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DFG Projekt:
Evidentialität, epistemische Modalität und Sprecherhaltung im Ladakischen
Evidentiality, epistemic modality, and speaker attitude in Ladakhi
vormals / formerly:
Valenzwörterbuch der ladakischen Verben
A Valency Dictionary of Ladakhi Verbs

Towards a Valency Dictionary of Ladakhi Verbs: challenges in analysing a 'non-configurational' language

32ND SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGES ANALYSIS ROUNDTABLE

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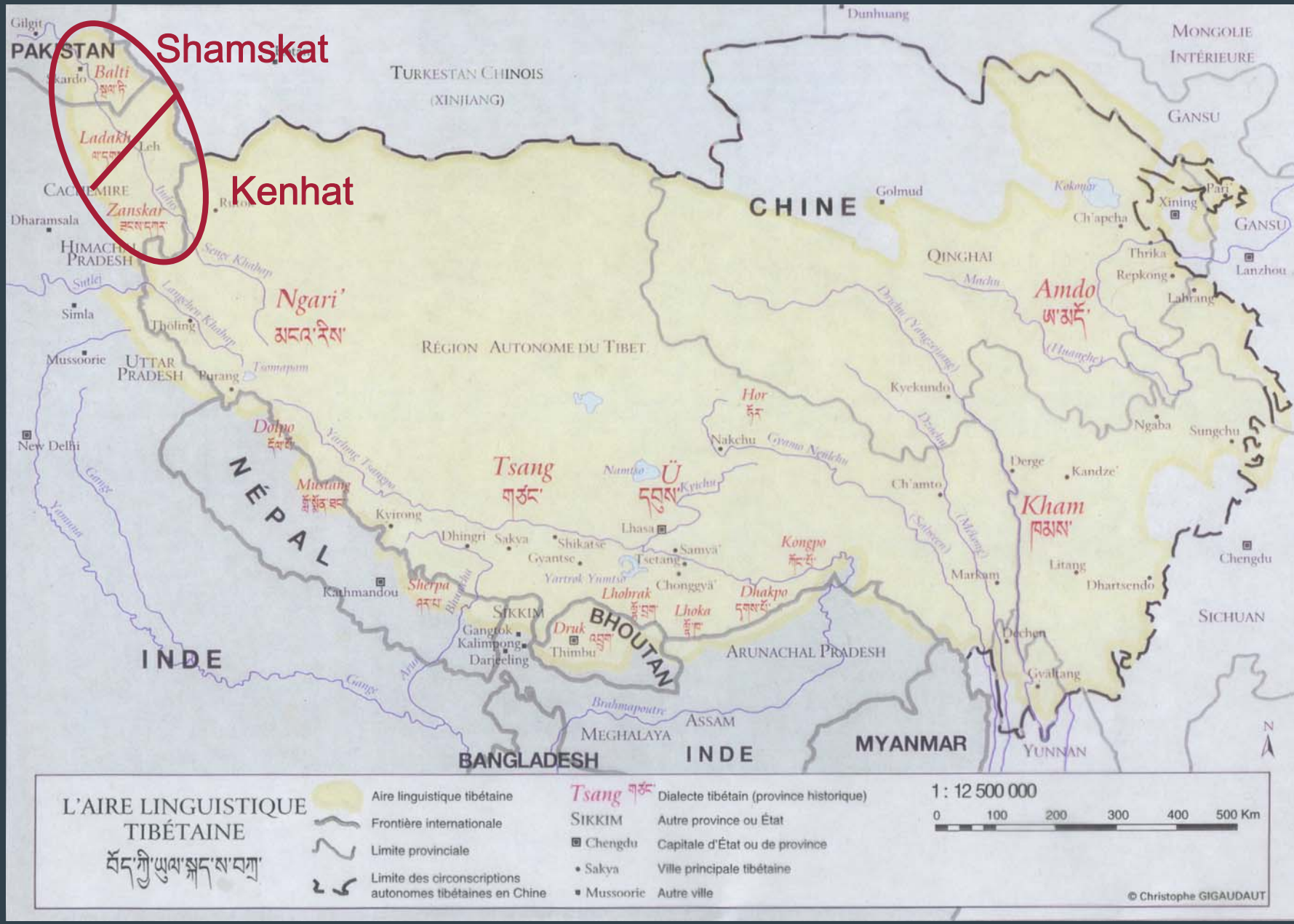
A grammática é um instrumento, e não uma lei.

