Gongduk agreement morphology

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Structure of the talk

Introduction

Synchronic description

Comparative notes

Summary

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Gongduk
Agreement morphology

Gongduk

van Driem (1998:37)

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Gongduk

- First documented by George van Driem in 1991, later described in some short papers and talks (van Driem 1998, 2001, 2013, van Driem et al. 2014, Camenisch et al. 2014, Gerber 2014, 2015)

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Gongduk

- ► Only language in Bhutan besides
  Black Mountain Mönpa/'Ole to
  exhibit the feature of biactantial
  agreement morphology on the verb

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Agreement morphology

- ► Agreement = certain clause elements agree with regard to certain grammatical categories

- ► Verb agreement = person markers on the verb (also known as argument indexation)

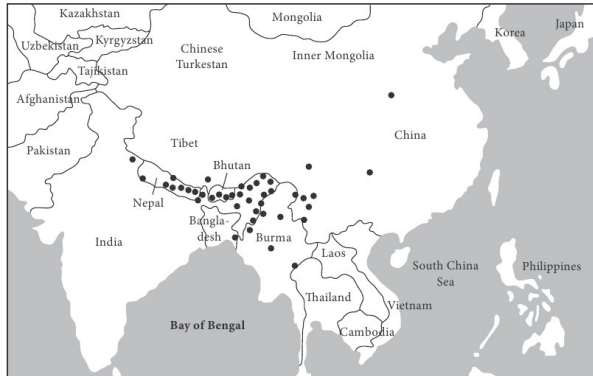- ► German: *ich gehe* "I'm going" vs. *sie geht* "she is going" vs. *wir gehen* "we are going"

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Agreement morphology

▶ Biactantial = the verb agrees (= marks) both the subject and the object of a transitive verb

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Agreement morphology in Trans-Himalayan

- ▶ Agreement morphology attested in a number of
  Trans-Himalayan groups

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Occurrence

van Driem (2015:139)

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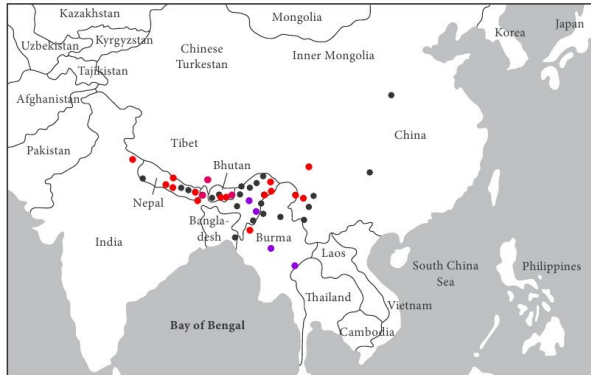
Agreement morphology in Gongduk

- Gongduk verbal categories:
  - Person (1st, 2nd, 3rd, SAP)
  - Tense (past vs. non-past)
  - Polarity (affirmative vs. negative)
  - Grammatical relation (subject vs. object)

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3→ forms
1↔2 forms

The transitive paradigm

A/P	1	2	SAP	3
1	–	Σ-ni	–	Σ-uŋi
	–	mə-Σ-nə	–	mə-Σ-uŋ
	–	Σ-θəni	–	Σ-tuŋi
	–	mə-Σ-θənə	–	mə-Σ-tuŋ
2	Σ-ni	–	–	Σ-ni
	mə-Σ-nə	–	–	mə-Σ-nə
	Σ-θəni	–	–	Σ-tVni
	mə-Σ-θənə	–	–	mə-Σ-tVnə
SAP	–	–	–	Σ-uri
	–	–	–	mə-Σ-uri
	–	–	–	Σ-turi
	–	–	–	mə-Σ-turi
3	Σ-əŋi	Σ-ni	Σ-iri	Σ-di
	mə-Σ-əŋ	mə-Σ-nə	mə-Σ-iri	mə-Σ
	Σ-əniŋ	Σ-əni	?	Σ-əri
	mə-Σ-əniŋ	mə-Σ-ənə	?	mə-Σ-ə

