

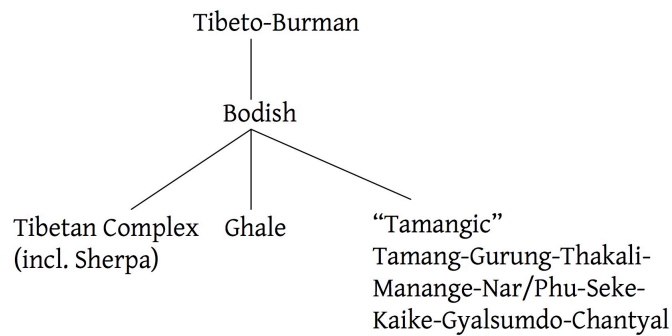
Manange

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1. Background

Manange, also known by its endonym *ɲjɛʂaŋ*, *ɲjɛʂaŋte*, or *ɲjaŋmi* ‘our language/our people,’ is a Bodish language of the Bodic subphylum of Tibeto-Burman. It is spoken in northern central Nepal, and it is grouped with other Tamangic (or ‘Gurungic’ or ‘TGTM’) languages, shown in Figure 1 (van Driem 2001; Bradley 1997; Noonan 2003).¹

Figure 1. Genetic Affiliation of Manange



Manange is spoken by members of a single ethnic group of under 5,000 speakers, located in the northern Manang district. Geographically, Manang is known as the Inner Himalayan Valley, as it is surrounded to the south, east and west by the Annapurna mountain range.

Manang is culturally and linguistically heterogeneous, divided into three ethnic group areas: Gyalsumdo to the south, the high elevation Nar

valley to the north, and the upper *njeshaj* valley in the west (Snellgrove 1961). Although Manange peoples live in all portions of the Manang District, the *njeshaj* valley is considered the traditional area of Manange habitation. Both Gurungs and Mananges (or Manangis, Manangpas, Manangbas and Manangbhots by Indic peoples) are the dominant ethno-linguistic groups of Manang.

In terms of endangerment status, the Manange language can currently be considered as small but relatively viable, with some prospect for endangerment (using (Kincade 1991) as a model). Although the speaker population is under 5,000, there seems to be continued transmission of Manange to younger generations (albeit bilingual), combined with some small-scale displacement via emigration of some generations of speakers from traditional Manang to urban Kathmandu. Factors contributing to an observed small-scale loss of Manange include the rise of access to formal education in Nepali, as well as the general prestige of Nepali in terms of socio-economic advancement. Factors contributing to retention of the language include positive within-ethnic group identity and various prestige factors, including the comparative wealth and social status that Mananges have accrued as entrepreneurs.

The history of language contact in Nepal is complex, and the results of this long-term inter-mingling of languages have had varying consequences on typological and genetic features of different Tibeto-Burman languages located there. Noonan (2003) charts the different types of grammatical borrowing in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages from different sub-phyla. Of the three main types of contact scenarios, the oldest situation is between Himalayish languages (including Kiranti, Kham, Magar, Chepang, Newar, and others), whose speakers have been long-time residents of Nepal. A more recent type of contact is between speakers of the Tibetan-type languages of the Bodish sub-group, including Manange (i.e. within-family contact). These peoples are more recent

immigrants to Nepal, having migrated within the last two millennia, and occupying territories that are in close proximity. A still more recent, and different, type of contact situation in Nepal has been between speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages and Indo-European languages like Nepali. Although Nepali was already well-established in western Nepal, there has been more recent contact of this third type in eastern and central Nepal. Now, as the influence of Nepali (and perhaps other non-Tibeto-Burman languages) spreads throughout Nepal, cross-family contact is as (or more) likely as within-family contact.

Despite the rather (geographically) remote location of the Manang villages, there is evidence that Mananges have been in regular contact with speakers of other languages (Indic and Sinitic) for a long time. In 1956, David Snellgrove, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, undertook a six month journey through Nepal to update map information originating from the Survey of India and to study Buddhist art and scriptures. He spent some time in the Manang District, and he was initially intrigued by the lack of surprise displayed by Mananges when they first encountered him. He also noted that Manange youths “spoke Nepali willingly and fluently” (1961: 205). Snellgrove also noticed silks from mainland China and Singapore adorning the walls of local gumpa buildings, suggesting some trade-oriented contact with other Asian peoples. Snellgrove soon learned that Mananges had significantly more contact with the world beyond the Nepalese borders than did many other indigenous groups, holding posts in the Indian Army and having unique travel rights to Malaysia and Singapore.

