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# Chapter 12

## Reflexive constructions in Thulung

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In this contribution, I present reflexive constructions in Thulung (Sino-Tibetan, Nepal). After introducing the language and its basic morphosyntax, I describe the primary reflexive strategy, which is the reflexive voice marker *-sit*, as well as the other uses of the same voice marker and the unclear status of the emphatic nominal *twap* in reflexivization. I then discuss the expression of coreference with different verb types, and with different semantic roles, before describing the difficulties of expressing partial coreference. I close the chapter with examples of long-distance coreference, a relatively simple situation in Thulung, which can embed reported discourse (or thought) only as direct speech.

### 1 Introduction to Thulung

Thulung is a language of the Kiranti subgroup of Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan, spoken by several thousand speakers in Solukhumbu district in Eastern Nepal (across the villages of Mukli, Deusa, Kangel, Lokhim, Jubu, Panchan, Salle, Necha); see Figure 1. The language is exclusively oral, although missionary efforts over the past twenty years have resulted in the translation of the Old Testament, transcribed in an adapted version of Devanagari.<sup>1</sup> The data discussed herein comes from fieldwork I have carried out on Thulung since 1999.

Like other Kiranti languages, Thulung is in close contact with Nepali (Indo-Aryan), the national language of Nepal, resulting in a number of calqued constructions.

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<sup>1</sup>The main adaptations concern the phonemes /ʊ/ and /ə/; vowel length is not transcribed.



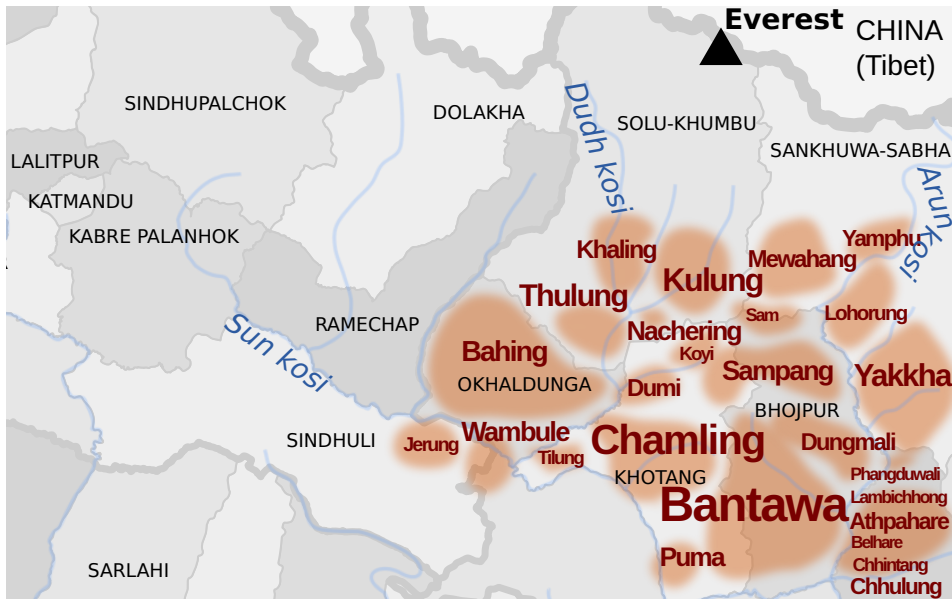


Figure 1: Map of the Kiranti-speaking area, based on Schlemmer (2019)

## 2 Basics of Thulung morphosyntax

While a minimal Thulung sentence can consist of a single finite verb, arguments are often present in the form of pronouns or full noun phrases. Arguments are identified on the basis of case-marking and indexation.

This section presents the personal pronouns of Thulung (§2.1), and the case-marking and indexing of core arguments (§2.2), both important preliminaries to understanding the language's reflexive constructions.

### 2.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns exhibit person, number (singular, dual, plural), clusivity and formality contrasts. The paradigm is shown in Table 1.

The formality contrast in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns is a relatively new phenomenon. An earlier description (Allen 1975) reports 2SG *gana*, 2PL *gani*, 3SG *gu* and 3PL *gumi*. It appears that new formal pronouns were created for the 2SG and 3SG by coopting the 2PL and 3PL pronouns, respectively, some time between Allen's fieldwork and the start of my own in 1999. The creation of new

Table 1: Personal pronouns of Thulung

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>go</i>	<i>gutsi</i> (incl.) <i>gutsuku</i> (excl.)	<i>gui</i> (incl.) <i>guku</i> (excl.)
2	<i>gana</i> (inform.) <i>gani</i> (formal)	<i>gatsi</i>	<i>gani</i> (-mim)
3	<i>gu</i> (inform.) <i>gumi</i> (formal)	<i>gutsi</i>	<i>gumi</i> (-mim)

plural pronouns through suffixation of the nominal pluralizer *-mim* filled the resulting gap in the pronoun system, even though speakers currently tend to use both new and old plural forms with about equal frequency (Lahaussais 2003).

