

Mirativity in Kurtöp

GWENDOLYN HYSLOP, *Research Centre for Linguistic Typology, La Trobe University*

Received MAY 2010; Revised JUNE 2011

ABSTRACT

The linguistic encoding of information as being unexpected is referred to as the ‘mirative’. Since DeLancey (1997) established mirativity as a cross-linguistic category, the awareness of its presence in languages of the world is growing. This is true also for the languages of South Asia, perhaps most commonly amongst the Tibeto-Burman languages. This article offers the first description of mirativity in Kurtöp, an under-described Tibeto-Burman language of Bhutan. Mirativity is encoded with unique suffixes and free forms that are also an integral facet of the verbal system in Kurtöp. Mirativity is contrasted in perfective and imperfective aspect verbal inflections, and in distinct affirmative and negative sets of equational and existential copulas.

1 Introduction

As advances in documentary linguistics provide us with in-depth descriptions of a growing number of languages, our understanding of seemingly unusual phenomena is deepened, and indeed what seemed unusual several decades in the past is now known to be more commonplace. Mirativity, described for only a few languages two decades ago, is now known to occur in dozens of different languages (if not more) from different language families, around the world. For example, since DeLancey’s seminal article (DeLancey 1997), mirativity has been described for several languages in the Himalayan region alone (e.g., Grunow-Hårsta (2007) for Magar; DeLancey (1997) for Sunwar and Newar; Watters (2002) for Kham; Bashir (2010) for Shina¹). In fact, Dickinson (2000, 380) speculates that mirativity may be a universal conceptual category. The aim of this article is to offer a description of mirativity in Kurtöp, which is grammatically encoded throughout the verbal system.

The mirative as a conceptual category is different from, but related to, evidentiality and epistemic modality, and is perhaps best understood in light of these two. Evidentiality is concerned with *source* of knowledge; epistemic modality encodes *certainty* of knowledge, while mirativity is concerned with *expectations* of knowledge. Dickinson (2000, 381) asserts that a ‘mirative marker indicates psychological distancing — the speaker did not anticipate the event or state’, which she contrasts with an inferential evidential marker, which ‘indicates physical distancing from the event’. DeLancey (1997) defines mirativity as ‘the status of the proposition with respect to the speaker’s overall knowledge structure’.

Mirativity in some languages is encoded by a morpheme or construction that is also used to encode other categories, such as inference or related evidential categories. In other languages, a particular

¹This article does more than provide an analysis of mirativity in Shina (which, in Shina, is ‘one semantic development from an underspecified verbal form which can develop various meanings’ (Bashir 2010, 47)); it also provides an impressive summary of mirative marking in fourteen neighboring languages of various families.

form or construction is devoted exclusively to mark mirativity. Perhaps the most well-known example is Turkish (Aksu-Koç and Slobin 1986, Slobin and Aksu 1982). Below, I follow Dickinson (2000, 380–381) in presenting the data and analysis from Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) and Slobin and Aksu (1982).²

- (1) Kemal geld-**di**
 Kemal come-Past
 ‘Kemal came.’
- (2) Kemal geld-**mış**
 Kemal come-mış
 ‘Kemal came.’

Slobin and Aksu (1982) describe three contexts for the data in (2):

- a. *inference*: The speaker sees Kemal’s coat hanging in the front hall, but has not yet seen Kemal.
 b. *hearsay*: The speaker has been told that Kemal has arrived, but has not yet seen Kemal.
 c. *surprise*: The speaker hears someone approach, opens the door, and sees Kemal — a totally unexpected visitor.

Importantly, the context described in (c) is considered a basic function of *-mış*, not an idiosyncratic or unusual use. Psychologically, the function of *-mış* is described as representing a situation in which the speaker had no “premonitory awareness” (Slobin and Aksu 1982, 196). As we will see below, this is also the analysis of the Kurtöp imperfective mirative.

Kurtöp displays many features typical of South Asian languages including SOV syntax, Differential Object Marking (Hyslop 2010), and inflectional verbal morphology. Finite clauses in Kurtöp, with the exception of imperative moods and questions, are obligatorily encoded for evidential-like values, including evidentiality, speaker’s expectation of knowledge, and epistemic modality. Mirativity, as one of these categories, is encoded in perfective and imperfective aspect as well as copular clauses.

The data presented in this article come from extended fieldwork in Bhutan, mainly during 2008–2009, but also shorter trips in 2006, 2007 and 2010. My methodology has been to collect natural data by way of recorded conversations, storytelling and personal narratives. Elicitation is mainly used to fill in paradigmatic gaps in the data and cross-check for negative examples. Unless stated otherwise, the data in this article were drawn from a corpus consisting of eleven texts, representing the speech of 14 native speakers, both males and females varying in age from 20 to over 60.

2 Background

Kurtöp is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Lhüntse district of Northeastern Bhutan. The speech community begins just south of Lhüntse town, in Tangmachu, and runs north, along the Kurichu, until the Tibetan border. On the east, Kurtöp is bordered by the Dzala speaking area, to the south by Chöcangaca, and to the west by Bumthap. The location of the Kurtöp speech community is shown in Figure 1. Kurtöp has several distinct dialects and is spoken by approximately 15,000 people. The variety of Kurtöp represented in this study is that of Dungkar geok (district), where there are approximately 3,000 speakers.

Within the Tibeto-Burman language family, Kurtöp has been classified as ‘East Bodish’, a term first used by Shafer (1954) to identify a family of languages that was closely related to but not directly descended from Classical Tibetan. Since then, Aris (1979) and van Driem (1998, *inter alia*) have identified several other East Bodish languages, mainly in Bhutan. These include Dzala, Chali, Bumthap, Khengkha, ‘Nyenkha, and Kurtöp. The historical placement of the East Bodish

²In neither Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) nor Slobin and Aksu (1982) are the data in (1) and (2) presented in this order. Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) present sentence (2) but with the subject Ahmet rather than Kemal while Slobin and Aksu (1982) present the data in (1). However, it is clear that the presentation and analysis presented by Dickinson (2000) is accurate and a concise summary of the issue.



FIGURE 1 The Kurtöp language area in Bhutan

languages within Tibeto-Burman is still subject to debate, particularly in light of the fact that most of these languages are still virtually undescribed. Since Shafer, many scholars (e.g., Michailovsky and Mazaudon 1994, DeLancey 2008, Hyslop 2008) have noted the many features that the East Bodish languages share with Tibetan. However, it is possible that many of these features are borrowings over a potentially non-Bodic substrate.

2.1 Evidentiality, mirativity and speaker expectation

Evidentiality as a linguistic category encoding source of knowledge is now established as a cross-linguistically relevant category. Aikhenvald (2004) identifies numerous linguistic areas and language families well known for evidential systems, including the Balkans, areas of North America, Mexico, Amazonia, the Andes, a few languages in Africa, and Turkic, West Caucasian, Eskimo-Aleut and Tibeto-Burman language families. Recently, an entire volume of *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* was devoted to descriptions of evidentiality in Tibeto-Burman languages, with contributions on Rgyalthing Tibetan (Hongladarom 2007), Yongning Na (Lidz 2007), Darma (Willis 2007), nDrapa (Shirai 2007), Magar (Grunow-Hårsta 2007), and Spiti Tibetan (Hein 2007).

