

A Grammar and Glossary of the Manange Language

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Abbreviations

**	unknown element	1	first person
2	second person	3	third person
ABL	ablative	ASSOC	associative
CC	clause chainer	CLASS	classifier
COMIT	comitative	CONJ	conjunctive morpheme
COP	copula	DAT	dative
DEF	definite marker	DIST	distal demonstrative
EMPH	emphatic particle	ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential	EXCL	exclusive
GEN	genitive	IMP/IMPER	imperative
INDEF	indefinite marker	LOC	locative
NOM	nominalizer	NEG	negative
PL	plural	PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal demonstrative	PST	past
REP	reported speech		

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The Kingdom of Nepal is a land-locked country, positioned between China and the Tibetan plateau to the north and India to the south. The country may be divided geographically into three primary regions: in the north, the Himalayas, the world's highest mountain range; in the center, many ranges of very steep hills; in the south, the Tarai, which is part of the Gangetic plain, and has a very low elevation approaching sea-level. The distance between the northern and southern borders varies, but is often no more than one hundred kilometers as the bird flies. The distance is much greater on the ground, due to the countless rugged hills which increasingly rise in elevation as one approaches the mountains. These hills are divided by deep valleys and gorges, making travel between points long and arduous. This geography has given rise to a diverse array of ethnic groups and remarkable linguistic diversity.

It is difficult to state with any certainty the number of languages which are spoken in Nepal. Toba (1991) lists seventy distinct languages overall. *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1992) lists one-hundred. Bradley (1997) lists seventy-two languages just in the Tibeto-Burman family. There are several reasons for this disparity. First, our knowledge of the languages of Nepal is not complete, and languages previously unknown to the world at large are still being 'discovered' by linguists. A recent example is the discovery in 1999 of a Bodish (Tibetan) language, spoken in Tokpe Gola, a village not found on even detailed maps of Nepal (Caplow 2001), and whose language had not been reported in the literature.

A second factor inhibiting our ability to count the number of languages is the age-old problem of classifying language varieties as 'languages' as opposed to 'dialects'. In most Nepalese languages, there is only one word used for both languages and dialects,

and the common practice is to name language varieties by either the ethnic group which speaks a language, or the place where it is spoken. Since there is actually a continuum between 'languages' and 'dialects', the Nepalese approach is quite functional and wisely avoids the issue. However, since a distinction is made between language and dialect in other parts of the world, linguists are naturally interested in applying this distinction to Nepal. This is not as simple as it would appear, as speakers' conceptions of their linguistic affiliations are closely tied to their conceptions of their ethnic identities. For example, consider the case of Newar, the old state language of the Kathmandu Valley. There are three primary Newar dialects spoken in the Valley (Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, and Patan), as well as handful of other varieties spoken in villages throughout Nepal. Of these 'dialects', at least one is fully mutually unintelligible with the dialects of the Kathmandu Valley. This variety is spoken in Dolakha, and speakers from Dolakha report that it takes them one to two years of residence in Kathmandu before they can understand Kathmandu Newar. Similarly, when Newars from Kathmandu travel to Dolakha on pilgrimage, they find they are unable to understand the Dolakha dialect and must resort to Nepali to communicate. Nevertheless, the people of Dolakha are ethnically Newar; this can be seen from their names, their caste system, and many other customs. They thus consider their language to be Newar, and it is referred to as a dialect. In contrast to this situation, are the Tamangic 'languages'. Speakers of these languages are in distinct ethnic groups, and when they come together to interact, they can generally communicate, if with some difficulty (Michael Noonan, pers.comm). The same is true of some of the Indo-Aryan 'languages' spoken in the Tarai (C. M. Bandhu, pers.comm). Thus certain language varieties have come to be known as 'languages' and others as 'dialects', without

their being any objective criterion applied as to the classification. In general, the approach has been to let the speakers themselves make these decisions. One can confidently say, however, that if we counted all the language varieties in the country, regardless of status as language or dialect, the count would run into the hundreds.

A third problem in counting the number of languages in Nepal has to do with ethnic and linguistic classification, and how speakers self-classify and are classified by others. For example, in the 1991 census, there is one category called 'Rai/Kirant'. Although many Nepalese consider all people called Rai to be in the same ethnic group, there are actually dozens of clearly distinct Rai languages (Hansson (1991) lists 41). The census states that there are 439,000 Rai speakers, but there is no indication as to how these numbers break down further. In addition, some speakers may misreport their ethnic identity, in order to identify with a group with more social and economic prestige (Kelly this volume). Both of these problems also contribute to difficulties in obtaining statistics on how many people speak particular languages, and in most cases linguists can only estimate, based on their own observations and those of members of the speech community.

Nepal is situated at the geographic convergence of two great language families: Indo-European and Tibeto-Burman (T-B). The overwhelming majority of Nepalese languages are genetically classified in one of these two stocks. Two other language families, Dravidian and Austroasiatic, are also represented, but only by one language each. The Indo-European languages spoken in Nepal are all classified in the Indo-Aryan branch of the family (with the exception of English and other non-indigenous western European languages). The classification of the Tibeto-Burman languages is more

controversial and there are a number of competing theories as to the sub-branching of the family (see Shafer 1966–1974, Benedict 1972, Hale 1982, DeLancey 1987, Matisoff 1991, 2000, Bradley 1994, 1997, van Driem 1997, 2001). Bradley (1997) presents one classification. Map 1, taken from Bradley (1997:67) and used here with his permission, shows the geographic distribution of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, along with their names and their genetic affiliations according to his classification.

Put Map About Here (= Bradley 1997 p. 67)

Note in this diagram that the Tibeto-Burman languages are primarily spoken in the northern regions of the country. The only T-B language spoken in the Tarai is Dhimal, listed as number 72 on the map, and located in the lower right-hand corner. The Indo-Aryan languages, by contrast, are primarily spoken in the Tarai and in the central hill regions of Nepal. Thus while the very northern and the very southern regions of the country are predominantly Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan, respectively, the middle, hilly region represents an area where languages of both families have been in contact for centuries.

Nepal is also situated at the convergence of two distinct linguistic areas, labeled by Matisoff as the Indosphere and the Sinosphere. Linguistic areas are contiguous geographic regions which contain languages of different genetic stocks, and where those languages share typological features as a result of diffusion. The Indosphere essentially constitutes the South Asian subcontinent, where languages are spoken from the Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austroasiatic, and Dravidian families. Despite their different

genetic histories, languages in this area tend to share particular features, such as the presence of retroflex consonants, dative-subject constructions, particular word-order patterns, and conjunctive participles (Masica 1976). The Sinosphere, which contains languages of the Sino-Tibetan, Mon-Khmer, Hmong-Mien, Tai-Kadai and Austronesian families, geographically covers much of Southeast Asia. Languages in this area are prototypically characterised by little or no inflectional morphology, words which are monosyllabic or sequisyllabic, multiple tones, and serial verb constructions. Languages of the Himalayas, located in part between these two regions and serving as an effective geographic barrier for all but the hardiest traders, often show typological characteristics of both linguistic areas. Some languages (such as Manange) are predominantly of the Sinospheric type, while others (such as Nepali and Newar) primarily have characteristics of the Indospheric type. There has, as yet, been no rigorous study of the distribution of the features characteristic of the distinct linguistic areas in Nepalese languages, and little work has been done on patterns of population contact and multilingualism (an exception to the latter is Kansakar 1996). Each language in Nepal has been formed in a unique sociohistorical context; each needs to be independently assessed to determine the extent to which language contact has played a role in shaping its lexical, phonological and grammatical patterns.

Linguists estimate that only about half of the languages spoken in the world in the year 2000 will still be spoken by the year 2100 (Krauss 1992:6). Unfortunately, the languages of Nepal are sure to be part of this global trend. While there are about one-hundred languages in Nepal, only about one-quarter of these languages are spoken by more than 5000 people (based on population numbers in Bradley 1997:52–60). Many of

these small communities have begun to lose their coherence, as members from the villages move into cities or other parts of Nepal to find employment. As the coherence is lost, the speech community is scattered and the language is devalued. In this situation, children do not have the motivation to learn and use the language, which soon becomes the exclusive property of older speakers, a situation which usually leads to extinction. To the extent that the caste system permits it, there is a trend for migrants to the city to marry people from outside the village, hence often from outside the native speech community. This helps insure a non-village lifestyle for the couple, but also further promotes the use of Nepali between spouses, and thus the raising of children in a monolingual Nepali setting. Older people tend to follow their children to the cities once they have established homes there, with the result that villages are losing population rapidly. For example, of the 800 or so members of the Nar-Phu ethnic group, no more than 500 live most of the year in the Nar region (Michael Noonan, pers.comm). If this trend continues, then within a couple of decades there may not be enough people left in the Nar region to sustain the traditional way of life. This situation is not unique to the Nar-Phu, and similar, though perhaps less extreme, figures could be cited for many other ethnic groups.

While this scenario affecting small speech communities is all too common in Nepal, languages with larger speech communities are also not immune from the possibility of extinction. Consider the case of Newar. This language was listed as having about 690,000 speakers in the 1991 census. Most Newars fluently speak Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language and the national language of Nepal; many of them speak Newar as well. But as the country continues to modernise, the pressure of social and economic change renders fluency in Nepali an even more important tool for economic success. Nepali is

used for most inter-ethnic communication, and is also the language of education and of commerce. Many Newar parents feel that their children will acquire a better command of Nepali if they are not simultaneously taught the other languages of the household. These children are thus addressed in Nepali, which becomes their first language. Often, when children are raised in fully Newar communities, the richness of the linguistic environment still provides enough input for children to pick up their parents' languages as they grow older, but often they do not reach the same degree of proficiency as their parents, and they use the language only in limited social settings, and not with their peers. When they do speak Newar, they rely very heavily on Nepali lexical items, and produce calques based on Nepali and English phrases and grammatical expressions.

It is within this context that the present volume has been produced. The prospect of language endangerment and extinction creates a great need for documentation of undescribed languages, and for more thorough studies of languages for which we have only limited documentary materials. With this need in mind, Michael Noonan (University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee) and I applied for and received a research grant from the United States National Science Foundation to train five linguistics graduate students and to send them to Nepal to conduct primary linguistic fieldwork on undocumented or under-documented Tibeto-Burman languages. The first two grammars which have been completed under the auspices of that project are presented in this volume. The first, by Kristine Hildebrandt, is on Manange, a Tamangic language spoken in the Annapurna region. The second, by Barbara Kelly, is on Sherpa, a Bodish language spoken in the Solu and Khumbu regions. Both students gathered their data in two field trips to Nepal, in

1988 and 1999; Kristine Hildebrandt made a third trip in 2001, and Barbara Kelly has continued her work with Sherpa speakers living in the United States.

We have many people to thank for their assistance with this project. Both authors give their own independent set of acknowledgements, but here I would like to especially thank those people who were centrally involved in this project: Michael Noonan, who was the original catalyst for the project, and who has worked with me throughout; the faculty and students of the Department of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University in Nepal, who rendered assistance, wisdom, encouragement, and advice; Dr Austin Hale, who met with the students regularly to discuss data during their first fieldtrip; and Mr Hlaakpa and Mrs Sita Gurung, two highly resourceful individuals who assisted with all manner of logistical details.

The writing of a grammar is a difficult task, and one never can attain the ideal of a complete and entirely error-free work. We apologise for our many imperfections. Nevertheless, we hope these contributions will prove useful to linguists, anthropologists, and other scholars. Our greater hope is that they will one day also prove useful to the Manange and Sherpa peoples and to their descendents.

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1. Introduction¹

1.1 Goals

The primary goal of this work is to provide an introductory linguistic description of Manange, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Manang District of central northern Nepal. The Manange language has not been extensively documented and the material that is available on this language is incomplete and inconvenient to access. The expected contribution of this sketch grammar includes a presentation and description of phonetic, phonological and morphosyntactic phenomena as they have been observed in both elicited and text-based settings. In addition, because the data presented in this grammar represent work with different Manange speakers, observations of linguistic variation among them are noted and discussed.

A secondary goal of this work is to provide preliminary explanations for any features of Manange that may be addressed by contemporary linguistic theory. Where applicable, generalisations about patternings of linguistic phenomena are posited.

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1.2 Background on Manange

1.2.1 Geographical location and population

Manange (lit. [mánaŋ] ‘Manang people/place’ [kjè] ‘voice/language’) is a Tibeto-Burman language located in the Western Development Region’s northern district of Nepal, called Manang.² Older Manange speakers describe the etymology of their placename *manang* as *ma*, presumably a version of *3mi* ‘person’ which has undergone a type of vowel harmony, and *3naŋ* ‘down/below’, with a compounded meaning of ‘the ones down there.’ They say this name was given to inhabitants of the lower Manang township by Manange-speaking villagers of upper Tengki Manang, located about one-half mile and three hundred feet above Manang township. Manang township/village is the largest village in the Manang District. Another Manange speaker has told me that the *ma* form in Manange is not in fact a version of *3mi* ‘person’ but a mutated version of *mu*, an older word for ‘village.’ The only word that I have ever been given in elicitation for ‘village’ is *3jul*. If this were the case, the etymology of the placename would then be ‘the voice of the village/villagers below.’

Geographically, Manang is known as the Inner Himalayan Valley, as it is surrounded to the south, the east and the west by the Nepal Annapurna mountain range. About twenty miles to the north of Manang village lies the Tibetan border, with the Tibetan plateau extending beyond to the north-west. Manang is the second largest district in the Gandaki zone, but it is the least populated district in Nepal. This district, which

² My orthographic transcription of the name of Manange language utilises the letter *g*, which is also the IPA symbol for a voiced velar stop. The phonemic inventory of Manange does not contain voiced stops; rather, voicing for obstruents is allophonic, occurring when the obstruent follows another voiced segment. My orthographic rendering of the name of this language is neither phonemically nor phonetically accurate, but rather reflects a Roman alphabet tradition of the spelling of this language and the ethnic group that speaks it.

contains twelve village development committees (Tal, the district headquarters of Chhame, Pisang, Praka, Ongde/Humde, Manang, Tengki, Gyaru, Ngawal, Gunsang, Nar, Phugaun), and several smaller village communities (including Bagarchhap, Dharapani, Thonje, Thanchok, Letdar, Khangsar, Dhanakyu) covers 2,246 square kilometers in area (Sharma 1994). As many village names like Dharapani (Nepali *dhaaro* ‘spring’ *paani* ‘water’) and Bagarchhap (Nepali *bagar* ‘sandy’) indicate, several placenames within the Manang district are now wholly or partially identified with Indo-Aryan names. In most cases, younger Mananges do not remember the older, Tibeto-Burman names of such places, and assume that a name like Dharapani is the only placename that people use. Other Mananges describe town names such as Pisang as being partly Tibeto-Burman and partly Indo-Aryan in origin (e.g. some Mananges refer to Pisang as [pi] only, with the second syllable [sʌŋ] possibly being the Nepali word ‘together, union’) (see also Snellgrove 1961 for a discussion of Manang region placenames and the 1931 Survey of India project).

The 1991 official census reports a population growth of approximately 23% in Nepal as a whole between 1981 and 1991. In contrast, the Manang district has seen its population decrease by 23% over these same ten years. The 1991 census reports a population of 5,363 (Gurung 1998) for the district.

Both Gurungs and Manangis (or *Mananges*, also called *Manangpas* and *Manangbhots*) are the main ethnic groups inhabiting the Manang district. An upshot of this is that linguistic census records tend to lump speakers of Manange in with speakers of other Gurungic languages such as Gurung, Tamang and Thakali. In addition, since Manange is spoken in the high hills or mountain areas of the Nepal-Tibet border, and

since Mananges identify themselves culturally with speakers of other Bodish languages, other linguistic records tend to lump their language in with Sherpa or other Bhote languages. As a result, the exact number of Manange speakers is unknown. For the purposes of census construction, if Manange is considered to be a Bhote-Sherpa group language, then the 1991 mother-tongue numbers are around 17,000 for the western region of Nepal. If Manange is considered as a Gurung group language (and comparative data suggest it is Gurungic), then its western region numbers stand at about 149,000 (Gurung 1998). Either way, both of these numbers stand in stark contrast to most speakers' personal estimates of about 3,000 Manange speakers living in both the Manang district and in the Kathmandu Valley combined.

1.2.2 Language classification

Manange, also known by its endonym as *nyeshan*, 'our language,' is a Bodish language identified within the Central Himalayish subphylum of Tibeto-Burman³. It is grouped with other Gurungic languages such as the Nar-Phu complex, Gurung, Thakali, Tamang, and Chantyal (Bradley 1997; Noonan 2003 a).

1.2.3 Available materials

Currently, one other grammatical description of Manange (Hoshi 1986b) exists. In addition, there are two dictionaries (Hoshi 1986a; Nagano 1984). Other materials include several synchronic and diachronic analyses of Gurungic (including Manange) tone (Mazaudon 1977, 1978, 1988, 1996).

³ Interestingly, some Manange speakers consider «*ysha*» to be an exonym, assigned to them by Tibetans.

Other geographical, religious and socio-cultural accounts of Manange life and the Manang area include works by Cooke 1985 a, b, c, Gurung 1976, Pohle 1986 & 1988, Snellgrove 1961, Spengen 1987, and Watkins 1993, 1996.

1.3 Origin of data

1.3.1 Language consultants

The data for this sketch grammar were collected during three separate field trips, the first trip undertaken in the summer and fall of 1998, the second trip in the summer of 1999, and the third trip in the spring of 2001.

The majority of lexical and clausal data for this sketch grammar come from four speakers. However, my analysis of Manange tone is based largely on word lists collected from older Mananges who live year-round in the Manang District. In addition, texts used for the basis of my analyses in this grammar come from three additional speakers of Manange (specifically, the text included in chapter 6 comes from the father of Eden Gurung). In most (but not all) cases, these additional speakers are relatives of Eden Gurung, the speaker with whom I had the most contact.

Eden Gurung provided me with most of the initial lexical and elicited grammatical data, and I often worked with her to transcribe texts recorded from older Mananges. At the time of my first visit to Nepal, she was approximately twenty years old, and had been born and raised in Kathmandu. Her mother and father, Mr. Palten and Mrs. Chooma Gurung, are from the Praka and Tengki Manang villages, respectively. Eden speaks Manange and Nepali with her family, and she speaks only Manange with her older relatives, including her great aunt (*àru*) Kamisha Gurung. Outside of the home, however, she has less regular contact with other Manange speakers. She typically speaks Nepali

and English with her peers, who are themselves from various ethnic groups of Nepal (e.g. Rai, Newar, Chhetri, etc.). Eden received her secondary education in India, and therefore has a knowledge of Hindi. She has visited the Manang District three times in her life, the third time as my field research assistant in October 1998.

Another Manange speaker with whom I worked closely, Ongma Gurung, was in her mid twenties at the time of my second visit to Nepal. Despite her last name (a common last name for Mananges), she is not related to Eden. In contrast to Eden, Ongma has lived all of her life in the village of Tengki, located about 30 minutes walking time north of the main village of Manang. Also in contrast to Eden, Ongma speaks very little English (mostly just tourist-related vocabulary). While she does know and use Nepali, she appears to use the Manange language on a much more regular basis, and her instances of conversational Nepali often contain several Manange lexical and grammatical items. Ongma also speaks the Gurung language (dialect uncertain) and because of her regular participation in Buddhist practices, she is also familiar with ceremonial Tibetan words, songs and constructions (dialect uncertain).

A third Manange speaker with whom I worked is Gyalpo Gurung (again no relation to Eden or Ongma). At the time of my first visit to Nepal, Gyalpo was in his forties. Gyalpo grew up in the Manang village, but left for India to pursue an education. He later returned to Kathmandu and now lives there permanently, with frequent return visits to the Manang District. Gyalpo speaks Manange regularly and, as he has served as an elected representative of the Manang District, he also has fluent knowledge of Nepali and Gurung for political purposes.

While these three Mananges share many features of their language, they also appear to vary considerably in what they feel is acceptable use of this language. When a particular speaker appears to differ noticeably from the others in his/her use (or opinion) of an aspect of the language, I will note in my discussion from which speaker the data are taken.

1.4 Organisation of this grammar

As stated before, the primary goal of this work is a description of the Manange language. Chapter 2 focuses on the phonetics and phonology. Chapter 3 contains descriptions of and discussion on the morphology of the noun phrase. Chapter 4 is on the morphology of the verb phrase. Chapter 5 focuses on the morphosyntactic structure and semantics of clause combining in Manange. Chapters 6 and 7 contain a text (with morpheme gloss and loose translation) and a partial glossary of the language, respectively. While the bulk of each chapter is concerned primarily with description, smaller sections will be devoted to special issues that arise concerning particular phenomena in the language.

2. Manange phonetics and phonology

In this chapter I describe the articulatory phonetic properties of Manange consonants and vowels. Throughout this description, I argue for the phonemic status of many of these sounds. I use brackets ([]), when discussing articulatory and allophonic detail, and I use slashes (/ /) when discussing phonemic representation. In my discussion of Manange tone, I draw upon both articulatory and acoustic evidence for my generalisations. At the end of this chapter I provide a working orthography which I will use for the duration of this sketch grammar.

2.1 Consonants

The Manange consonant phoneme inventory is given in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1 Manange Consonant Phoneme Inventory

	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
Obstruents							
<u>Voiceless Stops</u>							
plain							
aspirated	p ^h	t ^h		tʰ		k ^h	
unaspirated	p	t		t̪		k	ʔ
labialised							
aspirated	p ^{hw}					k ^{hw}	
unaspirated	p ^w					k ^w	
<u>Voiceless Fricatives</u>							
unaspirated			s	ʂ	f		h
<u>Voiceless Affricates</u>							
aspirated		tʃ ^h		tʃʰ			
unaspirated		tʃ		tʃ̪			
<u>Tap</u>							
			r				
Sonorants							
<u>Nasals</u>							
plain	m	n	ɲ			ŋ	
labialised	m ^w					ŋ ^w	
<u>Lateral Approximant</u>							
			l				
<u>Glide</u>							
				j			

As Table 2.1 shows, Manange features consonants in seven places of articulation and seven manners of articulation. Stop consonants occur in five places of articulation.

Example (2.1) gives a near-minimal set for four of the five places, excluding the glottal stop /ʔ/:

- (2.1) [pî] ‘say’⁴
 [thí] ‘fall and break’
 [tî] ‘pull’
 [kî] ‘feces’

The glottal consonants /ʔ, h/ are limited in occurrence and distribution, and do not contrast with other sounds. However, they are currently treated as phonemes. For more discussion on the glottals see §2.2.7.

Affricates occur at two places of articulation. Minimal pairs for these places are given in example (2.2):

- (2.2) [ts’] ‘cook’
 [tʃú] ‘ten’

Fricatives are found at four places of articulation. Example (2.3) gives near-minimal triplets for three of the four places of articulation:

- (2.3) [sè] ‘kill’
 [ʃè] ‘awaken/get up’⁵
 [ʃô] ‘friend’

The glottal fricative /h/ is not represented in the above example as it is lexically infrequent, but there are a couple of instances of it occurring word-initially. For more discussion on /h/ see §2.2.7.

In example (2.4), the near-minimal set distinguishes the four places of articulation

⁴ Briefly, the tone system is as follows: tone /1/ is low and level in pitch, and includes all sonorant and obstruent onset types; tone /2/ is high and level in pitch, and includes all sonorant and obstruent onset types; tone /3/ is very high in pitch with a steep falling contour, and includes all sonorant types and unaspirated obstruents; tone /4/ is mid-low in pitch with a falling contour, and includes all sonorant types and aspirated obstruents. For disyllabics, the system is somewhat more complicated. Refer to §2.5 for a more comprehensive discussion of tone. In words which are phonetically transcribed, tone will be indicated by phonetic symbols: [] mid-level tone, [̀] low level, [́] high level, [ˆ] falling, [ˊ] rising tone. See §2.5

for nasals:

- (2.4) [mjê] ‘cow’
[nâ] ‘born’
[nè] ‘decayed’
[ŋâ] 1st person singular absolutive pronoun

In example (2.5) the minimal pair distinguishes the tap /ɾ/ from the lateral /l/:

- (2.5) [lô] ‘year’
[ɾô] ‘corpse’

For more discussion on the allophonic variation of /ɾ/, see §2.2.3.

2.2 Phonetic description, phonemes and allophonic variation

2.2.1 Bilabials

At the labial place of articulation are aspirated and unaspirated voiceless bilabial stops /p, p^h/. Also found is the bilabial nasal /m/. In addition, in this section I provide evidence for the presence of a labialised series of bilabial and velar consonants in Manange: /p^w, p^{hw}, k^w, k^{hw}, m^w, ŋ^w/ rather than the presence of an individual labio-velar glide segment phoneme /w/.

Example (2.6) shows minimal pairs for the aspirated and unaspirated voiceless bilabial stops:

- (2.6) [pè] ‘wool’
[p^hé] ‘iron’
[pò] ‘change/exchange’
[p^hó] ‘beat’

For some speakers, /p^h/ is in free variation with the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] when in

for a more comprehensive discussion of tone.

word-initial position, as example (2.7) shows:

(2.7)	/2pho/	[p ^h ó] or [Φó]	‘beat’
	/1phi/	[p ^h ì] or [Φì]	‘chang/wine/beer’

Although my consultants often use the voiceless bilabial fricative in word-initial position, they feel that the aspirated stop is also appropriate. This lenition process is limited to voiceless aspirated bilabial stops only; no evidence of lenition for other stops in Manange has yet been evidenced.

Turning next to the bilabial nasal /m/, example (2.8) illustrates a minimal pair contrasting /m/ with the alveolar nasal /n/:

(2.8)	[mô]	‘sky’
	[nó]	‘high’

The labio-velar segment [w] is found very infrequently in Manange. When it does occur, it follows either bilabial (/p, ph, m/) or velar segments (/k, kh, ŋ/). It has only been attested to in word-initial position once, in the following token:

(2.9)	[jã#watu]	([jã] ‘hand’ [watu] ‘clap’) ‘to clap hands’
-------	-----------	---

This is the only occurrence that I have found of word-initial [w]. Because the morphology of this particular verb is different from the expected morphology (e.g. there is no -p nominaliser present in the elicited form), and that all other instances of [w] follow either bilabial or velar onsets, I suspect that [w] is not present in Manange’s phonemic inventory. This word may be a borrowing.

⁵ For some speakers, [ʃ] is in free variation with [s] when occurring word-initially.

The labio-velar [w] does occur in Manange in the C2 (second onset) position following certain word-initial onsets, namely the bilabials and velars. Examples are shown below:

- (2.10) [k^hwê] ‘song’⁶
 [mwí] ‘fur’
 [ŋ^wô] ‘fry’

[w] is still infrequent in this position, and I have not found any words in which [w] occurs before the vowels [ʌ, u]. Since the distribution of [w] in Manange is irregular and limited (e.g. it does not occur word-initially, it only follows certain onsets, it does not occur before two of the vowels in the language), it does not seem plausible to think of it as having an independent phonemic status. Nor does it seem plausible to posit [w] as being an allophone of non-labialised bilabial and velar consonants. Rather, at this time, I posit a labialised series of consonants in Manange, namely /p^w, p^{hw}, m^w, k^w, k^{hw}, ŋ^w/.

2.2.2 Dentals

The aspirated and unaspirated dental stops /t, th/ are produced by my consultants with the tongue tip or blade touching the back of the upper front teeth.

Example (2.11) shows minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs for the aspirated and unaspirated voiceless dental stops, establishing their phonemic status:

- (2.11) [t^à] ‘what’
 [th^á] ‘cut’
 [t^î] ‘heart’
 [th^î] ‘house’
 [t^é] ‘take out’

⁶ Some speakers pronounce ‘song’ as [k^hû.we]

[thè] ‘empty’
 [tô] ‘meet’
 [thò] ‘roof’

It should be mentioned here that in one lexical item in Manange, a word that also occurs in the lexicon of Tibetan, /4tuk/ ‘poison’, there is a slight pre-nasalisation of the dental stop, sounding like:

(2.12) [ʰtûk] ‘poison’⁷

This pre-nasalisation is not present when the word is uttered in a clause-medial frame context. Pre-nasalisation like this is extremely rare in Manange, although it has been described for some Tibetan dialects. If this form is borrowed (the Lhasa Tibetan form is *thu’*), it could be the source of the prenasalisation.

2.2.3 Alveolars

The alveolar affricates /ts, tsʰ/ are made by my consultants with the tongue tip or blade touching the alveolar ridge behind the upper front teeth.

In addition to the affricates, the voiceless unaspirated alveolar fricative /s/ is also present, as is the alveolar tap /ɾ/. Alveolar sonorants include the nasal /n/ and the lateral approximant /l/.

Example (2.13) shows minimal pairs for the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated alveolar affricates:

(2.13) [tsâŋ] ‘bed’

⁷ The word for ‘poison’ /4tuk/ also shows peculiar tonal characteristics. It is perceptually and acoustically a tone /4/ word, starting at about 240 Hz and falling to about 210 Hz through time. However, all other tone /4/ words in Manange with obstruent onsets show aspiration and the onset obstruent [t] for ‘poison’ clearly is not aspirated, and is even prenasalised in some cases.

[tshâŋ] ‘put/keep’

The phoneme /s/ appears in word-initial and in word-medial onset environments, as example (2.14) shows:

(2.14) [sôl] ‘clear’
 [sâ] ‘ground’
 [nè.se] ‘tomorrow’

[sâ] ‘ground’ in example (2.14) also contrasts with [tsâ] ‘son’ to establish the phonemic independence of [s] and [ts].

The phoneme /s/ has a voiced allophone [z], which occurs word medially when following a nasal segment, as example (2.15) shows:

(2.15) [âm.zâŋ] ‘mother’s younger brother’s wife’

This appears to be a simple case of voicing assimilation.

Examples of word-initial and word-medial single onset /n/ are shown in (2.16):

(2.16) Word-Initial
 [nô.krē] ‘bone’
 [ná.ka] ‘chicken’

 Word-final
 [â.na] ‘older sister’
 [kù.ni] ‘curried meal’

/n/ is also found in word-internal coda position, as example (2.17) shows:

(2.17) /khjèn.tse/ ‘neighbor’

The occurrence of [n] in word-final position is morphophonemically conditioned. Refer to Chapter 4 for more discussion.

Manange has an alveolar tap /ɾ/. There are three allophones, shown here:

(2.18) [ẓ, ɾ, r]

/ɾ/ is commonly realised as [ẓ] when in word-initial position. Examples are given in (2.19):

(2.19) /ɾ/, [ẓ]
[ẓû] 'horn'
[ẓʌ] 'goat'
[ẓô] 'corpse'

Despite the examples in (2.19), at this time it is unclear if [ẓ] is really an allophone of /ɾ/ or possibly a separate phoneme, which in this case would be the voiced retroflex fricative /ẓ/. Different pronunciations from different consultants have complicated the issue. On the one hand, my younger Kathmandu-based consultant, Eden, insists that the segment can be identified as a tap. On the other hand, my Tengki Manang consultant, while not able to provide her interpretation of what she thinks the segment is, always produces these words using the retroflex fricative [ẓ]. For her, the voiced retroflex fricative is a separate sound.

One piece of evidence pointing to [ẓ] as a separate phoneme would be the presence of minimal pairs. I have no minimal pairs which illustrate a contrast between [r] and [ẓ]. Currently, the only minimal pair involving [ẓ] in my glossary is the following, transcribed phonetically:

(2.20) [ẓô] 'corpse'
[ʂô] 'wheat'

This single set suggests the possibility of both a voiced and voiceless retroflex fricative series in Manange. Hoshi (1986a) transcribes the initial consonant of ‘wheat’ using a voiceless approximant (IPA [ɹ̥]), rather than a voiceless retroflex fricative. In this same glossary, another segmentally similar word *roopa* ‘friend (male)’ occurs with a voiced approximant (IPA [ɹ]), again suggesting a phonemic voicing distinction, but I have not been able to elicit this word. Since the number of forms that suggest that voicing is phonemic is extremely low (only this one minimal pair in my data), I will not posit an additional series of voiced fricatives. Rather, I will posit the initial consonant [z̥] of ‘corpse’ as an allophonic variant of the tap /ɾ/. This will preserve a voiceless-only obstruent inventory in the language, whereas positing a voiced phoneme /z/ would create a severe asymmetry in the inventory, namely only one voiced obstruent phoneme.⁸

Although the voiceless retroflex fricative /ɹ̥/ has a limited distribution, it occurs in word-initial position in common lexical items. Therefore, I currently treat it as a member of the Manange inventory and discuss it more in §2.2.4.

As opposed to its infrequent occurrence in word-final position, /ɾ/ is more common in C2 onset position. Example (2.21) shows a phonemic representation of occurrences of C2 /ɾ/:

- (2.21) /2mre/ ‘door’⁹
 /2pɾĩ/ ‘hit’

⁸ Another possible account for the presence of voiced [z̥] may lie in a tonal analysis of Manange. The word-initial retroflex fricative in words that show a low-falling pitch (i.e., tone /4/ words) often sounds voiced, suggesting an interaction between tone category and apparent voicing on the initial consonant. However, this initial observation needs further examination before I can posit it as a systematic part of the tone system in Manange.

⁹ I have also heard [m̂re] for ‘door.’

/1krΛ/ ‘hair’

/r/ does not follow coronals. For more discussion on Manange syllable structure, see §2.4.

Perceptually, there is a slight devoicing of /r/ when it follows a voiceless aspirated obstruent, as in [ɸŋâ] ‘foothill/hill’ and [ɸŋâpΛ] ‘to be fine/thin,’ suggesting the allophone [rʷ], a devoiced version of /r/. Other sonorant C2 onsets such as /l/ and /j/ also are commonly devoiced when following aspirated stops.

/r/ also occurs in coda and word final position, as example (2.22) shows:

- | | | |
|--------|----------|----------------|
| (2.22) | /3pΛrpΛ/ | ‘thing/object’ |
| | /3mΛr/ | ‘yak butter’ |
| | /4khjor/ | ‘copper’ |

Turning to the phoneme /l/, it contrasts with /r/ in C2 onset position, as example (2.23) shows:

- | | | |
|--------|--------|----------------|
| (2.23) | [pʰrô] | ‘to move/walk’ |
| | [pʰlô] | ‘rich’ |

It is also commonly found in word-initial position, as shown in (2.24):

- | | | |
|--------|-------|-----------------|
| (2.24) | [l̥] | ‘do’ |
| | [lá] | ‘flee/run away’ |
| | [ljé] | ‘tongue’ |

/l/ is also found in word-medial coda and in word final position, as example (2.25) shows:

- | | | |
|--------|----------|-------|
| (2.25) | [p̥.l̥e] | ‘leg’ |
|--------|----------|-------|

[jûl] ‘village’

Occurrences of /l/ in word-medial coda position are infrequent, and these words may in fact be borrowings.

2.2.4 Retroflexes

At the retroflex point of articulation we find both the voiceless aspirated and unaspirated stops /t; tʰ/. They almost always occur word initially, and can be distinguished from each other by the minimal pairs shown in example (2.26):

(2.26) [tù] ‘sit’
[tʰù] ‘sew/six’¹⁰

The unaspirated retroflex can be distinguished from the unaspirated dental stop by the following minimal pair:

(2.27) [tù] ‘vagina’
[tù] ‘sit/stay’

/t/ is found once in word-medial single onset position, as example (2.28) shows:

(2.28) [tʰ.ɿ] ‘toilet’

It is unclear whether or not this word is bimorphemic, in which case /t/ would be the initial onset of the second morpheme.

/t/ and /tʰ/ are infrequent in the language, and are found for the most part only in word-initial position (as examples (2.27-28) show), but they are found in commonly used

¹⁰ Both ‘sew’ and ‘six’ share identical segmental and suprasegmental features, which is generally not an uncommon phenomenon in Manange.

words. For this reason they are analyzed as phonemic segments in the Manange consonant inventory.

The retroflex fricative /ʂ/ was first discussed in §2.2.3, and examples are repeated here:

- (2.29) [ʂô] ‘wheat’
[ʂi] ‘one’

While my consultant Ongma pronounces [ʂi] ‘to die’ with the voiceless retroflex fricative, my Kathmandu-based consultant Eden pronounces it with a voiceless palatal fricative /ç/. Eden also pronounces ‘one’ with the same palatal fricative, rather than using /ʂ/.

2.2.5 Palatals

At the palatal place of articulation, there are the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated affricates /tʃ, tʃʰ/ in Manange, as well as one voiceless fricative /ç/. There is also the palatal nasal /ɲ/ and the palatal glide /j/. Inherent in the palatal obstruents and the nasal is a slight palatal offglide. This offglide is present regardless of the vowel following the onset (except for /i/), and so this is seen as a feature of the segment, rather than a second glide segment such as /tʃj/, or a palatalised offglide series such as /tʃj/.

The voiceless unaspirated and aspirated affricates can be distinguished from each other by the minimal pairs, shown in example (2.30):

- (2.30) [tʃê] ‘tea’¹¹
[tʃʰê] ‘ring’
[tʃhê] ‘book’

¹¹ Also frequently pronounced [tʃhê]

[tʃʰé] ‘bite/pinch (non-human)’

For some consultants, /tʃ/ varies with the palatal affricate /ʃ/ in a word-medial C1 onset environment. For example, the word for ‘knee’ for some Manange speakers is [pʰ.tʃi], and for others (specifically, consultants from the village of Ngawal) it is [pʰ.ʃi]. This variation is not systematic for all instances of word-medial /tʃ/ however. For example, the word *ʼacwŋ* ‘little brother’ is not pronounced as [ʼaʃwŋ] by any Mananges whom I’ve worked with.

