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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 *thaI* ‘upper side’. However, *=ta* ‘ON’ is considerably more polysemic than other enclitics grammaticalized from location nouns: it can indicate a malefactive 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 *thaI* ‘upper side’, which is found in location nouns such as *thapiI* ‘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

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Tsunoda), 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 Qunhu (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 Mätro dialect, which is spoken in Mätro (Mazhong) Village of Daofu County, and which has approximately 260 speakers.

The following phonemes can be established for the Mätro dialect:ⁱ (i) consonants /p^h [p^h], t^h [t^h], t^h [t^h], ch [c^h], kh [k^h]; p, t, ṭ, c, k; b, d, ḍ, j, g; tsh [ts^h], ṭch, [ṭc^h]; ts, ṭc̣; dz, ḍz; m, n, ṇ, ŋ; ṃ [ṃm], ṇ [ṇn], ṇ̣ [ṇ̣ṇ], ŋ̣ [ŋ̣ŋ]; fh [f^h], sh [s^h], çh [ç^h]; f, s, ç, x, h; v, z, ẓ, ʎ, fi; w, j; l, r [ɾ]; ḷ [ḷ], ṛ [ṛ]/; (ii) vowels /i, i, ị, u, e [i], ø, o, ε, ʌ, ə, a; ei/; 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’, =*ntsha* ‘ASS’, =*kata* ‘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 =*to* ‘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 Mätro. According to Huang Bufan (1991b: 93), Zhatuo nDrapa has the particle *t’ä³³*, which can function as a temporal-spatial case marker (时空格). Moreover, *t’ä³³* can indicate ‘upper side’ and it can be used to mark

ⁱ 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 *tha*³¹, 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 (*t*^{‘a³³} in Zhatuo and *tha*³¹ 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 1 Locative postpositions and location nouns with *-pi* ‘-side’

Locative postposition	Location Noun
<i>=ta</i> ‘ON’ (or upside)	<i>thapi1</i> Upper side
<i>=za</i> ‘UNDER’ (or below)	<i>zapi3</i> Under side
<i>=ka</i> ‘IN’ (or inside)	<i>khapi1</i> Inner side
<i>=to</i> ‘PLACE’	<i>(to3)</i> ⁱⁱ (Place)
	<i>nopi3</i> Outer side
	<i>ɲwipi1</i> Front side
<i>=tshapi</i> ‘AFTER’	<i>tshapi1</i> Rear side
	<i>htɕipi1</i> Middle

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 *khɛ1* ‘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., *kbw-* in *vakhwe1* ‘pig hoof’ (*va2* ‘pig’ + *khwe1* of *khwetɕha1* ‘hoof’); *th-* in *tshetho1* ‘sixteen’ (*tshɛ1-* as an allomorph of *tshɛ1* ‘ten’ + *tho2* ‘six’). Moreover, as Section 1.2 surveys, other dialects of nDrapa have an aspirated initial in the corresponding enclitic (*t*^{‘a³³} in Zhatuo and *tha*³¹ 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 *tono3* ‘city, street’. This morpheme might be a loanword from Tibetan (Written Tibetan: *grong*).

ⁱⁱⁱ In some cases in Mätro nDrapa, the morpheme *tha1* or *khɛ1* 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 *njeffɕi3* ‘bed’.

2.2 The basic function of locative postpositions^{iv}

The locative postpositions =*ta* ‘ON’, =*zA* ‘UNDER’, =*kA* ‘IN’, and =*ʃo* ‘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) *ŋa1 hka = ta1 ji = ʃA3.*
1SG mountain=ON go=IPFV
(In a town at the base of a mountain) ‘I am going up to the mountain.’
- (2) *ŋa1 hka = ta1 a-te = ʃA3.*
1SG mountain=ON DWN-come=IPFV
(On a mountain) ‘I am going down from the mountain.’
- (3) *ŋa1 hkili = ta1 safide3 ŋo-kho1 ʃje3.*
1SG floorboard=ON carpet OUT-spread PST.1
(I laid a carpet on the floor.)

2.2.2 =*zA* ‘UNDER’

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

- (4) *zipAŋjA = rə1 sikkə3 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 ŋAttchi = ji2 tA-tca-a1 rε3.*
tree=UNDER golden.bed=CLF NTL-exist-RT SFP
(There was a golden bed under the tree.) [FT]

2.2.3 =*kA* ‘IN’

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

- (6) *ŋa1 chenbo = kA1 taja3 xu = ʃA3.*
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 *ŋjetʃiθa3* ‘the upper side of the bed’.

ŋoro1 ŋjetʃiθa3 tA-ŋji3 hce-a3 tɕu-ε2.
3SG bed.upperside NTL-lie.down PST-RT exist-B.IPFV

‘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’.