## 2.2 Case-marking and indexing of core arguments

Core arguments are identified through case-marking and argument indexation, which are conditioned by the referential hierarchy (e.g. Silverstein 1976; DeLancey 1981) in (1):

- (1) 1 > 2 > 3 > human > non-human animate > inanimate

Thulung has a split ergative case-marking system, with the split occurring within the person section of the hierarchy. When acting as A arguments, two case-marking possibilities exist: 1<sup>st</sup> singular, 2<sup>nd</sup> singular, 2<sup>nd</sup> dual persons are nominative-marked (i.e. unmarked); this is what is seen in (3) and (5) below. Other A arguments, namely 2<sup>nd</sup> plural, 3<sup>rd</sup> persons and other NPs, are ergative-marked (with *-ka*),<sup>2</sup> as is seen in (4) and (6) below.

Object arguments also have differential marking, with the split occurring within the animacy part of the referential hierarchy. The dative marker *-lai* (glossed DAT), borrowed from Nepali, appears on primary objects (“an indirect object in a ditransitive clause or a direct object in a monotransitive clause”, Dryer 1986: 808) characterized by animacy: it is generally found with high-status humans (see 5–6 below), and only optionally with low-status humans (e.g. children) and occasionally animals (‘dog’ is unmarked in 3–4). Inanimate objects are

<sup>2</sup>The unusual position of the split, within the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, can be explained as resulting from the creation of new plural pronouns with suffixation of the nominal pluralizer *-mim*. Presumably, *-mim*, previously only found with 3<sup>rd</sup> person-like NPs, triggered ergative-marking on the new 2<sup>PL</sup> form *gani-mim* (through analogy with other *-mim*-marked NPs).

almost never marked. (For some discussion of primary object marking across Tibeto-Burman and its semantic nature, see LaPolla 1992).

A few alignment patterns illustrate the marking of core arguments, encoded as follows: ‘S-Ø V-s’ translates to mean that the S argument is unmarked, and the verb (V) takes indexation for the single S argument (see 2). Similarly, with transitive scenarios, ‘A-Ø P-Ø V-a>p’ is to be translated as two unmarked A and P arguments and a verb with indexation for A and P.

- (2) S-Ø V-s:  
*gu khor*  
 3SG[-Ø] snore[.3SG]  
 ‘He snores.’
- (3) A-Ø P-Ø V-a>p:  
*go khlea jal-u*  
 1SG[-Ø] dog[-Ø] strike-1SG>3SG  
 ‘I strike the dog.’
- (4) A-ka P-Ø V-a>p:  
*gu-ka khlea jal-u*  
 3SG-ERG dog[-Ø] strike-3SG>3SG  
 ‘He strikes the dog.’
- (5) A-Ø P-lai V-a>p:  
*go me mʉtsʉ-lai jal-u*  
 1SG[-Ø] DEM man-DAT strike-1SG>3SG  
 ‘I strike that man.’
- (6) A-ka P-lai V-a>p:  
*gu-ka go-lai jal-ŋi*  
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT strike-3SG>1SG  
 ‘He strikes me.’

Thulung verbs index up to two arguments<sup>3</sup> on verbs, with a series of intransitive person indexes and a series of transitive indexes. Verbs are often labile, with the same root occurring with either transitive or intransitive indexes, and bringing about changes to argument structure and semantics.

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<sup>3</sup>These are A and P in a monotransitive scenario, and either A and R (for secundative verbs) or A and T (for indirective verbs) in ditransitive scenarios.

### 3 Reflexive strategy and uses

This section will present the reflexive voice marker (§3.1), additional uses of the same marker (§3.2), and raise the question of the role of the emphatic nominal in reflexive constructions (§3.3).

#### 3.1 Reflexive voice marking

Thulung has a reflexive voice marker, *-siŋ* (and allomorphs *-si*, *-sin*, *-sik*), which is the primary strategy for expressing agent-patient coreference. It occurs in a specific slot of the verbal template and has been reconstructed to proto-Kiranti *\*-nši* (van Driem 1990: 47). The reflexive voice marker has a number of functions: the central one is reduction of the valency of the verb,<sup>4</sup> which can thereby only take intransitive indexes. This brings about the interpretation of the agent and patient, neither of which is necessarily overtly expressed (although the agent is overtly expressed in 7–9), as coreferential.