The segment /ʃ/ does not contrast neatly with any other fricative in Manange. It does however contrast with the aspirated and unaspirated palatal affricates, as shown in the minimal set in example (2.31):

- (2.31) [tʃʰé] ‘tea’
[tʃʰê] ‘book’
[ʃʰé] ‘louse’

As was discussed earlier, there is a degree of cross-over with respect to how some Mananges use the fricatives /ʃ/ and /s/. However, they all agree that the word for ‘louse’ begins with /ʃ/ and *not* /s/. This suggests that, for some speakers at least, both /ʃ/ and /s/ are separate phonemes. Another word that is agreed upon by everyone, in terms of the word-initial consonant, is:

- (2.32) [ʃʰi] ‘dead’

In sum, while the distribution of /ʃ/ is irregular and also subject to some substitution and variation for some speakers, it does contrast with both /ʃ/ and /s/ and thus maintains status as a phoneme in the Manange inventory.

The phonemic status of the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is established by the near-minimal set in example (2.33):

- (2.33) [ɲè] ‘decay, come apart (like ice melting and breaking up)’¹²
 [nè] ‘melodious’
 [ɲí] ‘laugh’

The phoneme /ɲ/ occurs infrequently, but is currently analyzed as a phonemic segment in the Manange consonant inventory.

The palatal glide /j/ is common in word-initial position, as the following examples show:

- (2.34) [jà] ‘hand’
 [jù] ‘go down’
 [jè] ‘mountain pass’
 [jʌ] ‘go’

/j/ is also found in C2 onset position. It most frequently occurs following bilabials and velars, but is also occasionally found following non-palatal coronal consonants such as dentals and alveolars, as shown in (2.35):

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (2.35) <u>Bilabials and Velars</u> | <u>Coronals</u> | |
| [mjù] ‘twist/plait’ | [thjà] | ‘bear/withs tand’ |
| [pjù] ‘chase’ | [thjʌ]/[thjè] | ‘big’ |
| [pjè] ‘wife’ | [njù] | ‘melt’ |
| [kjù] ‘water’ | | |
| [kjè] ‘field’ | | |
| [ɲjò] ‘look at/for’ | | |
| [jè] ‘milk’ | | |

/j/ does not occur following the tap /ɾ/, or the liquid /l/. In addition, the examples of /j/

¹² The word for ‘corpse rotting/decay’ is /lkhja/.

following a coronal onset in the second column of (2.35) are representatives of the very few tokens I have of coronal-/j/ onsets. Also, when /j/ is in C1 onset position, it is always the single onset of a CV syllable structure. A more thorough discussion of Manange phonotactics can be found in §2.4 of this chapter.

2.2.6 Velars

At the velar place of articulation are the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated stops /k, kh/. Also found is the velar nasal /ŋ/.

The minimal pairs in example (2.36) establish the phonemic status of the unaspirated and aspirated voiceless velars:

- (2.36) a. [kú] ‘nine’
 [khù] ‘steal’
- b. [kjě] ‘field’
 [khjê] ‘road/path’

/k/ also infrequently appears in coda position or in word-final position (in Nepali loan words). In these cases, it is either phonetically realised as unreleased [k̚] or it lenites into a velar fricative [x]. Examples of these are found in (2.37):

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| (2.37) | <u>Unreleased</u> | | <u>Lenition</u> | |
| | [tʃòk̚.tʃʌ] | ‘table’ ¹³ | [màx#mali] | ‘velvet’ ¹⁴ (Nepali) |
| | [tok̚] | ‘medal’ (Nepali) | | |

When /k/ appears as a single onset in word-medial position, and is adjacent to the back vowel /o/, it is often pronounced as more of a uvular stop, as the following example

¹³ For some speakers, I have also heard a kind of metathesis of onset consonants for ‘table’: [tsòk.tʃʌ]

illustrates:

(2.38) /4pʰjoko/ [ɸjôko] ‘tree bark’

Based on its realisations in word-final and in word-medial onset position, I analyze /k/ as having four allophones, shown in example (2.39):

(2.39) /k/
[k, kʰ, x, q]

The ‘unstable’ or varied behavior of /k/ in coda position is not surprising, given the overall lack of coda obstruents in Manange. As was discussed earlier, /p/ behaves in the same general manner, becoming unreleased in its few token occurrences in coda position. The one other obstruent not yet discussed (the glottal stop /ʔ/) also has an irregular distribution, and will be described in more detail in §2.2.7.

The velar nasal /ŋ/ is common in Manange, occurring in both word-initial and word-final position, as example (2.40) shows:

(2.40) <u>Word-Initial</u>		<u>Word-Final</u>	
[ŋɪ]	‘two’	[ʃɪŋ]	‘wood’
[ŋôkron]	‘forehead’	[ŋjãmâŋ]	‘ear’ ¹⁵
[ŋâ]	‘1 st .Sg.’	[sùŋ]	‘mouth’

Its phonemic status is established by the following minimal pairs:

(2.41) [nâ] ‘sick’
[ŋâ] 1st person singular absolutive pronoun

¹⁴ The number symbol (#) in this grammar indicates a word boundary.

¹⁵ Another pronunciation of ‘ear’ is [ŋĩmâ].

2.2.7 Glottals

The glottals in Manange are represented by the glottal fricative /h/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/. Currently they are analyzed as phonemic segments in the inventory. However, /h/ is extremely rare in occurrence, with only four examples in my database. All examples include /h/ in word-initial single onset position, as example (2.42) shows:

- (2.42) [hài lʌ] (*Ihai* ‘yawn’ *ʒlʌ* ‘do’) ‘to yawn’¹⁶
[hài lʌ.le] (*Ihai* ‘yawn’ *ʒlʌ-le* ‘do-**’) ‘at last’
[ha.juŋ] ‘never/when’
[hu.ŋi] ‘day before yesterday/other day’

/h/ always appears in word-initial position. However, an analysis of h-epenthesis is currently unmotivated, as vowel-initial words are possible (although infrequent) in Manange; /h/ therefore is posited as a member of Manange’s phoneme inventory, with limited distribution.

The glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs slightly more frequently than does the glottal fricative, but with only around twenty attestations of it in my database of over 1,000 words, it is still rare. At times, it is in word-initial single onset position, as shown in example (2.43)

- (2.43) [ʔuʃu] ‘apple’¹⁷
[ʔârʌ] ‘alcohol/liquor’

However, it is not always present in this position. Verbs that begin with the negative prefix /a-/ such as *I-jʌ* ‘not go’ do not have [ʔ] before the prefix. Neither does my one vowel-only verb stem ‘cover’ with a both a phonemic and phonetic

¹⁶ *hai* may be a Nepali borrowing, and it occurs in various compounds and lexicalisations.

representation shown in example (2.44):

(2.44) /ʒu/ [û] ‘cover (verb)’

Sound spectrograms have shown words like ‘cover’ to be lacking the glottal stop word-initially, while words like ‘apple’ generally have it.

[ʔ] is also present at times in word-medial coda position or in word-final position, as example (2.45) shows:

(2.45) [tsháʔ.raŋ] ‘all/every’
[kûruʔ] ‘barley grain’¹⁸
[kôlaʔ] ‘clothing’
[kóleʔ] ‘slow/slowly’
[péʔ] ‘very/extremely’

However, in careful pronunciations, I have also heard other consultants say these same words without using the glottal stop. In some of the adjective or intensifier words above (‘all/every,’ ‘slow,’ and ‘very’), [ʔ] may serve a discourse-emphatic function, which may at least partially predict its occurrence. In some cases, vowel lengthening can be predicted this way; a word like /1u/ ‘distal demonstrative’ can be lengthened to indicate that something is remotely distal, as in:

(2.46) [ù:] [tôre]
DIST graveyard
‘that graveyard way over there’

In the same sense, [ʔ] may serve as an intensifier.

¹⁷ To add to the mystery of the glottal stop in Manange, not all of my informants include this segment in their pronunciation of ‘apple’ or ‘alcohol’

¹⁸ The word for ‘barley’ is also pronounced as [kλru] by some Mananges.

There is also the possibility that in word-final position, and following certain vowels [ʔ] could be an allophone of a word-final s stop such as /k/. I do not have data to either support or reject this possibility at this time. For now I will consider it to have phonemic status in the inventory. However, this is a tentative analysis. A more thorough investigation regarding the distribution of glottal s stop in Manange is necessary before its status in the consonant inventory can be more confidently established.

Studies of Tibetan dialects such as Tokpa Tibetan (also *Drogpas* or *Dokpa*) have suggested that glottal s stop in coda position may in fact be a remnant of another older final consonant (Barthmaier pers. comm.). It is not clear whether this is the case for Manange, as I have no attestations of another consonant in place of glottal s stop.

2.3 Manange vowels

2.3.1 Vowel phonemes

The Manange vowel phoneme inventory is given in the Table 2.2:

Table 2.2. Manange Oral Vowel Phoneme Inventory

<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
i		u
e	ʌ	o
	a	

In addition, Manange shows four nasal phonemes, /ĩ,ẽ,ã,ũ/. These are discussed in more

detail later in this section.¹⁹

Example (2.47) provides minimal pairs to contrast the front vowels /i, e/:

- (2.47) [pʰì] ‘wine’
[pʰé] ‘metal/iron’

Example (2.48) provides minimal pairs to contrast the back and central vowels:

- (2.48) [kʰù] ‘cheat/steal’
[kʰò] ‘suitable/to like’
[kʰà] ‘come’

The low central vowel /a/ and the [-high] central vowel /ʌ/ are contrasted by the minimal pairs shown in example (2.49):

- (2.49) [lʌ] ‘do’
[lá] ‘flee/run away’

Four of the six vowels in Manange show nasal counterparts. They are contrasted with their plain counterparts in the minimal pairs below:

- | (2.50) <u>Non-Nasal</u> | | <u>Nasal</u> | |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|
| [tʃà] | ‘search’ | [tʃã] | ‘small’ |
| [thê] | ‘hear’ | [thè] | ‘move something’ |
| [pî] | ‘say’ | [pĩ] | ‘give’ |
| [thí] | ‘fall & break’ | [thĩ] | ‘house’ |
| [tʃhê] | ‘book’ | [tʃhè] | ‘always’ |
| [kù] | ‘chest’ | [kú] | ‘expensive’ |

It should be noted that nasalised vowels occur in all tone categories.

The phonetic realisation of nasal /ĩ/ in Manange is variable. With some speakers, it is perceptually clear that the nasalisation is a feature of the vowel, and not present on a

¹⁹ There may be a nasal /ð/, but I’ve only heard this in two words: *kðpʌ* ‘to get dressed’ (which alternates with *kʷðpʌ*) and also in *gðpʌ* ‘gompa’ from Tibetan.

coda segment. With others, the nasal quality is perceived as a word-final velar nasal consonant, as in:

- (2.51) [t̃ɪŋ] ‘heart’
[tʰɪŋ] ‘house’

One hypothesis is that the nasal vowels have originated from an earlier CVC syllable structure, where the final C, a nasal segment, has become reanalyzed as a nasal vowel quality. The variation in pronunciation that I am witnessing may be the result of a system in the middle of change, or may simply be a type of dialectal or idiolectal variation.

2.3.2 Allophonic variation

The front vowel phonemes /i, e/ are often realised as [-ATR] [ɪ, ɛ] in closed syllables. Example (2.52) provides instances of this:

- (2.52) [kjɛl] ‘win’
[tʃɛm] ‘soft’
[sɪr] ‘comb’

The back round vowel /o/ loses its rounded feature in some words where it occurs word-finally, as in the word for ‘abdomen’:

- (2.53) /4pho/ [ɸʰo] ‘abdomen’

2.3.3 Vowel length

Hoshi’s 1986b vowel phoneme inventory contains 5 long vowels or ‘geminate vowels’

(191):

- (2.54) /aa, ii, ee, oo, uu/

I currently have no evidence in support of phonemic vowel length in Manange. An acoustic analysis of vowel length has suggested that open-syllable vowels are generally slightly longer than vowels in closed syllables.²⁰ Within any particular category of syllable type, there is no evidence to suggest that there is any contrastive or meaningful difference in vowel length. In addition, an analysis of vowel length from data gathered from one consultant often does not reveal the same measurements as an analysis of vowel length of identical data from a different consultant.

2.4 Manange phonotactics

2.4.1 Syllable template and syllable structure

The maximal syllable template in Manange is (C) (C) V (C). Minimally, a syllable requires a vowel (as in *u* ‘cave’ and *u* distal demonstrative ‘that’), but most monosyllabic words are CV or CVC.

Phonemically there are no long vowels in Manange. However, vowels can be perceived as longer in certain multi-morphemic environments. For more discussion on morphophonemic variation in Manange, refer to chapter 4.2.

Syllable onsets can be subdivided into simple onsets with a single C and complex onsets, which entail consonant clusters. Simple onsets can be word-initial and word-medial. Complex onsets may also be word-initial and word-medial. Each possibility is further described below.

²⁰ Likewise, open syllable monosyllabic words elicited in isolation are generally longer in duration than they are when elicited within a clausal frame.

2.4.2 Word-initial single onsets

Word-initial single onsets have a single consonant, which may be any member of the Manange phonemic consonant inventory. Randomly chosen examples in phonemic transcription are provided in (2.55):

(2.55)	/2peʔ/	‘very’
	/4pho/	‘abdomen’
	/4mē/	‘grandmother’
	/1tʌ/	‘horse’
	/1thē/	‘empty’
	/3tsu/	‘this’
	/4tshəŋ/	‘put/keep’
	/3sʌ/	‘ground’
	/1nʌ/	‘sick’
	/ru/	‘horn’
	/3lo/	‘year’
	/2tu/	‘cereal/grain’
	/4thu/	‘six’
	/1ʃu/	‘wash’
	/2tʃe/	‘ring’
	/2tʃē/	‘soft’
	/3ja/	‘hand’
	/1je/	‘decayed’
	/1ji/	‘dead’
	/1ku/	‘nine’
	/3khi/	‘3 rd .Sg.’
	/1ŋi/	‘laugh’
	/1ʔufu/	‘apple’
	/2hajun/	‘when’

2.4.3 Word-medial single onsets

In this section, I will restrict my discussion to monomorphemic roots only.

Affixation, cliticisation and other processes may produce combinations not discussed here.

Obstruents, which are robust in word-initial single onset position, are somewhat

less common word-medially. This may be in part because most Manange roots are monosyllabic. Often modern disyllabics are historically bimorphemic in their morphological structure, so that what may seem like a word-internal obstruent is actually the initial consonant of a separate morpheme. As a result, the aspirated obstruents are not found word-medially in single onset position. /ɲ/ is also not found in word-medial onset position. Other obstruents such as /t, ts, tʃ, k, ʈ, r/ are found word-medially, but are infrequent in occurrence. Examples of these segments in word-medial single onset position are shown in (2.56):

(2.56)	[sʌ.tûr]	‘enemy’
	[tʃòk.tsu]	‘table’
	[mʌn.tʃe]	‘lips’
	[à.kje]	‘grandfather’
	[tʌ.ti]	‘toilet’
	[à.ru]	‘auntie’
	[ʌ.tse]	translates as roughly ‘then’

It may turn out in future analyses that these words here are synchronically or diachronically bimorphemic. However currently, I am only able to analyze these tokens as monomorphemic and disyllabic.

Other infrequent word-medial single onsets include /s, ɲ, ʃ/. Examples are shown below:

(2.57)	[ʔùʃu]	‘apple’
	[tʌrɲe]	‘fish’
	[kʰîɲ]	‘now’

The only segments which occur with great frequency in this position are two nasals /m, n/, and the lateral /l/. Examples of these are provided in (2.58):

(2.58) /m/		/n/	
[ŋj̃.ɱ̃]	‘ear’	[kù.ni]	‘curried foods’
[kʰi.mi]	‘3 rd .Pl.’	[kí.ni]	‘quick/quickly’
/l/			
[p̃.le]	‘leg’		
[kò.la]	‘child’		

This suggests that the preferred word-medial onsets in Manange are generally sonorants.

2.4.4 Word-initial complex onsets

Manange permits three kinds of complex onsets in word-initial position. They are clusters formed with the glide /j/, the lateral /l/ and the tap /ɾ/ in C2 position. The initial C in complex onsets is almost always bilabial or velar, with the exceptions to this general tendency being a few words with a coronal obstruent in C1 onset position before the glide /j/ (as in /3thj̃/ ‘big’). Example (2.59) provides some examples of complex onsets in Manange:

(2.59) /j/		/l/	
[kj̃p̃]	‘lungs’ ²¹	[p̃h̃i]	‘four’
[mj̃]	‘cow’	[ml̃nkja]	‘black’
/ɾ/			
[mr̃]	‘door’		
[kr̃]	‘burn’		

/l/ occurs after bilabial C1 onsets only, while /ɾ/ and /j/ follow both bilabials and velars.

²¹ I have also heard ‘lungs’ pronounced as [kj̃p̃] by other consultants.

2.4.5 Word-medial complex onsets

In general, word-medial complex onsets in Manange occur with even less frequency than do word-initial complex onsets. (2.60) provides examples of these:

(2.60)	/j/		/l/	
	[tʰl̥r.kja]	‘white’	[pʰa.kli]	‘head’
	/r/			
	[nó.krɛ̃]	‘bone’		

In the above examples, I analyze the stops in the second syllables as C1 onsets to this syllable. I do so because these stops do not sound unreleased, as in [k¹]. If they did, this would be evidence of their status as codas of the first syllable (see §2.2.6).

2.4.6 Word-medial and word-final codas

Coda segments can be split into two types, those occurring word-medially and those occurring word-finally. With the exception of /n/, those codas which occur word-medially also occur in word-final position; /n/ occurs in word-medial coda position but is not found word-finally. The most frequently occurring coda segments are: /m, n, ŋ, r, l/.

Examples of these are found in (2.61):

(2.61)	<u>Word-Medial</u>		<u>Word-Final</u>		
	/m/	[tʰim.ra]	‘all purpose flour’	[kr̥l̥m]	‘cheek’ ²²
	/n/	[k̥l̥n.tʰ]	‘chin’		Does not occur
	/ŋ/	[ts̥oŋ.o]	‘chive’ ²³	[k̥aŋ]	‘snowy mountain’
	/r/	[tʰl̥r.ŋʰ]	‘fish’	[k̥h̥j̥o̥r]	‘copper’
	/l/	[o̥l.kja]	‘red’	[tʰé̥p.kje̥l]	‘hawk’

The unreleased stops [p¹] and [k¹] occur infrequently in coda position. (2.59)

²² ‘cheek’ is also pronounced [kr̥l̥mʌ] or [kr̥l̥ma], or even [k̥l̥m] by different informants.

provides examples of these:

(2.62)	<u>Word-Medial</u>		<u>Word-Final</u>	
	[sʌp̣¹.tɛ̃]	‘rug’	[sup̣¹]	‘body’
	[mùḳ¹.pʌ]	‘brown’	[ˈtùḳ¹]	‘poison’

Assuming that the glottal stop is phonemic, it also appears in word-medial and in word-final coda position, as example (2.63) shows:

(2.63)	<u>Word-Medial</u>		<u>Word-Final</u>	
	[tsháʔraŋ]	‘all’	[péʔ]	‘very/extremely’

However, its presence in these positions is erratic and it is subject to deletion both word-medially and word-finally.

2.5 Tone in Manange

In this section I examine in more detail the tonal patterns in Manange words. I first discuss my previous research on monosyllables, and then turn to the patterns seen in disyllable roots.

Previous descriptions of Manange phonology have posited a four-tone system in the language, characterised by four pitch melody distinctions and two (obstruent) onset aspiration distinctions, represented in the chart below (Hoshi 1986 a, b; Mazaudon 1978, 1988):

²³ This is a compound: [ʃaŋ] ‘round garlic from Kathmandu,’ and [nô] ‘long, thin garlic from Manang’.

(2.64) <u>Tone</u>	<u>Pitch Characteristic</u>	<u>Onset Aspiration</u>
/1/	high, rising	+/- Asp
/2/	high, falling	- Asp
/3/	mid, level	+/- Asp
/4/	low, falling	+ Asp ²⁴

For Hoshi, tones /1/ and /3/ contain both aspirated and unaspirated initials, but are distinguished by different pitch melodies. Tones /2/ and /4/ show an aspiration split, and while both have falling pitches, the starting pitch for each category is different (high for /2/ and low for /4/).

My own investigation of Manange tone has been encumbered by my realisation that the system in this language is highly variable and is susceptible to both idiolectal and cross-speaker differentiation. Perceptually, the cues to Manange are quite subtle, and there are a number of words that could realistically be assigned either of two tonal values. In addition, when working with younger, urban-based Manange speakers, it was not obvious that they were aware that different words could be identified and grouped together based only on properties such as “tune” (pitch). When I uttered certain target words (words that are segmentally identical, but different in pitch qualities) to these speakers, I frequently received different translations from them. I was often told by older Mananges that the younger speakers have “lost their tunes.” When working with these older Mananges, it was apparent that they were aware that words can be organised into different groups based on their pitch properties, but again, the perceptual cues to tone

²⁴ Hoshi’s glossary does not contain tone /4/ aspirated consonants; rather, all C1 onsets in tone /4/ words are transcribed with voiceless unaspirated segments, followed by a voiceless C2 sonorant (i.e., /lɯ, rɯ/). My own examination of tone /4/ words leads me to believe that tone /4/ words in Manange do in fact have aspirated C1 onsets and that the C2 sonorants are realised as devoiced by the preceding aspirated segment.

were difficult for me to pick up on.

As a result, I decided to investigate the Manange tone system through a computer software-based acoustic analysis. My first examination of the articulatory and acoustic parameters of tone in Manange was based on data gathered by consultants who have lived in the city of Kathmandu for many years, or who were born and raised there. An initial wordlist of monosyllabic, frame-elicited words, gathered from four Kathmandu-based Manange speakers shows a great degree of variation and overlap with respect to both starting pitch and pitch change, as the following two pitch-trace figures illustrate.²⁵

I do not suspect that the Manange phonemic inventory contains voiceless sonorant segments. Therefore Hoshi /4pluu/ is Hildebrandt /4ph1u/ 'seed,' for example.

²⁵ While the pitch traces in these charts are from words that were elicited only in a frame-medial context, the words were recorded in both isolated and frame contexts. In the frame elicitations, the target word was the middle word of a 'say' clause:

<i>1ŋA=tse</i>	<i>2tA</i>	<i>3pi-tsi</i>
1st.sg=ERG	<u>horse</u>	say-PERF
'I said <u>horse</u> '		

Figure 2.1 Pitch Traces for 27 Tone /2/ and /3/ Words, Kathmandu Informant

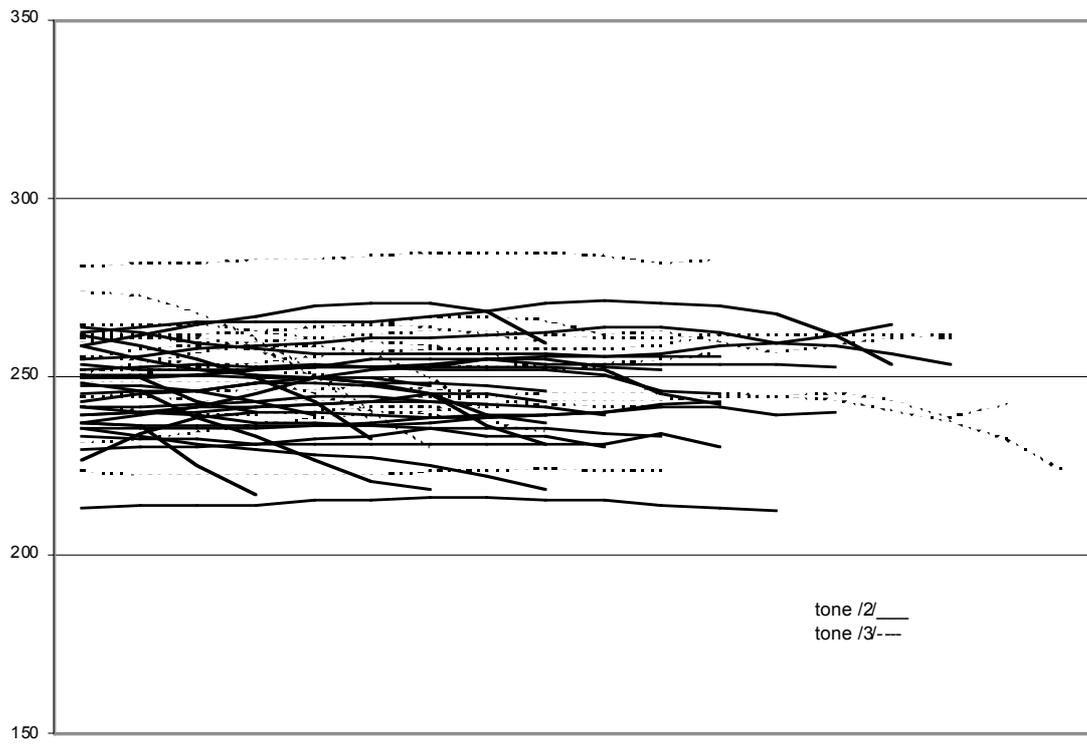
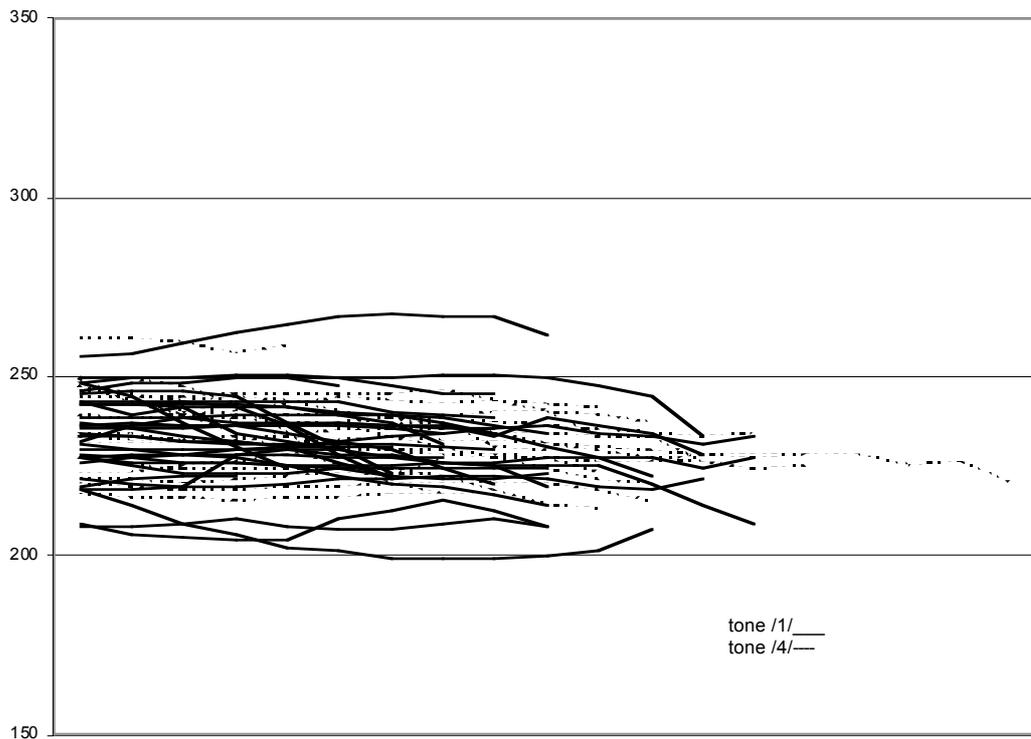


Figure 2.2 Pitch Traces for 31 Tone /1/ and /4/ Words, Kathmandu Informant



Both figures display pitch traces for 58 words elicited from one consultant, but the data are representative of the other three Kathmandu-based consultants.

Figure 2.1 shows pitch traces for monosyllabic words, initially assigned tone /1/ and /2/ status by Hoshi (and re-assigned to tones /2/ and /3/ by me, facilitating comparison with data from other Tamangic languages). Tone /2/ words are represented by solid lines and tone /3/ words are represented by dashed lines. Figure 2.2 shows pitch traces for monosyllabic words, assigned /1/ and /4/ status by me (and originally assigned /3/ and /4/ status by Hoshi). Tone /1/ words are represented by solid lines, and tone /4/ words are represented by dashed lines. As these two figures show, there is a great deal of variation

in how these pitch traces are distributed.²⁶ In addition, the extent of the overlap of pitches suggests that there is no organisation into distinct tonal categories.

While tone seems highly variable when analyzed in one population of Mananges, an examination of similar data elicited from older, more conservative speakers who have lived in the Manang District all or most of their lives reveals a somewhat different picture of the system. A sample of 129 monosyllabic, frame-medially-elicited words (both open and closed-syllable type represented), when viewed in pitch-trace charts like the ones depicted above, show a more homogenous, consistent distribution within the separate tone categories:

²⁶ The tokens represented in figures 2.1 and 2.2 above are C(C)V monosyllabics only, while the tokens represented in figures 2.2 and 2.3 are C(C)V(C) monosyllabics.

Figure 2.3 Pitch Traces for 49 Tone /2/ and /3/ Tokens, Manang Informant

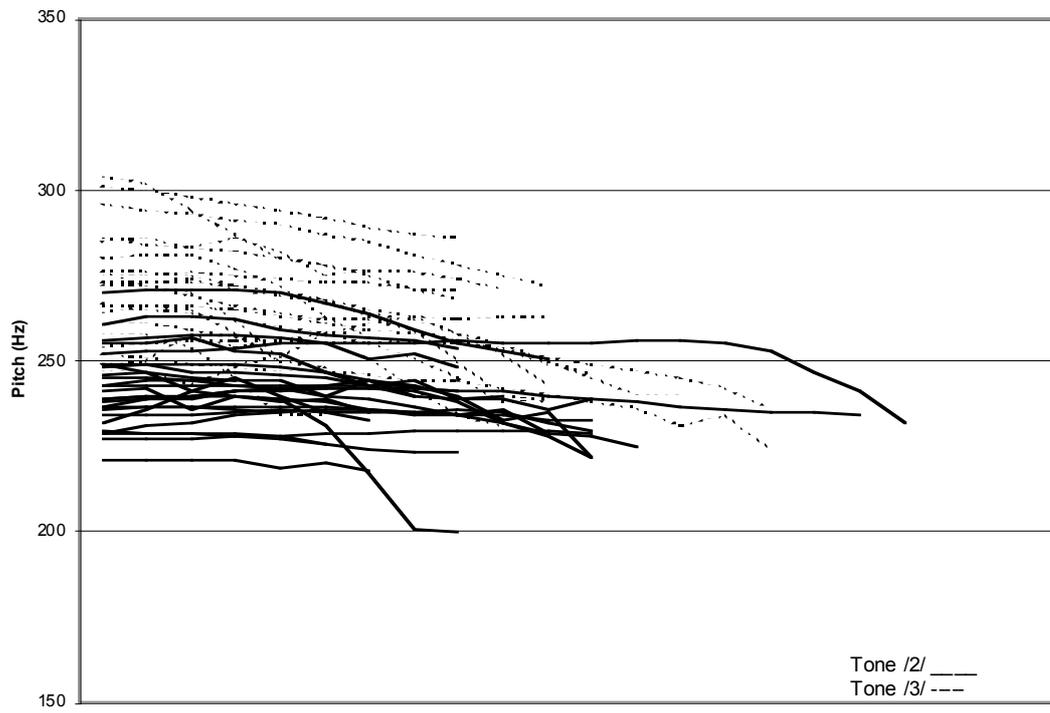


Figure 2.4 Pitch Traces for 36 Tone /1/ and /4/ Words, Manang Informant

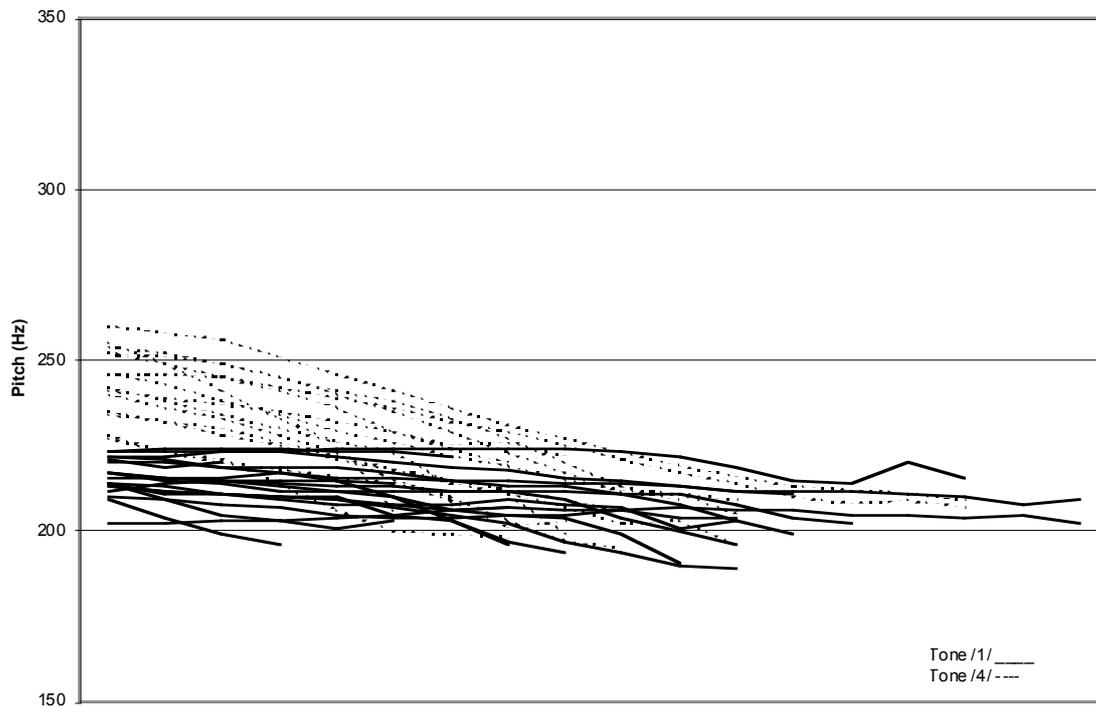


Figure 2.3 illustrates pitch traces for tone /2/ and /3/ tokens (tone /2/ tokens with solid lines, tone /3/ tokens with dashed lines). Some tone /2/ tokens appear to start at around 240 Hz. and rise slightly, before they fall again and end at an ending pitch that is nearly identical to the starting pitch. Other tone /2/ words remain more level in melody through time. For this reason, I refer to tone /2/ pitch as high, and not high-rising. Onset consonants for tone /2/ words include both aspirated and unaspirated obstruents, as well as all sonorant types. Tone /3/ tokens start at a much higher pitch (approximately 265 Hz. or higher) and fall more dramatically through time, and I refer to tone /3/ as high-falling, with initial unaspirated obstruents and all sonorant types.

Figure 2.4 illustrates pitch traces for tone /1/ (solid lines) and /4/ (dashed lines)

tokens. Tone /1/ in this analysis is actually the ‘lowest’ of the four tones, starting low (at under 230 Hz) and remaining level through time, or falling a bit. All initial obstruent and sonorant types are represented for tone /1/ in this figure, and I refer to it as a low tone. Tone /4/ tokens, while falling in pitch through time, start at a fairly high frequency (at approximately 245-250 Hz.), and show only aspirated (if obstruent) initials, as well as all sonorant types. I refer to it as a low-falling (or possibly mid-falling) tone.

As a result of these findings, I can report that for more conservative Manange speakers, there is clearer acoustic evidence of a four-tone system in the phonology of the language, represented below:

(2.65) <u>Tone</u>	<u>Pitch Characteristics</u>	<u>Onset Type</u>
/1/	Low (level)	All types
/2/	High (level)	All types
/3/	High falling	[- asp] obstruents; all sonorants
/4/	Low falling	[+ asp] obstruents; all sonorants

It should be noted that words with nasalised vowels are also found in all tone categories.

One phenomenon in monosyllabic roots that is worth noting concerns the distribution of closed-syllable words in this tone system. As was described in §2.4 above, coda consonants in Manange are restricted to /l, r, ŋ/, with a couple of isolated exceptions. Thus far in my analysis, all -ŋ final words belong to categories /1/, /2/, /3/ (with only a couple of tone /4/ -ŋ finals). The -l final words which I have analyzed are even more restricted in their tonal distribution, occurring in tone /3/ category only. This may in fact be a product of my limited sample of -l final words in my current study, and so more analysis is needed here. Even though we do find these interesting correlations

between tone category and consonant final, it should be noted that we cannot derive one from the other. The majority of Manange roots are vowel-final, and these are found in all four categories with no significant patterns of co-occurrence.

The *-r* final words, on the other hand, occur largely in tone category /4/, although there are a couple of noteworthy exceptions:

- (2.66) /2sΛr/ ‘star’²⁷
/3mΛr/ ‘butter’

If the analysis of tone in Manange monosyllabic roots can be called tentative, then the one for disyllabic words is even more so. This is because of several factors. First, disyllabic words in Manange are quite rare, and occur in more limited distribution throughout the language (e.g. there are no disyllabic verb or verb-like adjective roots; there are no disyllabic numerals, etc.). Second, it is difficult to find minimal or even near-minimal disyllabic monomorphemic pairs to establish phonemic contrasts. Thus, it is difficult to work with Manange speakers in categorizing disyllabic words based on their pitch qualities only. Third, the pitch patterns of some disyllabics are contrary to what would be expected, suggesting either a different tone system for disyllabics, or perhaps pointing to newer lexical formations in the language.

