PRACTICAL ISSUES OF PRAGMATIC CASE MARKING VARIATIONS IN THE KENHAT VARIETIES OF LADAKH[*]

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Abstract: The two Ladakhi dialect groups: Kenhat (Upper Ladakh) and Shamskat (Lower Ladakh) behave differently with respect to case marking variation. The Kenhat dialects are more sensitive to downgrading on the transitivity scale and allow more pragmatically conditioned variation between ergative and absolutive marking of agents. The more transitive a verb is, the more likely the 'subject' is to receive an ergative marker and vice versa. Pragmatic alternations occur mainly in the middle field, and are less likely to occur on the highest or lowest level.

Several other Tibetan varieties have reduced case marking to a minimum. Depending on how severely case marking is reduced, there may be different solutions to the problems of elicitation and of creating an appropriate lexical entry. In this contribution, I will mainly focus on that type of varieties where case marking is (still) quite robust, and will exemplify this type with the dialect of Gya-Miru of the Kenhat group.

Keywords: Kenhat Ladakhi, case marking, lexicography, pragmatics, verb semantics

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

This section deals with the Ladakhi dialects and their position within the Tibetan language family (1.1), with the case inventory of Ladakhi and Tibetan (1.2) and with some instances of syntactically and conventionally conditioned case marking. If one wants to establish the pragmatic factors behind case marking alternations, one has first to establish the default settings or the canonical case frames, based on the particular verb semantics. These will be described in Section 2, where I will thus abstract from possible pragmatic factors. Pragmatic case marking and the factors triggering case marking alternations, will be discussed in Section 3, while Section 4 will deal with the pragmatic side of collecting and representing data concerning case marking variation.

All data presented here has been elicited as part of a valency dictionary project (cf. Section 4.3). It represents two dialects: Domkhar (DOM) from the Shamskat (Sham) dialect group and Gya-Miru (GYS) from the Kenhat (Ken) group (see p. 104 for abbreviations and conventions). If no particular context is specified, all

examples represent the canonical case frame of the verb in question as motivated by the particular verb semantics, with no pragmatic factors intervening. The canonical frame is obtained from the use of the verb in narrations or through comparison with verbs of similar semantics, comparison with varieties that do not show case alternation (or only little variation), such as Shamskat or Classical Tibetan, and by manipulating the possible pragmatic factors; see also Section 4.2 below.
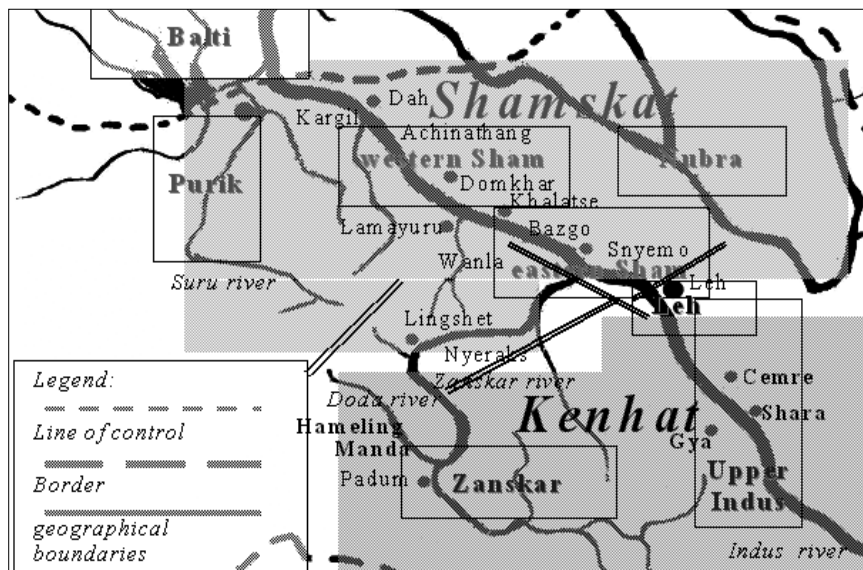
1.1. The Ladakhi dialects

Figure 1. Dialect region of Ladakh (detail; map not to scale)

Ladakhi and Balti form the West Tibetan branch of the rather large family of Tibetan languages. Ladakhi is still actively spoken by about 180,000 speakers throughout Ladakh, one of the three regions of the state Jammu & Kashmir in India. The West Tibetan dialects fall into two groups, which differ quite substantially on the phonetical, the lexical, as well as on the grammatical level: Kenhat (*Gyenskad*), spoken in Leh[1], Upper Ladakh, and Zanskar, and Shamskat (*Šamskad*), spoken in Lower Ladakh (Sham proper), northern Nubra, and Purik, as well as in Baltistan (Pakistan)[2]. Kenhat seems to be close to the Tibetan

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[1] Due to its phonetic features (absence of tone and presence of consonant clusters), the Leh dialect is typically grouped together with the Shamskat dialects (cf., e.g., Róna-Tas 1966: 21f., Bielmeier 2004, appendix). Grammatically, however, it clearly belongs to the Kenhat group, the phonetic features are borrowed.

[2] I am using the term 'dialect' here in the most unspecific way. I do not want to enter the discussion of how to define dialects and languages, particularly as there is no data on lexical similarities or on how well speakers of the different Ladakhi dialects understand each other. Speakers of both dialect groups use the prestigious Leh dialect for inter-dialectal communication. However, Leh is far from being a 'standard language' used for written communication. The only accepted 'standard' for writing is Classical Tibetan. The Ladakhi dialects are as little or as much dialects thereof as, say, the Romance languages are dialects of Latin.

dialects of Himachal Pradesh (India) and the varieties of Western Tibet (China). The area seems to have been part of the former *Guge-Mṇaḥris-Žaŋžuŋ* area, and one could speak thus of a 'Guge' or 'Ngari-group'. See Zeisler (2011) and our former project page, Zeisler (URL 1), for a first description of the main differences and Zeisler (2010) for the geographical and historical background.

1.2. Case marking – The inventory

The case markers are given in Table 1, p. 79. Tibetan languages are mainly agglutinating. Therefore, some scholars have challenged the notion of case marking in the strict sense of inflectional morphemes and have suggested that all markers in questions are postpositions (most recently, McGregor 2010: 1611 speaks of adpositions with case marking function in connection with Lhasa Tibetan). Poucha (1963: 221/1978: 114) rejects the notion of case markers altogether, since the morphemes in question appear to be multifunctional (cf. Tournadre 2010). More crucially, since the markers appear as the final element of a (possibly quite extended) noun phrase (group inflection), one might prefer to speak of clitics rather than inflectional markers (cf., e.g. Hale & Shrestha 2006: 77, Tournadre 2010: 96). Other scholars, e.g. Christopher Beckwith (p.c.), would accept only those elements as case markers that undergo assimilation to the preceding syllable. This distinction, however, would vary from dialect to dialect.

Furthermore, Tibetan languages show phrasal postpositions, typically consisting of a noun with some spatial meaning (in a few cases this noun may also refer to a body part), followed by a marker of the above-mentioned type. These phrases are typically joined to the noun with the help of a relational marker. Less frequently, they may follow the noun directly or, in the case of the comitative phrasal post-position, they may follow the comitative marker. Phrasal postpositions are more concrete or semantically transparent, specifying particular spatial relations corresponding to the use of prepositions in English, whereas the previously mentioned markers have a more general and thus more syntactic function. Given this functional distinction, I shall treat the more general markers

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As far as I could observe, speakers of the Sham area might have quite some difficulties in understanding the phonetically reduced Kenhat dialects, such as the dialect of Gya-Miru or that of Zanskar. Kenhat speakers fluent in the Leh dialect would probably have fewer difficulties, as the Leh dialect is quite close to the Shamskat pronunciation. Apart from phonetic and grammatical differences, all dialects have a certain percentage of lexical items not shared with other dialects, and particularly not with the dialects of the other dialect group. Among the verbs, the percentage of lexical items not shared between Domkhar and Gya-Miru amounts to about 16.5% in the Domkhar dialect and 21% in the Gya-Miru dialect (fieldwork database). This does not take into account the use of different nominal elements in collocations, and, more particularly, the differences in argument structure, for which I do not yet have any statistics.

Note, however, that according to an earlier common view, all modern Tibetan languages were taken to be mere 'dialects', because all of them share a certain basic lexicon and similar syntactic structures (a criterion that well fits the Indo-European 'dialects'), while there has been only one 'standard' written language used across most Tibetan regions (cf. Tournadre 2005: 17f.; he has changed his mind since then, p.c. January 2009).

as case markers (being part of the intonation unit *word*), and the phrasal constructions as postpositions (in some Tibetan dialects, these are likewise part of the intonation unit, cf., e.g., Bielmeier's 1985 rendering of Balti postpositions).

Case markers are used for the (more) salient or high-ranking arguments (no AGENT argument can receive an instrumental postposition, and likewise, no EXPERIENCER, RECIPIENT, or TARGET argument will take a locational postposition), whereas case markers and postpositions can be used alternatively for the (more) peripheral arguments or mere adjuncts (INSTRUMENT, SOURCE/ ORIGIN, LOCATION, DIRECTION, etc.).

Besides non-marking or zero (absolutive), Old and Classical Tibetan have eight overt case markers: relational ('genitive'), ergative-instrumental (derived from the relational marker), locative, dative-allative, allative-purposive (a.k.a. terminative), ablative I (derived from the locative), ablative II (derived from the dative-allative)[3]. and comitative (a.k.a. (as)-sociative)[4]. Shamskat Ladakhi has reduced this to five productive overt case markers: relational, ergative, aesthetive[5]-dative-allative, ablative, and comitative[6], while Kenhat Ladakhi has further

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[3] Possibly the *n-* forms (*na*, *na-s*) originally referred to a non-dynamic situation, the *l-* forms (*la*, *la-s*) to a dynamic situation, but the distinction got blurred in the case of the ablative markers. The derivational morpheme must have been syllabic: **su* or **so*.

