The Polysemic Enclitic タ in N Wiring

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The Polysemic Enclitic =ta in nDrapa

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Abstract
This paper examines the polysemic enclitic =ta ‘ON’ in nDrapa (the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family) and discusses its development process. =ta ‘ON’ is one of the enclitics that have been grammaticalized from location nouns, and is thought to be grammaticalized from tha1 ‘upper side’. However, =ta ‘ON’ is considerably more polysemic than other enclitics grammaticalized from location nouns: it can indicate a malefac-tive or respected object and can form a temporal adverbial phrase, as well as marking location, goal, or source of action. Moreover, it can function as a conjunction. In this capacity, =ta ‘ON’ primarily forms a temporal subordinate clause, but it may also play a successive, conditional, or concessive role. With regard to the process of semantic derivation, the conditional and concessive meanings are considered to derive from the successive meaning, which itself derives from the temporal meaning.

This paper further contrasts nDrapa with four Qiangic languages spoken in the neighboring area. Grammaticalization of a noun that means ‘upper side’ is found in other Tibeto-Burman languages, but none of these shows the degree polysemy seen in the enclitic =ta ‘ON’ of nDrapa. The Yadu dialect of the Qiang language, which belongs (along with nDrapa) to the Qiangic subgroup, has a polysemic enclitic that is considered to be grammaticalized from a location noun meaning ‘upper side’. However, languages of the rGyalrongic subgroup, which are geographically closer but genetically rather remote, do not show parallel phenomena. Thus, we can conclude that grammaticalization of the noun ‘upper side’ to enclitic ‘ON’ is not an areal feature but an inherited characteristic, and furthermore, that the grammaticalization occurred in the proto-language of both nDrapa and Qiang.*

Key words: conjunction, postposition, polysemy, grammaticalization, Tibeto-Burman

1. Introduction
In this paper, I will discuss the polysemy of the enclitic =ta in nDrapa. =ta is grammaticalized from a noun stem tha1 ‘upper side’, which is found in location nouns such as thapi1 ‘upper side’. The enclitic =ta functions as a postposition and as a conjunction. In this paper, =ta is glossed as ‘ON’ for convenience.

While working on clause linkage in nDrapa as a member of the NINJAL collaborative research project “Modal and Speech-Act Constraints on Clause-Linkage” (headed by Tasaku

*This paper results from my participation in the NINJAL Core Research Project “Modal and Speech-Act Constraints on Clause-Linkage.” The main ideas of this paper were presented at the 17th Himalayan Languages Symposium, held at Kobe City University of Foreign Studies in 2011, under the title “Grammaticalization of a location noun that means ‘up’ in nDrapa.” I appreciate all the comments given there. This study was supported by a JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (21251007) and JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (23720203).
Tsundao, I discovered that the conjunction =ta ‘ON’ has multiple meanings, and can form various patterns of subordinate clause, including temporal, conditional, and concessive.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 1 introduces the profile of the nDrapa language and reviews previous studies. Section 2 describes the locative postpositions, including =ta ‘ON’, that are grammaticalized from location noun stems. Section 3 describes the clause-linking function of =ta ‘ON’. Section 4 discusses parallel phenomena found in related languages and considers the development process of =ta ‘ON’ in nDrapa. The conclusions of the paper are summarized in Section 5.

1.1 Profile of the language
The nDrapa (Zhaba) language is spoken in Daofu County and Yajiang County, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. According to Huang Bufan (1991b) and Gong Quhong (2007), nDrapa has approximately 8,000 speakers. It is generally considered to belong to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family of the Sino-Tibetan language phylum (Sun Hongkai 1983, 2001 and Matisoff 2003a). This paper is concerned with the Mátro dialect, which is spoken in Mátro (Mazhong) Village of Daofu County, and which has approximately 260 speakers.

The following phonemes can be established for the Mátro dialect: (i) consonants /ph [pʰ], th [θ], ch [cʰ], kh [kʰ]; p, t, c, k; b, d, q, g; tsh [tsʰ], tch, [tʃʰ]; ts, tc; dz, dz; m, n, n̥; m [m̥]; n [n̥]; ŋ [ŋ̊]; m̥ [m̥m], n̥ [n̥n]; ŋ [ŋ̊]; fh [fh], sh [ʃ]; f, s, c, x, h; v, z, z, ŋ; w, j; l, r [ɽ]; l [ɭ]; (ii) vowels /i, ɨ, u, e [ɪ], ɵ, o, ə, a; and (iii) word tones: 1 (high-level), 2 (high-falling), 3 (low-rising) and 4 (low-rising-falling). Enclitics and suffixes do not carry any specific tone. Their tone may vary according to that of the preceding word.

The nDrapa case system is basically of the nominative-accusative type (A/S vs. O). The nominative case is not accompanied by any overt marker, but the accusative case is marked by the accusative-dative enclitic =wu ‘ACC’. (Abbreviations are listed at the end of the paper.) Other case postpositions include =ji ‘BEN’, =la ‘DAT’, =ne ‘DIST’, =na ‘COM’, =ntsba ‘ASS’, =ka ‘INS’ and =ma ‘CMPR’. There are also a number of locative postpositions, which provide more specific descriptions in terms of location: =ta ‘ON’, =za ‘UNDER’, =ka ‘IN’ and =lo ‘PLACE’ (Shirai 2010).