- (7) *ŋa1 nkhuma =kʌ1 pendzi1 ʌ-the1 fiʔe3.*
 1SG sack=IN notebook UP-take.out PST.1
 ‘I took out a notebook from the sack.’

2.2.4 =ʔo ‘PLACE’

=ʔo ‘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 =ʔo1 vo =ʔʌ3.*
 1SG hour three=ON 2SG=PLACE come=IPFV
 ‘I will go to your house at three o’clock.’
- (9) *ŋonne ŋa-ʔo3 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., =ʒʌ ‘UNDER’, =kʌ ‘IN’, and =ʔo ‘PLACE’) in the following two respects.

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

Second, =ʒʌ ‘UNDER’, =kʌ ‘IN’, and =ʔo ‘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 ŋoro =ta1 a-ŋje3 fiʔe3.*
 1SG 3SG=ON DWN-scold PST.1
 ‘I scolded him.’
- (11) *ŋoro =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), *pikɛka* ‘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 pikɛka =ta1 kʌ-tʌ-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) *ŋa=rə3 ja=ta1 meŋa3 ko-zw-a3, ko-filw-a1.*
 1SG=GEN hand=ON oil INW-splash-B.PFV INW-get.burned-B.PFV
 ‘Oil splashed on my hand and [my hand] got burned.’

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 ka-ta1 fiɛ2.*
 1SG.EMPH brother=ACC INW-hit PST.1
 ‘I hit my brother.’
- (15) *ŋa1 mihtsi=wu2 ɕjeɕje1 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 fiŋenbe=ta1 antshozo1 po=t-ɛ3.*
 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 *ka-ntɕhi* ‘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.^v

- (17) *ŋa1 tɕəti=ta1 ka-ntɕhi-a1 tɕɛ2.*
 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 ka-ntɕhi-a1 tɕɛ2.*
 1SG book=ACC INW-look-RT exist
 ‘I am reading a book.’

2.3.3 Temporal adverbial phrase

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

- (19) *ŋa1 tshutsil sei=ta2 no-to1 vo=tʌ3.*
 1SG hour three=ON 2SG=PLACE go=IPFV
 ‘I will go to your house at three o’clock.’

^v nDrapa does not have a written tradition, and therefore, typical books in nDrapa society are Tibetan Buddhist sutras.

- (20) *ŋa1 te=li=ta1 tazi3 mi=ʃo3 tɕʌti=tɕ#1 htɕu=ʃhi1.*
 1SG one=month=ON once mother=PLACE letter=CLF send=HABIT
 'I send a letter to my mother once a month.'

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-egophoric') modality suffix (-B)^{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').

^{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 2 The predicate structures of preceding clauses

	(a) Parataxis	(b) Pseudo-subordination	(c) Loose subordination	(d) Strict subordination
Positive	I-i	I-i (no SFP)	III-i	III-i
Negative	I-ii	I-ii (no SFP)	III-ii	III-iii

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 *mø-* ‘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

somuŋi3 mAkku3 a-mø-te-a3 pa3.
 tomorrow rain DWN-NEG-come-RT INF
 ‘I guess rain will not fall tomorrow.’

(22) Loose subordination

somuŋi3 mAkku3 a-mø-te=ta3, the-a2 rɛ3.
 tomorrow rain DWN-NEG-come=ON pleasant-RT SFP
 ‘If rain does not fall tomorrow, it will be pleasant.’

(23) Strict subordination

somuŋi3 mAkku3 na-te=rA3, the-a2 rɛ3.
 tomorrow rain DWN.PROH-come=COND pleasant-RT SFP
 ‘If rain does not fall tomorrow, it will be pleasant.’

(24) **somuŋi3 mAkku3 na-te=ta3, the-a2 rɛ3.*
 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 *tɛ* ‘come’, forms a clause that indicates a point in time.

- (25) *thero-ne3 tɛ=ni2, “thʰne1 kə-tɛ=ta3, no=ʧo1 fidatʰ3 ʧʌ3.”*
 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-ntɕhi=le=ta3, thero3 ne-ji=rə2 vʌ-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) *swepi1 ʌʌ3 swɛ1 tʌ-ji=ta1,*
 cattleman day graze NTL-go=ON
jekə-re1 tʰʌ=ji zama3 ko-mə1 ʧhe=sə3.
 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, *tsʌʌʌ1 xo3 lehka1 tə-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) *tsʌʌʌ1 xo3 lehka1 tə-ji=ta3, xo3 vʌ=ta3,*
 next.day again work NTL-go=ON again come=ON
zama-re3 ki-ttsi-a1 mʌlo3 a-mə3,
 meal-PL INW-eat-RT arrangement DWN-make
jekə-re3 htsoma1 joma3 a-mə3 hej-a=re3.
 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, =*ra* ‘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) *somuŋi3 mʌkku3 a-mə-tɛ=ta3, no1 tɕhʌ1 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) *somuŋi3 mʌkku3 a-mə-tɛ=rʌ3, no1 tɕhʌ1 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 =*rʌ* ‘COND’ (32).

