefix. The selection by and large requires that the prefix and the verb have matching orientation semantics, which can be extended metaphorically and/or culturally determined. The second piece of evidence concerns the arrangement of interior spaces of a Tibetan house. Four out of the six orientations (i.e. ‘east-west’ and ‘upstream-downstream’) are used to signify the spatial trajectories to the differently valued zones in the main living area.

Summation
Carol Genetti (University of California, Santa Barbara)
Retention and Divergence in Tibeto-Burman Verb Argument Systems

Somewhere between a third and half of the low-level clades in the Trans-Himalayan family (at least 16 of van Driem’s 41 “fallen leaves”) are composed of or include languages which index one or more clausal arguments in the verb. Almost all of these agreement paradigms can be shown to have descended, with more or less modification, from an ancestral paradigm which can be reconstructed for Proto-Trans-Himalayan. The cognacy of the most complete paradigms – those of Qiangic, rGyalrongic, Nungic, Kiranti, Magaric, and West Himalayan – is no longer in dispute, although controversy remains about others, especially those discussed here as constituting a Central branch. Also controversial is the question of the implications of these facts for the subclassification of the family.

Research on agreement as a family feature has been primarily inductive, factoring out irregular and non-corresponding features in order to reconstruct an original system based on corresponding forms and paradigmatic and syntagmatic alignments. This talk will proceed in the other direction, assuming the reconstruction and showing how the diversity which we see in the attested languages can be accounted for in terms of the reconstructed system.

I will first describe some of the typological variation which we see across the family: hierarchical vs. subject agreement, associated hierarchical phenomena such as inverse marking and irregular marking of transitive 1→2 and 2→1 scenarios, and indexation of only one argument vs. biactancial indexation. I will then present brief summaries of most of the clades which preserve elements of the original PTH paradigm, noting innovations and retentions in the various synchronic verb agreement systems and outline how the attested paradigms developed.

Finally we will consider the implications of these morphological comparisons for subgrouping within the family. We will see that there is thin but solid evidence for a Central branch including at least Jinghpaw, Northern Naga, Kuki-Chin and Meyor-Zakhring, and marginal and equivocal evidence for a Himalayan branch including Kiranti, Newaric, and Central Himalayan. Beyond this agreement morphology, or at least the data available, do not furnish evidence for any higher-order groupings than have already been recognized on other grounds.
Balthasar BICKEL
University of Zurich

August 22, 2015

Kiranti in Global Perspective

The languages of the Kiranti group, especially those of the Eastern branch of the group, are structurally very different from what is typical of the rest of Sino-Tibetan: for example, Kiranti languages are heavily polysynthetic, have rigidly syntactified ergativity and transitivity, show complex systems of possessive classification, and lack tone (or have at best very limited contrasts). What causes this difference? Based on earlier work (Bickel and Nichols 2005 in WALS), I propose that the typological profile of Kiranti languages is due to their relative isolation from the major population and language spreads that have characterized the history of Eurasia over at least the past 14ky (a time frame evidenced by population genetics, e.g. Rootsi et al. 2007 in Eur. J. Hum. Gen.). Together with a few other, similarly isolated groups in the Himalayas, the Caucasus, on the Andaman Islands and on the north Pacific coast, Kiranti languages have preserved characteristics that were swept away in Eurasia by these large spreads and now survive elsewhere only in the continents that were settled from Eurasia earlier, i.e. Oceania/New Guinea, Australia, and the Americas. In this presentation, I provide new quantitative evidence in support of this theory, based on large-scale global databases, and I discuss qualitatively the most striking ways in which Kiranti languages differ not only from the rest of Eurasia but also from the rest of Sino-Tibetan.
AKTER

Pangkhua Verb Agreement

Zahid Akter, University of Oregon

In this paper, I present an analysis of the verb agreement system of Pangkhua, a hitherto undocumented Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Bangladesh. I show that Pangkhua attests to an elaborate affixal agreement pattern that indexes all three persons as subjects (e.g. 1SG-Σ-2SG, 2SG-hawng-Σ, 3SG-hawng-Σ). On the other hand, where the coding of object is concerned, the language indexes only the 2nd person. Interestingly, however, this is always done post-verbally (e.g. 1SG-Σ–2SG, 3SG-Σ-2SG). In addition, Pangkhua codes plural object with an ‘-ei’ morpheme which is also coded post-verbally (e.g. 3PL-hawng-Σ-ei). Perhaps what is most intriguing about Pangkhua verb agreement pattern is its obligatory use of the cislocative marker ‘-hawng-’ that occurs between the person marker and the verb (e.g. 2SG-hawng-Σ) indicating where the A-argument’s action is being directed. In such cases, it is always the 1st person that is acted upon.

ALVES

Grammatical Sino-Tai Vocabulary and Implications for Ancient Sino-Tai Contact

Mark Alves, Montgomery College

This presentation will review previously noted grammatical Sino-Tai vocabulary (e.g., Manomaivibool 1975, Li 1976, Luo 1995 and 1996, Pittayaporn 2009, etc.), propose several additional items, briefly summarize comparative methods of inclusion/exclusion of posited forms (e.g., phonology, ancient Chinese texts, etc.), and consider the implications of this vocabulary for ancient Sino-Tai linguistic contact. Most of the words considered are reconstructable to Proto-Tai, while the others lacking reconstructions are still widespread enough in comparative Tai wordlists (e.g., Gedney 2009) to be considered ancient.

Sino-Tai vocabulary shared with early Chinese and southern varieties of Chinese in particular includes several grammatical categories, such as numbers, negation, comparatives, locatives, aspectuals, classifiers, a causative, conjunctions, among others. However, despite the long-term Sino-Tai contact resulting in the sizeable number of shared function words, this number is still smaller than grammatical words shared by varieties of Chinese. And despite morpho-phonological similarities between Sinitic and Tai, due to regional typological convergence (as with Vietic and Hmong-Mien), Tai syntactic typography is still distinct in ways from Sinitic broadly (e.g., post-nominal elements and post-verbal complements) while sharing more features with neighboring Yue Chinese (cf., Matthews 2006).

Thus, this situation appears to be the result of borrowing via long-term Sino-Tai language contact rather than shared linguistic affiliation (cf. Delancey 2013). It also further highlights the early multilingual situation of southern China to the pre-Qin era.
References

BENNER
Notes on Lower Khengkha
Daniela Benner, Rice University

Khengkha is an underdocumented Tibeto-Burman language spoken primarily in Zhemgang District, Bhutan. Within Khengkha, there are three major varieties (Rinzen & Pelden 1999). This paper will present preliminary findings on one of these: Lower Khengkha.

In total, there are an estimated 50,000 Khengkha speakers (Lewis et al. 2015), but the number of speakers by variety is unknown. Based on preliminary studies conducted in the Middle Kheng (MK) and Lower Kheng (LK) regions, there are numerous lexical, phonological and grammatical differences among the varieties. Not trivially, the sociolinguistic context (Childs et al. 2014) for each variety also varies dramatically: the three zones differ in terms of their relative accessibility (Dzongkhag Administration 2010), degree of integration in national economy (Dzongkhag Administration 2010), and incidence of multilingualism and language contact.

Based on wordlist and textual data collected over three weeks from various LK villages in March 2015, this paper will begin to explore two closely intertwined questions:

1. How does the grammar of Lower Khengkha differ from that of other varieties?
2. How do the unique characteristics of the LK speech community bear on the linguistic features and patterns of usage employed by speakers in LK villages?

This paper will include an overview of the grammar of Lower Khengkha based on data gathered during the pilot study, with an emphasis on the sound system and lexicon. It will also include a preliminary account of the sociolinguistic context (e.g. degree of multilingualism and language attitudes towards LK), with the aim of making connections between the linguistic ecology of LK and patterns of variation.

References
In some dependent-marking languages of the Tibeto-Burman area, Differential Argument Marking (DAM) (Bossong 1985, Aissen 2003, de Hoop & de Swart 2008, Malchukov 2008) is manifested through the presence of case morphology conditioned by information structure (see Chelliah and Hyslop 2011). Our corpus-based work on three Tamangic languages of Manang District, Nepal demonstrates that in spontaneous discourse, various grammatical correlates of topichood constitute key factors in determining the presence of ergative (rather than absolutive) subjects in transitive clauses. While the relationship between information structure and DAM is well known (e.g. Nikolaeva 2001, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011), determining which factors are the best predictors of particular case-forms within a statistical model of a conditional system remains open to debate. Little work has been attempted so far to take a statistical approach to this problem using corpus-based methods in under-described languages (although see Morey 2011).

Using spontaneous speech data from Manange, Manang Gurung and Nar-Phu, we examine ways in which variables pertinent to the analysis of information structure can be encoded in a database on DAM, in order to yield quantitative data with which to conduct statistical analyses. Our discussion focuses on the methods that can be used and the limitations on their successful application to small data sets. Specifically, we present three major problems with using loglinear/logistic regression models. First we outline the challenges raised by the frequency assumptions that must be met in order to conduct a regression on categorical data. Next we critique how reliable any significant result based on discourse data can be when different investigators may make radically different decisions about units of analysis. Finally, we address the issue of variance across discourse genres. These factors point to the conclusion that reliable statistical analyses of conditional case-marking in small corpora are achievable, but rely on the resolution of two different major issues: (i) the selection and encoding of relevant unequivocal discreet variables; and (ii) the construction of a corpus that is created with the limitations and assumption of the relevant statistical model in mind.
The sequence of tonal development in Tibetan
Nancy Caplow, Oklahoma State University

In this talk I propose that the initial stage of tonogenesis in Tibetan was the development of pitch contours concomitant with syllable coalescence. The development of tone register and tone contour associated with initial and final consonants occurred later.

Based on their phonology, the Tibetan dialects (or “Tibetic languages”; Tournadre 2008) have traditionally been divided into two broad categories. The “Archaic” varieties (e.g., Balti, Amdo) are non-tonal but rich in consonant clusters, while the “Innovative” varieties (e.g., Lhasa, Dzongkha, Tokpe Gola) make contrastive use of tone but have simplified onsets and codas.

By comparing the modern spoken dialects to each other, and to Written Tibetan, scholars have reconstructed Proto-Tibetan as non-tonal. Tonogenesis in the Innovative dialects has been accounted for by three processes:

(a) the intrinsic physiological effects of onset and coda consonants on pitch register and pitch contour (Matisoff 1973; Mazaudon 1977; Hombert et al. 1979);
(b) the introduction of pitch contours to serve as a trace of the coalescence of two syllables into one (Mazaudon and Michailovsky 1988; DeLancey 1989); and
(c) for disyllabic words, the transphonologization of a prosodic template, by which acoustic correlates of stress in Proto-Tibetan were re-analyzed as a pitch pattern in the tonal dialects (Caplow 2009).

The first of these – the association between consonant types and tone – has been abundantly described in the literature for various dialects. In contrast, the development of contour tones associated with syllable coalescence has received relatively little attention; ironically, evidence suggests that this may be where the contrastive use of pitch originated.

For Balti, which is otherwise a non-tonal variety, Huang (1994) describes a limited number of monosyllabic words with a contrastive rising pitch contour; she suggests that this represents a state of incipient tone in Tibetan. I demonstrate here that these contour tones developed from coalesced syllables. Furthermore, I suggest that this “incipient tone” is not a recent or on-going development, but represents fossilization of a process which had already begun before the general split between the Archaic and Innovative dialects – that is, before the development of tone associated with onset and coda consonants. I support this hypothesis with additional data from Balti, from other Archaic dialects, from Innovative dialects, and from Classical Tibetan.

References

CHELLIAH

*Building rhetorical structure in a Meitei narrative through animating and reporting*
Shobhana L. Chelliah, University of North Texas

As with most traditional Meitei fireside tales, Hanuba Hanubi Pan Thaba Wari (The story of the planting of Pan by Old Man and Old Woman) (HHPT) contains multiple episodes with main and sideline plots. Clause chaining, prosodic structuring, and lexical repetition create strong cohesive bonding between these episodes. However it is the interleaving of narrative reports and narrator voicings in conversations that reinforce syntactic and prosodic boundaries and provide the final cohesive texture to the narrative event. Using the rhetorical structure analysis developed by Woodbury (1987), I demonstrate how one Meitei folktale, HHPT, is constructed through the interaction of intonation, pause, syntax and lexical repetition and how a narrator’s representation of voice using highly expressive language also form a structuring component in rhetorical structure. Expressive language and its cohesive function seen in this narrative does not often surface in daily conversation and is rarely seen in data garnered through introspection, elicitation, or experimentation. Documenting verbal art forms provides a necessary complement to grammatically focused documentation to create the holistic record of a language.

Reference

CHEN, I.

*NPI Distribution Constrained by Information Structures in Mandarin Chinese*
I-Hsuan Chen, University of California, Berkeley

This study conducts a corpus analysis on how the distribution of minimizer Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) is constrained by information structures. Mandarin minimizers come mainly from ‘one’-phrases, such as *yí gè rén* ‘one person’ and *yí lì mǐ* ‘one grain of rice’, which induce scalar inferences for pragmatic emphasis (Israel 2011). Mandarin ‘one’-phrases are polysemous, but they are unambiguously interpreted as NPIs in negation and focus constructions. Based on the corpus data from *Chinese Gigaword*, Mandarin minimizers tend to appear in OV as in (1) than VO word order as in (2). The skewed distribution shows that focal prominence is a determinant factor for how minimizers distribute.
Pour the m out! Don’t keep even a single bottle.