The basic constituent order is verb-final, i.e., AOV or SV. Nouns are followed by modifying adjectives and numerals, but preceded by demonstratives.

nDrapa has no written tradition. All the data in this paper are compiled from the spoken language.

1.2 Previous studies
There are few previous studies that investigate the postpositions and conjunctions in nDrapa.

Huang Bufan (1991b, 1990) are among the earliest descriptions of nDrapa, and provide brief introductions to the Zhatuo dialect, which is genetically close to Mátro. According to Huang Bufan (1991b: 93), Zhatuo nDrapa has the particle t’a, which can function as a temporal-spatial case marker (时空格). Moreover, t’a can indicate ‘upper side’ and it can be used to mark

1 Phonetic representation has been provided in square brackets where the phonemic symbol differs substantially from its IPA definition.
the target of comparison (Huang Bufan 1991b: 94).

Gong Qunhu (2007) describes the Zhamai (nDramä) dialect, which forms a separate dialect group from Mätro and Zhatuo. The Zhamai dialect has the particle tha31, which can function as locative (处所), temporal (时间), and malefactive (遭受) case markers (Gong Qunhu 2007: 119).

These previous studies do not mention a conjunction corresponding to these particles (tʻa33 in Zhatuo and tha31 in Zhamai). However, the use of a postposition to link clauses is widely found among Tibeto-Burman languages.

2. Locative postpositions and location nouns

2.1 List of locative postpositions

nDrapa has a set of locative postpositions derived from location noun stems, including =ta ‘ON’, =za ‘UNDER’, =ka ‘IN’ and =to ‘PLACE’. These locative postpositions, and their correspondent location nouns, are listed in Table 1. The postposition =tshapi ‘AFTER’ is not discussed in this paper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative postposition</th>
<th>Location Noun</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=ta</td>
<td>thapi1 Upper side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=za</td>
<td>za3i3 Under side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ka</td>
<td>kh3api1 Inner side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=to</td>
<td>(to3)i2 Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=tshapi</td>
<td>tshapi1 Rear side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nopi3 Outer side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gwi3pi1 Front side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hti3pi1 Middle</td>
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</table>

These locative postpositions are grammaticalized enclitics that are synchronically independent from their correspondent location noun stems.

The locative postpositions =ta ‘ON’ and =ka ‘IN’ have an unaspirated initial, while the correspondent nouns have an aspirated initial: tha1 ‘upper side’ and kh1 ‘inner side’. This is striking, for deaspiration is rarely found synchronically in nDrapa. For example, the initial consonant of the second constituent of a compound word does not usually show deaspiration, e.g., khw- in vakhwe1 ‘pig hoof’ (va2 ‘pig’ + khw31 of khw3t1 ‘hoof’); th- in tshê3ho1 ‘sixteen’ (tshê1- as an allomorph of tshê1 ‘ten’ + th2 ‘six’). Moreover, as Section 1.2 surveys, other dialects of nDrapa have an aspirated initial in the corresponding enclitic (tʻa33 in Zhatuo and tha31 in Zhamai). Thus, we can conclude that =ta ‘ON’ in Mätro has undergone the formal reduction in grammaticalization, which is at the most advanced stage among reported dialects.iii

ii to3 is not found as an independent word, but as a constituent of compounds such as to3o ‘city, street’. This morpheme might be a loanword from Tibetan (Written Tibetan: grong).

iii In some cases in Mätro nDrapa, the morpheme thal or kh1 may be found with an aspirated initial after a noun. For example, in the example shown below, tha1 ‘upper side’ is connected with the noun njett3 ‘bed’.
2.2 The basic function of locative postpositions

The locative postpositions =ta ‘ON’, =ʑʌ ‘UNDER’, =kʌ ‘IN’, and =ʈ ‘PLACE’ are attached to a noun in order to form a location noun phrase. A location noun phrase may indicate a goal (e.g., (1), (4), (6), (8)), starting point (e.g., (2), (7)) or location (e.g., (3), (5), (9)).

2.2.1 =ta ‘ON’

=ta ‘ON’ may form location noun phrases to indicate location on the top or upper side of the preceding noun. A location noun phrase using =ta ‘ON’ may indicate a goal, e.g., (1), starting point of movement, e.g., (2) or location of action, e.g., (3).

(1) ga1 hka=ta1 ji=ʈʌ3.
1SG mountain=ON go=IPFV
(In a town at the base of a mountain) ‘I am going up to the mountain.’

(2) ga1 hka=ta1 a-te=ʈʌ3.
1SG mountain=ON DWN-come=IPFV
(On a mountain) ‘I am going down from the mountain.’

(3) ga1 hkili=ta1 saɗe3 go-kho1 ḥje3.
1SG floorboard=ON carpet OUT-spread PST.1 ‘I laid a carpet on the floor.’

2.2.2 =ʑʌ ‘UNDER’

=ʑʌ ‘UNDER’ forms location noun phrases that indicate a goal, starting point, or location as ‘under’ the preceding noun, e.g., (4), (5).

(4) zipala=ɾa1 sikkɔ3 jatho=za1 ko-ju2.
boy=GEN amulet armpit=UNDER INW-go.IMP
‘Put the boy’s amulet under his armpit.’ [FT]
(Lit. The boy’s amulet should go down to the armpit.)