- (7) *go sol-si-ŋu-mim tsʌŋra tel-ka klʌ:-si-ŋu*  
 1SG wash-REFL-1SG-NMLZ after oil-INS rub-REFL-1SG  
 ‘After I wash, I rub myself with oil.’
- (8) *go oram-nun tseŋ-si-ŋu*  
 1SG DEM.PROX-COM hang-REFL-1SG  
 ‘I will hang (myself) onto this.’ [holding onto a monkey’s tail to escape from imprisonment]
- (9) *meram mʉtsʉ u-twap-ŋa sen-s-ta*  
 DEM man 3SG.POSS-self-INT kill-REFL-3SG.PST  
 ‘The man killed himself.’ (elicited)

Sentence (9) could equally well be formulated with a 3SG pronoun subject as in (10):

- (10) *gu u-twap-ŋa sen-s-ta*  
 3SG 3SG.POSS-self-INT kill-REFL-3SG.PST  
 ‘He killed himself.’

It is interesting to contrast this with the expression of the object pronoun in situations of disjoint reference, which in this case would yield (11):

<sup>4</sup>Note however that in Thulung, as in related Khaling, intransitive verbs can sometimes be reflexivized (see Lahaussais 2016: 57–58; Jacques et al. 2016: 44; Jacques 2015).

- (11) *gu-ka meram-lai seŋ-dɛ*  
 3SG-ERG DEM-DAT kill-3SG>3SG.PST  
 ‘She killed him.’

Note that the use of the distal demonstrative *meram* as the object pronoun makes it clear that this is a case of disjoint reference, with the distal deixis establishing otherness.

While there is a single reflexive voice marker, which is obligatory in reflexive constructions and occurs in full paradigms (see Table 2), with no restrictions as to person/number and tense, there is an older, no longer productive reflexive marker, the reflex of which is found in many verbs with middle semantics. This older reflexive marker only surfaces in partial paradigms, as an *-s* on the verb stems that occur with 1PI and 3SG forms (see grey cells in Table 3), and verbs where it appears are now considered to form an inflectional class (the *s*-stem class). Interestingly, this class is not limited to intransitive verbs: transitive verbs are also found (bearing transitive indexes), though in considerably lower numbers than intransitives.

The two paradigms are contrasted in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2: Paradigm for verb *khlo:simu*, ‘return’, with the reflexive voice marker *-si* (or allomorphs) in all forms

	NPST	PST
1SG	<i>khlo:-si-ŋu</i>	<i>khlo:-si-ŋro</i>
1DI	<i>khlo:-si-tsi</i>	<i>khlo:-siŋ-tsi</i>
1DE	<i>khlo:-si-tsuku</i>	<i>khlo:-siŋ-tsoko</i>
1PI	<i>khlo:-sir-i</i>	<i>khlo:-siŋ-di</i>
1PE	<i>khlo:-sin-ku</i>	<i>khlo:-siŋ-toko</i>
2SG	<i>khlo:-si-na</i>	<i>khlo:-siŋ-na</i>
2DU	<i>khlo:-si-tsi</i>	<i>khlo:-siŋ-tsi</i>
2PL	<i>khlo:-si-ni</i>	<i>khlo:-siŋ-ni</i>
3SG	<i>khlo:-si</i>	<i>khlo:-siŋ-da</i>
3DU	<i>khlo:-si-tsi</i>	<i>khlo:-siŋ-tsi</i>
3PL	<i>khlo:-si-mi</i>	<i>khlo:-si-mri</i>

Table 3: Paradigm for verb *semu*, ‘fart’, with *-s* only surfacing in forms in grey cells

	NPST	PST
1SG	<i>se-ŋu</i>	<i>se-ŋro</i>
1DI	<i>se-tsi</i>	<i>se-ttsi</i>
1DE	<i>se-tsuku</i>	<i>se-ttsoko</i>
1PI	<i>ses-i</i>	<i>ses-ti</i>
1PE	<i>se-ku</i>	<i>se-ttoko</i>
2SG	<i>se-na</i>	<i>se-nna</i>
2DU	<i>se-tsi</i>	<i>se-ttsi</i>
2PL	<i>se-ni</i>	<i>se-nni</i>
3SG	<i>se</i>	<i>ses-ta</i>
3DU	<i>se-tsi</i>	<i>se-ttsi</i>
3PL	<i>se-mi</i>	<i>se-mri</i>

However, because the productive reflexive voice marker is optionally phonologically reduced to *-s*, this sometimes leads to identical forms between the paradigms of reflexively-marked verbs and the *s*-stem class verbs of Table 3, namely

in the 1PI and 3SG forms. An example of the variant form of the reflexive voice marker is seen in (9) above: instead of the expected *sen-sit-da* [kill-REFL-3SG.PST], we have *sensta*. While this form may look like it belongs to a paradigm such as that in Table 3, it is in fact a variant form of an otherwise well-behaved reflexively-derived verb. (For more detailed discussion, see Lahaussais 2011, 2016).

