Workshop on Kiranti Languages
December 1st and 2nd, 2016

Université Paris Diderot
Bâtiment Olympe de Gouges
Salle Laplanche, 5eme étage (salle 576)

Organized by Guillaume Jacques and Aimée Lahaussois

Thursday, December 1st

Salle Laplanche, Olympe de Gouges 576

9:30-9:45	Guillaume Jacques & Aimée Lahaussois Welcome
9:45-10:30	Boyd Michailovsky TBA
10:30-11:00	Mattis List "Handling word formation in historical-comparative linguistics" ❖
11:00-11:30	Johan van der Auwera & Frens Vossen "Multiple standard negation in the Kiranti languages" ❖
11:30-12:00	Pascal Gerber, Tanja Gerber, Selin Grollmann "Links between Lhokpu and Kiranti" ❖
12:00-14:00	lunch
14:00-14:45	Sabine Stoll & Balthasar Bickel "The acquisition of Chintang" ❖
14:45-15:15	Vishnu Rai "Language of invocation vs language of communication in the Chamling community" ❖
15:15-15:45	Grégoire Schlemmer "La possible contribution des langues rituelles à la connaissance des langues Rai : l'exemple des Kulung Rai" ❖
15:45-16:00	break
16:00-16:30	Fabienne Blaser "Noteworthy particularities of Lohorung phonology" ❖
16:30-17:00	Lea Steuri "Lohorung nominal morphology" ❖
17:00-17:30	Tanja Gerber "Morphology of the Lohorung Simplex Verb" ❖

Friday, December 2nd

9:30-10:15	Balthasar Bickel "Running out of words: multiple verb domains in Eastern Kiranti" ❖
10:15-10:45	Kwang-Ju Cho "A history of Bantawa verbal agreement system" ❖
10:45-11:15	Guillaume Jacques "Multiple indexation and bipartite verbs in Trans-Himalayan" ❖
11:15-11:30	break
11:30-12:00	Scott De Lancey "Kiranti and the reconstruction of Trans-Himalayan Verbal Person marking" ❖
12:00-12:30	Aimée Lahaussois "Ideophonic lexemes in Khaling" ❖
12:30-14:30	lunch
14:30-15:15	George van Driem "Transitivity in Lohorung" ❖
15:15-16:00	Presentation of products from HimalCo project: Khaling verb dictionary Kiranti Comparable Corpus

Multiple standard negation in the Kiranti languages: a copula conjecture
Johan van der Auwera (University of Antwerp)
Frens Vossen (University of Antwerp)

The term 'multiple standard negation' is used for the expression of a semantically single clausal negation of a declarative main clause that is expressed by more than one clausal negator. This structure is rare for Sino-Tibetan, except for Kiranti (and Lepcha).
(1) Limbu (van Driem 1987: 91)
allɔ nam mɛ-seˑk-nɛn
now sun NEG1-shine-NEG2
'The sun is not shining now'
What makes Kiranti multiple negation special is further that it comes in various guises, with not only the common embracing double negation, illustrated in (1), but also triple, quadruple and even, in Bantawa, quintuple negation. The pattern is also areally determined (with more multiple negation in the East) and it can depend on the tense (or the aspect) of the verb. A final intriguing feature is that whereas the nature of the preverbal negator (mɛ in (1)) is clear (deriving from the Proto Tibeto-Burman negation ma), the nature of the postverbal negator (nɛn in (1)) is mysterious.
We will argue that at least some aspects of Kiranti multiple standard negation can be understood in terms of a 'Jespersen Cycle', a widely attested process from single to double and then either single or triple negation. This process typically involves the reinterpretation of a non-negative

word or morpheme, which initially serves to strengthen the negation. The textbook example is French, with pas originally meaning 'step', occurring with a movement verb in a construction that meant that somebody does not even move a step, i.e. not at all, with the 'not at all' meaning later bleaching into a neutral 'not'. The conjecture is that in Kiranti the strengthening happened with an erstwhile positive copula.

