

## KURTÖP CASE: THE PRAGMATIC ERGATIVE AND BEYOND\*

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**Abstract:** Kurtöp, an East Bodish language of Bhutan, uses case markers for a variety of functions. Like many Tibeto-Burman languages, Kurtöp evidences an ergative whose functions extend above and beyond the typical role of distinguishing the A argument in a bivalent clause. The Kurtöp ergative signals the A argument in some bivalent clauses and denotes a variety of pragmatic and semantic functions in both monovalent and bivalent clauses. In bivalent clauses, a set of verbs also exhibit differential object marking, employing a locative case-marker to designate various types of pragmatic focus.

**Keywords:** East Bodish, Kurtöp, Bhutan, ergative, differential object marking, pragmatics.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Tibeto-Burman languages, particularly those of the Himalayas, are known for employing systems of case that are difficult to capture using the traditional terminology outlined in, for example, Dixon (1994), Payne (1997), Givón (2001). Ongoing research (e.g. McGregor 2009, *inter alia*) has shown that ergative systems, in general, are rarely systematic, and that ergativity is rarely (if ever) found consistently throughout all aspects of a language's syntax. Kurtöp, a Tibeto-Burman (East Bodish) language of Bhutan, is no exception to this generalization. In this article I describe the case-marking system of Kurtöp, including an 'ergative' postposition with heavy semantic/pragmatic functions and a system of differential object marking.

With regard to marking A/S arguments, an 'optional' ergative has been described by scholars for many Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Kinnauri (Saxena ms), Darma (Willis 2007), Tshangla (Andvik to appear), Tibetan (Tournadre 1991), to some extent Newar (DeLancey 1985, Genetti 1988) and Tibeto-Burman in general (LaPolla 1995). Kurtöp also displays a postposition which I analyse as an 'optional' or 'pragmatic' ergative, though note that, often, the term 'ergative' is less appropriate for the Kurtöp phenomenon and instead the form may be at times better understood as a contrastive focus marker. The

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distribution of the ergative morpheme in Kurtöp is largely conditioned by semantic and pragmatic factors.

Differential object marking, or DOM (Bossong 1991), has also been described for Tibeto-Burman languages to varying degrees. LaPolla (1992: 6), for example, describes ‘antiergative’ as following from the motivation to disambiguate potential agents. The idea of ‘antiergative’, which can be attributed to Comrie (1975), who used the term to describe marking that was functionally motivated by a need to distinguish between a subject or object. In a similar vein, LaPolla (1992) uses the term to describe the need to distinguish between an agent and non-agent. Kurtöp also displays DOM, though it is not clear that the Kurtöp DOM is motivated entirely by factors suggested in LaPolla (1992) or in Bossong (1991).

This article is structured as follows. In Section 2 I provide the relevant background for this article, including an overview of ergative marking in Tibeto-Burman and an outline of Kurtöp grammar. Section 3 describes the marking of A and S arguments with the ergative postposition enclitic. Section 4 describes differential object marking in Kurtöp and in Section 5 I summarize the article and discuss conclusions.

## 2. BACKGROUND

### 2.1. Kurtöp

Kurtöp is an East Bodish language spoken in the upper Kurtö region of Lhüntse, Bhutan, located approximately 50 kilometres west of the border with Arunachal Pradesh, India, and ranging from approximately 50 kilometres south of the border with Tibet to the border itself. There are approximately 15,000 speakers of Kurtöp. Within Kurtöp, there are a number of mutually intelligible dialects, including those spoken in the localities of Ne, Zhamling, Tangmachu, Shawa, and Dungkar. The variety of Kurtöp represented in this article is that of Dungkar *geok*, or block. This block begins at Tabi, approximately 40 kilometres north of Lhüntse and small villages (at times consisting of only one or two houses) in this block run north on both sides of the Kur River until the border with Tibet. There are about 3,000 speakers of the Dungkar dialect of Kurtöp.

Shafer (1954) appears to be the first to use the term ‘East Bodish’, identifying the proto language from which Dwags (Dakpa), a language spoken southeast of Lhasa, had come. In addition to Kurtöp, other East Bodish languages are Bumthap, Khengkha, Nupbikha, ’Nyenkha, Chali, Dzala, Monkha (also called Black Mountain) and Dakpa (van Driem 1998). Bhutan appears to be the centre of gravity for East Bodish but some East Bodish languages are also spoken in Tibet (e.g. Dzala<sup>1</sup>) and Arunachal Pradesh, India (e.g. Dakpa).

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<sup>1</sup> Lù (1986) outlines the grammar of two dialects of *Cuona Memba*, spoken in Tibet. Van Driem (2001) later asserts these two dialects are distinct languages, one being Tshangla and the other Dzala. Of course, a thorough comparison of Cuona Memba with Cangluo (Zhang 1986) and Tshangla (Andvik to appear) is needed to confirm this.

The data for this paper come from native speakers of Kurtöp, based on fieldwork conducted in the United States and Bhutan. All speakers are from Dungkar *geok* in Lhüntse. Whenever possible, data are drawn from four texts: one conversation and three stories from five different speakers (three males, ranging in age from 23 to roughly 40, and two females, aged 43 and roughly 65). The textual corpus is well over 100 pages in length (translated but not parsed). When a certain form or combination of forms was not found in the data, we used elicitation to search for it. Thus, negative data are data that have not occurred in over 100 pages of text and also have been checked with a native speaker to be sure that there is no imaginable context in which the given example could be said in Kurtöp. All elicited data have been checked with at least two speakers.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.2. Ergativity and Tibeto-Burman

McGregor (2009: 481) cites Fabricius (1801/1791), a sketch of Greenlandic Eskimo as the first mention of an ergative system. A similar phenomenon was noted for Awabakal (Pama-Nyungan, Australia) in Threlkeld (1835) and then again in the Caucasian languages (Schuchardt 1895). The modern interest in ergativity began with Dixon's (1972) description of Dyirbal and took off especially with Comrie (1978) and Dixon (1979). A typical definition of ergativity can be taken from Dixon (1994: 1): 'a grammatical pattern in which the subject of an intransitive clause is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause, and differently from a transitive subject'.<sup>3</sup> Ergativity in this sense is a property of a construction, not of a language, and few languages have only ergative syntax. In a recent survey McGregor (2009) details the variety of "ergative" syntactic patterns found in languages, including the pattern found in Kurtöp.

With regard to morphological ergativity,<sup>4</sup> McGregor (2009) describes several different systems of split-ergativity, wherein a system of ergative case-marking applies in some instances, while a separate system applies elsewhere. There are four main factors which condition the split typologically: 1) the nature of the verb; 2) the nature of the agent NP; 3) tense/aspect/mood; and 4) construction (McGregor 2009: 486). McGregor (2009, §4) also includes a section on 'optional

<sup>2</sup> Data in this paper are represented in Roman letters designed for Dzongkha by George van Driem and Karma Tshering and adapted to Kurtöp. The symbols correspond to the IPA as follows: <k> [k], <kh> [k<sup>h</sup>], <g> [g], <ng> [ŋ], <c> [c], <ch> [c<sup>h</sup>], <j> [j], <ny> [ɲ], <tr> [t̪], <thr> [t̪<sup>h</sup>], <dr> [d̪], <t> [t̪], <th> [t̪<sup>h</sup>], <d> [d̪], <p> [p̪], <ph> [p̪<sup>h</sup>], <b> [b̪], <m> [m̪], <ts> [ts̪], <tsh> [ts̪<sup>h</sup>], <sh> [ç̪], <zh> [ʃ̪], <s> [s̪], <z> [z̪], <l> [l̪], <lh> [l̪<sup>h</sup>], <r> [r̪], <a> [a̪], <e> [e̪], <i> [i̪], <o> [o̪], <u> [u̪], <ö> [ø̪], <ü> [y̪], <'CV> high tone on following vowel, <^> long vowel. For more details on Kurtöp phonology, see our work in Lowes (2006) and Hyslop (2008, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> In this article I assume the syntactic-semantic roles A, S and O put forth in Dixon 1979. S is taken to be the sole argument of a monovalent verb. In bivalent verbs the A argument is assigned to the argument that is more agentive or more actor-like and O is assigned to the less agentive and more affected argument.

<sup>4</sup> McGregor (2009) also mentioned lexical-semantic ergativity, syntactic ergativity and discourse ergativity.

ergative case-marking’, describing situations in which ergative markers may be present or absent without affecting the grammaticality of a given clause. McGregor himself notes that the term ‘optional’ in this instance may be misleading since the use of ergative markers in this instance is not random (2009: 493). As I will show below, this is precisely the sort of system at play in Kurtöp; I use the term ‘pragmatic ergative’ to describe the phenomena in Kurtöp.

McGregor (2009, §4) states that ‘optional ergativity’ exists in at least 10% of morphologically ergative languages and is found in Nilotic, Circassian, Kawapana, Nyulnyulan, and Tibeto-Burman language families, amongst several others. McGregor (2009: 494) further points out that there are ‘optional ergative’ concentrations in, amongst other places, the India-Nepal-Tibet-Western China region. Bhutan falls easily within this geographic landscape and Kurtöp clearly evidences the phenomena of ‘optional’, or ‘pragmatic’ ergativity.

Within the Bodish branch of Tibeto-Burman, ergativity is well documented and many ergative markers are shown to be formally similar to the Kurtöp ergative *-gi*. Ergativity in many Tibetan dialects is marked by a morpheme consisting of a velar initial and a high front vowel (c.f. Written Tibetan *-gyis ~ -kyis ~-(i)s*). Van Driem (1998) describes a *-gi* ergative with heavy pragmatic functions in Dzongkha. Tshangla also reports an agentive *-gi* (e.g. Andvik to appear), and LaPolla (1995: 193) suggests that the Tamang and Gurung ergative morphemes could be palatalized versions of the Tibetan forms.

### 2.3. Kurtöp grammar

Like many TB languages, Kurtöp is AOV/SV in elicitation but constituent order tends to be quite free in natural speech. There is a tendency in the language for clause-chaining and serial verb constructions and light verbs are common. With regard to nominal arguments, Kurtöp verbs can be divided into two categories: monovalent and bivalent verbs.<sup>5</sup> Monovalent verbs are those which may take one and only one argument while bivalent verbs may take two arguments.<sup>6</sup> This difference is illustrated by the data in (1-4).<sup>7</sup> The data in (1-2) show that the verb

<sup>5</sup> Although the analysis is still ongoing, at present, there is no evidence in Kurtöp for trivalent verbs.