(5) seippu=za1 ḥlɛtće3 ji2 ta-lɛa-a1 ᵇʌ3.
tree=UNDER golden.bed=CLF NTL-exist-RT SFP
‘There was a golden bed under the tree.’ [FT]

2.2.3 =kʌ ‘IN’

=kʌ ‘IN’ forms location noun phrases that indicate a goal, starting point, or location as ‘inside’ the preceding noun, e.g., (6), (7).

(6) ga1 chenbo=ka1 taja3 xu=ʈʌ3.
1SG bag=IN money stow=IPFV
‘I will stow the money in the bag.’

In this case, however, tha1 is not regarded as a grammaticalized enclitic, but as a location noun stem that forms a compound word ɲɛʈʈiθa3 ‘the upper side of the bed’.

(7) gorɔl ɲɛʈʈiθa3 ʃa-ʃi3 ḥce-a3 ʨu-ɛ2.
3SG bed.upperside NTL-lie.down PST-RT exist-B.IPFW
‘He is lying down on (the top of) the bed.’

iv Details on the nDrapa case-marking system are given in Shirai (2010). In Shirai (2010), however, I did not consider =ta ‘ON’ as a postposition, but as the location suffix -ta ‘on the upper side’.
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(7) *ŋa1 nkhuma=*kal pendzi1 a-the1 fje3.
1SG sack=IN notebook UP-take.out PST.1
‘I took out a notebook from the sack.’

2.2.4 =to ‘PLACE’

=to ‘PLACE’ forms location noun phrases that indicate a goal, starting point, or location as ‘at’ the place belonging to the previous noun, e.g., (8), (9).

(8) *ŋa1 tshutsi1 sei=ta2 no=to1 vo=ta3.
1SG hour three=ON 2SG=PLACE come=IPFV
‘I will go to your house at three o’clock.’
(9) gonne *ŋa-to3 zama3 ki-ttsi1 wu2.
3DU 1SG=PLACE meal INW-eat PFV
‘Those two have eaten meals at my house.’

2.3 Other functions of the postposition =ta ‘ON’

Among the enclitics mentioned above, =ta ‘ON’ differs from the other three (i.e., =za ‘UNDER’, =kal ‘IN’, and =to ‘PLACE’) in the following two respects.

First, =za ‘UNDER’, =kal ‘IN’, and =to ‘PLACE’ have ‘spatial’ meanings only, as seen above. In contrast, =ta ‘ON’ has ‘non-spatial’ meanings, as shown below.

Second, =za ‘UNDER’, =kal ‘IN’, and =to ‘PLACE’ can be used as postpositions only. In contrast, =ta ‘ON’ has the use as a conjunction as well as the use as a postposition. Its use as a conjunction will be discussed in Section 3.

2.3.1 Malefactive

=ta ‘ON’ can be used with the object of a verb. The majority of such cases imply that the object has suffered damage—either physical or psychological—in the event, e.g., (10), (11).

(10) *ŋa1 gor=ta1 a-nje3 fje3.
1SG 3SG=ON DWN-scold PST.1
‘I scolded him.’
(11) gor=ta1 tcahpi3 ko-ttu=-a1 re3.
3SG=ON robber INW-rob-B.PFV.RT COP4
‘He was robbed.’ [FT]
(Lit.: ‘On him, a robber robbed.’)

The following examples are intermediate between ‘goal’ and ‘malefactive’. In (12), pikêka ‘frog’ is literally the goal of the movement of zivi3’grindstone’, but, it is in fact recognized as the malefactive object of the attack with the grindstone. In (13), ja=ta1 ‘hand=ON’ does not necessarily indicate the upper side of the speaker’s hand, but rather implies that the speaker suffered an injury on her hand.

(12) zivi3 pikêka=ta1 ka=-ta-a1 re3.
grindstone frog=ON INW-hit-RT SFP
Lit.: ‘(He) hit (/threw) a grindstone onto the frog.’
Fr.: ‘(He) hit the frog with a grindstone.’

(13) ja=ta1
hand=ON
Lit.: ‘On the speaker’s hand, someone was hit by a grindstone.’
Fr.: ‘(On his hand, someone hit a grindstone.)’
The object can be marked by the accusative-dative marker =wu ‘ACC’. However, =wu ‘ACC’ is neutral in terms of benefactive/malefactive implication, as (14) and (15) demonstrate.

(14) ŋa2 mu=wu2 kʌ-tʌ1 lije2.  
1SG.EMPH brother=ACC INW-hit PST.1 ‘I hit my brother.’

(15) ŋa1 mihtsi=wu2 ejecje1 tʌ3.  
1SG cat=ACC stroke IPFV ‘I am stroking a cat.’

2.3.2 Respected objects

In some instances, =ta does not mark the ‘upper side’ of the noun, but indicates ‘at’ something respectable. For example, (16) does not mean that the festival is held ‘on’ the roof of the temple, but rather that it is held ‘at’ the temple.

(16) ana3 tīgenbe=ta1 antshozol po=t-e3.  
today temple=ON festival exist=IPFV-B.IPFV ‘A festival is held at the temple today.’  
(Lit. ‘There is a festival at the temple today.’)

In (17), =ta ‘ON’ is attached to the object of verb kʌ-ntchi1 ‘look, read’. However, it does not indicate either ‘on the top of’ or the malefactive. Thus, it might be possible to argue that books are respected in the nDrapa culture.