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3→ forms
1↔2 forms

3→ forms/intransitive paradigm

A/P	1	2	SAP	3
3	nukθ-əŋi	nu-ni	nukθ-iri	nuk-di
	mə-nukθ-əŋ	mə-nu-nə	mə-nukθ-iri	mə-nuk
	nukθ-əniŋ	nukθ-əni	?	nukθ-əri
	mə-nukθ-əniŋ	mə-nukθ-ənə	?	mə-nukθ-ə

► = intransitive forms

1	2	SAP	3
gʁd-əŋi	gʁt-ni	gʁd-iri	gʁt-di
mə-gʁd-əŋ	mə-gʁt-nə	mə-gʁd-iri	mə-gʁt
gʁd-əniŋ	gʁd-əni	?	gʁd-əri
mə-gʁd-əniŋ	mə-gʁd-ənə	?	mə-gʁd-ə

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3→ forms/intransitive paradigm

A/P	1	2	SAP	3
3	nukθ-əŋi	nu-ni	nukθ-iri	nuk-di
	mə-nukθ-əŋ	mə-nu-nə	mə-nukθ-iri	mə-nuk
	nukθ-əniŋ	nukθ-əni	?	nukθ-əri
	mə-nukθ-əniŋ	mə-nukθ-ənə	?	mə-nukθ-ə

- ► Hierarchy: 1/2/SAP > 3
- ► 1st person: *-əŋ(i)*, *-niŋ*
- ► 2nd person: *-ni*, *-nə*
- ► SAP: *-iri*
- ► 3rd person: *-di*, *-Ø*

- ► Negation: *mə-*
- ► Affirmative: *-i*
- ► Past: *-ə*

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Transitive paradigm: 1↔2 forms

A/P	1	2
1	–	nu-ni
	–	mə-nu-nə
	–	nuk-θəni
	–	mə-nuk-θənə
2	nu-ni	–
	mə-nu-nə	–
	nuk-θəni	–
	mə-nuk-θənə	–

- ▶ Non-past = 2nd person forms
- ▶ Hierarchy: 2 > 1
- ▶ Special 1↔2 past marker -*θə*

Comparative notes: Gongduk and Trans-Himalayan

Retentions:

- ▶ Gongduk *-əŋ* ← Trans-Himalayan *-aŋ* "1"
- ▶ Gongduk *-nə* ← Trans-Himalayan *-na* "2"
- ▶ Gongduk *mə-* ← Trans-Himalayan *ma-* "NEG"
- ▶ Gongduk *-iri* ← Trans-Himalayan *-i* "1/2PL" + *-si* "DU"

Comparative notes: Gongduk and Trans-Himalayan

Innovations:

- ▶ Gongduk *-ə* ~ Eastern Kiranti *-a* "PT"
- ▶ Gongduk *-niŋ* ~ Upper Arun Kiranti *-iŋ* "1SG.PT"
- ▶ Gongduk *-di* ~ Wambule (Kiranti) *-ti* "3SG→1/2SG"
- ▶ Gongduk *-i* ~ widespread copula/sentence final particle *i* ~ *hi* in Trans-Himalayan (Newar, Kuki-Chin, Dhimal, Meithei, Kiranti, ?Tibetan)

Phylogenetic position of Gongduk

- ▶ Some parallels to Kiranti languages, but no conclusive evidence
- ▶ Not closely related to Black Mountain Mönpa (cf. Gerber 2015)
- ▶ On the basis of the agreement morphology alone, exact positive statements about the phylogenetic position of Gongduk are difficult to make

Relevance of Gongduk

- ▶ Gongduk is of eminent importance for Trans-Himalayan linguistics, both synchronic and diachronic, and needs to be considered in research on Trans-Himalayan

- ▶ Gongduk data empirically verifies the reconstruction of a number of morphemes in Trans-Himalayan

Research on Bhutanese languages

- ▶ More research on the languages of Bhutan is necessary and urgent
  - ▶ to have more data and knowledge about these languages
  - ▶ to know the history of the languages and their speakers
  - ▶ to relate these languages to the whole language family
  - ▶ to fight language threat and prevent language death

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