Like other Tamangic languages, the tone system for Manange words has been described as “word tone” (see Mazaudon 1973 for discussion of Tamang word tone; see also Mazaudon 1977, 1978, 1988; Hoshi 1986 a, b). Manange has four tones, and these

²⁷ /sΛr/ ‘star’ may in fact be a tone /3/ word, and I’m still analyzing the pitch characteristics as they exist in elicitations from other speakers.

tones are found on all syllable types. In multisyllabics, the tone (including both pitch characteristics and segmental features of that tone) manifests itself on the first syllable of the word, and carries across the entire word (with a possible slight declination for level tones), including all fused particles and affixes. Bound grammatical morphemes are inherently toneless, and they display the tone of the root word. In this respect, the domain of tone in Manange and other Tamangic languages is not the syllable, as it is in other Tibeto-Burman languages, but is rather the phonological word (the root plus all bound morphemes).

In my own (ongoing) analysis of tone on Manange disyllabics, I have found that in most cases the notion of word-tone is appropriate. This includes monosyllabic roots with suffixes like aspect markers and the $-pa$ nominaliser. In such cases, the phonetic correlates of tone do in fact manifest themselves on the first syllable (the root) and carry across the phonological word, with a frequent slight declination in pitch evident on the second syllable of the word. Therefore, verbs and verb-like adjectives that are elicited with the $-pa$ citation form fit in nicely with the system posited for monosyllabics. It will become clear in the following paragraphs that I do not have a unified tonal analysis that encompasses all syllable types in Manange. For that reason, rather than using tone numbers as I do for monosyllabics, I indicate tone on disyllabics with diacritics over the vowel. A [] diacritic indicates a mid-level tone; a [˘] diacritic indicates a low level tone; a [ˆ] diacritic indicates a high level tone; a [ˆ˘] diacritic indicates a falling tone; a [ˆ˘˘] indicates a rising tone.

There are also a number of disyllabic root nouns, where I suspect the second

syllable is a now-fused *-pA* nominaliser, such as:

- (2.67) /1kjopΛ/ 'lungs' (a noun derived from the verb 'to mourn')
 /1tshimpΛ/ 'liver' (a noun derived from the verb 'to catch')
 /4phɔlpΛ/ 'frog' (a noun derived from the verb 'to roll/dredge')
 /4khjapΛ/ 'king' (a noun derived from the verb 'to set up a place')
 /3pΛrpΛ/ 'thing, object' (a noun derived from the verb 'to do a religious activity')

These words (except for 3pΛrpΛ 'thing') show word-level tone patterns, with the level or falling pitches spreading out across the second syllable. For words that fit in with the existing tone system, tone is marked on the first syllable only.

However, there are a number of words that display individual pitch trajectories, and even markedly different starting pitches (i.e., a kind of pitch re-set), on each syllable.

These words do not fit neatly into the existing monosyllabic/word-tone tone system.

These 'deviant' pitch patterns can be grouped into roughly three categories: words where the pitch on the first syllable falls and on the second syllable remains level; words where the pitch on the first syllable is level, and then falls on the second syllable, and words with a rise-fall pitch pattern. Examples from these three categories are shown below:

(2.68) (Low, Mid or High) Level-Falling

- [fù.krî] 'cigarette'
 [kλr.tê] 'knife'
 [kô.tɛ] 'button'
 [ɲjo.kró] 'breast'
 [ɲô.kron] 'forehead'
 [tô.rê] 'graveyard'
 [kô.lâ] 'fabric, dress'
 [tô.só] 'now'
 [tʃʌŋ.kú] 'green'
 [tʃhú.pî] 'duck'
 [tsá.lî] 'fishing net'

Falling-Level

[tô.ɲe]	‘bear’
[pù.lu]	‘hat/cap’
[nâ.kju]	‘dog’
[tʰù.ku]	‘cooking oil’
[pʰjò.ko]	‘tree bark’
[tâ.kà]	‘playing cards’
[nâ.ki]	‘rice sifter’
[mân.tʃe]	‘chin’
[mû.ʃʌ]	‘smoke’
[nâ.huŋ]	‘forest’

Rise Fall/Rise-Level

[mĕ.lâŋ]	‘mirror’
[pŭ.lûŋ]	‘insect’
[tĕ.ŋê]	‘guitar’
[ŋĭ.mâ]	‘ear’
[pŭ.túl]	‘bracelet’
[mĭ.kú]	‘tear drop’

These words show variable starting pitch heights; some start at a low pitch, some start at a mid height, and some start at a high pitch. The second syllable in these groups always shows a different trajectory (in both frame-medial and isolated elicitations), either re-setting to a slightly higher pitch and remaining level, or falling. At this point, I can speculate that some words with individual pitches that overlay the different syllables might be recent compounds, and haven't reached a state of total lexicalisation into one disyllabic root (with one pitch melody). This would explain the rise-fall pattern of 'tear drop', which seems to be a loose collocation of *2mi* 'eye' and *2kju* 'water.' There may be a kind of tone sandhi process here where the second element undergoes a tonal dissimilation process, driving the rise-fall contour. The word for 'oil' might also be explained this way, as I suspect it is a combination of *2tʰi* 'lard' and *2kju* 'water.' The word for 'enemy' might also fit under this explanation; many Mananges insist that the

word for ‘enemy’ is just /ɛs/, without the second syllable. For the few speakers who pronounce it as a disyllabic root, this word may be an older collocation.

Most of the words in these categories however, are morphologically unanalyzeable to Manages beyond their disyllabic meanings. At this point, I need to continue working with Manage speakers and expand this analysis to better understand the nature of the individual pitch patterns in these words. Among the working hypotheses that I am considering are the possibility that pitch on these second syllables is phonetically conditioned, or that some disyllabics in Manage do in fact manifest a syllable-level tone system (as opposed to, or in addition to, a word-level tone system). Another possibility is that some lexical items are newer collocations, compounds, or the result of recent fusings of grammatical morphemes (such as old classifiers) onto root words, and thus show different pitch patterns.

2.6 Word structure and stress assignment in Manage

Most monomorphemic lexical items in Manage are also mono- or disyllabic. The addition of affixes can form tri- or polysyllabic words, as (2.69) shows:

- (2.69) a. *fɛli=tse*
wolf=PL
‘wolves’
- b. *ʒmi=ko=ri*
person=DEF=LOC
‘at/to the person’ (can also mean ‘in’)
- c. *4nu-pA-ri*
sleep-NOM-PURP
‘in order to sleep’

Literature on languages with word-stress systems describes an absence of contrastive stress on polysyllabic words (Matisoff 1999; Mazaudon 1973, 1977). My own findings are largely in line with this; in Manange, polysyllabic words, a slightly heavier stress most often falls on the initial syllable of the root, regardless of the overall phonotactic structure of the phonological word. So for example, in bimorphemic words where the root word is monosyllabic, main stress falls on the root, as shown in the examples in (2.70):

(2.70)	<i>1'kju=ri</i>	<i>3'mi=tse</i>	<i>2'ŋjo-tse</i>
	water=LOC	person=PL	look/search-CC
	'in the water'	'people'	'searching/looking'

Perceptually speaking, Mananges speakers agree that the 'most accented' syllable is generally the first one. My own phonetic analyses confirm this, but overall there isn't a very noticeable difference in stress patterns on different syllables. Initial syllables typically show a somewhat longer vowel duration and a minimally higher amplitude of the vowel (by about 2 decibels) than do penultimate or final syllables.

Of course, given that the tone system in this language is somewhat complicated, the same can be said for the stress system. I have noticed a number of words with phonetic evidence (through vowel duration and amplitude differences) of final stress. These words are listed below (stress is shown with the symbol ['] before the stressed syllable):

(2.71) Words With Final Stress

[kòlla]	‘child’
[khùlju]	‘old woman’
[kòn!ta]	‘chin’
[môŋ!te]	‘moustache’
[pùlu]	‘hat/cap’
[mê!laŋ]	‘mirror’
[pù!luŋ]	‘insect’
[tê!ŋe]	‘guitar’
[s!tur]	‘enemy’
[ŋ!m!aŋ]	‘ear’
[pù!tul]	‘bracelet’
[p!le]	‘leg’
[kô!te]	‘button’
[tô!re]	‘graveyard’
[ŋjô!kro]	‘breast’
[tsŋ]	‘now’
[kôlla]	‘dress, clothing’
[ŋô!kroŋ]	‘forehead’

These words generally have a longer vowel duration on the second syllable, and the second-syllable vowels show amplitudes of between five and seven decibels higher than do the initial-syllable vowels. The final stress pattern in these words occurs in both isolation and frame-medial contexts, and in different repetitions of the same word. Interestingly, many of these words are also ones with syllable-based pitch patterns (as opposed to word-tone pitch) and cases of pitch re-set. For now, I leave the topic of stress with just these observations. As I expand my analysis of tone in different syllable and word types, I hope to revisit this issue.

2.7 Reduplication strategies

There are a couple of Manange lexical items that show partial or whole-syllable reduplication, although this strategy is limited to a few descriptive terms and a couple of

verbs. Examples of whole-syllable reduplication of verbs include:

- (2.72) *1ŋje.ŋje 11* ‘annoy do’ ‘to annoy’
4kul.kul 11 ‘move do’ ‘to move’
2tʃutʃu ‘after’
2tʃotʃoŋ ‘similar/similarly’

As these examples show, some reduplicated verbal particles occur before the pro-verb *11* ‘do.’ The verb ‘to move’ is also often elicited as its own monomorphemic verb /4kul/ ‘move’

Adverbial/adjective-like words such as ‘quickly,’ ‘slowly,’ ‘similar’ and ‘after’ may be pronounced as single, monomorphemic lexical items:

- (2.73) /kʲini/ ‘quickly’
/kóle/ ‘slowly’
/2tʃoŋ/ ‘similar/similarly’
/2tʃu/ ‘after’

However in discourse environments, I often hear them in reduplicated form:

- (2.74) [kʲini.kini] ‘quickly’
[kóle.kole] ‘slowly’
[2tʃo.tʃoŋ] ‘similar’

In these cases, the meaning is often (but not necessarily) emphatic, meaning ‘really quickly/slowly/similarly.’ The word for ‘slowly’ can also show partial reduplication:

- (2.75) [kól.kole] ‘slowly’
or
[kólə.le] ‘slowly’

It is interesting to note the behavior of the approximant /l/ in the ‘slowly’ examples. In the first partial reduplication strategy, it appears that /l/ is a coda consonant. In the

second strategy, it looks like an onset consonant.

2.8 Orthography

For the purposes of simplicity and readability, I have constructed an orthography that I will use throughout the rest of this grammar. The following two tables represent a re-transcription of the Manange consonant and vowel phonemes as I will use them in following chapters. Whenever a phonetic transcription is used, it will appear within the phonetic square brackets ([]). Note that in Table 2.4, *in*, *an*, *un*, and *en* represent the IPA symbols and diacritics [ɪ̃], [ã], [ũ], and [ẽ], respectively.

Table 2.3 Manange Consonant Phonemes (Orthographic transcription)

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
Obstruents							
<u>Voiceless Stops</u>							
aspirated	ph	th		tʰ		kh	
unaspirated	p	t		t̪		k	ʔ
labialised							
aspirated	phw					khw	
unaspirated	pw					kw	
<u>Voiceless Fricatives</u>							
unaspirated		s	sr		sh		h
<u>Voiceless Affricates</u>							
aspirated			tsh		ch		
unaspirated			ts		c		
<u>Tap</u>							
			r				
So norants							
<u>Nasals</u>							
plain	m		n		ny	ŋ	
labialised	mw					ŋw	
<u>Lateral Approximant</u>							
				l			

Glide

y

Table 2.4 Manange Vowel Phonemes (Orthographic transcription)
Nasal vowels italicised

	<u>Front</u>		<u>Central</u>		<u>Back</u>
i	<i>in</i>				u <i>un</i>
	e <i>en</i>		ʌ		o
			a <i>an</i>		

3. The Manange noun phrase

In this chapter, I describe the morphosyntax of Manange noun phrase (NP) elements. In §3.1–3.5, I describe the elements of the NP, including categories of nouns, pronouns, number marking, numerals, and modifiers (adjectives), respectively. In §3.6 I discuss the casemarking system in Manange. Section 3.7 is concerned with definiteness and indefiniteness. In §3.8 I discuss word order within the noun phrase.

3.1 Nouns

3.1.1 Monomorphemic nouns

Examples of some monomorphemic nouns are found in (3.1):

- (3.1) *lphi* ‘chang (homemade beer)’
lthan ‘floor’
2u ‘cave’
2fu ‘sweat/perspiration’
3ce ‘tea’
4khyor ‘copper’

Manange nouns are not marked for grammatical gender, nor is there evidence of any other kind of semantic classification system (such as animate/inanimate). Manange nouns also do not show evidence of being marked for biological gender. I have seen one exception to this, with the noun *3sro* ‘friend.’ A female friend can be called *3srom*, and a male friend can be called *3sropA*. Otherwise, biological gender in humans and animals is represented by different lexical items, as (3.2) shows:

- (3.2) *àle* ‘boy’
ànye ‘girl’

<i>2phyunla</i>	‘younger man’ ²⁸
<i>Imriŋ</i>	‘younger woman’
<i>1kyokro</i>	‘elderly man’
<i>1khùyu</i>	‘elderly woman’
<i>2naka</i>	‘hen’
<i>2naka phàle</i>	‘rooster’ (ph le is a Nepali loan)
<i>3pri</i>	‘mare’
<i>2tΛ phòrtΛ</i>	‘stallion’

In addition, the words for ‘widow’ and ‘widower’ in Manange are represented at a more clausal or derived level, interpreted literally as ‘husband is not/wife is not’ as shown in example (3.3):

- (3.3) *1phΛ* *1a-re-pΛ*
 husband NEG-COP-NOM
 ‘widow’ (lit. ‘one who does not have a husband’)
- Imriŋ* *1a-re-pΛ* *or* *3pye* *1a-re-pΛ*
 woman NEG-COP-NOM
 ‘widower’ (lit. ‘one who does not have a wife’)

3.1.2 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are formed by the juxtaposition of two independent morphemes.

Manange compounds appear to be right-headed in modification, as shown in example

(3.4):

- (3.4) *phémwi* (*2phe* ‘metal’ + *4mwi* ‘money’) ‘coin’
mêshΛ (*4me* ‘cow’ + *1shΛ* ‘flesh’) ‘beef’
kyêphra (*3kΛru* ‘barley’ + *4phra* ‘flour’) ‘buckwheat’
shíŋtuŋ (*2shíŋ* ‘wood’ + *2tuŋ* ‘grove’) ‘tree, general’

²⁸ This is a compound of *2phyu*« ‘male human’ and *koŋla* ‘child.’ A common variant is monosyllabic *2phyu*«. The word for ‘younger woman’ is also commonly pronounced *mriô«la*.

In these examples, the left element further defines the right element. Silver money is a coin, and cow flesh is beef, and so on.

Manange nouns can also form compounds with property concepts (including both simple adjectives and verb-like adjectives), as (3.5) shows:

- (3.5) *mîfi* (3*mi* ‘person’ + 1*fi* ‘wild’) ‘gorilla’
àpthyΛpΛ (à*pΛ* ‘father’ + 1*thyΛ-pΛ* ‘big-NOM’) ‘father’s older brother/uncle’

In both cases, the modification direction is uncertain. A gorilla could be seen as a kind of person, in which case the compound is left headed. Uncle however is not a kind of father, but rather the older brother from the father’s side.

Noun-verb compounds are also found in Manange, as shown in (3.6):

- (3.6) *yàshu* (1*ya* ‘hand’ + 2*shu* ‘cover’) ‘glove’
kyêlu (*kye* ‘voice/language’ + 1*lo* ‘translate/teach’) ‘recording’

Often in Manange when verbs are nominalised, the *-pΛ* nominalising morpheme is present. However in the examples above, the nominaliser is not present, suggesting fuller lexicalisation for the two words. For more discussion on *-pΛ* refer to §4.1.

In both examples in (3.6), the modification direction is uncertain, suggesting these are more fully lexicalised than other compounds in the language.

There are a number of disyllabic noun stems that I suspect might be old compounds. One of these words is *nyùkyu* ‘dog.’ Some informants tell me they think that this word is a combination of *InΛ* ‘nose’ and *2kyu* ‘water.’ This might be an old combination of ‘water/wet-nose,’ which nicely describes the state of a dog’s nose! Informants do not see the meaning this way, however. Another suspected (although not confirmable) compound includes *chùku* ‘cooking oil’ (*1chi* ‘lard’ + *2kyu* ‘water’). A

third suspected compound is *n^hhuŋ* ‘forest, jungle’, where the individual morphemes are *3na* ‘forest’ and *2tuŋ* or *2huŋ* ‘copse/grove.’ The issue of word formation in Manange is extremely interesting to me, and I will continue to investigate it in light of my ongoing tonal analysis.

3.1.3 Derived nouns

There is some evidence for nouns that are derived from verbs or verb-like adjectives in Manange. Examples are provided below:

- (3.7) a. *1kyo-pʌ*
 mourn-NOM
 ‘lungs’ (place from which mourning/melancholy comes)
- b. *4phol-pʌ*
 roll-NOM
 ‘frog’ (one who rolls/jumps in a rolling fashion)
- c. *2nʌ-pʌ*
 sick-NOM
 ‘sickness/disease’

In each case, the nominaliser *-pʌ* appears on the derived noun. In most cases however, nominalised verbs or verb-like adjectives cannot occur as heads of a NP. Even though consultants tell me that *2nʌ-pʌ* can mean ‘sick one,’ in sentence contexts, I hear *3mi 2nʌ-pʌ* ‘the sick person.’ In elicitation I have heard *1se-pʌ* ‘kill-NOM’ for ‘murderer,’ but I have also heard *1se-pʌ 3mi* ‘kill-NOM person’ for ‘murderer’ in connected speech. The same is true for *1shi-pʌ* ‘die-NOM.’ In connected speech, ‘dead man/person’ is *1shi-pʌ 3mi*. Most of the disyllabic *-pʌ* nouns are unanalyzeable to most Mananges. There may be a few derived time nouns where the second syllable is either continuous or clause-

chaining –*tse*, such as *múntse* ‘night time’ and *nêse* ‘tomorrow,’ but this is speculation only.

3.2 Pronominal paradigms

3.2.1 Personal pronouns

The Manange personal pronouns, categorised by person and by case marking, are shown in examples (3.8-10)

(3.8) First Person

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
ABS	<i>lɛɿ</i>	<i>lɛyɿɿ ~ lɛyɿɿɿ</i>
ERG	<i>lɛɿtse</i>	<i>lɛyɿɿtse</i>
DAT	<i>lɛɿri</i>	<i>lɛyɿɿri</i>
GEN	<i>lɛɿɿɿ</i>	<i>lɛyɿɿɿɿ</i>

(3.9) Second Person

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
ABS	<i>ʒkɿɿ</i>	<i>lɛkimi</i>
ERG	<i>ʒkɿɿtse</i>	<i>lɛkɿɿtse</i>
DAT	<i>ʒkɿɿri</i>	<i>lɛkɿɿri</i>
GEN	<i>ʒkɿɿɿɿ</i>	<i>lɛkɿɿɿɿ</i>

(3.10) Third Person

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
ABS	<i>lɛkhi</i>	<i>lɛkɿɿɿɿ</i>
ERG	<i>lɛkɿɿtse</i>	<i>lɛkɿɿɿtse</i>
DAT	<i>lɛkɿɿri</i>	<i>lɛkɿɿɿri</i>
GEN	<i>lɛkɿɿɿɿ</i>	<i>lɛkɿɿɿɿɿ</i>

My primary consultant says that there is no lexicalised way of expressing plural inclusive versus exclusive. For her, a sense of “inclusiveness” is expressed by the addition of the quantifier *tsháʔraŋ* ‘all/every’ to the plural pronouns. The resulting meaning is akin to English ‘we all; you all; they all.’ My secondary consultant however provides a first person plural inclusive versus an exclusive distinction, shown in (3.11):

Another interpretation of the first person exclusive pronoun is that it is actually a pronominal function of the numeral *4ɲi* ‘two.’ Another Manange consultant says that an explanation of this comes from the following example:

(3.14b) *Iɲyaɲ 4ɲi Iyʌ-pʌ// 4shi Ia-yʌ//*
 1(PL) **two** go-NOM// one NEG-go//
 ‘We two are going; you’re not going.’

In this case, it may be that the numeral has been reanalyzed by some speakers into the exclusive pronoun itself, and does not co-occur with the first person plural pronoun *Iɲyaɲ*.

3.2.2 Demonstratives

Manange has two demonstrative pronouns with different deictic meanings. They are shown in (3.15):

(3.15) *2tsu* ‘PROXIMAL/this’
Iu ‘DISTAL/that’

These pronouns undergo vowel harmony when they occur with the definite clitic =*ko*, as (3.16) shows:

(3.16) [tsó=ko] ‘this (definite)’
 [ò=ko] ‘that (definite)’

When these pronouns occur with the locative case clitic =*ri*, they imply deictic directionality, as in (3.17):

(3.17) a. *2tsu=ri* *Ikho*
PROX=LOC come.IMP
 ‘Come here!’

b. *Ikhi=lʌ* *4che=ko* *Iu=ri* *Imo* *Imu*
 3(SG)=GEN book=DEF DIST=LOC COP EVID
 ‘There is her book/her book is there’

My other consultant provides an example of an extreme distal demonstrative, which is shown in (3.18):

- (3.18) *tàsΛ=ri*
 over.there=LOC
 ‘way over there’

He provides an elicited sentence in which it is used:

- (3.19) *ànye=ko* *tàsΛ* *Ikyen=ko=ri* *IyΛ-tse Imo* *Imu*
 woman=DEF over.there field=DEF=LOC go-CONT COP EVID
 ‘The woman is walking out to those fields way over there.’

My consultant Eden does not recognise or use this form.

3.2.3 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns for Manange are provided in example (3.20):

- | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|---|--------------------------|
| (3.20) | <i>Ita</i> | | ‘what’ |
| | <i>há-lo-ko</i> | | ‘which’ |
| | <i>háni(=ri)</i> | (‘where’(=LOC)) | ‘where’ |
| | <i>sú</i> | | ‘who’ |
| | <i>sú=ri</i> | (‘who’ + LOC) | ‘whom’ |
| | <i>sú=lΛ</i> | (‘who’ + GEN) | ‘whose’ |
| | <i>há-tsu</i> | | ‘how manner’ |
| | <i>há-cuŋ</i> | | ‘how state’ |
| | <i>há-yuŋ</i> | (how + ASSOC) | ‘when’ |
| | <i>2phuŋ 2kAtti</i> | (egg + Nepali Loan) | ‘how many’ ²⁹ |
| | <i>Ita 3pi-tse</i> | (<i>ta</i> ‘what’ + <i>2pi-tse</i> ‘say-CC’) | ‘why’ |

As shown in (3.20) above, the locative clitic =*ri* is optional for ‘where.’ Roughly, *há* means ‘how,’ and is likely a loan from Nepali.

²⁹ The act of counting for some Mananges is done with the word *2phuŋ* ‘egg.’ They say that eggs represent small, countable items. This countability aspect seems to have been incorporated into the phrase ‘how many.’

3.3 Number

Manange nouns can optionally inflect for number. There is no separate marker for dual number. Plurality is marked with the clitic =*tse*. (3.21) shows examples of this:

- (3.21) *Iya=tse* ‘hands/arms’
 4thin=tse ‘houses’
 àtA=tse ‘older brothers’

I argue that the plural marker is a clitic for two reasons. First, my consultant treats the plural morpheme as bound in that she does not consider it to be a separate word, but rather treats it as “attached” to the noun. Second, I argue that =*tse* is a clitic because although it is bound, like a suffix, it can actually follow either the lexical noun, or a numeral, or a property concept, marking plurality in each case. Examples of this are found in (3.22 a-c):

- (3.22) a. Plural Following Lexical Noun
 4ɲi Inokor=tse
 two **cat=PL**
 ‘two cats’
- b. Plural Following Numeral
 Inokor 4ɲi=tse
 cat **two=PL**
 ‘two cats’
- c. Plural Following Simple Adjective
 4ɲi Inokor ItArkya=tse
 two cat **white=PL**
 ‘two white cats’

These examples suggest that the scope of =*tse* is phrasal, cliticising to the final element of the NP, and with scope extending over the entire NP. On a related note, examples (3.22 a-c) also suggest word order variation within the noun phrase (e.g. in example a, the

numeral precedes the noun and in example b the numeral follows the noun). For more discussion on word order patterns in the Manange NP, see §3.8.

Certain mass nouns such as *1tsʌ* ‘nerves’ do not inflect for plurality. However not all mass nouns fail to show marking for plurality. For example, in the plural *3kola* ‘clothes/fabric’ can also optionally appear as *3kola=tse*. When pluralised, the meaning of *3kola* is unclear, meaning different things to different consultants. For example, *3kola=tse* can mean many items of clothing to my primary consultant, and can mean multiple fabrics to another consultant.

Other mass nouns that do not take the plural marker are listed in (3.23):

- (3.23) *kùruŋ* ‘intestines’
pyùmʌ ‘sand’
3sʌ ‘dirt’
2khwe ‘honey’

The plural marker is optional when numerals are also present. Example (3.24) shows plural nouns with no plural marking:

- (3.24) *2sen mlênkyʌ nyùkyu=tse 4ŋi nòkor=LOC lche-tsi*
 three black dog=ERG two cat=LOC bite-PERF
 ‘Three black dogs bit two cats.’

The plural marker is homophonous with the ergative casemarker *=tse*; however my consultants are quite clear that there is a difference between these two morphemes and that they are not the same. In elicited constructions, my consultant Eden does not accept a construction such as (3.25):

- (3.25) **nyùkyu=tse=tse Iŋʌ=ri lche-tsi*
dog=PL=ERG 1(SG)=LOC bite-PERF
 ‘The dogs bit me.’

Here, both the plural marker and the ergative marker are present on the A argument. My consultant says that this sounds strange and that a numeral is more often used to mark plurality. In her opinion, a construction such as in (3.26) sounds more appropriate:

(3.26) *2sen nyùkyu=tse 3ηΛ=ri Iche-tsi*
three dog=ERG 1(SG)=LOC bite-PERF
 ‘Three dogs bit me.’

In (3.26), only the ergative casemarker is present. Plurality in this example is marked by the presence of the numeral, which also identifies the number of dogs present.

Interestingly, my other older consultants appear to find it acceptable to use both the plural and the ergative marker, as this example, taken from a narrative, shows:

(3.27) *2kaη=ri I tu-pΛ 3ya=tse=tse,*
 hill=LOC stay-NOM yak=ERG=PL,

Ikhi mlaη.cha Imi.
 3 curse EVID.
 ‘The yaks who stayed on the hill cursed (them).’ (YakBuff)³⁰

In this example, both the ergative clitic and the plural clitic are present. My primary consultant assisted with the transcription of this story and says that she herself would not use both clitics. Whatever the difference may be between informants, the use of both the ergative and the plural clitics in connected or elicited speech is extremely rare.

3.4 Numerals and classifiers

3.4.1 Numerals

The Manange numbers for one through ten are given in example (3.28):

³⁰ Clause and sentence examples taken from transcribed texts include Intonation Unit (I.U.) boundary symbols. Refer to chapter 6 for more information on transcription conventions.

(3.28)	<i>4shi</i>	‘one’
	<i>4ŋi</i>	‘two’
	<i>2sen</i>	‘three’
	<i>4phli</i>	‘four’
	<i>3ŋʌ</i>	‘five’
	<i>4ʈhu</i>	‘six’
	<i>1ŋi</i>	‘seven’
	<i>4phre</i>	‘eight’
	<i>1ku</i>	‘nine’
	<i>1cu</i>	‘ten’

It should be noted that ‘seven’ and ‘two’ do contrast acoustically. ‘Seven’ shows high and rising fundamental frequency (pitch) values, while ‘two’ shows lower and more level or slightly falling pitch values. The words for ‘five,’ ‘six,’ ‘nine’ and ‘ten’ appear to be cognate with Tibetan.

As discussed in chapter 2, the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ can alternate with the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/ when in initial position for my primary consultant. As a result, my primary consultant pronounces ‘one’ as [ʃi], while my other consultants pronounce it as [ʂi].

Manange numerals operate under a decimal system, categorised in groups of ten. Numbers from ten to nineteen are formed off the base *1cu* ‘ten,’ as (3.29) shows:

(3.29)	<i>cùkre</i>	‘eleven’
	<i>cùŋi</i>	‘twelve’
	<i>cùpsen</i>	‘thirteen’
	<i>cùphli</i>	‘fourteen’
	<i>còŋʌ</i>	‘fifteen’
	<i>cùʈhu</i>	‘sixteen’
	<i>ciôŋi</i>	‘seventeen’
	<i>càphre</i>	‘eighteen’
	<i>cùku</i>	‘nineteen’

As seen in (3.29), interesting morphophonemic alternations arise. The bilabial obstruent *p* appears in ‘thirteen,’ suggesting a historical consonant cluster pattern of **ps*.

The *u ~ o* alternation for ‘fifteen’ suggests a morphophonemic vowel alternation where *u* lowers to *o* when before a non-high vowel such as /ʌ/.

The numbers for twenty through ninety are shown in (3.30):

(3.30)	<i>ɲiʃhu</i>	‘twenty’
	<i>sùmcu</i>	‘thirty’
	<i>phlîcu</i>	‘forty’
	<i>ɲâcu</i>	‘fifty’
	<i>ʈhùkcu</i>	‘sixty’
	<i>ɲîcu</i>	‘seventy’
	<i>phrécu</i>	‘eighty’
	<i>kùcu</i>	‘ninety’

In ‘thirty,’ the affricate becomes voiced following the voiced bilabial nasal, resulting in the phonetic transcription of:

(3.31)	[sùmdʒu]	‘thirty’
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In addition, the presence of *k* in ‘sixty’ suggests the historical presence of either a coda *k*, or a complex onset like **k**c*

3.4.2 Classifiers

To date, my younger consultant Eden uses only one morpheme that could be called a classifier. She is not able to describe its specific function and she says its presence is optional. She is best able to describe it by comparing it to the Nepali classifier –*ʈaa*, which is used with non-human nouns. Examples of it are shown in (3.32):

(3.32)	a.	<i>4ɲi-ɲtha</i>	<i>kòla</i> ³¹
		two-CLASS	child
		‘two children’	

³¹ Other informants prefer noun-numeral ordering.

- b. *4shi-ŋtha* *Ipʌle*
 one-CLASS hand
 ‘one hand’

When my consultant produces the classifier in isolation, it sounds like:

(3.33) [tʰa]

However, when it is attached to a number (and all Manange numbers are CV in syllable structure), the velar nasal /ŋ/ appears. Because the velar nasal never appears with numerals in other environments (e.g. before lexical nouns or before casemarking clitics), this suggests that *ŋ* is a historical C1 onset on the classifier that only appears in bound environments.

Manange *-tha* may be borrowed from the Nepali inanimate classifier *-taa*; however this is the only classifier in the language, occurring on both animate and inanimate arguments, and so it does not share the same distributional patterning that the inanimate classifier in Nepali has.

3.5 Adjectives

Manange has two classes of adjectives: simple adjectives and verb-like adjectives (for a detailed discussion of the semantic properties of these two classes, refer to Genetti & Hildebrandt, forthcoming). The class of simple adjectives is small and closed, with under thirty attested members. This class includes colour words, as well as some words in the semantic classes of SPEED, QUANTIFICATION, AGE, DIMENSION, POSITION, VALUE, and PHYSICAL PROPERTY. In contrast, the class of verb-like adjectives is large and open, with at least fifty members, and includes members in the semantic classes of AGE, DIMENSION, POSITION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, and HUMAN PROPENSITY. I will first describe

simple adjectives in more detail, contrasting them from both nouns, which they resemble structurally in some ways, and verb-like adjectives. I then turn to verb-like adjectives, contrasting them with simple verbs, which they resemble structurally in some ways, and simple adjectives. I end this section with a description of property concepts conveyed through an analytic or phrasal structure. It should be noted that §3.5 includes a great deal of discussion of verbal morphosyntax, as well as some discussion of clause combining strategies. The Manange verbal complex is described in greater detail in Chapter 4, and clause combining is covered in Chapter 5.

3.5.1 Simple Adjectives

A list of the known simple adjectives is provided in (3.34):

(3.34)	<i>òlkya</i>	‘red’
	<i>mlénkya</i>	‘black’
	<i>ItArkya</i>	‘white’
	<i>pìnkya</i>	‘blue’
	<i>ùrkya</i>	‘yellow’
	<i>cáŋkù</i>	‘green’
	<i>myéphra 2tshe</i>	‘grey (lit. ‘ash.powder colour’)’
	<i>mùkpA</i>	‘brown’
	<i>alo suntala</i>	orange (lit. ‘potato orange’)
	<i>kíni</i>	‘fast’
	<i>koøle</i>	‘slow’
	<i>2kAtti</i>	‘many/too many’
	<i>khyôkro</i>	‘old animates’, ³²
	<i>kâthe</i>	‘thin’
	<i>sítAri</i>	‘free/no charge’
	<i>ηótô</i>	‘true/honest’
	<i>phóltoŋ</i>	‘round’
	<i>plisur</i>	‘square’
	<i>kúr kur</i>	‘crooked’
	<i>3ye</i>	‘steep’

³² I have also heard this *without* initial aspiration, as in [kjoü.kro]

<i>3naŋ</i>	‘full’
<i>lthaŋ</i>	‘flat’
<i>lthen</i>	‘empty’
<i>móna</i>	‘dark’
<i>khàr kyʌ</i>	‘dry’
<i>2khun</i>	‘hollow’
<i>shilki</i>	‘bald’

As was discussed in Chapter 2, most lexical items in Manange have a simple phonotactic structure of C(C)V(C). Onset consonants may be either unvoiced obstruents or sonorants. The C2 onset position is restricted to the small set of sonorant consonants: /ŋ, l, r, y/. The coda position is even more restricted to final /ŋ, l, r/, with /r/ and /l/ occurring infrequently. Disyllabic monomorphemic roots are infrequent in Manange, and many di- and trisyllabic words are suspected to be the result of lexicalisation of old compounds. Furthermore, the word-medial consonants of disyllabic stems are restricted: aspirated stops and coronals are rare in this position (A handful of nouns do have medial coronals, such as *tʌthe* ‘toilet,’ *pùci* ‘knee,’ *kʌti* ‘knife,’ and *mʌnce* ‘lips,’ but word-medial coronals and aspirated obstruents are not found in Manange verbs or verb-like adjectives).

Simple adjectives often do not conform to this template. Many simple adjectives are di- or trisyllabic, e.g. *sítʌri* ‘free,’ and word-medial coronal consonants are common in these forms, e.g. *ŋótó* ‘true,’ *phóltoŋ* ‘round’ and *plísur* ‘square’; medial aspirated stops are also found, e.g. *kʌthe* ‘thin’. Thus simple adjectives have fewer constraints on their phonotactic structure than do many nouns, verbs and verb-like adjectives.

Like nouns, simple adjectives do not inflect with either derivational or inflectional morphology. Also like nouns, simple adjectives may be hosts to clitics in underived form

when they are the final element in the NP (see §3.6 for further description of case clitics and §3.7 for a description of definiteness clitics). Example (3.35) illustrates definiteness and case elements cliticising to a noun that is final in the NP, while (3.36) illustrates the same morphemes cliticising to an adjective:

- (3.35) *4khwe* *nàpraŋ* ***phùte=ko=tse***,
honey fly **swarm=DEF=ERG,**
- nyùkyu=ko=ri* *3pyu-pʌ* *ro?*
dog=DEF=LOC chase-NOM REP?
‘The swarm of honey bees chased the dog.’ (BoyDogFrog)

- (3.36) *nyùkyu* ***kyôkro=ko=tse*** *àle=ri* *3pyu-tsi*
dog **old=DEF=ERG** boy=PAT chase-PERF
‘The old dog chased the boy.’

There are no derivational affixes to be found on adjectives (or nouns), such as comparatives, superlatives, or intensifiers, as these functions are all conveyed with periphrastic structures (see 3.5.3). Neither is there any morphology that converts simple adjectives into adverbs or any other lexical class. For example, the simple adjectives *kóle* ‘slow’ and *kíni* ‘quick’ may be used adverbially, but require no derivational morphology to do so:

- (3.37) *nyùkyu=ko* ***kóle.kóle***,
dog=DEF slow.slow,
- 2shin* *2tuŋ* *4hri=ko=ri*,
wood tree one=DEF=LOC,
- 2shin* *2tuŋ=ko=ri*,
wood tree=DEF=LOC,
- 3nyo-pʌ-ni*,
look-NOM-ADV,

‘The dog, after looking slowly/carefully (like peeking) into one tree, into the tree, (said ‘he isn’t in here).’ (BoyDogFrog)

- (3.38) *'kini* *lyΛ-ro .*
 ‘quick go-IMPER.
- lyΛ=lΛ* *kΛrî=kô ,*
 1(SG)=GEN knife=DEF,
- 2shiq 2tuq ti=ri lmo-pΛ kô' ,*
 wood tree near=LOC be-NOM EVID’ ,
 ‘‘Go quickly,’’ (he said), ‘‘my knife must be near the tree’’.’ (Raji)

Simple adjectives are morphologically distinct from the classes of verbs and verb-like adjectives, as they are never affixed with verbal morphology, such as the negative *a-*, the nominaliser *-pΛ*, or the perfective *-tsi* (see §3.5.2).

