Non-finite adverbial subordination in Chintang


Abstract
In Chintang (Sino-Tibetan, Kiranti) both finite and non-finite adverbial clauses are found. In this paper we discuss only non-finite subordinate clauses in terms of their control behaviour, S/A coreferentiality, scope and other morphosyntactic properties. An interesting feature of Chintang non-finite adverbial clause is their person and number marking.

1. Introduction
Traditionally, non-finite subordinate clauses are defined as subordinate clauses whose verb does not bear any person, number, mood and tense markers. In Chintang this definition does not seem to hold. Even though all non-finite clauses lack tense, and mood, in Chintang we encounter person and number marking in purposive clauses as possessive prefixes. The covert S/A argument of the embedded clause is identical with the S/A of the superordinate clause. A survey of the

1Research on Chintang started in 2004 (Chintang and Puma Documentation Project) financed by the Volkswagen Foundation. Author contributions: the first author did the main analysis and write-up, B. Bickel contributed additional analysis, S. Stoll and E. Lieven helped in proofreading and arranging sections in the paper; all authors contributed to the text corpus and dictionary. The first author also acknowledges the DAAD scholarship (A/06/91690) to work on his PhD research. We use both the corpus and elicited data in this work. The examples without a reference were elicited during the first author's fieldwork in 2010.
2 Chintang corpus currently includes approximately 600,000 words, and is deposited in the dobes archive. (www.mpi.nl/dobes)
Chintang corpus shows that the texts are full of many complex structures which contain a great number of converbal clauses. The purpose of this paper is to describe the converbal clauses of Chintang, which are non-finite adverbial clauses.

2. Converbs in Chintang
2. 1. The simultaneous converb –sayə
The simultaneous converb –sayə 'CVB' is suffixed to a verb stem, and it indicates that the action of the embedded clause takes place simultaneously with the matrix clause event. It combines two different actions expressed by two different verbs but happening at the same time or temporally overlapping. In most of the cases, the simultaneous converb clause precedes the matrix clause. The S or A argument of the converbal clause is always corefential with that of the main clause. The converb -sayə appears mostly with motion verbs. However, there are a few examples in the corpus where it is also found with some other types of verbs including stative verbs like yuŋ- ‘stay’.

Ebert (1993) describes converbal clauses under the maximally reduced clause group. Like in many other languages, the S/A argument of the embedded clause is always coreferential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause in most if not all of the Kiranti languages--(Ebert 2003a, 2003b). The converbal suffix is attached directly to the uninflected verb stems.

Both the embedded and matrix clauses can be intransitive with shared S argument as in (1a) or the matrix verb can be transitive, as in (1b).

(1) a. rei?-sayə=ta yu-i-yakt-i-ŋa=kha abo
    laugh-CVB=FOC stay-PL-IPFV-PL-e=BGR now
    ‘We were staying, laughing.’ appa_katha_talk.032

b. cek-sayə ca-no
speak-CVB    eat-NPST
‘S/he eates, speaking.’

In example (2a), both the embedded and matrix clauses are transitive, where the embedded A argument is corefential with the matrix A. The embedded A can also be corefential with matrix S argument, as in (2b).

(2) a. teĩ-saŋa=ta khatt-e khoku
    beat-CVB=FOC take-PST Khoku
    ‘They took (him) to Khoku, beating him.’
    chintang_sahid.185

b. cuwa tak-saŋa khaiʔ-yaʔa
    water bring-CVB go-1sS-NPST
    ‘I go there when I go to bring water.’
    CLLDCh1R10S09. 711

According to our corpus, more than 80 % of converbal constructions do not contain any overt argument. This means that both the embedded and matrix clauses are constructed with out overt arguments. If there is any overt S/A argument, it belongs to the matrix clause. It is impossible to have an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause. In example (3), the embedded verb cannot assign an ergative case to its argument.

(3) *[phak-ŋa ca-saŋa] ti-e
    pig-ERG eat-CVB come-PST
    ‘The pig came, eating.’