(17) ŋa1 tɕəti=ta1 kʌ-ntchi-a1 tɛn2.  
1SG book=ON INW-look-RT exist ‘I am reading a book.’

The object of reading (tɕəti ‘book’) can also be marked by the accusative-dative enclitic =wu, e.g., (18). This does not imply respect.

(18) ŋa1 tɕəti=wu1 kʌ-ntchi-a1 tɛn2.  

2.3.3 Temporal adverbial phrase

=ta ‘ON’ can also form temporal phrases, e.g., (19), (20).

(19) ŋa1 tshutsi1 sei=ta2 no-tɔ1 vo=tʌ3.  
1SG hour three=ON 2SG=PLACE go=IPFV ‘I will go to your house at three o’clock.’

nDrapa does not have a written tradition, and therefore, typical books in nDrapa society are Tibetan Buddhist sutras.
3. Conjunction =ta ‘ON’
3.1 Introductory notes
The enclitic =ta ‘ON’ can occur with clauses, being attached to a verb stem, and functioning as a conjunction. Its meaning may be temporal, successive, conditional, or concessive. Since =ta ‘ON’ is attached to a verb stem when used as a conjunction, it is first necessary to discuss the structure of sentences whose predicate is a verb, i.e. verb-predicate sentences. These sentences may either contain or lack an auxiliary verb. For the purpose of the present paper, it suffices to examine the structure of those that lack an auxiliary verb. Their structure is shown below.

<Structure of predicates without an auxiliary verb>
(I) Independent plain sentences
   (I-i) Affirmative:       (DIR-) VS (-SUF)     (SFP)
   (I-ii) Negative:       (DIR-) NEG- VS (-SUF)  (SFP)
(II) Independent imperative sentences
   (II-i) Affirmative:      DIR- VS.IMP       (SFP)
   (II-ii) Prohibitive:      DIR.PROH- VS.IMP   (SFP)
(III) Subordinate clauses
   (III-i) Affirmative subordination:   (DIR-) VS
   (III-ii) Negative loose subordination:  (DIR-) NEG- VS
   (III-iii) Negative strict subordination:  DIR.PROH- VS

Verbs inflect for aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and mood (plain vs. imperative). A directional prefix (DIR-) is obligatory in the perfective predicate and the imperative predicate, but it is optional in the imperfective predicate. The suffix (-SUF) slot is occupied by a Pattern B (‘non-eğophoric’) modality suffix (-B)\(^\text{vi}\) or a remote time suffix (-RT). We shall turn to the difference between (III-ii) and (III-iii) shortly.

nDrapa has at least four types of clause-linking patterns. In subordination, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

<Clause-linking patterns>
(a) Parataxis
   This is a combination of two independent sentences.
(b) Pseudo subordination
   The subordinate clause can contain the negative prefix (‘NEG’) and a suffix (‘SUF’), but it cannot contain a sentence-final particle (‘SFP’).

\(^\text{vi}\) The plain-mood predicate shows the opposition between Pattern A and Pattern B (Shirai 2007a, 2007b). Pattern A lacks an aspect suffix (i.e. is marked by a zero suffix), while Pattern B is marked by an aspect suffix. Pattern A indicates the viewpoint of the pivot (the speaker of a direct declarative sentence, the hearer of an interrogative sentence, or the original speaker of a reported sentence). A Pattern B suffix (glossed ‘B’) indicates that the sentence does not concern any viewpoint.
(c) Loose subordination
The subordinate clause can contain NEG, but it cannot contain SUF or SFP.

(d) Strict subordination
The subordinate clause cannot contain any of NEG, SUF or SFP. For negation, it uses a fused form of ‘directional’ (‘DIR’) and ‘prohibitive’ (‘PROH’).

Table 2 summarizes the structure of the predicate of (i) the first sentence in the case of (a), and (ii) the subordinate clause in the case of (b) to (d).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a) Parataxis</th>
<th>(b) Pseudo-subordination</th>
<th>(c) Loose subordination</th>
<th>(d) Strict subordination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>I-i</td>
<td>I-i (no SFP)</td>
<td>III-i</td>
<td>III-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>I-ii</td>
<td>I-ii (no SFP)</td>
<td>III-ii</td>
<td>III-iii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conjunction =ta ‘ON’ forms a clause of loose subordination. This will be shown by the method employed for negation.

(21) is an independent sentence. For negation, its predicate contains the negative prefix me- ‘NEG’. See (I-ii). (22) is an example of loose subordination. (The subordinate clause employs the conjunction =ta ‘ON’.) It, too, involves the negative prefix. See (III-ii). (23) is an example of strict subordination. For negation, it employs the directional-plus-prohibitive prefix na-. See (III-iii). When the conjunction =ta ‘ON’ is used, i.e. in loose subordination, the directional-plus-prohibitive prefix is not acceptable. See (24).

(21) Independent sentence
somuni3  mäkkū3  a-me-te-a3  ra3.  
tomorrow rain  DWN-NEG-come-RT  INF
‘I guess rain will not fall tomorrow.’

(22) Loose subordination
somuni3  mäkkū3  a-me-te=taa3,  the-a2  re3.  
tomorrow rain  DWN-NEG-come=ON  pleasant-RT  SFP
‘If rain does not fall tomorrow, it will be pleasant.’

(23) Strict subordination
somuni3  mäkkū3  na-te=raa3,  the-a2  re3.  
tomorrow rain  DWN.PROH-come=COND  pleasant-RT  SFP
‘If rain does not fall tomorrow, it will be pleasant.’

