

Grammatical relations in Chintang^{*}

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1 Case

- Default predicate class: NOM on {S, A_[+SAP], O, T}, ERG on {A_[-SAP]}, LOC on {G}:

- (1) a. *mechacha khad-e.*
woman[-NOM] [3sS-]go-PST
'The woman went away.'
- b. *menuwa-ŋa sencak sed-e.*
cat-ERG rat[-NOM] [3sA-]kill-PST[-3sP]
'The cat killed a (specific) rat.'
- c. *akka(*-ŋa) sencak sed-u-hē.*
1s[-NOM](*-ERG) cat[-NOM] kill-3sP-1sA.PST
'I killed a (specific) rat.'
- d. *abo hungo=na hana-ŋa=yəŋ abo a-ŋis-u-ŋs-e.* (suntala-talk.61)
now DEM=TOP 2s-ERG=ADD now 2sA-know-3sP-PRF-PST
'Now as for that, even you knew it before.'
- e. *je-lam=na hana=yəŋ a-nis-o-ko?* (CLLDCh2R14S03.1065)
ज्ञे-MED=TOP 2s[-NOM]=ADD 2sA-know-3sP-NPST
'Do you also know it (the alphabet) from 'je' onwards?'
- f. *akka musa-ko u-chau=ŋa Hiranne*
1s[-NOM] mouse-GEN 3sPOSS-child=EMPH[-NOM] H.
musa-be=lo basa-ŋa=na u-paŋs-e-hē.
mouse-LOC=PTCL DEM.PROX-ABL=TOP 3nsA-send-PST-1sP.PST

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[mouse-story.145]

‘They sent me, a mouse child, to Hiraṇya Mouse, just like this!’

- Deranked experiencer verbs: GEN/POSS on {S,A} (experiencer), NOM on {O} (stimulus); or NOM on {S,A} (experiencer), ERG on {O} (stimulus or empty):

(2) a. *pache sencakna u-kipma kad-e=pho.* (story.cat.167)

later mouse=TOP 3sPOSS-fear [3sS-]come.up-PST=REP
‘Later on the rat was afraid.’

b. *mikha=yaṅ u-kipma=yaṅ katt-o-ko.* (story.cat.091)

small=ADD 3sPOSS-fear=ADD [3sA-]bring.up-3sP-NPST
‘He is small and he is also afraid of him.’

(3) *(marci-ṅa) (hana) na-haṅs-e elo?* (CLLDCh1R13S04.143)

(chilly-ERG) (2s[-NOM]) 3>2-have.a.hot.taste-PST or
‘Is it hot for you?’ (तिमीलाई पियो भयो कि?)

- Nominative experiencer verbs: NOM on {S,A,O}:

(4) *kanchi (hana) haknuwa a-si-e elo?* (CLLDCh3R13S03.068)

youngest.one.FEM (2s[-NOM]) sweat 2sS/A-feel-PST or
‘Kanchi, you feel hot, don’t you?’ (कान्छी, गर्मी भयो कि ?)

- Primary object ditransitives: NOM on {S,O,G,A_{[+SAP]}}}, INSTR on {T} (ca. 20% of ditransitives), ERG on {A_{[-SAP]}}}

(5) a. *a-ma-ṅa hana munjei-ṅa na-bhukt-e.*

1sPOSS-mother-ERG 2s[-NOM] shawl-INS 3>2-cover-PST
‘Mother covered you with a shawl.’

b. *athomba gol-ṅa rame or-o-ṅs-e.* (CLLDCh1R13S02.1242)

before ball-INS R.[-NOM] throw.at-3sP-PERF-PST
‘He has hit Rame with a ball before.’