[4] Tournadre (2010: 98, 113f.) also counts the contrastive bimorpheme CT *-ba-s*, Ladakhi: /-(ba)-saŋ/ (Shamskat) or /-(e)-saŋ/ (Kenhat), among the grammatical case markers, but I fear that the notion of *case* might be overstreched. The bimorpheme expresses a relation of contrast between two items or actions, often conveying the notion of 'instead', 'rather than', 'not only, but', or 'except', cf. also Tournadre's first example on p. 114. Contrary to Tournadre's description, this usage is not restricted to nominalised verbs, but is found also (or perhaps: basically) with nouns, cf. *rtsemo-bas yuba phanchad pyuŋste soŋzinno ǁ* 'not only the tip [of the lance], but also the shaft and more would have been brought out completely' (Old Tibetan Chronicle, Pelliot tibétain 1287, l. 211); /hapo-(ba)saŋ hupoaŋ ʧhatsoŋ./ 'Not only the morsel, but also the sip got lost' (Shamskat proverb). Moreover, when actions are contrasted with respect to their quality or quantity or with respect to one of the arguments, the constrastive morpheme might follow the underlying case marker, e.g., /aba-s-basaŋ phurgu-s pene maŋbo saks./ 'In relation/ contrast to [his] father-Erg, the child/ son-Erg has accumulated much money' (Sham-DOM).

[5] That is, the dative-allative case marker in its function as a marker of an experiencer 'subject' of perception and reception and other inagentive 'transitive' verbs, hence it is the [−CONTROL] (that is, non-agentive) counterpart to the agentive or ergative case as a 'subject' marker (see Zeisler 2004: 254-259, 626-628). The systematic marking of experiencer-'subjects' is an innovation in West Tibetan under the influence of the neighbouring Dardic languages. Old and Classical Tibetan show aesthetive marking only with existential verbs for expressions of 'have', other modern Tibetan languages have extended the construction to a handful of verbs related to the notions of possession, acquisition and loss.

[6] Koshal (1979: 64) counts seven (six overt) cases for Ladakhi. She distinguishes between instrumental and associative 'cases' or rather semantic roles. Both 'cases' would be formed by the bare comitative postposition: *-ɲampo* 'together' or by the postposition following the comitative marker: *-naŋ-ɲampo*, but only the 'instrumental' would allow the comitative marker alone (p. 70). The alternation between the comitative case marker and the comitative postposition corresponds to the use or non-use of postpositions in place of case markers for peripheral arguments or adjuncts mentioned above. Koshal is further mistaken as the associative function certainly allows the use of the bare comitative case marker with obligatory

neutralised the distinction between AGENTs and POSSESSORs, using the relational marker for both, possibly returning to an original system.

In Balti and Ladakhi, the INSTRUMENT is *not* marked with the classical instrumental case marker, but with the comitative marker. The instrumental marker is retained for the relations of CAUSE (*due to*) and MEDIUM (fill *with*, have enough *with*) in Ladakhi (no data for Balti available). In Shamskat, however, the form for the MEDIUM of fill-verbs has been borrowed from Kenhat and is thus homophonous with the relational marker. The comitative marker is used for INSTRUMENTs in Balti and Ladakhi, as well as in various Western Tibetan varieties. In Old and Classical Tibetan, the comitative only expresses the relation of CONTACT (also in the case of separation verbs) or ASSOCIATION (*togetherness*).

The three locational markers of Old and Classical Tibetan have been reduced to one in West Tibetan; to a certain degree, however, the allative-purposive is retained with pronouns and open-syllable place names. There is further a certain tendency, somewhat more prominent in Kenhat than in Shamskat, to neutralise the distinction between locational and ablative marking. See Zeisler (2007, 2011) for further details.

function / name / abbreviation		Old & Classical Tibetan	Shamskat	Kenhat
absolutive	ABS	Ø	Ø	Ø
relational (genitive)	GEN	kyi, gi, gyi, ḥi, yi	-i ~ -e[7]	-i ~ -e /-se[7]
instrumental	INSTR	kyis, gis, gyis, -s, yis		
agentive (ergative)	ERG		-is ~ -s /-ze[N] /-i(si) ~ -si[B7]	
aesthetive	AES	la	-a ~ la	-a ~ la
dative-allative	DAT/ALL ~LOC			
locative (–dynamic)		na	–	–
allative-purposive		tu, du, -r, ru, su	– (-ru)	– (-roa)
ablative I	ABL	nas	na (/nas)	ne(su)
ablative II		las	–	–
comitative	COM	daŋ	na(ŋ)	taŋ / {taŋ}

Table 1. Case markers in Tibetan and Ladakhi

arguments. In examples (12) and (13) below, the comitative postposition cannot be used in place of the comitative case marker, even though the second argument, the person to be met *with*, is not an INSTRUMENT, but a CONTACT argument, corresponding thus to the associative function.

[7] N = Nubra, B = Balti. In Shamskat, the genitive allomorph /-i/ is found after closed syllables and vowel *u*, it merges with *i* and *e*; the allomorph /-e/ replaces vowel *a*, and follows (a reduced) vowel *o* (Sham /-oe/, Balti, Purik /-ʷe/), sometimes also replacing it. The ergative allomorph /-is/, Balti /-i(si)/ follows closed syllables, the allomorph /-s/, Balti /-s/ or /-si/ open syllables, Nubra /-ze/ is found in both positions. The Leh genitive-instrumental-ergative morpheme has roughly the same realisation and distribution as the genitive morpheme of the Sham dialects. It is generally realised as /-e/ in various Kenhat varieties, except after vowels *u* and *i*, where it is realised as, or merges with, /-i/. After open syllable common nouns and names, it may be replaced by the syllabic form /-se/.

1.3. Syntactically conditioned case marking and metrics

Tibetan languages make ample use of argument sharing or noun phrase deletion across clause and sentence boundaries. Nouns or noun phrases are typically omitted when they have been mentioned previously or are otherwise deducible from context or world knowledge. In such cases, verbs of different valency and with different argument structures may combine. As Tournadre (2010: 115) notes,

> [t]wo (or more) verbs belonging to different classes may govern distinct case marking on the same argument. For example, a noun phrase may be followed by two verbs, the first verb being monovalent and the second a bivalent ergative verb. In that context, the case on the noun phrase may either be absolutive (if governed by the first verb) or ergative (if governed by the second verb).

See Koshal (1982: 640) for Ladakhi and the documentation of our former annotation project (Zeisler URL 2). Such 'government', however, is not arbitrary, as it might perhaps seem. In most cases, particularly when the verbs present the linear order of events, it is the first verb that governs case marking. Subordinated or embedded verbs of purposive and modifying clauses do not govern case marking. In such situations, case marking depends on the next following main verb. Here again, pragmatic factors may interfere. The following discussion refers to single verbs, main verbs, or first verbs in a sequential chain.

When the agent acts on an item in its possession, we need to specify in English both the agent and the possessor. Speakers of Tibetan languages would explicitly mention only one. There is a certain tendency, particularly in the Kenhat dialects, to drop the agent and keep the possessor, but this may not always be evident due to the homophonous forms. One of my informants stated, however, that, if one referred to the agent in such constructions, the question would be on whose item s/he is acting, whereas the other way round, the default setting would be that the possessor is also the actor (GYS). A similar tendency has been observed in Lhasa Tibetan (Simon 2011: 68f., examples 89b-d and note 18).

Unlike in English, the subject of the commanded action is commonly explicitly addressed. However, the addressee does not seem to be part of the command clause, but of a preceding expeditive procedure or vocative, and is hence found typically in the absolutive, even with highly transitive verbs.

In poems, and songs, sometimes also in proverbs, case markers and other morphemes can be omitted (or even superadded) to fill the metre. This will likewise be disregarded.

2. SEMANTIC CASE MARKING

2.1. Sentence patterns (main patterns)

All Tibetan languages share a basic set of eleven sentence patterns for verbs with a valency of one to three; see Table 2 below. The only possible exception might be comitative marking, as in patterns 05 and 11, which may perhaps not be found in all varieties. All varieties have additional marginal sentence patterns,

which, in the case of Ladakhi, sum up to 70 further combinations (cf. Zeisler 2007 and URL 3 for first overviews). Unfortunately, we do not have enough analysed data for Old and Classical Tibetan or any other variety to establish those patterns.

The linguistic discussion, in general, does not take into account di-transitive constructions and higher valencies, except when it comes to alignment patterns. Sentence patterns of higher valency that are based on the prototypical transitive pattern are usually simply not discussed or treated as a mere extension of the transitive pattern. The remaining patterns are ignored, because they contain arguments claimed to be marginal or even to be mere adjuncts, not relevant for a syntactic classification. However, in Table 2 we deal with arguments that are at least licensed or necessitated by the verb meaning, and in most cases they are obligatory arguments that can only be omitted when they are already given by the context.

type	case[8] combination			characteristic verb classes
	1-place predicates			
01	ABS	–	–	change, motion
	2-place predicates			
02	ABS	ABS	–	predication, transformation, (reflexive agents)
03a	ABS	~LOC	–	affection, oriented motions, position, change into
03b	~LOC=TOP	ABS	–	existence
04	ABS	ABL	–	get out [−CTR], move away [±CTR]
05	ABS	COM	–	contact, separation [±CTR]
06	AES	ABS	–	perception (only WT), possession
07	ERG	DAT/ALL	–	directional activity, focussed attention
08	ERG	ABS	–	non-directional activity, transformation
	3-place predicates			
09a	ERG	DAT/ALL	ABS	give, bring-type I
09b	ERG	ABS	~LOC	bring-type II, deposit, transformation into
10a	ERG	ABL	ABS	take away-type I
10b	ERG	ABS	ABL	take away-type II
11a	ERG	ABS	COM	join, mix, separate, exchange ('object'-oriented)
11b	ERG	COM	ABS	exchange ('subject'-oriented comitative marker)

Table 2. Main sentence patterns in Tibetan

The typical linguistic approach can be exemplified by Tournadre (1996, 2009), who, from a strictly syntactic perspective, accepts only five basic case combinations derived from the following five syntactically relevant roles: S(p/a), A, R (on the side of the 'subject' or first argument) plus P, B (on the side of the 'object' or second argument), see Table 3[9].