The existence of mirativity as something different from evidentiality has long been noted (e.g., Aronson 1967, Friedman 1977, 1986) but DeLancey (1997) is credited with the establishment of mirativity as a cross-linguistic, typological category. While evidentiality is linguistic coding of source of information, mirativity is quite different, coding that the information is not expected. Despite the acknowledged difference between these categories, evidentiality and mirativity are often intertwined in the same verbal paradigms. Indeed, this is the case in Kurtöp.

2.2 The Kurtöp verbal system

Kurtöp, like almost all other Tibeto-Burman languages and the languages of South Asia, has verb-final syntax. Core arguments generally precede the verb and in the case of bivalent verbs, the A argument will precede the O argument. However, this AOV order is a generalization; in natural speech speakers may move the S, A and/or O argument to follow the verb, depending on pragmatic factors. Verbal arguments are not required overtly and in fact, are often missing in natural discourse.

Kurtöp tends toward a polysynthetic morphological profile, with many words consisting of more than one morpheme. Verbs are usually composed of two to three morphemes within three to four syllables and it is not unusual for verbs to consist of five syllables. There is one prefix in the language (the negative marker, discussed below) and the remainder of verbal morphology is comprised of suffixes and enclitics.

Leaving the matter of questions and imperatives aside, a distinction can be made in Kurtöp between clauses that end with a copula and clauses that do not end in a copula. In the former category, a copula may be used to encode typical copular functions (existence, equation, prediction, location, possession), may be used in conjunction with a clausal nominalization, or may be used with a non-final marked converb in a clause-chaining construction. Clauses that do not end in a copula will consist of minimally a verb plus a finite suffix. There are three enclitics that speakers can use at the end of the clause, either attached to the copula in the case of a copular clause, or attached to the end of the finite-marked verb, in the case of a copula-less clause.

2.2.1 Clauses involving copulas

In addition to the typical functions of copulas (cf. section 5), copulas are widely used in Kurtöp as part of the verbal system. More specifically, equational copulas can be used in conjunction with a nominalized clause, and an existential copula can be used as the final, finite verb in a clause chain.

The data in (3)³ and (4) illustrate the basic distinction between a clause without a copula and a formally nominalized clause. In (3) the verb *ge* ‘go’ is suffixed with the finite egophoric perfective *-shang*. The data in (4) show the verb *ge* ‘go’ nominalized with the perfective nominalizer *-wala* and followed by the mirative form of the affirmative equative copula.

- (3) *khit ge-shang*
3.Abs go-Pfv.Ego
‘He went.’

- (4) *khit ge-wala wenta*
3.Abs go-Nmz.Pfv Cop.Eq.Mir
‘He went indeed.’

In addition to *-wala* (with allomorphs *-sala* and *-pala*), Kurtöp has an imperfective nominalizer *-khan*, a future nominalizer *-sang*, and an irrealis nominalizer *-male*. A clause nominalized by any of these can be completed with any form of the equative copula, depending on the polarity and the epistemic, evidential, or mirative value of the utterance.

Kurtöp also makes wide use of a clause-chaining construction, which, when used with a final existential copula, encodes durative aspect. A proto-typical use of the clause-chaining construction is shown in (5).⁴

- (5) *tsheni igu-the co-si boi bi-shang*
then letter-Def make-Nf 3.Erg give-Pfv.Ego
‘Then after making the letter, they gave (it).’ SBC200511275.83.02-86.595KW

Here, the first clause consists of the O argument *igu-the* ‘letter-Def’ and the converb *co* ‘make’, marked with the non-final suffix. The second clause consists of the ergative-marked pronoun *boi* and the final verb *bi* ‘give’, which is suffixed with the egophoric perfective suffix *-shang*. Note here

³Data in this paper are represented in Roman letters designed for Dzongkha by George van Driem and Karma Tshering and adapted to Kurtöp. The symbols correspond to the IPA as follows: <k> [k], <kh> [k^h], <g> [g], <ng> [ŋ], <c> [c], <ch> [c^h], <j> [j], <ny> [ɲ], <tr> [t̪], <thr> [t̪^h], <dr> [d̪], <t> [t̪], <th> [t̪^h], <d> [d̪], <p> [p̪], <ph> [p̪^h], [b̪], <m> [m̪], <ts> [t̪s̪], <tsh> [t̪s̪^h], <sh> [ʃ̪], <zh> [ʃ̪], <s> [s̪], <z> [z̪], <l> [l̪], <lh> [l̪^h], <r> [r̪], <a> [a̪], <e> [e̪], <i> [i̪], <o> [o̪], <u> [u̪], <ö> [ø̪], <ü> [y̪], <’CV> high tone on following vowel, <^> long vowel.

⁴If data are drawn from the textual database, the file name of the text, location in the text (if noted) and speaker is indicated. For example, in ‘SBC200511275.83.02-86.595KW’, ‘SBC200511275’ is the name of the recording; ‘83.02-86.595’ indicates this utterance occurred between 83.02-86.595 seconds (time stamp given by the program Transcriber), and ‘KW’ indicates the speaker was KW.

that verbal arguments are shared between the two clauses, but that is not a requirement of the construction; it is also possible for each verb to have its own argument (overt or covert). This example shows one converb, but in natural speech it is quite common for several converbs to be chained together, followed by one final, finite-marked verb.

What is relevant for our purposes is the presence of an existential copula as the final, finite verb. Consider (6), showing the converb *thung* ‘do’ immediately followed by the existential copula. The resulting denotation is a single event, encoding durative aspect, which differs from the imperfective *-ta/-taki* in that it indicates the event continued or continues on for an extended period of time.

- (6) *khit chorten kora thung-si nawala*
 3.Abs stupa circumambulation do-Nf Cop.Exis
 ‘S/he keeps circumambulating the stupa.’

Example (6) shows the clause-chain construction ending with the basic form of the affirmative existential copula, but speakers may use any of the existential copulas, depending on the particular epistemic, evidential, or mirative value they denote.

The semantically unmarked forms of the copulas are shown in Table 1. The equational copulas are *wen* and *min* while the existential copulas are *nawala* and *mû*. Syntactically, copulas differ from lexical verbs in that they do not take verbal prefixes or suffixes (however, as I show below, some of the copulas appear to have been formed diachronically with some of the verb suffixes described in sections 3 and 4). Copulas, however, can be suffixed with a subset of nominalizers (Hyslop 2011). The various epistemic, evidential, and mirative forms of the copulas are presented in section 5, where I focus the discussion on the mirative forms.

Copula	Semantic Value	Polarity
<i>wen</i>	Equational	Positive
<i>min</i>	Equational	Negative
<i>nawala</i>	Existential	Positive
<i>mû</i>	Existential	Negative

TABLE 1 Kurtöp semantically unmarked copulas

2.2.2 Clauses without copulas

In declarative matrix clauses that are not nominalized, a verb can be suffixed with one inflectional suffix as well as a negative prefix. Table 2 provides an overview of the syntagmatic analysis of the Kurtöp finite verb. The suffixes in bold, *-na* and *-ta*, are miratives in perfective and imperfective aspect, respectively, and will be discussed in greater detail below.