In recent generations, it has become commonplace for many Mananges to migrate temporarily or permanently to the Kathmandu valley, or to lower elevations within Manang during winter, to benefit from longer growing seasons. In winters, women and children especially, stay in low elevation villages where Nepali (Indo-European) is spoken,

and men may travel to other regions in Nepal or to India (or beyond) for work (Rogers 2004). Although some Mananges (and other peoples) do remain in Manang year-round, this number seems to be declining as the years go by. As a result, for part of the year, many Mananges are surrounded by, and use, Nepali either in urban Kathmandu or in other lower elevation villages in Manang.

Another relevant factor for Manange language contact with Nepali is education (Hildebrandt 2003; 2006). There is one school in each larger Manang village nowadays, and instruction is in Nepali. In addition, a number of adults who live in Manang (traditionally men, but increasingly women too) have had some education either in Kathmandu or abroad. These opportunities for formal education have led to frequent and long-term contact with other languages, like Nepali, Hindi and increasingly, English.

Recently, Manang has become a tourist hot-spot because the popular “Annapurna Long Circuit” bisects the district. As a result, a tourist-driven economy has emerged where wealthy Mananges build elaborate lodges to host foreign trekkers. Other related tourist-oriented businesses have grown in the area, including guided tour operations, porter services, and a solar-powered cyber-cafe. Some aspects of this new economy are grounded in Nepali language use (e.g. interaction with tour guides and porters), and so the economic benefit of speaking Nepali has grown there.

Not all Mananges benefit equally from this new trekking economy. Many Mananges still live traditional, subsistence-farming lives, usually because they live in areas that are too far off the main trekking route to benefit from the tourist industry in the way that more strategically located residents can. These Mananges claim to use Nepali only sometimes, (e.g. with outside visitors)

Another observation is the recent immigration of Tibetans, Lhomis

and Nar-Phus to the Manang villages. They have come to Manang in search of better economic opportunity; they rent vacated (Manange-owned) houses and farm the land in a kind of share-cropping situation. Mananges report that these new residents adopt Manange for local use, or else use Nepali with them. My own (limited) interaction with these people has been in the Manange language, and not in their traditional languages, nor in Nepali.

This report focuses on the one-way effects in Manange of language contact with Nepali. Although there is preliminary evidence of contact-induced changes between Manange and other T-B languages (e.g. some lexical borrowing from unknown dialects of Tibetan), the effects of contact with Nepali are easier to pinpoint and document. Further investigations can reveal the potential effects of this contact on the Nepali spoken by different segments of the diverse Manange ethnic community.

2. Phonology

The phonological structure of Manange in many ways typifies that of the Bodish languages: there is no contrastive voicing opposition for obstruents, there is an alveolar and post-alveolar opposition in consonant place of articulation, and there is a velar nasal in word-initial position (e.g. ⁴ɲi ‘two’; ¹ɲʌ ‘1.SG’). Manange also has a voiceless plain and aspirated retroflex plosive, that while contrastive in word-initial position in basic vocabulary (e.g. ¹tʰu ‘sit/stay’ vs. ⁴tʰu ‘six’), is still marginal in overall lexicon frequency. There is considerable evidence that the retroflex is one of the more reliable features of South Asia as a linguistic area (Masica 2001; Noonan 2003). It has probably entered into the Bodish languages via contact with Indic languages (which in turn acquired it from Dravidian).

The most interesting case of contact-induced structural change in Manange phonology is not obviously borrowing from Nepali, but rather a case of loss or simplification (likely via analogical leveling). This has been documented in Hildebrandt (Hildebrandt 2003; 2004) as a phonetic and phonological merger of the tone system. The properties of the tone system employed by more linguistically conservative speakers is as follows. All words (both native and old loans, both mono and disyllabic) fall into one of four tones, illustrated in (1).