Fernando Pessoa

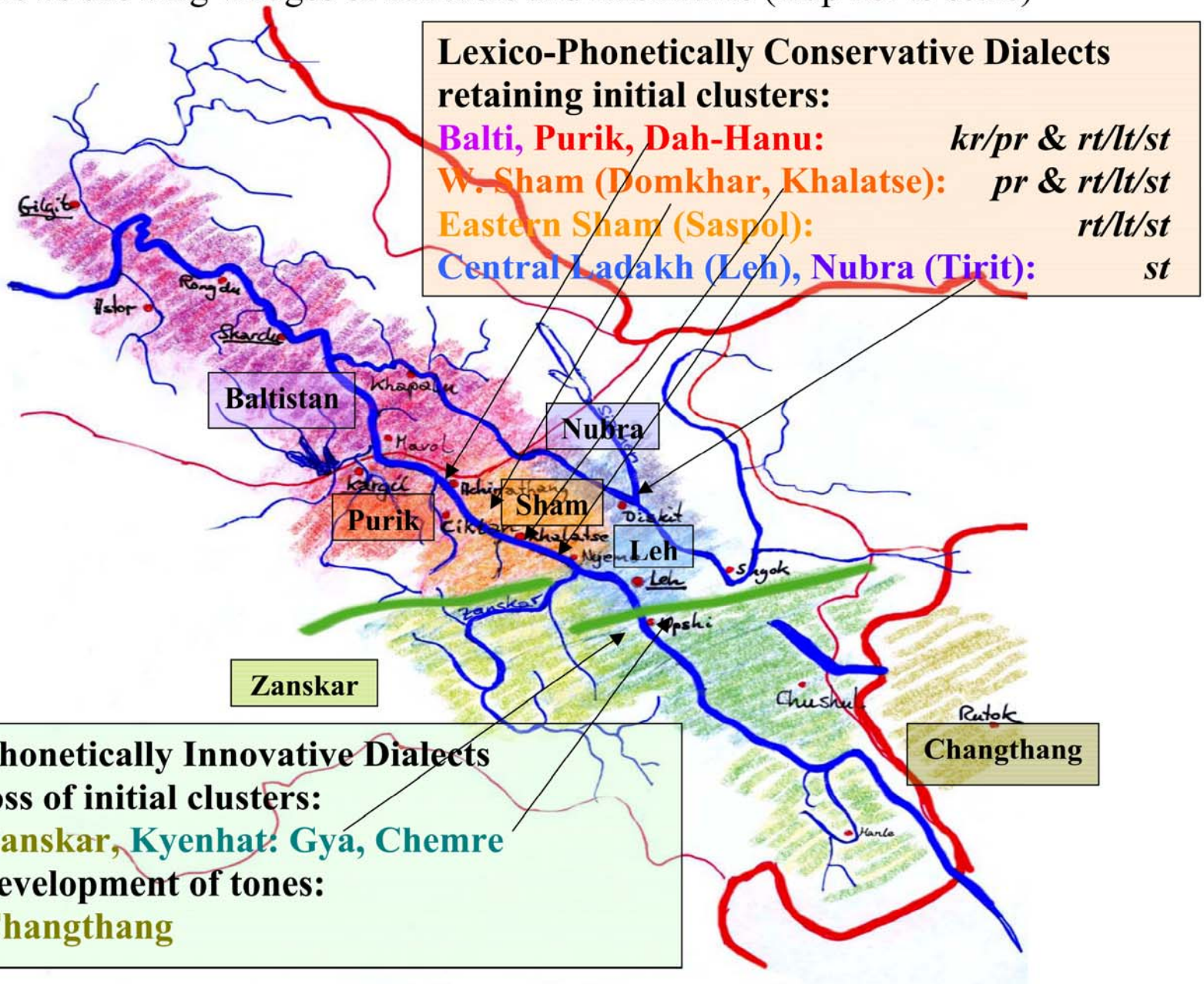
1. Background information

- The Ladakhi dialects roughly fall into two dialect groups: Shamskat (the dialects of Lower Ladakh) and Kenhat (the dialects of Leh and Upper Ladakh), which do not only differ in pronunciation (± initial clusters, ±tone), but also, and more importantly, in their grammar.
- The most conspicuous difference is that the Shamskat dialects discriminate between an agent (*ŋa-s*, *kho-s*) and a possessor (*ŋ+i*, *kho-e*), while the Kenhat dialects don't (*ŋ+e*, *kho-e* ~ *kh+e*).

The Tibetan speaking area and Ladakhi



Dialect regions of West Tibetan spoken in Baltistan and Ladakh
arrows showing villages of narrators and informants (map not to scale)



