

# Converbal Constructions in Chantyal<sup>1</sup>

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o. INTRODUCTION: The Chantyal [ts<sup>h</sup>əntʃal] language is spoken by approximately 2000 of the 10,000 ethnic Chantyal. All of the villages where the Chantyal language is spoken<sup>2</sup> are located in the eastern portion of the Myagdi District in the Dhaulagiri zone of Nepal. The rest of the ethnic Chantyal live in the western portions of Myagdi and in the Baglung District. Chantyal is a member of the Tamangic group [Tibeto-Burman: Bodic: Bodish] and within the group it is most closely allied with Thakali. More than any other language in the group, Chantyal has been influenced by Nepali and has borrowed over 85% of its lexicon from that language.<sup>3</sup> The grammatical morphemes, however, are mostly native.

1. CONVERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN CHANTYAL: Chantyal is typical of the Tamangic languages in not utilizing finite subordinate clauses, coordination, or clause chaining to accomplish clause linkage, employing instead non-finite subordinate clauses for this purpose. The verbal noun in **-wa** is used for subordinate clauses with argument and adjectival functions (Noonan 1997). The verbal noun, in association with an appropriate case clitic, can also be used for adverbial subordination, but adverbial subordination can also be accomplished by means of a set of specialized nonfinite forms referred to as converbs. There are a number of converbs in Chantyal, both contextual [*ie* converbs whose semantic relation to the matrix predicate is left vague] and specialized [*ie* converbs with a precise adverbial meaning]. The converbs are listed in (1):

	BASIC FUNCTION	FORM	ABBREVIATION
(1)	sequencing events in narrative; anterior events or states	<b>-si-rə</b>	SEQ
	expression of progressive senses; simultaneous events	<b>-kəy</b>	PROG
	conditional	<b>-la(-nə)</b>	COND
	conditional, with the sense of 'unless'; always negative	<b>-khəre</b>	COND
	resultative	<b>-nə</b>	RSLT
	immediate future	<b>-nu</b>	IMFT

It is relatively simple to demonstrate that these constructions are subordinate, and not, for example, 'dependent but not subordinate' in Haiman's (1985) sense. For example, the sequential converb can be nested within a superordinate clause:

- (2) **kyata-sə kha-si-rə naku-ra thu-i**  
boy-ERG come-ANT-SEQ dog-DAT pick+up-PERF

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<sup>2</sup> The villages are: Məŋgəle Khani, Dwari, Gfıyäs Khərka, Cəwra Khani, Kwine Khani, Thara Khani, Patle Khərka, Malampfiar, and Məlkabaŋ.

<sup>3</sup> See Noonan (1995) for a discussion of the recent history of the Chantyal language and people.

'The boy, having come, picked up the dog' [≈ 'The boy came and picked up the dog']

- (3) **kyata naku-ra thu-si-rə kha-i**  
boy dog-DAT pick+up-ANT-SEQ come-PERF  
'The boy, having picked up the dog, came' [≈ 'The boy picked up the dog and came']

Chantyal is remarkably consistent in matching ergative subjects with transitive verbs. In (2), the NP **kyata-sə** 'the boy' is the overt subject of the main clause since is marked in the ergative case, which is appropriate for the main verb, **thu-** 'pick up', but not for the converbal predicate **kha-** 'come'. In (3), **kyata** 'the boy' is in the absolutive case, appropriate for the main verb, but not for the converb. In both sentences, therefore, the converb is nested within the main clause and is therefore grammatically subordinate: it is thus not a medial clause in a clause chaining construction.<sup>4</sup> A similar demonstration is possible for all the other Chantyal converbs.

Mainly for reasons of time and space, I will discuss only the contextual converbs – the sequential and progressive converbs – in this paper. An extensive discussion of the specialized converbs can be found in Noonan & Bhulanja (in preparation).

**2. THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE PROGRESSIVE AND SEQUENTIAL CONVERBS:** The progressive converb apparently has no direct parallels in the other Tamangic languages, neither functionally<sup>5</sup> nor etymologically.<sup>6</sup> The **-kəy** suffix<sup>7</sup> is added directly to the root: **kha-kəy** is the progressive converb of **kha-** 'come'. No further affixation is possible, save for the negative prefix **a-**.

The sequential converb is formed by adding two suffixes to the verbal root: **-si-** followed by **-rə**. **-si-** has cognates in all the other Tamangic languages and it is clear both from comparative and internal evidence that **-si-** alone was once used to form the

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<sup>4</sup> See also Haspelmath (1995). Note that converbs in Chantyal do not *have* to be nested, but only that they can be.