Negation ⁵	Stem	Suffix
<i>ma-</i> , <i>me-</i> , <i>mi-</i> <i>má-</i> , <i>mé-</i> , <i>mí-</i>	_____	<i>-shang</i> , <i>-pala</i> , <i>-para</i> , <i>-na</i> , <i>-mu</i> , <i>-ta</i> , <i>-taki</i> , <i>-male</i> , <i>-kina</i> , <i>-ø</i>

TABLE 2 Syntagmatic diagram of the Kurtöp verb

A stem is generally one syllable long and any stem can be negated and can take any of the suffixes. The negative prefix does not combine with the verb and all possible suffixes, however. Specifically,

⁵The form of the negative differs according to several factors. A difference in tense is denoted by the use of *ma-* versus *me-/mi-*; *ma-* denotes past tense while *me-/mi-* denotes non-past. In non-past, *me-* is used when the vowel of the stem is non-high and *mi-* is used when the vowel of the stem is high; that is, the negative prefix exhibits assimilation of height. Both past and non-past negatives also agree with the tone of the verbal stem. Verb stems obligatorily have either high or low tone (contrastive following sonorants but predictable following obstruents — voiceless conditions high tone while voiced conditions low tone; see Hyslop (2009)). This tone spreads to the prefix, so that a negative prefix has high tone if the verbal stem has a high tone, while the negative prefix has a low tone if the verbal stem has a low tone.

a verb with the suffixes *-mu* or *-male* cannot be negated. A simple example of a basic tensed verb is (7), showing the verb *ge* ‘go’ negated and suffixed with the egophoric perfective. Other perfectives are *-pala*, *-para*, *-na*, and *-mu*. The difference between these is evidential, mirative, or epistemic in nature, as I describe in some detail in section 3.

- (7) ngat **ma-ge-shang**
 1.Abs Neg-go-Pfv.Ego
 ‘I didn’t go.’

Two of the suffixes shown in Table 2 are used to encode imperfective aspect: *-ta* is used to encode mirativity alongside imperfective aspect while *-taki* is used in non-mirative contexts. This difference is the focus of section 3, but (8) provides a brief illustration of an imperfective marked verb.

- (8) ngat ge-**taki**
 1.Abs go-IPfv
 ‘I am going.’

Future tense in Kurtöp is encoded by one of four ways: the suffix *-male*, the suffix *-kini*, *-cina*, *-ikina*, or \emptyset . The difference between the four futures is beyond the scope of this paper, so the following example serves as an illustration of future tense:

- (9) ngat ge-**male**
 1.Abs go-Fut
 ‘I will go.’

2.2.3 Verbal enclitics

Regardless of whether a clause ends with a copula or a tensed verb, any of three possible verbal enclitics may be used as well. A verbal phrase level enclitic⁶ may attach to the end of a tensed verb or a copula (i.e. to the right edge of a clause). The forms and functions of these enclitics are summarized in Table 3.

Enclitic	Value
<i>=ri</i>	Hearsay
<i>=sa</i>	Counter Expectation
<i>=mi</i>	Tag

TABLE 3 Verbal enclitics

The examples below show the hearsay enclitic attached to a finite verb in (10), and to a copula in (11) and (12).

- (10) khit [ge-shang]=**ri**
 3.Abs go-Pfv.Ego=Hsy
 ‘I (heard that) he went.’
- (11) khit [ge-wala wenta]=**ri**
 3.Abs go-Nmz.Pfv Cop.Eq.Mir=Hsy
 ‘I (heard that) he went indeed.’
- (12) khit chorten kora [thung-si nawala]=**ri**
 3.Abs stupa circumambulation do-Nf Cop.Exis=Hsy
 ‘(I heard that) s/he keeps circumambulating the stupa.’

A clitic may attach to an already cliticized verb or clause, so that something like (13), with a negative prefix and two enclitics is possible. In elicitation, speakers accept examples such as (13) readily, and any combination of up to two enclitics appears to be possible. For example, *gewalamiri*,

⁶These are separate from enclitics that occur on nominal elements; see Hyslop (2011) for more details about other clitics.

gewalarisa, *gewalamisa*, *gewalasami* and *gewalasari* are also possible utterances. There are no examples in the textual database with all three clitics used together and speakers do not accept such combinations as being possible Kurtöp utterances.

- (13) ma-ge-wala=**ri=mi**
 Neg-go-Pfv=Hsy=Tag
 ‘I heard he went, right?’

With the relevant background into the Kurtöp verbal system in place, I can turn to an in-depth discussion of how mirativity is encoded in the language. I examine the grammatical encoding of mirativity in perfective aspect, imperfective aspect, and in the copulas.

3 Perfective aspect

In perfective aspect Kurtöp combines evidential and evidential-like categories into a five-way contrast. While a detailed description of the functions performed by these forms is beyond the scope of the present article, a brief discussion will aid in placing mirativity in its grammatical and functional context. Figure 2 summarizes the functions of the five perfective suffixes.

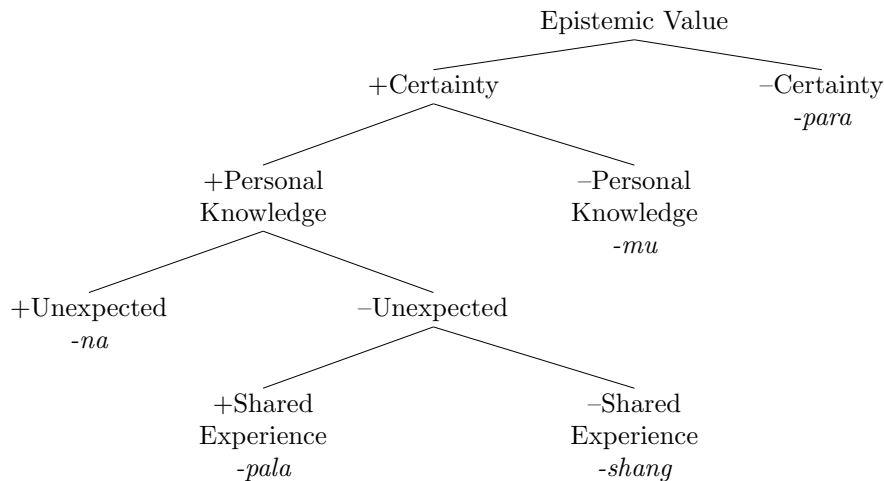


FIGURE 2 Kurtöp perfective aspect suffixes

The suffix *-shang* encodes first person knowledge, which the speaker does not expect the interlocutor to share. This is a similar category, though not identical to, what has been described for Tibetan as ‘egophoric’ (Tournadre 2008).⁷ The suffix *-mu* encodes inference, used when a speaker has indirect knowledge of a given event. *-pala* is pragmatically unmarked in comparison to *-shang*, *-na*, and *-mu* and is used by default with third person subjects, though it can also be used for first person if the speaker expects the interlocutor to share his/her knowledge. The suffix *-para* encodes that the speaker is not certain of the knowledge.

To encode that knowledge is new and unexpected in perfective aspect the form *-na* is used. A simple example is (14), which was uttered by children who had been watching paragliders take off from the top of a hill. The children watched the paraglider circle around in the sky and slowly rise and fall. At one point the paraglider had disappeared from the children’s view and the next time they saw him he had landed. Thus, the mirative is used to encode that the event was unexpected.

⁷I am using this term in a sense similar to that of Tournadre (2008, 295), where ‘egophoric’ expresses personal knowledge or intention on the part of the actual speaker. Tournadre (2008, 297) describes a contrast between narrow and broad scope of egophorics. The use here in Kurtöp (where expectation of others’ knowledge is relevant) is more similar to narrow scope, though the Kurtöp category appears to be slightly different than the Tibetan category.