<sup>6</sup> Bivalent verbs may be used in discourse with neither argument present, with only the A argument, or only the O argument present. What distinguishes the bivalent verbs from monovalent verbs is the *possibility* of two overt arguments; one overt argument is possible with bivalent verbs.

<sup>7</sup> The following abbreviations are used in this article: <1> 1st person, <2> 2nd person, <3> 3rd person, <ABL> ablative, <ABS> absolutive, <AGR> agreement, <COP> copula, <CTM> co-temporal, <DBT> dubiative, <DEF> definite, <DEM> demonstrative, <DIST> distal, <DIR> direction, <DM> discourse marker, <EGO> egophoric, <EMPH> emphasis, <EQ> equational, <ERG> ergative, <EXIS> ‘existential’, <EVID> evidential, <EXCL> exclamation, <EXL> exclusive, <FOC> focus, <FUT> future, <GEN> genitive, <HON> honorific, <IMP> imperative, <IPFV> imperfective, <INAN> inanimate, <IND> indirect evidential, <INF> infinitive, <INSTR> instrumental, <IRR> irrealis, <LOC> locative, <MIR> mirative, <NEG> negative, <NF> non-final, <NMLZR> nominalizer, <PL> plural, <PFV> perfective, <PROX> proximate, <PTCP>

*throng* ‘grow’ cannot take a second argument, while the verb *ke* ‘bear’, illustrated in (3-4), can take two arguments. The verb in (1-2) is considered to be monovalent while the verb in (3-4) is considered to be bivalent. Note that overt NP forms of the verbal arguments are not required in Kurtöp. It is possible, and indeed common, for a Kurtöp sentence to consist of only a verb, or a verb and one overt argument, if the verbal participants are already made clear by the preceding discourse.

- (1) meto            throng-ta  
       flower        grow-IPFV.MIR  
       ‘The flower is growing’ (elicited data)
- (2) \*ngai/ngat    meto        throng-ta  
       1.ERG/ABS    flower      grow-IPFV.MIR
- (3) khit            ke-shang  
       3.ABS        bear-PFV.EGO  
       ‘S/he was born’ (elicited data)
- (4) khî            khit            ke-shang  
       3.ERG        3.ABS        bear-PFV.EGO  
       ‘She gave birth to him/her’ (elicited data)

This article considers only core arguments, that is, those which are not obligatorily marked with a locative postposition<sup>8</sup>. Kurtöp uses three postpositions to mark case, most of which will be recognizable to those familiar with Bodish languages. On NPs the ergative case is marked by *-gi ~ -i ~ -li*<sup>9</sup> and absolutive case is unmarked. The pronouns, however, have separate forms for the ergative and absolutive cases, as shown in Table 1.

It is interesting to note that the Kurtöp ergative is, in many instances, formally identical to the genitive. On nouns the Kurtöp genitive has the same form *-gi ~ -i ~ -li*, but on pronouns the genitive is *-ci*.

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particle, <QP> question particle, <REFL> reflexive, <SFP> sentence final particle, <SUB> subordinator, <TAG> tag particle.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to two locatives marking oblique arguments, Kurtöp also employs a genitive (*-gi, -ci, -i*) and instrumental (*-gi, -ki, -i*). The distribution of these case markers is a separate matter from that of grammatical relations and is not directly relevant to the focus of this article.

<sup>9</sup> The ergative allomorph *-i* may occur in place of a word-final vowel; the form *-li* may occur following a coronal or velar nasal, and *-gi* may occur in either of these phonological situations or elsewhere. See Hyslop (in prep) for more details.

<i>Person</i>	<i>Absolutive</i>	<i>Ergative</i>
1.SG	ngat	ngai
1.PL	net	nei
2.SG	wit	wî
2.PL	nin	ningi
3.SG	khit	khî
3.PL	bot	boi

Table 1. Kurtöp pronouns marked for case

In some sense, the term ‘absolutive’ is somewhat problematic for Kurtöp. Kurtöp ‘absolutive’ pronouns (with the one exception of *nin* ‘2.PL’), like those in Bumthap (called ‘absoluteif’ by van Driem 1995: 21-22), are characterized by an absolutive marker *-t*, which is clearly innovative historically. In fact, the obligatory nature of the *-t* in personal pronouns appears to be limited to Kurtöp and Bumthap and not found in the other East Bodish languages<sup>10</sup>, and thus is a very recent development. Despite this, the source for the absolutive *-t* is unknown. The absolutive *-t* alternates with ergative and genitive forms of the personal pronouns. However, there are some instances in which *-t* as an absolutive marker is problematic. For example, as a clitic, the ergative marker will cliticize to the right end of a NP in Kurtöp. Most modifiers follow the noun in Kurtöp NP and thus the ergative marker will often occur on a modifier instead of a noun or pronoun in natural discourse. In such instances, the pronoun usually retains its absolutive form, despite ergative marking on the NP, as in *net gapi* ‘1.PL.ABS FOC.ERG’. Further, a form like *net gapi* may contrast with *nei gapi* ‘1.PL.ERG PL.FOC.ERG’. The motivation behind what appears to be double marking of case in Kurtöp NPs in these instances remains unknown and will not be resolved within the scope of this article. Instead, this article will focus on the use of ergative pronouns and ergative-marked NPs. In this article, the term ‘absolutive’ is used to refer to pronouns which are formally marked as absolutive (i.e. not genitive or ergative) as well as unmarked NPs.

Data in (5) and (6) illustrate the Kurtöp ergative. In (5) an intransitive clause with an absolutive argument is displayed while (6) shows a transitive clause with an ergative marked A. Note that to say the Kurtöp ergative functions solely to mark the A argument in a clause is simplifying the matter considerably.

- (5) ngat            ge-wala        minla  
       1.ABS        go-PFV        NEG.COP.EQ.MIR  
       ‘I went, didn’t I.’ (SBC20051126KW)

<sup>10</sup> Although a thorough analysis of East Bodish pronouns remains outstanding, there are some preliminary observations that can be made. In my field notes, Chali, Khengkha, and ’Mangdep have pronominal forms with and without the *-t* though whether or not any functional, semantic or pragmatic difference is encoded by the *-t* is unknown. There is no evidence in either Dakpa or Dzala for the absolutive *-t*, though Dzala marks inclusive plural pronouns with a *-ta(ŋ)* formative (2008-2009 Field Methods class at the University of California Santa Barbara).

- (6) Kinle-gi yang darung zhanma 'am the zong-wala  
 Kinley-ERG also again another woman one hold-PFV  
 wenta-mi  
 COP.EQ.MIR-TAG  
 'Kinley also got a hold of another woman again, right'  
 (SBC20051126KW)

In addition to the ergative *-gi*, Kurtöp utilizes two locative postpositions in marking grammatical relations: *-ro* (allomorphs *-to*, *-do*, *-o*, *-go*, *-ngo*, *-ko*) and *-na/-nang*.<sup>11</sup> These suffixes mark location in existential clauses, subjects of possessive predicates, recipients and sometimes mark the O argument (discussed in §4).

The data in (7) and (8) show the locative postpositions marking semantic recipients.<sup>12</sup>

- (7) ngai khit-na bi-shang  
 1.ERG 3.ABS-LOC give-PFV.EGO  
 'I gave it to him/her' (elicited data)

- (8) ngai khit-o bi-shang  
 1.ERG 3.ABS-LOC give-PFV.EGO  
 'I gave it to him/her' (elicited data)

The Kurtöp locatives can also mark semantic possessors, as shown in (9) and (10).

- (9) ngat-na tiru nâ  
 1.ABS-LOC money COP.EXIS.MIR  
 'I have money' (elicited data)

- (10) ngat-o tiru nâ  
 1.ABS-LOC money COP.EXIS.MIR  
 'I have money' (elicited data)

The difference between the use of *-na* in (7) and (9) versus *-ro* in (8) and (10) remains unclear. Resolving the difference between these morphemes is beyond the scope of this paper and it will suffice for our purposes to consider both as

<sup>11</sup> The difference between *-na* and *-nang* is stylistic. In natural conversation the final nasal velar is never pronounced, but during storytelling or more formal speech, there appears to be a tendency to pronounce the final nasal.

<sup>12</sup> Themes in these contexts are usually not marked, as in:

*zhor thek the bi-shang*  
 alcohol one one give-PFV.EGO  
 'She gave one (cup of) alcohol (to) each' (SaT.SW20090919.808.875SaT)

general locatives. The differences they display in object marking will be considered in greater depth in section 4.

I understand the underlying semantics of verbs to play a large – though not exclusive – role in the assignment of case. More precisely and for our purposes, I argue that Kurtöp verbs may selectionally restrict for arguments that are typical agents (such as humans or animate entities that act with volition) of typical themes or patients (such as inanimate objects). Verbs that typically have take an agentive argument may allow for pragmatic ergative marking on their arguments, usually with the pragmatic result of contrastive focus. Monovalent verbs which typically restrict for theme or patient arguments are unlikely to use the ergative marker. When they do, an added sense of agency is attributed to the S argument. Bivalent verbs which typically select two agentive arguments rely on the ergative marker to make the syntactic distinction between A and O. On the other hand, bivalent verbs with at least one patient argument allow for the ergative morpheme to be used for a variety of semantic and pragmatic factors.

As stated, this article assumes that the semantics of the verb play a large role in the possibility of the presence of the ergative. In addition to the place of a given argument on the animacy scale, I also occasionally appeal to the semantic roles of agent and patient, as defined in Payne (2006). In his words, ‘agent’ is defined as ‘a semantic role (cf.) defined in terms of a prototype as “the normally conscious, perceived instigator of an event”’ (2006: 321). I also use ‘patient’ according to his definition: ‘the semantic role held prototypically by entities that undergo a visible, concrete change in state’ (2006: 338), which I do not distinguish from theme in this article.

