Grammatical relations in Yakkha

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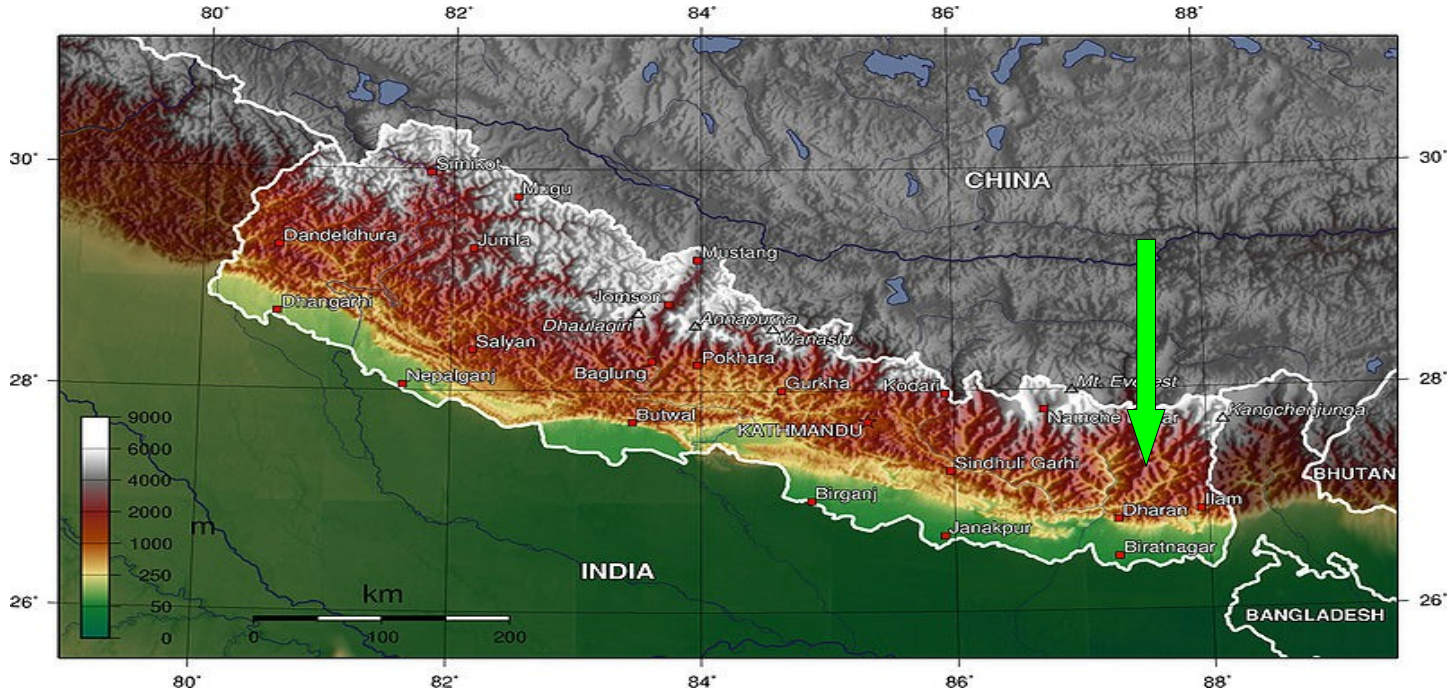
Overview

- 1. **Introduction** (typological profile, methodology)
- 2. **Coding** properties:
  case, agreement
- 3. **Behavioral** properties:
  converbs, participant nominalization, control, raising, auxiliaries, detransitivization
- 4. **Summary** and discussion of the data

1 Introduction

- Sino-Tibetan > TB > Kiranti > Eastern Kiranti
- East Nepal
- 14.000 speakers



1 Typological profile

- SOV, head-final
- complex verbal morphology and morphophonology
- arguments are easily dropped
- **diverse alignment types**
- **interaction of role- and reference-based alignment**

1 Method, terminology

- Grammatical relations as **restricted neutralizations of arguments**
- **Construction-specific**
- GR conditioned by **predicate classes, referential properties, construction type, clausal properties** (Bickel 2010).
- What is compared: **generalized semantic roles** (GSR), determined w.r.t. particular predicates

2 Coding properties

- Case:
  - **ERG *=ŋa***, with split along SAP/3rd person distinction.
  - **No DAT/ACC** case markers.
  - **LOC *=pe*** and **INS *=ŋa*** used to mark G and T of three-argument verbs.