- (14) **chak-na**
land-Pfv.Mir
'It landed!'

A more colorful example comes from a short story about an old woman and Drukpa Künle.⁸ At the end of the story the woman was locked inside a room and the villagers were instructed not to open the door for seven days. However, upon the sixth day her son opened the door and discovered there was nothing but her toe remaining. As an event clearly not expected in the discourse it is encoded with the mirative form of the perfective, as shown in (15).

- (15) palang=gi je=do thila-the dar-**na**=ri
bed=Gen top=Loc thumb/big.toe-Def remain-Pfv.Mir=Hsy
'On the bed remained a toe! (it is said).'
- KS20061212.188.829-191.112KL

Similar examples are shown in (16) and (17). The first example, (16), comes from a part of a conversation in which one speaker is relating a traveling event. During this portion of the journey he had reached Trashigang and was looking down on a temple from the top of a hill. There was an important event that day and many people had come; there were so many people, in fact, that a line had formed from the door snaking outward from the temple. The speaker was not expecting a line of people coming from the door, and thus uses the form *-na*.

- (16) ko=ni yo=to jong gi-**na**
door=Abl down=Loc emerge go-Pfv.Mir
'(They) had come out of the door down there!'
- SBC20051127.8.052.KW

Example (17) comes from the same conversation but this time the speaker had reached a house of someone who turned out to be an old relative. The portion in (17), drawn from a longer clause, quotes the relative talking to the speaker. The relative hadn't seen the speaker since the speaker was a child and now, suddenly, the speaker arrives completely unexpectedly, as an adult.

- (17) yala... wo onga tshô thrak-**na** wai
god... Prox child here arrive-Pfv.Mir wow
'God... this child has arrived! Wow.'
- SBC20051127.KW

The data in (18) show the mirative perfective used with second person. This example comes from a conversation between two friends, discussing visits to Rinchen Bumpa, a holy site in the area. Speaker SaT reports that he has been to Rinchen Bumpa four times, while SW has been there only once. SW is surprised to learn that SaT had visited Rinchen Bumpa so many times, and thus uses the mirative *-na*. The choice of the verb *drak* 'be better' indicates that the speaker is making a comparison between himself and his interlocutor, despite the fact the topic of the conversation was not a comparison.

- (18) wit drak-**na**=mi tshene=ta
2.Abs be.better-Pfv.Mir=Tag then=Emph
'Then you were better, isn't it!'
- SaT.SW20081022SW

4 Imperfective aspect

Compared to the contrasts made in perfective aspect, there are a smaller number of evidential-like contrasts made in imperfective aspect.⁹ The essential contrast made in imperfective aspect is similar to the difference between Turkish *-di* and *-miş*. Kurtöp *-taki* corresponds to Turkish *-di*, the non-mirative, while Kurtöp *-ta* corresponds to the Turkish mirative *-miş*. As in Turkish, the Kurtöp mirative form is also used in situations of inference and hearsay, alongside situations of surprise.

⁸Drukpa Künle is a popular figure in Bhutanese mythology. Reported to have come to Bhutan from Tibet in the 15th century, he is widely respected as the 'mad monk' and is famous for his practical jokes.

⁹There is also a durative aspect construction that involves a verb suffixed with non-final morphology (*-si*) plus an existential copula, as shown in (6). The evidential value of the clause, then, comes directly from the copula. See section 5.

In other words, the primary contrast in imperfective aspect is essentially between mirativity and non-mirativity; this is summarized in Figure 3.

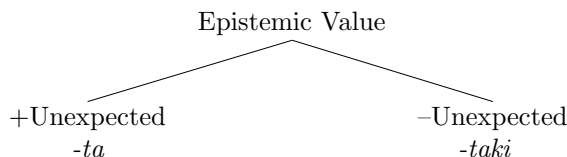


FIGURE 3 Kurtöp imperfective aspect suffixes

The non-mirative form is used canonically (though not exclusively, as I show below) in first person statements and second person questions. In (19) and (20), the unmarked imperfective *-taki* is used with first person arguments in statements. In the case of (19) the agentive argument is first person (*ngai*) while in the case of (20) the first person argument (*ngat*) is the theme. In both instances the speaker is reporting on old, intrinsic knowledge and thus the semantically unmarked form (*-taki*) is used.

- (19) wakso go-ikina ngak lap-**taki** ngai
 this.much need-Fut.Imm Quot tell-IPfv 1.Erg
 ‘I’ll need this much’, I was saying.’ SBC200501127.KW

- (20) ngat 'Lama 'Lachung ngak-**taki** la
 1.Abs Lama Lachung do-IPfv Pol
 ‘(They) call me Lama Lachung.’ LC20081231.LC

Similarly, second person questions generally require the unmarked form of the perfective. The data in (21) show a monovalent¹⁰ verb with a second person theme; *-taki* is used. A bivalent verb is shown in (22) with a second person agent and the semantically unmarked *-taki* is used. This latter example is slightly more complicated than the previous example in that it is not the speaker who is asking the question, but rather a character in a story told by the speaker. The character (an anthropomorphized tiger, in this instance) still uses the semantically unmarked form *-taki* in his question, as it is questioning information that would be ingrained and not unexpected.

- (21) wit 'au jon-**taki** yo
 2.Abs where go.Hon-IPfv Qp
 ‘Where are you (Pol) going?’ PS20061206P

- (22) 'ap barphela wit zha zus-**taki** ngak-wala wenta
 Mr. frog 2.Abs what eat-IPfv do-Nmz.Pfv Cop.Eq
 ‘‘Mr. frog, what are you eating?’’ (the tiger) said.’ SPhTsC20081022.SPh

Third person statements and questions are common in both mirative and non-mirative form. Consider (23).

- (23) wici mi=ni yo=to gor tancang kâ me-zak-**taki** wen ngaksi dasum
 2.Gen eye=Abl down=Loc turn always blood Neg-drip-IPfv Cop.Eq Quot today
 zha ngâ wo ngaksi wici mi=ni yo=to gor kâ zak-**ta** ngaksi
 what do Qp Quot 2.Gen eye=Abl down=Loc turn blood drip-IPfv.Mir Quot
 ‘Blood doesn’t always drip down from your eyes (she said); today what happened? Blood is
 dripping down from your eyes (she said).’ PS20061206.1447.408.P

In this extract from a narrated legend, there are two imperfective clauses. The first clause *kâ me-zak-taki* ‘blood Neg-drip-IPfv’ is not mirative. The clause is modified by the adverb *tancang* ‘always’ and

¹⁰As discussed in Hyslop (2011), I use the terms ‘monovalent’ and ‘bivalent’ to categorize Kurtöp verbs, rather than ‘transitive’ or ‘intransitive’. Monovalent verbs may express up to one overt argument while bivalent verbs may express up to two overt arguments.

the speaker of the clause is describing old knowledge she has about the subject. The next occurrence of the imperfective suffix comes with the same verb and argument as *kâ zak-ta* ‘blood drip-*Ipfv.Mir*’, but as a mirative. The switch to mirativity also occurs with a switch from *tancang* ‘always’ to *dasum* ‘today’. The dripping blood in this instance is a new observation on behalf of the speaker in this clause and thus is encoded as mirative.