### **3. CASE-MARKING ON S AND A ARGUMENTS**

Kurtöp S and A arguments may be unmarked or marked with the ergative morpheme. Depending on the semantics of the verbal arguments, S arguments in Kurtöp may be unmarked or employ the ergative morpheme for semantic or pragmatic reasons. Likewise, A arguments may be unmarked, be required to be marked with the ergative as a means to denote the A function in the clause, or may be marked with the ergative morpheme for a variety of semantic and pragmatic functions, often denoting what has been described as focus in the literature (cf. Chafe 1976, Dik et al. 1981, Lambrecht 1994, Watters 1979).

In some instances the Kurtöp ergative marks the A argument in a bivalent clause while the S of monovalent clauses and O of bivalent clauses are unmarked, as illustrated in (5) and (6) above. The data in (5) show the S argument in absolutive case. The data in (6) illustrate the ergative postposition marking the A argument in a bivalent clause. Non-canonical patterns are also attested, as we describe below.

To say the Kurtöp ergative consistently and exclusively marks the A argument in a bivalent clause would be inaccurate. For example, the Kurtöp ergative is not even restricted to bivalent clauses. In (11) I show an S argument marked with ergative case.



- (11) tshe 'ai                    ni        mem                    zon-gi        'ngo-zi  
       so grandma        and grandfather        two-ERG cry-NF  
       'So the old man and woman both cried...' (PS20061206P)

The remainder of this section is devoted to illustrating the distribution of the Kurtöp ergative. Section 3.1 describes a subset of Kurtöp verbs which require the ergative. In §3.2 I describe the pragmatic ergative and in §3.3 I describe a subset of verbs, which are all monovalent, for which the ergative case does not occur.

### 3.1. Syntactic ergative

The majority of Kurtöp verbs allow an S or A argument to be marked with ergative case. There is a subset of verbs for which the ergative is grammatically required on the A argument. The first group I will examine consists of perception, cognition and utterance verbs. In (12) I show an example of an ergative-marked first person pronoun used with the verb *dri* 'ask'.

- (12) [ga-ta                    Rinzin khî-ra                    shama-the-ni                    ngai  
       laugh-IPFV.MIR Rinzin 3.ERG-EMPH        sometime-one-ABL        1.ERG  
       dri-mo-tako  
       ask-CTM-IPFV  
       'Even Rinzin himself was laughing when I asked.' (SBC20051127.KW)

Example (13) illustrates an ergative first person pronoun with *je* the honorific form of the verb 'see'.

- (13) soithap                    zon        je-shang                    ngai  
       stove.HON        two        see.HON-PFV.EGO        1.ERG  
       'I saw two stoves (of the angel).' (SaT.SW20090917.1341.340.SaT)

Another example of the ergative is found with the verb *ko* 'hear', illustrated in (14).

- (14) 'napa                    ["soithap nâ"                    ngaksi        ha  
       earlier                    stove.HON COP.EXIS.MIR        QUOT        meaning  
       ko-shang                    nâ                    ngai  
       hear- PFV.EGO        COP.EXIS.MIR        1.ERG  
       'I understood earlier (someone say) there were two stoves.'  
       (SaT.SW20090917.1356.725 SaT)

The verb *ngak* 'do' may also be used as a verb meaning 'to say' and is the source of the quotative in the language. When used as a speech act verb, *ngak* 'do' also appears with an ergative-marked A argument, as shown in (15).

- (15) tshe ngai 'ama-na "shê" nga-wala je-ro ge-ci  
 DM 1.ERG mother-LOC come.IMP do-PFV go.HON-INF go-HORT  
 'I told my mom "come, go and visit (it)".'  
 (SaT.SW20090917.1370.964SaT)

The verb *dran* 'remember' is shown in (16) to also condition ergativity on an A argument.

- (16) khî dran-ta-mi  
 3.ERG remember-IPFV.MIR-TAG  
 'He remembers, right' (SBC20051127.KW)

Similarly, the verb *bran* 'know', requires an ergative-marker on the A argument. Consider the data in (17-19). In (17) the A argument appears in natural discourse marked with the ergative case. If we try to alter the case in elicitation to absolutive, in (18), the argument is interpreted as being the O argument, but the sentence becomes somewhat unnatural for native speakers. Instead, speakers prefer data like that in (19), in which both the A and O are overtly marked.

- (17) bran-ci ke wî  
 know-HORT QP 2.ERG  
 'Do you know?'  
 (SBC20051127KW525)

- (18) ? wit bran-ci ke  
 2.ABS know-HORT QP  
 '(Does s/he) know you?' (elicited data)

- (19) khî wit bran-ci ke  
 3.ERG 2.ABS know-HORT QP  
 'Does s/he know you?' (elicited data)

The verbs described so far fall into the category of perception, cognition, and utterance (PCU) verbs. There are many more such examples in the texts and no exceptions have been found to the generalization that verbs of this semantic category will require the A argument to be ergative.

There is a further subset of verbs for which the ergative is required to disambiguate potential agents. Consider the data in (20) and (21), in which the verb *thrung* 'bear.HON' relies on the ergative marker to disambiguate the role of the two potential human verbal arguments.

(20) Drowa Zangmo khepo o gatpo ganmo zon-nang  
 Drowa Zangmo FOC DEM.PROX old.man old.woman two-LOC  
 thrung-wala wenta-mi  
 bear.HON-PFV COP.EQ.MIR-TAG  
 ‘Drowa Zangmo was born to these two old man and woman, right’  
 (PS20061206P)

(21) ’Am Sonam-gi se thrung-wala wenta  
 Lady Sonam-3.ERG son.HON bear.HON-PFV COP.EQ.MIR  
 ‘Lady Sonam gave birth to a son’ (elicited data)<sup>13</sup>

In (20) *Drowa Zangmo khepo*, in absolutive case, is understood to be the O of the sentence. However, if an argument in the clause is marked with ergative case it is understood to be the A argument, as in (21).

A similar situation is illustrated in (22) and (23). The verb *zon* ‘send’ has human A and O arguments, and thus without case marking it would be ambiguous as to which argument is the A and which is the O. In (22) the three referents *yum* ‘mother.HON’, *se* ‘son.HON’ and *semo* ‘daughter.HON’ are all understood to be the O argument of the clause while the A is unmentioned. If we mark *yum* with ergative case, as in (23), then *yum* must be understood to be the A argument.

(22) yum se ni semo yap  
 mother.HON son.HON and daughter.HON father.HON  
 zhuk-sa-na zon-pala wenta la  
 stay.HON-NMLZR-LOC send-PFV COP.EQ.MIR POL  
 ‘The mother, prince and princess were sent to where the father was’  
 (elicited data)

<sup>13</sup> There were no examples of an overt ergative-marked agents co-occurring with the verb *thrun* ‘bear.HON’ occurring in the texts (note that in (20) there is an example of an agent but it is marked as a recipient rather than ergative). In order to elicit an example I asked two different questions over an interval of nearly two years to a very linguistically aware consultant. The first question I asked was how a native Kurtöp speaker what various examples with ergatively marked arguments meant in Kurtöp. In all instances I was told the ergative-marked argument was the agent (the one giving birth). I followed up with this topic nearly two years later by asking the same speaker whether several given utterances were possible Kurtöp sentences, and if so, what they meant. The utterances consisted of data the speaker had previously accepted as well as examples I had fabricated, some of which I predicted to be ungrammatical. The speaker identified the grammatical examples and gave translations for them and also told me which examples were ungrammatical. The example in (21) is one of the examples which was given to me twice, the second time with the accompanying translation by the very linguistically aware native Kurtöp speaker. This example was cross-checked with another native speaker for grammaticality.

- (23) yum-gi            se        ni    semo    yap            zhuk-sa-na  
 mother.HON-ERG prince and princess father.HON stay.HON-NMLZR-LOC  
 zon-pala    wenta            la  
 send-PFV    COP.EQ.MIR    POL  
 ‘The mother sent the prince and princess to where the father was’  
 (PS20061206P)

Another instance of the ergative distinguishing the A from a potential O argument is illustrated by the data in (24) and (25) with the bivalent verb *phang* ‘feel.pity.for’. Recall that a bivalent verb in Kurtöp is one for which two arguments may be expressed, as described in §2.3 and illustrated in (1-4). In (24) the only overt argument of the clause is in absolutive case and is thus interpreted as the O argument. If the same argument is marked in the ergative case, as in (25), then the argument is interpreted as the A argument. The data in (25) come from a text in which fishermen were ordered to kill a prince and princess, but in the end they felt pity for the prince and princess and were not able to complete their task. Again, note that both the A and O are human in this case.

- (24) nyarop    zon phang-zi  
 fisherman two feel.pity.for-NF  
 ‘The two fishermen were pitied...’ (elicited data)
- (25) nyarop    zon-gi    phang-zi  
 fisherman two-ERG feel.pity.for-NF  
 ‘The two fishermen felt pity (for the prince and princess) ...’  
 (PS20061206P)

The verbs described in this section consistently use the ergative to mark the A argument. In many instances the verb selectionally restricts for arguments which are high on the animacy scale. The primary exceptions to this were *zon* ‘send’ and *bran* ‘know’. While the other verbs in this section would normally have two human arguments, the verb *zon* ‘send’, can also readily select for one inanimate argument, as can *bran*. It is not known why these verbs behave differently than other verbs which also typically select for one human and non-human argument.

The data in this section so far illustrate an ergative morpheme with the expected distribution; it has marked the A argument while the S and O are unmarked. However, the situation is more complicated than this. Consider, for example, the data in (26-28), showing bivalent verbs with two overt NPs yet no ergative morphemes.

- (26) tiru        zhip            ma-tshu-wala    net            gapo  
 money    straighten.out NEG-be.able-PFV    1.PL.ABS        PL.FOC  
 ‘We were not able to straighten out the money’ (SBC20051127KW)

(27) Rinzin     gari     'lup  
 Rinzin     car     learn  
 Rinzin was learning to drive (lit. learn car)' (SBC20051127.KW)

(28) Tshewang     khit     thre-si     'ot-pala     wen     tshe  
 Tshewang     3.ABS     lead-NF     bring-PFV     COP.EQ     DM  
 New York-ni  
 New York-ABL  
 'Tshewang brought him along from New York' (SBC20051127KW)

In (26) the verb *zhip* 'straighten.out' takes the A argument *net gapo* '1.PL.ABS FOC.PL' and the O argument *tiru* 'money'. Both arguments are absolutive. Likewise in (27) the 'lup 'learn' has the A argument *Rinzin* and O *gari* 'car' but neither argument is ergative. (28) provides another example, but with two human arguments; the verb *thre* 'lead' plus auxiliary *ot* 'bring' take the A argument *Tshewang* and the O argument *khit* '3.ABS', both of which are absolutive. Importantly, there are no ergative-marked A arguments in the examples (26-28).