(24) *somuni3  mäkkū3  na-te=taa3,  the-a2  re3.  
tomorrow rain  DWN.PROH-come=ON  pleasant-RT  SFP
Intended meaning: as (22), (23).

We have shown that the conjunction =ta ‘ON’ forms loose subordination. We shall now examine the meanings of the subordinate clauses involving =ta ‘ON’.
3.2 Time
In (25), =ta ‘ON’, which is attached to verb stem te ‘come’, forms a clause that indicates a point in time.

(25) thero-ne3 tse=ni2, “thune1 kə-te=ta3, no=to1 hidata3 ts3.”
goblin-DU say=TOP LOG.DU INW-come=ON 2SG=PLACE notify IPFV
“The two goblins said, “When we come home, we will notify you.”” [FT]

In (26) and (27), =ta ‘ON’ marks a clause that indicates length/duration in time.

(26) a-ntchi=le=ta3, thero3 ne-ji=ra2 va-a2 re3.
DWN-look=put=ON goblin two-CLF=GEN come-B.PFV.RT SFP
‘Two goblins came when he was looking there.’ [FT]

(27) swep1 na3 swel ta-ji=ta1,
cattleman day graze NTL-go=ON
jekə-re1 tur=ji zama3 ko-mø1 the=sa3.
housekeeper-PL REF=BEN meal INW-make HABIT=ADM
‘The housekeepers make meals for the cattleman while he goes grazing during daytime.’ [FT]

3.3 Successive
=ta ‘ON’ can also connect clauses that indicate successive events. In (28), two clauses using the conjunction =ta ‘ON’ occur before the main clause. The first clause, tsapəl xo3 lehka1 to-ji3 ‘the next day, (they) went out to work again’ expresses an event that preceded the event denoted by the second clause: ‘(they) returned again’. In turn, the second clause describes an event that preceded the event denoted by the main clause: ‘(somebody) had prepared meals and completely cleaned up the house’.

(28) tsapəl xo3 lehka1 to-ji=ta3, xo3 va=ta3,
next.day again work NTL-go=ON again come=ON
zama-re3 ki-tisi-a1 malo3 a-mø3,
meal-PL INW-eat-RT arrangement DWN-make
jekə-re3 htsoma1 joma3 a-mø3 hj-a=te3.
house.inside-PL completely.clean DWN-make PST-RT=SFP
‘The next day, when they returned again after going out to work again, (somebody) had prepared meals and completely cleaned up the house.’ [FT]

The ‘successive’ meaning of the conjunction =ta ‘ON’ is close to the marking of a point in time by =ta ‘ON’ (§3.2). Furthermore, the development of a successive meaning may have triggered a further development to conditional and concessive meanings.

3.4 Conditional
nDrapa possesses a distinct conditional conjunction, =ta ‘COND’. Nonetheless, in most cases =ta ‘ON’ may also be used. For example, according to my consultant’s judgment, (29) and (30) have the same meaning.
(29) somuni3 makku3 a-mo-te=ta3, no1 tchu1 to-ju2.
    tomorrow rain DWN-NEG-come=ON 2SG harvest.crops NTL-go.IMP
    ‘Go to harvest the crops tomorrow, if it does not rain.’

(30) somuni3 makku3 a-mo-te=ta3, no1 tchu1 to-ju2.
    tomorrow rain DWN-NEG-come=COND 2SG harvest.crops NTL-go.IMP
    ‘Go to harvest the crops tomorrow, if it does not rain.’

Parallel examples are shown below. The conditional clause with =ta ‘ON’ (31) is equally
acceptable as that with =ta ‘COND’ (32).

(31) pufia3 gaana=ta3, nphuke3 the-a2 re3.
    child hungry=ON cry HABIT-RT SFP
    ‘If the child is hungry, he/she will surely cry.’

(32) pufia3 gaana=ra3, nphuke3 the-a2 re3.
    child hungry=COND cry HABIT-RT SFP
    ‘If the child is hungry, he/she will surely cry.’

However, if the sentence implies an inevitable consequence (necessity), a conditional clause
with =ta ‘COND’ tends to be less acceptable, cf. (34), although a clause with =ta ‘ON’ is abso-
lutely acceptable, cf. (33).

(33) zyi3 ka-eje=ta1, tazi3 meto3 go-fibo-zil re3.
    hot.season INW-come=ON immediately flower OUT-bloom-NMLZ COP4
    ‘If the hot season comes, flowers immediately bloom.’

(34) ?zyi3 ka-eje=ra1, tazi3 meto3 go-fibo-zil re3.
    hot.season INW-come=COND immediately flower OUT-bloom-NMLZ COP4
    ‘If the hot season comes, flowers immediately bloom.’

3.5 Concessive (Adversative)
In some cases, =ta ‘ON’ can be used instead of the concessive conjunction =ana3 ‘CONS’. Compare (35) and (36).

(35) twu2 makku3 a-te=ta3, tei1 satsa3 tufu-i3 re3.
    now rain DWN-come=ON still ground dry-CLF COP4
    ‘Although rain is falling now, the ground is still dry.’

(36) twu2 makku3 a-te=t-e=ana3, tei1 satsa3 tufu-i3 re3.
    now rain DWN-come=IPFV-B.IPFWV=CONS still ground dry-CLF COP4
    ‘Although rain is falling now, the ground is still dry.’