(1) Manange Tones

Tone	Pitch Properties	Initial Onset Consonant Properties	Example
1	Low Level	N/A	<i>tu</i> ‘sit/stay’
2	High Level	N/A	<i>tu</i> ‘thread’
3	Very High Falling	Unaspirated if Obstruent	<i>tu</i> ‘cereal’
4	Mid-High Falling	Aspirated if Obstruent	<i>t^hu</i> ‘six’

As (1) shows, tone /1/ and /2/ words show low and high pitches, respectively. The words from the two (falling) contour tones have an additional defining property in that with tone /3/ words, if the initial consonant is an obstruent, it is unaspirated, and with tone /4/ words, the initial obstruent is aspirated. However, this distinction is not retained with sonorant-initial words, which are found in all four tones without any aspiration or voicing differences (e.g. the near-minimal set ¹*ɲje* ‘chew’; ²*ɲi* ‘seven’; ³*ɲje* ‘milk’; ⁴*ɲje* ‘spill’).

With Manages who have grown up in a more intense environment of Nepali bilingualism (mainly those Manages who were

born/raised in Kathmandu), the structure of the tone system shows marked changes. Hildebrandt (2003) demonstrates that urban speakers show a large-scale phonetic merger of the two contour tones into a two-way high-low opposition. In addition, the conceptualisation and grouping of words into different melody groups is considerably fuzzier than for rural Mananges of the same age group.

It is not at all obvious that the altered tone system is simply one symptom of a larger process of language loss (i.e. shift to Nepali). Manange in the urban environments appears to be maintained in a situation of diglossia, whereby its place in Manange life is firmly rooted in domestic, private environments, while Nepali is the language of necessity in public domains. Nevertheless, this structural result (along with others described below) appears to be a consequence of such a maintenance scenario.

It is also not obvious that urban Manange is borrowing anything from Nepali phonology. Nepali has no tone, and in fact has a four-way obstruent voicing distinction (voiceless plain, voiceless aspirated, voiced plain and voiced aspirated). There is no evidence that urban Mananges are incorporating obstruent onset voicing into their production of Manange. Rather, lexical frequency may play a role in determining which words evidence phonetic pitch merger and in determining the pitch properties of the emergent two-way system.

There is some evidence of a possibly emergent iambic stress pattern (non-contrastive) in Manange words, perhaps via contact with Nepali. In Nepali polysyllabic words, (phonetic) stress is initial if all syllables of word are of equal syllable weight (Acharya 1991). If non-initial syllables are of certain (progressively heavier) weight, then stress falls right-ward, suggesting an iambic tendency.

In Himalayish T-B languages, stress & tone favor an overall trochaic (initial) pattern (cf. Bickel 1998; 2003). For example, in Kiranti

languages, main stress is almost always initial. In Bodish languages, the tone feature of the initial element (syllable, morpheme) is carried across all other bound units. In Manange, the tone pattern retains this initial/trochaic preference, and most disyllabic words carry a main stress on the initial syllable. But there are also some disyllabic (nouns) that are clearly stressed on the final syllable, as in example (2), with pitch re-set, vowel amplitude/intensity and duration as indicators of this stress (cf. Hildebrandt 2003; 2004).

(2) Final Main Stress

Form	Meaning
² nja.'ta	'chain'
² to.'soŋ	'now'
³ ŋjo.'kroŋ	'breast'
³ to.'re	'grave'
⁴ ko.'te	'button'
² tʃep.kjel	'vulture'
³ ŋo.'kroŋ	'forehead'

3. Nominal Structures

I treat the different patterns of case-marking in Manange in this section, even though it is essentially a topic of argument structure alignment, and appears in the typology section of the database. Manange is like the other Bodish (Himalayish) and Indo-European languages of the South Asian linguistic area in showing some variation of a (split) ergative-absolutive alignment pattern (cf. Masica's 'ergative belt' 2001: 250-51). Split ergativity is actually reconstructed by DeLancey (1989) back to Proto T-B, so its presence in Manange is not necessarily attributed to contact with

Nepali. However, the different patterns of ergative case marking in the rural and urban Manange communities is of interest.