- (31) *pʌhʃʌ3 ŋʌnʌ=ta3, nphuke3 the-a2 rɛ3.*
 child hungry=ON cry HABIT-RT SFP
 ‘If the child is hungry, he/she will surely cry.’
- (32) *pʌhʃʌ3 ŋʌnʌ=rʌ3, nphuke3 the-a2 rɛ3.*
 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 =*rʌ* ‘COND’ tends to be less acceptable, cf. (34), although a clause with =*ta* ‘ON’ is absolutely acceptable, cf. (33).

- (33) *zyi3 kʌ-ɕje=ta1, tazi3 meto3 ŋo-fibo-zi1 rɛ3.*
 hot.season INW-come=ON immediately flower OUT-bloom-NMLZ COP₄
 ‘If the hot season comes, flowers immediately bloom.’
- (34) *?zyi3 kʌ-ɕje=rʌ1, tazi3 meto3 ŋo-fibo-zi1 rɛ3.*
 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 =*anʌ3* ‘CONS’. Compare (35) and (36).

- (35) *tɕuu2 mʌkku3 a-tɛ=ta3, tɕi1 satsa3 tɕtɕ-i3 rɛ3.*
 now rain DWN-come=ON still ground dry-CLF COP₄
 ‘Although rain is falling now, the ground is still dry.’
- (36) *tɕuu2 mʌkku3 a-tɛ=tɕ-ɛ=anʌ3, tɕi1 satsa3 tɕtɕ-i3 rɛ3.*
 now rain DWN-come=IPFV-B.IPFV=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 ze13 khe-pi1 nʌ = ta3,*
 2SG=ACC daughter give-NMLZ exist=ON
no pikeka3 ze13 a-ssi = tɕ3 ma-ɕtɕ-ɛ3.
 2SG frog daughter DWN-choose=IPFV NEG-need-B.IPFV
 ‘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) *no1 keɕa=ra1, no=ji=hka zama3 ŋankhei1 niŋi3*
 2SG how=COP.Q 2SG=BEN=BEN meal like.that delicious
a-xu=le=ta3, lele1 ko-mø=ta,
 DWN-stow=put=ON good INW-make=ON
no1 teŋa=ma1 teŋa1 ko-fiʒ#=t-ɛ1 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 elder daughter looked out (from upstairs)’) indicates concession. This action was actually performed 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) *tsʌpi=rə3 sisja1 tʌ-le=ta3,*
 latter=GEN whistle NTL-let.out=ON
zei3 khepi=rə1 te-ntɕhi1 a-tʌ=ta3,
 daughter elder=GEN VN-look DWN-do=ON
te-i2 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 tɕuu2 fidzifidzi3 re=ta3, maɕku3 a-mø-tti3 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 tɕuu2 fidzifidzi3 re=ana3, maɕku3 a-mø-tti3 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 concessive 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) *paŋja3 tɕuu2 ŋaŋa = ta1, no1 zama3 to-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) *paŋja3 ŋaŋa1 t-ɛ3, no1 ŋoro = wu1 zama3 to-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 tɕuu2 fidzifidzi3 re = ta3, makku3 a-tti-a3 nkhei3 re3.*
 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 tɕuu2 fidzifidzi3 re3, makku3 a-tti-a nkhei3 re3.*
 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 *tha1* ‘upper side’, which is found in words such as *thapi1* ‘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-

out, whilst; 7. directly after.

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 *ʔəpə̀* ‘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.