<sup>5</sup> This is not to say the the category 'progressive' is not present in other Tamangic languages, only that there appears to be no form that matches the range of uses of the Chantyal PROG converb. Elsewhere in Tamangic, progressive senses are achieved by means of the verbal noun, typically with forms cognate with Chantyal **-wa**. Nar-Phu is typical:

- (a) **ŋâ-se lakpe-re hîke pŋri-pe mraŋ-čîn**  
I-ERG Lakpa-DAT letter write-NOM see-PST  
'I saw Lakpa writing the letter'
- (b) **ŋâ-se lakpe-re hîke pŋri-te mraŋ-čîn**  
I-ERG Lakpa-DAT letter write-NOM see-PST  
'I saw Lakpa write the letter'
- (c) **ŋâe kha-pe mû**  
I come-NOM be-NPST  
'I'm coming'

<sup>6</sup> But see below.

<sup>7</sup> **-gəy** and **-ge** are alternative forms, the former being especially common in the village of **Mangale Khāni**, from which most of the data I've collected on Chantyal come.

sequential converb in Chantyal. The sequential converbal suffixes in the other Tamangic languages are listed in (4):<sup>8</sup>

- |     |                              |   |
|-----|------------------------------|---|
| (4) | Gurung: <b>-i/si</b>         | [Glover 1974, p117]                           |
|     | Manangba: <b>-tse</b>        | [Hoshi 1986, p301]                            |
|     | Nar-Phu: <b>-ce/če/se/še</b> |   |
|     | Tamang: <b>-cim</b>          | [Everitt 1973, p204]                          |
|     | Thakali: <b>-si</b>          | [Hari & Maibaum 1970, p306; Georg 1996, p127] |

**-si-** is found elsewhere in the verbal paradigm in contemporary Chantyal as a marker of anteriority, *ie* as a secondary or relative past tense and is glossed ANT [for ‘anterior’] in the example sentences.

The **-rə** component is borrowed, being derived from the Nepali **-era** converbal suffix. The **-e-** component was analyzed as the functional equivalent of **-si-**. The **-rə** element then ‘reinforced’ the Chantyal sequential converb without effectively changing its meaning.

The **-rə** element has remained an optional addition to the sequential converb, and while speakers vary in their preference for the ‘reduced’ sequential converb [*ie* the one without **-rə**], the **-rə** suffix is present in the majority of sequential converbs in free discourse. When **-rə** is not present, the **-si-** suffix may be reduced to **-i-**: when the verb root ends in /i/, this **-i-** coalesces with the /i/ of the root and the suffix is not overt. We find, therefore, the following variants of the sequential converb:

- |     |                  |                              |
|-----|------------------|------------------------------|
| (5) | <i>‘come’</i>    | <i>‘remove’</i>              |
|     | <b>kha-si-rə</b> | <b>nikali-si-rə</b>          |
|     | <b>kha-si</b>    | <b>nikali-si</b>             |
|     | <b>kha-i</b>     | <b>nikali-i</b> [> /nikali/] |

There are a few environments where the reduced sequential converb is obligatory: these will be discussed below.

**3. THE SEMANTICS OF THE PROGRESSIVE CONVERB:** The basic meaning of the progressive converb is that the activity expressed by the converb is presented as being simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with, another activity expressed by the matrix predicate, and, further, that the two activities together constitute, in some sense, two aspects of the same larger ‘event’. This basic meaning defines a semantic/pragmatic territory within which a number of more specific interpretations are possible. These more specific interpretations are a function of the surrounding linguistic environment and situational context.

It is part of the meaning of the progressive converb that any predicate thus coded will be assigned an active, as opposed to a stative, interpretation. Further, clauses headed by the progressive converb are, with the exception of some grammaticalized constructions discussed below, generally restricted to a fairly low level of complexity: progressive converbs are found commonly with an absolute argument, either subject

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<sup>8</sup> There are also clear cognates of this form throughout the Bodic division of TB and, it seems, elsewhere in TB. See Huang 1996.

or direct object, but seldom occur with obliques, adverbials, or ergative subjects — clear instances of the last are especially rare.<sup>9</sup> This feature of the progressive converb is a function of the relatively tight integration of the converb into the matrix clause because of the sense that the converb and matrix are two aspects of the same event: arguments and adverbials are likely to be shared between the two predications.

