

Generics as First Person Undergoers and the Political History of the Southern Kirant

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1. Antipassives for first person object reference in Puma

In Puma (Southern Kiranti) the same verb forms, marked by a prefix *kha-* and intransitive agreement inflection, are used for antipassives and for first person object (1P) agreement. This constellation is extremely unusual in the languages of the world: wherever diathesis has been reported to develop into 1P marking, it involves a passive, not an antipassive (e.g., DeLancey 1981, Aissen 1999, Bresnan et al. 2001, Zúñiga 2002, among others).

- (1) a. *en-i*
hear-3P[PST] (Active transitive inflection)
'S/he heard him/her/it.' (entails a specific undergoer referent)
- b. *kha-en-a*
ANTIP-hear-PST (Antipassive intransitive inflection)
'S/he heard someone / people.' or 'S/he listened so as to find out whether or not there are people.' (does not entail existence of a specific undergoer referent)
OR: 'S/he heard us (incl.).'

(2) The Puma agreement paradigm: 1P and antipassive/intransitive forms (excerpt from the past affirmative paradigm of *enna* 'to hear, listen')

	1sP	1nsiP	1deP	1peP	Antipassive/Intransitive
2sA	<i>tænoŋ</i>		<i>khatæna</i>		<i>khatæna</i>
2dA	<i>tænoŋcaŋ</i>		<i>khatænci</i>		<i>khatænci</i>
2pA	<i>tænoŋnaŋ</i>		<i>khatænnin</i>		<i>khatænnin</i>
3sA	<i>raenoŋ</i>	<i>khaena</i>	<i>raencika</i>	<i>raenninka</i>	<i>khaena</i>
3dA	<i>raenoŋcaŋ</i>	<i>kharænci</i>	<i>niræncika</i>		<i>kharænci</i>
3pA	<i>nirænoŋ</i>	<i>khamæna</i>	<i>nirænninka</i>		<i>khamæna</i>

2. The syntax and morphology of antipassives in Puma (Bickel et al. in prep.)

Like in other Kiranti languages, a general properties of antipassives in Puma is that they have intransitive agreement morphology and intransitive case assignment (nominative on S_A). But in Puma there are two kinds of antipassives: one marked by *kha-* for human undergoers, and an unmarked one for nonhuman undergoers.

2.1 The unmarked antipassive: similar properties as in in other Kiranti languages (Angdembe 1998, Bickel 2004, 2006)

- Objects are obligatory (incorporate-like)

- (3) a. *ŋa redio en-ŋa*
1sNOM radio hear-1sS.NPST (Nonhuman antipassive intransitive inflection)
'I do radio-hearing.' (in general, does not entail the existence of a specific radio that the speaker has in mind)
- b. **ŋa en-ŋa*
1sNOM hear-1sS.NPST

- Objects cannot be marked by the dative (incorporate-like)

- (4) a. *khim(-lai) copt-u-ŋ*
house-DAT see-3P-1sA
'I see the house.'
- b. *khim(*-lai) cop-ŋa*
house (-DAT) see-1sS
'I see houses.'

- Objects need not be adjacent to the verb (unlike classical incorporates)

- (5) a. *ŋa khim cop-ŋa*
1sNOM house see-1sS.NPST
- b. *khim ŋa cop-ŋa*
house 1sNOM see-1sS.NPST
Both: 'I see houses.'

- Objects are accessible targets of relativization (unlike classical incorporates)

- (6) a. [[*uŋ-yoŋni khip=ku kitap*] [*novel*] (relativization on demoted P)
1sPOSS-friend read=NMLZ book novel
'The kind of book my friend reads is novels']
- b. [[*novel khip=ku uŋ-yoŋni*] [*tokku*] (relativization on S_A)
novel read=NMLZ 1sPOSS-friend DEM
'This is my friend who reads novels.'

- Only Direct Objects (monotransitive objects and ditransitive themes) antipassivizes

- (7) a. *gai-lai ghasa itd-u-u-ŋ*
cow-DAT gras give-PST-3P-1sA
'I gave the cow grass.'
- b. *gai-lai ghasa itd-oŋ*. (Theme is demoted/obligatory; Goal stays)
cow-DAT grass give-1sS.PST
'I gave grass to the cow.'
- c. *ghasa *gai itd-oŋ*. (Goal is demoted; Theme stays)
grass cow give-1sS.PST
Intended: 'I gave cows grass.'

- Objects must not be human. (This constraint is not found in other languages.)

- (8) **manna en-ŋa*
person hear-1sS.NPST
(unless under an ad-hoc reinterpretation as 'I hear someone's voice')

2.2 The human (*kha*-marked) antipassive

- The undergoer must be human but cannot be expressed as an object (unlike with unmarked antipassives, cf. (3))

- (9) a. *ŋa-a kho-lai enn-u-ŋ*
1s-ERG 3s-DAT hear.NPST-3P-1sA
'I hear him/her.'
- b. *ŋa (*kho(lai) / tokku(lai) / manna(lai) / baja(lai)) kha-en-ŋa*
1s ANTIP-hear-1sS [NPST]
'I hear someone/people.'