2 Coding properties

- Case:
  Ergative ***=ŋa***, split: no ERG on SAP-pronouns

  (1a)

  uŋ=ŋa *kucuma* *mokt-wa=na*
  3sg=ERG dog[ABS] beat-NPST[3A>3P]=DECL.sg
  "He beats the dog."

  (1b)

  nda *kucuma* *mokt-wa-ga=na*
  2sg[ABS] dog[ABS] beat-NPST[3P]-2.A=DECL.sg
  "You beat the dog."

2 Coding properties

- Agreement:
  - intransitive and transitive paradigms
  - no uniform alignment

	INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE						
		1SG	1NSG	2SG	2DU	2SG	3SG	3NSG
1SG	-ŋ(=na)			-nen(=na)			-u-ŋ(=na)	-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ(=ha)
1DU.EXCL	-ŋ-ci-ŋ(=ha)			-nen-cin(=ha)			-u-ŋ-c-u-ŋ(=na)	-u-ŋ-c-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ(=ha)
1PL.EXCL	-i-ŋ(=ha)			-nen-in(=ha)			-u-m-ŋa(=na)	-u-m-ci-m-ŋ(=ha)
1DU.INCL	-ci(=ha)						-u-c-u(=na)	-u-c-u-ci(=ha)
1PL.INCL	-i(=ha)						-u-m(=na)	-u-m-ci-m(=ha)
2SG	-ka(=na)	-ŋ-ka(=na)					-u-ka(=na)	-u-ci-ka(=ha)
2DU	-ci-ka(=ha)		-ka(=ha)				-u-c-u-ka(=na)	-u-c-u-ci-ka(=ha)
2PL	-i-ka(=ha)						-u-m-ka(=na)	-u-m-ci-m-ka(=ha)
3SG	(=na)	-ŋ(=na)		-ka(=na)	-ci-ka(=ha)	-i-ka(=ha)	-u(=na)	-u-ci(=ha)
3DU	-ci(=ha)		(=ha)				-u-c-u(=na)	-u-c-u-ci(=ha)
3PL	N- (=ha)-ci			N- -ka(=na)			N- -u(=na)	N- -u-ci(=ha)

2 Coding properties

- Alignment of single markers:
  ***-ka* „2“ (neutral, except 1>2)**

	1P	2P	3P	S
1A				
2A				
3A				

2 Coding properties

- Alignment of single markers:
  ***-ŋ(a)* „excl, 1sg“ (neutral, except 1>2)**

	1P	2P	3P	S
1A				
2A				
3A				

2 Coding properties

- Alignment of single markers:
  -*i* „1/2pl.S“ & „2P“ (ergative for 2, except 1>2)

	1P	2P	3P	S
1A				
2A				
3A				

2 Coding properties

- **Historical** forms (recent loss of 1nsg.P forms):
  ***-i* „1/2pl.S/P“ (ergative)**