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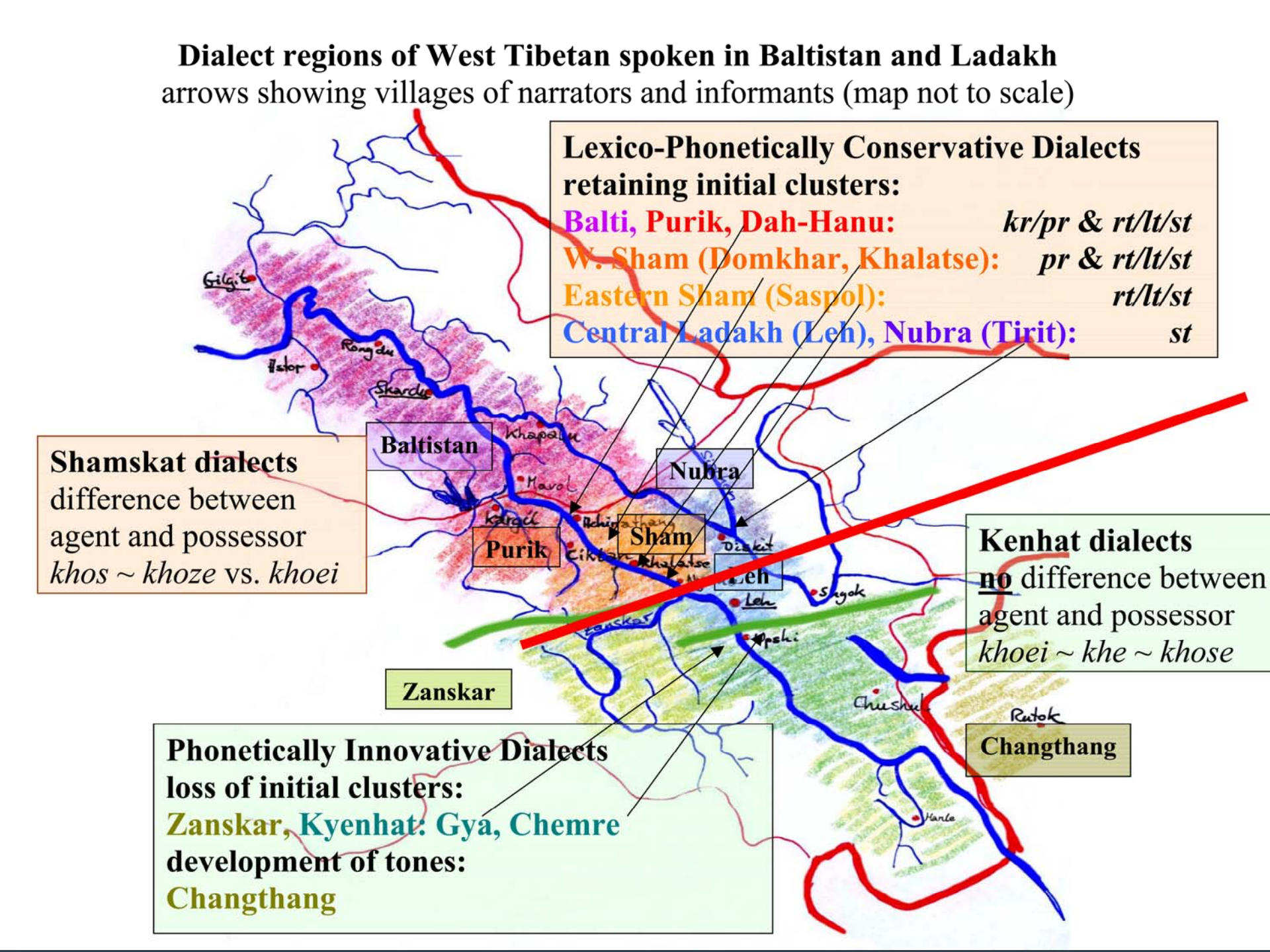

2. The Problem

- Some of the challenges in linguistic fieldwork on minority languages lie in mainstream conceptions of what kind of syntactic structures might be relevant for the general discussion, and hence what is discussed.

- Languages in general, and minor languages in particular, vary a lot in the minor details, but these minor details are usually excluded from a discussion that aims at setting up universal features, making all languages rather look alike.

- In compiling a Valency Dictionary of Ladakhi Verbs, my challenge was thus to decide, more or less on my own, what to count as a relevant element, an argument or something close to an argument, and what not.

- With respect to syntactic subcategorisation frames of verbs and alignement patterns, there is a common understanding that one needs to specify the two most important arguments or proto-roles (Dowty 1991), the so-called ‘actor’ and ‘undergoer’.
- There is less unanimity whether one needs to specify the recipient of *give* verbs. E.g. Tournadre (2009) and Van Valin (2009) think this to be superfluous.

- Locations of position verbs, such as *stay*, and goals or origins of motion verbs, such as *go* or *come*, are typically not regarded as syntactically relevant arguments, but as mere adjuncts, even if they are required by the verb meaning, and the same holds for other *oblique* arguments.
- Oblique case markers like the dative may be treated as merely ‘lexical’ case in contrast to the more ‘syntactical’ case as used for the two proto-roles.

- The binary scheme of proto-roles already poses a problem for ergative languages, where the ‘sole argument’ (‘actor’ or ‘undergoer’) of intransitive verbs is treated differently from the first argument (‘actor’) of transitive verbs (which receives ergative case marking), but like the second argument (‘undergoer’) of transitive verbs (both receiving no case marker).
- Languages where the ‘category’ of ‘actor’ is subdivided between agents (actors in the strict sense, taking ergative case) and experiencers (taking aesthetive = dative or allative case) or where the second argument might be treated differently are typically not considered at all.

- The Tibetic languages belong to such typologically neglected languages.
- Not only do they show some kind of ergative alignement, but also a multiple differentiation of (obligatory) second arguments.
- Being part of the South-Asian linguistic area (as defined by Masica 1976), Ladakhi further systematically differentiates between transitive intentional agents and non-intentional experiencers (a differentiation only marginally developed in other Tibetic languages).

- Some of the Ladakhi dialects, like so many other Tibetic languages, also allow pragmatic up- and downgrading, that is case alternations with the first or second argument (DSM, DOM) or even other arguments (Zeisler 2012).
- Many Tibetic languages further allow the demotion of an agent by representing it as an origin (with ablative marking, sometimes taken as a passive construction, as by Chr.I. Beckwith, p.c., sometimes only seen as an alternative agent marking, as by Tournadre 1994, 2009).

- Such possibilities lead to a large set of sentence patterns or *Satzbaupläne*:

- Such possibilities lead to a large set of sentence patterns or *Satzbaupläne*:

  11 basic patterns and about 100 additional more or less marginal patterns in Ladakhi
  (see Zeisler 2007 for a first overview).