‘ hasn’t shed a drop of tear’

Although OV is more compatible with emphatic NPIs, the tendency of minimizers occurring in OV order is not observed in all types of negation. In negative existential constructions, the majority of minimizers appear in VO, as in (3).

‘There will not be a country that can protect its environment.’

The NP immediately following the existential predicate is the element whose existence is asserted (Huang 1987). This NP position receives sufficient focal prominence to support the scalar reasoning of minimizers. The information structures of existential constructions explain why minimizers under existential negation are found more frequently in VO than in OV order. The foregrounding and backgrounding in the existential constructions are also reflected in their compatibility with modifying constructions, such as predicative phrases and relative clauses. Predicative phrases are statistically preferred in existential constructions as in (3) because the minimizer is foregrounded phonologically and semantically by being closer to the existential predicate. In sum, the distribution of minimizers reflects how information structures are encoded in Mandarin word order.

CHEN, Y.
Lenition of Shi in Taiwan Mandarin
Yi-Jen Chen, National Chengchi University

In fast speech, lenition processes occur for ease of articulation. Certain words are subject to more serious forms of lenition such as deletion, while others undergo the less serious ones such as the change of phonetic features. This paper focused on the segmental changes after the contraction of the Chinese function word shi “to be.” Given its special status as a high-frequency function word and the fact that its syllable structure and tone are prone to lenition, shi seldom remains intact in natural conversations, except when emphasized. Nonetheless, shi can be reduced to the degree that only its tone remains recognizable, as in (1a) and (1b). With its segments dropped, the syllable shi retains its position by its suprasegmental features (i.e. tone). According to Goldsmith’s Autosegmental Model, the tone features preserve an empty vowel slot for the syllable. In (1a), the empty vowel slot is filled by the lengthened velar nasal if hao.
xiang “seem” is foregrounded. If it is zhe yang “this” that is being foregrounded, as in (1b), the syllable will assimilate to the following alveolar segment, surfacing as [ŋ53].

(1a) hao xiang shi [ŋ53] zhe yang. [hao21 can53 ŋ53 tsi51 jian51] “seem to be this”:

Tonal tier  53 53 53 53 53 53
Skeletal tier ...# C V C # C V #... 
Segmental tier  e a ŋ ŋ tɕ a ŋ ŋ

(1b) hao xiang shi [n53] zhe yang. [hao21 can53 n53 tsi51 jian51] “seem to be this”:

Tonal tier  53 53 53 53
Skeletal tier ...# C V C # V #... → ...
Segmental tier  e a ŋ ŋ

Thus, the information structures of the sentences in which shi lies were also taken into consideration as a factor influencing the relevant phonetic variants. In this paper, I will also discuss restrictions to the possible variants to make them still identifiable as /ʂɿ51/ for the hearer.

CHHANGTE
Location in time and space: Examples from Mizo
Lalnunthangi Chhangte

Mizo is a Tibeto-Burman language belonging to the Mizo-Kuki-Chin branch spoken mainly in the state of Mizoram, India. This paper is a brief description of how location in time and space are encoded in the grammar of Mizo.

The locative case -aʔ follows nominals and adverbs of time as in:

(1) in-aʔ  ‘in the house’
    house-LOC
(2) tun-aʔ  ‘now’
    now-LOC

Mizo also has six pairs of determiners:
In addition, Mizo indicates trajectory with preverbal directionals:

(4) low           ‘toward speaker, hither’
    ron           ‘toward speaker, hither’
    va            ‘away from speaker, forth’
    han           ‘upward’
    zuk           ‘downward’

The following sentence illustrates the above examples:

(5) khu in-a?     khu-an zuk kal ro?
     DET   house-LOC DET-OBL DIR go IMP
     ‘Go down to that house (down there)ǃ’

This paper examines how the above systems are utilized in discourse. For example, in the first mention of a participant, the proximal determiners *hey hi* are used. In the rest of the story either *cu cu* or *kha kha* are used, with *cu cu* referring to things closer to the present and *kha kha* referring to the past. For example:

(6) ka pu cu/kha
    my uncle DET
    ‘my uncle (still living/deceased)’

The functions of the directionals in discourse is also varied. The difference in meaning between the two venitive directionals low and ron is as shown:

(7) co low/ron ey ro?
    food VEN eat IMP
    ‘Come over for dinner (I won’t/will be there).’

The other directionals can also be interpreted thus:

(8) ka han en cuan
    1SG DIR look when
    ‘When I looked (to my surprise I saw)’
Thus, in Mizo, the determiners that specify location and the preverbal directional take on different functions and can alter the meanings of sentences in discourse.

CHOR

Expressing epistemic and evidential meanings in Cantonese: Subjectification of the perception verb tai\(^2\) ‘see’ and related constructions

Winnie Chor, Open University of Hong Kong

Perception verbs (i.e. verbs denoting sight, sound, touch, smell, and taste), among others, seem to be a key means to express subjective and evidential meanings cross-linguistically. In fact, a major lexical source of the grammaticalization of evidentials is verbs of visual perception, as motivated by the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor (Matlock 1989: 219). Extending from the perception domain to other pragmatic domains, verbs of perception are often used to express the speaker’s epistemic stance (e.g. mood, engagement, attitude and evaluations).

Being the prestige variety of the Yue dialect of Chinese, Cantonese is well-known of its extremely rich inventory of grammatical particles to express the subtle nuances of speaker’s meaning. This paper explores how the Cantonese perception verb tai\(^2\) ‘see’ can be used subjectively and evidentially to indicate the different shades of the speaker’s epistemic stance. In particular, we focus on how tai\(^2\) is used with the post-verbal directional particles lok\(^6\) ‘descend’, lai\(^4\) ‘come’, and gwo\(^3\) ‘over’ to externalize the speaker’s attitude and subjective mood.

It is found that the particles lok\(^6\) ‘descend’, lai\(^4\) ‘come’, and gwo\(^3\) ‘over’ when co-occur with tai\(^2\) show different degrees of subjectivity. While tai\(^2\)-gwo\(^3\) denotes a more direct visual perception which means ‘Let me have a look’, tai\(^2\)-lok\(^6\) expresses the speaker’s evaluation based on what he sees and tai\(^2\)-lai\(^4\) indicates a subjective judgment based on the speaker’s inference. For instance, by saying Tai\(^2\)lai\(^4\), keoi\(^5\) me\(^i\) jat\(^1\) go\(^2\) waai\(^6\) jan\(^4\) ‘Judging from my intuition/inference, he doesn’t seem to be a bad guy’, the speaker does not even need to have seen or met the guy (i.e. the guy might not be externally perceivable). When combined with different particles, tai\(^2\) does not only denote an act of perception, but also indicates a varying degree of the speaker’s assessment or value judgment of the proposition, from relying more on external evidence to internal inference/evaluation. It is hoped that our analysis will have implications for cross-linguistic studies on evidentiality, subjectivity, as well as perception verbs.

References
Discourse marking strategies in Tiwa
Virginia Dawson, University of California, Berkeley

Tiwa (ISO: lax), a Bodo-Garo language spoken in Assam, Northeast India, has multiple morphosyntactic strategies for differentiating the information structural status of referents. These strategies include word order, dedicated morphology, variable subject agreement, omission of arguments, and syntactic incorporation of objects. For example, to express the truth conditional content of ‘I drank tea’, the sentences in (1-10), among others, are all attested.

1SG tea-ACC drink-PFV 1SG-TOP tea-ACC-TOP drink-PFV
(2) Sa-go ang núng-ga. (7) Ang sa-go-ga núng-ga.
tea-ACC 1SG drink-PFV 1SG tea-ACC-FOC drink-PFV
tea-ACC drink-PFV 1SG 1SG-FOC tea-ACC drink-PFV
(4) Ang núng-ga sa-go. (9) Sa-go núng-ga-ng.
1SG drink-PFV tea-ACC tea-ACC drink-PFV-1SG
1SG-TOP tea-ACC drink-PFV 1SG tea drink-PFV

The sentence in (1) shows the basic SOV word order, with (2)-(4) showing the variations of OSV, OVS, and SVO. (5)-(8) show examples of two of the most common pragmatic suffixes, here glossed topic and focus, which can occur on any argument or adjunct, the examples here representing only a small subset of the possibilities. (9) shows an example of the non-obligatory 1SG agreement suffix, and (10) shows syntactic incorporation of the object, which can be diagnosed through the absence of the accusative case marker. In addition, any argument can be omitted, if recoverable from context. These data show that general notions of topic and focus are not in themselves adequate to account for the full range of the strategies available. For instance, while sentence initial position and the suffix -do roughly correspond to topic or old-information, they do not always co-occur (as in (6)). While post-verbal position and the suffix -ga express meanings comparable to focus, they co-occur even less consistently.

In this paper, using text and elicitation data collected during fieldwork in 2012 and 2015, I will examine the distribution and interaction of the pragmatic morphology and variable word orders. I will demonstrate that the notions of topic and focus alone are not adequate to account for the full range of textual data. Instead, I will present an analysis which treats word order and morphology as separate but overlapping in function, and as part of a wider system of discourse marking strategies in the language which rather than referencing topic and focus, instead draw on more basic notions of recoverability, contrast and at-issueness.
DONLAY

sei⁴⁴ what? Topicalization as a complementation strategy in Khatso

Chris Donlay, San Jose State University

While every language has verbs that may take propositions as arguments – such as ‘to see’, ‘to forget’ and ‘to urge’, among many others – not all languages have tightly integrated complement constructions. Instead, they may use other types of clause-combining strategies with varying degrees of integration, such as juxtaposition, verb serialization or nominalization (Dixon 2006:33-40). Topicalization may also be employed, a strategy not discussed in the typological literature. This is the primary way of linking complement-taking verbs with their complements in Khatso, an endangered language spoken in Yunnan, China belonging to the Yi branch of the Tibeto-Burman family.

Khatso has two topic markers, n³¹ and sei⁴⁴. The former is the more prototypical topic marker; the latter has both a temporal and topical function and is the only one involved in complementation. sei⁴⁴ typically follows the putative complement clause, making it the topic about which the second clause, containing the complement-taking verb, provides information. Unexpectedly, however, in certain cases sei⁴⁴ may also attach to the clause containing the complement-taking verb. In addition, although the sei⁴⁴ clause generally precedes the matrix clause, it may also follow, which is true of all topic phrases in the language. But at times the sei⁴⁴ clause may also be center-embedded in the matrix clause, which is not possible for any other type of temporal or topic phrase, suggesting that it is evolving beyond a topic marker and towards a complementizer.

Reference

DUOJIE

A sociolinguistic perspective on the process of language divergence: Borrowed Chinese words in Amdo Tibetan Dialect

Duojie Dongzhi, Northwest University for Nationalities

During last almost two decades, there are many Chinese words were increasingly merging into Amdo Tibetan dialect in Tibet (Qinghai Province, Gansu Province, Sichuan Province), and many new Tibetan generations (from 10 years old to 40 years old ) who now able to bilingually speak both of Chinese and Tibetan fluently. But a number of old Tibetan generations (from 50 years old to 70 years old) still cannot speak Chinese, they only using Tibetan, and facing new social and cultural issues in their oral communities.

This paper mainly aims not only to analyze how these Chinese words were socially used and practically borrowed into Amdo Tibetan dialect, but also to articulate the undermining process of the linguistic social functions and the social characteristics in Amdo Tibetan region.
FAMULARO, MEES, WANGYAL & COON

Ergative Marking in Dharamsala Tibetan

Nadia Famularo, Madeleine Mees, Tashi Wangyal & Jessica Coon, McGill University

This study examines the appearance of the ergative marker in Dharamsala Tibetan (DT), using both elicited data and narratives, with the collaboration of a native speaker living in Montreal, Canada. In line with recent work on related languages, we demonstrate that ergative marking in DT is governed not only by traditionally recognized factors like agency, transitivity, and aspect, but is also influenced by discourse context and pragmatic factors (see e.g. DeLancey 2011; Chelliah & Hyslop 2011).

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of ergative versus absolutive subjects in DT. While perfective transitives require ergative subjects, and imperfective intransitives disallow ergative marking, optionality is found in other cells.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+AGT</td>
<td>-AGT</td>
<td>+AGT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>ERG/ABS</td>
<td>ERG/ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ERG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare the transitive agentive forms in (1) and (2). While both types of subject are possible in the imperfective in (1), the imperfective in (2) requires ergative.

(1) {nga / nye} thep shik ti ki yö {1.abs / 1.erg} book det.indef write impf evid
I am writing a book.

(2) kesa {nye / *nga} thep shik ti yin yesterday {1.erg / *1.abs} book det.indef write evid
I wrote a book yesterday.

In the imperfective intransitive agentive sentence (3), the ergative subject is prohibited, while the perfective sentence (4), permits either case, depending on context.

(3) {nga / *nye} kesa kyel gyap ki yö {1.abs / *1.erg} yesterday swim v impf evid
I was swimming yesterday

(4) {nga / nye} kesa kyel gyap-pa yin {1.abs / 1.erg} yesterday swim v-nom evid
I swam yesterday

In this talk, we address the factors that govern the distribution of ergative vs. absolutive marking in the apparently “optional” environments through the use of naturally produced texts. We note that the ergative case marker also functions pragmatically to mark contrastive focus (see Takeuchi and Takahashi
This appears primarily in narrative environments wherein new information or characters are presented, which suggests theticity as another discourse factor influencing ergative marking (see Sasse 1996). We conclude that “optionality” in Tibetan ergativity is not optional marking, but rather employed for additional focus/contrast.