The basic meaning of the progressive converb allows for a range of interpretations which includes the expression of manner, instrument, and attendant circumstance. For a manner interpretation, the relation between the converb and the matrix predicate is such that both describe aspects of the same event. Instrumental interpretations require that the same event be viewed from two different perspectives. Interpretations involving attendant circumstance require that there be two independent events, either of which could be stopped without affecting the other.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps the commonest use of the progressive converb is for the expression of manner. There are several subtypes of manner expression involving the progressive converb, the most straightforward being of the following type: the matrix verb is a generic verb of motion [*eg* ‘go’ or ‘come’] and the converb is also a verb of motion, but one specifying manner of motion along with the fact of motion. The following sentences illustrate this subtype:

- (6) **kyata pīrəm-siŋ dugri-gəy fya-i**  
 boy Piram-COM run-PROG go-PERF  
 ‘The boy ran to Piram’
- (7) **səməyā pwakhəra-ri pħara-gəy kha-i**  
 Samayan Pokhara-LOC walk-PROG come-PERF  
 ‘Samayan walked to Pokhara’

Strictly speaking, the matrix verb in (6) and (7) is semantically superfluous, since the converb alone expresses both the fact of motion and the manner in which it was done. Despite the semantic superfluity of the matrix verb in such sentences, in Chantyal it is unusual, but apparently not ungrammatical, to employ verbs of motion which incorporate information about manner as main verbs when a terminus, either a beginning or an end point, is expressed. So, for example, sentences like (8) are rarely heard:

- (8) **səməyā pwakhəra-ri pħara-i**  
 Samayan Pokhara-LOC walk-PERF  
 ‘Samayan walked to Pokhara’

Included also in this subtype are sentences where the matrix verb incorporates information about direction while the progressive converb describes manner:

- (9) **phurbal pəlti-gəy wadar-nħari wō-i**  
 ball roll-PROG cave-INES enter-PERF  
 ‘The ball rolled into the cave’

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<sup>9</sup> I have recorded only one unambiguous case where, given classical notions of constituency, an ergative subject forms a constituent with a PROG converb. But perhaps classical notions of constituency are not entirely appropriate for Chantyal: see Noonan & Bhulanja (in preparation).

<sup>10</sup> See König 1995 for discussion and further references.

Closely related to the last subtype are sentences where the converb describes the manner of the motion without itself being a motion verb:

- (10) **abə dɦatu khan nə kho-gəy kho-gəy ɦya-wa-khi**  
 now metal ore TOP dig-PROG dig-PROG go-NOM-COTEMP  
 ‘Now, while they went digging and digging the metal ore,’ [K7]

In the next subtype we include sentences where the progressive converb is the generic active verb **la-** ‘do’ accompanied by ‘expressive’ vocabulary, which mostly describes manner:

- (11) **mənchi ɦuttyaŋ ɦuttyaŋ la-gəy pɦara-i**  
 person staggering do-PROG walk-PERF  
 ‘The man walked staggering’
- (12) **pirəm kwatha-nɦari burruk burruk la-gəy ɦya-i**  
 Piram room-INES jumping do-PROG go-PERF  
 ‘Piram jumped into the room’
- (13) **sa-ye gɦəri-ma nə jəmməy gɦandran rə gɦundrun la-gəy**  
 clay-GEN jar-PL TOP all crashing+falling+down do-PROG  
**pəlti-i ro**  
 fall-PERF HEARSAY  
 ‘All the earthenware jars crashed down’ [M16]

The instrumental interpretation is illustrated by the following two sentences, the first of which employs, like the last set of examples illustrating the manner interpretation, expressive vocabulary together with the generic verb **la-** ‘do’:

- (14) **yəwta lato-kuchyato pəkhita pɦyal pɦyal la-gəy dɦuŋ-ye dula-ŋsə**  
 one owl wing flapping do-PROG tree-GEN hole-ABL  
**tɦō-si-m**  
 go+out-ANT-NPST  
 ‘An owl emerged from the hole in the tree by flapping its wings’ [Y81]
- (15) **cə-gam-sə jɦya-gəy kɦa-si tɦāy chyalis tɦo-kɦa-i**  
 that-ABL count-PROG come-ANT nowadays ‘46 arrive-come-PERF  
**tə**  
 FACT  
 ‘By that reckoning, we’re now at ‘46’ [K68]

The attendant circumstance interpretation is illustrated by the following set of sentences:

- (16) **cəŋ nə cə lokne mənchi nə yəwta dɦuŋ-ra ləgləg**  
 then TOP that male person TOP one tree-LOC trembling  
**tɦar-gəy kɦwappə cəri-i ro**  
 tremble-PROG leap+quickly climb-PERF HEARSAY  
 ‘Then the man, trembling with fear, quickly climbed up on the tree’ [N22]
- (17) **ɦəya bəw ɦəya ama la-gəy, kɦuy kɦuy la-gəy la-wa-nɦari**  
 oh father oh mother do-PROG panting do-PROG do-NOM-INES  
**tun pɦo-i tə**  
 up take+away-PERF FACT

- 'I took it up while going 'Oh father, oh mother' and panting' [I43-4]
- (18) **nfi-i hirdəyə phayni-kəy kha-i kha-i**  
 we-GEN heart break-PROG come-PERF come-PERF  
 'We came, came, our hearts breaking' [V71]

Before going on to discuss some grammaticalized constructions, one further use of the progressive converb should be noted. One occasionally finds a series of progressive converbs representing events subordinated to a generic action verb, usually **la-** 'do', which functions as a sort of summation of the events, providing a link between them and showing them to have been stages in the accomplishment of a single, larger event. Where the context allows, the effect, as in (20), is one of iteration, a repeated sequence.