- Case markers in Tibetan or Ladakhi do not primarily serve to distinguish the syntactic roles of subject and object or to assign individual syntactic relations, nor do they primarily specify particular semantic roles.
- What the case markers do, however, by their particular combination (and position) is to contrastively put on scene a particular action or event type (see Zeisler 2012), as can be shown in examples (1) to (4).

- Examples (1) to (4) show different bivalent sentence patterns, which Tournadre (2009, see below) would subsume under a single monovalent pattern S(a).
- Note that all four sentences would be considered transitive in English.
- Examples (1) to (3) demonstrate how sentence patterns can vary for a single verb (Shamskat *biŋ* is replaced by *t̲oŋ* in the Kenhat dialects), within and between the dialects.

(1) *dorʒe* *lampo* *tọn.* pattern 02
GYA Dorje-ABS road-ABS get.out.PAST
'Dorje crossed the road.' (Double ABS: holistic perspective)

(2) *dordʒe* *lampo-a* *biŋ.* pattern 03a
DOM Dorje-ABS road-ALL get.out.PA
'Dorje crossed the road.' (ALL: focus on the starting point.)

(3) *dordʒe* *lamp-ikana* *biŋ.* pattern 04a
DOM Dorje-ABS road-PP.ABL get.out.PA
'Dorje crossed the road.' (ABL: focus on the end point.)

(4) *aŋmo* *tshiriŋ-daŋ* *pẹ.* pattern 05
GYA Angmo-ABS Tshiring-COM separate.PA
'Angmo separated from Tshiring.' (COM: contact *with* 2nd argument.)

- Tournadre (2009) approaches the problem from a rather narrow syntactic perspective and suggests to discriminate between three types of first arguments (S, A, R) and two types of second arguments (P, B), yielding altogether 6 *syntactically relevant* sentence patterns, ignoring a valency higher than 2:

In Tournadre's terminology 'S' stands for the 'sole argument', although S appears with a second argument in the case of the bivalent 'affective' verbs. The indexes 'p' and 'a' indicate a more patient-like or a more agent-like S. 'R' stands for a 'recipient', here a 'subject' argument. 'B' stands for 'beneficiary' or what might otherwise be termed a recipient (the indirect object of *give*-verbs).

Table 1. Syntactic patterns (from Tournadre 1996, 2009)

valency	±volitional	type	'subj.'	'obj.'	case	my patterns
1	–		S(p)		ABS	01
1	+		S(a)		ABS (ERG)	01 (13)
2	–	benefactive	R	P	DAT + ABS	06
2	–	affective	S	B	ABS + DAT	03a
2	±	ergative	A	P	ERG (ABS, ABL) + ABS	08 (02, 103)
2	+	mixed	A	B	ERG (ABS, ABL) + DAT	07 (03a, 104)

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- While this is, in fact, an improvement with respect to Dowty's proto-roles, I shall demonstrate with an overview of the more 'exotic' or unexpected Ladakhi sentence patterns that this approach is not sufficient for documenting and understanding the functioning of the Tibetic languages in general and of the Ladakhi dialects in particular.

3. The zoo of sentence patterns

- Not acounted for by Tournadre are the admittedly rare and idiomatic instances of verbs with a sole argument in an oblique case: AES/ALL (12), INSTR/GEN/ERG (13), COM (101), or ABL (102), and usages with zero arguments (00).

(5) *ɦoɣo* *ʧɦa-na,* *ø gjal.*
GYA we.incl-ABS go-CD be.good
'ø [= It] might be better, if we go.' patern 00

(6) *ɦoɣo* *~ ɦoɣ+e* *lẹ* *ʧē-na,* *ø gjal.*
GYA we.incl-ABS we.incl+ERG work-ABS do-CD be.good
'ø [= It] might be better, if we do the work.' pattern 00

(7) *ŋataŋ-a* *ta,* *kho-s* *do* *ʧo-na-raŋ,* *ø rgjal.*
DOM we.excl-AES now s/he-ERG that-ABS do-CD-only be.good
'ø [= It] would be better for us now, if s/he only would do this.'
pattern12

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(8) *…mi̱ ma̱ŋb+e ʂok / ʂok-taŋ / ʂog-ne ʈa̱l.*

GYA … people many+GEN life-ABS life-COM life-ABL separate.PA

'A lot of people lost their life in (lit: due to) the flood in India.' Lit.:

'Many people's life got separated' (ABS = pattern 01)

'There was separation 'with' the life of many people' (COM = 101)

'There was separation from the life of many people' (ABL = 102)

(9) *pitse(:) ʂok-na ʧhet. bila(:) hjaŋspa joŋ-et.*

DOM <mouse-GEN life>-ABL go+PRS cat-AES fun-ABS come-PRS

'The mouse is going to die. [But] the cat is having fun.' Lit.:

'There was going from the mouse' life.' (ABL = 102)

- As already mentioned, Tournadre's sole argument – in the absolutive – often doesn't come all alone.
- E.g., if we want to state that something separated then the meaning of the verb implies that there is an item that separates or gets separated, but there is also another item or place from which it separates or gets separated, otherwise the meaning of the verb might be something else.
- I have collected 22 different sentence patterns that would fall under Tournadre's 'sole argument', solely pattern 01 and 03a (but only for the 'affective' verbs: S B) are accounted for by Tournadre's system.