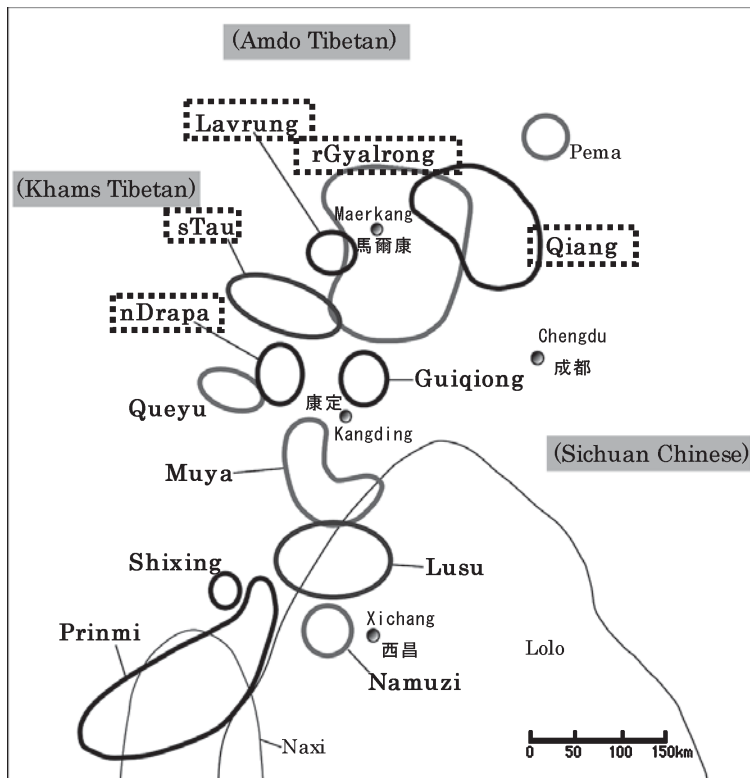


Figure 1 Languages of the west Sichuan area

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 *tə-*, 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’: *ur-tar* ‘upper side’; *a-tu* ‘here (upper place)’; *tərtu* ‘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 *tə³³* has a form similar to a location noun that means ‘here (upper position)’: *ə³³tha⁵³* Yin (2007:66, 206). However, it is presently unclear whether the temporal particle *tə³³* has been derived from the location noun *ə³³tha⁵³*.

In sTau (Huang Bufan 1991a), the orientation pronoun of ‘upper side’ is *rəro*, and the upward directional prefix is *rə-*. (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

^{vii} The upward directional prefix in nDrapa is *ɬ-*, 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 (*t^ha³³* in Zhatuo and *tha³¹* in Zhamai; see 1.2), deaspiration 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 (*=za* 'UNDER', *=ka* 'IN', *=to* '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.

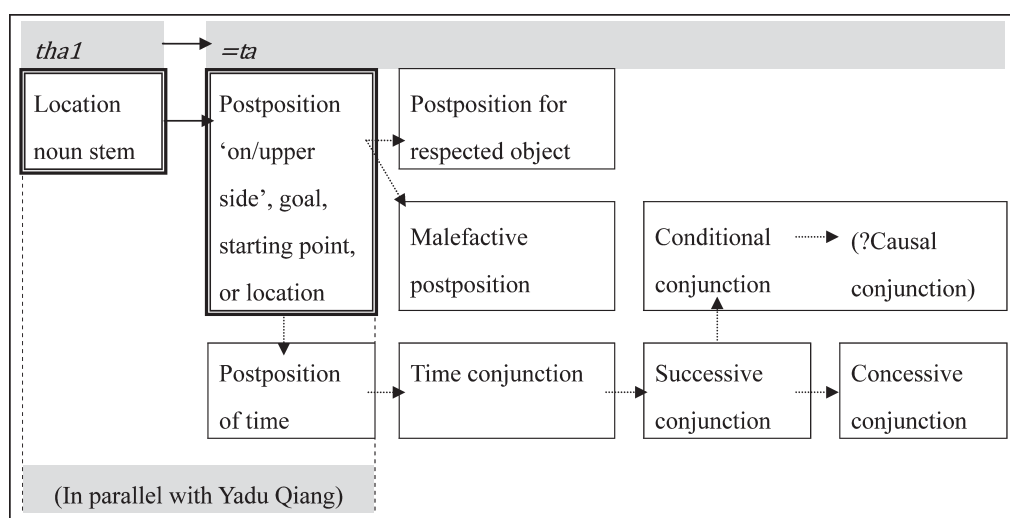


Figure 2 Grammaticalization and functional derivation of *=ta*

Abbreviations

1 first person; 2 second person; 3 third person; ACC accusative-dative; ADM admirative; ASS associative; B Pattern B (non-egophoric); BEN benefactive; CFM confirmative; CLF classifier; CMPR comparative (case); COM comitative; COND conditional; CONJ conjunction; CONS concessive; COP copula; DIR directional prefix; DAT dative-locative; DIR directional prefix; DU dual; DIST distal; DWN downward directional prefix; EMPH emphasis; Fr. free translation; FT an example from a folktale; GEN genitive; HABIT habitual; IMP imperative; INF inferential; INW inward directional prefix; INS instrumental; IPFV imperfective; Lit. literal translation; LOG logophoric pronoun; NEG negative; NMLZ nominalizer; NTL neutral directional prefix; 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＝ビルマ語派チアン語支）に見られる多義的な前接語=*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、被害者的目的語および尊敬を受ける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が、継起、条件、逆接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、時点から継起へ、さらに継起から条件および逆接へという段階が考えられる。

以上のような両機能性と多義性を記述し、さらに、近隣で話される同系のチア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、ダバ語に見られるほどの多義性が報告された言語はない。同じチアン語支チアン語群に属するチアン語雅都方言に、「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ア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語が見られない。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、ダバ語とチアン語に共通の祖語の段階で起こり、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