

THE 'DOUBLE DEMONSTRATIVES' OF CHANTYAL

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0. INTRODUCTION

The Chantyal language [Tibeto-Burman: Bodic: Bodish: Tamangic] is spoken by about 2000 of the 11,000 ethnic Chantyal in the Myagdi District of west-central Nepal.¹ Chantyal attests a number of Bodic demonstrative etyma, but only members of three sets retain clear demonstrative senses and oppositions based on spatial deixis.² In this paper, I will discuss these three sets of demonstratives and, in particular, how demonstratives from different sets can combine to form a construction I will call the 'double demonstrative'.

1. INDEPENDENT DEMONSTRATIVES

The first of these demonstrative oppositional sets I will refer to as the 'independent' set since its members are the only ones which regularly occur alone as independent words. This set contrasts a proximal **cu** with a distal **cə**. These forms may fill grammatical roles such as subject or object independently — i.e. they may be pronominal heads of NPs — or they may be used adnominally to determine and modify nouns. As pronouns, they are often used to translate English third person pronouns, though there are also dedicated third person pronoun forms as well, singular **khi** and plural **thə-ma**, both of which are also based historically on demonstratives though they no longer express spatial deixis. **khi** and **thə-ma** are used almost exclusively with human referents; as pronouns, **cu** and **cə** may have human or non-human referents. In non-deictic pronominal usage, distal **cə** is by far the most common. Some examples follow:

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² There are some additional contrasting sets which include members of the three sets discussed in this paper. For example, **cunnə** 'right here' and **cənnə** 'same place', which include 'independent demonstratives' [§1], contrast with **khənnə** ~ **khyənnə** 'right there', which contains a demonstrative element not found in any of the other sets though cognate with the 3s personal pronoun **khi**.

- (1) *cə* *bfiuluŋ-ye* *sāyesəpət* *təy* *a-thāy-i*
 that leopard-GEN noise nothing NEG-know-PERF
 'I wasn't aware of that leopard's noise.' [I3]
- (2) *a::* *cu* *samra* *nə* *təy* *ta-sere* *ley*
 ah this thigh topic nothing become-ANT+NEG+NPST surprise
 'This thigh had not yet become nothing [*i.e.* it hadn't rotted away]!' [I11]
- (3) *cə* *garāwa* *mu*
mu good be+ NPST
 'That's nice.'
- (4) *kfiyam-əŋ* *bini-ri-wa* *yəwta* *cini-si-wa* *mastər-ra*
 way-LOC Beni-LOC-NOM one know-ANT-NOM teacher-DAT
dfiə-si-rə *cə-ye* *ligam* *lagi-i*
 meet-ANT-SEQ that-GEN after follow-PERF
 'On the way, I met a teacher I knew from Beni and followed him.' [G16-7]

2. LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVES

The next set of demonstratives I'll refer to as the 'locative' set since they are attested only in a small set of locative constructions. This set contrasts a proximal *ca-* and a distal *te-*. They are always found with one of a set of three suffixes:

- (5) *ca-ŋ* 'this place, over here' *te-ŋ* 'that place, over there'
ca-r 'in this way/direction' *te-r* 'in that way/direction'
ca-jam 'this side [of river/gorge]' *te-jam* 'that side [of river/gorge]'

ca-ŋ and *te-ŋ* are suffixed with a locative case marker of limited distribution and indicate location, either static or dynamic. *ca-r* and *te-r* contain a form etymologically related to the unmarked locative *-ri*, which has both locational or directional senses, in contrast to the directional sense found in the forms with final *-r*: in this/that way or direction. The morpheme *-jam* is found only with the locative demonstratives. The forms listed in (5) can be affixed with additional case markers, case compounding being a common process in Chantyal. Examples follow:

- (6) *ni* *te-r* *səri-o* *sə*
 little that-LOC move-IMP FRUSTRATION
 'Move over a little!'

- (7) **ca-ŋ-gəmsə** **te-ŋ** *h̥ya-ro*
 this-LOC-ABL that-LOC go-IMP
 'Go there from here.'
- (8) **te-jam-wa** *sirkhərkə*
 that-side-NOM Sirkharka
 'the Sirkharka on the far side of the river'

EXAMPLE (8) illustrates the use of the nominalizer **-wa** in forming attributive constructions.³

The independent demonstratives also form locative constructions, e.g. with the locative case marker **-ri**: **cu-ri** 'here' and **cə-ri** 'there'. These forms have both locational and directional senses and thus can be used in place of either **ca-ŋ** and **te-ŋ** or **ca-r** and **te-r**. All three sets are idiomatic and are found frequently in discourse, with the forms containing the locative set preferred when there is a felt need to emphasize locational or directional senses.