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[8] Locational markers used for peripheral arguments are summarised as "~LOC" and "ABL". "~" indicates variation in the use of locational case markers in Old and Classical Tibetan. Locational, ablative, and comitative case markers can alternate with the corresponding postpositions.

[9] In Tournadre's terminology 'S' stands for the 'sole argument', although S appears with a second argument in the case of affective verbs – and is found in Ladakhi in another 18 different

valency	±volitional	type	'subject' – 'object'		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 (02,74)
2	+	mixed	A	B	ERG (ABS, ABL) + DAT	07 (03a,75)

Table 3. Syntactic sentence patterns (adapted from Tournadre 1996, 2009)

2.2. Semantically motivated case marking

The syntactic approach overlooks the fact that Tibetan case marking or, more precisely, the particular sentence patterns are by and large semantically motivated. Given a continuum between more semantic and more syntactic marking, the Tibetan languages in general range much more on the side of semantic marking as compared to German or even English, which is quite advanced towards the syntactic end. This becomes quite apparent if one compares the following English 'transitive' sentences with their non-transitive realisation in Ladakhi, where the semantic base of the case markers is quite transparent. In the following, all Ladakhi sentences will receive a classification with respect to the sentence patterns as specified in Table 1. Sentence patterns not found in Table 1 will be provided at the end of the paper.

(1) *Dorje-POS1(ʃNOM) likes Angmo-POS2(ʃACC).*
    Dor(d)ʒe-∅   Aŋmo-a   thadet/thadat. (Sham-DOM/Ken-GYA)   03a
    Dorje-ABS   Angmo-DAT/ALL like-PRS
    (DAT/ALL: emotion directed *towards* 2nd argument.)

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sentence patterns with a valency of up to 4. The indexes 'p' and 'a' indicate a more patient-like or more agent-like S. 'R' stands for a 'recipient', here a 'subject' argument. This does not account for the experiencer 'subjects' in Ladakhi, and Tournadre (p.c. January 2009) accepts that C for 'cipient' (re- and per-cipient) might be a better term. 'B' stands for 'beneficiary' or what might otherwise be termed a RECIPIENT (the indirect object of *give*-verbs).

    Note that a RECIPIENT (the second core argument of *give*-verbs) often behaves differently from a BENEFICIARY (a non-obligational adjunct, not restricted to a certain verb type). The latter often receives a less salient marker. In Ladakhi (as in probably all Tibetan varieties), the RECIPIENT is always in the dative-allative case, whereas the BENEFICIARY typically takes a special postposition. Furthermore, in the case of 'affective' or emotion verbs, the second argument, namely the FOCUS argument, again always in the dative-allative case, is not even a BENEFICIARY, whether defined as an adjunct or as an argument. A BENEFICIARY, like a RECIPIENT should be at least animate, but the second argument of emotion verbs is often inanimate and not directly affected by the emotion. Similarly, the TARGET, the second argument of the 'mixed' or directional activity and focussed attention verbs, may be inanimate, e.g. in the case of *lta* 'look at', *rduŋ* 'hit against', *rgol* 'fight against', etc. A TARGET is also not necessarily directly affected, and it is less involved in the event than a true RECIPIENT: one cannot really give something to somebody if the latter refuses to take it. True RECIPIENTs are thus almost co-actors.

(2) *Dorje-POS1(ƒNOM) saw Angmo-POS2(ƒACC).*
    Dor(d)ʒe-a   *Aŋmo-∅*   *thoŋ.* (Sham-DOM/Ken-GYA)   06
    Dorje-AES   Angmo-ABS   see.PAST
  (AES: experience, as if the second argument moves *towards* the first.)

(3) *Dorje-POS1(ƒNOM) crossed the road-POS2(ƒACC).*
    Dorʒe-∅   *lampo-∅*   *ton.* (Ken-GYA)   02
    Dorje-ABS   road-ABS   get.out.PAST
  (Double ABS: holistic perspective, not focussing on start or end point.)
    Dorʤe-∅   *lampo-a*   *biŋ.* (Sham-DOM)   03a
    Dorje-ABS   road-DAT/ALL get.out.PAST
  (DAT/ALL: focus is on the starting point.)
    Dorʤe-∅   *lampi-kana*   *biŋ.* (Sham-DOM)   04
    Dorʒe-∅   *lampi-kane*   *ton.* (Ken-GYA)   04
    Dorje-ABS   road-PP.ABL   get.out.PAST
  (ABL: focus is on the end point.)

(4) *Dorje-POS1(ƒNOM) crossed the pass-POS2(ƒACC).*
    Dorʤe-a   *la-∅*   *khel.* (Sham-DOM)   06
    Dorje-AES   pass-ABS   able.to.cross.PAST
    Dorʒe   *la-(:)*   *khʲel.* (Ken-GYA)   03a
    Dorje-ABS   pass-DAT/ALL able.to.cross.PAST − neutral statement
    Dorʒe-a   *la-∅*   *khʲel.* (Ken-GYA)   06
    Dorje-AES   pass-ABS   able.to.cross.PAST − mirative statement
  (emphasising the braveness or strength of the person)
  (AES: experience of ability, as if the second argument moves *towards* the first argument.)

(5) *How did you-POS1(ƒNOM) cross the water-POS2(ƒACC)?*
    khentaŋ-∅ ∼ *°-is*   *ʧhu:-∅*   *gazuga rgalspin?* (Sham-DOM)
    you.PL-ABS ∼ *°*-ERG water-DF-ABS how   cross-PAST   02/08
  (Action; ABS: similar to crossing the road; ERG: emphasis on the amount of volition or effort or emotional involvement.)

(6) *Dorje-POS1(ƒNOM) met Angmo-POS2(ƒACC) (by chance).*
    Dorʤe-∅   *Aŋmo-naŋ*   *thuk.* (Sham-DOM)   05
    Dorʒe-∅   *Aŋmo-raŋ*   *thuk.* (Ken-GYA)   05
    Dorje-ABS   Angmo-COM   meet.PAST
  (COM: contact *with* 2nd argument.)

2.3. The semantic base: the transitivity hierarchy

Tibetan case markers are not instruments of syntax[10]. They do not primarily serve to distinguish the syntactic roles of subject and object or to assign individual

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[10] Here again, I disagree with Tournadre (2010: 99), who suggests that "[t]he various cases of Literary Tibetan indicate grammatical roles, when occurring at the end of a noun phrase. They

syntactic relations, nor do they primarily specify particular semantic roles[11]. It is rather evident that the limited set of six or nine case marking options provided by Tibetan languages are not enough to specify even the most basic semantic roles.

The Ladakhi aesthetive-dative-allative marker *la*, e.g., is used for about thirteen different semantic roles: on the 'subject' slot for the POSSESSOR and the perceptive EXPERIENCER; on the salient 'object' slot for the RECIPIENT of transfer verbs, the ADDRESSEE of communication verbs, the TARGET of directional activities, and the FOCUS of emotion verbs; on the peripheral 'object' or adjunct slot it may also be used, besides other locational markers, for the indirect CONTENT of communication verbs, the LOCATION of existential and position verbs, for the DIRECTION and GOAL of motion and deposit verbs, and, less frequently, also for the PRODUCED and RESULTING STATE of transformation and transition verbs. It is also used for the CAUSÉE, the secondary agent in causative constructions, derived from verbs that have ergative 'subjects' in their canonical frame.

Similarly, absolutive or non-marking is used for about ten roles: on the 'subject' slot for the AGENT and the UNDERGOER of monovalent state and change verbs as well as of (am)bivalent position and motion verbs, further for the EXISTING entity, the emotional EXPERIENCER of emotion verbs, and the HEAD of predicative verbs; on the 'object' slot for the ATTRIBUTE of predicative verbs, for the so-called THEME of transfer and deposit verbs, the PATIENT of transformation verbs, the direct CONTENT argument of communicative verbs, as well as for additional, semi-incorporated bound arguments in collocations. It is also used for the CAUSÉE, the secondary agent in causative constructions, derived from verbs that have absolutive 'subjects' in their canonical frame.

Even if one combines those semantic roles that appear in exactly the same syntactic contexts into syntactic-semantic macro roles (e.g. perceptive EXPERIENCER and POSSESSOR into CIPIENT; RECIPIENT and ADDRESSEE into RECIPIENT, or LOCATION, DIRECTION, and GOAL into LOCATION), there will still be more macro roles than case markers. This is also the conclusion in a recent study on Lhasa Tibetan verbs by Tournadre's student Camille Simon, who counts three (macro) roles each for the absolutive ('SOLE' ACTANT, PATIENT, and AGENT in 'imperfective' constructions – unmarked DESTINATION and TARGET should have been equally counted!) and the dative-allative marker (POSSESSOR, DESTINATION, and TARGET of emotion verbs, the FOCUS argument of this paper), and two roles for the ergative marker ('SOLE' ACTANT and AGENT), cf. Simon (2011: 82f.; on p. 84, however, DESTINATION and TARGET are collapsed into one syntactic role).

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indicate its grammatical role or function such as Agent, Patient, Beneficiary, Instrument, Source, etc.".