- (19) **māā hə-cə sya-ma lacchi-gəy ləra ləra**  
 great+effort that-that meat-PL strip-PROG small+strip small+strip  
**pari-gəy tuŋ jhuntə-gəy hə-sə la-i nu**  
 cause+ happen-PROG up hang-PROG that-manner do-PERF reminder  
 'Stripping that meat with great effort, making small strips, hanging them up: I did it this way.' [I86-9]
- (20) **key chin lesəŋ cələ-kəy paki-kəy pəkə-kəy cələ-kəy**  
 some moment back stir-PROG cook-PROG cook+tr-PROG stir-PROG  
**paki-kəy pəkə-kəy cələ-kəy la-wa pəri-m**  
 cook-PROG cook+tr-PROG stir-PROG do-NOM happen-NPST  
 'After a few moments, you must stir it, cook, cook it, stir it, cook, cook it, stir it' [Q104-11]

Even where the converbs are understood as occurring in sequence relative to each other, they are also understood as being part of the accomplishment of the whole and occurring in temporal overlap with the summary verb. In this way, this use is consistent with the basic meaning of the construction.

The remaining uses of the progressive converb involve grammaticalized constructions of various sorts. I will only discuss two here, both of which illustrate a familiar pattern whereby a progressive or simultaneous converb is used as the form of the predicate in the expression of progressive aspect. The first sort constitutes a straightforward progressive and is formed with the copular verb **mu** acting as the auxiliary:

- (21) **fhokhor nə cə naku jhyal-gəm mar təy-gəy mu**  
 now TOP that dog window-ABL downward fall-PROG be+NPST  
 'Now the dog is falling down from the window.' [Y35]
- (22) **tor them-əŋ kha-gəy mu-ō ro**  
 up house-LOC bring-PROG be-IMPF HEARSAY  
 'He was bringing them up to the village' [M5]

The second sort has **la-** 'do' functioning as the auxiliary and, together with the progressive sense, incorporates the sense of an arranged event [*cf* English 'is to X'] or the sense of duration [*cf* English 'keep on X-ing'].

- (23) **cə-rasə təttə-kəy khyala-kəy la-i**  
 that-TEMP heat-PROG throw+away-PROG do-PERF

‘Then we are to be heating it and emptying it’ [Q374]

- (24) **tərə na-ra na-sə ajəy pəni gwar fir-kəy la-m**  
 but I-DAT I-ERG still also help beg-PROG do-NPST  
 ‘But I... I still also am keeping on begging for help’ [P282]

It is only in one of these constructions where the converb is the main verb with an auxiliary that the progressive converb is likely to occur with an overt ergative subject. In the following sentences, it is clear that the ergative NP is the subject of the converb and not the copular verb, since only transitive predicates have ergative subjects.

- (25) **ram-sə nɦaka cū-gəy mu-ma**  
 Ram-ERG chicken sell-PROG be-IMPF  
 ‘Ram was selling chickens’

- (26) **abə naku-sə ərɪŋŋal-ra sɦya-gəy mu**  
 now dog-ERG hornet-DAT look+at-PROG be+NPST  
 ‘Now the dog is looking at the hornets’ [Y53]

It seems that in becoming a matrix predicate, the progressive converb fit into a construction pattern that allowed for the expression of a fully expanded set of arguments and adverbials.

The progressive converb is areally somewhat atypical in that it is seldom reduplicated,<sup>11</sup> though examples of reduplication can be found [*eg ex. (10)*].

4. THE SEMANTICS OF THE SEQUENTIAL CONVERB: The sequential converb is a common component of Chantyal discourse. In some discourse types, such as narrative or procedural discourse, these converbs may amount to a quarter or more of all verbals.

The basic meaning of the sequential converb is that the event it encodes is understood to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate. A frequent sense associated with non-grammaticalized sequential converbs, therefore, is ‘and then’, and with this sense it is used to structure sequences of events in narrative. Because of this narrative structuring role, clauses headed by a sequential converb display a higher degree of complexity than clauses headed by the progressive converb, and are thus much more likely to have their own ergative subjects.