Rural Mananges show a pattern in their speech of split ergativity that aligns with modality. The A argument of a transitive verb in realis mode (i.e. perfective & perfective progressive aspects, simple present ‘tense’) hosts the ergative enclitic, while in irrealis mode (e.g. future, immediates, deontics, etc.) is absolutive (zero) marked, shown in examples (3-5) (examples from Hildebrandt 2004: 99-100)

(3) Realis

¹ <i>mriŋ</i> = <i>tse</i>	² <i>naka</i>	² <i>p^huŋ</i>	² <i>k^hol-tsi</i>
woman = ERG	chicken	egg	boil-PERF

‘The woman boiled the egg.’

(4) Irrealis (Future)

¹ <i>mriŋ</i> * = <i>tse</i>	² <i>naka</i>	² <i>p^huŋ</i>	² <i>k^hol(-p_A)</i>
woman* = ERG	chicken	egg	boil(-NOM)

‘The woman will boil the egg.’

(5) Irrealis (Immediate)

¹ <i>ŋ_A</i> * = <i>tse</i>	¹ <i>n_Akju = ri</i>	² <i>prim-pi</i>	¹ <i>l_A-tsi</i>
1(SG)* = ERG	dog = LOC	hit/kick-IMM	do-PERF

‘I prepared to/was about to hit/kick the dog.’

With urban Mananges, there is no such split. The A arguments of transitive verbs host the =*tse* enclitic, regardless of any aspect or modality distinctions.

In this sense, the ergative-absolutive pattern is different both from rural Manange and from Nepali, as Nepali has a split-ergative system aligning with aspect (Arguments of perfective-marked transitive verbs show *-ley* ergative marking while imperfective verbs show absolutive/zero marking). It appears then that there is a process of overgeneralisation of ergative casemarking for urban Mananges, whereby it has become a general marker of transitivity.

A second likely contact pattern with nominal structures is shown by different patterns of NP constituent ordering across the rural and urban Manange communities. This more closely resembles what Matras and Sakel term ‘pattern borrowing’, or the adoption of a strategy or structure from another language (2007/forthcoming).

Nepali has a separate class of lexical adjectives and they are pre-nominal in order (e.g. *mi^ho k^hana* ‘tasty food’). And in fact this is the general pattern with Indic languages of South Asia.

In Bodish languages, the situation is slightly more complex, as both NA and AN order are attested. Nar-Phu is strongly NA in order, while Chantyal and Tamang show AN. It is generally assumed that the pre-nominal order in Bodish is the newer pattern via contact with Indic languages (Bickel 2001; Masica 2001; Noonan 2003).

Manange again shows a now-familiar split across speaker communities. The rural population shows overwhelmingly NA ordering in attributive NP’s (e.g. *^lnakju ^lt^hj^l-pa* dog big-NOM ‘(the) big dog’). This pattern is also supported in Hoshi with a speaker from Prakaa Manang (Hoshi 1986: 212). Urban Mananges show overwhelmingly AN ordering (e.g. *^lt^hj^l-pa ^lnakju* big-NOM dog) (Hildebrandt 2004; Genetti and Hildebrandt 2004).

4. Verbal Structures

The changes to verbal structures in Manange again fit a pattern-borrowing type, and one of these (the dependency between negation and aspect marking) is evident mainly in the urban community of Manange speakers.

In most Bodish languages the periphrastic strategy of valency increasing (causation) is the main (and usually) only available strategy (Noonan 2003), shown for Manange in example (6) (example from Hildebrandt 2004: 107).

(6) Manange Periphrastic Causation Strategy

¹am_Λ = tse ¹l_Λ-tse ¹ŋ_Λ = tse ¹t^haŋ ¹p^hja-tsi
mother = ERG **do-CC** 1SG = ERG floor clean-PERF
'My mother made me clean the floor.'

In the periphrastic strategy, the first clause contains an ergative-marked A and the verb *¹l_Λ* 'do', which hosts the clause chaining suffix *-tse*. The matrix clause carries the aspect (perfective) suffix *-tsi*. Both rural and urban Mananges use this strategy, and they also employ another (less productive) causation strategy that is more morphological in structure, shown in (7) (example from Hildebrandt 2004: 106):

(7) Manange Morphological Causation Strategy

¹ŋ_Λ = tse ³t_f_Λ ¹le ¹l_Λ-tsi
1.SG = ERG tea warm **do-PERF**
'I made the tea warm/warmed the tea.'