- Double-object ditransitives: NOM on {S,O,T,G,A_{[+SAP]}}}, ERG on {A_{[-SAP]}}} (ca. 10% of ditransitives)

(6) a. *huīsa-ṅa phe?wa u-kam hakt-e.*

DEMs-ERG money[-NOM] 3sPOSS-friend[-NOM] [3sA-]send.to-PST[-3sP]
‘He sent his friend money.’

b. *huīsa-ṅa hana chatta na-bopt-e.*

DEMs-ERG 2s[-NOM] umbrella[-NOM] 3>2-cover-PST
‘She covered you with an umbrella.’

2 Agreement

- To keep things simple, I only summarize the sets that trigger agreement, ignoring alignments specific to individual morphemes (on which see Bickel 2008).
- Default predicate class: ‘S-Agreement’ with {S} vs. ‘A-agreement’ with {A} vs. ‘P-Agreement’ with {O,T}
- Deranked experiencer verbs: A-agreement with {O} (stimulus), P-agreement with {A} (experiencer); no agreement with intransitive experiencer (third person singular default forms, cf. 2a)

- (7) *mikha=yaŋ u-kipma=yaŋ katt-o-ko.* (story.cat.091)
 small=ADD 3sPOSS-fear=ADD [3sA-]bring.up-3sP-NPST
 ‘He is small and he is also afraid of him.’

Belhare and Limbu (but as far as I know, not Chintang) also allow A-agreement with {A} (experiencer), P-agreement with {O} (Bickel 2004b)

- (8) a. *na maʔi a-kipma kaiʔ-t-u-ŋ.* (Belhare)
 DEM man[-NOM] 1sPOSS-fear bring.up-NPST-3sP-1sA
 ‘I am afraid of this man.’
 b. *an-dzum-in sa:rik a-luŋma hipt-u-ŋ.*
 1sKIN.POSS-friend-ART[-NOM] very 1sPOSS-liver[-NOM] yearn-3sP-1sA
 (Limbu)
 ‘I miss my friend very much.’

- Nominative experiencer verbs: S-agreement with {A} (experiencer) in Chintang, but with {O} (stimulus) in Belhare (difference caused by different etymologies of the experiential verb); no transitive forms

- (9) a. *kanchi, (hana) haknuwa a-si-e elo?* (Chintang, cf. 4)
 youngest.one.FEM (2s[-NOM]) sweat 2sS-feel-PST or
 ‘Kanchi, you feel hot, don’t you?’ (कान्छी, (तिमिलाई) गर्मी भयो कि?)
 b. *ŋka hakliüa lus-e.* (Belhare)
 1sNOM sweat[-NOM] [3sS-]perceptible-PT
 ‘I am hot.’ (मलाई गर्मी भयो)
 c. *ŋka caleppa khikt-he.* (Belhare)
 1sNOM bread.NOM [3sS-]taste.bitter-PT
 ‘To me the bread tastes bitter.’

- Primary and double object ditransitives: ‘S-Agreement’ with {S} vs. ‘A-agreement’ with {A} vs. ‘P-Agreement’ with {O,G}

- (10) a. *huīsa-ŋa hana chatta na-bopt-e.* (double object)
 DEMs-ERG 2s[-NOM] umbrella[-NOM] 3>2-cover-PST
 ‘She covered you with an umbrella.’
- b. *a-ma-ŋa hana munjei-ŋa na-bhukt-e.* (primary object)
 1sPOSS-mother-ERG 2s[-NOM] shawl-INS 3>2-cover-PST
 ‘Mother covered you with a shawl.’

3 Detransitivization

- Kiranti Detransitivization: intransitive inflection of verbs that also allow transitive inflection, similar to object incorporation, except that the object does not undergo phonological integration with the verb, that it can freely move and scramble, and that it can be freely expanded into a full NP (except in Limbu and Belhare; see Angdembe 1998, Bickel 2004a, Bickel et al. 2007 for discussion).
- The targeted object is {O,T,G} in Chintang, across all predicate classes (hence, regardless of case):

- (11) Monotransitives:

- a. *huīsa-ŋa maʔmi copt-o-k-o.*
 DEM-ERG person[-NOM] [3sA-]look-3sO-NPST-3sO
 ‘He looks at the people.’
- b. *hungo maʔmi cop-no.*
 DEM[-NOM] person[-NOM] [3sS-]look-NPST
 ‘He/she looks at people.’ (in general)

- (12) Ditransitives: default class

- a. *(a-)kam (a-)khim-be paŋs-u-hē.*
 (1sPOSS-)friend[-NOM] (1sPOSS-)house-LOC send-3sP-1sA.PST
 ‘I sent (a/my) friend to (a/the/my) house.’
- b. *(*a-)kam (*a-)khim-be paŋs-e-hē.*
 (1sPOSS-)friend[-NOM] (1sPOSS-)house-LOC send-PST-1sS.PST
 ‘I sent friends home.’ (in general)

(13) Ditransitives: primary object verbs

- a. *(a-)kam* *(a-)gol-ŋa* *or-u-hě.*
 (1sPOSS-)friend[-NOM] (1sPOSS-)ball-INS throw-3sP-1sA.PST
 ‘I hit (a/my) friend with (a/the/my) ball.’
- b. *(*a-)kam* *(*a-)gol-ŋa* *or-e-hě.*
 (1sPOSS-)friend[-NOM] (1sPOSS-)ball-INS throw-PST-1sS.PST
 ‘I hit friends with balls.’ (in general)

(14) Ditransitives: double object verbs

- a. *huisa-ŋa Joge citthi hakt-o-ko.*
 DEMs-ERG J.[-NOM] letter[-NOM] [3sA-]send-3sP-NPST
 ‘He sends the letter to Joge.’
- b. *huŋgo kam citthi hak-no.*
 DEMs[-NOM] 3sPOSS-friend[-NOM] letter[-NOM] [3sS-]send-NPST
 ‘He sends letters to friends.’ (in general)
- c. * *huŋgo Joge/u-kam citthi hak-no.*
 DEMs=NMLZ[-NOM] J.[-NOM]/3sPOSS-friend[-NOM] letter[-NOM] [3sS-]send-NPST
Intended: ‘He sends letters to Joge/his friend.’ (in general)

4 Light verb constructions

- Basic pattern of Kiranti Light Verb Constructions: [(X) *V-inf*] $V_{[light]} - agr$, where the arrow represents agreement as a result of raising, control or long-distance agreement (distinctions orthogonal to GR definitions):
- Problems arising under transitivity mismatch: which X triggers agreement?
- **Solution 1:** Variable transitivity: {S} vs. {A} vs. {O}

- (15) a. *hui-lam=yaŋ loi-ma a-hi-no.* (CLLDCh4R06S03.0941)
 DEM-MED=ADD come.out-INF 2sS-be.able-NPST
 ‘You can come out there as well.’
- b. *u-ko-no=ko-ce saŋa hiŋma hid-u-ku-ce=naŋ*
 3nsS-roam-NPST=NMLZ-ns who-ERG keep.alive-INF [3sA-]be.able-3P-NPST-3nsP=but
 (RM.JK.talk01.073)
 ‘But who can feed the people who roam around here?’

- **Solution 2:** transitive matrix verb: O agrees with embedded {O,T} or nothing, A agrees with embedded {S,A}. In Chintang, the embedded S must be volitional, if it is not, the matrix is inflected intransitively (solution 1):

- (16) a. *phaĩ-ma latt-o-ko.*
walk-INF [3sA-]stop-3sP-NPST
- b. * *phaĩ-ma lat-no.*
walk-INF [3sS-]stop-NPST
'He stops walking.'
- c. *soŋ-ma lat-no.*
work-INF [3sS-]stop-NPST
- d. * *soŋ-ma latt-o-ko.*
work-INF [3sA-]stop-3sP-NPST
'[The machine] stops working.'
- e. *hap-ma lattoko / latno*
'He stops crying.'
- f. *teĩ-ma na-latt-e*
beat-INF 3>2-stop-PST
'He stopped beating you.' (*not*: 'He stopped x from beating you.')