### 3.2. Pragmatic ergative

For a large portion of Kurtöp verbs, the ergative enclitic actually displays a pragmatic function associated with topicality or emphasis. More specifically, the Kurtöp ergative often exhibits what can be referred to as 'contrastive focus' as defined by Dik *et al.* (1981: 58). That is, the Kurtöp ergative often references an argument ('piece of information') which is opposed to another reference ('some other piece of information'). Consider the data in (29) and (30).

(29) tshe     ge-shang     khit  
 DM     go-PFTCV.EGO     3.ABS  
 'So he left' (SBC20051127.7KW)

(30) khî     ge-shang  
 3.ERG     go-PFTCV.EGO  
 'She went' (contrary to interlocutor's assumption)

(29) appeared in a conversation during which the speaker discusses the activities of friends and family members back home in Bhutan. He explains to the interlocutor that a certain person is no longer working at his father's shop; he found a good job and left. This is unmarked situation. The use of the ergative in (30) with the same verb signals a pragmatic function. The speaker uses the ergative to highlight the S argument, to contrast the S from another possible (the presupposed) referent. The interlocutor had incorrectly thought the speaker had gone back to their home village and the speaker clarified the issue by using the third person ergative pronoun to signal it was not the speaker who had gone, but a third person referent (the author in this instance).

For another example, consider the data in (31) and (32). The example in (31) describes an event in a story and the S argument occurs in absolutive form.

- (31) tshe ozi meme-the jong-shang  
 DM then grandfather-one emerge-PFV.EGO  
 ‘So then an old man came out’ (SBC20051127.7KW)

However, (32) is also possible.

- (32) meme-the-gi jong-shang  
 grandfather-one-ERG emerge-PFV.EGO  
 ‘**An old man** came out’ (Elicited data)

A speaker could utter (32) if they wanted to highlight or focus the NP *meme* ‘grandfather’. One possible scenario is one in which a group of people are discussing was able to come to a given event. Perhaps it was difficult for people to come; even a number of strong men were not able to complete the journey. At the end of the discourse, (32) could be uttered, stressing that the old man had managed to come even though those who are younger and stronger did not.

The verb *jong* ‘emerge’ also appears with an ergative-marked S argument in our corpus, as shown in (33). Here, the speaker is again relaying a journey he experienced to his interlocutor. At the beginning of the journey there were about eight or nine people, including the speaker. Along the way, however, the bus broke down and the speaker and his brother decided to continue the journey on foot. By the time the speaker gets to (33) he has relayed most of the tedious journey and concludes with him and his brother reaching their destination. It is not clear, however, in this example that the use of the ergative signals pragmatic focus again, since the remaining passengers in the journey had not been mentioned for several lines previously at this point. Rather, it seems the speaker is stressing the importance of the feat by using the ergative in (33).

- (33) zai.. ’ngazi nam ma-khar-wa dek-ni  
 EXCL morning sun NEG-rise-NMLZR enter-ABL  
 ge-wala-i net zon-li chutshot yanga  
 go-NMLZR-GEN 3.PL.ABS two-ERG time five  
 winim-the-na jong ge-shang  
 COP.EQ.DBT-one-LOC emerge go-PFV.EGO  
 ‘Wow... having left early before the sun had risen the two of us came out  
 by around five o’clock.’ (SBC20051127.KW)

Another verb which may mark its S argument as ergative is *thrak* ‘arrive’, as demonstrated in (34) and (35).

(34) *yau*            *thrak-shang*    *net*            *zon*  
 DEM.UP        arrive-PFV.EGO   1.PL.ABS    two  
 ‘The two of us arrived up there’ (SBC200511727.KW)

(35) *yang*            *yang-sa-na*            *ngai*    *thrak-shang*        *Phuntsholing-go*  
 stand        stand-NMLZR-LOC   1.ERG    arrive-PFV.EGO    Phunthsoling-LOC  
 ‘I reached Phuntsholing standing.’ (SBC20051127.KW)

In (34) the speaker is again relaying a previous journey. The speaker and a friend had great difficulties in reaching their destination. He describes how they struggled to obtain transportation, how they had to run, and then, in the end, how they finally reached their destination. However, in (35) the speaker employs the ergative with the same verb *thrak* ‘arrive’ to highlight or contrast himself from amongst the others in the group. During a separate trip he was on a crowded bus where he and other people had to stand. At one point all of the others who had been standing had fallen to the ground and were sitting in the aisle of the bus. The speaker, however, remained standing throughout the duration of the trip, and thus uses the ergative to separate or contrast himself from the rest of the group.

Note that in both (29) and (34) the absolutive argument follows the verb while the ergative-marked argument precedes the verb in (30) and (35). While a potential correlation between word order and pragmatics needs to be researched, there does not appear to be a direct correlation between ergativity and word order. (36) shows the ergative-marked argument appearing before the verb while (37) shows the ergative argument following the verb. In both instances the verb is *juk-shang* ‘run-PFV.EGO’ and the S argument is *ngai* ‘1.ERG’.

(36) *zai*        *ngai*        *juk-shang*        *Taktshang-ngi*    *yoto*            *barto*  
 EXCL    1.ERG        run-PFV.EGO    Taktshang-ABL    DIR:DOWN        DIR:MID  
*khako*    *yoto*  
 DIR:UP    DIR:DOWN  
 ‘Wow, I ran up and down and everywhere from Taktshang.’  
 (SBC20051127)

(37) *ong*        *tshe*        *shama*            *juk-shang*        *ngai*  
 AGR        DM            often            run-PFV.EGO        1.ERG  
 ‘Yeah I ran often’ (SBC20051127)

Note that (36) and (37) also present instances of the pragmatic ergative. These two can be contrasted with the data in (38).

- (38) yam-ni            thun-do            gor-si            thiphin            gapo            otor  
 road-ABL            DEM.DIST-LOC            turn-NF            tiffin            PL.FOC            like.this  
 juk-ta            tshe  
 run-IPFV.MIR            DM  
 ‘The tiffins were all turning that way from the road, running like that.’  
 (SBC20051127.KW)

The data in (38) can be considered an unmarked example in which the speaker is describing a scene. In the particular scene addressed in (38), the speaker is describing an incident in which a car door opened while the vehicle was enroute and cookware and cutlery came out of the car. In (37) and (36), however, the speaker is describing a difficult job he had to do and uses the ergative to emphasize his relationship to the task. Note that the use of the pragmatic ergative in these instances is again not a type of contrastive focus; the speaker is not identifying himself as opposed to someone else. Neither is the speaker expressing intentionality or volitionality on his part, as this was a job someone else made him do. He is emphasizing the difficulty of the task and his involvement; this use is similar to what was illustrated in (33).

Until now we have only seen the pragmatic ergative used with animate arguments. However, the pragmatic ergative may also be used with inanimate arguments. In (39) the pragmatic ergative is cliticized to *trak* ‘truck’.

- (39) trak-gi            tshe            trak            nami            gi-si            gi-si            sutla  
 truck-ERG            DM            truck            ruin            go-NF            go-NF            night  
 chutshot            chauni            ni            ’akpa            winim-the-na  
 time            eleven            and            how.much            COP.EQ.DBT-ONE-LOC  
 yoi-shang            tshe            net            mau  
 reach.TR-PFV.EGO            DM            1.PL.ABS            DEM.DOWN  
 ‘As for the truck, the truck keeps breaking down and reaches us down  
 there by around 11 at night.’ (SBC2005112.KW)

Here, the function of the ergative seems to be one of marking definiteness and signaling change of topic. Note that the ergative appears only on the first mention of *trak* ‘truck’ and not on the second mention when immediately preceding the verb.

The unifying factor found in ergative-marked (30), (32), (35), (36), (37), and (39), S arguments compared to the absolutive-marked arguments in (29), (31), (34) and (38) is that the ergative serves to highlight or focus the argument while the absolutive arguments are pragmatically unmarked. The ergative in (30), (32), (35) versus the ergative in (36), (37) and (39), however does not appear to represent the same function. In the former three, the ergative is marking contrastive focus (cf. Dik *et al.* 1981; Chafe 1976) but that is not true of the latter three examples.



In fact, it is not clear that focus (broad or narrow) would be the best analysis for *-gi* in these instances.<sup>14</sup>

In at least one instance the choice between the ergative and absolutive also signals a tense difference. In (40) the verb *dot* ‘sleep’ is interpreted as past tense. However, in (41) the S argument appears in ergative case and the verb is interpreted as being in future tense.

(40) *tshe net gapo-ya o-ye-na zhâ dot*  
 DM 1.PL.ABS PL.FOC-ALSO PROX-UP-LOC night sleep  
 ‘So we also slept up there.’ (SBC20051127.KW)

(41) *net gapo-i-ya dot*  
 1.PL.ABS PL.FOC-ERG-ALSO sleep  
 ‘We will also sleep (up there).’ (Elicited data)

I suspect the possible tense differences evidenced in (40-41) fall out from the combination of the pragmatic ergative with the particular aspectual/evidential function of the bare verb stem.

Until now I have illustrated uses of the pragmatic ergative with monovalent verbs. While the majority of verbs which may employ the pragmatic ergative are monovalent, there are instances of bivalent verbs also employing the pragmatic ergative. Compare (42) and (43).

(42) *net tiru yanga yanga bi-shang*  
 1.PL.ABS money five five give-PFV.EGO  
 ‘We gave five bucks (’ngultram) each’ (SBC20051127.KW)

(43) *nei tiru yanga yanga bi-shang*  
 1.PL.ERG money five five give-PFV.EGO  
 ‘We gave five bucks (’ngultram) each.’ (Elicited data)

Example (42) illustrates the unmarked instance for this verb; *bi* ‘give’ normally takes an absolutive marked A. This particular example comes from a conversation in which the speaker is relaying events of a journey, with one of the events being that he and a friend paid five ’ngultram each for a bus ticket. However (43) could be uttered if the speaker wanted to stress that he and a friend had paid (in contrast to some other party). In other words, (43) is another example of the ergative signaling contrastive focus, though this time with a bivalent verb.