### 3.2 Other uses of the reflexive voice marker

The reflexive voice marker has a number of other uses: it can also mark reciprocal, middle, antipassive and anticausative functions. I retain REFL as a gloss for the marker across its different uses, as an indication of what I consider to be the core function.

With a reciprocal function, the utterance must contain a non-singular subject (as in 12). Semantics is important to interpretation; in (13), without the reduplicated emphatic nominal, the utterance would be ambiguous as to a reciprocal vs a reflexive interpretation (which would be something like ‘twist themselves up’).

- (12) *mər-tsip mamtha phwa-sit-tsi*  
 that-DU last.year separate-REFL-3DU.PST  
 ‘They separated last year.’
- (13) *mənim twap-twap bal-si-mi*  
 3PL self-RED wind-REFL-3PL  
 ‘They are tangled together.’

Example (13) can be contrasted with (14), which features a reflexive form of the same verb.

- (14) *memlo u-lu-dra u-mam-ku sem*  
 then 3SG<sub>2</sub>.POSS-tooth-LOC 3SG<sub>1</sub>.POSS-mother-GEN hair  
*bal-sik-pa mini-ka lwas-tu ?e*  
 wind-REFL-ACT.PTCP human<sub>1</sub>-ERG see-3SG<sub>1</sub>>3SG.PST HS  
 ‘Then the human<sub>1</sub> saw his<sub>1</sub> mother’s hair that had wound itself around his<sub>2</sub> tooth.’

The line between a reflexive and a middle interpretation can be a fine one, but the following examples are of “situations where there is no clear distinction between the ‘doer’ and the one ‘being done to’” (LaPolla 2003: 36); see also Kemmer 1993: §3), and are considered middles. Example (15) illustrates non-translational motion, (16) of change in body posture.



- (15) *a-rəm nə-ra-ma go ki-si-ŋro*  
 1SG.POSS-body hurt-3SG.PST-CONJ 1SG pull.tight-REFL-1SG.PST  
 ‘My body hurt and I stretched.’
- (16) *lamtsoko-ra tsəttə-mim ther-si-mri*  
 door-LOC child-PLU lean-REFL-3PL.PST  
 ‘The children were leaning on the door.’

With an antipassive use, the patient argument of the underived sentence becomes an oblique argument, a fact which is reflected in the case markers it takes on after derivation: comitative *-nun* or ablative *-ram* (17b), or locative *-ra* (18b). In the underived examples with the same base verbs in (17a) and (18a), *go* and *mandir* are patient arguments. The change in case-marking is accompanied by a change in the indexes on the verb, which are intransitive, indexing the S, after derivation.

- (17) a. *gu-ka go-lai ghram-ŋi*  
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT feel.disgust-3SG>1SG  
 ‘He is disgusted by me.’
- b. *gumi bira-nun/-ram ghram-si-mi*  
 3PL leech-COM/-ABL feel.disgust-REFL-3PL  
 ‘They are disgusted by leeches.’
- (18) a. *gu-ka mandir khir-ʈ*  
 3SG-ERG temple circumambulate-3SG>3SG  
 ‘He circles the temple.’
- b. *gu mandir-ra khir-si*  
 3SG temple-LOC circumambulate-REFL.3SG  
 ‘He circles around at the temple.’

When there is no clear external cause for the action, an anticausative interpretation results. This is the case with the reflexive-marked verb in (19).

- (19) *dʌksa tsar-siŋ-da*  
 tree make.fall-REFL-3SG.PST  
 ‘The tree fell.’

### 3.3 Reflexive or emphatic nominal?

While the primary reflexivization strategy in Thulung is clearly verbal, the language has an emphatic nominal, *twak* or *twap*, which is optionally used in some reflexive constructions, as in (20).

- (20) (*u-twap*      *tsΛi*)    *thΛ-s-ta*  
 (3SG.POSS-self CONTR) hide-REFL-3SG.PST  
 ‘He hid (himself).’

This nominal, which can be translated as ‘self’, often takes possessive indexes, as in the following paradigm (Table 4).