In Belhare, {S,A} is not necessarily controlled (Bickel 2004a):

- (17) a. *unchik ta-ma n-na-rendh-e.* (3sO default)
3nsNOM come-INF 3nsA-stop-TEL-PST[-3sO]
'They stopped coming.'
- b. *ten-ma ma-ŋ-narend-he.* (A not raised!)
beat-INF 1sO-3nsA-stop-PST
'They stopped beating me.' or 'They stopped x from beating me.'

- **Solution 3:** intransitive matrix verb: S agrees with embedded {O,T} in Chintang, with embedded {S,O,T} in Belhare, with nothing in Puma

- (18) Chintang default class (Bickel et al. in press)
- a. * *im-ma a-kon-no.*
sleep-INF 2s-should-NPST
'You should sleep.'

- b. (*hana*) *im-ma kon-no.* (impersonal, no raising!)
 (2sNOM) sleep-INF [3sS-]should-NPST
 ‘You should sleep.’
- c. (*hana*) *lauri-ŋa teĩ-ma a-kon-no!*
 (2sNOM) stick-INS beat-INF 2-should-NPST
 ‘(One) should beat you with a stick!’ (*not*: ‘You should beat someone/him/her/it with a stick!’)
- d. *hana akka-be na-paŋs-e.*
 2s[-NOM] 1s-LOC 3>2-send-PST
 ‘He sent you to me.’
- e. *paŋ-ma a-kon-no.*
 send-INF 2s-should-NPST
 ‘Someone should send you (somewhere).’
- f. * *hana akka paŋ-ma koi-ya?ã.* (no raising of G)
 2s[NOM] 1s[-NOM] send-INF should-1sS.NPST
Intended: ‘Someone should send you to me.’
- g. *hun-ce-ŋa hana akka-be paŋ-ma kon-no.* (no raising of A)
 DEM-ns-ERG 2s[-NOM] 1s-LOC send-INF should-NPST
 ‘They should send you to me.’

- Chintang primary and double object class: S agrees with {O,T,G}

- (19) a. *huĩsa-ŋa gol-ŋa hana na-or-e.*
 DEMS-ERG ball-INS 2sNOM 3>2-throw-PST
 ‘He hit you with a ball.’
- b. (*gol-ŋa*) *o-ma a-kon-no.* (raising G)
 (ball-INS) throw-INF 2-should-NPST
 ‘Someone should hit you (with a ball)’
- c. *gol-ce o-ma u-kon-no.* (raising T)
 ball-ns[NOM] throw-INF 3nsS-should-NPST
 ‘Someone should throw balls (to someone).’ (‘Balls should be thrown’)
- d. *gol-ce-ŋa o-ma u-kon-no.*
 ball-ns-INS throw-INF 3nsS-should-NPST
 ‘Someone should hit them with balls.’ (*not*: ‘Someone should throw balls (to someone).’)
- e. *hun-ce-ŋa gol-ce-ŋa hana o-ma kon-no.* (no raising)
 3-ns-ERG ball-ns-INS 2s[-NOM] throw-INF [3sS]-should-NPST
 ‘They should throw the balls to you.’

