Minhe Mangghuer
A Mixed Language of the Inner Asian Frontier

A Dissertation
etc

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Abbreviations

1	First person (pronouns)
or	First evidential form
2 (pronouns)	Second person
or	Second evidential form
3 (pronouns)	Third person
ABL	Ablative case
ACC	Accusative case
ADV	Adverb
ASP	Aspect Marker, Aspiration
ASSOC	Associative
AUX	Auxiliary verb
CAUSE	Causative
c/d	Conjunct/disjunct
CL	Classifier
COLL	Collective
COMP	Complementizer
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative case
DIR	Directional case
EMPH	Emphatic particle
ERG	Ergative case
EVID	Evidential
EXCL	Exclamatory interjection
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive case
HEARSAY	Hearsay evidential
IMPERF	Imperfective aspect
IMPER	Imperative
INDEF	Indefinite
INDIR	Indirect
INSTR	Instrumental case
LOC	Locative case
N1	Nonfirst evidential
NEG	Negative
NF	Nonfinite
NOM	Nominative case
NOMLZR	Nominalizer
NP	Noun phrase
PERF	Perfective aspect
PL	Plural number
POSS	Possessive
PP	Postpositional phrase
PROG	Progressive aspect
PROHIB	Prohibitive
PRT	Final Particle
PURP	Purpose
QUEST	Question
QUOTE	Quotative
REFLPOSS	Reflexive possessive
SEQ	Sequential actions
SG	Singular number
VBLZR	Verbalizer
Vc	Voicing
VOL	Voluntative

When citing works by other scholars, I sometimes substitute these abbreviations for theirs, if it is clear that the same gloss was intended. In other cases, I retain the original glossing and footnote the author's usage.

Chapter 1
Background

1 Introduction

This dissertation is a descriptive study of the Mangghuer language.[1] Mangghuer is spoken primarily in Qinghai province, in northwest China.

The study is largely synchronic, detailing many aspects of the Mangghuer phonological and morphosyntactic system. However, I have also tried to set the synchronic structures of Mangghuer against the backdrop of history, examining the relationship between Mangghuer and related Mongolic languages,[2] as well as the highly significant influences of other languages, which have led to dramatic shifts from Mongolic features to those of other language families. These effects of language contact will constitute a major thrust of the description and analysis.

This background chapter is intended to set the stage for what follows. Before launching into a description of the structures of Mangghuer, and an account of their historical development, I want to begin by describing the various contexts into which this account must fall. Several of these contexts will be treated here: the linguistic context, including an overview of Mangghuer and how it has been classified with regard to the Mongolic language family; the social context, including a discussion of geography and social and ethnic relations in the Mangghuer area, as well as a survey of historical accounts of the group and its origins; the academic context, focusing on published linguistic descriptions and materials available for the study of Mangghuer and other languages which will be mentioned in this dissertation; and the methodological context, pointing out the goals and philosophies which guide my approach to the language, as well as the types of data that will be used, and the ways in which I intend to use them.

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[1] In previous literature, this language has been referred to as the Minhe County dialect of the Monguor language, also known as the Tu or Tuzu language in China. See section 3.1, below, for a discussion of ethnonyms.

[2] Following Field (dissertation), I use *Mongolic* to refer to a language family, and *Mongolian* only to refer to a particular group of closely-related dialects within that family. Many authors cited here use *Mongolian* with both senses.

2 Linguistic Overview

2.1 Typological Summary

Morphosyntactically, Mangghuer shares most of the typical characteristics of Mongolic languages. It is an agglutinative, exclusively suffixing language with SOV basic word order.

Mangghuer exhibits generally head-final behavior: objects and auxiliaries always precede the verb; most nominal modifiers, including relative clauses, precede their head noun; and the language has postpositions.

Phonologically, Mangghuer most strongly resembles Sinitic. It has simple, usually CV syllable structure, and its inventory of phonemes almost exactly mirrors that of nearby Chinese dialects. However, Mangghuer has a stress system, rather than the tone system typical of Sinitic.

Frequency counts would probably find in the neighborhood of 70% of lexical items to be of Mongolic extraction. However, counting entries from a lexicon might suggest that something like 50% of the total Mangghuer vocabulary is of Chinese extraction.

2.2 Genetic Classification

Mangghuer has always been considered to fall within the Mongolic language family. While one focus of this dissertation is to demonstrate that such a straightforward, genetic classification is undesirable, it is nonetheless fairly clear that many features of the language have indeed been inherited in direct fashion from Mongolic.

The most recent statement on Mongolic family relatedness that I have seen is that of Binnick (1987). Binnick notes two conflicting models of genetic affiliation within earlier Mongolic studies: one promoted by Poppe (1955, 1965) and Doerfer (1964); and another current among scholars in the former Soviet Union, notably the linguist B. Kh. Todaeva.[3]

The differences between these two models need not concern us here. One thing that they share, however, is the inclusion of *Monguor* as one language of the Mongolic family.

[3] Soviet linguists, and Todaeva in particular, produced a large number of studies of Mongolic languages, including Huzhu Monguor. Since I do not read Russian well, I have not cited any of these works in my study.

The same may be said of linguists working in China, where the terms *Tuzu* (土族) or *Turen* (土人) are used with the same range of meaning as *Monguor* has in the West.

Chinese authors referring to the language of the *Tuzu* usually note that this language has two major dialects, spoken in geographically distinct locations. For instance, Zhaonasitu (1981:2, my translation) says:

> There are significant differences within the *Tuzu* language, but it is divided into two dialect regions. The *Tuzu* speech of Huzhu, Ledu and Tianzhu belong to one dialect, and the *Tuzu* speech of Minhe belongs to a different dialect. We differentiate by calling them the Huzhu dialect and the Minhe dialect. There are many differences between the two dialects; most of these differences appear in the phonology, and secondarily also in lexicon and grammar.

In this dissertation, I will use different names for these two "dialects." The name *Mangghuer* will be used to refer to what has previously been called Minhe Monguor. The dialect and group usually called Huzhu Monguor will be labeled here as *Mongghul*.

The Monguor, or Tuzu, then, are generally described as speaking a single, Mongolic language. I am aware of only one author who distinguishes these two dialects as different languages. Sinor (1952:373) lists *Monguor* and *San-ch'uan* as two separate languages in the Mongolian family, but does not explain how this conclusion is reached. *Sanchuan* (三川 "three plains") has sometimes been used as a geographic name for the Minhe County region, and as we will see in the historical discussion below, has sometimes also been used as an ethnonym for the Monguor.

Since Mangghuer structures are not straightforwardly descended from within a single language family, we may consider it to be a *mixed language*, as the term is used by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). This is, however, perhaps a somewhat marginal case; and since the language does retain a significant representation of features inherited from Mongolic, I will sometimes refer to it as a Mongolic language. Further discussion of these issues will be provided in chapter 8.

3 Social Context

3.1 Ethnonyms

The ethnonym *Mangghuer* has been selected for the Monguor of Minhe County because that is what they call themselves. Similarly, the term *Mongghul* reflects the pronunciation of Huzhu Monguor people's name for themselves. Both of these terms also serve as general labels meaning "Mongolian." Thus, both the Mangghuer and the Mongghul refer to themselves as Mongolian people.

The first to make a terminological switch of this sort was the Mongghul linguist Li Keyu, who developed and popularized, to some extent, a pinyin-based Roman orthography for Huzhu Monguor (see, for example, K. Li, ed. 1988). At present, a large number of materials are beginning to be produced representing the Minhe Monguor language, and a similar Roman orthography has been developed. Thus, it is now possible to represent Minhe Monguor pronunciation in a standardized way, and the spelling of *Mangghuer* adopted here conforms to this newly-developed system.

The decision to use the name *Mangghuer* has been made in consultation with Zhu Yongzhong, Hu Jun, Wang Xianzheng, and Kevin Stuart. These scholars, (the first three of whom are Mangghuer), are currently the most prolific writers about Mangghuer language and culture, and we hope that this orthographic change will also be adopted by others who join us in our ongoing efforts to promote knowledge of Mangghuer language and culture.

There are other Monguor groups in addition to those of Huzhu and Minhe. Since I do not at this time know what these groups call themselves, I will use the term Monguor for them, while indicating their geographic location. The two groups so named are the Tongren Monguor and the Tianzhu Monguor.

By this point, the number of terms differing only slightly from the term *Mongol* has probably already become confusing. Table 1.1 shows some correspondences between the terms used in this dissertation and those with which readers may already be familiar.

My Term	Traditional English Terms	Chinese Terms	Notes About My Usage
Mangghuer, Minhe Mangghuer	Minhe Monguor; San Chuan Monguor	民和土族 (Minhe Tuzu)	language or person
Mongghul, Huzhu Mongghul	Huzhu Monguor;	互助土族 (Huzhu Tuzu)	language or person
Monguor	Monguor; Tuzu	土族 (Tuzu); occasionally: 蒙古尔 (Menggu'er)	language or person
Mongolian	Mongolian	蒙古语，蒙古人 (Menggu yu, Menggu ren)	language or person of the dialect group including Khalkha and others which most closely resemble it
Mongolic	Mongolian (language family)	蒙古语语系 (Menggu yu yuxi)	language family only
Mongol			person; usually used in historical contexts

Table 1.1 Ethnonyms

3.2 Geography

Figure 1.1 shows the distribution of Mongolic languages in north-central China. Figure 1.2, an enlargement of the Gansu-Qinghai border area, shows the relative positions of several related languages in this area. The southernmost group labelled "Monguor" refers to the *Mangghuer*. This area is Minhe Huizu and Tuzu Autonomous County, Qinghai Province.

Minhe County lies just north of the Yellow River, about half-way between the major cities of Xining (capital of Qinghai province) and Lanzhou (capital of Gansu province). According to a publication about Minhe County (Anonymous 1986:1), the county lies between 102° 6′ and 103° 4′ East and between 35° 45′ and 36° 26′ North.

On most maps produced in China, the Yellow River forms the boundary between Qinghai and Gansu provinces at this point, so that Minhe County, on the river's northern bank, lies in Qinghai, while the opposite shore belongs to Gansu. The county also shares its eastern border with Gansu; it is the easternmost part of Qinghai.

Figure 1.1 Mongolic languages of north-central China (Language Atlas of China, 1988:map C2)

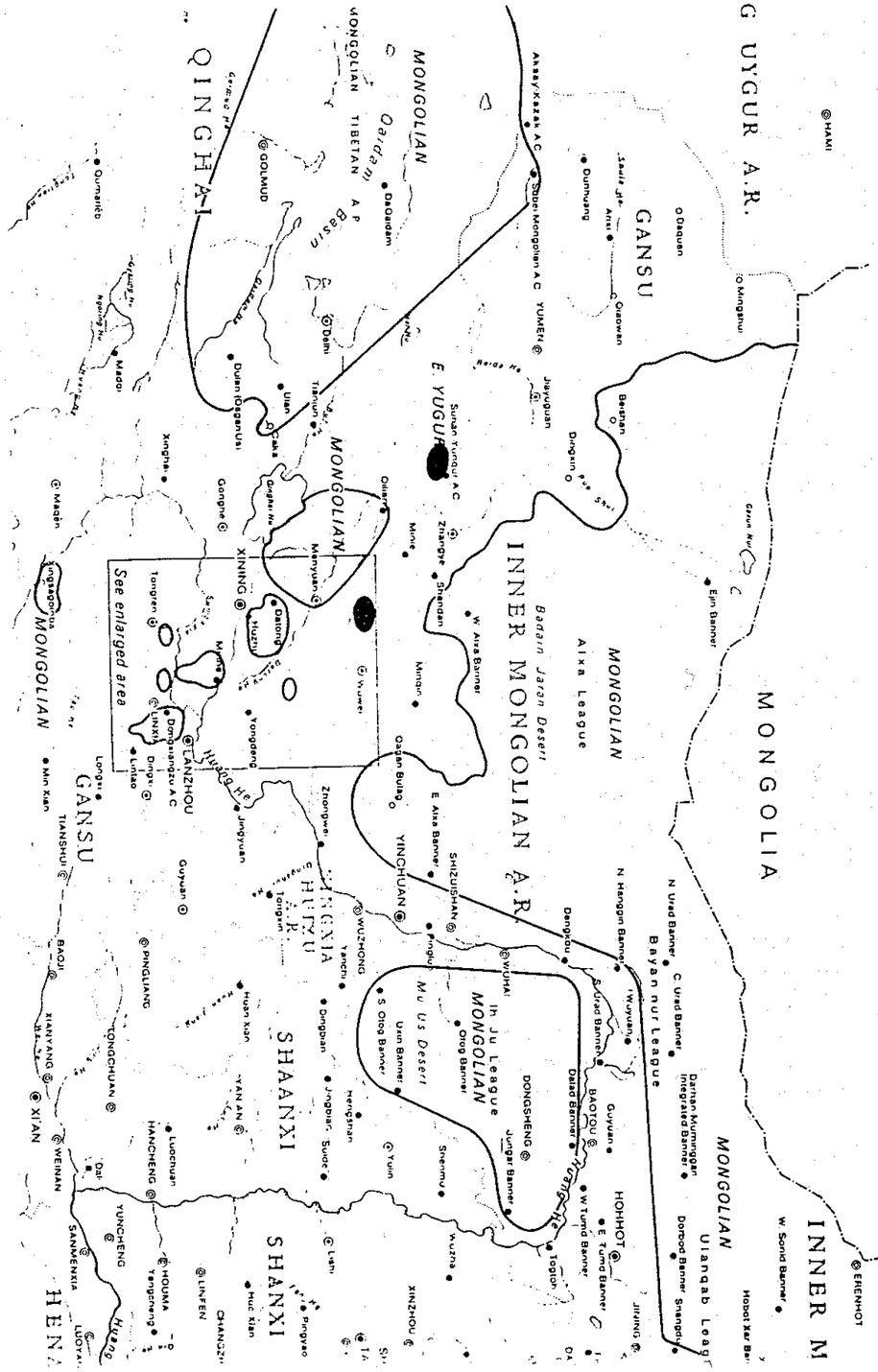
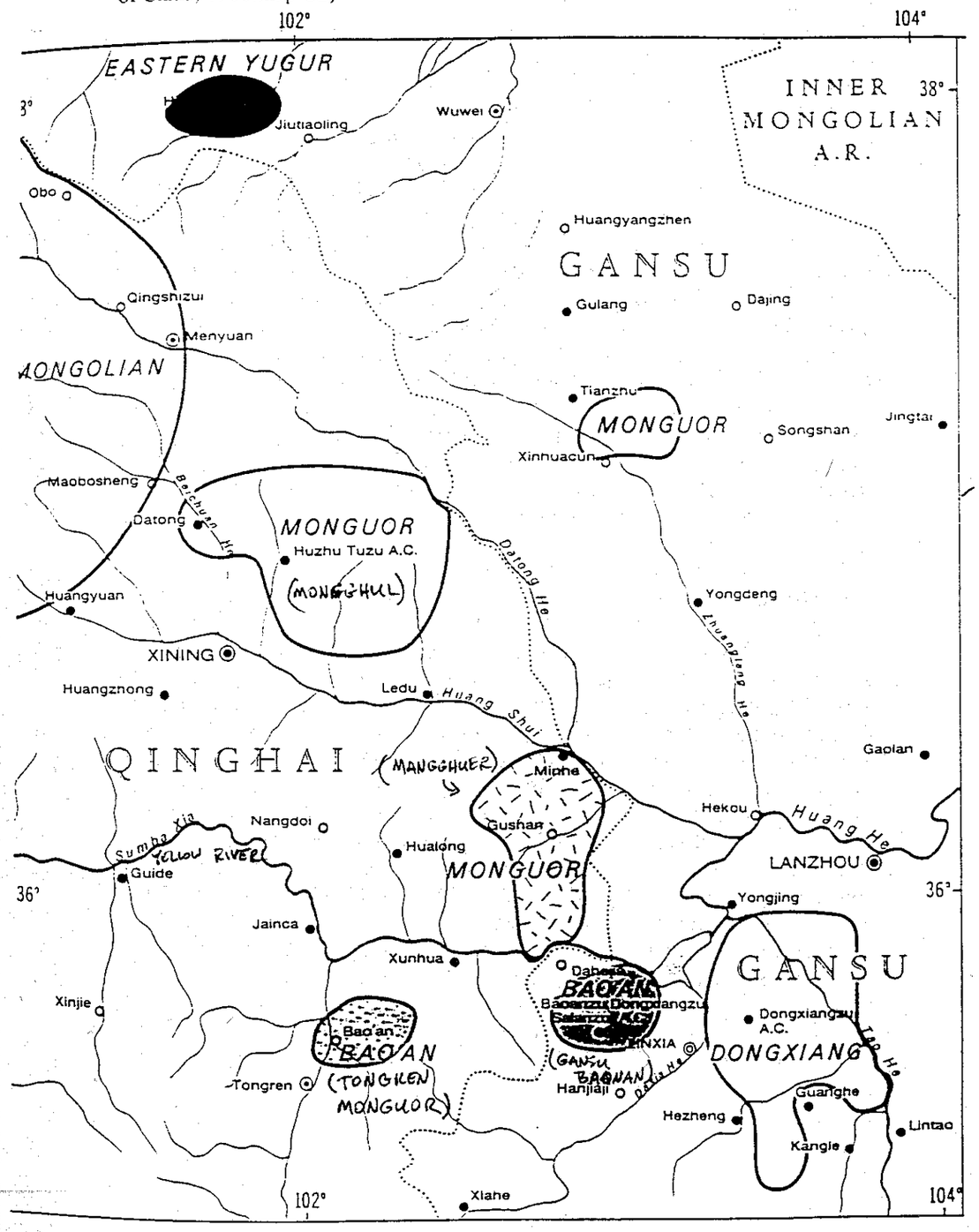


Figure 1.2 Mongolic languages of the Qinghai-Gansu border area (Language Atlas of China, 1988:map C2)



This region represents a transition spot in elevation, as the steppes of north-central China give way to the mountain ranges, cut with river valleys, which rise towards the Tibetan plateau. According to Defense Mapping Agency Aerospace Center Maps (dated 1983, 1988), Lanzhou, in the Yellow River valley, lies at about 5320 feet (1623 meters) elevation, and Xining, in the Huangshui valley, is at 7205 feet (2198 meters). Guanting, in the Yellow River valley at the southern edge of Minhe county, is the low spot in the county, at about 6000 feet (1830 meters). Immediately to the west, the mountains rise precipitously towards the highlands of Tibet, with some nearby peaks over 13,000 feet (3965 meters) high.

Climate is in transition here, too. Blunden and Elvin (1983:11) identify four major climatic zones which intersect near this region. To the west and southwest, in the Tibetan highlands, the climate is called "high mountain and polar." Not far to the north lies a "desert" region. Stretching to the east and northeast is the dry climate of the "steppes." And, just to the south, there is a "cold temperate" region of "dry winters" and "cool summers."

A description of Minhe County (Anonymous 1986:1) lists the population as 95% agricultural in occupation. The county's major crops are highland barley, barley, spring wheat, peas, broom corn millet, millet, buckwheat, potatoes and rapeseed (1986:67). Primary livestock (1986:80) are oxen, donkeys, mules and horses. Pigs, sheep, and chickens are also raised by many households.

3.3 Sociocultural Context

The geologic and climatological intersection described above is mirrored in an intersection of four cultural groups, which also converge on this region. The area belongs to the Amdo region of the Tibetan cultural area; Tibetan groups have lived for centuries in this area, and to the west and southwest. To the south and east, as the land falls in elevation, are traditional areas of Han Chinese inhabitation. To the north are lands of Mongol tribes. Finally, in the deserts which stretch away to the northwest, Turkic groups such as the Uygur (Chinese: 维吾尔) are found.

The region has been referred to by various names, depending on whose perspective is being adopted. From the Tibetan perspective, it is the northeastern region named Amdo (Chinese: 安多 *anduo*). From the Chinese perspective, it is both the frontier with Inner Asia and the border with traditionally Tibetan tribes. The Chinese provincial name Qinghai (青海) translates the Mongolian word Kökönor ("blue lake"), which names perhaps the most prominent geologic feature of the area.

In the following sections, I will attempt to describe some of the historical and current sociocultural diversity of the region, emphasizing factors which will

are most obviously relevant to an understanding of the development of Mangghuer language.

Due to the scanty nature of materials available for such study (as well as my own lack of qualification to carry it out), this discussion can be only superficial and suggestive of what further investigation might turn up.

One recurrent point, however, will be made: namely, that historical documents do not seem to permit us to draw clear conclusions about the history of the Mangghuer themselves. While much speculation is possible, there is little clear evidence which would allow definite statements about where the Mangghuer came from, what language(s) they originally spoke, whether they represent descendants of a particular group or the results of a complex intermingling of various groups, and so on. In fact, it may be that the linguistic conclusions which will be reached in chapter 8 provide the most certain claims which can be made about Mangghuer origins.

Nonetheless, an outline may be given of some of the factors which historical studies must take into account. The beginnings of such an outline are the subject of the remainder of this section.

3.3.1 Early Historical Accounts

The Qinghai-Gansu border area has been a cultural crossroads for centuries, and a locus of both armed and peaceful interactions. The Great Wall, intended to divide the ancient Chinese empires from their sometimes hostile northern neighbors, reached its western terminus in this region. It was here that the silk road left the traditional Han Chinese homelands and ventured northwest into Inner Asia, including "Chinese Turkestan" and the Central Asian domain inhabited by, among others, many Turkic groups. This important trade route resulted in heavy traffic in this area, as well as extensive settlement by people from distant locales. Schram (1961:14-15) suggests that Muslim traders from the Xinjiang area may have entered the area already during the period of 1038-1086, and notes that "Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining [Xining] during the Mongol period of 1274."

Historical records for the area, however, are not very detailed. The most specific accounts from the Chinese perspective begin around the time of the Mongol conquest of the area, and in the remainder of this section, a brief survey of this period will be given.

In the 1220s AD, the Mongol armies of Genghis Khan conquered the Tangut Western Xia Kingdom (西夏), to which much of present-day Gansu and Ningxia then belonged. Genghis himself is said to have died in this region, in 1227, "while subduing the last remnants of Tangut resistance" (Buell 1993:20).

Already at that time, there was a complex mixture of groups residing in and passing through this area; yet surviving records suggest names of multiple groups without providing much evidence about any particular one. Genghis Khan's great general Sübötei took part in the invasion of Xi Xia, and Buell (1993a:20) records his role with some uncertainty as to just whom he encountered during the campaign: "First objectives of Sübötei's advance were the Saryğ Uighurs and other groups of the Kökönor area, possibly including nomadic Tibetan and Tangut tribesmen." In another article in the same volume, Buell (1993b:473) adds:

> In the mid-1220s, Sübötei, charged with advancing on Hsi-hsia [Xi Xia] from the west ... subdued various tribes in the Kökönor area, including, we must assume, many of the Altaic-speaking Hor groups. Those were descendants of the Hsien-pei tribesmen of the T'u-yü-hun and other groups involved in north-south trade, who had gained the first Mongol foothold in the region.

The fact that this area has traditionally been home to nomadic groups is one natural reason for uncertainty as to which groups were here at any particular time, and the historical records do little to clear up such problems. We will see more of this below.

After the establishment of the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty in China, the Amdo region remained a site of conflict. Portions of Tibet came nominally under Mongol control, but resistance remained; Petech (1993:649) notes that, for example, in 1264 "an imperial army under General Qongridar had to crush the resistance of the clans in T'u-fan, the Yüan name for Amdo." This was not the only such event.

K. Li (1993:174, my translation) reports that all of the Yuan emperors, from the first to the last,

> sent massive troops and important officials to occupy Hezhou [Linxia] and Xining, in order to put down disturbances among the unruly Tibetan peoples. In the sixth year of the emperor Zhiyuan (1269) Aoluchi was given the title Western Pacifying King and occupied the Lanzhou-Xining region.

The author then goes on to cite a succession of Western Pacifying Kings, ruling in this area on behalf of the Yuan emperors.

The Yuan armies most likely included no small proportion of Mongol soldiers. In addition, however, there were quite probably conscripts from areas under Mongol control. It was the custom of the Khan's armies to draft into service a large number of locals when an area was conquered, and these draftees might find themselves stationed wherever the army happened to go later on. Buell

(1993a:19) describes this practice during Sübötei's campaign in Russia in about 1224:

> Sübötei requested the permission of the qan to use chiliarchies levied from the various defeated groups, such as the Merkit, Naiman, Bulgar (?), Qangli and Qipčaq, to form an army under his command to hold the Qipčaq Steppe. [Genghis] accepted this request and the proposed army was established. This event must be taken as the first instance in Russia of the Mongol *tamma*, a structure that was both a nomadic garrison force and the nucleus of a regional tribal federation in conquered domains.

In fact, this request by Sübötei immediately preceded his return to aid in the invasion of Xi Xia, mentioned above. So even the first Mongol armies to campaign in Kökönor quite possibly included significant numbers of Central Asians; and the later Yuan occupying forces almost certainly did not consist solely of Mongol soldiers.[4]

The ethnographic history of the Qinghai-Gansu border area, then, is extremely complex, and remains unclear even where historical records exist. This cursory and superficial discussion of a single period intends mainly to point out that a myriad of groups have passed through, or resided in, this highly strategic area. Also, as we will see below, it is useful to know something of the history of Mongolian residents of this area, since this is related to the question of the origin of the Mangghuer themselves.

3.3.2 Ethnicity, Population and Language

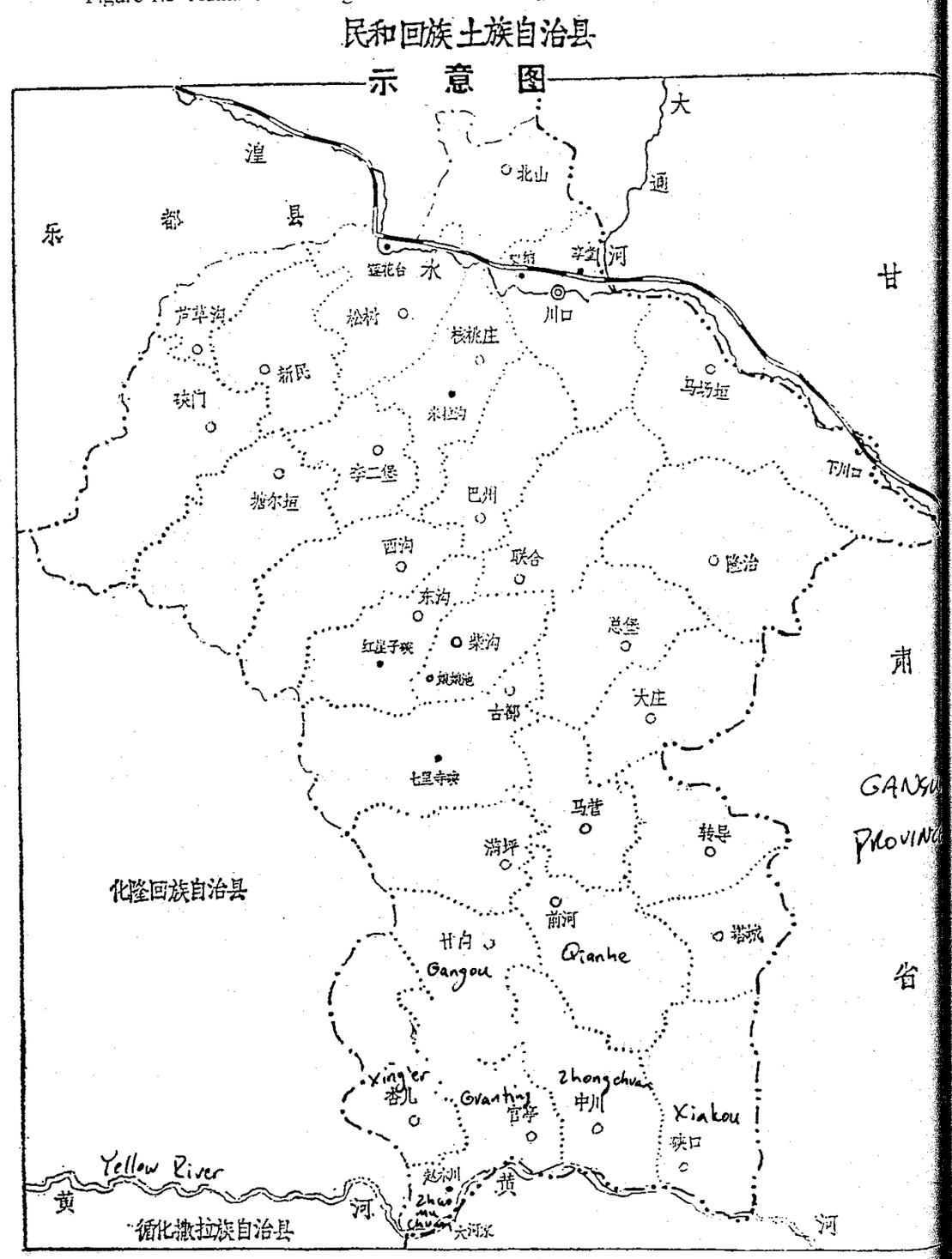
At present, Mangghuer speakers continue to live in close proximity to members of many of the cultural groups mentioned in this discussion. Cultural and linguistic diversity go hand-in-hand in the region; languages from four language families continue to be spoken nearby.

Although Figure 1.2 suggests that all of Minhe County is inhabited by Mangghuer speakers, in fact, nearly all speakers of the language live in the southernmost areas, near the Yellow River. Figure 1.3 shows a map of Minhe County administrative seats, with the Mangghuer areas noted (cf. Table 1.2, below).

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[4] Field (1997) discusses in detail some of further evidence for this, as well as some possible linguistic implications, particularly for the Santa language.

Figure 1.3 Administrative regions of Minhe County (Anonymous 1986)



Zhu, Üjiyediin Chuluu and Stuart (1995:199), citing "county records" give the population figures for Minhe County in 1993. A summary for only the southern regions of the county, where most Mangghuer speakers live, is given in Table 1.2.

Area	Han	Hui	Mangghuer	Tibetan	TOTALS
Qianhe	3739	4106	3746	11	11602
Gangou	4582	4703	2581	1372	13238
Guanting region	198	1276	13266	16	14756
Zhongchuan	60	4288	12790	18	17156
Xing'er	388	-	781	2436	3605
Xiakou	267	328	3847	944	5386
TOTALS	9234	14701	37011	4797	65743

Table 1.2: Population of Southern Minhe County Regions

Members of the Hui group are Islamic, but they share the language of their Han neighbors. In these areas, then, about 36% of the total residents (the Han and Hui combined) may be expected to be primarily speakers of a northwest Mandarin dialect.

Mangghuer constitute about 56% of the residents of these areas. Zhu, Üjiyediin Chuluu and Stuart (1995:198) estimate that 98% of all persons classified as Mangghuer can speak the Mangghuer language.

Tibetans are a smaller minority in this area, constituting only about 7% of the total population. They are primarily concentrated in Gangou and Xing'er, on the western edge of the county, and in Xiakou, at its eastern border with Gansu. Both of these regions are generally more mountainous than the Guanting and Zhongchuan areas. In Gangou and Xing'er, respectively, Tibetans constitute 10% and 68% of the population; in Xiakou, 18%.

Since this is the Amdo region of Tibet, the Tibetan language used by Minhe county Tibetans is a form of the Amdo dialect. Zhu, Üjiyediin Chuluu and Stuart (1995:198) comment on language use among the Tibetan groups, saying:

> Tibetans living in Xing'er Township strongly retain the Tibetan language, which is used in daily life. However, in Tibetan areas in Gangou Township, Tibetan is used mostly by people over seventy years old. Younger Tibetans generally are not able to speak Tibetan.

I have omitted from Table 1.2 a small number of members of "other" groups, including a few from the Muslim group called Salar, (撒拉 *Sala*), whose language is of the Turkic family. Very few members of this latter group live in

Minhe County, but just to the west of the county, across a high mountain range, is the Xunhua Salar Automonous County. According to Lin (1985:1), 49,000 Salar live in the Xunhua area.

Slightly more distant, across the Yellow River, is land inhabited by the Baonan (保安 *Baoan*). And just to the east of the Baonan, beyond the city Linxia, live the Santa or Dongxiang (东乡 *Dongxiang*). The Baonan number about 3500 (C. Li 1986:174) and the Santa number about 370,000 (Field, dissertation).

Both of these groups speak languages similar in many ways to Mangghuer, with Mongolic basic vocabulary and morphosyntax, but with evidence of heavy influence from nearby languages, especially Chinese.

Zhu, Ŭjiyediin Chuluu and Stuart (1995:200) note that a number of Mangghuer also reside in nearby villages across the Yellow River in Gansu Province. They estimate that 30% of these speak the Mangghuer language, usually in forms closely resembling that of Minhe County.

Members of the Monguor nationality living in three nearby areas are often grouped together as "Huzhu Monguor," (at least by linguists). These areas are Huzhu County and Datong County, in Qinghai, and Tianzhu County in Gansu. Together, these three groups number perhaps 106,000, a highly approximate figure arrived at by subtracting the Minhe County population, who are Mangghuer, and the Tongren County population (according to Chen 1986a:9-10), from the total of 153,000 Monguor given by Qinggeertai (1988:1) for 1986. Only about 10,000 Monguor live in Tianzhu County, so the largest population is in the Huzhu and Datong areas, in Qinghai.

Tongren County, approximately 75 km to the southwest of the Mangghuer areas, is reported by Chen (1986a:9-10) to have about 10,000 Monguor residents. He suggests that about three-fourths of these people use the Tongren Monguor language. (This group is also labelled *baoan* in Figure 1.2. The terminology will be discussed below.)

Another group living in the Tongren area speak the Chinese-Tibetan creole known as Wutun (see 4.4.2, below).

There are also a number of Qinghai residents who are classed as members of the Mongolian nationality, though no concentration of these individuals is found in the near vicinity of Minhe County. In the Henan region (河南), to the south, a government publication reports a significant population of Mongolians, all of whom speak Tibetan and not Mongolian (Anonymous 1985:30). It is perhaps likely that this group once spoke a Mongolic language, but this is far from clear at present. In any case, residents of Qinghai report that some of Qinghai Mongolians do still speak Mongolian (Kevin Stuart, p.c.). Unfortunately, I do not currently have access to detailed reports about language use among Eastern Qinghai Mongolians.

To the west of Qinghai Lake is another large Mongolian population; the Encyclopedic Dictionary of Chinese Linguistics (1991:581) reports that this group

speaks a Mongolic language belonging to the Oirat dialect group. Once again, I have no access to any historical discussion of their movements, nor to any broader description of their language.

In any case, it does seem apparent that significant numbers of Mongols have resided in the region, and that at least some of them brought Mongolic languages. It is not clear whether these languages have ever been spoken by residents of Minhe County.

I suggested in the previous section that historical records of the area do not permit definite conlusions about how long the present makeup of the area has existed. Reports about the region generally do not seem to make explicit whether they are using ethnic, political, geographic, or linguistic criteria to delineate group membership. Probably, different individuals have made reports based on different combinations of these criteria.

Additionally, many statements about the area have a sort of caricatured feel about them, which perhaps results from their being based on stereotyping reports by particular individuals.

For example, Rockhill (1891:44) reports being told that "there are no Chinese living in the San-ch'uan." During a second trip, Rockhill reports: "speaking to some muleteers here, I heard that in the San-ch'uan there live Chinese, T'u-jen and Mongols, the two latter races predominating" (1894:63-64).

Schram (1954:25) cites the Russian explorer Potanin (1893), writing at nearly the same time as Rockhill, as having stated:

> that there are many groups of Shirongols [Monguor], some of whom live in communities of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of San Ch'uan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized.

Schram himself states that during his residence in Xining, 1911-1922, he observed that "in enclaves within the Chinese population lived the Monguors, in well-defined valleys where there was little Chinese population" (1954:21).

Schram's conception of the term *Monguor*, however, is clearly delimited by political affiliation; he refers to Monguor "clans" and notes (1954:22) that he means the term "to describe a group of people ruled by the same chief, all people born into the clan bearing the same surname as the chief of the clan and living on territory belonging to the chief." Citing "the *Annals* of Kansu," he mentions 16 such clans among the Monguor, noting one as being "of Chinese extraction," others as Turkic in origin, and some as "of Monguor extraction" (1954:31-2). One clan is described (1954:32) as being "a small clan of 70 Muslim families of Turkish stock originating from Sinkiang [Xinjiang]." This group, Schram says, had lost its

Monguor political status around 1890 and had become "ordinary Chinese subjects."

Elsewhere, Schram cites an incident in which a particular member of a Monguor clan "enrolled in the Tibetan tribe of Waza" (1954:69), and that "in a very few years" this whole family was "already speaking Tibetan." This account is particularly noteworthy because it accompanies a photograph of this family's summer camp, with Schram's own tent alongside, suggesting that his knowledge of the event was first-hand and potentially fairly detailed.

In summary, then, we may conclude that substantial confusion surrounds the ethnographic history of the Monguor areas in general, and of the Minhe Mangghuer region in particular. Nonetheless, it is abundantly clear that a variety of groups have passed through and resided in the area, and that languages from several language families have been, and remain, in use.

3.3.3 Mangghuer Origins

By now, it should be clear that no simple historical account of the origins of the Monguor will be forthcoming in this dissertation. However, some comments are in order, because the issue has been discussed at some length by various scholars.

In spite of the dearth of clear historical records, (or perhaps, due at least in part to this dearth), a number of theories have been advanced about the origins of the Monguor. A recent statement on this problem is K. Li (1993). The author presents three major theories of Monguor origins, but proposes no simple solution for their evaluation. Here, I will review briefly the theories and some related issues.

The first theory (1993:7) is that the Monguor are descended from the Tuyuhun (吐谷浑), a group which appears in histories before and during the time of the Xi Xia kingdom in this area. This group was mentioned in Buell's account, (cited in 3.3.1, above) of the Mongol conquest of Xi Xia. They are generally thought to have been Altaic-speaking.

K. Li (1993:11-29) points out a number of problems with this theory, including these: the similarity in the names Tuyuhun and Tuzu is probably due simply to accident, since the syllable *tu* of Tuzu (Chinese: 土) is used simply to mean a local native; the neighboring Tibetans (who presumably would have retained an older name for their neighbors) refer to the Monguor as *Hor*; and the Monguor themselves retained no stories about the Tuyuhun.

The second major theory is that the Monguor are descended from Mongols. This accords best with the accounts which the Mangghuer and Mongghul themselves tell. K. Li (1993:29-34) details several variations on this theory which are current among Huzhu Mongghul. One variation, reported in a

1953 survey, is that the Monguor ancestors came from a place called Husijing (胡斯井) in northeastern China. Another variation, reportedly current among Mongghul of Baiya (白崖), Huzhu county, in a 1979 survey, is that their ancestors came from Alashan (啊拉善), in Inner Mongolia. A third variation, which itself has at least two versions, is that the Monguor came from Ganzhou (甘州), north of the current Monguor territory, along the silk road in Gansu province.

The third theory connects the Monguor with the Shato Turks, a group frequently mentioned in historical documents from this area. K. Li (1993:10-11) points out that commentators agree on the presence of some Shato Turks among the Monguor clans, but does not give much elaboration here.

We should note, however, that K. Li does mention accounts among the Mangghuer of Minhe, which suggest a Turkic connection in their past. He cites a 1953 survey which reported being told by Mangghuer that they had already been in their current location for 800 years and that their ancestors were Tartars (鞑靼), whom K. Li connects with the Shato Turks.

The other significant commentator on Monguor origins is Schram (1954), whom I have already cited extensively. Again citing local historical documents, Schram (1954:29) writes:

> During the whole Mongol period [the Yuan Dynasty] we find no references in the *Annals* concerning the presence of the Monguors in Hsining [Xining]; the first historical data available are encountered during the Ming (1368-1643) and they prove that the Monguor groups were already living in Hsining during the Mongol period, under the ancestors of their later T'u-ssu.

The "T'u-ssu" referred to here are *tusi* (土司), local officials empowered by the Ming dynasty emperors with control of the various clans in the area. When the Yuan dynasty was overthrown by popular rebellion, local clan chiefs are recorded as submitting formally to the new Ming rulers -- these chiefs were made *tusi* by the Ming.

Schram's note that there is no reference to the Monguor before the Ming means that these local chiefs who submitted to the Ming are not mentioned during Yuan records. He concludes from this that they were not present before the Yuan, and must therefore represent settlers of this era (1954:29-30). But the lack of earlier reference is certainly no guarantee of lack of earlier presence.

There are some records, however, since the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Monguor clans preserved records indicating that they have been continuously present, as political entities, since the first *tusi* submitted to the Ming. Schram (1961:70-115) presents one such record, the preserved history of the Lu clan, in two volumes, both of which "start with the accession of the Ming dynasty in 1368 and end in 1850 on the death of the fifteenth ancestor of the clan" (1961:70).

As we have seen, the ethnographic history of the area is far from clear, and we cannot conclude simply that Yuan settlers moved into the area, their descendants remaining there until the present. However, it does seem plausible that such settlers form at least some part of the ancestral history of today's Monguor, both Mongghul and Mangghuer.

Of course, there were already local residents when the Mongolians came to the frontier, though little can be deduced about their language, culture, or ethnic affiliations. Nonetheless, it seems quite likely that they, too, may have become part of the makeup of the current Mangghuer. The fact that no independent local group remains may suggest assimilation of earlier inhabitants by later settlers.

One final note that should be made here regards another theory of the origin of the Chinese name *Tuzu*. Some have speculated that this represents an extension of the designation *tusi* (the clan leader) to the members of the clan as a group.

In chapter 8, I will return to the question of Mangghuer origins, pointing out what help the observations of this linguistic study may add to this complex discussion. We can note here, though, that the predominantly Mongolic structures of the Mangghuer language suggest a significant role of Mongolian speakers in the historical development of this group. The language has clearly been heavily influenced by languages of other families, but it is not at all clear how much of this influence should be attributed to intense borrowing, and how much to the effects of language shift, as speakers of other languages came into the Mangghuer cultural community (or its precursors).

3.3.4 Cultural Practices

Mangghuer cultural practices share many characteristics of Mongolian, Tibetan, and Han Chinese cultures. In these areas, too, we can see this group as a locus for this intersection of a complex ethnographic history.

Until recently, publications describing cultural practices among the Monguor did not generally distinguish various Monguor groups. This is true of Schram (1954, 1957, 1961), and also of Schröder (1952), although both of these authors give some indications that they are describing customs of the Huzhu Mongghul area, and simply assuming that Minhe Mangghuer customs are similar.

Since about 1991, a highly productive group of researchers in Qinghai has published a large number of studies of specific Mangghuer cultural practices. Many of these papers illustrate the intense degree of cultural mingling in which the Mangghuer have participated. A few notes will be given here about several cultural aspects, in order to demonstrate this mixing of elements from a variety of cultural traditions.

One of these scholars, Kevin Stuart, reports (p.c.) that there are wide dissimilarities between the cultural practices of Mangghuer areas and those of Mongghul areas. Thus, we would not be justified in considering descriptions of either to represent the other. Here, then, I will consider only descriptions specific to the Mangghuer areas.

3.3.4.1 Wedding Customs

In an article about Minhe Mangghuer weddings, Hu and Stuart (1992a:110) write:

> A couple should be 'well-matched,' i.e., more or less equal in terms of education and other attributes. Nationality is also important. Tu cultural traditions are complex and difficult for non-Tu to adapt to. In the event of cross-cultural mariages, Han-Tu is the most common, though rare. Qinghai Han and Tu are compatible because of a shared language (the local Qinghai Han dialect) and common cultural elements (both eat pork and share many common religous beliefs). Balancing the concept of equality are such factors as wealth and education.

Zhu et al (1997:435) report a higher degree of intermarriage in Gangou: "there is much intermarriage between Gangou Monguor, Tibetan, and Han residents. In fact, ethnic classification does not mean a great deal in Gangou because an individual may have ancestors of various ethnicities."

Wang and Stuart (1995) and Wang, Zhu and Stuart (1995) present songs sung at Mangghuer weddings. These studies note that singing among Mangghuer males is usually in Chinese, with some Mangghuer words included, but that Mangghuer females sing some songs in Mangghuer.

3.3.4.2 Medical Practices

Hu and Stuart (1992b:113-14) note medical practices stemming from several different sources. These include "local hospitals/clinics (where both traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine doctors practice" and also local healers of several types. Some of these are the *Mamba*, who practices "traditional Tibetan medicine," the *Fala*, who enters a trance to become a medium for a spirit ("most commonly the Daoist deity Erlang,") and the *Yangjiangui*, a type of healer of whom the authors learned of only one individual -- "a Han woman in her fifties."

3.3.4.3 Religion

The religious practices of the Minhe Mangghuer also show influences from a variety of sources. Hu and Stuart (1992b:112) comment that

> In terms of religion, the Tu have been much influenced by the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism (founded by Tsongkapa in the late 14th century), but also retain many elements of Daoism, shamanism, and animism.

In the same article, these authors further note (1992b:125) "Two types of temples are common in the region -- Daoist and that of the Yellow Sect, and many villages have both."

Stuart and Hu (1992) discuss Mangghuer death and funeral practices, again making reference to religious traditions drawn from several sources.

Louis M.J. Schram lived in the Huzhu area from 1911 to 1922, and reports (1957:6) on the importance of Tibetan Lamaseries in Monguor life at that time: "nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries." Schram's description is probably of the Huzhu area, so we cannot conclude that Minhe Mangghuer were enrolled in lamaseries in the same proportions. However, since the Mangghuer are also followers of the same Yellow Sect as are the Mongghul of Huzhu, it seems reasonable that at least some significant portion of Mangghuer men have at times resided in lamaseries, as well.[5]

3.3.4.4 A Festival

An important festival in the Mangghuer calendar is the *nadun*, which Stuart and Hu (1993:15) describe as "a village-level harvest festival held from the twelfth of the seventh moon to the fifteenth of the ninth moon." The origins of this festival, they suggest, "may be in the festival nomadic Mongolians observe entitled *na:dam*" though the authors point out that this origin is far from certain.

Further description of the *nadun* festival can be found in Stuart and Hu (1991).

[5] Currently, the numbers must be vastly smaller. Kumbum lamasery, south of Xining, is said to have once had nearly 5000 lamas; when I visited in 1994, there were only a few hundred at most, and the majority of these seemed to be Han.

3.3.4.5 Summary

Cultural practices among the Mangghuer are drawn from at least these traditions: Tibetan, Han Chinese, and Mongolian. There may be other traditions represented in current practices, as well. For example, since little is known about the prehistory of the area, we should not rule out the possibility that some practices survive from pre-Yuan inhabitants.

The presence of such a broad base of cultural influences suggests a long history of close contact among these various groups; apparently, the Mangghuer have been participants in significant cultural interactions with their neighbors for many centuries.

3.3.5 Literacy and Education

Only a small handful of Mangghuer speakers -- perhaps half a dozen -- have attempted to work with a written form of this language. Among other Mangghuer, there is no literacy at all in the language.

However, many Mangghuer are literate in Written Chinese, since this is used in education. Access to formal education, as we will see below, is not consistent, so that competence in Written Chinese must vary widely, as well. In particular, men generally continue longer in school than do women. Similarly, those living in larger population centers tend to continue their formal education longer than do those in the countryside. Zhu Yongzhong reported to me (p.c.) that, in the early 1990's, no woman from his home village had ever remained in school beyond the junior high school level.

3.3.6 Multilingualism

Much of the foregoing discussion has involved the interaction of populations speaking different languages, and at times we have noted that a high degree of multilingualism characterizes this interaction. In this section, I will briefly summarize the use of multiple languages by Mangghuer and their near neighbors, since an understanding of this use is critical to an understanding of many language contact phenomena which we will examine in the structural and historical description of Mangghuer.

The most obvious situation of bilingualism among the Mangghuer at present is the high degree of competence in the local Mandarin dialect (usually called Qinghai Dialect), and, to a lesser degree, in Standard Mandarin. Zhu and Stuart (1995:198-99) mention several factors contributing to the continued rise in competence in Mandarin. They note:

> education in Chinese, improved transportation permitting greater access to the outside world, increased availability of printed materials in the Chinese language, and greater availability of electricity, which has brought Chinese radio and television broadcasts into many Minhe Monguor homes.

However, use of Chinese differs within the Mangghuer society. Those with greater social mobility tend to attain higher levels of Mandarin ability. Zhu and Stuart note, for instance, that (1995:198) "Tibetan and Monguor females, particulary those over the age of thirty, may not speak Chinese. This is explained by a lack of formal education and considerably less contact with the Chinese-speaking world."

In contrast to this, many Mangghuer have considerable contact with the Chinese-speaking world. My colleagues Dr. Wang and Mr. Zhu attended colleges in Xining, and where they spoke standard Mandarin. Dr. Wang continues to practice medicine in this setting. Mr. Qing Yongzhang, another Mangghuer speaker with whom I consulted, has a full-time position at the Qinghai Minorities Institute, where Mandarin is also the mode of interaction.

Zhu et al (in preparation 2) give brief ethnographic sketches of the contributors to this volume. Zhu Shanzhong, one of the Mangghuer storytellers, is described thus: "since 1984, he has traveled about once a year to work in Tibet, Xinjiang and western Qinghai mining gold, doing road work, carpentry and other jobs." Clearly, Mangghuer such as Mr. Zhu Shanzhong, who travel extensively, must have fairly high functional ability at least in some form of Mandarin Chinese.

It is not only the Mangghuer, however, who are bilingual at present. Just as many Mangghuer learn the language of their neighbors, so many of their neighbors learn Mangghuer; Zhu and Stuart (1995:198) note: "many Hui living in close proximity to Minhe Monguor have considerable competence in Monguor."

Historically, Mangghuer men living in the Yellow Sect lamaseries must certainly have attained significant competence in Amdo Tibetan. They also would have learned to read, with varying levels of skill, Written Tibetan. Some may also have learned some competence in speaking Central (Lhasa) Tibetan, (and perhaps other dialects) as a result of contact with Yellow Sect adherents from other Tibetan areas.

The Mangghuers' neighbors seem to have a similar history of multilingual interaction. Rockhill, in a diary of his second trip to the area, (1894:66) gives the following report:

> To my delight I found a party of Salar muleteers stopping in the inn, and we were soon on friendly terms, especially after I had read them the few Salar words I had taken down at Hsiang-t'ang [Minhe City] ... They were dressed in Chinese garb, but had nothing else Chinese about them. They all spoke fluently Chinese, Mongol and Tibetan. This knowledge they said is indespensable, as nearly the whole male population is occupied driving mules from Salar pa kun [region west of Xun Hua?] to Lusar [Kumbum] or Labrang gomba and the neighboring country, either carrying freight or pilgrims (chiefly Mongols) of whom large numbers visit yearly the numerous lamaist sanctuaries scattered through the mountains.

Even if this report overstates the facts, or lends too strong an impression of linguistic competence, it nonetheless may be taken as evidence of a extremely high degree of interaction among various groups at the time of Rockhill's visit. And this seems to be consistent with most descriptions of the area's patterns of inter-group relations.[6]

Regarding the current situation among Salar speakers, Kevin Stuart (p.c.) reports "a well-informed Tibetan living in Xunhua County told me in 1997 that 90% of Salar men over the age of 50 speak very good Amdo."

There is considerable additional evidence of such situations of bilingualism and language shift in the history of this area. For example, I have already referred to a large population in the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County, south of Minhe, near the Gansu-Qinghai-Sichuan border, who are described in an official publication as ethnic Mongolians who speak no Mongolian, but rather, speak Amdo Tibetan (Anonymous 1985:30).

There seem also to be a number of mixed languages with creole-like structures, which suggests an earlier period of intense contact. Some languages of this sort will be mentioned in section 4.4.2, below.

Schram's report (1954:69), cited in 3.3.2, above, of a Monguor clan member who enrolled in a Tibetan group and was "already speaking Tibetan" quite likely implies some sort of bilingual situation -- the family may already have spoken both languages at some level of proficiency before making the political switch.

Finally, Schram (1954:23) also mentions a clan of Salars which "has lost its Turkish language and now speaks Tibetan."

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[6] After his earlier trip, Rockhill had reported (1891:40) "the Salar have retained their original language, and still speak it with such purity that it is perfectly intelligible to the traders from Kashgar who come to Hsi-ning and Ho-chou." The author gives no evidence, but presumably he had evidence of some sort; nonetheless, this report seems somewhat far-fetched, especially as it contradicts Schram (1954:23), who lived in the area for a decade and reports "I have often been told by Uighurs from Sinkiang [Xinjiang] who used to come to Hsining every winter to deal in Russian leather, boots, and cloth that they could not understand the dialect either of the Salars or the Turkish-descended Monguors." These two authors' statements are hard to reconcile, and may both represent exaggerations of some sort.

It would seem that many generations of multilingualism have passed in the Qinghai-Gansu border area.

3.3.7 Summary

The discussion of this chapter has served to show that the makeup of the Mangghuer environment is linguistically, culturally, and ethnically complex. Furthermore, this complexity seems to have been a feature of the entire region, at least since the earliest detailed historical records.

Thus, it is impossible to conclude with certainty just what the history of the Mangghuer themselves has been. Most accounts posit a significant role of Mongolians in the formation of the Mangghuer, and the results of my linguistic study will be seen to support this. However, it seems also quite likely that significant intermingling between various ethnic groups has been a feature of the region for centuries, as it remains today.

Furthermore, we are utterly unable to comment on the very real possibility that historically documented settlers in the region, including Mongols, may have become intertwined with earlier residents of the area, whose ethnic and linguistic affiliations have only been guessed at by historical commentators.

A linguistic study of the sort undertaken here can certainly not be expected to clear up the historical issues raised here. However, we well see in Chapter 8 that some scenarios are more likely than others to have led to the current state of the Mangghuer language.

4 Previous Linguistic Studies

4.1 Minhe Mangghuer

To date, no author has attempted to produce a substantial characterization of the linguistic structures of Minhe Mangghuer. To my knowledge, the only relatively systematic investigation into Mangghuer grammar is that of Qinggeertai (1988); this work is actually a grammar of the Mongghul dialect, but the author frequently closes discussion of a particular syntactic construction by presenting a few Minhe Mangghuer equivalents for the Huzhu Mongghul examples he has given. Zhaonasitu (1981:86-92), also alludes to a few of the differences between the two dialects, but this treatment is extremely brief.

Another work of relevance is Zhu, Üjiyediin Chuluu and Stuart (1995), which presents a Mangghuer folktale, translated and parsed to the morpheme level. This work provides some helpful insights, but the brevity of the text presented

results in a fairly narrow range of syntactic phenomena occurring; furthermore, the analytical categories utilized are essentially those of Qinggeertai (1988) and Zhaonasitu (1981), which in some cases do not seem adequate for description of Mangghuer structure.

Another, somewhat more detailed analysis of Minhe Mangghuer syntax and morphology is presented in Zhu et al (1997). Here, as with Qinggeertai (1988), the discussion is oriented around the structures of another language, to which Mangghuer is simply compared. Nonetheless, the analysis of Mangghuer presented in this paper is couched in terms which are more familiar to linguists working outside of China, and it thus represents a more accessible introduction to the language than does most previous work.[7]

These few works represent the whole of linguistic analysis that has been published for Mangghuer. Clearly, much work remains to be done in adequately characterizing this language.

In addition to these examples of linguistic analysis, there have recently appeared several works which include Minhe Mangghuer texts. Wang, Zhu and Stuart (1995), Wang and Stuart (1995), and Zhu and Stuart (1996) give the texts of several Mangghuer songs. Zhu, Üjiyediin Chuluu and Stuart (1995), mentioned above, gives the text of a folktale, with English glossing.

Two important collections of Mangghuer text material are in preparation, and should appear soon. Zhu et al (In preparation 1) includes a large body of Mangghuer sentences, mostly translated from English, with English and Mongghul equivalents. A large collection of Mangghuer folklore texts will appear, with English translations, in Zhu et al (in preparation 2). It is from this body of folktale materials that most of the examples used in this dissertation will be drawn.

4.2 Other Mongolic Languages

In this section I will discuss the major linguistic publications dealing with other Mongolic languages.

Note that I use the term "Mongolic" in a traditional sense here. Several of these languages -- notably Santa and Gansu Baonan -- might more properly be called mixed languages, since they, like Minhe Mangghuer, show signs of massive influence from languages of other families. In this dissertation, I will not undertake to distinguish between languages which are genetically Mongolic and those which belong to a mixed type, since I am not qualified to evaluate the other languages adequately. However, in chapter 8, I will discuss the question of genetic

[7] As a significant contributor to that paper, however, I point out that this dissertation represents my latest thinking about Mangghuer; much of the analysis presented here is intended to supersede my contribution to the discussion in that paper.

relatedness within the Mongolic family, in the context of a discussion of language contact effects and "language family" relationships.

4.2.1 Huzhu Mongghul

The primary structural descriptions of Huzhu Mongghul are Qinggeertai (1988), De Smedt and Mostaert (1964), Üjiyediin Chuluu (1994), and Zhaonasitu (1981). Of these, Qinggeertai (1988) is the most ambitious and valuable, providing systematic description and examples of a fairly wide range of construction types.

De Smedt and Mostaert (1964) is primarily a morphological description. Zhaonasitu (1981) goes somewhat beyond this to the level of syntactic constructions, but is a work of limited goals and does not provide much detailed analysis. Üjiyediin Chuluu (1994) is essentially a translation of Qinggeertai's works,[8] and represents the first general description of the Huzhu Mongghul dialect in English.

Although these works provide a good foundation for the systematic study of Huzhu Mongghul, most retain traditional analytic terms, and thus sometimes present unsatisfying analyses.

Hasibate (1986) is a valuable lexicon, providing a wealth of material for etymological and phonological studies of Mongghul. Another important Mongghul lexicon is K. Li (1988), presenting Mongghul lexical items in the officially-approved Pinyin-based orthographic system.

Further lexical studies have been presented by Róna-Tas (1966) and Hua (1994). These two scholars of Amdo Tibetan independently examined Huzhu Mongghul lexical lists, identifying and classifying items which seem to be Tibetan borrowings.

A number of volumes have provided texts of Huzhu Mongol. Heissig (1980) presents a remarkable 12,000 verse transcription by Dominik Schröder of the Amdo epic of Geser. (According to Schröder's notes, this text represents only 2/3 of the entire epic; translations of only a few lines are provided.) Prior to his death, Schröder himself had published two earlier volumes of Huzhu Mongghul folktales, Schröder (1959, 1970), including translations.

Further text materials are presented by Qinggeertai, ed. (1986).

A large collection of Mongghul sentences will appear in Zhu et al (in preparation 1). and Zhu et al (in preparation 2) includes a body wedding songs, funeral lamentations, and folktales.

[8] In addition to the works in Chinese and English cited here, Qinggeertai has a number of Huzhu Mongghul descriptive works written in Mongolian. These are inaccessible to me at present, but are cited in Üjiyediin Chuluu (1994).

4.2.2 Tongren Monguor (Qinghai Baonan)

The term "Baonan" (*baoan* 保安) is used among linguists in China to refer to a language spoken in the Tongren region of Qinghai province. This usage is based on the presence of a town named *Baoan* in the near vicinity, and is reflected in Figure 1.2 -- this group is the westernmost of the two groups so labelled.

C. Li (1983:39) is referring to this group when he notes that "there remain approximately 2,000 Baonan people in Qinghai who are Lama Buddhists. But they consider themselves Tuzu."

Since both the people themselves and the Chinese government classify this population as Monguor (*Tuzu* 土族); I refer to this as a language of the Monguor group.[9] In the description, we well see that Tongren Monguor does, in fact, share a great many characteristics with Minhe Mangghuer and with Huzhu Mongghul.

The primary structural description of Tongren Monguor is Chen (1986a). A dictionary is provided by Chen, ed. (1985), and Chen, ed. (1986b) contains text materials for this language.

4.2.3 Gansu Baonan

Western publications which refer to the "Baonan" language generally follow the work of C. Li (1983, 1984, 1985, 1986), which examines a language of Gansu province, immediately across the Yellow River from the Mangghuer (see Figure 1.2).

In contrast to the "Baonan" of Tongren, in Qinghai province, discussed immediately above, this group "is composed of approximately 5,000 Moslems occupying five villages in Jishishan county. They migrated to their present homeland in the mid-nineteenth century from Qinghai province because of religious strife with the Lama Buddhists" (C. Li 1983:39). C. Li goes on to note that the Qinghai group's language differs from this Gansu group's language "in that the former is primarily influenced by Tibetan, whereas the latter are heavily sinicized" (1983:39).

The other major study of this language, which remains unpublished, is C. Li's (ms) *A Dictionary of Baonan*.

[9] Though Kevin Stuart (p.c.) reports that at least some members of this group do not like this label for themselves.

4.2.4 Santa

Santa is known in Chinese as *Dongxiang* (东乡). The linguistic structures of this language have been described extensively in Field (1994, 1997) and Buhe (1986a). Buhe, ed. (1983) is a valuable lexicon, and Field (1991) describes the extensive borrowing of Hui Chinese lexical items into this language.

A significant body of texts for Santa can be found in Buhe, ed. (1986b).

4.2.5 Khalkha Mongolian

This is the best-described of the Mongolic languages, and is the dialect most commonly intended when the term "Mongolian" is used by any linguist.

There is a great deal of description available for Khalkha Mongolian at many levels of structure. Important descriptions of Khalkha include Binnick (1979), Street (1963), and Poppe (1951, 1970).

Perhaps the two most helpful sources are Qinggeertai (1991), which analyses Khalkha structures in linguistic terms current in China, and Kullman and Tserenpil (1996), which is a teaching grammar. These two works are both quite ambitious in scope, and provide a wealth of examples, as well as extensive systematic analyses of phonology, morphology and syntax.

4.2.6 Eastern Yugur

Linguistic structures of Eastern Yugur are outlined in Bao and Jia (1990). A lexicon is Bao, ed. (1984). Text materials for this language are presented in Bao and Jia (1988).

4.2.7 Dagur

A structural description of Dagur is Enhebatu (1988). Enhebatu, ed. (1984) is a lexicon for this language, and Enhebatu, ed. (1985) provides a collection of text materials. Martin (1960) also provides structural description as well as texts and a lexicon for Dagur.

4.2.8 Undescribed Mongolic Languages

I do not have firsthand knowledge of additional languages which bear close resemblance to Mongolic. However, Dr. Wang Xianzheng, a Mangghuer speaker,

mentioned (p.c.) a language which may be different enough to count as a separate system. In the extreme Southwest corner of Minhe County, bordering on the Xunhua Salar region, there is the village Zhao Mu Chuan (see Anonymous 1986, map preceding page 1). Dr. Wang's report is that this village of perhaps 1000 speaks a language quite different from nearby Mangghuer dialects, with notable similarities to Salar and Dongxiang.

Onsite linguistic investigation will clearly be needed, but this observation suggests that the full range of variation in Mongolic languages, at least of the Inner Asian frontier area, remains to be characterized. Given the staggering incidence of language mixing alluded to above (more details of which will be seen in the following sections), this should hardly be surprising.

Within the Huzhu Mongghul dialect area, too, further investigation may turn up dramatically different linguistic systems. One might wish, as a start, to visit the Tianzhu area of Gansu province. It is reported (see Figure 1.2) that Mongghul is spoken in this region, but its geographic separation from other Mongghul areas might lead us to expect, at the very least, significant dialect differences.

4.2.9 Historical and Comparative Mongolic Studies

I am not aware of any comparative study of Mongolic languages at the syntactic level, but some good materials exist for other structural levels. Sun (1990) is a very helpful comparative lexicon, including data from 17 Mongolic dialects and languages; this work makes it convenient to do lexical and phonological studies for the language family. Kuribayashi (1989) is a similar work on a much smaller scale.

Poppe (1955) provides useful morphological comparison of a number of Mongolic languages. Binnick (1987) discusses phonological and morphological comparative Mongolic research. Wu (1996) surveys the forms and functions of tense suffixes in a number of Mongolic languages.

Mongolian has a long written history, as well as a long tradition of scholarly analysis. Poppe (1974) outlines morphosyntax of written Mongolian across several centuries. Street (1957) focuses on the linguistic structures found in the Secret History of the Mongols, a historical work about the Mongol conquests; it dates from the mid-thirteenth century AD (Street 1957:1). In addition to morphological information, with which these studies are mostly concerned, we also find here our best sources for description of the history of Mongolic syntax.

4.3 Other Languages Relevant to this Study

4.3.1 Chinese Dialects

4.3.1.1 Qinghai/Gansu Mandarin

Several interesting papers have described Chinese dialects of the Gansu/Qinghai border area, though little work has been done in the immediate vicinity of Minhe Mangghuer speakers. Nonetheless, it seems that many dialects in this region share a number of structural features.

Dede (1993) outlines a number of contact-induced features of Qinghai-Gansu area Chinese dialects and supplies a valuable review of Chinese sources.

The Chinese scholars K. Li (1987), Song (1990, 1991) and Jia (1991) all discuss particular grammatical morphemes in Qinghai Chinese, demonstrating similarities in their functions to devices in Altaic languages. X. Cheng (1980) also describes morphosyntax of Qinghai Mandarin which seems to be borrowed from neighboring languages, emphasizing the similarity of some Tibetan constructions.

A lengthy description of Xining dialect is provided by Zhang and Zhu (1987). This work emphasizes phonological and lexical studies, and also provides some syntactic description.

Dede (ms) gives a detailed sociolinguistic study of the ablative postposition in Xining dialect, which probably originated as a borrowing from Monguor (most likely Huzhu Mongghul, the geographically nearest form).

Perhaps the best-described Chinese dialect of the border area is that of Linxia, in Gansu province. In a series of studies, C. Li (1983, 1984, 1985, 1986) examines phonological, morphological and syntactic phenomena of this dialect. Other treatments include those of Dwyer (1992) and Wang (1993). All of these studies emphasize heavily the degree to which this dialect has features similar to those of neighboring languages.

In another study, Xie, Hua and Zhang (1996) note specifically that Linxia Chinese has features which may be attributed to borrowing from neighboring Amdo Tibetan.

Field (1994; dissertation) represents the most detailed study available of the phonological effects of language contact in the region. This author details effectively the massive similarities between the phonological structures of Linxia Hui and the Santa language.

To my knowledge, only one article describes the Chinese dialect spoken in the same region as Minhe Mangghuer. This is Zhu et al (1997), which provides valuable information about ways in which Minhe Mangghuer has influenced the Chinese dialect of Gangou, in Minhe county.

4.3.1.2 Standard Mandarin

Standard Mandarin Chinese has been described in numerous scholarly publications. Perhaps two of the most important structural descriptions are the grammars of Chao (1968) and Li and Thompson (1981). Norman (1988) is another helpful overview.

4.3.2 Amdo Tibetan

While Central (Lhasa) Tibetan has received fairly extensive treatment by linguists, dialects of the northeastern Amdo region have not been investigated in much detail to date. The most valuable sources for Amdo are the works of J. Sun (1986, 1993). The former is a phonological description, and the latter a study of the evidential system which is common to Amdo and many other Tibetan languages (see Chapter 5, below). Hua and Long, eds. (1993) is a valuable lexicon of spoken Amdo Tibetan.[10]

Some limited structural information can also be gleaned from Qu (1991).

An earlier work on Amdo structure is Roerich (1958), which includes sections on phonology and morphology, as well as some texts and a wordlist. Gō et al (1954), is a much more ambitious lexicon. Rockhill (1891) also contains a brief wordlist.

4.3.3 Salar

To date, very little has been published concerning the structures of Salar, the only Turkic language spoken in the near vicinity of Minhe Mangghuer.

The only general structural description currently available for Salar is Lin (1985), which contains a phonological and grammatical sketch, as well as a Chinese-Salar vocabulary list.

Other works provide description only of specific morphosyntactic topics in Salar. For example, Han (1990a) gives primarily morphological information about Salar verbs, and Han (1990b) provides a few additional syntactic notes.

Hahn (1988) illustrates a number of features of Salar which seem to have originated in neighboring languages. He also points out that Salar seems to show features of more than one Turkic subgroup, and suggests that this is due to the

[10] There is some additional work on Amdo which has been published recently in China. However, this work generally presents Amdo materials in standard Written Tibetan, which I do not read.

adding of features during medieval geographic migrations, which presumably enabled the intermingling of speakers of multiple related dialects.

A body of Salar text material is presented, without analysis, in Ma, Ma and Ma (1993).

Menges (1968) contains a comparative study of Turkic, with primarily phonological and morphological information. Poppe (1965) considers Turkic languages in relation to other languages in the Altaic family.

4.4 Language Contact

4.4.1 Basic Framework

An important perspective on language change is the study of language contact. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) provide the classic formulation of goals and methods for this type of study, pointing out that it is the nature of social interactions which determines the ways in which languages may influence each other when their speakers come into contact with one another. Their perspective is thus a social approach to historical linguistics.

Thomason and Kaufman also argue for a class of mixed languages, which they describe (1988:200) as being "not genetically related to any of the languages that contributed to their lexical and structural systems, because they did not arise through a process of normal transmission -- that is, the transmission of an entire single set of interrelated lexical and structural features." The authors thus seek to help in "identifying, retrospectively, languages that **cannot** be used in the reconstruction of any proto-language" (1988:201).

Thurgood (1996) shows that linguistic change may be attributable to contact influence, even when there are plausible internal explanations for observed changes. In characterizing phonological developments in the Chamic family, Thurgood notes (1996:29):

> Several characteristics of the interaction between internal and external influences are important to note. Contact triggered the changes and provided their direction--the changes were not the chance outcome of a series of undirected responses to language-internal pressures. In each case, which phonetic features of the earlier register system were to rise to prominence and which features were to recede into the background was determined by which features were salient in the phonological system of the contact language.

Language change, according to these authors, can be significantly shaped by the influence of other languages with which speakers have contact. In fact, Thurgood suggests that "external rather than internal paths may be the primary determinant of the direction of change" (1996:30).

An important aspect of language contact studies has been the characterization of *linguistic areas* -- regions in which a number of languages, related and unrelated, acquire a similar set of linguistic features. Masica (1976) is an important study, outlining an approach to an area of this nature.