Simple adjectives with an attributive function (i.e. modifying a head noun in a NP) obligatorily follow a noun³³. Unlike nouns, simple adjectives may not be heads of noun phrases. Thus, in examples (3.39-3.41), the nouns *4khye* ‘road,’ *pùkri* ‘snake,’ and *khuÉpΛ* ‘pot’ are obligatory, and may not be unexpressed.

- (3.39) *4khye* *lArkya=ri,*
 road **white=LOC,**
- lyΛ* *3por lyΛ lmo,*
 1(SG) take go COP,
 ‘I take (the prayer scarf) on the white road (to heaven).’ (Cremations)
- (3.40) *lArkya* *mlênkya* *pùkri=ri* *lmraq lmi lro,*
 white **black** snake=INDEF see EVID REP,
 ‘She saw a black and white snake.’ (Raji)
- (3.41) *khupΛ* *phôltoq* *3naq=ri=kô* *2tso=kô ,*
 pot **round** inside=LOC=DEF PROX=DEF,

³³ Eden prefers pre-nominal ordering for all adjectives and relative clauses. This is markedly different than the preferred order for other speakers.

lu=tse=tAr=ri,
DIST=PL=ABL=LOC,

tAr=ro?
ABL=LOC (repair)?

pArta=tAr 4shul=tse,
pot=ABL drop=PL,

<VOX *4phul* VOX>,
<VOX drip VOX>,

<VOX *4phul* VOX>,
<VOX drip VOX>,

4phul 1la 3yu ko,
drip do go.down EVID

‘From inside of that round pot, that pot, water drips, drip drip, like this, coming down...’ (Making Raksi)

Verbs may also modify nouns in a NP, but they do so in the form of a prenominal relative clause. More will be said about this in §3.5.2, and also in Chapter 5.

Simple adjectives with a predicative function occur in the copula complement slot, and are obligatorily followed by the copula *Imo*. Thus the sentence in (3.42) has the structure represented in (3.42b), where CC indicates “copula complement”:

(3.42) a. *phôlpA*,
frog

3taŋ=ko.
pot=DEF

lthen Imo Imu.
empty COP EVID.

‘The frog pot was empty’ (BoyDogFrog)

b. [*phôlpA* *3taŋ=ko*]S [*lthen*] CC [*Imo Imu*]COP

This structure is syntactically identical to that of equational constructions, where the copula complement slot is filled by a noun, as in (3.43):

- (3.43) [2tso=ko]s [2mi]cc [Imo]PRED
 PROX=DEF eye COP
 ‘It is an eye.’

Both the equational and the predicative adjective constructions have the structure: S CC COP, where CC is a copula complement (see Dixon 2001).³⁴

To convey entrance into a state, both adjectives and nouns appear as complements of the copula *ItA* ‘become’, rather than as complements of the copula *Imo*. Such sentences with *ItA* are structurally identical to those with the copula *Imo*, including as arguments an S and a complement. Predicative examples with *ItA* are given in (3.44 and 3.45):

- (3.44) With Adjective
 [Ikhi] [kAthe]cc [ItA-pA]PRED
 3sg [thin] [become-NOM]
 ‘He is (still) becoming thin.’

- (3.45) With Noun
 [2kyu 2tso=ko]S [2thi]cc [ItA-tsi],PRED
 water PROX=DEF [lake] [become-PERF],
 ‘This water became a lake.’ (Avalanche!)

To negate a copula clause with *Imo*, whether the complement slot is filled by a simple adjective or a noun, the suppletive negative copula *Ia-re* is used in place of (or in conjunction with) *Imo*:

³⁴ Dixon (2001) recognises a clause type in addition to intransitive and transitive: copular clause. A copular clause has a predicate (the copula) and two core argument slots: S and copula complement (CC). For Manange, this recognition is useful in describing the morphosyntactic structure of predicative simple adjectives, and comparing this with equational copula clauses. This is also useful for contrasting predicative simple adjectives and verb-like adjectives from imperfective verbal complexes.

(3.46) With Adjective

Iu nyùkyu=ko mlênkya Ia-re (Imo)
DIST dog=DEF black NEG-COP COP
'That dog is not black.'

(3.47) With Noun

Iu tôré Ia-re Imo.
DIST graveyard NEG-COP 1COP.
'it (that piece of land) wasn't a graveyard (at the time of the avalanche)'
(Avalanche!)

To negate predicative adjective clauses or equational clauses with *Ita* 'become', the negative morpheme prefixes to the verb:

(3.48) With Adjective

múntse=ri 4thin=ko móna Ia-tA-tsi
night=LOC house=DEF dark NEG-become-PERF
'At night, the house did not become dark.'

(3.49) With Noun

Iu tôré Ia-tA-tsi
DIST graveyard NEG-become-PERF
'It did not become a graveyard.'

It is possible to omit the copula in constructions with both nominal and adjectival copula complement constructions:

(3.50) *2tso=ko 2mi*
PROX=DEF eye
'This is an eye.'

(3.51) *4thin=ko cáŋku*
house=DEF green
'The house is green.'

This happens more frequently in elicited contexts than in connected speech, which may be in part due to the way new information is presented, or the way that given information

is modified in Manange narratives. An example is given in (3.52), which is a description by a Manange woman of Nar (a Nepal ethnic group) clothing:

- (3.52) *2phi=ko* *1piŋkya*,
top=DEF blue,

3naŋ=ko=ri *1olkya*,
inside=DEF=LOC red,
‘The top of (it was) blue, the inside part (was) red.’ (Life Story)

One possible structural analysis of the examples above (lacking a copula) is to say that in equational clauses the NP’s exist in apposition. However, one wishes the analysis of an example like (3.52) above to reflect the symmetry of structure in Manange between the equational and predicative adjective cases. Simple adjectives in Manange are distinct from nouns, and so an analysis of two NP’s in apposition does not reflect that distinctiveness.

One possible structural analysis of examples such as (3.50 and 3.51), those which consist of an NP and a simple adjective only, would be to assume that in the absence of the copula, the adjective takes on the role of the intransitive predicate, and the structure simplifies from a clause with two core arguments (S, CC) preceding a copula, to one with only one core argument (S), as represented in (3.53):

- (3.53) [*2phi=ko*]_s [*1piŋkya*]_{INTRANSITIVE PREDICATE}
top=DEF blue
‘The top of (it was) blue.’

However, simple adjectives in Manange are distinct from predicates. Not only does the simple adjective lack verbal morphology, it also cannot be followed by evidentials.

- (3.54) **Iu* *Ipiŋkya* ***Imi***
 3(SG) blue **EVID.PERF**
 ‘It was blue (I think).’

An alternative approach is to analyze the structure of predicative simple adjectives (and also of copula-less equationals) simply as lacking a predicate, and consisting of an S and a copula complement:

- (3.55) [*2phi=ko*]_S [*Ipiŋkya*]_{COPULA COMPLEMENT}
 top=DEF blue

This may seem like an odd analysis, since there is the complement of an unexpressed copula, but there is actually no resulting structural or functional ambiguity. Consider the fact that the only position for a simple adjective outside of a noun phrase is the copula complement slot. Thus when a speaker produces a noun phrase followed by a simple adjective, he or she is invoking the copular structure, signaling to the hearer to assign the simple adjective to the copula complement slot. Once this is done, the copula, being empty semantically, provides no additional information that is needed to understand either the structure or the meaning of the clause. If the speaker needs to convey additional information in the predicate, such as evidentiality, negation, modality, or perfectivity, then the copula must be present as the “magnet” for these categories. This is why the verb *IɬA* ‘become’, which also participates in structures with copula complements, cannot be unexpressed; it conveys the additional aspectual information of entrance into a state.

The same kind of argument may be made for nouns. That is, rather than assuming that the sentence *IŋA àmtsi* ‘I am a doctor’ consists of two NP’s in apposition, the symmetry between the equational and the predicative adjective structures can be maintained if the NP’s are analyzed as filling two separate syntactic slots, the first being

the S, and the second the copula complement. This analysis also has an ancillary benefit of restricting the notion of apposition so that it holds only between two adjacent, coreferential NP's that have the same syntactic status in a clause (both are either A, S, O, or CC).

Manange has an intensifier *2peʔ*, which directly precedes simple adjectives.

Consultants use *2peʔ* in translations of 'very' in elicitation, as in (3.56 and 3.57), but in connected speech it more commonly indicates excess and so translates well into English with 'too':

(3.56) *boʃʌ 2peʔ 1then 1mo 1mu*
 bottle very empty COP EVID
 'The bottle is quite empty.'

(3.57) *4thin=ri 2peʔ mōna 1mo 1mu*
 house=LOC very dark COP EVID
 'It's too dark in the house.'

The intensifier *2peʔ* occurs in both attributive and predicative contexts:

(3.58) a. *3mi 2peʔ kʌthe=ko Itsʌ 3yaŋ*
 person very thin=DEF eat DEONTIC
 'The really thin person should eat.'

b. *3mi 2peʔ kʌthe 1mo 1mu*
 person very thin COP EVID
 'The person is very/too thin.'

The intensifier occurs with all of the major lexical classes, in Manange including nouns (as in *2peʔ 4mwi* 'quite a bit of money'), verbs (as in *2peʔ 2kyu-tse* 'really running') and both types of adjective classes. Thus, its use with simple adjectives is not a distinguishing feature of this class.

In summary, while simple adjectives and nouns do share some phonological and morphosyntactic features (e.g. there are a limited number of both disyllabic nouns and simple adjectives, simple adjectives and nouns may occur in underived form in the NP, they may host the full range of nominal clitics, they both may be preceded by the intensifier *2peʔ* and they both occupy the copula complement position in predicative functions), simple adjectives are distinct from nouns in that they do not occur as heads of the NP.

Likewise, simple adjectives do not inflect for aspectual and/or evidential distinctions or for negation, as verbs and verb-like adjectives do. It is through these subtle morphosyntactic distinctions where evidence for a class of simple adjectives can be more abundantly found.

3.5.2 Verb-like Adjectives

Verb-like adjectives are much larger in membership than are simple adjectives. A partial list is included here:

(3.59) <i>2seen</i>	‘young’
<i>1caan</i>	‘new/small’
<i>3ta~tʌŋ</i>	‘ancient’
<i>1ŋiin</i>	‘old objects’
<i>2sruŋ</i>	‘brief/short’
<i>2mre</i>	‘fat animates’
<i>1thyʌ</i>	‘big’
<i>3ruŋ</i>	‘long’
<i>2sruŋ</i>	‘wide/fluffy’
<i>2thuŋ</i>	‘wide/thick/solid’
<i>2phrʌ</i>	‘thin/fine/strand-like or particulate’
<i>2kuun</i>	‘expensive’
<i>2khe</i>	‘cheap’
<i>3kyoŋ</i>	‘hard’
<i>3ceen</i>	‘soft’
<i>1ŋye</i>	‘melodious’

<i>4sol</i>	‘clear, bright, sparkling’
<i>4khor</i>	‘bent’
<i>2miin</i>	‘ripe’
<i>2kyuŋ</i>	‘sour’
<i>1kyeen~1keen</i>	‘bitter’
<i>2tsha</i>	‘spicy’
<i>3pla</i>	‘cold liquids’
<i>2khaŋ</i>	‘cold climate’
<i>1le</i>	‘warm/hot liquids’
<i>4tshə</i>	‘hot climate’
<i>2coŋ~cocoŋ</i>	‘same, similar’

Verb-like adjectives show the same phonological behaviour of the lexical classes of nouns and verbs. They conform to the CCVC syllable template, and the constraints on which elements may occupy C-slots. Verb-like adjectives are found in all four tone categories.

Verb-like adjectives function attributively and predicatively. When functioning in attributive contexts, they may take the full range of noun-phrase enclitics, providing they are affixed with the nominaliser $-p\lambda$ and are the last element in the NP.³⁵ When modifying a noun within an NP, attributive verb-like adjectives always follow the noun³⁶:

³⁵ There are four verb-like adjectives that may drop the nominaliser in both attributive and predicative contexts (consultants consider the forms with the nominaliser to be “better” grammatically, but the forms that lack the nominaliser are much more frequent in all contexts). These are: *3n* ‘sick’, *3s* ‘tasty’, *1le* ‘warm’, and *3pla* ‘cold’. All four occur with high frequency in Manange. The lack of the nominaliser gives these forms the appearance of simple adjectives; these words might be in the process of shifting lexical class.

(3.60) *nʌkyu Ithyʌ-pʌ=tse nòkor Icam-pʌ=ri ʒpyu-tsi*
 dog big=NOM=ERG cat small-NOM=LOC chase-PERF
 ‘The big dog chased the small cat.’

(3.61) *mîphra=ko Iŋyʌŋ 2tsu,*
 ash=DEF 1(PL) PROX,

ʒpwal ʒnaŋ=ri,
 city inside=LOC,

2kyu Ithyʌ-pʌ=ri Ithen Itʌ-tsi,
 water big-NOM=LOC throw become-PERF,
 ‘In Kathmandu, the (cremated) ashes get thrown in big water (like a river).’
 (Cremations)

(3.62) *4shi=ko ah,*
 one=DEF ah,

mome=ko,
 family=DEF,

Ithyʌ-pʌ 4thin=ri Iʈu Imo Iro,
 big-NOM house=LOC live COP REP,
 ‘One of them, the family, was living in a big house.’ (Raji)

This behaviour is distinct from that of other verbs, like *ʒŋwo* ‘fry’ and *Iʈu* ‘stay,’

which may only function attributively in pre-nominal relative clauses:

(3.63) *ʒŋwo-pʌ Isha Itsʌ-tsi*
 fry-NOM meat eat-PERF
 ‘I ate the fried meat.’

(3.64) *2kʌŋ=ri Iʈu-pʌ ʒya=tse=tse,³⁷*
 mountain=LOC stay-NOM yak=PL=ERG,

Ikhi mlaŋ.cha Imi.
 3(SG) curse EVID.
 ‘The yaks who stayed in the mountains, they cursed (their friends).’
 (YakBuff)

³⁶ Again, note the pre-nominal ordering for one speaker (3.62) and the post-nominal ordering for other speakers.

³⁷ Note the very rare instance of both ergative and plural marking on a noun. This double marking is generally dispreferred by Manange speakers.

This difference in word ordering is not a trait which one can attribute strictly to the semantics of the verb-like adjectives; there is no reason why a non-adjectival verb should not follow a noun when functioning attributively, especially if the relative clause is ‘light,’ consisting exclusively of a verb and lacking arguments or adverbials (as in example 3.63). However, verbs are barred from this position. Instead, verb-like adjectives occupy the same noun phrase position as simple adjectives, which can be referred to more generally as the position for adjectives in the noun phrase.

When functioning predicatively, verb-like adjectives inflect with some, but not all, of the morphology associated with verbs. Verb-like adjectives occur in most environments with the nominaliser *-pΛ*. They also may inflect with the perfective *-tʃi*, and they may also inflect with the clause-chaining suffix *-tʃe*, as in the following examples:

(3.65) Perfective marking

Ikhi IthyΛ-tʃi
 3(SG) **big-PERF**
 ‘He was big.’

(3.66) Clause Chainer

2khΛŋ-tʃe IΛ-tʃe Iten,
cold-CC do-CC then,

2khΛŋ-tʃe 2khΛŋ-tʃe 4a-thya-pΛ IΛ-tʃe
cold-CC cold-CC NEG-bear-NOM do-CC

Iten,
 then,

pora 2coŋ-pΛ Ituŋ-tʃe IΛ Iʃu-pΛ,
 bag similar-NOM cover-CC do stay-NOM,
 ‘Becoming cold, being very cold (the buffalo) cannot bear it, and covering in a (burlap) bag, they will continue to do this.’ (YakBuff)

Verb-like adjectives do not occur with *-tso*, a modal suffix indicating speaker commitment to bring about a state of affairs (for more information on modality refer to Chapter 4). The fact that this suffix does not occur on verb-like adjectives may be attributable to the fact that most property concepts are not controllable, so a speaker may not easily commit to taking on that property. However, a semantic explanation is not available to explain the fact that verb-like adjectives do not occur with the adverbial subordinator *-ni* (adverbial subordination is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). This morpheme, which suffixes to a nominalised verb stem, indicates an interpropositional relationship of sequentiality, such that the first event is completed before the onset of the second:

- (3.67) *phôlpΛ* *3yaŋ-pΛ-ni*,
 frog **get-NOM-ADV**,
- 1kxim 4ŋi phôlpΛ=ko 3pu 1khΛ-tsi*,
 3(PL) two frog=DEF bring come-PERF,
 ‘After getting the frog, the two of them brought the frog (home).’ (GBDF)

In a structure like this with a verb-like adjective, it is necessary to bring into the construction the verb *ItΛ* ‘become’:

- (3.68) *pΛrtΛ* *2kyu=ko* *lle* *ItΛ-pΛ-ni*,
 pot water=DEF **warm** **become-NOM-ADV**,
- 2te 2laŋ-tse*,
 take lift-CC,
 ‘After the water pot becomes warm, I take it off.’ (MakingRaksi)

Verb-like adjectives also do not occur with *-ri*, the purposive suffix. Again, this may be attributed to the stative semantic nature of the class, and the concept of control that is implied by purposive action.

As shown above, verb-like adjectives in attributive functions are distinct from both nouns and simple adjectives in that they appear in derived form (with the suffix *-pʌ*). Verb-like adjectives in predicative functions share some structural similarities with other verbs, such as the ability to take perfective marking (*-tsi*) and the clause chaining suffix *-tse*. In this sense, verb-like adjectives are also distinct from nouns and simple adjectives, which do not take any verbal inflections. Verb-like adjectives differ from other verbs in that they do not take other verbal inflectional marking, such as the progressive suffix *-tse* or modality suffixes like *-tso* and *-pʌ*.³⁸

One way in which verb-like adjectives and other verbs appear structurally identical is in how they mark general imperfective aspect:

(3.69) Verb-like Adjective in General Imperfective

4thin 3naŋ=ri 4sol-pʌ Imo
house inside=LOC **bright-NOM** **COP**
‘The house (inside) is bright.’

(3.70) Verb in General Imperfective

1khi 3pwal=ri 1tu-pʌ Imo
3(SG) country=LOC **stay-NOM** **COP**
‘He lives in Kathmandu.’

As these examples show, both verb-like adjectives and verbs are suffixed with *-pʌ* and are followed by the copula *Imo*, with the resulting English present tense translation of ‘is bright’ or ‘lives.’ Given that both of these structures are marked identically, it would be easy to assume that imperfective verb-like adjectives and verbs are syntactically identical. However, there are two pieces of structural evidence that suggest that they are syntactically distinct.

³⁸ In this case, verb-like adjectives do not inflect with *-pʌ* for future irrealis modality. As is shown in chapter 4 the suffix *-pʌ* is multifunctional, and there are other contexts in which verb-like adjectives do in

One piece of evidence has to do with what elements in these structures are optional and what elements are not optional. In imperfective predicative verb-like adjective clauses, the copula *Imo* may be unexpressed, leaving just the S argument (*4th in* ‘house’ and the CC *4sol-pʌ* ‘bright’ in example 3.69). The nominaliser on the stem *4sol* may not be, however, optionally unexpressed. In contrast, the nominaliser in the imperfective intransitive clause (3.70) can optionally be unexpressed, while the copula *Imo* is obligatory, resulting in the variant:

(3.71) Verb in General Imperfective

<i>Ikhi</i>	<i>3pwal=ri</i>	<i>1tu</i>	<i>Imo</i>
3(SG)	city=LOC	stay	COP
‘He lives in Kathmandu.’			

The difference in which elements are optional in the two structures suggest that for imperfective predicative verb-like adjective clauses, the syntactic structure is one of:

(3.72) [S] [CC] ([COP]PREDICATE)

The structure for intransitive clauses is different:

(3.73) [S] [verb(-pʌ) COP]PREDICATE

In intransitive clauses, the verb and the copula *Imo* are part of one larger verbal complex that constitutes the predicate position. In verb-like adjective clauses, the modifier occupies the copula complement position, while *Imo* alone occupies the predicate position. Thus, the two structures are syntactically distinct.

A second piece of evidence supporting the distinctiveness of these two structures is shown through negation strategies. When intransitive predicates are negated, the negative prefix *a-* attaches directly to the verb stem, as in:

fact take this suffix.

(3.74) Intransitive Predicate Negated

<i>1khi</i>	<i>3pwal=ri</i>	<i>1a-tu-pΛ</i>	<i>1mo</i>
3(SG)	city=LOC	NEG-stay-NOM	COP

‘He does not live in Kathmandu.’

In imperfective verb-like adjective clauses, the suppletive negative copula *1a-re* appears

(with *1mo* optionally expressed):

(3.75) Verb-like Adjective Negated

<i>4thin</i>	<i>3naŋ=ri</i>	<i>4sol-pΛ</i>	<i>1a-re</i>	<i>(1mo)</i>
house	inside=LOC	bright-NOM	NEG-COP	(COP)

‘The house (inside) is bright.’

This difference in negation again points to the syntactic distinctiveness of the two structures, and again provides evidence for a class of verb-like adjectives that are separate from other verbs.

As is the case with simple adjectives, verb-like adjectives may also occur with the intensifier *2peʔ*:

(3.76) *1khim 4ŋi=ko 2peʔ 2che-pΛ 3sro 1ro,*
 3(PL) 2=DEF very intimate-NOM friend REP,
 ‘The two of them were very close friends (so it was told).’ (BoyDogFrog)³⁹

(3.77) *1khi 2peʔ 2kye-pΛ 1mo 1mu,*
 3(SG) very pretty-NOM COP EVID,
 ‘(She thought) that he was very good-looking (in a story about a princess who spies a prince).’ (Raji)

In example (3.76) *2peʔ* modifies a verb-like adjective in an attributive function, while in (3.77) it modifies a verb-like adjective in a predicative function.

³⁹ Again, note the prenominal ordering of the adjective and the head in this example. This is a different ordering than other speakers use.

3.5.3 Comparatives & Superlatives

Comparative constructions for both simple and verb-like adjectives are coded analytically with *3pi-le* ‘say-COMPAR.’ My consultants tell me that this comparative marker comes from the verb phrase *2nyo-tse 3pi-pA* ‘to compare’ (lit. ‘look-cc say-NOM’). Currently, I do not know how to analyze the *-le* suffix beyond its function here, but in this context it provides a comparative frame. Examples of a simple adjective and verb-like adjective in comparative constructions follow:

(3.78) Simple Adjective

Iu nyùkyu=ko 2tsu nyùkyu=ko 3pi-le khyôkroImo
 DIST dog=DEF PROX dog=DEF say-** old COP
 ‘This dog is older than that dog.’ (lit. ‘Compared to that dog, this dog is old.’)

(3.79) Verb-like Adjective

Iu 3mi=ko 2tsu 3mi=ko 3pi-le 2mre-pA Imo
 DIST person=DEF PROX person=DEF say-** fat-NOM COP
 ‘This man is fatter than that man.’ (lit. ‘Compared to that man, this man is fat.’)

Superlatives are formed with the identical structure as in the examples above, but with the addition of the word *tsháʔraŋ* ‘all/every.’ (3.80) shows this:

(3.80) *2tsu nyùkyu=ko tsháʔraŋ 3pi-le khyôkro Imo*
 PROX dog=DEF all/every say-** old COP
 ‘this dog is the oldest of all’ (lit. ‘compared to all dogs, this dog is old’)

Note the similarities of these structures to Nepali comparative and superlative structures:

(3.81) a. Nepali Comparative

barb kristin bhandaa choʔo cha
 Barb Kristine say short be
 ‘Barb is shorter than Kristine.’

- b. Nepali Superlative
barb sab bhandaa choṭo cha
 Barb all say short be
 ‘Barb is the shortest of all.’

3.5.4 Phrasal Adjectives

Many property concepts in Manange are coded with analytic or phrasal adjectives. Some examples are shown here:

- (3.82) *Itin IthyΛ* ‘brave’ [lit. heart + big]
Itin Icaan ‘cowardly’ [lit. heart + small]
3sup IthyΛ ‘healthy, strong’ [lit. body + big]
3mi IthyΛ ‘famous’ [lit. person + big]
àra Imreen ‘drunk’ [lit. alcohol + full]
3ta 3ruŋ ‘far’ [lit. what + long]
2ki 2kye ‘sweet (taste)’ [lit. pretty + pretty]
kóle IkhΛ ‘difficult, challenging’ [lit. slow + come]
Ile IΛ ‘easy’ [lit. warm + do]
3tuk ItΛ ‘difficult, arduous’ [lit. Nepali duk ‘pain’ + become]
shitaŋ IkhΛ ‘angry’ [lit. angry/chastise + come]

There is phonological evidence that some collocations, like *3tuk ItΛ* ‘difficult,’ *shitaŋ IkhΛ* ‘angry’, and *3sup IthyΛ* ‘strong’, are not fully lexicalised, as each item carries its own distinctive pitch (and tone assignment). Other collocations, like *3ta 3ruŋ* ‘far’ carry identical tone on each lexical item, so tone is not a useful diagnostic to determine degree of lexicalisation.

I have also heard the following expressions from Manange speakers who have always lived in the villages of the Manang District (never in Kathmandu):

- (3.83) a. *nyùkyu=IΛ 3lo 2kAtti IyΛ-tsi*
 dog=GEN year many go-PERF
 ‘The dog is/has become old.’ (lit. ‘the dog’s many years have gone’)
- b. *4thin 3naŋ=ri 3mi Ia-mraŋ Imo*
 house inside=LOC person NEG-see COP
 ‘The house is dark.’ (lit. ‘A person doesn’t see in the house.’)

3.6 Case marking

Example (3.84) shows the Manange case markers:

(3.84)	= <i>tse</i>	Ergative; Instrumental
	= <i>ri</i>	General Locative; Allative; Dative
	= <i>lʌ</i>	Genitive
	= <i>yuj</i>	Comitative; Associative
	= <i>tʌr</i>	Ablative
	= <i>ro</i>	Ablative

Both my primary and my secondary consultant accept and use the =*tʌr* ablative marker and use it in both elicited and in narrative settings. However, I have four instances in elicited settings of =*ro* being used by my secondary consultant as an ablative case marker. One instance is provided in example (3.85):

(3.85)	<i>3mi=ko</i>	<i>3yul=ri</i>	<i>2kan</i>	<i>4khya=ro</i>	<i>4phro-tsi</i>
	person=DEF	village=LOC	mountain	place=ABL	walk-PERF
	‘The man walked down from the mountain to the village.’				

I am currently unable to provide an analysis of the difference between choosing =*ro* or =*tʌr*. These locatives need further examination.

Evidence that these case markers are morphologically bound comes primarily from the general locative marker =*ri* and the genitive marker =*lʌ* and their morphophonemic behavior with respect to elements in the NP. There is no evidence of /r/ gemination when =*ri* follows a word that is r-final. Likewise, there is no evidence of /l/ gemination when =*lʌ* follows a word that is l-final. This is shown in (3.86):

(3.86)	<u>Lexical Item</u>		<u>With Case Enclitic</u>	
	[khʌr]	‘neck’	[khʌ=ri]	‘on the neck’
	[jùl]	‘village’	[jù=lʌ mî]	‘people of the village’

In addition, case markers never receive primary stress, suggesting that they are bound to their root. For more discussion on stress in Manange, refer back to §2.6.

One piece of evidence which indicates the clitic status of Manange casemarkers is that when two NP's are conjoined and both are marked for the same semantic role, the case marker can appear either after each noun or at the end of the NP, as (3.87) shows:

- (3.87) *1ηΛ=tse* *4ηi-ηtha* *mlênkya* ***nòkor(=ri)*** *ten* *2sen*
 1(SG)=ERG two-CLASS black **cat(=LOC)** CONJ three
- tΛorkya* *nyùkyu=ri* *Imraη Imo*
 white **dog=LOC** see COP
 'I see two black cats and three white dogs.'

The first object argument in (3.87), *nòkor* 'cat,' can optionally take the dative marker, while the second object argument, *Inyùkyu ~InΛkyu* 'dog,' always takes the dative marker. The same pattern can be shown with the ergative casemarkers in (3.88):

- (3.88) *4ηi-ηtha* *mlênkya* ***nòkor(=tse)*** *ten* *2sen*
 two-CLASS black **cat(=ERG)** CONJ three
- tΛòrkya* *nyùky^ε=tse* *1ηΛ=ri* *3pyu-tsi*
 white **dog=ERG** 1(SG)=LOC chase-PERF
 'Two black cats and three white dogs chased me.'

In the following sections, I discuss the distribution of case in Manange. As it currently stands, a description of the distribution of this morphology is no simple task; there appear to be different patterns of case morphology for different speakers. Consequently, the following discussion focuses mainly on data gathered from my primary consultant, with occasional comparisons made with what my other consultants have provided.

3.6.1 Ergative

For the following sections, I utilise the diagnostic terms A, S and O for the agentive argument of a transitive clause, the single argument of an intransitive clause, and the affected argument of a transitive clause, respectively (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1994).

In some cases, Manange appears to display a pattern of case marking whereby the A argument of transitive clauses shows one marker (=tse), and the S and O arguments show a different type of marking, namely absolutive (or zero) marking. The case clitic =tse appears on the A arguments of both perfective and imperfective transitive clauses, as the examples in (3.89 and 3.90) show:

(3.89) Perfective

- a. *ànye=ko=tse* *àle=ko=ri* *Imwe* *lɬ-tsi*
girl=DEF=ERG boy=DEF=LOC kiss do-PERF
 ‘The girl kissed the boy.’
- b. *ɲôma=ko=tse* *lɲɬ=ri* *Imraŋ-tsi*
bird=DEF=ERG 1(SG)=LOC see-PERF
 ‘The bird saw me.’
- c. *lkhî=tse* *3laŋ=ri* *2ɲi-tsi*
3(SG)=ERG question=INDEF ask-PERF
 ‘He asked a question.’
- d. *lɲɬ=tse* *kàtsa=ko* *pu* *2phi=ri* *4nya-tsi*
1(SG)=ERG cloth=DEF pot up=LOC wrap-PERF
 ‘I wrapped the cloth around the pot.’
- e. *Imriŋ=ko=tse* *kɬôrî=ko* *tsiôtu=ri* *lkhya-tsi*
woman=DEF=ERG knife=DEF leopard=LOC throw-PERF
 ‘The woman threw the knife at the leopard.’

(3.90) Imperfective

- a. *lɲɬ=tse* *lɲɬ=lɬ4mwi* *lca-tsɬ* *lmo*
1(SG)=ERG 1(SG)=GEN money search-CONT COP
 ‘I am searching for my money.’

- b. *1khi=tse pòli kon-tsʌ Imo*
3(SG)=ERG shoe wear-CONT COP
 ‘He is wearing shoes.’
- c. *iden=tse mina=ri 2chen 2priin Imo*
Eden=ERG Mina=LOC always hit COP
 ‘Eden always hits Mina.’

Example (3.91) illustrates, in contrast, absolutive marking on the S argument:

- (3.91) *tiòni nánhɣ 1ŋʌ 1tu-tsi*
 today morning **1(SG)** sit/stay-PERF
 ‘This morning, I sat/stayed/rested.’

Based on this brief description of how casemarking patterns in Manange, this is evidence towards a system of morphological ergativity in the language.

However, in both elicited and connected speech, I have encountered variations and splits in case marking which warrant a deeper investigation as to what the actual correlates of case marking might be in the language. These variations include a modality split in ergative marking, and the general high degree of optionality of case marking that I have encountered in most forms of connected speech. I now discuss both of these phenomena in more detail.

As is further discussed in §4.5, for some of my consultants, Manange shows a realis/irrealis split in ergative case marking, as these clausal ‘minimal pairs’ show:

(3.92)

- a. Realis
1mriɣ=tse 2naka 2phuɣ 2khol-tsi
woman=ERG chicken egg boil-PERF
 ‘The woman boiled the egg.’
- b. Irrealis
1mriɣ=tse 2naka 2phuɣ 2khol(-pʌ)*
 woman*=**ERG** chicken egg boil(-NOM)
 ‘The woman will boil the egg.’

Even though the verb *2khol* ‘boil’ is transitive, in future/irrealis mode the ergative case marker is unacceptable to almost all of my consultants⁴⁰. The exception to this is my younger Kathmandu consultant Eden, who feels that *=tse* is acceptable on the A in any transitive clause, regardless of the aspect or modality of the main verb.

Another modal construction in Manange which fails to show *=tse* casemarking on the A, further evidence of a realis/irrealis split, is the immediate mode. As further described in §4.5, immediates mark the imminency of an action, and can be framed within aspect or modality. Examples are shown in (3.93 a-b) below:

(3.93) a. *1ηΛ*=tse* *nyùkyu=ri* *2prim-pi* *1lΛ-tsi*
 1(SG)*=**ERG** dog=LOC hit/kick-IMM do-PERF
 ‘I prepared to/was about to hit/kick the dog.’

b. *1khi*=tse* *1tsΛ-pi* *1lΛ-pΛ*
 3(SG)*=**ERG** eat-IMM do-NOM
 ‘He is prepared to/is about to eat.’

As the examples above show, A arguments are not casemarked with *=tse* in immediates.

Other modal constructions which do not show ergative marking on A arguments include desiderative and potential (abilitative), and deontic constructions shown in the following examples:

(3.94) a. Desiderative
1ηΛ 3ya 1shΛ 1tsΛ-pΛ 3san 1khΛ-tsi
 1(SG) yak flesh eat-NOM want come-PERF
 ‘I wanted to eat yak meat.’

⁴⁰ Note here that this split in ergative marking in Manange is similar to the lack of the ergative marker *le* on future constructions in Nepali.

b. Potential

1ŋΛ 4khwe 2priin 1lΛ 4kheen-tsi
1(SG) song hit do able-PERF
'I was able to sing.'

c. Deontic

1ŋΛ 1shΛ 1tsΛ 1lΛ 3yaŋ
1(SG) meat eat do DEONTIC
'I should/must eat the meat.'

These examples show that even when the sentence as a whole is framed in perfective aspect (as in a and b above), the A arguments of the transitive verbs in the dependent clauses do not show ergative marking. Examples such as these suggest that case marking in Manange may in fact be conditioned at times by semantic parameters, rather than strictly syntactic ones.

In addition to the modality split that I have described above, case marking on core arguments (i.e. transitive A's and Patients) is generally optional and actually is rare in connected speech. In the 'Yak and Water Buffalo' story that is included in chapter 6 of this grammar, of the eight instances of overtly mentioned A arguments (either lexical nouns or pronouns), only three show ergative case marking, while the other five do not.

This high degree of optionality of casemarking thus leads to new research questions centering primarily on what the function of the so-called ergative marker actually is. While it seems to pattern along lines of transitivity in elicitation and in some discourse examples, it seems to pattern along different, more semantic (and perhaps pragmatic) lines in most other discourse environments. I will end this discussion by keeping the term 'ergative marker' for the case clitic =*tse* that appears on transitive A arguments, but with the caveat that ergativity in Manange shows some differences from what is presented in Dixon's (1994) description of the grammatical pattern of ergativity.

Clearly, more research on Manange casemarking is needed before a true syntactic ergative/absolutive system can be argued for or against.

3.6.2 Instrumental

The instrumental case in Manange also uses the clitic =*tse*. An example is shown in (3.95):

- (3.95) *lɨʌ=tse nyùkyu=ko=ri perkʌ=tse 2pho-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG dog=DEF=LOC **stick=INSTR** beat-PERF
 ‘I beat the dog with a stick.’

Currently, this is my only collected example of the instrumental case. More examples are needed to better understand its distribution, as well as to see if there are in fact other possible instrumental markers in Manange.

3.6.3 Genitive

Examples of the genitive case marker =*ʌ* are provided in (3.96 a-c):

- (3.96) a. *àmʌ=ko=tse lkhɨ=ʌ kòla=ri lca lmo*
 mother=DEF=ERG **3(SG)=GEN** child=LOC search COP
 ‘The mother searches for her child.’
- b. *kòla=ʌ kòla 2kye lmo lmu*
child=GEN clothing pretty COP EVID
 ‘The child’s dress is pretty.’
- c. *lɨʌ=ʌ àkhe lmo*
1(SG)=GEN grandfather COP
 ‘I have a grandfather.’

3.6.4 Comitative

The comitative case marker, which marks a specific association between nouns, is shown in example (3.97 a-b):

(3.97) a. *tíŋi* *1ŋΛ* *1ŋΛ=lΛ* *3sro=tse=yuŋ* *Imo*
 today 1(SG) 1(SG)=GEN **friend=PL=COMIT** COP
 ‘Today I am with my friends.’

b. *kôla=ko* *pôli=yuŋ* *Imo*
 clothing=DEF **shoes=COMIT** COP
 ‘The dress is with the shoes.’

=*yuŋ* can also be used to mark possession, as (3.98 a-b) show:

(3.98) a. *1ŋΛ=yuŋ* *2se-ntha* *4che=tse* *Imo*
1(SG)=COMIT three-CLASS book=PL COP
 ‘I have three books.’

b. *1ŋΛ=yuŋ* *2kAtti* *3sro=tse* *Imo*
1(SG)=COMIT many friend=PL COP
 ‘I have many friends.’

My consultant prefers to use the genitive marker =*lΛ* when showing possession that relates to one’s relatives, as in (3.96 c) above. She prefers to use the comitative marker when showing possession that relates to having an object in possession at a given time, or ‘with one.’ In addition, she prefers to use the locative marker when possession implies that one thing is in a specific location with respect to another, as in (3.99 a-b) below:

(3.99) a. *4thin=ri* *2mre=ri* *Imo*
house=LOC door=INDEF COP
 ‘A house has a door.’

b. *1ŋΛ=lΛ* *3sup=ri* *4ŋi-ŋtha* *pâle* *Imo*
 1(SG)=GEN **body=LOC** two-CLASS leg COP
 ‘My body has two legs.’