- (27) **cə-ŋsə arko bəs-ri cəri-si-rə yek ghəntə ligam Nəwdara-ri**  
 that-ABL next bus-LOC climb-ANT-SEQ one hour after Nawdara-LOC  
**jɦəri-si-rə capa ca-i**  
 get+off-ANT-SEQ meal eat-PERF  
 ‘Then, next, we boarded the bus, and one hour later we got off and ate a meal’  
 [F5-7]

- (28) **ɦə-sər ta-si-rə khi-sə tam bɦi-si-rə musukkə**  
 that-manner become-ANT-SEQ s/he-ERG talk say-ANT-SEQ smilingly  
**ner-si-rə rajkumar-ra nɦa-ri pɦo-i**  
 smile-ANT-SEQ prince-DAT inside-LOC take-PERF  
 ‘Having happened in that manner, having agreed, having smiled, she took the

<sup>11</sup> See Abbi 1992 and Ebert 1993.

prince inside' [AA93-6]

The basic meaning allows for a variety of other contextually determined senses, in fact any sense which is compatible with this sort of temporal sequencing. For example: condition,

- (29) **dfilo p̄hara-ysi-rə, tala t̄hem-əŋ t̄ho-wa fin**  
slow walk-ANT-SEQ how house-LOC arrive-NOM be+NPST  
'If you walk so slow, how will you get home?' [= 'Having walked slowly...']

cause,

- (30) **jun pyā-si-rə chələŋŋə wujəlo mu**  
moon shine-ANT-SEQ clear bright be+NPST  
'The moon is shining brightly' [= 'the moon having shown, it's clear bright']

- (31) **n̄fi t̄hara ca-wa mən k̄ha-si-rə yewta bh̄əysi kin-ji**  
milk curds eat-NOM desire come-ANT-SEQ one buffalo buy-PERF  
'We wanted to consume dairy products so we bought a water buffalo'

- (32) **na-sə khi-ra ḡhos p̄iri-si-rə t̄ha-i**  
I-ERG s/he-DAT song let+loose-ANT-SEQ win-PERF  
'I outsang him' [= 'I, having sung, defeated him']

instrument,

- (33) **tharaŋ tharaŋ f̄ya-si-rə kam la-m**  
far far go-ANT-SEQ work do-NPST  
'We go far away to work' [S34-5] [= 'Having gone far, far, we work']

concession,

- (34) **k̄fi birsi-si-rə th̄āya-wa fin-si-n t̄ə**  
you forget-ANT-SEQ know-NOM be-ANT-SUP FACT  
'Though you have forgotten, you probably have known' [= 'you, having forgotten, have probably known']

and attribution:

- (35) **kyarati-ma-ra lekhi-si-rə pin-si-wa sastər-ma**  
children-PL-DAT write-ANT-SEQ give-ANT-NOM story-PL  
'stories written for children' [= 'stories, having been written, given to children']

There are also instances of the sequential converb where there literally can be no sequence of events, but where the situation is framed as though there were, as in the following examples wherein the converb is used to describe manner:

- (36) **Əmrikane-ma-thōy la-si-rə ci-i**  
American-PL-ESS do-ANT-SEQ sit-PERF  
'He sat down like an American' [= 'Having done it like an American, he sat']

- (37) **ḡhwara ḡaw-gəmsə dugri-si-rə ḡhyaŋ-ri f̄ya-i**  
horse village-ABL run-ANT-SEQ forest-LOC go-PERF  
'The horse ran from the village to the forest'

In both these examples the progressive converb could be used too [cf (37) and (6)] with only a small difference in meaning, *viz* that with the progressive the activity is emphasized over its accomplishment. Overall, the progressive converb is more commonly used in the expression of manner than is the sequential converb.

The sequential converb is used in a number of grammaticalized constructions. In each of these cases a special meaning has come to be associated with the construction and only the ‘reduced’ sequential converb is allowed, *ie* the form without **-rə** and containing only the ‘anterior’ suffix **-si-**. [The non-reduced converb, if used in these cases, would produce a change in meaning.] Below is a list of the most important of these constructions, all of which are discussed in some detail in Noonan & Bhulanja (in preparation):

A. *catalytic passive*

- (38) **na fə-ju khor-ri thuni-si ni-si-wa fin**  
 I that-this trap-LOC restrain-ANT happen-ANT-NOM be+NPST  
 ‘I got held in this trap’ [P349]

B. ‘finish X-ing’ with **čfin-** ‘finish’

- (39) **ç mura yek għənta-nħari lū-si čfin-ji**  
 that log one hour-INES burn-ANT finish-PERF  
 ‘the log finished burning in an hour’

C. *benefactive [or antibenefactive] with pin-* ‘give’

- (40) **na-ra pir-si pin-o**  
 I-DAT let+loose-ANT give-IMPER  
 ‘Let me loose!’ [P68]

D. *reciprocal with khum*

- (41) **ram rə səməyā nħəy-si khum la-i**  
 Ram and Samayan wash-ANT RECIP do-PERF  
 ‘Ram and Samaya washed each other’

E. *certain adverbials*

- (42) **thas-si ci-si-wa mu**  
 listen-ANT sit-ANT-NOM be+NPST  
 ‘they have sat attentively’ [Y126]

As noted, each of these sentences would have a different meaning if the full form of the converb were used. In (42), the sense would be ‘After listening, they have waited’.