The argumentation has three parts. First, Tibeto-Burman had a copula ni, which in the survey of Lowes (2007) shows up as such or in a related function both east and west of Central and Eastern Kiranti. In Kiranti it possibly only shows up in Western Kiranti Hayu, viz. as a progressive marker (Michailowsky 1988: 99, 182) and this language also lacks double negation. We speculate that the reason why there is no obvious reflection of the Proto Tibeto-Burman ni copula in Central and Eastern Kiranti is that it there appears as a non-obvious reflection, to wit, as a negator. Second, there is a semantic plausibility to a scenario in which a copula strengthens a negation, either as an afterthought (the dog does not chase the cat, so it is) or a copula taking scope over the preceding proposition, the latter possibly appearing as a nominalization (the dog not chasing the cat is). Third, ma and ni may occur together or they may appear alone. The postverbal -ni is associated with the non-past: it occurs more often in the non-past than in the past, and when it occurs in the past, it has to occur in non-past as well. Conversely, ma- is associated with the past: it occurs more often in the past than in the non-past, and when it occurs in the non-past, it has to occur in the past as well. This alternation can be interpreted in terms of a Jespersen cycle progression from single ma to double ma …ni to single ni, shown in the figure below.
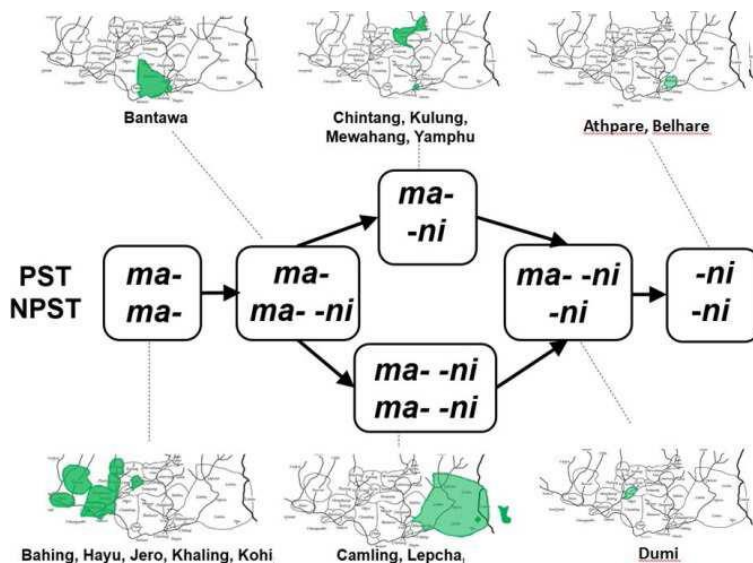
Running out of words: multiple verb domains in Eastern Kiranti
Balthasar Bickel (University of Zürich)

Kiranti languages are famous for rich and complex morphology, but this statement begs the question of how to delimit the quintessential morphological unit, i.e., the word, from both larger and smaller units in syntax and phonology. Drawing on several case studies on Eastern Kiranti languages — mostly Chintang, Limbu and Belhare — I show that these languages operate with a complex set of intersecting phonological and syntactic domains, each conditioning specific rules and constraints. There is no evidence for these domains to converge on a unified domain at a level that would correspond to a

traditional notion of `word' in either phonology or syntax. This challenges characterisations of Sino-Tibetan/Tibeto-Burman/Trans-Himalayan evolution along a broad analytic vs synthetic parameter. More insight can be gained from multiple, fine-grained parameters that capture only very specific properties at a time.

Noteworthy particularities of Lohorung phonology
Fabienne Blaser (University of Bern)

The Lohorung phoneme inventory contains seven distinctive vowel qualities at four different heights. Vowel quantity is a distinctive feature as well, but does not change the timbre. The status of diphthongs has not yet been clarified. As in Yakkha, there is no schwa in Lohorung. Thus in Nepali loans, the Nepali phoneme schwa becomes transphonologised as a short Lohorung /a/.

Another distinctive feature in Lohorung is what traditionally is called 'aspiration' in occlusives by Indologists, where it manifests itself phonetically as both aspiration and murmur.

Lohorung exhibits four series of plosives, i.e. velar, palatal, alveolar and bilabial. These series all include a voiceless, voiceless aspirate, voiced and a voiced aspirate member, except the palatal series, which does not contain a voiced aspirate plosive. Most of the Lohorung sonorants feature a murmured counterpart, but only the non-murmured nasals may occur as a syllabic nucleus.