For more discussion on the locative marker, refer to §3.6.6.

=*yuŋ* also is used in situations where one possible English interpretation is as direction, such as ‘talk to/speak to.’ This is shown in (3.100):

(3.100) *3mi=ko* *1ŋΛ=yuŋ* *3lan.she-tsi*
 person=DEF **1(SG)=ASSOC** speak-PRF
 ‘The man talked to me.’

In (3.100) it can be inferred that another possible interpretation is that ‘the man talked with me.’ Perhaps my consultant prefers the comitative because she views the situation as a dialogue rather than a monologue. In clearly monologic discourse situations, such as in shouting, the Locative marker =*ri* is used, as shown in (3.101):

(3.101) *3mi=ko* ***kòla=ko=ri*** *kê.te-tsi*
 person=DEF **child=DEF=LOC** shout.take-PERF
 ‘The man shouted at the child.’

A more thorough discussion of the functions of =*ri* is given in 3.6.6.

3.6.5 Ablative

=*tAr* marks the ablative case in Manange, signaling the source from which movement emanates. Examples are provided in (3.102 a-b):

(3.102)a. *1khi=ko* ***1chal=tAr*** *Àtse* *Ite* *Imi* *Iro*
 3=DEF **window=ABL** like this fall EVID REP
 ‘Like this he fell from the window.’ (BoyDogFrog)

b. *1khi=tse* *pharkal* ***2phi=tAr*** *3nyo-tsi*
 3=ERG wall **up=ABL** look-PERF
 ‘He looked over the wall.’

Example (b) can be interpreted literally as ‘he looked from up on the wall (to the other side).’

3.6.6 General locative

The general locative marker in Manange is =*ri*. It is used to mark direction towards, as well as a sense of general location or to mark spatial and temporal deixis.

Examples of its use as a general locative marker are provided in (3.103 a-h):

- (3.103)a. *lɿʌ 4thin=ri 4phro-tsi*
 1(SG) **house=LOC** walk-PERF
 ‘I walked to the house.’
- b. *kòla=ko=tse yùnpʌ=tse nyùkyu=ri lkhya-tsi*
 child=DEF=ERG stone=PL **dog=LOC** throw-PERF
 ‘The child threw stones at the dog.’
- c. *lɿʌ kòla 2ta-pʌ ka-nʌ nepʌ=ri lkhʌ-tsi*
 1(SG) child what-NOM **-* **Nepal=LOC** come-PERF
 ‘I once came to Nepal when I was a child.’
- d. *lɿʌ lthay=ri ltu-tsu lmo*
 1(SG) **ground=LOC** sit-CONT COP
 ‘I am sitting on the ground.’
- e. *3nye lu=ri lmo*
 milk **DIST=LOC** COP
 ‘There is the milk.’
- f. *tsòkcu siki llʌ-pʌ 4khya=ri lmo*
 table food do-NOM **place=LOC** COP
 ‘The table is in the kitchen.’
- g. *4me=tse lkye=ri chi-tse ltsʌ-tʌ lmo*
 cow=PL **field=LOC** graze-CC eat-CONT COP
 ‘The cows are grazing in the field.’
- h. *lɿʌ=tse lshʌ=ko shôsho=ri 4tshor-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG meat=DEF **paper=LOC** wrap.inside=PERF
 ‘I wrapped the meat in the paper.’

Manange also has a series of roots to which =ri attaches, providing more specific locational information. These are shown in (3.104):

- (3.104) *2phi=ri* ‘up’; ‘on top of’ (objects); ‘around’ (as in wrapping)
tso=ri ‘on top of’ (summits)
3nay=ri ‘inside’; ‘downward’; ‘below’
ti=ri ‘near’
lpʌ=ri ‘in between’
kuy=ri ‘middle’ (old meaning of ‘hollow’?)
ko=ro ‘around’
lthay=ri ‘out’ (‘on the ground?’)

<i>2tsi=ri</i>	‘this side’
<i>ku=ri</i>	‘around the corner’
<i>tsháʔraŋ 4khyɑ=ri</i>	‘all around’ (every place=LOC)
<i>ŋoŋtsʌ=ri</i>	‘in front of/before’
<i>litsʌ=ri</i>	‘behind’

Some constructions with these locational elements are provided in (3.105 a-e):

- (3.105)a. *1ŋʌ=tse* *shĩŋto=tse* *khomʌ 3naŋ=ri* *2tshaŋ-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG fruit=PL bag **inside=LOC** put-PERF
 ‘I put the fruit into the bag.’
- b. *1ŋʌ=tse* *1kʌp=ko* *tsòkcu 2phi=ri* *2tshaŋ-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG cup=DEF table **up=LOC** put-PERF
 ‘I put the cup on the table.’
- c. *1ŋʌ=tse* *katsa=ko* *pu* *2phi=ri* *4nya-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG cloth=DEF pot **up=LOC** wrap.around-PERF
 ‘I wrapped the cloth around the pot.’
- d. *1ŋʌ* *2kaŋ* *2tso=ri* *1mo*
 1(SG) mountain **top=LOC** COP
 ‘I am on top of the mountain.’
- e. *1ŋʌ* *4thin* *litsʌ=ri* *1mo*
 1(SG) house **behind=LOC** COP
 ‘I am behind the house.’

It is not known at this time whether or not these locational roots are free or bound morphemes. To date, they have not been elicited without a case morpheme (either the locative or the ablative clitic) immediately following them. Disyllabic location roots such as ‘behind’ appear to take primary stress on the initial syllable, evidence for their status as free morphemes. It is also not currently known to which lexical class (if any) these roots belong.

In addition, *=ri* marks temporal deixis. Examples are provided in (3.106 a-b):

(3.106)a. *kuriŋ 3lo=ri IŋΛ nepΛ=ri IkhΛ-tso*
 next **year=LOC** 1(SG) Nepal=LOC come-FUT
 ‘Next year I will come to Nepal.’

b. *nanay la=ri IŋΛ nepΛ=ri IkhΛ-tsi*
 former **month=LOC** 1(SG) Nepal=LOC come-PERF
 ‘Last month I came to Nepal.’

=*ri* does not occur on all temporal adverbs. Words such as *nêse* ‘tomorrow,’ *têle*

‘yesterday,’ and *tiôŋi múntse* ‘this evening’ to date have not occurred in my data with the locative marker.

=*ri* is also used to mark recipients of benefactive verbs such as ‘give,’ or in benefactive situations such as to make or bring something for someone else, as shown in (3.107 a-c):

(3.107)a. *Imriŋ=ko=tse ŋishu=ko kôla=ko=ri Ipin-tsi*
 woman=DEF=ERG apple=DEF **child=DEF=LOC** give-PERF
 ‘The woman gave the apple to the child.’

b. *IŋΛ=lΛ àmΛ=tse IŋΛ=ri kôla=ri 2sΛ-tsi*
 1(SG)=GEN mother=ERG **1=LOC** dress=INDEF make-PERF
 ‘My mother made a dress for me.’

c. *Imriŋ=ko=tse 2nΛ-pΛ kôla=ri IŋΛ*
 woman=DEF=ERG sick-NOM **child=LOC** warm

3ce 3pu IkhΛ-tsi
 tea bring come-PERF
 ‘The woman brought hot tea to the sick child.’

3.6.7 Object marking in Manange

Most O arguments in Manange show absolutive (zero) marking, as examples

(3.108 a-c) show:

(3.108)a. *IŋΛ=tse IŋΛ=lΛ kíkya=ri 4mwi 4phrΛ Iyaŋ-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG 1(SG)=GEN pocket=LOC **money 100** find-PERF
 ‘I found 100 rupees in my pocket.’

b. *1khi=tse siki 1tsʌ-tsi*
 3(SG)=ERG **food** eat-PERF
 ‘He ate the food.’

c. *1ηʌ=tse kòlh 2shu-tso*
 1(SG)=ERG **clothes** wash-FUT
 ‘I will wash the clothing.’

However, some O arguments are marked by =ri. These are always animate arguments that are in some way, either positively or negatively, affected by the actions of the A.

Examples are shown in (3.109 a-g):

(3.109)a. *iden=tse 3kyʌ=ri 2prin-tsi*
 Eden=ERG **2(SG)=LOC** hit-PERF
 ‘Eden hit you.’

b. *1ηʌ=tse 3kyʌ=ri 2kʌtti 3sʌ-pʌ siki 1tsʌ-pʌ*
 1=ERG **2(SG)=LOC** many nice-NOM food eat-NOM

1pin-le 3kyʌ 1nuη-pʌ 1tʌ-tsi
 give-CONCESS 2(SG) thin-NOM become-PERF
 ‘Although I fed you many good foods, you still became thin.’

c. *ànye=ko=tse 1khi=lʌ 1cam-pʌ àcuη=ri*
 girl=DEF=ERG 3=GEN little-NOM **brother=LOC**

tùkʌη=ri 3por 1yʌ-tsi
 market=LOC take go-PERF
 ‘The girl took her little brother to the market.’

d. *1mriη=ko=tse kòla=ko=ri kʌtʌtti*
 woman=DEF=AG **child=DEF=LOC** many

upʌhʌr=tse 1pin-tse kul-tsi
 gift=PL give-CC send.away-PERF
 ‘The woman sent the child away with many gifts.’

e. *nyùky^a=tse 1ηʌ=ri 2che-tsi*
 dog=ERG **1(SG)=LOC** bite-PERF
 ‘The dog bit me.’

- f. *nyùkyu=ko=tse* *nòkor=ko=ri* *Ichen mo*
 dog=DEF=ERG **cat=DEF=LOC** chase COP
 'The dog chases the cat.'
- g. *nyùkyu=ko=tse* *nòkor=ko=ri* *Ichin-tsi*
 dog=DEF=ERG **cat=DEF=LOC** catch-PERF
 'The dog caught the cat.'

Verbs such as 'hit, call, chase, catch, bite, help, feed, laugh/shout at' and 'take' are verbs that often take animate objects. The following "minimal pair" in (3.110) show that in order for a patient-like argument to actually show marking, there has to be a semantic implication of animacy and affectedness:

- (3.110)a. *nyùkyu=ko=tse* *nòkor=ko=ri* *Ichin-tsi*
 dog=DEF=ERG **cat=DEF=LOC** catch-PERF
 'The dog caught the cat.'
- b. *àle=ko=tse* *ball=ko* *Ichin-tsi*
 boy=DEF=ERG **ball=DEF** catch-PERF
 'The boy caught the ball.'

In (a) 'cat' takes patient marking because it is animate and is affected by the intended actions of the dog. 'ball' in (b) on the other hand, is not animate, and so does not experience the kind of affectedness that 'cat' does. Therefore, it is not marked with *=ri*. The clitic *=ri* is also used in some clauses where the subject of a sentence is treated as an experiencer. These are seen in expressions of desire, as shown in (3.111 a-b):

- (3.111)a. *IηΛ=ri* *Iu* *a* *nukyu=ko* *Ito*
1(SG)=LOC DIST ah pen=DEF arrive
 'I want that pen over there.'⁴¹
- b. *IηΛ=ri* *skul=ri* *4phro-tse* *IyΛ-pΛ* *3saη*
1(SG)=LOC school=LOC walk-CC go-NOM desire

⁴¹ This construction may in fact be a directive; however, the expected verbs such as 'give' or 'bring' are not used.

IkhΛ Imo
 come COP
 ‘I like to walk to school.’

The locative marker is not used to mark experiencer subjects which express certain other emotions, such as love, hate, fear, or shame, or which are affected by external influences, such as illness. In these cases, the subject is in the absolutive. However, I do have one construction in my field notes where the head noun of the subject *Iya* ‘arm’ is marked with *=ri*:

(3.112) *IηΛ=lΛ Iya=ri mΛka ItΛ Imi*
 1(SG)=GEN arm=LOC wound become EVID
 ‘My arm is injured.’

The locative marker in (3.112) should be thought of as more of a general locative marker expressing the location of the wound. This is because the structure of the sentence can be seen as more copular/stative than as an event. In this case, the translation is better analyzed as ‘A wound has become/come into existence on my arm.’

An analysis such as this better accounts for the overall lack of locative marking on other arguments which experience emotions or external influences, including one which has a similar general meaning to the one in (3.112), such as in (3.113) below:

(3.113) *4me=lΛ 3ru=ko Isha Imi*
 cow=GEN horn=DEF break EVID
 ‘The cow’s horn was broken.’

Here, *3ru* ‘horn’ also does not take locative marking.

3.7 Definiteness and indefiniteness in Manange

Manange makes use of two definiteness clitics, *=ko* and *=ri*. The first clitic, *=ko*, is used to mark definiteness of previously introduced or known referents and *=ri* marks indefiniteness or newly introduced referents.

These definiteness markers are bound. One piece of evidence lies in that *=ko* undergoes voicing assimilation when it follows nouns with word-final voiced consonants. This is shown in (3.114):

- (3.114) [kʌl=go] ‘the banana’
 [tshàŋ=go] ‘the bride’

The velar obstruent in *=ko* is voiceless, however, when following vowel-final nouns, as in (3.115):

- (3.115) [tʃé=ko] ‘the book’
 [ʃʌô=ko] ‘the meat/flesh’

When *=ri* occurs following r-final nouns, there is not gemination, suggesting that there is a process of r-deletion. (3.116) shows an example of this:

- (3.116) Lexical Item With Indefinite Marker
 [nòkòr] ‘cat’ [nòkò=ri] ‘a cat’

This shows that *=ri* and *=ko* are not treated as an independent morpheme, but rather are bound to the preceding nouns and undergoing morphophonemic alternations depending upon the noun’s word-final segments. However, my consultant feels that these definiteness markers still have their own independent meaning, which she translates as ‘the’ and ‘a.’ In elicitations of ‘the banana’ and ‘a banana,’ she provides me with *1kʌl=ko* and *1kʌl=ri*, respectively.

These definiteness markers are clitics as opposed to suffixes because they occur at the end of an NP rather than after each noun or pronoun. Examples are shown below:

- (3.117)a. *kòla 2nΛ-pΛ 4ηi=ko*
 child sick-NOM two=DEF
 ‘the two sick children.’
- b. *Iu mōna=ri*
 cave dark=INDEF
 ‘a dark cave’

These clitics appear to have scope over the entire NP rather than just individual words. Definiteness clitics consistently precede the casemarkers. They co-occur freely with them, although I have never seen the combination *=ri=ri* (LOC + INDEF).

Definiteness clitics do not occur with plural clitics. I will return to this in more detail later in this section.

In transcribed narratives, *=ri* is often used to introduce new characters into the story, functioning like a topicaliser, as (3.118) shows:

- (3.118) *3tΛη-pΛ 3tΛη-pΛ ah Iu=ri*
 ancient-NOM ancient-NOM DM DIST=LOC
- 4shi àle=ri Imo Imu Iro*
 one boy=INDEF be EVID REP
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a boy.’

In (3.118) *3tΛη-pΛ* marks the beginning of the story. The boy is the first introduced character. Throughout the rest of the story, this character is marked with either *=ko* or is unmarked.

That indefinite *=ri* is homophonous with the oblique/patient case marker *=ri* suggests that they may be the same morpheme. However, two pieces of evidence point to

their status as separate morphemes, serving separate functions and probably deriving from different sources.

First, a look at the distribution of indefinite =*ri* in narratives reveals that it typically occurs only at the beginning of narratives and almost always in intransitive clauses, typically in copulas, as in (3.118) above. It is clear that =*ri* is not functioning to mark location in these instances, as a locational meaning of the example would be ‘in the boy.’ In addition, all of my consultants feel sure that the =*ri* on *àle=ri* in (3.118) is not saying anything about location or direction, suggesting that this is a different morpheme from locative =*ri*.

Secondly, all of my consultants consistently tell me that indefinite =*ri* most closely corresponds to English ‘a/an.’ This is similar to the function of the nominal affix –*ri* in Nar-Phu, (Noonan 2003b). Noonan describes the indefinite marker in this language as deriving historically from the Tibetan numeral *lri* ‘one.’ This is also the most plausible case in Manange.

As mentioned previously, =*ko* marks definiteness in Manange. It occurs regularly on referents with given activation cost in narratives (see Chafe, 1987; 1994) and corresponds roughly with English ‘the’ in elicited settings. An example of its use on known referents comes from (3.119) below; it is the very next sentence in the same story which has its opening line shown in example (3.118) above:

(3.119) *Iu* *àle=yuŋ=ko* *ah* *nyùkyu* *rΛ* *4shi*
DIST boy=COMIT=DEF DM dog CONJ one

phôlpΛ=ri *Imo* *Imu* *Iro*
 frog-INDEF COP EVID REP

 ‘That boy had a dog and one frog.’

In this example, the boy has already been introduced and now displays given activation cost. For the rest of the narrative, *àle* ‘boy,’ who is the main character and is present throughout the story, is marked either with the =*ko* definite marker or with other case/plural clitics, but not with the indefinite clitic.

On a related note, there is the possibility that definite =*ko* is related to the evidential marker *ko*, which appears in narratives told by older Manange speakers. In the following example, *ko* appears at the end of an independent clause:

(3.120) *λótse* *3ya* *2kAttí* *Imo-pΛ* ***ko***
 like.this yak many COP-NOM **EVID**
 ‘Like this, there were many yaks.’ (YakBuff)

Although this clause is not marked with the usual aspect morphemes such as *-tsi* ‘PERF,’ it is considered to be a main clause and can stand on its own. Both the final falling intonation at the end of the clause, as well as the long pause between this clause and the following one in the narrative are both prosodic cues pointing to its status as a main clause.

The evidential *ko* has only been witnessed thus far in connected speech from my older consultants. My younger consultant does not use or recognise it. My older consultants explain the use of *ko* as a kind of ‘checked and confirmed’ meaning. It appears to be most frequent in popular narratives, and is somewhat less frequent in conversational discourse.

In terms of grammaticisation, evidential *ko* appears to be derived from the definite clitic =*ko*, as their functions and structural distributions are quite similar—that of pointing to something. With respect to definite =*ko*, the pointing is towards a referent;

with respect to evidential *ko*, the pointing is to a confirmed action or event. For more discussion on evidential *ko* and other Manange evidentials, refer to §4.3 and §4.4.1.

Interestingly, my consultants do not accept either the indefinite or definite clitic with plural marking. They do not find (3.121), for example, acceptable:

(3.121) *lɨʌ=tse mlênkya *nyùkyu=ko=tse=ri 2prin-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG black dog=DEF=PL=LOC hit-PERF
 ‘I hit the black dogs.’

This suggests that once a referent is established in the discourse, keeping count of that referent may not be important. If keeping count is still important, my consultants say that the use of a numeral preceding the definite-marked head noun is acceptable, as (3.122) shows:

(3.122) *lɨʌ=tse 4ɨi mlênkya nyùkyu=ko=ri 2prin-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG two black dog=DEF=LOC hit-PERF
 ‘I hit the two black dogs.’

3.8 Word order in the Manange NP

In this section I describe the ordering patterns with respect to the head noun and its modifying elements, including property concepts (adjectives), numerals, and determiners.

A noun phrase in Manange may consist minimally of a single noun, as in:

(3.123) *nyùkyu* ‘dog’

However, often times in narrative texts, nouns occur with other nominal elements, such as modifiers and case-markers. The following is a representation of a prototypical Manange noun phrase for my primary consultant Eden, complete with all modifying elements:

Numeral Property Concept noun=DET=CASE/NUMBER

For this consultant, both numerals and property concepts precede the head noun, while determiners, case and numeral marking are all enclitics, following the head. Two elicited examples of this is found in (3.124 a-b):

(3.124)a. *2sen mlénkya nyùkyu=ko=tse*
 three black dog=DEF=ERG
 ‘the three black dogs (in A position)’

b. *4ñi 4phlo-pΛ 3mi=ko=ri*
 two rich-NOM person=DEF=LOC
 ‘to the two rich men’

In contrast to my primary Kathmandu consultant, my other consultants both prefer different word ordering with respect to nominal elements. For them, the prototypical ordering pattern is represented by:

Head Property Concept Numeral=DET=NUMBER/CASE

This representation is shown in the following examples:

(3.125)a. ***ʔùshu*** ***3sΛ-pΛ*** ***4ñi***
apple **tasty-NOM** **two**
 ‘two tasty apples’

b. ***3mi*** ***2nΛ-pΛ=tse*** *àlo* *ItsΛ-tsi*
person **sick-NOM=ERG** potato eat-PERF
 ‘The sick man ate the potato.’

c. *nyùkyu* ***2nΛ-pΛ=ko=tse*** *4nu-tsi*
dog **sick-NOM=DEF=PL** sleep-PERF
 ‘The sick dogs slept.’

As these examples show, the ordering of nominal modifiers with respect to the head appears to be in complete opposition between my primary and secondary

consultants. While my primary consultant prefers a head-modifier ordering, other consultants clearly prefer a modifier-head ordering.

I am unable to account for the difference in ordering preferences. Perhaps one factor may be Eden's use of more Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi, English, Nepali) on a fairly regular basis. Nepali and Hindi both have predominantly pre-nominal ordering of all constituents in an NP. Eden's extensive use of Indo-Aryan may be opposed to my other consultants' predominant use of Manange (even though they both speak fluent Nepali). The post-nominal ordering of modifiers is also found in other languages of this sub-family, such as Nar-Phu (2003b) states that the exceptions where modifier-head ordering can be found in Nar-Phu might actually be cases of compounding.

It is interesting to note here that the ordering preferred by some of my consultants appears to be in opposition to Greenberg's (1963) ordering universals. The claim is that languages which display O-V as the basic main clause word order (which Manange does) also correlate with a modifier-head ordering in the noun phrase. While my secondary consultants do show O-V word order in the main clause as most frequent, they also all prefer head-modifier ordering in the noun phrase.

4. *Morphology of the Manange verb complex and the clause*

In this chapter, I examine the morphosyntax of the Manange verb and verbal elements. In §4.1 I provide discussion on the multifunctional nature of the Manange nominaliser *-pʌ*. In §4.2 I describe the two verb stem classes in Manange. In §4.3 I discuss copulas. In §4.4 I describe finite verb morphology, including evidentials and aspect. In §4.5 I focus on modality in Manange. In §4.6–4.8 I discuss negation, causation, reflexives and reciprocals, and constituent/word order patterns of the Manange clause as I have seen them in elicited environments and in connected speech.

4.1 **Manange *-pʌ***

Before launching into a more detailed analysis of the verb complex and its inflectional and derivational morphology, I wish here to provide some discussion on the Manange nominalizing suffix *-pʌ*. As has been evidenced so far, *-pʌ* is a derivational morpheme in Manange which functions, among other things, to nominalise verbs, such as with relative clauses or with verbal property concepts used as nominal modifiers:

- (4.1) *3mi* *2nʌ-pʌ=tse* *alo* *Itsʌ=tsi*
person sick-NOM=ERG potato eat=PERF
'The sick man ate the potato.'

The *-pʌ* suffix also appears on verbs in the citation or elicitation form:

- (4.2) *4nu-pʌ* 'to sleep'
1khʌ-pʌ 'to come'
1khya-pʌ 'to throw'

-pʌ also occurs in a variety of other constructions in Manange, including on main verbs in 'future' irrealis constructions, on main verbs in clause-final position preceding the

evidential *ko*, and in various clause combining constructions including ‘because’ adverbial clauses and some complement clauses. I will briefly illustrate these constructions here, and each construction will be described in more detail in its relevant section.

The nominaliser *-pʌ* occurs clause-finally on main verbs which are interpreted as being in the future tense, as the following example shows:⁴²

(4.3) *Ikhi 4nu-pʌ*
3(SG) sleep-NOM
‘He will sleep.’

As will be discussed in more detail in §4.4 and 4.5, tense is not grammatically marked in Manange, but it can be determined by the aspectual marking or other verb morphology (as well as time adverbials). Nominalised forms are interpreted as ‘future tense’ when they occur sentence-finally in the position of finite verbs, without following evidential morphology. The patterning of ergative marking on futures such as in (4.3) above and in other modal expressions such as desideratives and potentials in Manange suggests a realis/irrealis split in casemarking. For more discussion on this matter, refer back to §3.6.1 or ahead to §4.5.1.

When nominalised main verbs are followed by the evidential *ko*, they are often (although not necessarily) interpreted as future, with the added evidential meaning of ‘the action or event, while not viewed personally by me, has been checked and confirmed to be so.’ An example follows:

⁴² Although for some speakers ‘future’ is indicated with a bare verb stem only.

- (4.4) a. *3ya 2kAtti Imo-pΛ ko*
 yak many COP-NOM EVID
 ‘There were many yaks.’
- b. *Ikhi 4khe=ri IyΛ-pΛ ko*
 3(SG) work=LOC go-NOM EVID
 ‘He will go to work.’

For more discussion on the *ko* evidential and other evidentials in Manange, refer to §4.3 and §4.4.1.

The *-pΛ* nominaliser also marks one type of adverbial clause, namely ‘because’ causation clauses, as in:

- (4.5) *IηΛ=tse 4mwi 4phrΛ 3kyΛ=ri Ipin-pΛ*
 1=ERG money 100 2(SG)=LOC give-NOM
- neōse 3kyΛ k©là 3kyu-pΛ*
 tomorrow 2(SG) clothes buy-NOM
 ‘Because I gave you 100 rupees, you will buy a dress tomorrow.’

In these constructions, *-pΛ* occurs on the dependent clause of the sentence. Note also in this example that *-pΛ* on the main verb *3kyu* ‘buy’ marks future irrealis mode. For more discussion on the morphosyntax of adverbial clauses in Manange, refer to §5.3.

The *-pΛ* suffix also functions as a complementiser in certain (but not all) complement clauses in Manange, as the following example shows:

- (4.6) *IηΛ IyΛ-pΛ 3saη IkhΛ Imo*
 1(SG) go-NOM want come COP
 ‘I want to go.’

This example is a desiderative construction, with the complement clause containing the verb *IyΛ* ‘go’ nominalised. For more discussion on complementation strategies in Manange, refer to §5.1.

The *-pʌ* nominaliser also occurs preceding the adverbial suffix *-ri* in purposive clauses, as (4.7) shows:

- (4.7) *lɲʌ lʃen ʒʈi-pʌ-ri lɲʌ-tse lmo*
 1(SG) rice pick-NOM-PURP go-CONT COP
 ‘I am going to pick rice.’

For more discussion on adverbial clauses in Manange, refer to §5.3.

At this point, I wish only to note that the functions of *-pʌ* are multiple in number, and can include derivational adjustments, marking modal distinctions, occurring clause-finally, and also marking different types of dependent clauses. This multifunctionality of nominalisers like Manange *-pʌ* in other Gurungic languages such as Chantyal is a common strategy (see Noonan 2003 a). Further analysis of Manange *-pʌ* may reveal additional insights into its distribution.

4.2 Stem classes

Before discussing the copulas, aspect and modality, I will examine the stem classes in Manange. There is morphophonemic evidence for two separate stem classes. I will refer to them for now as classes A and B.

In Manange, the syllabic template of verb stems is:

(C) (C) V (C)

While all C’s are optional, I have no data of V-only verbs in Manange. Examples of each verb type with the nominaliser/citation morpheme *-pʌ* are shown in (4.8):

- (4.8) CV and CCV
lɲʌ-pʌ ‘to go’
ʒpi-pʌ ‘to say’
lkro-pʌ ‘to burn with flames’

1yan-pʌ ‘to get/acquire’
2khol-pʌ ‘to boil’

Most frequently, verb stems appear without a coda consonant and the codas that do occur in Manange verb stems are restricted to /ŋ/, /l/, and /r/. The bilabial and alveolar nasals /m/ and /n/ also occur in this position, but as a result of predictable morphophonological changes, which are discussed below.

First, I will present verbs included in both Class A and Class B in (4.9). I will then provide the analysis for this class division.

(4.9)	<u>Class A</u>		<u>Class B</u>	
	<i>1yʌ-pʌ</i>	‘to go’	<i>1pim-pʌ</i>	‘to give’
	<i>2khol-pʌ</i>	‘to boil’	<i>2prim-pʌ</i>	‘to hit/to sing’
	<i>4nu-pʌ</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>1kom-pʌ</i>	‘to wear’
	<i>2la-pʌ</i>	‘to run/flee’	<i>1them-pʌ</i>	‘to move’
	<i>2thuŋ-pʌ</i>	‘to drink’	<i>1chim-pʌ</i>	‘to catch’

Verbs belonging to Class A in the above example do not undergo morphophonemic variation with respect to the onset of a following suffix. Aspect suffixes such as the perfective enclitic =*tsi* and the continuous suffix -*tse*, or the nominaliser -*pʌ* (as shown in 4.9 above) do not condition the surface representation of Class A stems. Additional examples of *2thuŋ-pʌ* ‘to drink’ and *1yʌ-pʌ* ‘to go’ are provided as attestations in examples (4.10) and (4.11) below:

(4.10) *2thuŋ-pʌ*

a. *àle=ko=tse* *3ce=ko* *2thuŋ=tsi*
 boy=DEF=ERG tea=DEF **drink=PERF**
 ‘The boy drank the tea.’

- b. *àle=ko=tse* *3ce=ko* *2thuŋ*
 boy=DEF=ERG tea=DEF **drink**
 ‘The boy will drink the tea.’

(4.11) *Iyʌ-pʌ*

- a. *Ikhi* *Iyʌ=tsi*
 3(SG) **go=PERF**
 ‘He went.’

- b. *Ikhi* *Iyʌ*
 3(SG) **go**
 ‘He will go.’

In each case, regardless of the C1 onset of the suffixing morpheme (or even the absence of a suffixing morpheme if *-pʌ* is omitted), the final C of *2thuŋ* ‘drink’ and the vowel of *Iyʌ* ‘go’ maintain their same surface representations, [ŋ] and [ʌ], respectively. The same can be said for the final segments of all other Class A stems, whether there is a coda or the stem ends in a vowel. The phonetic realisation of Class A stems remains the same, regardless of the suffix.

Class B verb stems behave differently, however, with respect to their surface representations. The C3 coda position of Class B verbs shares the same place of articulation as the following bound morpheme, while always showing the terminal feature [+nasal]. Examples of perfective, imperfective continuous, and future (modal) *Ipim-pʌ* ‘to give’ are provided in (4.12 a-c):

(4.12) a. Past/Perfective

- Iŋʌ=lʌ* *àmʌ=tse* *Iŋʌ=ri* *4mwi 4phrʌ* *Ipim=tsi*
 1(SG)=GEN mother=ERG 1(SG)=LOC money 100 **give=PERF**
 ‘My mother gave me Rs 100.’

b. Imperative

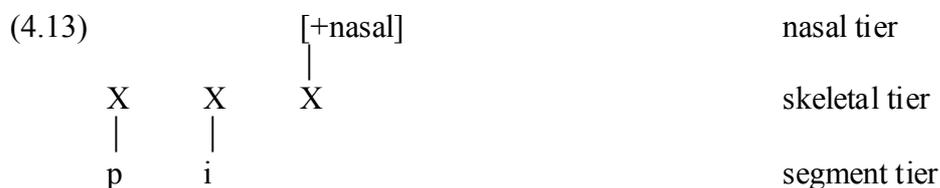
(1ηΛ=ri) *lpiŋ-ko*
 (1(SG)=LOC) **give-IMPER**
 ‘Give it (to me)!’

c. Future/Irrealis

3kyΛ 1ηΛ=ri 4mwi 4phrΛ lpiin a
 2(SG) 1(SG)=LOC money 100 **give** ‘maybe’
 ‘Maybe you will give me Rs 100.’

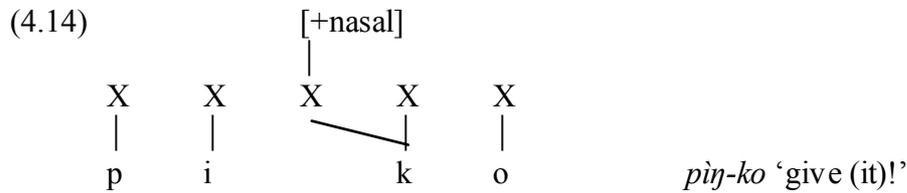
In (a), with the perfective suffix *-tsi*, the surface form of the stem coda is realised as an alveolar nasal. In (b), with the imperative suffix *-ko*, the coda is realised as a velar nasal. In (c), in the non-first person future modal and with no suffix present, there is no coda consonant. Instead, the stem vowel is lengthened and nasalised (imperatives in Manange are further described in §4.5.2).

An autosegmental analysis of the morphophonemic alternations exhibited by Class B verb stems best captures their varying surface forms. The abstract, underlying representation of the stem of the Manange Class B verb ‘give’ may be represented as in (4.13) below. This representation has three tiers: a segment tier, which contains featural information (represented here as a unit, rather than as features in a geometric structure); a skeletal tier, which contains timing units represented as *X*’s; and a nasal tier, which contains the feature [nasal]:

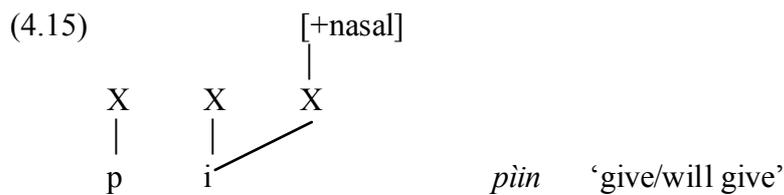


Notice that the representation contains an underspecified final segment, represented by a timing unit, but specified only for nasality.

When this verb stem precedes an obstruent-initial suffix, the empty skeletal element associates rightwards with the following consonant on the segment tier. This association is interpreted as a final nasal consonant in the stem, which is homorganic with the following obstruent:



When the stem occurs without a suffix, the underspecified segment is word-final. In order to be phonetically realised, it associates rightward with the preceding vowel. The rhyme is then interpreted phonetically as containing a lengthened nasalised vowel:



An autosegmental analysis of Class B verbs has ramifications for other related, yet distinct, areas of Manange morphosyntax. For example, the behavior of Class B verb stems is useful in determining the morphological status of various grammatical morphemes in the language. An assimilation process of the stem suggests that morphemes such as *-tsi*, *-tse*, *-pʌ*, and *-ko* are bound⁴³. Conversely, a vowel lengthening and nasalisation process of these stems suggests that the copula *Imo* and the eventive evidential *Imi* are in fact free morphemes.

⁴³ For *-ko* here, I refer to the imperative suffix, not the evidential particle *ko*. For more discussion on evidential *ko*, refer to §3.6.7 and also to 4.3.1 in this chapter.

4.3 The copula

Manange has one main copula: *Imo-pΛ*. It serves all existential, locational, equational, attributive and possessive functions. The copula *Imo* also occurs in the verb complexes of imperfective finite clauses, and may also signal an imperfective temporal context for a number of irrealis constructions (e.g. immediates, desideratives, deontics, and potentials that are temporally unbounded). More will be said about *Imo* in imperfective and irrealis contexts in §4.4 and §4.5.

The copula *Imo* is not obligatory in all Manange attributive and nominal predicate clauses; equational and attributive copular clauses can appear without any verbal element at all, as in (4.16 a-c):

- (4.16) a. *1ηΛ àmtsi*
1(SG) doctor
'I am a doctor.'
- b. *2tso=ko 3kola*
PROX=DEF clothing
'It is clothing.'
- c. *1khi 2nΛ-pΛ*
3(SG) sick-NOM
'He is sick.'

Unlike other lexical verbs in Manange, *Imo* does not inflect for aspect, and the lexical verb *ItΛ-pΛ* 'become' is used for inchoative aspects ('will become/became'). A *Imo* copular clause may have either an imperfective or perfective translation, and different temporal contexts are signalled adverbially. Like other lexical verbs, it also does not inflect for person or number agreement with its argument. Examples of locative, attributive and possessive copula constructions with all persons and numbers represented are shown in (4.17-4.19):

(4.17) Attributive

a. *4thin=ko* *lthyΛ-pΛ* *lmo*
house=DEF big-NOM COP
'The house is big.'

b. *4thin 4ηi* *lthyΛ-pΛ* *lmo*
house two big-NOM COP
'The two houses are big.'

c. *nàraη 4thin=ko* *lcam-pΛ* *lmo*
before house=DEF small-NOM COP
'The house was small before.'

(4.18) Locative

a. *ànye=ko* *àle=ko=yuη* *lmo*
girl=DEF boy=DEF=COMIT COP
'The girl is with the boy.'

b. *tij̄i* *lηΛ=lΛ* *nani=tse* *lηΛ=yuΛ* *lmo*
today 1(SG)=GEN sister=PL 1=COMIT COP
'Today my sisters are with me.'

c. *nàraη còktsΛ=ko* *siki* *lΛ-pΛ* *4khya=ri* *lmo*
before table=DEF food do-NOM place=LOC COP
'The table was in the kitchen before.'

d. *Iu=ri* *kòla=ko* *lmo*
DIST=LOC child=DEF COP
'There is the child.'

e. *Iu=ri* *kòla=tse* *lmo*
DIST=LOC child=PL COP
'There are the children.'

(4.19) Possessive

a. *lηΛ=yuη* *2sen-tha* *4che=tse* *lmo*
1(SG)=COMIT three-CLASS book=PL COP
'I have three books.'

b. *tukyūη* *lkihi=yuΛ* *nyùkyu=ri* *lmo*
last.year 3(SG)=COMIT dog=INDEF COP
'He had a dog last year.'