[11] I also disagree with my earlier analysis (Zeisler 2004: 518) according to which "ergative marking has to do with the identification of the agent, irrespective of the question of control: in those cases where the agent is self-evident (present time reference, speaker's actions, directives, eating), the ergative may be omitted, whereas in cases where it is important to know who is acting or who is willing to act, ergative marking may be used even with intransitive controlled action verbs."

Simon (p. 83) adds one more syntactic role to Tournadre's template, namely the CO-PARTICIPANT of reciprocal events with comitative marking. There are thus six or seven roles available for only four case markers, the ablative marker still being neglected. Furthermore, both the 'SOLE' ACTANT and the AGENT may be marked (ergative) or unmarked (absolutive), depending on the tense construction and/ or pragmatic factors. Similarly, the DESTINATION and the TARGET may be marked (dative-allative) or unmarked (absolutive), depending on pragmatic factors. There is thus no one-to-one mapping of role and case marking even from the syntactic perspective.

What the case markers can do by their particular combination (and position) is to contrastively put on scene a particular action or event type. Directional verbs of pattern 03a contrast by their pattern with non-directional predication verbs of pattern 02 as well as with directional activity verbs of pattern 07. The latter contrast with non-directional transitive verbs of pattern 08 as well as with the directional transfer and deposit verbs of pattern 09a and 09b, and so on.

Ultimately, and in contradiction to recent descriptions of case marking in terms of identification of argument properties[12], Tibetan case markers also do not primarily serve to identify the inherent or accidental semantic or pragmatic properties *of individual arguments*, that is of the noun phrases they mark. While this may happen with certain verbs (cf. the case of /zguk/ 'wait (for sb)' below), it does not happen in all cases, and more generally, it is their particular combination that serves to enact the *situation as a whole*. Pragmatically conditioned alternations are likewise typically triggered by the attitude of the speaker towards the whole situation, not necessarily by the attitude of the speaker towards individual arguments, even if this may be the case in certain instances.

It is thus not the case markers themselves, but the full templates or the specific combinations of case markers with other case markers and their respective position in the frame that are semantically motivated. This analysis would at least explain the ergative sentence pattern 07 for intransitive directional activities and focussed attentions, which is motivated neither syntactically (the pattern defies the syntactic definition of ergativity) nor semantically (there is no reason why the 'subject' of focussed attention verbs, such as *look at*, *listen to*, *wait for*, etc. should be *more agentive* than that of [+CTR] motion verbs[13]). Due to its particular syntax,

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[12] See the definitions or descriptions in de Hoop & Malchukov (2008: 567): "Roughly, while the identifying function encodes *internal properties of the arguments*, the distinguishing function crucially depends on the relation between the arguments" (emphasis added) and in von Heusinger & de Hoop (2011: 1): "Case marking on nouns […] can help to distinguish between two grammatical functions […] or *it can encode semantic or pragmatic properties of the noun*" (emphasis added), or of the noun phrase or argument, for that matter.

[13] One may object, that directional activity verbs, such as *hit* or *fight against*, do have 'subjects' that are *more agentive* than that of [+CTR] motion verbs, but more probably, directional activity and [+CTR] motion verbs differ in how much the second argument is affected. The question remains why focussed attention verbs, which are rather state-like, are included in the same group. Semantic properties of the arguments, such as agentivity and directionality, cannot be the sole reason.

this basically intransitive construction has quite often been mistaken as a case of either differentiating or secondary object marking, cf. Zeisler (2006: 84-87).

Tibetan sentence templates are semantically motivated also in the sense that the various combinations reflect several steps of a semantically defined transitivity hierarchy of the kind proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). One could roughly say that the more transitive a verb or rather the described situation is, the more likely the 'subject' is to receive an ergative marker and vice versa. This could be expected cross-linguistically. The tendency to case-mark a strong or high-prominent argument and to leave a weak or low-prominent argument unmarked favours case marking of 'subjects' of high-transitive verbs and disfavours case-marking of 'subjects' of low transitive verbs, particularly in ergative languages (Hoop & Malchukov 2008: 570, with further reference).

The relation between the semantic transitivity hierarchy and the combinatory case marking patterns in Ladakhi (and Tibetan) will be shown step-wise, starting from the lower end of bivalent predication verbs up to the prototypical transitive verb type referring to production or transformation. Each step upwards is marked by an upwards pointing arrow " ↗ ":

ABS - ABS (02, predication, inchoative-resultative)
~LOC - ABS (03b, existence): nothing particular happens[14].

(7) *nan̩in̩*   *trhamoʒik-∅*   *ɦota,*
    last.year   thin.some-ABS   be-CC

   tālo   *n̩eran̩-∅*   *mā:*   *rombo-∅*   *gjurdok.*   02
   this.year   you.hon/form-ABS   very   stout-ABS   become-PAST
       HEAD   ATTRIBUTE

   'Last year [you] were quite thin, [but] this year you have become stout.' (Ken-GYS)

(8) *nan̩a*   *tutpa man̩bo*   *khikseduk.*   03b
    house-DAT/ALL   smoke much-ABS   be.full-PERF
    LOCATION   EXISTING

   'The house is full of smoke (lit. In the house much smoke exists).' (Sham-DOM)

↗ AES - ABS (06, experience): one may *want* to find some money on the road, but one *does not have any control* over the possibility of finding; hence neither command nor prohibitions are possible. The same holds for ordinary perceptions.

(9) *Dor(d)ʒe-a*   *An̩mo-∅*   *thon̩.*   06
    Dorje-AES   Angmo-ABS   see.PAST
    CIPIENT(PERCEPTION)   STIMULUS

   'Dorje saw Angmo.' (Sham/Ken)

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[14] The frame is also used for a specific motion pattern: traversing a given path (focussing on both beginning and end and thus defocussing the starting point (ABL) and the endpoint (~LOC)).

↗ ABS - DAT/ALL (03a [−CTR], emotion): one may have partial control over one's emotions, hence prohibitions are quite common, sometimes even commands are appropriate, independent of intention.

(10) *Dor(d)ʒe-∅*   *Aŋmo-a*   *thadet/thadat.*   03a
Dorje-ABS   Angmo-DAT/ALL   like-PRS.
EXPERIENCER₍EMOTION₎   FOCUS
'Dorje likes Angmo.' (Sham/Ken)

↗ ABS - ~LOC (03a, [±CTR] motion towards a GOAL)
ABS - ABL (04a [±CTR] motion away from or out of a SOURCE)
ABS - COM (05 [±CTR] contact/separation): one may or may not have full control over one's movements, but the typically [−animate] GOAL, SOURCE, or point of CONTACT is not at all physically affected. The possible psychological effects on [+animate] GOAL, SOURCE, and CONTACT arguments seem to be negligible. [−CTR] motion and contact verbs follow the same pattern as their [+CTR] counterparts.

In this case, the step upward from emotion to motion is not reflected in the case frame of Ladakhi or Old and Classical Tibetan. Lhasa Tibetan, by contrast uses ergative marking for controlled motions, merging the [+CTR] goal oriented motions with directional activities and focussed attention (pattern 07).

(11) *khaŋba-na*   *joŋtsana*   *Khaltse-a*   *mandukpa*   (04/03a)
house-ABL   come-CC   Khalatse-DAT/ALL   NEG2-stay-CC
SOURCE   LOCATION

kho-∅   *Le-a*   *ʂkʰaŋs.*   03a
s/he-ABS   Leh-DAT/ALL   go.directly-PAST
AGENT   GOAL
'When coming from home s/he didn't stop in Khalatse, but went directly to Leh.' (Sham-DOM)

(12) *daŋ*   *ŋa-∅*   *rimboʧhe-raŋ*   *ʤal.*   05
yesterday   I-ABS   chief.priest-COM   meet.PAST (−CTR)
               undergoer   contact
'Yesterday I met with the *rimboche* (by chance).' (Ken-GYS)

(13) *daŋ*   *ŋa-∅*   *rimboʧhe-raŋ*   *ʤalfen.*   05
yesterday   I-ABS   chief.priest-COM   meet-PAST (+CTR)
               AGENT   CONTACT
'Yesterday I met with the *rimboche* (±intentionally).' (Ken-GYS)

↗ ERG - DAT/ALL (07, directional activity, focussed attention): one always has full control over the situation, but one does not fully affect or transform the (possibly [+animate]) TARGET of one's attention or activity.

(14) *ŋa-s*   *skarmaŋun-la*   *ɬtaspin*.   07
     I-ERG   stars-DAT/ALL   look.at-PAST
     AGENT   TARGET
     'I looked at the stars.' (Sham-DOM)

↗ ERG - ABS (08, productive or transformational activity): one has full control over the situation and one fully transforms, annihilates, creates, or possibly also affects an 'object' of one's action which is not part of oneself.[15]

(15) *ŋaʒe*   *am-e*   *jeza-∅*   *trālat*.   08
     we.excl-REL   mother-ERG   roasted.grain-ABS   grind-PRS
     AGENT   PATIENT
     'Our mother is grinding roasted grain.' (Ken-GYS)

However, at this point, there might be a deep plunge to the bottom of the semantic hierarchy:

↓ ABS - ABS: one has full control over the situation, but there is no 'object' (or PATIENT) that is different from oneself[15] (the case of 'middle constructions': reflexive and reciprocal actions or actions involving one's body parts or behaviour).

(16) *ŋa*   *khoe*   *jokpo*   *tʃospin*.   02
     I-ABS   s/he-REL   servant-ABS   make/do/perform-PAST
     AGENT   PATIENT
     'I became (lit. made) his/her servant.' (Sham-DOM)

But another motivation is that there is no need to highlight the situation type, and it is here where pragmatics comes in.