As in some other Kiranti languages, Lohorung shows no distinction between a retroflex and a dental series. Whether the alveolar phonemes get a more dental or a more retroflex pronunciation depends on geographical variation and, in some interesting cases, on sound symbolism. An analytical problem is represented by the retroflex plosives in Nepali loans and in certain surnames. Moreover, the nasality of Nepali vowels is adopted in loans. The occurrence of nasality in a highly limited number of native vowels will also be assessed in the phonological analysis to be presented.

A phonetic feature of Lohorung phonology is the realisation of final plosives. Final /p/, /t/ and /k/ are glottalised to such a degree that they sometimes appear to be auditorily indistinguishable. In contrast to Limbu and Dumi, the Lohorung final plosives are not only glottalised but also voiced, particularly in word internal position. For example, the phoneme /k/ in final position is realised as [ʔg]. One is led to speculate whether the phonetic realities of modern Lohorung might have been similar to the phonetic particulars of Tibetan phonology at the time that Thun-mi Sam-bho-ṭa invented the dBu-can script.

The hiatus glottal stop constitutes yet another remarkable phenomenon in Lohorung phonology. The hiatus glottal stop occurs between two vowels at morpheme boundaries and before an initial vowel.

A history of Bantawa verbal agreement system
Kwang-Ju Cho (Australian National University)

The verbal agreement system is an integral part of the grammar of Kiranti languages, and Bantawa, mainly spoken in Bhojpur and Dhankuta districts of Nepal, is no exception. In Bantawa, verbal agreement displays a significant range of dialectal variation, which makes it a grammatical domain that is revealing in understanding Bantawa's linguistic past. This paper aims to map in detail the present variation within Bantawa verbal agreement system, based on data I have collected from 26 villages within and outside of

Bantawa homeland area during 2005 to 2015, and to use this to reconstruct the Proto-Bantawa verbal agreement paradigm, as well as patterns of continuity and change across the Bantawa-speaking region.

It appears that two main factors drove this diversification in the Bantawa verbal agreement system. The first is areal assimilation, which can be clearly seen in the patterns of variation in the prefixes. Second person prefixes viz. *tə-, ə-* and *Ø-* are attested in Western, Eastern and Northern dialects, respectively, and the form or present/absence of the prefixes show clear similarity with adjacent languages.

The second factor that influences the diversity of verbal agreement patterns across Bantawa is the development of the grammatical encoding of politeness, with the greatest divergence in those affix slots involving a 2nd person speech act participant (SAP). Non-Eastern dialects show a considerable degree of syncretism across these slots, and analysis of the synchronic data suggests such patterns result from the use of plural forms to encode politeness. The marking of person and number is further determined by the person hierarchy, with 1st and 2nd person participants more likely to be overtly encoded than 3rd person participants. In contrast, in the Eastern dialects a plural inverse marker *nə-,* presumably derived historically from 2nd person marking, has been extended to mark the involvement of 2nd person as P, and this appears to reflect a raising of 2nd person within the person hierarchy.

This paper aims to use the careful analysis of Bantawa verbal agreement and its history to explain the diversification of the system across Bantawa, as well as other closely related Kiranti languages.

Kiranti and the reconstruction of Trans-Himalayan Verbal Person Marking
Scott DeLancey (University of Oregon)

There is general consensus that the Verbal Person Marking (VPM) paradigms of rGyalrongic, Qiang, Kiranti, Central Himalayan, West Himalayan, and Nung are cognate (DeLancey 2010, Jacques 2012, LaPolla 2013). These paradigms share substantial amounts of morphological material which can only be shared inheritance, and most of them share a broadly "hierarchical" pattern of indexation. But there is also substantial variation across the branches, and even within them, in morphological forms and their syntagmatic and paradigmatic arrangement. Reconstruction of the ancestral verbal paradigms requires that we be able to separate ancient material and patterns from later innovations. The most conservative branches, Kiranti and rGyalrongic are central to the enterprise. Kiranti shows the greatest diversity in morphological forms and paradigmatic structure. This presentation will discuss what we can say so far about retention and innovation in Kiranti languages.