Table 4: Emphatic nominal paradigm (possessive pronoun + ‘self’)

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>a-twap</i>	<i>atsi-twap</i> (incl.) <i>itsi-twap</i> (excl.)	<i>aki-twap</i> (excl.) <i>iki-twap</i> (incl.)
2	<i>i-twap</i>	<i>itsi-twap</i>	<i>ini-twap</i>
3	<i>u-twap</i>	<i>utsi-twap</i>	<i>uni-twap</i>

There is an additional set of adnominal possession markers: the possessive indexes in Table 4 combine with a nominalizer *-ma*, generating a full set with person/number/clusivity contrasts; these nominalized forms are used attributively, preceding the noun they modify. We thus have *ama twap* [1SG.POSS self] ‘my self’ as well as *a-twap* [1SG.POSS-self] ‘myself’ used interchangeably.

Emphatic nominals are not obligatory with most reflexive constructions, and are often found in scenarios where there is no coreference, as in (21):

- (21) *u-twak-ka*      *dwak-u-m-num*      *bia*      *bo-m-sa-mu*  
 3SG.POSS-self-ERG like-3SG>3SG.NMLZ-COM marriage do-INF-APPL-INF  
 ‘They should marry her to someone she herself likes.’

Nonetheless, in certain reflexive-voice-marked scenarios, the emphatic nominal can be used as well. This is the case with (22) below.

- (22) *me* *kΛΛs-ram* *ku-ka*      *twap* *prΛn-si-mu*      *ba:si*  
 DEM Kales-ABL water-INS self sprinkle-REFL-INF must  
 ‘Each person must sprinkle himself with water from the Kales.’

## 4 Coreference with different verb types

This section explores the expression of coreference with different verb types: body care and grooming verbs (§4.1), and extroverted verbs (§4.2).

#### 4.1 Body care/grooming verbs

Verbs of grooming and body care can be divided into those affecting only part of the body and those affecting the whole body.

Body-part actions can be expressed either by means of reflexivized verbs or transitive constructions. Example (23) illustrates two body-part actions expressed through reflexivized verbs.

- (23) *hur-si-ri-mim*                      *tsaŋra bui-dʌ:la tel-ka*    *klʌ:-si-mu*    *ba:si*  
 wash.head-REFL-1PI-NMLZ after    head-on    oil-INS apply-REFL-INF must  
 ‘After we wash our hair, we must apply oil [to our heads].’

Transitive constructions, with the object possessively marked or not, can also be used. Example (24) illustrates this alternative construction with the same (first) verb as in (23).

- (24) *go a-sem*                      *hur-pu-ma*                      *dʌt-pu*  
 1SG 1SG.POSS-hair wash-1SG>3SG-CONJ comb.hair-1SG>3SG  
 ‘I wash my hair and comb it.’

Example (25) shows a transitive construction used for a body-part action, without possessive marking on the body part; the equivalent whole-body action can be seen in (7), with obligatory reflexive voice marking.

- (25) *go lwa dzəmka səl-pu*  
 1SG hand carefully wash-1SG>3SG  
 ‘I wash my hands carefully.’

Thulung also expresses some body-part actions through the following dependent verbs (as per Kemmer 1993: 22), for which no base verb currently exists: *hi:simu* ‘turn body or head’, *khusimu* ‘wear on head’, *khʌsimu* ‘wear on feet’.

Whole-body actions, typically dressing and bathing, are always reflexively marked, as illustrated in examples (26–28).

- (26) *to:si-ra*                      *tshəm-ra*    *lʌ:-mu-lai*    *bwapme-mim*    *tshəm*  
 Tosi.festival-LOC dance-LOC go-INF-DAT housewife-PLU much  
*blwa-siʔ-miri*  
 dress.up-REFL-3PL.PST  
 ‘To go to dance at Tosi, the housewives dressed themselves up a lot.’

- (27) *mɛ:sɥ ku-gui plum-siɥ-da*  
 buffalo water-into immerse-REFL-3SG.PST  
 ‘The buffalo immersed itself in the water.’
- (28) *go nepsuŋ-ra blaŋ-siŋ-ro*  
 1SG sun-LOC dry-REFL-1SG.PST  
 ‘I dried myself in the sun.’

#### 4.2 Extroverted verbs

With reflexivized extroverted verbs (“those which denote an action typically performed on others”, Haiman 1998: 73), subjects are nominative case-marked and verbs take intransitive indexes and are reflexively marked. Additionally, they tend to include the emphatic nominal, as seen in (29), as well as in (9), which includes another extroverted verb.