4.4.2 Specific Studies in Northwest China

Practically any structural description of any language at the Qinghai-Gansu border area makes at least passing mention of language contact phenomena. This area is such a hotbed of cultural and linguistic mixing that no language seems to be immune from undergoing significant influences from the speech of neighboring groups. Thus, one of the first impressions which strikes the linguist is that *this* language -- whichever language one happens to be studying -- resembles in dramatic ways the surrounding languages of different language families. None of *these* languages seem typologically coherent, since all seem to be in the process of borrowing massively from one another at virtually all levels of linguistic structure and converging towards a regionally-unique pattern. The resulting bundle of structural features found in each language includes some from typologically disparate sources, and thus, none of the languages adhere closely to the typological features expected within any of the source language families.

This Inner Asian frontier, then, has the characteristics of a *linguistic area* or *sprachbund*. Structural features of the languages of the region are coherent in comparison to neighboring languages, but not particularly so when compared to Altaic, Sinitic, Bodic or Turkic family characteristics.

As a result, most of the studies of individual languages which have been mentioned in this chapter make at least some mention of language contact phenomena, and many focus on this as their primary area of emphasis.

Rather than simply re-listing all such studies from above, let us here simply mention a few which take a generally broader perspective, attempting to characterize the processes which may be discovered across the various language contact situations found in the area. Perhaps the most important of these are C. Li (1983), Dwyer (1992) and Dede (1993).

C. Li and Dede, in particular, focus attention on creole-like languages which have not been mentioned in my discussion so far. The Wutun language (C. Li 1983, 1984; Dede 1993:99-109) is a mixed language with a Chinese lexical base and Altaic and/or Tibetan morphosyntax. C. Li (1983:319) calls Wutun "a Chinese

language ... which, under the influence of Tibetan and Altaic languages, has lost its tones and acquired a rich agglutinative morphology as well as strict verb-final word order." (Some details of Wutun morphology are also outlined in Chen (1989).)

Another language which seems to have arisen from a mixing of features from different language families is the Tangwang language (Dede 1993:110-116).

Dwyer (1992) examines the presence of several related morphemes across various language families of the region, and discusses their spread in the context of the social relations among various groups, following the lead of Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

It seems clear, then, that much remains to be discovered in this culturally and linguistically complex area. None of the languages mentioned so far has yet been adequately described, and the region is almost sure to yield numerous other, distinct linguistic systems, once more detailed study is undertaken.

In addition to studies which focus specifically on Northwest China, many authors describing Mandarin in general have noted the likelihood of Altaic influence in Northern Chinese dialects. For one such statement, we may consult Hashimoto (1986), who notes that Northern and Southern Chinese dialects differ in ways which make each more similar to the languages of surrounding families; he reports that his examination of phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of various Chinese dialects "leads us to the Tai or some Austronesian connection of the Chinese language on its southern border, and to the Altaic connection on its northern frontier" (1986:77).

5 The Current Study

5.1 Goals and Philosophy

My perspective is basically that of a functional linguist. An adequate understanding of linguistic structures entails, in my opinion, an understanding of the use to which those structures are put. Similarly, an adequate understanding the synchronic state of a language entails an account of the factors, both external and internal, which influenced the language's development in the particular ways in which it did develop, rather than in some other possible direction. A characterization which takes seriously all of these concerns may be said not only to *describe* the language, but also to *explain* the reasons for its form.

I cannot claim, of course, to be able to provide an adequate account of most Mangghuer structures, if adequacy is held to the standard just outlined. The data available for this study allows only preliminary suggestions as to what really led to the current state of Mangghuer. Much work remains to be done.

Nonetheless, many facts do seem clear from the available data, and I will try to limit my conclusions to the most obvious of these, indicating by liberal use of hedges and responsibility-avoiders when my analyses seem to me more than usually speculative, or particularly likely to be overturned (or at least refined) by the examination of more, or of different types of, data.

5.2 Data

My primary database of 15 Mangghuer folktale narratives consists of roughly 1400 clauses. These tales were originally told by three different native Minhe Mangghuer speakers, and were recorded and transcribed, and translated into English, by Zhu Yongzhong, himself another native Mangghuer speaker. These texts were parsed and glossed by Mr. Zhu and myself during the summer of 1994. When the narratives were originally edited by Mr. Zhu, false starts, disfluencies, and listener contributions were removed. They therefore do not represent completely spontaneous production of Mangghuer speech, but there is no reason to believe that in transcription they have become any less grammatical, and they thus suffice nicely for the purposes of this study.[11]

In the process of parsing and glossing the Minhe folktale narratives, Mr. Zhu and I also produced 40 pages of grammatical and semantic annotations, which provide further materials for analysis of the structures found in the texts.

The folktale materials will be supplemented by the extensive elicitation notes which I gathered during my 1994 fieldtrip. This material records the speech of two young Mangghuer speakers, Mr. Qing Yongzhang and Mr. Zhu Yongzhong, with whom I worked over a six-week period. This data comprises approximately 750 sentence units, elicited systematically to cover a wide variety of morphological and syntactic construction types. It additionally includes a systematic elicitation of some Mangghuer finite verb paradigms.

The elicited materials and the folktales (in their edited form), as well as an extensive wordlist comprising almost 2000 items, have all been preserved on high-quality audio recordings, which will facilitate my analysis of the Mangghuer phonological system.

Another significant source of data is Stuart and Limusishiden (1995), which includes roughly an additional 1300 sentences of Minhe Mangghuer, most of them produced by Mangghuer co-authors as elicitation-like translations of English sentences.

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[11] The texts were processed with the Summer Institute of Linguistics' *Shoebox* interlinearizer program, and imported into Microsoft's *Access* database manager.

Additional data is found in Chinggeltei's (1988) Mangghuer examples. This author presents about 123 Minhe translations of sentence-length Huzhu Mongghul examples, illustrating a variety of construction types. Also included is a comparative Monguor dialect wordlist, with approximately 460 lexical items from Huzhu, Minhe, and two other Monguor dialect locations.

Further data has been provided through elicitation by Mr. Hu Jun, a Minhe Mangghuer now studying in the United States.

Wherever possible, the structural descriptions presented in the dissertation will be illustrated with data of the most natural sorts; however, for ease, clarity, or both, I will also present data garnered by elicitation or from published sources.

5.3 Methods and Terminology

Descriptive and historical discussions will be framed in the terms used in typological studies of language. My basic perspective is similar to that of, for example, Croft (1990), whose work falls into the tradition founded by Joseph Greenberg (see especially Greenberg 1966, ed. 1978). A broad approach to language typology can also be found in Shopen, ed. (1985).

Though I will not consult these typological works at every point of this discussion, their basic philosophy and approach to terminology and description have heavily influenced my own work.

My perspective on syntactic and morphological change has been influenced signifincantly by the study of grammaticization (or grammaticalization), and this perspective will shape many parts of the historical discussion. Grammaticization theory is introduced well in Hopper and Traugott (1993) and in Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991).

A bit of terminology which may be somewhat ideosyncratic deserves comment. When discussing, for example, the replacement of Mongolic lexical items with Chinese borrowings in Mangghuer, I will use two different sets of terms. From the perspective of the original system, such replacement may represent a sort of breakdown, and phrases such as "the **erosion** of the Mongolic lexical base" will be used. From another perspective, this may be seen as an enhancement of the system, as new terms are incorporated into it; so descriptions such as "the **enrichment** of Monguor vocabulary" will appear, as well. Such terms are intended to be colorful, rather than evaluative.

The historical portions of this project mostly aim at clarifying the effects of language contact in the development of Mangghuer. This overall goal has two main subparts.

First, I will compare Mangghuer structures to those of other Mongolic languages, focusing heavily on Khalkha Mongolian (which is the best described of these languages) and also on the geographically closest neighbors, Santa, Qinghai

Baonan, Huzhu Mongghul and Tongren Monguor. These comparative sections set the stage for discovering contact-induced changes in Mangghuer, since they suggest what features have most likely been inherited from Mongolic into the language. These comparisons also help to clarify some issues related to possible subgroupings of the various languages within the Mongolic family. All of these comparative issues are discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

Second, I will compare Mangghuer structures with those of Chinese and (where data allows) Amdo Tibetan and Salar. These languages have been in intense contact with Mangghuer, and will be seen to yield some help in understanding the historical changes which have occurred in this language. A summary of the language contact issues which are discussed in this work is also presented in chapter 8.

5.4 Major Contributions

The most important contribution which this study intends to make is simply to make available a reliable and reasonably broad description of the Mangghuer language.

This study is not a reference grammar, though it goes as far in that direction as I dare, and perhaps somewhat further than it ought.

As I have already noted, no linguist who has studied languages of the Qinghai-Gansu border area has failed to be impressed by the pervasive language contact phenomena to be observed here. Mangghuer, like other languages in the area, provides a wide range of evidence for contact-induced change, in every corner of the linguistic system.

Thus, I will focus heavily on characterizing these phenomena, in particular attempting to show their implications for a deeper understanding of grammaticization processes, and other mechanisms of historical change in language.

In this endeavor, I hope to make some contribution to current understanding of grammaticization, and of language change in general. My observations will not lead to radical new proposals, but will simply build on the foundation of the studies I have mentioned in this chapter, offering more detailed study than has thus far been produced of the mechanisms of grammatical change under language contact conditions.

Language contact phenomena in Mangghuer also lead to some clarification of the notion of a linguistic area. The Inner Asian Frontier seems a nearly ideal candidate for designation as a linguistic area, and consideration of the Mangghuer data suggests some generalizations about the nature of contact-induced change in such an area. Further, once we look at Mangghuer as a language undergoing changes induced by its areal context, we will see significant difficulties in the

traditional approach to classifying Mangghuer as a member of the Mongolic language family.

In chapter 5, the features of the Mangghuer evidential system are outlined. This represents, to my knowledge, the first attempt to reconcile treatment of a Mongolic evidential system with published descriptions of evidentiality in Bodic languages. Since the systems are quite clearly related, a reconciliation of this sort is needed, in order to suggest the paths by which evidential categories must have come into the few Mongolic languages which have them.

Another significant contribution comes in the treatment of Mangghuer clause combining, presented in chapter 6. This discussion leads to some contributions to a cross-linguistic understanding of subordination and cosubordination.

Chapter 2
Phonology

This phonological sketch presents an analysis of the Minhe Mangghuer dialect of Mr. Zhu Yongzhong. Significant variation has been noticed in the speech of different Minhe Mangghuer users, but a systematic examination of this variation will have to await further study. Except where otherwise noted, I limit myself here to describing the phonological system of a single speaker.

Section 1 deals with segmental phonology. Here, the phonemic inventory is laid out, with description of allophonic variations. This is followed by discussions of vowel devoicing and spirantization, two important processes. The section closes with a historical perspective, demonstrating the borrowing into Minhe Mangghuer of segmental phones not originally found in Mongolic, and the spread of those phonemes into native Mongolic words.

Section 2 adopts a combinatorial perspective, outlining the features of Minhe Mangghuer syllable structure.

In section 3, the suprasegmental feature stress is examined. This section also discusses the phonological evidence for word boundaries, as well as the status of stressed and unstressed clitics.

Section 4 considers the Minhe Mangghuer historical data in light of the perspective of Thurgood (1996), who discusses the role of internal and external factors in phonological drift.

1 Segmental Phonology

1.1 Phonemic Inventory

1.1.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Minhe Mangghuer are given in Table 1. Represented here are the orthographic symbols, rather than phonetic ones. Following the table, phonetic realizations of each consonant phoneme are discussed.

		labial	alveolar	post-alveolar laminal (*palatal*)[1]	post-alveolar apical (*retroflex*)	velar	uvular
-voice	stop +asp	p^h (*p*)	t^h (*t*)			k^h (*k*)	q^h (*kh*)
	stop -asp	p (*b*)	t (*d*)			k (*g*)	q (*gh*)
	affr. +asp		ts^h (*c*)	$tɕ^h$ (*q*)	$tʂ^h$ (*ch*)		
	affr. -asp		ts (*z*)	tɕ (*j*)	tʂ (*zh*)		
	fricative	f (*f*)	s (*s*)	ɕ (*x*)	ʂ (*sh*)		χ (*h*)
+voice	nasal	m (*m*)	n (*n*)			ŋ (*ng*)	
	liquid		l (*l*)		ɻ (*r*)		
	glide[2]	w (*u, o, w*)		j (*i, y*)			

Table 2.1 Minhe Mangghuer Consonant Phonemes
(Orthographic symbols in parentheses)

1.1.1.1 Aspirated Stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /kh/

/p/ is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop [p^h]. It appears word-initially as in (1a); /p/ appears word-medially only in Chinese borrowings, such as (1b). /p/ does not appear in any syllable coda.

(1) a [$p^hʊ$'sa] *pusa* 'another, again'
b [tɕim'p^hæn] *jinpan* 'gold plates' (CH: 金盘)[3]

/t/ is a voiceless aspirated alveolar stop [t^h]. It appears word-initially, as in (2a), and word-medially, as in (2b). /t/ does not appear in syllable codas.

[1] Post-alveolar laminal consonants correspond to what are generally called "palatals" in Chinese linguistics; post-alveolar apical consonants are slightly retroflexed, and thus correspond to "retroflexes" in that tradition. In order to make my discussion more accessible to those familiar with Chinese linguistic literature, I will generally use the terms *palatal* and *retroflex* for these categories. See 1.4.2 for detailed discussion of the phonemic status of palatal obstruents in both Minhe Mangghuer and Mandarin Chinese.
[2] In keeping with the *pinyin* orthography adopted here, there are multiple orthographic representations for the glides w and y. These will be discussed in section 1.5.
[3] When citing Chinese borrowings into Mangghuer to demonstrate phonological points, I have included only forms which I have observed integrated into Mongolic morphosyntactic constructions. Items which I have observed only in code-switching may not yet have become a systematic part of Mangghuer phonology, and are not used for evidence in this section.

(2) a [t^ha] *ta* '2nd Plural Pronoun'
b [mə't^{h}u] *metu* 'wood'

/k/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop [k^h]. It appears word-initially, (3a), and word-medially, (3b). /k/ does not appear in syllable codas.

(3) a [kə̥'li] *keli* 'to say'
b [t^hɪ̥'k^hə˞] *tiker* 'past'

/kh/ is a voiceless aspirated uvular stop [q^h]. It appears word-initially as in (4).

(4) a [q^ha] *kha* 'cover'

There are no occurrences of word-medial /kh/ in my data. Since /h/ does appear intervocalically (see 1.1.1.5, below), we might say that the contrast between /kh/ and /h/ is neutralized in this position. Alternately, since /gh/ also appears intervocalically (see 1.1.1.2), /kh/ can be said not to contrast with that phoneme in this position. At present, the most accurate statement which we can make is simply that /kh/ does not appear intervocalically, while both /h/ and /gh/ do.

1.1.1.2 Unaspirated Stops /b/, /d/, /g/, /gh/

/b/ is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop [p]. It appears word-initially as in (5a), and word-medially as in (5b). /b/ does not appear in a syllable coda.

(5) a [paw] *bao* 'to go down, descend; PROHIBITIVE'
b [k^həpə'qʁə] *kebeghe* 'wheat bran'

/d/ is a voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop [t]. It appears word-initially, (6a), and word-medially, (6b). /d/ does not appear in any syllable coda.

(6) a [tɯ] *di* 'to eat'
b [maj'tjɛ] *maidie* 'to know'

/g/ is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop [k]. It appears word-initially, as in (7a), and word-medially, as in (7b). /g/ does not appear in the coda of a syllable.

(7) a [kɔ˞] *ger* 'house'
b [a'kwɔ˞] *aguer* 'daughter'

/gh/ is a voiceless unaspirated uvular stop [q]. It appears word-initially, as in (8a). When /gh/ appears in an intervocalic position, it may optionally undergo spirantization, becoming either an affricate or a fricative, as shown in (8b). /gh/ does not appear in syllable codas.

(8) a [qa] *gha* 'bowl'
b [t^haj'qaj ~ t^haj'qʁaj ~ t^haj'ʁaj] *taighai* 'head'

1.1.1.3 Aspirated Affricates /c/, /q/, /ch/[4]

/c/ is a voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h]. It appears word-initially, as in (9).

(9) [ts^hụto'r^{w}o] *cudoro* 'inside'

/c/ has an optionally appearing allophone [s], which apparently may occur any time this phoneme does. This is illustrated in (10):

(10) [ts^haj ~ saj] *cai~sai* 'dish, vegetable' (CH: 菜)

The only examples of word-medial /c/ which I have found are in exclamatory items, such as (11). Since these are exclamations, we cannot assume that they represent the normal system of Minhe Mangghuer phonology. I have found no other instances of word-medial /c/, and we can thus conclude that /c/ does not systematically appear word-medially.

(11) [ats^{h}aja] *acaya*[5] 'EXCLAMATION'

/c/ also does not appear in syllable codas.

/q/ is a voiceless aspirated palatal affricate [$tɕ^h$]. It appears word-initially, as in (12a), and word-medially, as in (12b). /q/ does not appear in the coda of a syllable.

[4] The status of affricates as single consonants will be discussed in section 2.3, below.
[5] This exclamation also does not seem to have a clear stress pattern.

(12) a [$tɕ^h$j] *qi* '2nd person singular pronoun'
b [n^{w}o'$tɕ^h$ɪ] *nuoqi* 'to pass'

/ch/ is a voiceless aspirated retroflex affricate [$tʂ^h$]. It appears both word-initially, as in (13a), and word-medially, as in (13b). /ch/ does not appear in any syllable coda.

(13) a [$tʂ^h$ən'lɪ] *chenli* 'to hear'
b [lu'$tʂ^h$u] *luchu* 'rolling stone'

More than half of the occurences of /ch/ in word-initial position are in items borrowed from Chinese; however, (13a) illustrates that it also appears in Mongolic lexemes.

1.1.1.4 Unaspirated Affricates /z/, /j/, /zh/

/z/ is a voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate [ts]. It appears word-initially, as in (14a), and also word-medially, as in (14b). Occasionally, speakers may choose to use [s] as an allophone of /z/, in free variation with [z]; this seems to be possible whenever /z/ appears. This alternation is illustrated in (14c). /z/ does not appear in coda position of a syllable.

(14) a [ts^{w}o'n^{w}o] *zuonuo* 'bumblebee'
b [kɔ'tsaj] *gezai* 'good'
c [saj'hã ~ tsaj'hã] *saihang/zaihang* 'beautiful'

/j/ is a voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate [tɕ]. It appears word-initially as in (15a) and word-medially as in (15b,c). /j/ does not appear in syllable codas.

(15) a [tɕaw'tʊn] *jiaodun* 'dream'
b [k^hə'tɕɛ] *kejie* 'when'
c [ɕụ'tɕʊn] *xujun* 'daughter'

/zh/ is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex affricate [tʂ]. It appears in word-initial or word-medial position, as illustrated by (16a) and (16b), respectively. /zh/ does not appear in the coda of a syllable.

(16) a [tʂa'lə˞] *zhaler* 'young man, hired farmhand'
b [qa'tʂə˞] *ghazher* 'field, ground'

1.1.1.5 Fricatives /f/, /s/, /x/, /sh/, /h/

/f/ is a voiceless labio-dental fricative [f]. It generally occurs in Chinese borrowings, but is also found in some Mongolic roots.[6] /f/ does not appear in syllable codas.

(17) a [fuma] *fuma* 'official's son-in-law' (CH: 驸马)
b [pæn'fa] *banfa* 'means, method' (CH: 办法)
c [fa'ʂi] *fashi* 'shaman' (CH: 法师)

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. It appears word-initially, as in (18a), and word-medially, as in (18b). /s/ does not appear in the coda of any syllable.

(18) a [sʊ̟'kwo] *suguo* 'ax'
b [law'sa] *laosa* 'mule'

/x/ is a voiceless palatal fricative [ɕ]. It appears word-initially (19a) and word-medially (19b). Word-medial /x/ is rare, and most of the instances in which it does occur in this position, the lexical items are Chinese borrowings. /x/ does not appear in syllable codas.

(19) a [ɕi] *xi* 'go'
b [nʲi'ɕjə˞] *nixier* 'earring'

/sh/ is a voiceless retroflex fricative [ʂ]. It appears in word-initial and word-medial position, as illustrated by (20a) and (20b). /sh/ does not appear in the codas of syllables.

(20) a [ʂʊ̟'nɪ] *shini* 'new; to smile'
b [mʊqa'ʂɪ] *mughashi* 'tomorrow'

/h/ is a uvular fricative [χ]. It appears in initial (21a) and medial (22b) positions in a word; about half of its occurrences are in Chinese borrowings. /h/ does not appear in syllable codas.

[6] The interesting history of this phoneme is the subject of section 1.4.3.

(21) a [χɑ̃^{m}pʊ'ra] *hangbura* 'to rest'
b [saj'χɑŋ] *saihang* 'beautiful'

In addition to the phonetic value of a uvular fricative [χ], /h/ may also be realized as the glottal fricative [h]. These two allophones seem to vary rather freely, and are illustrated in (22a-b). The rare velar allophone [x] appears in (22c), apparently conditioned by the preceding velar nasal [ŋ].

(22) a [haj'nɑŋ ~ χaj'nɑŋ] *hainang* 'one's own shoes'
b [saj'hɑŋ ~ saj'χɑŋ] *saihang* 'beautiful'
c [mɑŋ'xutsɨ] *manghuzi* 'monster'

1.1.1.6 Nasals /m/, /n/, /ng/

/m/ is a bilabial nasal [m]. It appears both word-initially and word-medially, as in (23a) and (23b). /m/ does not appear in syllable codas.

(23) a [mo'ʐæ̃] *moran* 'large river; the Yellow River'
b [a'ma] *ama* 'mouth'

/n/ is an alveolar nasal [n]. It appears in word-initial position, as in (24a), word-medial position, as in (24b), and in syllable codas, as in (24c).

(24) a [nu'tu] *nudu* 'eye'
b [sa'na] *sana* 'to check'
c [k^{h}æn] *kan* 'who'

/ng/ is a velar nasal [ŋ]. It appears only in syllable codas, as in (25).

(25) [kwɑ̃ŋ] *guang* 'non-1st evidential negative copula'

Word-final /ng/ is usually realized only by nasalization on the preceding vowel. This is also true of word-final /n/, although it is much less common with this phoneme, which usually appears as its fully consonantal allopone [n]. Thus, we find:

(26) a [bɑŋ ~ bɑ̃] *bang* 'non-1st evidential copula'
b [mo'z̩æn ~ mo'z̩æ̃] *moran* 'large river; the Yellow River'

This alternation is an optional allophonic variation, but it is so common with /ng/ as to suggest that word-final /ng/ may soon be lost entirely, and replaced by contrastive vowel nasalization. Word-final /n/, however, is much more robust, and does not seem in danger of a similar disappearance.

1.1.1.7 Liquids /l/, /r/

/l/ is an alveolar lateral approximant [l]. It appears word-initially as in (27a) and word-medially as in (27b). /l/ does not appear in syllable codas.

(27) a [lə˞tɕɪ'qə] *lerjighe* 'suddenly'
b [amʊ'la] *amula* 'fruit'

/r/ is a retroflex liquid which has three allophones: a voiced retroflex flap [ɾ]; a voiced retroflex approximant [ɻ]; and a voiced retroflex fricative [z̩]. The allophone [ɻ] is a permissable realization of this phoneme in any syllable-initial context. The allophone [z̩] most often appears when /r/ is the onset of a word-initial syllable, or of a stressed syllable, as in (28a) and (28b), respectively.[7]

(28) a [z̩wo] *ruo* to enter
b [tɕa'ɻi̩ ~ tɕa'z̩i̩] *jiari* to kill

The allophone [ɾ] most often appears when /r/ occurs intervocalically in the onset of an unstressed syllable, as in:

(29) [ɕi̩tɛɾa'lɑŋ] *xideralang* 'be like; resemble (non-1st evidential form)'

/r/ may also appear in the coda of a syllable; in fact about half of the occurrences of this phoneme are in syllable-final position. When /r/ appears in this position, it coalesces with the preceding vowel into a portmanteau realization, which is phonetically [ə˞]. This is discussed in detail in section 2.5.1. Some examples are:

[7] A general statement concerning spirantization of /r/ and other sounds is provided in section 1.3.

(30) a [kə˞] *ger* 'house'
b [twə˞] *duer* 'day'

1.1.1.8 Glides /w/, /y/

/w/ is a bilabial central approximant [w]. It may appear in initially in a word, as in (31a), and word-medially, as in (31b).

(31) a [wej'ljɛ] *weilie* 'work'
b [ʷo'wə˞] *wower*[8] 'cave'

/w/ may also appear as the second member of a consonant cluster in a syllable onset, as illustrated in (32a-c):

(32) a [kʰwə˞] *kuer* 'arrive'
b [ɕwɛ] *xue* 'study' (CH: 学)
c [kwi] *gui* '1st evidential negative copula'

/w/ is also one of the five consonants which may appear in syllable coda position, as illustrated in (33).

(33) a [paw] *bao* 'to go down'
b [χow] *hou* 'back'

/y/ is a voiced palatal central approximant [j]. Word-initially, we find:

(34) a [ja] *ya* 'what'
b [jə˞'z̩i̩] *yerri* 'to look for'

Word-initial /y/ is usually realized as a slightly spirantized onset, although spirantization is not required. Thus, for the examples above, we may also find the alternations given in (35). As in the case of /r/, which has a spirantized allophone [z̩], [j̩] seems to appear most strongly in syllables which are stressed.

(35) a [ja ~ j̩a] *ya* 'what'
b [jə˞'z̩i̩ ~ j̩ə˞'z̩i̩] *yerri* 'to look for'

[8] The word-initial glide onset in this item is non-phonemic; it will be discussed in section 1.1.2.4.

Word-medially, /y/ also appears, as in (36):

(36) [paˈjɑ̃] *bayang* 'rich'

As second consonant in onset cluster, /y/ appears in (37):

(37) a [njɛˈtʂɑ̃] *niezhang* 'wretched'
b [tjəˑ] *dier* 'clothes'
c [tʰjəˑˈpəˑ] *tierber* 'to hold'

And finally, /y/ may also appear in syllable coda position, as illustrated in (38):

(38) a [pɐj] *bai* 'stand; Emphatic particle'
b [pawpej] *baobei* 'treasure' (CH: 宝贝)

1.1.2 Vowel Phonemes

Minhe Mangghuer has 5 phonemic vowels, symbolized /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. Allophonic variants of these vowel phonemes are outlined in this section.

For non-central vowels, most phonetic realizations are not quite equivalent to the cardinal values associated with the symbols given here. Rather, most vowels are somewhat more central in pronunciation than the symbols might suggest. Thus, [u] is often closer to [ʊ], while [o] is usually closer to [ɵ], and so forth.

We might also note here that all vowels are slightly nasalized when preceding a nasal consonant; this is a phonetic, not a phonemic, effect.

	front	**back**
high	i	u
mid	e	o
low	a	

Table 2.2: Minhe Mangghuer Vowel Phonemes

1.1.2.1 /i/

/i/ is a high front vowel. It is generally realized as somewhat central, in the area of [ɪ], but may also move towards the pronunciation [i], especially in stressed syllables.[9] Some examples are:

(39) a ['ponɪ] *boni* 'drum'
b [tɪ] *di* 'eat'

When following a palatal obstruent (/x/, /j/, /q/) or the alveolar fricative /s/, /i/ has a high central allophone, in the area of [ɨ]. This is illustrated in (40):

(40) [ɕɨ] *xi* to go

When it follows a retroflex consonant (/zh/, /ch/, /sh/, /r/), /i/ has an allophone [ɨˑ], which is slightly rhotacized, due to inheriting a bit of retroflexion from its environment. It appears as in:

(41) [mʊqɑˈʂɨˑ] *mughashi* 'tomorrow'

In all of its environments, except when following a retroflex consonant, /i/ may optionally be pronounced with some spirantization. This occurs most strongly when /i/ appears word-initially, and in fact may be obligatory in that environment. Spirantization also commonly occurs in strongly stressed syllables, whether or not an onset consonant is present. Thus, we find the following alternations:

(42) a [i ~ j] *yi* 'one'
b [pɪ ~ pj] *bi* '1st person sg. pronoun'

Discussion of spirantization as a general process in Minhe Mangghuer is found in section 1.3, below.

1.1.2.2 /e/

/e/ is a mid front vowel.[10] It has three allophones [ɛ], [ə], and [ə̟]. The phonetic value of /e/ varies a great deal, and may approach [ɛ] or [ə] in most other

[9] /i/ is one of three vowels which are devoiced in certain environments. This effect is described in 1.2, below.
[10] /e/ may also be devoiced; see 1.2.

contexts. In stressed syllables with neither onset clusters nor coda consonants, [ə] generally appears.

(43) a [kə] *ge* 'to do; Quotation marker'
b [ɕi'kə] *xige* 'to watch'

When /e/ appears in a syllable with a palatal onset or a palatal coda, its phonetic value usually approaches the quality of [ɛ]. Thus:

(44) a [ɕi̯'mjɛ] *ximie* 'temple'
b [ɕwɛ'tu] *xuedu* 'study (Dative)' (CH: 学)
c [na'mɛj] *namei* '1st singular dative pronoun'

When /e/ appears in a syllable with a nasal coda consonant, it has a slightly raised allophone [ə̝], which is about midway between [ə] and [i] in height. Thus:

(45) [mæn't^{h}ə̝n] *manten* 'bread'

1.1.2.3 /a/

/a/ is a low vowel. Its phonetic value varies among five basic qualities, according to the environment it appears in. These are [a], [ɑ], [æ], [ɛ] and [ɐ]. Most of these have very restricted distributions.

The allophone [ɑ] appears only in a syllable which is closed by the coda consonant /ng/, as illustrated in (46):

(46) [^{v}u'lɑŋ] *wulang* 'more'

The allophone [æ] appears when a syllable is closed by the alveolar nasal consonant /n/, as shown in (47), a variant pronunciation of the same word:

(47) [^{v}u'læn] *wulan* 'many'

Notice that optional deletion of either final nasal [ŋ] or [n] does not change the quality of /a/ in this position. (48a-b) show that [ɑ] and [a] distinguish 'more' from 'many', even when the original word-final nasals remain only as nasalization on the vowels.

(48) a [^{v}u'lɑŋ ~ ^{v}u'lɑ̃] *wulang* 'more'
b [^{v}u'læn ~ ^{v}u'læ̃] *wulan* 'many'

The allophone [ɛ] also has a fairly restricted distribution, appearing in only one context. It is found when /a/ occurs following a palatal onset consonant and preceding an alveolar nasal coda, as in (49).

(49) [ɕɛn] *xian* 'first' (CH: 现)

Since [ɛ] is also often an allophone of /e/, it is worth noting the relationship between the two phonemes in these contexts. In fact, the distinction between /a/ and /e/ seems to be neutralized in an environment like (49). We saw in (43) that /e/ has the allophone [ʌ] when preceding a final alveolar nasal consonant. However, there do not seem to be any examples of /e/ when both preceding a nasal consonant and also following a palatal onset. Thus, /a/ and /e/ may be considered not to contrast here.

Before the syllable-final glide [j], [a] sometimes raises slightly, to the neighborhood of [ɐ]. (50) illustrates this.

(50) [pɐj] *bai* 'stand; Emphatic particle'

In other contexts, /a/ is realized as [a].

(51) a [a'na] *ana* 'mother'
b [maw] *mao* 'bad, evil'
c [k^{h}u'njaŋ] *kuniang* 'future tense suffix'

Example (51c) shows that /a/ does not move to [ɑ] (as described above) when preceded by a palatal glide, even though the syllable is closed by /ng/. Here, it is also realized as [a].

1.1.2.4 /o/

/o/ is a mid back rounded vowel. Following bilabial consonants, it is realized as [o], as in:

(52) a ['ponɪ] *boni* 'drum'
b [mo'z̩] *mori* 'horse'

In some Chinese borrowings, /o/ appears followed by a syllable coda glide /w/. In these instances, the phonetic value of /o/ moves upwards in the direction of [u]; however, this vowel + glide sequence remains phonetically and phonemically distinct from a simple [u] vowel. Thus, we find a contrast between the following:

(53)	a	[χow]	*hou*	'back'
	b	[χu]	*hu*	'to give'

In all other contexts, /o/ generally appears with a slight bilabial onglide. This is a phonetic effect only; the glide is not a realization of the phoneme /w/. The sequences [wo] and [o] do not contrast in Mangghuer. Examples are given in (54a-c).

(54)	a	[tʷo'kʰə]	*duoke*	'chop'	(CH: 剁)
	b	[qʰʷo'nʷo]	*khono*	'later'	
	c	[ʷo'wə˞]	*wower*	'cave'	

1.1.2.5 /u/

/u/ is a high back rounded vowel.[11] Its allophones are [ʉ], [ʊ] and [u]. The allophone [ʉ] has the most limited distibution, appearing only following palatal consonants, as in (55):[12]

(55)	[ɕʉ'tɕun]	*xujun*	'daughter'

The allophone [ʊ] appears when /u/ is found in unstressed syllables, as in:

(56)	a	[tɕawʊn'tu]	*jiaodundu*	'dream (Dative)'
	b	[mʊ'qa]	*mugha*	'meat'

In other phonetic environments, the quality of /u/ is close to [u], as illustrated in (57):

[11] /u/ may also be devoiced; see 1.2.

[12] Standard Mandarin also has /u/ as a separate phoneme, but with a fairly restricted distribution. Since Mangghuer has borrowed nearly the entire phonemic inventory of nearby Mandarin dialects, we might expect to find this phoneme in Mangghuer, at least in borrowed lexical items. I have not yet encountered it in environments other than that described here.

(57)	a	[kʰuŋ]	*kong*	'person'	
	b	[ɕwɛ'tu]	*xuedu*	'study (Dative)'	(CH: 学)

When /u/ appears word-initially, it often begins with a spirantized onset, as (58) illustrates:

(58)	[ᵛu'lɑŋ]	*wulang*	'many'

1.2 Vowel Devoicing

The front and high vowels (/i, e, u/) may all undergo a devoicing process in some phonetic environments. The vowels /a/ and /o/ are never devoiced.[13]

This process is not obligatory, and yet it occurs quite regularly in certain phonetic circumstances. Some examples are:

(59)	a	[ɕu̥'tɕun]	*xujun*	'daughter'
	b	[χə̥'la]	*hela*	'in order to take'
	c	[tsʰu̥to'rʷo]	*cudoro*	'inside'
	d	[pʰi̥tɕi̥'qə]	*pijighe*	'pea'

The only phonetic condition which is required for vowel devoicing is that a devoiced vowel always follows a voiceless consonant. However, not all voiceless consonants trigger this process to the same degree. The most consistent initiator of the process is /h/, which is very frequently followed by a voiceless vowel. There seems to be a tendency for devoicing to occur most regularly following voiceless fricatives; following aspirated stops devoicing is slightly less common; aspirated affricates lead to devoicing even less frequently; and a vowel following an unaspirated affricate has the least chance of being devoiced. The other series of voiceless consonants, the unaspirated stops, never trigger devoicing.

In additional to voicelessness of the preceding consonant, there are several other phonetic conditions which correlate strongly with devoiced vowels, but are which not necessary for its occurence. These are that a voiceless vowel typically appears in an unstressed syllable; that the process generally only affects native Mongolic lexical items, being rare in borrowings; that devoicing tends not to occur in syllables with coda consonants; and that devoicing almost never occurs with a word-final vowel.

[13] Devoicing has also been described by Ken Field (dissertation) for Santa, operating on similar principles.

The devoicing examples given above illustrate conditions in which devoicing commonly occurs; here are some additional example which show that devoicing may occur even in the environments where it is less common: in stressed syllables (60a); in items borrowed from Chinese (60b); in a syllable with the coda consonant /n/ (60c); and on a word-final vowel (60d).

(60)	a	[ji'p^{h}u̥ta]	*yipuda*	'one bunch'	
	b	[ʂi̥'t^{h}ow'kə]	*shitouge*	'brother stone'	(CH: 石头哥)
	c	[χu̥ntu'qaj]	*hundughai*	'fox'	
	d	['χə̥ ɕɪqa'tɕɑ̃]	*he xighajiang*	'caused to go and take'	

Although the devoiced vowel [ə̥] in (60d) is word-final, the voiceless onset consonant of the following word doubtless plays a role in conditioning the voicelessness here. When *he* 'to take' is pronounced in isolation, its vowel is not devoiced.

Evidence that vowel devoicing is an *optional* process is provided by the fact that it sometimes occurs and sometimes does not occur, within the same lexical item. Mr. Zhu Yongzhong, in repeating words from a wordlist for a tape recorder, sometimes produced variation in voicing such as these:

(61)	a	[pjɛt^{h}u̥'lɑ̃ ~ pjɛt^{h}u'lɑ]	*bietulang*	'like (non-1st evidential imperfective)'
	b	[ʂatsi̥'qaj ~ ʂatsi'qaj]	*shazighai*	'magpie'

Similarly, variation may exist in different speakers' production of a particular lexical item. Mr. Zhu Yongzhong consistently pronounced *china* 'to cook' with a voiced /i/, while Mr. Qing Yongzhang consistently produced a voiceless /i/ in the same word.

1.3 Spirantization

In the preceding discussion, several phonemes in the Minhe Mangghuer inventory have been said to have spirantized allophonic variants. A brief summary of this phenomenon is presented here.

The consonants which have spirantized variants are /y/ and /r/, which have alternants [j̞], and [z̞], respectively.

Among the vowels, /u/ has the alternant [$^{\nu}$u] and /i/ has the alternant [j̞~i̞].

All of these phonemes have this in common: each involves a close, central approximation of a movable articulator to its fixed counterpart. Thus, each

represents simply a decrease in articulatory separation, leading to the presence of some friction.

This process affects most, but not all, of the Minhe Mangghuer central approximant consonants and both of the high vowels. Thus, it represents a general trend in Mangghuer, affecting a whole class of sounds, rather than simply an isolated phenomenon.

However, the other central approximant, /w/, is not affected by this process. Nor is the lateral approximant /l/.

Even among the sounds that do undergo spirantization, the process does not affect all phonemes uniformly. The process is optional for all affected sounds, but is present much more regularly, and with greater strength of spirantization, in /i/ than in /u/. /i/ is also affected in a greater range of environments than is /u/; the former is often spirantized following a syllable-initial consonant, but I have not observed /u/ to become spirantized in this particular environment.

1.4 Borrowed Phonemes

From a comparative perspective, Minhe Mangghuer is notable for having a phonological system quite different from those of most Mongolic languages. In large part, this is due to the extensive contact with other languages which has characterized the social history of Mangghuer speakers.

In this section, I will outline the historical paths through which Minhe Mangghuer borrowed some important consonant phonemes into native Mongolic words. Part 1.4.1 presents comparisons of the consonant phonemes of reconstructed Mongolic and of Minhe Mangghuer and several languages spoken in its geographic vicinity. In 1.4.2, I show how retroflex and palatal consonant series developed from alveo-palatal Mongolic origins. 1.4.3 outlines the historical paths of the phoneme /f/, which has an interesting history as an innovation in some Mongolic languages, perhaps reinforced as a result of Chinese borrowings.

1.4.1 Comparison of Consonant Phoneme Inventories

The consonant inventory of Minhe Mangghuer shows significant evidence of influence from neighboring languages. In this section I will reproduce the consonant inventories of some Mongolic and Chinese languages, as well as that of Amdo Tibetan, for comparison with Minhe Mangghuer. General discussion of some features of the systems follows.

For comparison, the Minhe Mangghuer consonant inventory (Table 2.1) is repeated here.

		labial	alveolar	post-alveolar laminal (*palatal*)[14]	post-alveolar apical (*retroflex*)	velar	uvular
-voice	**stop +asp**	p^h (*p*)	t^h (*t*)			k^h (*k*)	q^h (*kh*)
	stop -asp	p (*b*)	t (*d*)			k (*g*)	q (*gh*)
	affr. +asp		ts^h (*c*)	$tɕ^h$ (*q*)	$tʂ^h$ (*ch*)		
	affr. -asp		ts (*z*)	tɕ (*j*)	tʂ (*zh*)		
	fricative	f (*f*)	s (*s*)	ɕ (*x*)	ʂ (*sh*)		χ (*h*)
+voice	**nasal**	m (*m*)	n (*n*)			ŋ (*ng*)	
	liquid		l (*l*)		ɻ (*r*)		
	glide[15]	w (*u, o, w*)		j (*i, y*)			

Table 2.1 Minhe Mangghuer Consonant Phonemes
(Orthographic symbols in parentheses)

Poppe (1955:95) posits the following reconstructed consonant system for "Common Mongolian" (the term means proto-Mongolic; see Poppe 1955:15).

[14] Post-alveolar laminal consonants correspond to what are generally called "palatals" in Chinese linguistics; post-alveolar apical consonants are slightly retroflexed, and thus correspond to "retroflexes" in that tradition. In order to make my discussion more accessible to those familiar with Chinese linguistic literature, I will generally use the terms *palatal* and *retroflex* for these categories. See 1.4.2 for detailed discussion of the phonemic status of palatal obstruents in both Minhe Mangghuer and Mandarin Chinese.

[15] In keeping with the *pinyin* orthography adopted here, there are multiple orthographic representations for the glides w and y. These will be discussed in section 1.5.

		Labial	Dental & Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular[16]
Stop	-voice	*p	*t		*k	*q
	+voice	*b	*d		*g	*G[17]
Affricate	-voice		*tʃ			
	+voice		*dʒ			
Spirant	-voice		*s , *ʃ			
	+voice	*β		*j		
Nasal		*m	*n		*ŋ	
Lateral			*l			
Vibrant			*r			

Table 2.3: Reconstructed proto-Mongolic Consonant Phonemes (Poppe 1955:95)

Poppe (1955:16) considers the consonant [h] to have been a development of Middle Mongolian, an attested, later period which he dates to around the 13th-16th Centuries AD. (Poppe 1955:15-16). Thus, its presence in most modern Mongolic languages is probably due to common inheritance.

The "voiced spirant" **j*, is characterized by the author (Poppe 1955:126) as "German j, English y", so we may take it to have been simply the palatal glide [j].This is the only palatal consonant which Poppe reconstructs, and he posits no retroflex consonants at all. The retroflex and palatal series which we find in Mangghuer, then, are not inherited from Mongolic. Rather, they developed later. In section 1.4.2 I will demonstrate the origins of these relative newcomers to the Minhe Mangghuer phonemic inventory.

Poppe (1955) seems to have **β* mostly to account for the development of long vowels in many Mongolic languages (see 2.6.2, below). It is not clear from his discussion what phonetic value he intends for this symbol, though one is tempted to note that Mangghuer /w/ is missing from this Mongolic inventory. Further comparison needs to be made.

The Minhe Mangghuer phoneme /f/, which also does not seem to have originated before the breakup of Mongolic, is discussed in 1.4.3.

The consonant inventory of Minhe Mangghuer presented in Table 2.1 is almost identical to that of Chinese dialects spoken in the Qinghai-Gansu border area. Examples of the consonant systems of these languages are presented in Tables 2.4 and 2.5.

[16] Author's term: "Deep Velar."

[17] The author uses the symbol *ɣ* for this sound, but clearly intends a stop.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	retroflex	velar
stop -asp	p	t			k
stop +asp	p^h	t^h			k^h
fric. -voice	f	s	ɕ	ʂ	x
fric. +voice	v			ʐ	
affr. -asp		ts	tɕ	tʂ	
affr. +asp		ts^h	$tɕ^h$	$tʂ^h$	
nasal	m	n			ŋ
liquid		l			
glide	w		j		

Table 2.4: *Linxia Hui Chinese Consonant Phonemes* (C. Li 1986:308-9)

	labial	alveolar	palatal	retroflex	velar
stop -asp	p	t			k
stop +asp	p^h	t^h			k^h
fric. -voice	f	s	ɕ	ʂ	x
fric. +voice				ʐ	
affr. -asp		ts	tɕ	tʂ	
affr. +asp		ts^h	$tɕ^h$	$tʂ^h$	
nasal	m	n	ɲ		
liquid		l			
glide	w		j		

Table 2.5: Xining Chinese Dialect consonant phonemes (Zhang and Zhu 1987:5-6)

For comparison, we should also note the consonant inventory of Amdo Tibetan, which is presented in Table 2.6.

				Lab-ial	Den-tal	Pala-tal	Retro-flex	Ve-lar	Uvu-lar	Glot-tal
Stop	+vc		pren	^{n}b	^{n}d			^{n}g		
			plain	b	d			g		
	-vc	+asp	pren	^{n}p^h	^{n}t^h			^{n}k^h		
			plain	p^h	t^h			k^h	q^h	
		-asp	preasp		^{h}t			^{h}k		
			preasp	p	t			k		
Affric.	+vc		pren		^{n}dz	^{n}dʑ	^{n}dʐ			
			plain		dz	dʑ	dʐ			
	-vc	+asp	pren		^{n}ts^h	^{n}tɕ^h	^{n}tʂ^h			
			plain		ts^h	tɕ^h	tʂ^h			
		-asp	preasp		^{h}ts	^{h}tɕ	^{h}tʂ			
			plain		ts	tɕ	tʂ			
Spirant	+vc				z	ʑ		ɣ	ʁ	
	-vc	+asp			s^h	ɕ^h		x		
			plain	f	s	ɕ	ʂ		χ	h
		+lab							χ^w	
Nasal			preasp	^{h}m	^{h}n	^{h}ɲ		^{h}ŋ		
			plain	m	n	ɲ		ŋ		
Lateral	+vc		preasp		^{h}l					
			plain		l					
	-vc	+asp			l^h					
Vibrant	+vc						r			
Glide			preasp			^{h}j		^{h}w		
			plain			j		w		

Table 2.6: Sichuan Amdo Tibetan Consonant Phonemes (J. Sun 1986:17)[18]

A number of comments should be made about these inventories, to highlight the similarities and differences they display.

First, notice that reconstructed Mongolic, and also Amdo Tibetan, both include a voicing distinction in obstruents. Minhe Mangghuer does not employ voicing for obstruents, making instead a contrast between aspirated and unaspirated obstruents. In this, Minhe Mangghuer mirrors the distinctions found in the Sinitic dialects of Xining and the Linxia Hui.

[18] Abbreviations: *vc* 'voiced'; *asp* 'aspirated'; *pren* 'prenasalized'; *preasp* 'preaspirated'.

The one voiced obstruent which does appear in the Chinese languages, [ʐ], may in fact pattern as a liquid. Recall from the description of Minhe Mangghuer /r/ (section 1.1.1.7) that this liquid has a spirantized allophone [ʐ] in some contexts. Since neither Xining Chinese nor Linxia Hui Chinese has a separate phoneme /r/, we might consider [ʐ] to fit best in the category of retroflex approximant. Otherwise, the Chinese systems are a bit unbalanced, requiring a voicing distinction among obstruents solely for this phoneme.

The phonetics of /r/ is another area worthy of note. As I have just suggested, spirantized versions of a rhotacized central approximant are found in these Chinese dialects, and also in Minhe Mangghuer. However, Poppe (1955:155) suggests that **r* in Mongolic "is produced with the tip of the tongue and is strongly rolled." In a description of the phonology reflected in Written Mongolian, this same author notes: "the consonant r is a strongly rolled alveolar sound" (1974:47).

Sichuan Amdo Tibetan has a pattern of /r/ allophones quite like that of Minhe Mangghuer, according to J. Sun (1986:29). Here, we usually find trilled or flapped varieties postvocalically, and the spirant [ʐ] word-initially and in syllable onsets following another consonant.

With respect to /r/, then, Minhe Mangghuer seems to most closely resemble Amdo Tibetan. The Mongolic pattern of a clearly rolled /r/ seems to be the most distant from the Minhe Mangghuer pattern, of all the types we have seen here.

However, Minhe Mangghuer does preserve some sounds which reflect Mongolic roots. The uvular stops [q] and [q^h] correspond to the uvulars of Poppe's reconstruction of proto-Mongolic (Table 2.3), but neither of the Chinese languages has uvular stops. Amdo Tibetan has uvular consonants, but its set of them does not seem to correspond nicely with those found in Minhe Mangghuer.

The Chinese languages and Amdo Tibetan do not share all of their consonant phonemes, of course. However, Tables 2.4-2.6 illustrate the fact that all of these languages do have both a retroflex and a palatal series of consonants. And it is these languages, or their close relatives, which Minhe Mangghuer speakers come into contact with in multilingual contexts.

Either Chinese or Amdo Tibetan could have contributed the retroflexes and palatals to Minhe Mangghuer, since they are present in both languages. However, since Chinese loan words seem to outnumber Tibetan loan words rather substantially in Minhe Mangghuer, and since Chinese influences seem generally more pervasive than Tibetan influences at other structural levels, as well, Chinese may be taken as the likely major motivator of these phonemes. Nonetheless, a multilingual population in which many individuals speak some variety of Tibetan could also have been a factor; the presence of retroflex and palatal consonants in *any* language used by Mangghuer speakers may also have increased the likelihood

of those consonants being borrowed into Mangghuer. This point will be elaborated on in chapter 8.

We should also note that the particular retroflex obstruents found in Minhe Mangghuer are identical to the *whole set* found in the Chinese dialects, and identical only to a *part* of the retroflex inventory of Amdo Tibetan. The same can be said of the palatal obstruents. In addition to preaspiration and prenasalization, neither of which appears in Mangghuer, Amdo Tibetan has a voiced/voiceless distinction in its obstruents, another distinction which is alien to Minhe Mangghuer phonology. This systemic evidence thus further suggests that Chinese has been the major factor motivating the borrowing; if Amdo Tibetan were the primary force here, we might expect the Minhe Mangghuer inventory to resemble that of Amdo, rather than that of Chinese.

A couple of comments on nasal consonants are also in order. Xining Chinese dialect has lost all syllable-final nasal consonants, replacing them with nasalization of preceding vowels. Thus, the Xining inventory of Table 2.5 has no velar nasal phoneme. In Mangghuer, we saw in 1.1.1.6 that syllable-final /ng/ is realized alternately as [ŋ] and as nasalization on the preceding vowel. So in Mangghuer we find a synchronic variation similar to what must have preceded the complete loss of final nasals in Xining Chinese; in Mangghuer these segments have not been lost.

Xining dialect does have the syllable-initial palatal nasal phoneme /ɲ/, which is not found in Mangghuer at all.

In these two ways, the inventory of nasal consonants in Xining Chinese differs from that of Minhe Mangghuer.

In contrast to Xining dialect, the Linxia Hui dialect retains the velar /ŋ/ and does not have the palatal /ɲ/. Thus, with respect to nasal consonants, Minhe Mangghuer more closely resembles the Chinese of the Linxia Hui than that of Xining.

The Sichuan Amdo data of Table VI shows that this language has both the palatal and the velar nasals /ɲ/ and /ŋ/. Here again, Minhe Mangghuer has an inventory including only part of what Amdo displays, and Mangghuer is seen to resemble a Chinese dialect more strongly than it does Amdo.

In short, the consonant inventory of Minhe Mangghuer bears significantly closer resemblance to that of nearby Chinese dialects than to reconstructed Mongolic or to Amdo Tibetan. In particular, Minhe Mangghuer has nearly the same set of consonants as does the Linxia Hui dialect of Chinese.

Minhe Mangghuer is not the only Mongolic language to have developed a phonemic inventory of this sort. Field (1997) describes a similar inventory for Santa. This language, too, probably owes its retroflex and palatal consonant series to contact-induced change. The Santa consonant inventory is illustrated in Table 2.7, which is taken from Field (1997:37).

	Bila-bial	Labio-dental	Alveo-lar	Retro-flex	Alveolo-palatal	Pala-tal	Velar	Uvu-lar	Glot-tal
Stop +Asp	p^h		t^h				k^h	q^h	
Stop -Asp	p		t				k	q	
Affricate +Asp			ts^h	$ʈʂ^h$	$tɕ^h$				
Affricate -Asp			ts	ʈʂ	tɕ				
Fricative -Vc		f	s	ʂ	ɕ		x		h
Fricative +Vc				ʐ				ʁ	
Nasal	m		n				ŋ		
Trill			r						
Lateral Approximant			l						
Central Approximants	w					j			

Table 2.7 Santa Consonant Phonemes (Field 1997:37)

	Bila-bial	Labio-dental	Alveo-lar	Retro-flex	Alveolo-palatal	Pala-tal	Velar	Uvu-lar
Stop +Asp	p^h		t^h				k^h	
Stop -Asp	p		t				k	q
Affricate +Asp			ts^h	$ʈʂ^h$	$tɕ^h$			
Affricate -Asp			ts	ʈʂ	tɕ			
Fricative -Vc		f	s	ʂ	ɕ		x	
Fricative +Vc				(ʐ)[19]				
Nasals	m		n				ŋ	
Trill			r					
Lateral Approximant			l					
Central Approximants		v				j		

Table 2.8 Huzhu Mongghul Consonant Phonemes (Qinggeertai 1988:79-80)

[19] Qinggeertai (1988:77) notes that the Huzhu Mongghul phoneme /r/ is usually pronounced [ʐ]; the trilled [r] and the spirantized [ʐ] are thus probably allophones of a single phoneme.

	Bila-bial	Labio-dental	Alveo-lar	Retro-flex	Alveolo-palatal	Pala-tal	Velar	Uvu-lar	Glot-tal
Stop +Asp	p^h		t^h				k^h		
Stop -Asp	p		t				k	q	
Affricate +Asp			ts^h	$ʈʂ^h$	$tɕ^h$				
Affricate -Asp			ts	ʈʂ	tɕ				
Fricative -Vc		f	s	ʂ	ɕ	ç		χ	h
Fricatives +Vc			z		ʑ				ʕ
Nasals	m		n			ȵ	ŋ		
Trill			r						
Lateral Approximant +Vc			l						
Lateral Approximant -Vc			ɬ						
Central Approximants	w					j			

Table 2.9 Tongren Monguor Consonant Inventory (Chen 1986:65)

Comparing these systems to Table 2.1, we find that the Santa inventory (Table 2.7) is nearly identical to that of Linxia Hui (Table 2.4), and also to that of Minhe Mangghuer.

Huzhu Mongghul (Table 2.8) has a very similar inventory of consonants, though here again there are a couple of differences. Most importantly, it seems that Mongghul has lost its aspirated uvular stop; Qinggeertai (1988:79-80) has the unaspirated stop, but no aspirated counterpart. Mongghul has two other phonemes which seem to correspond to Mangghuer consonants, but which appear in different points of articulation: the labio-dental approximant [v] (cf. Mangghuer /w/) and the velar fricative [x] (cf. Mangghuer /h/. The difference between /x/ and /χ/ could simply be the result of chosing different basic allophones (see 1.1.1.5); but [v] does not appear in Mangghuer even as an allophone of /w/, so the Mongghul system is quite different on this point.

The consonants of Tongren Monguor (Table 2.9) are also quite similar, but this language has some features which did not appear in any of the systems considered so far. The voiced glottal fricative [ʕ] and the voiceless lateral approximant [ɬ], as well as the distinction between palatal and alveopalatal fricatives are all different from the other languages we have seen.

Of all the languages we have seen, then, Minhe Mangghuer most strongly resembles Santa, Huzhu Mongghul, and Linxia Hui Chinese, with respect to consonant phoneme inventories. It seems that the same phonological processes

which have led Mangghuer to develop phonology so strikingly Sinitic must also be influencing Santa and Huzhu Mongghul. This could indicate that these three Mongolic languages underwent a period of influence from Chinese before they became differentated from one another; however, the fact that all three are currently in such close contact with Chinese makes it perhaps equally plausible that their phonological similarities have developed independently. More discussion of this issue will be given in section 4, below, as well as in chapter 8.

1.4.2 Palatalization and Retroflexion

Both the retroflex and the palatal series of consonants appear in Chinese borrowings and also in native Mongolic words. The palatal consonants appear in a somewhat more restricted set of environments, and their status as phonemically distinct is tenuous, at best.

In this section, I will outline the historical developments which led to the appearance of palatals and retroflexes in the Minhe Mangghuer obstruent inventory. In Mongolic roots, these can be traced to origins in the alveopalatal affricates [dʒ] and [tʃ], and in the alveolar fricative [s]. Finally, I will close this section with a general discussion of the phonemic status of the palatal/retroflex distinction, in Minhe Mangghuer and in Chinese languages.

1.4.2.1 Reflexes of Mongolic **dʒ*

Due to heavy bilingualism, Minhe Mangghuer speakers have, at least in the recent past, been free to use virtually any Chinese word in natural speech, and all Chinese segmental phones seem to have been borrowed as a result. This includes segments like [tʂ] and [tɕ], which were not native to Mongolic phonology.

These two segments may found in Chinese borrowings into Minhe Mangghuer such as the following:

(62)	a	[tʂun'tʂʰən]	*zhongcheng*	'sincere, honest'	(CH: 忠诚)
	b	['ji'tʂi]	*yizhi*	'continually, directly'	(CH: 一直)
	c	[tɕu'la]	*jiula*	'to save'	(CH: 救)
	d	['tatɕa]	*dajia*	'everyone'	(CH: 大家)

In native Mongolic words, both /zh/ ([tʂ]) and /j/ ([tɕ]) arose diachronically as reflexes of the Mongolic voiced alveo-palatal affricate **dʒ*. Phonologically, the distinction between the two reflexes has to do with which segments follow them:

when followed by a front vowel, **dʒ* gave rise to the palatal /j/; when followed by anything besides a front vowel, **dʒ* became the retroflex /zh/. Consider the following examples:

(63)	a	[tɕɛ'ljɛ]	*jielie*	'to borrow'
	b	[ɔ˞tɕɪ'kə]	*erjige*	'donkey'
	c	[paja'tɕɪ]	*bayaji*	'rich'

(64)	a	[tʂa'lɔ˞]	*zhaler*	'strong young man'
	b	[tʂwɔ˞'kaj]	*zhuergai*	'heart'
	c	[qa'tʂɔ˞]	*gazher*	'ground'

In Chinese phonological tradition, reflected in *pinyin* orthography, any palatal obstruent is followed by the front vowel symbol *i*, even in environments where the linguist might claim that no phonemic /i/ is present. This may be illustrated with a Chinese borrowing found in Mangghuer, such as:

(65) [tʂʰu'tɕa] *chujia* 'to leave home permanently (eg. to become a monk)' (CH: 出家)

The orthographic *i* of the second syllable in *chujia* indicates the perception that the final syllable nucleus vowel /a/ begins with a palatal onglide, phonetically like [ja]. However, another reasonable analysis is to say that this apparent palatal glide is not phonemic, but is simply a phonetic consequence of the preceding palatal consonant [tɕ]. There is no need, then, to posit an onset cluster here.[20]

However, Mangghuer speakers seem to have perceived the palatal affricate phoneme /j/ ([tɕ]) as being limited to appearing before front vowels, since Mongolic **dʒ* developed into [tɕ] in only that environment in Mangghuer. This suggests that the Chinese orthographic tradition correctly reflects speaker perception of the structure of such syllables, or at least that it correctly reflects some learners' perceptions of the system.

The phonological rule which captures these developments may be written as follows:

(66) **dʒ* → [tɕ] / __ V(+front)
→ [tʂ] / elsewhere

[20] But see the discussion of section 1.4.2.4, below.

These historical developments are closely paralleled by what Poppe (1955: 114-119) reports for Huzhu Mongghul. Poppe's discussion states that Mongolic **dʒ* became [dʑ] when preceding the high front vowel [i], and generally became [dʐ] elsewere. He gives the examples:

(67) 'year' Data from Poppe (1955:116)
**dʒil* Middle Mongolian
dʑir Huzhu Mongghul

(68) 'penis' Data from Poppe (1955:119)
**odʒaqaj* Middle Mongolian
dʐoguə: Huzhu Mongghul

The Mongolic affricate **dʒ* was not the only native source which gave rise to instances of /j/ in Minhe Mangghuer. This brings us to another Mongolic segment which was lost as Mangghuer adopted a phonological system like that of Chinese: the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate **tʃ*.

1.4.2.2 Reflexes of Mongolic **tʃ*

Both of the Mongolic alveo-palatal affricates, voiced **dʒ* and voiceless **tʃ*, have been lost in Minhe Mangghuer. Whereas the former gave rise only to the two reflexes described above, **tʃ* has had a slightly more fertile history, spawning three different offspring in different phonetic environments.

The basic distinction here also has to do with backness of the vowel which follows **tʃ*. When preceding a front vowel, **tʃ* was re-interpreted as a palatal affricate [tɕʰ] (/q/); when preceding a back vowel, its reflex is a retroflex [tʂʰ] (/ch/). These changes are illustrated in (69) and (70).

(69) a [pəˈtɕʰɛ] *berqie* 'pasture'
b [tɕʰɻ̩tɕəˈqə] *qijige* 'flower'

(70) a [tʂʰɻ̩ˈtsɪ] *chuzi* 'blood'
b [tʂʰaˈla] *chala* 'to divine'

The alert reader will have noticed that (69b) contains an exception, which we will discuss shortly. First, though, the general process observed here may be

formalized as in (71), showing the split between palatal and retroflex affricates arising from the backness of the following vowel:

(71) **tʃ* → [tɕʰ] / __ V(+front)
→ [tʂʰ] / __ V(+back)

As before, this rule closely approximates what Poppe (1955:111-112) describes for Huzhu Mongghul, though once again he sees the distinction as setting [i] alone against all other segments to condition palatalization. He gives:

(72) 'you' Data from Poppe (1955:112)
**tʃi* 'you' Middle Mongolian
tɕʰi 'you' Huzhu Mongghul

Poppe provides no example of **tʃ* → [tʂʰ], and I have also been unable to locate such an example in my sources to date.

Both of the Minhe Mangghuer reflexes of **dʒ* were found in not only in Mongolic words, but also in Chinese loanwords, and we may note that the same is true for both reflexes of **tʃ*. Examples of /q/ and /ch/ in borrowings include:

(73) a [tɕʰaw] *qiao* 'bridge' (CH: 桥)
b [tɕʰi] *qi* 'seven' (CH: 七)

(74) a [tʂʰawˈkʰə] *chaoke* 'to fry' (CH: 炒)
b [tʰjɛntʂʰwaŋ] *tianchuang* 'skylight' (CH: 天窗)

To return now to the exception alluded to above, *qijige* 'flower' (example 69b) showed an instance of **tʃ* which developed not into the aspirated affricate [tɕʰ] (/q/) but rather, into an unaspirated counterpart [tɕ] (/j/). This, too, is systematic. The unaspirated reflex appears where **tʃ* was the onset to an unstressed syllable which was not word-initial. That is, **tʃ* gave rise to [tɕʰ] not before all front vowels, as rule (71) suggests, but before front vowels in word-initial or stressed syllables. In other environments, it was de-aspirated.

This de-aspiration rule will be formulated separately, for this reason: it is not possible, given the data available to me, to determine whether this final rule operated concurrently with the rules given in (71), or if it represents a later development. Since (71) can be stated in the most general terms if the de-aspiration is taken to be a separate process, I have chosen to represent it that way. However, that choice is not strongly motivated.

The de-aspiration of /q/, then, may be stated as in (75):

(75) $[tɕ^h] \rightarrow [tɕ] / S __ V(\text{-stress})$
where S = any segment (not a word boundary)

Poppe (1955:113) mentions a similar process which affects [tɕʰ] "in the middle of words" in Huzhu Mongghul. He refers to this development as "sonorization", and illustrates it thus:

(76) 'letter' Data from Poppe (1955:114)
**bitɕik* Middle Mongolian
pudʑig Huzhu Mongghul

Again, we find historical paths in the Monguor dialects of Minhe Mangghuer and Huzhu Mongghulwhich affirm a close relationship between these two linguistic systems.

1.4.2.3 Development of [ɕ] and [ʂ]

In addition to [tɕʰ], [tɕ], [tʂʰ], and [tʂ], there are a palatal and a retroflex voiceless fricative consonant, [ɕ] *(/x/)* and [ʂ] *(/sh/)*. Their development may have paralleled that of the affricates, as described in the preceding sections. We now turn to discussion of their origin.

Parenthetically, please note that the voiced retroflex fricative [ʐ], although phonetically a member of the retroflex obstruent series, has an independent origin. It is an allophone of the phoneme /r/, as described in 1.1.1.7 and 1.3, above. Therefore, it is irrelevant to the current discussion.

Given the principles observed above, we would expect to find reflexes of *ʃ as [ɕ] when preceding front vowels, and as [ʂ] elsewhere. However, *ʃ seems to have been rather rare in Mongolic roots, and thus has led to a very small number of instances in which to observe its development. In particular, I have been able to identify only one potential correspondence set with the palatal [ɕ] in Minhe Mangghuer, and it is somewhat unclear what the original vowel was here, though it does seem likely that [ɕ] in fact arose before a front vowel in this instance. This is given in (77):

(77) 'to burn' Data from Zh. Sun 1990:710
ʃataːx Buriat Mongolian
ʃədaː Eastern Yugur
ʃitaːgu Dagur
ʂda Huzhu Mongghul
ɕidaraɣa Santa
[ɕi̯'ta] Minhe Mangghuer *xida*

While we would expect to find the retroflex [ʂ] preceding everything except front vowels in Minhe Mangghuer, instead we find it in practically all phonetic environments, as illustrated in (78a-c).

(78) a [ʂatsi̯'qaj] *shazighai* 'swallow'
b [ʂi̯'nɪ] *shini* 'to smile'
c [ʂu̯'kwo] *shuguo* 'large'

Thus, although there seems to be some evidence to suggest that the same vowel environments may have conditioned the split of [ʃ] into [ɕ] and [ʂ], this remains somewhat uncertain.

Poppe (1955:124) identifies a palatal/retroflex distinction for Huzhu Mongghul, with [ɕ] before [i] and [ʉ], and [ʂ] elsewhere. This parallels nicely the distinctions suggested above. He gives:

(79) 'another' Data from Poppe (1955:124)
**buʃi* Middle Mongolian
buɕi Huzhu Mongghul[21]

(80) 'urine' Data from Poppe (1955:123)
**ʃi'e* Middle Mongolian
ʂeːdzə Huzhu Mongghul

Since many Minhe Mangghuer phonological developments seem generally to have paralleled those of Huzhu Mongghul, at least in the introduction of this palatal/retroflex contrast, it seems desirable to explain why the behavior of the palatal and retroflex fricatives /x/ and /sh/ diverges from that of the affricates in Minhe Mangghuer. Perhaps some later process led to a collapse of the /x/~/sh/ distinction in native morphemes; however, with so few examples, it remains impossible to solve this problem at present.

[21] But cf. Minhe Mangghuer *pusa* 'another, again'.

1.4.2.4 General Discussion of the Phonemic Status of Palatals

Synchronically, the Minhe Mangghuer system of palatal and retroflex obstruents seems to mirror almost precisely the system of Northern Mandarin dialects (although their diachronic paths seem to have been different). Thus, our treatment of the phonemic status of these two series should take into account work that has been done on the same consonants in Mandarin.

Dede (1993:56) notes that Xining dialect, like standard Mandarin, could eliminate the set of palatal obstruents from its inventory, if a "true phonemicization" of the language were carried out. This follows Chao's (1941:205-215) discussion of the generally complementary relationship between palatal and velar consonants in ancient Chinese. Chao concludes (1941:214) that the separate palatal symbol *j* (representing the unaspirated palatal affricate [tɕ]) is "a luxury notation," not necessary from a strictly phonemic point of view.

A summary of some perspectives on this issue for modern Mandarin is given by C. Cheng (1973:36-40). C. Cheng concludes (1973:40) that the palatals are best treated as "underlying" -- that they are synchronically independent phonemes in Mandarin.

Pulleyblank (1984:44) points out that the Peking Mandarin palatals are actually "in complementary distribution with the velars, retroflexives, and alveolar sibilants." He finds no principled basis for pairing the palatals with the velars, rather than with the retroflexes, or vice-versa, and finds "no advantage of treating the palatals as allophones of the velars," as others have done. Pulleyblank settles for following "current practice in treating the two types as autonomous."

I adopt the same view here, but acknowledge that there are other possible analyses.

We saw in the preceding three sections that Mangghuer palatals have a most natural relationship to retroflexes, since these two categories arose as a result of the splitting of alveolars, conditioned by phonetic environments. Thus, we could consider palatals to be the allophones of retroflexes which appear preceding front vowels. However, this would lead to some unnecessary complications in the Minhe Mangghuer syllable structure, as will be pointed out in the discussion of section 2.4.4, below. It is perhaps simplest, then, to follow the "current practice" and recognize palatals as phonemically distinct.

1.4.3 History of the Labio-Dental Fricative /f/

Another phoneme which has been recently introduced into Minhe Mangghuer is /f/. This phoneme's history is rather complicated, however, and it

may serve to suggest some of the variation that exists across Mangghuer dialects, as well as to show something of the relationships that exist among various Mongolic languages.

Poppe (1955:16) states that Monguor *preserves* word-initial /f/ from proto-Mongolic. However, we will see that in fact, Mangghuer has *innovated* this phoneme. The analysis presented here has been anticipated in a footnote by Doerfer (1964:54), but does not seem to have been adopted by any other scholars. Binnick (1987:192) does mention it as a possibility, once again in a footnote, but is unfavorable towards the idea.

In some Minhe Mangghuer speakers' dialects, the labio-dental fricative [f] appears only in Chinese loan words, such as:

(81)	a	[fuma]	*fuma*	'official's son-in-law'	(CH: 驸马)
	b	[pæn'fa]	*banfa*	'method'	(CH: 办法)

Some Minhe Mangghuer speakers, however, pronounce [f] in places where others do not. Some speakers apparently have an alternation between /f/ and /h/ in some native Mongolic lexemes. Example (82) was reported by Dr. Wang Xianzheng:

(82) /f ~ h/ Alternation in Mongolic Lexeme (Zhu et al, In Preparation 1)
huguer ~ fuguer 'cow, ox'

This alternation appears only before the vowel /u/.