However, it is possible to have an overt P argument in an embedded clause. Unlike it is the case for S/A arguments, it is not necessary for the P to be identical in the embedded and matrix clauses. The embedded and the matrix clause can have two different objects, e.g., (4a). However, it is impossible to have a shared P with S, as in (4b).
(4) a.  *gol khoŋ-saŋa akka biskut ca-ikk−ŋ
ball play-CVB 1s biscuit eat-NPST-1sA
‘While playing with a ball, I eat a biscuit.’

b.  *khaŋ-saŋa thoms-e
watch-CVB do.a.shamanic.session-PST
intended: ‘He did a shamanic session while everybody was watching him.’

Bickel (1993) reports that it is common for converbs to be repeated for emphasis in the neighboring language Belhare. This also holds true for Chintang.

(5)  kho-saŋa kho-saŋa rɨkt-e
quarrel-CVB quarrel-CVB chase-PST
‘He chased, scolding him.’

As in the above examples, a converb generally precedes the main clause. But, in addition to this, a converbal clause can also appear following the main clause. However, the position of the converbal clause does not influence the interpretation or the choice of the controller.

(6)  khim-beʔ=ta yuŋ-no o chap-saŋa
house-LOC=FOC be-NPST EMPH write-CVB
‘He stays at home writing.’

2.1.1. Complex converbal construction
It is possible for a converb to form a complex converbal construction in Chintang. In this case, a converb is dependent on another converb. All the simultaneous converbs form an order like V₁-CVB, V₂-CVB and V-matrix, where the event marked by V₁-CBV do not need to happen prior to the V₂-CVB. Both actions can happen simultaneously, as in (7). Moreover, bipartite or compound verbs can also form converbal constructions, as in (8).
Like in Belhare (Bickel 1993) and in Puma (Schackow et al. in press), the scope of negation can have an effect on the embedded clause in Chintang. In the example (9a), what is negated is not the fact of 'going' but the mode of 'going' even though the negation marker is on the matrix verb 'go'. The same thing is also noticed in (9b), though the matrix verb is negated the effect of negation is not on 'sleeping' but on 'drinking', which is a cause for sleeplessness of the participant.

(9) a.  
\[ \text{phai-saŋa} \ \text{akka} \ \text{khaiʔ-yaʔa-niŋ} \ \text{khim} \]
walk-CVB 1s go-1sS-NPST-NEG home
'I don’t go home by foot.’ (...but by bus)

b.  
\[ \text{arkha} \ \text{hop-saŋa} \ \text{im-maʔa-niŋ} \]
local.alcohol drink-CVB sleep-1sS-NPST-NEG
'I don’t get sleepy from drinking alcohol.'

The negation marker on the embedded converbal clause is not attested in Chintang except in the lexicalized verb \textit{mahima} ‘be sick’ (literally 'not be able to').

(10)  
\[ \text{utti}=\text{ta} \ \text{ma-hi-saŋa} \ \text{ti-e} \]
then=FOC NEG-be.well-CVB come-PST
‘He came back being sick.’ appa_katha_talk.035
2.1.3. Scope of question

We do not have any clear evidence so far for 'who' questioning an argument inside the embedded clause. In the example (11a), though the question word precedes the embedded clause, it does not belong to the embedded but to the matrix clause. In example (11b) where the question word questions an element inside the subordinate clause, was rejected by the consultants.

(11) a. *sa-niŋ haŋ-saŋa a-yuŋ-no
who-COM talk-CVB 2-be-NPST
‘Whom did you stay while talking.’

b. *sa-niŋ khoŋ-saŋa i-laŋ od-e
who-COM play-CVB 2sPOSS-leg break-PST
‘Intended: Whom did you play with and break your leg.’

But we have many clear evidences where the interrogative pronouns *them* and *aŋ*, unambiguously belong to the embedded clause, as in (12).