Notice that the possessive constructions involving copulas include the comitative clitic =*yuy*. My consultant also accepts the locative clitic =*ri* on the argument, as in (4.20):

(4.20) *Ikhi=ri nyùkyu=ri Imo*
 3(SG)=LOC dog=INDEF COP
 ‘He has a dog.’

A literal translation of (4.20) would be ‘to him there is a dog,’ which has a more existential interpretation. Although example (4.20) is acceptable, it is preferable to form possessives with =*yuy* and the vast majority of elicited and narrative examples have the comitative clitic instead of =*ri*.

As mentioned before, *Imo* does not inflect for aspect as other lexical verbs do, and thus *ItA* is used in inchoative copular clauses. It should be noted however that in active-clause contexts, *Imo* does show some of the other morphology associated with other lexical verbs; it may be nominalised with the *-pA* suffix. It also may occur in temporal adverbial clauses marked with the suffix *-ni*, as this excerpt from a story shows:

(4.21) *λtse 2khuη IsA=ko=ri hōktoη*
 like.this hole ground=DEF=LOC hole

***Imo-pA-ni*,**
be-NOM-ADV,

àle=ko hōktoη=ri 2ηyo tu-pA,
 boy=DEF hole=LOC look stay-NOM,
 ‘After seeing (there being) a hole in the ground, the boy continued to look into the hole.’ (Boy Dog Frog)

The limitation in the other possible morphological operations may in fact be linked to the stative nature of *Imo*. Therefore, there is no motivation at this time to think that *Imo* is

not a verb; rather, it is best to conceive of it as a verb with specific semantic and structural properties.

In inchoative copular constructions, *ItA-pA* ‘become’ is used in both perfective and imperfective inchoative stative predicates. Examples are provided in (4.22 and 4.23 below):

(4.22) Perfective Inchoative

1ŋA=lA *3tsA* *2nA-pA* ***ItA-tsi***
 1(SG)=GEN son sick-NOM **become=PERF**
 ‘My son became sick.’

(4.23) Continuous Inchoative

- a. *2cucu* *4thin=ko* *1thyA-pA* ***ItA***
 after house=DEF big-NOM **become**
 ‘The house will become big (when they’re done adding to it).’
- b. *1khi* *àmtsi* ***ItA-tsA*** *Imo*
 3(SG) doctor **become-CONT** COP
 ‘He is becoming a doctor (in training to become a doctor).’

In inchoatives the verb *ItA-pA* inflects for aspect. In (4.22) the suffix *-tsi* indicates perfective aspect. In (4.23 a) the bare stem *ItA* indicates non-first person future/irrealis modality. In (4.23 b) the verb stem plus *-tsA* suffix indicate continuous aspect. For a more thorough discussion regarding aspect in Manange, refer to the next section.

Negation of most copular clauses (except equationals) in Manange is formed by the addition of the negative prefix *a-* to a suppletive verbal morpheme *re*.⁴⁴ The negative never prefixes to *Imo* or *Imu*. *Imo* and the evidential *Imu* optionally follow *la-re*, but frequently disappear in connected speech or rapid elicitation speech. The morpheme *re*

can alternate with [jʌ] in rapid speech. It does not appear in any environments other than in negated copulas. Currently it is treated as an additional copula which functions only to take negation, although this analysis is uncertain. For now I will assume that the negative morpheme *a-* prefixes to *re*, as it prefixes to other verbs in the language, although it is possible that *la-re* may be a lexicalised whole. Examples of negation in copulas are shown in (4.24 a-c):

- (4.24) a. *4thin=ko* *lthyʌ-pʌ* ***la-re*** *lmo*
house=DEF big NEG-COP COP
‘The house is not big.’
- b. *Iu=ri* *lkye=ri* *4mye* ***la-re*** *lmo*
DIST=LOC field=LOC cow NEG-COP COP
‘There is no cow in the field.’
- c. *(Iŋʌ=yuŋ)* *kòla* ***la-re*** *lmo*
(1(SG)=COMIT) child NEG-COP COP
‘I do not have a child.’

The morpheme *lhin* is used in negated equationals, as example (4.25) shows:

- (4.25) *Ikhi àmtsi la-hin*
3(SG) doctor NEG-COP
‘She is not a doctor.’

In rapid speech the glottal fricative becomes a palatal glide, sounding like:

- (4.26) [a.jĩ]

This morpheme may be cognate with the Chantyal stative copula *hin*, (Noonan 2003 a) and perhaps even with the Tibetan evidential *yin*. Its use in Manange is restricted to negated equationals, but it shows more of the morphosyntactic properties of lexical verbs

⁴⁴ For a description of negation on lexical predicates in Manange, refer to §4.6

than *Imo* does. For example, I have one text example of *Ihin* occurring in both a negated and a non-negated clause:

- (4.27) *tòlΛ* *l̥tuy,*
in.fact in.fact,
- 2shij yaülka* *la-hin-pΛ-ni,*
wood branch NEG-COPNOM-ADV,
- Ishew=ko* *3sru* *Ihin-tse* *no,*
deer=DEF horn COP-tse *,
‘In fact, it was not a branch, but was a deer’s horn.’ (BoyDogFrog)

In this example, *hin* is negated (in the second line of the text) and then is nominalised and suffixed with the adverbial subordinator *-ni*. This is the same morphological behaviour of other active lexical verbs as well as the copula *Imo*. This is also not the morphological behaviour of the negative suppletive copula *la-re*. In the third line of (4.27) *Ihin* occurs without the negative prefix, and is suffixed with *-tse*. I am not sure what this *-tse* suffix is, but it is one that has never been evidenced on *a-re*.

As line 3 of example (4.27) shows, *Ihin* may also occur in non-negative contexts. I have a couple of other elicited sentences (all equationals) with *Ihin* functioning as the copula in such a non-negative context (the first two are elicitation based on example 4.27 above):

- (4.28) *Ikhi=tse* *2tso=ko* *ηìmu=lΛ* *2cocong*
3(SG)=ERG PROX=DEF mouse=GEN similar
- Ihin* *Imi* *3pi* *Imi*
COP EVID say EVID
‘He thought that it was a mouse-like sound.’

(4.29) *2tso=ko ηoto pùkri=lΛ lkye **Ihin** lmi*
 PROX=DEF truly snake=GEN sound **COP** EVID
 ‘It was actually/really a snake-like sound.’

(4.30) *4phΛ=ko ten 3pye=ko 2pe? 2che-pΛ*
 husband=DEF CONJ wife=DEF very intimate-NOM

*3sro **Ihin** lmi*
 friend **COP** EVID

‘The husband and wife were very close friends.’

At this time, I can speculate that *Ihin* is a second copula in Manange, used in equational copular clauses. However, *lmo* shows up more frequently in non-negated equationals than does *Ihin*, in both elicited and text settings. Because both copulas are possible, at this time my analysis is one of free variation; in non-negated equational copular constructions, both *Ihin* and *lmo* may alternate. In negated equationals, *la-hin* is used.

When inchoative copulas are negated, *a-* prefixes directly to the *lta* stem, as in

(4.31):⁴⁵

(4.31) *lkhi àmtsi la-tΛ-tsi*
 3(SG) doctor **NEG-become-PERF**
 ‘He did not become a doctor.’

Because *lmo* does not show aspect morphology, and because it does not show the negative prefix like other verbs, there is the possibility that it may in fact not be a verb.

One hypothesis then is that *lmo* is an evidential or existential/locative/possessive morpheme that does not inflect like a lexical verb. I will address this issue again later.

Manange makes use of two evidentials in copular constructions: *lmu* and *a*.⁴⁶

The evidential *lmu* is used in situations where knowledge is gained indirectly or where

⁴⁵ The particles *a*, *n*, and *ro* appear to be a-tonal. They are often pronounced with a low falling pitch, but this may be attributable to their positioning at the end of an intonation unit.

the speaker is not sure of the truth-value of the statement because he/she has not actually witnessed the event/state. *Imu* is used in past and non-past constructions, while *ʌ* is limited to future inchoatives. In contrast, my consultant says that *a* is like Nepali *hola* ‘maybe’ and is translated as ‘maybe I/you/he will X/be X.’ This suggests that the future evidential might be thought of as more of a periphrastic or adverbial means of expressing uncertainty about a future state or event, rather than as true grammaticised evidential morphology like *Imu*.

The particle *a* may occur following *Itʌ* ‘become,’ or any other lexical verb. The evidential *Imu*, on the other hand, only follows the copula verb *Imo*. The fact that *Imo* may be followed by *Imu*, but is not replaced by it, is evidence against *Imo* being an evidential particle, and for its status as a copular verb. Examples are provided in (4.32 and 4.33):

(4.32) *Imu*

- a. *Imriŋ=ko aputi Imo Imu*
 woman=DEF childless COP EVID
 ‘The woman is/was childless (possibly).’
- b. *Ikhimi=yuŋ Iŋʌ kòla Imo Imu*
 3(PL)=COMIT five child COP EVID
 ‘They have/had five children (I think, but haven’t seen them all myself).’

(4.33) *a*

- a. *khuriŋ Ikhimi=yuŋ 2ŋi*
 next.year 3(PL)=COMIT seven
- kòla=tse Itʌ a*
 child=PL become maybe
 ‘Maybe by next year they will have seven children.’

⁴⁶ The evidential *ko* also shows up occasionally following nominalised copulas. I discuss *ko* in §4.4.1.

- b. *Ikhi àmtsi Itʌ a*
 3(SG) doctor become **maybe**
 ‘Maybe he will become a doctor.’
- c. *nése 3khi 3yʌ ʌ*
 tomorrow 3(SG) go **maybe**
 ‘Maybe he will go tomorrow.’

4.4 Finite verb morphology

Finite verbs in Manange do not show person or number marking, nor do they show any kind of directional marking. In addition, there are no valency changing affixes on the verbs, although the verb *ʌʌ* functions in morphological causatives in a serial verb construction to signal valency changes. I will return to valency marking in Manange with respect to causation strategies in §4.7.

4.4.1 Evidentials

The distribution of evidential morphology in Manange depends upon the tense-aspect of the clause and on whether the clause involves first or non-first person. The non-first past and perfective evidential is *mi*.⁴⁷ *mi* is analyzed as a free morpheme because Class B verb stems do not undergo place-of-articulation assimilation with the C1 onset. While Manange does not show evidence of a conjunct/disjunct pattern in its verb morphology (see Hale 1980; DeLancey 1989), *Imi* is commonly used as a signal by the speaker that the information being conveyed in the clause was gained indirectly. Examples are shown in (4.34 a-d):

- (4.34) a. *Ikhi ʌkʌr Imi*
 3(SG) fall EVID
 ‘He fell down.’ (I saw him lying on the ground, with blood on him.)

⁴⁷ The evidential *mi* has an alternate *mu* which occurs after the copula *mo*, reflecting a vowel-harmony process.

- b. 3ky Λ 1khi= Λ 4thin= Λ Iy Λ Imi
 2(SG) 3(SG)=GEN house=LOC go EVID
 ‘You went to his house.’ (I know because you weren’t home when I called.)

In addition, my consultant also includes the particle *n Λ* after *Imi*, as in (4.35)

- (4.35) 3ky Λ 1khi= Λ 4thin= Λ Iy Λ Imi n Λ
 2(SG) 3(SG)=GEN house=LOC go **EVID EVID**
 ‘You went to his house.’

My consultant says that *n Λ* is optional and that with or without it the sentence still means that the speaker has circumstantial evidence of this action.

As was mentioned, the evidential *Imi* does not occur in first-person contexts. For first-person perfective clauses, there doesn’t seem to be any morphologised way of signaling type of evidence or degree of certainty about an event or state. Therefore, a statement like ‘I fell’, regardless of whether or not the speaker was sure of the falling (e.g. unconscious and doesn’t remember), is marked the same, with the perfective suffix:

- (4.36) I η Λ Ikhur-tsi
 1(SG) fall-PERF
 ‘I fell.’ (either I’m certain or I’m not certain.)

The sentence in (4.36) can also be a question, as in ‘did I fall?’, with a change in intonation, but no change in morphology.

This does not mean that first person clauses never show any type of evidential morphology. The particle *a* (discussed below) may be used in first-person clauses in future/irrealis contexts. The evidential particle *n Λ* may also occur in first person clauses in situations of future uncertainty, as in:

- (4.37) a. *IηΛ 4phlo-pΛ ItΛ-pΛ nΛ*
 1(SG) rich-NOM become-NOM **EVID**
 ‘I will be rich (I think, when you see me again).’
- b. *IηΛ IyΛ-pΛ nΛ*
 1(SG) go-NOM **EVID**
 ‘I will go (I think).’

In future/irrealis constructions, the particle *ʌ* ‘maybe’ is used, as (4.38 a-b) show:

- (4.38) a. *Ikhimi IyΛ a*
 3(PL) go **maybe**
 ‘Maybe they will go.’
- b. *Imriη=ko tshimra 2kyanη=ko Iʈul a*
 woman=DEF herb pastry=DEF roll **maybe**
 ‘Maybe the woman will roll out the pastry.’

Manange also has a reported speech particle *ro*. It signals that the information being conveyed in the clause comes from another source, rather than being deduced by the speaker. *ro* occurs frequently in stories and legends, but also occurs in elicitation when the information being conveyed in a proposition is viewed as gained through a reported speech situation, as the examples below show:

- (4.39) a. Narrative

Ikhim=ko=tse 4shi phôlpΛ=ko boʈul 3nanη=ri
 3(PL)=DEF=ERG one frog=DEF bottle inside=LOC

Itshaη Imi ro
 keep EVID **REP**
 ‘They kept that frog inside of a bottle.’ (BoyDogFrog)

- b. Elicitation

ànye=ko háyuy IηyΛη 4thin=ri IkhΛ-pΛ ro
 sister=DEF when 1(PL.GEN) house=LOC come-NOM **REP**
 ‘When will your sister come to our house?’ (‘When is she reported to come?’)

An additional evidential in Manange is the particle *ko*. At this point, I have not established the morphological status of *ko* when it functions as an evidential.

Phonetically, it is often reduced to [kʌ], suggesting that it is bound. It also shows reduced stress, but as evidential *ko* always occurs in reduced-stress environments, such as at the end of a clause/sentence/intonation unit (I.U.), this is not definitive evidence towards its bound status. Some examples follow:

- (4.40) a. *1khi=tse 3kola=tse 2shu-pʌ ko*
 3(SG)=ERG clothing=PL wash-NOM **EVID**
 ‘She will wash the clothes.’
- b. *1khi 4khe=ri 1yʌ-pʌ ko*
 3(SG) work=LOC go-NOM **EVID**
 ‘He will go to work.’
- c. *ah 3tʌŋ-pʌ 3tʌŋ-pʌ*
 ah ancient-NOM ancient-NOM
- 3ya kʌʈti 1mo ro*
 yak many COP REP
- ʌtse 3ya 2kʌtti mo-pʌ ko*
 like.this yak many COP-NOM **EVID**
- 3ya 2kʌtti 1mo-pʌ ko ten*
 yak many COP-NOM **EVID** then
 ‘A long time ago, there were many yaks; like this, there were many yaks, there were (too) many yaks.’ (Yak Buff)

As these examples show, *ko* always follows nominalizing morphology (*-pʌ*) on the main verb of the clause. As the first two examples also suggest, it seems that *ko* only occurs in ‘future’ time constructions (which is what *-pʌ* marking at the clause level often conveys in Manange). Indeed, my consultants never use *ko* in perfective constructions in elicited settings. However, the third example, *ko* occurs in the opening lines of a legend,

which the author appears to be setting up as an event that occurred a long time ago. In this sense, *ko* also occurs in ‘past’ time constructions, albeit only in narrative settings.

My consultants describe the function of *ko* as marking an event which is somehow ‘checked and confirmed’ or an event which can be ‘pointed to’ in some way. In this sense, it appears that the =*ko* definite clitic and the *ko* evidential may be syncretic.

It is common to see the ‘grammatical extension’ of postpositions into subordinating markers in Tibeto-Burman languages (Genetti 1991). Here, as in the case of the movement from postpositional markers into subordinating morphology, the syncretism between definite =*ko* and evidential *ko* is interesting in that whatever grammatical change there may be, it is not clear that there is a movement from a lexical status to a more grammatical status here. On the other hand, not all views of grammaticisation are those in which movement is from lexical to grammatical. For Hopper (1987), all changes within a language’s grammar can be potentially considered as types of grammaticisation.

4.4.2 Aspect

Tense is not explicitly morphologised in Manange; rather, Manange shows morphology for both perfective and imperfective aspect. First I describe perfective aspect, and then imperfective. Perfective aspect is signaled by the suffix *-tsi*, as examples (4.41 a-b) show:⁴⁸

- (4.41) a. *àle=ko* *2kyu-tsi*
 boy=DEF ran-**PERF**
 ‘The boy ran/they boy has run (by now).’

⁴⁸ Refer to §5.5.2 for a discussion of intra-clausal perfective aspect marking with *l-tse* clause chaining.

- b. *Ikhimi* *ItsΛ-tsi*
 3(PL) eat-**PERF**
 ‘They ate/they have eaten (by now).’

As (4.41 a and b) also show, there is no grammatical distinction between perfect and perfective, and consultants accept both translations (however see §4.7 for a discussion of perfect aspect in bi-clausal causation). The morphophonemic behavior of Class B verb stems with the perfective suffix is evidence that it is bound.

The perfective suffix *-tsi* is in complementary distribution with the perfective evidential *Imi*, and the two morphemes never occur together in the same clause.

There is a split in imperfective morphology in Manange. A verb stem + *Imo* construction may be interpreted as present tense or present non-continuous imperfective, while a verb stem suffixed with *-tse* and followed by *Imo* is interpreted as continuous imperfective and may refer to any tense. I first describe general imperfectives, and then move on to continuous imperfective constructions. Examples of the general present and habitual imperfective are shown in (4.42-4.43) below:

(4.42) Present Imperfective

- a. *Ikhi* *Isre* *Imo*⁴⁹
 3(SG) stand **COP**
 ‘She stands/gets up.’

- b. *kòla=ko=tse* *khΛnte* *ItsΛ* *Imo*
 child=DEF=ERG candy eat **COP**
 ‘The child eats the candy.’

⁴⁹ A common elicitation form of general imperfectives is *verb-p- Imo*, but this nominaliser on the verb stems is frequently unexpressed. The copula *Imo*, however, is not optionally unexpressed.

(4.43) Habitual

- a. *Ikhi Ichen Ithaj=ri Iʃu Imo*
3(SG) always floor=LOC sit COP
'He always sits on the floor.'
- b. *nani Ichen Ikra Imo*
child always cry COP
'The child always cries.'

As examples (4.43) a-b show, the habituality of the actions is marked lexically, with the adverb *Ichen* 'always.'

As previously stated, continuous imperfective aspect is marked in Manange by the continuous suffix *-tse* on the verb stem, followed by the copula *Imo*. The status of the morpheme *-tse* as a suffix is shown by the place of articulation assimilation process in Class B verb stems. In addition, *-tse* often reduces to *-tsʌ* in rapid speech. Examples are provided in (4.44 a-c):

- (4.44) a. *Ikхими Iyʌ-tse Imo*
3(PL) go-CONT COP
'They are going.'
- b. *iden=tse mina=ri Iprin-tse Imo*
Eden=ERG Mina=LOC hit-CONT COP
'Eden is hitting Mina.'
- c. *3kyʌ Ithaj=ri Iʃu-tsu Imo*
2(SG) floor=LOC sit-CONT COP
'You are sitting on the floor.'

Note that in example (c) the continuous suffix is represented as *-tsu*. It seems that *-tse* and *-tsu* are allomorphs in free variation. One hypothesis is to argue that *-tsu* is morphophonemically conditioned by the verb stem vowel, as (4.44 c) suggests.

However, my consultant has provided me with other *-tsu* continuous constructions where the verb stem does not have a high back vowel. In addition, I have also elicited *-tse*

constructions where the stem vowel does have a high back vowel. Examples of these are shown in (4.45 a-b):

- (4.45) a. *IηΛ* *Ikra-tsu* *Imo*
 1(SG) **cry-CONT** COP
 ‘I am always crying.’
- b. *Ikhi=tse* *Ichen* *3kola* *Isru-tse* *Imo*
 3(SG)=ERG always clothes **wash-CONT** COP
 ‘She is always washing the clothes.’

As a result, my current analysis for *-tse* and *-tsu* is one of free variation; either form is possible with a given verb.

The imperfective aspect in Manange is not inflected for tense. Rather, time is shown analytically, by the addition of temporal adverbials such as *neôse* ‘tomorrow,’ *tele* ‘yesterday’ and others. Examples are shown in (4.46 a-b):

- (4.46) a. *téle* *IηΛ* *3kra-tsu* *Imo*
yesterday 1(SG) cry-CONT COP
 ‘Yesterday I was crying (but not today).’
- b. *tiji* *mùntse* *Ikhi=tse* *3kola* *2sru-tsu* *Imo*
today night 3(SG)=ERG clothes wash-CONT COP
 ‘Tonight she will be washing the clothes.’

The durative imperfective aspect in Manange is often marked by my consultant with continuous morphology, as shown in (4.47 a-b):

- (4.47) a. *IηΛ* *nàraη* *khλnte* *ItsΛ-tse* *Imo*
 1(SG) before candy **eat-CONT** COP
 ‘I kept eating candy (until I became ill).’
- b. *Ikhimi* *yùηpΛ=tse* *4khyen=ri* *Ikhya-tse* *Imo*
 3(PL) stone=PL road=LOC **throw-CONT** COP
 ‘They keep throwing stones into the road.’

However, I do have some examples where my consultant uses a serial verb construction, shown in (4.48) to mark durative aspect⁵⁰:

- (4.48) *Ikhimi* *yùnpΛ=tse* *4khyen=ri* *Ikhya* *tu-pΛ*
 3(PL) stone=PL road=LOC throw sit/stay-NOM
 ‘(Unless I stop them) they will keep throwing stones into the road.’

Iteratives or punctuals are also marked with progressive morphology, as (4.49 a and b) show:

- (4.49) a. *IηΛ* *Ikhi-tse* *Imo*
 1(SG) sneeze-CONT COP
 ‘I am/was sneezing (repeatedly).’
- b. *IηΛ* *llo* *IkhΛ-tse* *Imo*
 1(SG) cough come-CONT COP
 ‘I am/was coughing (repeatedly).’

Before discussing modality, one final note regarding *Imo* is worth mentioning. As was discussed, this copular verb appears in both copular clauses, and in imperfective active verbal complexes. However, it does not show the full range of inflectional affixes that other verbs show. In addition, *Imo* seems to occur infrequently in connected speech, if one uses the text in chapter 6 as a basis for discourse-frequency. This would suggest that *Imo* is in fact not a copula. However, as was also mentioned, *Imo* does show some of the inflectional morphology that other verbs show. In addition, its distribution in other recorded and transcribed texts shows that *Imo* in fact is used with a fair degree of frequency. For example, one other text (“Boy Dog Frog”) shows ten occurrences of *Imo* in copular/stative and active clauses throughout the text, with different types of inflectional morphemes present. An example is shown here:

⁵⁰ For more discussion on serial verbs in Manange, refer to §5.4

(4.50) *λtse-* --
after- --

ten ten 3por 1yλ=,
then then take go=,

ah 4thin-ri 1then 1mo ro.
ah house-LOC keep be REP.

‘Having brought (the frog) home, they keep it (in a bottle in the house).’

This example shows *1mo* in a general imperfective construction, followed by the reported speech evidential. Because *1mo* does occur with greater frequency in other texts, and because it does have some structural similarities to other lexical verbs, I will continue to analyze it as a copular verb at this time.

4.5 Modality

4.5.1 Future and realis/irrealis

As first discussed in chapter 3, Manange shows evidence of a realis/irrealis distinction. What would otherwise be called ‘future tense’ in Manange is better categorised under irrealis mood. Evidence for this comes from the lack of ergative case marking on the transitive A’s in irrealis mood. The ergative clitic in Manange appears on all transitive A’s, regardless of the volitionality of the A. An example such as (4.51) below is acceptable to all of my consultants:

(4.51) *1mriŋ=tse 2naka 2phuŋ 2khol-tsi*
woman=ERG chicken egg boil-PERF
‘The woman boiled/has boiled the egg.’

The ergative marker is also acceptable on transitive imperfectives, including habituals and progressives.

It is not acceptable for most of my consultants however on the A argument of future transitives, as (4.52) shows⁵¹:

(4.52) *Imriŋ**=*tse* *2naka* *2phuŋ* *2khol(-pʌ)*
 woman*=**ERG** chicken egg boil(-NOM)
 ‘The woman will boil the egg.’

This suggests a split in how aspect is viewed with regard to futures and other such modals.

For my primary consultant, future modals which are in the first person show either the *-pʌ* nominaliser, or a different suffix *-tso*. Example (4.53) illustrates this:

(4.53) *Iŋʌ* *Iyʌ-pʌtso*
 1(SG) go-NOM/FUT
 ‘I will go.’

However, both of my other consultants prefer to use the *-pʌ* nominaliser on futures and do not accept or recognise *-tso*. According to my primary consultant, both suffixes serve the same function of predicting the future event. I hypothesise that there may be a functional difference between the two suffixes, and that *-tso* implies a greater level of personal obligation concerning the event and may in fact be a different type of hortative modal suffix. However, these forms need further examination before a stronger argument can be formed.

Another modal construction found in Manange is what Bybee et al. (1994) call the ‘immediate future.’ However, since I don’t see a true, morphologically marked future distinction in Manange, I will refer to these structures as simply ‘immediates.’

⁵¹ I say ‘most’ because there appears to be speaker variation in judgement of the acceptability of the ergative marker in futures. My primary consultant finds the ergative marker acceptable on all transitive constructions, regardless of aspect or modality. My other consultants however find the ergative marker in future/irrealis constructions to be unacceptable.

Immediates in Manange serve generally the same function that the immediate future does cross-linguistically by marking an event as imminent or as just about to begin. It is not a true inceptive, as the action has not yet actually begun, but suggests that it will definitely happen within a very short period of time. Examples are shown in (4.54 a-c):

- (4.54) a. *lɿʌ lɿʌ-pi lɿʌ-tsi*
 1(SG) **go-IMM** **do-PERF**
 ‘I prepared/was about to go.’
- b. *lɿhi nyùkyu=ko=ri lpho-pi lɿʌ-tsi*
 3(SG) dog=DEF=LOC **beat-IMM** **do-PERF**
 ‘He was about to beat the dog.’
- c. *ʒkyʌ ʒkola=ri ʒsru-pi lɿʌ lmo*
 2(SG) clothes=LOC **wash-IMM** **do** COP
 ‘You are about to/prepare to wash the clothes.’

As example (c) shows, immediates can be further framed temporally by aspect or modal (nominalizing) morphology. The lack of ergative marking on A’s however suggests that the argument marking on these constructions operates on a level of modality rather than on aspect.

Immediates also have the ubiquitous verb *lɿʌ* ‘do’ as their main verb. It is my analysis that the use of *lɿʌ* in immediates places the entire imminent action within a frame of aspect, namely perfective aspect. The resulting interpretation of an immediate construction then is that the action as a complete whole is about to begin. This is similar to other analyses of immediates in Tibeto-Burman languages, such as in Chepang (Caughley 1982). For more discussion on the aspectual function of *lɿʌ* in periphrastic causatives and in perfective recapitulations, refer to §4.7.1 and §5.5, respectively.

Turning to other moods in Manange, desideratives are formed by the verb stems *say* ‘like/want’ and *3khΛ* ‘come,’ in a serial construction, which in turn follow the nominalised main verb. This is shown in (4.55 a-b):

- (4.55) a. *1ηΛ 4nu-pΛ 3say 1khΛ Imo*
 1(SG) **sleep-NOM** **want** **come** COP
 ‘I want to sleep.’
- b. *1khi 4nu-pΛ 3say 1khΛ Imo*
 3(SG) **sleep-NOM** **want** **come** COP
 ‘He wants to sleep.’

My consultant gives the literal translation as ‘The desire to sleep comes to me.’

Curiously, there is no locative marking on the subject argument. Note also that desideratives are also irrealis, and that the lexical verb is nominalised.

Deontics are formed with the verb *3yay*, which translates roughly as ‘should’ or ‘must.’

This verb follows what I analyze as a serial verb construction in which the second verb is always *lΛ* ‘do.’ Examples are shown below:

- (4.56) a. *1khi 4nu lΛ 3yay Imo*
 3(SG) **sleep** **do** **DEONTIC** COP
 ‘He should/must sleep.’
- b. *1ηΛ 1shΛ ItsΛ lΛ 3yay Imo*
 1(SG) **meat** **eat** **do** **DEONTIC** COP
 ‘I should/must eat the meat.’⁵²

In elicited environments, my consultants do not analyze the morpheme *lΛ* as ‘do;’ instead, they identify it only as part of the larger construction of deontics, suggesting it has fully morphologised from a lexical item into a grammatical verbal particle.

⁵² Again, deontics in Manange do not show ergative marking on the A argument, even when the main verb is normally interpreted as transitive in other uses (i.e. the A argument of *Its* ‘eat’ usually shows the

Potentials (abilitatives) are formed by the verb stems *lɪ* ‘do’ and *4khyeen* ‘able,’ which follow the main verb stem. *4khyeen* ‘able’ takes aspect morphology. (4.57)

provides examples:

- (4.57) a. *lɪ* *4khwe* *lɪ* *4khyeen* *lmo*
 1(SG) song hit do able COP
 ‘I am able to sing.’
- b. *lɪ* *2kyu* *lɪ* *4khyeen=tsi*
 1(SG) run do able=PERF
 ‘I was able to run.’

Again, note that ergative marking does not appear on transitive A arguments of both potentials and deontics, suggesting their membership in the category of irrealis mood.

4.5.2 Imperatives, permissives and hortatives

Other constructions in Manange which do not show aspectual marking include directives such as imperatives, permissives and hortatives. I will provide descriptions for each one.

Imperatives are formed by the addition of either the *-ro* or *-no* suffix to the verb stem. For the most part, the addition of the *-no* suffix is morphophonemically determined. By and large, nasal stem verb classes such as *lkom-pɪ* ‘put on,’ *lsem-pɪ* ‘get out,’ and *lshim-pɪ* ‘catch’ use the *-no* suffix. Examples are found in (4.58 a-c):

- (4.58) a. *lko-no*
 put.on-IMPER
 ‘Put (it) on!’

ergative clitic =*tse*), suggesting that these constructions also fall under the time-system umbrella of modality, under which futurity and immediate constructions are also located.

- b. *Itse-no*
get.out-IMPER
'Get out!'
- c. *Itshi-no*
catch-IMPER
'Catch (it)!'

This pattern is not entirely regular, however. A very common n-stem verb like *Ipiin* 'give' takes a *-ko* imperative suffix, shown in (4.59)

- (4.59) *Iŋʌ=ri* *ʒpiŋ-ko*
1(SG)=LOC give-IMPER
'Give (it) to me!'

It is the only n-stem verb that takes this suffix.⁵³

Given that n-stems (Class B verbs) end in the coda segment that assimilates in place to the onset of the suffix *-no*, it would be expected that *Itshiin* 'catch,' for example, would show gemination at the morpheme boundary and would be represented as (4.60) phonetically:

- (4.60) [tsh̥ɪn.no] 'catch!'

However, there are no other attested instances of gemination in the language. A constraint blocking gemination is then posited, which prevents the coda /n/ in *Itshi* [+nasal] 'catch' from picking up the segmental features from the following imperative suffix.

Most other verbs show the *-ro* imperative suffix, as in example (4.61):

- (4.61) *Iu=ri* *Iyʌ-ro*
DIST=LOC go-IMPER
'Go over there!' (Yak Buff)

⁵³ I have also heard *Ipo* used for the imperative of *Ipiin* 'give'

There is some additional irregularity in the Manange imperative paradigm. A handful of commonly used verbs do not show a suffix. Rather, they undergo a stem vowel change for the imperative. They are shown in (4.62):

(4.62)	<u>Non-Imperative</u>		<u>Imperative</u>	
	<i>Ikha</i>	‘come’	<i>Ikho</i>	‘come!’
	<i>Itsa</i>	‘eat’	<i>Itso</i>	‘eat!’
	<i>Iʔu</i>	‘sit’	<i>Iʔo</i>	‘sit!’
	<i>Ila</i>	‘do’	<i>Ilo</i>	‘do (it)!’

That these verbs are so common in the language is in itself an explanation for their suppletion in the imperative mood. A different analysis has been offered by Noonan (2003b and pers.comm), that of a process of fusion of the imperative suffix with the verb stem. In his grammar of Nar-Phu, Noonan transcribes stem-alternating imperatives with a final velar off-glide, as in:

(4.63)	<i>kyâŋ</i>	<i>lâw</i>
	reach	do
	‘Reach for it!’	

Noonan argues that the presence of the off-glide suggests the presence of an /o/-final imperative suffix (e.g. *-no*, *-ro*) at an earlier stage in the language. This suffix over time (and through high frequency use, presumably) has fused with the stem, but has left the offglide as evidence of its earlier presence.

In elicitations, I have not heard the off-glide on these fused imperative forms from any of my consultants. One possible reason for this is that the fusion of the suffix in Manange imperatives may have happened at an earlier time and the labio-velar glide has since disappeared. Another possible analysis is that the phonotactic constraints in Manange disprefer /ow/ segments.

Permissives in Manange are analytic in structure and are formed by the addition of the verb *Ipim-pʌ* ‘give’ along with imperative morphology, which in turn follows the main verb + *Ilʌ* ‘do’ serial verb construction. Examples are shown in (4.64 a-b):

- (4.64) a. *Ikhi=ri* *Iyʌ* *lʌ* *Ipin-no*
 3(SG)=LOC **go** **do** give-2/3IMPER
 ‘Let him/her go!’
- b. *Iŋʌ=ri* *Ilʌ* *lʌ* *Ipin-ko*
 1(SG)=LOC **do** **do** give-1IMPER
 ‘Let me do it!’

The use of ‘give’ in permissives is well attested in cross-linguistically (see Newman 1996). In addition, this structure mirrors Nepali permissives (e.g. *jana diyo* ‘let him go!’).

Hortatives show the same morphology as the first person future constructions that my primary consultant has provided me with (4.4.1). They both show the suffix *-tso* on the verb, suggesting that in fact they may be serving the same function. Examples are shown below:

- (4.65) a. *Iʌ-tso*
 eat-**HORT**
 ‘Let’s eat.’
- b. *Iʌ-tso*
 sit-**HORT**
 ‘Let’s sit/rest.’

With hortatives that involve verbs of motion, my consultant uses an additional morpheme *Icho*. She translates this morpheme as ‘go,’ but my only analysis of it currently is that it marks motion involved in resulting action. Examples are shown:

- (4.66) a. *3kyΛ=lΛ pòli Icho Ica-tso*
 2(SG)=GEN shoe **motion** **search-HORT**
 ‘Let’s look for your shoes.’
- b. *Icho IyΛ-tso*
motion **go-HORT**
 ‘Let’s go.’

Icho does not appear with some verbs in the hortative mood, such as *4nu* ‘sleep’ or *1tshan* ‘keep/retain.’ Additionally, *Icho* does not show the negative prefix *a-* when hortatives are negated, suggesting it is not a verbal element.

4.6 Negation

Negation on lexical verbs in Manange is signaled by the addition of the prefix *a-* to the verb stem. In negatives, the verb takes the usual aspect suffixes, or shows morphology which co-occurs with ‘future’ modals. (4.67 a-e) provides examples:

- (4.67) a. *Ikhi 4khwe 1a-priin*
 3(SG) song **NEG-hit(FUT)**
 ‘She will not sing a song.’
- or*
- b. *Ikhi 4khwe 1a-prim-pΛ*
 3(SG) song **NEG-sing-NOM**
 ‘She will not sing a song.’
- c. *Imrij=ko kòla 3a-nΛ-tsi*
 woman=DEF child **NEG-give.birth-PERF**
 ‘The woman did not give birth.’
- d. *Ikhi pòli 1a-koon Imo*
 3(SG) shoes **NEG-wear COP**
 ‘He does not wear shoes.’
- e. *Ikhi 1a-yΛ Imi*
 3(SG) **NEG-go EVID**
 ‘He didn’t go (I don’t think).’

4.7 Valency adjustment

In §4.7.1 I describe one type of valency increasing: morphological causatives. I also describe other causative strategies in Manange. In §4.7.2 I turn to reflexives and reciprocals in Manange, which are signalled analytically.

4.7.1 Causation

Manange shows two strategies of causation, periphrastic (bi-clausal) and morphological. However, as most causation in Manange is signalled lexically (either by the use of a different lexical verb or by no change in the verb at all) I will briefly describe these other strategies before moving on to describe the other two strategies.

As was stated, the most common causation strategy in Manange is lexical. The following list of verbs in (4.68) illustrates the first strategy of lexical causation in Manange, showing both non-causative verbs and their causative counterparts:

(4.68) <u>Non-Causative</u>	<u>Causative</u>
<i>1shi</i> ‘die’	<i>1se</i> ‘kill’
<i>2shu</i> ‘bathe’ ⁵⁴	<i>1phya</i> ‘clean something’
<i>4phro</i> ‘move’	<i>4kher</i> ‘move something’

Other verbs in Manange such as *1kro* ‘burn’ and *2khol* ‘boil’ appear to have no morphological or lexical difference evident in the verbal complex with respect to causation, as (4.69 a and b) show:

(4.69) <u>Intransitive</u>	<u>Transitive</u>
<i>1kyu 2khol-tsi</i>	<i>1ηΛ=tse 2kyu=ko 2khol-tsi</i>
water boil-PERF	<u>1(SG)=ERG</u> water=DEF boil-PERF
‘The water boiled.’	‘I boiled the water.’