Proto-Kiranti inherited something quite close to the proto-system, including all of the original person-number forms:

	Singular	Plural	
1	#-ŋ(a)	#-i	INC
		#-ka	EXC
2	#-n(a)	#-ni	

As well as the paradigmatically distinct dual #-*tsi* and non-SAP plural #*ma-*. Kiranti languages provide the primary evidence for the Inclusive/Exclusive distinction, which is otherwise attested only in some Kuki-Chin languages. PK also inherited the XX
But much of the diversity of KC represents secondary innovation. PTH had two distinct paradigms, one with hierarchical indexation, one with #-*u* indexing non-SAP O arguments. In almost all Kiranti languages (Kulung appears to be an exception) these have merged into a single paradigm. In the Western languages (e.g. Wambule) we find composite suffixes of the form -*ŋu*, while in the C-E languages we see –*uŋ*; on this basis we can infer that the original system with competing paradigms was preserved in Proto-Kiranti, and the secondary merger occurred independently in Proto-WK and Proto C-EK. Similarly, we reconstruct for PTH two distinct 2nd person forms, one with the original suffixal indexation, and one with a #*t-* prefix. Again, both were preserved in PK, and show differential development afterwards. The C-E paradigms (with the possible partial exception of Kulung) descend from a paradigm in which the alternate 2nd person form #t-V had become the basic form, and the original 2SG suffix #-*n(a)* was lost everywhere except in the 1→2 transitive form, which is anomalous throughout Kiranti and Central Himalayan. The Western subbranch lost the #t- form but preserves the original suffixes.

Transitivity in Lohorung
George van Driem (University of Bern)

Like other Kiranti languages, Lohorung distinguishes separate transitive and intransitive conjugations. Unlike most Kiranti languages, however, Lohorung lacks a distinct reflexive conjugation that morphologically indexes reflexive or reciprocal meaning. The Lohorung verbal conjugation also *prima facie* appears to lack a formal category that might be characterised as middle voice. At the same time, the behaviour of Lohorung transitive verbs differs in one respect from the way that transitive verbs are most usually conjugated in the more closely studied Kiranti languages. We shall examine how Lohorung expresses meanings similar to those meanings that have been labelled reciprocal, reflexive and middle and that in most Kiranti languages are expressed grammatically by the reflexive conjugation, and thereby address the question as to whether a grammatical category of middle voice exists in Lohorung. Moreover, whilst most Kiranti languages in the simplex forms of the verb distinguish two tenses that have usually been labelled preterite and non-preterite, Lohorung also has a third simplex form tense, which has been called perfect. Augmenting this system is a set of auxiliary verbs that may attach to the verb stem and inflect, bearing the conjugational suffixes. We shall examine this repertoire of auxiliaries that feature so prominently in the Lohorung verbal system and illustrate the types of meanings which these auxiliaries convey.

Morphology of the Lohorung Simplex Verb
Tanja Kim Gerber (University of Bern)

Lohorung is an Eastern Kiranti Language spoken in Saṅhuvā Sabhā District in eastern

Nepal. Recently, George van Driem shared his field work notes that he made back in the 1980s.

Verbs in Lohorung share the extensive verbal agreement morphology well known from other Trans-Himalayan languages. Therefore, transitive verbs agree not only in person and number with their agent, but also with their patient. Lohorung distinguishes a transitive and an intransitive conjugation but lacks a separate reflexive conjugation, unlike in Limbu or Kulung.

Lohorung distinguishes eleven pronominal categories in terms of person, i.e. first, second and third, and number, i.e. singular, dual and plural. There is a distinction between exclusive and inclusive forms in the first person dual and plural. In addition to the simplex forms in the non-preterite and preterite tenses, Lohorung also exhibits a synthetic perfect tense.

In 1992, a first analysis of the Lohorung verbal morphology was published, but soon thereafter, a revision of this analysis was pencilled into the offprint of the article by the author. The new analysis to be presented in Paris goes even beyond these pencilled revisions. This new careful investigation of Lohorung verbal affixes in comparison with the affixes of her Trans-Himalayan sister languages will yield more lucid implications for both our model of Proto-Kiranti verbal agreement and for Trans-Himalayan historical morphology.