<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, (35) begins with a sharp rising intonation. However, this type of intonation is not exclusive to examples like (35); a sharp rising intonation was also associated with (33). However, the interaction between intonation, word order, and morphosyntax in marking focus is beyond the scope of this article.

The fact that the possibility of using the pragmatic ergative is a feature of a given verb is underscored by the data in (44) and (45), which can be contrasted with (43) and (42).

(44) nei            tiru    yanga    yanga    zon-shang  
 1.PL.ERG        money five    five        send-PFV.EGO  
 ‘We sent five bucks (’ngultram) each’ (Elicited data)

(45) \*net            tiru    yanga    yanga    zon-shang  
 1.PL.ABS        money five    five        send-PFV.EGO

In (42) and (43) the verb *bi* ‘give’ takes an absolutive-marked A argument in the unmarked scenario but may employ the pragmatic ergative to mark contrastive focus. In sharp contrast to this are (44) and (45), where the A argument must be ergative and the absolutive is not allowed. In addition to whatever semantic differences there are between *zon* ‘send’ and *bi* ‘give’, there are two syntactic differences: the verb *bi* ‘give’ occurs in many light verb constructions and occurs as a main verb only, while *zon* ‘send’ has not been found in any light verb constructions and, in addition to being a main verb, also occurs as an auxiliary. It is not clear these syntactic differences would have any effect on the use of the ergative marker.

### 3.3. Ergative resistant verbs

A subset of Kurtöp monovalent verbs mark their argument in absolutive case and rarely allow for ergative case. These verbs tend to have arguments which are typically patients and lower on the animacy scale. These verbs have been termed ‘unaccusative’ in the literature. Weather verbs and verbs which describe a change of state fall into this category. Consider the data in (46-49).

(46) meto    throng-ta  
 flower grow-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘A/the flower is growing’ (elicited data)  
 \*meto-gi throngta

(47) mar    zhu-ta  
 butter melt-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘(The) butter is melting’ (elicited data)  
 \*mar-gi zhuta

(48) phrum    rui-ta  
 cheese rot-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘(The) cheese is rotting’ (elicited data)  
 \*phrum-gi ruita

- (49) yui ra-ta  
 rain come-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘It’s raining’ (elicited data)  
 \*yui-gi ruita

As illustrated by the data in (46-49), ergative counterparts are not available for the sentences.

Another verb which is resistant to the ergative is *shak* ‘die.HON’, as illustrated by the data in (50). While the verb *shak* ‘die.HON’ typically restricts for an argument high on the animacy scale, the argument generally has the semantic role of patient.

- (50) yum shak-shang wu ai  
 mother.HON die.HON-PFV.EGO TAG EXCL  
 ‘Oh, the mother expired, no?’ (SBC720051127PC)  
 \*yum-gi shakshang

However, at least two of these verbs can occur with an ergative marked S in another context, as exhibited by the data in (51-52).

- (51) phrum-gi rui-zi me-nyan-ta  
 cheese-ERG rot-NF NEG-accept-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘**The cheese** is going on getting **rotten**’ (elicited data)

- (52) yui-gi nenca rang ra-ta  
 rain-ERG day EMPH come-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘It’s always **raining** during the day’ (elicited data)

The data in (51) and (52) were offered by different speakers during elicitation. In both instances, the ergative can only occur with the added words and an expanded context. The speakers expressed the view that in the data in (51) and (52), the S argument is somehow **rotting** or **coming** on purpose. In one speaker’s own words, with regard to (52) ‘you want to blame the rain by using *-gi*’. In both instances the S argument is attributed with a sense of volition. That is, when a context is made explicit, the S argument can take the ergative morpheme as a way to provide the sense that the given S argument is instigating or controlling the event, or force an agent interpretation onto the S argument. The data in (53) and (54), in contrast to those in (51) and (52), show that when the ergative morpheme is removed, the added sense of agency is removed as well.

- (53) phrum rui-zi me-yan-ta  
 cheese rot-NF NEG-accept-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘The cheese just keeps getting rotten’ (elicited data)

- (54) *yui nenca rang ra-ta*  
 rain day EMPH come-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘It’s always raining during the day’ (elicited data)

The data in (53) and (54) could be uttered when the speaker just wishes to articulate an observation and perhaps complain about the situation. However, the complaint can go a step further with (51) and (52) above by using the ergative to attribute an added sense of agency or volition, and blaming the *phrum* ‘cheese’ and *yui* ‘rain’ for the action. The use of the ergative in these instances differs from the uses we have seen previously. Here, the ergative does not signal the A argument nor mark contrastive focus. The function of the ergative in (51) and (52) also appears different than that of (36) or (37).

To summarize, the data (51-52) showed that verbs in this category may take the ergative if a non-agent is conceived of as an agent or instigator. The use of the ergative to encode agency or intentionality is witnessed in these examples for the first time; previous uses of the ergative described in this article did not have this function.

Within the text database the verbs described in this section have not occurred with ergative marking on their S argument, and in fact I found that the ergative was allowed only in further conversation and elicitation with native speakers. The verbs presented in this section illustrate a small set of verbs which share the semantics of what have been termed ‘unaccusative’ verbs in the literature. These verbs tend to have arguments which are low on the animacy scale. Verbs in this category are monovalent and are unlikely to use the ergative marker. When the ergative marker is employed, instead of providing a sense of contrastive focus, as we have seen prevalent in other instances of the optional ergative, the ergative here adds a sense of agency.

#### 4. CASE-MARKING ON O ARGUMENTS

Kurtöp bivalent verbs can be divided into two sets with regard to case-marking on the O argument. One set of bivalent verbs requires the O argument to be unmarked while a subset of bivalent verbs exhibit differential object marking (DOM). This latter set of verbs marks their O argument with a locative postposition depending on various pragmatic factors. Section 4.1 examines the verbs which do not allow the O argument to be marked and §4.2 presents the verbs which display differential object marking.

##### 4.1. Unmarked O

A large set of verbs in Kurtöp require the O arguments to be unmarked. The data in (55-56) below provide an example of a verb which cannot mark its O argument with either the *-na* or *-ro* locative.

(55) tiru drangkha thung-taki  
 money counting do-IPFV  
 ‘(We were) counting money’ (SBC720051127913KW)  
 \*tiru-na/-ro drangkha thungtaki

(56) ja co-zi ’ipa co-zi bi-ta  
 tea make-NF food make-NF give-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘(He) made tea and food for (us) (SBC720051127KW)  
 \*ja-na/-ro cozi

Although (55) and (56) show verbs with inanimate arguments, it is not required that verbs in this category have inanimate Os, as shown by the data in (57-58) below.

(57) net zon ’ru-zi  
 1.PL.ABS two wake.up-NF  
 ‘(He) woke the two of us up...’ (SBC720051127KW)  
 \*net zon-na/-ro ’ruzi

(58) khit dom-zi tshene khit taphi charo  
 3.ABS meet-NF then 3.ABS together friend  
 ‘(I) met him and then befriended him’ (SBC720051127KW)  
 \*khit-na/-ro domzi

Some other verbs which fit this category are: *bjá* ‘summon’, *ker* ‘carry’, *tup* ‘slice’, *lup* ‘study’, *me thung* ‘build.a.house’, *zu* ‘eat’, *nyang* ‘receive’, *kim* ‘step.over’, *ki* ‘plant’ and *kang* ‘fill.with’. Interestingly, the verb *bjá* ‘summon’ does display DOM when it occurs with *kha shû ngak* ‘yell’, as shown in §4.2 below. It remains unknown how the remainder of these verbs differ from those which may take DOM, described §4.2.

#### 4.2. Differential Object Marking

Differential object marking (DOM) is the phenomenon in which verbal O arguments are marked differently under different contexts. Classic examples are Spanish and Hindi, which, to varying degrees, mark animate and topical O arguments with the same forms used to mark dative case. Bossong (1991) describes DOM in Semitic and Romance and its functional motivations, arguing that DOM represents a preferred diachronic development in which arguments that are semantically prototypical, that is, patient-like, are intimately tied to the verb and therefore unmarked. However, objects which are more independent, autonomous, or more likely to be subjects, are positively marked<sup>15</sup> (Bossong

<sup>15</sup> Regarding what he means by “subject” and “object” Bossong (1991: 144, fn1) writes: “The intricate problems connected with these notions cannot be discussed here. These basic grammatical relations can be described as combinations of formal, semantic, and pragmatic

1991). The situation in Kurtöp appears to be more complex than this. In Kurtöp, one set of verbs may leave their O unmarked or marked with *-na* or *-ro* depending on pragmatic factors. However, it remains to be seen whether the diachronic motivation described in Bossong (1991) will obtain for Kurtöp.

Before discussing the Kurtöp data in detail, it will be useful to review the locative markers in the language. Recall that Kurtöp employs two postpositions to mark locative case: *-na* and *-ro*. Both mark recipients and possessors and both locatives can also be used in DOM. Although I note a slight difference in the pragmatics of each, I have not yet discerned the full functional difference between the two locatives. Consider (59-61) below.

(59) draiber sit-gi chando ose no khepo bre  
 driver seat-GEN side there younger.brother FOC keep  
 ‘(I) kept my younger brother by the driver’s seat’ (SBC720051127KW)

(60) draiber sit-gi chando ose no khepo-na bre  
 driver seat-GEN side there younger.brother FOC-LOC keep  
 ‘(I) kept my younger brother by the driver’s seat’ (elicited data)

(61) draiber sit-gi chando ose no khepo-ro bre  
 driver seat-GEN side there younger.brother FOC-LOC keep  
 ‘(I) kept my younger brother by the driver’s seat’ (elicited data)

The precise pragmatic differences between (60) and (61) compared to (59), and the difference between (60) and (61) require further research, though the consensus among the speakers is that somehow *no* ‘younger.brother’ becomes more important, or more salient, in (60) and (61).

At least one verb (*bjā* ‘summon’) mentioned in §4.1, evidences DOM when it occurs as an auxiliary with a light verb. Consider the data in (62-64). Again, the data without a locative marked O is the unmarked utterance, but (63) and (64) are also possible if the speaker would like to stress the O. However, it remains unclear in which way the O becomes stressed.