⁵⁴ *2shu* can also mean ‘to wash a part of one’s body,’ like the face

- e. *kòla=ko* *màkʌ* *Itʌ-tsi*
 child=DEF wound become-PERF
 ‘The child became wounded/hurt.’

To form a causative from verb-like adjectives or intransitive lexical verbs such as these,

Itʌ ‘do’ is added as the second element in the verbal complex, as examples (4.71 a-e)

show:

- (4.71) a. *Itʌ=tse* *3cʌ* *Itʌ* ***Itʌ-tsi***
1SG=ERG tea warm **do-PERF**
 ‘I made the tea warm/warmed the tea.’
- b. *Imriŋ=ko=tse* *kòsho* ***Itʌ*** ***Itʌ-tsi***
woman=DEF=ERG cup fall **do-PERF**
 ‘The woman dropped the cup.’
- c. *Imriŋ=ko=tse* *kòsho* ***Itʌ*** ***Itʌ-tsi***
woman=DEF=ERG cup break **do-PERF**
 ‘The woman broke the cup.’
- d. *kòla=ko=tse* *Itʌ=Itʌ* *Itʌ=ko* ***Itʌ*** ***Itʌ-tsi***
child=DEF=ERG 3(SG)=GEN hand=DEF cut **do-PERF**
 ‘The child cut his hand.’
- e. *3mi=ko=tse* *kòla=ko=ri* *màkʌ*
person=DEF=ERG child=DEF=LOC wound
- Itʌ*** ***Itʌ-tsi***
become do-PERF
 ‘The man wounded/hurt the child.’

With the presence of *Itʌ* in a serial verb construction (in boldface), there is now an ergative marked causer (underlined) and an absolutive (or locative-marked for animate patients) marked causee in each of the examples above.

I consider the use of *Itʌ* ‘do’ in morphological causatives structurally as examples of a serial verb construction because although there are two verbs present, only one event is interpreted from them. None of my consultants find the interpretation of example (4.72

b) for instance ‘the woman fell and did’ as acceptable. For more discussion on verb serialisation in Manange, refer to §5.4.

Morphological causatives are somewhat unproductive in Manange and appear to be restricted to the set of constructions (and a few additional) that I have presented above. Far more commonly found is the periphrastic strategy, also involving *lla* ‘do’, which I will now describe.

Periphrastic (also called analytic or syntactic) causatives are so defined in that the predicate of causation is structurally separate from the predicate that is affected by the causative predicate (Comrie 1985). The verb *lla* ‘do’ is also used in the Manange periphrastic causative construction. In these types of causatives, the clause containing *lla* is always preposed (in a bi-clausal structure) before the clause which is affected by the agent of the causative. In addition, the clause of causation shows the clause chaining suffix *-tse*. Examples are shown in (4.72 a-d):

(4.72) Elicitation

a. *àmΛ=tse* *lla-tse* *lηΛ=tse* *lthaj* *lphya-tsi*
mother=ERG do-CC 1SG=ERG floor clean-PERF
 ‘My mother made me clean the floor.’

b. *3mo=tse* *lla-tse miüinto=ko* *lthyΛ-pΛ* *ltΛ-tsi*
rain=ERG do-CC flower=DEF big-NOM become-PERF
 ‘The rain caused the flower to grow/become big.’

c. *nyùkyu=tse* *lla-tse lkhim=Λ* *3tsaη=ko* *phà.te*
dog=ERG do-CC 3(PL)=GEN nest=DEF fall.down

lkhΛ *lmi* *ro*
 come EVID REP

‘The dog caused their (honey bees) nest to come falling down.’ (Boy Dog Frog)

- d. *àle=ko=tse* *lla-tse* *nani* *lkra-tsi*
 boy=DEF=ERG **do-CC** little.girl cry-PERF
 ‘The boy made the little girl cry.’

As example (b) shows, inanimate A’s are possible in Manange causatives. And as this construction is bi-clausal, a “syntacticised” construction, both A’s in a causative construction and its transitive affected main clause such as in (a) can show ergative marking.⁵⁵ The function of *lla* ‘do’ plus the clause chaining suffix –*tse* in these constructions appears to be an aspectual, (specifically perfect or anterior) one. The first action, indicated by *lla-tse*, is one which occurs prior to the first and also has a kind of current relevance to the second action or event. This idea of a past event with current (causal) relevance is an interpretation of the function of perfect aspect. In §5.5.2 I return to the aspect-marking function of *lla-tse* clause chains in narrative recapitulations.

It is interesting to note how the various strategies of causation in Manange relate to the idea of the relationship between structural integration and conceptual integration. As the previous examples have shown, morphological causatives are structurally a much tighter unit, even being described as monoclausal in their morphosyntax. Conversely, periphrastic causatives are much looser in their structural integration, described as the combination of two distinct clauses to form a causative event. Conceptually, these two very different strategies of creating causatives in Manange (as well as in many other

⁵⁵Interestingly, when I first asked for the causative in (4.73 a), my consultant Eden provided me with:

lŋa=lŋ *àmŋ=tse* *‘lthaŋ lphy-a-ro’* *3pi-tsi*
 1(SG)=GEN mother=ERG ‘floor clean-IMPER’ say-PERF
 ‘my mother said ‘clean the floor.’’

This directive (not containing any form of *lla* ‘do’), seemed like a causative to my consultant because she said that when her mother gave an order, she just had to follow it. Other consultants agree that this directive form is the most common way to express ‘causation’ when the agent is a human being who

languages of the world) may be linked to the degree in which the causer in these strategies is directly involved in the action that brings about the causee's behavior or resulting state. It may be that in periphrastic causatives, there is more of a focus on the result of the causer's actions on the causee than there is on the causer him/herself. These relationships are iconic in that longer linguistic/structural distance (i. e. periphrastic causation) is correlated with greater conceptual distance (Haiman 1983).

4.7.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

For my primary consultant, reflexives and reciprocals are expressed analytically—through the introduction of either a clause (for reflexives) or NP (for reciprocals). In reflexives, the clause *lɨʌ=tse ɪɪʌ-tse* 'doing myself' occurs between the A argument and the main verb:

(4.73) Reflexive

lɨʌ lɨʌ=tse ɪɪʌ-tse 2tha-tsi
 1(SG) 1(SG)=ERG do-CC cut-PERF
 'I cut myself.' (location unspecified)

However, I have been told that this is a preferable way to express 'seeing one's self':

(4.74) *lɨʌ=tse 3melʌɨ=ri lɨʌ ɪmraŋ-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG mirror=LOC 1(SG) see-PERF
 'I saw myself/me in the mirror.'

In (4.73), the first singular pronoun *lɨʌ* is both the A and the absolutive O argument, with 'mirror' providing the context in which the seeing is done. The same kind of construction is used with 'cutting one's self,' where my consultant says she prefers to

volitionally orders, or causes another human to perform an action. When the agent is not a volitional human, the periphrastic causative is the common construction.

explicitly state what she cut ('I cut my hand/foot, etc.'). However, if she just sees blood, but no wound, it is possible to use the construction in (4.74) above.

In reciprocals, the NP , meaning roughly *4shi=tse 4shi=ri* 'one (does) to one', occurs between the A argument and the main verb:

(4.75) Reciprocal

- a. *1ŋi 4shi=tse 4shi=ri Imraŋ-tsi*
 1(PL) **one=ERG** **one=LOC** see-PERF
 'We saw each other.'
- b. *1phΛ=ko ten 3pye=ko 4shi=tse 4shi=ri*
 husband=DEF CONJ wife=DEF **one=ERG** **one=LOC**
- 2peʔ 3sΛni 1lΛ-tsi*
 very nice do-PERF
 'The husband and wife loved each other.'

In example (4.73) and also (4.75 a and b), the ergative marker =*tse* is not permitted on the A arguments, even though *2tha* 'cut', *Imraŋ* 'see' and *1lΛ* 'do' are all transitive. Thus, it is evident that there is a resulting decrease in valency in these constructions (the subject and the object are the same entity, and so the transitive verb is not affecting two distinct entities).

Another consultant provides a different way of marking reflexives, as in (4.76) below:

(4.76) Alternate Reflexive Construction

- (1ŋΛ) sraŋ=tse sraŋ=ri 2shu-tsi*
 (1SG) **REFL=ERG** **REFL=LOC** wash-PERF
 'I washed myself.'

This construction is similar to those in (4.76) in that there is a nominal element that takes both the ergative and the locative/patient clitics, but I am not sure of the meaning of *sraŋ* other than what my consultant says is 'self.' What is more, this consultant does not feel

b. [3pi-tse 1lA-tse] [1khim] 3naŋ=ko=ri ten
 [say-CC do-CC] [3(PL)] inside=DEF=LOC then

[2kre 1lA-tse 1lA-tse] ten.
 [decide do-CC do-CC] then.

[3ya:,
 [yak:,

tipal=ko.]
 some=DEF.]

‘Having said (this), the yaks inside decided (made a decision).’

c. tAnta 2ki-ra-tse,
 many comfort-**-CC,

[1shAmlə.phre 1yA 1mi],
 [forget go EVID],

[1u ah 3ya,
 [DIST EMPH yak,

tipal=ko.]
 some=DEF.]

‘(Having) many comforts, some of those yaks forgot (their friends).’

In examples (a-c) above, the brackets indicate the core arguments as well as the verb complex of the clause. In each case, the S/A of the clause follows the main verb, rather than precedes it, as it always does in elicited settings. Not all narrative clauses have post-verbal positioning of S/A arguments. The degree to which the ordering pattern occurs seems to vary with the speaker. The following example is from a narrative told by a different speaker, and illustrates pre-verbal positioning of the A argument:

(4.79) ... ah tAra.ŋi [khim ŋi-ko-ri] [pholpA hri],
 ... ah one.day [3.PL two-DEF-LOC] [frog one]

yaŋ-pA ro.
 find/get-NOM REP.

‘One day the the two of them got one frog.’ (GBDF)

In almost all cases of the S/A argument following the main verb in connected speech, the S/A argument also occurs in a separate intonation unit. The motivation for this different type of constituent ordering may be pragmatic. In these cases, the speaker may want to highlight or emphasise the role of the agent in an action, rather than the event itself. One way to highlight this is by postposing the argument to the end of the clause, after all of the verb-complex elements.

5. Clause combining strategies in Manange

This chapter contains descriptions and some discussion on clause combining strategies in Manange. The order of this chapter is as follows: §5.1 concerns complementation in Manange; §5.2 contains a description of the structure of relative clauses and relativization strategies; §5.3 describes adverbial clauses; §5.4 concerns verb serialisation and §5.5 describes the clause chaining suffix *-tse* in Manange.

5.1 Complementation

While a thorough analysis of complementation strategies in Manange has not yet been undertaken, some preliminary discussion of them is still possible. Thus far, only object complementation has been evidenced in the language. This includes clauses of complement taking predicates (CTP's) such as *3pi* 'say,' and *2shΛm.le* (*phre*) 'forget,' shown in examples (5.1 a-d). The bracketed clauses are the complement clauses:

- (5.1) a. *1khi=tse* [*1khi nepal=ri 1yΛ=tsi*] *3pi-tsi*
3(SG)=ERG [3(SG) Nepal=LOC go=PERF] say-PERF
'he said that he went to Nepal.'⁵⁷
- b. *1khi=tse* [*3kyΛ kye-pΛ 1mo*] *3pi-tsi*
3(SG)=ERG [2(SG) pretty-NOM COP] say-PERF
'He said that you are pretty.'
- c. *1ηΛ* [*3kyΛ=lΛ 4thiη=ri 1yΛ-pΛ-ri*] *2shΛm.le-tsi*
1(SG) [2(SG)=GEN house=LOC go-NOM-PURP] forget-PERF
'I forgot to go to your house.'
- d. *1khi 2chen* [*3kyΛ=lΛ 4thiη=ri 1yΛ-pΛ-ri*]
3(SG) always [2(SG)=GEN house=LOC go-NOM-PURP]

⁵⁷ It should be noted that the verbal morphology of the sentence in (5.1 a) remains the same regardless of the co-referentiality of the two arguments in the sentence, the 'he' of the main clause and the 'he' of the complement clause.

2shΛm.le *Imo*
 forget COP
 ‘She always forgets to go to your house.’

In the first two examples (a-b) both clauses of the sentence show full finite verb morphology and so are evidence of finite complementation in the language. The third example (c) does not show this finite morphology; instead the verb of the complement clause *IyΛ* ‘go’ is nominalised and shows the purposive adverbial suffix *-ri*.

Another complementation strategy in Manange involves the use of desiderative modals as CTP’s. Examples are shown in (5.2):

(5.2) *3say*

- a. *IηΛ* [*3ya* *IshΛ* *ItsΛ-pΛ*] ***3say*** *IkhΛ* *Imo*
 1(SG) [yak flesh eat-NOM] **want** come COP
 ‘I want to eat yak meat.’
- b. *IηΛ* [*IyΛ-pΛ*] ***3say*** *IkhΛ* *Imo*
 1(SG) [go-NOM] **want** come COP
 ‘I want to go.’

It is possible that *3say* ‘want/like’ above is nominal and that the interpretation of these is ‘desire/wish comes.’ The complement clause such as *IyΛ* ‘go,’ and *ItsΛ* ‘eat’ is always nominalised.

5.2 Relativisation

Like the other nominalisations (e.g. nominal modifiers and attributives) presented in chapter 3, clauses in Manange are nominalised for the purpose of relativisation with the suffix *-pΛ*. At times in relativised contexts the vowel quality of /Λ/ fronts and sounds like:

(5.3) [pe] or [pœ]

This phonetic alternation does not appear to correlate with any particular functional difference, however.

Relative clauses in Manange always directly precede their head noun, as examples (5.4 a-b) show:

- (5.4) a. *1ηΛ=tse* ***IsrΛ*** ***Ise-pΛ*** *3mi=ko=ri*
 1(SG)=ERG **goat** **kill-NOM** person=DEF=LOC
- 4mwi* *4phrΛ* *1pin-tsi*
 money 100 give-PERF
 ‘I gave 100 rupees to the man who killed the goat.’
- b. *1ηΛ=lΛ* ***1tu-pΛ*** *4khya* *3yul=ko*
 1(SG)=GEN **stay-NOM** place village/country=DEF
- amerika* (*1mo/nΛ*)
 America (COP/EVID)
 ‘The country where I live is America/my staying place is America.’

In these and the following examples, the relativised clause itself is in bold-face, while the head noun is underlined. While the nominaliser is almost always present on relative clauses, there are times when it apparently is unexpressed. For example, (a) above is acceptable without the *-pΛ* nominaliser on *Ise* ‘kill.’ My consultants have conveyed to me that it can be obvious from the context of an uttered sentence which clause is the nominalised one and which one is not. I have noticed that this appears to happen with only certain high-frequency verbs and verb-like adjectives, like *Ise* ‘kill’, *Ishi* ‘die’ and *2nΛ* ‘sick,’ so it may be that these words undergo a kind of phonological erosion, where the nominaliser drops off.

Based on elicited and the few narrative examples of relative clauses that I have examined, pre-nominal ordering of the relativised clause with respect to the head noun appears to be the only acceptable method of ordering for my consultants. This contrasts

with the adjective-head orderings that I have described in chapter 3. Some examples from §3.5 are reproduced here:

- (5.5) a. *lɿʌ=tse* [*lmye* ***2kum-pʌ***] *3kyu-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG [medicine **expensive-NOM**] buy-PERF
 ‘I bought the expensive medicine.’
- b. [*nyùkyu* ***kyòkro=tse***] *àle=ri* *lchen-tsi*
 [dog **old=ERG**] boy=LOC chase-PERF
 ‘The old dog chased the boy.’

The modifier-head ordering differences between relative clauses and adjectives (both simple and verb-like adjectives) appears to be a crucial syntactic distinction between the two lexical classes (verbs and adjectives). Relativised verbs never follow the head noun, while adjectives follow the head noun in attributive modifying contexts, and may also precede the head noun in relative clause contexts. It is this ordering difference that has helped me to classify various verbs as either true verbs or verb-like adjectives, regardless of the ambiguous English translation. One example is *2khol* ‘boil.’ On the one hand, it has a verby interpretation and morphosyntax, as in the imperative in (5.6a). On the other hand, the verb can also have an adjective-like interpretation when it functions to modify a noun, as in (5.6b):

- (5.6) a. *2kyu 2khol-no*
 water boil-IMPER
 ‘Boil the water!’
- b. *2khol-pʌ 2kyu*
 boil-NOM water
 ‘boiled water / water that is boiled’

I have been told by most informants that in the nominal-modifier context of (5.6b) the verb *2khol* ‘boil’ always precedes the noun *2kyu*, and never follows it. Therefore, they don’t find **2kyu 2khol-pΛ* an acceptable way of saying ‘boiled water.’

This ordering constraint does not apply for verb-like adjectives. As was described in chapter 3, verb-like adjectives show many of the morphosyntactic characteristics of verbs. One important way in which they are different, however, is how they order with respect to the head noun. A verb-like adjective like *3tu* ‘poor,’ can either be post-nominal *or* pre-nominal, depending on its function in the sentence. Consider the following two examples:

(5.7) *3tu* ‘poor’ as Adjective in Nominal Attributive Function

3mi 3tu-pΛ
 person **poor-NOM**
 ‘the poor person/man’

(5.8) *3tu* ‘poor’ as Pre-Nominal Relative Clause

3tu-pΛ *3mi*
poor-NOM person
 ‘the person/man who is poor’

In example (5.7) the verb-like adjective *3tu* ‘poor’ occurs post-nominally and modifies *3mi* ‘person’ in an attributive function. In example (5.8) the same verb-like adjective is pre-nominal and modifies the same head noun in a relative clause function. ‘True’ verbs do not have this ordering option, but always occur as pre-nominal relative clauses when modifying a noun.

Many Tibeto-Burman languages utilise different coding strategies in their choice of relativizing morphology (Genetti 1992). For example, different relativizing morphemes in Lhasa Tibetan mark the different semantic roles of agent and patient. Such strategies are not present in Manange; the same nominaliser *-pΛ* is used, regardless of the

head noun's semantic role in the relative clause. In addition, the head noun is always marked for its semantic role in the main clause only, as examples (5.9 a-b) show:

(5.9) a. *nèse* *2pho* *tΛ-pΛ* *kòla=ko=tse* *lηΛ=ri*
tomorrow **beat** **become-NOM** child=DEF=ERG 1(SG)=LOC

4mwi 4phrΛ lpin-tsi
 money 100 give-PERF
 'The boy who will be beaten tomorrow gave me 100 rupees yesterday.'

b. *nèse* *2pho* *tΛ-pΛ* *kòla=ko=ri* *lηΛ=tse*
tomorrow **beat** **become-NOM** child=DEF=LOC 1(SG)=ERG

4mwi 4phrΛ lpin-tsi
 money 100 give-PERF
 'I gave the boy who will be beaten tomorrow 100 rupees (yesterday).'

In both examples, the semantic role of *kòla* 'child/boy' within the relative clause is the same: that of patient. However, the case-marking on this argument is different, depending on its role in the main clause. In example (a), *kòla* 'boy' is marked for its main clause role as the agent, the giver of money. In (b), *kòla* 'boy' is marked for its main clause role as the dative recipient of giving. This difference in marking is evidence of the head being marked for the main clause, rather than for the relative clause.

While semantic roles within the relative clause are not marked by the choice of relativizing morphology in Manange, some types of secondary aspectual information in the relativised event are marked in the relative clause through verb serialisation, as shown in (5.10 and 5.11), with the aspectual marking in italics:

(5.10) Future/Irrealis

IsrΛ *Ise* *ItΛ-pΛ* *3mi=ko=tse*
goat **kill** **become-NOM** person=DEF=ERG

IηΛ=ri *tèle* *4mwi* *4phrΛ* *Ipin-tsi*
 1(SG)=LOC yesterday money 100 give-PERF
 ‘The man who will kill the goat tomorrow gave me 100 rupees yesterday.’

(5.11) Imperfective

2chen *2pho* *Itu-pΛ* *kòla=ko=tse* *IηΛ=ri*
 always beat stay-NOM child=DEF=ERG 1(SG)=LOC

4mwi *4phrΛ* *Ipin-tsi*
 money 100 give-PERF
 ‘The boy who was always beaten gave me 100 rupees.’

As these examples show, the use of *Ita* ‘become’ and *Itu* ‘stay’ convey irrealis or imperfective aspects about the relativised event, which is the first verb in the serialisation. No additional marking is used to convey perfectivity.

Presently, I have found no evidence of co-relativisation or of non-restrictive relatives in Manange. In addition, it seems that relative clauses in Manange do not exist in a structurally appositive relationship with the head noun. For example, double case-marking on both the relative clause and on the head noun is not acceptable to my consultants. Thus, a construction like (5.12), where the relativised clause shows ergative marking (in italics) and the A argument of the main clause also shows ergative marking (underlined), is not acceptable:

(5.12) **nèse* *Ipho* *tΛ-pΛ=tse* *kòla=ko=tse* *IηΛ=ri*
 tomorrow beat become-NOM=ERG child=DEF=ERG 1=LOC

4mwi *4phrΛ* *Ipin-tsi*
 money 100 give-PERF
 ‘The boy who will be beaten tomorrow gave me 100 rupees yesterday.’

That the nominalised clause cannot show ergative marking in (5.12) suggests that relativised clauses are treated as a dependent modifier of the head noun, rather than as a structure that is structurally ‘on par’ or ‘equal’ to the head noun.

5.3 Adverbial modification

Manange makes use of several morphemes which have various adverbial modifying functions. They include:

(5.13) Conditional	<i>kyΛ-nΛ</i>
Concessive	<i>-caŋ; len</i>
Because	<i>-tse; -pΛ; ta pi-nΛ</i>
Purpose	<i>-ri</i>
Simultaneity	<i>-tse; khΛ-ni</i>
Sequential (Before)	<i>pili naraŋ</i>
Sequential (After)	<i>-tse</i>

The chaining suffix *-tse* marks various types of adverbial modification, especially temporal modification, and I will save a more thorough discussion of it for §5.5.

Conditionals are marked by a series of two morphemes *kyΛ-nΛ*. The morpheme *-nΛ* is used in Tibetan conditionals; *kyΛ* is not parsable beyond its use with *-nΛ* in meaning ‘if...then.’ Examples are shown in (5.14 a-b):

- (5.14) a. *lŋΛ 2tsu 4che=ko hlakpΛ=ri lpiin kyΛ-nΛ*
 1(SG) PROX book=DEF Lakpa=LOC give COND
lŋΛ=ri mwi 4phrΛ lpiim-pΛ ko
 1(SG)=LOC money give-NOM EVID
 ‘If I give Lakpa the book, he will give me 100 rupees.’
- b. *lkhɪ tɛle lsrΛ=ko lse kyΛ-nΛ*
 3(SG) yesterday goat=DEF kill COND
tɪŋi lsrΛ=ko ltsΛ llΛ 2chin-tse lmo a
 today goat=DEF eat do finish-CONT COP EVID
 ‘If he had killed the goat yesterday, he would have eaten it today.’

Evidence that *kyΛ* is not bound to the verb root comes from the nasalisation and lengthening of the vowel of Class B verbs such as *lpiin* ‘give.’

Concessives are formed with either one of two possible morphemes, *-caŋ* or *len*. Evidence from the morphophonemic behavior of Class B verb stems (§4.1) suggests that while *-caŋ* is bound, *len* is not.

At first glance, the distribution of *-caŋ* and *len* points to a division in function, as examples (5.15) and (5.16) show:

(5.15) *-caŋ*

<i>tèle</i>	<i>lŋΛ</i>	<i>hlakpΛ=ri</i>	<i>4mwi</i>	<i>4phrΛ</i>	<i>lpin-caŋ</i>
yesterday	1(SG)	Lakpa=LOC	money	100	give-CONCESS

<i>'lāken</i>	<i>lpo'</i>	<i>3pi-tsi</i>
'again	'give'	say=PERF

'Although I gave Lakpa one hundred rupees yesterday, he demanded more.'

(5.16) *len*

<i>lŋΛ</i>	<i>palte</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>4hri=ri</i>	<i>lyΛ</i>	<i>len</i>
1(SG)	Nepal	year	one=LOC	go	CONCESS

<i>pokhara</i>	<i>la-yΛ</i>
Pokhara	NEG-go

'Although I will go to Nepal in one year, I will not go to Pokhara.'

The division suggested by the examples above is one where the clause following *-caŋ* is a counter-expectation, but is not negated structurally, and the clause following *len* is a counter-expectation, as well as is negated (*la-yΛ*). However while this is the predominant pattern in my data, I do have counter-examples.

In addition to the counter examples that I've seen, both *len* and *-caŋ* can appear on clauses that show both first-person and non-first person subjects, as well as on clauses that can vary with respect to the implied aspect. Consequently, at this time the functional distribution of these two morphemes is not clear and requires further study.

The marking of adverbial clauses which hold causal relationships with the main clause in Manange is complex and is currently not well understood. Up to three different morphemes are acceptable in these environments. Each morpheme is illustrated in (5.17) through (5.19) below:

(5.17) *-tse*

kòla=ko *tèle* **2nΛ-tse** *Ikra-tsi*
 child=DEF yesterday **sick-CC** cry-PERF
 ‘The child cried because she was ill yesterday.’

(5.18) *-pΛ*

1ηΛ=tse *4mwi* *4phrΛ* *3kyΛ=ri* **1pim-pΛ**
 1=ERG money 100 2(SG)=LOC **give-NOM**

nèse *3kyΛ* *kola* *3kyu-pΛ*
 tomorrow 2(SG) clothes buy-NOM
 ‘Because I gave you 100 rupees, you will buy a dress tomorrow.’

(5.19) *ta pi-nΛ*

1ηΛ=tse *kristin=ri* *2taη* *1pin=tsi* **ta** **pi-nΛ**
 1(SG)=ERG Kristine=LOC box give=PERF **how** **say-EVID**

nèse *1khi* *manaη=ri* *1yΛ-pΛ* *ro*
 tomorrow 3(SG) Manang=LOC go-NOM REP
 ‘I gave Kristine gifts because she will go to Manang tomorrow.’

While the first two strategies involve the use of non-finite verb morphology before the connective, the third strategy in (5.19), using the interrogative pronoun *ta pi-nΛ*, shows finite morphology on the preceding verb, suggesting a more hypotactic or coordinated structure than the other two. A more literal interpretation of this example could be ‘I gave Kristine a gift. Why? Tomorrow (it is said that) she will go to Manang.’ All three strategies appear to be equally acceptable in any situation; however, the third strategy (*ta pi-nΛ*) is the one most often seen in narrative data.

In addition to the previous strategies, clause combinations with causal relationships can be formed with simple parataxis with no adverbial connectives, as (5.20) shows:

(5.20) *lɿʌ dzua 1kyɑŋ-tsi// lɿʌ 3tu-pʌ Itʌ-tsi*
 1(SG) gamble **play-PERF//** 1(SG) poor-NOM become-PERF
 ‘Because I gambled, I became poor/ I gambled. I became poor.’

Turning to purpose adverbials in Manange, these involve the use of the suffix *-ri*, which follows the nominalised form of the dependent clause’s verb. At this time, I have only elicited for purposives where *lɿʌ* ‘go’ is the finite verb. Examples are given in (5.21 a-b):

(5.21) a. *lɿki 2kyu 3kim-pʌ-ri lɿʌ-tsi*
 3(SG) water **get/buy-NOM-PURP** go-PERF
 ‘He went to get water.’

b. *lɿʌ lshi 2fi-pʌ-ri lɿʌ-tse lmo*
 1(SG) rice **pick-NOM-PURP** go-CONT COP
 ‘I am going to pick rice.’

This particular suffix may be diachronically related to the use of the locative casemarker *=ri* in that purposive adverbials involve the undertaking of one action with the purpose of undertaking another. This invokes a schema of a directed activity, making the re-analysis of a locative marker into a purposive subordinator a logical process. Such a reanalysis is common in other Tibeto-Burman languages, including some dialects of Tibetan and Dolakha Newar (Genetti 1991).

Most temporal adverbialisation in Manange uses the clause chaining suffix *-tse* and it is often difficult to separate sequential actions/events between two or more clauses from those that are simultaneous or temporally overlapping. However temporal

adverbials that explicitly mark the temporal precedence of the second clause do use different morphology, as (5.22) shows:

- (5.22) *2yuy=tse* *2tshay pili* *naray* *1khi* *2kwen* *1mi*
 rock=PL put ** before 3(SG) lift EVID
 ‘Before he put the stones (into the bucket) he picked them all up.’

Other forms of temporal modification, including ‘after’ sequentials and simultaneous clauses, use the clause chaining suffix *-tse*, as shown in (5.23) and (5.24):

- (5.23) ‘after’ Sequential Temporals

*2yuy**p**Λ=ko* *3por-tse* *p**Λ**ti* *3nay=ri* *2tshay* *1mi*
 stone=DEF pick.up-CC bucket inside=LOC put EVID
 ‘After he picked up the stones, he put them in the bucket.’

- (5.24) Simultaneous Temporals

àle=ko *4khwe* *1prin-tse* *2yuy=tse* *2tshay-tsi*
 boy=DEF song hit-CC stone=PL put-PERF
 ‘The boy sang while he put the stones (into the bucket).’

While the clause chainer *-tse* in these examples marks both sequential and simultaneous modification, it also has a variety of other functions. They will be discussed in more depth in §5.5.

5.4 Serialisation

Manange makes use of six different verbs in serial verb constructions. They are: *1y**Λ* ‘go,’ *1kh**Λ* ‘come,’ *1**tu* ‘sit/stay/inhabit,’ *3pi*, ‘say,’ *1**Λ* ‘do,’ and *1piin* ‘give.’ I will first describe morphosyntactic features of Manange serial verbs in general. Following this, I will address the specific functions of the above verbs in serialised structures.

In serial verb constructions, two or more verbs are juxtaposed to form a complex single clause. The presence of these two verbs refers to a single event or action, as shown in (5.25 a-b):

(5.25) a. *necel* *lyΛ-pΛ* *3mi=tse* *kompΛ=ri* *khΛtΛ*
 religion go-NOM person=ERG gompa=LOC scarf

3pu *khΛ-tsi*
carry **come-PERF**
 ‘The pilgrim brought the scarf to the temple.’

b. *Imrij=ko=tse* *kΛp* *Ite* *lΛ* *Imi*
 woman=DEF=ERG cup fall do EVID
 ‘The woman dropped the cup.’

In these examples, despite the fact that there are two verbs present, they refer to one event, namely ‘bringing,’ and ‘dropping.’

Various literature concerning the concept of verb serialisation provide at least one common description of these constructions, this being that all verbs in the series show the same amount and same type of morphology (Foley and Olson 1985; DeLancey 1991). Often in Tibeto-Burman languages this constitutes no morphology at all, but rather the juxtaposition of two or more bare verb stems. In these examples, the clause is comprised of juxtaposing verbs, constituting a single, although semantically complex, event.

Structurally, serial verbs in Manange are identical in their reference to the aspect of the event or action; it is not acceptable for either verb to individually show aspectual marking or evidentiality, as illustrated in example (5.26):

(5.26) *Imrij=ko=tse* *kΛp* *Ite* **Imi* *lΛ* *Imi*
 woman=DEF=ERG cup fall *mi do EVID
 ??‘The woman dropped the cup.’

With individual (perfective) evidential marking such as appears in example (5.26) above, this construction is interpreted by speakers as being comprised of two distinct finite clauses (two separate events), and it would be nonsensical to them. In this way, the aspect marking at the end of the serialised clause in the sentences in (5.25) points to its scope over the entire (complex) clause. Therefore, these are interpreted as complex, uniclausal constructions.

Additionally, both of the juxtaposed verbs in serialisations share the same ‘subject’ argument of the clause. In (5.27):

(5.27) Narrative

<i>nyùkyu=ko</i>	<i>2khuy=tAr=tse</i>	<i>lphΛ.te</i>	<i>yΛ</i>	<i>lmi</i>
dog=DEF	window=ABL=??	down.fall	go	EVID
‘The dog fell out from the window.’ (Boy Dog Frog)				

It is understood by all of my consultants that the same ‘subject’ *nyùkyu* ‘dog’ is shared by both of the verbs, and that the overt presence of or elipted reference to a different ‘subject’ for either of the verbs *lphΛ.te* ‘fall’ or *lyΛ* ‘go’ is not acceptable.

Another factor considered in the description and discussion of serial verbs has to do with the degree of grammaticisation of one of the verbs in the construction. For the purposes of this grammar, I view grammaticisation in a language as evidenced by both morphophonological as well as semantic changes. In isolating languages (such as Manange), semantic bleaching or generalisation of an otherwise independent element, such as a lexical verb, can be evidence of that element’s grammaticisation towards a more grammatical and less lexical status, even if that element doesn’t show the prototypical morphological properties of bound morphemes. Clearly, morphologisation typically lends itself to (or occurs ‘hand-in-hand’ with) the semantic bleaching of the previously

free element, but in Manange, a grammaticised element can show this bleaching without necessarily showing evidence of reanalysis into a bound morpheme. Some accounts of serialisation suggest that these constructions are composed of two recognisable verbs, and that neither is grammaticised (Sandra A.Thompson, pers.comm). Evidence of grammaticisation is also evidence of a more lexicalised construction, pointing towards complex predicates. Other descriptions suggest that serial verb constructions can vary with respect to the degree that one of the verbs displays characteristics of grammaticisation (Payne 1997). There does seem to be agreement however that a strong degree of semantic change/bleaching in one of the elements is evidence for reanalysis into a grammatical morpheme.

All of the serial verb constructions in Manange display some degree of semantic shift or bleaching for the second verb element. In *IyA* ‘go’ serials, the verb can indicate a translocative or directional change of the first verb, rather than itself functioning as a motion verb, as in (5.28) and (5.29):

(5.28) *àle=ko* *skul=ri* *4phro yA-tsi*
 boy=DEF school=LOC **walk go-PERF**
 ‘The boy walked to school.’

(5.29) Narrative

phôlpA=ko *boʃA=tA* *2la* *2la* *yA* *Imi* *ro*
 frog=DEF bottle=ABL **run** **run** **go** EVID REP
 ‘The frog ran away from the bottle.’ (Boy Dog Frog)

In both of these examples, the second verb *IyA* ‘go’ provides directional information for the first verbs *4phro* ‘walk’ and *2la* ‘run/flee,’ respectively.

Direction isn't the only sense conveyed by *ly*Λ 'go' in Manange serials. It also lends a non-volitional meaning to both transitive and intransitive constructions, such as *2thi* 'break,' *sh*λ*m.le* 'forget,' and *ph*Λ*.kyer* 'frighten,' as shown in (5.30) and (5.31):

(5.30) *bo*ʈ*Λ=ko* *2thi* *y*Λ *lmi* *ro*
 bottle=DEF **break go** EVID REP
 'The bottle broke (due to some unknown force).' (Boy Dog Frog)

(5.31) Narrative

a. (*3ya*) *sh*λ*m.le.phre* *y*Λ *lmi*
 (yak) **forget** **go** EVID
 'The yaks forgot.'⁵⁸ (Yak Buff)

b. *à*le=*ko* *2*η*im-p*Λ *lkye* *4the-tse*
 boy=DEF scary-NOM sound hear-CC

*ph*Λ*.kyer* *y*Λ *lmi* *ro*
frighten **go** EVID REP
 'the boy, hearing the scary sound, was frightened'

The verb *lkh*Λ 'come,' when used in Manange serials conveys cislocative directional information, as shown in (5.32):

(5.32) *3*k*y*Λ=*l*Λ *à*mΛ=*tse* *2*ph*u*η=*tse* *3*pu *kh*Λ=*tsi*
 2(SG)=GEN mother=ERG egg=PL **carry** **come-PERF**
 'Your mother brought (over) some eggs.'

The one verb in Manange that provides aspectual information in serialisations is *l*ʈ*u* 'stay,' which contributes a continuative or habitual meaning. Examples (5.33) and (5.34) show this:

⁵⁸ Most lexical verbs in Manange are mono- or disyllabic in morphological structure. *sh*λ*m.le(phre)-p*Λ is one of the few exceptions. It may be poly-morphemic, but I do not have a clear analysis for its structure as of yet. Its two representations in elicitation are: *sh*λ*m.le-p*Λ or *sh*λ*m.le.phre-p*Λ and both mean 'forget-NOM.'

(5.33) Narrative

a. *3pi-tse* *lla-tse* *ten* *3nəj=ri* *3ŋyo* *tu* *lmi* *ten*
say-CC do-CC DM inside=LOC look stay EVID DM
'Doing this, (they) kept looking.' (Yak Buff)

b. *pora* *2coŋ-pʌ* *2tuŋ-tse* *lla* *tu-pʌ*
bag similar-NOM wear-CC do stay-NOM
'Wearing a bag-like (thing), (they/the yaks) will continue to do this.' (Yak Buff)

(5.34) *2chen* *3mi=ko* *ten* *lmriŋ=ko* *2tše* *tu* *lmo*
always person=DEF CONJ woman=DEF fight stay COP
'The man and woman always argue.'

The use of *lla* 'do' in serial verb constructions in Manange can serve two different functions. The first is its use in morphological causatives, first discussed in §4.6. Examples are reproduced below:

(5.35) a. *lmriŋ=ko=tse* *kosho* *2thi* *la-tsi*
woman=DEF=ERG cup fall do-PERF
'The woman dropped the cup.'

b. *lmriŋ=ko=tse* *kosho* *lki* *la-tsi*
woman=DEF=ERG cup break do-PERF
'The woman broke the cup.'