FAN

Issues on the language family affiliation and status of Kandao
Fan Junjun, Jinan University

Although not all scholars share the same set of criteria for distinguishing what level of divergence distinguishes a “language” from a “dialect”, it is undoubtable that the distinguishing of language and dialect is based firstly and primarily on purely linguistic grounds, focusing on phonological, phonetic, lexical and grammatical differences, and then with the social, cultural, or political factors as secondary reference. Kandao (ISO 639-3 code: xia), an endangered dialect distributed in southwest Yunnan Province of China, is now classified as an independent language of the Burmese branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. But this classification of language family affiliation is not right. From the comparison of historical phonological conditions and present phonetic status between Kandao and Burmese languages, i.e. three dialects of the Achang language, It shows that Kandao has high similarities with the Longchuan Dialect and the Lianghe Dialect, but fewer similarities with the Lusi Dialect of the Achang language. Kandao also shares a high proportion of basic words and cognate words with the Longchuan Dialect, which brings us to the conclusion that Kandao should be classified in the Longchuan Dialect of the Achang language. There are no fundamental conditions or enough linguistic evidence to support that Kandao is treated as an independent language. To distinguish a language and a dialect in Sino-Tibetan languages, we give some definitions of linguistic conditions in Kandao and other dialects of the Achang language as examples.

GENETTI

How Grammars Encode Space in Tibeto-Burman: Workshop Summary
Carol Genetti, University of California, Santa Barbara

The purpose of this talk is to share the primary findings of the pre-meeting workshop “How Grammars Encode Space in Tibeto-Burman” with the broader group of conference participants. While the workshop will provide detailed descriptions of spatial categories marked by grammatical forms in seven languages (Belhare, Manange, Dzongkha, Lamkang, Lisu, Lahu, and rGyalrong), the goal of this informal talk is to present cross-cutting themes and take-aways from these studies, as well as to pose questions for future research.
GUAN

Grammatical Concepts in Contact
Xinqiu Guan, Old Dominion University

This paper holds there is another kind of “languages in contact”, grammatical concepts in contact, which is different from phonetic interference, grammatical interference and lexical interference those we have been focusing on for a long time before. Mainly taking <Qingwenqimeng 清文啟蒙> (a very famous Manchu grammar book, has been used for almost 285 years until now) for example, the author of this book was deeply affected by the concept of ancient Chinese functional words. The notion and the characteristics of grammatical concepts in contact will be discussed in this paper.

HANSSON

The Language of Akha Ritual Texts
Inga-Lill HANSSON, Lund University

The Akha people, inhabiting the area between China, Laos, Thailand, and Burma, a minority everywhere, have a rich tradition of orally transmitted texts. They belong to the office of:

- Pirma – reciter and ritual specialist, dealing with death and sickness
- Nyirpaq – shaman, dealing with sickness
- And all villagers – songs for many occasions

They can be very long, taking hours to recite, and are a feat of memory.

In this paper I will especially compare the language of the Pirma and Nyirpaq texts. They are transmitted in very different ways. The Pirma, appointed by the villagers and always a man, has learnt his texts by repeating from another Pirma, taking years to memorize, always recited in the same way. There is a certain manipulation of the grammar compared to the vernacular language, to make it fit into the metric requirements. The Nyirpaq, a man or a woman, has no formal training and is appointed by the spirits, marked from birth to become one. The texts are personal and the chanting rhythm quite different. I will look into the differences from a textual point of view as well as from a linguistic point of view.

As is true for so many cultures in the Sino-Tibetan area, these texts are quickly disappearing with changing life-styles, education in the majority languages only, and few people able or willing to learn them by heart. With new technology available though, one can experience the rituals recited by the side of a coffin with the help of a tape recorder.
HILL

Tibetan phonological innovations
Nathan Hill, SOAS

Tibetan is among the earliest attested Trans-Himalayan languages and as such had a paramount role in the reconstruction of the Ursprache. Nonetheless, in a number of ways Tibetan is phonologically innovative. This paper presents the most important Tibetan phonological innovations, updating the list given in Hill (2011) and focussing on those innovations that force a reformulation of some reconstructions. Particular sound laws to be outlined include *lʲ > ź- (Benedict's law), *rj- > rgy- (Li’s law), *dz- > z- (Schiefner's law), and *-eŋ, *-ek > -iṅ, -ik (Dempsey's law).

References

HONDA

The possessive/nominalizer -la(ŋ) in Tamangic: Its link to genitives, complementizers, and finite verb suffixes
Isao Honda, Nagoya College

In the Tangbe dialect of Seke there is a morpheme -la(ŋ) which can be used with a genitive marked pronoun to change it to an independent possessive pronoun (e.g., ŋa- ‘my’ 1sg-GEN > ŋa-i-la(ŋ) ‘mine’). This must be cognate with -la in the Sahu dialect of Western Tamang and -la(:) in the Ghachok dialect of Gurung, both of which can be used not only as a possessivizer but also as a genitive (e.g., Sahu ŋa-la means either ‘mine’ or ‘my’), although it appears that in many or most of the cases the genitival relation is expressed by another genitive in these dialects, a reflex of PTB *-ki (Sahu -i, -ki; Ghachok -e). Interestingly in Sahu the genitival relation can also be expressed by -(k)i-la. In Eastern Tamang and Dhankute Tamang, on the other hand, -la, a clear cognate of Sahu -la, is used only as a genitive, and there is no other genitive in these languages. This leads us to consider that in some of the Tamangic languages/dialects there must have been a historical development in which an older genitive, a reflex of PTB *-ki, has been or is being replaced with a new genitive.

The importance of Tangbe -la(ŋ) and its cognates also resides in the possibility that they are historically related to various other morphemes widely found in Tamangic languages, all of which are more or less homophonous with them. These include non-finite verb suffixes such as verb complementizers and finite verb suffixes used in free-standing independent clauses. Since Tangbe -la(ŋ) and some of its cognates can be analyzed as nominalizers, what this paper suggests is another instance of an intimate relation between nominalization and attribution/genitivization, a phenomenon widespread in TB (Matisoff 1972; DeLancey 2005).

References
HSIAO

Locus of Violation in Zhuolan Raoping Tone Sandhi

Yuchau E. Hsiao, National Chengchi University

The effect of OCP (Obligatory Contour Principle) has been characterized as banning adjacent identical elements such as tones. It has been observed across Chinese dialects that αTone may map to βTone before another αTone. This paper discusses tone sandhi in Zhuolan Raoping, a sub-dialect of Hakka spoken in central Taiwan. There are four smooth citation tones in this Chinese dialect, including two high-registered tones, H [Hr, h] and HM [Hr, hl], and two low-registered tone, L [Lr, l] and ML [Lr, hl]. (Hr stands for high register, and Lr for low register; h and l indicate high and low tone melodies respectively). In Zhuolan Raoping, OCP scans the registers: a high-registered tone maps to a low tone before any high-registered tone, and a low-registered tone maps to a high-registered mid tone before any low-registered tone. In this sense, two problems arise. First, an [α α] bi-tonal sequence usually maps to [β α] but not to [α β], in conformity to OCP-α. The literature has attributed the retention of the right α to either prosodic headship or domain-edge effect. However, when a tri-tonal sequence [α α γ] maps to [β α γ], the medial α is neither a prosodic head nor at the domain edge. The problem then is how to avoid the emergence of [α β γ] or [β β γ], where the medial α maps to β. In reaction to this problem, this paper proposes that OCP-α specifies locus of violation in its definition in addition to the number of violation marks; namely, LOCOCP-α ≡ return every α, where α is a feature of a tone that is followed by an αTone. The medial α is not followed by any αTone and thus is not subject to OCP-α. The second problem arises from tetra-tonal or longer sequences. The mapping from [α α α α] to [α β β α] within a local domain is disallowed, in spite of the fact that the latter does not violate OCP-α. The solution does not follow from the OCP effect, but it lies in the grandfather effect in terms of comparative markedness. A language may tolerate an [α β] sequence inherited from the input but ban the same sequence newly created in the output.

HU

The Correlation between Case Marking and Word Order, Topic Structures, Ditransitive Constructions in Tibeto-Burman Languages

Suhua Hu, Minzu University of China

There are morphological case markers to denote the core participant arguments in the most of Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Qiang, Burmese, Hani, Lalopa Yi and so on spoken in southwestern China, and which markers are optional due to the word order and animacy of the core arguments and pragmatic purposes. In other word, the word order of the language is flexible if there are case markers to denote the core arguments. However, some TB languages have no case markers to denote the core arguments, such as Nuosu Yi, in which language the positions of agent and patient are rigid but not reversible if the patient is the same animate hierarchy with agent, i.e. the patient also has potential ability of action. On the other
hand, the most of SOV TB languages are topic prominent languages, in which word order and morphological markers are two main means to indicate topic structures. The case markers can be applied as topic markers in the languages which have patient markers such as in Burmese, and the agentive markers can disambiguate the agent from the patient if they are not in the normal position for purpose of highlighting the topic structure such as in Qiang language, marking S and A is primarily determined by semantic and pragmatic factors. For the languages lack patient case markers to denote the core arguments such as Nuosu Yi which is topic prominent language, how to stress the topic structure via word order and disambiguate the agent and patient simultaneously? There is an optional genitive marker ke in Nuosu Yi, however which power is too weak to function disambiguation. Based on the data of TB languages, the paper will give more detail description, comparison and explanation on the correlation between case markers and word order, animacy, topic structures, ditransitive constructions as well in SOV TB Languages. The hierarchical classification of TB languages based on the case marking of core arguments and relevant theoretical implication will be proposed in the paper.

References

HYSSLOP & PLANE
Some Puzzles in Proto East Bodish
Gwendolyn Hyslop & Sarah Plane, University of Sydney

It has often been assumed that the languages of Bhutan are simply dialects of Tibetan (e.g. most of the Bhutanese languages listed in the ethnologue are classified as ‘Tibetic’). While Dzongkha is linguistically a Tibetan language (e.g. Tournadre 2008), most of the approximately 18 languages are not, as has been shown by Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994) and DeLancey (2008), inter alia. Recently, Hyslop (2014) presented over 40 reconstructions, about half of which show similarity to Written Tibetan cognates. In this talk, we build on that work, offering more reconstructions and focusing on some particularly interesting puzzles.

There are seven East Bodish languages, all of which are spoken in Bhutan but also extend into China and Arunachal Pradesh, India. The speech communities range from consisting of around 1,000 (Chali) to over 40,000 (Khengkha or Dakpa). Phonologically, grammatically, and lexically, the languages appear very similar to each other, though determining what reconstructs to the Proto language is not always straightforward.

We identify three types of comparative data within East Bodish: 1) words which reconstruct to Proto East Bodish following established sound changes; 2) words which are identical throughout the family and likely borrowings; 3) words which cannot be reconstructed because cognate roots are not found in the daughter languages.

This talk focuses on the first and third category, presenting an exhaustive list of lexical items from both domains. Examples of words that do reconstruct to Proto East Bodish include terms for numerals (except ten), several body parts (such as ‘hair’, ‘tooth’), some food terms (including some grains and
‘milk’) and others. Words that fall into the third category, that is, they do not reconstruct, include many basic vocabulary items (e.g. ‘sun’, ‘house’), several crop terms (including millets and maize) and much of the grammatical vocabulary.

The examination of the reconstructable versus non-reconstructable domains brings to light interesting puzzles, which are the conclusion of this talk. For example, ‘arrow’ reconstructs but not ‘bow’; buckwheat (bitter and sweet) terms reconstruct but not millet; and while ‘milk’ reconstructs, terms for milk by-products, such as ‘whey’, ‘cheese’, and ‘buttermilk’ do not.

IKEDA

_Causative structure in the Mu-nya language_

Ikeda Takumi, Kyoto University

Mu-nya belongs to the Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman languages distributed along the ethnic corridor in Sichuan, China. Some scholars have suggested that Qiangic languages have causative structure (Shidong fanchou 使動範疇 in Chinese) in common as a grammatical category of verb morphology.

SUN (1983) pointed out that some Mu-nya verbs have consonantal alternations between pre-nasalized voiced initials and voiceless initials, which reflect the intransitive and transitive function respectively. According to HUANG (1991), Mu-nya has 3 kinds of grammatical expressions for the causative: 1) vowel alternation in directional prefixes of verbs, 2) verb initial alternation between pre-nasal voiced and voiceless consonants, 3) adding AUX [ʦʰɐ] after intransitive verbs. Among these, 2) refers to the same morphological phenomena mentioned by SUN (1983), but only a few pairs are still active and this alternation is not productive any more. HUANG (1991) considered these pairs must be remains from the old Mu-nya formation system, while the analytical type of expression 3) must have appeared in a later period.

It is certain that some combination of intransitive verb plus AUX /=ʦʰɐ/ (HUANG recorded as [ʦʰɐ]) are used as transitive verb-phrases, but they are not numerous. AUX /=ʦʰu/ is a flexible and productive word, which could be added not only to limited intransitive verbs, but also to many kinds of transitive/intransitive verbs to form typical causative sentences such as ‘somebody lets/makes someone do something’. Therefore, we should not consider the verb phrase with AUX /=ʦʰu/ as one of the causative morphological structures separate from sentence structure.