Examples (37) and (38) are taken from a folktale. The clauses with =ta ‘ON’ indicate
concession.

(37) no=wu1 zei3 khe-pi1 nta=ta3.
    2SG=ACC daughter give-NMLZ exist=ON
    ‘Even though there is such a man (as me) who marries off one of his daughters to you, you,
    a frog, shall not choose the (favorite) daughter.’ [FT]

(38) no=pika3 zei3 a-ssi=t3 ma-qua-e3.
    2SG frog daughter DWN-choose=IPFV NEG-need-B.IPFW
    ‘Even though there is such a man (as me) who marries off one of his daughters to you, you,
    a frog, shall not choose the (favorite) daughter.’ [FT]
‘no1 kɛc=ra1, no=ji=hka zama3 yəŋkhei1 nini3
2SG how=COP.Q 2SG=BEN=BEN meal like.that delicious
a-xu=le=ta3, lele1 ko-mo=ta,
DWN-stow=put=ON good INW-make=ON
no1 tɛŋ=ma1 tɛŋ1 ko-tɕi=tɕɛl mo3.”
2SG one.day=CMPR one.day INW-thin=IPFV-B.IPFV CFM
‘What is wrong with you? Although they make and pack such good meals for you, you are
getting thinner day by day, aren’t you?’ [FT]

The concessive meaning of =ta ‘ON’ probably derived from the successive meaning (§3.3).
For example, consider (39), in which two subordinate clauses are marked with the conjunction
=ta ‘ON’. The first clause (‘(the frog) gave the latter whistle (in front of her house)’) expresses an
action that was carried out before the events of the subsequent clauses. The second clause (‘the
erlder daughter looked out (from upstairs)’) indicates concession. This action was actually per-
formed between the event described in the first and that expressed in the third (i.e. main) clause.
That is, the three events occur successively. (39), in particular its second clause, is intermediate
between ‘successive’ and ‘concessive’.

(39) tsapi=ra3 sisja1 ta-le=ta3,
latter=GEN whistle NTL-let.out=ON
zei3 khepi=ra1 te-ntchi1 a-ta=ta3,
daughter elder=GEN VN-look DWN-do=ON
tei2 mala3 re3.
one-CLF absent SFP
‘Although the elder daughter looked out (from upstairs) after (the frog) gave the latter
whistle (in front of her house), (she found) nobody there.’ [FT]

There are cases where =ana ‘CONS’ cannot be replaced with =ta ‘ON’. Compare (40) and
(41).

(40) *satsa3 teuu2 hidaʃidi3 re=ta3, məkku3 a-ʊ=tii3 pa3.
ground now wet COP4=ON rain DWN-NEG-pour INF
Intended meaning: ‘Although the ground is wet now, I guess that rain didn’t fall.’
(41) satsa3 teuu2 hidaʃidi3 re=ana3, məkku3 a-ʊ=tii3 pa3.
ground now wet COP4=CONS rain DWN-NEG-pour INF
‘Although the ground is wet now, I guess that rain didn’t fall.’

(41) does not simply mean ‘Although the ground is wet now, the rain didn’t fall.’ Rather, the main
clause implies a judgment (‘I guess’) that is based on the concessive clause. A more adequate
translation of (41) would be: ‘Although the ground is wet now, I guess that rain didn’t fall.’ The
translation of the main clause contains an expression that shows inference: ‘I guess’. (41) contains
the concessive conjunction =ana. It is interesting to note that although =ta can have a conces-
sive meaning—e.g., (35) to (38)—it cannot be used in sentences parallel to (41), where the main
clause describes a judgment based on the concessive clause. See (40).
3.6 Pseudo-causal: A variation of the conditional

In some cases, =ta ‘ON’ appears to form a causal clause, as seen in (42). In nDrapa, a causal clause generally does not involve a conjunction, as (43) illustrates. Moreover, (42) was collected through the elicitation of a paraphrase of (43). Thus, it is doubtful whether =ta ‘ON’ can itself indicate a causal relationship. I tentatively conclude that the apparently causal meaning of conjunction =ta ‘ON’ in (42) is in fact a variation of the conditional meaning.

(42) pʌɦɟʌ3 tɛu2 ɣɯa=ta1, nɔl ẓa3 tɔ-htsu2.
   child  now be.hungry=ON 2SG food NTL-feed.IMP
   ‘Give the child food because he/she is hungry now.’
   Or ‘If the child is hungry now, give the child food!’

(43) pʌɦɟʌ3 ɣɯa1 t’e3, nɔl ɣoro=wu1 ẓa3 tɔ-htsu2.
   child be.hungry IPFV-B.IPFV 2SG 3SG=ACC food NTL-feed.IMP
   ‘Give the child food because he/she is hungry.’
   (Lit.: ‘The child is hungry, feed him/her with food.’)

Moreover, =ta ‘ON’ is not acceptable if the grounds for a judgment or inference precede the judgment or inference itself. Compare (44) and (45). In (45), the main clause does not express a simple fact, but implies a judgment (‘it seems’) that is based on the first clause. Therefore, an adequate translation of the main clause of (45) contains the expression that shows inference: ‘it seems that rain fell’. Although (45) is parataxis and does not involve a conjunction, it is the most familiar way of indicating causality in nDrapa. On the contrary, although =ta ‘ON’ may imply causality, e.g. (44), it cannot be used in sentences parallel to (45), where the main clause describes a judgment based on the causative clause, as (44) illustrates.