- (29) *khlea u-twap-ŋa khren-si*  
 dog 3SG.POSS-self-INT bite-REFL.3SG  
 ‘The dog bites itself.’ (elicited)

### 5 Coreference of subject with different semantic roles

#### 5.1 Possessors

Thulung uses the same coding system for possessors, whether or not there is coreference between the subject and the possessor: possession is marked with a possessive index on the possessed noun and/or a genitive case marker on the possessor.<sup>5</sup>

Examples (30–31) illustrate the same adnominal possession marking (prefix *u-*, for 3SG.POSS) used to mark possession which is coreferential with the subject (in the first occurrence in each sentence), and coreferential with the patient (in the second occurrence in each sentence). This shows quite clearly that Thulung has no special adnominal possessor form for coreference with the subject.

<sup>5</sup>This yields the following possibilities:

- (i) *mam-ku (u-)khel*  
 mother-GEN (3SG.POSS-)leg  
 ‘mother’s (her-)leg’

- (30) *u-bʌdzai-lai*                      *thon-kot-dʌ*                      *ʔe me thʌŋki-ka*  
 3SG<sub>1</sub>.POSS-grandmother-DAT IDEO-spray-3SG<sub>1</sub>>3SG<sub>2</sub>.PST HS DEM resin-INS  
*u-kʌl-bʌri*  
 3SG<sub>2</sub>.POSS-face-all.over  
 ‘He sprayed his grandmother suddenly with resin, all over her face.’

The first instance of *u-* (*u-bʌdzai* ‘his grandmother’) is coreferential with the subject (not overtly expressed, but present in the discourse and indexed on the verb), whereas the second (*u-kʌl*, 3SG.POSS-face) refers instead to the grandmother as possessor, and is thus coreferential with the object. The coreference is indicated with subscript numbers in the glosses.

A similar situation is found in (31), although it is made up of two sequential utterances:

- (31) *me u-khel*                      *tsʌi honka dʌs-tʌ*                      *ʔe me*  
 DEM 3SG<sub>1</sub>.POSS-leg CONTR like.this move-3SG<sub>1</sub>>3SG.PST HS DEM  
*khola-go-jʌ*                      *tsobethat-dʌ*                      *ʔe ; me ŋo-ka ne me*  
 river-inside-LOW.LOC dip-3SG<sub>1</sub>>3SG.PST HS ; DEM fish-ERG TOP DEM  
*u-khel*                      *khret-dʌ get-dʌ*                      *retsʌ ʔe*  
 3SG<sub>1</sub>.POSS-leg bite-PURP come-3SG<sub>2</sub>.PST it.seems HS  
 ‘He moved his legs like this, he dipped them into the river, and that fish came to bite his legs.’

The two relevant possessed nouns in (31) are the two occurrences of *khel* ‘leg’: the first occurrence is coreferential with the (unexpressed, but indexed on the verb) subject of the verb *dʌstʌ*; in the second occurrence, the subject is the (overtly expressed and ergative-marked) *ŋo* ‘fish’, and there is no coreference between the subject and the possessor of *khel* ‘leg’.

It might be suspected that the possession of body parts and kin terms in (30) and (31) potentially has an impact on the possessive index, but this is not the case: in (32), *u-* alone marks possession by the subject of the utterance.

- (32) *u-ʔa:rbar*                      *khjarjarjarja*                      *thʌt-to*                      *jok-ta*                      *ʔe*  
 3SG<sub>1</sub>.POSS-machete scraping.sound pull-SIM.CVB go.down-3SG<sub>1</sub>.PST HS  
 ‘He went down, pulling his machete with a scraping sound.’

In situations where coreference between the subject and possessor must be definitively established, the emphatic nominal *twap* is used, in which case no ambiguity remains. Thus while (33) can be used for both situations with coreference and disjoint reference between the subject pronoun and the nominal adpossessor, (34) can only be interpreted as coreferential.

- (33) *gu-ka uma khe:sa seʈ-qʰ*  
 3SG<sub>1</sub>-ERG 3SG<sub>1/2</sub>.POSS lover kill-3SG>3SG.PST  
 ‘She<sub>1</sub> killed her<sub>1/2</sub> lover.’
- (34) *gu-ka uma twak-ku khe:sa seʈ-qʰ*  
 3SG<sub>1</sub>-ERG 3SG<sub>1</sub>.POSS self-GEN lover kill-3SG<sub>1</sub>>3SG.PST  
 ‘She killed her own lover.’

The coding of possessors is also relevant to the expression of coreference between two non-subject arguments of a single clause: because there is no special possessive marker for coreference, such situations are also potentially ambiguous (and can be disambiguated using an emphatic nominal), as in (35).