This study aims to describe the structure of sentences with intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, and causative sentences contrastively, in order to analyze the causative structure in relation to the correspondence and derivation between intransitive/transitive verbs in the Mu-nya language. It will also examine the process of historical development comparing other Tibeto-Burman languages that had any relationship or contact with Mu-nya.
Notes on Northwestern Kuki-Chin
Linda Konnerth, University of Oregon

Northwestern Kuki-Chin (NWKC; formerly referred to as ‘Old Kuki’) is a severely underdocumented subgroup of Kuki-Chin, mostly located in Chandel District, Manipur, Northeast India. In the Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman (Matisoff 2003), NWKC is represented by only a small handful of words from three languages: Khoirao, Chiru, and ‘Kom Rem’, although ‘Kom Rem’ is apparently a confusing name as it is described elsewhere as “the common nomenclature of the Old Kukis in Manipur, e.g., Kom, Aimol, Chiru” (Haokip 2011: 95). Among the existing literature on comparative Kuki-Chin, i.e., Ohno (1965), VanBik (2009), Button (2011), and Hill (2014), only a single NWKC language (specifically, Anal) contributes to the database in Ohno’s work (according to Hill) that was then also used by Hill, whereas NWKC remains unrepresented in VanBik’s and Button’s work. The almost complete lack of NWKC data in comparative work to date reflects a major lacuna in our knowledge of the KC branch.

This study presents data from a list of 100+ words collected from nine putatively NWKC languages during a fieldtrip in January 2015. The languages included are Monsang, Moyon, Anal, Lamkang, Tarao, Kom, Chothe, Aimol, and Mongmi Maring, all spoken in Chandel District, Manipur. The emerging results include partial evidence for a closer relationship between Monsang, Moyon, Anal, and Lamkang—a hypothesis commonly articulated among native speakers. In particular, the evidence so far points at a close relationship between Monsang, Moyon, and Anal: a) they show consistent monophthongization that corresponds to diphthongs in the other languages; b) they share the loss of syllable-final /-t/, with an apparently subsequent loss of the other syllable-final stops in both Monsang and Anal; and c) they lose the phonemic contrast between final /-l/ and /-r/, such that Monsang and Moyon end up with only /r/ and Anal with only /l/. The nature of the relationship between Anal and Lamkang is not clear but we do find the extension of an /tV/- prefix in the numerals 6 through 9 in both languages.

References
The phonological adaptation of Shan loanwords in Jingpho
Keita Kurabe, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Jingpho is a Tibeto-Burman language mainly spoken in Kachin and northern Shan States, Burma. Shan is a Tai-Kadai language spoken mainly in Shan and Kachin States. Although Jingpho and Shan belong to different language families, Jingpho has borrowed a number of words from Shan, with which it has come in contact for long periods of time. Building upon data of about 500 Shan loanwords collected by the author, this paper aims to provide an examination of phonological adaptation of Shan loans in Jingpho. Although Maran (1964) and Dai & Xu (1995) have discussed some linguistic characteristics of Shan loans in Jingpho to some extent, the issues of phonological adaptation of Shan loans have been less discussed. In this paper, I will elaborate on these issues based on more data.

One of the key issues of Shan loans in Jingpho is that how the vowel system of Shan is mapped to that of Jingpho since the vowel systems of these languages are quite different: Jingpho has only five vowels in contrast to the ten of Shan. This issue has not been discussed in the previous studies. Based on my own data, I will show that the Shan vowels /a, aa/ are adapted as /a/, vowels /i, e, (y, u)/ as /i/, vowels /u, o, (y, u)/ as /u/, the vowel /e/ as /e/, and the vowel /o/ in Jingpho. The tonal adaptation of Shan loans in Jingpho is also an important issue which has not been fully investigated in the previous studies. This paper will deal with this issue and show that, although the correspondence is complicated, some regularity can be found as Shan rising tones are adapted as mid-level tones in Jingpho. This paper will also discuss stress adaptation of Shan loans in Jingpho in which some disyllabic compound words are adapted as sesquisyllabic words in Jingpho, as paa¹-naw³ (fish-putrid) → bənaw ‘salted fish paste’. I will discuss that this adaptation can be accounted for by the fact that Jingpho is a sesquisyllabic tone language in which sesquisyllabic nominal words are predominant.

References

LEE
Manner deixis zheyang as a completion marker in Taiwanese Mandarin conversation
Yu-Hui Lee, University of California, Los Angeles

This study examines the non-canonical uses of Mandarin manner deixis zheyang (and its variations zheyangzi, zhege yanzi) in spontaneous conversation. Instead of functioning as a manner deixis, zheyang is frequently placed at the end of a grammatically completed clause or sentence. Such zheyang is especially used as an explicit completion marker for a turn, or for a sequence of speech such as lexical elaboration, joint speech, or quoted speech. Lexical elaboration refers to a phrase or utterance, departing from the current turn development, providing an alternative term or details for its preceding phrase. Joint utterance refers to a brief utterance in the next turn which provides elaboration or paraphrase to the
previous turn. Finally, turn-final completion *zheyang* informs the addressee that the speaker does not intend to continue the current turn. Such *zheyang* as a completion marker may be a result of constructionalization (Traugott and Trousdale 2013) from an explicit announcement closing sequence *jiushi zheyang* (‘that’s it’).

In the collected 6-spontaneous conversation, the occurrence of *zheyang* shows that 67% of *zheyang* (269 out of 399 tokens) is used as a deixis (‘like this’ or ‘in this way’, as a manner deixis or a discourse deixis), while 33% occurrence of *zheyang* (130 out of 399 tokens) is used as a (non-deictic) completion marker. Regardless of its non-canonical use which is considered a recently emerged usage (Huang 1999; Liu 2003), conversationalists rarely have any problem projecting and understanding the completion marking *zheyang(zi)* in conversation.

Koenig (2011) observes cross-linguistic data with manner deixes and proposes that manner deixes have a similar development of semantic change and grammaticalization. However, manner deixis functioning as a completion marker has not been observed. The findings suggest that, through everyday language use, *zheyang(zi)* shows the sign of becoming a conventional completion marker in spoken Mandarin in Taiwan. Mandarin data used in this study provides new perspective to the understanding of grammaticalization and constructionalization of manner deixis.

References

**LOWE**
*A Statistical Characterization of the Phonotactics of Tibeto-Burman Languages based on a Large Lexical Corpus*
J.B. Lowe, University of California, Berkeley

The recent publication of the Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus (STEDT) was accompanied by the release of associated digital assets: the database (STEDB) and software. The database is available for download under a liberal license for research purposes in two formats: as a relational database dump (in MySQL format) and a text corpus (as a “denormalized” tab-delimited file). The release enables a number of types of experiments that could not be performed via the online search interface.

This presentation details the construction and content of these two digital resources including a statistical characterization of the contents, with illustrations and examples of the etymological, typological, semantic, and phonological dimensions of the dataset.

(In summary, the STEDT database contains 540,503 lexical items from 506 languages gleaned from 664 cited sources, of which 165,527 have been assembled into 3,830 cognate sets and published in the Dictionary-Thesaurus.)
A computational linguistic application is shown which provides an example of how the corpus can be manipulated to produce a broad synoptic statistical characterization of phonotactics of Tibeto-Burman languages.

MA

The Development of Uvular Initials in Old Chinese
Ma Kun, Wuhan University

There has been several discussions among Qing dynasty scholars about the relationship between Middle Chinese (MC) laryngeal initials (ʔ-, x-, h-, y-, j-) and velar initials (k-, kh-, g-, ng-). It is clear now in varies kinds of evidence that they were close in OC, however, still hard to account for their relationship since fricatives and plosives in other positions was regularly kept apart.

Using evidence from Sino-Tibetan comparison, Chinese translated Buddhist sutras, and Xiesheng characters, Pan-Wuyun(2007) stated that MC laryngeal initials evolved from Old Chinese (OC) uvular stops:*q- > ʔ-, *qh- > x-, *ɢ- > y-, *ɢj- > ɣj-.

Since Pan’s reconstruction better accounts for the relationships of laryngeal and velar initials in Xiesheng series, Sagart-Baxter (2009) followed this theory with a few amendments:

a) rounded/unrounded uvulars has been differentiated;
b) a set of preinitials to uvulars has been reconstructed;
c) extend OC uvulars reconstructions to MC alveolar initials.

Baxter-Sagart(2014) maintained their former reconstructions, while modified pre-initial types from loosely attached to tightly attached.

In our study we proceed to address two main unanswered problems:

a) How to draw the line between uvular and velar initials. A quite number of cases was still undecided in Baxter-Sagart (2014). For instance, MC initial ’- has two sources in OC: glottal *ʔ- and uvular *q-.
b) According to the Xiesheng patterns, fricatives and plosives generally do not contact with each other. After evolving from uvular stops to velar fricatives (i.e. *ɢ- > ɣ-, *ɢj- > ɣj-) initials like *ɢ-, *ɢj-, *qh-must exhibited different behaviors in Xiesheng series. In the Shuowen, which collected characters mainly in pre-Qin period, we observed that*ɢ-, *ɢj-, *qh- often contact with velar stops. In some later stage after sound change already happened, however x-, ɣ-, ɣj- should have contact with fricatives instead. This is a very strong evidence to prove or disprove uvular reconstruction theories.

Our goal is to analyze the Xiesheng patterns of unearthed characters from the Warring States period, since it is roughly the time that uvular>glottal happened. By comparing it with Shuowen, which may represent a former stage of period, the development of uvulars would be more accurate to us.
MATISOFF

*The so-called prefixes of Tibeto-Burman, and why they are so called*
James MATISOFF, University of California, Berkeley

Prefixes play a vital and complex role in the history of the Tibeto-Burman languages. (See the *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman*, Matisoff 2003, pp. 87-156.) While their functions are sometimes rather clear, often it is impossible to assign a definite meaning to them. For this reason, I consider the concept of “prefix” in TB to be merely morphological, and not always morphosemantic.

The prefixes interact with the following root-initial in a wide variety of unpredictable ways. Any given etymon may be associated with different prefixes in the same language or across languages. Given the tightly structured nature of the TB syllable, the influence of the prefixes is often felt not only on the root-initial but also on the tone of the syllable. Prefixes are subject to replacement, and often a particular language has a “favorite prefix” which it generalizes to large segments of the lexicon.

In the STEDT project’s data-base all the prefixes that have been found to occur with a given etymon are usually presented together in “pan-allofamic formulas” (PAF’s), without necessarily making judgments on their relative chronology. It must be emphasized that an element which is considered to be prefixal on the basis of comparative evidence may be amalgamated with the root in a particular language in such a way that the speakers have no reason to consider it to be a prefix at all. Thus Written Tibetan sbrul ‘snake’ has been analyzed as containing the “animal prefix” *s-, even though Tibetan speakers would now deny any morpheme boundary after it. Other languages, however, have reflexes descending from *brul, while still others reflect only the naked root *rul. To distinguish combinations of *prefix-plus-root-initial from true initial *consonant clusters is often extremely difficult.

This paper will attempt to clarify the nature of TB prefixes, and the rationale behind their treatment in HPTB and the STEDT project.

MAZAUDON

*Haudricourt’s model of tonogenesis in Asia, and of change in general*
Martine Mazaudon, CNRS - LACITO

In 1954 Haudricourt published one after the other two fundamental articles (« Origin of tones in Vietnamese » and « How to reconstruct Old Chinese ») which became the foundation for the study of tone development in Asia. In 1961 (Bipartition and tripartition) and 1965 (Mon-Khmer consonant shifts) he completed his model, concerning the effect of word-initial laryngeal states on the multiplication of tones or the birth of register systems. This model is widely cited, but not always completely accurately.

We will examine the method and the underlying theory behind the model and see how they are still well-worth studying and applying in the analysis of new phenomena. This is strongly based on a European structuralist, Praguian, view of linguistic structure, which had not and still often has not been understood outside of Europe.

Haudricourt looks for the phonetic sources of sound change, but more importantly for the structural factors which guide it, the body and the brain. What would now be called sociolinguistics would need to
be mentioned for a reasonably complete picture of Haudricourt’s model of change, as well as information theory. These are out of the scope of the present paper.

We will look at some fundamental notions like « middle series » and « neutralization » (underspecification) and point out how they have been used, and can be used, to explain seemingly strange observations (e.g. the behaviour of nasals in tonal development).

**MIYAJIMA**

*The contracted form zhu 諸 as a dialectic feature of Old Chinese*

Kazuya Miyajima, University of Tokyo

In Old Chinese, when the preposition *yu* 於 follows the pronoun *zhi* 之, three cases can occur: (A) *zhi* 之 and *yu* 於 are contracted to *zhu* 諸, (B) no change occurs (之於), or (C) *yu* 於 is dropped (之 Ø).

This study examines the distribution of *zhu* 諸 in excavated documents from, approximately, the 5th to 2nd centuries BC to elucidate that (A) was not a widespread or common phenomenon in Old Chinese; it is assumed to be an original feature of the Lu 魯 dialect. As excavated documents are not rewritten throughout history, they can complement studies based on bequeathed documents.