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[15] Traditional Tibetan grammar describes intransitive and non-agentive verbs quite aptly with the term *thamidadpa* 'having no difference', agentive transitive verbs as *thadapa* 'having difference' in order to account for the use of the ergative marker. With prototypical, that is, agentive transitive verbs, the AGENT acts upon a second argument, undergoing some kind of transformation and not identical with the AGENT, hence there is an essential *difference* between the two arguments. Intransitive verbs either lack a second argument that undergoes some kind of transformation (e.g. the GOAL of a motion verb is usually not affected) or they lack second arguments at all, hence there cannot be an essential *difference*. Non-agentive verbs lack AGENTs, hence there is no *difference* with respect to an AGENT. Unfortunately, this approach does not account for the fact that in most Tibetan languages, non-prototypical, that is, non-agentive transitive verbs show ergative marking for the first argument, the perceptive EXPERIENCER (but the approach would perfectly apply to West Tibetan). Nor can it really explain the use of ergative marking for the *intransitive* focussed attention verbs (our pattern 07) as in the case of *lta* 'look at' in contrast to agentive directional motion verbs, such as *ḥgro* 'go (to)'. However, the terminology is quite useful to account for the effects that a lower position in the transitivity hierarchy may have on case marking.

3. PRAGMATIC CASE MARKING

The question naturally arises, when *is* there no need to highlight the situation type? In the following, I will discuss this question for the Kenhat dialects of the Upper Indus region, more precisely of Gya-Miru[16], where the interaction of pragmatics with semantics is most clearly visible. The Shamskat dialects rarely show ergative-absolutive alternations of the Kenhat type, except when the speakers are influenced by the prestigious Leh dialect. But they have alternations involving other case markers, which are similarly motivated. Since these alternations are clearly less frequent, Shamskat informants tend to have more difficulties in describing the subtle differences in meaning than Kenhat informants might have.

In the dialect of Gya-Miru, alternations between ergative and absolutive marking occur basically in

- cases of lowered transitivity (or heightened intransitivity), that is, 'middle constructions'

while absolute marking tends to be preferred in

- spatially, temporally, or emotionally close situations or
- with verbs of consumption, even though the consumed item typically has to be specified (this might be a case of reflexivity in the sense that the agent incorporates something into itself, rather than a case of outranking on the animacy hierarchy, which is otherwise not attested in Ladakhi).

3.1. The pragmatic basis: closeness

The ergative-absolutive alternation in Tibetan and more particularly in the Kenhat dialects is thus not automatically triggered by the use of particular tense (or 'aspectual') markers, but depends to a certain extent on the semantic transitivity of the verb, including contextual raising or lowering of intentionality (this holds mainly for Kenhat Ladakhi), and on the perceived 'closeness' or 'distance'[17] of

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[16] I do not want to generalise over all dialects. As far as we know, the Leh dialect shows a similar pattern to that of Gya-Miru, and so might the dialects situated east of Leh, along the Indus up to Upshi, where the road to Miru (the Manali highway) branches off. The Zanskar dialect, however, shows a different pattern, where ergative marking does not show up in neutral contexts. We do not have any data for the dialects further up the Indus. Quite apparently, the cut off point (case marking or not) differs in all Tibetan languages. Tournadre (1991 and 1995) discusses a few contexts for case alternations in modern Tibetan, which show the interplay of pragmatics (contrasting or emphasising arguments). The feature is not restricted to Tibetan languages alone: Willis (this volume) and Longkumer (2011) describe how ergative marking may be pragmatically conditioned in Darma and Mongsen and Meithei respectively. It appears that pragmatically conditioned case marking is quite common among those Tibeto-Burman languages that show nominal relational marking.

[17] My concept of 'closeness' or 'distance' has certainly been inspired by more recent discussions of past tense forms in European languages. Some authors (e.g., Thieroff 1992: 280ff.) have suggested replacing PAST TENSE as a grammatical 'category' by the cover term DISTANCE, because the past tense forms do not always express absolute past time reference, but may have modal functions, as well. Note, however, that the concept of 'closeness' or 'distance'

the event to the speaker (this holds also for several Tibetan varieties, e.g., for Lhasa Tibetan, cf. Zeisler 2004: 514-519).

This means that we can easily find ergative marking with present tense forms (more precisely: expressions of relative simultaneity) and/ or absolute present time reference,[18] either based solely on verb semantics (obligatory ergative marking), examples (17) to (19), cf. also example (15) above, or based on a combination of semantics and pragmatics, example (20), as well as absolutive marking with past tense forms (more precisely: aspectually neutral expressions of relative anteriority) and/ or past time reference, again based on a combination of semantics and pragmatics, example (21)[19].

(17) *p*a*laŋ-e*   *p*e*tse-a*   *bearak.*   07
      cow-ERG   calf-DAT/ALL   call.out-PRS
      'The cow is calling out for its calf (as I hear).' (Ken-GYS)

(18) *t*a*ksa*   *Jāŋʧan-e*   */Jāŋʧan-∅*   *gul-∅*   *pūruk.*   08
      now   Yangcan-ERG   */Y.-ABS   mesh-ABS   unravel-PRS
      'Presently Yangcan is unravelling the (rows of) meshes (as I see).'

(19) *dronboʒig-e*   *ɦoɣa*   *l*a*ka-∅*   *kōluk.*   09a
      guest.some-ERG   we.incl-DAT/ALL   hand-ABS   use-PRS
      'A guest is helping us (as I see).' (Ken-GYS)

In the above examples, ergative marking is semantically conditioned and thus obligatory. Directional activity verbs of pattern 07 typically do not show pragmatically conditioned ergative-absolutive alternations. Some focussed attention verbs, by contrast, may show lexically conditioned alternations, indicating different grades of intentionality, free will, or force on the part of the AGENT. The verb /te/ < *bltas* 'look at' shows quite a different behaviour in GYS, depending on whether one merely looks at something or whether one wants to exert control, e.g., like a watchman. Similarly, the verb /zguk/ 'wait for, waylay' follows pattern 03a neutrally (DOM, GYS), particularly if the waiting was in vain (DOM), but may follow pattern 07 when the AGENT is free in its decision (GYS) or has negative intentions (DOM). Such verbs of semantically ambiguous status may further allow pragmatically conditioned ergative marking for contrastive purposes

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used here is much broader, as it not only refers to time and mode, but also to space. Furthermore, it does not constitute a grammatical 'category' in the sense that there is a single morpheme or morpheme class that expresses this 'category' and no other. 'Closeness' or 'distance' are conceptual relations, which, in the interplay with semantic factors, may or may not influence the choice of a particular sentence construction type.

[18] It is necessary to distinguish the use of grammatical tense forms from actual temporal reference: certain genres or styles, e.g. free indirect speech, trigger the use of tense forms that do not match the time referred to by adverbs (cf. Zeisler 2004: 55 with further references).

[19] During my data collection, I have focussed mainly on the difference between present and past time reference, and I have not paid special attention to future contexts. Among the examples in my database, there are relatively few future tense constructions. All of them show 'canonical' case marking, but one can expect pragmatically conditioned variation for such constructions as well.

(DOM, GYS) or to indicate some kind of mirativity, that is, emotional involvement (GYS).

Verbs of pattern 08, denoting the application of some kind of force, typically do not show case alternation, but the exact cut-off point has yet to be established.

Likewise, verbs of pattern 09a and other ergative verbs of higher valency (V ≥ 3) do not show case alternation, except in the case of collocations, where arguments, such as /ɲāt/ 'blame' in examples (20) and (21), are inserted in the frame without necessarily making the verb semantically more transitive.

(20) *ta̱ksa   kho-∅   ~ khe   zug-a   ɲāt-∅   tāuk.*   09a/23
     now   s/he-ABS ~ s/he-ERG illness-DAT/ALL blame-ABS fasten-PRS
     'Presently, s/he blames it on the illness (as I see).' (Ken-GYS)
     (ABS is used for a spatially close event, ERG for a spatially distant event or for a close event when combined with emotional distance, that is, emotional involvement, in this case: anger.)

(21) *daŋ   kho-∅   ~ khe   zug-a   ɲāt-∅   tāktok.*   09a/23
     yesterday s/he-ABS ~ s/he-ERG illness-DAT/ALL blame-ABS fasten-PAST
     'Yesterday, s/he must have blamed it on the illness.' (Ken-GYS)
     (ABS can be used for a person presently in sight of speaker and addressee.)

3.2. Closeness defined

The notion of closeness implies three dimensions:
- spatial
- temporal
- modal or emotional (evidential, contrastive, mirative)

Spatially close means: in front of one's eyes (even if to a certain distance), but not behind one's back (even if almost in touch), in the same room, house, or village.

Temporally close typically means: today or a time frame within which the activity could be completed (this may be a year in the case of house-building).

Emotionally close may imply: vivid memory (as if it happened just now), known (or specific) persons, one's own actions, and a neutral, non-contrastive and non-mirative emotional value (not unexpected[20], not embarrassing, not exciting, etc.). Some of these connotations may overlap or may be mutually interlinked. Contrast, e.g., particularly contrast with earlier or ordinary behaviour is naturally associated with a feeling of surprise. Similarly, where verb semantics allow a graduation in terms of intentionality, heightened intentionality may go along with notions of surprise or embarrassment.

Note, however, that in narrations, present tense or present perfect forms plus modal marker are often used to express some kind of mirativity or relevance for the plot (NARRATIVE PRESENT, cf. Zeisler 2004: 809-813). In my dissertation I

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[20] This corresponds to what McGregor (2010) describes as 'referential status' (p. 1622), while the wider notions of emotional distance would be covered by his feature [prominent] (p. 1625).

suggested that "the events are thus shifted from an emotionally distant and less relevant past to an emotionally close and relevant present" (Zeisler 2004: 808). This cannot be quite correct if, at the same time, the use of the case markers would indicate emotional and/or temporal distance. While the temporal metaphor itself certainly signals temporal closeness, this notion is already contradicted or at least mediated by the use of the modal marker, which cancels the notions of reality or normalness, typically associated with close events. Together with this marker of *distance* the apparent switch in the temporal reference serves as a kind of alarm signal, in order to draw the attention of the listener to a particular fact. The function of the NARRATIVE PRESENT is mainly a contrastive one: to set apart certain events from the main chain of narrated events, because they are crucial for the plot or because they are unusual.