As was previously described, the appearance of *lla* in morphological causatives creates an ergative marked causer (*lmriŋ* 'woman') and an absolutive marked causee (*kosho* 'cup').

An additional function of serial *lla* 'do' in Manange is in potentials (also called abilitatives), as shown in (5.36 a-b):⁵⁹

⁵⁹ It may in fact be the case in potentials and in permissives that *lla* has grammaticised into a suffixal status, attaching to the first verb in the sentence, and functioning as something like a complementiser. If this is the case, then these constructions are not serials in a strict sense. Rather, they are best analyzed as complement constructions, with the clause to which *lla* is suffixed as the embedded clause and the clause containing *4khyeen* 'able' or *lpiin* 'give' (and including *3ya«* 'must/need') being the modal clauses.

- (5.36) a. *Ikhi 2kyu lΛ 4khyeen Imo*
 3(SG) **run do** able COP
 ‘He is able to run.’⁶⁰
- b. *IηΛ=tse mánaŋ Ikye Iko lΛ 4khyeen Imo*
 1(SG)=ERG Manangsound **understand do** able COP
 ‘I am able to understand the Manange language.’

Although there is a string of three verbs in the above constructions, there is evidence that the last verb *4khyeen* ‘able’ is not structurally part of the other two previous verbs. When potentials are negated in Manange, only the final verb shows the negative prefix *a-*, as shown in (5.37):

- (5.37) *Ikhi=tse mánaŋ Ikye Iko lΛ 4a-khyeen Imo*
 3(SG)=ERG Manangsound understand do **NEG-able** COP
 ‘He is unable to understand the Manange language.’

My consultants do not accept the negative prefix on any of the other verbs.

The fifth verb in Manange that appears in serial constructions is *Ipiin* ‘give.’ It appears in permissives (described in 4.4.2), following another complex predicate, which is comprised of a lexical verb + *lΛ* ‘do’ serialisation. An example is shown in (5.38):

- (5.38) *Ikhi=ri kôla 2sru lΛ Ipin-no*
 3(SG)=LOC clothes **wash lΛ give-IMPER**
 ‘Let her wash the clothes.’

In these constructions, *Ipiin* ‘give’ implies that one is ‘giving’ the action/event of the first verb.

As mentioned with abilitatives above, *lΛ* doesn’t contribute to the permissive or potential/abilitative constructions themselves, but seems to be linked more to the main

⁶⁰ I do not consider the copula *Imo* to be a component in the above serialisations, as it does not ‘behave’ in other ways that lexical verbs in Manange behave. Rather, the copula contributes (imperfective) aspectual information to the clause as a whole.

verb of the first clause. Similarly to abilitatives, when permissives are negated, only the final verb *lpiin* ‘give’ is negated, suggesting that *lɬ* is the second verb in a serialised bundle with the first lexical verb in the sentence. Whatever semantic contribution *lɬ* may perform in such constructions is currently unanalyzable.

The final verb found in Manange serials is *3pi* ‘say.’ It occurs infrequently in clauses that justify or provide causal information about another action or event, as in (5.39):

(5.39) Narrative

<i>hai-le</i>	<i>Ikhi</i>	<i>mɬaŋ.cha</i>	<i>3pi</i>	<i>nɬ</i>
how-**	3(SG)	curse	say	EVID
‘Because they cursed (the yaks).’			(Yak Buff)	

However, I am not sure that *3pi* ‘say’ is best characterised as part of a serialised construction here, as most causal constructions in Manange use a specific type of ‘because’ clause with very different morphology, as shown in (5.40):

(5.40)	<i>lɬɬ=tse</i>	<i>kristin=ri</i>	<i>3taŋ</i>	<i>lpin-tsi</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>nɬ</i>
	1(SG)=ERG	Kristine=LOC	box	give-PERF	what	say	EVID
	<i>nèse</i>	<i>Ikhi</i>	<i>mánaŋ=ri</i>	<i>lɬɬ-pɬ</i>			
	tomorrow	3(SG)	Manang=LOC	go-NOM			
	‘I gave gifts to Kristine because she will go to Manang tomorrow.’						

In the sentence in (5.40), ‘because’ clearly occurs in a bi-clausal/bi-sentential construction and the morphological structure is quite different from that in (5.39).

Perhaps a better translation for the sentence in (5.39) is ‘They uttered a curse,’ where *mɬaŋ.cha* is a noun (object) and not a verb. Another possible function of *3pi* ‘say’ in (5.39) may be as a kind of evidential construction: “it is said that they uttered a curse.”

5.5 The clause-chaining suffix *-tse*

I begin here with a general discussion of the forms and functions of *-tse* clause chains in Manange. I then move on to an analysis of a special type of *-tse* chaining, which occurs following the verb *lla* ‘do’ in narratives, and which serves a specialised, perfective aspect marking function.

5.5.1 Clause chaining with *-tse*

-tse chains are structures in Manange that occur in elicited sentences and which are also frequent in connected speech settings such as narratives. An example is shown here, with the *-tse* suffix in boldface:

- (5.41) *àle* *lɸu-tse* *ltsʌ-tsi*
boy sit-CC eat-PERF
‘The boy sat and then ate/the boy sat while he ate.’

-tse is a verbal suffix in non-final clauses. Evidence pointing to the non-final status of *-tse* clause chains include its non-occurrence with aspect morphology such as perfective *-tsi* or with clause-final evidentials such as *Imi*, *ro*, or *ko*.

As (5.41) above shows, the ‘subject’ argument of the clause (*àle* ‘boy’) usually holds grammatical relations with both verbs in the larger sentence. However, there is no specific same-subject constraint at work in clause chains in Manange. This is illustrated by example (5.42):

- (5.42) *àru=tse* *2cucu rara* ***4the-tse*** *3tsʌ-tsi*
auntie=ERG after rara **cook-CC** eat-PERF
‘After Aru cooked the rara (noodles), she ate them.’

Or

‘After Aru cooked the rara, I ate them.’

In this example, two interpretations are possible (either Aru does both the cooking and the eating, or Aru does the cooking and someone else does the eating), and in such cases, the context of the utterances helps to disambiguate which participant does what action.

-tse chains also do not have a temporal specification. Consider again example (5.41) again, repeated here for convenience:

(5.41) *àle* *lʔu-tse* *Itsʌ-tsi*
 boy sit-CC eat-PERF
 ‘The boy sat and then ate/the boy sat while he ate.’

Two interpretations of the temporal relation between the clauses are possible, one which is consecutive in nature, where the boy sits and then eats, and one which is simultaneous in nature, where the boy sits while he eats (or even one which has an adverbial interpretation, where the boy eats in a sitting manner). In some chained sentences however, it is clear by the semantics of the verbs involved what the temporal relation between the actions is and who the participant(s) is/are, as in example (5.43) below:

(5.43) *3mi=ko* [*lthyʌ-pʌ* *llʌ-tse*] *kete-tsi*
 person=DEF [big-NOM do-CC] shout-PERF
 ‘The man shouted loudly.’

In this example, the verb *llʌ* functions as a verbaliser and together with *lthyʌ-pʌ* ‘big-NOM,’ forms a verbal complex which clearly exists in adverbial modification relation (‘to do something in a large or loud way’) with the main clause verb *kete* ‘shout.’ My consultants tell me that it would be strange to think of a sentence such as (5.43) above as having a sequential temporal relationship or having different ‘subject’ participants.

5.5.2 Intraclausal temporal relation marking and *IlA-tse*

I now turn to a specific type of chained construction, which occurs in narrative settings. These are clause chained *IlA* ‘do’ constructions (*IlA-tse*), and I will now discuss the morphosyntactic characteristics and semantic interpretations of these clauses, paying particular attention to their recapitulative and temporal (or aspect) marking functions.

Clause chained *IlA* constructions are similar to other *-tse* clause chains in that they occur in a non-final clause position in the sentence. However, these particular clause chain types involve the verb *IlA* ‘do,’ which serves to recapitulate the event of the previous clause. The following examples illustrate this common narrative strategy (the *IlA* clause chain is in boldface and each line is numbered for reference):

(5.44)

a.

- | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>λne</i>
then | <i>Ikhim=ko</i>
3(PL)=DEF | <i>λne</i>
then | <i>Iu</i>
DIST | <i>àle=ko=tse</i>
boy=DEF=ERG | <i>nyùkyu=ko=ri</i>
dog=DEF=LOC |
| 2 | <i>cu-pλ</i>
keep-NOM | <i>la-kλ</i>
say-** | <i>‘Ikye</i>
‘sound | <i>a-te-ro’</i>
NEG-take.out-IMPER | <i>3pi-tsi//⁶¹</i>
say-PERF// | |
| 3 | <i>λtse</i>
like.this | <i>IlA-tse/</i>
do-CC/ | <i>3ηyo</i>
look | <i>yλ</i>
go | <i>I mi</i>
EVID | <i>ro//</i>
REP// |
- ‘After, the boy told the dog to stay quiet, not make any sound. Having said this, they went looking.’ (Boy Dog Frog)

b.

- | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | <i>2cucu</i>
after | <i>Iu</i>
DIST | <i>Iηyan</i>
1(PL)(GEN) | <i>3yul</i>
village | | |
| 2 | <i>I tu-pλ</i>
stay-NOM | <i>3ya=ko</i>
yak=DEF | <i>toη</i>
EMPH | <i>a</i>
EMPH | <i>2no-pλ=ri</i>
tall-NOM=LOC | <i>I tu-pλ</i>
stay-NOM |

⁶¹ In these examples, a single backslash (/) indicates a clause boundary, while a double backslash (//) indicates a sentence boundary.

- 3 *3ya=ko* *ten* *'1khΛ ki* *1a-khΛ-pΛ'*
 yak=DEF then 'come or NEG-come-NOM'/
- 4 *3pi-tse/* *1Λ-tse/* *ten* *3naŋ=ri* *3ŋyo* *tu* *1mi* *ten//*
 say-CC/ do-CC/ then inside=LOC look stay EVID then//
 'After, those yaks who stayed in our village, who stayed in our tall place, said 'are they (the bad yaks) coming or not coming?' Having said this, they continued to look (for them).' (Yak Buff)

Detailed observation reveals that examples (5.44 a) and (5.44b) are actually somewhat different structurally. Example (5.44 a) has a *1Λ-tse* structure which follows a finite clause which it recapitulates, but which is itself part of a second finite sentence. This strategy can be represented by the following figure:

[verb₁]-finite// **1Λ-tse/** [verb₂]-finite//

In example (5.44 b), on the other hand shows, the *1Λ-tse* clause follows and recapitulates a previous chained clause, and both are syntactically part of the same sentence. This strategy can be represented by the following figure:

[verb₁]-tse/ **1Λ-tse/** [verb₂]-finite//

The main difference between these two structural strategies is that in the first strategy, the first event is separated structurally from the *1Λ-tse* recapitulation by a sentence boundary, while in the second strategy, the first event and the *1Λ-tse* recapitulation are both structurally non-finite and are embedded within the larger sentence that contains the second event. Both structures occur with equal frequency in the narrative texts that I have examined.

As with the *-tse* chains without *1Λ* that are found in both elicited and connected speech, *1Λ-tse* chains do not involve a same subject constraint. In example (5.45a) the

subject in all clauses refer to a single referent. In (5.45b), on the other hand, the subject of the *lA-tse* recapitulation has a different referent than that of the following clause. The brackets in the example highlight the subjects of the different events.

(5.45)

a. Same Subject Relation

1 *shλmle.phre* *yλ* *Imi*
forget go EVID

2 [*Iu a Iya tipal=ko*]//
[DIST EMPH yak some=DEF]//
'Those yaks (the bad yaks) forgot (about their friends in the mountains).'

(3 sentences omitted)

3 *she* *3sro-pλ=tse* *2co-pλ=ko*
other friend-NOM=PL all-NOM=DEF

4 *shλmle.phre* *Iyλ-tse/* *lλ-tse/*
forget **go-CC/** **do-CC/**

5 *Ikhim=ko* *λle* *lλ-tse/λtse* *ten*
3(PL)=DEF like.this do-CC/ like.this then

6 *Itu* *Imi*//
stay EVID//
'Having forgotten about their friends, having done this, they (the bad yaks) stayed (in the valley).' (Yak Buff)

b. Different Subject Relation

1 [*cil=ko*] *3pwal=tλr* *Ithay=ri* *tun* *Imi* *ro*//
[eagle=DEF] hole=from outside=LOC come.out EVID REP//
'The eagle came outside from the hole.'

2 *λtse* *lλ-tse/* [*Iu nàpray=tse* *4khwe nàpray=tse*]
like.this **do-CC/** [DIST fly=ERG honey fly=ERG]

3 *nyùkyu=ko=ri* *3pyu* *Imi* *ro*//
dog=DEF=PAT chase EVID REP//
'(the eagle having come out), the bees chased the dog.' (Boy Dog Frog)

While the subject of the first sentence and the recapitulated clause is the eagle (who came out of the hole), the subject of the second event is the honey bees (who chase the dog). It should be noted there is no correlation between same/different subject and whether or not the first event is found in a finite or chained clause.

While there does not appear to be any subject constraint in effect in *IIΛ-tse* clauses, these clause chains, which I term perfective recapitulations are different from – *tse* marked chains without *IIΛ* in that they serve dual functions; they recapitulate a previous event in the narrative line, and they also signal a perfective aspectual relation between events in the story that occur prior to and following the clause chained *IIΛ* structure.

By a perfective aspectual relationship, I mean that the presence of clause-chained *IIΛ* between two clauses in a narrative not only functions to repeat the previous action or event, but also functions to treat the previous event in the narrative as complete and bounded in relation to the ensuing event. As examples (5.45a-b) illustrate, the previous actions (the boy telling his dog to be quiet in lines 1-2 of example (a), and the yaks speaking of their friends in lines 1-3 of example (b)) are recapitulated by the *IIΛ-tse* form as having been completed before the ensuing events unfold (the looking by the boy and the dog in line 3 of (a) and the yaks continuing to search for their friends in line 4 of (b)).

In this sense, the presence of clause chained *IIΛ* in narrative recapitulations (as in periphrastic causatives) makes explicit a sequential temporal relationship between two (or more) events in a narrative line. However, unlike in periphrastic causatives, described in §4.6, which show *IIΛ-tse* morphology, this temporal relationship in perfective

recapitulations is not so much one where one action has a resulting (causal) effect on another, but where one action is repeated as a bounded whole (without any attention to internal temporal detail) before another action begins. Another term that has been suggested by Michael Noonan for this relationship is ‘summative,’ in that the first event is viewed as a summarised whole in relation to the second event (Michael Noonan pers.comm).

There are other instances of *lla-tse* chains in narratives where the dual functions of recapitulating an event and signaling a perfective aspectual relationship between events narrows to a single function only, that of signaling a perfective relationship. The following example illustrates this (only the *lla-tse* chain which illustrates the perfective relationship is in boldface in this example):

(5.46)

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>4tshe-pΛ</i>
heat-NOM | <i>1khΛ ko nΛ//</i>
come EVID EVID// | | | | |
| 2 | <i>4tshe-pΛ</i>
hot-NOM | <i>4a-thya-tse/</i>
NEG-bear-CC/ | <i>lla-tse/</i>
do-CC/ | | | |
| 3 | <i>2kyu=ri</i>
water=LOC | <i>2shu-pΛ//</i>
wash-NOM// | <i>pokhari=ri</i>
lake=LOC | <i>2shu-pΛ//</i>
wash-NOM// | | |
| 4 | <i>2khaŋ-tse</i>
cold-CC | <i>lla-tse</i>
do-CC | <i>ten/</i>
then/ | | | |
| 5 | <i>2khaŋ-tse/</i>
cold-CC/ | <i>2khaŋ-tse/</i>
cold-CC/ | <i>4a-thya-pΛ</i>
NEG-bear-NOM | <i>lla-tse</i>
do-CC | <i>ten/</i>
then/ | |
| 6 | <i>pora</i>
bag | <i>2coŋ-pΛ</i>
similar-NOM | <i>2tuŋ-tse</i>
cover-CC | <i>lla</i>
do | <i>lŋu-pΛ</i>
stay-NOM | <i>lu sΛrap=ko//</i>
DIST curse=DEF// |
- ‘The heat comes. Not able to bear the heat, (the cursed ones) bathe in the lake, they bathe in the water. The cold (having come), not able to bear the cold, the cursed ones wear bag-like coverings.’

The above example is from a section in the narrative ‘The Yak Buffalo Story’ (see chapter 6 for the entire story) where the results of the lazy and forgetful yaks’ curse (given by their friends) are evident; the yaks cannot bear hot or cold weather, and therefore must soak in water in the heat and wear protective burlap bags in the cold weather. In earlier clauses, after the narrator has initially described the curse given to the yaks, he explicitly states that they are not able to bear the heat or the cold. In line 2 above, he recapitulates this earlier event (the inability to bear the heat) before he moves on to describe in more detail the result of this inability in line 3. The expectation then is that the narrator will use the same perfective, recapitulating structure as he reiterates the harsh effects of the cold weather. Contrary to this expectation however, line 4 above does not show a recapitulating function (e.g. *2khaŋ-tse 4a-thya-tse 11A-tse* ‘having not been able to bear the cold’), but rather shows clause chained *11A* following the verbal property concept *2khaŋ* ‘be cold’ only. The lack of an eventive verb which would be repeated in the boldfaced structure above, coupled with the presence of clause chained *11A*, suggests that in some contexts, it is the perfective aspectual function only that *11A-tse* is performing.

Appendix A: A Manange Text

The following text was recorded in October of 1998, during my first field trip to Nepal. The narrator is Paltan Gurung, the father of my consultant Eden. At the time of the recording, Mr. Gurung was approximately 45 years of age, and was raised in the Manang district's main village of Manang. In 1998 Mr. Gurung was serving as the elected district minister of Manang. As of 2002 Mr. Gurung is now Minister of Transportation for the Nepali Congress, and he currently resides in Kathmandu with his family. He makes frequent trips back to Manang in order to meet with his constituents and relatives. The text is a local legend, titled simply 'The Yak and Water Buffalo Story' by most Manange speakers.

The story concerns some selfish and forgetful yaks, who are cursed for forgetting about their friends. In the story, some yaks live in crowded conditions on a hilltop. After having a meeting, it is decided that half of the group will venture to the valleys below in order to seek out better living conditions. Upon arrival in the valley, the half-group of yaks discover that life is indeed better than in the hills. In fact, they enjoy their new surroundings so much that they forget to return to the hills to tell the other half of the group about their discovery. Consequently, the remaining group of yaks (those staying in the hills) place a curse on their forgetful friends, turning them into water buffalo. Now, the buffalo, having lost their fur, suffer through both hot and cold seasons, spending summer wading in the lakes and spending winter wearing burlap bags as protection from the cold air. The moral of the story is to always remember one's friends and never cheat them.

The transcription conventions of this text are as follows. The text is divided into 122 prosodic or intonation units, as outlined by Du Bois et al 1993. The delicacy level of

this transcription can be labeled as broad, as not every prosodic and intonational feature encountered in the recording of this text is marked. Each intonation unit (IU) is numbered and ends with a symbol which serves to identify its transitional continuity. Continuing intonation is marked with a comma (,); final intonation is marked with a period (.); and rising intonation is marked with a question mark (?). Other conventions, such as lengthening (marked with a colon (:)), pauses (marked with an ellipsis (.. for shorter pauses and ... for longer pauses)), and truncated I.U.'s (marked with a double hyphen (- -)), are also labeled. Uncertain morpheme glosses or translations are followed by a question mark in parentheses (?). Unglossed morphemes are represented by double asterisks (**). Clitic boundaries are marked with an equals sign (=) and suffix boundaries are marked with a single dash (-). A free translation is provided at the end of the transcription.

1	<i>ah</i> ah	<i>3tΛη-pΛ</i> ancient-NOM	<i>3tΛη-pΛ</i> ancient-NOM,			
2	<i>3ya:</i> yak:	<i>2kΛtti</i> many	<i>1mo</i> COP	<i>ro.</i> REP.	
3	<i>λtse</i> like.this	<i>3ya</i> yak	<i>2kΛtti</i> many	<i>1mo-pΛ</i> COP-NOM	<i>ko?</i> EVID?
4	...	<i>3ya</i> yak	<i>2kΛtti</i> many	<i>1mo-pΛ</i> COP-NOM	<i>ko</i> EVID	<i>ten:.</i> then:.
5	<i>2tɔŋ:</i> place:	<i>tΛn.tΛni</i> very.many	<i>ten,</i> then,			
6	<i>2no-pΛ</i> tall-NOM	<i>2tɔŋ=ri</i> place=LOC	<i>1tu=tse</i> sit=CC	<i>1lΛ=tse,</i> do=CC,		
7	<i>ah:</i> ah:	<i>3ya</i> yak	<i>2kΛtti</i> many	<i>1mo-pΛ</i> be-NOM	<i>ko</i> EVID	<i>ten,</i> then,

- 8 *4hri 4hri 4khya=ri.*
 one one place=LOC.
- 9 ... *Iʃu=tse ten,*
 ... stay=CC then,
- 10 *3ya=tse=ri,*
 yak=PL=LOC,
- 11 .. *Ichi 4khya=ri Ichi 1a-yaŋ-pʌ,*
 .. grass place=LOC grass NEG-get-NOM;
- 12 .. *2kyu 4khya=ri 2kyu 1a-yaŋ-pʌ,*
 .. water place=LOC water NEG-get-NOM;
- 13 *Ikhimi 3ya 3naŋ=ko=ri,*
 3.PL yak inside=DEF=LOC,
- 14 *3tsoŋ=tse Iʌ=tse,*
 meet=CC do=CC,
- 15 ... *ʌtse Ikhim=ko kre,*
 ... like.this 3.PL=DEF decide,
- 16 *Iha-le Iʌ 3pi nʌ?*
 how-** do say EVID?
- 17 ... *ah Ikhimi,*
 ... ah 3.PL,
- 18 *ʃhateti=ko.*
 half.half=DEF.
- 19 .. *Iu: a: 3naŋ=ri.*
 .. DIST: EMPH: inside=LOC.
- 20 .. *3yul a 3naŋ=ri.*
 .. village EMPH inside=LOC.
- 21 .. *Iyʌ-ro.*
 .. go-IMPER.
- 22 .. *Iu=ri ten Iʌ-pʌ Iyaŋ Imi*
 .. DIST=LOC then eat-NOM get EVID

	<i>1a-yaŋ</i> NEG-get		<i>1mi,</i> EVID,						
23	<i>1chi</i> grass	<i>1yaŋ</i> get	<i>1mi</i> EVID	<i>1a-yaŋ</i> NEG-get		<i>1mi,</i> EVID;			
24	<i>2kyu</i> water	<i>1yaŋ</i> get	<i>1mi</i> EVID	<i>1a-yaŋ</i> NEG-get		<i>1mi,</i> EVID;			
25	..	<i>1u=ri</i> DIST=LOC		<i>2kAtti</i> many		<i>2ki</i> luxury	<i>1mi,</i> EVID,		
26	..	<i>2ki</i> luxury	<i>1mu,</i> EVID,						
27	..	<i>'1u=ri</i> 'DIST=LOC	<i>1yΛ-ro.'</i> go-IMP'.						
28	..	<i>3pi=tse</i> say=CC	<i>1lΛ=tse</i> do=CC	<i>1kxim</i> 3.PL	<i>3naŋ=ko=ri</i> inside=DEF=LOC	<i>ten</i> then			
kre	<i>1lΛ=tse</i> decide	<i>do=CC</i>	<i>1lΛ=tse</i> do=CC	<i>ten.</i> then.					
29	<i>3ya;</i> <i>yak;</i>								
30	<i>tipal=ko.</i> some=DEF.								
31	...	<i>oh</i>	<i>2kΛŋ=tΛr=tse,</i> ⁶² mountain=ABL=PL,						
32	<i>4phra=tΛr=tse,</i> hill=ABL=PL,								
33	<i>2kΛŋ=tΛr=tse,</i> mountain=ABL=PL,								
34	<i>1kxim=ko</i> 3(PL)=DEF	<i>2mwe</i> next	<i>a:</i> EMPH:	<i>3yul-</i> village-					
35	..	<i>2mwe</i> next	<i>3yul=ri</i> village=LOC	<i>tshΛrti-pΛ</i> go.down-NOM		<i>ro,</i> REP,			

⁶² In rapid speech, there is some alternation between /ɨ/ and /a/ for *2k* « 'mountain' and *2kh* « 'cold'

- 36 *Ikhim=ko oh.*
3.PL=DEF oh.
- 37 .. *'2kAttī 2ki-pΛ Imo Imu,*
.. *'many luxury-NOM COP EVID,*
- 38 *2ta 2ta Imo Imu' 3pi=tse.*
what what COP EVID' say=CC.
- 39 .. *2cu Ikhim=ko ten,*
.. after 3.PL=DEF then,
- 40 *λe IΛ=tse ten,*
like.this do=CC then,
- 41 *3yu-tsΛ Imo ten,*
descend-CONT COP then,
- 42 *tipal=ko ten,*
some=DEF then,
- 43 *mλkyu=ro tshλr.ti 3yu-tse Imo ten,*
down=LOC down.** descend-CONT COP then,
- 44 .. *besi=ri tshλr.ti 3yu-pΛ ItΛ nΛ,*
.. valley=LOC down.** descend-NOM become EVID,
- 45 *Ikhim photi=ko,*
3.PL group=DEF,
- 46 *besi=ri tshλrti 3yu=tse IΛ=tse ten,*
valley=LOC down descend=CC do=CC then,
- 47 ... *3ya tipal=ko.*
... yak some=DEF.
- 48 *λtse ten,*
like.this then,
- 49 *tΛe,*
like.this, (?)
- 50 *mλkyu=ro.;*
down=LOC.;

- 51 .. 3yu Imo:,
 .. descend COP,;
- 52 Ichi nΛ Ichi Imwe-pΛ
 grass CONJ grass plenty-NOM.
- 53 .. 2kyu nΛ 2kyu Imwe-pΛ,
 .. water CONJ water plenty-NOM,
- 54 .. 2ki nΛ 2ki-pΛ,
 .. comfort CONJ comfort-NOM,
- 55 .. tAn.tAne 2ki ra:=tse IlΛ=tse:,
 .. very.many comfort **:=CC do=CC,;
- 56 tuŋ a:,
 down(?) EMPH,;
- 57 Ikhim ah:,
 3.PL ah,;
- 58 3sro-pΛ shen=tse tuŋ ah:.
 friend other=PL DIST EMPH.:
- 59 .. oh 2kΛŋ=ri I tu-pΛ:,
 .. Oh hill=LOC stay-NOM,;
- 60 .. 4phra=ri I tu-pΛ:,
 .. mountain=LOC stay-NOM,;
- 61 3ya=tse=ri shλmle--
 yak=PL=LOC forget--
- 62 tAntΛ 2ki ra=tse,
 many comfort **:=CC,
- 63 shλmle.phre IyΛ I mi,
 forget go EVID,
- 64 Iu a 3ya:,
 DIST EMPH yak,;
- 65 tipal=ko.
 some=DEF.

- 66 .. 2cu tipal=ko,
.. after some=DEF,
- 67 shλmle.phre ten 2cucu Ikhim=ko oh:;
forget then after 3.PL=DEF oh:;
- 68 .. tuη=ri 2ye:-pΛ;
.. DIST=LOC return:-NOM:;
- 69 2ye-pΛ;
return-NOM:;
- 70 Inaη=tse=ni Ia-khΛ-pΛ
think=CC=ADV (?) NEG-come-NOM.
- 71 .. tAntΛ 2ki ra=tse.
.. many comfort **=CC.
- 72 .. 4she ah 3sro-pΛ=tse 2co-pΛ=ko
.. other ah friend-NOM=PL all-NOM=DEF
- shλmle.phre λtse IΛ=tse,
forget like.this do=CC,
- 73 Ikhim=ko λ: IΛ=tse ten,
3(PL)=DEF like.this: do=CC then,
- 74 λtse,
like.this,
- 75 Itu Imi,
stay EVID,
- 76 2cucu Iu:;
after DIST:;
- 77 Iηyaη 3yul Itu-pΛ 3ya=ko.
1(PL)(GEN) village stay-NOM yak=DEF.
- 78 ʈoη a 2no-pΛ=ri Itu-pΛ 3ya=ko ten:.
EMPH EMPH tall-NOM=LOC stay-NOM yak=DEF then:.
- 79 IkhΛ ki Ia-khΛ:;
come or NEG-come:;

- 80 .. 3pi=tse Ila=tse ten,
 .. say=CC do=CC then,
- 81 3naŋ=ri 2ŋyo Iŋu I mi ten.
 inside=LOC look stay EVID then.
- 82 3sro=tse IkhΛ ki I a-khΛ 3pi=tse.
 friend=ERG come or NEG-come say=CC.
- 83 2cu: Iu:
 after: DIST:.
- 84 .. I a-khΛ-pΛ ten,
 .. NEG-come-NOM then,
- 85 2cucu ten,
 after then,
- 86 λle Ila=tse ten,
 like.this do=CC then,
- 87 I a-khΛ-pΛ ten,
 NEG-come-NOM then,
- 88 2cucu oh:
 after oh:.
- 89 .. 2kΛŋ=ri Iŋu-pΛ 3ya=tse=tse,
 .. hill=LOC stay-NOM yak=ERG=PL,
- 90 I khi mlaŋ.cha I mi.
 3(SG) curse EVID.
- 91 I hai-le I khi mlaŋ.cha pi nΛ,
 how-** 3(SG) curse say EVID,
- 92 .. 2tsu photi=ko ten,
 .. PROX group=DEF then,
- 93 tuŋ=ko=ri mΛkyu I yΛ photi=ko oh:,
 down.there=DEF=LOC down go group=DEF oh:,
- 94 a ten,
 ah then,

- 95 *4tshe-pΛ=ri* *4tshe-pΛ*,
hot-NOM=LOC hot-NOM,
- 96 *4a-thya-pΛ*,
NEG-bear-NOM,
- 97 *2khΛŋ=ko=ri* *2khΛŋ-pΛ*,
cold=DEF=LOC cold-NOM,
- 98 *4a-thya-pΛ*,
NEG-bear-NOM,
- 99 ‘*1tΛ* *1lo-to,*’
become do-IMPER,
- 100 *3pi=tse* *1lΛ=tse*,
say=CC do=CC,
- 101 *1kxim=ko=tse* *ten*,
3(PL)=DEF=ERG then,
- 102 *Λe* *sΛrap* *1piin* *1mi*.
like.this curse give EVID.
- 103 *2cu:* *sΛrap* *te=tse* *1lΛ=tse*,
after: curse get=CC do=CC,
- 104 *tūŋi* *ten* *2tsu* *ah:*,
today then PROX ah:
- 105 *mΛÉji=ko* *1tΛ=tsi*,
buffalo=DEF become=PERF,
- 106 *3ya=ko* *mΛÉji* *1tΛ* *nΛ* *ten*,
yak=DEF buffalo become EVID then,
- 107 .. *1tΛ-pΛ* *mΛÉji=tse*,
.. become-NOM buffalo=PL
- 108 *ah:*,
ah:,
- 109 *4tshe-pΛ* *1khΛ* *nΛ*,
heat-NOM come EVID,

- 110 *4tshə-pʌ* *4a-thya=tse* *lʌ=tse,*
hot-NOM NEG-bear=CC do=CC,
- 111 .. *2kyu=ri* *2shu-pʌ;*
.. water=LOC wash-NOM;
- 112 *pokhari=ri* *2shu-pʌ;*
lake=LOC wash-NOM;
- 113 .. *ah* *2khʌŋ=tse* *lʌ=tse* *ten,*
.. ah cold=CC do=CC then,
- 114 *2khʌŋ=tse* *2khʌŋ=tse* *4a-thya-pʌ* *lʌ=tse* *ten,*
cold=CC cold=CC NEG-bear-NOM do=CC then,
- 115 .. *pora* *2coŋ-pʌ* *tʉŋ=tse* *lʌ* *tʉ-pʌ,*
.. bag similar-NOM cover=CC do stay-NOM,
- 116 *lʉ* *sʌrap=ko;*
DIST curse=DEF;
- 117 *tʉŋ* *a* *3sro-pʌ,*
down(?) ah friends,
- 118 *2kʌŋ=ri* *lʉ-pʌ* *3ya;*
hill=LOC stay-NOM yak;
- 119 *sʌrap* *lʉ=tse* *lʌ=tse;*
curse get=CC do=CC;
- 120 .. *orcʉŋ* *chelu* *lʌ* *lmi.*
.. like.this ** become EVID.
- 121 *lʉ=ko=ri* *lŋyaŋ* *naŋ=tse* *toŋ*
DIST=DEF=LOC 1.PL think=CC **
- lian* *ko,*
EVID **,
- 122 *ah;*
ah;
- 123 *3sʌ-ni* *lʌ=tse* *ten,*
nice-** do=CC then,

124	..	<i>3laŋ</i>	<i>2ki</i> ,				
	..	thing	comfort,				
125		<i>3pi=tse</i>	<i>lla=tse</i>	<i>ten</i> ,			
		say=CC	do=CC	then,			
126		<i>3sro-pʌ=tse=ri</i>		<i>dharam</i>	<i>3pi</i>	<i>lla</i>	<i>la-tʌ</i> ,
		friend-NOM=PL=LOC	cheat	say do	NEG-become,		
127		<i>3pi-pʌ:</i>	<i>ten</i> .				
		say-NOM:	then.				
128	..	<i>kʌtha</i>	<i>2tso=ko</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>nʌ</i>	<i>ten</i> ,	
	..	story	PROX=DEF	then	EVID	then,	
129		<i>okay?</i>					

‘A long, long time ago, there were many yaks. Like this, there were many yaks.

Very many of them staying in a tall place; there were many yaks; staying, these yaks couldn’t get grass in the grass place, water in the water place. The yaks, meeting inside (amongst themselves), like this they made a decision (decided what to do?). Half of them would go to a village, to see if they could or couldn’t get food, water, grass. There might be many luxuries, saying ‘go there,’ they amongst themselves decided, some of the yaks. From the mountains, from the hills, from the mountains, they went down to the next village.

‘How many luxuries, what is this place’ (they) saying, after, they doing like this, going, some of them went down. Some of them/yaks went down into the valley. And then, like this, they went down. Much grass and much water, there were many comforts. Those yaks, having many comforts, forgot their friends staying on the mountain. Later, they, some of them, forgot. They were comfortable, they didn’t think to return. All of the other friends later forgetting, they doing like this, stayed.

The village yaks, the yaks staying in the tall (place), saying ‘are they coming or not coming,’ they looked. Saying ‘are the friends coming or not coming’ they cursed them. After, the not coming ones, the ones who stayed on the hill (the yaks) cursed them. This group of yaks down there cannot bear the heat. ‘Do this,’ they saying, they cannot bear the cold. Giving the curse, now the yak will become water buffalo. The becoming-buffalo, the heat comes; they wash in the water. They will wash in the lake. In the cold, they cannot bear the cold. They will stay covered in a bag-like thing. Those yaks who stayed gave a curse. Like this it happened.

What are we to think (of this)? Be nice to your friends. (We) say don’t cheat your friends. This story is finished. Okay?’

Appendix B: A Manange Glossary

This glossary is the product of three field trips to Nepal in 1998, 1999 and 2001, and is sponsored by a grant from the National Science Foundation (BNS 9729005). The entries for this glossary come from several Manange speakers with whom I've worked during the different field trips. The primary purpose of this glossary is to provide a list of the working vocabulary of the Manange language in a comparative format with another, previously published glossary (Hoshi 1986a). While this glossary contains close to one thousand entries, it should by no means be considered a complete dictionary of the Manange language. It should also be noted that some of the Manange entries show evidence of being loanwords from other languages, including Nepali, Tibetan, and English. Further research is needed before a more complete and comprehensive understanding of the Manange lexicon can be attained.

This Manange glossary is divided into four sections: "Manange" lexical entries, "Alternate Entries" used for the same English gloss/translation, a section with the corresponding entry found in Hoshi's (1986a) "Praakaa" glossary, the English "Gloss," and a "Notes" section. The items in the Manange lexical entries section are ordered according to place of articulation, using the orthography of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The entries follow the order used in glossaries and dictionaries of other Tibeto-Burman languages. For vowels: /a, an, ɨ, ɨn, e, en, i, in, o, u, un/. For consonants: /k, kh, ŋ, tʃ, tʃh, t, th, ts, tsh, t, th, p, ph, m, n, ny, j, r, l, ʃ, w, s, ʂ, h/. The items found in the "Alternate Entries" section are those that were elicited by other Manange consultants. In some cases there is not unanimous agreement between all consultants concerning the translation or gloss of the item. In other cases, the item in the "alternate entries" section

differs from the item in the “Manange” section only with respect to the pronunciation of a particular segment (e.g., *ulkja* v. *olkja* ‘red’). For some words, only the segmental information has been obtained, and further research will hopefully reveal the suprasegmental features of these words. The “Praakaa” section of the glossary contains items collected by Hoshi for the (1986a) glossary of Praakaa Manange. The English “gloss” section contains the closest approximate English translation or meaning for each Manange entry. The “notes” section of the glossary contains optional additional information about certain entries, such as additional meanings or morpheme glosses/phrasal translations for polymorphemic entries. Each Manange entry in this glossary is numbered, and immediately following this glossary is a cross index of the Manange entries, sorted alphabetically by the English gloss.