In bamboo scripts from Chu 楚 (approximately 4th to 3rd centuries BC) and Qin 秦 (approximately 3rd century BC), (A) never occurs in texts that reflect the local language of these regions (e.g. *Baoshanchujian* 包山楚簡, *Shuahuadqinjian* 睡虎地秦簡); only (B) or (C) occurs. Moreover, in manuscripts from other regions (e.g. *Houmamingshu* 侯馬盟書, *Yinqueshanhanjian* 銀雀山漢簡, and *Zhanguozonghongjiaoshu* 戰國縱橫家書), which are considered to reflect the languages of the Jin 晉, Qi 齊, and Zhongyuan 中原 regions from approximately 5th to 2nd centuries BC, only (B) or (C) occurs. Therefore, (A) cannot be a feature of the Chu 楚, Qin 秦, Jin 晉, Qi 齊, and Zhongyuan 中原 regions.

Then, in which dialect does (A) occur? In bamboo scripts of Chu 楚—except the abovementioned texts—and *Mawangdui* 馬王堆 silk texts, (A) is only found in texts about Confucianism or the Lu 魯 state. Lu 魯 is the origin of Confucius 孔子 or Confucianism. Ota 太田 (1984) treated (A) as a feature of the Lu 魯 dialect, which is typically reflected in *Lunyu* 論語 and *Mengzi* 孟子 in bequeathed documents. The distribution of *zhu* 諸 in the excavated documents supports his view.

**NGO**

*Subjecthood-topichood in Vietnamese null vs. overt pronoun interpretation*

Binh Ngo, University of Southern California

Different types of nominal structures can be employed as referential forms. Regarding discourse saliency, a hierarchy of referential forms has been proposed: Null anaphor > pronouns > … > full NPs (Givón,
This study focuses on the use of null anaphor vs. overt pronouns which can be considered as two competing referential forms.

Carminati’s (2002) work on Italian concluded that null anaphors refer to a structurally more prominent antecedent (Subject) while overt pronouns refer to an antecedent lower in the clause structure (Object). Allonzo-Ovalle et al. (2002) also showed that topichood matters. When an overt pronoun is in topic position, it prefers a Subject antecedent instead of an Object antecedent.

Syntactically speaking, null anaphors in subject position across languages are of different types. Spanish and Italian mentioned above treat null subjects as pro which is licensed by agreement. In contrast, null subjects in discourse-oriented languages such as Chinese and Vietnamese can be licensed by a discourse topic (Huang 1984, 1989). Thus, we ask whether the interpretation of null vs. overt subject pronoun in Vietnamese are also influenced by the same factors observed in Italian and Spanish.

Using a sentence completion task, we manipulate the occurrence of null subjects using the past tense marking. A no prompt condition is included. Both active and passive sentences are used since subject of a passive voice clause is a stronger indicator of topichood than the subject of an active voice clause (Kedhler & Rhode, 2013). A 2x3 design is shown in (1).

(1) a. John gọi Bill vì _____ / anh ta _____ / đã ______.
   ‘John called Bill because _____ / he _____ / PAST ______.’

  b. John được Bill gọi vì _____ / anh ta _____ / đã ______.
   ‘John was called by Bill because _____ / he _____ / PAST ______.’

Our predictions are subjecthood and topichood do influence the interpretation of null vs. overt pronouns in Vietnamese. Null subjects prefer subject antecedent. The rate of overt pronouns referring to the subject is higher in passive than active sentences.

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NIKOLAEV

Tibetan dialects as a case study in areal phonology

Dmitry Nikolaev, Russian State University for the Humanities

Ever since the beginning of the scientific study of the Tibetan language, the diversity of its contemporary dialects’ phonologies was a challenge—as well as valuable source of information—for the researchers. Eventually, the development of consonant clusters emerged as the main guide as to the classification of Tibetan dialects (cf. the overview Denwood 1999 organised around this principle). Phonetic developments tend to have clustered in certain geographic areas, and that has enabled researchers to use labels such as ‘Central’, ‘Western Archaic’, ‘Western Innovative’, ‘Southern’, ‘Kham’, and ‘Amdo’ (Nishi 1986, quoted in DeLancey 2003) or ‘Western’, ‘Central’, ‘Amdo’, and ‘Kham’ (Bradley 1997) for the subgroupings. This paper aims at testing the proposed hypotheses for carving up of the Tibetan linguistic region into several areas by taking full phonological inventories as the starting point. By comparing 30+ phonological inventories of contemporary Tibetan dialects using feature-based distance metrics and cluster analysis, I will try to ascertain whether there are discernible patterns in the geographical distribution of segmental units across the dialects and will try to assess the degree of areal phonological convergence between Tibetan dialects and neighbouring languages of different stocks.

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NOHARA

The Reconstruction of the Word 西 West in Old Chinese Phonology

Masaki Nohara, University of Tokyo & University of Michigan

This study attempts to reconstruct the word 西 west in Old Chinese. Sagart (2005) reconstructed it as *snәr; Baxter and Sagart (2014) further expanded on Sagart’s earlier reconstruction that was based on three pieces of evidence. First, it focused on the phonetic series of 西. According to the Shuowen JieZi 説文解字 (100 CE), some characters have 西 as a phonetic element, e.g., 遼 nai (=乃 “then”) and 酉 shen “sprinkle.” 酉 was reconstructed as nojX in MC, and nojX must be descended from OC initial *n-. 喜 “smile” was reconstructed as syinX in MC. MC sy- is derived only from OC *st-, *ɲ-, *ʃ-, and *ŋ-. Therefore, 喜 is reconstructed as *ɲәr. Second, Sagart (2005) found that 西 (and 棟 qi) is related to the word 尼 ni, meaning “rest.” According to the Shuowen, 西 is likely to mean “rest”: “…The sun is on the west, the bird rests (Shuowen).” Finally, Sagart (2005) thought that his reconstruction form of west 西 is related to Burmese and Tibetan “rest.”
In this paper, we will provide some evidences to support Sagart’s reconstruction. First, in the Shuowen, the word 訊 xun “to interrogate” is explained as “訊 means 问 wen ‘ask’, 问 has 言 yan as a semantic element, and 占 xun as a phonetic element. 齋 is the old form of 訊, and it has 齋.” 齋 is the old form of 訊. Hence, it is thought that 訊 is also phonetically related to 訊. Second, in some excavated texts (e.g., bamboo slips), we find some characters that represent the word 訊 “to interrogate”, which is written as 齋. In bronze scripts, it was written as 齍. 齍 has 人 ren as a phonetic element. 人 is reconstructed as nyin in MC, and MC ny- comes from OC *n-. In other texts, it was written as 千 (千 is phonetic element). Therefore, the word 訊 must have a nasal initial in OC. Therefore, we reconstruct 訊 as *snins and 訊 as *snar.

OCHIAI
A prefix tu- for involuntariness in Paran Seediq: Further evidence for *ta/taR- in Proto-Austronesian
Izumi Ochiai, Kyoto University

Paran Seediq is one of the Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan (Formosan languages), that belongs to the Atayalic subgroup, one of the first order branches of Proto-Austronesian among other Formosan languages. Because of its closeness to Proto-Austronesian, it is often possible to reconstruct a certain form in the Formosan languages for Proto-Austronesian if the form remains in the descendants of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (non-Formosan languages).

Tsukida (2009) describes Taroko Seediq (another dialect of Seediq) as having a verbalizing prefix te- but says that its meanings are too various to find a point in common. In fact, Paran Seediq has a prefix tu- with almost the same functions as te- in Taroko Seediq. The purpose of this paper is to propose that multiple functions of tu- may be unified by the concept of involuntariness. Some examples from Paran Seediq are shown in (1).

(1) tuhuda ‘to snow’
tuquwilaq ‘there is lightning’
weather conditions

tubuseiu ‘to sneeze’
tujeqy ‘to belch’
physiological phenomena

tuqeguq ‘to drown’
tuqeraq ‘to lie’
passivity, stativity

There are two other prefixes, tugu- and tun-, that start with tu-. These are probably related to the involuntary prefix tu-. Tugu- mostly means either exposure of the body (2), or direction ‘toward’ (3). Tun- is mostly related to production (4).

(2) tuguhema ‘to stick one’s tongue out’
tugupuyaq ‘to leave one’s bottom to view’

(3) tugudaya ‘uphill’
tugunarac ‘to the right’

(4) tunbaluq ‘to lay an egg’
tunlaqi ‘to bear a child’
These forms are probably cognates with Proto-Austronesian *ta-/taR- ‘sudden, unexpected or accidental action’. The Proto-form, however, is attested mainly in the languages from central Philippines to Polynesia (Blust 2013). For example, Wouk (1980) explains that the Indonesian prefix ter- has involuntary states as its basic meaning. Keenan and Dryer (2007) discuss one of the passive prefixes tafa- in Malagasy. Bowden (2001) shows that Taba has a detransitivising prefix ta-. There has been little attestation of this form in Formosan languages. Thus, the tu- in Paran Seediq, which is supposed to be *ta- in Proto-Seediq, provides further evidence supporting the reconstruction of the Proto-form.

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PETERSON
Kuki-Chin tense/aspect systems revisited
David Peterson, Dartmouth College

There appears to have been no attempt to systematically investigate the tense/aspect systems of Kuki-Chin languages except for Singh 1999. Since that study, several new treatments of individual languages have appeared, so a fresh look at the issue seems worthwhile.

Based on examination of available materials for more than thirty Kuki-Chin languages, and the author’s fieldwork, this talk will do two things. First, it will outline the most salient tense/aspect characteristics of Kuki-Chin languages in order to provide guidance for future researchers. Second, it will identify several modern tense/aspect markers which are either likely to reflect elements already present at the Proto-Kuki-Chin stage, or at the level of intermediate subgroups of the family.

The study supports Singh’s basic contention that aspect is a more salient category in Kuki-Chin tense/aspect systems than tense. Based on the systems studied, fundamental questions for future analysis of any language’s system include:

- Is there a distinction between realis and irrealis?
- Are there multiple perfect or perfective distinctions?
- What subtypes of imperfective are there?
- What relationship is there between directionals and tense/aspect marking?
- What categories are marked by means of an auxiliary construction rather than by a concatenated affix or particle, if any?

The following seem to be widely enough attested to perhaps represent shared elements, if not already grammaticalized constructions, at the Proto-Kuki-Chin stage:
postverbal *jo*, indicating perfective or perfect (attested in Northwestern languages, Sizang, Hyow, and possibly Khumi and Maraa)

- postverbal *lay*, indicating imperfective (Thadou, Paite, Northwestern, and possibly Daai and Lai)

- postverbal *ta* or *tak*, indicating past (Mizo, Falam, Thadou, Paite, and Northwestern languages)

Markers of irrealis or future tense show considerable variation, but several noteworthy patterns are discernible. Many formats involve a relationship with purposive markers (*‘for’*), so this would seem to be a likely areal grammaticalization source. These elements involve forms like *ding* (especially Northeastern, with sporadic attestations in Northwestern), *rang* (primarily Northwestern, but possibly related to forms found in the earliest attestations of Lai, as well as in Khumi, and Mizo). Another common pattern involves an auxiliary construction formed with *ti* (Northwestern and Pangkhua).

**Reference**


**PLANE**

*The Central Ngwi Languages of Northwest Yunnan: A Field Report*

Sarah Plane, University of Sydney

The Central Ngwi subgroup within the larger Ngwi (=Lolo-Burmese) family of Tibeto-Burman possesses several undescribed languages. Bradley (2004), for example, identifies thirteen such languages in Northwest Yunnan, most of which are undocumented or nearly so. Prior to my fieldwork, for example, the only data known on the languages came from Chinese county gazettes and few other Chinese sources. This talk fills the gap in the literature by presenting an overview of some of the Central Ngwi languages of Yongsheng County, Northwest Yunnan.

Seven Central Ngwi languages of Yongsheng County have been identified to date: Lang’e, Liude, Naluo, Nazan (Naza), Tagu, Talu, and Xiangtan (Xiangtang). Talu is described by Zhou (2004) to have approximately 10,000 speakers, which is a larger speaking population than the other languages, which range from 500 to 2,500, with the exception of Naluo that has around 8,500 speakers (Bradley, 2004).

In terms of phonology, these languages appear to be fairly typical Central Ngwi languages. They have at least 6 tones, at least 8 vowels, and a rich set of consonants. Stops and affricates make a three-way voicing contrast at at least five places of articulation (some languages also possess uvular series), and the languages also have a rich set of fricatives, including a contrast between palatal, velar and labiovelar. At least one language in the group (Talu) also has voiceless sonorants.

The Central Ngwi languages of Yongsheng County display expected morphosyntax; the languages are verb-final, have classifiers, and are isolating. Lexically, the languages are not necessarily united, though this is not unusual within Central Ngwi. For example, Talu ‘dog’ is *a55 nu31* while Lang’e ‘dog’ is *t8h1421*.

Sociolinguistic surveys show these languages to be endangered due to small speaker populations and loss of transmission brought on by various factors. The preliminary results presented in this talk, based on recent fieldwork in Yongsheng County, offer some interesting insights into the classification of these Central Ngwi languages and suggestions for further areas of research.
QIAO

The Synchronic Characteristics of Long and Short Vowels in the Mien Language of Chingrai, Thailand: A Comparison with the Mien Language in China
Qiao Xiang, Beijing Nationalities University

Long and short vowel contrast is an important feature of the vowel system in the Mien language in Chingrai, Thailand. Long and short contrast appears only in the vowels beginning with a. The unbalance development of long and short vowels exists in the Mien languages of China. Generally there are two types: one has the contrast of long and short vowels; the other doesn’t have the contrast of long and short vowels. In the Mien Languages of China, long and short vowel contrast appears not only in the vowels with a, but also in other vowels, such as e, ɛ, o, u. But in different dialects or accents of the Mien Language in China, there is also an uneven development with long and short vowel contrast. There is a trend of gradual disappearance of long and short vowel contrast in the Mien Languages of both China and Thailand.

