



On the Role of Natural Discourse Data on Grammar Writing

HUANG Yang
Southwest Jiaotong University, China

elvishuang@swjtu.edu.cn

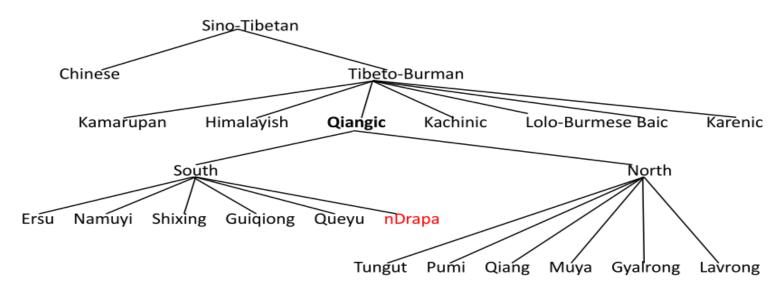


Preamble

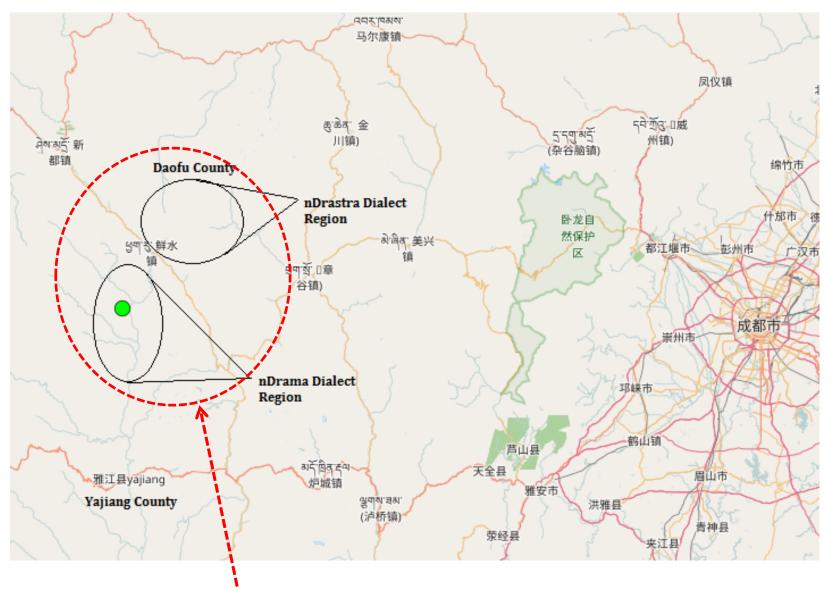
- Himmelmann (2006) suggested the field of language documentation as 'concerned with methods, tools...and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language'.
 Particularly, grammatical features often show different degrees of elaboration in different kinds of discourse (cf. Mithun 2014).
- Language documentation can be so multi-purpose because it has discourse, that is, records of naturally occurring speech of any kind, as its core, even if it also includes such linguistic-specific products as paradigms, word lists, and recorded elicitation sessions (Woodbury 2014).
- A grammar should flow. Write in a clear style, avoiding pedantic or obscure prose...Don't write in a complicated way, as if to show how clever you are. One thing should NEVER do is just record texts in the field and try to transcribe them later on back at base (Dixon 2007: 2007).

The nDrapa Language

• nDrapa扎巴語(Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman; ISO 639-3: zhb) is a severely endangered language spoken by approximately 11,230 Tibetan people in Daofu道孚and Yajiang county雅江in western Sichuan province of China (Huang; Sun). The nDrapa people are the indigenous residents living along the Yalong River雅砻江, who are thought to be connected with the culture of 'East Female Country' 东女国in early Tang Dynasty (approx. 6th—7th century A.D) by some anthropologists and ethnologists (i.e., Ren 1930).



The Sino-Tibetan languages and the Qiangic group by Matisoff (2001) and Sun (2001)



The area where nDrapa is spoken









Previous Works on the Writing of nDrapa Grammar

Scattered

Huang (1991) on a bird-view of nDrapa

Shirai (2006a) on aspectuality

Shirai (2006b) on existantial/locative verbs

Shirai (2007) on evidentials

Shirai (2009) on directional prefix

Shirai (2012) on locative nouns

Shirai (2018) on clause linkage

Insufficient, limited, and sentence-by-sentence annotated

Sinitic-oriented framework

Gong (2007) on a description of the nDrapa language

```
si^{55}zu^{55} to^{31}zi^{55} tce^{55} mtça^{31}ni^{55} pe^{55}pe^{31} a^{55} k^hui^{31}. government 3pl AUX rice many PREFIX give si^{55}zu^{55} to^{31}zi^{55} -tce^{55} mtça^{31}ni^{55} pe^{55}pe^{31} a^{55}-k^hui^{31}. government 3pl-LOC rice many DIR-give 'The government gave many rice to them.'
```

```
ji^{35}k^h\partial^{55} z\partial^{31} te^{31}ntI^{55} tsI^{55} fs^ho^{55} ze^{31}. In the house AUX light also on AUX ji^{35}-k^h\partial^{55} z\partial^{31} te^{31}ntI^{55} tsI^{55} fs^ho^{55} ze^{31}. house-LOC GEN light also on FACT 'The light in the house (the house's light) is on.'
```

Hard to be referred by western scholars

Discourse elements are ignored

Discourse categories are treated as moods, or totally ignored by previous authors (cf. Gong 2007:256).