- (35) *jelun-ka bala-nun uma (twak-ku) du:tham sə-urʰ*  
 Jelun-ERG Bala-COM 3SG.POSS (self-GEN) about tell-3SG>3SG.PST  
 ‘Yelung told Bala about herself.’

## 5.2 Beneficiaries

Coreference between agent and beneficiary (which I have referred to as ‘auto-benefactive’ elsewhere; Lahaussais 2016; Jacques et al. 2016) is also expressed through reflexive voice marking on the verb. This is illustrated in (36–37).

- (36) *go a-khe:sa mal-si-ŋro*  
 1SG 1SG.POSS-lover search-REFL-1SG.PST  
 ‘I searched for a lover for myself.’
- (37) *go ama la:gi ko:-le humje bhre-ŋ-si-ŋro*  
 1SG 1SG.POSS sake one-CL shawl buy-1SG-REFL-1SG.PST  
 ‘I bought myself a shawl.’

The phrase *ama la:gi* ‘for my sake’ in (37) functions here like an emphatic, but is by no means necessary for the expression of coreference. Note that it is a strategy for introducing a beneficiary in cases of non-coreference as well.

When the beneficiary is not coreferential with the agent, the additional non-agentive argument is usually brought into the argument structure through an applicative marker on the verb; the indexes on the verb are for the agent and the beneficiary argument. There are a few options to mark the beneficiary: dative marker *-lai* (used for primary objects) as in (38), with the phrase *-ku/-kam la:gi*, ‘for the sake of’, where the beneficiary is the possessor, or through possessive marking on the theme, as in (39).

- (38) *gu-ka lwak-lai phadzi bhre-saŋ-dɥ*  
 3SG-ERG younger.sibling-DAT bag buy-APPL-3SG>3SG.PST  
 ‘He bought a bag for his brother.’
- (39) *uma saŋ phar-saŋ-toko*  
 3SG.POSS wood collectively.cut-APPL-1PE>3SG  
 ‘We collectively cut his wood for him.’

Verbs which are not applicative-marked are also found, however, and use the same strategies for coding the beneficiary, as in (40) where both the applicativized and non-applicativized forms are found to be acceptable.

- (40) *mam-ka tsettse-lai dzam khok-sa-mri/khok-tu*  
 mother-ERG child-DAT rice cook-APPL-3PL>3SG.PST/cook-3SG>3SG.PST  
 ‘Mother cooked rice for the child.’

### 5.3 Recipients

The expression of coreference between an agent and a recipient appears to be quite unnatural in Thulung. Utterances can be produced during elicitation, but my corpus does not contain a single one spontaneously produced example.

Example (41a) is contrasted with an equivalent example without subject-recipient coreference in (41b).

- (41) a. *mesem u-twap uphar gwa:-si*  
 girl 3SG.POSS-self gift give-REFL.3SG  
 ‘The girl gives herself a present.’ (elicited)
- b. *mesem-ka ŋopsə-lai uphar gwak-ɥ*  
 girl-ERG friend-DAT present give-3SG>3SG  
 ‘The girl gives her friend a present.’

In (41a), the verb is detransitivized with *-si*, as expected, and takes intransitive 3SG indexation, and the agent and recipient (expressed overtly through the emphatic nominal) take nominative case-marking, as they would in an intransitive scenario. Yet while sentences expressing coreference between a subject and a recipient are able to be produced in elicitation, in some cases they involve ergative-marked subjects with reflexivized verbs, and thus appear to be marginal.

## 6 Exact vs partial coreference

In partial coreference, there is incomplete overlap between the agent and patient, a situation brought about when the reference involves a first or second person and one of the arguments encompasses a larger set than the other (“I see us”; “we (incl.) see you”). Because the main strategy for establishing agent-patient coreference in Thulung is the use of the reflexive voice marker, entailing detransitivization and the use of intransitive indexes, the expression of partial coreference is not possible: partial coreference would need to index both arguments, something that cannot be done with intransitive indexes.

While some ditransitive verbs may look like they express partial coreference, this is in fact the result of the verb in question being an indirective and indexing A and T (rather than R, as in secundative verbs). This is seen in (42), in which the verb indexes the subject [1SG] and *dzam* [3SG] meaning ‘food’, and not the recipient [1DI].

- (42) *go gutsi-lai dzam phet-pu*  
 1SG 1DI-DAT food serve-1SG>3SG  
 ‘I will serve us (incl.) both food.’