Interestingly, we can also find examples of /f/ alternating with /h/ in Chinese loanwords. This is illustrated in (83a-c).[22]

(83)	a	['fuma ~ 'huma]	'official's son-in-law'	(CH: 驸马)[23]
	b	[fa'ʂi ~ hwa'ʂi]	'shaman'	(CH: 法师)
	c	[pan'fa ~ pan'hwa]	'method'	(CH: 办法)

At first glance, it may seem surprising to find the epenthetic glide /w/ in examples (83b) and (83c). However, a bit of comparison with other Mongolic languages can lead us to an explanation.

The phone [f] does not appear in most Mongolic languages. Where it does, it seems to correspond to [h] or other voiceless fricatives, as the following correspondence sets demonstrate.

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[22] Not all Chinese loans containing [f] seem to exhibit this alternation. To date, I have not seen enough examples to enable a description of when the [f]/[h] alternation does and does not occur.
[23] The Chinese expression refers to the son-in-law of an emperor, but the Mangghuer term appears in a folktale and refers to an unspecified, probably local, official.

(84) 'red' Data from Kuribayashi (1989:246)

fulaan	Huzhu Mongghul
fulaŋ	Qinghai Baonan
xulan	Santa
xulaan	Dagur
ɬaːn	Eastern Yugur
ulaːŋ	Buriat Mongolian (Sun Zhu 1990:671)
hulayan	Written Mongolian
[χu̯'laj]	Minhe Mangghuer (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.) *hulai* 'to become red'

(85) 'to die' Data from Kuribayashi (1989:249)

fugu	Huzhu Mongghul
fgu ~ gu	Qinghai Baonan
fugu	Santa
ugu	Dagur
hgu	Eastern Yugur
uxəx	Buriat Mongolian (Sun Zhu 1990:698)
hukʉ	Written Mongolian
[χu̯'ku]	Minhe Mangghuer (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.) *hugu*

In fact, [f] appears almost exclusively word-initially, before the vowel /u/, in all the Mongolic languages which have it. These languages include Santa (Buhe 1986:46, Field 1997:88), Huzhu Mongghul (Hasbaater 1986), Qinghai Baonan (N. Chen, 1987), and some dialects of Minhe Mangghuer. In these languages, [f] appears to be in complementary distribution with [h] in this position.

This suggests that [f] originated as an allophone of /h/, when this phoneme preceded the vowel /u/. The labial feature of [f] is thus naturally explained as an assimilation to the labiality of the following vowel. And since, as we saw in 1.1.2.5 and 1.3, word-initial /u/ in Mangghuer is often spirantized to produce a labiodental onset [ᵛu], the appearance of an labiodental [f] allophone of /h/ before /u/ is even less surprising.

None of the Mongolic languages seems to have spread [f] to other phonetic environments, in Mongolic lexical items. This would suggest that it retains the status of simply an allophone of /h/ in these languages.

However, all of the languages which innovated [f] have also borrowed extensively from Chinese, including numerous lexical items which contain phonemic /f/ in a variety of phonetic environments. Thus, /f/ may be thought to have acquired phonemic status as a result of borrowings. Word-initial [f] in

Mongolic roots, originally an allophone of /h/, may eventually come to be associated with the new phoneme /f/, rather than with the Mongolic /h/.

However, the variation which we have seen in Minhe Mangghuer words suggests that this language retains [f] as an allophone of /h/, and even that [f] in Chinese borrowings (at least for some speakers) is seen as an instance of phonemic /h/, rather than phonemic /f/. The alternation in Chinese words like [fuma ~ χuma] suggests that some Mangghuer speakers still perceive [f] as an allophone of /h/, appropriate in labial environments.

The reverse of this process is illustrated in the [pæn'fa ~ pæn'hʷa] alternation (example 83, above). Here, Mangghuer speakers show that they have recognized [f] as an allophone of /h/, and that the allophone [f] implies a following labial sound. When the allophone [h] is substituted for [f], an epenthetic [w] is called for. (The glide may be derived from an underlying [u]; this syllabification process is described in 2.4.4, below.)

My limited data does not permit us to judge whether the replacement of [f] with [h] in borrowings is a conscious process. Obviously, I do not mean to imply that individual speakers actually reason similarly through all of the phonological processes just described. Rather, the line of argument just presented represents an abstraction which attempts to capture a process with both diachronic and synchronic reality. Diachronically, it recognizes that some Mangghuer dialects have innovated word-initial [f], while others have retained [h]. Synchronically, it requires that at least some speakers of those two types of dialects be in social contact with each other, or that the two pronunciations actually both be present in a single dialect, so that the *correspondence* of [fu] to [hu] can be noticed.

In summary, then: the [h~f] alternation exists in both Mongolic roots, where it originated, and in Chinese borrowings. Both types of roots seem to exhibit some variation; my consultants report that some speakers use [f] in these environments, and some do not. A study of this variation cannot be undertaken here, since I have not yet obtained a wide enough range of naturally-occuring data, representing a cross-section of the various communities of Minhe Mangghuer speakers. However, it is likely that this alternation will be found to correlate with societal factors, as sociolinguists have reported for many such variations in human languages.

1.5 Orthographic Notes

In subsequent chapters, except where discussing phonetic forms, I will write Minhe Mangghuer with an orthography based on the Chinese *Pinyin* romanization system. This system was developed by Zhu Yongzhong, Wang Xianzheng, Hu Ping, and Hu Jun, all native speakers of Minhe Mangghuer. They

in turn relied on the officially recognized system developed by Li Keyu for representing Huzhu Mongghul, a system further refined by Limusishiden. I have made some slight alterations to this orthography, but basically it reflects their work.

In general, this *pinyin*-based system works quite nicely for Minhe Mangghuer, since the language has adopted nearly the same set of phonemes as are found in nearby Northern Mandarin languages. The only substantial modification is that the digraphs *kh* and *gh* have been added, to represent the aspirated and unaspirated uvular stops [q^h] and [q], respectively.

For general discussion of the workings of *pinyin* orthography, the reader is referred to, for example, the outline presented by Li and Thompson (1981:3-7).

One of the least perspicuous features of *pinyin* is its treatment of the glide phonemes /w/ and /y/. To aid readers unfamiliar with this system, a few notes are presented here. This brief discussion, combined with the the phonetic descriptions above, should enable fairly accurate pronunciation of Minhe Mangghuer examples.

1.5.1 The Glide /w/

In the tradition of *pinyin* orthography, the phonemic glide /w/ is written with three different symbols. When /w/ stands alone as the single consonant in a syllable onset, the symbol *w* is used (*weilie* [wejljɛ] 'to work'). When /w/ appears as the second consonant in an onset cluster, it is written with the symbol *u* (*huguer* [hukwɛr] 'ox, cow'). In syllable codas, /w/ is symbolized as *o*, unless the nuclear vowel is /o/, in which case /w/ is written with *u* (*bao* [paw] 'to go down'; vs. *hou* [how] 'back').

Also in accordance with *pinyin* tradition, the symbol *w* appears at the beginnings of words which begin, phonemically, with the vowels /o/ and /u/ (*wower* [o'wɛr] 'cave', *wuber* [u'pɔ˞] 'horn').

1.5.2 The Glide /y/

As with the glide /w/, *pinyin* orthography breaks up the phoneme /y/, based on its position within a syllable. When appearing syllable-initially as a lone consonant onset, /y/ is symbolized *y* (*yao* [jaw] 'to go'). When appearing as the second consonant of an onset cluster, /y/ is written with the letter *i* (*bianli* [pjænlɪ] 'to become'). Similarly, when /y/ occurs in a syllable coda, the symbol *i* is used (*dai* [daj] 'and').

Just as w is written word-initially before /o/ and /u/, so we also find *y* written before a word beginning phonemically with /i/ (*yi* [i] 'one').

Orthographically, the symbol *i* also follows the palatal consonants *j*, *q*, and *x* whenever they precede any nuclear vowel except /i/. When following a palatal consonant in this manner, this symbol does not represent a phonemic glide, but rather the phonetic effect of the preceding palatal consonant (*jiake* [tɕak^{h}ə] 'pinch') (see also 1.4.2.4, above).

2 Syllable Structure

In this section I adopt a combinatorial perspective on Minhe Mangghuer phonology, examining the structure of syllables.

For even more details about a system nearly identical to that described here, I refer the reader to Field (1994, 1997). Field's work contains a much more thorough treatment of the syllable in Santa, which seems to have undergone more or less the same set of changes that affected Minhe Mangghuer phonology. In particular, Field provides an extensive comparative study of the Santa syllable and that of the Hui Chinese dialect spoken in Linxia, Gansu Province. Field demonstrates the effects of contact between Linxia Hui Chinese and Santa, showing how the Santa phonlogical system has diverged widely from its Mongolic roots and accommodated itself to Chinese patterns. Much that I will say in this section has already been said by Field (1994, 1997), and much more that he describes would also apply to a fuller description of Minhe Mangghuer.

Here, then, I present only an brief outline of the character of syllables in Minhe Mangghuer.

Part 2.1 presents the maximal syllable template for Minhe Mangghuer, and in 2.2 examples of each possible syllable type are given. Sections 2.3 and 2.4 deal, respectively, with the potentially problematic affricates and glides, justifying my treatment of them as consonant phonemes. In 2.5, I will illustrate a number of coocurrence restrictions within CC onset clusters and between vowels and coda consonants. Finally, 2.6 discusses two significant differences between Minhe Mangghuer syllables and those of most other Mongolic languages: the loss of most coda consonants and the absence of vowel length distinctions.

Underlying this whole discussion is a point emphasized by Field (1994, 1997), regarding Santa phonology. Comparison of Santa to the neighboring Chinese dialect reveals an almost complete identity between their phonological patterns. This same could be said for Minhe Mangghuer, which has nearly the same phonological system as Santa. Clearly, these two languages have been undergoing dramatic changes, and doing so along extremely similar paths, for generations. Significantly, these paths have involved massive effects from the influence of Chinese.

2.1 Maximal Syllable Template

The maximal syllable template for Minhe Mangghuer is given in (86). In his extensive discussion of syllable types, Field (1994, 1997) notes that this type is shared, among Mongolic languages, only by Santa and Gansu Baonan. It is also identical, however, to the syllable template of Hui Chinese.

(86) Maximal Syllable Template for Minhe Mangghuer
$(C_1)\ (C_2)\ V\ (C_3)$
where:
a if $C_1\ C_2$ then $C_1 \neq$ /ng, w/ and C_2 = /y, w/
b if only C_2 then $C_2 \neq$ /ng/
c C_3 = /r, ng, n, y, w/[24]
d if C_3 = /r/ then V = /e/

2.2 Syllable Types

Minhe Mangghuer allows six syllable types; these are all of the possible expansions of the maximal syllable template given in (86). Examples of each type are given in the following table. For syllable types with syllable-final consonants, an example is given showing each consonant in that position.

[24] That is, any sonorant consonant except /l/ or /m/.

V	a'ta	*ada*	'father'
VC	ɚqʷo'si	*erghuo'si*[25]	'thorn'
	(V + /n/	NO EXAMPLE FOUND)	
	ɑ̃ŋ	*ang*	'where'
	ow	*ou*	'EXCL'
	(V + /y/	NO EXAMPLE FOUND)	
CV	pi	*bi*	'1st sg. nom'
CVC	kɚ	*ger*	'house, hand'
	kʰæn	*kan*	'who'
	kʰũŋ	*kong*	'person'
	kʰaw	*kao*	'son'
	laj	*lai*	'NEG'
CCV	kwi	*gui*	'1st.NEG.COP'
CCVC	tjɚ	*dier*	'clothes'
	tiɛn'tun	*diandun*	'stupid'
	kwɑ̃ŋ	*guang*	'N1.NEG.COP'
	tjaw	*diao*	'younger brother'
	'kwaj	*guai*	'strange' (CH: 怪)

Table 2.10: Examples of Minhe Mangghuer Syllable Types

My data contains no example of a V+/n/ syllable, and also no example of a V+/y/ syllable. These may be accidental gaps, rather than systematically disallowed combinations.

The item *guai* 'strange' is a Chinese borrowing. I have not located any Mongolic lexical items containing the CCV+/y/ syllable type. Similarly, the exclamation *ou* is the only instance in my data of a simple VC syllable ending in the labial glide.

[25] [ɚ] is the phonetic realization of a phonemic V+/r/ sequence. This claim will be justified in 2.5.1, below.

2.3 Treatment of Affricates as Single Consonants

In my phonological analysis, the stop + fricative sequences [ts], [ts^{h}], [tʂ], [tʂ^{h}], [tɕ], and [tɕ^{h}] have been considered to be single affricate consonants, rather than CC clusters. Justification for this view comes from the domain of syllable structure.

The maximal syllable template given in (86) allows only two consonants in an onset cluster. Like all consonants except [ŋ], affricates may appear in syllable onsets. Any affricate may also occur together with the glide [w] as a syllable onset cluster. Table 2.11 illustrates the possibilities.

Affricate	alone as C onset			initial in CC onset		
ts^{h}	ts^{h}u̥to'rʷo	*cudoro*	'inside'	[NO EXAMPLE][26]		
ts	tsaj'χɑ̃	*zaihang*	'beautiful'	tswe	*zui*	'most' (CH: 最)
tʂ^{h}	tʂ^{h}ən'lɪ	*chenli*	'to listen'	tʂ^{h}wɑ̃ŋ'mu	*chuangmu*	'to pick'
tʂ	tʂa'lə˞	*zhaler*	'hired farmhand'	tʂwə˞'kaj	*zhuergai*	'heart'
tɕ^{h}	tɕ^{h}i̥	*qi*	'second sg. pronoun'	tɕ^{h}wɛ	*que*	'to lack' (CH: 缺)[27]
tɕ	tɕi̥	*ji*	'to look'	tɕwɛn	*juan*	'pen' (CH: 圈)

Table 2.11: Affricates in Consonant Cluster Onsets

There are no analogous sequences involving the palatal glide [j] (/y/). Recall from the discussion of sections 1.4.2.1-1.4.2.2, above, that it was the presence of a following [j] glide (or high vowel) that conditioned the historical split of Mongolic **tʃ* and **dʒ* into palatal forms ([tɕ] and [tɕ^{h}]) and retroflex forms ([tʂ] and [tʂ^{h}]). This means that all native morphemes which originally had Affricate + [j] became palatal affricates, and that the [j] was never preserved in this position.

Similarly, Chinese has no examples of retroflex affricates followed by the palatal glide. Thus, no such constructions exist in Minhe Mangghuer, either in Mongolic roots or in Chinese borrowings.

If affricates are considered sequences of two phonemes, the clusters on the right-hand side of Table 2.11 would then have three consonants, rather than two. However, there are no other examples of onsets with three consonants -- if it were

[26] Probably an accidental gap. This is a rare sequence in Mandarin, too.
[27] Palatals followed by /w/ exist only in Chinese borrowings.

allowed as a systematic type, we would have to further complicate the maximal syllable template and add the restrictions outlined in (87).

(87) Alternate Maximal Syllable Template, if Affricates are CC Sequences
$(C_1)\ (C_2)\ (C_3)\ V\ (C_4)$
where
a if $C_1\,C_2\,C_3$ then C_1 = /t/, C_2 = /s, x, sh, s^{h}, x^{h}, sh^{h}/, C_3 = /w/
b if $C_2\,C_3$ only then $C_2 \neq$ /ng, w/ and C_3 = /y, w/
OR C_2 = /t/, C_3 = /s, x, sh, s^{h}, x^{h}, sh^{h}/
c if only C_3 then $C_3 \neq$ /ng, s^{h}, x^{h}, sh^{h}/
d C_4 = /r, n, ng, y, w/
e if C_4 = /r/ then V = /e/

This revised template may be compared to (86), which is repeated here.

(86) Maximal Syllable Template for Minhe Mangghuer
$(C_1)\ (C_2)\ V\ (C_3)$
where:
a if $C_1\ C_2$ then $C_1 \neq$ /ng, w/ and C_2 = /y, w/
b if only C_2 then $C_2 \neq$ /ng/
c C_3 = /r, ng, n, y, w/[28]
d if C_3 = /r/ then V = /e/

Obviously, (86) is easier to read than (87). But there is more to be said. Let us judge the two analyses on their relative merits.

One major argument against the formulation given in (87) is that it recognizes a type of consonant sequence (CCC onsets) which must be admitted only to deal with the affricate sequences. If other types of consonants also formed CCC clusters, then of course these affricate sequences could fit into the CCC pattern so established. However, since it is only these particular sequences which would be accomodated by complicating the syllable template to allow CCC onsets, we might instead prefer to keep the template as general as possible, and complicate our phoneme inventory to add 6 affricate phonemes.

The other reason to view things this way is this: if the sequences /c/, /q/, /ch/ ([ts^{h}, tɕ^{h}, tʂ^{h}]) are seen as phonemically CC clusters, then we still have to add phonemes to the phoneme inventory, since this would posit /s^{h}/, /x^{h}/, /sh^{h}/ as separate phonemes. These three phonemes would then be restricted to appearing only when immediately preceded by /t/. This leads to rather a lot of highly specific restrictions in (87), and lends the appearance that (87) misses generalizations that

[28] That is, any sonorant consonant except /l/ or /m/.

could be made about syllable structure, focusing instead on the behavior of individual sounds.

To summarize, then: recognizing the affricates as unitary phonemes adds six phonemes to the Minhe Mangghuer inventory. However, considering them to be CC sequences would also add three phonemes, and these three would have extremely restricted distributions, appearing only after [t]. Further, these sequences would necessitate complicating the maximal syllable template to allow CCC onset cluters. Overall, then, phonological criteria suggest that it is simplest to treat affricates as unitary phonemes, and to retain the maximal syllable template given in (86).

2.4 Treatment of Glides as Consonants

It is also from the domain of syllable structure that justification comes for the treatement of the glides [j, w] as consonants, rather than vowels.

Unlike most Mongolic languages, Minhe Mangghuer has no phonemic vowel length (see 2.6.2). Sequences of glide + vowel and vowel + glide are therefore the only sequences which could be considered V + V.

These sequences are summarized in Tables 2.12 and 2.13.

nuclear vowel	/y/ as onset			/w/ as onset		
i	(see 2.4.1)			[kwi]	*gui*	'run' (see 2.4.4)
e	[jɔ'ʐi]	*yerri*	'to look for'	[wej'ljɛ]	*weilie*	'work'
a	[ja]	*ya*	'what'	[χwa]	*hua*	'give:VOL'
o	[jow]	*you*	'right' (CH: 右)[29]	(see 2.4.2)		
u	(see 2.4.4)			(see 2.4.1)		

Table 2.12: Glides in Syllable Onsets

[29] In my data, the sequence /jo/ appears only in Chinese borrowings.

nuclear vowel	/y/ as coda	/w/ as coda
i	(see 2.4.1)	→ [ju] (see 2.4.4)
e	none in my data	none in my data
a	[pɐj] *bai* 'stand; EMPHATIC'	[paw] *bao* 'to go down'
o	none in my data	[χow] *hou* 'back' (CH: 后)[30]
u	→ [wi] (see 2.4.4)	(see 2.4.1)

Table 2.13: Glides in Syllable Codas

The data from these tables will be discussed in the following sections.

2.4.1 Non-contrastive Sequences

There is no evidence in my data to suggest that there is any contrast between the sequences /i/, /yi/, and /iy/, or between /u/, /wu/ and /uw/. While these sequences are logically possible, they do not seem to have any role in Minhe Mangghuer phonology.

2.4.2 The Sequence /w/ + /o/

As outlined in 1.1.2.4, /o/ often appears with an on-glide [ʷ]. However, this is a normal phonetic characteristic of the phoneme /o/, rather than a glide + vowel sequence. No contrastive example of the sequence /w/ + /o/ has been found.

2.4.3 Consonant Status of Glides

In the case of syllable-final glides, it is quite clear that they are most simply treated as consonants. Recall that the maximal syllable template allowed for a final consonant which could be: C_3 = /r, ng, n, y, w/. That is, any sonorant consonant except /l/ or /m/ may appear in the consonant coda. This generalization would be lost if [j] and [w] were treated as vowels, and in its place we would need to formulate a statement about V_1 V_2 sequences, restricting the V_2 position to just /i/

[30] In my data, the syllable-final sequence /ow/ appears only in Chinese borrowings.

and /u/, and detailing which vowels could serve as V_1 in those instances. So the analysis is most natural if we consider syllable-final glides to be consonants.[31]

Similarly, where a syllable has only an onset which consists solely of a glide, it seems quite reasonable to consider the glide a consonant. This fits within the maximal syllable type, which allows syllables of CV type, with any consonant except /ng/ in the C position. Considering glides in this position to be vowels would, once again, require the complication of the maximal syllable type to allow V_1 V_2 sequences; in this case, with the restriction that V_1 could be only /i/ or /u/.

2.4.4 Consonant Status of Glides in Syllable Onset Clusters

The sequence /wi/ appears only where /w/ is the second consonant in an onset cluster. Similarly, /yu/ appears only where /y/ is the second consonant in an onset cluster. Most, but not all, instances of both sequences are in Chinese borrowings.

In earlier sections of the chapter (see especially 1.1.1.8 and 2.3), I have shown that onset clusters of this sort are quite common, with relatively few restrictions limiting the cooccurrence of Consonant + Glide syllable onsets.

In onset clusters, the status of glides is ambiguous. There are no compelling phonological reasons for considering them either consonants or vowels when they appear in what I have referred to so far as CC onsets. There are no other CC sequences in syllable onsets, but neither are there any other VV sequences; so the recognition of either type is a complication to the syllable template solely to accommodate the glides. But we cannot choose neither!

We have also seen that the phonemes /i/, /u/, /y/ and /w/ must all be admitted to the phoneme inventory, since they all appear in other contexts besides these ambiguous ones. Thus, neither the CC analysis nor the VV analysis complicates the phoneme inventory.

There are, however, two criteria which lend some support to the analysis of the ambiguous glides as consonants. One is that this analysis allows a fairly natural capturing of CC coocurrence restrictions; in (86a) above, this was covered in the restriction: "if C_1 C_2 then $C_1 \neq$ /ng, w/ and C_2 = /y, w/". However, a more specific statement which can be made is that a glide cannot appear in an onset sequence with an identical glide. This rules out the sequences /*yy/ and /*ww/, which in fact do not occur.

What, then, of the potential sequences /yw/ and /wy/? These two sounds can be pronounced simultaneously, and this is in fact what happens: they are coarticulated when they occur together as an onset cluster, yielding a labial-palatal approximant [ɥ]. Thus, they cannot be distinguished from each other, phonetically

[31] See 2.5.4 and 2.5.5 for a summary of the coocurrences of vowels and syllable-final glides.

or phonemically, and may be written in the same way. In *pinyin* tradition, this ambiguous sequence is written *yu-* preceding a vowel, as in Chinese *yuan* 远 'far', which is phonetically [ɥɛn].

In section 1.4.2.4, I alluded to an additional syllable structure problem which would be created by recognizing palatal obstruents as underlyingly sequences of a retroflex consonant plus the glide /y/. The problem is that this would once again complicate our syllable structure, since in Chinese borrowings there are sequences of a palatal consonant plus the glide /w/, such as *que* and *juan* (see Table 2.12). If palatals are underlyingly retroflex + /y/, then these examples are underlyingly retroflex + /y/ + /w/, and for only these examples we would have to allow CCC onset clusters.

Of course, this problem too could be avoided, either by considering borrowings to be outside the Minhe Mangghuer phonologic system, or by introducing /ɥ/ as a new phoneme in the inventory of glides. Either analysis is plausible, but neither is really necessary, since both aim to solve a problem already solved by the analysis presented earlier. It seems simplest to retain the original analysis.

The second criterion lending support to the analysis of glides as consonants is a form of the phonological maxim often referred to as the "maximal onset principle". This principle recognizes that many languages tend to syllabify by putting as much material as possible into syllable onsets, in preference over syllable codas. See, for example, Kenstowicz (1994:257-58) on English onset maximization.

We can see something like this at work in Minhe Mangghuer when the voluntative suffix, consisting of the vowel /a/, is added after a verb stem ending in the vowel /u/, such as *hu* 'to give'. This may appear as a bisyllabic form, or may optionally yield a monosyllabic form with an onset cluster, as illustrated in (88):

(88) /χu/ + /a/ → [χwa] 'let me give'

A similar example was given in 1.4.3, above, as part of the discussion of epenthetic labials, inserted when [f] in borrowed Chinese morphemes is replaced by [h] by some Minhe Mangghuer speakers. This leads to alternations such as /banfa ~ banhua/ 'method,' with the rounded back vowel /u/ inserted, since speakers seem to perceive of /f/ as appearing only when conditioned by a /u/, and thus infer that /u/ must have been present in the original Chinese form *banfa* (办法).

None of the arguments given here is particularly compelling justification for treating the ambiguous glides as consonants, rather than as vowels. In fact, in recognition of their special status, we might take the route of giving them an ambiguous title, as Field (dissertation) does for Santa; this avoids the appearance

of arbitrariness which might be created by recognizing C_1C_2 onset sequences, but restricting C_2 to allow only two possible consonants. However, ths further complicates the phonological analysis in another way -- by introducing a new category in addition to C and V.

Since there is ample justification for considering glides to be consonants in other positions, and since there are at least some arguments in favor of the claim that they function as consonants here, I adopt the CC cluster analysis.

2.5 Vowel and Coda Consonant Coocurrence Restrictions

In addition to the coocurrence restrictions discussed in preceding sections, there are some further apparent restrictions on sequences of vowels + coda consonants which will be mentioned here.

Some of these are probably due to gaps in the data I have examined, while others are probably accidental gaps in Minhe Mangghuer phonology -- phonologically permissable syllables which, for reason of historical accident, happen not to exist in any Mangghuer words. Some generalizations, however, do seem to be systematic.

We will look at each coda consonant in turn.

2.5.1 The Coda Consonant /r/

The phoneme /r/ has the most restricted distibution of any of the coda consonants. Its syllable-final appearances are treated here as instances of the phonemic sequence /e/ + /r/. No other vowel ever immediately precedes syllable-final /r/.

Phonetically, this sequence is realized as a rhoticized central vowel [ɚ]. Thus, we find:

(89)	a	[ɚtɕɪ'kə]	*erjige*	'donkey'
	b	[pɚ'tɕʰɛ]	*berqie*	'pasture'
	c	[pʊ'ʐɚ]	*burer*	'calf'
	d	[a'kwɚ]	*aguer*	'daughter'
	e	[nj'ɕjɚ]	*nixir*	'earring'

Instead of treating this as a sequence of /e/ + /r/, it would be quite possible to add a single phoneme /ɚ/ to the Minhe Mangghuer inventory. This would allow a bit of simplification of the syllable structure statement, because we would no

longer need to restrict the appearance of syllable-final /r/ to just following /e/. In fact, there would then be no syllable-final /r/s at all.

However, there are also several arguments in support of the /e/ + /r/ sequence analysis adopted here.

First, the sequence analysis avoids a problem which would be created if we did recognize a new phoneme /ɚ/. This new phoneme would never appear before any syllable-final consonant; sequences such as /ɚ/ + /n/ or /ɚ/ + /r/ would never appear within a syllable. So in fact, adding this new phoneme would not simplify our syllable structure analysis, because a new restriction statement would have to be added in place of the one we could remove.

Secondly, the facts just presented suggest that [ɚ] already patterns as a V + C syllable coda, rather than as a single vowel. All other vowels in the Minhe Mangghuer inventory may appear preceding a syllable-final consonant; if /ɚ/ is a vowel phoneme, it is one with unique combinatorial behavior.

Finally, (though this reason is considerably less compelling, synchronically), the sequence analysis captures something about the history of [ɚ] that the phoneme analysis would miss. Historically, [ɚ] arose as a result of a neutralization of contrasts among the vowels when preceding the coda /r/. Compare the following Mongolic data:

(90) 'day' Data from Zh. Sun (1990:540)

udur	Huzhu Mongghul	
udur	Eastern Yugur	
udər	Buriat Mongolian	
udu	Santa	
[twɚ]	Minhe Mangghuer *duer*	(Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

(91) 'tiger' Data from Zh. Sun (1990:141)

bar	Buriat Mongolian	
barəs	Eastern Yugur	
bas	Huzhu Mongghul	
bas	Qinghai Baonan	
[pɚ'sɪ]	Minhe Mangghuer *bersi*	(Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

(92) 'sleep' Data from Zh. Sun (1990:511)
noːr Huzhu Mongghul
noir Buriat Mongolian
nuːr Eastern Yugur
nor Qinghai Baonan
[nɔ˞] Minhe Mangghuer *ner* (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

This data shows that [ɔ˞] corresponds to Mongolic syllable-final /r/, which generally remained /r/ in other Mongolic languages. In Minhe Mangghuer, most vowels fell together in this position, while /u/ became a bilabial approximant [w] (/w/), as (90) illustrates. (Similarly, /i/ must have become the glide [j] (/y/), as in (89e), above, although I have no comparative data for the few examples available to me.)

Two historical rules can be written to account for these facts. The basic rule is given in (93), capturing the generalization that syllable-final /r/ usually coalesced with a preceding vowel to yield [ɔ˞].

(93) Historical development of V + /r/ in syllable coda

$V + r \rightarrow [ɔ˞] / __ \$$

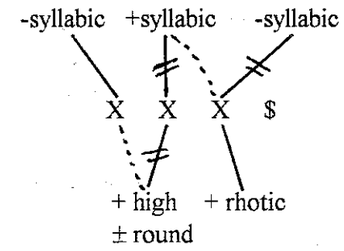
However, the behavior of /u/ in this position is different, since the rounding of /u/ is preserved in the onset cluster glide /w/. To account for this, we need an earlier rule which preserves at least the rounding feature, before V + /r/ coalesces into [ɔ˞]. This rule might look like (94). (As noted above, /i/ behaves identically, except of course that the glide produced is not /w/ but /y/. The rule is thus formulated to apply to both high vowels.)

(94) Historical development of V_{+high} + /r/ in syllable coda

$V_{+high} \rightarrow$ -syllabic / __ r \$

Rule (94) would block the application of rule (93) if applied first, but so would rule (93) block the application of rule (94), if they were applied in that order. So either the rules need to be complicated somewhat, or else we need a way to let them apply simultaneously. This can be done naturally with an autosegmental representation, such as that given in (95):

(95) Deletion of high vowel and syllabification of /r/



This autosegmental rule allows the articulatory features of [i] and [u] to associate with syllable onset. The timing unit which formerly represented the syllable nucleus becomes interpreted as an onset cluster glide, if it has appropriate place features; if not, it simply has no phonetic realization at all, since its articulatory features have no syllabic timing value.

The final timing unit in the syllable becomes syllabic, yielding the central rhoticized vowel [ɔ˞].

This process naturally captures the historical fact that the non-high vowels all fell together in this position, since the phonetic value of [ɔ˞] is supplied as a default, regardless of what the place features of the preceding vowel originally were.

This analysis makes phonological sense. However, it does fail to recognize the motivation behind the change observed here. As with all of the phonological processes we have seen in this chapter, this process too is a result of an adaptation of Mongolic phonetic material to match the Sinitic pattern towards which Minhe Mangghuer phonology has been drifting.

2.5.2 The Coda Consonant /n/

The coda consonant /n/ appears following the vowels /i, a, e, u/. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(96)	a	[ata'lɪn]	*adalin*	'the same'
	b	[kʰæn]	*kan*	'who'
	c	[qʰa'lʊn]	*khalun*	'hot'
	d	[tɕaw'tʊn]	*jiaodun*	'dream'

2.5.3 The Coda Consonant /ng/

The consonant /ng/ ([ŋ]) appears only in syllable-final position. It may follow /i, a, e, o/. Examples are:

(97)	a	['tʰɪŋkə]	*tingge*	'then'	
	b	[pa'jɑ̃]	*bayang*	'rich'	
	c	[ɕwɛ'ʂəŋ]	*xuesheng*	'student'	(CH: 学生)
	d	[kʰũŋ]	*kong*	'person'	

The syllable-final sequence /eng/ occurs only in Chinese borrowings.

Following *pinyin* orthographic practice, the Minhe Mangghuer system uses *ong* and *un*, never *ung* or *on*. However, the fact that /o/ and /u/ never contrast before either of these syllable-final nasal consonants suggests that this is another case of neutralization, and that either vowel symbol could in principle be written in these contexts.

Another fact which should be noted pertains to the name Mangghuer. The initial syllable might have been expected to have [moŋ], rather than [maŋ], since this word is clearly cognate with Mongol and Mongolian. However, the syllable /*mong/ is lacking in Mandarin phonology, (apparently as an accidental gap), and where it occured in Mongolic words, Mangghuer has replaced it with /mang/, which Mandarin does allow.

2.5.4 The Coda Consonant /y/

The coda consonant /y/ ([j]) appears following two vowels, /a/ and /e/. These are illustrated by the contrast of (98a) and (98b).

(98)	a	[pɐj]	*bai*	'stand; Emphatic particle'	
	b	[pawpej]	*baobei*	'treasure'	(CH: 宝贝)

2.5.5 The Coda Consonant /w/

In syllable codas, /w/ also may follow two vowels, /a/ and /o/. The latter vowel appears with this consonant only in Chinese loanwords such as *you* 'right side'.

(99)	a	[jaw]	*yao*	'to walk, to go'
	b	[jow]	*you*	'right' (CH: 右)

2.6 Phonological Changes from Mongolic

Two particularly striking shifts in Minhe Mangghuer phonology have been the loss of most Mongolic coda consonants and the loss of vowel length distinctions. Here I will give comparative data to illustrate these changes.

Once again, the changes detailed here served to make Mangghuer phonology more similar to that of the neighboring Chinese dialect, which lacks precisely the features that Minhe Mangghuer lost, and which has those that Minhe Mangghuer preserved.

2.6.1 Processes Affecting Mongolic Coda Consonants

According to Poppe (1955), Middle Mongolian allowed the following consonants to appear in syllable codas: *b, d, g, ɣ, s, n, m, ŋ, l, r.* Most of these are no longer permitted in Minhe Mangghuer syllable codas, though a few have been retained.

I have not yet found examples of Middle Mongolian words with syllable-final *b, d* or *ɣ*, in sections 2.6.1.1-2.6.1.3, we will examine the phonological developments which affected the remainder of these syllable-final consonants in Mangghuer.

Mangghuer consonantal glides are a fairly recent development, not inherited from Common Mongolic, according to Poppe (1955:76). These will be discussed in section 2.6.1.4.

2.6.1.1 Coda Consonants Retained from Mongolic

The Mongolic coda consonants which remain in Minhe Mangghuer are /n, ng, r/. In (100)-(102), correspondence sets show the retention of these consonants.[32]

[32] There is not, however, a one-to-one correspondence for these consonants. In particular, word-final nasals in some Mongolic roots were lost; the difference seems to have had to do with the morphological environments in which various lexical items commonly occurred. However, I am not yet able to characterize these differences adequately.

(100) 'who' Data from Zh. Sun (1990:342)
ken Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:45)
xəŋ Buriat Mongolian
ken Eastern Yugur
kaŋ Qinghai Baonan
kiən Santa
[k^{h}æn] Minhe Mangghuer *kan* (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

(101) 'monster'
maŋɢus 'dragon' Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:171)
[mɑ̃ŋ'xu̯tsi] 'monster' Minhe Mangghuer *manghuzi*

(102) 'hand'
ɢar Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:160)
[qɘ˞] Minhe Mangghuer *gher*

Mongolic syllable-final /l/ became /r/ in Minhe Mangghuer, as shown in (103)-(104).

(103) 'gold'
altan 'golden' Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:157)
[ɘ˞'t^{h}ɑ̃] 'gold' Minhe Mangghuer *ertang*

(104) 'fire'
ɢal Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:157)
[qɘ˞] Minhe Mangghuer *gher*

This development has led to homophony of the words for 'hand' and 'fire' (see (102) and (104)) in Minhe Mangghuer, but these items contrast in other Mongolic languages. Huzhu Mongghul has *ɢar* 'hand' and *ɢal* 'fire' (Zh. Sun 1990:279, 284).

2.6.1.2 Insertion of /i/ Following Coda /s/

Whereever /s/ appeared in final position, an epenthetic vowel /i/ has been inserted in Minhe Mangghuer, as in (105):

(105) 'to get up'
bos- Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:121)
[po'sɨ] Minhe Mangghuer (Imperative form) *bosi*

2.6.1.3 Loss of Other Coda Obstruents

All other final obstruents have been lost from the ends of syllables. (106)-(107) show this for the Middle Mongolian coda consonants *g* and *m*.

(106) Mongolic syllable-final *g*
nögči Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:154) 'to pass (time)'
[n^{w}o't$\mathrm{ɕ}^{h}$ɪ] Minhe Mangghuer *nuoqi* 'to pass'

(107) Mongolic syllable-final *m*, 'to play'
nādum Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:102)
[na'tu] Minhe Mangghuer *nadu*

The syllable-final consonants *b, d* and *ɢ* seem similarly to have been lost in Mangghuer, although I have not yet found relevant examples. In any case, none of these consonants appears in Mangghuer syllable codas at present.

2.6.1.4 Coda Glide Consonants

Poppe (1955:76-84) distinguished "diphthongs" in word-final and other environments in early forms of Mongolian. Based, apparently, on orthographic evidence, Poppe claims that the sequences [aj] and [uj] existed word-finally, but that in non-final environments, Mongolic had only multisyllable combinations such as [aji] and [uji].

There is some support for this claim in Minhe Mangghuer, which retains a two-syllable [a.i][33] sequence in the verb *ayi* 'to fear'; this is contrasted with other Mongolic cognate forms in (108):

[33] See the discussion of 2.4.1, above, where I claim that [a'ji] and [a'i] are not phonemically distinct in Minhe Mangghuer.

(108) 'to be frightened' Data from Poppe (1955:76-77)

ajilɣaba	Middle Mongolian "Moslem sources" ('he scared')
ajilɣa	Written Mongolian ('to scare')
aɕlɢɒ	Khalkha ('to scare')
[a'ʝ]	Minhe Mangghuer *ayi* (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c)

These examples are morphologically complex, including a causative suffix *lɢɒ* or *lɣa*, but they illustrate the point, in that each preserves [aji] as two syllables when non-word final.

Presumably Minhe Mangghuer shifted to word-final stress before the bisyllabic [a.i] could be simplified to monosyllabic [aj], thus preserving the pattern we observe above.

Where Mongolic roots already had word-final [aj], Minhe Mangghuer has retained this sequence, though it has been lost in most other languages. This is illustrated in (109):

(109) 'forehead' Data from Poppe (1955:84)

maŋlaj	Middle Mongolian
maŋlaj	Written Mongolian
maɢnᵖee	Khalkha
maŋnil	Dagur
maŋlii	Huzhu Mongghul
[mæn'laj]	Minhe Mangghuer *manlai* (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

Minhe Mangghuer has also created new V + glide coda sequences, as earlier Mongolic intervocalic consonants were lost. These will be described in the next section, as part of the discussion of the lack of vowel length distinctions in Minhe Mangghuer.

2.6.2 Lack of Vowel Length

Many modern Mongolic languages have phonemic vowel length distinctions. Poppe (1955:24) gives the following minimal set from the Ordos dialect of Mongolian:

(110)

uula	'mountain'
ula	'sole'
ulaa	'a requisitioned animal for riding or transportation purposes'

According to Field (1997:109-115), vowel length distinctions are found in most Mongolic languages, including Mongolian, Dagur, Eastern Yugur, Huzhu Mongghul. Santa, however, has no vowel length distinction; nor does Qinghai Baonan.

Minhe Mangghuer also does not have any vowel length distinction. Here I will show what occurred in environments which gave rise to long vowels in some languages, but which did not in Minhe Mangghuer.

Poppe (1955) shows that length distinctions in Mongolic languages arose from the loss of the intervocalic consonants (usually *ɢ* or *β*). Where the two vowels concerned were identical, long vowels regularly arose. When we compare the cognates in Minhe Mangghuer, we find that similar vowel qualities are generally retained, but that other changes have been effected. (All forms in these correspondence sets are taken from Poppe 1955, except those for Minhe Mangghuer items, which come from my own field notes.)

(111) **ɸulaɢan* 'red' Data from Poppe (1955:61)

hula'an	Middle Mongolian
ulaɢan	Written Mongolian
ulaaŋ	Khalkha
ulaaŋ	Dagur
fulaan	Huzhu Mongghul
[χu̯'laj]	Minhe Mangghuer ('to become red') *hulai* (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

(112) **degere* 'above' Data from Poppe (1955:62)

de'ere	Middle Mongolian
deerə	Khalkha
deere	Ordos
dərə	Huzhu Mongghul
[tjɛ'rə]	Minhe Mangghuer *diere* (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

(113) **kuβun* 'person' Data from Poppe (1955:63)

gu'un	Middle Mongolian
kuuuŋ	Dagur
kuun	Kalmuck
kun	Huzhu Mongghul
[kʰũŋ]	Minhe Mangghuer *kong* (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

Long vowels could also arise when *ɣ* or *β* were deleted between two vowels of different quality, although this does not seem to have been a simple additive combining of the two vowels involved. Rather, one seems to have been lengthened to compensate for the loss of the consonant. The lexeme meaning 'face' provides an example of this:

(114)	'face'	Data from Poppe (1955:66)	
	niɣur	Written Mongolian	
	ni'ur	Middle Mongolian	
	nuuur	Khalkha	
	nuur	Kalmuck	
	niuur	Huzhu Mongghul	
	[nɔ˞]	Minhe Mangghuer *ner*	(Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

It is the Huzhu Mongghul form which suggests that the vowel length found here is not due simply to combining of the two original vowels, although vowel length there could perhaps be due to some independent development.

The Minhe Mangghuer form *ner* shows the effects not only of simplification of long vowels, but also the later development, which apparently occurred only in this language, of V + /r/ within a syllable to [ɔ˞], as described in section 2.5.1, above.

In some other instances, however, deletion of an intervocalic consonant led to the formation of a V+glide combination. This change was effected when a sequence of a non-high V + /u/ was created by medial consonant deletion, as in (115)-(116):

(115)	'younger brother'	Data from Poppe (1955:69)	
	deɣuu	Written Mongolian	
	de'u	Middle Mongolian	
	dəɯ̯	Dagur	
	duuu	Buriat	
	duu	Kalmuck	
	[tjaw]	Minhe Mangghuer[34] *diao*	(Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

[34] The onset glide /y/ is presumably a reflex of a front vowel, which we see preserved in the Middle Mongolian and written Mongolian forms.

(116)	'bird'	Data from (Poppe 1955:67)
	sibaɣun	Written Mongolian
	ʃibao'un	Middle Mongolian
	ʃiboun	Oirat
	[ʂɨ'paw]	Minhe Mangghuer *shibao* (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

This process had exceptions, however. Mangghuer has lost the final nasal segment in the word for 'bird,' given in (116). However, there is another series of roots in which a final nasal was not lost; when similar medial consonant deletion in these roots would have produced the string *-awn*, (an unacceptable string, given current the Minhe Mangghuer syllable template), there was a coalescence of the V + glide sequence into a single vowel phoneme. This avoided the creation of syllable-final VCC string. Compare (116) with (117):

(117)	'hot'	Data from Poppe (1955:68)
	qalaɣun	Written Mongolian
	qala'un	Middle Mongolian
	χaluuŋ	Buriat
	χaluun	Kalmuck
	χalooŋ	Huzhu Mongghul
	[qʰa'lʊn]	Minhe Mangghuer *khalun* (Zhu Yongzhong, p.c.)

In this discussion, I have left open the question of whether Minhe Mangghuer once had an intermediate stage which did allow long vowels. These sequences are common enough among closely related languages to suggest that this may in fact have been the case. The change to a Sinitic syllable structure may have started after the Mongolic changes which led to long vowel creation in so many Mongolic languages; then, the new phonological system being adopted by Minhe Mangghuer speakers would have simply wiped out those long vowel sequences which had been created.

However, it is also possible that the accomodation of Minhe Mangghuer pronunciation to a Chinese model began early enough to prevent the formation of long vowels in Mongolic roots.

Nonetheless, the fact that Huzhu Mongghul shares the vowel length feature with so many of the Mongolian dialects, as well as with some other Mongolic language isolates, does suggest that the development of this distinction may have predated the breakup of Mongolic.

Further data will be required, before these possibilities can be evaluated systematically.

2.6.3 Lack of Vowel Harmony

One of the most-often noted features of Mongolic languages is vowel harmony. Svantesson (1985) describes three different systems of vowel harmony, in different members of the Mongolic family.

Classical Mongolian had *front-back harmony* "and the vowel harmony rule says that a word could contain vowels from only one of the classes of front vowels (*e, y,* and *ø*) or back vowels (*a, u,* and *o*)" (1985:284). Front-back harmony is still found in modern West Mongolian dialects (1985:303).

In modern East Mongolian dialects (including Khalkha), Svantesson (1985) describes a shift from the front-back harmony system to a system of *pharyngeal harmony*, which involves a contrast between "probably normal, or somewhat expanded, vs. constricted pharynx" (1985:285).

The third type of harmony system is *rounding harmony*, which Svantesson considers to be a more recent development than palatal vowel harmony.[35] He notes (1985:318):

> already in Classical Mongolian, the phenomenon called 'labial attraction' had started, and in some words an open unrounded vowel in the following syllable had assimilated in rounding to a preceding open round vowel, as in the words *mongγol* 'Mongol' (from **moŋγal*) and *nøkør* 'friend' (from **nøker*). This assimilation was not obligatory, and Classical Mongolian has many unassimilated words, such as *olan* 'many' and *køke* 'blue.'

Rounding harmony is found "only in those Mongolic languages where fronting harmony has been replaced by pharyngeal harmony" (1985:287). That is, both rounding harmony and pharyngeal harmony are found in East Mongolian languages, while West Monglian has only front-back harmony.

Mangghuer does not have productive vowel harmony of any of these three types. I have seen only one example of anything resembling vowel harmony.

The collective form *ghu=la* 'two=COLL' has several phonological variants, including *ghulu* and *ghuerluo* (see chapter 3, section 2.6.2.2). Since *=la* is the normal form of the collective enclitic, it may be that the forms [lu] and [luo] represent rounding harmony variants, which harmonize with the rounding of the first syllable. This is not productive, however; the collective enclitic is phonetically

[35] Svantesson (1985) does not consider rounding harmony to be a type of vowel harmony. Like the other two systems discussed, however, rounding harmony affects only vowels. Thus, it may be considered a type of vowel harmony.

[la] in all other instances which I have seen. Thus, these forms may represent fossilized holdovers from an earlier stage, in which rounding harmony was beginning to develop in a parent language of Mangghuer.

However, this process must not have continued very far, since it does not seem to have affected syllables within a word root. Thus, we can compare the Mangghuer *wulan* [ᵛu'læ̃] 'many' with the "unassimilated" Classical Monglian form given by Svantesson (1985:), above: *olan* 'many.' The Mangghuer form remains unassimilated, suggesting that rounding harmony never applied to it in the history of this language.

Field (1997:155-56) notes that Santa also lacks productive vowel harmony. Binnick (1987:179-80) reports that one traditional scheme for classifying Mongolic languages involves a category of "nonsynharmonic (non-vowel-harmonizing) languages," which includes the southwestern Mongolic languages Dagur, Monguor, Santa and Baoan. This group of languages includes the ones which have been most heavily influenced by Sinitic neighbor languages. This observation will be returned to in chapter 8, as part of the discussion of subgrouping within the Mongolic language family.

3 Stress

In this section, we adopt a suprasegmental perspective, to discuss the phonology of Minhe Mangghuer stress. Both synchronic and diachronic aspects will be considered.[36]

3.1 Placement of Stress

The stress system of Minhe Mangghuer is much like that described by C. Li (1986) for Gansu Baonan. As with many such similarities among the Mongolic language isolates of the Qinghai-Gansu region, this could be due to common inheritance from an earlier Mongolic branch language, to parallel but independent innovations due to extensive contact with the same set of neighboring languages (Chinese, Amdo Tibetan, Salar, etc), to extensive contact among speakers of Minhe Mangghuer and Gansu Baonan, or (most probably) to some combination of these factors.

Stress in Minhe Mangghuer, as in Gansu Baonan, consists of high pitch and great amplitude (loudness), relative to the pitch and amplitude of neighboring unstressed syllables.

[36] The important suprasegmental feature of intonation will not be treated in this dissertation. I do not have access to adequate natural intonation data to discuss this topic meaningfully.

A summary of stress placement in Mongolic languages is provided by Field (1997:114), who notes that Huzhu Mongghul, Baonan, and Eastern Yugur all have word-final stress, while Mongolian and Dagur have word-initial stress. Field suggests (1997:9) that Middle Mongolian had word-initial stress, so a shift seems to have occurred in those languages which now have stress on the final syllable of a word.

Field (1997) claims that Santa is a mixed language, resulting when a large number of Turkic speakers shifted to speaking Mongolian, probably during and soon after the campaigns of Genghis Khan throughout Central Asia in the early 1200's. Word-final stress is a significant bit of evidence for this claim, and if it is true, a natural hypothesis would be that Mangghuer dialects share a similar history, since they too have word-final stress.

Whether or not a large-scale shift from Turkic to Mongolic contributed to the development of present-day Mangghuer, there clearly has been significant contact between at least the Minhe variety and the Turkic language Salar. These two languages are spoken in adjacent counties along the upper Yellow River, separated by only a single set of steep gorges. Although I have no phonetic description of Salar, a cursory examination of Ma, Ma and Ma (1993) turns up a number of morphemes which must certainly be related to forms currently found in Minhe Mangghuer. This provides no direct evidence to prove that Salar has directly influenced Minhe Mangghuer, but it does suggest that such influence is at least linguistically plausible.

We might also note that Amdo Tibetan has word-final stress (J. Sun 1986:58-9), and that this language similarly may have had an impact on the development of Minhe Mangghuer, since these two systems have been in close contact for generations. Chapter 5 demonstrates clear influence from Tibetan languages on Minhe Mangghuer, so the possibility of direct Tibetan influence on Minhe Mangghuer stress cannot be ruled out, either.

Evidence remains sparse, however, and I make no conclusions here about how stress came to be word-final in Mangghuer or in other Mongolic languages.

The important thing to note about all of these stress systems is that in Mongolic languages, as well as Turkic languages and Amdo Tibetan, stress placement is *phonologically predictable*. Stress is not, therefore, to be considered a phonemic category in these languages, since its placement does not distinguish meanings of words.

Minhe Mangghuer, however, has a system of stress placement which is only partially predictable. Due to contact with Chinese, stress is moving in the direction of becoming a phonemic category, capable of functioning to distinguish words of different meanings.

Stress is predictable in words of Mongolic origin. In these items, stress falls reliably on the final syllable of a word, after suffixes and phrasal enclitics have been added. Thus, we find:

(118)	a	[tɪ]	*di*	'eat (Imperative)'
	b	[tɪ'qa]	*digha*	'cause to eat'
	c	[tɪqa'sa]	*dighasa*	'if one causes to eat'
	d	[tɪqa'lɑ̃]	*dighalang*	'causing to eat'
	e	[tɪqak^{h}ʊ̭'nɪ]	*dighakuni*	'the thing one is caused to eat'

(119)	a	[ʂʊ̭'kwo]	*shuguo*	'big'
	b	[ʂʊ̭kwot^{h}ʊ̭qa'tɕɑ̃]	*shuguotughajiang*	'raised (i.e. raised a child to adulthood)'

Both *di* 'eat' and *shuguo* 'big' are native Mongolic lexical items, and as (118) and (119) illustrate, stress appears on the final syllable of any word containing these roots. We might also note that stress placement does not depend on syllable weight; (120)-(122) illustrate that stress falls on the final syllable, even if there are preceding heavy syllables, with any type of coda element.[37]

(120)	a	[t^{h}jə˞'pə˞]	*tierber*	'to hold'
	b	[t^{h}jə˞pə˞'tɕi]	*tierberji*	'holding'
	c	[t^{h}jə˞pə˞'tɕɑ̃]	*tierberjiang*	'held'

(121)	a	[t^{h}aw'laj]	*taolai*	'rabbit'
	b	[t^{h}awlaj'tu]	*taolaidu*	'rabbit (Dative)'

(122)	a	[k^{h}uŋ]	*kung*	'person'
	b	[k^{h}un'tu]	*kungdu*	'person (Dative)'

All of the morphemes illustrated so far are native Mongolic items. In borrowings from Chinese, a completely different rule governs the placement of stress, and it is to this other pattern that we now turn.

C. Li (1986) discusses a similar phenomen in Gansu Baonan. In this language, native Mongolic words have stress on their final syllable, while borrowings from Chinese have stress on any syllable which, in Chinese, contained a tone pattern that included a high pitch. If a Chinese lexical item has more than one high pitch in its tonal pattern, the Gansu Baonan borrowing of that item may similarly have multiple stressed syllables. Some of C. Li's examples are:

[37] See section 2.0 above for an analysis of syllable structure, including the claim that [ə˞] represents the phonemic sequence /V + r/.

(123) a Linxia /dɛfu/ (tones: 44-22)[38] → Baonan /'dɛfu/ 'doctor' (大 夫)
b Linxia /ɕyɛɕɔ/ (22-42) → Baonan /ɕyɛ'ɕo/ 'school' (学 校)
c Linxia /jɛtu/ (44-42) → Baonan /'yɛ'tu/ 'wild rabbit' (野 兔)

Clearly, something similar is going on with Chinese loans in Minhe Mangghuer, as we will see in the following paragraphs.

In (124), I present several Mangghuer lexical items which have borrowed Chinese roots. For comparison, Standard Mandarin tones are given in parentheses; however, it is important to note that the tone system of Qinghai Chinese is not the same as that of Standard Mandarin. Thus, we cannot assume that the pitch contours given here accurately represent those of the Chinese from which Mangghuer has borrowed. However, since I have had no access to phonetic data from the relevant Chinese dialect, the Standard Mandarin tones my serve at least a suggestive function.

(124) a [ʷo'kʰə] *woke* 'twist, sprain'
Chinese: 倭[39] *wo* (55)
b [tajɪnla'pa] *dayinglaba* 'promised (1:PERF)'
答应 *daying* (55-55)
c [nənkæn'χɚ] *nengganher* 'more clever'
能干 *nenggan* (35-42)

(124a-c) show Chinese loans which, like native Mongolic items, receive word-final stress, after suffixes have been added. Other items, however, have lexical stress designations on non-final syllables; this is illustrated in words like:

(125) a ['wənt^{h}ɪ] *wenti* 'question'
问题 *wenti* (42-35)
b ['pjɛnlɪ'tɕɑ̃] *bianlijiang* 'changed'
变 *bian* (42)
c ['tatɕa] *dajia* 'everyone'
大家 *dajia* (42-55)

Finally, examples (126a-b) show that some loans are lexically specified for multiple stresses.

[38] The numbers refer to relative pitch height on a scale of 1-5, with 5 the highest. Linxia dialect contrasts only two levels, which can be thought of as "high" and "low".
[39] The correct character should have the left-hand radical 足, rather than 人.

(126) a ['ji'tʂɨ] *yizhi* 'straight; continually'
一直 *yizhi* (55-35)
b ['ʂa'tʰan'tɪ] *shatangdi* 'sandy place, beach'
沙滩地 *shatandi* (55-55-42)

These examples raise a number of interesting questions. Where stress on loan words is not word-final, we might wonder whether suffixes still receive stress, preserving by analogy the word-final stress pattern of native Mongolic words, or if instead such suffixes are unstressed, indicating a movement towards lexicalization, and therefore phonemicization, of stress as belonging only to certain specified syllables of a given word. In (125b) the word *'bianli'jiang* 'changed' does stress both the initial syllable and the word-final suffix. This seems to be generally true of other borrowings which take suffixes, as well.

C. Li (1986:179) observes that "if a Linxia loan word is used as a verb and thereby takes on Baonan suffixes, the high pitch falls on the syllable that has a [high] tone in Linxia, not on the word-final syllable." The Minhe Mangghuer pattern seems different, preferring to stress a word-final syllable, whether or not an earlier syllable was also stressed.

One of the significant issues related to stress and tone in borrowings is that of code-switching; this issue acts as a potential confound for generalizations concerning the category of "stress" in a borrowing language like Minhe Mangghuer. When words are elicted in isolation, there is the obvious danger that a speaker -- especially a fluently bilingual speaker -- will pronounce loan words with an approximation of their form in the source language. My own phonological data relies heavily on wordlist forms, and this is therefore a significant potential problem.

Even in discourse contexts, however, speakers have varying facility to approximate different phonological systems within the stream of speech. For reasons of social solidarity, of identifying with a particular group, or for many other reasons, a speaker may produce loan words with phonological features that identify them as somewhat different from other items in the same discourse, or even in the same clause.

Thus, a complete study of stress and the borrowing of Chinese lexical items into Minhe Mangghuer will need to take into account factors like the degree of bilingual ability of a particular speaker, the degree to which specific lexical items show up in linguistic contexts judged by the participants to be "Mangghuer" or "Chinese", as well as sociolinguistic facts such as native speaker views regarding how closely pronunciation of various lexical items approximates Mongolic or Chinese phonology, in addition to more general attitudes toward the social value of the two language systems.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to undertake study in such detail, due to the inaccessibility of the Minhe Mangghuer area. Further, I have had no access

to Chinese speakers from the Minhe area, other than my Mangghuer consultants. Neither have I been able to locate any published materials which outline the tone system(s) of spoken Chinese in Minhe County. The Gangou Chinese dialect (Zhu et al, 1997) is spoken by many Minhe Mangghuer speakers, but again, no description of its phonology seems to exist. The Linxia dialect reported on in C. Li (1986) is spoken about 30 km away; but there is currently no way to know how similar Minhe Chinese is to that dialect. Xining Dialect, spoken roughly 120 km to the NW, has a number of significant phonological differences from what C. Li, (1986) reports for Linxia, including a significantly wider range of tone categories (Zhang and Zhu 1987); at this point, there is no way to discover what the tonal system of Chinese in the Minhe area is like.

Currently, I am also unable to compare Minhe Mangghuer borrowings from Chinese with items from the Linxia dialect, because I have found no lexical items in C. Li (1986) for which I know of Minhe Mangghuer borrowed equivalents.

The precise nature of the phonological influence of Minhe area Chinese dialect tone systems on Mangghuer stress thus remains an area ripe for investigation, although it does seem that C. Li's (1986) description of Gansu Baonan may come close to capturing the Minhe Mangghuer situation, as well.

In any event, it *is* clear that C. Li's (1986) main point is relevant for Minhe Mangghuer, as much as for Gansu Baonan. He notes that Gansu Baonan is in the process of moving from reliance on a stress system to what we would characterize as a tone or pitch accent system, since high pitch is becoming a feature of syllables which must be stored in lexical representation of each word, rather than simply being filled in by a phonological rule prior to production. Clearly, the same sort of process is occurring in Minhe Mangghuer, as a result of a similar stimulus: Chinese borrowings are redefining the stress system to make it one which requires that each word have a specification for stress assignment in its mental representation. This specification assigns stress to specific syllables for some words (all of which happen to be borrowings from Chinese, whether or not speakers are aware of that historical fact) and leaves other words marked as stressless; words of the second type receive stress on their final syllables, following the phonological addition of suffixes and clausal enclitics.

3.2 Word Boundaries[40]

3.2.1 Word Roots and Suffixes

In the discussion of stress above, I have already assumed a phonologically identifiable category 'word'. In fact, stress is the major feature which can be used to define the phonological word in Minhe Mangghuer.

Leaving aside, for a moment, the complicated situation of Chinese loanwords, we can refer back to (118) for an example of the basic stress pattern:

(118)	a	*di*	'eat (Imperative)'
	b	*di'gha*	'cause to eat'
	c	*digha'sa*	'if one causes to eat'
	d	*digha'lang*	'causing to eat'
	e	*dighaku'ni*	'the thing one is caused to eat'

Each of (118a-e) constitutes a single phonological word. Each of (118b-3) has one or more elements added to the root *di-* 'to eat.' These added elements are verbal suffixes, which may appear only bound to a preceding verbal root. While the root di can appear alone, as in (118a), this is not true of any of the other morphemes shown in this example.

Primary stress is assigned once to a phonological word, on its final syllable. This is clear in (118a-e), and we can also see the phenomenon in an example sentence, where word boundaries may be located by finding each stressed syllable and considering it to be the final syllable of a word. A line from the folktale *Madage* "Older Brother Horse" illustrates this rhythm:

(127) (Madage 62)

```
ta'shi 'ge      duoruo='sa hu'ni gher  -'lang
stone  SG:INDEF under =ABL smoke go:out-N1:IMPERF
(they saw) smoke coming out from under a stone.
```

In this example, the independent words *tashi*, *ge*, and *huni* all receive one primary stress, on their final syllables. The verbal suffix *-jiang* receives the primary stress in the phonological word *gherjiang*. The word *dorosa* contains not

[40] The data in this section will be transcribed using Minhe Mangghuer orthography. Much of the data is drawn from my folktale database, for which I do not have adequate audio recordings for phonetic transcription. However, since no reference need be made to segmental phonetics here, orthographic representation, with stress indicated, suffices nicely.

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```

In this example, the independent words *tashi*, *ge*, and *huni* all receive one primary stress, on their final syllables. The verbal suffix *-jiang* receives the primary stress in the phonological word *gherjiang*. The word *dorosa* contains not

[40] The data in this section will be transcribed using Minhe Mangghuer orthography. Much of the data is drawn from my folktale database, for which I do not have adequate audio recordings for phonetic transcription. However, since no reference need be made to segmental phonetics here, orthographic representation, with stress indicated, suffices nicely.

a suffix, but rather, an encliticized casemarker; enclitics are the subject of the next section.[41]

As illustrated in 3.1, above, some Chinese loanwords allow multiple stressed syllables. This causes some difficulty for a stress-based identification of phonological word boundaries. However, as noted in 3.1, it seems to be generally the case that word-final suffixes also bear stress when they are affixed to borrowed lexical items with non-final stress. Thus, it seems that we may use suffixes as boundary indicators for phonological words, but that the set of "suffixes" must be defined based on their appearance attached to Mongolic lexical roots.

If the frequency of Chinese borrowings in Minhe Mangghuer usage continues to rise, the day may come when stress will fail to correlate with any useful notion of the phonological word for this language. For now, however, the preponderance of Mongolic roots, and the fact that Mongolic suffixes tend to receive stress in any environment, suggests that a stress-based definition of the phonological word remains useful.

3.2.2 Stress-bearing Enclitics

There are two types of enclitics; case markers and possessive markers. Both types appear at the end of a noun phrase or nominalized clause. Since these elements bear stress, they are considered phonologically bound to the immediately preceding word.

Phonologically bound casemarkers include:

(128) Casemarkers

=ni	Accusative Case
=la	Instrumental/Comitative Case
=du	Dative Case
=sa	Ablative Case
=ji	Directional Case

The two enclitic possessive markers are *=nang*, which is a reflexive possessive marker, and *=ni*, a non-reflexive possessive. Both appear at the end of the phrase they modify, and receive stress.

(129) *ana'nang* 'one's own mother'
(130) *ana'ni* 'his/her mother'

[41] I have not yet seen enough examples of the clause-final particle ma to account for its behavior, with regard to stress.

All of these forms are considered to be enclitics, rather than suffixes, because they are attached to a certain position in phrases, rather than to words of a particular syntactic category. A noun suffix would always appear on a noun (either lexical or morphologically derived); an enclitic appears on whatever lexical item happens to be in the correct position in the phrase to which it is attached.

This may be illustrated with a few items which appear in the Minhe Mangghuer folktales. The following examples show that the accusative case marker *=ni* appears on the final element of the accusative noun phrase: the head noun *aguer* 'daughter' in (131); the plural marker *si* in (132); and the final noun of a long NP in (133). In each case, brackets are used to show the phrase to which an enclitic is attached.

(131) (A Cow Mother 36)

```
ni   [muni    aguer]  =ni  ala  ge-jiang
this 1:SG:GEN daughter=ACC kill do-N1:PERF
It killed my daughter.
```

(132) (Monkey 79)

```
Bi       [tuerghang kong   ge]ni        ala  geba.
bi       tuerghang  kong   ge      =ni  ala  ge-ba
1:SG:NOM fat        person SG:INDEF=ACC kill do-1:PERF
I have killed a fat person.
```

The dative casemarker *=du* also appears attached to the end of a noun phrase, in (133):

(133) (A Hired Farmhand 19)

```
"Qi      jiaoduer  [huguerni  basi      sharsi a
qi       jiaoduer  huguer=ni  basi      sharsi a
2:SG:NOM every:day cow   =GEN excrement urine  also

      kongni     basi      sharsi]du  take ma  ni   luoti
      kong  =ni  basi      sharsi=du  take ma  ni   luoti
      person=GEN excrement urine =DAT step PRT this shoe

      chuoruoni."
      chuoruo-ni
      break  -1:FUT
"You step every day in both the excrement and urine of
cows and the excrement and urine of people, and these shoes
will break."
```

Similarly, the ablative case enclitic *=sa* appears after a postpositional phrase in (134), and after a noun phrase in (135).

(134) (Sangbura 152)
*[ti duoruo]**sa** poluo shige laihama ge*
ti duoruo=sa poluo shige laihama ge
that under =ABL shallow:basket like frog SG:INDEF

gherji rikuniang.
gher -ji ri -kuniang
go:out-IMPERF come-N1:FUT
a frog as big as a shallow basket will come out from under them.

(135) (Filial Obedience 18)
*[gagasi]**sa**nang kerlila xijiang bai.*
gaga -si=sa =nang kerli-la xi-jiang bai
elder:brother-PL=ABL=REFLPOSS want -PURP go-N1:PERF EMPH
(he) went to ask his older brothers (for some food).

The possessive enclitics behave similarly; this will be illustrated with two occurrences of the reflexive possessive *=nang*, in (136) and (137):

(136) (Three Daughters 27)
*Laohan [aguer sange]**nang** berqiedu saogha*
laohan aguer san -ge=nang berqie =du sao-gha
old:man daughter three-CL=REFLPOSS pasture=DAT sit-CAUSE

ge danang,
ge danang
do after
After Old Man had his three daughters sit in the pasture,

(137) (A Cow Mother 48)
*Huguer [keliela]**nang** duer danang*
huguer kelie =la =nang duer danang
cow tongue=INST=REFLPOSS lick after
Cow licked with her tongue and

For further discussion of the syntactic positioning of the possessive enclitics (which turns out to be a bit more complicated than the just facts presented here) see chapter 3, section 2.7.2.

3.2.3 Non-stress-bearing Enclitic

There is one additional enclitic which does not receive stress. This form, the genitive casemarker *=ni*, could be treated either as phonologically bound, or as an unstressed word.

I have not found strong phonological arguments for treating *=ni* as either a free word or an enclitic. However, my native speaker consultants consistently write the genitive marker /ni/ together with the preceding word. This form also patterns just as do all other casemarkers, in terms of its syntactic combinatorial behavior, so it makes some sense to treat it like other casemarkers.

Thus, I have chosen to treat it as phonologically bound. However, further investigation of this unique form is clearly needed.

The genitive marker *=ni* is illustrated in (138):

(138) (Two Wives 54)
*"Bi qi**ni** burer**ni** kelieni lai disa,*
bi qi =ni burer=ni kelie =ni lai di -sa
1:SG:NOM 2:SG=GEN calf =GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
"If I do not eat your calf's tongue,

Further discussion of the genitive marker is presented in chapter 4, section 9.2.7.

4 Internal and External Factors in Phonological Drift

In an important recent article, Thurgood (1996) discusses the role of internal and external factors in guiding phonological drift. Thurgood shows that the phonological history of the Chamic languages is most naturally explained by reference to the influence of neighboring languages. Chamic languages have developed several different tonal and registral systems, and in each case, it is possible to give plausible and reasonable internal accounts of the motivations for developing the systems currently observed.

However, Thurgood notes that, in each case, Chamic phonologies have changed not simply in directions which are internally plausible, but precisely in the directions of becoming more like neighboring languages. Although the evidence is, in a sense, circumstantial, Thurgood concludes that the simplest explanation of the data is that contact with neighboring systems guided the drift of various Chamic phonologies.

This is precisely the sort of account we should give for Minhe Mangghuer phonology. In this chapter I have shown a number of developments from Mongolic phonology, each of which would have been phonetically plausible as a development due to internally-motivated drift. If we knew nothing of the neighboring Chinese languages, the changes observed in Minhe Mangghuer would be accepted as natural phonologic developments.

However, in most cases, it is pretty clear that in fact, the drift has been in the direction of making Minhe Mangghuer phonology more like that of a neighboring language -- in most cases, a specific neighboring language which we

know to have had intimate contact with Mangghuer, through bilingualism or through close social relations. Drift tends not so much in the direction of any particular type of language, or of any typological set of features, but rather, in the direction of actual languages to which Minhe Mangghuer speakers have been extensively exposed.

Here, I will summarize these changes, noting the external factors which seem to have guided the drift observed.

4.1 Drift Towards Chinese

Most of the phonological changes in Minhe Mangghuer have led to a system resembling Sinitic phonology. Among the Sinitic systems, the one for which we have the most detailed description is the Linxia Hui dialect. Because the Minhe Mangghuer system so strongly resembles this one, we can probably expect that detailed phonological description of the Chinese spoken in southern Minhe County will reveal an extremely similar set of features; in all probability it is specifically the features of southern Minhe County Chinese towards which Minhe Mangghuer phonology has been drifting.

In section 1.4.1 I showed that the Minhe Mangghuer phonemic inventory is nearly identical to that of Linxia Hui Chinese, and that other Mongolic languages generally have significantly different systems.

Section 1.4.2 pointed out that the Mongolic sibilant consonants split in Minhe Mangghuer into a palatal and a retroflex series. The conditioning environments for the split mirror the environments in which Northern Chinese languages display this same distinction.

The history of the phoneme /f/ was shown outlined in 1.4.3. This phoneme seems to have arisen in just those of the Mongolic languages which borrowed significantly in lexical items containing /f/ in donor languages.

The syllable structure of Minhe Mangghuer, outlined in section 2, is nearly identical to that of Northern Chinese. Onset consonant clusters are narrowly restricted according to exactly the same pattern as found in Mandarin. The set of coda consonants similiarly mirrors that of Mandarin, and represents a significant change from the much broader set allowed in Middle Mongolian.