Here, the verb ¹la ‘do’ is used in a compound structure and it carries the aspect affix. This structure is noticeably absent from other Bodish languages (except for Chantyal, which also shows other structural borrowing from Nepali). In Nepali causation is signaled only through morphological means (with a suffix –āu):

(8) Nepali Morphological Causation (Acharya 1991: 168)

<i>Subhadrā</i>	<i>suśīla-lāī</i>	<i>bhāta</i>	<i>khūw-āu-chin</i>
Subhadrā	Suśīla-DAT	rice	eat-CAUS-3SGPRES.FEM

‘Subhadra makes Susila eat rice’

The second contact-induced change is seen only with the urban Manange speakers, so they are apparently modeling their pattern of (Manange) verbal inflection based on that in Nepali. For rural Manange speakers, the morphological coding of aspect on the verb is dependent on negation: negative marked (prefixed) verbs do not show aspect marking, with the resulting difference in (9) and (10):

(9) Affirmative⁰

¹ ŋa = tse	¹ kola = ri	³ fiṭaŋ	¹ la-tsi
1.SG = ERG	child = LOC	scold	do-PERF

‘I scolded the child.’

(10) Negative

¹ ŋa = tse	¹ kola = ri	³ fiṭaŋ	¹ a-la
1.SG = ERG	child = LOC	scold	NEG-do

‘I did not scold the child.’

Urban Mananges do not acknowledge this dependency, and both negated and non-negated verbs can host the full range of aspect morphology (e.g. ³*ʃitaŋ* ¹*lɛ-tsi* and ³*ʃitaŋ* ¹*a-lɛ-tsi*).

5. Other parts of speech

Numerals in Manange follow a base-ten system (²*tfu* ‘ten’; ⁴*ŋifu* two-ten ‘twenty’; ²*sumtfu* three-ten ‘thirty’; ⁴*p^hlitfu* four-ten ‘forty’, ⁴*ŋɛtfu* five-ten ‘fifty’, ⁴*t^huktfu* six-ten ‘sixty’, etc.). Consecutive counting within the individual bases follows a pattern of addition of single units to the multiple (e.g. ¹*tfukre* ten-one ‘eleven’, ¹*tfuŋi* ten-two ‘twelve’, ¹*tfupsẽ* ten-three ‘thirteen’ etc.; ⁴*ŋifu* ⁴*kri* two-ten-one ‘twenty one’, ⁴*ŋifu* ⁴*ŋi* two-ten-two ‘twenty-two’, ⁴*ŋifu* ²*sẽ* two-ten-three ‘twenty-three’ etc.).

There is evidence from other T-B languages that such a decimal system in Manange may be a recent innovation, formed under pressure from similar systems in Indic languages. Tamang (Tamangic), in comparison, has a semi-complete vigesimal system, and Dzongkha, a Tibetan dialect and the national language of Bhutan, has a complete vigesimal system to the fourth power of the base (Mazaudon 2003).

The decimal system in Manange has probably been in place for awhile, as the phonotactic alternations between simple and complex numerals indicate. For example, the numeral ‘three’ in its bare form is ²*sẽ*, and in a compounded form ‘thirty’ is realised with a word-medial bilabial nasal coda (²*sumtfu*). A similar situation is found with ⁴*t^hu* ‘six’, which is realised as ⁴*t^huktfu* ‘sixty’ with a velar plosive in word-medial coda position. Coda consonants are rare in Manange, due to diachronic erosion of syllable-edges (this diachronic development is frequently attested in many other Tibeto-Burman languages), and these alternations

suggest that the lexicalisation of these numerals in such a decimal structure took place at a stage when final codas were still present.

Bodish languages are unlike other T-B languages (e.g. Himalayish) in that they do not possess a numeral classifier system. Manange seems to have borrowed its single classifier *-t^ha* from Nepali. Nepali has a classifier system of two: *-janā* for human count nouns: *-t^a* for non-human count nouns (Acharya 1991: 100). Urban Mananges (optionally) use a segmentally altered form of the non-human classifier for both human and non-human count nouns:

(11) Classifier

⁴*ŋi-t^ha* ¹*kola*
two-CLASS child
'two children'

⁴*ʃi-t^ha* ³*pʌle*
one-CLASS leg
'one leg'

In addition to the numerals, one of the interrogative pronouns in Manange shows matter borrowing (the borrowing of form rather than strategy) from Nepali: ²*p^huŋ* ²*kʌtti* (egg + many). The loanword ²*kʌtti* (< Nepali *kati* 'few/some/little bit') is used in other parts of speech in Manange, for example as a loan verb ²*kʌtti* ¹*ʌ* many do 'to try'.