5. FURTHER ASPECTS OF THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF CONVERBS: Some remaining issues concerning the syntax of converbs in Chantyal remain to be discussed. In this section I will be concerned only with the non-grammaticalized uses of the contextual converbs.

One generalization that emerges from this and the preceding sections is that, where they differ, the progressive converb evidences a tighter integration into the matrix clause than the sequential converb. The relative autonomy of the sequential converb and the relative dependency of the progressive converb are mostly a function of their meanings.

5.1 TENSE, ASPECT, AND MOOD: The time reference of the sequential converb is secondary, *ie* relative to the primary tense of the main clause, and thus does not independently establish a time reference relative to the moment of speaking. For example, in the

following the narrator is describing a trip to his home village which he plans for the following year:

- (43) **na tthem-əŋ hya-si-rə bəw-ra dfo-wa fin**  
 I house-LOC go-ANT-SEQ father-DAT meet-NOM be+NPST  
 'I'll go home and see my father' [= 'Having gone home, I'm to see my father']  
 [H1-2]

Because of the context in which this was said, we understand the converb to be referring to a time future relative to the moment of speaking; however, had the sentence been uttered after he had arrived in his home village, but before he met his father, we would understand the clause as referring to an event past relative to the moment of speaking.

The aspectual and modal interpretation of the sequential converb is a consequence of the aktionsart of the predicate, the situational context, and so on and is not dependent on that of the main verb. So, in (44), we understand the sequential converbs as having a perfective sense, while the main clause is imperfective:

- (44) **cə-ŋsə nə khi nə bagluŋ-ri hya-si-rə sa-ye ghəri**  
 that-ABL TOP s/he TOP Baglung-LOC go-ANT-SEQ clay-GEN jar  
**kin-si-rə tor tthem-əŋ kha-gəy mu-ō ro**  
 buy-ANT-SEQ upward house-LOC bring-PROG be-IMP Hearsay  
 'Then, he went to Baglung and bought clay jars and was bringing them up to the village' [M3-5]

In (45), the converb can receive a habitual or a perfective interpretation:

- (45) **bagluŋ-ri hya-si-rə sa-ye ghəri kinə-m**  
 Baglung-LOC go-ANT-SEQ clay-GEN jar buy-NPST  
 'He goes to Baglung and sells pots' *or* 'Having gone to Baglung, he sells pots'

In (46), the converb can variously be understood as being within the scope of the modal in the main clause or outside it:

- (46) **pfarabi nə yes-si-rə ghyaŋ-ri hya-wa pəri-m**  
 early+morning TOP get+up-ANT-SEQ forest-LOC go-NOM happen-NPST  
 'You must get up early in the morning and go to the forest' *or* 'Having gotten up early in the morning, you must go to the forest'

Because the sense of the progressive converb is such that the converb and its matrix are perceived as being aspects of the same event, the tense and mood follow from that of the matrix. [The aspect, of course, is inherent in the converb.]

5.2 NEGATION: The sequential converb lies outside the scope of negation of the matrix:

- (47) **ttthem-əŋ hya-si-rə a-ca**  
 house-LOC go-ANT-SEQ NEG-eat-PERF  
 'I went home and didn't eat'  
 \*'I didn't go home and eat'

The progressive converb can be understood to lie within the scope of negation of the matrix, but such interpretations are not obligatory. In (48) [*cf* (9)], the sentence is neutral as to whether the ball actually rolled:

- (48) **phurbal pəlti-gəy wadar-nhari a-wō**

ball roll-PROG cave-INES NEG-enter-PERF  
 'The ball didn't roll into the cave'

5.3 CONTROL OF SUBJECT: Like most of its Tibeto-Burman kin, Chantyal is a 'cool' language [in the sense of Huang (1984), borrowing the terminology of Marshall McLuhan], which is to say one in which participants, if they are assumed to be identifiable contextually, are not mentioned. In this environment, not surprisingly, subject control relations are not grammaticalized for either contextual converb. Numerous examples have already been presented showing the converbs sharing subjects with their matrix predicates. Below are two examples showing with the sequential converb having a different subject than the matrix predicate:

(49) **hə-jə g̃hos-ma jəmməy khīci-si-rə bəjə-wa-khi nə**  
 that-that song-PL all pull-ANT-SEQ play-NOM-COTEMP TOP  
**mənchi-ma nə jəmməy dəŋŋəy pəri-i**  
 person-PL TOP all puzzled happen-PERF  
 'He recorded all those songs, and when he played them, everyone was puzzled'  
 [O49-51]

(50) **cə b̃hulur-sə kha-ra nə j̃hi-si-rə s̃ara-ysi-wa**  
 that leopard-ERG neck-DAT TOP bite-ANT-CV swell-ANT-NOMV  
 'That leopard bit the neck, and it swelled' [K83-4]

Below is an example of the progressive converb with a different subject than its matrix:

(51) **ñfi-i h̃irdəyə phayni-kəy kha-i kha-i**  
 we-GEN heart break-PROG come-PERF come-PERF  
 'We came, came, our hearts breaking' [V71]

Unlike the sequential converb which freely occurs with an independent ergative subject, the progressive converb never seems to have one. I've only recorded one example of an ergative subject which is clearly governed by a progressive converb, though it is shared with the matrix:

(52) **cəŋ nə thyadiri-sə pəni na-ra kərə-gəy kha-i**  
 then TOP eldest+sister-ERG also I-DAT shout-PROG come-PERF  
 'Then eldest sister came shouting to me also' [R89]

5.4 COMPLEX CONVERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS: It is possible for a converb to be dependent on another converb, even one of the same type. Sequential converbs are commonly used in this way: in the sequence V<sub>1</sub>-SEQ V<sub>2</sub>-SEQ V-PERF, we understand the event coded by V<sub>1</sub>-SEQ to occur prior to the event coded by V<sub>2</sub>-SEQ, which in turn is understood to occur prior to the main verb, V-PERF. Examples were provided above, *eg* (27) and (28). With progressive converbs, it is mostly a moot point as to whether they are subordinate to a following progressive converb or to the main verb only since the interpretation of simultaneity would follow in either case. Even in those instances where a sequential interpretation is possible, there is usually an accompanying sense of iteration of the whole sequence.

Examples of progressive converbs which are dependent on sequential converbs are numerous in my data,

(53) **b̃hāra-ri khur-kəy kar-kəy la-si-rə**

pot-LOC clean-PROG put+in-PROG do-ANT-SEQ  
 'keep cleaning them and putting them in the pot' [Q28]

but there are no instances of the reverse, *ie* of a sequential converb being dependent on a progressive converb. Only the immediate future converb occurs in my data subordinated to a progressive converb:

- (54) **thū-nu thū-nu la-gəy a-thū**  
 drink-IMFT drink-IMFT do-PROG NEG-drink-PERF  
 'She was about to drink, but didn't'

5.5 WITH VERBS OF SAYING: Both converbs are used with direct quotes with verbs of saying, functioning in a manner similar to that of a complementizer. Indeed, converbs of the verb 'say' are a common source of complementizers and constructions parallel to these can be found throughout South and Central Asia. Here as elsewhere the choice between the two converbs rests on whether the event of speaking is understood as anterior to or simultaneous with the matrix clause.

- (55) **"cəŋ nə ta-ri mu-wā" bfi-si-rə cə syal-sə sori-i**  
 then TOP what-LOC be-IMPF say-ANT-SEQ that jackal-ERG ask-PERF  
 "'Then, what were you in?" the jackal asked' [P310-2]
- (56) **na "ama tato pani-ŋsə kha-la?" bfi-si-rə surə-gəy kara-i**  
 I mother hot water-ABL come-PERF+Q say-ANT-SEQ ask-PROG cry-PERF  
 'I cried asking: "Did mother come back from the hot springs?"' [R93]
- (57) **"na-sə bhuluŋ-ra khor chū-si-wa" bfi-si-rə bfi-i**  
 I-ERG leopard-DAT trap set-ANT-NOM say-ANT-SEQ say-PERF  
 "'I set a trap for the leopard!" he said' [P315-6]
- (58) **"abə bhālu-ra ghisari-gəy kha-wa pəri-i" bfi-gəy**  
 now Bear-DAT drag-PROG bring-NOM happen-PERF say-PROG  
**bhālu-muwari hya-wa-khi nə**  
 Bear-ADES go-NOM-COTEMP TOP  
 "'Now I must bring Bear by dragging him [to the fire]," he was saying while he went up to Bear' [L46-8]

Example (57) illustrates the fact that a non-finite form of **bfi-** 'say' is obligatory following direct quotes even where **bfi-** itself is the main verb.