	1P	2P	3P	S
1A				
2A				
3A				

2 Coding properties

- Alignment of single markers:
  ***-u* „3P“, *-ci* „3nsg.P“ (accusative)**

	1P	2P	3P	S
1A				
2A				
3A				

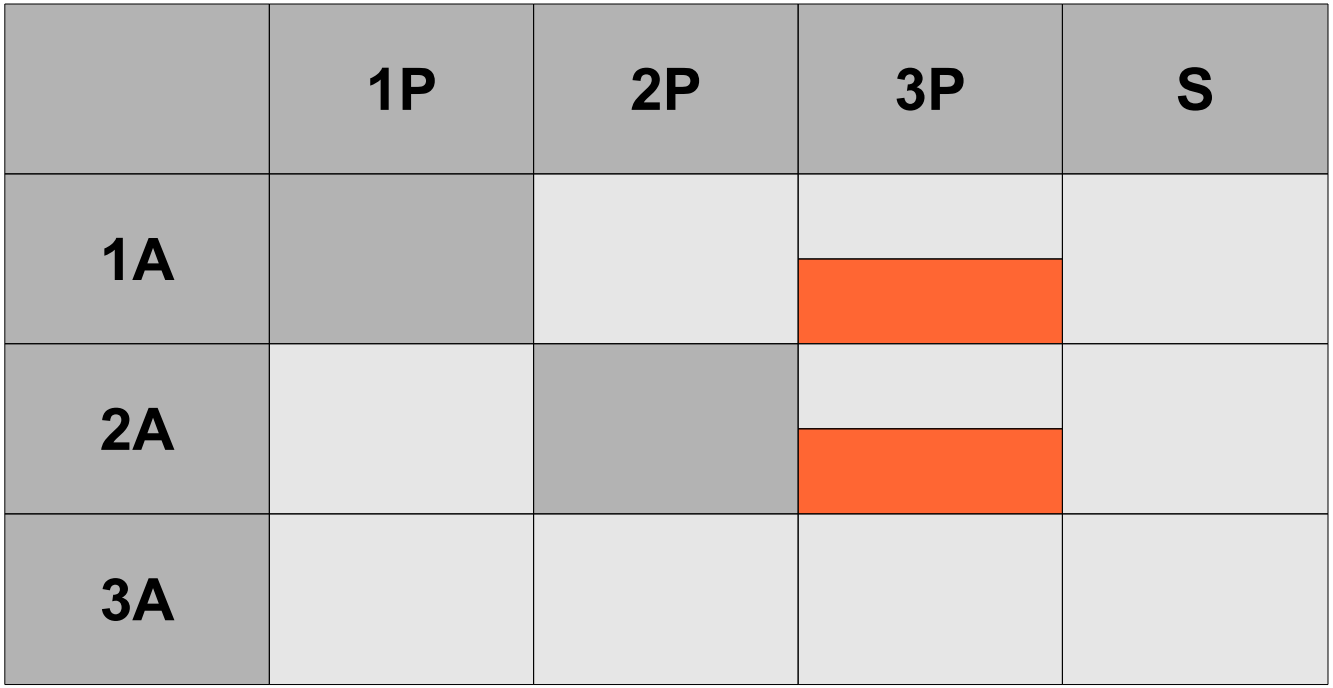
2 Coding properties

- Alignment of single markers:
  ***N*- „3pl.S/A“, zero „3sg.S/A“ (accusative)**

	1P	2P	3P	S
1A				
2A				
3A		(sg)		

2 Coding properties

- Alignment of single markers:
  -*m* „1/2pl.A > 3.P“ (scenario-portmanteau)