Emotional closeness or distance may affect case marking more generally. In both dialect groups, intransitive 1-place verbs may commonly receive an aesthetive marker to highlight the affectedness of the person in question or to indicate the speaker's emotional involvement (mirativity, emotional distance).

(22) *daruŋ   ta   apimemeŋun-∅   ~ apimemeŋun-la   khyutenuk*.   01/12
      still   now   grandparents-ABS ~ °-AES   be.able.to.work-PRS
      'The grandparents can still work.' (Sham-DOM)
      (ABS conveys a neutral statement of their ability as an attribute, AES might emphasise the ability or express some kind of surprise or a positive or negative affectedness of the speaker.)

Closeness is a very elastic concept and subject not only to the individual's perception of the situation, but also depending on the context (the temporal frame of activities or a given contrast of spatial relations) and the individual's desire to represent a situation in a certain manner or to the needs to make him- or herself understood.

The pragmatic concept of distance or closeness and the semantic hierarchy of transitivity interact with each other so that the outcome is not (always) predictable. Individual speakers may give different weight to the different pragmatic and formal factors. Eg., the second informant for Gya-Miru, a close cousin of the first informant, would more frequently elide the ergative marker in present time contexts than the latter. She would also more frequently allow absolute marking for high transitive verbs in the experiential present tense (a form that indicates that the speaker perceives the event or has perceived it in the recent past) in contexts of lowered intentionality (actions out of necessity) and spatial closeness.

Nevertheless, as a general tendency one can say, that in the Kenhat varieties of Leh and the Upper Indus region, most variation between ergative and absolute 'subject' marking occurs in the middle ranges of semantically lowered transitivity. This corresponds fairly well with McGregor's (2010: 1624) observations:

[P]redictability of use vs. non-use of the ergative marker will always be at best partial and probabilistic: given any set of contextual variables in

languages such as Gooniyandi or Warrwa, it is impossible to predict with 100% accuracy whether the ergative postposition will be used or not. There should of course be statistical correlations, and indeed in most cases where the ergative is not used, one finds that the context reveals an Agent low in agentivity. But there are exceptions: and these are the crux of the story – non-marking of the Agent in these cases represents a deliberate choice by the speaker to downplay agentivity. It is by manipulation of the sign-value of the non-use of the ergative that this option is available.

4. PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The interplay of semantic and pragmatic factors is considerably complex – and context sensitive. In addition, Ladakhi speakers manipulate the sign values of their language as much as any native speaker of any language would do. However, such manipulations or deliberate violations of grammar and of the listener's expectations hardly show up in non-spontaneous speech, such as elicited sentences. The frequency with which they occur in non-elicited speech is also not very high, which means that one needs a large corpus of oral texts (or a lot of chance) to detect them. Transcriptions, however, are very time consuming, so that one may simply not come across the relevant data within the available research time. In most cases, the collections of transcribed texts that a researcher may possess will not be enough to gain a systematic knowledge of all case patterns. For example, my own lexical data base, the *Valency Dictionary of Ladakhi Verbs* (work in slow progress, based on fieldwork since 2002, see Zeisler URL 4 for a short introduction, URL 5 and 6, and section 4.3 below for the general architecture) contains at the moment 950 main entries, 950 additional subentries and some 750 additional meanings, altogether almost 2650 readings of which about 80%, that is, ca. 2090 readings, are attested in Domkhar. The *Lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar epic* (Francke 1905-1941), with which I started my research, contains about 8500 clauses, but barely 318 different verbs and readings, that is, about 12% of the dictionary and 15% of the documented Domkhar readings. The dozens of hours of Shamskat narrations and monologues that I transcribed over the last ten years may have yielded another 4% of the readings, at the very best.

4.1. Controllable contexts?

Narrations are typically set in a mode of temporal, spatial, and emotional distance (long time ago, not personally seen, sometimes even mirative) so that in a variety with comparatively stable case marking, such as Gya-Miru, the canonical case markers are typically not dropped. It also appears to me that the verbs most commonly used belong either to high transitive verbs or to intransitive verbs, particularly motion verbs, where case alternations are least likely.

In personal narratives and conversations, one may well be able to observe contextual factors governing case alternations, but any such interpretation is prone to errors due to the individual linguist's preconceptions or due to his or her lack of

linguistic competence by virtue of not being a native speaker, and likewise, by his or her lack of culturally based world knowledge (or cultural competence). The detection of pragmatically conditioned alternations is further hindered by the above-mentioned tendency to omit contextually given arguments along with their case markers.

In elicitations, on the other hand, the individual sentences are given without apparent context, which, on the first sight, would rule out any pragmatic factors. However, it is not the case that the context is missing, it is simply invisible, hidden in the spontaneous imagination of the informant, which remains unexpressed.

This means that the context is not controllable in a strict sense (the price for any attempt in controlling all factors is infinite boredom of both the informant and the researcher, and one further risks that the informant gets completely confused). Consider the various pragmatic factors and how they combine. In Ladakhi, you would have to repeat every sentence for 24 possible feature combinations:

- 3 possible temporal references: present (today), near past (yesterday), remote past (before yesterday or one month, one year ago, depending on the activity)

- 2 spatial relations: close by (here, visible) vs. distant (over there, non-visible)

- 2 emotional values: close (neutral, known/ definite) vs. distant (involved, unknown/ indefinite)

- 2 tense form sets: present and past (as formal factors)

In a few cases, one would also have to test different shades of intentionality, such as acting because one has to do so (low intentionality) or acting against some advice or prohibition (high intentionality).

Tables 4 to 6 below present a simulation of how these factors plus the semantic factors in terms of transitivity and the formal factors (tense marking) might interact. Light shading is used for lines or rows relating to distance, darker shading for cells where two factors relating to distance combine. Table 4 indicates the factors and combinations that lead to the omission of ergative marking; Table 5 indicates the factors and combinations that enhance ergative marking. Different values (0, 0.5, 1, 2, 4 for factor combinations triggering non-marking and the corresponding negative values for triggering overt marking) are used to model differences in weightiness of the factors and their combinations according to what I could observe during elicitation.

The higher the positive value, and particularly the combined value, the more likely is the omission of the ergative marker. For example, temporal closeness, that is, reference to an event this morning or yesterday evening, is an indicator for omitting ergative marking, which to a certain extent may override the opposite factors, such as explicit past time reference or the of the use of a past tense form. On the other hand, mirativity, that is the emotional involvement of the speaker, such as surprise, disbelieve, but also pity, or happiness, tends to override all factors for omitting ergative marking.

pragmatic factors	pragmatic factors						form. fact.		sem. fact.	
pragmatic factors	temp. close	temp. far	spat. close	spat. far	emot. close	emot. far	pres. tense	past tense	low trans	high trans
temporal closeness										
today			4		2		1	0.5	1	
yesterday			1		1		0.5		0.5	
before yesterday			0.5		0.5		0.5		0.5	
spatially close										
visible	4	1			2		1	0.5	2	
invisible					0.5					
here	4	1			2		1	0.5	2	
over there	0.5				0.5					
emotionally close										
known, definite	1		2				0.5		1	
unknown, indef.										
neutral, expected	2		2				1		1	
contrast										
mirative										
formal factors										
present tense	1		2		1				1	
past tense	0.5		0.5		0.5				0.5	
semantic factors										
low transitivity	1		2		1		1	0.5		
high transitivity										

Table 4. Factors triggering non-use of ergative case in Kenhat (Gya-Miru dialect)

pragmatic factors	pragmatic factors						form. fact.		sem. fact.	
pragmatic factors	temp. close	temp. far	spat. close	spat. far	emot. close	emot. far	pres. tense	past tense	low trans	high trans
temporal closeness										
today			-0.5		-1					2
yesterday			0		-2			0		-4
before yesterday			-2		-2			0		-4
spatially close										
visible					-1					2
invisible	-0.5	-1			-2		-1	-1	-1	-4
here					-1					2
over there	0	-1			-2		-1	-1	0	-4
emotionally close										
known, definite		0		0				0		2
unknown, indef.	0	-2	0	-1			0	-1	0	-4
neutral, expected		0		0				0		-2
contrast	0	-1	0	-1			0	-2	0	2
mirative	-2	-2	-1	-1			-2	-2	-2	-4
formal factors										
present tense		-1		-1		-1				-2
past tense		-2		-2		-2				-4
semantic factors										
low transitivity		-1		0		-1				
high transitivity	-2	-4	-2	-4	-2	-4	-2	-4		

Table 5. Factors triggering ergative case marking in Kenhat (Gya-Miru dialect)

Summing up the multidimensional interaction of the various factors, the right column of Table 6 indicates the range of probabilities for ergative marking and non-marking. The maximum of 10.5 points is reached for visible items close by; the minimum of -24 is reached for high transitive events, while mirativity yields the second-lowest result of -16 points.