These constructions have a number of complexities in Chantyal which cannot be gone into here. Two additional points are worth mentioning, however: first, the device of the direct quote is used to permit the embedding of finite clauses even where there is really no actual utterance being quoted. Such clauses may be given a variety of interpretations consistent with the basic sense of the two converbs [or, indeed, of the nominalization in **-wa**, which is also frequently used for this purpose]. For example, with a sequential converb such clauses may be given a causal interpretation:

- (59) **phəlphul-ra ni məstəy thfan-si-rə pari-wa pəri-m**  
 fruit-DAT little a+lot store-ANT-SEQ make+happen-NOM happen-NPST  
**bfi-si-rə nfi-sə ənnə-bhənda phəlphul ce məstəy səmmə**  
 say-ANT-SEQ we-ERG grain-COMP fruit little a+lot until  
**thfana-m**

store-NPST

'Because we need to keep the fruit a little longer [in order to make raksi], we keep the fruit a little longer than grain' [Q391-3]

The text preceding **bfi-si-rə** is a finite clause; it is not literally a direct quote, that is it is not a representation of anyone's audible speech. It is instead a sort of quotation of an interior monologue or of thought.

Second, the grammaticalization of **bfi-** with direct quotes has not progressed so far as to have resulted in a single invariable form used for the purpose. The grammatical form of **bfi-** is variable and a response to the immediate grammatical environment.

6. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONVERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS: As noted above, the sequential converb was once marked by the **-si-** element alone. This form became grammaticalized in a number of constructions, including one involving the copular verb **mu**: this construction has evolved further down the path of grammaticalization and has yielded in Chantyal<sup>12</sup> a perfect. This has resulted in forms like the following:

(60) **ca-si-m** [**< ca-si mu**]  
'have eaten'

**-si-** has gone on to combine with other elements within the verbal paradigm [see (34)] and, in a move that seems unique to Chantyal among its Tamangic brethren, **-si-** has come to be used as a marker of anteriority in with the nominalizer **-wa** as well: see (35) and (38).

There is another **-kəy** suffix in Chantyal, one which displays the same allomorphy as the progressive converbal suffix. This suffix has an optative sense and is used only with third person referents:

(61) **ca-kəy**  
eat-OPT  
'let her eat!' ~ 'may she eat!'

On the surface, a progressive converb and an optative don't seem to have much in common, but the two can plausibly be linked through a nominalization, which could evolve, under various conditions, into either a progressive or an optative. For example, nominalizations can evolve into progressives in construction with static locatives and certain stative verbs, eg 'be' as in the Nar-Phu example below:

(62) **ŋæ kha-pe mû**  
I come-NOM be-NPST  
'I'm coming'

Senses like the optative, with a sense of futurity or unrealized state, can evolve out of periphrastic constructions with nominalizations also, as in the following Chantyal example:

(63) **na kha-wa fin**  
I come-NOM be+NPST  
'I am to come' ~ 'I'm going to come'

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<sup>12</sup> Also in Thakali: see Georg 1996.

As noted, the **-kəy** suffix of the progressive converb has no counterpart in the Tamangic languages. The optative, however, does have a counterpart in Gurung **-rge**, described by Glover as a third person hortatory suffix and functionally quite like Chantyal **-kəy**. It remains to be seen whether more cognates can be found within Tamangic or elsewhere in Bodic, especially a nominalization that might demonstrate a link between the forms progressive converb and the optative.<sup>13</sup>

#### Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ADES	adessive	NOM	nominalization
ANT	anterior	NPST	non-past
COM	comitative	OPT	optative
COMP	comparative	PERF	perfective
COND	conditional	PL	plural
COTEMP	cotemporal	PROG	progressive converb
DAT	dative	PST	past
EMPH	emphatic particle	Q	interrogative
ERG	ergative	SEQ	sequential converb
ESS	essive	SUP	suppositional
FACT	evidential particle: factual statements	TEMP	temporal case
IMFT	immediate future converb	TOP	topic particle
IMPER	imperative		
IMPF	past imperfective		
INES	inessive		

<sup>13</sup> Magar has a nominalizer in **-ke** [referred to by Shepard & Shepard (1973) as an ‘infinitive’] which can be used to form periphrastic progressives and optatives. An example of the latter follows [Shepard & Shepard p394]; the **-ke/khe** allomorphy is regular:

- (a) **chining-cx jxmuna gayrha-ng al-khe**  
 today-EMPH Jamuna gorge-LOC take+away-NOM  
 ‘Let the cows be taken away to the Jamuna Gorge!’

Further, DeLancey (1989) notes that there is some evidence that the Classical Tibetan genitive **-kyi** developed from a nominalizer.

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