- The undergoer is not a possible target of relativization (unlike with unmarked antipassives, cf. (6a) above)

(10) *[uŋ-yoŋni] [[uŋ-pakka kha-dhe=ku] mɔmma]
 1sPOSS-friend 1sPOSS-eB ANTIP-beat=NMLZ person

Intended: 'My friend is the kind of people that my brother beats up.'

- Only Primary Objects (monotransitive objects and ditransitive goals) antipassivize (unlike with the unmarked antipassive, cf. (7) above)

(11) a. yoŋni-lai cetkuma itd-u-u-ŋ.
 friend-DAT clan.sister give-PST-3P-1sA

'I gave my *celi* to a friend (in marriage).'

b. cetkuma kha-itd-oŋ. (Goal is demoted; Theme stays)
 clan.sister ANTIP-give-1sS.PST

'I gave away my *celi* (to someone/people).'

c. *yoŋni(-lai) kha-itd-oŋ. (Theme is demoted; Goal stays)
 friend(-DAT) ANTIP-give-1sS.PST

Intended: 'I gave someone/people to a friend.' (OK under an ad-hoc reinterpretation as 'I gave a friend to someone', with *yoŋni* analyzed as Goal)

3. The semantics of antipassives

(12) a. chok-u-ŋ-yaŋ (Active)
 cut.and.chisel-3sP-1sA-IPFV[NPST]

'I'm chiseling it.' (I am in the middle of working on this piece right here.)

b. chok-ŋa-ŋa (Antipassive)
 cut.and.chisel-IPFV-1sS.NPST

'I'm chiseling.' (That's my activity today.)

- generic undergoer

(13) ronabhetma kha-ka-ca-ma
 evil.woman ANTIP-ACT.PTCP-eat-F

'an evil female man-eater (ANTIP)' (myth_orph.127b)

- nonspecific (referential) undergoer

(14) uŋ-bo uŋ-palo oha kha-cop-oŋ beŋ patti akta makcak-cak=ku
 1s-GEN 1sPOSS-turn like.this ANTIP-see-1sPST left side one black-REDUPL=NMLZ

bura khok-pa yuŋ-a-ŋa. (LH_M.363)
 old.man old-M be-PST-IPFV

'And then I looked (ANTIP) at the people like this, and, on the left side, there was an old black man.' (People mentioned before)

- nonreferential undergoer

(15) paŋ akhani ohyatni kha-cop-a-ni. ka-nana-ci Toŋwama Khiwama-oŋ-na
 CONN hither thither ANTIP-see-PST-REP 3sPOSS-eS-ns T. Kh.-COM=TOP

metdanyay-ci-ni. tonpaŋ-na khap-ma puss-i-ni. khap-a-ŋa
 NEG.EXIST.PST-d-REP then.after=TOP weep-INF begin-3P[PST]=REP weep-PST-IPFV

khap-a-ŋa khado=ni, ka-taŋkoŋ-di-tni kha-cop-a.
 weep-PST-IPFV when=REP 3sPOSS-pillow-UP-ALL ANTIP-look-PST

akta ŋaksi akta berucha paŋ bechuk yuŋaŋa=ni (folk_tale.056ff.DR)
 one banana one small.sickle CONN ginger PST.EXIST-REP

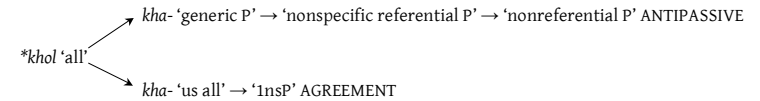
'Then he looked (ANTIP) hither and thither (for them). His sisters Toŋwama and Khiwama weren't there anymore! Then he started to cry. As he was crying and crying, he looked (ANTIP) up towards the pillow (having them in mind): there was one banana, one small sickle, and ginger (which they had left for him).'

(16) akwada kaphekwa=cha kha-pa-it-nin=ku min-oŋ. (LH_M.124)
 ever money=ADD ANTIP-NEG-give-NEG[NPST]=NMLZ think-1sS.PST

'I thought he would never even give money to anyone.'

4. The diachrony of *kha*-

kha- < Proto-Kiranti **khol* 'all' (Starostin 1998ff: *khəl*), cf. Kulung (Central Kiranti) *khələŋ* 'all, every'; Thulung *khole* 'all', Khaling *khələŋ* 'all, everything' (Western Kiranti); < PTB **kul* 'all' (Matisoff 2003).



Independent evidence for the 'all' → 'ANTIPASSIVE' development in Puma:

- kha*-marked antipassives do not allow overt objects (cf. (9) above) because the object position was absorbed by **kha* when it was an obligatory or quasi-incorporated pronoun.
- kha*-marked antipassives do not allow relativization on the demoted object (cf. (10) above) because **kha* was quasi-incorporated and this made it inaccessible to syntactic operations.