Finally, as a result of massive borrowing of lexical items from the local (tonal) Chinese dialect, Minhe Mangghuer may be on its way to developing a pitch-accent or tone system, to replace its earlier system of predictable stress.

This Chinese-based influence on Minhe Mangghuer suprasegmental phonology follows on the heels of an earlier change, in which the Mongolic word-initial stress system was replaced by word-final stress. This, too, was probably due to the influence of contact with other languages, though here the influencing languages were probably not Sinitic. This shift is the topic of the next section.

4.2 The Stress Shift

The shift from word-initial to word-final stress is one which even circumstantial evidence does not yet allow us to account for. I outlined some of the issues in 3.1, above.

Minhe Mangghuer is only one of a group of languages which underwent this shift, but even the history of this fact remains somewhat unclear. Minhe Mangghuer, Santa, Huzhu Mongghul, and Baonan are probably all mutually unintelligible, but all have the non-Mongolic, word-final stress pattern. This shared feature might indicate that the change happened to an earlier branch of Mongolic, which later subdivided into these languages, all of which preserved the change.

However, it is also possible that the shift was independently motivated in some (or all) of these languages. Huzhu Mongghul, Minhe Mangghuer, and Baonan all have a history of close contact with Amdo Tibetan, which could have influenced the shift to this pattern in those languages. Santa, on the other hand, shows little evidence of Tibetan influence -- here, Turkic languages are much more likely candidates.

These are only some of the more obvious possibilities. A number of other highly reasonable scenarios could be imagined, involving the influence of Turkic, Tibetan, and even Mongolic languages on one another in a variety of ways.

In the absence better historical records, it is unlikely that this question can be resolved satisfactorily. However, it does seem fairly clear that the shift to word-final stress in this group of Mongolic languages is more likely due to the influence of contact with other languages, than to simple internal drift. While the contact hypothesis cannot be proven, circumstantial evidence makes this a highly plausible explanation. Additionally, it seems to be the simplest one.

4.3 Discussion

At least partly due to my own interests, the historical discussion in this chapter has focused on language contact phenomena. In fact, there may be other significant phonological developments which cannot plausibly be attributed to the influence of other languages. A different author, bringing a different perspective to the data, might emphasize internal factors in change.

However, it is very clear that contact-induced changes have led to massive restructuring of Minhe Mangghuer phonology. This pervasive contact influence invites us to ratify Thurgood's (1996:30) suggestion that "external rather than internal paths may be the primary determinant of the direction of change." This

certainly rings true with regard to Minhe Mangghuer phonology, and we may be well-advised to keep the principle in mind as we turn to other areas of linguistic structure, as well.

Chapter 3
Nouns and Noun Phrases

1 Nouns

Two types of noun will be discussed here. Lexical nouns are words which may serve as the head of a noun phrase. Pronouns generally do not appear within a noun phrase, but instead have the syntactic properties of a complete noun phrase.

1.1 Lexical Nouns

Nouns are words which display a certain unique set of morphological and syntactic properties. In this chapter we will examine only the syntactic behavior of nouns in noun phrases; a summary of the evidence presented here is that a noun can be the head of a noun phrase, and thus can by modified by any of the NP modifiers described in this chapter.

Several additional structural criteria help to identify a lexical class of nouns. Most of these will be described in chapter 4, but may be alluded to here as justification for treating nouns as a lexical category. Nouns may bear casemarking (chapter 4, section 8.2) and other clitics, such as the reflexive possessive enclitic *=nang* (chapter 4, section 8.3.1); they may appear in subject or direct object position in a clause (chapter 4, section 2.2); and they may appear in postpositional phrases (chapter 4, section 8.3, 8.4).

Lexical adjectives may also be used as nouns, without derivational morphology. However, adjectives do constitute a separate lexical class, as will be shown in 2.5, below, and in chapter 4, section 2.5.2.

Lexical verbs may become derived nouns, by two means: the nominalization strategies described in chapter 4, section 1.1; and also the agentive suffix *-qin*. This latter suffix is used, for example, to create the noun *kerliqin* 'beggar' from the verb *kerli* 'ask for, want.'

1.2 Pronouns

Some noun phrases consist only of a pronoun. Four types of pronouns occur: personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and the reflexive pronoun. Each of these will be treated in this section.

1.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Minhe Mangghuer has a large array of personal pronoun forms. In particular, it will be noted that there are a number of forms which seem to have the same functions. For example, Table 3.1 lists the forms *namei* and *nangda* as first person Accusative/Dative personal pronouns. A number of other alternate forms are reported by speakers, as well, and these will also be mentioned here.

To date, I have not seen enough examples of most of the forms to enable any meaningful characterization of the differences among them. However, we may expect that differences in dialect, register, etc., probably do exist among the various forms. Where variant forms do exist, I have differentiated them only with regard to relative frequency.

1.2.1.1 Singular Personal Pronouns

Table 3.1 lists the most common singular personal pronouns in my database.

	NOM	ACC	DAT	GEN
1st person	bi	namei, nangda	namei=du, nangda(=du)	mu=ni
2nd person	qi	qimei	qimei(=du)	qi=ni
3rd person	gan	gan-ni	gan=du	gan=ni

Table 3.1: Singular personal pronouns

The dative forms of the first and second person singular pronouns are simply formed by adding the dative case enclitic *=du* to the accusative pronoun roots. For the second person form *qimei* and the first person form *nangda*, the dative casemarker is optional; I have not seen the first person singular form *namei* used in dative case without the dative casemarker.

The 1st person singular may also be referred to with the pronoun *gulian*.

The first person accusative forms *namei* and *nangda* sometimes also appear as *damei* and *dangda*, respectively.

1.2.1.2 Plural Personal Pronouns

A plural pronoun root is always followed by either the plural marker *si* (see also 2.6.1.2) or a numeral with the comitative enclitic *=la*. (Athough these do not

appear in the nominative morphological case, they behave as grammatical subjects. See 2.6.2.2 and chapter 4, section 8.1 for discussion).

The most commonly-occuring plural pronouns are illlustrated in Table 3.2.

	Root	Generic Plural	With Collective Numeral	
1st	da	dasi	da ghu=la da sange=la etc	'we two=COLL' 'we three=COLL'
2nd	ta	tasi	ta ghu=la etc	'you two=COLL'
3rd	gan	gansi	gan ghu=la gan sange=la etc	's/he two=COLL' 's/he three=COLL'

Table 3.2 Plural Personal Pronouns

Among the singular personal pronouns (Table 3.1, above), third person is the only set which does not involve suppletion in the root. Similarly, when we consider the plural personal pronouns of Table 3.2, we find that third person continues to be regularly formed, based on the same root found in the singular. In the first person and second person, however, plural pronouns have suppletive roots. Since the first and second person forms in the singular also involved suppletion, across different morphological cases, this is not surprising.

The general pattern, then, is that first and second persons involve suppletion across morphological categories, while third person is entirely regular. We will return to this point in the historical discussion of 1.2.1.3, below.

Qing Yongzhang also provided several additional first person plural forms. These are: *datang*, *danang*, and *dasinang*. The latter two both involve addition of the reflexive possessive enclitic *=nang*, which is described in section 2.7.2.1, below.

Two additional 3rd person plural pronouns are *nugusi* and *gesi*. Both are rare in the folktales, but the form *gesi* appeared frequently in the speech of Qing Yongzhang.

In addition to these forms, there is one example in the folktales of the first singular pronoun *bi* appearing with the collectivized numeral 'two' to indicate a plural meaning. This is shown in (1):

(1) (Sangbura 47)

```
Bi          ghula      dilang,
bi          ghu=la     di -lang
1:SG:NOM    two=COLL   eat-N1:IMPERF
We two have been eating,
```

There are also a few instances when plural pronouns appear with both the plural marker *si* and a collective numeral. Examples (2)-(3) are folktale occurrences of this construction. Example (4), which was elicited, shows that the comitative *=la* may also appear directly on the plural marker, with no numeral at all.

(2) (Sangbura 365)

```
Du  dasi     jigela          nini     khuba  digha."
du  dasi     ji     -ge=la   ni  =ni  khuba  di -gha
now 1:PL:NOM several-CL=COLL this=ACC divide eat-CAUSE
Now let's the several of us divide and eat this one."
```

(3) (Madage 69)

```
Gansi   sangela,
gan -si san  -ge=la
3:SG-PL three-CL=COLL
The three of them,
```

(4) (Qing Yongzhang)

ta *si=la*
2PL PL=COM
你们
you (PL)

Collective forms with the comitative enclitic *=la* are discussed in greater detail in 2.6.2.2, below.

1.2.1.3 Some Historical Notes about Personal Pronouns

One phenomenon commonly observed in Mongolic languages is a distinction in first person pronouns between forms which include the hearer (inclusive) and those which do not (exclusive).

Chen (1986a:169) gives the forms *mangə* (inclusive) and *bədə* (exclusive) in Tongren Monguor.

Qinggeertai (1988:190) describes the same distinction for Huzhu Mongghul, listing the forms *buda* (inclusive) and *ndaːs* (exclusive) for that language.

It is interesting to note that the clearly cognate forms *bədə* and *buda* are reported not to function the same way in these two languages -- the former is exclusive in Tongren Monguor, while the latter is inclusive in Mongghul.

Poppe (1974:85) gives *bida* as the inclusive root in written Mongolian, with *man-* as the root for exclusive forms.[1] Qinggeertai (1991:221) and Poppe (1951:71) both give modern cognates of these in Mongolian: inclusive *bide*, exclusive root *man-*. The former author comments, however, that "in some places, *bide* and *man* distinguish inclusive and exclusive meaning, but generally this is not very strict" (1991:221, my translation).

So while this inclusive/exclusive distinction commonly appears in Mongolic languages, it is not always strictly adhered to. Additionally, there seems to have been some diachronic instability, with regard to the actual morphemes used for each function.

Since Mangghuer has generalized to form all of its first person plural pronouns from the root *da*, the function of distinguishing inclusive vs. exclusive reference has been lost in this language.

The entirely regular behavior of the third person pronoun *gan*, which contrasts with the irregularities observed for other Mangghuer personal pronouns, might lead us to suspect that this form represents a recent development.

Buhe (1986a:132) identifies the Santa third person pronoun as *əʁən*, which he says derives from a demonstrative found in Written Mongolian as *egun*, meaning 'this'. Both Qinggeertai (1988:195-197) and Hasibate (1985:239) list Huzhu Mongghul third person pronoun forms which are probably cognate, but neither source discusses etymology. However, the Mongghul forms seem also to be completely regular (Qinggeertai 1988:196-197), suggesting that this may be a recent development in this language, as well.[2]

Tongren Monguor (Chen 1986a) does not seem to have retained any cognate of this form. Nor does Eastern Yugur (Bao and Jia 1990).

The rich variation reported for Mangghuer personal pronouns will certainly lead to additional areas of interesting historical research.

1.2.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used when asking a question. They include:

---

[1] The nominative case exclusive form is *ba*, but the exclusive forms in all other morphological cases are built on the root *man-*.

[2] On the other hand, since several Mongolic languages have such regular 3rd person forms, it might be that precisely such regularity is being preserved, and that in fact demonstratives have functioned in this way for a relatively long time in Mongolic languages.

(5) Interrogative Pronouns

a	*ang*	where
b	*ayige*	which
c	*kan*	who
d	*kanni*	whose
e	*ya*	what; why
f	*yang*	what
g	*yala*	why
h	*yaji*	why
i	*amerda*	what kind

Some comments can be made about the morphological composition of these forms. *Kanni* 'whose' is simply (5c) *kan* 'who' with the added genitive enclitic *=ni*.

Similarly, (5g) and (5h) are casemarked forms of (5e) *ya* 'what.' With the instrumental enclitic *=la*, this yields *ya=la*, and with the directive enclitic *=ji*, we get *ya=ji*. Both forms mean 'why.'

The syntax of interrogatives will be discussed in chapter 4.

1.2.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives *ni* 'this; these' and *ti* 'that; those' may also function as third person pronouns. *Ni*, which is the proximal demonstrative form, may be translated 'this one' when used as a pronoun. Examples (6)-(8) show the proximal form in different morphological cases. (In each sentence, the demonstrative is, conveniently, the first word.)

(6) (Stupid Boy 64)

```
ni    nen'ganher   bang,"
ni    nen'gan-her  bang
this clever -COMP N1:COP
(but now) this one is clever,"
```

(7) (The Rabbit Judge 16)

```
nini      nukuangdu   dianke gekuniang."
ni  =ni   nukuang=du  dianke ge-kuniang
this=ACC hole   =DAT bury   do-N1:FUT
this one will be buried in the hole."
```


(8) (Rabbit's Trick 62)

```
"Nini     xiandu      muni      kaoxujun     hugu
ni  =ni   xian  =du   muni      kao-xujun    hugu
this=GEN reason=DAT 1:SG:GEN son-daughter die

      saojiang.
      sao-jiang
      sit-N1:PERF
"Because of this one, my children died.
```

Similarly, the distal demonstrative *ti* means 'that one' when it is used as a pronoun:

(9) (A Hired Farmhand 91)

```
Ti    zou  zai  yibeizi rikuni                    bang."
ti    zou  zai  yibeizi ri  -ku           -ni     bang
that thus next life    come-IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR N1:COP
So this is what will come in the next life."
```

(10) (Rabbit's Trick 53)

```
tini      peghe kaikejiang    bai.
ti  =ni   peghe kaike-jiang   bai
that=ACC hit    begin-N1:PERF EMPH
(and) began to beat that (drum).
```

(11) (Sangbura 154)

```
Tini      naosuini   dighasa,
ti  =ni   naosui=ni  di -gha  -sa
that=GEN brain =ACC eat-CAUSE-COND
If (they) have (the girl) eat its brain,
```

Both demonstratives can have plural reference; (12) and (13) show that each can appear with the pluralizer *si*. (Discussion of *si* can be found in section 2.6.2.1, below.)

(12) (Rabbit's Trick 32)

```
Chuna dai Yehu ghula    xi danang dimei a    bo   a
chuna dai yehu ghu=la   xi danang dimei a    bo   a
wolf  and fox  two=COLL go after  bread also drum also

      luoti a    nisini      yigua   bari rijiang      bai.
      luoti a    ni  -si=ni  yigua   bari ri  -jiang   bai
      boot  also this-PL=ACC totally take come-N1:PERF EMPH
Wolf and Fox went and took away all these things: the
bread and the drum and the boots.
```

(13) (Sangbura166)

```
Tisi     kan a     lai maidielang.
ti  -si kan a     lai maidie-lang
that-PL who also NEG know  -N1:IMPERF
No one knows about those.
```

However, (14) and (15) demonstrate that either *ni* or *ti* may refer to a plural entity, even without the plural marker *si*. In the third line of (14), *nini* refers to 'these things;' in the second line of (15), *tini* has the corresponding distal sense 'those things.'

(14) (Sangbura 149-151)

```
Ni   bayang kongni     diamangdu   sange    shuguo biesi
ni   bayang kong  =ni  diamang=du  san  -ge shuguo biesi
this rich   person=GEN door   =DAT three-CL big    straw

     tuoluo bang.
     tuoluo bang
     stack  N1:COP
At this rich man's door are three big stacks of straw.

Sangbura 150
Zha,
zha
ok
Ok,

Sangbura 151
nini     berdugha    buraku,
ni  =ni  berdu-gha   bura  -ku
this=ACC burn -CAUSE finish-IMPERF
after they are cause to burn,
```

(15) (Monster Girl 63-64)

```
"taitingdu  huguer liangge  riba,
taiting=du  huguer liang-ge ri  -ba
there  =DAT cow    two  -CL come-1:PERF
"two bulls are coming over there,

Monster Girl 064
qi       tini     dila     xi."
qi       ti  =ni  di -la   xi
2:SG:NOM that=ACC eat-PURP go
you go eat them."
```

Both of the demonstratives have allomorphs with a final *-n*. These appear when either form is used in dative case (16) or ablative case (17).

(16) (A Cow Mother 27)

```
Huguer gan  mantennang     yige   qigegha    ya
huguer gan  manten=nang    yi -ge qige-gha   ya
cow    3:SG bread =REFLPOSS one-CL see -CAUSE PRT

     tingdu   lai hulang,
     ting=du  lai hu  -lang
     that=DAT NEG give-N1:IMPERF
Cow she kept showing some of her bread (out of her
anus), but didn't give (any) to her,
```

(17) (Sangbura 290)

```
Zha tingsa ti   zhouweidu       gan  zou
zha tingsa ti   zhouwei     =du gan  zou
ok  later  that surroundings=DAT 3:SG thus

     shenxian          berjiang.
     shenxian          ber   -jiang
     supernatural:being become-N1:PERF
Ok, from then on, he became a supernatural being in that
area.
```

However, in most instances the oblique forms are used not as pronouns but instead as adverbial demonstratives, indicating location or position. These adverbial uses will be discussed in chapter 4, section 5, and chapter 7, section 2.2.4.

1.2.4 Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun *jie* means 'self'. It is illustrated in (18) and (19). See also chapter 4, section 8.3, on possession. All of the examples of *jie* which I have seen appear with either the genitive enclitic *=ni*, as in (18), or the reflexive possessive enclitic *=nang*, as in (19). It is not clear whether this form can stand alone.

(18) (A Cow Mother 007)

```
Jieni    aguerdu      tuosi kaker dighaku
jie =ni  aguer   =du  tuosi kaker di -gha  -ku
self=GEN daughter=DAT oil   cake  eat-CAUSE-IMPERF

     gerdu     saoghalang.
     ger  =du  sao-gha  -lang
     house=DAT sit-CAUSE-N1:IMPERF
(The stepmother) had her own daughter eat oily cake and
sit at home.
```

(19) (Madage 89)
Disantianni *Madage* ***jienang*** *xigejiang.*
Di -san -tian=ni madage jie =nang xige -jiang
ORD-three-day =POSS Madage self=REFLPOSS watch-N1:PERF
On the third day, Madage himself kept watch.

1.3 Noun Compounds

Noun compounds consist of two lexical nouns which are treated as a single syntactic unit. Casemarking and other enclitics appear only on the second noun, as in (22). The meaning of such a compound may simply be an addition of the meanings of its parts; however, some compounds have unpredictable meanings. Examples (20)-(22) are of the former type, while (23) is of the latter.

(20) (Nine-headed Ghost 16)
kuer *wuruang*
foot print
foot print

(21) (Stupid Boy 34)
mieran *chaibai*
river bank
river bank

(22) (Madage 101)
gugu *ghua-si=nang*
cuckoo feather-PL=REFLPOSS
their own cuckoo feathers

(23) (Rabbit's Trick 16)
duguli *zhuerghai*
spirit heart
trick

The folktale narratives do not contain many compounds of either sort. These examples are intended only to be suggestive of some of the types of noun compounds that a larger database would yield.

2 Noun Phrases

In this section we will examine the internal structure of the noun phrase, considering the constituents of which it is made up, as well as their relative ordering.

The relative order of constituents in an NP is given in (24):

(24) (Poss) (Det) (Num) (CL) (Adj) N (Quant)

Here are a few elicited examples of NPs containing various elements.

(25) (Qing Yongzhang)
yi-ge *mula* *ger*
one-CL small house
一个小的房子
One small house.

(26) (Qing Yongzhang)
yi-wan *yama*
one-bowl food
一碗面，一碗饭
one bowl of rice or one bowl of noodles

(27) (Qing Yongzhang)
ni-ge *mula* *ger*
this-CL small house
这个小房子
this small house

(28) (Qing Yongzhang) 1.317
ti liangge shuguo ger
that two-CL big house
那两个大房子
those two big houses

Another type of NP is one which contains a relative clause. A relative clause precedes its head noun. Since they represent a form of clause-combining, NPs of this sort are described in chapter 6.

2.1 Possessive NPs

There are two major devices for signalling possession: genitive case-marked possessive NPs, which precede the head noun which they modify; and possessive enclitics, which follow. The possessive enclitics are described in chapter 4, section 8.3.

A possessor may be any NP; it appears in the genitive case; it thus bears the genitive case enclitic *=ni*.

When a possessor appears in an NP together with other modifiers, the possessor element is ordered first. Examples (29)-(31) show that possessors precede various other modifiers. (In each example, the possessor is in bold type, and the NP containing it is bracketed.)

(29) (Sangbura 1)

Sangburani *Liangge Aghadiao.*
Sangbura=ni liang-ge aghadiao
Sangbura=GEN two -CL brother
Two Brothers from Sangbura.

(30) (Two Wives 16)

Ganni *xianliang bieri sara saoku* *shijie*
gan =ni xianliang bieri *** sao-ku shijie
3:SG=GEN kind wife *** sit-IMPERF:NOMLZR time

kuerjiang *bai.*
kuer -jiang bai
arrive-N1:PERF EMPH
The kind wife's time to give birth arrived.

(31) (Two Wives 35)

ganni *tige bieri xi* *bajiaji* *jieliejiang.*
gan =ni ti -ge bieri xi bajia -ji jielie-jiang
3:SG=GEN that-CL wife banquet prepare-IMPERF meet -N1:PERF
that (evil) wife of his welcomed him (by) preparing a banquet.

A genitive NP often appears as the only modifier of a head noun, as in (32) and (33):

(32) (Monkey 54)

Cai dunda ***bulaini*** *khuru rijiang.*
cai dunda bulai=ni khuru ri -jiang
food in child=GEN finger come-N1:PERF
In the food the boy's fingers came.

(33) (Shalangguer's Story 64)

Ni ***muni*** *bieri puzhang.*
ni muni bieri puzhang
this 1:SG:GEN wife N1:NEG:COP
This isn't my wife.

Multiple embeddings of genitive NPs are possible, since any NP, even if it itself serves as a possessor, may contain a possessor.

(34) (Qing Yongzhang)

muni ***ama=ni*** *shu*
1:SG:GEN mother=GEN book
我妈妈的书
my mother's book

(35) (Two Wives 54)

"Bi ***qini*** ***burerni*** *kelieni* *lai disa,*
bi qi =ni burer=ni kelie =ni lai di -sa
1:SG:NOM 2:SG=GEN calf =GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
"If I do not eat your calf's tongue,

The most common genitive NPs are possessive pronouns, as in (33), (34), and (35), above. Most commonly occurring among the possessive pronouns is the third person form *ganni* 'his/her.' In most instances, this form bears its full compositional meaning and refers to a clear antecedent participant, as in the first line of (36), below. However, there seems to have been some semantic bleaching of *ganni*, such that it sometimes occurs without any clear antecedent referent. In line 74 of (36), the apparent owners of the cave have not yet been introduced, so it does not appear that *ganni* refers to any participant. Perhaps this form serves as an indicator of definiteness, rather than as a referential pronoun, in such instances.

(36) (Madage 73-75)

Yao yao gansi yige yaodongdu kuerjiang.
yao yao gan -si yi -ge yaodong=du kuer -jiang
go go 3:SG-PL one-CL cave =DAT arrive-N1:PERF
(They) walked and walked (until) they reached a cave.

Madage 074
Ganni *yaodong ye yige baowo yaodong bang.*
gan =ni yaodong ye yi -ge baowo yaodong bang
3:SG=GEN cave also one-CL sacred cave N1:COP
This cave was even a sacred cave.

Madage 075
Yaodongdu gugu sange saolang.
yaodong=du gugu san -ge sao-lang
cave =DAT cuckoo three-CL sit-N1:IMPERF
There were three cuckoos living in the cave.

2.2 Determiners

The demonstratives *ni* (proximal) and *ti* (distal) often appear as determiners within an NP. These are the same forms which we saw used as demonstrative pronouns in 1.2.3, but here they function syntactically as modifiers of a head noun. (37) and (38) illustrate this function.

(37) (Two Wives 61)
Ni *bayang kong gerdunang tao xi danang*
ni bayang kong ger =du =nang tao xi danang
this rich person house=DAT=REFLPOSS drive go after

khudangdunang khuori gejiang gelang.
khudang=du =nang khuori ge-jiang gelang
shed =DAT=REFLPOSS pen do-N1:PERF HEARSAY
This rich man drove (the calf) to his home and penned (it) in his shed, they say.

(38) (A Hired Farmhand 83)
"Du qi ***ti*** *khuonuo yanzidu wujila xi."*
du qi ti khuonuo yanzi=du wuji -la xi
now 2:SG:NOM that back yard =DAT take:note-PURP go
"Now you go look in that backyard."

In 1.2.3, we saw that the demonstrative pronouns can be pluralized. A demonstrative can also modify a plural head noun, as illustrated in (39) and (40).

(39) (Three Daughters 57)
Ting geku ***ni*** *aguersi tughuoni xidajiang.*
ting ge-ku ni aguer -si tughuo=ni xida-jiang
that do-IMPERF this daughter-PL pot =ACC burn-N1:PERF
Then these girls heated the pot.

(40) (Sangbura 280)
du nini ***ti*** *ban'gachen ghasila yeke.*
du ni =ni ti ban'gachen gha -si=la yeke
now this=ACC that medium:size bowl-PL=INST dip
now dip it with those medium-sized bowls.

2.3 Numerals

Generally, when an NP contains a lexical numeral, the numeral appears before the nominal head. In 2.6, below, we will see two special situations in which numerals may appear in the postnominal quantifier slot. But here we will examine the more usual case.

(41) (A Hired Farmhand 41)
*"**Nige** nanxin kongni ruoji righa ma?"*
nige nanxin kong =ni ruo -ji ri -gha ma
one poor person=ACC enter-IMPERF come-CAUSE PRT
"Can (let) a poor man come in?"

(42) (Stupid Boy 44)
Liangge *kong zheng kelilang,*
liang-ge kong zheng keli-lang
two -CL person just:then say -N1:IMPERF
Two people were saying,

(43) (A Hired Farmhand 32)
bi qini ***sanshijin*** *tuosini lai*
bi qi =ni san -shi-jin tuosi=ni lai
1:SG:NOM 2:SG=GEN three-ten-jin oil =ACC NEG

kerliang.
kerli-ang
want -1:IRR
I don't want your thirty jin of oil.

Nige 'one' (see example 41) is one of only two Minhe Mangghuer numeric forms which retain Mongolic roots. The other is *ghula*, which retains the root *ghu* 'two', and which is discussed in section 2.6.2.2, below. The rest of the numerals in the language are Chinese borrowings.

This complete replacement of the numeral system is perhaps a fairly recent development, as one of my consultants passed along a report of someone within the last couple of generations who could still remember how to count to 19, using Mongolic numbers.

According to Field (1997:251-59), Santa currently retains Mongolic numerals from one to ten, with all other numerals borrowed from Chinese; Field notes, however, that Chinese numerals coexist even with the remaining Mongolic ones. So the Santa situation is quite similar to that of Mangghuer.

Rockhill (1894:377) provides a brief wordlist for Mangghuer, in which all of the numbers (up to 40, which is as high as his list goes) are Mongolic, so only a century ago those forms were apparently still current, at least for some speaker(s).

However, current reports suggest that the Mongolic numbers larger than 'two' are no longer retained in the dialect of any Mangghuer speaker.

Numerals do not appear alone. When they do occur as modifiers of nouns, they require numeral classifiers, also borrowed from Chinese. These are the subject of the next section.

2.4 Classifiers

Along with the majority of its numerals, Minhe Mangghuer has also borrowed some of the Chinese numeral classifiers.

Numerals generally do not appear without any classifier, except in borrowed Chinese constructions which also permit this, such as *yi tian* 'one day' (一天) and *yi nian* 'one year' (一年). *Yi tegher* 'a while' is the only occurence in my database of a numeral appearing with no classifier before a non-sinitic noun. Even this, however, is structurally parallel to Chinese constructions such as *yihuir* 一会儿 'a little while,' and thus may also illustrate Chinese influence.

When an NP contains neither a demonstrative nor a numeral form, no classifier appears. In Minhe Mangghuer, as in Chinese, classifiers appear as bound forms only, affixed phonologically to the preceding word.

The set of numeral classifiers appearing in Minhe Mangghuer seems to be considerably more restricted than that of Mandarin, but it includes at least the following:

(44) (Madage 6)
zhang yikuer gherjiang.
zhang yi **-kuer** gher -jiang
only one-CL go:out-N1:PERF
(but) only one head sprouted.

(45) (Sangbura 77)
Niker jiura ningdu mer liangtiao bang,
niker jiura ning=du mer liang-**tiao** bang
this time this=DAT road two -CL N1:COP
Now here there are two roads,

(46) (Shalangguer's Story 90)
terghaiduni yipao ba hulang.
terghai=du =ni yi **-pao** ba hu -lang
head =DAT=POSS one-CL shit give-N1:IMPERF
(the bird) would shit on her head.

(47) (A Hired Farmhand 51)
Ni zhaler yizhuan mergu nuqi riku,
ni zhaler yi **-zhuan** mergu nuqi ri -ku
this hired:farmhand one-circle kowtow pass come-IMPERF
When this hired farmhand came back (after) kowtowing for one circuit,

(48) (Qing Yongzhang)
*yi-**zhang** charsi*
one-CL paper
一张纸
a piece of paper

A much larger body of texts would need to be examined, in order to reveal the full inventory of Mangghuer classifiers.

2.5 Adjectives

Lexical adjectives are words which can be marked with the comparative suffix *-her* (example 49), and which can appear as modifiers of a noun within a noun phrase. They also have a unique set of syntactic properties, as outlined in chapter 4, section 2.5.2.

An adjective appearing within a noun phrase expresses some property or attribute of the referent.

Some examples of NPs containing adjectives are:

(49) (Sangbura 10)
*Du da ghuluo khuoluo **gezaiher** ruang*
du da ghu=luo khuoluo gezai-her ruang
now 1:PL two=COLL far:away good -COMP place

yerriji yaoa,"
yerri -ji yao-a
look:for-IMPERF go -VOL
Now let's us two look far away for a better place,"

(50) (Filial Obedience 48)
*Tingku ganni **shuguo** bulaisidu ghazher a*
ting-ku gan =ni shuguo bulai-si=du ghazher a
that-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN big child-PL=DAT ground also

wulan bang.
wulan bang
many N1:COP
After this, her older sons had many fields.

(51) (Two Wives 16)

Ganni ***xianliang*** *bieri sara saoku* *shijie*
gan =ni xianliang bieri *** sao-ku shijie
3:SG=GEN kind wife *** sit-IMPERF:NOMLZR time

kuerjiang *bai.*
kuer -jiang bai
arrive-N1:PERF EMPH
The kind wife's time to give birth arrived.

One example has been found which includes two adjectives within a single NP:

(52) (Monkey 20)

Khara quequer *erjige ge* *taoser* *bang.*
khara quequer erjige ge tao -ser bang
black lame donkey SG:INDEF drive-PROG N1:COP
A black lame donkey had been driven (there by Monkey).

There is also an intensifier *hudu* 'very,' which seems to appear only with adjectives. This is illustrated in (53):

(53) (Shalangguer's Story 38)

Shalangguerni *gerdu* ***hudu bayang*** *bang* *bai.*
shalangguer=ni ger =du hudu bayang bang bai
Shalangguer=GEN house=DAT very rich N1:COP EMPH
(she found that) in Shalangguer's house (the family) was very rich.

In this example, *hudu bayang* 'very rich' is an attributive complement, and does not appear within a noun phrase. Although I have not seen an occurrence of *hudu* modifying an adjective within an NP, it seems likely that this, too, would be possible.

There is an alternate construction for adjectives which seems to have developed as a result of contact with Chinese. Example (54) shows that an adjective may optionally appear with the genitive enclitic *=ni*.

(54) (Sangbura 115)

Qini **zuijinni** xinxi
qi =ni zui -jin =ni xinxi
2:SG=GEN most-recent=GEN news
your latest news

In Mandarin Chinese, this NP would have been something like:

(55) Mandarin Translation of (54)

ni *zuijin-de* *xinwen*
2 latest-ASSOC news
你最近的新闻
your latest news

The suffix *-de*, glossed "associative" in (55), is used with several types of nominal modifiers in Chinese, including adjectives, other nouns, and relative clauses. It is also used for possessors. So the extension of the Mangghuer genitive *=ni* to mark adjectives, in addition to genitives, gives *=ni* a range of functions similar to Chinese *-de*.

Another example, constructed on this pattern but using the Mongolic imperfective nominalizer *-ku*, is given in (56).

(56) (Shalangguer's Story 81)

qi *muni* ***mieshiku*** *bieri bisa,*
qi muni mieshi-ku bieri bi -sa
2:SG:NOM 1:SG:GEN first -IMPERF:NOMLZR wife 1:COP-COND
if you are my first wife,

Example (56) is the only such construction in the folktales, so this is clearly not a widely-used strategy.[3] Since it resembles the pattern of (54) and (55), it probably represents another structural borrowing from Chinese. In this case, the Mongolic imperfective nominalizer *-ku* seems to be acquiring a function parallel to Chinese *-de*.

Both the relativizer *-ku* and the genitive enclitic *=ni* have some functions which resemble functions of Chinese *de*, so it is not surprising that both of these forms should acquire extended functions which are also parallel to the uses of *de*.

The relativizer *-ku* is probably related to a Mongolic imperfective form, (also *-ku* in Mangghuer), which is discussed by Wu (1996) in a comparative treatment of "non-past" forms in Mongolic languages. Poppe (1974) also gives a Written Mongolian equivalent of the relativizer *-ku*, but does not mention its use with adjectives. Poppe also makes no mention of any form analogous to the genitive *=ni* we have seen with Mangghuer adjectives.

All of this suggests that in fact the extension of *=ni* and *-ku* to this context of adjectival modifiers has been a recent development in Mangghuer, rather than a feature inherited from Mongolic. Contact with Chinese has probably provided the motivation for this change.

[3] There is also one example of *-ku* used when a noun modifies another noun. This, too, is apparently an uncommon usage.

2.6 Postnominal Quantifiers

There are two types of postnominal quantifiers. The grammatical number markers *ge* 'SG:INDEF' and *si* 'PL' always appear in this position. Numerals, which usually appear prenominally, may also be postposed.

2.6.1 Grammatical Number Markers

2.6.1.1 Singular Indefinite Marker *ge*

The word *ge* appears only following lexical nouns which refer to singular entities that are indefinite. It never co-occurs with the plural marker *si*, nor with any NP referring to a clearly plural entity. Phonologically, it is an independent word. Both *ge* and the syllable preceding it always bear stress. As outlined in chapter 2, this indicates that the syllable preceding *ge* is the end of a phonological word, and that ge is an independent phonological word.

Examples (57)-(60) illustrate this item.

(57) (Sangbura 219)

shuguo beghe ***ge*** *bang.*
shuguo beghe ge bang
big tree SG:INDEF N1:COP
there is a big tree.

(58) (Two Wives 68)

Gan kong ***ge*** *berjiang gelang.*
gan kong ge ber -jiang gelang
3:SG person SG:INDEF become-N1:PERF HEARSAY
It had become a person, they say.

(59) (Monkey 20)

Khara quequer erjige ***ge*** *taoser bang.*
khara quequer erjige ge tao -ser bang
black lame donkey SG:INDEF drive-PROG N1:COP
A black lame donkey had been driven (there by Monkey).

(60) (Monkey 079)

Bi tuerghang kong ***geni*** *ala geba.*
bi tuerghang kong ge =ni ala ge-ba
1:SG:NOM fat person SG:INDEF=ACC kill do-1:PERF
I have killed a fat person.

In all of these examples, *ge* appears with clearly singular entities which are indefinite. However, in one case, *ge* appears with a non-individuated noun, which, semantically, is not clearly singular.

(61) (Madage 033)

qi mamei ge chaoke ma,
qi mamei ge chaoke ma
2:SG:NOM wheat SG:INDEF fry PRT
you roast some wheat,

I claimed above that the marker *ge* appears only with entities which are singular in number. The noun *mamei* "wheat," might contradict this generalization, since it can be marked with *ge* but does not seem sematically singular; however, this may be considered instead to give evidence for a class of mass nouns, entities viewed as having no internal individuation, which are treated as grammatically singular.

Most often, *ge* occurs with nouns in the nominative case, but it is also common with accusative arguments. I have not found this form to appear with NPs marked for any of the oblique cases.

In most cases, an NP may contain either a pre-head or a post-head determiner or numeral, but not both. Qing Yongzhang reported that (64) and (65) are both ungrammatical.

(64) (Qing Yongzhang)

**yige maokung ge*
one evil person SG:INDEF
an evil person

(65) (Qing Yongzhang)

**tige maokung ge*
that evil person SG:INDEF
that evil person

However, (66) appears in one of my folktale texts, and includes both a prenominal numeral *yige* 'one' and the postnominal *ge*.

(66) (Sangbura 135-136)

Ti ruangdu,
ti ruang=du
that place=DAT
In that place,

Sangbura 136

yige	*shuguo*	*gushu*	***ge***	*bang*	*bai.*
yi -ge	shuguo	gu -shu	ge	bang	bai
one-CL	big	ancient-tree	SG:INDEF	N1:COP	EMPH

there is a huge ancient tree.

Further investigation is needed, to discover whether (66) represents a possibility which is grammatical but highly dispreferred, or a dialectal variation, or perhaps simply a mistake. If grammatical, though, this example suggests that *yige* 'one' and *ge* 'SG' synchronically play slightly different functions; otherwise, there might be little motivation for them to appear together.

The marker *ge* is probably historically related to one or both of the current Minhe Mangghuer lexical items meaning 'one:' *yige* and *nige*. Both forms, since they are numerals, may appear postnominally, as we will see below, in section 2.6.2. The most likely source is a phonological reduction of the Mongolic form *nige*, although, as we will see, the borrowed Chinese *yi-ge* (consisting of a numeral plus classifier) may also have played a role.

Chen (1986a:78) discusses a likely cognate morpheme in Tongren Monguor. This form takes the shape of a suffix *-gə* or *-ŋgə*, and Chen postulates a process of reduction from Mongolic *nəgə* 'one' through *-ŋgə* to *-gə*.

Chen also observes (1986a:78) that *-ŋgə* is more common in the speech of older people, while *-gə* appears more in the speech of younger people. This phenomenon might be attributed to simple reduction of the form, but additional motivation for the increased frequency of *-gə* may also be provided by the frequency of the borrowed Chinese classifier *ge*. Younger speakers may have completed a reanalysis of the erstwhile numeral as an occurence of the classifier.

Todaeva (1970:561-563) discusses a cognate form *-ŋgɛ* in Huzhu Mongghul. Qinggeertai (1988:149) transcribes this as *-ŋgɛ*. Todaeva suggests that this form has two functions; in addition to indicating singular number, *-ŋgɛ* may function to emphasize the noun to which it is suffixed (1970:562).

The form *-gə* is apparently phonologically bound in Tongren Monguor, and the same appears to be true of Huzhu Mongghul *-ŋgɛ*. However, the Minhe Mangghuer form *ge* is, as I have noted, a separate phonological word. Thus, while a similar process of phonological reduction and loss of syntactic freedom seems to be taking place in all three of these languages, this reduction has not progressed as far in Minhe Mangghuer as in the two related languages.

We will see in 2.6.2, below, that any Mangghuer numeral may appear in postnominal position. It is of special relevance to note here, however, that Amdo Tibetan of northern Sichuan province has a postnominal indefinite marker. J. Sun gives the following example:

(67) Amdo Tibetan indefinite marker (J. Sun 1993:963)

ŋa	*^{h}ŋəd*	*tʂo=nə*	*^{h}lak^{h}æ*	*zəg*	*ji=t^{h}æ*
I(DAT)	sleep	desire=CON[4]	yawn	INDEF	do(COM)[5]=dir ev[6]

I felt sleepy and yawned

We may contrast (67) with (68), which shows that the indefinites are the marked case; when a definite entity is referred to, no overt morphological indication is apparently needed. This example also comes from J. Sun (1993).

(68) Amdo Tibetan definite NP (J. Sun 1993:963)

ŋə	*der*	*tɕag=taŋ*
I(ERG)	dish	break=AUX

'I broke the dish (on purpose).'

The Amdo Tibetan indefinite marker *zəg* can also be used with plural entities, as (69) illustrates. In this respect, it differs from Mangghuer *ge*, which appears only with singulars which are also indefinite.

(69) Amdo Tibetan indefinite plural (J. Sun 1993:980)

k^{h}u	*mumu*	*zəg*	*li=t^{h}æ*
he(ERG)	momo	INDEF	make=dir ev

He made some momos (I saw it)

So although there is some similarity between the function of indefinite markers in Mangghuer and Amdo Tibetan, their complete set of functions is not entirely identical.

2.6.1.2 Plural Marker *si*

When a plural referent is intended, the postnominal plural marker *si* may optionally be used. This form is illustrated in (70)-(72).

(70) (A Hired Farmhand 70)

morisinang	*wuni,*
mori -si=nang	wuni
horse-PL=REFLPOSS	ride

rode his horses,

---

[4] "CON" abbreviates "clause-linking connective."
[5] "COM" abbreviates "completive aspect."
[6] "Dir ev" abbreviates "direct evidential."

(71) Stupid Boy 024
Bulaisi xiku,
bulai-si xi-ku
child-PL go-IMPERF
(Some) boys came,

(72) (Rabbit's Trick 18)
"Du dasi ning ga,
du dasi ning ge-a
now 1:PL:NOM this do-VOL
"Now let's do like this,

However, *si* usually appears only when there is no lexical numeral or other lexical indicator of number.[7] The only exceptions I have seen are when a plural pronoun with *si* is followed by a collective form, as in (2) and (3), above.

Speakers often choose not to use *si* when the referent has the characteristics of a non-individuated set, as in (73) and (74).

(73) (Three Daughters 63)
Yigua puzighuo china,
yigua puzighuo china
totally deep:fried:dough:stick cook
They cooked deep-fried twisted dough sticks,

(74) (Rabbit's Trick 36)
Qi jiaoduer khuoni zhuani a
qi jiaoduer khuoni zhua -ni a
2:SG:NOM every:day sheep catch-1:FUT also

buxidi,
buxi -di
other:things-ASSOC
Every day you chase sheep and other things,

Two other situations seem to preclude the appearance of *si*. One is when we find nouns which are semantically plural compounds; nouns of this type never appear with *si*. Examples are *kao-xujun* 'children' (literally: 'son-daughter') and *aba-ana* 'parents' (literally: 'father-mother').

Finally, I have also never observed *si* to appear with borrowed lexical nouns.

The phonological status of *si* is more complicated than that of the singular marker *ge*. Following the orthographic practice of my consultants, I write *si* consistently together with the preceding word. However, this morpheme actually is usually phonologically free, though it exhibits some variation with regard to its phonological freedom.

[7] Street (1963:94) reports that this is also true for all plural markers in Modern Khalkha.

When appearing with a few words, *si* seems consistently bound. These include *aguer* 'daughter' and *gan* '3rd person pronoun,' both of which seem always to incorporate *si* into their stress patterns: *aguer'si* 'daughters,' *aguersi'nang* 'one's own daughters;' *gan'si* 'they,' *gansi'nang* 'they themselves.'

With most nouns, however, *si* appears as a free form, as the stressed syllables in (75a-d) indicate.

(75)	a	*'kao 'si*	'sons'
	b	*huai'tu si'la*	'with cypress needles'
	c	*'da 'si*	'we'
	d	*'da si'nang*	'we ourselves'

I have not yet seen enough examples to offer an account for this variation, but there clearly is some variation to be accounted for. In general, though, *si* seems to behave as an independent phonological word.

The etymological history of this plural marker is fairly clear, and quite interesting. It is descended from a Mongolic plural suffix.

Qinggeertai (1991:143-145) lists a suffix *-s* as one means of pluralizing nouns in Modern Mongolian. This form is used with nouns ending in vowels, and consists of only a single consonant.

The present-day Mongolian situation preserves variation found already in Written Mongolian. Poppe (1974:69-73) lists a similar set of plural suffixes, including *-s*. Aside from some suffixes appearing with nouns of particular semantic classes, the basic rule seems to have been that *-s* appeared with nouns ending in most vowels. The same description is given by Street (1957:56) for the plural suffix *-s* in the written language of the Secret History of the Mongols.

Other Mongolic languages also preserve cognates of this form: Eastern Yugur has *-s* (Bao and Jia 1990:147); Santa has *-sla*, which is formed of the plural marker plus the instrumental marker (Buhe 1986a:87); Huzhu Mongghul has *-sgɛ* (Qinggeertai 1988:148).[8]

None of these descriptions treats the plural marker as a separate word, but, as we have seen above, it tends to be phonologically independent in Minhe Mangghuer. This could be due to analogy with the singular marker *ge*, which clearly is a separate word and which appears in the same position.

Influence of other languages could play a part here, as well. Xie, Hua and Zhang (1996:274) report that Linxia Chinese dialect has generalized the plural marker *men* (们) to mark all plural nouns.[9] They attribute this development to the influence of Amdo Tibetan, which has a postnominal plural marker *tɕ'o*, (which

[8] No etymology is given for this form, but its partial resemblance to the singular marker discussed above invites further reflection.
[9] The authors do not give any examples which contain numerals as well.

they also write as a separate word). K. Li (1987:27) reports a similar development in Qinghai Chinese, but this author attributes the generalization of *men* to the influence of Altaic languages.

Either Altaic or Tibetan, or both, may indeed have led to this generalization of *men* to become a widely-used marker of plurality in border-area Chinese dialects. Once that development had occurred, though, the influence might potentially be reversed; literate Chinese speakers, at least, consider the Chinese plural marker *men* (们) to be an independent word, and this perception might be a factor contributing to the phonological independence which *si* has developed in Minhe Mangghuer.

So, although it is not clear just which language(s) might have been primary motivator(s) of the development, the fact that this change made Mangghuer structure similar to neighboring languages in yet another way suggests that language contact influence probably is relevant here.

Development of a free word from a previously bound morpheme is cross-linguistically rare; Rubino (1994) discusses a few similar cases, but notes that scholars of grammaticization theory have often espoused a fairly strong view of "unidirectionality," claiming that development through a path of "free lexeme > clitic > bound affix" is generally not reversible in the life of any particular morpheme (1994:137). It seems that the Minhe Mangghuer plural marker *si* may be added to Rubino's list of counterexamples to this generalization.[10]

Before this form could begin to attain phonological independence, however, a prior phonological development was required. It seems that *si* originated simply as a single consonant suffix *-s*. As we saw in chapter 2, section 2.6.1.2, word-final *s* in Mongolic roots always received an epenthetic final vowel *-i*, as Mangghuer speakers adapted most of their phonological system to match that of Sinitic. Only after this vowel was inserted, creating a separate syllable, could the previously non-syllabic plural morpheme begin to be reanalyzed as a separate phonological word.

[10] To the extent that the singular marker *ge* may have been analyzed by some speakers as the Chinese classifier *ge* (个), similar comments could be made about the development of that form. However, since the primary etymological source of *ge* is probably the independent word *nige*, this is a less interesting case.

2.6.2 Postposed Numerals

2.6.2.1 The General Case

In 2.3, above, we saw that numerals within a noun phrase usually appear before the head noun. However, in certain instances a numeral may be postposed behind its nominal head. Most typically (though not always) this occurs when the NP refers to a participant who is being introduced for the first time in the narrative. Thus, we find:

(76) (Monster Girl 65)

Bersi	***liangge***	*ti*	*kongni*		*beilala*	*rijiang*
bersi	liang-ge	ti	kong	=ni	beila-la	ri -jiang
tiger	two -CL	that	person	=ACC	carry-PURP	come-N1:PERF

gelang.
gelang
HEARSAY
Two tigers came to carry that person (away), they say.

Once the participant is established in the discourse, however, subsequent mentions tend to revert to prenominal order for numerals. In the next example, the numeral *liangge* 'two' appears postnominally when the daughters are introduced, but prenominally in the following line, once they have become established participants in the story.

(77) (Shalangguer's Story 2-4)

Tiedundu,
tiedun=du
past =DAT
In the past,

Shalangguer's Story 003

yige	*laohandu*	***aguer***	***liangge***	*bang.*	
yi -ge	laohan =du	aguer	liang-ge	bang	
one-CL	old:man=DAT	daughter	two -CL	N1:COP	

an old man had two daughters.

Shalangguer's Story 004

Liangge	***aguer***	*jiaoduer*	*qijighe*	*chuangmuji*		*hu*
liang-ge	aguer	jiaoduer	qijighe	chuangmu-ji		hu
two -CL	daughter	every:day	flower	pick	-IMPERF	give

```
      geji          kerlilang,
      ge   -ji      kerli-lang
      QUOTE-IMPERF want -N1:IMPERF
      Every day the two daughters wanted (him) to pick flowers
(for them),
```

Thus, it tends to be indefinite NPs which have postnominal numerals. This provides a natural explanation as to why the singular indefinite marker *ge* (section 2.6.1.1, above) should have developed from a numeral meaning 'one' and appearing in this position.

Numerals may appear postnominally, however, even when the participant referred to has been previously established. An interesting case is (78) and (79), where the three daughters are presented at the beginning of a story, with a prenominal numeral, and then (22 lines later) appear with a postposed numeral. Ths beginning of this story is nearly identical to that of example (77); the variation we see between them suggests that speakers have a fairly wide degree of latitude in deciding when to postpose a numeral.

(78) (Three Daughters 2-3)

```
      Tiedundu,
      tiedun=du
      past  =DAT
      In the past,

      Three Daughters 003
      nige laohandu    sange    aguer    bang.
      nige laohan =du  san  -ge aguer    bang
      one  old:man=DAT three-CL daughter N1:COP
      an old man had three daughters.
```

Twenty-four lines later:

(79) (Three Daughters 27)

```
Laohan  aguer    sangenang          berqiedu    saogha
laohan  aguer    san  -ge=nang      berqie =du  sao-gha
old:man daughter three-CL=REFLPOSS pasture=DAT sit-CAUSE

      ge danang,
      ge danang
      do after
After Old Man had his three daughters sit in the
pasture,
```

Chen (1986a) says that numerals in Tongren Monguor may either precede or follow a head noun, and notes that this is also true in Huzhu Mongghul. Chen claims that this variation is not an innovation in these languages, but that "this was originally a native construction in certain Mongolic languages" (1986a:155, my

translation). This pattern, he reports, was already present in Khitan (Chinese: *Qidan* 契丹) manuscripts of the Liao Dynasty period (AD 916-1135).

Poppe (1974:137) discusses the positioning of numerals in Written Mongolian noun phrases, and describes them as always prenominal; he makes no mention of postnominal placement. However, Street (1957:30-1) reports that, in the Secret History of the Mongols, numerals were always prenominal unless they modified a coordinate NP or a pronoun, in which cases they were postnominal. (See also the similar constructions described in the next section.)

Several other modern languages also have postnominal numerals, apparently similar to the Mangghuer pattern. Qinggeertai (ed., 1986:204) provides a Huzhu Mongghul folktale example much like those we have seen here:

(80) Mongghul postnominal numeral (Qinggeertai, ed. 1986:204)

aːneːdə	*ʧdʑyn*	*ɢuraːn*	*vai-guna*
old woman	daughter	three	COP-IMPRF

The old woman had three daughters

Postnominal numerals also appear, infrequently, in Santa, according to Ken Field (personal correspondence). Although this is not discussed as a systematic possibility by Buhe (1985), this author does provide the following example of a numeral + classifier:

(81) Santa postnominal numeral (Buhe 1985:118)

madə	*tʂugu*	*ɢuari*	*ʂuaŋ*	*ogi*
me	chopsticks	two	pair	give (IMPER)

give me two pairs of chopsticks!

Neither Qinggeertai (ed., 1986) nor Buhe (1985), however, outlines conditions for the appearance of this construction type.

Lin (1985:47) gives several examples of postnominal numerals in Salar, and comments (my translation): "when Salar numerals or numeral + classifier expressions modify a noun, they generally appear following the modified noun." However, the same author does also give examples of prenominal numerals (1985:95), without commenting on the motivations for this apparent variation.

Hahn (1988:253) describes Salar as exhibiting "the coexistence of Altaic- and Chinese-type prenominal and Tibetan-type postnominal numerative expressions," but provides no evidence of the Tibetan pattern.

So it seems likely that the postnominal numeral pattern is being fostered in various languages of this region of Central Asia at least partly through language contact influences. However, it is unclear which language(s) or family(s) the pattern originated in.

2.6.2.2 Collective Numerals

When a subject NP is plural, speakers have the option of using a postnominal numeral, marked with the comitative enclitic *=la*, to indicate that the action of the clause was undertaken by multiple actors in concert with one another, or that the participants should be viewed together as a group. Since this indication of collective action seems to be the most common function of this construction, I call these "collective numerals" and gloss *=la* as 'COLL' when it appears in this function.

Some examples are:

(82) (Rabbit's Trick 32)

Chuna dai Yehu ***ghula*** *xi danang dimei a bo a*
chuna dai yehu ghu=la xi danang dimei a bo a
wolf and fox two=COLL go after bread also drum also

luoti a nisini yigua bari rijiang bai.
luoti a ni -si=ni yigua bari ri -jiang bai
boot also this-PL=ACC totally take come-N1:PERF EMPH
Wolf and Fox went and took away all these things: the bread and the drum and the boots.

(83) (Three Daughters 43)

Da ***sangela*** *angji yaoni a?"*
da san -ge=la ang =ji yao-ni a
1:PL:NOM three-CL=COLL where=DIR go -1:FUT PRT
Where will we three go?"

(84) (Sangbura 226)

Gansi ***jigela*** *durasisini suer danang*
gan -si ji -ge=la durasi-si=ni suer danang
3:SG-PL several-CL=COLL liquor-PL=ACC buy after

ganni qinla ti ruangdu kuerjiang.
gan =ni qinla ti ruang=du kuer -jiang
3:SG=ACC welcome that place=DAT arrive-N1:PERF
After the several of them bought liquors, (they) took him along and went to that place.

(85) (Rabbit's Trick 40)

Qimai aguer bulaidi ***jigela*** *bang ma,*
qimai aguer bulai-di ji -ge=la bang ma
2:SG:DAT daughter child-ASSOC several-CL=COLL N1:COP PRT
You have several sons and daughters,

When a collective numeral appears, the head noun is often omitted, as in (86). However, this is optional, as (82)-(85) illustrate.

(86) (Madage 78)

lianggela *daghu yerrila xijiang.*
liang-ge=la daghu yerri -la xi-jiang
two -CL=COLL firewood look:for-PURP go-N1:PERF
(while the other) two went to look for firewood.

The history of the comitative marker is described in chapter 4, section 8.2.5.1. It descended into Mangghuer from a Mongolic comitative form, and cognates are found in many modern Mongolic languages.

In fact, collective numerals which look something like those presented here are also described by Poppe (1974:55) for Written Mongolian, so it seems that this Mangghuer construction preserves an old Mongolic feature. Poppe does not describe the syntactic behavior of these forms, and his discussion might suggest that only numerals functioning as the head of a noun phrase can be collectivized; however, constructions like the Mangghuer ones seen here also exist in several other languages, so the Written Mongolian constructions may actually have been of a similar type.

Dwyer (1992:165-69) discusses collective numerals in a number of modern languages. Similar constructions are reported for Linxia and Xining Chinese Dialects, Amdo Tibetan, Salar, Western Yugur, Santa, Huzhu Mongghul, Tongren Monguor, Eastern Yugur, and the mixed languages Tangwang and Wutun. Many of these languages have comitative forms similar to Mangghuer *=la*, and several also use constructions of the the numeral two plus the comitative marker.

Dwyer sees this latter type as fossilized contructions, having lost the meaning of 'two' and become simply comitative or instrumental markers in some of the languages she surveys. Mangghuer also has examples like this, such as:

(87) (Sangbura 285)

shuguo tashi ***ghula*** *yanke.*
shuguo tashi ghula yanke
big stone with grind
(and then) grind (it) with a big stone.

However, Mangghuer also retains the productive use of the *=la* collective marker with other numerals in addition to 'two.' And, as we saw in (82), above, Mangghuer *ghula* can also appear with its compositional meaning of 'two together;' this is in fact true of most of its appearances.

Examples (82) and (86) show that either the Chinese borrowing *liang* or the native Mongolic root *ghu* may appear with the meaning 'two.' As noted in 2.3, above, *ghu* is one of only two Mongolic numeral roots which remain in the

language. We might also note that it is only in this specific environment that this particular Mongolic root has been preserved. There are several phonological variants of *ghula*, including *ghulu* and *ghuerluo*.[11] The most common of these is *ghula*, in the texts available to me. I am not thus far able to identify any functional differences among these various forms.

2.7 NPs with No Head Noun

As we saw in example (86), an NP may appear without a head noun. This most commonly occurs with nominalized clauses (see chapter 6), but there are also numerous examples, like (86), of NPs in which a numeral functions as the phrasal head. Example (88) is another of this type; the numeral + classifier *liang-ge* 'two-CL' constitutes an NP, which functions as the nominative argument in its clause.

(88) (Sangbura 122)

Lianggenang	*ghuasa,*
liang-ge=nang	ghua-sa
two -CL=REFLPOSS	wash-COND

If (he) washes both of his eyes,

Evidence that such headless NPs are in fact NPs is provided by the appearance of the NP enclitic *=nang* in (88) (see discussion, chapter 4), as well as by (89), which shows that accusative casemarking may appear on a numeral + classifier.

(89) (Monster Girl 7)

gan	***yigeni***	*kuguoghaku*	*yigeni*	*gan*	*di*
gan	yi -ge=ni	kuguo-gha -ku	yi -ge=ni	gan	di
3:SG	one-CL=ACC	nurse-CAUSE-IMPERF	one-CL=ACC	3:SG	eat

gelang.
ge-lang
do-N1:IMPERF

when she let one nurse, she would eat (another) one.

2.8 Coordination

Two lexical nouns may be coordinated within a single NP by the use of either of the two coordinating forms *dai*, and *ma*.

[11] See chapter 2, section 2.6.3 for a comment on these forms as evidence of fossilized Mongolic vowel harmony in Mangghuer.

When *dai* is used to form such a construction, the coordinated NPs are often followed by a collective numeral (see 2.6.2.2). For example:

(90) (Sangbura 156)

Chuna dai Bersi ghula	*keliji,*
chuna dai bersi ghu=la	keli-ji
wolf and tiger two=COLL	say -IMPERF

Wolf and Tiger said,

(91) (Madage 106)

Shitouge dai Shu'erge ghuluo	*rijiang*	*ma,*
shitouge dai shu'erge ghu=luo	ri -jiang	ma
Shitouge and Shu'erge two=COLL	come-N1:PERF	PRT

(When) Shitouge and Shu'erge these two came,

The other coordinator, *ma*, appears frequently in the Minhe Mangghuer 900, which represents the Mangghuer dialect of Dr. Wang Xianzheng (Zhu et al In Preparation 1). *Ma* also coordinates two lexical nouns within an NP. This is illustrated in (92) and (93).

(92) (Wang Xianzheng; Zhu et al In Preparation 1)

taiti	*muni*	*nukuer*	*Renhua*	*ma*	*gan=ni*
there	1SG:GEN	assistant	R.	and	3SG=GEN

kuergan	*bang*
husband	N1:COP

There are my assistant Renhua and her husband.

(93) (Wang Xianzheng; Zhu et al In Preparation 1)

Jihua	*ma*	*Erzihua*	*ghuer=luo*	*dianyinyuan*	*diamang=du*
J.	and	E.	two=COLL	cinema	door=DAT

paidui	*ge-ser*	*bang*
line:up	do-PROG	N1:COP

Jihua and Erzihua are in line at the cinema door.

The form *ma* also appears as a coordinator of nouns in Salar. It is illustrated in this function by Han (1990b:58), and appears in the text data presented in Ma, Ma and Ma (1993). This item seems, then, to be a candidate for further study of the diffusion of specific lexical and grammatical items into unrelated languages in the Qinghai-Gansu border area.

However, the form *ma* does not appear as a coordinator of nouns in my Minhe Mangghuer folktale database, but has a different set of syntactic and

pragmatic functions (see discussion chapter 4, section 6.2). Mangghuer dialects may apparently differ significantly on the use of this morpheme.

Similarly, Qing Yongzhang, a Minhe Mangghuer speaker currently living in a primarily Mandarin-speaking environment, did not recognize the form *dai* as a nominal conjunction at all. He said that the most common form would be *he*, (a borrowing from Chinese *he* 和 'and, with'), and suggested that perhaps *dai* is used in a different dialect area from his own. However, the form *he* does not appear in any Minhe Mangghuer data that I have observed thus far. In addition, then, to the significant variation in *usage* which can clearly be found among Mangghuer dialects, it seems that we may also expect individual speakers' *perceptions* (and reports thereof) to reflect their own linguistic environment.

Chapter 4
The Clause

The most general statement we can make about Minhe Mangghuer clause structure is that the verbal element appears last in its clause. There are only a couple of exceptions to this rule, and they will be dealt with later in this chapter.

In this chapter, the focus will be on the *internal* structure of clauses, which is basically quite similar for both finite and nonfinite clauses. The wide range of Mangghuer nonfinite verb markers, and their combination with finite clauses to make complex sentences, will be discussed in chapter 6. We will also note, in that discussion, a few differences in the internal structure of finite and nonfinite clauses.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 1 describes the lexical category of verbs, outlining in particular their morphological behavior. Section 2 describes the various types of clauses which Mangghuer allows. Valence-changing strategies are the subject of section 3. Another part of the verbal complex, auxiliary verbs, is described in section 4. Sections 5-8 characterize various clausal modifiers: negation; adverbials; final particles; and discourse connective devices. In section 9, the behavior of nouns within the clause is examined. This includes treatment of subjecthood, word order, case, and postpositional phrases. Finally, section 10 presents a schematic summary of the most typical order of elements within a clause.

1 The Verb

There is a clear lexical class of verbs in Mangghuer. Verbs may be marked with a set of finite and nonfinite inflectional suffixes. Verbs also display a characteristic set of syntactic behaviors, and it is the verb which determines the argument structure of any given clause.

Words of other syntactic categories may become derived verbs; this requires the addition of one of a set of derivational suffixes.

All of these characteristics of verbs will be detailed in this chapter, except that discussion of most nonfinite verb morphology will take place in chapter 6, since nonfinite verbs generally appear in clause-combining environments.

1.1 Derivational Morphology

Several suffixes are used to change lexical items of other classes into verbs. The suffix *-tu* clearly makes an adjective into an inchoative verb. but no clear

pragmatic functions (see discussion chapter 4, section 6.2). Mangghuer dialects may apparently differ significantly on the use of this morpheme.

Similarly, Qing Yongzhang, a Minhe Mangghuer speaker currently living in a primarily Mandarin-speaking environment, did not recognize the form *dai* as a nominal conjunction at all. He said that the most common form would be *he*, (a borrowing from Chinese *he* 和 'and, with'), and suggested that perhaps *dai* is used in a different dialect area from his own. However, the form *he* does not appear in any Minhe Mangghuer data that I have observed thus far. In addition, then, to the significant variation in *usage* which can clearly be found among Mangghuer dialects, it seems that we may also expect individual speakers' *perceptions* (and reports thereof) to reflect their own linguistic environment.

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1.1 Derivational Morphology

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generalizations have emerged about the differences among the other forms we will see here.

Whenever a verb is borrowed from another language, it obligatorily must bear one of these derivational morphemes. Thus, borrowed verbs are treated as derived verbs, even though they may have been verbs in the donor language.

Table 4.1 gives illustrations of the derivational suffixes I have thus far observed. Examples of both Mongolic and borrowed verbs are provided wherever possible. The borrowings are all of Chinese extraction; I have not seen any clear cases of verbs borrowed from other languages.

Suffix	Mongolic Root	Derived Verb	Borrowed Root	Derived Verb
-la	*burer* 'calf'	*burerla* 'to calve'	*daying* 答应 'to promise'	*dayingla* 'to promise'
-ke		(none observed)	*kai* 开 'to begin'	*kaike* 'to begin'
-tu	*shuguo* 'big'	*shuguotu* 'become big'		(none observed)
-ge		(none observed)	*xiaoshun* 孝顺 'show filial obedience'	*xiaoshunge* 'show filial obedience'
-ra	*asi* 'herd animals'	*asira* 'to raise (herd animals)'	*gaoxing* 高兴 'happy'	*gaoxinra* 'be happy'
-li	*qijighe* 'flower'	*qijigheli* 'to bloom'	*bian* 变 'to change'	*bianli* 'to change'

Table 4.1 Derivational Verb Morphology

A couple of comments should be made about Table 4.1.

First, of the derivational suffixes listed in the table, *-la* and *-ke* appear with vastly greater frequency than any others.

Second, since the suffixes *-ke* and *-ge* have not (yet) been observed appearing with native Mongolic roots, it is possible that these are only used to mark borrowed verbs. Similarly, it is possible that the suffix *-tu*, which has been observed only with Mongolic roots, does not in fact appear with borrowings.

1.2 The Verb Within The Clause: Finite Inflectional Morphology

In this section we will see the various inflectional categories relevant to Mangghuer verbs, and will present tables showing the morphological forms with which these categories are marked.

There is very little irregularity in the morphological marking of verbs. Only in the copulas is there suppletion of any verb root; all other verbs retain the same root in all inflectional contexts. Similarly, inflectional suffixes do not vary when they appear with different verbs.

1.2.1 Inflectional Categories

Mangghuer verbs are inflected for three grammatical categories: mood, evidentiality, and aspect/tense. Person of the subject is also distinguished, but only in the imperative mood. A brief description of each of these categories will be presented here. Then, in section 1.2.2, the specific morphological forms used to mark each category will be presented.

1.2.1.1 Mood

In finite clauses, Mangghuer verbs may be divided into declarative, interrogative, and imperative moods. Declaratives may be thought of as statements, interrogatives as questions, and imperatives as commands.

There are two morphological forms which do not seem to fall into any of these mood categories, and which we may provisionally group together under the heading of irrealis mood.

1.2.1.2 Evidentiality

Evidential categories will be treated in detail in chapter 5; here, we will note only that most finite verbs must be marked for one of two evidential categories, which basically distinguish the perspective of the speaker from all other perspectives. The speaker's perspective will be referred to as First Evidential perspective, and finite verbs marked with this set of forms will be glossed with a "1." The non-speaker perspective will be referred to as Nonfirst Evidential perspective, and its morphological markers will be glossed with "N1."

1.2.1.3 Aspect/tense

Mangghuer declarative and interrogative verbs must be marked for aspect/tense. The three relevant aspect/tense categories are perfective, imperfective, and future.

1.2.1.4 Person

Although the First/Nonfirst evidential distinction at first glance resembles person-marking, we will see in chapter 5 that this is not the case. However, the category of person is relevant to imperative mood verbs in Mangghuer; in this mood, there are separate morphological forms for first person and for second person subjects.

1.2.2 The Morphology Of Finite Inflection

1.2.2.1 Declarative Mood

Table 4.2 gives the first and non-first evidential forms for various aspect/tenses in the declarative mood. The verb root used here is *ri* 'come'.[1]

	Perfective	Imperfective	Future
First Evidential	ri-ba	ri-la bi	ri-ni
Non-first Evidential	ri-jiang	ri-lang	ri-kunang

Table 4.2 Declarative Verb Morphology

With the exception of the first evidential imperfective, each of these categories is marked with a single suffix. The first evidential imperfective involves the suffix *-la* plus the first evidential copula *bi* (see discussion, section 3.7.1).

1.2.2.2 Interrogative Mood

Table 4.3 shows Mangghuer verb morphology for interrogative mood. Again, the verb root *ri* 'come' is used.

[1] Verb forms in this and the following section are taken from elicitation with Qing Yongzhang. Mr. Qing's dialect differs in some slight ways from what is reported in the folktales. For example, the Non-first evidential future declarative suffix here is *-kunang*, while in the folktales it is *-kuniang*.

		Perfective	Imperfective	Future
Polar Questions	First Evidential	ri-bu	ri-la biyu	ri-nu
	Non-first Evidential	ri-jinu	ri-leinu	ri-kuninu
"Why" Questions		ri-ji		

Table 4.3 Interrogative Verb Morphology

As in the declarative, most of these forms involve addition of a suffix, but the first evidential imperfective once again involves both a suffix and a copula.

Both types of questions are formed with the same syntactic pattern as corresponding declaratives. Polar question morphology indicates the meaning "Did X happen?" "Why" question morphology indicates the meaning "why did X happen?"

Other question word questions do not involve special morphology. Rather, they take declarative morphology; the appropriate question word (*ya* 'what,' *kan* 'who,' etc) appears in the normal syntactic position of the constituent being questioned.

1.2.2.3 Imperative Mood

Within the imperative mood, only one further inflectional distinction is made: agreement with the person of the subject. Tense/aspect and evidentiality are not marked on verbs in this mood.

There is separate imperative morphology for first person, second person, and third person subjects. The imperative forms are summarized in Table 4.4, and described in the following three sections.

	Morphological Form	Gloss
Second Person	-∅	IMPER
First Person	-a	VOL
Third Person	-ge	HORT

Table 4.4: Imperative Verb Morphology

(In the examples provided in this dissertation, the zero form for second person imperatives is not explicitly marked, except where this is relevant to the immediate discussion.)

1.2.2.3.1 Second Person Imperatives

Second person imperatives are true *imperatives*, which have the form of a command toward the listener. Thus, the gloss "IMPER" will be used for these forms.

Morphologically, second person imperatives are created using the bare stem of the verb. As a means of identifying such constructions, we may think of them as having a zero morpheme suffix. This is notated with the symbol ∅. Example (1) shows a folktale example of an imperative with the verb *ri* 'come.'

(1) (Three Daughters 26)
tasi ri -∅ ma
2PL come-IMPER PRT.LNK
you come and

1.2.2.3.2 First Person Imperatives

Also belonging to the imperative mood is another morphological category which can be considered a first person imperative. A speaker may use these forms to express a command towards himself or herself, or to make a suggestion as to his or her own behavior, sometimes as a means of promising to undertake a certain action.

There are two reasons for treating these forms as belonging to the imperative mood. First, like the second person imperatives, these forms do not inflect for tense/aspect or evidentiality, but are sensitive to the person of the clausal subject. Secondly, there is a special negative marker *bao*, which appears with both first person imperatives and second person imperatives, but which is not used to negate any other type of construction. This prohibitive marker will be discussed in 5.1.3, below.