(44) *satsa3 tɛu2 hɪdɪiɬdi3 rɛ=ta3, mɑkkʊ3 a-tti-a3 nɑkheɪ3 rɛ3.
   ground now wet COP4=ON rain DWN-pour-RT appearance COP4
   Intended meaning: ‘Because the ground is wet now, it seems that rain fell.’

(45) satsa3 tɛu2 hɪdɪiɬdi3 rɛ3, mɑkkʊ3 a-tti-a nɑkheɪ3 rɛ3.
   ground now wet COP4 rain DWN-pour-RT appearance COP4
   ‘Because the ground is wet now, it seems that rain fell.’
   (Lit.: ‘The ground is wet, the appearance is that rain fell.’)

4. Contrast with neighboring related languages

So far, I have examined two uses of enclitic =ta ‘ON’, as a postposition and as a conjunction, and the various meanings associated with each. As mentioned in Section 2.1, this enclitic has been grammaticalized from the location noun stem thɑl ‘upper side’, which is found in words such as thɑpiɬ ‘upper side’. In this section, I will survey the grammaticalization of a location noun approximating the meaning ‘upper side’ in neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages and discuss the historical development of enclitic =ta ‘ON’ in nDrapa.

Grammaticalization from a location noun ‘upper side’ to a postposition is also found in other Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, Jäschke (1881) describes the meaning of tʰog in Written Tibetan as follows:

‘what is uppermost’: (As a noun) 1. roof; 2. ceiling; 3. story; ... (As a postposition) 1. on, upon; 2. above; 3. toward; 4. to; 5. at the head (of army); 6. during, as long as, through-
Similarly, Matisoff (2003b: 215) shows that in Lahu there is a noun stem \( thàʔ \) that means ‘upper surface’, and that the morpheme \( thàʔ \) has developed into an object marker. Kato (2010) demonstrates that the Burmese location noun \( ìp\ddot{o} \) ‘on, upper part’ also carries a postposition-like function.

In this section, I will survey grammaticalization of the noun ‘upper side’ in four languages that are spoken in the neighboring area of nDrapa: Qiang, rGyalrong, Lavrung, and sTau (Figure 1). These five languages belong to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. They are classified as follows (Jackson Sun 2000 and Matisoff 2003a).

**<The Qiangic branch>**

(a) The (Core) Qiangic subgroup: nDrapa, Qiang.
(b) The rGyalrongic subgroup: rGyalrong, Lavrung, sTau.

Among these languages, nDrapa and Qiang are geographically most remote, but genetically closest.
4.1 Qiang
The Yadu dialect of the Qiang language has the distal locative pronoun *tha* ‘there’ (LaPolla 2003: 52) and the dative/allative marker *-ta* (ibid.: 82), as well the two unmarked locative postpositions, one of which is also *-ta* (ibid.: 106), which appears to have been grammaticalized from *tha*. Furthermore, this dialect has the verbal prefix *tɔ*- indicating an upward direction (ibid.: 155). vii However, in contrast to nDrapa, in Yadu Qiang the pronoun *tha* ‘there’ appears to have undergone semantic generalization: it does not indicate ‘on the upper side’ but simply ‘there’—that is, it is neutral with regard to height.

The postposition *-ta* in Yadu Qiang is also polysemic and can have the following meanings: locative (LaPolla 2003: 106), dative/allative (ibid.: 82), goal/recipient (ibid.: 87), source person (ibid.: 93), temporal (ibid.: 110). However, there is no conjunction with a correspondent form. If *-ta* indicates a certain temporal point that is expressed by a clause, the clause is first nominalized and then is followed by *-ta* (ibid.: 242). Moreover, meanings such as malefactive are not reported in this language.

4.2 rGyalrongic languages
rGyalrong, Lavrung, and sTau present a different situation from that in nDrapa and Qiang.

The Japhug dialect of rGyalrong contains directional (location) nouns that indicate ‘upper side’: *ɯ-ta*ʁ ‘upper side’; *a-tu* ‘here (upper place)’; *tɕɤtu* ‘there (upper place)’ (Jacques 2008: 172, 175). However, these nouns do not display the characteristics distinctive of grammaticalization or functional derivation: no postposition or suffix grammaticalized from these nouns has been reported.

In the Yelong dialect of Lavrung, the temporal particle *tɔ* has a form similar to a location noun that means ‘here (upper position)’: *ɔ3* ’tha’ Y (2007:66, 206). However, it is presently unclear whether the temporal particle *tɔ* has been derived from the location noun *ɔ3* ’tha’.

In sTau (Huang Bufan 1991a), the orientation pronoun of ‘upper side’ is *rɔro*, and the upward directional prefix is *rɔ-* (Huang Bufan 1991a: 26). However, no relevant postposition has been found.