(12) a. *them khem-saŋa a-yuw-a-kha elo
what listen-CVB 2-stay-PST-BGR OR
‘What were you listening to and sitting?’
CLLDCh4R07S05.1554

b. aŋ num-saŋa a-yuŋ-no
what do-CVB 2-stay-NPST
‘What are you doing being here?’

The scope of a question is sometimes ambiguous. *Aŋ* in example (13) may question either the mood of going 'by climbing' or simply fact of 'going'.

(13) waŋ-saŋa khaʔ-no aŋ
climb-CVB go-NPST PTCL
'Does he GO by climbing?' or 'Does he go (up) by CLIMBING?'
CLLDCh2R14S03.0732

2.1.4. Argument sharing
The converbal construction of Chintang involves a strict syntactic constraint on argument sharing. The examples discussed in this section illustrate the following configurations: (1) Two intransitive clauses sharing their S argument: S=S (1a), (8b). (2) Two transitive clause sharing their A argument only: A=A (4a). (3) Two transitive clause sharing both their A and P arguments: A=A, P=P (2a), (8a). (4) Coreference between the A of matrix clause and S of embedded clause: A=S (1b). (5) Coreference between the S of matrix clause and the A of embedded clause: S=A (2b).

Argument sharing between embedded and matrix clauses is obligatory. We have no examples where there is no argument sharing in the converbal constructions. However, not all possible relations are equally common. The systematic study of our corpus constituted by the first 600 converbal constructions in the various annotated sessions shows that the S=S configuration is the most popular one. The study also shows that relatively long chains of converbs describing successive events (more than three events) are not typical of Chintang discourse, and in the corpus, sentence such as (7) is quite rare.

2.2. The purposive clause
The purposive clause is marked by the suffix -si, which is glossed as ‘PURP’ in this paper. Like in other Kiranti languages, the purposive suffix -si is typically restricted to verbs of motion: a person or an animal moves somewhere in order do something. In the embedded clauses, a -si marked constituent functions as the head of the clause which appears
in the periphery of another clause. Like in the converbal clauses, the participants of the main clause must have control over the embedded clause as well.

(14)  siŋ  khop-si  khatt-u-ku-ŋ  
      wood  search-PURP  take-3P-NPST-1sA  
‘I take (him/her) to search wood.’

b.  kappe  huŋgoi-ʔ  im-si  lik-no  
     K.  DEM-LOC  sleep-PURP  enter-NPST  
‘Kappe goes there to sleep.’  CLLDCh3S12R04 211

In our corpus -si very rarely occurs with stative verbs, as e.g. in (15). The same constraint has also been noted for neighboring Belhare (Bickel 2004).

(15)  beuli  cop-si  yuw-e  
      bride  look-PURP  be-PST  
‘He sat down there to see the bride.’

Like in the simultaneous converbal clause, there is no overt appearance of an S or A argument in the embedded clause (16a). But it is possible to have e.g. a locative argument and a P argument in an embedded clause, as in (16b).

(16)  a.  *menuwa-ŋa  sencak  ca-si  kuŋs-e  
      cat-ERT  mouse  eat-PURP  come.down-PST  
‘The cat came down to eat a mouse.’

b.  ama  akka  jarkin-be  cuwaphas-si  khaiʔ-ya-ʔa  
     mother 1s  jerrycan-LOC  water  fill-PURP  go-1sS  NPST  
‘Mother, I go to fetch water in the jerrycan.’  CLS04.212

Like the -saŋa converb clause, the purposive embedded clause can also appear in the middle position (17a) and at the final
position of a sentence (17b). Postposed purposive clauses are quite common in Chintang.

(17) a. a-ti-a-c-e kina ba-iʔ ladai num-si akka-be
    2-come-PST-d-PST SEQ DEM.PROX-LOC fight
do-PURP 1s-LOC
    ‘You came here to fight with me.’ origin_myth.049
b. ama akka khaiʔ-yaʔa caklet khes-si
    mother 1s go-1sS-NPST chocolate buy-PURP
    ‘Mother, I am going to buy a chocolate.’ CLS06.012

Both the embedded and the matrix clause can be focused with additive focus clitics and topicalizers (18).