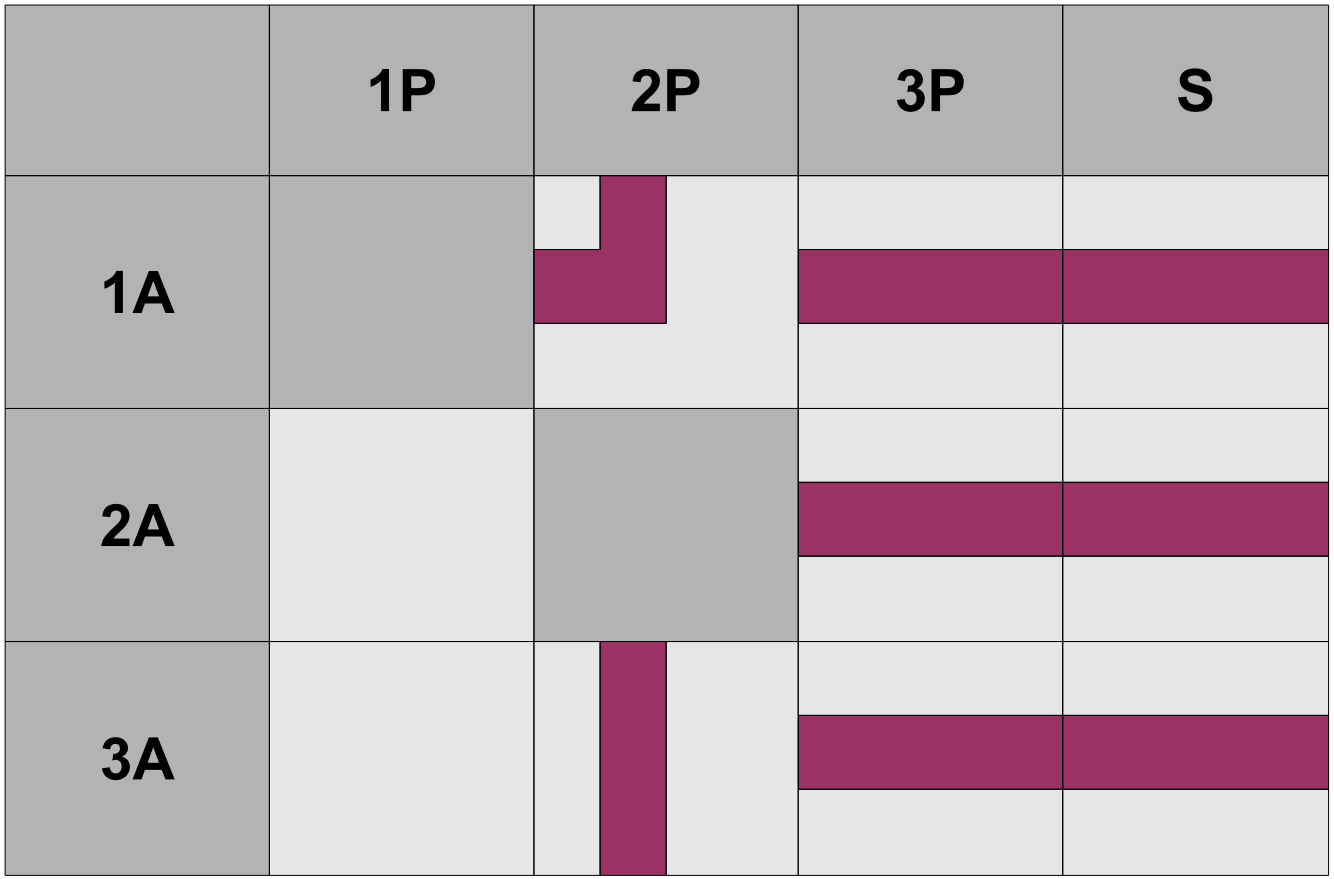
2 Coding properties

- Alignment of single markers:
  ***-nen* „1.A > 2.P“ (scenario-portmanteau)**

	1P	2P	3P	S
1A				
2A				
3A				

2 Coding properties

- **-*ci* „dual“ (mixed: acc./neutral/ref.-based)**



2 Coding properties

- Conditions:

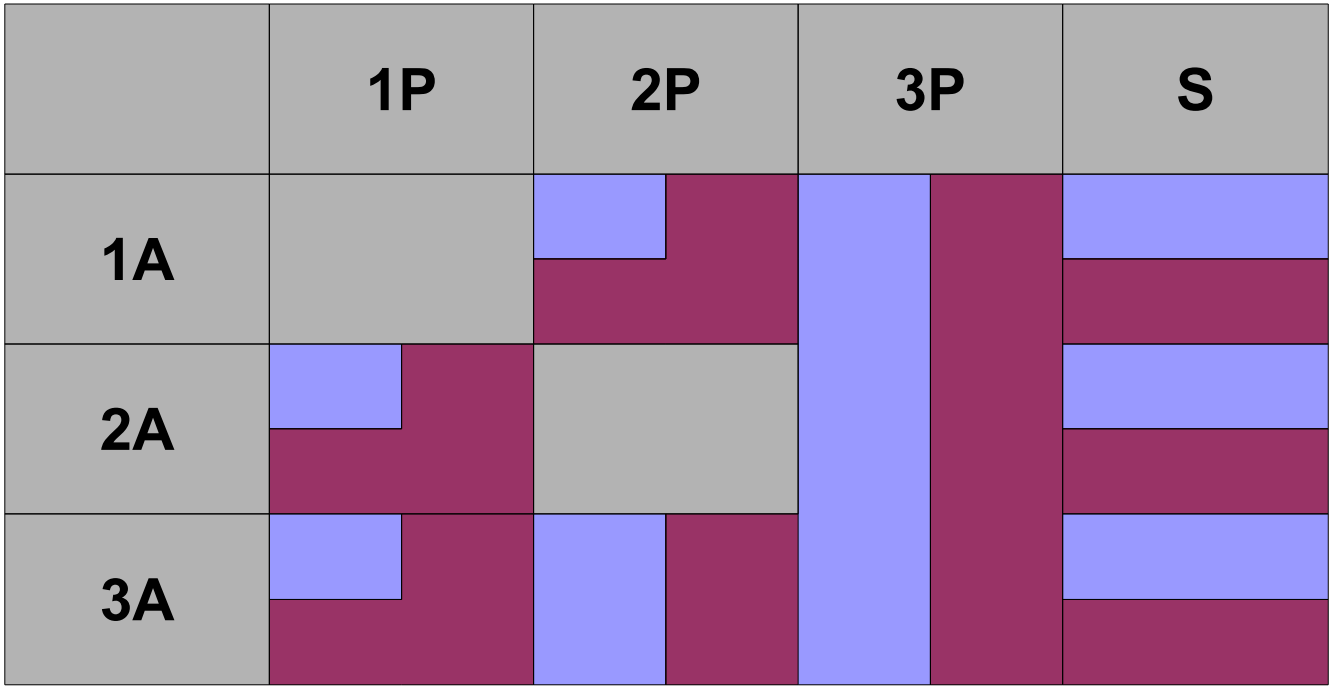
  (any A >) 3P:
  accusative alignment (S/A)