Where is the discourse?

```
...ndza^{31}ste^{55}zI^{31} I^{55} stci^{55} nda^{55} va^{55}k^{h}a^{55} vli^{55}
  nDrapa people PREF hang before pig inside air
  a^{55} ska^{31} \eta i^{31} ta^{35} ptsu^{55} ts^hu^{31}, ndza^{31}ste^{55} za^{31}
  PREF put AUX PREF swell CAUS nDrapa GEN
  va^{55}ko^{55} ka^{31}ta^{31}a^{31} a^{55} mui^{55} ts^{h}a^{31}pi^{55} ju^{31}zi^{55} le^{31}
  meat like this PREF do then long time put
  ndza^{55} tsa^{55}ze^{35} t^ha^{31}ma^{55}gu^{31} da^{55}zi^{31} wo^{31} le^{55}ji^{31}
  can AUX not only forty year put something
  zo^{35} na^{31} tsa^{31}ze^{31} ndza^{31}me^{55} zi^{31} va^{55}ko^{55} ju^{31}zi^{55}
  also have AUX nDrapa people meat long time
   I^{55}stçi^{55} ma^{55} ts^h I^{55} tsa^{31} ze^{35}.
   hang NEG will AUX
```

> Humble vs. Pejorative Modals

- nDrapa uses a preverbal modal marker nba³³tx³³ to encode both humble and pejorative modals.
- *nba³³tx³³* is syntactically attached to nominals rather than predicates.
- What distinguishes the two functions is based on the distinctive agents in conversation: When the addresser stresses on the self-person expression, *nba*³³tz³³ works as a humble modal marker; When the addresser stresses on the other-person expression, *nba*³³tz³³ functions as a pejorative modal marker.
- *nba³³tx³³* is exclusively discourse-oriented.

```
... "ma^{33}-\wp^h u^{55}"-d\varepsilon^{33} dz\varepsilon^{55} ts^h \partial^{55} pe^{55}, t\partial^{33} mts^h \partial^{55} pe^{33} ts^h \partial^{55} pe^{55}
   NEG-need-QUOT say after that LNK after that
   na^{55}wo^{55}, s^{h}e^{55}wo^{55}-nba^{33}tI^{33}-t^{h}a^{33}, ta^{33}mts^{h}o^{55} t^{h}a^{55}ptc^{h}a^{55}nba^{33}tI^{33},
   two years three years-HUM-LOC LNK accept unsatisfactory
   ta^{24} l\epsilon^{33}ne^{55}nba^{33} t\sigma^{33}ze^{55} t\epsilon^{24}-nba^{33}tr^{33} a^{55}-f\epsilon^{53}...
   LNK pitiful 3pl lawsuit-PJT DIR-buy
   40^{33}ptsa^{55}-k^ha^{33} ta^{55}-te^ho^{55}-ni^{33}, xa^{24}, te^ha^{55}-nba^{33}tt^{33} t^ha^{55}pte^ha^{55}
   school-LOC DIR-go-AUX LNK book-HUM unsatisfactory
   nbe^{33}li^{55} a^{55}-ndzi^{33}-\eta i^{33} wu^{55}-a^{33}-z\varepsilon^{33}... te^{33}te
   all DIR-read-AUX finish-ALLO-FACT DEM
   po^{55}t^ho^{33}-nba^{33}tI^{33} t^ha^{55}ptc^ha^{55} tI^{33} k\partial^{55}-hti^{53}.
   son-in-law-PJT unsatisfactory NUM:CL DIR-put
```

'My daughter told him that she did not want to live with him even for two or three years (two or three years is actually very short). What a poor woman! My daughter then went to court with him...(My daughter) used to go to a normal school...(while she is not well educated, she is still my good daughter)...her life is unsatisfactorily destroyed by a bad son-in-law.'

• Typologically, a particular morpheme associated with humble modal is apt to derive a pejorative overtone induced by negative context (cf. Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015). Moreover, the versatile functions of $nba^{33}tr^{33}$ only appear in discourse and speech genre.