6. Clause Combining/Syntax

There is some evidence of Nepali contact phenomena in Manange clause combining strategies. In Bodish languages, one productive way of

signaling adverbial clause linkage is via the use of converb constructions, whereby one of two verbs is the matrix verb, and the other (with a non-finite, converbial marker) verb conveys manner information. This is seen in elicited structures such as (12) (Hoshi 1986: 301) and in narrative structures (13) (Hildebrandt 2004; 136), where there is a dual reading of sequential actions where the second action comes about in a causal relationship with the first. The converb is marked with the clause chaining suffix *-tse* and the following (resultative) verb (clause) takes finite aspect marking.ⁱⁱⁱ

(12) Elicitation

<i>1juŋ</i>	<i>4tsʰoŋ</i>	<i>11Λ-tse</i>	<i>2kʰje</i>	<i>1kʰΛ-tsi</i>
stone	sell	do-CC	profit	come-PERF

‘I sold stones and made a profit.’ (or, ‘Because I sold stones, I made a profit.’)

(13) Narrative

<i>1u</i>	<i>3ja</i>	<i>2tipal=ko</i>	<i>2ʃΛmlepʰre</i>	<i>1jΛ-tse</i>	<i>11Λ-tse</i>
dist	yak	some=DEF	forget	go-CC	do-CC

<i>1kʰim=ko</i>	<i>Λle</i>	<i>11Λ-tse</i>	<i>Λtse</i>	<i>tẽ</i>	<i>1tu</i>	<i>1mi</i>
3.pl=DEF	SEQ	do-CC	like.thisthen	stay	EVID	

‘Having forgotten (about their friends), having done this, those yaks stayed in the valley.’

Converb structures similar to the ones above are found in abundance in other Bodish languages.^{iv}

The use of another linker ²*ta* ³*pi-na* (lit. ‘what say-ADV’) in ‘because’ adverbials in Manange appears to be a structural calque of Nepali *kina bhane* ‘because’ (lit. ‘why say’) (Hildebrandt 2004: 110):

(14) With ²*ta* ³*pi-na*

¹*ŋΛ = tse* *kristin = ri* ²*taŋ* ¹*pin-tsi* ²*ta* ³*pi-nΛ*
 1.SG=ERG Kristine=LOC gift give-PERF **what** **say-ADV**

⁴*nese* ¹*k^{hi}* ²*mananŋ = ri* ¹*jΛ-pΛ-ro*
 tomorrow 3.SG Manang=LOC go-NOM-REP

‘I gave Kristine a gift because (it is said) she will go to Manang tomorrow.’

Mananges also make use of Nepali word/phrasal and clausal coordinators *ra* and *ani*. In Manange, words and phrases can be coordinated via (Bodish) *tē* or via Nepali *ra*:

(15) Borrowing of *tē* (Hildebrandt 2004: 109)

¹*p^hΛ = ko* *tē* ³*pje = ko*
 husband=DEF CONJ wife=DEF
 ‘the husband and the wife’

(16) Borrowing of *ra* (adapted from Hildebrandt 2004: 78)

¹*nΛkju* *rΛ* ⁴*ji* ⁴*p^hoIpΛ = ri* ¹*mo* ¹*mu*
 dog CONJ one frog=INDEF COP EVID
 ‘There was a dog and a frog.’

Clause coordination can be signaled via clause chaining (-tse) or by juxtaposing the first clause, along with the final, bare verb before the second coordinated clause, as (17) shows (unpublished text data):

(17) Bare Verb Clause Coordination

t^hiΛpΛ ²*prĩ* ⁴*ŋi* *ra* ¹*nẽ* ¹*t^hen-tsi*
 yeast **put** two day alone put/leave-PERF
 ‘I put the yeast in (the mash) and left it alone for two days.’