(62) khî ngat kha shû ngak bja-ta  
 3.ERG 1.ABS mouth strength QUOT summon-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘S/he is yelling at me’ (elicited data)

(63) khî ngat-na kha shû ngak bja-ta  
 3.ERG 1.ABS-LOC mouth strength QUOT summon-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘S/he is yelling at me’ (elicited data)

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features. ... For the purpose of the present contribution it is sufficient to understand the terms ‘subject’ and ‘object’ in their current traditional sense.”

- (64) khî        ngat-o    kha    shû    ngak bja-ta  
 3.ERG      1.ABS-LOC mouth strength QUOT summon-IPFV.MIR  
 ‘S/he is yelling at me’ (elicited data)

Another example of DOM is illustrated by the data in (65-67). In these data we were able to obtain a better sense of the pragmatics associated with the use of DOM.

- (65) khî        ngat        kha    ’num-shang  
 3.ERG      1.ABS      mouth attach-PFV.EGO  
 ‘S/he kissed me (asserting a fact)’ (elicited data)

- (66) khî    ngat-na    kha    ’num-shang  
 3.ERG 1.ABS-LOC mouth attach-PFV.EGO  
 ‘S/he kissed **me** (rather than someone else)’ (elicited data)

- (67) khî    ngat-o        kha    ’num-shang  
 3.ERG 1.ABS-LOC    mouth attach-PFV.EGO  
 ‘S/he **kissed me** (contrary to expectation)’ (elicited data)

In the unmarked instance (59) the O is unmarked. When the speaker wishes to emphasize the O in terms of contrastive focus, the locative *-na* is employed, as in (66). The data in (67) appear to be marking broad, rather than narrow focus. In the terms of Dik et al. (1981), the data in (67) represent predication focus, where the whole predicate is being focused.

DOM in Kurtöp may occur with a number of other verbs, such as *prin* ‘lick’, *tshoda thung* ‘scold’, *danjali thung* ‘slap’, *dokpi thung* ‘kick’, *jagaling top* ‘tickle’, *tsimbi bra* ‘scratch’, *khuntol thung* ‘punch’, and *ga* ‘enjoy’. What these verbs have in common, in contrast to the verbs described in §4.1, remains to be understood.

There are some additional verbs in Kurtöp which exhibit a different pattern altogether. Consider the data in (68).

- (68) [“hapta the khepo”] [trong-i        mi    gapo    pura-na] lap-si  
 week    one    FOC            village-GEN    man    PL.FOC    all-LOC    say-NF  
 “[hapta the    khepo] [[o                    ko        khepo]    phi-ra  
 week    one    FOC            DEM.PROX      door    FOC        open-EMPH  
 ma-phi-ye-re]”                    ngaksi  
 NEG-open-IMP-PTCP    QUOT  
 ‘(He) told the villagers that for one week, “you absolutely must not open the door for one week”.’ (KS20061212KL)  
 \*trongi mi gapo pura lapsi

These data show that the verb *lap* ‘say’ must mark the perceived O argument with locative case. If we remove the locative *-na* from the putative O *trongi mi gapo pura* ‘all the villagers’, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. We have found the verbs *tsho* ‘order’ and *pco khot* ‘tell lies’ to also exhibit this pattern. Whether these verbs are bivalent and require obligatory marking of the O argument, or are monovalent and are marking an oblique argument remains to be seen and is an area of ongoing research.

## 5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Kurtöp provides yet another example of a Tibeto-Burman language which employs a system of case marking that is difficult to capture in purely grammatical terms. Verbal semantics play an important role in determining whether Kurtöp verbal arguments may or may not utilize the ergative marker, and further, verbal semantics seem to play a role in deciding what the function of the ergative case marker will be. Specifically, we have seen the Kurtöp ergative to obligatorily mark the A argument in a bivalent clause, to disambiguate two potential agents, to mark contrastive focus, to attribute greater volition to inanimate objects, and to supply further pragmatics, the exact function of which remains to be studied.

Kurtöp also displays differential object marking via the use of two possible locative markers, though the Kurtöp phenomenon differs from what has been described for other languages such as Spanish, Hindi and Semitic (cf. Bossong 1991). In §4 I illustrated that a subset of Kurtöp verbs allow for both locative markers to appear on the O argument. This phenomenon in Kurtöp remains the least understood, though it is clear that in at least one instance the use of locative *-na* was associated with contrastive focus and *-ro* was associated with predication focus. A coherent semantic basis for the group of verbs which allowed for DOM is not obvious.

That semantics contribute to case marking—and especially ergativity—in Tibeto-Burman has been noticed by many. Meithei (Chelliah 1997), for example, is argued to encode semantic, rather than syntactic, roles with postpositions. Darma (Willis 2007) appears to have a more or less ergative/absolutive case-marking system, with ergative appearing on the A argument in all tenses and aspects. The Darma ergative is described as ‘optional’, though it tends to appear more in the past tense. However, based on the data and arguments presented in Willis (2007), it does not appear that the optional ergative in Darma bears any particular pragmatic function, unlike in Kurtöp.

The Kinnauri ergative appears to be closer in function to the Kurtöp form. Saxena (ms) describes the Kinnauri ergative as a form which occurs almost obligatorily with subjects of main clauses introducing direct speech. Saxena (ms) argues that the distribution of the Kinnauri ergative cannot be accounted for unless we take into account such notions as context-shift, and again, contrastive focus. Perhaps the Tibetan ergative as described by Tournarde (1991) is most similar to Kurtöp. Tournarde describes a “rhetorical” ergative in Tibetan, the



distribution of which is guided by a combination of verbal semantics and syntax. When optional, the Tibetan ergative takes on a contrastive type of focus. In the Tibetan dialect spoken in Kyirong, the distribution of the ergative is similarly complex. Huber (2005, §4.4) shows that in Kyirong Tibetan verb type (control, valency) and aspect condition whether or not the ergative morpheme is possible. When used, the Kyirong Tibetan ergative seems to have an emphatic function. Tshangla (Andvik to appear), another Tibeto-Burman language of Bhutan, provides an additional instance of ergative marking that is impossible to describe without reference to semantics and pragmatics.

In a comparative survey on ergativity in 151 Tibeto-Burman languages, LaPolla (1995) identifies both ‘systemic’ and ‘non-systemic’ morphological marking of ergativity. The function of ‘non-systemic’ ergativity is to disambiguate two potential agents—one function of the Kurtöp ergative. Because of the different functions of ‘non-systemic’ ergativity when compared to ‘systemic’ ergativity, LaPolla prefers to use the term ‘agentive’ to refer to this phenomena. Given the description of ‘agentive’ marking in recent descriptions of Tibeto-Burman (e.g. Chelliah 1997 for Meithei; Coupe 2007 for Ao; Andvik to appear for Tshangla), one could argue the term of ‘agentive’ would be useful to describe what I have called the Kurtöp ‘ergative’. Despite this, I opt to maintain the term ‘ergative’ because of its obligatory presence in some instances and its formal similarity to other ergative markers in closely related languages.

One could argue that the Kurtöp ‘ergative’ system may be more akin to the ‘agentive’ marking described for Tshangla (Andvik to appear) and Meithei (Chelliah 1997) than an ‘optional ergative’ system described, for example, by McGregor (2009). However, the fact remains that the Kurtöp ergative is required in some instances (§3.1) and not possible in other (§3.3), as would be expected of a grammaticalized system of case-marking. In terms of McGregor’s typology and in terms of what we know about ergativity in Tibeto-Burman languages, particularly of the Himalayas, the apparent non-systemicity and pragmatic functions of the Kurtöp ergative are less striking. Ergativity, it seems, particularly in the India to western China region, is often intertwined with pragmatic factors. Recently, Poornima (2009) reports similar pragmatic uses of the Hindi ergative, pushing the pragmatic ergative beyond Tibeto-Burman.

## APPENDIX

Many of the examples from this article came from a collection of transcribed and translated texts and I have included examples of some of these texts below. The first text below is a very small section from a larger conversation between two friends, which gives examples of the pragmatic ergative. The second text is the entire narration of a story about an encounter of an old woman with Drukpa Künle, the divine madman. In the second text there are many instances of the syntactic ergative.

**SBC20051125.7.KW**

ngat khepo-yang ngak-si net sum-bakti yang-zi nâ  
 1.ABS FOC-ALSO do-NF 1.PL.ABS three-AROUND stand-NF COP.EXIS.MIR

‘I was standing, there were about three of us who were standing’

bar-to yam-na jong-khan ’ê-yang mutna  
 middle-LOC path-LOC emerge-NMLZR who-ALSO COP.EXIS.NEG.MIR

‘There was no one who got off along the way’

net sum nga-wal-the yang-zi  
 1.PL.ABS three do-NMLZR-DEF stand-NF

‘The three of us were the only ones standing’

yang yang-sa-na Phuntsholing thrak-shang ngai  
 stand stand-NMLZR-LOC Phuntsholing arrive-PFV.EGO 1.ERG

‘While standing I arrived at Phuntsholing’

charo sum-ta ri gi-na o bas-gi o  
 friend three-EMPH fall go-PFV.MIR PROX.DEM bus-GEN PROX.DEM

bar-ni thun-do gwar-zi se-sal sisa  
 middle-EMPH DIST-LOC turn-NF die-NMLZR LIKE

yang yang-sa-na ngai thrak-shang Phuntsholing-go  
 stand stand-NMLZR-LOC 1.ERG arrive-PFV.EGO Phuntsholing-LOC

‘(My) three friends fell down in the middle of that bus, going like they had died;  
 (but) standing, I arrived at Phuntsholing’

**KS20061212.KL**

’ator mapa o sung khepo aaa ner-i.. nangpa-gi  
 how originally DEM.PROX story FOC HES 3.PL.INCL-GEN insider(Buddhist)-GEN

’lama ’lam Drukpa Künle nga-wala-gi gang-ki wenta  
 lama lama Drukpa Künle do-NMLZR-GEN time-GEN COP.EQ.MIR

‘This story is about how, originally, our ... it’s during the time of our Buddhist  
 lama Lama Drukpa Künle’

’napa ’ama the-gi ’namisami khit-na depa  
 earlier woman one-ERG very 3.ABS-LOC devotion

na-wala-gi korni  
 cop-NMLZR-GEN about

‘It’s about a woman in the past who was very devoted to him’

o-ci korni wen sung khepo mapa  
 DEM.PROX-GEN about COP.EQ story FOC originally  
 ‘This is what the story is about originally’

’napa ’napa tshe trong the-na ’ai  
 earlier earlier DM village one-LOC grandmother

the nawal wenta  
 one COP.EXIS COP.EQ.MIR  
 ‘A long time ago in a village there was an old woman.’