Another example of *-ta* from discourse is (24), where one speaker is describing an event to another speaker. There are two verbs marked as mirative imperfectives (*tun-ta* ‘show-*Ipfv.Mir*’ and *bran-ta* ‘know-*Ipfv.Mir*’) and in both instances the event was new, or not expected, in the discourse. The speaker did not know the other people were going to show photographs to the Rimpoche and further, the fact that Rimpoche himself did not know of the photographs was counter to expectation. First, given that Rimpoches are highly regarded as amongst the most knowledgeable people in Bhutan, a default expectation might be that they are aware of everything. And second, it is clear in the larger discourse the photographs being discussed in this example are of the Rimpoche himself. It seems natural to expect that someone would be familiar with photographs of himself.

- (24) rimpoche=nang tun-**ta** tshe khi=ra=ya me-bran-**ta**
 Rimpoche=Loc show-*Ipfv.Mir* Dm 3=Emph=also Neg-know-*Ipfv.Mir*
 ‘They showed (the photographs) to Rimpoche and even he (Rimpoche) didn’t know (the photographs).’
 SBC20051127.142.517KL

A similar example, in (25), comes from an interview between two Kurtöp speakers. One speaker is asking the other to give an account of rice and rice processes in the village. At this point in the narrative she is discussing the varieties of rice given by the government to the village for planting. The fact that outsiders are so involved in the process that they would be giving several varieties of rice for cultivation is not expected, and for this the speaker uses the form *-ta*.

- (25) lhampa sum ble=yang bis-**ta** miri
 type three four=also give-*Ipfv.Mir* others.Erg
 ‘Three or four types were also being given by the others.’ Rice.Harvest20081022.159.064.PS

As I mentioned above, while *-ta* generally occurs with third person subjects, this is not obligatory. In (26) the mirative *-ta* occurs with a first person subject. Though the speaker presumably has intrinsic knowledge about her ability to narrate stories, she uses the mirative to give a sense of sudden unexpectedness — the discovery of knowledge that will be incontrovertible to the hearers. Here, the speaker is asked to tell a story, begins to speak, and then utters (26) upon realizing she does not feel prepared to tell a story.

- (26) me-khan-**ta** ngai=ta lap-to=rang
 Neg-know-*Ipfv.Mir* 1.Erg=Emph tell-*Inf*=Emph
 ‘I don’t know at all (how) to tell (a story).’
 SPh.TsC20081022.TsC

Another example comes from a story, showing a mirative with first person plural. At this point in the story of Kala Wangpo, the children are being approached by hunters who have been sent by the king’s wife to kill them. In the story, the children have known the hunters their whole lives and would usually feel happy to see the hunters. The experience of fear in this example is unexpected, and thus the mirative form *-ta* is used, as shown in (27).

- (27) ‘aci sharop wit mik thung-mo khepo tshe net pret-**ta** ngaksi
 elder.brother hunter 2.Abs eye do-*Ctm* Foc Dm 1.Pl.Abs fear-*Ipfv.Mir* Quot
 ‘Elder hunter brother, when (we) see you, well, we feel scared”, (the children) said.’
 PS20061206P

5 Copulas

Copulas play an integral role in Kurtöp grammar; in addition to the typical copular functions (existence, equation, prediction, location, possession), copulas occur with clausal nominalizations as a way to encode finite, main clause grammar (e.g., as illustrated in (4)). Copulas are also used in

conjunction with the clause-chaining construction as a means to encode durative aspect (e.g., as shown in (6)). A detailed description of the role of copulas in main clause grammar is beyond the scope of this article; let it suffice for our purposes to illustrate the basic copular functions before turning to a discussion of mirativity in the copulas.

Kurtöp has affirmative and negative forms for equative and existential copulas, which we saw in Table 1. The equative copulas encode equation while the existential copulas encode existence, predication, location and possession. The constructions for these functions vary slightly, as illustrated in Table 4.

Function	Construction
Equation	[NP NP] Cop.Eq
Predication	[NP Adj] Cop.Exis
Location	[NP NP=Loc] Cop.Exis
Existence	[NP NP(=Loc)] Cop.Exis
Possession	[NP NP(=Loc)] Cop.Exis / NP=Gen NP Cop.Exis

TABLE 4 Non-verbal predication in Kurtöp

Equation is encoded by juxtaposition of two NPs followed by an equative copula. Predication is encoded with an adjective following the NP and a clause-final existential copula. The locative function is encoded with the theme NP being followed by a locative-marked NP and an existential copula. Here, locative case marking is required. This differs slightly from existence, which is encoded with two juxtaposed NPs, the second of which may optionally be marked with the locative case marker, and an obligatory clause-final existential copula. Possession may be encoded through two different constructions. The first construction is identical to that of existence: two juxtaposed NPs, the second of which is optionally marked with the locative case marker and a final existential copula. The second construction utilizes the genitive case marker in conjunction with the existential copula; the possessor is clause-initial and receives genitive marking while the possessed NP follows. The existential copula is used in this construction as well. I illustrate each of these constructions below.

An example of the equational copula encoding equations is shown in (28). The NP *ngat* ‘1.Abs’ is followed by the NP *tshering choden*, and the clause is completed with the equational copula *wen*. The polite marker *la* also occurs in this example, but it is not a requirement of the construction.

- (28) *ngat tshering choden wen la*
 1.Abs Tshering Choden Cop.Eq Pol
 ‘I am Tshering Choden.’ SPh.TsC20081022.TsC

All other copular functions are encoded with the existential copula. An example of predication is shown in (29). Here, the NP *bjinlap* is juxtaposed to the adjective *chetoka*, with the existential copula serving as the predicating element.

- (29) *bjinlap chetoka nawala*
 holiness very.big Cop.Exis
 ‘(The place) is very holy (lit. ‘the holiness is very big’).’ SaT.SW20090917.1211.409SaT

A slightly more complicated example in (30) illustrates the existential copula conveying location. The theme NP *lâ zhipso ngakkhanta* ‘the ones doing renovation work’ is postposed to follow the copula, while the locative-marked NP *rinchen bumpa* remains in situ.

- (30) *tshe rinchen bumpa=ro-ya nawala lâ zhipso ngak-khan=ta*
 Dm Rinchen Bumpa=Loc-also Cop.exis work renovation do-Nmz.Ipfv=emph
 ‘At Rinchen Bumpa there are also (people) doing renovation work.’ SaT.SW20090917.SW

Existence is conveyed by one NP juxtaposed to a second NP, followed by an existential copula. The second NP may or may not be cliticized with the locative case marker. Example (31) below illustrates the NP *zhapgi zimcung* ‘king’s mansion’ and marked with the quotative, preceding the

existential copula *nawala*. The second NP, demonstrative *yau*, is postposed to the right of the copula. There is no locative marking in this example.

- (31) [[zhap=gi zimcung] ngak] **nawala** [yau]
 king=Gen mansion Quot Cop.Exis Dem.up
 ‘There is this so-called king’s palace up there.’ SPh.TsC20081022.3182.357SPH

In (32) I show existence predicated with a locative-marked NP. The demonstrative *wome* is cliticized with the locative marker¹¹ *-nang*; the second NP *shakhwi* ‘hunting dog’ is unmarked, and an existential copula follows.