One additional strategy of clausal coordination found only in conversation data is with the Nepali clause coordinator *ani*. Example (18) is taken from a conversation between two people who are talking about making home-brewed beer:

(18) Clause coordination with *ani*

Grandma: ²*t^haŋ = ko* ¹*k^hΛ-tsi* *nΛ* ¹*a-tΛ?*
 smell = DEF come-PERF or NEG-become?
 ‘Did (an alcohol) smell come or not?’

Auntie: ¹*a-tΛ* ***ani*** ²*pe = ko*
 NEG-become **and.then** beer = DEF

³*naŋ = ri* ²*ts^haŋ-tsi*.
 inside = LOC fill-PERF

‘No, it didn’t, and then I put the beer inside (of a pot).’

In (18) the clause coordinator follows a bare verb ‘become’ and precedes a clause with an inflected verb. Likely the verb is bare because it is

negated. In non-negated clauses, *ani* can conjoin finite clauses. In such cases, this would be a case of both matter and pattern borrowing. It is matter borrowing in that the coordinating form from Nepali is used. It is also pattern borrowing in that the clauses on both sides of the conjunction may be finite, independent clauses (as in Nepali), whereas with other clausal coordination strategies in Manange the verb of the first clause is always non-finite (either bare or marked with *-tse* converb/clause chaining morphology).

7. Lexicon

In a study on loanwords in Manange, Hildebrandt (2007) has found that approximately 12% of the 'lexicon' included in this study show some evidence of being borrowed. Of these, the vast majority, approximately 93%, come from Nepali, with the remaining loans from English or from other Tibeto-Burman languages.^v Most Nepali loans are nouns (84%), and with a small amount of verbs, property concepts and function words rounding out the list. Of the nouns, most belong to semantic fields like 'animals', 'clothing/grooming' and 'the modern world', and (19) lists some examples of these.

(19) Nepali Loanwords in Manange^{vi}

Manange	Nepali	Meaning
¹ tuŋ ² ʃiŋ	dumsi	‘porcupine’
¹ poro	parewa	‘pigeon/dove’
¹ gohi	gohi	‘crocodile’
kutti	lamkhuṭṭe	‘mosquito’
golbera	golbheṛa	‘tomato’
makai	makai	‘corn’
kʌriɫa	kaĩṛo	‘gourd’
² cak	cakk	‘buttocks’
² ʃakre	shakti	‘brain/mind’

Borrowed property concepts (both true adjectives and verb-like adjectives) include those listed in (20)

(20) Borrowed Property Concepts

Manange	Nepali	Meaning
alo suntala	‘potato + orange/fruit’	‘orange’
² m ^w i ² kʌtti	kati = emphatic	‘furry’
sitʌri	sittei	‘free/no charge’
sita	si:dha	‘straight (path)’
² sez ¹ ɫ-pʌ	sasi, sajo	‘well/healthy/robust’

Even though verbs constitute a smaller amount of Nepali loans, they are somewhat more interesting structurally, as there are different strategies employed to enter them into Manange inflectional morphology. Some Nepali loans take a ‘dummy’ root (²ti), which itself can host aspect

and modality morphology. Examples are shown in (21), where the bold-faced element is the Nepali loan verb root.

(21) Borrowed Verbs with ²*tʰi*^{vii}

Manange	Nepali	Meaning
rok ² ti-p Λ	rok-nu	‘to forbid’
tʃuk ² ti-p Λ	tʃ ^h ukyau-nu	‘to separate’
kelai ² ti-p Λ	kelau-nu	‘to sift/clean’

Other loans from Nepali are the first element in a verbal compound structure where the second piece is one of a small set of (native) semantically empty verbs (e.g. ¹*l* ‘do’; ²*prĩ* ‘hit/put/affect’). The second verb hosts the aspect/modality morphology:

(22) Borrowed Verbs with ¹*l* or ²*prĩ*

Manange	Nepali	Meaning
¹ hai ¹ l-p Λ	hai aaunu	‘to yawn’
³ pu ¹ l-p Λ	p ^h uknu	‘to whistle’
p^hoke ² prim-p Λ	‘untie’	‘to tie’

The compounding process per-se is not borrowed from Nepali; in fact, verbal compounding is quite typical of languages throughout South Asia (and beyond).