- (20) Belhare (Bickel 2004a)
- a. *khonj-ma nui-ka.*
 play-INF may-2s[NPST]
 ‘You may play.’
- b. *lu-ma nui-ka.* (raising O)
 tell-INF may-2s[NPST]
 ‘Someone may tell you.’ (*not*: ‘You may tell him/her.’)
- c. *ŋka ija su-ma nu-yu.* (raising O)
 1sNOM beer[-NOM] sour-INF [3SG.S-]may-NPST
- d. * *ŋka ija su-ma nui-ʔ-ŋa.* (raising A)
 1sNOM beer.NOM sour-INF may-NPST-1sS
 ‘I like [the beer] sour.’ (literally, ‘[the beer] may be sour to me.’)
- e. *n-ris kat-ma n-nui-ʔ-ni.* (raising O)
 2sPOSS-anger.NOM come.up-INF [3sS-]NEG-may-NPST-NEG
- f. * *n-ris kat-ma n-nui-ʔ-ni-ga.* (raising A)
 2sPOSS-anger.NOM come.up-INF NEG-may-NPST-NEG-2sS
 ‘You shouldn’t get angry’ (literally, ‘your anger shouldn’t come up.’)
- (21) Puma (Schackow 2008)
- a. *khanna puŋ-ma dot.*
 2s[-NOM] go-INF should[3sNPST]
 ‘You should go.’
- b. *akku a-bo thapsaŋ-ci bela-bela-do mu-ma ŋen-ma-ci*
 PROX 1pe-GEN custom-ns time-time-GEN.LOC do-INF V2-INF-ns
dot.
 should[3sNPST]
 ‘We have to keep practising our traditions at the right time.’

- **Conclusion:** Raising limited to {O,G} in Chintang, and to {S,O,G} in Belhare. (Note that both are predicted to be impossible by Dixon 1994.)

5 Reflexivization

- (22) a. *u-ten-na-nci-hẽ.*
 3nsS-hit-REFL-ns.REFL-PST
 ‘They hit themselves.’

- b. *huŋ=go kitap pi-na-ce.*
 DEMs=NMLZ book[-NOM] [3sS-]give-REFL-REFL[-PST]
 ‘He gave the book to himself.’
- c. *ʃoge Anita khaŋ met-na-ce.*
 J.[-NOM] A.[-NOM] see [3sS]-cause-REFL-REFL[-PST]
 ‘Joge makes himself watch Anita.’ (*not*: ‘Joge showed Anita to herself (in the mirror.)’)
- d. *ʃoge-ŋa Anita lina-be khaŋ mett-e.* (no binding!)
 J.-ERG A.[-NOM] mirror-LOC see [3sA-]cause-PST[-3sP]
 ‘Joge showed Anita to herself in the mirror.’ (*or* ‘Joge showed someone to Anita in the mirror.’)

6 Reciprocalization

- (23) a. *Rikhi(-niŋ) Janak(-niŋ) khaŋ-ka-khaŋ u-lus-a-ce.*
 R.(-COM) J.(-COM) see-RECP-see 3nsS-AUX-PST-d
 ‘Rikhi and Janak saw each other.’
- b. *Rikhi(-niŋ) Janak(-niŋ) kalam pi-ka-pi u-lus-a-ce.* (A binding G)
 R.(-COM) J.(-COM) pen[-NOM] give-RECP-give 3nsS-AUX-PST-d
 ‘Rikhi and Janak gave a pen to each other.’
- c. *Lakhman(-niŋ) Lokendra(-niŋ) ʃoge(-niŋ) mukseikhaŋ mei?-ka-mei?*
 L.(-COM) L.(-COM) J.(-COM) know cause-RECP-cause
u-lus-a-ce. (A binding T)
 3nsS-AUX-PST-d
 ‘Lakhman and Lokendra introduced each other to Joge.’
- d. *Anita-ŋa Lokendra(-niŋ) Lakhman(-niŋ) mukseikhaŋ mei?-ka-mei? lu*
 A.-ERG L.(-COM) L.(-COM) know cause-RECP-cause AUX
mett-u-ce. (T binding G, G binding T)
 [3sA-]cause-PST[-3sP]
 ‘Anita introduced Lakhman and Lokendra to each other.’

7 Passivization

- (24) a. *ʃoge-ŋa Anita Rikhi-be paŋs-e.*
 J.-ERG A.[-NOM] R.-LOC [3sA-]send-PST[-3sP]
 ‘Joge sent Anita to Rikhi.’
- b. *Anita paŋ-mayaŋ=kha.*
 A.[-NOM] send-PASS.PTCP=COP
 ‘Anita was sent somewhere.’