(18) akka=yaŋ kok ca-si=na kuŋ-ŋaʔa
    1s=ADD  rice eat-PURP=TOP come.down-1sS-NPST
    ‘I also come to have rice.’ CLLDC1R11S03.279

Like in the simultaneous converbal clause, we have no clear example for sa 'who' questions in the purposive clauses. But the examples in (19a) and (19b) show that the them and any questions can occur inside the embedded clause.

(19) a. them cop-si khad-e
    what see-PURP go-PST
    'What did he go to see?'
b. any num-si ti-e
    What do-PURP come-PST
    'What did he come for?'

Person agreement can be expressed in the dependent clause, but it is quite different from independent clauses. In example (20), the P argument of the verb in the embedded clause is marked by a possessive prefix which expresses a different person from the one in the main clause.
‘They have come to see you.’

2.2.1. Scope of Negation

As we do not have any clear evidence yet, we are not sure whether the scope of negation is extended over the embedded clause in purposive clauses.

But, we have some examples where it is possible to negate the embedded clause, as in (21). For this Chintang employs a different form of negation to code negative purpose.

(21) 

‘He did not go to bring water, but to steal things.’

2.3. Negation converb

The negation converb is the third most frequent non-finite clause marker in Chintang. In the negation converb clause, the embedded infinitival form of the verb is marked with a regular negation marking prefix *mai-* . Thus, a combination of a *mai-* ‘NEG’ + -ma ‘INF’, makes an embedded negation converb clause, which is quite different from a mere negation of a converb. This is because if it were simply a negation of an infinitival form of the verb, it would have been possible to formulate the clause without a negation marker too. As the negation marking on the infinitival form of verb is obligatory, this makes it different from general negation.

Like the other converbal clauses, the negation converb clause is also nonfinite and fully dependent in nature. The negation converb indicates that an action takes place without being supported by another event.
Unlike in -sanə and -si nonfinite clauses, there is no obligatory correferentiality in negative subordinate clauses. A negative converb clause can take its own arguments which are not necessarily identical with the arguments of the matrix clause, as in (23).

(23) mai-pi-ma=ta akka pi-ŋa-ʔa-nɨŋ
    NEG-give-INF=PTCL 1s give-1sA-NPST-NEG
    ‘I do not give it before (someone) gives me.’

According to Ebert (2003a: 31), all Kiranti languages except Camling have a negative converb. In a number of Kiranti languages, the regular negation marker also forms the negation converbal clauses. But unlike in other Kiranti languages which use -sa/sanə to mark simultaneous converb, Hayu reserves -sa only for the negation converb (Ebert 2003a).

3. Summary
In this paper, we have dealt the three different types of converbal clauses in Chintang. Like in other Kiranti languages, the -sanə converbal clause and -si purposive clause obligatorily share arguments between embedded and matrix clauses. But there is no obligatory control of any arguments in negation converb clause. Moreover, all types of converbal clauses do not allow an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause, but they do allow other arguments. All types of converbal clauses have in common that they all license some sort of focus marker on the embedded clause. Like in Puma and Belhare, the question and negation scope is extended to the embedded clause in Chintang as well. Furthermore, unlike

(22) mai-kham-ma=ta min-no
    NEG-chew-INF=FOC  swallow-NPST
    ‘He swallows without chewing.’
other languages, Chintang non-finite clauses can bear person and number marking in purposive structures.

**Glossing & abbreviation:** This paper follows the Leipzig Glossing conventions, with the addition of the following abbreviations: BGR 'background information', DIR 'directional', e 'exclusive', N.NTVZ 'noun nativizer', SEQ 'sequential', PTCL 'particle'

**References**

Schackow, Diana, Balthasar Bickel, Shree Kumar Rai, Narayan Sharma (Gautam), Arjun Rai & Martin Gaenszle. In press. Morphosyntactic properties and scope behaviour of 'subordinate' clauses in Puma (Kiranti)