One ongoing question is what the motivation is behind the different Manange verb-words. One possible answer is that the verb ¹*l* ‘do’ occurs with loan-verbs that are transitive in Manange (where the A argument is ergative-marked). The verb ‘do’ does in fact function as a periphrastic causative marker in Manange (Hildebrandt 2004: 106-107).

Along these lines, a number of the Nepali source verbs in this database have the diphthong portion *aa* in the stem. Acharya (1991: 167-168) notes that the derivational morpheme *-aa-* in Nepali derives a base verb form into a causative or ergative form (e.g. *bannu* ‘to become’ > *banaaunu* ‘to cause someone or something to become, to make’). In the Manang loan-verb cases, however, it is not obvious that the *aa* marker in the Nepali source forms is functioning as a causative marker here, as these Nepali verbs have no non-causative, (i.e. non-*aa*) counterparts (i.e. searches through Turner’s dictionary have not revealed forms like semantically related, but non-transitive *patnu* or *kelnu*). In addition, some borrowed verbs (like ‘drown’ and ‘yawn’) are not transitive in Manange, as there is no ergative-marked A argument. As such, it is currently not clear what motivates the different verb-words in these constructions. Additional work in this area of loanword integration could yield clearer patterns and functions of these verb-words.

8. Conclusion

The relatively long period of (both punctuated and regular) contact between Nepali and Manange has resulted in a number of structural changes to Manange. Some of these changes can be considered pattern borrowings, whereby a strategy is modeled on Nepali (e.g. the lack of a negation-finiteness dependency on verbs). Other changes are matter borrowings, where a form from Nepali is incorporated into Manange (e.g. loanwords, phrasal & clausal conjunction, the numeral classifier). Still other changes are not clearly borrowing at all, but rather structural loss or pattern (over-) generalisation in the urban community of speakers, perhaps due to infrequent and interrupted access to Manange in a scenario of asymmetrical bilingual maintenance (e.g. the tone merger, the lack of a split-ergative pattern). An obvious next step in the documentation of

contact-induced change is to more systematically note the ways in which the Nepali of both urban and rural Mananges may be altered. Such cases of Tibeto-Burman substratal influence on Nepali, while not regularly recorded, have been noted previously (e.g. Genetti 1999; Bickel 2001).

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ⁱ I would like to thank the Manange community for its ongoing assistance with my ongoing study of their language. I wish to also thank Michael Noonan and Balthasar Bickel for feedback and advice on this account. All errors are my own. Abbreviations: 1 first person; 2 second person; 3 third person; ADV adverbial; CAUS causative; CC clause chainer; CLASS classifier; CONJ conjunction; COP copula; DAT dative; DEF definite; ERG ergative; EVID evidential; FEM feminine; IMM immediate (irrealis); INDEF indefinite; LOC locative; NEG negative; NOM nominaliser; PERF perfective; PRES present; REP reported speech; SEQ sequential; SG singular. Superscript numerals indicate the tone category membership of the adjacent word.

ⁱⁱ This strategy was not confirmed by me as a regular pattern until a 2004 fieldtrip, and these examples are from my field notes. The ‘urban’ pattern (negated verbs inflected for aspect) is also observed by Hoshi (2006) with a speaker from Prakaa Manang.

ⁱⁱⁱ I have adapted Hoshi’s transcription of segments and tones to fit with other Manange examples.

^{iv} Yet another “Bodish” way to signal causation is via nominalisation of the clause of causation (Hildebrandt 2004: 118)

¹ɲʌ = tse ⁴mwi ³kjʌ = ri ¹pim-pʌ ³kjʌ ³kola ³kju-pʌ
 1.SG = ERG money 2.SG = LOC **give-NOM** 2.SG dress buy-NOM
 ‘Because I gave you money, you will buy a dress’

^v This percentage is from a database list of approximately 1100 meanings. This study stands as a contribution to the *Loanword Typology Project*, organised by Martin Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/lwt.html>).

^{vi} Some loans fall into the existing tone system (usually either the low level /1/ or high level /2/ tone), and words without a tone numeral mean that the tone status/features are not yet established.

^{vii} The *au* portion of the Nepali verb is the causative affix. The ²*ti* morpheme occurs frequently (but not exclusively) with causative-marked loan verbs from Nepali.