- (32) tshe [wome=nang] [shakhwi] **nawara** ngaksi
 Dm Dem.down=Loc hunting.dog Cop.Exis.Pres Quot
 ‘‘The hunting dog must be down there’’, (they) said.’ PS20061206P

In Kurtöp, there are also two ways to encode possession, both of which employ an existential copula as the predicating element. The data in (33) illustrate possession with the possessor marked as a locative while in (34) the possessor is marked a genitive. It remains unclear what conditions the use of one construction over others.¹²

- (33) [net=na] [gari sum] **nawala**
 1.Pl.Abs=Loc car three Cop.Exis
 ‘We have three cars.’ SBC20051127KW
- (34) [neci] [am-the] **nawala** la yau
 1.Pl.Gen woman-Def Cop.Exis Pol Dem.up
 ‘We have a woman up there.’ SaT.SW20090917.3126.817SaT

5.1 Existential copulas

As summarized in Table 4, existential copulas are used in predication, location, existence and possession. In addition, existential copulas may be used as the final verb in the clause-chaining construction as a means to encode durative aspect (e.g., example (6)).¹³

There are separate roots for the affirmative and negative existential copulas (*na-* for affirmative; *mu-* for negative) and within each of these there are four separate forms. In affirmative contexts the forms make a contrast between certainty and mirativity, while in negative contexts the forms contrast certainty, mirativity, and evidentiality. The diagram in Figure 4 summarizes the encoding of these contrasts.

5.1.1 Affirmative

Among the affirmative copulas there are two forms which signal uncertainty (presumption versus doubt) and two forms which signal certainty. Within the category of certainty, the contrast made is between mirative (*nâ*) situations and non-mirative (*nawala*) situations.

The copula *nâ* provides a mirative value to existential copular clauses. *nâ* contrasts with *nawala* in that *nâ* is used when the speaker has recently come across the information and was not expecting it. The latter form *nawala* is used when the knowledge is older, intrinsic, or not surprising. Consider (35) and (36).

¹¹Kurtöp has two locative markers: =*to*, with allomorphs =*ro*, =*ko*, =*go*, =*ngo* and =*na*, =*nang*. The two have an overlapping distribution and the precise difference between the two remains unclear. Some differences are discussed in Hyslop (2010) and Hyslop (2011).

¹²The examples below might suggest that alienable possession is encoded with a locative while inalienable possession is encoded with a genitive. However, there are counter examples to this observation in the texts, and in elicitation speakers can accept either construction for both alienable and inalienable contexts. To further complicate the matter, the locative marker, as shown in (33), appears to be optional. Speakers accept it omitted in elicitation and in the textual database there are several examples of possession encoded by two simple juxtaposed NPs, followed by the existential copula.

¹³As I show in Hyslop (to appear) copulas and auxiliaries differ with regard to presence of the non-final suffix in a clause chain. If an auxiliary is used as the final verb in a chain, the non-final suffix may be omitted. If a copula is used, however, the non-final suffix is required.

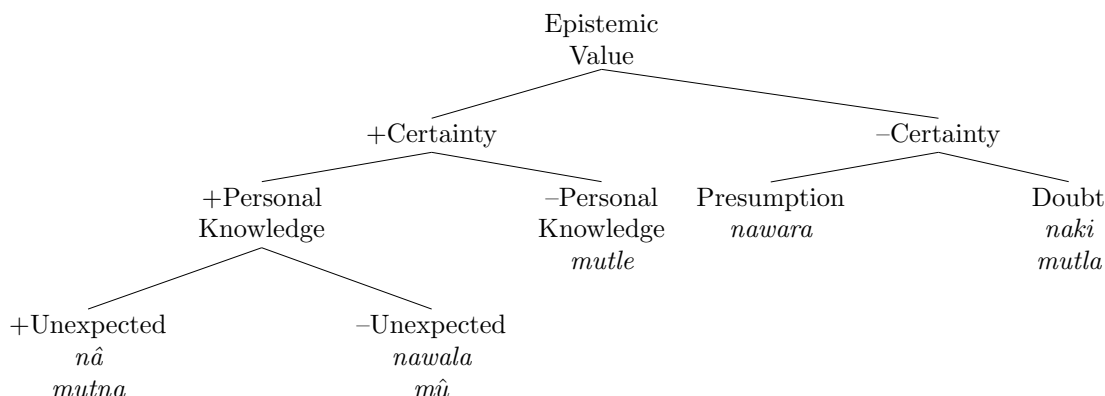


FIGURE 4 Kurtöp existential copulas. Affirmative copulas begin with *na-* while negative copulas begin with *mu-*

- (35) tsakaling **nawala** jikpa okso
 hat Cop.Exis big this.much
 ‘(His Majesty’s) hat was this big.’ SPh.TsC20081022.1838.SPh
- (36) hâ-pa-the **nâ**
 Hâ-Nmz-Def Cop.Exis.Mir
 ‘He was a Hâpa (from Hâ).’ SBC20051127.KW

The first example, (35) is from an elderly villager’s narration of life as he was growing up. During that period, the King had gone to the speaker’s village and the speaker is describing His Majesty’s arrival in this section of discourse. As part of this description, the speaker mentions His Majesty’s hat, which is large, and this is as expected. The description of His Majesty’s large hat can be contrasted with (36), which comes from a conversation between two speakers. While relaying events of a particular journey, the speaker in (36) describes meeting various people along the way. One of the people he meets speaks Kurtöp, but turns out to be from Hâ, an area in western Bhutan where Dzongkha is spoken natively. The speaker did not expect that the referent was from Hâ and thus uses the mirative form of existential affirmative copula.

5.1.2 Negative

A four-way contrast is made also amongst the negative affirmative copulas. The form *mû* is the unmarked negative existential; *mutle* encodes inference; *mutla* encodes doubt; and *mutna* is the negative mirative existential.

The form *mutna* can be contrasted with *mû* in that the speaker recently acquired the information and it was unexpected. *mutna* is used, for example, when the speaker suddenly notices something is not present, for example when looking in his/her wallet and realizing there is no money. If the speaker knew there was no money in his wallet and was telling someone else ‘there’s no money’, s/he would use *mû*.

Example (37) is extracted from a narration of an older villager about what life was like during his childhood. He describes a time when there were poor yields and the living conditions were particularly bad. By using the mirative form of the copula in (37), the speaker paints a picture wherein participants suddenly notice they don’t even have a piece of meat to eat. This was an unexpected turn of events.

- (37) sha-the zu otor zu-male **mutna**
 meat-Def eat like.this eat-Nmz.Irr Cop.Exis.Neg.Mir
 ‘(We) didn’t have a piece of meat to eat.’ SPh.TsC20081022.1608.669SPh

5.2 Equational copulas

The equational copulas have two main functions: to equate one item with another in copular clauses, or to be used as the final element in a nominalized clause structure (illustrated by (4) above). In the case of either function, the speaker has a set of four affirmative or four negative copulas to choose from, depending on the evidential, mirative, or epistemic modal value s/he wants to convey. Mirativity is amongst these categories in both affirmative and negative contexts.