’ai khepo tshe mapa ’lam Drukpa  
 grandmother FOC DM originally lama Drukpa

Künle nga-khan khepo  
 Künle do-NMLZR FOC

me-je-na je-mal-ta tshe  
 NEG-see.HON-PFV.MIR see.HON-FUT-EMPH DM

shara khir thun tshon-do pholap  
 continuously 3.REFL DIST.DEM here-LOC talks

hago-zi ’lam-gi korni tshe  
 hako-si lama-GEN about DM

‘Even though the old woman had never seen this man called Drukpa Künle she’d heard about him continuously through the talks here and there.’

ne thu-sa-ning ’namisami depa kut-si ’lama-nang  
 ear hear-NMLZR-ABL very devotion bow-NF lama-LOC  
 ‘After hearing about him she was very devoted to the lama.’

[da “[ngaci tsawa-i] ’lama] wen” ngak [nang-i] [khira sem-gi  
 now 1.GEN root-GEN lama COP.EQ QUOT inside-GEN 3.REFL mind-GEN  
 nang-i] tshe [’namisami depa kut-si] ] [tsawa-i ’lama] ngak  
 inside-GEN DM very devotion bow-NF root-GEN lama QUOT  
 tan-pal wenta] tshe]  
 dedicate-PFV COP.EQ.MIR DM

‘‘Now he’s my root lama’’ she said and inside, inside her mind she became very devoted to him as her root lama and dedicated herself to him.’

o ’lam DrukpaKünle khepo  
 DEM.PROX lama Drukpa Künle FOC

da mapa 'napa mapa 'ai khepo-gi  
 now originally earlier originally grandmother FOC-ERG

'lam DrukpaKünle khepo 'napa je-rang  
 Lama DrukpaKünle SG.FOC earlier see.HON-EMPH

me-je-na tshe shara khir 'namisami depa kut-si  
 see.HON-PFV.MIR DM continuously 3.REFL very devotion bow-NF

da ngaci tsawa-i 'lama wen share ngaksi  
 now 1.GEN root-GEN lama COP.EQ EXCL QUOT  
 'The lama Drukpa Künle, now the women had never ever seen the lama Drukpa Khepo earlier but she being continuously devoted to him said "now he is my root lama!"'

nenmal-gongto 'namisami châ tshe-sha-ra...  
 every.day very hand.HON prostrate-PFV-EMPH  
 'Every day she would prostrate'

'lam Drukpa Künle sem-na dren-zi châ tshe  
 lama Drukpa Künle mind-LOC REMEMBER-NF hand.HON prostrate  
 'With Lama Drukpa Künle in her mind should prostrate'

otor ngak-si 'namisami depa kut-tak wenta  
 like.this do-NF very devotion bow-IPFV COP.EQ.MIR  
 'That's how devoted she was'

tshe nam the khit chorten the chorten kora  
 DM day one 3.ABS chorten one chorten circumambulation

thung ngak ni-sal wenta chorten the kora thung  
 do do stay-PFV COP.EQ.MIR chorten one circumambulation do

mani jang-zi om mani pemi hung mani  
 prayer chant-NF om mani pemi hung mani

pemi hung ngaksi tshe  
 pemi hung QUOT DM

chorten the kora thung ngak ni-mo  
 chorten one circumambulation do do stay-CTM

mi the ra-ta-ri  
 person one come-IPFV.MIR-HSY

'napa 'arwa-yang mik ma-thung-wala-i mi the  
 earlier when-also eye NEG-do-NMLZR-GEN man one

'So one day, a chorten, she was circumambulating the chorten, she was circumambulating the chorten saying "om mani pemi hung, mani pemi hung", so while circumambulating the chorten a man came, a man she had never seen.'

wai 'aiya zha ngak-tak yo ngâ-mo  
 hey grandmother what do-IPFV QP do-CTM

tshe ngat chorten kora thung-ta nga-wal  
 DM 1.ABS chorten circumambulation do-IPFV.MIR do-PFV

wenta tshe  
 COP.EQ.MIR DM

(When the lama asked) "hey old woman, what are you doing" she said: "well I am circumambulating a chorten"

tshe wici 'lama 'ê yo  
 DM 2.GEN lama who QP

ngâ-mo tshe ngaci tsawa-i 'lama  
 do-CTM DM 1.GEN root-GEN lama

khepo 'lam Drukpa Künle wen nga-wala wenta tshe  
 FOC lama Drukpa Künle COP do-PFV COP.EQ.MIR DM

'When he asked "who is your lama", she said "well it's Lama Drukpa Künle".'

eee tshe wai wici tsawa-i 'lama khepo 'lam Drukpa  
 HES dm hey 2.GEN root-GEN lama FOC lama Drukpa

Künle ra-mal wenta  
 Künle come-FUT COP.EQ.MIR

Um, 'Hey, your root lama, Lama Drukpa Künle, is coming now.'

dara ... perna ... wici tsawa-i 'lama  
 present suppose 2.GEN root-GEN lama

khepo wi-ci dong-go 'rung-zi nâ-nani  
 FOC 2.GEN in.front-LOC stand-NF COP.EXIS-COND

wî zha ngak ko nga-wal wenta tshe  
 2-ERG what do QP do-PFV COP.EQ.MIR DM  
 ‘Now, suppose, if your root lama were standing in front of you, what would you do?’

da ngâ-mal-ta zha ngak ko ... ngari ’namisami nang-i  
 now do-FUT-EMPH what do QP 1.REFL.GEN very inside-GEN

depa da na-wala tshe share ngat tshe  
 devotion now do-PFV DM EXCL 1.ABS DM

’namisami chukpo-ni min tshe me-do ...  
 very rich-ABL COP.EQ. NEG DM house-LOC

zhor palang the ning tshe khauti dakti nawala  
 alcohol bed one and DM egg few COP.EXIS  
 ‘Now what would I do... I am very devoted indeed, but I am not rich, so at my house there is alcohol, a bed, and a few eggs.’

o khep phui-male nga-wal wenta ’lama-nang  
 DEM.PROX FOC offer-FUT do-PFV COP.EQ.MIR lama-LOC  
 ‘‘I will offer that’’, (she) said, to the lama.’

tshe ’lam-i ... ’lam-i zumthrul-gi ngak-si tshe  
 DM lama-ERG lama-GEN supernatural.powers-ERG do-NF DM  
 ‘So the lama, the lama’s supernatural powers...’

tshe ’lam tshe khir ’lam ngoma khep ... ’napa  
 DM lama DM 3.EMPH lama original FOC earlier

khep khir mi soso co-zi ra  
 FOC 3.REFL person different make-NF come  
 ‘So the lama, the original lama, earlier he had come as a different person’

ju-na ’lama tun-zi.. tshe ’lam Drukpa Künle ngat wen  
 end-LOC lama show-NF DM lama Drukpa Künle 1.ABS COP.EQ

ngâ-mo ’namisami ’ai tshe  
 do-CTM very grandmother DM

depa mögü kut-si ’namisami yi che-zi tshe ’lama  
 devotion esteem bow-NF very truth.feeling moan-NF DM lama

châ tshe-zi o thang-na-ra châ tshe bito-rang  
 arm.HON prostrate-NF DEM.PROX plane-LOC-EMPH arm.HON prostrate outside-EMPH  
 ‘In the end, the lama showed himself and when he said “Drukpa Künle am I”, the  
 old woman became very overcome with devotion and she prostrated right there on  
 the ground outside.’

tsheni tshe me-do thre-zi khor-wal wenta tshe  
 then DM house-LOC lead-NF take-PFV COP.EQ.MIR DM

me-do khor-zi da nga-ci zhor palang the ni  
 house-LOC take-NF now 1-GEN alcohol bed one and

’lama khupo ’namisami zhor-na thu ’nye-tak wenta  
 lama FOC very alcohol-LOC heart.HON enjoy.HON-IPFV COP.EQ.MIR  
 ‘And then she lead him to her house, lead him to house, and now my alcohol,  
 alcohol, bed and... the lama was very interested in the alcohol.’

tshe medo thre-zi khor ngak tshe ...  
 DM house-LOC lead-NF take do DM  
 ‘She led him to her house’

zhor khupo-ya drang .. khauti  
 alcohol FOC -also give.HON egg

khupo-ya drang-zi tshe  
 FOC -also give.hon-NF DM

’ai ’namisami sem ga-zi  
 grandmother very mind enjoy-NF

’enji ngâ-male wen ma-bran-pal depa-gi  
 how.much do-NMLZR COP NEG-know-PFV devotion-INSTR

After also offering the alcohol and eggs the woman was so happy and she didn’t  
 know what to say out of devotion.’

tshe trong-na mi gapo pura ja-zi mi gatpo  
 DM village-LOC person PL.FOC all summon-NF person old.man

ganmo khir-i charo gap pura ja-zi tshe  
 old.woman 3.REFL-GEN friend PL.FOC all summon-NF DM

'lam Drukpa Künle jon-zi nawal share ngaksi  
 Lama Drukpa Künle come.go.HON-NF COP.EXIS EXCL QUOT  
 'So she called all the villagers, the old folks - her friends - she called, "Lama Drukpa Künle has come, hey."

tshe mi zhanma gapo-i-yang 'napa-ni-ra 'lama-i korni ne  
 then person another PL.FOC-ERG-also earlier-ABL-EMPH lama-GEN about ear.HON

thu-zi na-wal-i tshe depa-i ngak-si  
 hear.HON-NF COP-NMLZR-GEN DM devotion-INSTR do-NF

pura-gi zhor 'ot-si pura-gi zhor gapo-ya 'lama-ro  
 all-ERG alcohol bring-NF all-ERG alcohol PL.FOC-also lama-LOC

drang ngak ni-sal wenta tshe ...  
 give.HON do stay-PFV COP.EQ.MIR DM  
 'And then the other people also, having heard earlier about the lama, respected him and all brought alcohol, all brought the alcohol and all and were offering it to the lama.'