This simulation is based on my observations and the evaluation of the explanations of the informants in the elicitation context. Since there is no way of measuring the factors objectively, the values have only a model character. They may nevertheless give some idea of what is happening in the dialect of Gya-Miru.

pragmatic factors	pragmatic factors						form. fact.		sem. fact.		min./ max.[21]	
	temp. close	temp. far	spat. close	spat. far	emot. close	emot. far	pres. tense	low trans	high trans	past tense		
temporal closeness												
today			4	-0.5	2	-1	1	0.5	1	-2	-3.5	+8.5
yesterday			1	0	1	-2	0.5	0	0.5	-4	-6	+3
before ystd.			0.5	-2	0.5	-2	0.5	0	0.5	-4	-8	+2
spatially close												
visible	4	1			2	-1	1	0.5	2	-2	-3	+10.5
invisible	-0.5	-1			0.5	-2	-1	-1	-1	-4	-10.5	+0.5
here	4	1			2	-1	1	0.5	2	-2	-3	10.5
over there	0	-1			0.5	-2	-1	-1	0	-4	-9	+0.5
emotionally close												
known, def.	1	0	2	0			0.5	0	1	-2	-2	+4.5
unkn., indef.	0	-2	0	-1			0	-1	0	-4	-8	+0
ntr., expect.	2	0	2	0			1	0	1	-2	-2	+6
contrast	0	-1	0	-1			0	-2	0	-2	-6	0
mirative	-2	-2	-1	-1			-2	-2	-2	-4	-16	–
formal factors												
pres. tense	1	-1	2	-1	1	-1			1	-2	-5	+5
past tense	0.5	-2	0.5	-2	0.5	-2			0.5	-4	-10	+2
semantic factors												
low trans.	1	-1	2	0	1	-1	1	0.5			-2	+5.5
high trans.	-2	-4	-2	-4	-2	-4	-2	-4			-24	–

Table 6. Range of probabilities for marking and non-marking in Kenhat (Gya-Miru dialect)

In Gya-Miru, where case marking is still quite robust, the factors for overt case marking (up to -24) tend to outweigh those for non-marking (up to 10.5). Many other modern Tibetan varieties and also the Zanskari variety of Kenhat have gone much further in bleaching the semantic function of case marking, using ergative (and possibly other) case markers only for emphatic or contrastive purposes. As a matter of course, the values would have to be set differently.

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[21] That is, counting only the minus values for the minimum and only the positive values for the maximum. A somewhat different range would be obtained in summarising separately the values of the shaded columns and those of the light columns.

4.2. Standardising the context to some extent

In the field, it is not only impossible, but also not really necessary to ask for each and every combination. In my own research, it has turned out that it is sufficient to simply test the possibility of alternation (Can you also say *kho* (s/he-Abs) instead of *khe* (s/he-Erg), or the other way round?), and, in the case of a negative answer, to at least try the temporal values today and last year, a situation before the eyes and out of sight, and some empathic context. To establish the underlying or basic case frame, I usually take the temporally and spatially most 'distant' and emotionally neutral scenario as the standard situation, that means, examples are elicited for past time reference, past tense forms, and third persons as participants. With speakers of a variety such as Zanskari, where case marking tends to disappear in neutral contexts, I would additionally use contexts of contrast and emotional involvement. I rather avoid a 'close' scenario with present time reference, present tense forms and a first person participant. I usually encourage the informants to formulate sentences of their own, but when they come up with a different type of sentence that involves one or more factors of 'closeness', and they will certainly do so more often than not, I would ask them to formulate a similar sentence in the more 'distant' scenario, giving the appropriate temporal adverbs and pronouns explicitly.

The reason for this approach is that present time reference corresponds to temporal closeness and is a heavy factor for deletion of the case marker, while present tense forms are somewhat lighter factors. Speech act participants, and particularly the speaker role, involve spatial and emotional closeness, which are heavy factors for case neutralisation. Since speech act participants are always known and definite, this can further influence the word order: known and/ or definite items tend to appear closer to the sentence-initial topic position, unknown and/ or indefinite items tend to appear closer to the focus position immediately before the verb.

If a 'strange' or 'unexpected' pattern occurs, e.g., absolutive marking where ergative was expected, I would try to rule out spatial or emotional closeness. Similarly, if case marking occurs where absolutive was expected, I would try to rule out emotional involvement or situations of contrast.

To test possible alternations for sentences that correspond to the basic linguistic expectation, I would then build up contexts that facilitate non-standard marking, that is, in the case of [+transitive] [+CTR] verbs, I would test a situation that is imagined as ongoing with definite persons in front of the eye of the speaker, testing thus the possibility of absolutive marking. Similarly, in case of [−transitive] [−CTR] or otherwise low transitive verbs, I would test a situation in the distant and not so distant past with high contrast or a situation where the speaker is emotionally involved (surprised, embarrassed, pitiful, or happy, etc.), testing thus the possibility of aesthetive or ergative marking.

In principle, one should recheck every construction with as many informants as possible. However, collecting the data for a valency dictionary is a process of several years and most informants are not available over the full period. There is

quite some variation in the individual judgements, which leads to a certain amount of unchecked data. Disagreement among the informants is, of course, a signal to check more factors or more contexts, possibly with more informants.

4.3. Integrating contextual information into a lexicon

When compiling a verb list or even a dictionary for a given language or dialect, the question naturally arises whether it is really necessary to integrate information about the possibility and reasons of case alternations into the lexical entry. I should think that this cannot be avoided when there are no clear-cut rules that govern the choice of the case marker, as in the case of tense- or aspect related splits or splits conditioned by the animacy hierarchy. In the dialect of Gya-Miru, it is absolutely unpredictable, which transitive verb allows absolutive marking in spatially and temporally close contexts, and it is likewise not fully predictable, which verb of low transitivity may allow ergative marking in contexts of emotional involvement or heightened intentionality.

Besides the Zanskari variety of Kenhat, many other modern Tibetan varieties have gone much further than Gya-Miru, using ergative (and possibly other) case markers almost only for emphatic or contrastive purposes, cf., e.g., Hongladarom (2007) for Rgyalthang Kham Tibetan. In the case of the ergative-absolutive alternation, verb semantics could be completely bleached, theoretically at least, and the overt case marker on the first argument could simply signal contrast or emotional involvement, independent of transitivity, so that it ceases to be a case marker, at all. However, in the case of other markers, their overt use will typically reflect some semantic properties, particularly the direction or localisation of the event (or state). In such cases, and as long contrastive ergative marking is based on verb semantics, it is necessary to specify the underlying semantic structure in a dictionary.

In such cases, I would probably set up a 'standard' or 'canonical frame' for the neutralised patterns and an additional derived 'marked frame' for the semantically motivated alternations with the specification as 'contrastive', 'emotional involve-ment', or whatever applies. In the case of Shamskat and the Gya-Miru variety of Kenhat, it is certainly more feasible to set up a standard frame based on semantically motivated case marking and to provide the pragmatically cond-itioned variants in a derived frame, specified as 'pragmatically downgraded' or 'pragmatically upgraded', whichever may apply. Not all alternations can be captured by these options, or it might not always be possible to decide what the basic pattern is, and in such cases, the alternations are to be included in the basic or primary frame.

Depending on the linguistic theory one adheres to, there are many ways to formally encode the argument structure. In my own lexical data base, I have developed idiosyncratic solutions that appear most appropriate for my specific research questions; they are not necessarily the best options in general, but may nevertheless inspire other colleagues, if only to find better solutions for their own purposes.

For practical purposes, the dictionary is built up in a tree structure in the xml-format. This allows very specific queries, but the dense forest of tags and attributes is extremely frustrating without a convenient interface.

The syntactic information for each verb and usage is stored in a tag 'syntax' with an attribute 'dialGroup' for the dialect group (Shamskat or Kenhat). This contains among others a tag 'val' for the valency or the minimal number of semantically licensed arguments, a tag 'primScheme' for the primary or basic case patterns, possibly one or more tags 'derScheme' for the derived patterns, and a tag 'frames' in which primary and derived case frames are stored. Primary frames contain those patterns that appear most naturally in elicitation (or in the transcribed texts, if available). E.g., in the case of contact or exchange situations or of reciprocal activities, the informants often prefer collective over asymmetric expressions. Similarly with experiences concerning body parts, they will prefer a possessor construction (*my head aches*) to an experiencer construction (such as German: *mir tut der Kopf weh*). In such cases, the primary frame will be based on the collective or possessor construction, while the extended or experiencer pattern will be treated as derived. Other non-primary patterns may concern collocations and serialised verb constructions, CAUSE or MEDIUM constructions, honorific de-personalised constructions, superadded experiencer constructions (*have* or *get something happen*), or the pragmatically conditioned alternations.

The main problem I encountered is how to encode case alternations that cannot be sorted into 'derived frames'. This is not just an issue of the xml-format, but a problem of formalisation in general. The main question is, whether one displays the alternation in an additive or in a hierarchical manner.

The problem may be illustrated with the two Shamskat collocations *ʒakzaŋ(-) zguk* 'give a ritual appreciation, decide upon an auspicious day (at the marriage)' and *ła(-) zguk* 'greet, welcome the deities (during the New Year or wedding ceremonies)'. See Fig. 5, p. 102 below for the corresponding example sentences. In both cases, the first argument might be either absolute or ergative and the second argument either absolutive or allative, allowing thus the four combinations 02 (ABS - ABS), 03a (ABS - ~LOC), 07 (ERG - DAT/ALL), and 08 (ERG - ABS), and, according to my definitions, six different syntactic-semantic roles, namely A2: non-effecting AGENT of a bivalent verb (by definition absolutive), eA2: effecting AGENT of a bivalent verb (by definition ergative), ??: still undefined, P2: PATIENT of a bivalent verb, LCT: LOCATION (and GOAL; implying a non-effecting AGENT or an UNDERGOER), and TAR: TARGET (implying an effecting AGENT)[22].