I will use the term *voluntative* (glossed "VOL") to refer to first person imperatives, since they express the speaker's voluntary participation in a particular event. This term is not intended to imply that voluntatives represent a different mood category. Rather, this makes my terminology consistent with that of other Mongolists (see, for example, Poppe 1955:255).

Voluntatives are formed with the suffix *-a*, which has three allomorphs: [wa] following labial vowels; [ja] following other vowels, and [a] everywhere else. An example of a voluntative is given in (2):

(2) (Nine-headed Ghost 38)
Tingsa Jiutou Yaomao ***ra*** *geji*
tingsa jiutou yaomao ri -a ge -ji
later nine:head ghost come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF

dayinglajiang.
dayingla-jiang
promise -N1:PERF
Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying "I'll come."

Only the first part of a sentence was given in example (1), above. This whole sentence contains not only an imperative, but a voluntative, as well. The whole sentence is:

(3) (Three daughters 26)
tasi ri -∅ ma dasi gar =du ***yao-wa***
2PL come-IMPER PRT.LNK 1PL house=DAT go -VOL
you come and we'll go home."

1.2.2.3.3 Third Person Imperatives

Third person imperatives express a desire that a person or persons being spoken about will undertake an action.

Like second and first person imperatives, third person imperatives are negated with the prohibitive *bao* 'do not.' This category also does not inflect for evidentiality or aspect/tense. Thus, these forms also belong to the Mangghuer imperative mood.

Poppe (1955:257) uses the term "concessive" for Mongolic constructions of this sort. I have chosen not to use this label, since it more commonly refers to a type of interclausal semantic relation. Instead, I will use the term "hortative" (abbreviated HORT) for third person imperatives.

Only one third person imperative construction appears in the folktale narratives. This is given in (4):

(4) (A Hired Farmhand 43)
"Ruoji rige,
ruo -ji ri ***-ge***
enter-IMPERF come-HORT
"Let (him) come in,

1.2.2.4 Irrealis Mood

There are three morphological verb forms which do not seem to fall neatly into any of the mood categories discussed so far. Provisionally, we can group these forms together into a single category, under the label *irrealis*. However, it remains unclear whether these two forms actually pattern together in any meaningful way.

The first of these forms is illustrated in (5):

(5) (A Cow Mother 49)

```
"Mughani  bi       lai diang,
mugha=ni  bi       lai di -ang
meat =ACC 1:SG:NOM NEG eat-1:IRR
"I won't eat the meat (of the cow),
```

In the folktales, the finite verb ending *-ang* always appears with a first person subject and a negated verb, referring to an action which the speaker will not carry out in the future. It never appears with a second or third person subject, nor for any non-future or non-negated event.

I have not had the opportunity to investigate this form systematically in elicitation, but have provisionally treated it as a 1st Evidental marker of irrealis mood.

The second apparently irrealis verb form is an alternate to *-ang*, appearing in the same contexts. This is simply the bare stem of the verb, and can be treated as a -∅ suffix. This form is illustrated in (6):

(6) (Monster Girl 23)

```
lai alasa     bi       zou  qini     gerdu     lai sao,"
lai ala -sa   bi       zou  qi  =ni   ger  =du  lai sao
NEG kill-COND 1:SG:NOM thus 2:SG=GEN house=DAT NEG sit
if (you) will not kill (her), then I will not stay in
your home,"
```

In a discussion of the meaning of (6), Zhu Yongzhong reported to me (personal communication) that this example could equally well have used *-ang*, instead of -∅, with approximately the same meaning, although the presence of *-ang* was reported to make the statement perhaps a bit stronger.

Once again, I have not had the opportunity to observe many examples of this construction. In particular, further comparison should be made of these two (apparent) 1st evidential forms, to clarify whatever differences may exist between them.

The third "irrealis" form involves the use of the nonfinite conditional marker *-sa*. In this usage, it creates a finite clause which has a polite force, making a request of the listener. This is illustrated in (7):

(7) (Sangbura 313-314)

```
Bayang kong,
bayang kong
rich   person
Rich Man,

(Sangbura 314
qi       dimeinang      diger      husa.
qi       dimei=nang     diger      hu  -sa
2:SG:NOM bread=REFLPOSS little:bit give-COND
please give (me) a little of your bread.
```

This construction type clearly represents an extended function of the nonfinite conditional marker *-sa* (see chapter 6). However, because it is the systematic means of making a polite request, we can consider it to have come to function as a finite verb form in this context.

Whether these three construction types are best treated together, giving evidence for an irrealis mood in Mangghuer, remains open to question. However, this seems a reasonble interpretation of the data I have seen so far.

1.2.3 Some Comments on Finite Inflection in Mongolic Languages

I have not undertaken a complete reconstruction of Mongolic verbal morphology. However, some interesting observations can be made, when the Mangghuer forms observed here are compared to those described for other Mongolic languages. A few such observations are presented in this section.

Some scholars working on individual Mongolic languages have made reference to a distinction usually called "subjective" and "objective" mood, or "definite" and "indefinite" mood. It seems that these categories will turn out to correspond to what I treat as evidentiality, although the correspondence remains somewhat unclear. In any case, it seems that evidential systems are a recent development in Mongolic, and that they have originated solely under the influence of Tibetan. These issues will be taken up in chapter 5.

The other categories which I have discussed in this section do seem to be represented, in one form or another, in most discussions of comparative Mongolic and of individual languages.

Under what I have referred to as the category of *mood*, Poppe (1955:251-68) distinguishes *vocative mood*, which includes imperatives, voluntatives, and several other forms which do not seem to be represented in Mangghuer, and *indicative mood*. To this classification, we can add *interrogative mood*, as I have done above, and perhaps also *irrealis mood*, as in the preceding section.

The category of *person* has only limited relevance in most Mongolic languages. From the discussion of Poppe (1955:252, 255), it seems that the first vs. second person distinction is maintained by many languages in the imperative and voluntative forms.

However, person is not generally relevant in other ways. Binnick (1987:187, citing Poppe 1955:251f) notes that only Buriat, Kalmuck and Mogol have developed general systems of person marking on verbs (presumably indicatives). So it seems that the person distinction in imperatives is shared as the primary use of this distinction across the whole Mongolic family.

Aspect/tense is also firmly represented in discussions of the verb morphology of this language family, and I will treat this subject in more detail here. This topic will also lead us into the beginning of a treatment of Mangghuer evidential forms.

In a recent study, Wu (1996) presents a summary of research on various tense and aspect markers in Mongolic languages (including both finite and nonfinite forms). He categorizes the various morphemes into seven groups, which he labels Nonpast 1 and 2, and Past 1-5. In order to facilitate comparison by researchers working with other Mongolic languages, let us consider the likely relationships between some of the finite forms Wu presents and those which we have seen here for Mangghuer.

All of the finite forms which I will discuss appear to belong to the indicative mood. Table 4.5 presents the correspondences which I will treat in this discussion.

	Nonpast 1		Nonpast 2	Past 1	Past 2
Mangghuer		*-ni*	*-kuni/-ku(ni)*	*-ba*	*-jiang*
Mongolian		-na/-ne	-qu/-kʉ	-ba/-be	-ǰai/-ǰei -čai/-čei
Dagur		-n	-ɣu	-bəi	
Huzhu Mongghul	-m	-n	-gu/-gun	-va/-ba	
Eastern Yugur		-ni: -nam, -nem	-ge, -ɢe, -ʁe	-βa/-βe	-dʒ/-tʃ, -dʒə:
Tongren Monguor	-m	na/-nə	-gu, -gə, -gɵ, -gɯ	-wa	-tɕ/-rtɕ -dʑ/-rdʑ
Santa	-mu	-nə		-wo	

Table 4.5 Finite Morphology of Mongolic and Mangghuer (after Wu 1996:57)

Under the heading Nonpast 1, Wu (1996:57) gives two sets of forms. One set involves a bilabial nasal consonant, and appears in only a few languages:

Huzhu Mongghul and Tongren Monguor both have *-m*, and Santa has *-mu*. Mangghuer does not seem to have any form which is cognate with these.

The other Nonpast 1 forms are clearly cognate with the Mangghuer first evidential future ending *-ni*. In some related languages, these are *-na* (Mongolian of Inner Mongolia), *-n* (Dagur), and *-ni:* (Eastern Yugur).

In some languages, cognates of this form are used for future meaning, as is the case in Mangghuer (Wu 1996:58-65). Others also use cognates of *-ni* in present contexts. Mangghuer does not use *-ni* in this function.

Wu (1996:57) gives the label Nonpast 2 to a set of forms which seem to be cognate with the Mangghuer non-first evidential future marker *-kuni*. This form is also cognate with the Mangghuer imperfective nominalizer *-ku(ni)* (see 1.2.4, below). Thus, forms related to Wu's Nonpast 2 appear in both the finite future tense and also in a number of nonfinite imperfective contexts (Wu 1996:65-68).

This is similar to the situation found in many of the languages Wu cites. Several also seem to have cognates of this form in the two types of contexts. Cognates which Wu gives here are, for example, Mongolian -qu/-kü, Dagur -ɣu, and Huzhu Mongghul -gu/-gun (Wu 1996:57).

In Mangghuer, then, the difference between the forms *-ni* and *-ku*, in finite contexts, is an evidential one. This difference does not seem to be mirrored in other languages, although, as Wu notes, the exact functions of these markers are not entirely clear from the various authors' descriptions.

A parallel situation is found among the past tense forms given by Wu (1996:57). In the category Past 1, we find forms clearly cognate with the Mangghuer first evidential perfective *-ba*; in Past 2, the forms given are probably cognate with Mangghuer *-jiang*, the non-first perfective form. This last relationship is less certain, however, due to greater phonetic differences among the forms. We will see this below.

Some of the Past 1 forms given by Wu (1996:57) are -ba/be (for Mongolian), -bəi (Dagur), -wa (Tongren Monguor), and -wo (Santa). In most languages, these forms are clear past tense markers, although Wu (1996:70-70) shows that the cognates in some languages can also indicate future tense.

The Past 2 forms (Wu 1996:57) include -ǰai or -čai in Mongolian, -dʒ/-tʃ or -dʒə: in Eastern Yugur, and -tɕ/-rtɕ or -dʑ/-rdʑ in Tongren Monguor. Wu reports no cognates of this form in other languages.

The Eastern Yugur forms often appear in nonfinite contexts, at least in Wu's (1996:73, 76) examples. In the other two languages, the forms do seem to be finite, and to indicate past tense. Wu (1996:74-75) summarizes a description of the forms in Baonan, indicating that analysts see a distinction between "definite" and "indefinite" forms, of which these Nonpast 2 forms represent the "indefinite" category. The examples given seem quite similar to those which occur with the Mangghuer non-first evidentials, as we will see in chapter 5.

Furthermore, the similarity of the initial consonant here to the Mangghuer non-first evidential *-jiang* is striking, and it is probable that the forms are partially cognate. They may also be cognate with the Mangghuer nonfinite imperfective marker *-ji* (see chapter 6).

In summary, then, what we find in Mangghuer is that finite indicative verb endings have cognates in related languages, but that the functions these forms play in Mangghuer are somewhat divergent from those found in other languages. The various forms seem to retain similar functions, in terms of the aspect/tense categories they signify, but Mangghuer additionally uses them to distinguish evidential categories, which most of the other languages do not seem to distinguish. In Tongren Monguor, though, it seems that at least the Mangghuer non-first evidential perfective form *-jiang* has a cognate with similar function.

Clearly, much work remains to be done on the development of verb morphology in Mongolic.

1.2.4 Nonfinite Inflection

Like their finite counterparts, nonfinite verbs usually appear as the final word in their respective clauses.

A nonfinite clause is usually combined with a finite clause to form a complex sentence. Thus, nonfinite clauses will be treated in detail in chapter 6. However, we may consider the internal structure of a nonfinite clause to be basically the same as that of a finite clause. Some nonfinite clauses will therefore be used as examples in this chapter.

In this section, we will simply list the nonfinite endings which appear in Mangghuer, leaving analysis of their external relations until chapter 6. The nonfinite forms are given in Table 4.4.

Type	Morpheme	Meaning/Function
nominalizers	-ku(ni)	Imperfective Aspect
	-sang(ni)	Perfective Aspect
non-final clause markers	-ser	Progressive Aspect
	-la	Purpose
	-ku	Imperfective Aspect
	-sang zhi	Perfective Aspect
	-tala	Prior Event
	danang	Dependency
	-sa	Conditionals AND Event-State Relations
	-∅	Sequential Actions
	-ji	Imperfective Aspect AND Default Nonfinite Marker

Table 4.6 Nonfinite Verb Morphology

2 Clause Types

This section presents the major clause types of Mangghuer. In parts 2.1-2.3, we will see constructions with one, two, or three arguments; part 2.4 outlines some strategies for varying the number of arguments in a given clause. Finally, part 2.5 describes copular clauses, including equationals, attributives, presentationals, existentials, locatives and possessives.

2.1 Intransitive Clauses

An intransitive clause is one which has only one argument, the subject of its main verb, usually appearing in nominative case. This argument may or may not be overtly expressed; if its referent is clear from context, it may be omitted. Consider the following:

(8) (Rabbit's Trick 56)
taolai xi-jiang
rabbit go-N1:PERF
The rabbit went

(9) (Sangbura 40)
shi-ji -tian yao-jiang
ten-several-day go -N1:PERF
They walked for ten to twenty days.

Generally, the single argument of a finite intransitive clause is not omitted unless there is another preverbal constituent, such as we see in (5). However, in chapter 6, we will see that certain nonfinite constructions, called recapitulative clauses, frequently do omit all of their arguments. This is one way in which finite and nonfinite clauses differ in actual usage.

2.2 Transitive Clauses

Simple transitive clauses involve two syntactic arguments of the main verb, a subject and a direct object, appearing in nominative and accusative cases, respectively. Either or both of these arguments may actually appear in the construction, but both may be omitted if their identities are clear from context. However, it is somewhat uncommon to omit both arguments.

Some examples of transitive clauses, showing the range of arguments which may be present, are:

(10) (A Cow Mother 36) (Contains both subject and object)
Ni muni aguerni ala gejiang.
ni muni aguer =ni ala ge-jiang
this 1:SG:GEN daughter=ACC kill do-N1:PERF
It killed my daughter.

(11) (Rabbit's Trick 64) (Contains only overt subject)
Gan ghula zhuaji rijiang.
gan ghu=la zhua -ji ri -jiang
3:SG two=COLL catch-IMPERF come-N1:PERF
The two of them came to catch (Rabbit).

(12) (Madage 38) (Contains only overt object)
Mameini chaokejiang ma,
mamei=ni chaoke-jiang ma
wheat=ACC fry -N1:PERF PRT
(She) roasted wheat,

(13) (Sangbura 371) (Contains neither overt subject nor object)
ning ge khuba di gejiang.
ning ge khuba di ge-jiang
this do divide eat do-N1:PERF
like this (they) divided and ate (him).

When both arguments appear, the normal order is for the subject to precede the object. However, this order may be reversed when the object is highly topical, as illustrated in (14):

(14) (Sangbura 360)
Gagani *gansi lake gherghajiang.*
gaga =ni gan -si lake gher -gha -jiang
elder:brother=ACC 3:SG-PL pull go:out-CAUSE-N1:PERF
They dragged Elder Brother out.

Fronting of direct objects will be discussed in 9.6, below.

2.3 Ditransitive Clauses

Ditransitive clauses are clauses which contain three arguments of their verb. These three arguments are the subject and direct object of the verb and an additional nominal, which most commonly refers to a beneficiary or recipient of the predication. The subject appears in nominative case, the direct object in accusative case, and the beneficiary/recipient in dative/locative case.

We have already seen that Mangghuer speakers often omit an argument which can be clearly understood from context, and the situation is no different with ditransitives. Here, in fact, we often find more than one argument omitted. A few examples with the verb *hu* 'give' will show some of the possibilities.

(15) (Filial Obedience 9) (Agent and Patient)
gansi huguer ge hulang.
gan -si huguer ge hu -lang
3:SG-PL cow SG:INDEF give-N1:IMPERF
they (only) gave (him) a cow.

(16) (Shalangguer's Story 20) (Agent only)
Gan ning ge lai hulang bai.
gan ning ge lai hu -lang bai
3:SG this QUOTE NEG give-N1:IMPERF EMPH
He thus didn't give (it to him).

(17) (Filial Obedience 8) (Patient only)
Laosa morini lai hulang,
laosa mori =ni lai hu -lang
mule horse=ACC NEG give-N1:IMPERF
(They) didn't give (him) horses or mules,

A few generalizations can be made about word order in ditransitives. Generally, the accusative argument is placed closest to the verb. If a subject is present, it is usually in first position. However, there are seldom three arguments actually present in these constructions, and when all three are present, pragmatic factors may lead to a non-canonical order. Thus, (18) has all three arguments

present, but the accusative argument, which is in focus in this example, appears first. (The speaker has been asked to give some of his wheat bran to his younger brother; his response might be paraphrased something like "as for my wheat bran, I'm giving it to my horses!")

(18) (Filial Obedience 29)

```
kebeghenang          bi        moridunang
kebeghe    =nang     bi        mori =du =nang
wheat:bran=REFLPOSS 1:SG:NOM horse=DAT=REFLPOSS

      tiejieni."
      tiejie-ni
      feed  -1:FUT
I will feed my wheat bran to my horses" (the brother
said).
```

2.4 Copular Clauses

The term copula is used here in the broad sense, to refer not just to the linking element of equationals, but also to those of other non-active clauses, including attributives, presentationals, existentials, locationals and possessives. All of these are clauses which consist of just a subject and a stative predication about that subject.

There are two sets of copular forms in Mangghuer. One set is used for equational clauses, which equate two noun phrases, and the other set is used for all other copular clauses.

Copulas do not vary for aspect/tense, but mood and evidential distinctions are relevant. Copulas distinguish declarative and interrogative moods, and also first and non-first evidential perspective. Thus, copulas may be considered verbs in this language.

2.4.1 Equational Clauses

Nominal copular constructions, or equational sentences, assert the identity of two nominals, or the membership of an entity in a particular class. Syntactically, these take the form of (19), with both NPs appearing in nominative case.

(19) NP NP Copula

Table 4.5 gives equational copula verb forms.

	Declarative	Interrogative
First Evidential	bi	biu
Non-first Evidential	bang	meinu

Table 4.7 Equational Copula Forms

In addition to these copula forms, which are all based on Mongolic roots, Mangghuer makes some use of another copula *shi*, which it has borrowed from the Chinese equational copula *shi* 是. *Shi* appears medially, between the two NPs it links, as it would in Mandarin; this contrasts with the clause-final position of the Mongolic forms. Further, in most cases *shi* does not appear as the sole copula, but rather, a Mongolic form also appears with it. Finally, we should note that *shi* is permissable only in equational clauses, and that even in these clauses, it is optional.[2]

Example (20) shows how equational constructions of this sort are formed.

(20) (Qing Yongzhang)

bi	*(shi)*	*laoshi*	*bi*
1sg	COP	teacher	1:COP

我是老师

I am a teacher.

The copula *shi* has no inflectional forms; it is invariant. It probably should not be considered a verb in Mangghuer, since it shares none of the typical morphosyntactic characteristics of verbs in this language. This copula, then, is a nonverbal particle.

This same borrowing has been reported also for Gansu Baonan (Li 1983:46-7) and for Santa (Field Dissertation), with similar structural behavior.

2.4.2 Attributive Clauses

Attributive clauses predicate a quality of a subject NP. They involve a different set of copula forms, appearing together with a lexical adjective. Syntactically, these constructions are of the form given in (21):

(21) NP Adjective Copula

The subject noun phrase appears in nominative case.

[2] There is one construction which does routinely use only this borrowed copula; see chapter 7, section 3.3.2.2.1 for a description.

Since a clear class of lexical adjectives can be identified as appearing in this type of construction, attributive clauses provide evidence for adjectives as a separate syntactic category.

Attributive copula forms are given in Table 4.6.

	Declarative	Interrogative
First Evidential	bi	biu
Non-first Evidential	bang	beinu

Table 4.8 Attributive Copula Forms

In (22), we see an example of an attributive clause.

(22) (Qing Yongzhang)
gan *saihang* *bang*
3sg beautiful N1:COP
她漂亮
she's beautiful

There is an additional type of attributive clause which appears quite frequently. This has an intensified sense; whereas (22) meant 'she is beautiful,' (23) means 'she is very beautiful.'

(23) (Qing Yonzhang)
gan *saihang=ni* *ting* *ge-jiang*
3sg beautiful=GEN this do-N1:PERF
她很漂亮
she's very beautiful

Intensives of this sort may also be made with the verb *ala* 'kill.' An example is (24).

(24) (Qing Yongzhang)
tige *kung* *wunduer=ni* *ala-jiang*
that person tall=GEN kill-N1:PERF
那个人很高
that person is very tall

2.4.3 Existential, Locational And Possessive Clauses

Existentials, locationals and possessives are not formally different in Mangghuer. Rather, these terms express three slightly different functions, all of

which are performed with clauses of the same type. All three involve the assertion that an entity is in a particular location.

In existentials, the focus is on the fact that a particular entity exists; these clauses are often used, for example, to introduce a new character into a discourse. In locationals, the place of such an entity's existence is in focus. These may be predications about a known entity, rather than introducing a new one.

Possessives differ from these first two only in that the location involved is animate -- it is the entity which *has* the other referent involved.

All of these clause types employ the attributive copulas presented in 2.5.2. In almost all cases, the order of elements is as given in (25). However, it is permissable to reverse the order of the two NPs, although I have not yet found an example of this outside of elicitation.

(25) Location NP COP(attributive)

Examples (26) and (27) are existential clauses, and (33) illustrates a locational clause.

(26) (Human-bear 2-3)
Tiedundu,
tiedun=du
past =DAT
In the past,

Human-bear 3
bergandiao *ghulanang* *bang.*
bergandiao ghu=la =nang bang
wives:of:brothers two=COLL=REFLPOSS N1:COP
there were two wives of brothers.

(27) (Madage 75)
Yaodongdu *gugu* *sange* *saolang.*
yaodong=du gugu san -ge sao-lang
cave =DAT cuckoo three-CL sit-N1:IMPERF
There were three cuckoos living in the cave.

(28) (Qing Yongzhang)
muni *shu* *zhuozi* *diere* *bang*
1:GEN book table on N1:COP
我的书在桌子上
my book is on the table

Possessive clauses, as I mentioned above, function to assert that a particular thing is in the possession of someone. The someone doing the possessing must therefore be animate. Thus:

(29) (Rabbit's Trick 40)
Qimai aguer bulaidi jigela bang ma,
qimai aguer bulai-di ji -ge=la bang ma
2:SG:DAT daughter child-ASSOC several-CL=COLL N1:COP PRT
You have several sons and daughters,

3 Valence-changing Strategies

Speakers have at their disposal two major devices for changing the valence of a clause: individual verbs may allow multiple argument structures; and an extra argument can be added to a construction by use of the causative morpheme *-gha*, which appears suffixed to the verb.

Each of these strategies will be outlined here.

3.1 Variable Argument Structure for Individual Verbs

Examples (18) (repeated from above) and (30) show that the verb *tiejie* 'feed' has variable argument structure. In (30), *asisinang* 'livestock' (the semantic recipient) appears as a direct object, with the reflexive possessive enclitic *=nang*. In (18), however, the semantic recipient *mori* 'horses' appears in dative case, and the direct object argument *kebugenang* 'my own wheat bran' is the semantic patient.[3]

(18) (Filial Obedience 29)
kebeghenang bi moridunang
kebeghe =nang bi mori =du =nang
wheat:bran=REFLPOSS 1:SG:NOM horse=DAT=REFLPOSS

tiejieni."
tiejie-ni
feed -1:FUT
I will feed my wheat bran to my horses" (the brother said).

(30) (Filial Obedience 22)
Bi asisinang tiejieni,
bi asi -si=nang tiejie-ni
1:SG:NOM livestock-PL=REFLPOSS feed -1:FUT
I will feed my livestock,

[3] For a statement of the relationship between accusative case and the reflexive possessive enclitic *=nang*, see 9.2.2, below.

Similarly, *wuni* 'ride' sometimes takes an accusative object (31), and sometimes instead takes a dative of location (32).

(31) (A Hired Farmhand 70)
morisinang wuni,
mori -si=nang wuni
horse-PL=REFLPOSS ride
rode his horses,

(32) (Monkey 94)
tingsa qi muni tiemiedu wuni sao a."
tingsa qi muni tiemie=du wuni sao a
then 2:SG:NOM 1:SG:GEN camel =DAT ride sit PRT
then you may ride on my camel" (the person said).

I have observed this situation with only a few verbs; it is not clear whether it is limited to just a few, or whether the same is true of a large number of other Mangghuer verbs, as well.

3.2 Causatives

Causatives are an important valence-changing device in Mangghuer, appearing in 120 of the approximately 1500 lines of folktales in my database. Syntactically, causatives function to add an argument to a clause; an intransitive verb becomes transitive, while a transitive verb becomes ditransitive.

To see how causatives work, let us look at two pairs of sentences. Each pair shows the difference in argument structure for a given verb, when the causative morpheme *-gha* is added.

Example (33) is a non-causative with the intransitive verb *her* 'become,' (which here has the sense 'become well' or 'become ok'); compare this with (34), which is a causative construction with the same verb. In (33), the subject *bieqin* 'illness' appears in nominative case. In (34), the verb has become transitive, and the referent who experiences the 'becoming well,' the daughter, who is semantically a causee, is treated as the accusative object of the new verb, while the agent of causation appears in the nominative case.

(33) (Sangbura 289)
ganni aguerni bieqin berjiang.
gan =ni aguer =ni bieqin ber -jiang
3:SG=GEN daughter=GEN illness become-N1:PERF
(and then) his daughter's illness got better.

(34) (Sangbura 164)
qi ganni aguerni berghalang.
qi gan =ni aguer =ni ber -gha -lang
2:SG:NOM 3:SG=GEN daughter=ACC become-CAUSE-N1:IMPERF
you can make his daughter become well.

Similarly, (35) and (36) show corresponding constructions with a transitive verb. Here, the non-causative verb calls for an agent (*qi* 'you,' appearing in nominative case) and a patient (*muni mughani* 'my meat,' appearing in accusative case). When a causative is created, as in (36), the semantic patient remains in the accusative case (*muni songziwerni* 'my grandson') but the causee is demoted to oblique status, marked with dative case, making way for the newly-introduced agent of causation as subject, in the nominative case.

(35) (A Cow Mother 42)
qi muni mughani bao di,
qi muni mugha=ni bao di
2:SG:NOM 1:SG:GEN meat =ACC PROHIB eat
you don't eat my flesh,

(36) (Filial Obedience 45)
Tasi muni songziwerni nangda
tasi muni songziwer=ni nangda
2:PL:NOM 1:SG:GEN grandson =ACC 1:SG:DAT

dighaji?"
di -gha -ji
eat-CAUSE-IMPERF
why did you make me eat my granson?"

In summary, then, causatives introduce an additional argument to a verb. The causee -- which would be the subject in a corresponding non-causative clause -- is demoted to the next open position along the casemarking continuum given in (37):

(37) Nominative → Accusative → Dative

For intransitives, the next available position is the accusative; for transitives, which already have an accusative argument, the next available position is dative.

If a transitive verb appears with *-gha*, the causee is demoted to dative case even if no accusative argument actually appears in the clause. This can be see in (38), where *gan=du* 'he=DAT' is the causee.

(38) (A Hired Farmhand 59)
Laoye gandu ge jighajiang bai.
laoye gan =du ge ji -gha -jiang bai
living:buddha 3:SG=DAT once look-CAUSE-N1:PERF EMPH
Living Buddha let him see (this).

The dative case is also used for various other oblique arguments. Thus, in the second clause of (39), which is bracketed, we have a causative construction in which the dative marks a locative expression, rather than the causee.

(39) (A Cow Mother 7)
Jieni aguerdu tuosi kaker dighaku
jie=ni aguer =du tuosi kaker di -gha -ku
self=GEN daughter=DAT oil cake eat-CAUSE-IMPERF

[gerdu saoghalang.]
ger =du sao-gha -lang
house=DAT sit-CAUSE-N1:IMPERF
(The stepmother) had her own daughter eat oily cake and sit at home.

In some few cases, a dative oblique like this might look like a causee. Consider (40). Once again, in the bracketed second clause, there is a dative expression *ningger=du* 'old woman=DAT.' Here, however, the dative is not the causee, but rather, a beneficiary of the action.

(40) (Shalangguer's Story 103)
Ting ge ni erqighe aguer ge bianli danang
ting ge ni erqighe aguer ge bianli danang
that do this gem daughter CL become after

[ningerdu yama chinaghajiang.]
ninger =du yama china-gha -jiang
old:woman=DAT food cook -CAUSE-N1:PERF
Then this *erqighe* became a girl and then (she) prepared meals for the old woman.

It appears that (40) could also be interpreted to mean "the *erqige* changed into a girl and (the girl) made the old lady prepare meals." However, this reading is incorrect. How can the listener know, in a case like this, that *ninggerdu* is a benefactive, rather than a causee?

The primary clue here seems to be semantics. This is the final line of a story, in which a young woman was mistreated and killed. Through a couple of transformations, she became the *erqige* mentioned here. Since she was a wronged woman of noble character, the hearer expects that the *erqige* will be an agent of benevolence, rather than one bringing harm to others, and this final line meets this expectation only if *ninger=du* is beneficiary, rather than a causee.

4 Auxiliary Verbs

Mangghuer has nine auxiliary verbs, all of which are etymologically native Mongolic items. These are listed in (41):

(41) Auxiliary Verbs

a	*da*	'cannot'
b	*ge*	'do'
c	*sao*	'sit'
e	*ri*	'come'
f	*xi*	'go'
g	*bao*	'go down'
h	*gher*	'go out'
i	*hu*	'give'
j	*bi, bang,*	COPULA
	gui, guang	NEGATIVE COPULA

Items (41a-i) will be described in sections 4.1-4.8. The copulas appear as auxiliaries with the nonfinite verb markers *-ser* 'PROGRESSIVE' and *-la* 'IMPERFECTIVE,' and also with nominalizations; these will be the subject of section 4.9.

With only one exception, the verbs listed in (41) as auxiliaries also appear as main verbs. (Only *da* 'cannot' has no main verb uses.) Several structural characteristics may be used to define the category of auxiliary verb for Mangghuer; these will be outlined here.

In a main verb + auxiliary construction, the main verb is nonfinite. There are two possibilities. In many instances, the main verb appears as just a verb stem, with no morphology at all. Alternately, it may appear with one of three nonfinite markings, which will be described in the following sections.

In either situation, the auxiliary verb always follows the main verb. The auxiliary verb bears finite morphology, or, if the clause is dependent, it is the auxiliary verb which bears whatever nonfinite morphology is used to define the relationship between the clause and whatever finite verb it is dependent on.

The main verb in a verb + auxiliary construction appears either in its bare stem form, with no suffix, or else with the nonfinite marker *-ji*. Some auxiliaries allow variation in the marking of their accompanying main verbs; I will note in the following sections what range of main verb morphological behavior is associated with each of the auxiliaries.

Let us illustrate these facts with two examples before continuing. In (42), the auxiliary *da* 'cannot' appears with the main verb *keli* 'speak.' The main verb is

nonfinite (in this case, suffixless), and *da* bears the finite morphology for the clause.

(42) (Sangbura 91)

```
ge   keli dalang          bai.
ge   keli da    -lang     bai
word say  cannot-N1:IMPERF EMPH
(but) could not speak words.
```

In line 66 of example (43), we have the auxiliary *ri* 'come' with the main verb *khar* 'return.' Here, the main verb has the nonfinite suffix *-ji*. Additionally, this whole clause is nonfinite; *ri* bears the nonfinite morphology appropriate to signal this clause's external relations.

(43) (Two Wives 64-65)

```
Ni   bayang kong   gerdunang          khariji
ni   bayang kong   ger  =du =nang     khari -ji
this rich   person house=DAT=REFLPOSS return-IMPERF

      risa,
      ri  -sa
      come-COND
When this rich man returned to his home,

Two Wives 65
gan  huguer shu  mushilang       gelang.
gan  huguer shu  mushi-lang      gelang
3:SG cow    book read -N1:IMPERF HEARSAY
he, the cow, was reading, they say.
```

Notice that the hearsay marker *gelang*, which appears as the final word in (43), is *not* an auxiliary verb. This does derive from a verbal form, and is etymologically related to the auxiliary *ge* 'do.' However, *gelang* appears after a *finite* verb (*mushilang* 'reading'), and therefore fails a structural test for auxiliary status. (The functions of *gelang* will be described in 7.5, below, where it is treated as a sentence-final particle.)

Here are some other characteristics of auxiliary verbs:

An auxiliary verb belongs to the same clause as its main verb. In both of the examples above, it is clear that neither of the auxiliary forms *da* 'cannot' and *ri* 'come' have any arguments independent of those belonging to the main verbs they combine with. (For more on clausal arguments, see section 9, below.)

Not only can an auxiliary not have any independent arguments, but no arguments can appear between the main verb and the auxiliary. In fact, no other constituents at all can intervene; the two verbs must be immediately juxtaposed.

A related characteristic of auxiliaries involves negation (see also section 5). When a main verb + auxiliary construction is negated, the negative morpheme

appears immediately before the main verb, and has within its scope both the main verb and the auxiliary.

One final characteristic to note is that an auxiliary verb and main verb must be considered to express a single event. For those auxiliaries which can also function as main verbs, this means that they must be somewhat semantically bleached, in order to function as auxiliaries. For example, *xi* 'go' usually does not express a separate event of motion when appearing as an auxiliary. If motion is involved, it must be part of the meaning of the main verb.

Further discussion of this final issue will be taken up in chapter 6. There, we will see that it is actually quite difficult to draw a clear line between verb + auxiliary constructions and various types of clause combining. Historically, auxiliaries derive from main verbs, and at present, many Mangghuer constructions are intermediate between status as sequences of clauses or verb + auxiliary constructions.

In this section, though, I will limit the examples to those which fit the most prototypical features of auxiliary constructions.

Let us turn now to a discussion of the functions of each of the Mangghuer auxiliary verbs.

4.1 Auxiliary *da* 'cannot'

The auxiliary verb *da* means 'cannot;' it frequently appears as a negation strategy. This is the only auxiliary verb which has just auxiliary functions; *da* never appears as a main verb.

Syntactically, *da* always appears immediately after an suffixless main verb stem and bears finite or nonfinite morphology appropriate to its clause. In (44) and (45), *da* appears in perfective and imperfective finite clauses, with the main verbs *zhuo* 'wear' and *xi* 'go;' in (46), the main verb is *ber* 'become,' and *da* is nonfinite, so this clause is dependent on the one which follows it.

(44) (Madage 101)

*gugu ghuasinang zhuo **dajiang.***
gugu ghuasi =nang zhuo da -jiang
cuckoo feather=REFLPOSS wear cannot-N1:PERF
(that they) couldn't put on their cuckoo feathers.

(45) (Human-bear 22)

*Daighai gherji xi **dalang** ma,*
daighai gher -ji xi da -lang ma
never go:out-IMPERF go cannot-N1:IMPERF PRT
She could never go out,

(46) (Sangbura 75)

*"Du queshi ber **dasa,***
du queshi ber da -sa
now really become cannot-COND
"Now if (you) really can't stand it,

4.2 High Transitivity Auxiliary *ge* 'do'

When appearing as a main verb, *ge* means 'do' or 'say.'[4] This morpheme has an extremely interesting history, which is outlined in chapter 7, section 2.2.

As an auxiliary, *ge* is used to indicate that that action of the main verb is carried out especially thoroughly, or that a semantic patient is particularly affected, or the like. These functions generally fall along the lines described by Hopper and Thompson (1980) as characteristics of high transitivity. Thus, we may say that *ge* basically functions to indicate high transitivity in a particular clause.

Transitive verbs which semantically involve an agent and a highly affected patient often appear with *ge*. Thus, *ge* is very common in clauses when the main verb is, for example, *ala* 'kill,' *di* 'eat,' or *bula* 'bury.'

Example (47) shows how *ge* is used with *di* 'eat.' If we compare this with (48), where *ge* does not appear, we see that the auxiliary is not required in constructions like this. Its use is a pragmatic choice which speakers make.

(47) (Sangbura 65)

*nughuai pusa di **gejiang.***
nughuai pusa di ge-jiang
dog another eat do-N1:PERF
the dog also ate (it).

(48) (Three Daughters 48)

Sangela yiren diger ge dijiang.
san -ge=la yi -ren diger ge di -jiang
three-CL=COLL one-person little:bit SG:INDEF eat-N1:PERF
The three of them each ate a little bit.

In the following paragraphs, I will show that other aspects of the notion of transitivity also help to predict whether a speaker is likely to use *ge* in a given construction.

Another indication of the relevance of transitivity to the appearance of *ge* is found in an examination of the semantic patients it appears with. In the folktales, there are only two clauses which have the auxiliary *ge* and also a patient that does not have accusative casemarking. Rather, when *ge* and a patient both appear, the patient almost always bears morphological accusative casemarking. As we will see

[4] When used with this meaning, *ge* is glossed QUOTE.

in 9.2.2, below, unmarked objects tend to be less affected by the action of the verb, whereas highly affected ones are generally marked. This measure, then, also suggests that *ge* normally appears with highly affected patients.

However, *ge* does not appear only with transitive verbs.[5] Example (49) shows that *ge* may also appear with a main verb that takes only a single argument:

(49) (Three Daughters 40)
*Adi gan yao **gejiang** bai.*
adi gan yao ge-jiang bai
dad 3:SG go do-N1:PERF EMPH
Dad, he had left.

In situations like (49), with an intransitive main verb, the function of *ge* is still related to factors of transitivity, as that term is used by Hopper and Thompson (1980). This particular example reports the discovery by three sisters that their father, resentful at feeding so many mouths, has abandoned them on a mountainside. Here, the emphasis is on the effectiveness of the father's going: he has *really, completely* gone.

Whether an affected patient is present or not, *ge* can also be used to emphasize a high degree of agency. In example (50), the horse is an unexpected agent. A woman has been waiting for a prophesied piece of fruit to fall from the heavens, and while she is distracted, it is the horse, not herself, who sees the fruit fall and eats it. The horse, instead of the woman, then has a child. Thus, the horse turns out to be the beneficiary of a prophecy that was meant for the woman. The focus of the clause, then, is on the surprising agency of the horse, and *ge* functions to highlight this agency.

(50) (Madage 21)
*mori di **gejiang**.*
mori di ge-jiang
horse eat do-N1:PERF
(but) the horse ate (it).

Another transtivity factor discussed by Hopper and Thompson (1980:271) is that of perfectivity: "if the Aspect is perfective, the interpretation -- all other things being equal -- has properties allowing the clause to be classified as more transitive; but if the Aspect is imperfective, the clause can be shown on independent grounds to be less transitive." This also turns out to be relevant to *ge*. Of 76 total uses of this auxiliary in the folktales, only 13 are clearly imperfective.

[5] Hopper and Thompson note (1980:251) "transitivity involves a number of components, only one of which is the presence of an object in the clause." For discussion, the reader is referred to their paper.

One final comment can be made about this auxiliary. Hopper and Thompson (1980) predict that high transitivity correlates with narrative foreground, while low transitivity correlates with narrative background. I have not investigated this question on a large scale, but we can see it in operation at a local level if we consider the context of example (50), above. In a slightly larger context, this example looks like this:

(51) (Madage 20-25)
Ting ge amula baoji rijiang,
ting ge amula bao -ji ri -jiang
that do fruit go:down-IMPERF come-N1:PERF
Just then the fruit came down,

Madage 21
*mori di **gejiang**.*
mori di ge-jiang
horse eat do-N1:PERF
(but) the horse ate (it).

Madage 22
*Mori gan bulai ge lu **gejiang**.*
mori gan bulai ge lu ge-jiang
horse 3:SG child SG:INDEF give:birth do-N1:PERF
The horse, she gave birth to a son.

Madage 23
Mori lujiang ma,
mori lu -jiang ma
horse give:birth-N1:PERF PRT
The horse gave birth,

Madage 24
ninger gan shuerdi tierber xi,
ninger gan shuer-di tierber xi
old:woman 3:SG quick-ADV hold go
the old woman, she quickly held (the child) and went,

Madage 25
"muni kao bi" ge asira shuguotughajiang.
muni kao bi ge asira shuguotu-gha -jiang
1:SG:GEN son 1:COP QUOTE raise grow:up -CAUSE-N1:PERF
saying "(he) is my son," (she) raised (the child).

These lines present a series of actions, and may all (except line 23) be considered part of the narrative foreground of the story. Line 23, however, does not present a new action in the sequence, but rather, a restatement of the previous line, as a precurser to the next action. Thus, this recapitulative clause is narrative background.

The auxiliary *ge* does not appear in all the lines of the narrative foreground, but only in those two in which the surprising shift to the horse as agent occurs (line

21), and the horse's getting of a child (which the woman otherwise would have gotten) is presented (line 22).

In line 23, the narrator summarizes the action of a previous line, as background for the next part of the story. Here, *ge* does not appear.

4.3 Auxiliary *sao* 'sit'

As a main verb, *sao* means 'sit' or 'stay.' The auxiliary *sao* has two semantic functions. One is as a marker of ongoing, durative action. Secondly, *sao* can also be used to indicate low transitivity in a particular clause; in this latter function, it is in some ways a counterpart to *ge*, discussed in the previous section.

4.3.1 Ongoing Action

Actions which are ongoing may be expressed with *sao* as an auxiliary, as in (52). This can be seen as a metaphorical extension of the meaning of 'stay' to indicate 'staying in a particular state.'

(52) (Rabbit's Trick 57)

Gan wowerdunang kedie dimeini di ***saojiang.***
gan wower=du =nang kedie dimei=ni di sao-jiang
3:SG cave =DAT=REFLPOSS lie bread=ACC eat sit-N1:PERF
It lay in its cave, eating the bread.

Similarly, for actions which are repeated over time, *sao* can be used to indicate this fact. Thus:

(53) (Monster Girl 15-17)

jiaoduer ganni khuergha ge hugulang,
jiaoduer gan =ni khuergha ge hugu-lang
every:day 3:SG=GEN lamb SG:INDEF die -N1:IMPERF
(because) everyday one of her lambs died,

Monster Girl 16
hugulang ge,
hugu-lang ge
die -N1:IMPERF QUOTE
(she) said (one) died,

Monster Girl 17
khuergha ge guida ***saolang*** *ma.*
khuergha ge guida sao-lang ma
lamb SG:INDEF disappear sit-N1:IMPERF PRT
a lamb disappeared.

Here, it is the repeated disappearing which justifies the use of *sao* in line 17.

4.3.2 Affectedness of Experiencer Subjects

There are other instances, however, in which *sao* appears with perfective actions. In these cases, the action does not continues over a period of time. Rather, *sao* has developed another sense, in which it is used to indicate that a semantic experiencer (usually a subject) is particularly affected by an action.

In this function, *sao* is a sort of counterpart to the auxiliary *ge*, which sometimes highlights a high degree of agency. If we compare (54) and (55), we can see that these two auxiliaries do, in fact, serve complementary functions:

(54) (Rabbit's Trick 75)

Yehu kaoxujunnang hugugha ***gejiang."***
yehu kao-xujun =nang hugu-gha ge-jiang
fox son-daughter=REFLPOSS die -CAUSE do-N1:PERF
Fox caused his children to die."

(55) (Rabbit's Trick 62)

"Nini xiandu muni kaoxujun hugu
ni =ni xian =du muni kao-xujun hugu
this=GEN reason=DAT 1:SG:GEN son-daughter die

saojiang.
sao-jiang
sit-N1:PERF
"Because of this one, my children died.

Example (54) is like those which we saw above, where *ge* is used to indicate high transitivity: an agentive (albeit unwilling) agent, a highly affected patient, and a perfective verb.

In (55), the argument structure is quite different. There is neither agent nor patient. However, there is a highly affected participant, which is the subject. In this clause, the subject is an experiencer, which undergoes a change as a result of the verb.

Other occurrences of *sao* are similar, and it seems that this auxiliary functions to highlight just this fact: that an experiencer (which is usually a subject) is highly affected by the action of the verb. Another such example is (56):

(56) (Shalangguer's Story 24)

bi *wuda* ***saojiang,"***
bi wuda sao-jiang
1:SG:NOM be:late sit-N1:PERF
I am late,"

We might note that, when *sao* functions in this way, the clause is usually perfective, as in (55) and (56). This is different from the behavior we saw in 3.3.1, where *sao* indicated ongoing sorts of meanings and appeared with imperfective inflection.

We might also note that this construction should not be considered a passive. The use of the auxiliary *sao* might appear to resemble passive morphology for the verb; and this auxiliary is used when a clausal subject is being affected by the action of the verb. This resembles the function of a passive, and in fact, my consultants sometimes translated clauses containing *sao* into English passives.

However, the addition of *sao* to a main verb does not change the argument structure of that verb. The experiencer subject of (56) would have been an experiencer subject, too, had *sao* not been used. Thus, this construction cannot be considered a passive.[6]

4.4 Movement Towards: Auxiliary *ri* 'come'

The main verb *ri* means 'come.' When used as an auxiliary, this form does not by itself indicate a change of location; however, it does indicate that a change is happening, and that, if motion is involved, it is in the direction of the speaker, or of whoever's perspective is being adopted at the current moment.

Example (57) shows the most common type of situation in which *ri* is used as an auxiliary. The main verb *gher* 'go out' expresses motion. The auxiliary *ri* functions to show that this motion is towards the speakers, rather than away from them (this is uttered by Fox and Wolf together).

(57) (Rabbit's Trick 67)

qi *mali* *gherji* ***ri,"***
qi mali gher -ji ri
2:SG:NOM quickly go:out-IMPERF come
you come out quickly,"

When *ri* is used as an auxiliary, the main verb normally bears the nonfinite imperfective suffix *-ji*, which appears in this example. However, when the main

[6] For interested parties, I point out here that Mangghuer has no passive construction at all. The closest equivalent is probably direct object fronting, described in 9.6, below.

verb is *gher*, as in (57), there is some variation; in many cases, speakers do not use *-ji* in the same situation. This seems to be true only for *gher*. All other verbs usually do have *-ji* when *ri* appears as their auxiliary.

The direction of motion need not be toward the actual speaker, for *ri* to appear. The speaker can adopt the perspective of someone else, and use *ri* to express the fact that motion is going in that person's direction. Thus, we find:

(58) (Stupid Boy 56)

mula kong *khariji* ***rijiang.***
mula kong khari -ji ri -jiang
small person return-IMPERF come-N1:PERF
the young man (Stupid Boy) returned (to his wife's home).

Here, again, the main verb (*khari* 'return') expresses motion. However, this motion is not in the direction of the speaker, since this is a narrative passage and the speaker is thus the narrator herself. Rather, the narrator has here adopted the perspective of one of the characters, and the auxiliary *ri* shows that the motion is towards that character.

In the most abstract cases, *ri* appears when there is no motion at all. This is illustrated in the next example:

(59) (Three Daughters 34)

Aguersini *gediesi* *luosiji* ***rijiang.***
Aguer -si=ni gedie-si luosi -ji ri -jiang
daughter-PL=GEN belly-PL be:hungry-IMPERF come-N1:PERF
The girls' bellies became hungry.

Even here, though, we might see *ri* as expressing an abstract sort of motion. This might be understood as a situation in which a change in the world is viewed from the girls' perspective; from their point of view, hunger is coming to their bellies. In this most abstract case, the use of *ri* seems to suggest that a change is coming into someone's experience, and thus, having an effect on them.

As I noted for *sao*, in 3.3, though, this does not have a valence-changing effect. The auxiliary does not change the argument structure of the main verb *luosi* 'hunger.'

4.5 Movement Away: Auxiliary *xi* 'go'

The auxiliary *xi* is basically the converse of *ri*. As a main verb, *xi* means 'go.' As an auxiliary, it expresses motion away from the speaker. The basic case is given in (60):

(60) (Rabbit's Trick 39)

```
Nige    boni      ma  Yehu qi       heji        xi bai.
ni  -ge bo  =ni   ma  yehu qi       he  -ji     xi bai
this-CL drum=ACC PRT fox  2:SG:NOM take-IMPERF go EMPH
This drum, Fox, you take (it).
```

Xi seems to allow more variation than does *ri*, with respect to whether its main verb must be marked with *-ji*. To illustrate this, we can compare the following successive lines from a folktale. I do not believe that the change from presence to absence of *-ji* is conditioned by anything else in these lines; this is simply a case of free variation.

(61) (Filial Obedience 11-12)

```
bi       anani      shuduerji      xini."
bi       ana   =ni   shuduer-ji     xi-ni
1:SG:NOM mother=ACC lead   -IMPERF go-1:FUT
(but) I will take mother and go."

Filial Obedience 12
Gan  ananang          shuduer xijiang,
gan  ana    =nang     shuduer xi-jiang
3:SG mother=REFLPOSS lead    go-N1:PERF
He took his mother and went,
```

However, it is more common to find *-ji* present in such instances than to find it absent.

Like *ri*, *xi* also can be used as though from the perspective of someone other than the speaker. Thus, in (62), it is from the characters' perspective that movement towards the outside is considered *going*, rather than *coming*.

(62) (Stupid Boy 74)

```
yaoji      diamangdu   gherji        xijiang.
yao-ji     diamang=du  gher  -ji     xi-jiang
go -IMPERF door   =DAT go:out-IMPERF go-N1:PERF
(they) walked outside to the gate.
```

Finally, we can consider an abstract case. Like *ri*, *xi* can be used to express an abstract sort of motion: a change in which the speaker sees something leaving his or her realm. In (63), the speaker is realizing that someone overheard, and thus stole, secrets that he and his friends had shared. He says:

(63) (Sangbura 364)

```
"Ni  zou  mieshini   xiaoxini   khulu chenli xijiang.
ni   zou  mieshi=ni  xiaoxi=ni  khulu chenli xi-jiang
this thus first =GEN news  =ACC peep  hear   go-N1:PERF
"So this one overheard the last time's news.
```


This subjective use of *xi* expresses motion only in the most abstract sense.[7]

4.6 Movement Down: Auxiliary *bao* 'go down'

As a main verb, *bao* means 'go down.' As an auxiliary, it functions to indicate motion in a downward direction.

We have seen that other motion auxiliaries did not function to indicate separate events of motion. Rather, they simply reinforce the motion already indicated by a main verb, as well as providing a more specific indication of the direction in which that motion occurs. The same is true of *bao* when it functions as an auxiliary. This means that *bao* does not appear in this role very often, because there are few verbs which would call for a motion verb with such specific semantics.

Most often, *bao* appears as an auxiliary with *deghela* 'to fall.' This is illustrated in (64):

(64) (Shalangguer's Story 9)

```
Gan  sange    duoketula    duokeku      suguo terghai
gan  san  -ge duoke-tula   duoke-ku     suguo terghai
3:SG three-CL chop -before chop -IMPERF axe   head

     gan  Shalangguerni   gerdu     deghela baojiang
     gan  shalangguer=ni  ger  =du  deghela bao    -jiang
     3:SG Shalangguer=GEN house=DAT fall    go:down-N1:PERF

     bai.
     bai
     EMPH
Before he chopped three times, (his) axe-head fell down
into Shalangguer's home.
```

When *bao* appears as an auxiliary, it is common to find that either *xi* or *ri* also appear in the same construction. Consider (65):

(65) (The Rabbit Judge 4)

```
yige   gong nukuangdu   deghela bao      xijiang.
yi -ge gong nukuang=du  deghela bao      xi-jiang
one-CL deep hole   =DAT fall    go:down go-N1:PERF
fell down into a deep hole.
```

---

[7] There is another verb, *yao*, which behaves similarly to *xi*, and which can also be translated 'go.' I believe that *yao* is always used as a verb expressing a separate event of motion, but some of its occurrences look like those of *xi*. Further study is needed to determine whether *yao*, too, might function as an auxiliary in some instances.

In this example, both *deghela* 'fall' and *bao* 'go:down' indicate motion. The function of the final auxiliary *xi* 'go,' then, is simply to indicate whether that motion is in towards or away from the perspective currently being adopted. In this case, it is away.

We saw in earlier sections that auxiliaries usually allow variation in the morphological marking of their main verbs. *Bao* is also of this type. A nice contrast to example (65), in which both nonfinite verbs are morphologically unmarked, is provided by (66), in which the same two verbs are marked with the nonfinite marker *-ji*.

(66) (Madage 13)

```
dongguo      ge       deghelaji      baoji
dong  -guo   ge       deghela-ji     bao    -ji
winter-fruit SG:INDEF fall   -IMPERF go:down-IMPERF

     rini.
     ri  -ni
     come-1:FUT
a winter pear will fall down.
```

As far as I am aware, the choice of *xi* or *ri* as the final auxiliary is not related to the morphological nonfinite marking which appears. As I suggested in the previous section, this seems to be an instance of free variation.

4.7 Movement Up/out: Auxiliary *gher* 'go up/out'

As a main verb, *gher* means 'go out' or 'go up.' As an auxiliary, it indicates that the motion of the main verb is in an upward or outward direction. Thus:

(67) (Sangbura 360)

```
Gagani              gansi   lake gherghajiang.
gaga         =ni    gan -si lake gher  -gha  -jiang
elder:brother=ACC 3:SG-PL pull go:out-CAUSE-N1:PERF
They dragged Elder Brother out.
```

The brother is hiding, and he is pulled *out of* his hiding place; *gher* expresses the outward direction.

Like *bao*, *gher* often appears with an auxiliary *xi* or *ri*, expressing the direction of going out as towards or away from someone whose perspective is adopted. Thus, in (68), one character is climbing up a tree, in pursuit of another. From the perspective of the first climber, this is an event of *coming* up, expressed by the auxiliary *ri* 'come.' (See also (57), above.)

(68) (Monster Girl 60)

```
Tingsa gan  a    sangbaji      gherji        riba.
tingsa gan  a    sangba-ji     gher  -ji     ri  -ba
then   3:SG also climb -IMPERF go:out-IMPERF come-1:PERF
Then she also (started) climbing up.
```

Like most other auxiliaries, *gher* also allows variation in whether the main verb is marked as nonfinite by *-∅* or *-ji*.

4.8 Benefactive Auxiliary *hu* 'give'

There are just a few cases in which *hu* is used as an auxiliary verb. As a main verb, *hu* means 'give.' Not surprisingly, its auxiliary function is related to this meaning; it indicates a benefactive sense.

Often, *hu* appears with causative verbs, as in (69):

(69) (A Cow Mother 10)

```
Huguerdu   tiejiegha    hulang.
huguer=du  tiejie-gha   hu  -lang
cow   =DAT feed  -CAUSE give-N1:IMPERF
(so) she fed (them) to Cow.
```

Again, we should note that the auxiliary does not change the argument structure of the verb. In (69), the benefactive argument is already semantically required by the use of the causative suffix *-gha* (see also 2.4.2, above). *Hu* functions simply to emphasize the fact that a benefactive sense is present.

As we saw with *xi*, above, *hu* can be used with a main verb that has the suffix *-ji*, or with one that does not. Similarly, the causative marker *-gha* can be present or not. Example (70) may be contrasted with (69) to show both of these facts.

(70) (Filial Obedience 36)

```
Ganni    tinang        suzu qierghaji
gan =ni  ti  =nang     suzu qier-gha  -ji
3:SG=GEN that=REFLPOSS hair cut -CAUSE-IMPERF

     hula        bi    geji,
     hu  -la     bi    ge   -ji
     give-IMPERF 1:COP QUOTE-IMPERF
He would cut the (child's) hair, he said,
```

4.9 Copulas As Auxiliaries

The final type of auxiliary verb is the copula. There are two different constructions of this type. The first uses a nonfinite verb marked with *-ser* 'PROGRESSIVE' or *-la* 'IMPERFECTIVE,' and the second involves a nominalized clause.

4.9.1 Verb with *-ser* or *-la* + Copula

The progressive marker *-ser* has several syntactic functions. One of these is its use, together with a copula, to create a main clause with the meaning 'be doing X.'

(71) (Monster Girl 49)

Mang'huzi Aguer cainang ***chaokeser bang,***
mang'huzi aguer cai =nang chaoke-ser bang
monster daughter food=REFLPOSS fry -PROG N1:COP
Monster Girl was cooking her food,

In the discussion of finite verb forms there was one form which could have been included here. The first evidential declarative imperfective form (section 1.2.2.1, above) is actually a nonfinite verb form plus the first evidential copula *bi*. This is shown, for example, in (72):

(72) (Sangbura 239)

"Bi tige ruangdu ***xila bi.***
bi ti -ge ruang=du xi-la bi
1:SG:NOM that-CL place=DAT go-PURP 1:COP
"I am going to that place.

This probably should be considered to be a syntactic construction with nonfinite verb + copula. However, since the corresponding non-first evidential form *-lang* does not have a separate copula, I chose to include these forms in the discussion of finite verb morphology, section 1.2.2.1, above. In reality, two distinct types of verbal morphosyntax are used to code this pair of forms, which nonetheless behave as complementary parts of a single paradigm.

The imperfective marker -la also appears with negative copulas, as in the following example, provided by Qing Yongzhang, in elicitation:

(73) (Qing Yongzhang)

bi ri-la gui
1sg come-IMPERF 1:COP:NEG
I am not coming

Only one negative construction of this type appears in the folktales; it is given in (74):

(74) (Sangbura 211)

khura ***baola guang."***
khura bao -la guang
rain go:down-IMPERF N1:NEG:COP
rain doesn't fall."

I have not yet seen any examples of the progressive marker *-ser* used in negative contexts like (73) and (74). More research is needed here.

4.9.2 Nominalized Clause + Negative Copula

As is common in Mongolic languages, one way to accomplish negation is by use of nominalized clauses and negative copulas. Nominalizations will be treated in greater detail in chapter 6; here, let us just consider a couple of examples to illustrate this strategy, which uses the negative attributive copular forms *gui* and *guang* (see also 5.3, below).

(75) (Shalangguer's Story 19)

bi hainang ***musisang gui."***
bi hai =nang musi-sang gui
1:SG:NOM shoe=REFLPOSS wear-PERF 1:NEG:COP
I haven't put on my shoes."

(76) (Monkey 96)

Huer ***qigesang guang.***
huer qige-sang guang
monkey see -PERF:NOMLZR N1:NEG:COP
(so) Monkey wouldn't see (her).

The nominalizer *-sang* is one of two which are used to form clausal nominalizations. The other is *-ku*. As we will see in chapter 6, *-ku* is generally used in imperfective nominalizations, while *-sang* is used as a perfective nominalizer. In negative contexts, then, *-sang* may be taken to deny the completion of an action, or the state that would result if the action took place.

The imperfective nominalizer *-ku* does not seem to be used in negative constructions such as these.

This final type of auxiliary verb construction serves as a perfect transition to the topic of the next section -- a systematic treatment of Mangghuer clausal negation strategies.

5 Negation

Mangghuer provides three basic strategies for negation: preverbal negative lexemes; a negative auxiliary verb; and negative copulas.

5.1 Negative Lexemes

There are three negative markers which appear immediately before a verb. Each bears stress, and is therefore considered a separate word. Negative lexemes always appear immediately preceding the first word in the verb complex of a clause. No other constituents can be interposed.

5.1.1 Negative *lai*

The most commonly-occurring negative form, appearing in the widest range of contexts, is *lai*. In the vast majority of cases, this form appears with verbs which are imperfective.

(77) (Sangbura 181)
*"Qi wuge **lai** maidielang,*
qi wuge lai maidie-lang
2:SG:NOM word NEG know -N1:IMPERF
"You do not understand language,

(78) (Monster Girl 26)
*"Qi **lai** saosa ba ma bi aguernang lai*
qi lai sao-sa ba ma bi aguer =nang lai
2:SG NEG sit-COND PRT PRT 1:SG:NOM daughter=REFLPOSS NEG

ala."
ala
kill
"If you will not stay, ok, (but) I will not kill my daughter."

However, *lai* does appear with a few perfective verbs in my data. An example is given in (79):

(79) (A Hired Farmhand 26)[8]
*Ni kong gan **lai** chengrenglajiang.*
ni kong gan sai chengrengla-jiang
this person 3:SG NEG consent -N1:PERF
This man, he didn't consent.

Perfectives like (79) constitute over 10% of the uses of *lai* in the folktales (5 of a total of 48); so although *lai* usually appears with imperfectives, perfective contexts seem to be important for it, as well.

5.1.2 Past Perfective Negative *sai*

The label "past perfective negative" is highly tentative. The negative form *sai* appears only five times in my folktale database, so much more data needs to be taken into consideration, before its functions will become clear. At first glance, however, *sai* appears to be a negator of events which are at least anterior to the moment of speaking (80). Sometimes, the event is also clearly anterior to another event being reported, as in (81); and this may in fact be the basic function of this negative morpheme. In any case, *sai* always appears with a perfective verb.

(80) (Monkey 41-43)
Bulaini hu gesa,
bulai=ni hu ge -sa
child=ACC give QUOTE-COND
When (she) said "give (me) the baby,"

Monkey 42
bulai nerrijiang ge,
bulai nerri-jiang ge
child sleep-N1:PERF QUOTE
saying "the child has gone to sleep,"

Monkey 43
*ni Huer **sai** hujiang.*
ni huer sai hu -jiang
this monkey NEG give-N1:PERF
this Monkey didn't give (the child to her).

[8] In a later editing, Zhu Yongzhong replaced *lai* with *sai* in this and all perfective clauses. It remains to be seen whether this represents a dialect-influenced judgement, or if the original transcriptions were in fact a mistake. The latter possibility seems unlikely, since the original transcripts were quite careful, and *lai* appeared several times in perfective clauses.

(81) (Filial Obedience 14-15)

Mula Bulai anadunang
mula bulai ana =du =nang
small child mother=DAT=REFLPOSS

dighakuni *yang a* *guang*
di -gha -ku -ni yang a guang
eat-CAUSE-IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR what also N1:NEG:COP

bai,
bai
EMPH
Youngest Son had nothing to have his mother eat.

Filial Obedience 15
tingsa gansi yang a **sai** hujiang bai.
tingsa gan -si yang a sai hu -jiang bai
later 3:SG-PL what also NEG give-N1:PERF EMPH
because they hadn't given (him) anything.

5.1.3 Prohibitive *bao*[9]

The negative marker *bao* appears only in imperative mood (including voluntatives and hortatives), and is thus a prohibitive negative. In second person imperatives its force is "do not," while in first person imperatives (voluntatives) it may be translated roughly as "let me/us not" or "may I/we not." Similarly, in third person imperatives (hortatives), bao indicates a wish that a third person will not undertake an action -- "let him/her/them not." Just as in imperative constructions in general, the subject may be included when these constructions are negated, but an overt subject is not required and is often omitted.

Examples (82) and (83) are prohibitive imperatives; (84) is a prohibitive voluntative; (85) is a prohibitive hortative.

(82) (A Cow Mother 42)

qi muni mughani ***bao*** ***di,***
qi muni mugha=ni bao di -∅
2:SG:NOM 1:SG:GEN meat =ACC PROHIB eat-IMPER
you don't eat my flesh,

(83) (Stupid Boy 81)

Bao xigha!
bao xi-gha -∅
PROHIB go-CAUSE-IMPER
Don't let (her) go (with him)!

[9] An apparent fourth negative lexeme, *bai*, appears once in the folktales; it seems to be an alternate prohibitive, but this is unclear from just one occurrence.

(84) (The Rabbit Judge 13)

qini nenqinni ***bao*** ***mershidaya*** *bai."*
qi =ni nenqin =ni bao mershida-ya bai
2:SG=GEN kindness=ACC PROHIB forget -VOL EMPH
may I not forget your kindness."

(85) Qing Yongzhang
bao *ri-ge*
PROHIB come-HORT
'let him/her not come'

5.2 Negative Auxiliary *da-* 'cannot'

The auxiliary *da* means 'cannot,' and appears frequently as an important means of negation. It is described in 4.1, above.

5.3 Negative Copulas

There are morphologically suppletive negative forms of both the equational copula and the attributive copula. These are given in Table 4.9.

	Negative Equational	Negative Attributive
First Evidential	puzhi	(u)gui
Non-first Evidential	puzhang	(u)guang

Table 4.9 Negative Copular Forms

Two functions of these copulas will be described: negative counterparts of the copular clauses described in 2.4, above, and negatives constructed with a nominalized main verb and a negative copula.

5.3.1 Negative Copular Clauses

Negative copular clauses are built in the same way as the corresponding affirmative clauses, but the negative copula forms (Table 4.9) appear. The two major types of copular clauses are illustrated in (86) and (87).

(86) (Madage 29)

qi ti ningerni kao ***puzhang."***
qi ti ninger =ni kao puzhang
2:SG:NOM that old:woman=GEN son N1:NEG:COP
you aren't that old lady's son."

(87) (Sangbura 257)

Bi zhaghadu aba ana ***gui,***
bi zhagha=du aba ana gui
1:SG:NOM above =DAT father mother 1:NEG:COP
I have no parents above (me),

I have not observed the borrowed copula *shi* to appear in any negative copular clauses.

5.3.2 Nominalized Clauses with Negative Copulas

One common means of negation is by the use of a nominalized clause, together with one of the negative attributive copulas *gui* and *guang*. This strategy is illustrated in 4.7.2, above, since in such constructions the copula functions as an auxiliary verb.

5.4 Historical Discussion

All of the negation strategies seen here have fairly clear roots in Mongolic. Bese (1974) and Poppe (1974), both of whom discuss Written Mongolian from the time of the *Secret History*, give negative forms which seem to be cognate with those we have seen here. Let's consider in particular the negative lexemes discussed in 5.1.

The prohibitive form *bü* (Bese 1974:3) or *buu* (Poppe 1974:175) is cognate with Mangghuer *bao*, which is also a prohibitive.

The form *ügei*, which is the negative copula (Bese 1974:5), is cognate with the Mangghuer negative attributive copula *gui*. Poppe (1974:175) also comments on this form. It is not clear from these authors' descriptions exactly what range of functions *ügei* had, however.

We saw above that the Mangghuer negatives *lai* and *sai* are not easy to differentiate, in terms of function. However, it seems that these forms are descended from negatives which were more clearly distinct in function.

"The negative particle *ülü* occurs exclusively before the verb and is used to express the negative form of verbs 'non.past'" (Bese 1974:4) This is cognate with Mangghuer *lai*.

"The Mongolian *ese* 'no, not' negative particle always precedes the verb and is used for the negative of the verbs in 'non.future' or 'past' tenses" (Bese 1974:6). This is cognate with Mangghuer *sai*.

In sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2, above, we saw that *lai* generally appears in imperfective contexts, and that *sai* appears in perfectives. However, Mangghuer *lai* also appears in some perfective constructions; and *sai* is extremely infrequent. One possible explanation could be that *lai* is gradually being extended into more contexts, and that the role of *sai* is being restricted in Mangghuer. Perhaps *lai* is becoming a more general marker of negation, and is replacing *sai*.

However, this suggestion does not take into account the presence of other relevant negation strategies; notably, a full account of the historical development of these forms ought also to describe the conditions under which speakers choose, for example, a perfective construction with *sai*, as opposed to a nominalized clause with *-sang* and the negative copula *gui*. Such constructions are also perfective, and their range of functions needs to be differentiated from that of *sai* and now, also, of *lai* in Mangghuer.

The Mangghuer negative lexemes, then, seem to have been inherited from Mongolic, though their range of functions seems to have shifted somewhat over time.

6 Adverbial Particles

For lack of a more precise term, I use *adverbial particles* to refer to the group of words which will be discussed here. These share a few features: they appear internally within a clause, usually either in second position (following the subject or some other first constituent) or immediately before the verb; they are (mostly) mophologically uncomplex, and undergo no morphological changes; and they modify the meaning of the verb in some way.

This is a fairly loose set of criteria, and there is some variation among these items, with regard to their syntactic behavior. It is quite likely that further investigation would allow some differentiation among them. However, since any particular one of these items is fairly rare, I have not seen enough examples to allow finer distinctions to be made. Also due to this paucity of examples, it is not always clear whether these forms appear in second position, or before the verb. (In many clauses, these two positions are identical, since there is often only one major preverbal constituent present.)

The particles which fall into this class can be roughly translated: *han* 'still,' *hanshi* 'still,' *yigua* 'totally,' *ge* 'once,' *pusa* 'again,' *yan* 'again,' *xian* 'first,' and *yizhi* 'continually.'

Let's first exemplify each of these forms. In particular, it is interesting to note how many of these are borrowed words.

Han and *hanshi* both mean 'still,' and are probably borrowed from Chinese (*haishi* 还是). These are illustrated in (88) and (89):

(88) (Two Wives 42)
"Ni ***han*** *guaini* *alajiang!"*
ni han guai =ni ala -jiang
this still strange=GEN kill-N1:PERF
"This is extremely strange!" (the evil wife thought).

(89) (The Rabbit Judge 44)
bi ***hanshi*** *luosi* *hugukuniang* *bai.*
bi hanshi luosi hugu-kuniang bai
1:SG:NOM still be:hungry die -N1:FUT EMPH
I will still hunger to death.

The word *yigua* means 'totally.' It appears fairly frequently in the folktales, usually following the subject (if one is present). Hasibate, ed (1986:12) reports that the form *igua* in Huzhu Mongghul is borrowed from Chinese (一挂), so this may be the etymology of the Mangghuer word *yigua*, as well.

Example (90) shows this use of *yigua*.[10]

(90) (The Rabbit Judge 20)
"Bi ***yigua*** *dongdu* *shijitian* *naila,*
bi yigua dong=du shi-ji -tian naila
1:SG:NOM totally hole=DAT ten-several-day be.hungry
"I have been hungry for ten to twenty days in the hole,

In chapter 3, section 2.6.1.1, I discussed at some length the Mangghuer singular indefinite marker *ge*. This same word can also be used adverbially, and here it functions to attenuate the meaning of the verb; perhaps it could be translated 'a little bit.' Sometimes it seems to function as a kind of politeness marker, since it is often used in imperatives, apparently softening the force of the command. In this adverbial function, *ge* immediately precedes the verb, as in the next two examples.