01			Abs	–	–
02			Abs	Abs	–
03a			Abs	~Loc	–
04a			Abs	Abl	–
05			Abs	Com	–
14			Abs	Instr/Gen	–
23			Abs	Abs	Abs
23			Abs	Abs	~Loc
24			Abs	Abl	Abs
25			Abs	Com	Abs
26			Abs	Instr/Gen	Abs
27			Abs	~Loc	~Loc
28			Abs	Abl	~Loc
29			Abs	Abl	Abl
30			Abs	Com	~Loc
31			Abs	~Loc	Instr/Gen
32			Abs	Abl contr	Instr/Gen
49		Abs	~Loc	Abs	Abs
50		Abs	Abl	Abs	Abs
51		Abs	Abs	Com	Abs
52		Abs	~Loc	~Loc	Abs
55		Abs	Com	~Loc	Abs

01			Abs	–	–
02			Abs	Abs	–
03a			Abs	~Loc	–
04a			Abs	Abl	–
05			Abs	Com	–
14			Abs	Instr/Gen	–
23			Abs	Abs	Abs
23			Abs	Abs	~Loc
24			Abs	Abl	Abs
25			Abs	Com	Abs
26			Abs	Instr/Gen	Abs
27			Abs	~Loc	~Loc
28			Abs	Abl	~Loc
29			Abs	Abl	Abl
30			Abs	Com	~Loc
31			Abs	~Loc	Instr/Gen
32			Abs	Abl contr	Instr/Gen
49		Abs	~Loc	Abs	Abs
50		Abs	Abl	Abs	Abs
51		Abs	Abs	Com	Abs
52		Abs	~Loc	~Loc	Abs
55		Abs	Com	~Loc	Abs

- Similarly, Tournadre accepts one construction with an aesthetive/ dative subject – which, in most Tibetic languages, is quite restricted and typically appears only with verbs related to gaining or losing possession.

06			Aes	Abs	–

- In Ladakhi, however, aesthetive subjects are very frequent. Apart from gaining or losing possession, they appear with perceptions and all kind of abilities.
- Furthermore, they appear in valency-raising experiencer constructions, expressing the notion that one happens or manages to have something done.

06			Aes	Abs	–
12			Aes	–	–
15a			Aes	Instr/Gen	–
16			Aes	~Loc	–
17			Aes	Abl	–
18			Aes	Com	–
33a			Aes	Abs	Abs
34a			Aes	Abs	~Loc
34b			Aes	~Loc	Abs
35			Aes	Abl	Abs
36			Aes	Abs	Com
37			Aes	Abs	Instr/Gen
38			Aes	~Loc	~Loc
39			Aes	~Loc	Com
40			Aes	~Loc/Aes	Instr
41			Aes	Abl	~Loc

58		Aes	Abs	~Loc	Abs
59		Aes	Abl	Abs	Abs
60		Aes	Abs	Com	Abs
61		Aes	Abs	Instr	Abs
62		Aes	Abl	Instr	Abs
63		Aes	~Loc	~Loc	Abs
64		Aes	Abl	~Loc	Abs
65		Aes	~Loc	Com	Abs
66		Aes	~Loc	Instr	Abs
67		Aes	~Loc	~Loc	Com
68		Aes	~Loc	~Loc	Instr

114			Aes	Erg	~Loc
115			Aes	Erg	Abs
116			Aes	Erg	Abl
117		Aes	Erg	~Loc	Abs

- You may have observed that I have included what appears to be merely adverbial phrases, constructed with the comitative and the instrumental or genitive case.

- However, the comitative is needed in several cases. E.g., one has to specify *with whom* one met, *with whom* one exchanged something, '*with whom*' one separated, and while in such cases a collective expression is always available:
  A & B met, exchanged sth, separated,
  it is nevertheless necessary to specify also the asymmetric alternative:
  A met with B, exchanged sth with B, separated 'with' B,
  etc.

- Similarly, if we talk about an event of filling, we need at least a container (e.g., a pot) and the content or medium (e.g. water), possibly also an actor.

- Now, one might simply state *the pot filled* or *A filled the pot*, even though we might like to know *with* what.
- But it does not seem to be feasible to state *the water filled* or *A filled the water*.
- That is, when focusing on the medium as an undergoer, we necessarily have to specify the container, that is, we have a valency of 2 (inagentive) or 3 (agentive).

- If this is the case, does the valency of the verb necessarily decrease, if we focus on the container as the undergoer while specifying the medium: *the pot filled with water*, *the pot was full of water*, or *A filled the pot with water*?
- Is the medium argument of the previous construction automatically demoted to a mere adverbial phrase, because it is so in English?

- In Ladakhi, the neutral construction goes with an instrumental (formally identical with the genitive) *ʧui* in the Kenhat dialects of Ladakh, but with a genitive *ʧui* or, less commonly, with an instrumental *ʧus* in the Shamskat dialects.
- The comitative *ʧuna(ŋ)* ~ *ʧuraŋ* appears when the relation between container and medium is somehow non-standard or unexpected.