shama the-ni tshe ... 'lama-gi mir khira-gi  
 awhile one-ABL DM lama-ERG others 3.REFL-GEN

'ngöshü-gi ngak-si 'ai khepo da se-i ran-pal  
 omniscience-INSTR do-NF grandmother FOC now die-GEN time.to-NMLZR

wen-ci bran-pal wenta  
 COP-GEN know-PFV COP.EQ.MIR

'After a while, then the lama, due to his omniscience, knew that the old woman's time to die had come'

da se-mal wenta ngak 'ai khepo  
 now die-FUT COP.MIR QUOT grandmother FOC  
 "Now the old woman is going to die" (he said).'

da se-mal wenta ngak bran-zi  
 now die-FUT COP.MIR QUOT know-NF

tshe 'ai khepo tsheni 'lamagi  
 DM grandmother FOC then lama-ERG

mi zhanma gapo pura zon ngak  
 person another PL.FOC all send do



'ai                    khepo    rum    the-nang    dam    ...  
grandmother    FOC        room    one-LOC    lock

thu            chösham-na        the    ngak    dam        bre-wal        wenta  
over.there    alter.room-LOC    one    do        tie        keep-PFV        COP.EQ.MIR

'Now, knowing she is going to die, the old woman, then the lama sent out all the other people and locked the woman in the alter room over there, he locked her up.'

ko    thung-zi        dimi            thung-zi        hapta        the        khepo  
door    do-NF            lock            do-NF        week        one        FOC

ko    phi-ra            ma-phi-yo            ngaksi            'ê-ya-nang    ...  
door    open-EMPH        NEG-open-IMP.FUT    QUOT            who-also-LOC

hapta    the    khepo    trong-i        mi        gapo  
week    one    FOC        village-GEN    person    PL.FOC

pura-na    lap-si            hapta        the        khepo  
all-LOC    tell-NF            week        one        FOC

o            ko    khepo    phi-ra            ma-phi-ya-re            ngaksi  
DEM.PROX    door    FOC        open-EMPH    NEG-open-IMP-EXCL        QUOT

ban    thung-zi-ra            brek    go        ngaksi  
shut    do-NF-EMPH            keep    need    QUOT

otor        lap    tshe    khit        gi-mu  
like.this    tell    DM    3.ABS    go-PFV.IND

'He locked the door and said "For one week you absolutely cannot open the door", he told the villagers, don't let anyone open the door for one week, "For one week you absolutely cannot open the door, okay", he said "shut it and keep it that way" he said left'.

tshe-ni    tsheni        hapta    the        ge-sha-ra        tshe    'ai            jong-mal  
DM-ABL    DM-ABL        week    one        go-PFV-EMPH    DM    grandmother    emerge-FUT

mutle  
COP.EQ.NEG.IND

'Then, then even after one week the old woman didn't emerge.'

tsheni    tshe            mira    nang-o        to        mû  
then    DM            others    inside-LOC    food    COP.EXIS.NEG

zha-ya      mû                      'ai                      jong-mal              mutle  
 what-also    COP.EXIS.NEG    grandmother    emerge-FUT    COP.EQ.NEG.IND

mi            gapo            'namto    lang-zi            wai    dangan            la      ...  
 person    PL.FOC            shock    be.full-NF    EXCL    EXCL            POL

o            mi            'ê            wen            mutle                      otor            co            khot-pal  
 DEM.PROX    person    who    CO.EQP    COP.EQ.NEG.IND    like.this    lies            tell-NMLZR

the-gi      'lama    wen            ngak            co-zi            ra-zi            da            'ai  
 one-GEN    lama    COP.EQ    QUOT            lie-NF            come-NF    now            grandmother

sut-pal            wenta            ngaksi  
 kill-PFV            COP.EQ.MIR    QUOT

'Then, so, others, inside there was no food, there was nothing, the old woman didn't come out and the people were so shocked, "hey, now, that man who is nothing, the lie-telling man came lying saying "I am a lama" and now he killed the old woman", they said.'

tsheni      o            'ai                      khlep-i            bo    the  
 then        DEM.PROX    grandmother    FOC-GEN    son    one

nawal            wenta            o                      bo    khepo  
 COP.EXIS            COP.EQ.MIR    DEM.PROX            son            FOC

tshong-na      gi    nawal            wenta  
 trade-LOC      go    COP.EXIS            COP.EQ.MIR

'Then, that grandmother had a son, that son had gone for trade.'

tshemo    tshe    tshong-na    ge    ngak-si    ...    tshe    lok    ra-tak  
 but        DM        trade-LOC    go    do-NF            DM        return    come-IPFV

wenta  
 COP.EQ.MIR

'But he had gone for trade and so he was coming back.'

bo    lok    ra-mo            tshe    trong-ni            mi            gapo-i            wici  
 son    return    come-CTM    DM    village-ABL    person    FOC-ERG            2.GEN

'aiya                      otor            mi            the            ra-zi            co            khot-si  
 grandmother    like.this    person    one            come-NF            lie            tell-NF

'lam            Drukpa            Künle            wen            ngak            lap-si  
 lama            Drukpa            Künle            COP            QUOT            say-NF

tshe otor me nang-o dam brek-shang  
DM like.this house inside-LOC lock keep-PFV.EGO

‘When the son came back then the people from the village said “your grandmother, a man like that came, telling lies, saying “I am Drukpa Künle” and like that she was locked inside the house.’

dam brek-si dasum ngâ-mo nen drô ge-shang da  
lock keep-NF today do-CTM day six go-PFV.EGO now

‘Since being locked, today six days have gone.’

da nei hapta the phi-ra ma-phi-ye  
now 3.PL.ERG week one open-EMPH NEG-open-IMP

ngak-ta da nen drô ge-shang ...  
do-IPFV.MIR now day six go-PFV.EGO

‘Now, we, for one week, say “do not open the door at all”. Now six days are gone.’

tshe bo ’namisami tsikpa za-zi  
then son very anger become-NF

shui ... mi canglong ...  
grrrr person crazy

’ê wen mutle ra-zi  
who COP COP.EQ.NEG.IND come-NF

otor ngaci ’ai sut-pal  
like.this 1.GEN grandmotherkill-PFV

wenta ngaksi tshe  
COP.EQ.MIR QUOT DM

‘The the boy, becoming very angry says “grrr ... a crazy man ... who is no one, comes like that and killed my grandmother.’

tshe chösham khepo hapta the ko  
DM alter.room FOC week one door

ma-phi-ye ngâ-khan khepo khî  
NEG-open-IMP do-NMLZR FOC 3.ERG

ko phis thung-wal wenta  
door open do-PFV COP.EQ.MIR

‘So this alter room door that was said not be opened, he opened this door.’

ko phis thung ge-mo nang-o  
 door open do go-CTM inside-LOC

'namisami ozi drizang-gi bri sang  
 very then saffron.milk-GEN smell incense.type

thung-wal pita bri lemtoka  
 do-PFV like smell sweet

'nam-zi otor  
 emit-NF like.this

ne tsha-sal pita yö bar-zi nâ-ri  
 sun shine-PFV like shine burn-NF COP.EXIS.MIR-HSY

'When he opened the door inside then there was a very sweet smell like saffron-milk incense coming out.'

tshe udi-na  
 DM DEM.DIST-LOC

palang-gi ... palang nawal wenta palang-gi jedo  
 bed-GEN bed COP.EXIS COP.EQ.MIR bed-GEN top

thila the dar-na-ri, tawa-i thila the  
 thumb one remain-PFV.MIR-HSY leg-GEN thumb one

'And then, the bed's ... there was a bed. On the top of the bed there was a thumb, a thumb of a foot (big toe).'

tshe mapa 'ai khepo mira  
 DM originally grandmother FOC others

se-mal khepo 'lama-gi bran 'lama-gi  
 die-NMLZR FOC lama-ERG know lama-ERG

bran-ci-ning tshe zhingkhama-na  
 know-NMLZR-ABL DM heaven-LOC

drang-wal wenta khakto  
 give.HON-PFV COP.EQ.MIR DIR:UP

'So the lama knew that the old woman was actually going to die, and knowing she was going to die, the lama offered her up to heaven.'

zhingkhama-na drang-mo tshe traim ... dutshot  
 heaven-LOC give.HON-CTM DM time (<English) time

ma-tshang-wala

NEG-complete-PFV

‘At the time of being offered to heaven, the time hadn’t been completed.’

tshe      dutshot      khepo      hapta      the      ko      ma-phi-ye  
then      time      FOC      week      one      door      NEG-open-IMP

ngak      bre-mo      tshe      dutshot  
QUOT      keep-CTM      DM      time

mat-shang-wa-na      ko      phis      thung-wal-i  
NEG-complete-NMLZR-LOC      door      open      do -NMLZR-GEN

o      thila      khepo      tshe  
DEM.PROX      thumb      FOC      DM

aaa ...      jayö      drena      ye-zi      ma-gi-wala      tshe  
EXCL ...      rays      among      disappear-NF      NEG-go-PFV      DM

dar-wal      wenta  
remain-PFV      COP.EQ.MIR

‘Then the time “do not open the door for one week”, while the time hadn’t completed, in opening the door the big toe, aaaa, the big toe didn’t disappear among the rays; it remained.’

tshe      otor-rang  
DM      like.this-EMPH

tshe      o      khepo      mira      ’lam      Drukpa      Künle  
DM      DEM.PROX      FOC.SG      others      lama      Drukpa      Künle

jinlap-gi      ngak-si      ’ai  
blessing-GEN      do-NF      grandmother

khepo      thori-na      drang-wal-i      korni  
FOC      godly.realm-LOC      give.hon-NMLZR-GEN      about

wenta      ngak      o      sung      khepo      mapa  
COP.EQ.MIR      do      DEM.PROX      story      FOC      originally

wakti      wenta  
this.much      COP.MIR

‘And so just like this, all this, this story is about the blessing of Drukpa Künle offering the old woman up to the Godly realm; it’s just this much.’

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