(91) (Monster Girl 43)
Bulai zou "bi ***ge*** *langlaya,"*
bulai zou bi ge langla -ya
child thus 1:SG:NOM once walk:around-VOL
The boy (said) "I'll walk around a bit,"

[10] *Yigua* can also be used nominally to mean 'all of them.' This is not illustrated here.

(92) (The Rabbit Judge 47)
Du qi ***ge*** *keli."*
du qi ge keli
now 2:SG:NOM once say
Now you say."

The word *pusa* means 'another' or 'again.' It is Mongolic. The use of *pusa* is illustrated in (93).

(93) (Human-bear 30)
Renxun *gan* ***pusa*** *yerri* *rijiang,*
renxun gan pusa yerri ri -jiang
human:bear 3:SG another look:for come-N1:PERF
Human-bear came again to look (for Elder Sister-in-law),

The word *yan* means 'again,' and is illustrated in (94). This word might be Tibetan. Hasibate, ed (1986:232) gives the Mongghul form *jaŋ* as a Tibetan borrowing meaning 'once again' (Chinese: *you* 又).

(94) (The Rabbit Judge 53)
Du qi *Chuna* ***yan*** *nukuangdunang* *bao.*
du qi chuna yan nukuang=du =nang bao
now 2:SG:NOM wolf again hole =DAT=REFLPOSS go:down
Now you, Wolf, go down in your hole again.

Another Chinese borrowing is *xian* (先), which means 'first' but (paradoxically?) appears in second position, as in (95):

(95) (Sangbura 51)
qi ***xian*** *nughuaidunang* *nudu*
qi xian nughuai=du =nang nudu
2:SG:NOM first dog =DAT=REFLPOSS eye

genang *waji hu* *a,*
ge =nang waji hu a
SG:INDEF=REFLPOSS dig give PRT
you first dig out one of your eyes for your dog,

Yet another borrowed form is *yizhi*, which also comes from Chinese (一直). This word means 'directly' or 'continually' in the folktales; it appears only three times. One of these is:

(96) (Sangbura 310)
Du ***yizhi*** *kerli luosi* *wanla* *danang,*
du yizhi kerli luosi wanla danang
now directly want be:hungry complete after
Now (he) went on begging, completely hungry, until,

7 Final Particles

In the discussion to this point, I have maintained that Mangghuer is a rigidly verb-final language: that no clausal constituent can appear following the verb. However, there is a set of particles which appear in this position. These are therefore called *final particles*.

In the vast majority of cases, final particles appear after finite verbs. However, they are not restricted to just this location. In the folktales there are also some instances in which one or another of these particles appears after some other syntactic unit besides a finite verb: a noun phrase, a sentence-initial temporal oblique, or even a nonfinite, dependent clause.

Final particles are not often produced in elicitation. This is probably because they have pragmatic functions which are highly context-senstive, often expressing affective meaning or providing interactional cues.

The highly pragmatic value of final particles also means that it is extremely difficult to provide lexical definitions for them. In this section, then, we will see some of the characteristic uses of final particles in narrative discourse. An examination of more linguistic contexts would doubtless considerably broaden our understanding of the particles' uses.

7.1 Emphatic Particle *bai*

One of these particles is *bai*, which was universally identified by my consultants as having 'emphatic' force. One speaker, Qing Yongzhang, told me that it is primarily used by older speakers, and that it has the flavor of talking to children.

The emphatic particle *bai* occurs clause-finally, after a finite verb, in all but two of its 167 appearances in the narrative database. It is illustrated in (97) and (98):

(97) (Monster Girl 28)

bulaini bosi yaojiang ***bai.***
bulai=ni bosi yao-jiang bai
child=POSS get:up go -N1:PERF EMPH
her son left.

(98) (A Hired Farmhand 57)

Ni zou ganni wei bang ***bai,***
ni zou gan =ni wei bang bai
this thus 3:SG=GEN seat N1:COP EMPH
So this was his seat,

This particle is probably descended from a Mongolic copula, the same etymon which gave rise to the onset of the Mangghuer copulas *bi* and *bang*.

Chinggeltei (1988:297) cites an identical form *bai* in Huzhu Mongghul, also with an emphatic function.

There seems to be significant interspeaker variation in the use of this emphatic particle. Zhu Shanzhong, the teller of the folktale *Taolaini Jianjia* (Rabbit's Trick) uses *bai* at the end of 24 of 68 finite clauses, or 35% of the time. In *Taolaini Pangguan* (Rabbit's Judgement), told by Zhu Wenhui, *bai* occurs only 16% of the time, with just 8 of 50 finite clauses.

Interestingly, this difference does not correlate with the age-graded variation predicted by Qing Yongzhang (see above). Zhu Shanzhong was about 39 years old, and Zhu Wenhui was around 50 years old, when each told his respective story. The younger speaker uses *bai* much more than does the older speaker. So clearly there is more involved here than simple age-grading of a sociolinguistic variable.

No doubt variation would also be found in a comparison across different linguistic genres and interactional contexts.

7.2 Interactional Particle *ma*

The particle *ma* was reported by my Mangghuer consultants to be a borrowing from Chinese. At this point I cannot verify this claim.

Structurally, *ma* follows a finite verb in 104 of its 115 occurrences. It sometimes also follows non-verbal elements such as adverbs and nouns, and once it also follows a nonfinite verb.

Frequently (in over one-third of the examples) the event of the clause marked with *ma* seems to be a cause of the following event, either desired or undesired. This is illustrated in (99) and (100), which represent, respectively, a prediction received in a dream and a plea by a woman standing in a pot which is being heated up:

(99) (Madage 14-15)

Tini di ***ma,***
ti =ni di ma
that=ACC eat PRT
Eat that,

Madage 15
kao ge rini."
kao ge ri -ni
son SG:INDEF come-1:FUT
(and) a son will come (i.e. you will have a son)."

(100) (Three Daughters 59-60)

Qini *abani* *wazini* *heji* *ri* ***ma,***
qi =ni aba =ni wazi=ni he -ji ri ma
2:SG=GEN father=GEN sock=ACC take-IMPERF come PRT
Bring your father's socks,

Three Daughters 60
tulilang *a."*
tuli-lang a
burn-N1:IMPERF PRT
I'm burning!"

Almost half of the occurrences of *ma* are in reported speech (see chapter 7), from which we may probably infer that it is a particle with heavily interactive force, perhaps making some kind of demand on the listener, or perhaps inviting a response. If this is in fact its primary function, then the other half of its occurrences, which are not in quotations, might involve interactional pragmatics at the level of the storyteller's intended effects on the listeners.

Another clue to the highly interactive value of *ma* is that is often follows an imperative verb, as in both (99) and (100). This is true of 21 occurences of *ma* (18% of the total), and once again suggests that this particle functions to call for some response on the part of the listener.

This particle can also function as a topic marker. This accounts for most of the instances in which it does not follow a finite verb, and will be illustrated in section 9.6, below.

My consultant Mr. Zhu sometimes translated *ma* with the English conjunctions 'and' or 'but.' In chapter 3, section 2.8, we saw that in Mangghuer data provided by Wang Xianzheng, *ma* also appears as a coordinator of nouns. Since, in the functions observed in the folktales, *ma* has a strong tendency to appear where the actions of two clauses are seen as causally linked, we can consider this device to function as a coordinating conjunction for finite clauses. More discussion of this point can be found in chapter 6, section 4.1.2.

7.3 Interactional Particle *a*

The final particle *a* has an extremely wide set of interactional functions. Like many particles with primarily interactional uses, *a* is rather slippery to characterize semantically. To get some general feeling for some of its functions, let's look at several examples of its use.

(101) (Stupid Boy 70-72)

"Ai,
ai
EXCL
"Ai,

Stupid Boy 71
gandu yiger shuer husa,
gan =du yi -ger shuer hu -sa
3:SG=DAT one-CL chopsticks give-COND
when (we) gave him one chopstick,

Stupid Boy 72
liangger kerlilang **a!"**
liang-ger kerli-lang a
two -CL want -N1:IMPERF PRT
(he) asked for two!" (the others said).

The person being discussed here was believed to be so stupid that he would never think to request a second chopstick when given only one. Thus, the speaker is expressing surprise at the stupid person's unexpected cleverness.

(102) (Monster Girl 37-39)

Gan *bayasiji* *jieliejiang.*
gan bayasi-ji jielie-jiang
3:SG glad -IMPERF meet -N1:PERF
She welcomed (him) gladly.

Monster Girl 38
"Sao **a,**
sao-∅ a
sit-IMPER PRT
"Sit,

Monster Girl 39
mali *bi* *qimai* *cai* *chaokela* *xia."*
mali bi qimai cai chaoke-la xi-a
quickly 1:SG:NOM 2:SG:DAT food fry -PURP go-VOL
I'll quickly go to cook some food for you" (she said).

Here, the speaker (a monster) is very glad to see the addressee -- particularly glad because she intends to eat him. The particle *a* probably helps to convey this enthusiasm.

One final example is given in (103), spoken by three daughters whose father, tired of feeding so many mouths, has abandoned them. They have just discovered the deed, and are contemplating how to respond.

(103) (Three Daughters 41-43)

"Du,
du
now
"Now,

Three Daughters 42
yani **a***?*
ya -ni a
what-1:FUT PRT
what will we do?

Three Daughters 43
Da *sangela* *angji* *yaoni* **a***?"*
da san -ge=la ang =ji yao-ni a
1:PL:NOM three-CL=COLL where=DIR go -1:FUT PRT
Where will we three go?"

Taken together, these examples suggest that the particle *a* often functions to communicate a high degree of emotional involvement on the part of the speaker. In my database there are only 30 examples, and clearly this is insufficient for reaching broad generalizations about the complete range of functions of such a versatile pragmatic device.

7.4 Deliberative Particle *sha*

In the folktales, the final particle *sha* has a more limited set of functions, and is less frequent than the other particles discussed so far. It appears after a syntactic question and usually seems to indicate that the speaker is in the process of deliberating on a course of action, or mulling over a difficult problem.

In (104), a sheep bemoans having rescued a wolf from a pit, because the wolf has announced that he now plans to eat his liberator.

(104) (The Rabbit Judge 30)
Bi *nini* *yala* *jiulaba* ***sha****?"*
bi ni =ni ya =la jiula-ba sha
1:SG:NOM this=ACC what=INST save -1:PERF PRT
Why did I save this one?"

The speaker of (105) has nothing to feed his mother.

(105) (Filial Obedience 16)
"Du yang dighani ***sha****?"*
du yang di -gha -ni sha
now what eat-CAUSE-1:FUT PRT
"Now what will (I) have (her) eat?"

The optionality of this particle can be demonstrated by comparing (105) with (106), which comes from the same story, 17 lines later. Here, the speaker asks himself a similar question, but does not use *sha*.

(106) (Filial Obedience 33)
Anadu *yang dighani?*
ana =du yang di -gha -ni
mother=DAT what eat-CAUSE-1:FUT
What will (I) have mother eat?

In total, *sha* appears only 14 times in the folktales.

An additional function of *sha* is discussed in Zhu et al, (1997:447). The following example is given, with the note that "there is a sense that the speaker has a feeling of unhappiness about the person being spoken to."

(107) (Zhu et al 1997:447)
du *qi* *mali-her* ***sha***
now 2sg quick-COMP PRT
Now you hurry move more quickly!

Similarly, Zhu Yongzhong told me (personal communication) that *sha* "implies a negative attitude" on the part of the speaker. So it is clear that *sha* has a wider range of interactive functions than just the sense which seems most typical in the folktales, perhaps generally serving to indicate dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs.

7.5 Hearsay Evidential *gelang*

The internal structure of the final particle *gelang* is transparent: it consists of the quotative marker *ge* (see below, and also chapter 7, section 2.2) plus the non-first person imperfective finite evidential form *-lang*. Whether speakers are aware of this structure, however, is not clear.

This word occurs clause-finally as a hearsay evidential[11], and in this role its syntactic behavior is identical to that of the other final particles examined here. *Gelang* is not in any way syntactically integrated with preceeding material and always following a finite verb. Its compositional semantic value is something like "it is said" or "they say," and in the folktale narratives it reinforces the fact that an event being related is common knowledge, as in (108).

[11] For a discussion of the category of *evidentiality*, see chapter 5.

(108) (Filial Obedience 58)

ni honghuang ganni ana bang ***gelang.***
ni honghuang gan =ni ana bang gelang
this phoenix 3:SG=GEN mother N1:COP HEARSAY
this phoenix was his mother, they say.

The hearsay marker *gelang* can also co-occur with the final particle *bai*.[12] This is illustrated in (109):

(109) (Three Daughters 53)

Tinang diku zou yaojiang ***gelang bai.***
ti =nang di -ku zou yao-jiang gelang bai
that=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF thus go -N1:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
After eating that thing of theirs, then (they) walked, they say.

In fact, although *gelang* often functions as a clear marker of hearsay, it is sometimes also used as a marker of emphasis, like *bai*. This can be seen as result of semantic bleaching; the function of asserting that something is common knowledge could easily be generalized to simple assertion that it is true. Wang Xianzheng, commenting on his use of *gelang* in some sentences of the Minhe Mangghuer 900 (Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al, forthcoming) notes that this form "emphasizes the sentence" in which it appears. In discourse, then, *gelang* has a broader range of functions than simply that of indicating hearsay evidence.

Hearsay markers like *gelang*, derived from verbs of saying, are one of the many areal features of the Qinghai-Gansu border. Sun (1993) describes similar constructions for Amdo Tibetan, such as the one given in (110):

(110) Amdo Tibetan (Sun 1993:983)

k^{h}arnəb ne xor-wə-t^{h}æ ***se***
last night fire slip-away-DIRECT EVID QUOTE
I heard (from someone who saw it happen) that a fire broke out last night.

Zhu Yongzhong pointed out that Qinghai Mandarin also allows similar constructions, using the verb *shuo* 说 'say' as a hearsay marker:

(111) Qinghai Mandarin Hearsay Evidential (Zhu Yongzhong)

ta lai-liao ***shuo***
3 come-PERF say
S/he came, they say.

[12] I believe that *gelang* may also co-occur with *ma*, but do not have a convincing example at this point.

In fact, constructions of this type are frequently commented on by linguists describing the Chinese dialects of the area. See, for example, Cheng (1980:148-49), Zhang and Zhu (1987:287), Dede (1993:83-88), and Zhu et al (1997:446-47).

Historical discussion of the development of *gelang* and several morphologically related forms, with divergent functions, can be found in chapter 7, section 2.2.

7.6 Discussion

Taken together, the two most common final particles *ma* and *bai* occur at the end of approximately 20% of all finite clauses in the folktale narratives. These particles are obviously quite important, and worthy of significant additional study. The fact that the two particles never co-occur might suggest that they perfom related functions. Since one of these (and perhaps both) may co-occur with the hearsay marker *gelang*, this marker's functional load probably cuts across a different pragmatic category.

Because several of the final particles have heavily interactive functions, it will prove useful to refer to them in our discussion of reported speech. For this topic, see chapter 7, section 3.2.

In the present discussion, we have seen some of the characteristic functions which final particles play in narrative discourse. However, with highly pragmatic devices such as these, this discussion must only have begun to scratch the surface in describing the range of uses to which speakers put them.

Since many final particles seem clearly to perform interactional functions, we certainly would need to take conversational language into account, on order to provide a fuller description of their functions. Presumably, other genres of language use would also provide interesting areas for the study of these complex pragmatic devices.

8 Discourse Connective Devices

In section 6, we saw a number of adverbial particles which appear within a clause. Section 7 illustrated another set of elements which appear clause-finally, after the verb.

In this section, we will note another common device: a set of connective elements which speakers use to help signal the structure of the discourse as they create it. These discourse connectives appear at or near the beginnings of their clauses, because they function to give information about how the current clause fits into the foregoing discourse.

8.1 Resultive Marker *zou*

An important discourse marker is *zou* 'thus,' which my consultants identified as a form of the Chinese marker (就 *jiu*). This word, which is used 46 times in the folktales, appears in second position within its clause, after the first constituent, and generally indicates that the current clause is, in some way or other, a result of what went before. For instance, consider (112), where a speaker uses *zou* in the apodosis of a conditional construction, expressing the result that will obtain if the protasis is fulfilled:

(112) (Monster Girl 23)

lai	*alasa*	*bi*	***zou***	*qini*	*gerdu*	*lai*	*sao,"*
lai	ala -sa	bi	zou	qi =ni	ger =du	lai	sao
NEG	kill-COND	1:SG:NOM	thus	2:SG=GEN	house=DAT	NEG	sit

if (you) will not kill (her), then I will not stay in your home,"

The relationship does not have to be one of clear causation, however. Earlier in the same story, the narrator had described a particular character's inhuman actions, and then concluded:

(113) (Monster Girl 10)

Ni	***zou***	*mang'huzi*	*bang.*
ni	zou	mang'huzi	bang
this	thus	monster	N1:COP

So this was a monster.

Here, the statement presents a conclusion that can be reached on the basis of the foregoing evidence, and *zou* is used to signal this relationship between the current clause and the preceding material.

The final line of this same story gives us yet another aspect of the functions of *zou*:

(114) (Monster Girl 70)

Ni	***zou***	*Mang'huzini*	*bihuang*	*bang.*
ni	zou	mang'huzi=ni	bihuang	bang
this	thus	monster =GEN	story	N1:COP

So this is the story of Monster.

In this sentence, the speaker concludes the story. This function of *zou*, then, is probably related to higher-level organization of the discourse, rather than to the relationship of this particular clause to its near neighbors.

One way to see this is to note that, in the first two examples of zou which we saw, a shift in perspective was implied each time. In (112), the speaker

announces that his decision depends on someone else's action. In (113), the narrator suggests that, given the narrative evidence, the listener (and perhaps the story's characters, too) can reach a particular conclusion. Similarly, in (114), the final line of the story announces a shift in perspective -- I have told you the facts, and now you, the listener, can conclude that the story is finished.

The marker *zou*, then, has both local and global functions as an organizer of discourse structure.

8.2 Clause-Initial Connectors

There are also some discourse connectors which appear in clause-initial position. We will note two such forms here.

Tinsa appears 29 times in the folktales. Etymologically, it is derived from the distal demonstrative *ti(n)* 'that' plus the ablative enclitic *=sa*. (See also the discussion of section 9.2.4, below.)

In (115), the narrator has just finished telling how a character managed to obtain a large sum of money. This sentence tells the result:

(115) (Sangbura 301)

Tingsa	*gan*	*zou*	*bayajijiang.*
tingsa	gan	zou	bayaji -jiang
then	3:SG	thus	be:rich-N1:PERF

So he thus became rich.

Thus, *tinsa* can be used to express a result. However, its meaning is usually not so locally relevant; in most instances, it seems to function to mark an event as occurring later on in a sequence. In this more general sense, we find *tinsa* in the last line of (116):

(116) (Filial Obedience 39-43)

Anani	*songziwernang*	*erseghejiang,*	
ana =ni	songziwer=nang	erseghe-jiang	
mother=POSS	grandson =REFLPOSS	ask	-N1:PERF

His mother asked about her grandson,

Filial Obedience 40

"Songziwerni	*ang*	*xighaba?"*	
songziwer=ni	ang	xi-gha	-ba
grandson =ACC	where	go-CAUSE-1:PERF	

"where did (you) send (my) grandson?"

```
Filial Obedience 41
"Ghada  angji     angji     yaojiang,"
ghada   ang  =ji  ang  =ji  yao-jiang
outside where=DIR where=DIR go -N1:PERF
"(He) has gone someplace outside,"

Filial Obedience 42
ning geji.
ning ge   -ji
this QUOTE-IMPERF
(he) said this.

Filial Obedience 43
Tingsa ninger    caini    diser    diser    ganni
tingsa ninger    cai =ni  di -ser  di -ser  gan -ni
later  old:woman food=ACC eat-PROG eat-PROG 3:SG=GEN

       ghadu    bulaini   khuru  rijiang      bai.
       gha =du  bulai=ni  khuru  ri  -jiang   bai
       bowl=DAT child=GEN finger come-N1:PERF EMPH
Later as the old woman was eating and eating (her) food, the
boy's finger came in her bowl.
```

In the final line of (116), *tinsa* could be taken to indicate a result of the preceding details of the story (the grandson has been killed and put in his grandmother's food). However, there is not a very strong result relationship here. Rather, *tinsa* seems to have a more global function, perhaps indicating that the scene is shifting (note the translation 'later'). Thus, *tinsa* seems similar to *zou* in the types of discourse functions it might be expected to play.

We will consider one other related form, *tingku*, which appears 12 times in the folktales:

(117) (Two Wives 62-63)

```
Gan  huguerni   gerdu     nughuai zhuerge geni
gan  huguer=ni  ger  =du  nughuai zhuerge ge      =ni
3:SG cow    =GEN house=DAT dog    heart   SG:INDEF=ACC

     he   xighajiang      gelang.
     he   xi-gha  -jiang  gelang
     take go-CAUSE-N1:PERF HEARSAY
He had a dog heart taken to the cow's home, they say.

Two Wives 63
Tingku      ganni    bierini   bieqinni
ting-ku     gan =ni  bieri=ni  bieqin =ni
that-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN wife =GEN illness=POSS

     berjiang       gelang.
     ber   -jiang   gelang
     become-N1:PERF HEARSAY
Then his wife's illness got better, they say.
```


In this example, the wife mentioned in line 63 is planning to eat the calf's heart, to cure her illness. Another character hides the calf and, instead, substitutes a dog's heart. This apparently has a placebo effect, and the woman becomes well. The connector *tingku*, then, indicates either that the woman got well because of the dog's heart (and could be translated 'therefore') or that she got well afterwards, regardless of the heart (in which case 'later' might be a better translation). The latter function resembles the scene-shifting use of *tinsa* which we saw in (116).

I have not undertaken a detailed study of the discourse functions of either of these morphemes, partly due to the distinct impression that I would need to examine more examples than I have at present. However, it is clear that, like the borrowed resultive marker *zou*, these Mongolic discourse markers help to organize the narrative at several levels. In some instances, they express local relations between adjacent clauses, but in perhaps more cases, they are used by speakers to signal facts about the organization of the discourse at a higher level.

Clause-initial position is an important locus for devices such as these. In 9.5, below, we will see that oblique NPs also appear in this position, with some similar functions. Also, in chapter 6, we will note ways in which nonfinite clauses can be used to perform similar functions, summarizing prior actions as a means of setting the context in which an upcoming event is to be viewed.

In fact, we will see that some of these forms represent phonologically reduced versions of clause-combining forms used for similar functions.

9 The Noun within the Clause

In this section we will examine the behavior of NPs within their most common setting: the clause.

Section 9.1 demonstrates the difference between core and oblique arguments of verbs. In 9.2, we see the various grammatical cases of Mangghuer, noting their morphosyntactic instantiation and tracing the history of the various postpositional casemarkers. Section 9.3 examines the two possessive enclitics *=nang* and *=ni*, which attach to noun phrases and postpositional phrases, and which show relations of possession by other referents. Other postpositional phrases (besides those created with casemarkers) are described in section 9.4. Section 9.5 presents generalizations about the syntactic placement of obliques within the clause. And in section 9.6 we see that NPs may be fronted within a clause for the pragmatic pupose of topicalization. Finally, 9.7 illustrates the presence and absence of various clausal arguments in a stretch of narrative discourse.

9.1 Grammatical Relations: Core and Oblique Arguments

Mangghuer distinguishes two types of core arguments of its verbs: subject and direct object. All other NPs appear as oblique arguments. In this section, we will see the evidence for this distinction.

The grammatical relation of subject is relevant to imperatives. In the imperative mood (see section 1.2.2.3), the verb agrees with its grammatical subject. This is evidence for a grammatical category of subject.

Morphosyntax provides some evidence of both subject and object as grammatical relations, and distinguishes these from all obliques. Arguments in oblique cases must obligatorily appear as postpositional phrases, with case enclitics, but subjects and objects can appear as NPs that are basically distinguished by word order, with subjects usually preceding direct objects in the clause.

This last claim needs some clarification. As we will see in the discussion of casemarking (9.3, below), and also that of topicalization (9.4), direct objects usually do bear accusative casemarking. However, many direct objects do not appear in accusative case, and in these instances, word order is important in distinguishing them from subjects.

Thus, although direct objects usually do bear casemarking, this category nonetheless is often distinguished by word order. This is a property that direct objects share with subjects, and one that distinguishes these two grammatical relations from all others, since all others must obligatorily appear in postpositional phrases in all instances.

These facts suggest that subject and direct object are treated differently in Mangghuer syntax than are other grammatical categories. I recognize this difference by calling subject and object *core arguments* of their verbs, while other arguments are treated as *oblique arguments*, or, more briefly, *obliques*. However, the distinction is not particularly robust, since it is supported by only these two bits of morphosyntactic evidence. The categories core and oblique do not have many morphosyntactic implications in Mangghuer.

9.2 Casemarking

The Mangghuer data which I have seen provides evidence of seven morphological cases: nominative, accusative, dative/locative, ablative, instrumental/comitative, directional, and genitive.

Casemarking is primarily accomplished with postpositional enclitics appearing on the final element of a casemarked NP, which is usually the head noun. The enclitic status of the casemarkers is argued for in chapter 2, sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. Because they behave syntactically as postpositions, casemarkers

are treated not as elements within the noun phrase, but as independent syntactic units which combine with an NP to form a postpositional phrase.

Not all casemarking depends on enclitic postpositions, however; as I mentioned in 9.1, the nominative case is always morphologically unmarked, and the accusative case is often unmarked, as well; syntactic strategies are generally used to differentiate these two cases.

9.2.1 Nominative Case

Syntactic subjects usually appear in nominative case.[13] Nominative case NPs are morphologically unmarked.

Most syntactic subjects are semantic agents, actors, or experiencers. These semantic roles thus tend to correlate with nominative case, as well.

When both a nominative NP and an accusative NP appear within the same clause, and the accusative NP is not marked with the accusative enclitic *=ni*, the normal order is for the nominative argument (the subject) to precede the accusative argument (the direct object). Thus, syntax sometimes distinguishes nominative and accusative NPs.

In examples (118)-(120), the bold NPs appear in nominative case. The first example is an agent; (119) shows another type of actor; and (120) illustrates one type of experiencer.

(118) (Two Wives 43)

Ganni ***mao bieri*** *huguerni* *lake ri* *danang digha*
gan =ni mao bieri huguer=ni lake ri danang di -gha
3:SG=GEN bad wife cow =ACC pull come after eat-CAUSE

gejiang.
ge-jiang
do-N1:PERF
After his evil wife led a cow (there), (she) had (it) eat (the flowering plant).

(119) (Stupid Boy 7)

"Bi *niaoduer xi'a.*
bi niaoduer xi-a
1:SG:NOM today go-VOL
"I will go today.

[13] The collective marker *=la* is formally an instance of instrumental/comitative case, and appears with many syntactic subjects. (See chapter 3, sections 1.2.1.2 and 2.6.2.2.)

(120) (A Hired Farmhand 16
```
ni    zhaler          jiaoduer  mulalang.
ni    zhaler          jiaoduer  mula -lang
this hired:farmhand every:day think-N1:IMPERF
this hired farmhand thought every day.
```

Example (121) illustrates a clause type that contains two nominative arguments -- the equational clause.

(121) (Filial Obedience 58)
```
ni   honghuang ganni    ana     bang   gelang.
ni   honghuang gan =ni  ana     bang   gelang
this phoenix   3:SG=GEN mother N1:COP HEARSAY
this phoenix was his mother, they say.
```

Here, the two NPs *ni hunghuang* 'this phoenix' and *ganni ana* 'his mother' are equated, and both appear in the unmarked nominative case. This same casemarking behavior is found in all equational clauses.

9.2.2 Accusative Case

Syntactic direct objects appear in accusative case. This case may be marked by word order, or by the accusative enclitic =ni or the reflexive possessive enclitic =nang. Often both casemarking and word order are employed.

Direct objects are often semantic patients of verbs, or non-patients such as the semantic goals of actions like *mushi* 'read' and *duar* 'lick.' Other accusative goals are those of perception, cognition or speaking verbs, including *maidie* 'to know,' *tani* 'to recognize,' *jige* 'to remember,' *karli* 'to want; to ask,' *yeri* 'to look for,' *dagha* 'to follow,' *dawenla* 'to ask for,' *daoda* 'to call,' and *qinla* 'to invite.' These semantic roles thus correlate with accusative case.

Prototypically, then, accusative case is reserved for the most patient-like argument of a transitive or ditransitive verb.

Accusative arguments usually appear in a postpositional phrase with the enclitic *=ni*. However, this enclitic is not obligatory, and the conditions governing its appearance are quite complicated. Generally, it is highly affected, individuated patients which are also definite that receive accusative case marking. Verbs which semantically require highly affected patients, such as *ala* 'to kill' and *di* 'to eat' thus usually have accusative casemarked objects, as:

(122) (A Cow Mother 36)
```
Ni   muni     aguerni      ala  gejiang.
ni   muni     aguer   =ni  ala  ge-jiang
this 1:SG:GEN daughter=ACC kill do-N1:PERF
It killed my daughter.
```

(123) (Two Wives 54)
```
"Bi      qini     burerni   kelieni    lai disa,
bi       qi  =ni  burer=ni  kelie =ni  lai di -sa
1:SG:NOM 2:SG=GEN calf =GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
"If I do not eat your calf's tongue,
```

However, if the identity of the particular entity affected by an action is not important, a speaker not need to use the accusative casemarker, even with a highly transitive verb.[14] Indefinite or generic NPs therefore are often morphologically unmarked when appearing as accusative arguments. In such situations, accusatives may generally be distinguished from nominatives by syntactic position; accusative objects usually follow nominatives, since object usually follow subjects. This is illustrated in (124)-(126), all of which have morphologically unmarked direct objects.

(124) (Madage 34)
```
bi       mamei dini,"
bi       mamei di -ni
1:SG:NOM wheat eat-1:FUT
I want to eat wheat"
```

(125) (Filial Obedience 9)
```
gansi   huguer ge       hulang.
gan -si huguer ge       hu  -lang
3:SG-PL cow    SG:INDEF give-N1:IMPERF
they (only) gave (him) a cow.
```

(126) (Sangbura 181)
```
"Qi      wuge lai maidielang,
qi       wuge lai maidie-lang
2:SG:NOM word NEG know  -N1:IMPERF
"You do not understand language,
```

It is possible, though, to use accusative casemarking even with an indefinite or non-individuated NP. This seems to function as a means of emphasizing the affectedness or identity of the patient. Some examples are:

[14] On the notion of degrees of transitivity, see Hopper and Thompson (1980), and also sections 4.2 and 4.3, above.

(127) (Nine-headed Ghost 39)

Ti shinagu gan diamangdunang Jiutou
ti shinagu gan diamang=du =nang jiutou
that woman 3:SG door =DAT=REFLPOSS nine:head

*Yaomaoni khuer duoruo **pijigheni** sighajiang,*
yaomao=ni khuer duoruo pijighe=ni sigha -jiang
ghost =GEN foot under bean =ACC spread-N1:PERF
That woman, she spread beans under (where) Nine-headed Ghost's feet (would be) at her door,

(128) (Monkey 79)

*Bi **tuerghang kong geni** ala geba.*
bi tuerghang kong ge =ni ala ge-ba
1:SG:NOM fat person SG:INDEF=ACC kill do-1:PERF
I have killed a fat person.

(129) (Filial Obedience 6)

*Gan **mori laosasini** mula kaodu yige a lai*
gan mori laosa-si=ni mula kao=du yi -ge a lai
3:SG horse mule -PL=ACC small son=DAT one-CL also NEG

hulang.
hu -lang
give-N1:IMPERF
He didn't give even one of (his) horses and mules to the youngest son.

An elicited contrast between the appearance and non-appearance of the accusative case enclitic is illustrated in (130) and (131); (130) means simply that s/he rode a horse, while (131) suggests that the identity of the particular horse is important, or that it was a horse which was ridden, and not something else, such as for example a sheep.

(130) (Qing Yongzhang)

gan mori wuni-jiang
3sg horse ride-N1:PERF
他骑了马
s/he rode a horse, went horse-riding

(131) (Qing Yongzhang)

gan mori=ni wuni-jiang
3sg horse=ACC ride-N1:PERF
他把马骑了
s/he rode the horse (and not something else)

One final factor is relevant to whether or not *=ni* appears in a given construction: if the reflexive-possessive enclitic *=nang* marks an accusative NP, the accusative postposition *=ni* never appears. In (132), we have an example of an accusative-marked direct object. Example (133) is a similar construction, but here, the speaker chose to specify that the thing eaten was 'his/her own' thing. Here, the accusative enclitic *=ni* cannot also appear.

(132) (Madage 14)

***Tini** di ma,*
ti =ni di ma
that=ACC eat PRT
Eat that,

(133) (Three Daughters 53)

***Tinang** diku zou yaojiang gelang bai.*
ti =nang di -ku zou yao-jiang gelang bai
that=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF thus go -N1:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
After eating that thing of theirs, then (they) walked, they say.

For more discussion of this issue, see 9.3.1, below.

Poppe (1955:191-194) reconstructs an accusative suffix for Pre-Mongolian which had the phonetic form [gi] after vowels and [igi] after consonants. The consonant disappeared in some Mongolic languages, although it remains, for example, in Ordos, which has the accusative marker *-ig*. The form [ni], found in both Huzhu and Minhe dialects of Monguor, is attributed by Poppe to a reanalysis of an earlier stem-final *-n*, which occurred many nouns, and which was stripped off from stems and reassigned as part of both the accusative and genitive suffixes. Poppe illustrates this with an example from the genitive (1955:192): **quruɣun-i* 'finger-GEN' → **quruɣu-ni*.

This explanation does seem plausible as an account of the current phonetic form of both the accusative and the genitive in Mangghuer. However, as we will see, this cannot account for the fact that genitive and accusative suffixes have different behavior with respect to stress assignment in chapter, as well as in Santa (Field 1997). Further comment will be made on this topic in the discussion of the genitive case, section 9.2.7, below.

Another important question is that of the analysis of the accusative marker as an enclitic postposition, rather than a suffix. This issue is relevant to all Mangghuer case markers. It has been traditional in Mongolic studies to identify the whole set of casemarkers as suffixes. However, as I have shown in chapter 2, section 3.2.2, there are strong phonological reasons for identifying them as enclitic postpositions in Mangghuer. Since most authors do not mention the possibility of an enclitic analysis, I presume that most have not considered the possibility. And

while it might be that Mangghuer alone has postpositional enclitics for casemarking functions, it seems more likely that other Mongolic languages could be analyzed in a similar way, as well. This question bears further investigation.

9.2.3 Dative/Locative Case

Among Mangghuer casemarkers, the dative/locative subsumes the broadest set of semantic roles. Semantic roles which may be indicated with this marker include: benefactive/malefactive; location in space or time, or in the course of an event; goal of movement, or of asking or speaking; and impersonal agency. A special type of locative is possessive clauses, in which the possessor is treated as a location in which the possessed item exists.

Dative or locative arguments are marked with the enclitic postposition *=du*. Word order is therefore not a necessary device for distinguishing dative arguments from others.

In some few instances, an alternate marker *=di* appears. This form seems to have the same functions as does *=du*, but it appears quite infrequently in my data. Zhu Yongzhong (personal communication) reports that *=di* is a regional variant of *=du*, used in a few Mangghuer regions, including Xiakou, but that *=du* is more widespread.

The dative/locative enclitic is illustrated in the following examples, which show some of its range of semantic functions: (134) is a benefactive; (135) illustrates a locative; (136) and (137) show goals of movement and speaking, respectively; and (138) shows an impersonal agent.

(134) (A Cow Mother 11)

Huguer jiaoduer ***gandu*** *manten baji*
huguer jiaoduer gan =du manten ba -ji
cow every:day 3:SG=DAT bread shit-IMPERF

hulang.
hu -lang
give-N1:IMPERF
Cow shit bread for her every day.

(135) (Three Daughters 55)

Ni ***gerdu*** *laoshi ninger* *ge* *bang.*
ni ger =du laoshi ninger ge bang
this house=DAT honest old:woman SG:INDEF N1:COP
In this house was an honest old woman.

(136) (Shalangguer's Story 17)

qini ***huayandu*** *baoba."*
qi =ni huayan=du bao -ba
2:SG=GEN garden=DAT go:down-1:PERF
(it) went down into your garden."

(137) (Monster Girl 24)

gan ***anadunang*** *kelijiang.*
gan ana =du =nang keli-jiang
3:SG mother=DAT=REFLPOSS say -N1:PERF
he said to his mother.

(138) (Three Daughters 29-31)

Banber ***kaidu*** *yitian* *"bang!"*
banber kai =du yi -tian bang
board wind=DAT one-day ONOM
[see below]

Three Daughters 30
"bang!"
bang
ONOM
[see next line]

Three Daughters 31
di *daogher saojiang* *bai.*
di daogher sao-jiang bai
QUOTE sound sit-N1:PERF EMPH
All day the board sounded "bang! bang!" like that in the wind.

We can further see examples of a dative of possesion (139) and of the alternate dative enclitic *=di* (140).

(139) (Filial Obedience 7)

Anadu *ergha guang* *bai.*
ana =du ergha guang bai
mother=DAT power N1:NEG:COP EMPH
Mother had no power (any more).

(140) (Human-bear 35)

gan zou ***luchudi*** *sao danang.*
gan zou luchu =di sao danang
3:SG thus rolling:stone=LOC sit after
he had sat on a rolling stone.

The description given so far applies to all dative and locative NPs except those involving the first and second person pronouns. As shown in chapter 3, these pronouns have special forms which appear in accusative and dative cases.

When one of these pronouns appears in dative case, dative postposition may be used, but is not required. The following two pairs of examples demonstrate the optionality of *=du* with these pronouns.

The first pair, showing the presence/absence of *=du* with the first person pronoun:

(141) (A Cow Mother 50)
kelieni ***nangda*** *hu."*
kelie =ni nangda hu
tongue=ACC 1:SG:DAT give
give me the tongue"

(142) (Sangbura 45)
"Qi ***nangdadu*** *dimeinang* *diger* *hu* *ma,*
qi nangda =du dimei=nang diger hu ma
2:SG:NOM 1:SG:DAT=DAT bread=REFLPOSS little:bit give PRT
"You give me a little of your bread,

The second pair, showing the same alternation with for the second person:

(143) (A Hired Farmhand 10)
Nige *luotini* *musi* *chuoruoghaku* ***qimaidu***
ni -ge luoti=ni musi chuoruo-gha -ku qimai =du
this-CL shoe =ACC wear break -CAUSE-IMPERF 2:SG:DAT=DAT

huguer yige hua."
huguer yi -ge hu -a
cow one-CL give-VOL
wear the shoes and when (you) break (them), I will give you a cow" (in payment).

(144) (Monkey 69)
Qimai *ti* *yang'huoni* *huni,*
qimai ti yang'huo=ni hu -ni
2:SG:DAT that match =ACC give-1:FUT
(She) will give you those matches,

Not only these personal pronouns, but also the demonstrative pronouns *ni* 'this' and *ti* 'that' have special dative forms. Each demonstrative has an allomorph with a final nasal consonant, which appears in dative case (and also in ablative case--see the next section). Examples are given in (145) and (146).

(145) (Sangbura 204)
dasini ***ningdu*** *suzu* *kerlikuni*
dasi =ni ning=du suzu kerli-ku -ni
1:PL:NOM=GEN this=DAT water want -IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR

daigai guang.
daigai guang
never N1:NEG:COP
(but) in this place of ours, there is never (anyone) who asks for water.

(146) (A Cow Mother 28)
yige *qigegha* *ya* ***tingdu*** *lai hulang.*
yi -ge qige-gha ya ting=du lai hu -lang
one-CL see -CAUSE PRT that=DAT NEG give-N1:IMPERF
kept showing some, but didn't give (any) to her.

Because of the wide range of semantic roles indicated by dative casemarking, it is possible, and not unusual, to have more than one dative argument in a single clause, as in (147) and (148). (In each sentence, the first dative postpositional phrase is in **bold** type, and the second is <u>underlined</u>.)

(147) (Monkey 87)
Gerdu *<u>chulerdunang</u>* *zhuangluotula,*
ger =du chuler =du =nang zhuangluo-tula
house=DAT kitchen:basket=DAT=REFLPOSS put:in -before
Before (he) put (the chopsticks) in his kitchen basket in his house,

(148) (Three Daughters 2-3)
Tiedundu,
tiedun=du
past =DAT
In the past,

Three Daughters 3
<u>nige laohandu</u> *sange* *aguer* *bang.*
nige laohan =du san -ge aguer bang
one old:man=DAT three-CL daughter N1:COP
an old man had three daughters.

The dative/locative postposition *=du* is descended from one of several forms identified by Poppe (1955:195-199) as dative suffixes. This particular form preserves the same phonological shape as was found in Written Mongolian *amidu* 'living' (cf. *amin* 'life'), and which Poppe (1955:196) identifies as "a derivational suffix" with an existential/locational basic sense "answering the question 'being where?'"

The whole set of Written Mongolian dative-locative suffixes given by Poppe (for various historical stages) includes: *-da*, *-du*, *-dur*, and *-a*.[15] The final form seems to have no reflex in Mangghuer.

There seems to be a reflex of the form *-da* in the 1st person dative pronoun *nangda/dangda*. However, I have not found any form resembling *-dur*; and it is not clear what relationship the alternate Mangghuer form *=di* has to these others, though it possibly is related.

If Poppe's (1955) statement is correct, then that Mangghuer speakers must have generalized the form *=du* to take over functions once performed by *-da, -dur* and *-a*; thereafter, *-dur* and *-a* were lost entirely and *-da* became restricted to only fossilized environments. Only the form *=du* remained fully productive as a casemarker.

9.2.4 Ablative Case

Ablative case is marked by the enclitic postposition *=sa*. This case marks semantic roles such as locational source, goal of asking, and distance from a place. It is also used to indicate comparison to a standard. Examples (149)-(151) show some uses of this casemarker, illustrating these three semantic roles.

(149) (Filial Obedience 53)

```
tiangeresa   honghuang ge       baoji          ri
tiangere=sa  honghuang ge       bao    -ji     ri
Heaven  =ABL phoenix   SG:INDEF go:down-IMPERF come

     danang cibangnang      yige   banla danang arong
     danang cibang=nang     yi -ge banla danang arong
     after  wing  =REFLPOSS one-CL flap  after  all:away

     xida gejiang    bai.
     xida ge-jiang   bai
     burn do-N1:PERF EMPH
a phoenix came down from Heaven, flapped her wings,
(and) burned away everything (that the older sons owned).
```

(150) (Filial Obedience 18)

```
gagasisanang                  kerlila    xijiang    bai.
gaga         -si=sa =nang     kerli-la   xi-jiang   bai
elder:brother-PL=ABL=REFLPOSS want -PURP go-N1:PERF EMPH
(he) went to ask his older brothers (for some food).
```

[15] Poppe (1955:199) hypothesizes that these originally had four different functions (**-da* as a locative, **-du* as a dative, **-dur* as **-du* plus a directive suffix *-r*, and **-a* as an illative), but reports that these had already fallen together semantically by the time of Middle Mongolian.

(151) (Sangbura 144)

```
"Dasini      ruangsa   kejiasangni
dasi    =ni  ruang=sa  kejia   -sang       -ni
1:PL:NOM=GEN place=ABL separate-PERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR

     qishili      merdu,
     qi   -shi-li mer =du
     seven-ten-li road=DAT
"In a place seventy li away from our place,
```

Ablative case also appears with nouns being compared to a standard, as in:

(152) (Sangbura 158)

```
Qini     ge       dasini        gesa          han   qiang
qi  =ni  ge       dasi    =ni   ge      =sa   han   qiang
2:SG=GEN SG:INDEF 1:PL:NOM=GEN SG:INDEF=ABL still better

     bang   bai."
     bang   bai
     N1:COP EMPH
Yours is even better than ours!"
```

In the preceding section we saw that the demonstratives *ni* 'this' and *ti* 'that' have allomorphs with a final nasal, which appear in dative case. Similarly, we find the ablative example:

(153) (Sangbura 129)

```
"Ningsa  kejiasangni                  ge
ning=sa  kejia   -sang       -ni      ge
this=ABL separate-PERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR SG:INDEF

     wushili     merdu,
     wu  -shi-li mer =du
     five-ten-li road=DAT
"In a place which is fifty li distant from here,
```

This form, when compared with *nindu* and *tindu*, leads us to expect the form *tin=sa*, meaning 'from there;' in fact, this morphological form does appear frequently, but not with pronominal usage. Rather, this has grammaticalized to become a sentence-initial discourse connective device, which was discussed in section 8.2. However, *ninsa* does not appear to have a similarly broad range of discourse functions, in the examples I have seen. Rather, *ninsa* seems to retain a more concrete referential function.

The ablative marker given by Poppe (1955:200) is *-ača* for Middle Mongolian. The author notes that the development of [č] → [s] "is an exceptional development," but that, nonetheless, the same development has occurred in the ablatives of nearly all the modern Mongolic languages. Poppe cites Huzhu

Mongghul as the only language to retain the affricate, but Qinggeertai (1988:162) gives *-sa* (with a fricative, rather than an affricate) for this form in Mongghul.

However, in an interesting study of sociolinguistic variation in Xining Chinese Dialect, Dede (1997) shows that this variety of Chinese has both [tɕia] and [sa] as ablative postpositions. Neither form can be traced to Chinese inheritance, so Dede concludes that "the Xining dialect's postposition almost certainly originates from Monguor" (1997:8). Dede's Monguor data represents the Huzhu Mongghul dialect.

Since both of the Xining Chinese forms apparently must have been borrowed, and since one of those does resemble the Mongolic form reconstructed by Poppe, it is possible that both forms recently co-existed in Mongghul, or that they continue to do so; this would provide one plausible explanation for both being concurrently borrowed into Xining Chinese.

Another possibility is that the Xining Chinese postposition [tɕia] represents an earlier borrowing, and that a later phonological change in Mongghul changed this form into [sa], which was then borrowed independently into Xining Chinese, at a later time. The two forms would then represent borrowings at different time depths.

However, as we saw in chapter 2, section 1.4.2, Mongolic affricates remained affricates in Mangghuer, splitting into a palatal and retroflex opposition. The Mongghul examples given in that discussion show that Mongghul, too, seems to have retained Mongolic affricates. So a recent change from [tɕia] to [sa] does not seem very likely in the Mongghul. It would be, as Poppe wrote, "exceptional."

These factors point to a different conclusion. The ablative form [sa] probably is not in fact descended from the Mongolic form *-ačă* given by Poppe (1955). Rather, [sa] must have had an independent origin.

Possibly, ancestors of these two phonetic forms coexisted already in Middle Mongolian, presumably with different functions; [sa] might later have been extended to a wider variety of contexts, replacing the reflexes of *-ačă*.

Another possibility is that the [sa] form represents a recent borrowing in all the Mongolic languages, which replaced the native Mongolic morpheme. Some potential support for this suggestion will appear in chapter 6, where I discuss the origins of the Mangghuer conditional marker, also pronounced [sa].

These are, of course, not the only possible solutions. Xining Chinese dialect might not have borrowed these forms directly from Mongghul to begin with. The number of strongly areal features in the region should suggest caution when attempting to identify origins of linguistic influence.

I will not attempt to judge among these various possibilities, or among other potential solutions, since there does not seem presently to be enough data to support firm conclusions. However, it does seem clear that modern Mongolic

ablative forms related to [sa] must have arisen independently of the ablative *-ačă* given by Poppe (1955).

9.2.5 Instrumental/Comitative Case

Primary marking of the instrumental/comitative case is with the enclitic postposition *=la*. There is an alternate form, *=tai*, which I have observed only in a few contexts. Both of these forms will be discussed in this section.

9.2.5.1 *=la*

The instrumental/comitative postposition *=la* appears with NPs which indicate an instrument by means of which an action is carried out, or an entity in whose acompaniment an action takes place.

This marker also has a special use as an indicator of collective action. This is described in chapter 3, section 2.6.2.2. This special function of *=la* serves to mark subjects, rather than obliques.

Here, we will see examples only of *=la* in oblique instrumental (154) and comitative (155) postpositional phrases.

(154) (Three Daughters 62)

Gansi ni ***tuosila*** *dimei chinajiang bai.*
gan -si ni tuosi=la dimei china-jiang bai
3:SG-PL this oil =INST bread cook -N1:PERF EMPH
They cooked bread with this oil.

(155) (Madage 115)

Madage ***chusaihang*** ***nigela*** *ger pudujiang.*
madage chu -saihang nige=la ger pudu -jiang
Madage most-beautiful one =INST house change-N1:PERF
Madage set up hous with the most beautiful one (and had a happy family all his life).

The instrumental/comitative *=la* is a reflex of the Common Mongolian comitative **-luɢa* (Poppe 1955:203). Its function as an instrumental marker apparently represents an extension from its origins as a comitative marker; Poppe (1955:201) describes an earlier instrumental suffix **-ɢar* or **-βar*, which seems to have been replaced, and to have disappeared, in Mangghuer.

9.2.5.2 *=tai*

There is a second comitative enclitic, *=tai*, which also descends from a Mongolic casemarker. This form appears quite rarely in my database, and may no longer be productive in Mangghuer, appearing only in a few lexicalized contexts. However, its appearance in (156), with the borrowed noun *wenti* 'problem,' suggests that it may in fact remain productive.

(156) (Shalangguer's Story 78)
ni cuduoruo ***wentitai*** *bang."*
ni cuduoruo wenti =tai bang
this inside problem=COM N1:COP
there are some problems in this" (Shalangguer said).

Sometimes *=tai* functions to attribute a property to a head noun. In this function, it appears to behave like a genitive marker, making one noun into a modifier of another. This resembles some functions of the genitive marker (see 9.2.7, below). This is exemplified in (157).

(157) (Sangbura 3)
dasini ***nasitai*** *kongsi keliku,*
dasi =ni nasi=tai kong -si keli-ku
1:PL:NOM=GEN age =COM person-PL say -IMPERF
as our old people tell it,

Poppe (1955:204) gives *-taj* as a derivational suffix, used to make forms meaning 'one who has X,' as in: *mori-taj* 'one who has a horse' (*mori* 'horse'). Poppe says that this form is used as a comitative in 'the Modern Mongolian languages,' but does not suggest an etymological origin.

9.2.6 Directional Case

The directional case rarely appears, and is restricted to just marking nouns referring to a place towards which motion is progressing. The enclitic is *=ji*. Thus:

(158) (Qing Yongzhang)

bi	*beijing=ji*	*xi-la*	*bi*
1:SG:NOM	B.=DIR	go-IMPERF	1:COP

我往北京走
I'm walking (going) towards Beijing.

(159) (Qing Yongzhang)

bi	*ger=ji*	*xi-la*	*bi*
1:SG:NOM	house=DIR	go-IMPERF	1:COP

我往家里走
I'm walking towards home.

Qingge'ertai (1988:169) discusses a probable cognate case marker in Huzhu Mongghul, which appears in the same set of contexts. Both this form and the Mangghuer one may possibly be related to one which Poppe (1955:206) discusses under the label *terminative case*. This has reflexes like Ordos Mongolian *-tsē* and Khalkha *-tsā*. However, these forms are reported to be used only to indicate the height of an object, so the connection with Mangghuer *=ji* is not a very strong possibility.

Other Mongolic languages have directional cases, but most of the forms are not phonetically similar to the Mangghuer form. Poppe (1955:205) gives *-ru* ~ *-lu* for some modern Mongolian dialects, and Field (1997) also reports *-ru* for Santa. No cognate of this form seems to exist in Mangghuer.

9.2.7 Genitive Case

Genitive case indicates possession. It differs from other casemarkers, in that it indicates a relationship between two nouns, whereas the other cases all indicate relations between a noun and the action of a verb.

Genitive postpositional phrases are formed with the enclitic *=ni*, which identifies a noun as the possessor of the noun which follows the postpostion. In (160), *qini burerni kelieni* contains two genitive modifiers: ***qi=ni*** 'you=GEN' modifies *burer* 'calf,' showing that the person being addresses is the owner of the calf; *burer=ni* 'calf=GEN' modifies *kelie* 'tongue,' indicating that the calf is the owner of the tongue being discussed.

(160) (Two Wives 54)
"Bi ***qini*** *burerni kelieni lai disa,*
bi qi =ni burer=ni kelie =ni lai di -sa
1:SG:NOM 2:SG=GEN calf =GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
"If I do not eat your calf's tongue,

All other case markers discussed in this section are referred to as postpostional enclitics, because they are bound to the final word of a noun phrase, regardless of that word's lexical category. I have not seen any examples of a genitive marker appearing with a noun phrase whose final element is not a noun,

but since all other casemarkers do seem to behave as enclitic postpositions, I have decided to treat the genitive marker similarly.

However, there is also a significant phonological difference between the genitive case marker and the other case markers of Mangghuer. Whereas all the others receive word-final stress, making them clearly phonologically bound to a preceding lexical root, the genitive marker does not receive stress. Rather, the final syllable of the preceding word receives word-final stress, and the genitive marker remains unstressed. This difference is detailed in chapter 2, section 3.2.

In chapter 3, we saw that there is a special genitive pronoun form for first person singular -- *muni*. The apparent root *mu-* does not appear in any other context. Both second and third person genitive pronouns, however, simply add the genitive enclitic *=ni* to the nominative root of the pronoun, producing *qi=ni* 'you=GEN' and *gan=ni* 's/he=GEN.' Plural genitive pronouns are similarly formed of just the nominative root and the genitive enclitic.

In 9.2.2, above, I pointed out that Poppe (1955:187-94) posits a parallel set of changes affecting the genitive and accusative case markers in Mongolic, since these "have converged in some Mongolian languages." While it is true that the accusative and genitive in Mangghuer consist of the same segmental phonemes, they have, as I have noted, differing stress patterns; both are phonologically bound, but the accusative *=ni* bears stress, while the genitive *=ni* does not. Poppe sees both as having arisen from different Mongolic suffixes; but the stress difference in Mangghuer suggests that their etymological sources must be somewhat different, as well. I cannot at present account for this difference, but some account will need to be made, suggesting why the two forms have this important phonological difference.

9.3 Possessive Enclitics

In chapter 3, section 2.1, we outlined the use of possessive noun phrases within another NP. A second device for indicating possession is the two possessive enclitics, *=nang* and *=ni*. The former is a reflexive possessive form, translating roughly "one's own." The latter enclitic is the logical counterpart; it indicates that something is possessed by someone else, and may be translated 'his' or 'her,' depending on the context.

The syntactic status of these enclitics is interesting. In the following discussion, we will see that both appear following the final word of a noun phrase or a postpositional phrase. In chapter 2, section 3.2.2, we saw that both of these forms are phonologically bound to whatever word precedes them.

After characterizing the uses of each of these forms, in sections 9.3.1 and 9.3.2, I will return to the topic of their syntactic status in 9.3.3.

9.3.1 Reflexive Possessive *=nang*

The reflexive possessive enclitic *=nang* appears with NPs and postpositional phrases. Most frequently, it is found with accusatives and datives, but it can appear with any casemarking, except accusative, as well as with nominative case NPs.

When an accusative NP bears the *=nang* enclitic, the accusative case postposition *=ni* never appears. Thus, we find *cai=ni* 'food=ACC' in (161) and *cai=nang* 'food=REFLPOSS' in (162). The latter, appearing with *=nang*, cannot also have the accusative *=ni*.

(161) (Filial Obedience 43)

```
Tingsa ninger    cainі    diser    diser    ganni
tingsa ninger    cai =ni  di -ser  di -ser  gan -ni
later  old:woman food=ACC eat-PROG eat-PROG 3:SG=GEN

     ghadu    bulaini  khuru  rijiang     bai.
     gha =du  bulai=ni khuru  ri  -jiang  bai
     bowl=DAT child=GEN finger come-N1:PERF EMPH
Later as the old woman was eating and eating (her) food, the
boy's finger came in her bowl.
```

(162) (Stupid Boy 25)

```
cainang       diser    jiaodu     sher
cai =nang     di -ser  jiao  =du  sher
food=REFLPOSS eat-PROG cellar=DAT urinate

     xighajiang.
     xi-gha  -jiang
     go-CAUSE-N1:PERF
eating their food, (they) urinated into the cellar.
```

However, *=nang* does co-occur with postpositional phrases expressing other grammatical cases. Normally, *=nang* follows the enclitic casemarker. Thus, consider (163)-(165).

(163) (Sangbura 323)

```
Jiarensidunang          keliji,
jiaren -si=du =nang     keli-ji
servant-PL=DAT=REFLPOSS say -IMPERF
(He) said to his servants,
```

(164) (A Cow Mother 48)

Huguer ***kelielanang*** *duer danang aguerni*
huguer kelie =la =nang duer danang aguer =ni
cow tongue=INST=REFLPOSS lick after daughter=GEN

suzuni tao sangmula hu rilang.
suzu=ni tao sangmula hu ri -lang
hair=ACC drive comb give come-N1:IMPERF
Cow licked with her tongue and combed the girl's hair.

(165) (Sangbura 266)

Meghesanang *zhaler kong sanwushige*
meghe =sa =nang zhaler kong san -wu -shi-ge
village=ABL=REFLPOSS strong person three-five-ten-CL

daoda.
daoda
call
Call thirty to fifty strong young men from your village.

The reflexive possessive enclitic may also appear on nominative case sentential subjects. Here it seems to function as a sort of emphatic marker, like the English 'we ourselves.' This rather uncommon construction (there are only about half a dozen in the folktales) is illustrated in (166)-(168):

(166) (Madage 58)

dasinang *aghadiao tani yaoa."*
dasi =nang aghadiao tani yao-a
1:PL:NOM=REFLPOSS friend recognize go -VOL
let's become friends and go." (Madage said).

(167) (Sangbura 97)

Ghuerluonang *ning ge saojiang.*
ghuer=luo =nang ning ge sao-jiang
two =COLL=REFLPOSS this do sit-N1:PERF
So the two stayed (there).

(168) (Sangbura 111)

Dajianang *saojiang,*
dajia =nang sao-jiang
everyone=REFLPOSS sit-N1:PERF
They all sat,

In all of the examples cited thus far, *=nang* has referred back to the subject of the sentence as possessor. However, it is possible for this form to refer to a non-subject; this occurs when *=nang* appears on an NP containing a genitive modifier which is not coreferential with the sentential subject, as in:

(169) (Shalangguer's Story 41)

mula aguer anani ***gerdunang***
mula aguer ana =ni ger =du =nang
small daughter mother=GEN house=DAT=REFLPOSS

rijiang.
ri -jiang
come-N1:PERF
Younger Daughter came to her mother's home.

Here, *=nang* refers to the genitive NP *ana* 'mother' as the reflexive possessor of the house, although *ana* is not the subject of the sentence.

9.2.2 Non-reflexive Possessive *=ni*

When an entity is possessed by someone other than the sentential subject, it may be marked with the enclitic *=ni*, the indicator of 'possession by another.' This marker does not appear on direct objects, so it never co-occurs with the accusative postposition *=ni*. However, it does appear with other casemarking postpositions, and also with subjects. In fact, this form is most commonly found on grammatical subjects.[16]

The following examples show some uses of this form.

(170) (Three Daughters 9)

yige aguerni *erseghejiang bai.*
yi -ge aguer =ni erseghe-jiang bai
one-CL daughter=POSS ask -N1:PERF EMPH
one daughter of his asked.

(171) (Shalangguer's Story 59)

Ajiani *diaonang suzudu*
ajia =ni diao =nang suzu =du
elder:sister=POSS younger:sibling=REFLPOSS water=DAT

tuerku xighajiang bai.
tuer-ku xi-gha -jiang bai
push-IMPERF go-CAUSE-N1:PERF EMPH
her elder sister pushed her own younger sister into the water.

[16] I have not seen any example in which *=ni* refers to a plural possessor, but this is probably possible. Several of the examples in 9.3.1, above, show that this is possible for the reflexive possessive marker *=nang*.

(172) (Sangbura 21)

Diaoduni *han mula nughuai yige*
diao =du =ni han mula nughuai yi -ge
younger:sibling=DAT=POSS also small dog one-CL

bang,
bang
N1:COP
His younger brother also had a small dog,

(173) (Monkey 74)

Chulersani *shuerni bari*
chuler =sa =ni shuer =ni bari
kitchen:basket=ABL=POSS chopsticks=ACC take

yigejier yaoku a yige kerla."
yi -ge-jier yao-ku a yi -ge kerla
one-CL-short:distance go -IMPERF also one-CL throw
Take the chopsticks from her kitchen basket and, one by one, throw (them) after walking a short distance."

9.3.3 Optionality, Positioning and Syntactic Status

Neither *=nang* nor *=ni* is required in any context. Both are optional means of indicating possession, and both have periphrastic equivalents, using possessive pronouns. Thus, in (174), the reflexive possessive relationship is indicated by the word *jie=ni* 'self=GEN' ('one's own'), rather than the possessive enclitic *=nang*.

(174) (Nine-headed Ghost 40)

gan ***jieni*** *kuerganni khuer duoruo kebegheni*
gan jie=ni kuergan=ni khuer duoruo kebeghe =ni
3:SG self=GEN husband=GEN foot under wheat:bran=ACC

sighajiang bai.
sigha -jiang bai
spread-N1:PERF EMPH
(and) she spread wheat bran under (where) her husband's feet (would be).

Similarly, we can contrast the following two examples, which show that *ganni gaga* 'her brother' and *gaga=ni* 'brother=his' are semantically equivalent. (Recall that gender is not marked in Mangghuer. The translations 'her' and 'his' depend on the context.)

(175) (Monster Girl 62)

ganni ***gaga*** *keliji,*
gan =ni gaga keli-ji
3:SG=GEN elder:brother say -IMPERF
her brother said,

(176) (Sangbura 12)

Gagani kelijiang.
gaga =ni keli-jiang
elder:brother=POSS say -N1:PERF
his elder brother said.

In fact, either *=nang* or *=ni* may be semantically redundant, when they appear with NPs containing lexical genitive modifiers. Thus, (177) and (178) each contain a possessive enclitic *and* its periphrastic equivalent.

(177) (A Cow Mother 23)

khuaitu ana ***jieni*** ***aguerdunang*** *mazha kaker*
khuaitu ana jie=ni aguer =du =nang mazha kaker
step mother self=GEN daughter=DAT=REFLPOSS residue cake

barigha Huguer danglaghala xijiang,
bari-gha huguer dangla-gha -la xi-jiang
take-CAUSE cow herd -CAUSE-PURP go-N1:PERF
the stepmother had her own daughter carry residue cakes and go to pasture Cow,

(178) (Sangbura 178)

ganni ***Diaoni*** *yigua chenli gejiang.*
gan =ni diao =ni yigua chenli ge-jiang
3:SG=GEN younger:sibling=POSS totally hear do-N1:PERF
(but) his younger brother overheard everything.

Some comment regarding the relative order of these clitics and the elements of noun phrases and postpositional phrases is called for.

In the examples given in this and the preceding two sections, we have seen that both *=nang* and *=ni* appear following either an enclitic postposition or the final element in a noun phrase. However, there is some variation in the syntactic behavior of these forms.

Examples (179) and (180) show that *=nang* may actually appear either before or after the singular indefinite marker *ge*, when this postnominal element appears within a noun phrase.

(179) (Three Daughters 69)

Ting ge aguer gan ***puzighuonang*** =nang
ting ge aguer gan puzighuo =nang
that do daughter 3:SG deep:fried:dough:stick=REFLPOSS

ge *kerlaji* *xighajiang.*
ge kerla-ji xi-gha -jiang
SG:INDEF throw-IMPERF go-CAUSE-N1:PERF
Then (one) daughter she threw one of her deep fried dough sticks (to him).

(180) (Sangbura 51)

qi xian nughuaidunang ***nudu***
qi xian nughuai=du =nang nudu
2:SG:NOM first dog =DAT=REFLPOSS eye

genang *waji hu a,*
ge =nang waji hu a
SG:INDEF=REFLPOSS dig give PRT
you first dig out one of your eyes for your dog,

Similarly, for *=ni*, we may contrast (181) and (182), which show that this enclitic may appear either before or after a postpositional enclitic.

(181) (Stupid Boy 30)

Bierinidu *banhua guang ma,*
bieri=ni =du banhua guang ma
wife =POSS=DAT method N1:NEG:COP PRT
Now his wife had no recourse,

(182) (Sangbura 21)

Diaoduni *han mula nughuai yige*
diao =du =ni han mula nughuai yi -ge
younger:sibling=DAT=POSS also small dog one-CL

bang,
bang
N1:COP
His younger brother also had a small dog,

So it appears that the placement of *=nang* and *=ni* is subject to some variation, with respect to the phrases with which they co-occur. Overwhelmingly, however, the most common pattern is for the possessive enclitics to appear after all NP elements, as well as after a casemarking postposition, when one is present.

What, then, is the syntactic status of these possessive forms? They cannot be treated as elements within a noun phrase, since they usually appear after postpositions, and therefore outside of the NP itself, when the NP is contained in a postpositional phrase.

Similarly, since *=nang* and *=ni* appear together with postpositions, they do not themselves seem to be postpositions. We can also note that, while Mangghuer postpositions are used to mark NPs with respect to their external grammatical relations, the possessive enclitics do not seem to indicate any external relations of an NP or PP with which they appear. Rather, they are optional markers of possession, just as prenominal possessive NPs are, when they are present within a noun phrase.

I conclude, then, that the possessive enclitics are not constituents of either NPs or PPs.

It also seems that these two items do not exhibit syntactic behavior like that of any other syntactic category which we have discussed in this chapter. Their position is defined relative to an NP or a PP, unlike any of the other classes of words which we have seen.

Thus, the possessive enclitics do not belong to any of the syntactic categories which we have seen. Rather, these two items constitute a separate category altogether, to which no other Mangghuer words belong. Since the category apparently contains only these two items, we can label it Possessive Enclitics.

9.4 Other Postpositional Phrases

In addition to its postpositional case enclitics (section 9.2), Mangghuer has another set of postpositions which are phonologically independent words. These also combine with noun phrases to form postpositional phrases which are syntactically obliques.

A list of the unbound postpositions I have found thus far is given in (183):

(183)

a	*duoruo*	under
b	*cuduoruo*	inside[17]
c	*dunda*	in
d	*diere*	on
e	*khuonuo*	behind, after
f	*tada*	near
g	*shige*	like

Most of these postpositions function to indicate something about the location of the noun phrase they combine with. The following examples show how

[17] *duoruo* and *cuduoruo* are probably etymologically related forms, and may be just variants of one another.

some of these forms are used to construct postpositional phrases. In each example, the postpositional phrase is in bold type.

(184) (Monkey 100)
ni ***mersi duoruo*** *ruo* *yaoba."*
ni mersi duoruo ruo yao-ba
this ice under enter go -1:PERF
this one went under the ice" (the person said).

(185) (Monkey 54)
Cai dunda *bulaini* *khuru* *rijiang.*
cai dunda bulai=ni khuru ri -jiang
food in child=GEN finger come-N1:PERF
In the food the boy's fingers came.

(186) (Rabbit's Trick 6)
Du *gesi* ***yige*** ***wula*** ***diere*** *saoser* *bang*
du gesi yi -ge wula diere sao-ser bang
now 3:PL:NOM one-SG:INDEF mountain on sit-PROG N1:COP

ma,
ma
PRT
Now they were sitting on a mountain,

(187) (Shalangguer's Story 8)
Ger ***khuonuo*** *qijighe yipuda* *bang* *bai.*
ger khuonuo qijighe yi -puda bang bai
house back flower one-CL N1:COP EMPH
Behind the house was a bunch of flowers.

(188) (Madage 51)
Yaoji ***yige*** ***beghe tada*** *kuerjiang.*
yao-ji yi -ge beghe tada kuer -jiang
go -IMPERF one-CL tree near arrive-N1:PERF
(He) walked until he came near a tree.

In terms of their external syntactic relations, these postpositional phrases are equivalent to those those discussed under the heading of casemarking in section 9.2. Examples (189) and (190) show that the dative enclitic postposition *=du* and the postposition *cuduoruo* 'inside' have the same function: to mark an NP as an oblique.

(189) (Qing Yongzhang)
gan *ti* *ger=du* *ruo-jiang*
3sg that house=DAT enter-N1:PERF
她进了那个房子
s/he went into that house

(190) (Qing Yongzhang)
gan *ti* *ger* *cuduoruo* *ruo-jiang*
3sg that house inside enter-N1:PERF
她进了那个房子
s/he went into that house

These locational postpositions are themselves nouns, and thus, may also behave in any syntactic way that other nouns do. Example (191) shows that *duoruo* can be marked with the ablative postposition, and (192) shows that *khuonuo* can appear as part of a noun compound.

(191) (Madage 62)
tashi ge ***duoruosa*** *huni* *gherlang.*
tashi ge duoruo=sa huni gher -lang
stone SG:INDEF under =ABL smoke go:out-N1:IMPERF
(they saw) smoke coming out from under a stone.

(192) (A Hired Farmhand 83)
"Du qi ***ti*** ***khuonuo yanzidu*** *wujila* *xi."*
du qi ti khuonuo yanzi=du wuji -la xi
now 2:SG:NOM that back yard =DAT take:note-PURP go
"Now you go look in that backyard."

It may be that other nouns expressing locational concepts could also be used as postpositions.

One Mangghuer postposition, *shige* 'like,' behaves quite differently from what we have seen so far. It does not have locational meaning, and does not seem to have noun-like behavior. This postposition is exemplified in (193):

(193) (Madage 7)
Ganni *ti* *yikuer* *terghai luchu* ***shige***
gan =ni ti yi -kuer terghai luchu shige
3:SG=GEN that one-CL head rolling:stone like

berjiang.
ber -jiang
become-N1:PERF
That one (millet) head of hers became (as big) as a rolling stone.

This postposition can also be used within a noun phrase, to make one noun into a modifier of another. This is illustrated in (194).