Links between Lhokpu and Kiranti - some observations
Pascal Gerber (University of Bern)
Tanja Gerber (University of Bern)
Selin Grollmann (University of Bern)

Lhokpu is a Trans-Himalayan language spoken by a dwindling number of speakers in south-western Bhutan. A grammatical description of the language is currently being completed by van Driem, Gerber, Grollmann, Hyslop and Tshering (forthcoming). The closer phylogenetic affiliation of Lhokpu has remained unclear so far and it has been agnostically treated as an isolate within the Trans-Himalayan linguistic phylum. However, new investigations in connection with the prepared grammatical description have lead to new insights concerning its phylogenetic position and point towards the fact that Lhokpu is not in fact a Trans-Himalayan isolate. Instead, Lhokpu shows several parallels, especially in its morphological material, to some other known subbranches of Trans-Himalayan. One of these branches is Kiranti. This paper presents and assesses the morphological and lexical parallels between Lhokpu and Kiranti and seeks to discuss the nature of this relationship.

Multiple indexation and bipartite verbs in Trans-Himalayan
Guillaume Jacques (CNRS, CRLAO)

Bipartite verbs, though common in some areas of the world, are relatively rare in Eurasia. In the Trans-Himalayan family, bipartite verbs are found in Kiranti and Gyalrongic, and present another uncommon typological characteristic, multiple argument indexation.

This paper presents the first description of bipartite verbs in Gyalrongic, and show how the genesis of this relatively recent construction sheds light on how bipartite verbs were independently grammaticalized in Kiranti.

Ideophonic lexemes in Khaling
Aimée Lahaussois (CNRS, HTL)

In Khaling, a number of lexemes have been found which can be considered to have an ideophonic component, according to Dingemanse (2012)'s definition of ideophones as 'marked words depictive of sensory imagery.'
This presentation will describe the different types of ideophonic lexemes found in Khaling. These lexemes, which can be grouped into three types according to morphological pattern, together cover the entire spectrum of sensory modalities found in Dingemanse (ibid)'s implicational hierarchy for ideophones namely sound, movement, visual patterns, other sensory perceptions (such as texture and taste) and cognitive states.
The more than 400 ideophonic lexemes collected to date in Khaling present a very rich sound symbolic landscape. This is interesting to consider alongside the fact that Khaling is the only language, to our knowledge, which has an auditory demonstrative--another instance of a lexeme which picks up on sensory input.

Handling word formation in historical-comparative linguistics
Mattis List (CNRS, CRLAO)

Processes of word formation, be it via derivation or compounding, are a fundamental characteristic of all human languages, but also a big challenge for synchronic and diachronic linguistics. Especially in historical linguistics word formation may exacerbate the search for regular sound correspondences, since word formation is -- in contrast to sound change -- often very mosaic, showing regularities only in a limited local scope of certain parts of the lexicon. In the Sino-Tibetan languages, word formation plays a fundamental role, and surfaces both in form of extensive compounding and morphological derivation. In historical linguistics of Sino-Tibetan, derivation is usually handled by assembling words to word families. While word families are an intuitively obvious concept, their application misses formal guidelines, and scholars often disagree as to which words to assign to a common word family, or which prefixes or suffixes to reconstruct for a particular subgroup of Sino-Tibetan. In the talk, we will discuss and propose different ways to improve the handling of word formation in historical-comparative linguistics. We will propose formal ways to handle word formation in etymological datasets in form of derivation trees and networks, and present a proto type for a web-based tools that allows to inspect and analyse data which is annotated in this way. We are aware that our approach has its limit and will necessarily fail to handle all cases of word formation in all complexity, but we consider it an important steps towards a more transparent handling of data and hypotheses in historical linguistics.

Language of invocation vs. language of communication in the Chamling community
Vishnu S Rai (raivishnu1@gmail.com)

Chamling belongs to the Rai Kiranti group of languages. In the Chamling community, the language of the rituals is different from the language in everyday use. It is commonly believed that the language of the rituals is incomprehensible for the common people: it

is understood only by the priests and the shamans who use them. What are the things that make ritual language so different from the language of the common people? What are their characteristics? Are they really incomprehensible? The present paper aims to find out answers to the questions. It tries to find out the difference between 'the language of invocation' and 'language of communication', and in doing so it illustrates the characteristics of the ritual language.