Independent evidence for the 'all' → '1P AGREEMENT' development from parallel developments in other Kiranti languages, independent of antipassives:

- Parallel development of **khol* 'all' into '1nsP' in Chintang (Eastern Kiranti; Bickel et al. 2005) or into '1P' in Southeastern Camling (Southern Kiranti; Ebert 1991)
- Parallel development of a generic noun *maʔi* 'people' into *maʔi*- '1nsP' and *mai*- '1sP' in Belhare (Bickel 1995, 2003), of an indefinite pronoun *ya(:)pmi* into '1P' or '1nsP' in Limbu (depending on the dialect; Michailovsky 2001), and of what I analyze as an indefinite pronoun *yaŋ* into '1P' in Athpare (Ebert 1991) (all Eastern Kiranti)

(17) Belhare (Bickel 1995)

a. (un-na) maʔi-ni-yu.
 3s-ERG eP-see-NPST

'S/he sees us (e).'

b. un maʔi ni-yu.
 3sNOM person[sNOM] [3sS-]see-NPST

'S/he sees someone.' or 'S/he sees people.'

(18) Taplejung (Maiwa-Mewa) Limbu (Michailovsky 2001)

a. ciṭṭhī yapmi me-hakt-ε.
 letter us 3nsS-send-PST

'They sent us (e) letters.'

b. me-hakt-i-ge.
 3nsA-send-p-e

'They sent it to us (e).'

5. Distribution of generics-based 1P forms
- Areal pattern spread, no inherited forms:
 - Each language involves different markers: a generic quantifier pronoun (**khol*) in Puma, Southeastern Camling and Chintang; a generic noun (*maʔi*) in Belhare, indefinite pronouns *ya(:)pmi* and *yaj* in Limbu and Athpare, respectively.
 - The innovation cross-cuts dialect boundaries: Southeastern vs. Northwestern Camling.
 - The innovation has affected languages in two distinct subgroups of Kiranti, but not all languages of these subgroups:
 - Southern Kiranti (SE Camling, Puma): PK *preglottalized initials > voiced initials (Puma *bujwa* 'flower', *bok* 'pig', *duŋ-* 'drink', *dem* 'how, what'); PK **r*-merging with **r*- (e.g. Puma *rum* 'salt', *ram* 'body', *rom-t-* 'weak', *ri-* 'laugh' from stems with initial **r*; vs. *ruks-* 'shake', *rep-* 'stand', *rok-oy* 'Puma', *roj* 'rice', etc. from stems with initial **r*).
 - Eastern Kiranti (Belhare, Limbu, Athpare, Chintang): PK *preglottalized initials > aspirated initials (Chintang *phuj* 'flower', *phak* 'pig', *thuŋ-* 'drink', *them* 'what, which'); PK *rhotic initials > *y-* before back and central vowels (e.g. Chintang *yum* 'salt', *yam* 'body', *yom-* 'weak, sick' from stems with initial **r*; and Chintang *yokt-* 'tremble', Belh. *yep-* 'stand' [*<* PK **rəp*], *ya* 'rice' from **r*-); and **r*- > *r-* before front vowels (Chi. *ret-* 'laugh').
 - Perhaps a few hundred years old, not older: still optional in many languages
 - Center of diffusion = Puma, Southeastern Camling, and Belhare (cf. map): complete replacement here vs. optional (to variable degrees) elsewhere
6. Explanation of generics-based 1P forms
- Bickel et al. (1999): FACE >> EMPATHY in Maithili (Indo-Aryan)
FACE constraint (based on Brown & Levinson 1987 [1978]):
 - do not uniquely identify the speaker
 - do not uniquely identify the addressee if linguistically attributed with higher social status (i.e. if there are grammaticalized honorifics)
 - identify third persons if linguistically attributed with higher social status
 - No grammaticalized honorifics in the Kiranti languages under review; ergo FACE constraint only relevant for first person
 - Intensive contact with Maithili formal style in the adjacent South, just about at the time when the development of generics-based 1P-forms must have started:
 - Alliances with Sen principalities: 17th - 18th centuries (cf., e.g., *Athpahariyā*, the 'round-the-clock' guards)
 - Strong impact of Indo-Aryan religious traditions; 'hybrid' ritual texts and mythologies (e.g. Gaenszle et al. 2005 on Chintang)
 - Maithili official language of the court, literature, and diplomacy in the Sen principalities (just as in the Kathmandu Valley, Dolakha etc.); letters addressed to Kiranti chiefs written in Maithili (Pradhan 1991: 83)!
 - Kiranti limitation of the FACE constraint to Primary Object (P) referents (unlike in Maithili, where the constraint is independent of grammatical roles):
 - The recipient role is particularly sensitive and full of social risks in Kiranti societies: low prestige of recipient in exchange rituals, especially wife-takers (also clearly manifest in ritual texts; Gaenszle 2002), and also in more mundane

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