(194) (Sangbura 152)

ti	*duoruosa*	***poluo***	***shige***	***laihama***	*ge*
ti	duoruo=sa	poluo	shige	laihama	ge
that	under =ABL	shallow:basket	like	frog	SG:INDEF

gherji	*rikuniang.*
gher -ji	ri -kuniang
go:out-IMPERF	come-N1:FUT

a frog as big as a shallow basket will come out from under them.

So the postposition *shige* 'like' exhibits a different set of syntactic behaviors than do other postpositions. This suggests that its historical development may have been along different paths than the other postpositions have travelled. The second syllable, *ge*, might quite likely be the derivational verb ending mentioned in 1.1, above. However, I cannot presently identify any potential etymological source of the first syllable, so this suggestion cannot be advanced very strongly.

9.5 Position and Function of Oblique NPs

In the preceding sections, we have seen two ways of marking oblique noun phrases. Both of these involve creating postpositional phrases: with the postpositional case enclitics (section 9.2); or with relational nouns which also serve as locational postpositions (9.4).

We have also noted that Mangghuer has SOV basic word order. In this section, we take up the question of how oblique arguments fit into this basic clause structure, as well as a more detailed examination of the functions for which obliques are used.

First of all, we need to note that obliques have some freedom of movement within the clause. The positions which we will see in this discussion thus represent tendencies, rather than rules, for the placement of obliques. In the next section, the issue of direct object fronting will be discussed; this discussion will also help to clarify some of the pragmatic concerns which motivate variation in the placement of obliques.

9.5.1 Locative Obliques

Locative obliques are usually expressed with postpositional phrases, either with the dative/locative enclitic *=du*, or with one of the relational postpositions listed in (183), above.

A locative oblique has some freedom of movement within its clause. In elicitation, Qing Yongzhang accepted all of the following possible word orders:

(195) (Qing Yongzhang)

a	***ger***	***cuduoruo***	*bi*	*qighuo=la*	*kung=ni*	*ala-ba*
	house	inside	1sg	knife =INST	person =ACC	kill- 1:PERF

or:

b	*bi*	***ger***	***cuduoruo***	*qighuola*	*kungni*	*alaba*
c	*bi*	*qighuola*	***ger***	***cuduoruo***	*kungni*	*alaba*
d	*bi*	*qighuola*	*kungni*	***ger***	***cuduoruo***	*alaba*

I killed a person with a knife in the house.

So the locative oblique *ger cuduoruo* 'in the house' can be placed in any position, with respect to other constituents, except that it cannot follow the verb.

Of these possible orders, though, (195b) seemed to be the most neutral. This was the form Mr. Qing produced first, before he was asked about possible rearrangements.

Most locative obliques in the folktales do, in fact, appear between the subject and the verb. Let us consider three examples, which illustrate some common patterns:

(196) (Nine-headed Ghost 43)

Jiutou	*Yaomao*	***gerdu***	*ruoji*	*riku,*
jiutou	yaomao	ger =du	ruo -ji	ri -ku
nine:head ghost		house=DAT	enter-IMPERF	come-IMPERF

When Nine-headed Ghost entered the house,

(197) (Shalangguer's Story 86)

Ni	*muni*	*bierini*	***suzudu***	*tuerku*
ni	muni	bieri=ni	suzu =du	tuer-ku
this	1:SG:GEN	wife =ACC	water=DAT	push-IMPERF

baogha		*xighajiang."*
bao	-gha	xi-gha -jiang
go:down-CAUSE		go-CAUSE-N1:PERF

When this pushed my wife into the water, (it) made her go down" (he thought).

(198) (Nine-headed Ghost 39)

Ti *shinagu gan* ***diamangdunang*** *Jiutou*
ti shinagu gan diamang=du =nang jiutou
that woman 3:SG door =DAT=REFLPOSS nine:head

Yaomaoni ***khuer duoruo*** *pijigheni* *sighajiang,*
yaomao=ni khuer duoruo pijighe=ni sigha -jiang
ghost =GEN foot under bean =ACC spread-N1:PERF
That woman, she spread beans under (where) Nine-headed Ghost's feet (would be) at her door,

Comparing (197) and (198), we see that a locative oblique (in bold) may appear either before or after an accusative argument (underlined). The pattern of (198) is most common, with the accusative argument generally appearing closest to the verb.

Example (198) also illustrates the cooccurrence of two locative obliques in the same clause. *Diamangdunang* 'at her own door' is a locative marked with the dative/locative enclitic *=du*, while *Jiutou Yaomaoni kuer duoruo* 'under the Nine-headed Ghost's feet' appears with the postposition *duoruo*.

All three examples (196)-(198) have in common the fact that the location expressed is one towards which the action of the verb moves. Most location expressions in the folktales are of this type. However, there are other locative obliques which are used by narrators to establish the location in which the action of a clause takes place; these expressions provide some aspect of the context in which an event occurs.

Locative expressions of this second type often appear in sentence-initial position. Example (199) illustrates this, as does (200).

(199) (Monkey 89-90)

Merdu,
mer =du
road=DAT
On the way,

Monkey 90
yigejian *kong* *tiemie ge* *taoser* *bang.*
yi -ge-jian kong tiemie ge tao -ser bang
one-CL-person person camel SG:INDEF drive-PROG N1:COP
a person was driving a camel.

(200) (Monkey 54)

Cai ***dunda*** *bulaini* *khuru* *rijiang.*
cai dunda bulai=ni khuru ri -jiang
food in child=GEN finger come-N1:PERF
In the food the boy's fingers came.

Once again, these examples show that locative expressions with either type of postposition may appear in this function. In both instances, the narrator asserts that a particular event occurred within the context of the location stated at the outset.

The semantic difference between this latter sort of locative oblique and the more common type described above might be characterized as a difference between locations *within which an event occurs* and those *into which an event moves*.

It is not necessary for a location to be a physical one. The next example illustrates a metaphorical "location," which in fact is an event, rather than a physical place. Here, too, the locative oblique sets the context in which an event occurs.

(201) (Hired Farmhand 18)

ganni ***jiaodongdu*** *gan* *yige* *laohan* *kelilang,*
gan =ni jiaodong=du gan yi -ge laohan keli-lang
3:SG=GEN dream =DAT 3:SG one-CL old:man say -N1:IMPERF
in his dream he, an old man said,

It bears emphasizing that it is only a general tendency for this latter type of locative oblique to appear sentence-initially. One final example, (202), shows that the physical context within which an event occurs may also appear after the clausal subject.

(202) (The Rabbit Judge 20)

"Bi *yigua* ***dongdu*** *shijitian* *naila,*
bi yigua dong=du shi-ji -tian naila
1:SG:NOM totally hole=DAT ten-several-day be.hungry
"I have been hungry for ten to twenty days in the hole,

A special type of locative oblique is that which appears in possessive, locational and existential copular clauses. In these clauses, the locative expression nearly always appears first. This is quite parallel to what we have just observed. For a locational or existential clause, the location is the context within which some entity is asserted to exist. Metaphorically, a possessor is also treated as a location: it is in the context of that location that the possessed item exists.

Thus, in (203), it is *within the house* that the old woman is asserted to exist. In (204), it is *in the mother's possession* that no course of action (*argha*) exists.

(203) (Three Daughters 55)

```
Ni    gerdu      laoshi ninger    ge        bang.
ni    ger  =du   laoshi ninger    ge        bang
this house=DAT honest old:woman SG:INDEF N1:COP
In this house was an honest old woman.
```

(204) (Filial Obedience 7)

```
Anadu       ergha guang       bai.
ana   =du   ergha guang       bai
mother=DAT power N1:NEG:COP EMPH
Mother had no power (any more).
```

9.5.2 Time Obliques

Like locative obliques, time obliques tend to appear in different positions, depending on their semantic function. We will see two basic types of time obliques in this section.

The majority of the time obliques in the folktales function to set the temporal context in which actions occur. Thus, we might expect them to appear in sentence-initial position, since that would make their behavior parallel to that of the locative obliques we saw in the last section. And in fact, many time obliques do appear in this position.

Seven of the fifteen folktales begin with the expression *tiedongdu* 'in the past,' and two others start with the expression *tiker shijiedu*, which has more or less the same semantic value. In each case, these expressions appear in initial position in their respective clauses, setting the temporal context. This is illustrated in example (205).

(205) (Shalangguer's Story 2-3)

```
Tiedundu,
tiedun=du
past  =DAT
In the past,

Shalangguer's Story 3
yige   laohandu    aguer     liangge  bang.
yi -ge laohan =du  aguer     liang-ge bang
one-CL old:man=DAT daughter two  -CL N1:COP
an old man had two daughters.
```

Sentence-initial position is the most common place for time obliques like this to appear.

In some instances, time obliques with the dative/locative enclitic *=du* appear in second position in their clauses. As we saw in sections 6 and 8, above, this position is one in which a number of other clausal modifiers appear, as well.

An example of this appears in (206), where the date *eryue'er=du* 'on the second day of the second month' appears following the subject NP *ganni shinagu* 'his wife.'

(206) (Nine-headed Ghost 2)

```
Ganni     shinagu eryueerdu          mamei chaokekuniang
gan =ni   shinagu er -yue  -er =du   mamei chaoke-kuniang
3:SG=GEN woman    two-month-two=DAT wheat fry   -N1:FUT

      bai.
      bai
      EMPH
His wife wanted to roast wheat on the second day of the
second lunar month.
```

It is rare, however, for time obliques with the dative/locative enclitic to appear in second position. Most commonly, they are clause initial.

A second type of time oblique is a set of words which appear without any casemarking. These terms, which are unambiguously temporal in meaning, do not require postpostions to indicate their oblique status, and have a relatively greater degree of freedom of movement.

The lexical time obliques and which I have so far identified are:

(207) Lexical Time Obliques

a	*du*	'now'
b	*jiaoduer*	'every day'
c	*niaoduer*	'today'
d	*mughashi*	'tomorrow'
e	*niaoshulian*	'tonight'
f	*chugushulian*	'yesterday night'
g	*yitian nige*[18]	'one day'

Consider examples (208) and (209). These show that *du* 'now' may appear in either first or second position in its clause.

(208) (Sangbura 365)

```
Du  dasi     jigela          nini     khuba  digha."
du  dasi     ji     -ge=la   ni  =ni  khuba  di -gha
now 1:PL:NOM several-CL=COLL this=ACC divide eat-CAUSE
Now let's the several of us divide and eat this one."
```

[18] This is actually a noun phrase, but it seems to behave as a lexicalized expression. It is a borrowing from Chinese.

(209) (Nine-headed Ghost 41)

Gan ghula ***du*** *Jiutou Yaomaoni pegheji*
gan ghu=la du jiutou yaomao=ni peghe-ji
3:SG two=COLL now nine:head ghost =ACC hit -IMPERF

alakuniang bai.
ala -kuniang bai
kill-N1:FUT EMPH
Now the two of them would beat Nine-headed Ghost to death.

Most often, *du* 'now' is found in clause-initial postion; (209) is the only example in my database of its second position placement.

Other items listed in (207) tend to appear in second position, but may occasionally be found at the beginning of a clause. *Niaoduer* 'today' is one of these words. Example (210) shows its usual position; (211) is the only example in the folktales of *niaoduer* appearing clause-initially.

(210) (Stupid Boy 7)

"Bi ***niaoduer*** *xi'a.*
bi niaoduer xi-a
1:SG:NOM today go-VOL
"I will go (to my parents' home) today.

(211) (Madage 82)

niaoduer *yang kong bajiaji geji?"*
niaoduer yang kong bajia -ji ge-ji
today what person prepare-IMPERF do-IMPERF
what person prepared (the banquet) today?" (they asked).

Neither *du* 'now' nor *niaoduer* 'today' ever appears with the dative/locative enclitic *=du*,[19] and the same is true for all the words listed in (207).

There is one further subtype of the time oblique expressions which never require postpositional marking. This is expressions which tell the length of time during which an event continues to take place. These appear much closer to the verb, usually being placed immediately before it. Such expressions are highly relevant to the semantics of the verb, since they qualify the length of its occurrence. Therefore, it is not surprising that they should appear close to it. Examples are given in (212) and (213):

[19] The fact that *du* 'now' does not occur with the homophonous dative/locative enclitic postposition might be due to haplology. The fact that these two forms are homophonous to begin with is due to historical accident. The history of the dative/locative *=du* is outlined in 9.2.3, above. The word *du* 'now' comes from an independent source. Other Mongolic languages have cognate forms: Khalkha *odoo* (Kullman and Tserenpil 1996:230); Tongren Monguor *ede* (Chen ed. 1986:275).

(212) (The Rabbit Judge 20)

"Bi yigua dongdu ***shijitian*** *naila,*
bi yigua dong=du shi-ji -tian naila
1:SG:NOM totally hole=DAT ten-several-day be.hungry
"I have been hungry for ten to twenty days in the hole,

(213) (A Hired Farmhand 31)

"Tingsa bi qimaidu ***sanshinian*** *weilie*
tingsa bi qimai =du san -shi-nian weilie
then 1:SG:NOM 2:SG:DAT=DAT three-ten-year work

geghajiang ma,
ge-gha -jiang ma
do-CAUSE-N1:PERF PRT
"Then, I worked for you for thirty years,

Time obliques of this third type, like those of the second type discussed above, do not bear morphological marking to indicate their oblique status. Rather, listeners rely on syntactic position and semantics to identify their function.

I mentioned above the phrase *tiker shijiedu* 'in the past,' which appears at the beginning of two folktales. Other expressions can also be constructed using the Chinese borrowing *shijie* 'time' (时节) as head of a temporal NP. Time obliques of this sort sometimes appear with the dative/locative enclitic *=du*, and sometimes appear without *=du*; these two possibilities are illustrated in (214), where *shijie* is modified by a relative clause, and (215), which contains a less complex NP.

(214) (The Rabbit Judge 39)

Gan ***nukuangdu*** ***biku*** ***shijiedu*** *yaji*
gan nukuang=du bi -ku shijie=du ya =ji
3:SG hole =DAT 1:COP-IMPERF:NOMLZR time =DAT what=DIR

yaji nangda dayinglaba."
ya =ji nangda dayingla-ba
what=DIR 1:SG:DAT promise -1:PERF
At the time when it was in the hole, (it) promised me this and that."

(215) (Rabbit's Trick 12)

ni ***shijie*** *yige huashi nuqiji rijiang bai,*
ni shijie yi -ge huashi nuqi-ji ri -jiang bai
this time one-CL fashi pass-IMPERF come-N1:PERF EMPH
(at) this time a fashi came passing by,

The division of time obliques into two major categories has been based on the morphosyntactic criterion of whether or not these expressions appear with postpositions, explicitly marking them as obliques. The expressions constructed with *shijie* 'time' show that this distinction is not absolute. However, since I have

not observed variation of this sort with many forms other than *shijie*, I think this is generally a useful typology of time obliques.

However, if we look at the time expressions from a semantic point of view, a different, two-way distinction emerges.

In the discussion of locative obliques, we saw that these displayed two different characterstic syntactic behaviors, depending on their semantics. The basic distinction there was between expressions of a location within which an event occurs and expressions of a location into which an event moves. The time obliques described in this section may be seen as having a similar semantic split: here, the distinction is between the *context in time when an event occurs* and the *length of time during which an event lasts*. Expressions which have *context in time* semantics (the first two types discussed in this section) tend to appear near the beginning of a clause, while expressions with *length of time* semantics (the third type discussed here) tend to appear just before the verb.

Thus, a semantically-based typology of time obliques also correlates with generalizations about syntactic behavior.

9.5.3 Other Oblique Postpositional Phrases

This final group of obliques consist of PPs expressing instrumental/comitative, ablative, and directive case obliques. Also included here are dative/locative PPs referring to benefactives, malefactives, and causees. All of these obliques seem to exhibit similar syntactic behavior, although in some instances I have not seen very many examples.

Normally, any of these obliques appear following the clausal subject, if the subject is overtly expressed. Thus:

(216) (A Hired Farmhand 59)

Laoye ***gandu*** *ge* *jighajiang* *bai.*
laoye gan =du ge ji -gha -jiang bai
living:buddha 3:SG=DAT once look-CAUSE-N1:PERF EMPH
Living Buddha let him see (this).

(217) (Human-bear 12)

gan ***beghesa*** *chenli gejiang.*
gan beghe=sa chenli ge-jiang
3:SG tree =ABL hear do-N1:PERF
he overheard from a tree.

(218) (Human-bear 16)

Renxun ***huaidu*** *beila xijiang* *bai.*
renxun huai =du beila xi-jiang bai
human:bear forest=DAT carry go-N1:PERF EMPH
Human-bear carried (her) into a forest.

If a direct object is overtly expressed, obliques may either precede or follow this argument. If the direct object is in an accusative postpositional phrase with *=ni*, or if the reflexive possessive marker *=nang* is present, then the oblique argument usually follows the accusative argument. However, if the direct object is unmarked, then the oblique argument usually appears first.

The following two pairs of examples illustrate this contrast. In (219) and (221), the oblique arguments (in bold) appear before the direct objects (underlined), which are NPs with no accusative morphology. In (220) and (222), however, the accusative objects precede the obliques.

(219) and (220) give examples with instrumental obliques:

(219) (Three Daughters 62)

Gansi ni ***tuosila*** *dimei chinajiang* *bai.*
gan -si ni tuosi=la dimei china-jiang bai
3:SG-PL this oil =INST bread cook -N1:PERF EMPH
They cooked bread with this oil.

(220) (Sangbura 280)

du nini ***ti*** ***ban'gachen*** ***ghasila*** *yeke.*
du ni =ni ti ban'gachen gha -si=la yeke
now this=ACC that medium:size bowl-PL=INST dip
now dip it with those medium-sized bowls.

For the same phenomenon with benefactive obliques, consider (221) and (222):

(221) (A Cow Mother 11)

Huguer jiaoduer ***gandu*** *manten baji*
huguer jiaoduer gan =du manten ba -ji
cow every:day 3:SG=DAT bread shit-IMPERF

hulang.
hu -lang
give-N1:IMPERF
Cow shit bread for her every day.

(222) (Filial Obedience 6)

Gan mori laosasini ***mula kaodu*** *yige a lai*
gan mori laosa-si=ni mula kao=du yi -ge a lai
3:SG horse mule -PL=ACC small son=DAT one-CL also NEG

hulang.
hu -lang
give-N1:IMPERF
He didn't give even one of (his) horses and mules to the youngest son.

9.6 Direct Object Fronting

Throughout the discussion of this chapter, we have seen that various clausal constituents can appear in multiple locations within the clause. In particular, we have seen in section 9.5 that obliques have some freedom to appear in different syntactic positions. For example, a benefactive oblique (as in (223)) and an ablative oblique (as in (224)) can be placed in clause-initial position, when the speaker wishes to use them to in some way establish the boundaries of what the sentence is about.

(223) (A Cow Mother 4)

Khuaitu anadu *pusa aguer ge*
khuaitu ana =du pusa aguer ge
step mother=DAT another daughter SG:INDEF

rijiang.
ri -jiang
come-N1:PERF
The stepmother (whom the husband married after his first wife's death) had another daughter.

(224) (Madage 52)

Beghe zhuersa *huni maokelang.*
beghe zhuer =sa huni maoke-lang
tree bottom=ABL smoke waft -N1:IMPERF
Smoke was wafting out from the bottom of the tree.

The same is true of direct objects. In the folktales there are a number of instances in which a direct object appears before a clausal subject. Let's look at a couple of examples of this phenomenon, to get a feeling for the motivations behind it.

In (225), the accusative direct object *dimei=ni* 'cake=ACC' appears clause-initially.

(225) (Rabbit's Trick 42)

Dimeini *bi heji xia bai,*
dimei=ni bi he -ji xi-a bai
bread=ACC 1:SG:NOM take-IMPERF go-VOL EMPH
The bread, I will take (it),

In this example, Rabbit is discussing several items which he and his friends have acquired. Rabbit suggests that the others each take an item, and then comes to himself, uttering (225). Thus, the fronted object *dimei=ni* is being contrasted with the earlier items; 'as for the cake, I'll take (it)' is another way to paraphrase this clause.

In some instances, fronted objects can be marked in a way similar to the marking of topics in Chinese topic-comment structures (Li and Thompson 1981:86-87). An earlier item in Rabbit's list, coming just a few lines before (226), is presented this way:

(226) (Rabbit's Trick 35)

"Nige luotini ma *Chuna qi musi.*
ni -ge luoti=ni ma chuna qi musi
this-CL boot =ACC PRT wolf 2:SG:NOM wear
"These boots, Wolf, you wear (them).

Here, *ma* serves as a topic marker.

The fronted object is almost always marked either with the accusative postposition *=ni*, as in (225) and (226), or with the reflexive-possessive enclitic *=nang*. As we saw in 9.2.2 and 9.3.1, these two forms do not co-occur; but most items marked with *=nang* are direct objects, and so this is probably the default interpretation when *=nang* is used and no other case is indicated. Thus, the fronted object in (227) is basically unambiguously a direct object.

(227) (Filial Obedience 29)

kebeghenang *bi moridunang*
kebeghe =nang bi mori =du =nang
wheat:bran=REFLPOSS 1:SG:NOM horse=DAT=REFLPOSS

tiejieni."
tiejie-ni
feed -1:FUT
I will feed my wheat bran to my horses" (the brother said).

There is only one example in my database of a fronted direct object which is completely unmarked. This is given in (228):

(228) (Stupid Boy 67)

```
shuer       gansi    jiang yiger   hujiang       gelang.
shuer       gan -si  jiang yi -ger hu  -jiang    gelang
chopsticks  3:SG-PL only  one-CL  give-N1:PERF HEARSAY
      they only gave him one chopstick, they say.
```

In this clause, it is semantically transparent what relationship *shuer* 'chopsticks' must have with the verb. In the normal world, *hu* 'give' makes sense only with an animate subject, so *shuer* couldn't be that argument. Nor could it be a benefactive, since benefactives always appear in dative/locative case. So *shuer* has to be the direct object, and the speaker need not mark it overtly as such.

9.7 Zero Anaphora

Mangghuer clauses usually do not have many expressed arguments. Many clauses have no overt arguments, consisting of simply a verb. If overt arguments are present, it is most common to have only one; this might be a clausal subject, or a direct object, or an oblique. Discourse context allows for unambiguous identification of many arguments, and these often do not appear within a given clause.

Let us illustrate this by examining an extended selection from one of the folktales. This selection shows a variety of combinations of arguments in its various clauses. Following each clause, I insert a summary of the arguments overtly present in that clause.

(229) (diandunn 9-22)

```
Gan  ghuerluo   shanglianglalang,
gan  ghuer=luo  shangliangla-lang
3:SG two  =COLL discuss     -N1:IMPERF
(As) the two of them were discussing,
```

line 9: subject only

```
Human-bear 10
Huer,
huer
monkey
Monkey,

Human-bear 11
Renxun     bai,
renxun     bai
human:bear EMPH
(also known as) Human-bear,
```



```
Human-bear 12
gan  beghesa   chenli gejiang.
gan  beghe=sa  chenli ge-jiang
3:SG tree =ABL hear   do-N1:PERF
he overheard from a tree.
```

lines 10-12: subject and ablative oblique

```
Human-bear 13
Gan  shidietai  xi "bang,
gan  shidie=tai xi bang
3:SG early =COM go ONOM
Very early, he went (making the sound) "bang,
```

line 13: subject and comitative oblique

```
Human-bear 14
bang" ge    peghe saojiang    bai.
bang  ge    peghe sao-jiang   bai
ONOM  QUOTE hit   sit-N1:PERF EMPH
bang" like that, hitting (on the ice).
```

line 14: none (no subject, no object)

```
Human-bear 15
Ganni    shinajiani              xiku,
gan =ni  shinajia          =ni   xi-ku
3:SG=GEN elder:sister:in:law=POSS go-IMPERF
When her elder sister-in-law went,
```

line 15: subject only

```
Human-bear 16
Renxun     huaidu     beila xijiang    bai.
renxun     huai  =du  beila xi-jiang   bai
human:bear forest=DAT carry go-N1:PERF EMPH
Human-bear carried (her) into a forest.
```

line 16: subject and location oblique (no direct object)

```
Human-bear 17
Shinaguni    dikusa                ayijiang,
shinagu=ni   di -ku          =sa   ayi -jiang
woman  =POSS eat-IMPERF:NOMLZR=ABL fear-N1:PERF
The woman (Elder Sister-in-law) was afraid of being eaten,
```

line 17: subject and ablative oblique

```
Human-bear 18
linshangmoyi di  dajiang.
linshangmoyi di  da    -jiang
finally      eat cannot-N1:PERF
(but) in the end, (he) couldn't eat (her).
```

line 18: none (no subject and no object)

```
Human-bear 19
Saoser,
sao-ser
sit-PROG
(She) went on living (there),
```

line 19: none (no subject)

```
Human-bear 20
saoser,
sao-ser
sit-PROG
went on living,
```

line 20: none (no subject)

```
Human-bear 21
mula  nige rijiang.
mula  nige ri  -jiang
small one  come-N1:PERF
a little one came (i.e. she gave birth).
```

line 21: subject only

```
Human-bear 22
Daighai gherji        xi dalang           ma,
daighai gher  -ji     xi da    -lang      ma
never   go:out-IMPERF go cannot-N1:IMPERF PRT
She could never go out,
```

line 22: none (no subject)


```
Human-bear 23
shinagu Shazighaidu   nixiernang       make
shinagu shazighai=du  nixier =nang     make
woman   Magpie   =DAT earring=REFLPOSS remove

      xighajiang.
      xi-gha  -jiang
      go-CAUSE-N1:PERF
(so) the woman removed her earrings (and gave them) to
Magpie to take (to her home).
```

line 23: subject, direct object, oblique (causee).

10 Summary of Clausal Constituent Order

If any particular clause contained one of every possible clausal constituent, it would be a strange clause indeed. The demands of natural discourse are generally much more modest.

Nonetheless, it may be of some help to present a general schematic, summarizing the most typical relative positioning of all of the clausal constituents which we have examined in this chapter.

The reader is reminded, however, that this schematic represents only an abstraction based on observed tendencies; any individual clause may vary in how it combines a subset of these elements.

(230) Summary of Normal Clausal Constituent Order

Discourse Connector	Oblique	Subject	Second Position Adverbial
	Oblique (Benefactive, Ablative, Instrumental)	Direct Object	Oblique (Length of time, Amount) OR Adverbial
	Negative	Verb	AUX	Final Particle

Chapter 5
Evidentiality

1 Introduction and Goals[1]

An important feature of finite clauses in Minhe Mangghuer is the system of evidentiality. In this chapter I will explore the nature of evidentiality phenomena, and will compare the Minhe Mangghuer system to the strikingly similar systems found in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, (mostly in Bodic dialects). I will suggest that the Minhe Mangghuer system is most plausibly borrowed from one (or more) of these languages. Details of the Minhe Mangghuer system suggest that it was not directly borrowed from the geographically nearest Bodic language, Amdo Tibetan, but rather from some more distant language; however, we will see that Minhe Mangghuer also shares some features with Amdo.

Section 2 outlines the features of the evidential system found in Minhe Mangghuer. In section 3, this system is compared to the evidential systems found in many Bodic languages, which are referred to as conjunct/disjunct systems. Section 4 considers the place of the conjunct/disjunct systems within the typological literature on evidentiality. Finally, in section 5, a few concluding comments are made about the historical spreading of the conjunct/disjunct features.

2 Evidentiality in Minhe Mangghuer

The presentation of Minhe Mangghuer evidential features in this section is intended to allow us to contrast it with the similar systems found in Bodic languages. To make this comparison, we need to examine the agreement-like First/Non-First marking system (sections 2.1-2.2), as well as the Minhe Mangghuer treatment of direct and indirect quotation (section 2.3).

2.1 An Agreement-Like System

In this section I will present data outlining the major features of the Minhe Mangghuer evidential system. At first glance, the system resembles one of person agreement; however, its true nature is one of representing the perspective from which a statement is made, basically distinguishing the perspective of the speaker

[1] Much of the material in this chapter also appears in Slater MS.

from those of all others. In this dissertation, I have correspondingly labeled the two evidential categories "First Evidential" and "Non-first Evidential."

We will consider the basic first/non-first distinction, control vs. non-control verbs, finite vs. non-finite environments, interrogatives and copular constructions.

2.1.1 The First/Non-First Distinction

To illustrate the features of this system, we will begin with finite environments showing the basic first/non-first person distinction.

(1) (Qing Yongzhang)
bi *ri-ba*
1:SG:NOM come-1:PERF
I came.

(2) (Qing Yongzhang)
qi *ri-jiang*
2:SG:NOM come-N1:PERF
You came.

(3) (Qing Yongzhang)
gan *ri-jiang*
3:SG:NOM come-N1:PERF
S/he came.

This fundamental first/non-first distinction holds in finite clauses regardless of aspect or tense. The following examples illustrate the distinction in both imperfective contexts (examples (4)-(6)) and future contexts (examples (7)-(9)).

(4) (Qing Yongzhang)
bi *ri-la* *bi*
1:SG:NOM come-IMPERF 1:COP
I am coming.

(5) (Qing Yongzhang)
qi *ri-lang*
2:SG:NOM come-N1:IMPERF
You are coming.

(6) (Qing Yongzhang)
gan *ri-lang*
3:SG:NOM come-N1:IMPERF
S/he is coming.

(7) (Qing Yongzhang)
bi *ri-ni*
1:SG:NOM come-1:FUT
I will come.

(8) (Qing Yongzhang)
qi ri-kunang
2:SG:NOM come-N1:FUT
You will come.

(9) (Qing Yongzhang)
gan *ri-kunang*
3:SG:NOM come-N1:FUT
S/he will come.

2.1.2 Control vs. Non-Control Verbs

When a first person subject occurs with a verb over which the subject is not seen to have control, as a result of the semantic character of the verb, First Evidential marking does not occur. In examples (4)-(9), the verb *ri* 'come' is one which is usually seen as under the control of its subject. However, verbs of perception, emotion, and actions not voluntarily undertaken by the subject, do not receive First Evidential marking, even when the grammatical subject is first person. Examples (10)-(12) illustrate verbs of this sort:

(10) (Zhu Yongzhong)
ni *guai* *shi,* *bi* *ni=ni* *bietu-lang*
this good time 1:SG:NOM this=ACC like-N1:IMP
When he was good, I liked him/her.

(11) (Qing Yongzhang)
bi *gan=ni* *tani-lang*
1:SG:NOM 3=ACC recognize-N1:IMP
I recognize him/her.

(12) (Wang Xianzheng)
bi *shijie=nang* *langhui* *ge-ku-sa* *ayi-lang*
1:SG:NOM time=REFLPOSS waste do-IMPERF:NOM=ABL fear-N1:IMP
I'm afraid I'm wasting my time.

Only first person shows this alternation. Non-first subjects, whether they occur with control or non-control verbs, trigger the Non-first Evidential marking.

2.1.3 Non-Finite Environments

Minhe Mangghuer employs a large number of non-finite verbal marking devices, which will be described in detail in chapter 6. Here, we need to note only that evidential distinctions are not made in any of these non-finite environments. Examples (13)-(15) and (16)-(18) show that the conditional marker *-sa* 'if' and the conjunction *danang* 'after,' respectively, do not vary according to their grammatical subjects.

(13) (Two Wives 54)
"Bi qini burerni kelieni lai disa,
bi qi =ni burer=ni kelie =ni lai di -sa
1:SG:NOM 2:SG=GEN calf =GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
"If I do not eat your calf's tongue,

(14) (Monster Girl 22)
"Qi zou ni aguernang alasa ala ma,
qi zou ni aguer =nang ala -sa ala ma
2:SG:NOM thus this daughter=REFLPOSS kill-COND kill PRT
"If you (will) kill this daughter of yours, kill (her),

(15) (Three Daughters 38)
Wujila xisa,
Wuji -la xi-sa
take:note-PURP go-COND
When (they) went to look,

(16) (Rabbit's Trick 77)
"Bi ni dimeini di danang ama kheghera
bi ni dimei=ni di danang ama kheghera
1:SG:NOM this bread=ACC eat after mouth split

saojiang bai.
sao-jiang bai
sit-N1:PERF EMPH
"When I ate this bread, my mouth split.

(17) (Hired Farmhand 45)
"Du qi yizhuan harge danang taighai ma ge
du qi yi -zhuan harge danang taighai ma ge
now 2:SG:NOM one-circle turn after head PRT once

mergu,"
mergu -Ø
kowtow-IMPER
"Now you go around (the temple) once kowtowing,"

(18) (Nine-headed Ghost 20)
Ganni huerni jige danang rijiang.
gan =ni huer=ni jige danang ri -jiang
3:SG=GEN cave=ACC remember after come-N1:PERF
After (he) learned where its cave was, (he) came (back).

These examples show that verbs in non-finite clauses of two different types make no evidential distinctions. The same is true for all non-finite clauses in Minhe Mangghuer.

2.1.4 Interrogatives

Minhe Mangghuer also uses First Evidential marking with finite verbs in second person questions. Here, the evidential split functions to distinguish second person from non-second persons: first and third. This is illustrated in (19)-(21).

(19) (Qing Yongzhang)
bi *ri-jinu*
1:SG:NOM come-N1:PERF:QUEST
Did I come?

(20) (Qing Yongzhang)
qi *ri-bu*
2:SG:NOM come-1:PERF:QUEST
Did you come?

(21) (Qing Yongzhang)
gan *ri-jinu*
3:SG:NOM come-N1:PERF:QUEST
Did s/he come?

The motivation for this interesting shift of evidential perspective has been much discussed (see J. Sun 1993:955-959 for some of the proposals). Note especially that, since Minhe Mangghuer seems highly concerned with marking control over events, one psychological motivation for the system might be that a speaker asking a question about his or her own action, as in example (19) must almost certainly be in a position of dependence on someone else to make a determination. Otherwise there would be little reason to ask such a question. A question addressed to a second person about that person's own action, however, would generally presume the interrogee's sovereignty over the undertaking of the action being queried.

2.1.5 Copulas

Copulas are similarly marked to distinguish the first and non-first perspectives. Consider the following elicited examples:

(22) (Qing Yongzhang)
bi *laoshi* *bi*
1:SG:NOM teacher 1:COP
I am a teacher.

(23) (Qing Yongzhang)
qi *laoshi* *bang*
2:SG:NOM teacher N1:COP
You are a teacher.

(24) (Qing Yongzhang)
gan *laoshi* *bang*
3:SG:NOM teacher N1:COP
S/he is a teacher.

(25) (Qing Yongzhang)
bi *laoshi* *meinu*
1:SG:NOM teacher N1:COP:QUEST
Am I a teacher?

(26) (Qing Yongzhang)
qi *laoshi* *biu*
2:SG:NOM teacher 1:COP:QUEST
Are you a teacher?

(27) (Qing Yongzhang)
gan *laoshi* *meinu*
3:SG:NOM teacher N1:COP:QUEST
Is s/he a teacher?

In section 2.1.1 we saw that the basic first/non-first distinction holds in perfective, imperfective, and future contexts. Copular constructions are the remaining major domain of finite verbal morphology, and (22)-(27) show that the distinction is made identically in these constructions. This uniformity suggests that a single principle underlies the entire Minhe Mangghuer system. To this point, the facts generally resemble those of an agreement system, distinguishing first person from other persons, with special concern for the degree of agentivity of first person subjects.

2.2 Manipulation of the Basic System

We have now seen the basic principles on which the Minhe Mangghuer evidential system works. In this section, I will demonstrate that the system is not simply a type of agreement, but is basically evidential in character. The two semantic/pragmatic domains which lead to apparent variation in the basic First/Non-first Evidential marking system are those of **control** and of **speaker's certainty**.

2.2.1 Control

In clauses with a first person subject and a control verb, a speaker may choose to use Non-first Evidential marking to indicate a lack of actual control over the action predicated. Compare (28) and (29):

(28) (Qing Yongzhang)
bi *ri-ni*
1:SG:NOM come-1:FUT
I will come.

(29) (Qing Yongzhang)
bi *ri-kunang*
1:SG:NOM come-N1:FUT
I will come. (someone else decided)

As we saw in section 2.1.2 above, verbs which express actions that are inherently non-control are systematically marked with Non-first forms. Additionally, speakers may extend this marking by analogy as a way of disclaiming responsibility, or of indicating that they had no choice in the matter of the action being described. This occurs with verbs expressing actions which, semantically, could be either controlled or not controlled by their grammatical subject; by choosing either First or Non-first Evidential marking, speakers indicate how their participation in the action is to be viewed.

Another such pair is provided in (30) and (31). The former appears in a folktale episode in which the speaker is addressing the person whose actions are causing him to be late. The speaker thus has some motivation to indicate that the lateness is not his own fault -- he is trying to move the listener to prompt action by suggesting that further delay will cause him more problems.

(30) (Shalangguer's Story 24)
bi *wuda* *saojiang,"*
bi wuda sao-jiang
1:SG:NOM be:late sit-N1:PERF
I am late,"

It is also possible, however, to express the concept of 'being late' without explicitly denying responsibility. Compare (30) and (31):

(31) (Zhu Yongzhong)
bi *wuda-ba*
1:SG:NOM late-1:PERF
I was late.

In each of the two pairs (28)-(29) and (30)-(31), the verb used is not inherently control or non-control in semantic character. Rather, speakers must indicate by their choice of the finite forms whether they wish to accept or deny responsibility for the action described. [2]

In 2.1.2, above, I noted that non-control verbs with first person subjects receive special evidential marking, but that this does not happen when the subject is second or third person. Similarly, no such alternation occurs here. With a second or third person subject, a speaker cannot utilize verb marking to indicate that the subject was not in control of the described action. This further illustrates the essentially evidential character of the system, since it shows that a speaker can manipulate verbal marking only to make claims about his/her own perspective on an event.

It is possible, however, to find the usual First Evidential verb marking with a non-first subject. This evidential manipulation will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.2 Strengthened Assertion/Certainty

Thus far, we have seen examples of how speakers use Non-first Evidential marking to disclaim control or responsibility for an action. Another logical possibility would be the use of First Evidential marking with a non-first person subject; this does indeed occur, and functions to strengthen the force of a speaker's assertion about the truth of the claim s/he is making. In most cases this serves to express a strong degree of certainty about the content of a speaker's statement; we

[2] It is my impression, however, that any Minhe Mangghuer verb may behave this way; control vs. non-control is viewed as a property of the event in question, rather than the semantics of the verb. However, further research is needed to substantiate my claim.

will see that it may also be used to assert strongly a proposition which the speaker knows to be false.

This again suggests that the basic function being performed here is an evidential one: that of assuming an unusually high degree of epistemic authority with regard to an utterance that might otherwise be challenged. As we will see, this function is sometimes called for in interactive situations where the speaker suspects that the listener needs extra assurance that a claim is true.

Let us consider the following exchange from the text 'Older Sister and the Monkey':

(32) (Monkey 97-100)

Huer riji erseghejiang,
huer ri -ji erseghe-jiang
monkey come-IMPERF ask -N1:PERF
Monkey came and asked,

Monkey 98
"Ningda ningda bieri ge qigebu gui a?"
ningda ningda bieri ge qige-bu gui a
such such wife SG:INDEF see -1:QUEST 1:NEG:COP PRT
"Did you see such and such a woman?"

Monkey 99
"Ai,
ai
EXCL
"Ai,

Monkey 100
ni mersi duoruo ruo ***yaoba."***
ni mersi duoruo ruo yao-ba
this ice under enter go -1:PERF
this one went under the ice" (the person said).

The second speaker (lines 99-100) is trying to deceive the monkey. The woman is in fact hiding in the speaker's cart, but the monkey will eat her if he catches her. The use of First Evidential marking in line 98 suggests that the speaker is sure, probably from having witnessed it himself in this case, that his claim is true. Of course, in this situation the strongest possible way of asserting this is desirable, since failure to convince the bear will result in the woman's death (and perhaps that of the speaker, as well). The context suggests, then, that this use of First Evidential marking functions to boost the level of epistemic authority the speaker claims for his utterance -- a manipulation of the person-based marking system for clear evidential purposes.

A similar example is taken from the text *Mang'huzi* 'Monster Girl:'

(33) (Monster Girl 62-64)

ganni gaga keliji,
gan =ni gaga keli-ji
3:SG=GEN elder:brother say -IMPERF
her brother said,

(Monster Girl 63
"taitingdu huguer liangge ***riba,***
taiting=du huguer liang-ge ri -ba
there =DAT cow two -CL come-1:PERF
"two bulls are coming over there,

(Monster Girl 64
qi tini dila xi."
qi ti =ni di -la xi
2:SG:NOM that=ACC eat-PURP go
you go eat them."

This utterance occurs at the climax of a narrative: the older brother has climbed a tree to escape his sister. The sister had turned out to be a monster, who is now trying to eat him. In fact, the "two bulls" he mentions are two tigers, who have come to save him from his monster-sister. The claim he makes in line 63 is therefore not strictly true. The function of the First Evidential marking seems to be to move his sister to immediate action by emphasizing the (alleged) fact of the "bulls'" presence, which he has witnessed directly but she is as yet unaware of. Thus, the epistemic force of the verb marking here is again to express certainty, with the intended interactive function of convincing a listener of the truth of an utterance that she might otherwise disregard.

To this point, we have considered manipulations of the system in past tense situations only. Speakers use this evidential device to describe future events as well, and the function is closely related: First Evidential marking allows a speaker to claim great certainty that a future event will indeed happen.

As evidence supporting this analysis of the function being played here, we can note that predictions about the future made by supernatural beings use First Evidential marking. This is illustrated in a passage from the text *Madage* 'Older Brother Horse:'

(34) (Madage 11-15)

ganni jiaodongdu kelikuni shi,
gan =ni jiaodong=du keli-ku -ni shi
3:SG=GEN dream =DAT say -IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR COP
what was said in her dream was,

Madage 12
"Qi mori angchighuo tada xige sao ma,
qi mori angchighuo tada xige sao ma
2:SG:NOM horse trough near watch sit PRT
"You watch near the horse trough and,

Madage 13
dongguo *ge* *deghelaji* *baoji*
dong -guo ge deghela-ji bao -ji
winter-fruit SG:INDEF fall -IMPERF go:down-IMPERF

rini.
ri -ni
come-1:FUT
a winter pear will fall down.

Madage 14
Tini *di* *ma,*
ti =ni di ma
that=ACC eat PRT
Eat that,

Madage 15
kao ge ***rini."***
kao ge ri -ni
son SG:INDEF come-1:FUT
(and) a son will come (i.e. you will have a son)."

Although the identity of the being which reveals this information is not given, it is obviously something supernatural. Thus, it presumably has extraordinary knowledge of events that humans are not aware of, and can make authoritative predictions based on that knowledge. In lines 13 and 15, this is emphasized by First Evidential marking on *rini* 'will come'.

A similar example appears in line 19 of (35), from another text, *Zhaler* 'Hired Farmhand':

(35) (A Hired Farmhand 18-19)
ganni *jiaodongdu* *gan* *yige* *laohan* *kelilang,*
gan =ni jiaodong=du gan yi -ge laohan keli-lang
3:SG=GEN dream =DAT 3:SG one-CL old:man say -N1:IMPERF
in his dream he, an old man said,

A Hired Farmhand 19
"Qi *jiaoduer* *huguerni* *basi* *sharsi a*
qi jiaoduer huguer=ni basi sharsi a
2:SG:NOM every:day cow =GEN excrement urine also

kongni *basi* *sharsidu* *take ma* *ni* *luoti*
kong =ni basi sharsi=du take ma ni luoti
person=GEN excrement urine =DAT step PRT this shoe

chuoruoni."
chuoruo-ni
break -1:FUT
"You step every day in both the excrement and urine of cows and the excrement and urine of people, and these shoes will break."

Non-supernatural beings may also use First Evidential marking to indicate a strong degree of certainty about a future event. Example (36) comes as Rabbit is considering the likely response to a trick he has played on Fox and Wolf:

(36) (Rabbit's Trick 58)
Mulasa *ni* *ghula* *nameidu* *zhuaji*
mula -sa ni ghu=la namei =du zhua -ji
think-COND this two=COLL 1:SG:DAT=DAT catch-IMPERF

rini *bai.*
ri -ni bai
come-1:FUT EMPH
(Rabbit) thought "these two will come to chase me."

When a speaker is predicting something about the future, it is not required that s/he use evidential marking to indicate a particular degree of certainty. Rather, this is a pragmatic choice. In the following two examples, we see the same speakers, addressing the same listener, with apparently the same degree of certainty; in (37) the normal Non-first Evidential marking appears, even though the lexical item *yiding* 'certainly' specifically claims a high degree of certainty. Just a few clauses later, in (38) we find the degree of certainty indicated by evidential marking.

(37) (Monkey 64-65)
Gansi *kelikuni* *shi,*
gan -si keli-ku -ni shi
3:SG-PL say -IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR COP
What they said was,

Monkey 65
"Niaoshulian *gan* *qimaidu* ***yiding*** ***alakuniang.***
niao -shulian gan qimai =du yiding ala -kuniang
today-evening 3:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT certainly kill-N1:FUT
"This evening he will certainly kill you.

(38) (Monkey 69)

Qimai ti yang'huoni ***huni,***
qimai ti yang'huo=ni hu -ni
2:SG:DAT that match =ACC give-1:FUT
(She) will give you those matches,

Since First Evidential marking is inconsistently applied to these predictions, we may infer that its appearance is pragmatically determined.[3]

Certainty can also be expressed in clauses with copular verbs. For example:

(39) (Shalangguer's Story 67-68)

Shalangguer keliji,
shalangguer keli-ji
Shalangguer say -IMPERF
Shalangguer said,

Shalangguer's Story 68
"Muni bierini damadu mazi ***gui."***
muni bieri=ni dama=du mazi gui
1:SG:GEN wife =GEN face=DAT pockmark 1:NEG:COP
"My wife's face doesn't have pockmarks."

At this point in the story, an imposter posing as Shalangguer's wife is trying to convince him that she is in fact his beloved. Although she claims to be his wife, Shalangguer sees that she doesn't exactly fit the part and tries to refute her claim by pointing out the physical mismatch. He is talking to the imposter herself, and he knows that she will disagree with his statement; Shalangguer thus feels compelled to strengthen the force of his assertion by heavily emphasizing his conviction about his wife's appearance. This is why he uses the First Evidential negative copula *gui* with a third person subject here.

In (40), a woman has taken a child from its mother, a horse, and raised it as her own child. The first person form of the copula *bi* in the quote of line 25 indicates the speaker's desire to strongly assert her claim over the child.

(40) (Madage 24-25)

ninger gan shuerdi tierber xi,
ninger gan shuer-di tierber xi
old:woman 3:SG quick-ADV hold go
the old woman, she quickly held (the child) and went,

[3] It may be that the occurrence of first person marking is also influenced by the speaker's desire to enhance the vividness of the narrative; this might help to explain why there is variation in the quotes just discussed. This would also perhaps be relevant for example (33), which occurs (as I mentioned) at the narrative climax of that story. In order to investigate this possibility adequately, one would need a much larger database than I have thus far collected.

Madage 25
"muni kao ***bi"*** *ge asira shuguotughajiang.*
muni kao bi ge asira shuguotu-gha -jiang
1:SG:GEN son 1:COP QUOTE raise grow:up -CAUSE-N1:PERF
saying "(he) is my son," (she) raised (the child).

The assertion "this is my son" is not true, and the speaker knows that it isn't. Precisely because the claim is open to doubt, perhaps, the speaker feels the need to add special epistemic authority to it. Use of the First Evidential copula *bi* allows the speaker to assert certainty of the claim, as a means of convincing others (and possibly herself?) that it is actually true.

Both (39) and (40) involve NPs of the form "my X", and both involve kinship terms: *bieri* 'wife' and *kao* 'son'. Most similar examples in my database also involve possessed kinterms. Perhaps a speaker's unusually high degree of certainty regarding claims made about family members makes such statements particularly succeptible to the appearance of optional First Evidential marking. However, the optionality of using First Evidential forms in this context is illustrated by (41). This example is attributed to the same speaker as was (39), and forms an earlier part of the same dispute, preceding (39) by only 3 lines of text. The equational copula *puzhang* appearing here is a Non-first form.

(41) (Shalangguer's Story 62-64)

Shalangguer keliji,
shalangguer keli-ji
Shalangguer say -IMPERF
Shalangguer said,

Shalangguer's Story 63
"Aya!
aya
EXCL
"Aya!

Shalangguer's Story 64
Ni muni bieri ***puzhang.***
ni muni bieri puzhang
this 1:SG:GEN wife N1:NEG:COP
This isn't my wife.

2.3 Quotation

In comparison with the evidential systems of Tibetan languages in later sections, we will need also to make note of how Minhe Mangghuer handles the reporting of someone's speech. The evidential devices outlined above help to clarify the nature of the Minhe Mangghuer system of quotation. Fuller treatment of reported speech is the topic of chapter 7.

Quotation is handled in a very consistent way in Minhe Mangghuer. In all cases, a speaker reporting someone else's words reproduces in the quote the exact evidential verb morphology that the quoted speaker originally used. Although direct and indirect quotation types are distinct, they do not differ in their use of evidential morphology. Let us consider two examples which illustrate this point:

(42) (Monster Girl 43-44)

Bulai zou "bi ge langlaya,"
bulai zou bi ge langla -ya
child thus 1:SG:NOM once walk:around-VOL
The boy (said) "I'll walk around a bit,"

Monster Girl 44
geji.
ge -ji
QUOTE-IMPERF
(he) said this.

(43) (The Rabbit Judge 38)

gan namei dini gelang bai.
gan namei di -ni ge -lang bai
3:SG 1:SG:DAT eat-1:FUT QUOTE-N1:IMPERF EMPH
it said it would eat me.

Example (42) contains an embedded direct quote *bi ge langlaya* 'I'll walk around a bit,' while (43), (which is part of an extended direct quote), contains an embedded indirect quote *namei dini* '(he) would eat me.' In both examples, the optional quotative verb *ge* identifies the end of the embedded quoted material.

The difference between the two examples is found in the pronominal reference: in (42) we find reproduced the actual first person pronoun *bi* which the original speaker would have used; in (43) the second person pronoun of the (probable) original utterance 'I will eat you' is replaced by the speaker's first person accusative/dative form *namei*. The original speaker would have said *bi **qimai** dini* 'I will eat **you**.'

Notice, however, that in both cases the embedded verb morphology reproduces what the original speaker would have said.

This can also be seen when the quoted speaker used unexpected evidential verb marking, as described in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, above. Example (44) shows what this looks like when the quoted speaker indicated lack of control (section 2.2.1) with a Non-first Evidential form, and the reporting speaker reproduces this form.

(44) (The Rabbit Judge 18-21)

Chuna gher rijiang ma,
chuna gher ri -jiang ma
wolf go:out come-N1:PERF PRT
Wolf came out and,

The Rabbit Judge 19
kelikuni shi,
keli-ku -ni shi
say -IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR COP
what (it) said was,

The Rabbit Judge 20
"Bi yigua dongdu shijitian naila,
bi yigua dong=du shi-ji -tian naila
1:SG:NOM totally hole=DAT ten-several-day be.hungry
"I have been hungry for ten to twenty days in the hole,

The Rabbit Judge 21
*du bi **hugukuniang.***
du bi hugu-kuniang
now 1:SG:NOM die -N1:FUT
now I will die.

The Non-first Evidential marking on *hugukuniang* 'I will die' indicates the Wolf's lack of control or volition, regarding the event of dying.

Similarly, when the quoted speaker originally used a First Evidential form to indicate a high degree of certainty (see 2.2.2), another speaker reporting this speech reproduces it, as in (45):

(45) (Rabbit's Trick 58)

Mulasa ni ghula nameidu zhuaji
mula -sa ni ghu=la namei =du zhua -ji
think-COND this two=COLL 1:SG:DAT=DAT catch-IMPERF

***rini** bai.*
ri -ni bai
come-1:FUT EMPH
(Rabbit) thought "these two will come to chase me."

The quoted speaker, a rabbit, has played a trick on Fox and Wolf. Sitting in his hole, reflecting, he arrives at the thought reported in (45). The verb of the embedded quote, *rini* '(they) will come' is marked with First Evidential marking, by which Rabbit shows his certainty that the prediction is true. (Note that the verb *mula* 'think' behaves like verbs of saying. See chapter 7 for more examples.)

Quotation in Minhe Mangghuer, then, always reproduces the evidential verb morphology used by the original speaker.

The motivations for the development of a quotative pattern are probably to be found in the essentially evidential character of the system. When reporting someone else's utterance, a speaker might be at a loss to decide what level of authority to put behind a particular claim. However, this problem is avoided if one is required to reproduce exactly the evidential choice of the original speaker; the reporter of speech thus assumes no responsibility for any claims made, except to note how s/he heard them uttered.

2.4 Summary

In this section we have seen the principles on which the Minhe Mangghuer evidential system works. We can summarize this system as in (46), which gives the conditions for the systematic appearance of First Evidential forms.

(46) Conditions for Minhe Mangghuer First Evidential forms
First Evidential forms appear in *finite* clauses where:
the verb is a control verb **and**
the subject is 1st person **and** the clause is declarative, **or**
the subject is 2nd person **and** the clause is interrogative.

Non-first Evidential forms occur in all other environments. However, it is important to remember that these conditions may be violated for pragmatic, evidential functions, as outline above.

3 The Conjunct/Disjunct System

DeLancey (1992, 1997) examines a set of very similar evidential systems found in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, generally known as the *Conjunct/disjunct system*. He notes that variations on the same system are found in many languages of this family's Bodic branch, as well as in Akha, also a Tibeto-Burman language but of the Lolo-Burmese, rather than the Bodic, branch. The features differ somewhat from language to language, but important similarities are recognizable. Some evidence suggests that variations of the basic system may have spread through language contact within the last thousand years, rather than coming down through common inheritance into the modern languages.

3.1 The Bodic Conjunct/Disjunct System

One of these languages is Kathmandu Newari, a Bodic branch language spoken in Nepal. The terms *conjunct* and *disjunct* were introduced by Hale (1980) to describe the Kathmandu Newari system of evidentiality, particularly with reference to this system's treatement of coreferentiality in reported speech.

Hargreaves (1990:2, cited in Genetti 1994:105) presents a schematic account of the environments in which conjunct forms[4] appear in Kathmandu Newari:

(47) Conditions for conjunct forms (emphasis original)
1) the clause is finite, **and**
2) the verb is a Control (volitional) verb, **and**
a) the clause is declarative **and** has a first person Actor, **or,**
b) the clause is interrogative **and** has a second person Actor, **or**,
c) the clause is reported speech **and** the Actor of the utterance verb and the Actor of a Control verb in the reported clause are coreferential.

Comparing this summary with (46), above, we find that the two systems differ at only one point, which is in their treatment of reported speech. However, some other languages have slightly different features in their conjunct/disjunct systems. In the remainder of this section, we will examine the various descriptions of conjunct/disjunct languages, citing similarities and differences with the Minhe Mangghuer system. This discussion will help in the search for a historical account of the system's development in Minhe Mangghuer.

According to DeLancey (1992, 1997), the conjunct/disjunct (hereafter, "c/d") system probably begins historically with a *mirativity* distinction in copular[5] forms, used to indicate whether information in a proposition is *new* to the speaker, or *old* -- already assimilated, and already a part of his or her mental representation of the state of the world. As these copular forms grammaticalize to become verbal morphology, the function of the distinction shifts, yielding an agreement-like system which distinguishes first person from others, and which has some essentially evidential functions. In fact, DeLancey reports (personal communication) that Connie Dickinson has identified a c/d system in Tsafiki (Colorado) of Ecuador; this can hardly be due to language contact, and since DeLancey (1997) has shown that mirativity distinctions are rather common in the world's languages, it may well be that something like a c/d system will arise in languages of other families as well.

Within the Tibeto-Burman family, the most elaborate version of the c/d system is found in Lhasa Tibetan. DeLancey (1992:57) characterizes the fullest form thus:

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[4] Hargreaves (1990) used the designation "+/- Evidential Source" to distinguish the categories. In Hargreaves (1991), however, the functionally neutral labels "SET1/SET2" are chosen, since the point of the later work is to explore the extent of the range of functions associated with these forms. Hargreaves (1991) expands considerably on the nuances of the Kathmandu Newari system. I will return below to the question of descriptive terminology.

[5] Like Minhe Mangghuer, Lhasa Tibetan has different copular forms for equationals and existentials (DeLancey 1992:42).

First there is an evidential system including a "mirative" distinction between sentences which relate information which is part of the speaker's established representation of the world and those which relate information which the speaker has not yet assimilated. The peculiar development which constitutes the conjunct/disjunct system per se is a grammaticalization of the interaction between this mirative distinction and person, such that the non-mirative forms occur in conjunct contexts, and the mirative forms elsewhere. Conjunct contexts are: with 1st person actors in statements and 2nd person actors in questions; and in complements of verba dicendi, when the actors of the higher and lower verbs are coreferential. Finally, in a full-fledged system such as that of Lhasa the same formal devices are used in the verbal system to distinguish volitional from non-volitional predicates.

To illustrate the mirativity features, I will reproduce Lhasa Tibetan examples from DeLancey (1992):

(48) (Lhasa Tibetan; DeLancey 1992:43)

ngar	*dngul*	*tog=tsam*	*yod*
I+DAT	money	some	exist (CONJUNCT)

I have some money.

(49) (Lhasa Tibetan; DeLancey 1992:44)

ngar	*dngul*	*tog=tsam*	*'dug*
I+DAT	money	some	exist (DISJUNCT)

I have some money.

Examples (48) and (49), with existential copulas, differ in this way: (48) is an unmarked way of expressing the proposition "I have some money," while (49) would be appropriate if the speaker were surprised to discover the money, and could not immediately account for its presence. Thus, (49) is a mirative form, while (48) is non-mirative.

Not all c/d languages have this mirativity distinction in copular clauses; Kathmandu Newari, for example, does not. Similarly, we saw in 2.1.5, above, that copular constructions in Minhe Mangghuer seem to obey the same set of First/Non-first Evidential principles that are found in all other finite verb environments. There seems to be nothing in Minhe Mangghuer which corresponds to the mirativity distinction of Lhasa Tibetan.

In the Bodic c/d systems, the feature of volitionality becomes an issue for predicates expressing actions which are inherently not controlled by an agent, such

as 'hear,' 'see,' 'fall,' etc. Thus, once the old/new knowledge distinction has become grammaticized as part of verbal morphology, we find situations like this:

(50) (Lhasa Tibetan; DeLancey 1992:45)

ngas	*stag*	*bsad-pa yin*
I+ERG	tiger	killed-PERF/CONJUNCT

I killed a tiger.

(51) (Lhasa Tibetan; DeLancey 1992:45)

ngas	*stag*	*mthong-song*
I+ERG	tiger	see-PERF/DISJUNCT

I saw a tiger.

This feature corresponds closely to what we observed for Minhe Mangghuer in 2.1.2. However, c/d languages apparently vary in the amount of freedom speakers have to indicate degree of control over a particular action. It is my impression that *any* Minhe Mangghuer verb can be marked as non-volitional with a Non-first Evidential form; Hargreaves (1991:59-63), in his description of Kathmandu Newari, says that there is a class of 'fluid verbs' which admit either conjunct or disjunct marking, depending on the speaker's volition, but that most verbs do not seem to vary in this way. Hargreaves does point out, though, that speakers differ as to which verbs they include in the 'fluid' class, so this does not seem to be a rigidly defined area of Kathmandu Newari morphology.

The third feature of the conjunct/disjunct system, present in all its Tibeto-Burman versions, is the set of three "conjunct" environments: with first person actors in finite declarative clauses (examples (52)-(54)), with second person actors in finite interrogative clauses (examples (55)-(57)), and in quoted speech when the quoter and the actor within the quote are coreferential (compare (58) and (59)). Since the origin of the terms *conjunct* and *disjunct* goes back to Hale's (1980) description of Kathmandu Newari, I will use examples of these environments from that language, taken from Genetti (1994).[6]

(52) (Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)

ji	*wan-ā*
I	go-PAST CONJUNCT

I went.

(53) (Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)

cha	*wan-a*
you	go-PAST DISJUNCT

You went.

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[6] Hale did not provide morpheme-level glossing; Genetti expands on his examples and makes them more accessible to the Newari non-initiate.

(54) (Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)
wa *wan-a*
he go-PAST DISJUNCT
He went.

(55) (Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105
ji *wan-a* *lā*
I go-PAST DISJUNCT QUESTION PARTICLE
Did I go?

(56) (Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)
cha *wan-ā* *lā*
you go-PAST CONJUNCT QUESTION PARTICLE
Did you go?

(57) (Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)
wa *wan-a* *lā*
he go-PAST DISJUNCT QUESTION PARTICLE
Did he go?

(58) (Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:104)
wã-ã́ *wa* *ana* *wan-ā* *dhakāā* *dhāl-a*
he-ERG he there go-PAST CONJUNCT COMP say-PAST DISJUNCT
He_i said that he_i went there.

(59) (Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:104)
wã-ã́ *wa* *ana* *wan-a* *dhakāā* *dhāl-a*
he-ERG he there go-PAST DISJUNCT COMP say-PAST DISJUNCT
He_i said that he_j went there.

The term *conjunct* was used by Hale (1980) for the set of forms which appear in situations like that of the embedded verb *wanā* 'went' in (58). Here, the subject of a verb of saying (*dhāla*) is coreferential with the actor of a control verb within the quoted speech. Similarly, the term *disjunct* indicates the non-coreferential situation of examples like (59). (The complementizer *dhakāā* immediately follows the quoted material in both cases.)

We saw in 2.3, above, that Minhe Mangghuer handles quotation differently. Rather than a system indicating coreferentiality in embedded and matrix clauses, Minhe Mangghuer speakers employ a system of reproducing the original speaker's verb morphology when reporting a quote. The coreferentiality feature provided the inspiration for the name terms *conjunct* and *disjunct*, and its absence in Minhe Mangghuer thus provides my motivation for naming the evidential forms differently for this language.

3.2 Amdo Tibetan Evidentiality

Minhe Mangghuer is spoken in an area also inhabited by speakers of the Amdo Tibetan language, which also has a form of the c/d system. Since this is the Tibetan language with which Minhe Mangghuer speakers probably have had the most intimate contact, historically, we should pay particular attention to the Amdo evidential system, which might be expected to have contributed significantly to the origin of the c/d system in Minhe Mangghuer. Here, then, we will note some particular characteristics of the Amdo version of the c/d system.

In fact, the Amdo evidential system is rather different from that of Lhasa Tibetan, and also from that of Kathmandu Newari and that of Minhe Mangghuer. Like these other languages, Amdo also exhibits a type of first/non-first distinction. However, this is not manifested by bound verbal morphology, but rather by limitations on which of several evidential auxiliaries and enclitics may occur (J. Sun 1993:956-959).[7] The limitations on first person declaratives and on second person interrogatives are identical, so this part of the system is quite comparable to what we have seen above, although its morphosyntactic instantiation is different, and perhaps unique.

A further difference is that "evidentiality is marked only on verb phrases predicating situations existing either prior to or concurrently with the speech event" (J. Sun 1993:949), since in Amdo these distinctions function to discriminate source of knowledge, which is presumably an irrelevant issue for events which have not yet occurred. Minhe Mangghuer, as we saw, makes evidential distinctions in all tenses and aspects.

Yet another significant difference is that "copulas play an inconsequential role in the [Amdo] evidential system" (J. Sun 1993:994). This means that Amdo does not have the old vs. new knowledge distinction illustrated in (48)-(49), above; nor does it apparently mark copulas for evidential functions like the ones we saw for Minhe Mangghuer.

Finally, J. Sun notes that even where functions are similar, the actual forms used in Lhasa and Amdo are not: "One is struck by the almost total lack of cognacy of the evidential forms despite the considerable conceptual commensurability between the two systems" (J. Sun 1993:994). I have similarly found no apparent etymological relationship between the Minhe Mangghuer evidential morphemes and those of Amdo Tibetan, or those of any other Bodic c/d language, for that matter.

The Amdo Tibetan evidential system is clearly different from those of Lhasa Tibetan and Kathmandu Newari in some important ways. However, it is

[7] J. Sun (1993) actually describes an Amdo dialect of Sichuan Province. Since no publications have discussed evidentiality issues for the Amdo of Northeast Qinghai, we must take this description as representative of all Amdo dialects, for the present.

equally clear that it shares with them some fundamental organizational principles. J. Sun (1993:996) suggests that the relative complexity of the Amdo evidential system indicates that it preserves distinctions which have been lost in Lhasa. From another perspective, however, we might conclude the opposite: the fact that Amdo copulas do not participate in its evidential system might suggest that it has simplified vis-à-vis the more complex Lhasa version of the c/d system.[8]

Similarly, Amdo evidentiality differs from Minhe Mangghuer evidentiality in significant areas. This suggests that, while contact with Amdo Tibetan may indeed have provided some of the impetus for the development of the c/d functions in Minhe Mangghuer, it is clearly not the case that the system is simply borrowed wholesale, structurally or etymologically, from Amdo.

There is, however, one important shared feature which does seem to set Amdo Tibetan and Minhe Mangghuer into a class apart from the other c/d languages: that feature is their handling of evidentiality in reported speech. J. Sun (1993:983, emphasis original) reports that in Amdo Tibetan "quotative constructions must **copy** the evidential morphology of the original assertion to reflect the epistemological stance of the original speaker." Thus we find:

(60) (Amdo Tibetan; J. Sun 1993:983)

kʰarnəb	*ne*	*xor-wə-tʰæ*	*se*
last night	fire	slip-away-DIRECT EVID	QUOTE

I heard (from someone who saw it happen) that a fire broke out last night.

(61) (Amdo Tibetan; J. Sun 1993:983)

kʰarnəb	*ne*	*xor-sʰoŋ-zæg*	*se*
last night	fire	slip-away-INDIR. EVID	QUOTE

I heard (from someone who didn't see it happen) that a fire broke out last night.

This is exactly the sort of pattern that we found for Minhe Mangghuer reported speech (section 2.3).

3.3 Evidentiality in other Mongolic Languages and in Qinghai

I have thus far made no mention of evidentiality in other Mongolic languages, for the simple reason that the topic has not been discussed in publications dealing with these languages. Most Mongolic languages do not seem to make distinctions of this sort. However, some comments should be made here.

[8] I suspect that both of these perspectives contain some truth; remnants of earlier Tibetan evidential distinctions in Amdo may co-exist with its more recently acquired version of the areal c/d system.

First of all, there clearly **is** an evidential-like system in Huzhu Mongghul which in many ways resembles the Minhe Mangghuer system. This system is described in some detail by Chinggeltei (1988:252-81; 1989); however, although it is apparent from these discussions that Huzhu Mongghul operates on principles similar to those of Minhe Mangghuer, it is not completely clear how extensive the similarities are, because those descriptions are couched in different terms. The actual morphemes involved are substantially different from those used in Minhe Mangghuer, though some partial cognacy may be present. More research will be needed to elucidate the historical and functional relationship between the two systems, though it seems likely that in fact the Huzhu Monguor system will turn out also to reflect borrowing of Tibetan evidential features.

Chen (1986a:249-70) discusses what appears to be a similar system in Tongren Monguor. Here, a two-way distinction is made between subjective (主观) and objective (客观) perspectives; as in Mangghuer, this is marked in finite verb morphology. Again, the system seems quite similar to that of Mangghuer, but the extent of the similarities is difficult to determine.

Concerning this subjective/objective perspective distinction, Chen comments (1986a:195) that it is found only in Tongren Monguor, Huzhu Mongghul, and Minhe Mangghuer, among the modern Mongolic languages.[9]

Charles Li (p.c.) indicates that Gansu Baonan also has an evidential system very similar to the one I describe here, but published records of the language make no mention of this. The Baonan system awaits description.

The only other reference I have found to anything resembling an evidential function in a Mongolic language is Poppe's (1970:130) description of the Khalkha verbal suffix *lee*, which is said to form "the so-called present tense of the perfect, which expresses an action which has taken place, and which has either been witnessed or is commonly known, and is therefore regarded as an indisputable fact." So Khalkha may in fact have some sort of evidential system, but if so it is probably not a very elaborate one. And nothing resembling the complexity of the c/d system has been hinted at for other Mongolic languages, to my knowledge.

Elaborate evidential systems of the c/d sort seem to have developed only in those Mongolic languages which are spoken by groups living in the Inner Asian Frontier area. Evidentiality has begun to develop in members of the Mongolic family as a result of contact with other languages which have evidential systems.

There is some evidence which suggests that a Turkic language of the area may also have a form of the c/d system. Han (1990a, see especially page 44) describes a two-way distinction in Salar verbal marking, indicating what he labels a

[9] Chen (1986a) uses different lables for these languages, and does not systematically distinguish Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer. Thus, we cannot be sure whether he intended to include both Mongghul and Mangghuer in this statement. However, it is now clear that both should be included.

difference in the degree of certainty (肯定) which a speaker asserts when making a claim. This system, too, may turn out to be similar to the c/d systems we have seen.

It appears, then, that the c/d system, in various forms, has spread widely throughout the region in which the Mangghuer live. It may perhaps have originated in a Tibetan language. In any case, it seems that this system has become an areal feature, present in many languages of different language families.

Since so many languages have developed versions of this system, it is probably no longer possible to trace the roots of its introduction into any individual language. It is possible that Mangghuer borrowed the system directly from Amdo Tibetan, or perhaps from Lhasa Tibetan. It is equally possible, however, that it was introduced into this language by speakers shifting from a Tibetan language, or from some other language of the area which had already developed a c/d marking pattern. Similarly, it is possible that the system was borrowed by Mangghuer from Salar, or from Huzhu Mongghul.

Synchronic data will probably never completely answer this question, since the system's diffusion throughout the area has been so great.

We might also expect to find versions of it in other languages of the area, which have not yet been described.

4 Minhe Mangghuer Evidentiality in Cross-linguistic Perspective

The Minhe Mangghuer evidential system, and the c/d system in general, represent only one (relatively uncommon) type of evidential system. In this section, I will survey some cross-linguistic work on evidentiality, attempting to fit the c/d scheme into a broader understanding of the functions played by evidential systems in the world's languages.