3. PREFIXAL DEMONSTRATIVES

The last set of demonstratives will be referred to as the 'prefixal' set. The prefixal demonstratives form a three-way deictic opposition: proximal **yi-**, distal **h̥a-**, and remote **wu-**. As the name implies, the prefixal set are found prefixed onto other forms.⁴ There is a limited set of forms to which the prefixal demonstratives can be attached. Some of these forms are illustrated in (9):

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (9) | yi-sər | 'this way/manner' | yi-ddyo | 'this big' |
| | h̥a-sər | 'that way/manner' | h̥a-ddyo | 'that big' |
| | wu-sər | 'that way/manner' | wu-ddyo | 'that [over there] big' |
| | yi-jəgər | 'this much [quantity]' | yi-jjyajyar | 'this much [volume]' |
| | h̥a-jəgər | 'that much [quantity]' | h̥a-jjyajyar | 'that much [volume]' |
| | yi-tu | 'up here' | yi-məŋ | 'down here' |
| | h̥a-tuŋ | 'up there' | h̥a-məŋ | 'down there' |
| | wu-tuŋ | 'up there yonder' | wu-məŋ | 'down there yonder' |
| | yi-tor | 'to up here' | yi-mar | 'to down here' |
| | h̥a-tor | 'to up there' | h̥a-mar | 'to down there' |
| | wu-tor | 'to up there yonder' | wu-mar | 'to down there yonder' |

³ See Noonan (1997) for discussion.

⁴ Proximal **yi-** is cognate with **yi** 'right here', a form that can be used independently. I've recorded some instances of the other prefixal demonstratives being used in similar ways, though **yi** is the only one that occurs frequently and that all speakers seem to agree is an independent word.

The final /r/ in these forms is etymologically related to locative -ri, and the final /ŋ/ to the non-productive locative -ŋ. **yi-ddyo** 'this big' and **fiə-ddyo** 'that big' contain the adjective **thya-wa** 'big': the allomorph -*ddyo* is found only in this construction. Some of the roots above — -**sər** 'manner, kind', -**jəgər** 'quantity', and -**jyayyar** 'volume' — either mostly or always occur with the prefixal demonstratives. A few examples of the prefixal set follow:

- (10) **fiə-sər** *lə-o*
DISTAL-manner do-IMP
'Do it that way!'
- (11) **yi-sər-wa** *jəŋəl*
PROXIMAL-manner-NOM forest
'this sort of forest' [V35]
- (12) *ta-i* *nə* **fiə-jəgər** *nə* *bfi-lanə*
become-PERF TOPIC DISTAL-quantity TOPIC say-COND
'If I say that much, it's enough.' [W49]
- (13) **wu-tu-ŋ** *dhuŋ-ra-wa* *yinəni* *thu-la* *kham mu-ē*,
REMOTE-up-LOC tree-LOC-NOM bitter.apple pick-COND be.able be-NPST.Q
a-kham *mu*
NEG-be.able be-NPST
'Can you pick the bitter apple on the tree up yonder, or can't you?'

4. DOUBLE DEMONSTRATIVES:

Of special interest to us here is the fact that the prefixal set can be attached to both the independent and locative demonstratives, resulting in forms which I will refer to as 'double' demonstratives. The following double demonstratives have been recorded with the independent demonstratives as the second element:

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|------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (14) | cu | 'this' | cə | 'that' |
| | yi-cu | PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL | yi-cə | PROXIMAL-DISTAL |
| | fiə-cu | DISTAL-PROXIMAL | fiə-cə | DISTAL-DISTAL |
| | | | wu-cə | REMOTE-DISTAL |

The following double demonstratives have been recorded with the locative demonstratives as the second element:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| (15) | ca-ŋ | 'this place, over here' | te-ŋ | 'that place, over there' |
| | yi-ca-ŋ | PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL | | |
| | fiə-ca-ŋ | DISTAL-PROXIMAL | fiə-te-ŋ | DISTAL-DISTAL |
| | | | wu-te-ŋ | REMOTE-DISTAL |