- If, e.g. the ‘container’ is a shoe filled unexpectedly with rain water, a pond filled with unuseable dirty water, a pot or granary completely filled with insects (instead of grain), the comitative construction can be used.

(10) *papu* *ʧhartʃhu-s* */ ʧhartʃhu-na* *gaŋ-sok.*
DOM papu rain.water-INSTR rain.water-COM fill[–ctr]-INF
‘The papu (traditional woollen shoes) got filled with rain water.’
(In the first case, the speaker had taken the risk, when putting the shoes outside, although it was going to rain. In the second case, s/he just sees this disaster for the first time.)

- Syntacticians like Tournadre would probably say that these constructions are special features of special verbs, and as such stored in the lexicon.
- They are not rule based and hence not predictable, but have to be learned with the usage of the verb.

- But the same, actually holds for the case assignement of the core elements:
- Whether the first argument receives ergative, aesthetive, or no case marking (absolutive) – or even an idiomatic ablative or comitative case marker, is not predictable by general rules, but depends largely on verb semantics, not on formal properties, such as the number of arguments.

4. Non-obligatory elements

- Some time ago, an evaluator replied to my application that my notion of facultative or non-obligatory arguments would be a logical contradiction.
- But what about such verbs as *eating*, *drinking*, *writing*, *reading* in English or German?
- They may or may not be realised with an undergoer argument, and are thus usually analysed as being ambivalent, that is, having a valency of 1 or 2, depending on whether the undergoer appears in the sentence or not.
- One could equally well say that the undergoer argument is not obligatory with such verbs.

- From the perspective of Tibetan, where all contextually given arguments can be deleted in a sentence or where one can defocus from any argument in a generic context, the traditional approach, which assumes a different valency, depending on whether an argument is spelled out or not, does not seem to be very intuitive.

- According to this approach, a Tibetan sentence with the verb *give* would switch between 8 patterns and between a valency of 0 to 3:
  - V3: ERG – ALL – ABS
  - V2: ERG – ALL —, ERG — ABS, — ALL – ABS
  - V1: ERG — —, — ALL —, — — ABS
  - V0: — — —

- In languages like Tibetan, *eating* and *drinking* should then be treated as having a valency of 2, particularly if the undergoer argument is hardly ever dropped, except in clause chaining (in Ladakh, one is not just eating, but always eating *something*).
- *Writing* could be treated as having a minimal valency of 2 with a facultative argument for the recipent, in the case of *writing a message* or *letter*.
- But what about the content? Can or should this be counted as a (facultative) argument?

- My approach is to treat all elements as possible arguments if they are licensed by the verb meaning.
- Hence, locations are usually not arguments, except with loction-sensitive verbs:

  position (*stand*, *sit*, etc.)
  intransitive motion (*go*, *come*, etc.)
  transitive movement (*push*, *take along*, *bring*, etc.)
  deposit (*put*, *plant*, *inject*, etc.)

- and similarly for the origo of all motions and movements.

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- My main problem, however, is how to decide, which argument is obligatory in the sense that,

  if no further context (including generic context) is given, the sentence would be incomplete without this argument.

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- They either declare a sentence with a missing argument to be complete – because they have a certain situation in their mind, where this argument is already contextually given.
- Or, when pressed hard to make a sentence completely 'out of the blue', they might insist on the specification of time and location, and sometimes also of purpose or reason.

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- While the specification of time and reason can usually be ruled out as not being licensed by the verb meaning, there are plenty of verbs where the location would be licensed at least as a facultative argument.

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- E.g. when talking about planting trees, informants typically want a specification: in the garden, along the river, in front of the house, etc.
- But when talking about planting flowers or vegetables, the garden is typically implied and hardly ever specified.

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- E.g. when talking about planting trees, informants typically want a specification: in the garden, along the river, in front of the house, etc.
- But when talking about planting flowers or vegetables, the garden is typically implied and hardly ever specified.
- Is the location thus an obligatory or only a facultative argument?

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- Of course, I would not have any such problem, if I had simply ignored all location and origo elements. After all, they are only mere adjuncts, aren’t they?

5. Collocations

- Admittedly, many ‘exotic’ patterns and particularly patterns with a valency of 4 (or higher) are due to collocations, where many scholars, and especially the syntacticians, would argue that the last absolutive element is incorporated in the verb.

- I have argued elsewhere (Zeisler 2008), however, that there are several arguments against incorporation:
  - Negation is prefixed to the verb or the TMA auxiliaries, not to the collocation partner. When negation is prefixed to the verb in constructions without auxiliaries, it thus intervenes between the collocation partner and the verb.
  - Similarly, adverbs may still intervene between the collocation partner and the verb.

- Often the bound collocation partner is the only absolutive element; it is thus needed to support an ergative pattern, cf. the first part of (11)

(11) *daŋ gergan-is ʈhugu-un-la … jat ʂoks.*
DOM y.day teacher-ERG child-PL-ALL memory-ABS stir.PA

'Yesterday, the teacher frightened the children because of their lack of studying.'

- Often the bound collocation partner is the only absolutive element; it is thus needed to support an ergative pattern, cf. the first part of (11) – would it then be incorporated in the second part?