- c. * *Rikhi paṅ-mayaṅ=kha*
R[-NOM] send-PASS.PTCP=COP
Intended: 'Rikhi was sent someone.'
- (25) a. *akka Joge chembi pid-u-hē.*
1sNOM J.[-NOM] money[-NOM] give-3sP-1sA.PST
'I gave money to Joge.'
- b. *chembi pi-mayaṅ=kha.*
money[-NOM] give-PASS.PTCP=COP
'Money was given (to him/her/someone).'
- c. *Joge pimayaṅ=kha.*
J.[-NOM] give-PASS.PTCP=COP
'Joge was given it/something.'
- (26) a. *huīsa-ṅa gol-ṅa rame or-e.*
DEMs-ERG ball-INS R.[-NOM] [3sA-]throw-PST[-3sP]
'She hit Rame with a ball.'
- b. *Rame o-mayaṅ=kha.*
R.[-NOM] throw-PASS.PTCP=COP
'Ram was hit (thrown at) (by something).'
- c. *gol o-mayaṅ=kha.*
ball[-NOM] throw-PASS.PTCP=COP
'The ball was thrown.'

8 Active participles

Belhare data (Chintang paradigm is incomplete)

- (27) a. *asenle maʔi pikg-ar-he.*
recently person.NOM [3SG.S-]fall-downwards-PT
'Recently a guy fell down.'
- b. *asenle ka-pikg-a-ba maʔi*
recently ACT.PART-fall-downwards-M person.NOM
'the guy who fell down recently.'
- (28) a. *han-na i-cha n-takg-att-u-n-ga i?*
2SG-ERG one-ADD NEG-receive-PT-3[SG]O-NEG-2[SG.A] Q
'Haven't you received anything?'
- b. *ka-tak-pa*
ACT.PART-receive-M
'one who receives/received/will receive', not 'what was/will be received'

- (29) a. *ŋka cuŋ-ŋa mai-tar-he.*
 1SG.NOM cold/fever-ERG 1SG.O-[3SG.A-]bring-PT
 ‘I’ve got fever.’
- b. *cuŋ-ŋa ka-tat-pa*
 cold/fever-ERG ACT.PART-bring-M
 ‘the one who has got fever.’
- (30) a. *ŋka iŋa lim-yu*
 1SG.NOM beer.NOM [3SG.S-]be.delicious-NPT
 ‘I like the beer.’
- b. *iŋa ka-lim-ba*
 beer ACT.PART-delicious-M
 ‘one who likes/liked/will like the beer’
- (31) a. *u-ris kar-he*
 3SG.POSS-anger [3SG.S-]come.up-NPT
 ‘S/he got angry’
- b. *ris ka-ta-ba*
 anger ACT.PART-come.up-M
 ‘an angry person’

Table 1: Overview of Chintang grammatical relations

	default lexical class	primary obj. verbs	double obj. verbs	NOM exp	deranked exp
case	{S,O,T,A _{[SAP]}} },{A},{G}	{S,O,G,A _{[SAP]}} },{A,T} ^a	{S,O,G,T,A _{[SAP]}} },{A}	{S,A,O}	{S,A},{O}
agreement	{S},{A},{O,T}	{S},{A},{O,G}	{A}	{A}	{A},{O}
detransitivization		{O,G,T}		n/a	n/a
light verb constr. VAR	{S},{A},{O,T}	{S},{A},{O,G}		?	?
light verb constr. TR	{S _{[VOL]}} ,A},{O,T}	{S _{[VOL]}} ,A},{O,G}		?	?
light verb constr. INTR	{O,T}	{O,G,T}			{O} ^b
reciprocalization		{O,G,T}		n/a	n/a
reflexivization			{A}		
act. participles			{S,A}		
pass. participles	{O,T}		{O,G,T}		?
converbs			{S,A}		

^a For facilitating the reading of examples, oblique case is glossed as ‘INS’ on T but as ‘ERG’ on A. But it is the same case.

^b Assumed on the basis of what is known about Belhare

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