La possible contribution des langues rituelles à la connaissance des langues Rai : l'exemple des Kulung Rai.
Grégoire Schlemmer (URMIS, IRD)

Les groupes Rai sont connus pour utiliser une langue spécifique, nommée « langue rituelle » depuis les travaux de Nick Allen (1978), lors de la réalisation d'un certain nombre de cultes. Présentée localement comme étant la « langue des origines » (*sum ring*), celles que parlaient les ancêtres, il s'agit en fait plutôt d'un lexique particulier organisé selon des règles formelles spécifiques (Gaenszle 2010, 2007, Bickel and all, 2005, 2011), qui n'a jamais dû être parlée. Le vocabulaire et les expressions fleuries qu'ils mobilisent peuvent néanmoins contenir des termes appartenant à la langue parlée, et participer à enrichir la connaissance sémantique de ces langues, certains des termes mobilisés ayant disparu dans le langage courant.
Je propose de présenter brièvement la langue rituel Kulung en partant de quelques-unes de ses spécificités (identifiant rituel de nom *dapsning* et de lieu *natabom*, importance des listes, types d'artefacts désignés, verbes spécifiques – parfois difficilement traduisibles en raison du fait qu'ils ne sont jamais utilisés dans d'autres contextes, etc.). Je propose ensuite d'en tirer quelques enseignements sur la manière dont cette langue rituelle peut enrichir notre connaissance de la langue Kulung, de son passé – et, plus généralement sur la manière Kulung de percevoir le monde.

Lohorung Nominal Morphology
Lea Steuri (University of Bern)

The nominal morphology of the Eastern Kiranti language Lohorung exhibits various noteworthy characteristics. The Lohorung ergative morpheme is formally identical with the relational suffix <-ɛ> and its hiatus allomorph <-ʔɛ>. Another perhaps etymologically related Lohorung suffix <-ɛ> fulfils the noteworthy functions of nominalising and relativising parts of speech and further marks the imperfective aspect of finite verbs. Counterparts of this latter morpheme can be found in the form of Limbu <-pa>, Dumi <-m> and Kulung <-kə>, and the language specific meaning of the Lohorung morpheme <-ɛ> will be presented. Lohorung distinguishes locative, ablative, vocative and comitative morphemes. The Lohorung genitive suffix <-mi> indicates a possessive, part-whole or generic relationship. A shortened allomorph <-m> occurs in pronouns, e.g. asam 'whose' as opposed to <asa> 'who'. Lohorung interrogative pronouns differentiate between types of referent, i.e. maŋ 'what (something concrete)', maŋlɔ 'what, which thing (something concrete)', malɔ 'what (something abstract)'. As in Nepali, some interrogative pronouns may be reduplicated, e.g. maŋ-maŋ 'something (in an indefinite sense)'. Reduplication is often said to convey an indefinite sense, but that characterisation does not quite capture the nuance. An attempt to formulate the semantics of the Lohorung reduplication will be presented. An additional interesting feature of Lohorung morphology is the deverbative suffix <-mara>, which when

attached to the stem of a verb is used to create a nomen concretum resembling a passive participle in meaning. For instance, the verb wɛːʔma 'wear (jewellery, cosmetics)' yields a deverbative derivation wɛːʔ mara 'bauble, piece of jewellery, cosmetic'. The examples introduced here are just a small selection of the morphemes found in Lohorung nominal morphology, which in some cases index crucial morphosyntactic functions with far reaching grammatical ramifications, some of the more salient of which will be illustrated with striking examples.

The acquisition of Chintang
Sabine Stoll (University of Zürich)
Balthasar Bickel (University of Zürich)

Chintang, like other Kiranti languages, pose enormous challenges for language acquisition: they have extremely complex inflectional paradigms, intricate syntax, and little use of overt NPs in discourse. Here we summarise our findings from a large-scale longitudinal corpus and show that despite these challenges, children reach adult performance levels within the same range of age as in other languages worldwide. We show that the key to success is systematic reliance on statistical learning mechanisms, where children extract statistical distributions form the input and gradually adapt to these distributions within the first four years of age. We show specific results from the acquisition of ergativity, verb morphology and NP usage.