(11) *daŋ* *gergan-is* *ʈhugu-un-la* … *jat* *ʂoks.*
DOM y.day teacher-ERG child-PL-ALL memory-ABS stir.PA

tene *ʈhugu-ŋun* *gergan-la* *jat* *droks.*
then child-pl-ABS teacher-all memory-ABS be.stirred.up.PA

'Yesterday, the teacher frightened the children because of their lack of studying. Then the children were afraid of the teacher.'

- Often the bound collocation partner is the only absolutive element; it is thus needed to support an ergative pattern, cf. the first part of (11) – would it then be incorporated in the second part? And what about an alternation as in (12)?

(11) *daŋ* *gergan-is* *ʈhugu-un-la* … *jat* *ʂoks.*
DOM y.day teacher-ERG child-PL-ALL memory-ABS stir.PA

tene *ʈhugu-ŋun* *gergan-la* *jat* *droks.*
then child-pl-ABS teacher-all memory-ABS be.stirred.up.PA

'Yesterday, the teacher frightened the children because of their lack of studying. Then the children were afraid of the teacher.'

(12) *kūnma* *mą̄ŋbo-ʒik* *pūlur-a* *ją̄t* *drok-ʧe-man.*
GYA thief many-LQ-ABS police-ALL memory-ABS be.stirred=FUT

'Many thiefs won't be afraid of the police.'

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DOM y.day teacher-ERG child-PL-ALL memory-ABS stir.PA

tene *ʈhugu-ŋun* *gergan-la* *jat* *droks.*
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kūnma *mą̄ŋbo-ʒig-a* *pūlur+a* *ją̄t* *drok-ʧe-man.*
thief many-LQ-AES police-ALL memory-ABS be.stirred=FUT

'Many thieves won't be afraid of the police.'

- The collocation partner is not always in the absolutive case, sometimes there can be variation as in (14).

(13) *gaŋɲal-e po̲mo-ʒik gjapa ʧo̲-a ɲīŋ-a ʧha+a-ɦo-kanak.*
GYA G.-GEN girl-LQ-ABS Gyapa co̲-ALL heart-ALL affect+NLZ-be-DST
'A girl from the Gaŋñal [house] must have left a deep impression on Gyapa co̲ (the ruler of Gya).'

(14) *mi̲-ɦun ɦu ~ ɦu-a thuk.*
GYA people-PL-ABS frustration-ABS ~ frustration-ALL meet.PA

ʧīa zer-na, kānsalar-e ... zer-ʃe mą̲ne mā-ʧe-fasaŋ.
because Councillor-ERG say-GRD except *ng-do-nlz&*
'The people were really frustrated, because, except for promising that he would bring development to the village, the councillor did not do anything.'

- Collocation partners can easily be dropped in clause chaining: (15), (16) or when contextually implied: (17), (18).

(15) ***kho-a*** ***ɲit*** ***thoms-en+uk.***
DOM s/he-AES sleep-ABS doze-CNT+VIS
'S/he is dozing.'

(16) ***ɲit*** ***joŋ-se,*** ***khoa*** ***ø*** ***thoms-en+uk.***
DOM sleep-ABS come-LB s/he-ABS doze-CNT+VIS
'Having become sleepy, s/he is dozing.'

(17) ***daŋ*** ***gergan-la*** ***phrugu-ŋun-la*** ***(ɲit)*** ***thips+ok*** ***lo.***
DOM y.day teacher-AES child-pl-AES (sleep-ABS) get.dull+INF QOM

ʧiba zerna, ***tshatpa*** ***maŋbo*** ***joŋ-sok*** ***lo.***
because heat much-ABS come-INF QOM
'It happened to the teacher yesterday that all children were getting sleepy, [s/he] said, because it was getting (too) hot, [s/he] said.'

(18) *khe ʒaktaŋ "ŋa̱ <(_ŋa̱re) ʂok> kjāl-in" lo̱.*
GYA s/he-ERG ev.day I-ABS <(I.self.GEN) life>-ABS send.FUT QOM

te̱ne ŋe̱ zefen:
then I-ERG say.PA-RM

"ø kjāl-na, ø kjōl! ø mā-kjal-na, ø mā-kjal! khjöraŋ thad."
send-CD send.IMP NG-send-CD NG-send you-ABS like

‘Each single day s/he said: «I am going to end my life.» Then I said: «If you (want) to end ø [= your life], end ø [= it]! If you don't (want) to end ø [=it], don't end ø [= it]! As you like.»

- Some collocation partners can enter into a compound.

(19) *api-a* *ro-ɲit* *thips-e-nak* *lo.*
DOM grandmother-AES corpse-sleep-ABS get.dull-LB-NVIS QOM
'The grandmother is /was getting bloody sleepy, [s/he] says'

- Some collocation partners can take a definiteness marker (with or without slight changes in meaning).

(20) *aŋmo-s* *rigdzin-la* *mik* *rgyaŋs-pasaŋ,* *…*
TYA Aŋmo-ERG Rigdzin-ALL eye-ABS fill-NLZ&
'Because Aŋmo was staring at Rigdzin, …'

(21) *… apis* *ŋa(ː)* *mik-po* *rgyaŋ-se-duks.*
DOM grandmother-ERG I-ALL eye-DF-ABS fill-LB-stay.PA
'…, an old lady was staring at me.'