SANDS

Cross-Linguistic Patterns of Nasalized Vowels in Vocalic Sequences and Sequence Inventories in Languages of China
Kathy Sands, SIL

Perceptual distinctiveness has been identified as the primary organizing principle in the sequential patterning of oral vocalics and in the inventories of these sequences (Sands 2004, 2007), as observed in sequences patterns from 42 languages representative of the world’s languages containing sequences. For example, two-vowel sequences (e.g. /ei/, /ia/, /oj/) were present in each language, whereas three-vowel sequences (e.g. /iau/, /wei/) were rarer and inventories smaller, reflective of greater distinctiveness across shorter sequences, and of shorter sequences within inventories.

Contrastively nasalized vowels are much less common than oral, appearing in closer to a fifth of the world’s languages (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:298, Hajek 2011). In many of these languages, the number of nasalized vowels is fewer than the number of oral vowels. This dispreference for nasalized vowels in inventories reflects the diminished distinctiveness of vowel contrasts when vowels are nasalized (Beddor 1993, Hajek 2011). Given that nasalization diminishes perceptual distinctiveness, and that perceptual distinctiveness is the primary motivator of sequence patterns, the question arises as to how languages with nasalized vowels form sufficiently distinct sequences and inventories of sequences.

To investigate this question, and identify patterns, eight languages of China with nasalized vowels were selected (from Sun et al 2007), based on genetic diversity, presence of both contrastive nasalization and vocalic sequences, and availability of complete datasets, with priority on languages with three-vocalic sequences. Six Tibeto-Burman languages from different branchings are included (Central Bai, Tanglang, Baima, Lisu, Shixing, Northern Tujia), along with one language each from Austro-Asiatic (Bigan) and Tai-Kadai (Lachi) for sample size.

We find, in order to maintain sufficient distinctiveness, nasalized sequences (cf. oral) require contexts that provide greater distinction and they also appear less commonly in sequence inventories. Specifically,
at the sequence-internal level, nasalized vocalics appeared in sequences of rising sonority (e.g. /i̯a/, /i̯ɛ/) but not falling (e.g. /ai/, /ɛi/), a context of lesser distinctiveness (Sands 2004), and nasalization occurred on one vowel only, that being the more sonorous vowel where present (e.g. /i̯ɛ/ but not /i̯ɛ/ or /i̯ɛ/), as indicated by notation, presumably reflecting perception. At the sequence inventory level, not all languages used nasalization in two-vocalic sequences, no language used nasalization in three-vocalic sequences, nasalized sequences were much rarer than oral, and the presence of a nasalized sequence strongly implied the presence of a parallel oral sequence.

References

SAWADA
A Preliminary Report of Lhangsu Patois of Lhaovo in Central Kachin State
Hideo Sawada, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

‘Lhangsu’ [laŋ⁵³ su⁵³] is the name of a patois of Lhaovo, a language of the Northern sub-group of Burmish, and its speakers. Unlike other Lhaovo groups who have lived in the watershed of ˇNmai Hka, Lhangsu people have lived in the area between two tributaries of Mali Hka, namely Hkrang Hka and Sanin Hka. Separated from other Lhaovo groups and surrounded by Jingpho people, Lhangsu are heavily influenced by Jingpho and seriously endangered as the speakers decrease in number. Note that Lhangsu is obviously distinct from ‘Langsu’ ‘浪速’ by which Chinese call Lhaovo people and language.

In this presentation I give the outline of the patois, focusing on its sound system. Below I show a few points to be mentioned in this presentation.

1. The consonant inventory of Lhangsu is similar to that of Standard Lhaovo, except the former lacks dental affricates and a palatal fricative for native words. Dental affricates ts-/tsh- in Standard Lhaovo regularly correspond to alveolar stops t-/th- in Lhangsu. Such a correspondence is also found between Lhaovo and Bola, another Northern Burmish language in China (Dai, Jiang & Kong 2007, the source of the data below), but the correspondence between Lhaovo and Bola is irregular unlike Lhangsu: e.g. Lhv. (laŋ⁵³)tsay⁴, Bol. (laŋ⁵⁵)tanⁱ, Lhs. (laŋ⁹⁴)tanⁱ ‘neck’, but Lhv. tsam⁴⁷, Bol. tsam⁵⁵, Lhs. tam⁵⁵ ‘pair’.
2. Burmese rhymes written with \{{\text{a}}\} (vowel sign \text{zero}) correspond to Lhangsu rhymes with \text{-a} fairly well, compared with Standard Lhaovo, Lacid and Bola.

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<tr>
<td>ᵔ</td>
<td>{ngaa}</td>
<td>(\eta^{a})</td>
<td>(\eta^{f})</td>
<td>(\eta^{f})</td>
<td>(\eta^{b})</td>
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<tr>
<td>ᵖ</td>
<td>{lak'}</td>
<td>(\lambda^{f})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{f})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{21})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{21})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵖ</td>
<td>{nang'}</td>
<td>(\lambda^{L})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{h})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{f})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{n})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵖ</td>
<td>{sat'}</td>
<td>(\lambda^{f})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{f})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{35})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{35})</td>
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<tr>
<td>ᵖ</td>
<td>{pan'}</td>
<td>(\lambda^{H})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{H})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{31})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{21})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵖ</td>
<td>{khyap'}</td>
<td>(\lambda^{k})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{k})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{k})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{25})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵖ</td>
<td>{chaM}</td>
<td>(\lambda^{k})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{k})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{k})</td>
<td>(\lambda^{35})</td>
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Therefore Lhangsu might serve a substantial support for positing Proto-Burmish \text{-a}.

SHARMA

Grammatical Relations in Puma

Narayan Sharma, Linguistic Society of Nepal, Tribhuvan University

This paper investigates the grammatical relations in Puma, a complex pronominalised Tibeto-Burman language of the Kiranti subgroup spoken by approximately 4,000 people in Nepal. I employ intra-clausal syntactic rule, such as reflexivisation, and inter-clausal syntactic criteria, such as relativisation, equi-NP construction, control of zero-anaphora, and anaphoric coreference to identify grammatical properties in Puma, as there is no single consistent morpho-syntactic phenomenon which cross-linguistically identifies each of the grammatical relations (Dryer 1997; Van Valin 2003; Bickel 2011).

Puma appears to be a cross-linguistically unusual language to exhibit encoding of reflexive, compared to relatively common two types, namely NP-reflexives and verbal-reflexives (Geniusiene 1987; Lidz 1996; König & Siemund 2011), as in:

\[\text{(1) (a) } \text{NP, } [\theta_{\text{det}}V_{\text{serial}}V]\]
\[\text{(b) } \eta a \text{ bho-oŋ cen-oŋ}\]
\[\text{1SG.ABS cut-1SG.S/P.PST REFL-1SG.S/P.PST}\]
\[\text{‘I cut myself.’ (Sharma 2014)}\]

In Puma relativisation distinguishes between S, A and P arguments, as in (2) which is summarised in (3).
(2) (a) \[sʌŋpwa \ kʌ-bha=pa,] \quad \text{un}-\text{pa}  \\
\text{tree.ABS} \quad \text{ACT.PTCP-cut=MASC} \quad \text{1SG.POSS-father.ABS}  \\
The man who cut the tree is my father.
(b) \[\text{ase} \quad \text{puks-a}=\text{kul} \quad \text{ka-puŋ} \quad \text{thorŋcha} \quad \text{si-a}  \\
yesterday \quad \text{go-PST=NMLZ/ACT.PTCP-go} \quad \text{boy.ABS} \quad \text{die-PST}  \\
The boy who went yesterday died.
(c) \[\text{ŋa} \quad \text{sin-d-u}=\text{ku} \quad \text{marcha} \quad \text{puks-a}  \\
\text{1SG-ERG} \quad \text{recognise-3P-1SG.A=NMLZ} \quad \text{woman.ABS} \quad \text{go-PST}  \\
The woman whom I know went. (Sharma 2014)

(3) The relativisation strategy in Puma

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRs</th>
<th>Relativisation strategy</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>kʌ-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S human</td>
<td>kʌ-V or V=ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S non-human</td>
<td>V=ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>V=ku</td>
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</table>

Like in most languages as Payne (2008) notes that S/A is the controller in the equi-NP construction, no omission of P argument of (4a) under co-reference with the A or S argument is possible in Puma as in (4b), while in Dyirbal S/P is the controller and target for EQUI (Peter Austin, p.c.).

(4) (a) \[\text{pracanda} \quad \text{[rekhā-a} \quad \text{khojkì-laì} \quad \text{pəp-ma]} \quad \text{si}  \\
\text{Prachanda.ABS} \quad \text{Rekha-ERG} \quad \text{3SG-DAT} \quad \text{kiss-INF} \quad \text{want.NPST}  \\
Prachanda wants Rekha to kiss him.'
(b) *\[\text{pracanda} \quad \text{[rekhā-a} \quad \text{pəp-ma]} \quad \text{si}  \\
\text{Prachanda.ABS} \quad \text{Rekha-ERG} \quad \text{kiss-INF} \quad \text{want.NPST}  \\
Intended: ‘Prachanda, wants Rekha to kiss (him).’ (Sharma 2014)

The paper argues that the syntactic pivot for both inter-clausal and intra-clausal syntax is ‘subject’, comprising the single argument of intransitive verbs and the agent-like argument of transitive verbs. Interestingly, the morphology does not treat these in a consistent way but the syntax does. The findings reveal that the syntactic pivot for inter-clausal and intra-clausal syntax in Puma is S/A.

References
SHKAPA

Argument ordering in Manange: Interaction of hierarchies

Maria Shkapa, Sholokhov Moscow State University for the Humanities

For some of the elder speakers of Manange (Gurungic < Tibeto-Burman, spoken in Manang district of Nepal), the position to the left of the verb is reserved for focussed NPs. But for the majority of speakers, the linear position of arguments in a clause is irrelevant to information structure. However, there are other factors that influence the argument order, which is otherwise free:

1) the orders where the subject precedes the direct and indirect objects are preferred;
2) the orders where the direct object precedes the indirect object are preferred;
3) subjects with an overt ergative case are moved more easily than zero-marked subjects;
4) the orders where animate arguments precede inanimate ones are preferred.

We will address the question of the interaction of these hierarchies in finite and non-finite clauses with transitive and ditransitive predicates in Manange. We will show that the degree of preference for a certain order is proportional to how many of these rules (from 0 to 4) it conforms to, in accordance with Cooperation Pattern proposed by John A. Hawkins (2014):

Pattern Two: Cooperation

[T]he more principles there are that define a collective preference for a common set of outputs \{P\}, as opposed to a proper subset or complement set \{P’\} motivated by fewer principles, the greater will be the preference for and size of \{P\}.

At the same time, as it is predicted by Hawkins’ Competition Hypothesis (ibid.), the rules can be stronger or weaker according to their contribution to processing. The weights, as our data show, may vary language internally – from one clause type to another. Thus, the rules relating to the form, (1), (2), and (3), rank higher in non-finite clauses than in finite ones, whereas the animacy hierarchy is more relevant in the latter. We will attempt a functional explanation for this fact in line with Hawkins’ efficiency principles.

Reference


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SIMPSON & NGO
Classifier complexity in Vietnamese and theories of noun-classifier relations
Andrew Simpson, University of Southern California
Binh Ngo, University of Southern California

The surface patterning of numeral classifiers in Vietnamese is in various ways considerably more complex than that observed in other better-described classifier languages of East Asia such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean, as Vietnamese shows significant variation in the obligatory, optional and also non-occurrence of classifiers when nouns of different types occur in certain constructions. This paper provides an analysis of such complex variation and how it also bears on two general theoretical approaches to the syntactic status and role of classifiers – Bale and Coon’s recent (2014) claim, following Krifka (1995), that classifiers of all types syntactically combine with numerals before modifying nouns, in order to enable numerals’ counting function, and Chierchia’s (1998) prominent typology of nouns across languages, in which the presence or absence of classifiers partially establishes what semantic type nominals may have in a particular language. It will be shown that the richness and apparent flexibility of classifier patterns in Vietnamese pose a natural challenge to the Bale and Coon/Krifka characterization of the function of classifiers if assumed to be universal, and also to the simple four-way typology of nominals proposed in Chierchia (1998). The paper presents a detailed syntactic examination of the varying surface distribution of classifiers in different environments, describing a three-way division in the presence/absence of classifiers with nouns in counting constructions which gives Vietnamese the appearance of being a ‘mixed’ nominal language from Chierchia’s (1998) viewpoint, with classifiers only being functionally necessary with certain types of count noun. A range of tests is used to probe the syntax of classifiers further in Vietnamese, looking at the distribution of classifiers and nouns in the ‘extra cái’ construction (where an additional classifier cái occurs), short answer-forms, adjective-stranding ellipsis, and noun-numeral separation patterns in passive sentences, as well as complicated patterns found with compound nouns headed by kinship terms. A comparison of such patterns results in the conclusion that a uniform syntactic structure is in fact projected with count nouns of all types in Vietnamese, despite apparent dissimilarities found in the surface occurrence of classifier elements.