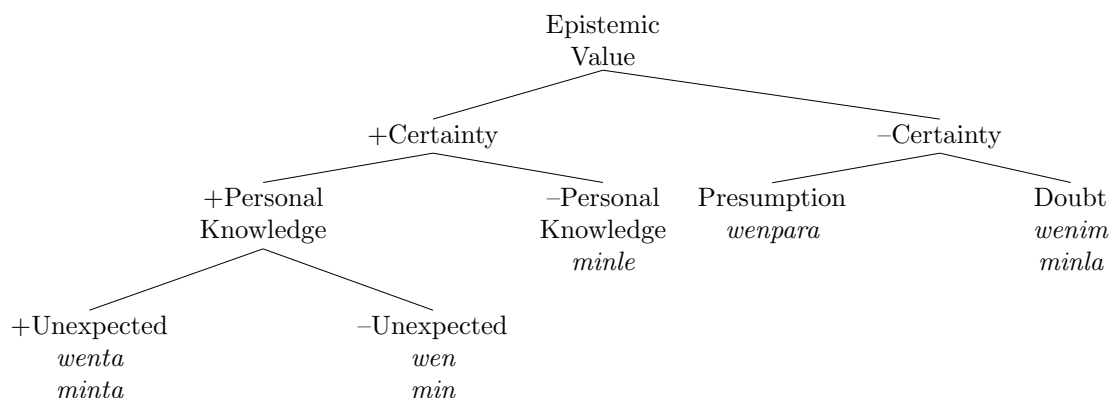


FIGURE 5 Kurtöp equational copulas. Affirmative copulas begin with *wen(-)* while negative copulas begin with *min(-)*

5.2.1 Affirmative

As is found for the affirmative existential copulas (5.1.1), the four-way contrast among the affirmative equational copulas consists of two forms used when the speaker is uncertain and two forms when the speaker is certain. The form *wenpara* is used to encode presumption while the form *wenim* encodes doubt. In contexts where the speaker is certain of their knowledge, a two-way contrast is made between mirative and non-mirative utterances, with *wenta* encoding mirative instances and *wen* used for non-mirative circumstances.

The function of the mirative with an equational copula is similar to the mirative as I described in sections 3, 4, and 5.1. Consider (38) and (39).

- (38) khesum ni 'nis **wenta**=mi
 sixty and seven Cop.Eq.Mir=Tag
 'It's sixty-seven, isn't it.'

SPh.TsC20081022.1920.KD

- (39) zongkha **wen** la
 Dzongkha Cop.Eq Pol
 'It is Dzongkha, Sir.'

SPh.TsC20081022.3286.436.SPh

The mirative form of the copula given in (38) comes as part of an answer to a question about speakers' ages. Although the information is personal and intrinsic, age is not something the speaker in (38) thinks about frequently. When asked, the particular speaker of (38) has to stop and calculate; when he reaches sixty-seven he replies with mirativity. The use of *wenta* in (38) contrasts with *wen* in (39). Here, the speaker had given the number in Dzongkha and the interlocutor questions the speaker, confirming the number had been given in Dzongkha. (39) is the speaker's response of confirmation.

In (40), the mirative equative copula is shown encoding existence with a second person argument. This example is drawn from a speaker narrating the history of the Kurtöp-speaking region. An important religious figure in the area is Pema Lingpa, who is said to have been enlightened. The speaker in (40) relays a (purported) conversation between a lay person and Pema Lingpa. The lay person, upon realizing that Pema Lingpa is enlightened, says (40), using the mirative form of the

equative copula.

- (40) wit sanji 'ngui **wenta** ngaksi
 2.Abs Buddha genuine Cop.Eq.Mir Quot
 “You are a real Buddha (enlightened one)!” (he) said.’ KZ20080515KZ

Perhaps because of its inherent link to surprise, the mirative equational copula occurs very frequently in storytelling. In fact, speakers report the use of *wenta* ‘makes the story more interesting’. In such instances, the copula usually occurs with a formally nominalized verb in an example of a nominalized clause, as in (41). The copula *nawala*, synchronically the semantically unmarked affirmative existential, is diachronically composed of the verb stem **nak* plus the nominalizer *-pala*. Although synchronically it no longer retains any hint of nominalizing semantics, the fact that it occurs in a nominalized structure is indicative of its former status as a nominalized constituent.

- (41) lungpa-the=na jepo-the *nawala* **wenta** la
 valley-Def=Loc king-Def Cop.Exis Cop.Eq.Mir Pol
 ‘In a village there was a King.’ PS20061212.22.625P

Another example, in (42), comes from part of a narrative where an elderly speaker is describing life in the past. At this point in the narration he is describing a period of time in the distant past when Bhutanese were required to pay taxes to the King in the form of goods, such as rice, pottery, and stones for use as catapults. He deviates from the description somewhat, describing how people used to play with the catapults, and utters *wentami* to invoke the sudden surprise that would have entailed when one was hit.

- (42) 'nau-gangsha ras-taki **wenta**=mi
 random.thought come-Ipfv Cop.Eq.Mir=Tag
 ‘(They) must have been shocked, right (lit. random thoughts were coming)?’
 SPh.TsC20081022.Sph

Consider examples (43) and (44), showing the switch from the unmarked copula to the mirative copula in a narrative. These data come from a story about the legendary king Kala Wangpo. At this point in the story the narrator is reporting speech between the king’s servants, who have gone looking for the hunting dog, and an elderly couple the servants meet in a remote region. In (43), the king’s servants assert that the hunting dog must be in the elderly couple’s possession, using a nominalized clause plus unmarked copula.

- (43) neci khwi khepo nin=gi 'lom-pala **wen** ngaksi
 1.Pl.Gen dog Foc 2.Pl=Erg hide-Nmz.Pfv Cop.Exis Quot
 ‘You guys have hidden our dog (they said).’ PS20061206

They repeat themselves, in (44),¹⁴ but switch to the mirative form of the copula. The narrator has the king’s servants use the mirative here as a way to convey an added emotion or force to the utterance. Even though the servants do not actually see the hunting dog, the use of mirative suggests they do and therefore makes it more difficult for the elderly couple to argue against them.

- (44) neci shakhwi khepo wo=na 'lom nawala **wenta** ngak nin=gi
 1.Pl hunting.dog Foc Prox=Loc hide Cop.Exis Cop.Eq.Mir Quot 2.Pl=Erg
 ‘You guys have hidden our hunting dog (they said).’ PS20061206

5.2.2 Negative

As with the negative existential copulas (Figure 4), a four-way contrast is made amongst the negative equational copulas. If the speaker is uncertain, s/he will use the form *minla*; if the speaker gained

¹⁴This example also shows the agent, *ningi* ‘2.Pl.Erg’, postposed from its canonical position before the verb (more specifically, at the beginning of the clause). Presumably, this movement indicates a particular pragmatic effect, such as topicality or focus, but more research is required to understand the precise function of this movement. This particular example is unusual in that the postposed agent occurs at the far right edge of the clause, following the quotative, almost as an afterthought on behalf of the speaker.

his/her knowledge through inference, then the form *minle* will be used; the form *minta* is used to encode mirativity, and *min* encodes certainty without encoding indirect evidence or mirativity.

The most common use of the mirative negative equational *minta* is when a speaker self-corrects. Consider (45).

- (45) **minta** 'yui mendrelgang=ta dara no jepo kut-khan
 Cop.Eq.Neg.Mir village Mendrelgang=emph now younger.brother king appoint-Nmz.Ipfv
 khepo=nang wenta
 Foc=Loc Cop.Eq.Mir
 'Oh, not Mendrelgang village, now it is (the place where) the younger brother was appointed king.'
 PS2006.1751.925.P

The example in (45) is extracted from a section of a narrative where the speaker suddenly realizes she has made a mistake. In the previous clause she mentions the village Mendrelgang but immediately after realizes that it is not the correct place in the story. She speaks to herself, using *minta* 'Cop.Eq.Neg.Mir'. As she thinks out loud she mentions information about the place she is supposed to be referring to; note in this case she uses the affirmative version of the mirative copula.