  (any A >) 2P:
  neutral (3A), **reference-based** (1A, factor: number)

  (any A >) 1P:
  marker absent in trans. forms (loss of forms due to politeness strategy)

2 Coding properties

- Alignment of single markers (declarative clitic):
  =na „sg“; ***=ha*** **„nsg“ (mixed: erg./ref.-based)**



2 Coding properties

- Alignment of single markers (declarative clitic):
  =na „sg“; ***=ha*** **„nsg“ (ergative/hierarchical)**
- Conditions:

  1>2 and all forms with **1P**:
  hierarchically aligned

  3>2 and all forms with **3P**:
  ergatively aligned

2 Coding properties - summary

- Both the **alignment** and the **conditions** for the alignment of agreement are mixed
- Messy picture, but not unusual for Kiranti (Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2011)
- No clear-cut distinctions, but **tendencies**
  3 – accusative
  SAP – ergative, reference-based, scenario-portmanteaus, neutral

2 Coding properties - summary

- Role-based conditions:

  P is more salient than A (alignment more consistent across columns than across rows in the paradigms)

- Reference-based conditions:
  SAP vs. 3
  nsg vs. sg; pl vs. du vs. sg

- (animate/human vs. inanimate for case alternations, not discussed here)

3 Behavioral properties

- participant nominalizer/relativizer ***-khuba***, only S/A:

(2a)
iskul *khek-khuba* *(babu)*
school go-NMLZ.S/A (boy)
"the boy who goes to school"
(2b)
mok-khuba *(babu)*
beat-NMLZ.S/A (boy)
"the boy who beats up others"

3 Behavioral properties

- participant nominalizer/relativizer ***-wa***, presumably only P (not many examples, though):

(3a)

eg-wa	*seula*
break-NMLZ.P	grass

"the grass that is broken off"

(3b)

ni?-wa
fry-NMLZ.P

"fried things"

3 Behavioral properties

- Converbs: e.g. ***-saŋ***, for simultaneous events with identical S/A arguments:

(4a)
[…] ka-saŋ por-a-khy-a=na
[…] say-CVB topple.over-PST-V2.go-PST=DECL.sg
"It (the pillar) said […] and toppled over."
(4b)
paŋ-paŋ=be nak-saŋ khe?-ma
house-house=LOC beg-CVB go-INF[DEONT]
"One has to go from house to house, begging."

3 Behavioral properties

- Any S/A is selected, also non-canonically marked S/A: e.g. **possessive of experience**, locative possessors etc.

(5a)

o-pomma	*kes-saŋ*	*kam*	*cog-wa*
3sg-laziness	come.up-CVB	work	do-NPST[3A>3P]

"He does the work lazily."

(5b)

o-pomma	*kek-khuba*	*babu*
3sg.POSS-laziness	come.up-NMLZ.S/A	boy

"a lazy fellow"

3 Behavioral properties

- **Double agreement** in finite complements (perception/cognition verbs): embedded S/A triggers object agreeement in matrix verb

(6a)

ta-ya-ga=na *ni-nen=na*
come-PST-**2.S**=NMLZ.sg see-1>**2**=DECL.sg
"I saw that you came."

(6b)

cuwa *uŋ-wa-ga* *lo?a* *em-me?-nen=na*
beer drink-NPST-**2.A** like perceive-NPST-1>**2**=DECL.sg
"To me it seems that you drink beer."

3 Behavioral properties

- Infinitive-complement taking verbs:
  kaŋma „conform, comply, agree, be willing“
- Matrix S controls embedded **S/P**

3 Behavioral properties

- only **S** and **P** trigger agreement in matrix verb

  (7a)

  na picha im-ma ŋ-gaks-a-n=na
  this child sleep-INF NEG-agree-PST[3sg.S]-NEG=DECL.sg
  "This child was not willing to sleep."