SIMS
An exploration of Qiang ritual language
Nate Sims, University of California, Santa Barbara

Qiang is an endangered Tibeto-Burman language of Sichuan, China. The Qiang are an indigenous people who live in the mountains of western Sichuan, in the Aba Autonomous prefecture. The Qiang speaking population of about 100,000 is split into two officially recognized ethnic groups by the People’s Republic of China. The first are the Qiang ethnic group in the southern Wen, Li, and Mao counties. The second are the Qiang-speaking-Tibetans in the northern Heishui County. Although these two communities speak related varieties of the same language and share an etymologically related autonym, they are divided in terms of religious practice. The Qiang-speaking-Tibetans follow Tibetan Buddhism whereas the ethnic Qiang in the south practice shamanistic pantheism. The shaman, or /xy/ in Qiang, and his ritual language
is at the core of Qiang religious observance. The shaman’s responsibilities include organizing funerals, animal sacrifices, healing sickness, and warding off bad spirits. Shamans can only be males and must undergo several years of training before performing rituals on their own.

Although many varieties remain undescribed, there have been numerous prior linguistic studies of the Qiang language complex. There has also been some anthropological research on Qiang religious culture and ritual practice. Most of these studies involve the material aspect of shamanic practice, such as the shaman’s use of relics, talismans, percussion instruments, and other tools for divination. Significantly less attention has been paid to the crucial role of ritual language and chanting in the shaman’s religious duties. To date, there have been no linguistic investigations of the ritual speech and chants performed by shamans. Thus, this paper will be a linguistic exploration of the ritual language of used by shamans.

SOARE

The Irrealis Construction in Thadou-Kuki
Vlad SOARE, Rice University

Recent research on verb agreement in Kuki-Chin languages has shown that Kuki-Chin languages use a preverbal agreement paradigm (DeLancey 2013a) developed from possession agreement morphemes (DeLancey 2011). In addition to this recently developed paradigm, some languages also use older postverbal agreement morphemes, which can be found in other branches of Tibeto-Burman. These older agreement morphemes are reconstructed as *iŋ and *te (DeLancey 2013b), and they index first person agreement and second person agreement, respectively. In Thadou-Kuki, a Kuki-Chin language of northeast India and Myanmar, both of these Proto-Kuki-Chin agreement markers can still be found in one particular grammatical construction which expresses irrealis/future tense meaning. In this construction *iŋ remains a first person agreement morpheme while *te has been reanalyzed as a clause-final particle/copula. Some examples of this construction have been discussed in previous studies (Krishan 1980, Haokip 2012), however neither study analyzed the full construction. In this study I will analyze the irrealis construction in Thadou-Kuki and show how it developed by comparing that construction with similar ones in other Kuki-Chin languages. I will show that the construction in Thadou-Kuki is historically related to future-tense constructions in other Northern Chin languages, but developed differently from them. While closely related languages in the Northern Chin branch (Tiddim and Paite) are relatively conservative, using postverbal agreement morphemes in many constructions and retaining *te as a second person agreement morpheme, other, less closely related, languages (Monsang and Hmar), pattern more closely to Thadou-Kuki, with the *te morpheme appearing to grammaticalize into a clause-final copula. Finally, I will conclude this study by offering some possible motivations for the particular development of the Thadou-Kuki irrealis construction.

References
SONG

A polysemic sentence-final particle in Baoding dialect and its apprehensive function

Na Song, INALCO - CRLAO

We discuss here a polysemic sentence-final particle le.ja used in the Baoding dialect (a Mandarin dialect of the Jilu subgroup, spoken 140 km south of Beijing), which expresses **apprehensive modality**, a kind of modality that combines epistemic and attitudinal modality, “...has to do with the speaker’s degree of certainty about the factual status of a proposition and also with his or her attitude concerning the desirability of the situation encoded in the clauses” (Lichtenberk 1995, Apprehensional Epistemics, *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*).

Sentence-final particle le.ja has in Baoding two main functions: as an epistemic marker, le.ja indicates an imminent future event; as an apprehensive marker, it indicates a potential imminent event considered as undesirable for the addressee.

(1) ni²¹⁴ ma⁴⁵ njie? Tsuo⁵¹ kuo⁴⁵ ní tšu²¹⁴ teiau²¹⁴tsi le²² ja
   2SG mother CONT Q put saucepan CONT boil ravioli FURImm
   What is your mother doing? She is putting the saucepan on the fire. She is going to cook some ravioli.

(2) (ni²¹⁴ jau⁵¹ si⁵¹ mei²² saŋ²¹⁴mo si¹⁵) wo²¹⁴ saŋ⁵¹ pan⁵¹ kuŋ⁴⁵ si²¹⁴ teʰ⁵¹ le²² ja
   2SG COND NEG what thing 1SG go office go APPR
   (If you don’t need me,) I am going to the office.

The apprehensive reading of the particle is conditioned by the presence in the sentence of a temporal adverb like te⁴⁵ xiú «soon» or an epistemic modal like kε⁴⁵ «might»:

(3) ni²¹⁴ kʰuai⁵¹tianu teʰ⁵¹ saŋ, ??(te⁴⁵ xuia) van⁵¹ le²² ja
   2SG quickly write down wait moment forget APPR
   Write it down quickly, or you will forget it in a moment.

(4) kʰε⁴⁵ piε⁵¹ saŋ⁵¹ xei⁵¹ kə tsau²¹⁴ si¹⁵ teʰ⁵¹, ni²¹⁴ teʰ⁵¹lan²² pau⁴⁵
   never NEG go DEM_dist CLF morning.market go 2SG wallet
   ??(kε⁴⁵) tiou⁴⁵ le²² ja
   EPI lose APPR
   Don’t go to that morning market, or you might lose your wallet.
We first discuss the various predicates that co-occur with le ja, and the reading they trigger. We also investigate how a possible etymology for the particle, and how both functions may be related. Then we focus on the interaction between the apprehensive particle and polar question in Baoding. We conclude by resuming the semantic features of le ja, [+potential] [+undesirable] [+imminent] and argue that, contrary to previous opinions, in the case of Baoding, apprehensive sentences may have a first person as its subject.

SUN
*The Initial Reconstruction of the Tangut language*
Sun Hongkai, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

There are some precedents on the reconstruction of the Tangut pronunciation. Basically, they are the same in essential with minor differences since they all adopted the inner-language reconstruction. In order to avoid the limitation, this paper resorted to the cognate words in Qiangic languages besides the inner-language reconstruction. The initial system, therefore, is different from the precedents. Totally in these aspects: a) the reconstruction of the uvula stop system; b) the reconstruction of nasal voiced stop, voiced affricative, nasal aspirated stop, and aspirated affricative, and their minimal contrasts with the pure voiced consonant; c) the reconstruction of the three sets affricatives and the distinction between dorsal sound and dental sound; d) the reconstruction of 16 consonant clusters with preposed ‘h-’ and ‘ɦ-’ and the related reasons.

TRIBUR
*Bzhag: A case independent, parallel grammaticalization in two Tibetic languages*
Zoe Tribur, University of Oregon

This paper describes parallel verbal constructions in two related languages, Standard Tibetan and Mgolog Tibetan. It is argued that the same lexical source has been Tibetic languages are characterized by an abundance and diversity of post verbal morphology. Tibetic languages seem to develop new post-verbal TAME morphemes quickly. Consequently, there is considerable variation in the forms and functions of Post-verbal suffixes across languages. The constructions contain a cognate form, the element bzhag, which occurs in both languages as a transitive lexical verb with a primary meaning of ‘put down’. In the following examples, bzhag occurs after the semantic main verb in both ST and MT clauses. However, it has different functions in each language.

Standard Tibetan
(1) *khotshos yig nor bris bzhag*
  3P.ERG letter wrong wrote bzhag
  ‘(They) have written the wrong letters.’
In the ST clause, (1), bzhag has a perfect function, indicating that the consequences of the action, ‘write’ are still relevant to the present moment. In contrast, in (2) the MT cognate, bʒəx, has no such epistemic-modal implications. Rather, bʒəx specifically highlights the endpoint of the event, implying that no more eating will take place in the near future, either because there is nothing else to be eaten (as the subject has eaten it all already) or because the subject has satisfied their capacity to eat.

The appearance of the same element in grammatical constructions in Standard Tibetan (ST) and Mgolog Tibetan (MT) is argued to be the result of a common genetic inheritance. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the constructions themselves, which have different functions, are cognate. This paper instead argues that grammatical bzhag developed independently in the two languages through an inherited structure of language change, a process of grammaticalization found throughout Tibetic languages which favors the development of TAME morphemes in the post-verbal position.

**TSOU**

Rhyming and alliterative reduplication in the emblematic QIE’s (Quadra-syllabic Idiomatic Expressions) of Cantonese and some neighboring languages: An exploration in language prehistory

Benjamin TSOU, City University of Hong Kong

The distinction is well recognized between literal meaning and metaphorical or figurative meaning in idioms (ala the chafian distinction between "John kicked the bucket" and "John's kicking the bucket", where only the literal meaning can be foregrounded in the latter example). The additional non-figurative meaning is the cause of the semantic opacity associated with these semi-autonomous constructions and its derivative origin is often enshrouded in cultural and pragmatic predisposition.

In the Sino-Tibetan language family, such idiomatic expressions are found in great abundance in their emblematic Quadra-syllabic Idiomatic Expressions (QIE's) (see appendix). In contrast to the pragmatically based QIEs, many of the constructions involve various kinds of rhyming and alliterative reduplications which are derived from expansions of disyllabic onomatopoetic expressions, which in turn can involve partial or full reduplication themselves. Uncovering the origins of the resultant semantic opacity in this kind of QIE’s is no less challenging, especially for non-native speakers. They are founded on endocentric preferences and deserve attention not only in terms of individual languages per se, but also in the context of the reconstruction of language pre-history.

Among the Chinese dialects, Cantonese shows greater abundance of such QIE’s than other dialects such as Mandarin. It also shows a fairly productive paradigm of progression from a disyllabic expansion [e.g. biba] to nearly 10 QIEs with alternative forms of rhyming and alliterative reduplications and tonal variations and with variations in meaning. Some of these show non-Sinitic features common to the other members of the Sino-Tibetan language family. This paper will focus on providing a descriptive account of such QIE’s and will attempt to outline some possible developments in the language prehistory of the area.
**Appendix**

1. Mandarin:  
   a) 雪中送炭  
   b) 走馬觀花  
   c) 孤男寡女

2. Min/Taiwanese:  
   a) 鴨仔聽雷  
   b) 歹牛換索  
   c) 七講八講

3. Cantonese:  
   a) 朝行晚拆  
   b) 養妻活兒  
   c) 捱更抵夜

4. Thai:  
   a) ṭhāw ᵁhpān ᵀhān  
   b) ṭīk lāk=sōn ᵁmpɔ̄m  
   c) ṭhun ᵁn ᵁmbām  

5. Zhuang:  
   a) va lai luenh da  
   b) bak aj linx conh  
   c) dambak dai sag

6. Dai (Dehong):  
   a) mun5 lan4 pan4 sên1  
   b) tâ8 lu6 hu1 fâŋ2  
   c) kin6 men4 kin6 mot9

7. Vietnamese:  
   a) nhâp gia tuy tục  
   b) tiến thăng chi quốc  
   c) kí vãng bất cụu

8. Tibetean:  

**VANBIK & TLUANGNEH**

*Directional Verbal Particles in H. Lai*

Ken VanBik, San Jose State University  
Thlasui Tluangneh, Chin Baptist Churches USA

This paper analyzes the five pairs of directional verbal particles in H. Lai. These five pairs include:

(a) *hei* and *va* showing 'movement of the doer on the level surface'; (speaker S, listener L, and doer in the same side)
(b) *rak* and *ra* 'movement of the doer on the same level'; (speaker and doer, not in the same side, listener can be in both sides)
(c) *run* and *rung* 'movement of the doer from above to the level'; (doer above, speaker in level, listener on both sides)
(d) *vun* and *vung* 'movement of the doer from level to a lower position'; (speaker, listener, and doer in the same side)
(e) *hun* and *hung* 'movement of the doer from level to a higher position'; (speaker and listener can be in both sides together or separate, doer in lower place)

Sentences (2) and (3) illustrate how one pair functions, and (1) is a sample sentence.

1. John nih vok a cheh = John stoned a pig  
   John erg pig he stoned (erg = ergative marker)

   If John stoned the pig from where he was, the speaker will use sentence (2) with the directional verbal particle *hei*, as illustrated by a long line in Figure 1. (S = speaker, L = listener, J = John, P = pig).

2. John nih vok a *hei* cheh =  
   John stoned a pig  
   (John threw the stone from afar)

S L
Figure (1): John did not move towards the pig

But if John went to where the pig was and then stoned it, the speaker will use sentence (3), with the directional verbal particle va, as illustrated by a short line in Figure (2).

(3) John nih vok a va cheh = John stone a pig (e.g. after approaching the pig)

Figure (2): John moved towards the pig on a level surface

We claim that even though the functions of these particles are different, there is similarity among them in terms of how the interlocutors behave in relation to position, distance, and movement.