A similar example is in (46). Here again the speaker self-corrects. He had mistakenly referred to a group of 'two' and upon realizing he was incorrect, he says *minta* 'Cop.Eq.Neg.Mir' and gives the correct number.

- (46) net zon **minta** net sum Pema Drakpa net sum
 1.Pl two Cop.Eq.Neg.Mir 1.Pl three Pema Drakpa 1.Pl three
 'Oh, not the two of us three of us, (with) Pema Drakpa (there were) three of us.'
 SaT.SW20090919.1120.559.SaT

6 Summary and conclusions

A contrast in mirativity is grammatically encoded in Kurtöp copulas and perfective and imperfective morphology. In perfective aspect the mirative perfective *-na* is one of five possible forms that encode epistemic modality, evidentiality, and expectation of others' knowledge. In imperfective aspect only a two-way contrast is made: mirative clauses are contrasted with non-mirative clauses. In the affirmative existential and equational copulas a four-way contrast is made between presumption, doubt, mirativity, and non-mirativity. This differs somewhat when compared to the contrast made in the negative existential and equational copulas, where mirativity contrasts with doubt, indirect evidence, and non-mirativity.

It may be of theoretical interest that mirativity is more prevalent in Kurtöp than evidentiality. That is, while mirativity is contrasted in perfective aspect, imperfective aspects, affirmative copulas and negative copulas, evidentiality ('source' of information) is contrasted only in perfective aspect and the negative copulas. Note that oral source of information can also be encoded by a hearsay enclitic, as illustrated in Table 3, but is not part of a verbal paradigm in the same way mirativity is. Whether there are any functional motivations for mirativity to be more primary than evidentiality remains unknown and is beyond the scope of this article.

	Aspectual Suffixes	Copulas
<i>-na</i>	Perfective	
<i>-ta</i>	Imperfective	
<i>nâ</i>		Affirmative Existential
<i>mutna</i>		Negative Existential
<i>wenta</i>		Affirmative Equational
<i>minta</i>		Negative Equational

TABLE 5 Kurtöp mirative forms

Table 5 displays all the forms used in marking mirativity in Kurtöp. Through a brief comparison of

the forms it quickly becomes apparent that there are two roots involved in mirativity in Kurtöp: *-na* and *-ta*. The former is used to encode mirativity in perfective and existential contexts while the latter is used in imperfective and equational contexts. There is little doubt that these represent two distinct roots which have since grammaticalized into their respective positions. The precise source of these forms remains unknown,¹⁵ as does the motivation for one form to grammaticalize into perfective aspect and existential contexts, while the other form would grammaticalize into imperfective aspect and equational contexts.

7 Acknowledgements

Research on Kurtöp has been generously funded by the National Science Foundation, the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project, and the Association for Asian Studies. This research and analysis would not have been possible without the countless hours of assistance Kuenga Lhendup has given to transcribe and translate texts, or the countless hours Karma Tshering has contributed to assistance in data collection and analysis. I am also grateful for comments and feedback from Scott DeLancey, Lila San Roque, William O'Grady, Henriette Daudy and two anonymous reviewers. Nonetheless, I am solely responsible for errors and misinterpretations.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aksu-Koç, Ayhan A. and Dan I. Slobin. 1986. A Psychological Account of the Development and Use of Evidentials in Turkish. In W. Chafe and J. Nichols, eds., *Evidentiality: the Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, pages 159–167. Norwood: Ablex.
- Aris, Michael. 1979. *Bhutan, the early history of a Himalayan kingdom*. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips.
- Aronson, Howard. 1967. The grammatical categories of the indicative in the contemporary Bulgarian literary language. In *To honor Roman Jakobson: Essays on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, 11 October 1966*, vol. 1 of *Janua linguarum*, pages 82–98. The Hague: Mouton.
- Bashir, Elena. 2010. Traces of mirativity in Shina. *Himalayan Linguistics* 9(2):1–55.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1:33–52.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2008. Kurtöp and Tibetan. In B. Huber, M. Volkart, and P. Wildmer, eds., *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek: Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, pages 29–38. International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH.
- Dickinson, Connie. 2000. Mirativity in Tsafiki. *Studies in Language* 24(2):379–422.
- Friedman, Victor. 1977. *The grammatical categories of the Macedonian indicative*. Columbus: Slavica.
- Friedman, Victor. 1986. Evidentiality in the Balkans: Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Albanian. In W. Chafe and J. Nichols, eds., *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology. Advances in discourse processes 20*, pages 168–187. Norwood: Ablex.
- Grunow-Hårsta, Karen. 2007. Evidentiality and mirativity in Magar. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2):151–194.
- Hein, Veronika. 2007. The mirative and its interplay with evidentiality in the Tibetan dialect of Tabo (Spiti). *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2):195–214.
- Hongladarom, Krisadawan. 2007. Evidentiality in Rgyalthing Tibetan. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2):17–44.
- Hyslop, Gwendolyn. 2008. Kurtöp and the classification of the languages of Bhutan. In *Proceedings from the 44th meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, pages 141–152. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hyslop, Gwendolyn. 2009. Kurtöp tone: a tonogenetic case study. *Lingua* 112:827–845.

¹⁵One possible scenario is that *-na* is a grammaticalization from a former existential verb *nak* 'to be at', which is clearly the etymological source of the existential copular base in Kurtöp and still present as a lexical verb in Bumthap and Khengkha, Kurtöp's closest linguistic relatives. The verb *tak* 'become', still a lexical verb in Kurtöp, is a possible source for the mirative *-ta* suffix.

- Hyslop, Gwendolyn. 2010. Kurtöp case: The pragmatic ergative and beyond. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 33(1):1–40.
- Hyslop, Gwendolyn. 2011. *A grammar of Kurtöp*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Oregon.
- Hyslop, Gwendolyn. to appear. The Kurtöp -si construction: converbs, clause chains and verb serialization. In *Functional-Historical Approaches to Explanation: A Festschrift for Scott DeLancey. (Typological Studies in Language Series)*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lidz, Liberty. 2007. Evidentiality in Yongning Na (Mosuo). *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2):45–88.
- Michailovsky, Boyd and Martine Mazaudon. 1994. Preliminary notes on languages of the Bumthang group. In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. 2, pages 545–557. Fagernes: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.
- Shafer, Robert. 1954. The linguistic position of Dwags. *Oriens, Zeitschrift der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Orientforschung* 7:348–356.
- Shirai, Satako. 2007. Evidentiality and evidential-like categories in nDrapa. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2):125–150.
- Slobin, Dan I. and Ayhan A. Aksu. 1982. Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Use of the Turkish Evidential. In P. J. Hopper, ed., *Tense-Aspect: Between semantics & pragmatics*, page 185 ff. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tournadre, Nicolas. 2008. Against the concept of ‘Conjunct’/‘Disjunct’ in Tibetan. In B. Huber, M. Volkart, and P. Wildmer, eds., *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek, Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier*, pages 281–308. International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH.
- van Driem, Geoge. 1998. *Dzongkha*. Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region 1. Leiden: Research School CNWS.
- Watters, David. 2002. *A grammar of Kham*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Willis, Christina. 2007. Evidentiality in Darma (Tibeto-Burman). *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2):89–124.