4.3 Grammaticalization of ‘upper side’ in the areal context
Of the neighboring Qiangic languages, Yadu Qiang has a polysemic enclitic that is thought to have been grammaticalized from the location noun ‘upper side’, but the rGyalrongic languages do not show parallel phenomena. Significantly, the location noun and the grammaticalized enclitic in Yadu Qiang have cognate forms to those of nDrapa. This leads to the conclusion that the grammaticalization of the noun ‘upper side’ to enclitic ‘ON’ is not an areal feature, but a characteristic that has been inherited from the proto-language of both nDrapa and Qiang. viii

Since the enclitic in Yadu Qiang is a postposition that may have locative, dative/allative, goal/recipient, source person, or temporal meaning, we may further conclude that the grammaticalization of the noun ‘upper side’ to a postposition indicating goal, source, location, or time also

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vii The upward directional prefix in nDrapa is *ʌ*- and it is irrelevant to the location noun stem *tha1*.

viii Considering that other dialects of nDrapa have an aspirated initial in the corresponding enclitic (*tʰa’* in Zhatuo and *thaż* in Zhamai; see 1.2), despiration of the enclitic is thought to have occurred independently in both Mätro nDrapa and Yadu Qiang.
occurred in the parent language. However, further functional derivation, such as the malefactive postposition, a postposition for respected objects, and the polysemic conjunction, presumably occurred independently in nDrapa.

5. Conclusion
In this paper, I have examined the two functions and multiple meanings of the enclitic =ta ‘ON’, which is grammaticalized from tha1 ‘upper side’ in nDrapa, and have discussed its development process.

=ta ‘ON’ is one of the locative postpositions that have been grammaticalized from location nouns. However, it differs from other locative postpositions. First, as a postposition, it can indicate location, goal or source of action, a malefactive or respected object, or a temporal adverbial phrase. Second, it can be used as a conjunction. The subordinate clauses it forms, too, are polysemic: temporal, successive, conditional, and concessive.

The grammaticalization of tha1 ‘upper side’ and the supposed functional and semantic derivation of =ta ‘ON’, are illustrated in Figure 2. With regard to this, I argue for the following process: first, the location noun stem tha1 was grammaticalized to a postposition. Other locative postpositions ( =ʑ={` UNDER’, =kʌ ‘IN’, =ʈ= ‘PLACE’) were also formed through this process. However, only =ta ‘ON’ underwent further semantic derivation, for example, to the malefactive postposition, and in time developed into a conjunction carrying these meanings.

Such polysemy has not, thus far, been reported in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Among the neighboring Qiangic languages, Yadu Qiang, which belongs (along with nDrapa) to the Qiangic subgroup, has a polysemic enclitic thought to be grammaticalized from location the noun ‘upper side’. We can conclude that grammaticalization of the noun ‘upper side’ to the enclitic ‘ON’ occurred in the proto-language of both nDrapa and Qiang. However, further semantic/functional derivation to, for example, a malefactive postposition, a postposition for respected objects, and a polysemic conjunction, is considered to have occurred independently in nDrapa.

Figure 2  Grammaticalization and functional derivation of =ta
Abbreviations
1 first person; 2 second person; 3 third person; ACC accusative-dative; ADM admiring; ASS associative; B Pattern B (non-egophoric); BEN benefactive; CFM confirmative; CLF classifier; CMPR comparative (case); COM comitative; CONJ conjunction; CONS concessive; COP copula; DIR directional prefix; DAT dative-locative; DUR durative; ELM instrumental; FT an example from a folktale; GEN genitive; HABIT habitual; IMP imperative; INF inference; INW inward directional prefix; INS instrumental; IPFV imperfective; Lit. literal translation; OUT outward directional prefix; PFV perfective; PL plural; PROH prohibitive; PST past; Q question marker; REF referential pronoun; RT remote time; SFP sentence-final particle; SG singular; SUF suffix; TOP topic; UP upward directional prefix; VS verb stem.

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ダバ語の多機能前節語=ta

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要旨
本稿では、ダバ語（チベット＝ビルマ語派チン語支）に見られる多義的前接語=ta ‘ON’について記述とその成立過程に関する考察を行う。

=ta ‘ON’は、場所名詞語幹から文法化された前節語の一つで、「上」を意味する thal から文法化されたものと考えられる。しかし、その表す意味は、他の場所名詞由来の前節語と比べて著しく多岐にわたっている。他の同様の前節語は、名詞に後置され、行為の場所、着点、起点を表す場所名詞句を形成する。ところが =ta ‘ON’は、それに加えて、被害者の目的語および尊敬を受け目的語の標示にも用いられ、時を表す副詞句も形成する。さらに、=ta ‘ON’は、接続詞としても機能する。接続詞=ta ‘ON’は、従属節末尾の動詞に付加される。接続詞=ta ‘ON’自体も多義であり、一義的には時を表す従属節を形成することが、継承、条件、接続を表す従属節をも形成する。意味派生のプロセスを考慮すると、時点から継承へ、さらに継承から条件および接続へという段階が考えられる。

以上の多様性や多義性を記述し、さらに、近隣で話される同系のチン語支言語との対照を試みた。「上」を表す名詞の文法化はチベット＝ビルマ語派に散見されるものの、ダバ語に見られる多義性は報告された言語ではない。同じチン語支チン語群に属するチン語雅都方言に、「上」から文法化された多義前節語が報告されている。その一方で、ダバ語に最も近い地域で話されるチン語支ギャロン語群の諸言語には「上」に由来する多機能の機能が見られない。名詞「上」から前節語 ‘ON’への文法化は、地域的に広がった特徴ではなく、ダバ語とチン語に共通の相関の段階で起こり、両言語に受け継がれたものと考えられる。

キーワード：接続詞、後置詞、多義性、文法化、チベット＝ビルマ語派