Attempts at eliciting situations involving partial coreference result in a number of strategies:

- a. altering the scenario to involve exact coreference (as in 43–44):<sup>6</sup>

- (43) *gutsi ko:-le-ŋa je hum-sin-tsi*  
 1DI one-CL-INT cloth wrap-REFL-1DI  
 ‘We wrap ourselves in the same blanket.’ [intended: Wrap us (incl.) in the same blanket]
- (44) *gutsi chatta-ka rim-sin-tsi*  
 1DI umbrella-INS cover-REFL-1DI  
 ‘We cover ourselves with the umbrella.’ [intended: You cover us (incl.) with the umbrella]

- b. using a semantically-related intransitive to express the intended scenario (as in 45):

<sup>6</sup>Examples (43–44) were inspired by examples provided in Bickel et al. (2010).



- (45) *gana me-dzəpa ga:ri then-na-ma:la      gui si-i*  
 2SG NEG-good car drive-2SG>3SG-COND 1PI die-1PI  
 ‘If you drive the car badly, we will die.’ [intended: You will kill us  
 (incl.) all (scenario: driver driving dangerously)]

c. paraphrasing the scenario (as in 46):

- (46) *gana go-lai wakha lamdi-beŋ-ni*  
 2SG 1SG-DAT slow walk-CAUS-2SG>1SG.PST  
 ‘You made me walk slowly.’ [intended: you slowed us (incl.) down  
 (by walking slowly)]

The examples above, illustrating Thulung strategies for solving problems of partial coreference, show that the language can only express exact coreference (reflexive voice marking and intransitive indexes) or completely disjoint reference (transitive indexes and appropriate case-marking for distinct argument roles).

## 7 Long-distance coreference

Thulung uses direct speech as a means of embedding any quoted material, and this applies both to speech and to thinking. As a result, the establishment of coreference of the subject across clauses does not need to be expressed in such complement clauses: a 1<sup>st</sup> person form of a verb within the direct speech clause establishes coreference (see 47–48); any other person expresses disjoint reference in utterances. For a similar situation in Chantyal, see Noonan (2006).

- (47) *go mi-bi-ŋu      rwak-ta*  
 1SG NEG-come-1SG say-3SG.PST  
 ‘He said he wouldn’t come.’ [lit. He said “I won’t come.”]
- (48) *gu-ka ne seŋ-to      rwak-pa      mim-dɥ-m*  
 3SG-ERG TOP kill-1SG>3SG.PST say-ACT.PTCP think-3SG>3SG.PST-NMLZ  
*ba-ira*  
 be-PST  
 ‘She had thought she killed him.’ [lit. She had thought, saying “I killed him.”]

These examples can be contrasted with a scenario (in 49) where the use of non-1<sup>st</sup> person marking in the embedded clause firmly establishes disjoint reference between the subjects of the two clauses.

- (49) [me:sem u-lwak                                  ne set-qɬ]                                  wostsə  
female 3SG.POSS-younger.sibling TOP kill-3SG>3SG.PST male  
*u-wa:-ka*                                  *mem rwak-ta-m*  
3SG.POSS-older.sibling-ERG DEM say-3SG.PST-NMLZ  
'The older brother thought that she [an ogre] had killed his younger sister.' [lit. "She killed my younger sister" said the older brother.]

## 8 Conclusions

Thulung has a primary strategy for establishing agent-patient coreference: the use of a reflexive voice marker *-sit*. Its use on a verb triggers intransitive subject indexes and nominative case-marking on the subject. In addition to reflexivity, the reflexive voice marker is used to mark reciprocity, middle scenarios, antipassives and anticausatives.

A possessive indexed emphatic nominal can be optionally used to reinforce the expression of coreference. The use of the emphatic nominal is notably found in situations where coreference cannot be established by means of any specialized markers, such as with the marking of possession: adnominal possessive indexes are neutral as to coreference or disjoint reference with other arguments. One also finds the emphatic nominal in sentences with extroverted verbs, suggesting that such situation types require additional coding of the coreference. It is also possible that Thulung is undergoing change with respect to its reflexive-voice-only strategy, and that the use of the emphatic nominal is on the rise, under the influence of Nepali.

Additional interesting features of Thulung are the impossibility of marking partial coreference, and the fact that the language’s embedding of direct speech makes the marking of coreference across complement clauses unnecessary.

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## Abbreviations

This chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008). Additional abbreviations used are:

ACT.PTCP	active participle	INT	intensifier
CL	classifier	LOW.LOC	low-locative
CONJ	conjunction	PE	plural exclusive
CONTR	contrastive focus	PI	plural inclusive
DE	dual exclusive	PLU	nominal pluralizer
DEM	demonstrative (distal)	RED	reduplication
DEM.PROX	proximal demonstrative	SIM.CVB	simultaneous converb
DI	dual inclusive	TEMP	temporal
HS	hearsay		

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