The simplest solution, most probably also the most convenient for most purposes, would be to list all combinations individually as in figure 2. It would be necessary, however, to group together all alternations that belong to the primary

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[22] The reason for differentiating between TARGETs and LOCATIONs is not only that the former presuppose a certain type of AGENT, but also that the TARGET, like the RECIPIENT and the perceptive EXPERIENCER, constitutes a salient role that does not allow postpositions (or other cases than the dative-allative).

scheme and to differentiate them from forms and alternations belonging to a derived scheme. This could be done with additional attributes or an additional tag.

```
zguk₂
…
<syntax dialGroup="Sham">
   <val>2</val>
      <primScheme>02|03a|07|08</primScheme>…
      <frames>
        <frame scheme="02" type="primary">
          <complement><role>A2</role><case>ABS</case></complement>
          <complement><role>??</role><case>ABS</case></complement></frame>
        <frame scheme="03a" type="primary">
          <complement><role>A2</role><case>ABS</case></complement>
          <complement><role>LCT</role><case>~LOC</case></complement></frame>
        <frame scheme="07" type="primary">
          <complement><role>eA2</role><case>ERG</case></complement>
          <complement><role>TAR</role><case>DAT/ALL</case></complement></frame>
        <frame scheme="08" type="primary">
          <complement><role>eA2</role><case>ERG</case></complement>
          <complement><role>P2</role><case>ABS</case></complement></frame></frames>
```

Figure 2. Encoding alternations, model I (enumerative)

Since I use the frames also in the syntactic annotation of texts, I combine them within a single hierarchical frame using an 'alt' tag for the specification of alternatives. Again, there is a simpler solution, specifying the possible realisations for each position, as in figure 3. In that case, one would need a further restriction attribute to define that A2 combines only with the undefined argument ("??") or LCT, while eA2 combines only with P2 or TAR or the other way round. This would make queries more difficult. It would also not really be optimal for the annotation.

```
zguk₂
…
<syntax dialGroup="Sham">
   <val>2</val>
   <primScheme>02|03a|07|08</primScheme>…
     <frames>
       <frame>
         <alt position="same:1">
            <complement><role>A2</role><case>ABS</case></complement>
            <complement><role>eA2</role><case>ERG</case></complement></alt>
         <alt position="same:2">
           <complement restr="pos1=A2"><role>??</role><case>ABS</case></compl.>
           <complement restr="pos1=A2"><role>LCT</role><case>~LOC</case></compl.>
           <complement restr="pos1=eA2"><role>P2</role><case>ABS</case></compl.>
           <compl. restr="pos1=eA2"><role>TAR</r.><case>DAT/ALL</c.></compl.></alt>…
```

Figure 3. Encoding alternations, model II (position-wise)

The more sophisticated hierarchical model III, which I use in the annotation and the dictionary, shows embedded alternation tags and a specification of the position of the complements as in fig. 4. This is easier to compute and query in an online version, but on the other hand, it might be more difficult to process for a reader of a printed version.

```
zguk₂
…
<syntax dialGroup="Sham">
   <val>2</val>
      <primScheme>02|03a|07|08</primScheme>…
      <frames>
        <frame>
          <alt position="1-2">
            <complement position="1"><role>A2</role><case>ABS</case></complement>
            <alt position="same:2">
02            <complement><role>??</role><case>ABS</case></complement>
03a           <complement><role>LCT</role><case>~LOC</case></compl.></alt></alt>
          <alt position="1-2">
            <complement position="1"><role>eA2</role><case>ERG</case></complement>
            <alt position="same:2">
08            <complement><role>P2</role><case>ABS</case></complement>
07            <compl.><role>TAR</role><case>DAT/ALL</case></compl.></alt></alt>…
```

Figure 4. Encoding alternations, model III (embedded)

The information about the pragmatic or semantic factors leading to the alternation is not listed with the frame, but is given as an 'informant's comment' with the respective example. The reasons for this decision are:

- – different examples with different contexts may yield different answers (the information should thus be close to the example),
- – different informants may have different opinions,
- – the information may be in part contradictory,
- – the information may be quite involved.

The 'informant's comments' are explanations by the informants (or their affirmation of a suggestion) filtered by my understanding and dressed up in linguistic terminology. They usually refer to subtle meaning differences related to case alternations, but may also specify preferences or acceptability judgements.

In the case of our two collocations, the Domkhar informant had opposite preferences for the possible sentence patterns. With *ʒakzaŋ(-) zguk* 'give a ritual appreciation, decide upon an auspicious day (at the marriage)', he preferred no case marking (02) to marking one argument (AGENT marking: 08, preferred to marking the LOCATION: 03a), and preferred marking one argument to maximal case marking (07). With *ła(-) zguk* 'greet, welcome the deities (during the New Year or wedding ceremonies)', he preferred maximal case marking to no case marking.

```
zguk₂
…
<meaning>
   <trans n="a">give a ritual appreciation,
                 decide upon an auspicious day (at marriage)</trans>
   <colloc>
      <w syntax="ABS (DAT/ALL)" type="noun">ʒagzaŋ</w>
      <tr>auspicious day</tr></colloc>
   <trans n="b">greet, welcome the deities
                 (during New Year or wedding ceremonies)</trans>
     <colloc>
     <w syntax="DAT/ALL (ABS)" type="noun">lha</w>
     <tr>deity</tr></colloc></meaning>
…
<example dialect="DOMd08">
   <infCom>
     ABS for the first argument is used for a neutral statement; ERG has a contrastive or also
     boasting meaning. It might also indicate specificity or an all-inclusive connotation in
     case of a plural expression. ABS for the second argument is used for a neutral statement;
     DAT/ALL indicates a personal involvement (excitement, surprise, etc.). It might also
     indicate specificity or an all-inclusive connotation in case of a plural expression.
     Preference: 02 > 08 > 03a > 07.</infCom>
   <exText scheme="02,03a,07,08">
             di   memewo      ~ memewos  ʒagzaŋ         ~ ʒagzaŋa   zguks.</exText>
   <interlin>this priest-DF-ABS ~ °-ERG        ausp.day-ABS ~ °-DAT/ALL  decide-PAST</interl.>
   <exTrans>This priest decided (about) the auspicious day.</exTrans></example>
<example dialect="DOMd08">
   <infCom>See example above. Preference: 07 > 03a > 08 > 02.</infCom>
   <exText scheme="02,03a,07,08">
             pomo   ~ pomos   łaŋunla        ~ łaŋun     zguks.</exText>
   <interlin>girl-ABS ~ girl-ERG  deities-DAT/ALL  ~ deities-ABS   greet-PAST</interlin>
   <exTrans>The girl(s) greeted all (the) deities.</exTrans></example>…
```

Figure 5. Encoding informants' information on meaning differences

Somewhat in contrast to the informant's explanations, which were the same for both collocations, the different preferences seem to reflect subtle differences in meaning: the first collocation refers to a decision or fact, hence there is no directionality (and perhaps also no heightened actionality) involved, while the second collocation constitutes a communicative act, directed towards an addressee. *Verba dicendi* typically have a frame with an effecting AGENT in the ergative and a RECIPIENT or ADDRESSE in the dative-allative (pattern 07), quite often also a CONTENT argument in the absolutive (direct speech, pattern 09a) or with a locative postposition (indirect speech, pattern 39).

The verb *zguk* is also used in two other related collocations with the noun *ʤu* 'greeting' for the meaning 'greet, welcome' and with the noun *ʧhak* 'hand (hon)' for the meaning 'greet by placing the right hand above the left hand with both palms showing upside or by striking together the shell bangles', a gesture of respect performed by women. In this case the canonical frame follows pattern 09a

(ergative for the AGENT, dative-allative for the RECIPIENT/ADDRESSEE, absolutive for the collocation noun), but speakers of the Domkhar dialect allow also absolutive marking for the second argument, if they want to demonstrate their disrespect (treating thus the RECIPIENT/ADDRESSEE like a PATIENT). This usage may explain why pattern 07 is preferred over pattern 08 in the case of welcoming deities.

APPENDIX: ADDITIONAL PATTERNS

type	case combination			characteristic verb classes
1-place predicates				
12	Aes/ (~Loc)	_	_	idiomatic phrases: have luck (formal), prosper, suffer, be damned; emphasised experiences
13	Erg/ (Instr)	_	_	some animal sounds; idiomatic phrases: inflict sth upon os.; have an abortion; work fast
3-place predicates				
23	Abs	Abs	~Loc	reflexive transformation (positions variable)
39	Erg	~Loc	~Loc	indirect speech acts, communicate to sb. about sth.
Impersonal (honorific) patterns				
74	Abl	Abs	–	honorific direct speech, acts of corporations
75	Abl	~Loc	–	honorific indirect speech (about sth.)

Table 7. Additional marginal patterns mentioned in the text

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

For practical purposes, glossing of morphemes other than case marking is simplified and given only in the most unspecific terms (e.g., 'PERF' for 'perfect' instead of 'EXPCPERF.II' for the 'experiential common perfect II'). Morphemes other than case markers will not be set apart in the example texts. For an overview of tense and evidential markers in Ladakhi see Zeisler 2004: 634f.

Languages, dialects and informants

DOM   Domkhar: Tshewang Tharchin, Rinchen Lhamo, Jigmet Angcuk
GYS   Gya-Sasoma (Gya-Miru): Menggyur Tshomo, Jigmet Yangdrol
Ken   Kenhat
Sham   Shamskat
WT   West Tibetan

Grammatical and lexical terms

°	elision sign (for NP glosses already specified)	ALL	allative
		CC	clause chaining morpheme (unspecific)
ABL	ablative	COM	comitative
ABS	absolutive	CTR	control ([+CTR] implies agency, [−CTR] non-agency)
ACC	accusative		
AES	aesthetive	DAT	dative

DAT/ALL	dative-allative		NOM	nominative
ERG	ergative		PAST	past tense (unspecific)
.excl	exclusive plural		PERF	perfect (unspecific)
f	function of		PL	plural
.hon	honorific		POS	position of argument
.incl	inclusive plural		PRS	present tense (unspecific)
LOC	locational markers		PP.	postposition
NEG1	negation marker *mi*		REL	relational ('genitive')
NEG2	negation marker *ma*		TOP	topic

Macro roles

A2	AGENT (non-ergative), bi-valent verb		LCT	LOCATION
			P	PATIENT
eA2	effecting AGENT (ergative), bi-valent verb		TAR	TARGET
			??	undefined

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