  (7b)

  pik cu?-ma ŋ-gaks-a-n=hoŋ, ...
  cow pierce-INF NEG-agree-PST[3sg.S]-NEG=SEQ
  "As the cow was not willing to be pierced, ..."

- no universal, semantically conditioned and syntactically reflected category of „subject" (as e.g. in Dixon 1998)

3 Behavioral properties

- **Deontic** modality, agreement of auxiliary (copula) **local** scenarios (SAP>SAP): **S=P**

(8a)

ka	*khe?-ma*	*ŋan*
1sg	go-INF	COP.AUX.1sg

"I have to go."

3 Behavioral properties

- **Deontic** modality, agreement of auxiliary (copula) **local** scenarios (SAP>SAP): **S=P**

(8b)

ka	*nda*	*so?-ma*	*gan*
1sg	2sg	watch-INF	COP.AUX.**2sg**

"I have to watch you."

(8c)

nda	*ka*	*so?-ma*	*ŋan*
2sg	1sg	watch-INF	COP.AUX.**1sg**

"You have to watch me."

3 Behavioral properties

- **Deontic** modality, infinitive and auxiliary (copula) **mixed** scenarios (SAP<>3): **SAP**

(9a)

ka	*uŋci*	*so?-ma*	*ŋan*
1sg	3nsg	watch-INF	COP.**1sg**

"**I** have to watch them."

(9b)

uŋ=ŋa	*nda*	*so?-ma*	*gan*
3sg=ERG	2sg	watch-INF	COP.**2sg**

"He has to watch **you**.

3 Behavioral properties

- **Imperfective auxiliary**, only 1/2 P arguments trigger agreement:

(10a)

ka uŋ thim-ma sim-me-ŋ=na

1sg 3sg scold-INF IPFV.AUX-NPST-**1sg.S**=DECL.sg

"I am scolding him."

(10b)

*aphu=ŋa nda thim-ma sim-me-**ka**=na*

e.brother=ERG 2sg scold-INF IPFV.AUX**[3A]-2P**=DECL.sg

"My elder brother is scolding **you**."

3 Behavioral properties

- **Detransitivization: neutralization of A and P**

- No overt marker, just intransitive inflection

  Passive:
  demotion of A, promotion of P/T/G,

  Antipassive:
  demotion of P/T/G, A retained

3 Behavioral properties

- **Detransitivization, e.g. *khemma* „listen/hear“:**

(11a)

dilu *reḍio* *khem-me?=na*

Dilu radio listen-NPST[3sg.S]=DECL.sg

“Dilu listens to the radio (usually).”

(11b)

ten=be *ḍhol(=ci)* *ŋ-khem-me=ha(=ci)*

village=LOC drum(=NSG) 3pl.S-hear-NPST=DECL.nsg(=nsg)

“In the village the drums were heard/audible.”

4 Summary

Construction	GR	Type
Agreement	**heterogenous**	role-based; ref.-based
Case	**{A} {S, P}**	role-based, ERG (ref-b. split)
CVB ***-saŋ***	**{S, A} {P}**	role-based, ACC
NMLZ ***-khuba, -wa***	**{S, A} {P}**	role-based, ACC
Raising (perception verbs)	**{S, A} {P}**	role-based, ACC
Control (*"be willing"*)	**{A} {S, P}**	role-based, ERG
Auxiliaries ("have to")	**{A} {S, P} or SAP**	role-based, ERG; ref.-based
Auxiliaries ("IPFV")	**{S, A} and {P.1/2}**	role-based, ACC; ref.-based
Detransitivization	**{A, P}**	role-based, A=P
Furthermore (not discussed here):		
Agreement and case alternations (three-participant verbs)	**{1/2} {anim/hum}**	ref.-based

4 Summary

- Most heterogenous: **agreement & case**
  both **reference-based** and **role-based** GR
- reference: 2/**SAP salience**, **nsg >sg**
  → independent hierarchies
  → relevance of scenarios (i.e., of co-arguments)
- role:
  → **P salience** in in conditions on split alignment
  → 3rd person accusative, against predictions of RH (cf. also Bickel 2008)

4 Summary

- **Syntax**:
  - **many pivots** (ACC, ERG, 1/2, A=P)

  → both **role- and reference-based** GR (the latter being limited to constructions involving agreement)

  → furthermore: several constructions without GR (finite subordination types, relativization)

  → no dominant alignment type in Yakkha

5 References

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