- Some collocation partners can be modified by adjectives. Sometimes, this is more or less obligatory as in (22), in other cases, it is optional as in (23)

(22) *khos* *<miŋ* *trakpo* */* *rhtsokpo>* *phiŋs.*
DOM s/he-ERG <name strong bad>-ABS bring.out.PA
'S/he set a splendid / bad example.'

(23) *daŋ* *khoŋ+un* *phrug+iskorla* *<spera (riŋmo)>* *soŋ-sok.*
DOM y.day they+PL-ABS child+PPOS speech (long)>-ABS go.PA
'They got into a (long) discussion yesterday about the(ir) child(ren).'

- Some collocation partners can be modified by numerals.

(24) *aba-s luktsak ~ luktsag-a po ʧats.*
DOM father-ERG sheep-PL-ABS sheep-PL-ALL part-ABS cut.PA
'The father divided the sheep (into several groups).'

(25) *aŋmo-s lug-ŋun-la <po ɲis-sum> ʧats.*
DOM Aŋmo-ERG sheep-PL-ALL <part 2-3>-ABS cut.PA
'Aŋmo divided the sheep into two, three groups.'

- Some collocation partners can be modified by possessor constructions.

(26) *aba-s* *ʒiŋ* *maŋboa* *lok* *ʧaks.*
DOM father-ERG field many-ALL surface(?)-ABS break.PA
'[Our] father did the winter ploughing on/ for many fields.'

(27) *aba-s* *<khaŋb+i* *lok>* *ʧaks.*
DOM father-ERG sec.household+GEN surface(?)-ABS break.PA
'[Our] father ploughed up the fields of the secondary household for the winter.'

(28) *ŋ+e̱* *<m̱i-se* *(ṯah+e)* *tshir>* *ʧāt-pen.*
GYA I-ERG <people-GEN (number-GEN) order>-ABS cut.PA-RM
'I counted the people.'

- The collocation partner can change its position, especially when embedded into a possessor construction.

(29) *riŋzin* *ʧhulog-ehane* *tshe* *thar.*
GYA Riŋzin-ABS flood-PPOS:ABL life-ABS get.free.PA
'Riŋzin saved him/herself from the flood.'

(30) *<riŋzin-e* *tshe>* *ʧhuloge-hane* *thar.*
GYA <Riŋzin-GEN life>-ABS flood-PPOS:ABL get.free.PA
'Riŋzin was saved from the flood.'

- In chained sequences, the possessor may have scope also over a following collocation partner, tied to another verb.

(31) *oho,* *<ŋ+i* *rhpe>* *ʒak-se-nak,*
DOM Intj I+GEN example-ABS put.down-LB-NVIS=PERF

<ø *miŋ>* *bor-e-nak.*
name-ABS keep-LB-NVIS=PERF

'Oho, [I] really must have set up an example, [I] feel [I] am getting famous!'

Lit.: '[I] feel that my example has been set down, '[I] feel that ø [= my] name has been kept.'

(Said when realising that one has done something wrong.)

- The collocation partners are thus at best only very losely connected with the following verb. Quite a few behave like ordinary arguments.
- While the degree of their connection may vary, there is no cut-off point from which onward it would be justified to talk about a syntactically relevant incorporation.
- Up to a valency of 3, all sentence patterns formed by collocations are also found with non-bound combinations.

DFG

- If I thus cannot get rid of a collocation partner in constructions with a valency of 2 or 3, how am I justified to disregard it in constructions of higher valency?

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- If I thus cannot get rid of a collocation partner in constructions with a valency of 2 or 3, how am I justified to disregard it in constructions of higher valency?
- Only because the latter constructions would be typologically or syntactically odd?
- But why would they be odd? Who decides?

6. Conclusion

- If syntax or “grammar is a tool”, what is it used for?
- According to Hock (1986: 250) “[t]he formulation of rules helps to reduce th[e] burden of memorization” of facts and forms.
- (Cf. also Herman Paul 1880: 70.)

- From this perspective, the ‘unruliness’ of Ladakhi sentence patterns leads to some principled questions, which, as I should think, are interesting from both a more general typological perspective and a more particular psycho-linguistic or socio-lingusitic perspective.

- Case assignement in Ladakhi is not (fully) predictable, but has to be learned with the various usages of each verb.
- Sure, with some acquaintance, I am now able to predict the more common usages fairly well, and being exposed to the most common usages is certainly also the way Ladakhi children acquire these patterns in the first place.
- However, unlike in the case of most irregular verbs in English or German, the most ‘excotic’ patterns are restricted to very few verbs or idioms that are hardly used in everyday communication.

- How then do children acquire these quite particular ‘lexical’ properties.
- Is there thus a ‘hidden syntax’, and if yes, where is it hidden?
- In the semantics of the case markers?
- But why then can’t we predict all sentence patterns? Or why do speakers of different dialects or also idiolects differ sometimes?

- Furthermore, while Tibetan or Ladakhi case marking is much more driven by semantics and pragmatics than in, say, English, the Tibetan and Ladakhi case markers are used for more of the more peripheral functions or conceptualisations, where, English, e.g., would use purely semantic means such as adverbs.
- It almost looks as if these two features were inversely proportional.

- I should think that such questions would be as important for the general linguistic discussion as the quest for universal rules and that, therefore, typology and syntax theory should no longer neglect the ‘unruly’ aspects of minor languages.

ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ།།
Thank you
Obrigada

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