- In the course of grammar writing, I intentionally concentrate on the *positive* vs. *negative* register of the discourse data, refraining from a sentence-by-sentence elicitation, in order to include all the possible contexts where $nba^{33}tr^{33}$ occurs and how its grammatical character looks like. To illustrate the findings:
- I. When the prior role of the statement is the speaker himself/herself or the one intimate to the speaker, the register is positive, $nba^{33}tI^{33}$ works as a humble marker; or a pejorative marker if it associates with the second/third person who has a distant relationship.
- II. In nDrapa, people have the ability to recognize a different perspective from ourselevies. This marker, however, does not depend on egophoricity

> Thetical in Discourse

- nDrapa enjoys a wide range of SAY verbs. By changing word orders, some SAY verbs have derived the function as evidential, such as: $-d\varepsilon^{33}$, $-d\varepsilon^{33}$ dz ε^{33} (hearsay); $-d\varepsilon^{33}$ dz ε^{33} (hearsay and story-telling); $-dz\varepsilon^{33}$ d ε^{33} (third-hand hearsay); $-d\varepsilon^{33}$ (quotative); $-mba^{33}$ (inference); $-\xi t \tau^{33}$ (visual/perfective) (Huang forthcoming).
- In some instances, the combination $d\varepsilon^{55}mb\partial^{33}r\partial^{33}$ may serve as a thetical that is added at the periphery of an utterance. The thetical $d\varepsilon^{55}mb\partial^{33}r\partial^{33}$ consists of a SAY verb $d\varepsilon^{33}$ and the demonstrative enclitic $mb\partial^{33}r\partial^{33}$. It forms utterances of its own, and its meaning is determined essentially by the situation of discourse rather than syntactic relation within a sentence (cf. Kaltenböck et al. 2011:851-852).

... $ta^{33}mtsho^{55}$ $l\tilde{i}^{24}tsha^{33}$ $\# d\epsilon^{33}mba^{33}ra^{33}$ $\# -kha^{33}$ $\# -kha^{33}$

'So why do you call him...#say it like that#...nDzese (the name of the king?) $t\sigma^{33}z^{55}$ $me^{33}v^{53}$ $ng^{55}z^{33}d^{33}$ wo^{53} du^{33} - wu^{55} - a^{33} - $z\varepsilon^{33}$, na^{55} DIST old woman ninety-four year arrive-PFV-ALLO-FACT 1sg $\#d\varepsilon^{33}mb^{33}r^{33}\#$ m^{55} - $ts^h\varepsilon^{53}$ $n_i^{33}l^{55}$ du^{33} - wu^{55} - a^{33} - $z\varepsilon^{33}$. THETI NEG-become twice arrive-PFV-ALLO-FACT 'That old woman is ninety-four years old. But her age is not twice older than mine.'

... $ta^{33}mts^ho^{55}$ $tv^{33}za^{55}$ me^{24} $pe^{33}ma^{33}$ $tse^{33}se^{53}$ $\#\frac{de^{33}mba^{33}ra^{33}}{de^{33}mba^{33}ra^{33}}$ # LNK DIST name DM nDzese THETI dze^{55} $tse^{53}de^{33}tse^{33}$? call Q

'So why do you call him...#say it like that#...nDzese (the name of the king?)

 $t\sigma^{33}z^{55}$ $a^{55}wo^{33}$ $t\varepsilon^h i^{55}pe^{33}$ $\varepsilon i^{55}t \varepsilon^h a n^{55}$ # $d\varepsilon^{33}mb^{33}r^{33}$ # $d\varepsilon^{55}$ DIST more LOC Xichang THETI wife $t\varepsilon^{33}$ - ji^{55} $k \cdot 3^{55}$ -mue 33 - ε^{55} -stia 33 - ε^{55} . one-CL DIR-marry-PFV:ALLO-FACT

'When we broke up, I found another wife in Xichang.'

- In the course of grammar writing, I concentrate on the synchronic description of theticals on one hand, and the diachronic development of this discourse item on the other hand. One contribution to the study of discourse grammar may be as follows:
- I. Theticals are syntactically unbounded elements, not only attached to heads, but also to peripherals. They can work as clause linkers.
- II. While many origins of theticals have been reported, one in nDrapa may be very fascinating: It can derive from demonstratives or a combination of SAY verbs and the demonstrative.

The Language Preservation Project in China

- Launched from 2015, the *Yubao* project is in an intention to document a range of Chinese dialects and ethnic/endangered languages in China by the end of 2019.
- A government-initiated project with a participation of thousands of linguists and native speakers in China.
- Languages archived in this data base cover numerous languages from *Sinitic, Tai-Kadai, Tibeto-Burman, et al.*
- The future of endangered language preservation in China. *What and how*?



留下乡音



References

- Comrie, Bernard. 1996. The unity of noun modifying clauses in Asian languages. *Pan-Asiatic Linguistics: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics*, January 8-10, 1996, Vol. 3, 1077-1088. Salaya: Mahidol University.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 2007. Field linguistics: A minor manual. Sprachtypol. Univ. Forsch (STUF).
 1:12-31.
- Gong, Qunhu. 2007. A Study on nDrapa. Beijing: Minzu Press.
- Grandi, Nicola & Livia Körtvélyessy. 2015. Edinburgh Handbook of Evaluative Morphology. Edinburgh University Press.
- Huang, Yang. 2020 (forthc). A Short Grammar of nDrapa. London & New York: Routledge.
- Mithun, Marianne. 2014. The data and the examples: Comprehensiveness, accuracy, and sensitivity. *Language Documentation & Conservation Special Publication* No. 8:25-52.
- Woodbury, Anthony. 2014. Archives and audiences: Toward making endangered language documentations people can read, use, understand, and admire. In David Nathan & Peter Austin (eds.), Language Documentation and Description, vol 12: 19-36.