VANDERVEEN

The sound system of Stau
Chantel Vanderveen, Canada Institute of Linguistics

This paper describes the phonology of the Mazi dialect of Stau (=Daofu). Stau is a Western rGyalrongic language of the rGyalrongic subgroup. It is spoken by approximately 23,000 people in Daofu County, Ganzi Prefecture in northwestern Sichuan Province, China. The area of Sichuan in which the Stau live is part of the “Ethnic Corridor,” a region marked by extreme topography (high mountain passes and steep river valleys), which has contributed to a high density of cultural and linguistic diversity. The paper will present an analysis of the phonemic inventory. Then it will describe phonotactics and syllable structure, and touch on phonological processes. Comparison will be made with descriptions of related dialects (e.g. Huang 1991). In addition, acoustic analysis of the vowels and some consonants will be presented.
WIDMER

The internal classification of West Himalayish languages and their relation to Zhangzhung
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The West Himalayish branch of Tibeto-Burman consists of fourteen languages that are spoken in the North Indian States of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand (see Widmer 2015 for an overview). In 1933, Thomas put forward the hypothesis that the West Himalayish languages may be closely related to Zhangzhung. Zhangzhung is an extinct Tibeto-Burman language that is fragmentarily attested in the texts of the Bon religion and possibly also in a number of Dunhuang texts and is commonly considered to have been the language of the kingdom Zhangzhung, which controlled a substantial part of the Western Himalayas until it was subdued by the expanding Tibetan empire in the 7th century CE. Thomas’ idea subsequently gained wide acceptance among scholars. However, although there is some lexical evidence for a genetic link between Zhangzhung and West Himalayish, the exact nature of this relationship is difficult to assess, as there is no consensus on the internal classification of West Himalayish languages (see Widmer 2015 for an overview of different classifications).

The talk will address this issue and offer an internal classification of West Himalayish that takes into account both lexical and morphosyntactic evidence. It will be argued that West Himalayish consists of two main branches, a western branch and an eastern branch, both of which can be further subdivided into smaller genetic units. It will then be shown that Zhangzhung appears to be affiliated with the eastern branch, thus corroborating earlier proposals by Shafer (1957) and Martin (2013).

References

WILLIS OKO

Clause-level Nominalization in Darma and the Rung Languages of Uttarakhand, India
Christina Willis Oko, Rice University

Recent studies have investigated the patterns of nominalization in the languages of Asia from a diachronic and a typological perspective (see for example Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011). Included within the typology is clausal nominalization whereby a series of subordinate or adverbial clauses come before the matrix verb. These nominalized structures are commonly identified as “converbal clauses” (Genetti 2011:174) for the Tibeto-Burman languages.

Used as a strategy by speakers to move the narrative forward (Saxena 2004), it is possible for the subject to change from clause to clause. Cross-linguistically, we find that subject referents can be indicated throughout the discourse with switch-reference markers (Stirling 1993). Some languages employ Same Subject and Different Subject markers for each non-finite verb in a clause chain, while others only mark a Different Subject. While attested in languages from around the world that employ
clause chaining as a discourse strategy, the topic of switch reference has not received much attention in the Tibeto-Burman literature.

This paper seeks to fill this gap by discussing converbal clauses found in Darma, a Tibeto-Burman language that has been described as having strategy for marking Different Subject in a narrative (Willis 2005). One of three closely related Tibeto-Burman languages of the Almora group – which also includes Byangkho (Byansi), and Bangba (Chaudangsi) – Darma is a typical Tibeto-Burman language that has several types of nominalization. After providing an overview of the attested nominalizers for each of these languages, I will focus on the morphology used in converbal constructions. In particular, I will investigate whether or not there is a way for speakers to indicate a change in the subject of clauses that are strung together in the Almora languages.

References

WIN
Sentence ending problems for expatriates in colloquial Burmese
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Tibeto-Burman is the key component of Sino-Tibetan and it is the branch with the most numerous and highly differentiated individual languages. The total number of speakers in Burmese language, one of Tibeto-Burman languages, is about 54 million in Burma (Myanmar) and it is quit different from literary Burmese. There are many kinds of sentence ending in colloquial Burmese such as: affirmative sentence ending, negative sentence ending, positive imperative sentence ending, negative imperative sentence ending (slight different in politeness), some other alternative endings: harsh and more commanding, insisting and requesting, yes-no questing endings with polite and impolite usages, open questing endings, polite tag and any other sentence endings. Those usages in colloquial Burmese are changing a lot while Burmese people speak out daily and that is one of problems for expatriates who want to approach learning Burmese and want to speak with native speakers. But those all usages are not broken Burmese and are correct grammatically. This is unusual character of colloquial Burmese. This paper focuses on what the different sentence endings in contemporary colloquial Burmese are, what the problems for expatriates while their language approaching are and how to make less difficult like those kinds of sentence endings in Burmese.
This paper addresses the variant tone sandhi domain (hereafter, TSD) of the youngsters’ Taiwanese (hereafter, YT). The youngsters are aged from 20 to 27, and live in the north regions of Taiwan. Their intuition of Taiwanese tone sandhi differs from that of the older generation’s, known as Mainstream Taiwanese (hereafter, MT). Previous studies (Chiu 1931, C. Cheng 1970, R. Cheng 1968, 1973, Chen 1987, and Hsiao 1991, 1995) have indicated the TSD of MT is marked at a non-adjunct XP’s right edge. The domain-final syllable retains its base tone (T), but all preceding syllables surface with their sandhi tones (T’). The TSD in YT is defined differently: the TSD is marked at the right edge of an X-head and an adjunct-XP. However, the TSD of YT presents a variation. First, a domain boundary (#) either occurs at the right edge of an X-head or not, as in (1).

(1) YT variation: X\textsuperscript{head} right edge
\[
\text{sái-lōng}\quad\text{pat-lāng}\quad\text{ê}\quad\text{kām-tsîng}
\] ‘fomenting tension among people.’
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
T' & T' & T' & T' & T' & T\# \\
\end{array}
\] MT
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
T' & T\# & T' & T' & T' & T\# \\
\end{array}
\] YT-1
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
T' & T & T' & T' & T' & T\# \\
\end{array}
\] YT-2

In the YT-1 reading, an additional boundary appears after the verb head, sái-lōng, and the line is parsed into two TSDs. As a result, both domain-final syllables, -lōng, and -tsîng, retain their base tones. On the contrary, YT-2 reading forms the verb head with the NP into one TSD, which conforms to that of MT.

Second, the boundary at the right edge of an adjunct also varies, as in (2).

(2) YT variation: adjunct right edge
\[
\text{se}\quad\text{tsît}\quad\text{tiám-tsîng}\quad\text{kú}\quad\text{sī}\quad\text{án-tsuánn}
\] ‘How could you spend the whole shower one hour long be how hour just for a shower?’
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
T' & T' & T' & T' & T' & T\# \\
\end{array}
\] MT
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
T' & T' & T' & T\# & T\# & T' & T' & T\# \\
\end{array}
\] YT-1
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
T' & T' & T' & T\# & T\# & T' & T' & T\# \\
\end{array}
\] YT-2

In the YT-1 reading, an # is placed at the right edge of the adjunct QP tsît tiám-tsîng ‘one hour’. Thus, all domain-final syllables -tsieng, ku and -tsuánn retain their base tones. In the YT-2 reading, QP forms one domain with the AP and the spoken line contains two TSDs as MT does.

This research interprets YT tone sandhi from the perspectives of syntax-phonology interface (Selkirk, Nespor & Vogel, Chen, Cheng, Hayes, Shen, Kanerva, Bickmore and Hsiao, among others) and language variation within the realm of optimality theory (Antilla, Reynolds, Boersma, Hayes, and Coetzee, among others).
The boundary of the TSD not only marked at an XP’s right edge but also optionally at the right edge of a V$^{\text{head}}$ or an adjunct. An interesting tendency is observed here that a spoken line may be parsed into smaller domains for the youngsters, but YT’s TSD mostly corresponds to that of MT, in terms of tone sandhi.

**YI & LAI**

*Stem alternation in Khroskyabs*

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Khroskyabs (a.k.a. Lavrung) is a Rgyalrongic language spoken in the Tibetan region in North-Western Sichuan. While being rich both phonologically and morphologically, previous accounts of Khroskyabs are rather rare and insufficient.

This paper aims at providing a description of the phenomenon of stem alternation in this language, focusing on the Siyuewu (斯跃武) variant.

Stem alternation helps modify the TAM properties of a verb. As is already mentioned in Sun (2000) for Mbrongrdzong (木尔宗) Khroskyabs, most Siyuewu verbs have two stems, stem 1 the non-past stem, and stem 2 the past stem, although a handful of verbs have a third, irrealis stem.

Various strategies of stem alternation are found, amongst which the most common one is tone alternation: a high toned verb becomes low toned in stem 2 and vice versa. Another common alternation strategy is through ablauting, of which at least seven types are attested. Other strategies include suppletion and aspiration alternation.

The strategies are not mutually exclusive: in most of the cases, we find several strategies applied for a single stem. The type of alternation of a given verb is often not predictable.

Comparative analyses will be made with other Khroskyabs dialects, especially the Wobzi (俄热) variant, which is relatively better documented, as well as Guanyinqiao (观音桥) (Huang 2007) and Njorogs (业隆) (Yin 2007).

Table 1 illustrates several examples of stem alternation in Siyuewu Khroskyabs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem 1 (non-past)</th>
<th>Stem 2 (past)</th>
<th>Stem 3 (Irrealis)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mäy</td>
<td>mäy (tone alternation)</td>
<td></td>
<td>not to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fcʰɔd</td>
<td>fcʰɔd (ablaut)</td>
<td></td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nő</td>
<td>nő (ablaut, tone alternation)</td>
<td></td>
<td>to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tő</td>
<td>tʰɔd (aspiration, tone alternation, -d suffixation)</td>
<td></td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>væd</td>
<td>ž₃m (supletion)</td>
<td>ž₃m (tone alternation)</td>
<td>to take</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples below show how different verb stems work in Wobzi Khroskyabs, illustrated by the verb væ ‘to bring, to take’ (extracted from natural narratives):
(1) $rdzāy=ji=tə \quad k-u-vé \quad n-u-vé$

$\text{clay}=\text{PL}=\text{DEF} \quad \text{NPFV}_1: \text{upstream}-\text{INV}-\text{take}_1 \quad \text{NPFV}_1: \text{downstream}-\text{INV}-\text{take}_1$

$n-u-vé=pa \quad rə-ŋə́e$

$\text{NPFV}-\text{INV}=\text{do}_2=\text{PTCP} \quad \text{NPFV}=\text{be}_1$

He took the clay here and there.

(2) $ðənō \quad eō \quad χurūla \quad mòrgo=la \quad u-zōm$

one.day \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{upside} \quad \text{sky}=\text{LOC} \quad \text{PFV}=\text{INV}=\text{take}_2$

One day, (Skyfather) took him into the sky.

(3) $cæcō \quad <dànggāo>=tə \quad æmācʰw=ji=ji \quad jōm \quad rə-ζō-ni \quad u-ʔə=sì$

$\text{DEM} \quad \text{cake}=\text{DEF} \quad \text{grandmother}=\text{PL}=\text{POSS} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{NPFV}_1: \text{take}_3=\text{PTCP} \quad \text{PFV}=\text{INV}=\text{say}_2=\text{EVD}$

She said, "Take this cake to Grandma's house."

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ZEMP
Two ways in which conjunct/disjunct oppositions may arise - An instructive intersection
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Previous research on the topic (cf. for instance DeLancey 1992, Aikhenvald 2004, de Haan 2005, Post 2013, or Tournadre & LaPolla 2014) has not acknowledged the possibility that a conjunct verb form may originate from a neutral ‘factual’ verb form that was only ‘epistemicized’ when it became directly opposed to a ‘testimonial’ (cf. Tournadre 1996) form. Evidence from Purik Tibetan (cf. Zemp 2014), however, indicates that this is exactly what happened in Tibetan.

In Widmer & Zemp (submitted), we have been able to thoroughly reconstruct another way in which conjunct/disjunct oppositions (CDOs) may come into being. In short, data from three different languages spoken in the Himalayas bear testimony to a process in the course of which 1st and 2nd person markers are reanalyzed as conjunct and disjunct markers, respectively, in the context of reported speech.

The fact that these two paths lead to almost the same result allows us to capture the core around which CDOs revolve. In contrast to predicates that indicate person-agreement, for instance, which are primarily grounded in the setting of the current speech act (within which the landmarks of the speaker and the addressee are defined against the rest of the world), CDOs are primarily grounded in the setting of the event they describe or predict (where only a single landmark corresponding to Hargreaves’ (2005) ‘epistemic source’ and Creissels' (2008) ‘assertor’ is defined in its relation to the event and against the rest of the world). Instead of agreeing with a speech-act (non-)participant, CDOs are thus free to specify whether the assertor has (conjunct) or does not have (disjunct) privileged access to some information.

I will go on to show that there is only a limited number of event types (which may be conceptualized as emanating from, passing through, or directed towards the assertor) to which conjunct forms are and
may be applied in the world’s languages, and that certain ones of them may fall into the domain of conjunct forms that originate from ‘factual’ verb forms but not of those that were epistemicized in reported speech.

References
Widmer, Manuel, and Marius Zemp. Submitted. The epistemization of person-markers in reported speech.