Evidentiality first received extensive cross-linguistic treatment by linguists in Chafe and Nichols, eds. (1986). However, components of this general category had been described by Americanists since the early 1900's: Jacobsen (1986) cites descriptions of Kwakuitl (by Franz Boas), Nootka (Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh), Takelma (Edward Sapir again), and Wintu (Dorothy D. Lee). Jacobsen (1986) attributes the term *evidential* to Roman Jakobson (1957), and summarizes Jakobson's use of this term to include four possible sources of information: "someone else's report, (i.e., hearsay evidence), a dream (revelative evidence), a guess (presumptive evidence), and one's own previous experience (memory evidence)" (Jacobsen 1986:5).

When narrowly defined, evidentiality may be described with a forensic metaphor. Schlichter (1986:46) takes such a view when introducing Wintu evidentials:

> Knowledge is not infallible. A speaker can believe in the truth of a statement he makes but its truth does not logically follow from his belief. The only way to find out if he is right is to examine the facts. With the evidential suffixes, the Wintu speaker points to his evidence, inviting the addressee to verify it.

Here, the term *evidential* is reserved for indication of evidence supporting the speaker's right to make claims.

However, some authors have also conceived of evidentiality more broadly. Chafe (1986:262) outlines such a position in a comparison of conversation and academic writing in English:

> I need to stress that I am using the term 'evidentiality' in its broadest sense, not restricting it to the expression of 'evidence' per se. I will be discussing a range of epistemological considerations that are linguistically coded in spoken and written English. 'Evidence,' taken literally, is one of these considerations, but not the only one. What gives coherence to the set under discussion is that everything dealt with under this broad interpretation of evidentiality involves attitudes towards knowledge.

In Chafe's broader view, the marking of evidence is seen as only one part of a larger concern for indicating *reliability*, which may be influenced by the *source* of one's knowledge (evidence, language, hypothesis) and/or by the *mode* by which one knows (belief, induction, hearsay, deduction) (1986:262-63).

Jacobsen points out that in Makah, as in many languages, evidentials are "not a morphologically unitary or distinct category" (1986:25). Rather, Makah evidential functions are split across two different categories of verbal morphology, which derive from historically distinct construction types. In an important cross-linguistic survey, Willett (1988:64) similarly notes that "few languages mark evidentials as a separate grammatical category. Rather, the semantic domain of evidentiality is most often broken up over a number of different subcategories in a language's tense/aspect/modal system."

It is precisely because of linguists' treatment of evidentiality as a *semantic domain* that the phenomenon does not usually correlate with any single morphosyntactic category in any particular language. This treatment seems correct, since it leaves room for an account of the functional motivations behind the appearance of formal evidential devices. The usefulness of this starting point is further demonstrated by Willett (1988) and by many of the papers in Chafe and Nichols (1986), which show that various sets of these related modal functions *are* treated similarly in the morphosyntax of some languages, although they are subdivided differently by different languages.

The various forms of the c/d system tend to involve primarily the finite verb morphology of their languages. However, like other evidential functions described here, even c/d systems display some variation. The primary example is Amdo Tibetan, which employs unbound particles for c/d functions.

The Minhe Mangghuer system exhibits features which seem to cluster around the speaker's attitude towards her/his participation in the event being discussed, or else around his/her degree of willingness to vouch for a particular claim. These functions seem to fall nicely into the broader semantic categories which have been discussed in the typological literature on evidentiality.

However, it could also be argued that I have adopted a rather narrow perspective on evidentiality in Minhe Mangghuer, since this section did not treat as broad a range of semantic features as those discussed by, for example, Chafe (1986). Narrowness here has resulted from a desire to illustrate the contact-induced appearance of a morphological evidential subsystem in Minhe Mangghuer. A broader study of evidential functions falls beyond the scope of this dissertation.

However, the fuller treatment of reported speech, which is presented in chapter 7, will give occasion to discuss another common evidential device. Like many other of the world's languages, Minhe Mangghuer has an evidential form used to indicate that knowledge has been obtained by the hearing of someone's speech. This hearsay evidential device, *gelang*, is discussed in chapter 4, section 7.5, and chapter 7, section 2.2.2.

5 Summary and Discussion

I have suggested that the facts of the Minhe Mangghuer evidential system seem best explained as a distinction of first person perspective vs. non-first person perspective. Variation is introduced in two ways: on the one hand, there are the first person subjects with Non-first-marked, non-control predicates. These are systematic, and seem to have been adopted as a feature of the system when it was originally borrowed into Minhe Mangghuer. On the other hand, we find pragmatically-determined use of unexpected evidential marking (First in Non-first contexts or vice-versa), also with evidential function. In these instances, the basic force is to alter the normally-expected degree of responsibility which a speaker assumes when making a statement. When a non-first subject occurs with First Evidential marking, the speaker *asserts his or her authority* behind the truth of the claim; when the opposite situation occurs, the speaker is *denying his or her responsibility* for the event. These functions fall clearly into the domain of evidentiality.

Although the basic contrast of this system, the First/Non-first distinction, must almost certainly have been introduced through language contact the Minhe Mangghuer use of this distinction is somewhat different from what we see in the

other languages for which we have adequate descriptions. In Mangghuer, speakers generalized the First/Non-first distinction across all verbal marking environments, even those environments which receive verbal marking according to different principles in at least some of the Tibetan languages. This suggests that Minhe Mangghuer speakers, either through imperfect learning or later reanalysis, selected one salient functional aspect of the conjunct/disjunct scheme and spread that function more uniformly through their version of the system.

J. Sun (1993:994) reported an "almost total lack of cognacy" between the evidential forms of Amdo Tibetan and those of the Lhasa system. Similarly, when we compare the morphological instantiation of the c/d system in Minhe Mangghuer to that in neighboring languages, we find little if any suggestion of common etymology. The Minhe Mangghuer morphological forms seem, perhaps without exception, to be clear descendants of Mongolic morphemes, which means that the semantic and pragmatic functions of the c/d system were mapped onto native morphological devices, which presumably served other functions, and thus must have been reanalyzed.

Motivation for the development of the full set of c/d system features has remained somewhat unclear in the literature. In particular, the somewhat odd facts about the complements of verba dicendi, which gave rise to the label "conjunct/disjunct," do not seem to follow naturally from other facts about the system.

However, the copying of evidential morphology in reported speech, which we have seen in Mangghuer and also in Amdo Tibetan, provides a natural explanation for these difficult c/d facts. It may be that quotation in other c/d languages could also be analyzed in the way that I have analyzed Mangghuer quotation. Alternately, it might be that other c/d languages once had a quotation pattern like what Mangghuer now has, and that reanalysis of a system of this sort has led to a synchronic pattern which seems to be organized around rather more abstract principles.

If in fact the Mangghuer system of reported speech does turn out to help in explaining the c/d system in Bodic languages, this would improve our understanding of a family of evidential systems which currently remain somewhat enigmatic.

Chapter 6
Clause Combining

1 A Framework for Clause Combining

In chapter 4 we saw the basic structure of the Mangghuer clause, with its most common constituents and their typical order of appearance. In this chapter, we take up the complicated question of how multiple clauses are combined into larger units, which we can think of as *sentences*. I will have little to say about the sentence as a syntactic unit, but rather, will focus on the means by which clauses are combined with one another within a sentence. However, a few comments on the nature of the larger units will be made in section 4, below.

The remainder of section 1 will present the basic parameters which we will need for a characterization of nonfinite clause behavior in Mangghuer. In section 2, we will look at the various types of nonfinite clauses, and consider their external syntactic relations, as well as some implications for cross-linguistic categorization of clause combining phenomenona, based on the results given here. In section 3, a historical and comparative perspective on Mangghuer clause combining is adopted. Section 4 introduces some issues relevant to the sentence.

1.1 Finiteness

Most of the clause combining phenomena we will see here involve nonfinite verb forms. By the definition given in section 4, below, in any syntactic sentence there is generally only one finite verb form: this is almost always the final verb in the sentence. Non-final verbs are usually also nonfinite.[1]

In chapter 4, we saw that finite verbs in Mangghuer bear finite morphology which indicates mood, evidentiality, and aspect/tense. Verbs in the imperative mood are a special case; these verb forms do not indicate evidentiality or aspect/tense, but do indicate person of the subject. These forms, too, are finite.

Nonfinite verbs do not indicate mood, evidentiality or person. Some nonfinite verbs do indicate aspect/tense, however.

Nonfiniteness, then, does not mean that a verb indicates no grammatical categories at all. It means that the verb does not indicate the full set of grammatical categories that are required for finite status.

[1] Except in the case of embedded quotations, which may contain finite verbs. These will be discussed below.

1.2 External Syntactic Relations

All Mangghuer verbs which are nonfinite are also dependent. A nonfinite verb is not fully specified for the grammatical categories which finiteness requires. A nonfinite verb must therefore have a syntactic relationship with a finite verb, so that values can be specified for its unspecified grammatical categories. This requirement that a nonfinite verb must be syntactically related to a finite verb is taken to constitute *dependency*.

Therefore, a nonfinite verb can be the main verb in its own clause, but that clause must have a syntactic relationship with another clause which contains a finite verb. A clause with only a nonfinite verb cannot stand alone as a syntactic sentence.

Taking the converse perspective, we can also say that all Mangghuer dependent verbs are nonfinite.

An interesting perspective on the external relations of nonfinite clauses is given by Foley and Van Valin (1984). These authors, citing the work of Olson (1981), provide the typology of clause-combining strategies which is given in (1). In addition to the feature ±dependent, they note that clauses may be characterized as ±embedded. Combining these two binary oppositions, they obtain the following typology of clauses:

(1) Clause combining strategies (Foley and Van Valin 1984:241-42)

-embedded	-dependent	*coordination*
+embedded	+dependent	*subordination*
-embedded	+dependent	*cosubordination*

This typology turns out to be quite helpful as a framework for describing Mangghuer clause combining behavior.

I would like to comment, though, on the fourth logical possibility, which is missing from (1). Foley and Van Valin (1984:393) consider the missing combination, and conclude that "the fourth possibility, +embedded -dependent, does not occur, as there are no constructions in which one clause is embedded in another but is totally independent of it in terms of constituents and operators."

However, such clauses certainly do exist in Mangghuer. Consider (2):

(2) (Nine-headed Ghost 38)

```
Tingsa Jiutou    Yaomao [ra]     geji
tingsa jiutou    yaomao ri  -a   ge   -ji
later  nine:head ghost  come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF

      dayinglajiang.
      dayingla-jiang
      promise -N1:PERF
Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying "I'll come."
```

The bracketed clause *ra* 'let me come' is a direct quotation, and is quite clearly embedded within a larger matrix clause. As we will see in 2.2.9, below, the nonfinite form *-ji* of the quotative marker *geji* indicates that this quotation is to be taken as an embedded constituent of the larger clause. Clearly, this embedded clause is in no other way dependent on the scope of operators in the main clause. Its verb appears in the voluntative form, which is the first person imperative, and is thus finite.

So what seemed to Foley and Van Valin to be a logical impossibility does, in fact, appear. The appearance of all four logically possible combinations suggests that their two features, ±dependent and ±embedded, are not simply ad hoc means of describing a three-way distinction with two terms. Rather, they represent two interacting parameters.

With this new addition, we can restate (1) as follows, with our addition in bold type.

(3) Clause combining strategies, revised

-embedded	-dependent	*coordination*
+embedded	+dependent	*subordination*
-embedded	+dependent	*cosubordination*
+embedded	**-dependent**	***embedded quotation***

Foley and Van Valin (1984), as well as Foley and Olson (1985), also adopt a useful perspective on the internal structure of a clause, which in turn helps to characterize the relationships between combined clauses. These authors speak of a layered structure of the clause, consisting of the elements outlined in (4):

(4) Internal structure of the clause (after Foley and Van Valin 1984:77, 187)

Nucleus	contains the predicate
Core	contains nucleus and core arguments
Periphery	contains nucleus, core, and obliques

The authors note that, in theory at least, coordination, subordination, or cosubordination can occur at any of these three levels of clause structure.

1.3 A Brief Introduction to Some Clause Combining Terms

In this section, I will give brief descriptions of three important terms for the description of clause combining: adverbial clauses, clause chaining, and verb serializations. Each of these will figure prominently in the discussion that follows.

1.3.1 Adverbial Clauses

Foley and Van Valin (1984:249) characterize an adverbial clause as one "in which a clause is subordinated and functions as an adverbial modifier of the main clause."

Thompson and Longacre (1985), surveying adverbial clauses cross-linguistically, point out that these clauses may be classified according to semantic roles, such as temporal, locational, purposive, circumstantial, and so on (1985:177). They also note (1985:177) that some adverbial clauses are "substitutable by a single word," while others are not. The former type generally include time, location, and manner adverbials, for which categories languages often "have monomorphemic non-anaphoric adverbs." The other semantic categories do not generally have such lexical items, and use adverbial clauses instead.

In addition to these general statements about adverbial clauses, it is also relevant to this study to consider Haspelmath and König, eds. (1995), which is devoted to description of the category of *converbs*. A converb, writes Haspelmath (1995:3) is "a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination." This term is particularly important for the study of Mangghuer, because it originated in Altaic linguistics; Haspelmath (1995:46) cites Ramstedt (1903:55) as its ultimate origin. Further, the category of converb has continued to be used by scholars describing Mongolic languages, including, for example, of Poppe (1951, 1955, 1970, 1974). In the Haspelmath and König volume, Bisang (1995:165-170) uses the term converb somewhat more broadly than do most Mongolists; this author applies the term to a large number of the nonfinite verb forms of Khalkha Mongolian.

In the discussion of section 2.3, I will comment on the relevance of this term to Mangghuer nonfinite verb forms. I will use the term converb as Haspelmath defines it (see previous paragraph), since this definition restricts the sense of the term clearly enough to allow testing its usefulness for the description of Mangghuer.

1.3.2 Clause Chaining

Clause chaining is described by Foley and Van Valin (1984) as a type of cosubordination. Prototypically, this clause combining strategy involves a string of nonfinite clauses, all dependent on a single finite clause. Most chaining languages are verb-final, and the finite clause is the last one in the chain. Example (5), from Nepali, is a prototypical chaining construction:

(5) Nepali Clause Chain (Slater 1994:139)
ma pasal-mā ga-era
1s store-LOC go(PAST)-CP

cāmal kin-era
rice buy-CP

ghar-mā ā-era
house-LOC come-CP

bhāt pakā-era
rice cook-CP

paḍh-na bas-ẽ
read-NOM sit-1s.PAST
I went to the store, bought rice, came home, cooked rice, and sat down to read.

The nonfinite verb marker *-era* is traditionally called a *conjunctive participle* (CP) in South Asian linguistics. Its primary function in example (5) is to indicate sequentiality of a series of events.

In prototypical clause chaining, there is theoretically no limit to the number of clauses which can appear in a series. Example (5) was constructed in an elicitation setting, but it is fairly common to find in the literature naturally-occurring examples in which a large number of clauses are similarly conjoined. The final verb in a chain is usually the finite one; nonfinite verbs, which precede it, are often referred to as *medial* or *non-final* verbs.

Languages often have more than one device for clause chaining. Watanabe (1994), in a study of clause chaining in written Japanese discourse, identifies three distinct chaining devices. Each of the first three clauses of (6) is marked with one of these devices:

(6) Japanese clause chaining devices (Watanabe 1994:134)
numa no nushi wa, sore o ***miru to***
marsh GEN spirit TOPIC that DO[2] see CHAIN
Once the marsh spirit saw it,

makkana kuchi o ***ake-te***
red mouth DO open-CHAIN
(he) opened (his) red mouth,

[2] DO means "direct object marker."

saburoo ni ***tobikakari-∅***
S. to jump-CHAIN
jumped to Saburoo, and

gerotto nom-oo to shi-mashi-ta
one gulp swallow-INTENTIONAL COMP do-POLITE-PAST
tried to swallow (him) with one gulp.

Watanabe (1994) is not alone in considering these Japanese constructions to constitute clause chaining. Myhill and Hibiya (1988) and Iwasaki (1993) are other scholars who adopt this perspective. However, others have labelled the same constructions with different categories. Watanabe (1994:192) provides a bewildering list of terms which scholars have applied to various ones of these morphemes, including such labels as "gerund," "continuative," "stem," "te-conjunction," and "infinitive." Some authors have adopted syntactically neutral terms; Ono (1990:73) refers to "a so-called 'clause linking' construction" when discussing the syntactic functions of *-te*.

One other notable perspective on Japanese chaining constructions is found in Bisang (1995), who considers these forms to be converbs (see above).

Payne (1991) helps to clarify just why there should be such disagreement as to the status of clauses such as these in a particular language. Noting that particular grammatical constructions can be seen as more or less similar to prototypical clause-chaining, he suggests "that the term 'clause-chaining language' does not describe a distinct language type, but rather that languages may exhibit clause chaining to a greater or lesser degree" (1991:248). We will return to this observation in section 2.3.1.

An important aspect of the study of clause chaining has been a focus on indicators of *switch reference*. In some chaining languages, the nonfinite markers on verbs additionally indicate whether the subject of the current clause and that of the following clause are the same or different. Foley and Van Valin (1984:341-42) give the following examples from Barai (citing Olson 1981):

(7) Barai (Foley and Van Valin 1984:341)
a *Bu ire i-kinu vua kuae*
3pl food eat-SIM/SR talk say
'They were eating and talking.'

b *Bu ire i-ko no vua kuae*
3pl food eat-SIM/DR 1pl talk say
'While they were eating, we were talking.'

In (7a), the nonfinite suffix *-kinu* indicates that the subject of the following clause is the same as the subject of the verb 'eat;' in (7b), *-ko* indicates that the conjoined clauses have different subjects.

A number of languages have been described as having switch reference systems like this, indicating continuity or discontinuity in the actors in successive clauses. See also Longacre (1985) for additional examples.

Recent studies have shown that other sorts of continuity or discontinuity can be indicated by nonfinite markers in chaining languages. Mithun (1993) shows that Central Pomo nonfinite markers, which appear superficially to indicate switch reference, are more accurately described thus: "their primary function is to specify relations between actions, states, or events, not participants. They mark same versus different eventhood, rather than same versus different subject" (1993:134).

Ono (1990), Iwasaki (1993), and Watanabe (1994) all examine various aspects of continuity associated with Japanese nonfinite clauses. Ono (1990) and Watanabe (1994) both evaluate continuity of such categories as participants, time, and location, and both conclude that various Japanese chaining devices correlate with continuity or discontinuity of these categories. Iwasaki (1993) adds to this an examination of the perspective adopted by the speaker, and the degree to which the information reported in a clause is directly accessible to the speaker. Examining the use of two chaining forms, *-te* and *-tara*, he concludes (1993:76) that *-tara* is used when "there is a shift in the degree of information accessibility" between the two clauses it conjoins, and that *-te* appears when the information in the two clauses is equally accessible to the speaker, so that there is no such shift.

A similar study which has particular relevance to Mangghuer is Field (1997), which shows that nonfinite markers in Santa may also be seen as indicating continuity or discontinuity of various features of the events coded by successive clauses.

In the description of various Mangghuer nonfinite markers, we will find the concept of clause chaining extremely enlightening. In particular, I will use the term *non-final* to refer to nonfinite verbs in any chain-like construction. We will also see that, like Santa, Mangghuer nonfinite markers indicate various sorts of continuity between a non-final clause and the following clause.

1.3.3 Verb Serialization

Terms like *serialization* have been used to describe a wide variety of phenomena, not all of which are instances of combining clauses. I will provide here the most cursory of summaries, and then comment on my decision not to describe similar Mangghuer constructions as serialization.

Let's start by looking at a few examples, taken from Durie (1997:290). The paraphrases are provided by Durie, who notes that the parenthetical material

"is *not* to be understood as a more 'literal' translation, since it actually breaks the unitary event, as described by the serial verb complex, into parts" (1997:290). Bold emphasis is in the original.

(8) White Hmong (Durie 1997:290)

nws	***ntaus***	*tus*	*dev*	***khiav***	*kiag*
(s)he	beat	CL	dog	flee	completely

'He beat the dog off.' (He beats dog; it flees.)

(9) Yoruba (Durie 1997:290)

ó	***mú***	*ìwé*	***wá***
he	took	book	come

'He brought a book.' (He takes a book; he comes.)

(10) Jeh (Durie 1997:290)

ěn	*loh*	*chièu*	*reng*	*rŭp*	*bŭh*	*cha*	*chò*	*'wan*
3sg	exit	go	search	catch	roast	eat	pig	they

'He went out and got sombody's pig and roasted and at it.'
(He exits; he goes; he searches; he catches sombody's pig; he roasts it; he eats it.)

(11) Kalam (Durie 1997:290)

nad	*agl*	***ñag***	***tk***	***yok-∅-an!***
you	arrow	shoot	separate	move.off-HORT-2sg

'Shoot the arrow clear!' (Shoot arrow; it separates; it moves off.)

Durie discusses examples of these and other types, and describes "the archetypal serial verb construction" as one which "consists of a sequence of two or more verbs which in various (rather strong) senses, together act like a single verb" (1997:289-90). This perspective emphasizes the syntactic and semantic aspects of serialization, and Durie gives a list of syntactic and semantic properties which tend to cluster together in serial constructions of the sort he describes.

An important perspective on the syntax of verb serialization is that of Foley and Olson (1985). These authors take the same core/nucleus/periphery approach to clause stucture as was outlined for Foley and Van Valin, above. In Foley and Olson's approach, an important fact about serial constructions is that they involve the conjoining of verbs at the core or nuclear levels of a clause, such that these authors consider serial constructions to constitute a single clause. They state this as follows: "serial verb constructions are joined at the nuclear or core layer, and they, as well, consist of a single periphery. These are all, by this definition, a single clause" (1985:57).

Another common perspective on verb serialization is along the lines stated in Li and Thompson (1981:594): "We will use the term *serial verb construction* to refer to a sentence that contains two or more verb phrases or clauses juxtaposed without any marker indicating what the relationship is between them." The authors go on to note that "the verb phrases in a serial verb construction always refer to events or states of affairs which are understood to be related as *parts* of *one* overall event or state of affairs" (1981:594). This description, like that of Durie, recognizes both morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of serialization.

In languages with rich clause-combining morphology, particularly in Central Asia, a few authors have used the term *serialization* to describe any combination of morphologically unmarked verbs in a series. Thus, Bisang (1995:139) defines verb serialization thus:

> Verb serialization is the unmarked juxtaposition of two or more verbs or verb phrases (with or without subject and/or object), each of which would be able to form a sentence on its own.

This definition seems somewhat nonstandard, when compared to the statements presented so far in this section. However, a similar perspective has been adopted by some other scholars. For example, in a discussion of Lahu data taken from the work of Matisoff, DeLancey (1991:4) refers to the following example as an illustration of either clause chaining or serialization; when the optional nonfinite (NF) marker *-lɛ* appears, this is considered a clause chain, but when *-lɛ* is absent, the verbs have been "serialized."

(12) Lahu (DeLancey 1991:4)

lâ	*pɔ̂ʔ(-lɛ)*	*chè ʔ(-lɛ)*	*câ*	*pɔ̀ sɛ̌ ve cê*
tiger	jump(-NF)	bite(-NF)	kill	finish

'The tiger jumped on, bit, and killed (it/them).'

DeLancey notes that there is no meaning difference associated with presence or absence of the NF marker.

Two points can be made about the relevance of this particular example to Mangghuer.

First: we saw in the previous section that discussions of clause chaining now sometimes include morphologically unmarked verbs as chaining forms. An example is (6) given by Watanabe for Japanese. So serial verb constructions of the type given in (12) seem entirely identifiable with clause chaining; they simply involve a zero nonfinite morpheme. I will return to this point momentarily.

Second: the verb meaning 'finish' in (12) serves as an aspectual marker, rather than a lexical verb. This verb cannot bear the nonfinite marker *-lɛ*, but *must*

appear with no morphology. This illustrates another type of construction which frequently appears in discussions of serialization. Here, the verb 'finish' has come to play the role of an auxiliary, and it is quite common for languages to drop intervening morphology as this process occurs. This is quite reminiscent of what we saw for Mangghuer auxiliaries in chapter 4.

In fact, it turns out that constructions of just these two types account for all of the appearances of nonfinite bare verb stems in Mangghuer. It would be possible to treat these two construction types as serializations, and this would certainly be commensurate with previous discussions of serial constructions. However, the first type can also be accounted for as an instance of clause chaining, and we will see in the discussion of this chapter that the concept of non-final verbs, which we need to account for clause chaining, will serve us well in describing most Mangghuer nonfinite verb constructions. The second type has already been accounted for in chapter 4, as verb + auxiliary constructions.

Thus, although these Mangghuer constructions could be described as instances of serialization, I will describe them with other terms instead.

More discussion of these issues will be presented when we examine particular clause combining constructions in this chapter. In section 2.3, the interrelated nature of clause chaining, serial verbs, and auxiliaries is explored in greater detail, and in section 3, we will examine some issues in the historical development of these construction types.

2 Nonfinite Clauses

In chapter 4, I gave the following table of nonfinite verb markers for Mangghuer:

Type	Morpheme	Meaning/Function
nominalizers	-ku(ni)	Imperfective Aspect
	-sang(ni)	Perfective Aspect
non-final clause markers	-ser	Progressive Aspect
	-la	Purpose
	-ku	Imperfective Aspect
	-sang zhi	Perfective Aspect
	-tala	Prior Event
	danang	Dependency
	-sa	Conditionals AND Event-State Relations
	-∅	Sequential Actions
	-ji	Imperfective Aspect AND Default Nonfinite Marker

Table 6.1 Nonfinite Verb Morphology

In the bulk of this chapter, we will take up the complex topic of how to describe the syntactic and semantic functions of these forms.

As can be seen from Table 6.1, we can divide Mangghuer nonfinite markers into two major types: nominalizers and non-final clause markers. These two types can be identified on the basis of having different structural characteristics.

Nominalizers create nominalized clauses. These clauses are dependent, since they are nonfinite, and must therefore be combined with finite clauses. Nominalized clauses are also embedded, as will be outlined in 2.1, below.

Because they are both dependent and embedded, nominalized clauses may be considered *subordinate*, in the terms of Foley and Van Valin (1985) (see 1.2, above).

The other type of nonfinite clause is labelled *non-final* in Table 6.1. Non-final clauses usually appear in clause chaining constructions.

All non-final clauses are dependent clauses, since they are nonfinite. In most cases, it is not possible to determine whether a given non-final clause is embedded or not. Thus, with regard to embedding, non-final clauses have an ambiguous status. This will be demonstrated in the discussion of the various non-final markers in section 2.2.

If we try to apply Foley and Van Valin's (1985) terms to Mangghuer non-final clauses, we find that they are either *subordinate* (+dependent, +embedded) or *cosubordinate* (+dependent, -embedded). Since non-final clauses' status with respect to embedding is ambiguous, their status with respect to the

subordinate/cosubordinate distinction is also ambiguous. Thus, the Mangghuer data suggest that this distinction cannot be rigorously maintained.

2.1 Nominalized Clauses

As I have claimed above, Mangghuer nominalized clauses are subordinate, being both dependent and embedded.

Nominalized clauses have two major syntactic functions. They appear as relative clauses, modifying a head noun; or they function as complement clauses, serving as arguments of a main verb.

These clauses thus either appear within a noun phrase, or serve as a noun phrase themselves. Since noun phrases usually appear as arguments within a clause, a clause embedded within a noun phrase is clearly also embedded within the main clause.

Clauses are nominalized by means of two suffixes, *-ku(ni)* and *-sang(ni)*. Generally, the difference between these two seems to be one of perfectivity, with *-ku(ni)* occurring in imperfective contexts and *-sang(ni)* in perfective contexts.

The nominalizer *ni*, which optionally appears together with both of the nominalizers, will be discussed in 2.1.3, below.

In chapter 4, section 5.3.2, we saw that nominalization is also used as a negation strategy. Constructions of that type should probably not be considered to be combinations of clauses. They presumably represent a product of grammaticalization, deriving historically from a sequence of clauses; synchronically, however, they are monoclausal, with a main verb and an auxiliary verb.

2.1.1 Relative Clauses

A relative clause is used to modify a head noun. Like most Mangghuer nominal modifyers, the relative clause precedes its head noun, as illustrated in (13) and (14):

(13) (Qing Yongzhang)

yama	*china-sang*	*kong*
food	cook-PERF:NOMLZR	person

做过饭的人

'person who has cooked'

(14) (Qing Yongzhang)

mughashi	*yama*	*china-ku*	*kong*
tomorrow	food	cook-IMPERF:NOMLZR	person

明天要做饭的人
'person who will cook tomorrow'

A relative clause is often the only modifier of its head noun, but sometimes other modifiers also appear. When they do appear, they precede the relative clause, so that the relative clause is the last nominal modifier before the head noun. In (15), the relative clause is in [brackets]; the preceding genitive NP *ti bayang kungni* 'that rich man's' also modifies the head noun *aguer* 'daughter.'

(15) (Sangbura 243)

```
Ti   bayang kongni     [bieqieresangni]
ti   bayang kong  =ni  bieqiere-sang       -ni
that rich   person=GEN be:ill  -PERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR

     aguerni      dawenlajiang.
     aguer   =ni  dawenla  -jiang
     daughter=ACC ask:about-N1:PERF
(He) asked about that rich man's daughter who had become
sick.
```

Within the relative clause, there is a gap in the position which would be occupied by the coreferential NP, if it appeared within the clause. Thus, the bracketed relative clause in (15) corresponds to a main clause something like (16), where *aguer* 'daughter' is the subject of the intransitive main verb + auxiliary *bieqiereser bang* 'be ill.'

(16) (Sangbura 145)

```
yige   bayang kongni     aguer    bieqiereser   bang.
yi -ge bayang kong  =ni  aguer    bieqiere-ser  bang
one-CL rich   person=GEN daughter be:ill  -PROG N1:COP
a rich man's daughter is ill.
```

In the examples considered so far, only the subject of a clause has been relativized. Direct objects, too may be relativized, as shown in (17):

(17) (Qing Yongzhang)

[nige	*kong*	*china-sang]*	*buda*
this	person	cook-PERF:NOMLZR	noodle

这个人做的面
'the noodles this person cooked'

Obliques may also be relativized, as (18) illustrates:

(18) (Monkey 66)

```
Qi       [ti  ningerni      nitaku]
qi       ti   ninger   =ni  nita -ku
2:SG:NOM that old:woman=GEN sleep-IMPERF:NOMLZR

     ruangdu   qi       nita.
     ruang=du  qi       nita
     place=DAT 2:SG:NOM sleep
You sleep in that woman's sleeping place.
```

The relative clause is a constituent within an NP, and thus, it is embedded within the larger clause in which that NP plays some syntactic role. In (19), *kong* 'person' serves as the subject of the main clause. In (15), above, *aguer=ni* 'daughter=ACC' is the direct object of its main clause. And in (18), above, *ruang* 'place' is a locational oblique, appearing with the dative casemarker *=du*.

(19) (A Cow Mother 5)

```
Ganni    [mojielie alasang]        kong   huguer
gan =ni  mojielie  ala -sang       kong   huguer
3:SG=GEN torment   kill-PERF:NOMLZR person cow

     ge       bianli rijiang.
     ge       bianli ri  -jiang
     SG:INDEF become come-N1:PERF
The person who had been tormented to death became a cow.
```

I mentioned in the introduction to this section that the nominalizers *-ku(ni)* and *-sang(ni)* differ in perfectivity. We can begin to see this by looking back over the examples presented so far.

The nominalizer *-sang(ni)* appears in examples (13), (15), (17) and (19), and always indicates a completed action. On the other hand, we find *-ku(ni)* in examples (14) and (18), where it indicates imperfective aspectual frames: future and habitual, respectively.

We will see more examples of this difference in the following section.

There are also some examples in the folktales which we might call headless relative clauses. These have the same structure as relative clauses, but their head noun has been omitted, and can be inferred from context. (We saw in chapter 3, section 2.8, that an NP can appear without a head noun.) An example of a headless relative is given in (20).

(20) (Shalangguer's Story 52)

```
[Shalangguerni  bieri barisangni]
shalangguer=ni  bieri bari-sang       -ni
Shalangguer=GEN wife  take-PERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR

     tiemerni      bikula,
     tiemer-ni     bi    -ku          =la
     metal -NOMLZR 1:COP-IMPERF:NOMLZR=INST
Because the one Shalangguer's wife had taken was a metal
one,
```

Additional comments will be made about this subject below.

2.1.2 Complement Clauses

A complement clause serves as an argument of a verb. Thus, the complement clause is clearly embedded within another clause.

Example (21) shows a subject complement; (22) is a direct object complement.

(21) (Qing Yongzhang)

[gan	*yang*	*china-sang]*	*dou*	*ansidun*	*bang*
3sg	what	cook-PERF:NOMLZR	all	taste:good	N1:COP

他做什么都好吃

'whatever he cooks tastes good'

(22) (A Cow Mother 39)

```
[Huguerni  jiarikuni]                    jienang
huguer=ni  jiari-ku           -ni        jienang
cow   =ACC kill -IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR    self

     maidielang.
     maidie-lang
     know  -N1:IMPERF
Cow herself knew that she would be killed.
```

Oblique complements are shown in the next three examples. In each case, the nominalized clause is marked with the appropriate enclitic case postposition: (23) is dative, (24) is instrumental, and (25) is an ablative example.

(23) (Qing Yongzhang)

[gan	*ri-sang]=du*	*bi*	*zheng*	*di-ser*	*bi*
3sg	come-PERF:NOMLZR =DAT	1:SG:NOM	just	eat-PROG	1:COP

他来的时候，我正在吃

'At (the time) he arrived, I was eating.'

(24) (The Rabbit Judge 46)

```
[nangda  nukuangdu   dianke geku]la
nangda   nukuang=du  dianke ge-ku          =la
1:SG:DAT hole   =DAT bury   do-IMPERF:NOMLZR=INST

     yigehua bang   bai.
     yigehua bang   bai
     same    N1:COP EMPH
it's the same as burying me in the hole.
```

(25) (Human-bear 17)

```
[Shinaguni   diku]sa                ayijiang,
shinagu=ni   di -ku           =sa   ayi -jiang
woman  =POSS eat-IMPERF:NOMLZR=ABL  fear-N1:PERF
The woman (Elder Sister-in-law) was afraid of being eaten,
```

A nominalized clause may also appear as either of the nominal elements which are equated in an equational clause. For example, in (26), the two equated NPs are *ti* 'that' and *zai yibeizi rikuni* 'what will come in the next life.'

(26) (A Hired Farmhand 91)

```
Ti   zou  [zai yibeizi rikuni]                    bang."
ti   zou  zai  yibeizi ri  -ku          -ni      bang
that thus next life    come-IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR N1:COP
So this is what will come in the next life."
```

A common construction of this sort is given in (27): here, the nominalized clause appears with a verb of saying, and introduces a quote:

(27) (Madage 27-28)

```
[xueshengsi jiaoduer  kelikuni]                  shi,
xuesheng-si jiaoduer  keli-ku          -ni       shi
student -PL every:day say -IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR COP
what the students said every day was,

Madage 28
"Qi      morini    kao bang   bai,
qi       mori =ni  kao bang   bai
2:SG:NOM horse=GEN son N1:COP EMPH
"You are a horse's son,
```

This represents a borrowed quotative formula which will be described in chapter 7, section 3.3.2.2.1.

I noted above that one difference between complement clauses and relative clauses is the presence or absence of the arguments within the nominalized clause. However, in many instances it is not clear whether or not a particular argument has been gapped. In (27), for example, there is no direct object of the verb *keli* 'say' expressed within the embedded clause. Similarly, in (26) there is no expressed subject of the verb *ri* 'come.'

As we saw in chapter 4, though, omission of clausal arguments is quite common in any type of clause. So these could actually be taken as either headless relative clauses or complement clauses. Earlier examples have shown that both types exist, but it is not always clear which type a given clause belongs to.

Complement clauses may also appear as arguments of negative copulas, as in the following possessive clause example:

(28) (Filial Obedience 21)
```
Muni      asisidu           a
muni      asi      -si=du   a
1:SG:GEN  livestock-PL=DAT  also

      [dikuni]                guang.
      di -ku          -ni     guang
      eat-IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR N1:NEG:COP
My livestock don't have anything to eat either.
```

Similarly, nominalized clauses used with the negative copulas could be seen as complements. Consider (29), reprinted from chapter 4, section 5.3.2:

(29) (Shalangguer's Story 19)
```
[bi       hainang       musisang] gui."
bi        hai =nang     musi-sang gui
1:SG:NOM  shoe=REFLPOSS wear-PERF 1:NEG:COP
I haven't put on my shoes."
```

In negations such as this (as well as all those discussed in chapter 4, section 5.3.2) we can say that the negative copula *gui* takes a single argument, which is a nominalized clause.

2.1.3 The Optional Nominalizer *ni*

I claimed above that the element *ni* in *-ku(ni)* and *-sang(ni)* is optional, but thus far I have not defended this claim. The following pairs of folktale lines show that this is true. Each pair was produced by a single speaker within a single story.

Examples (30) and (31) show that *-kuni* and *-ku* are synonymous:

(30) (Madage 55)
```
qi        yaoku             mernang       yao ma,
qi        yao-ku            mer =nang     yao ma
2:SG:NOM  go -IMPERF:NOMLZR road=REFLPOSS go  PRT
you walk the road you are walking,
```

(31) (Madage 65)
```
qi        yaokuni                   mernang       yao ma,
qi        yao-ku          -ni       mer =nang     yao ma
2:SG:NOM  go -IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR  road=REFLPOSS go  PRT
you walk on the road you are walking,
```

Similarly, (32) and (33) show the semantic equivalence of *-sang* and *-sangni*.

(32) (Sangbura 16)
```
Tingku      abasinang           yigua   taimai geji
ting-ku     aba   -si=nang      yigua   taimai ge-ji
that-IMPERF father-PL=REFLPOSS totally bury   do-IMPERF

      hulisangni                digernang             ghula
      huli  -sang       -ni     diger     =nang       ghu=la
      remain-PERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR little:bit=REFLPOSS two=COLL

      khuba  barijiang.
      khuba  bari-jiang
      divide take-N1:PERF
After that, burying their fathers, the two of them
divided their remaining things and took (them away).
```

(33) (Sangbura 19)
```
Yige   gaotaishengmai      shi  hulisang
yi -ge gaotaishengmai      shi  huli  -sang
one-CL lift:high:bury:deep time remain-PERF:NOMLZR

      digernang           yijia ge       aruoghuo
      diger     =nang     yijia ge       aruoghuo
      little:bit=REFLPOSS each  SG:INDEF back:basket

      beilajiang.
      beila-jiang
      carry-N1:PERF
After the funeral, each (of the sons) carried a basket
of their little remaining (bread).
```

Comparative works on Mongolic do not, to my knowledge, make any mention of an element like this *ni*, although they do note nominalizing forms which are probably cognate with *-ku* and *-sang* (see, for example, Poppe 1955:269, 272).

The optionality of *-ni* in these constructions, as well as its absence from historical discussions, suggests that it may have been added as a later element to an already existing structural complex. I suggest that its origin involves the Mangghuer genitive marker *=ni*.

Motivation for the appearance of the genitive marker here would come from contact with Chinese, which uses a nominalizer and relative clause marker *de* (的) which is also homophonous with its genitive marker. Compare (34) and (35) to see these forms:

(34) Mandarin Chinese Nominalizer/Relativizer

wo	*xihuan*	*de*	*ren*
我	喜欢	的	人
1sg	like	NOM	person

'The person I like'

(35) Mandarin Chinese Genitive Marker

nei-ge	*ren*	*de*	*fangzi*
那个	人	的	房子
that-CL	person	GEN	house

'that person's house'

So it seems possible that structural borrowing from Mandarin could have motivated the extension of the Mangghuer genitive *=ni* to nominalized clause contexts.

Further support for this borrowing analysis comes from constructions like (27) above, where the Chinese copula *shi* 是 is borrowed with nominalized verba dicendi in a way exactly parallel to the Mandarin construction *ta shuode shi* 他说的是 "what s/he said was." Additional evidence is provided by (20), above, where the predication asserts that Shalangguer's wife's item (a washtub) was *tiemer=ni* 'of iron'. This parallels another function of Chinese *de*.

2.2 Non-final Clauses

Non-final clauses are created with any of the non-final clause markers shown in Table 6.1. Nine such forms are listed in the Table, and the range of functions of each of these forms will be outlined here.

The primary criterion for including each of these forms in this category is syntactic behavior. All of the forms are used to create clauses which can appear in clause chaining constructions.

A clause chain consists of any number of non-final clauses, followed by a single finite clause. In principle, the number of non-final clauses which could appear in such a construction is unlimited, though in actual speech chains of only two or three clauses are most common.

Examples (36) and (37) illustrate some of the combinatorial possibilities for clause chains.

(36) (Human-bear 38)

```
[gan xi]   [ganni    bulaini   liangbanjier  cida danang]
gan  xi-Ø   gan =ni  bulai-ni  liang-banjier cida danang
3:SG go-SEQ 3:SG=GEN child=ACC two  -piece   tear after

      [gerdi kerla gherghajiang.]
      gerdi  kerla gher  -gha  -jiang
      roof   throw go:out-CAUSE-N1:PERF
he (monkey) went and tore his child into two pieces and
threw (the pieces) onto the roof.
```

This example contains a chain of three clauses, which are bracketed. The first two clauses are non-final, with the nonfinite verbs *xi-Ø* 'go-SEQ' and *cida danang* 'tear after.'

Example (37) contains a chain of four bracketed clauses. The first three clauses are non-final, and end with the nonfinite verbs *hangbura-Ø* 'finish-SEQ,' *ge-ji* 'QUOTE-IMPERF,' and *xi-sa* 'go-COND.' The final clause has a main verb (*guala* 'hang') and two auxiliaries (*ge-ser bang* 'do-PROG N1:COP). (The final particle bai 'EMPHATIC' is nonverbal, and belongs syntactically with the preceding clause.)

(37) (Monkey 55-58)

```
[Di hangbura,]
di  hangbura-Ø
eat finish  -SEQ
After finishing eating,

Monkey 56
["Du bi       yizhuan    langlaya,"
du   bi       yi -zhuan  langla     -ya
now  1:SG:NOM one-circle walk:around-VOL
"Now I'll go walk around"
```

```
Monkey 57
geji]          [zaohangdu  xisa,]
ge   -ji       zaohang=du  xi-sa
QUOTE-IMPERF kitchen=DAT go-COND
saying this (the boy's mother) went into the kitchen,

Monkey 58
[ganni   bulaini   di   khuonuo guala geser   bang
gan =ni  bulai=ni  di   khuonuo guala ge-ser  bang
3:SG=GEN child=ACC door back    hang  do-PROG N1:COP

     bai.]
     bai
     EMPH
(she found that) her son was hanging behind the door.
```

The nine non-final clause markers will be described in sections 2.2.1-2.2.9. They all share the syntactic property of appearing in constructions like those of (36) and (37).

In most situations, it is unclear whether non-final clauses should be considered embedded or unembedded. However, some non-final clauses seem unambiguously embedded. This will be illustrated, where relevant, with some discussion of the conditions under which non-final clauses can be embedded.

We will also see that each of the non-final clause markers can be used for a range of pragmatic functions. Some functions resemble what we might expect to find for adverbial clauses, while other functions might be more typically expected to characterize clause chains. Rather than a binary distinction between adverbial clauses and clause chains, the Mangghuer data suggests that all non-final clauses can be used either to assert events in a series (as in prototypical clause chaining) or to present information which is part of the background for another clause (as might be expected of adverbial clauses). The actual use to which any individual clause is put is a pragmatic fact about that clause, not a fact about the construction type to which that clause belongs.

More detailed discussion of this final issue will be taken up in section 2.3.1, below, where we will consider some statements by other scholars about adverbial clauses and clause chaining, and will see what the Mangghuer data contributes to an understanding of these categories.

2.2.1 Concurrent Action with *-ser*

In chapter 4, section 4.9.1, we saw the progressive marker *-ser* used in finite clauses, together with a copular auxiliary. This marker is also used to create non-final clauses in clause chains, as we will see in this section.

In non-final clauses, *-ser* retains its basic progressive meaning. The ongoing action expressed in a *-ser* clause is concurrent with the action of the following clause. This can be illustrated with (38):[3]

(38) (Filial Obedience 43)

```
[Tingsa ninger    caini    diser]  [diser]   [ganni
tingsa  ninger    cai =ni  di -ser  di -ser  gan -ni
later   old:woman food=ACC eat-PROG eat-PROG 3:SG=GEN

      ghadu    bulaini   khuru  rijiang      bai.]
      gha =du  bulai=ni  khuru  ri  -jiang   bai
      bowl=DAT child=GEN finger come-N1:PERF EMPH
Later as the old woman was eating and eating (her) food, the
boy's finger came in her bowl.
```

Clauses marked with *-ser* can appear as part of a sequence of clauses with different non-final morphology in a clause chain, each clause having its own argument structure.[4] In (39), the *-ser* clause is the second in another chain of three clauses.

(39) (Stupid Boy 24)

```
[Bulaisi xiku,]
bulai-si xi-ku
child-PL go-IMPERF
(Some) boys went,

Stupid Boy 25
[cainang      diser]   [jiaodu    sher
cai =nang     di -ser  jiao  =du  sher
food=REFLPOSS eat-PROG cellar=DAT urinate

      xighajiang.]
      xi-gha  -jiang
      go-CAUSE-N1:PERF
eating their food, (they) urinated into the cellar.
```

Like *-ser*, all non-final clause markers discussed in this section can participate in chains of this sort.

On one possible analysis, a *-ser* clause appears in the same position, with respect to the following clause, as would many time or place obliques (see chapter

---

[3] It is common to repeat a progressive verb, as in (38), without any arguments. This is iconic of an extended period of time during which the action takes place. Structurally, this might be seen as two verbs within a single clause, since the second clause has little independence. So (38) might be considered either three clauses, as I have indicated with the brackets here, or only two.

[4] Though as we will see in the following sections, some non-final clause markers tend to correlate with continuity or discontinuity of clausal subjects across the clauses they join

4, section 9.5). Similarly, the *-ser* clause functions to set the context in which the action of the upcoming clause takes place.

It would be possible, then, to say that *-ser* clauses are embedded. We could analyze the *-ser* clauses as occupying the same position as a context-setting oblique NP, and thus, as constituents of the clauses built on the following main verb.

However, as (39) shows, *-ser* clauses also seem to participate in clause chain constructions, which consist of a sequence of clauses. Thus, it is just as reasonable to analyze *-ser* clauses as unembedded, non-final clauses in clause chains.

This same ambiguity turns out to be true of all of the Mangghuer non-final clauses. Because all such clauses can participate in longer chain-like constructions, like (39), I have chosen to treat all of them as clause chaining forms.

In the case of (38), it is not actually possible to give evidence of embedding, other than to note the positional similarity with oblique NPs. However, there are some instances in which *-ser* clauses are clearly embedded. We can be sure of this embedded status when the entirety of a *-ser* clause appears surrounded by material from another clause. This is illustrated in (40):

(40) (A Cow Mother 40)

```
Gan  zou  hengdasangni
gan  zou  hengda-sang       -ni
3:SG thus strong-PERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR

     aguerdunang           [yilaser] kelijiang,
     aguer   =du =nang     yila-ser  keli-jiang
     daughter=DAT=REFLPOSS cry -PROG say -N1:PERF
So, crying, she said to her daughter who had grown
strong,
```

Here, the bracketed *-ser* clause consists of only the single word *yilaser* 'crying.' This describes the manner in which the action of the verb *keli* 'say' is carried out. Additionally, the bracketed clause appears entirely surrounded by material from the other clause; the NP preceding *yilaser* refers to an argument of the verb 'say', and has no syntactic relationship to *yilaser* at all. This construction, then, is not an instance of a clause chain. Rather, it is a main clause which contains an embedded clause, appearing in the same clausal position as an oblique NP might.

However, clear embedding of a *-ser* clause is fairly uncommon, and seems to happen only under certain circumstances. The embedded verb *yilaser* in (40) has the same subject as does the following verb *keli* 'say,' and this is always true of clearly embedded *-ser* clauses. Furthermore, the embedded clause *yilaser* is simply a single word, with no expressed arguments. This, too, seems to be true of clearly embedded instances of *-ser* clauses.

We can contrast (40) with (41), which has a very similar *-ser* clause that is not clearly embedded; here, an oblique time NP appears with *yilaser*:

(41) (Madage 4)

```
[Jiaoduer yilaser]  yimu   ghazherdunang        naramu
jiaoduer  yila-ser  yi -mu ghazher=du =nang     naramu
every:day cry -PROG one-mu ground =DAT=REFLPOSS millet

     tarijiang.
     tari -jiang
     plant-N1:PERF
Crying every day, (she) planted millet in her one-mu
field.
```

In some other cases, when a non-final *-ser* clause and the following clause share the same subject, it is not possible to determine whether the structure is like that of (40), or like that of (41). Example (42) is of this type.

(42) (Madage 87)

```
Shu'erge [werkuerser]    keliji.
shu'erge werkuer -ser  keli-ji
Shu'erge be:angry-PROG say -IMPERF
Shu'erge said angrily.
```

Here, the name Shu'erge ('second brother tree') refers to the subject of both the *-ser* clause and the following clause. I have excluded *Shu'erge* from the bracketed clause, but it could just as well have been included. This construction is ambiguous with regard to embedding, since there is nothing present which unambiguously belongs only to one verb or the other. The same is true of many other *-ser* clauses.

It seems, then, that *-ser* clauses can only be placed in a unambiguously embedded position if they are not very clause-like. In fact, it might be that *-ser* in (40) and (42) could be analyzed as a derivational suffix, creating a manner adverb from a lexical verb. If so, this example would not be considered an instance of clause combining at all. However, we will see that some other non-final clauses can also be unambiguously embedded, in rare circumstances, so it seems that this is in fact a systematic possibility for at least some non-final clause types.

Clauses created with *-ser*, then, may be considered non-final clauses in clause chains, although under special circumstances, when they are minimally clause-like, such clauses may be embedded as constituents of another clause.

In addition to these structural concerns, we should also note some of the functions to which *-ser* clauses are put in discourse.

One pragmatic use of non-final *-ser* clauses, shared by almost all non-final clauses in Mangghuer, is that of recapitulating or summarizing the action of the

previous clause, as a means of setting the context for an upcoming event. Let's consider (41) in a slightly broader discourse context:

(43) (Madage 2-4)

```
Yige   ningerdu       kao guang,
yi -ge ninger   =du   kao guang
one-CL old:woman=DAT son N1:NEG:COP
An old woman had no sons,

Madage 3
jiaoduer  yilalang.
jiaoduer  yila-lang
every:day cry -N1:IMPERF
(and she) wept every day.

Madage 4
[Jiaoduer yilaser]  yimu   ghazherdunang          naramu
jiaoduer  yila-ser  yi -mu ghazher=du =nang      naramu
every:day cry -PROG one-mu ground =DAT=REFLPOSS millet

      tarijiang.
      tari -jiang
      plant-N1:PERF
Crying every day, (she) planted millet in her one-mu
field.
```

The progressive nonfinite verb *yilaser* 'crying' in (43) does not assert a new action. Rather, it summarizes an action which was just reported. It has no overtly expressed arguments; since "recap" clauses like this one summarize an event which was already reported, it is unnecessary to elaborate on its participant structure. Repetition of the verb alone is sufficient to evoke the entire clause it summarizes.

Recap constructions thus generally form part of the narrative background, recalling events already asserted, rather than asserting new events along the main story line. However, even a construction with the same form as the recap of (43) can be used to assert an event. Thus, in (44), the verb *saoser* 'staying' asserts an event--the passage of time--which has not been mentioned in the preceding discourse. Although lines 19 and 20 have the same form as a recapitulative use (repetition is also common), this event cannot be presupposed, since this is the first time it has been reported.

(44) (Human-bear 17-21)

```
Shinaguni     dikusa                  ayijiang,
shinagu=ni    di -ku            =sa   ayi -jiang
woman  =POSS eat-IMPERF:NOMLZR=ABL fear-N1:PERF
The woman (Elder Sister-in-law) was afraid of being eaten,
```



```
Human-bear 18
linshangmoyi di  dajiang.
linshangmoyi di  da    -jiang
finally      eat cannot-N1:PERF
(but) in the end, (he) couldn't eat (her).

Human-bear 19
[Saoser,]
sao-ser
sit-PROG
(She) went on living (there),

Human-bear 20
[saoser,]
sao-ser
sit-PROG
went on living,

Human-bear 21
mula  nige rijiang.
mula  nige ri  -jiang
small one  come-N1:PERF
a little one came (i.e. she gave birth).
```

In summary, then, we have seen that some non-final *-ser* clauses have syntactic and semantic characteristics like those of clausal obliques, with functions that might be considered adverbial in nature. However, structural concerns seem to point towards considering *-ser* clauses to be non-final clauses in clause chaining constructions, which under certain limited circumstances can be embedded in another clause. The range of pragmatic functions to which these clauses are put need not determine the syntactic label given to them.

Similar observations will be made about most of the Mangghuer nonfinite verb markers discussed in the following sections.

2.2.2 Purpose Clauses with *-la*

A non-final purpose clause is illustrated in (45). The bracketed clause *ti kungni beilala* 'to carry (off) that person' appears with the nonfinite marker *-la*, which indicates that this clause expresses the purpose for undertaking the following verb's action.

(45) (Monster Girl 65)

Bersi liangge [ti kongni beilala] rijiang
bersi liang-ge ti kong =ni beila-la ri -jiang
tiger two -CL that person=ACC carry-PURP come-N1:PERF

gelang.
gelang
HEARSAY
Two tigers came to carry that person (away), they say.

The purpose clause verb always has the same subject as does the following clause. In fact, it is not at all clear whether the subject NP in (45), *barsi liangge* 'two tigers,' ought to be considered a member of the purpose clause or not. The subject is in some sense shared by the two clauses, and it seems rather arbitrary to assign it syntactically to one verb or the other. This is parallel to what we saw for some *-ser* clauses, including (42) above, and is also true of all purpose clauses.

Like *-ser* clauses, then, we can treat *-la* clauses as non-final clauses in clause chains. As we will see below, however, the biclausal status of constructions with *-la* seems to be eroding, as a result of a grammaticalization process by which these are being converted into verb + auxiliary constructions.

A purpose clause often has non-subject arguments which are not shared by the following clause. The second verb is always intransitive (see below), while the purpose clause usually contains a transitive verb, and may have oblique arguments, as well. This can be seen in (45), where the *-la* clause verb has the direct object *ti kungni* 'that person.' Similarly, example (46) shows a purpose clause with an ablative argument which is not shared by the verb *xijiang* 'went.'

(46) (Filial Obedience 18)

[gagasisanang kerlila] xijiang bai.
gaga -si=sa =nang kerli-la xi-jiang bai
elder:brother-PL=ABL=REFLPOSS want -PURP go-N1:PERF EMPH
(he) went to ask his older brothers (for some food).

A more complicated example is (47). Here, the purpose clause verb has a direct object, the causee *khuarghani* 'lamb,' in accusative case. This cannot be an argument of the verb *xi* 'go,' since this latter verb is intransitive. In addition to the direct object, the purpose clause also contains a temporal locative expression *shuliandu* 'at night' which, although it clearly applies semantically to the action of both clauses, nonetheless appears syntactically within the purpose clause.

(47) (Monster Girl 6)

Tini aguer khuerghani ***shuliandu***
ti =ni aguer khuergha=ni shulian=du
that=GEN daughter lamb =ACC evening=DAT

kuguoghala xiku,
kuguo-gha -la xi-ku
nurse-CAUSE-PURP go-IMPERF
When her daughter went to let the lamb nurse (every) evening,

This last example thus suggests a monoclausal analysis, and purpose clauses in Mangghuer show some other signs of grammaticalization in this directio, as well. A purpose clause always appears immediately preceding the verb on which it is dependent, and the next verb is always one of the three motion verbs *yao* 'walk,' *xi* 'go,' or *ri* 'come.' Thus, these constructions bear some resemblance to the verb + auxiliary pattern which we saw in chapter 4 (see especially sections 4.4 and 4.5, concerning the auxiliaries *xi* 'go' and *ri* 'come'). However, as I noted there, the verb *yao* 'walk' never appears as a clear auxiliary; it always seems to function with its full lexical semantic force, and to constitute a separate action. This is also true when *yao* appears with a purpose clause. In (48), for example, *yao* indicates a separate action of going.

(48) (Three Daughters 10)

"Dasi qijighe chuangmula yaoa."
dasi qijighe chuangmu-la yao-a
1:PL:NOM flower pick -PURP go -VOL
"Let's go to pick flowers."

Similarly, *xi* 'go' and *ri* 'come' usually indicate actual events of motion, when appearing with purpose clauses. This is illustrated in (45)-(47), where we see that both of these verbs express actual movement for the purpose of undertaking another action.

However, there are a few examples in which there is no clear action of movement associated with the motion verb in a purpose construction. (49) is an example of this; here, no event of actual motion is being referred to.

(49) (Sangbura 147)

niebiela kela xiku,
niebie =la keli-la xi-ku
current=INST say -PURP go-IMPERF
when spoken of these days,

Examples like (49) are not numerous, however, and this particular one is the most un-motion-like example I have yet seen with a purpose clause.

Thus, although these constructions do bear some resemblance to verb + auxiliary constructions, it seems that the motion verbs in purpose constructions quite consistently function to indicate events, rather than just directions, as they do when serving as auxiliaries. I consider this construction type to constitute a combination of separate clauses, although it clearly has undergone some initial stages of the auxiliarization process.

2.2.3 Temporal Succession (Imperfective) with *-ku*

When the nonfinite marker *-ku* is used, the event expressed in its a non-final clause usually has some feature of imperfective aspect. Consider the following examples. In (50), the non-final clause expresses a future event; in (51) and (52), the events marked with *-ku* occur repeatedly.

(50) (Three Daughters 15-17)

Gan keliji,
gan keli-ji
3:SG say -IMPERF
He said,

Three Daughters 16
*"Wuladu **yaoku,***
wula =du yao-ku
mountain=DAT go -IMPERF
"when we reach the mountain,

Three Daughters 17
bi daghu duokea,
bi daghu duoke-a
1:SG:NOM firewood chop -VOL
I'll chop firewood,

(51) (Sangbura 2-4)

Tiedundu,
tiedun=du
past =DAT
In the past,

Sangbura 3
*dasini nasitai kongsi **keliku,***
dasi =ni nasi=tai kong -si keli-ku
1:PL:NOM=GEN age =COM person-PL say -IMPERF
as our old people tell it,

Sangbura 4
Sangburani alige wuladi yige bayang kong
sangbura=ni alige wula -di yi -ge bayang kong
Sangbura=GEN some mountain-LOC one-CL rich person

bang.
bang
N1:COP
On a mountain of Sangbura village, there was a rich man.

(52) (Monster Girl 4-5)

*Ganni kao jiaoduer asi danglala **xiku,***
gan =ni kao jiaoduer asi dangla-la xi-ku
3:SG=GEN son every:day livestock herd -PURP go-IMPERF
When her son went to herd livestock every day,

Monster Girl 5
khuergha ge tierberji rilang bai.
khuergha ge tierber-ji ri -lang bai
lamb SG:INDEF hold -IMPERF come-N1:IMPERF EMPH
(he) came (back) holding a lamb in (his) arms.

We have already seen *-ku* as a nominalizer of clauses. There, too, this morpheme was used in imperfective contexts. The uses which we will see in this section are syntactically different, however, in that these *-ku* clauses behave just as do other non-final clauses, appearing as one of a sequence of clauses in a chain. There is no morphosyntactic indication in any of the examples above that these *-ku* clauses behave as nominal arguments of other verbs. The same is true of all the examples we will see in this section.

Consider, for example, the following chain:

(53) (Monster Girl 6-7)

Tini aguer khuerghani shuliandu
ti =ni aguer khuergha=ni shulian=du
that=GEN daughter lamb =ACC evening=DAT

*kuguoghala **xiku,***
kuguo-gha -la xi-ku
nurse-CAUSE-PURP go-IMPERF
When her daughter went to let the lamb nurse (every) evening,

```
Monster Girl 7
gan  yigeni     kuguoghaku          yigeni     gan  di
gan  yi -ge=ni  kuguo-gha  -ku      yi -ge=ni  gan  di
3:SG one-CL=ACC nurse-CAUSE-IMPERF one-CL=ACC 3:SG eat

     gelang.
     ge-lang
     do-N1:IMPERF
when she let one nurse, she would eat (another) one.
```

Here, a chain of three clauses includes two non-final clauses marked with *-ku*; the final verbs of these two clauses are in bold type.[5]

Most *-ku* clauses occur when two events are being related in time. The event expressed by the *-ku* clause precedes the event of the following clause. However, the verb in a clause with *-ku* need not express an event. Thus, consider (54), in which the nonfinite clauses marked with *-ku* express states, rather than events.

(54) (Sangbura 315-16)

```
Dimei guiku             kebeghenang          diger
dimei gui      -ku      kebeghe    =nang     diger
bread 1:NEG:COP-IMPERF wheat:bran=REFLPOSS little:bit

     husa.
     hu  -sa
     give-COND
If (you) have no bread, please give (me) a little of
your wheat bran.

Sangbura 316
Kebeghe    guiku             mazhanang         diger
kebeghe    gui      -ku      mazha  =nang      diger
wheat:bran 1:NEG:COP-IMPERF residue=REFLPOSS little:bit

     husa.
     hu  -sa
     give-COND
If (you) have no wheat bran, please give (me) a little
of your chaff.
```

Since the nonfinite clauses in (54) express states, rather than events, there cannot be a temporal relation of succession between the two clauses. The same can be said of (51), above; in that example, the second clause is a state, rather than an event, and there is no clear temporal relationship between the two clauses at all.

Not all non-final clauses with *-ku* express imperfectivity, however. This morpheme is the most common device for creating recapitulative clauses, and

[5] This example immediately follows (52), though it bears no syntactic relation to that material. The two examples are separate sentences.

these clauses often express an event which has already finished taking place. For example, consider (55):

(55) (Shalangguer's Story 60-62)

```
Gan  ganni    diaoni                ruangdu   xijiang.
gan  gan =ni  diao            =ni   ruang=du  xi-jiang
3:SG 3:SG=GEN younger:sibling=GEN place=DAT go-N1:PERF
She went to her younger sister's place.

Shalangguer's Story 61
Xiku,
xi-ku
go-IMPERF
When (she) went,

Shalangguer's Story 62
Shalangguer keliji,
shalangguer keli-ji
Shalangguer say -IMPERF
Shalangguer said,
```

So, although non-final clauses with *-ku* usually assert an event with imperfective aspect, they are also quite commonly used to express what looks like presupposed, backgrounded information, which delimits the context for an upcoming action.

Most *-ku* clauses have different clausal subjects than do the clauses which follow them. We can see this in examples (50), (51), and (55), above. However, a *-ku* clause can have the same subject as the following clause, as in examples (52) and (53).

I have seen one example in which a *-ku* clause is clearly embedded within another clause, but does not function as a nominal argument of that clause. This is given in (56):

(56) (Two Wives 10)

```
"Bi       qimaidu       [mulani   kao ge       riku]
bi        qimai    =du  mula =ni  kao ge       ri  -ku
1:SG:NOM 2:SG:DAT=DAT small=GEN son SG:INDEF come-IMPERF

     jieliea,"
     jielie-a
     meet  -VOL
"I will welcome you with a little son if one comes,"
```

This is the only such example in my database. So although *-ku* clauses can apparently be embedded, this seems quite rare.

A somewhat more common syntactic pattern is the postposing of *-ku* clauses. In some instances, we find a *-ku* clause appearing after the clause on

which it is dependent, rather than before that clause. An example from the folktales is given in (57):

(57) (Monster Girl 18-19)

Gan ning ge khulegheji naola xijiang gelang,
gan ning ge khuleghe-ji nao-la xi-jiang gelang
3:SG this do peep -IMPERF see-PURP go-N1:PERF HEARSAY
He thus went to look secretly (at his sister), they say,

Monster Girl 19
[ajiani kuguoghala xiku.]
ajia =ni kuguo-gha -la xi-ku
elder:sister=POSS nurse-CAUSE-PURP go-IMPERF
when his elder sister went to let (a lamb) nurse.

It is quite uncommon to find postposed *-ku* clauses, and Zhu Yongzhong reports (personal communication) that this sort of structure is can be thought of as the result of an afterthought. It would have been equally good to have the clause of (57), line 19 placed before the clause of line 18. However, constructions of this sort do occur naturally, and Zhu Yongzhong agreed that they were acceptable.

We will see that postposing is also possible for some other non-final clauses, and some comments about this phenomenon will be made in the general discussion of clause combining in section 2.3.

2.2.4 Temporal Succession (Perfective) with *-sang zhi*

There are only a few examples of non-final clauses marked with *-sang zhi* in the folktales. This seems to be a perfective counterpart to *-ku*.

The perfective nominalizer *-sang* is clearly the source of the first morpheme here. It combines with a clausal conjunction *zhi* 'after' to create non-final clauses like this:

(58) (Human-bear 27)

Kuerganni yimegheku kongsini
kuergan=ni yimeghe-ku kong -si=ni
husband=POSS village-IMPERF:NOMLZR person-PL=ACC

daodasang zhi *bierinang yerrila*
daoda-sang zhi bieri-nang yerri -la
call -PERF after wife =REFLPOSS look:for-PURP

xijiang bai.
xi-jiang bai
go-N1:PERF EMPH
Her husband called the people of the village and went to look for his wife.

(59) (Filial Obedience 36-38)

Ganni tinang suzu qierghaji
gan =ni ti =nang suzu qier-gha -ji
3:SG=GEN that=REFLPOSS hair cut -CAUSE-IMPERF

hula bi geji,
hu -la bi ge -ji
give-IMPERF 1:COP QUOTE-IMPERF
He would cut the (child's) hair, he said,

Filial Obedience 37
suzuni ***nuerghuosang zhi,***
suzu=ni nuerghuo-sang zhi
hair=ACC wet -PERF after
after (he) wet the (child's) hair,

Filial Obedience 38
bulainang jiari anadunang
bulai=nang jiari ana =du =nang
child=REFLPOSS kill mother=DAT=REFLPOSS

dighajiang.
di -gha -jiang
eat-CAUSE-N1:PERF
(he) killed his son and had his mother eat (the child).

In both (58) and (59), the event in the *-sang zhi* clause precedes that of the following clause. However, there are some seemingly odd examples. In (60), it seems that the non-final clause with *-sang zhi* expresses an event occurring concurrently with that of the following clause:

(60) (Human-bear 31)

bulaini ***tierbersang zhi*** *khailaser bang,*
bulai=ni tierber-sang zhi khaila-ser bang
child=ACC hold -PERF after shout -PROG N1:COP
holding the child, (he) was shouting,

Tierber can mean either 'hold' or 'take in the arms,' so *-sang zhi* in this example might also express perfectivity. However, it seems that there may be some significant variation in the functions played by *-sang zhi*, and further examples are clearly called for.

Non-final clauses with *-sang zhi* generally seem to have the same subject as the following clause.

The conjuction *zhi* seems to be a borrowing from Chinese, although it is not at all clear what the source morpheme might be. Zhang and Zhu (1987:281) report on similar construction types in Xining Chinese. Zhu et al (1997:442) similarly describe clause connector *zhi*, which "has a very broad range of semantic

functions, being employed generally to relate events which occur sequentially or are otherwise closely related in time." Although we did not, in that study, systematically classify the functions of Gangou Chinese *zhi*, it seems that some of those functions are similar to ones which we observe here for Mangghuer, although *zhi* is vastly more common in Gangou Chinese than it is in my Mangghuer folktale database.

We can also note that *zhi* sometimes appears in codeswitching environments in the Mangghuer folktales. In example (61), we find *zhi* appearing in a clause which is entirely Chinese; *zhi* relates this clause to the following clause, which switches to Mangghuer.

(61) (Shalangguer's Story 13-14)

*"Xian zhan**zhi** a,*
xian zhan -zhi a
first stand-ASP PRT
"First wait (a moment),

Shalangguer's Story 14
bi wazinang musiku."
bi wazi=nang musi-ku
1:SG:NOM sock=REFLPOSS wear-IMPERF
until I put on my socks."

One other appearance of *zhi* is noteworthy. In (62), *zhi* appears with not only the Mongolic perfective marker *-sang*, but also the Chinese perfective marker *liao* (Standard Mandarin: *le* 了).

(62) (Sangbura 345-46)
Niaoshulian chudulang ge diesinang
niao -shulian chudu-lang ge diesi =nang
today-evening fill -N1:IMPERF SG:INDEF stomach=REFLPOSS

disang liao zhi,
di -sang liao zhi
eat-PERF PERF after
After eating, filling his stomach that evening,

Sangbura 346
mughashini gan xijiang bai.
mughashi=ni gan xi-jiang bai
tomorrow=GEN 3:SG go-N1:PERF EMPH
the next day he went.

So it seems reasonable to hypothesize that *zhi* does originate from Chinese, since it appears quite frequently in Gangou Chinese, as well as in Chinese-influenced contexts in the Mangghuer folktales.

2.2.5 Prior Event with *-tala*

Another rare non-final clause marker (appearing only twice in my database) is *-tala* 'before' which marks an event occurring prior to the event of the following clause. This device is illustrated in (63)

(63) (Stupid Boy 10)
*Qi mughashi **ritala** qini ti erjige*
qi mughashi ri -tala qi =ni ti erjige
2:SG:NOM tomorrow come-before 2:SG=GEN that donkey

nuernang ge tanglaku ri."
nuer=nang ge tangla-ku ri
face=REFLPOSS once burn -IMPERF come
Before you come tomorrow, scald that donkey face of yours, (then) come.

The other instance in which *-tala* appears is highly fortuitous, showing two interesting facts about this morpheme.

(64) (Filial Obedience 22-23)
Bi asisinang tiejieni,
bi asi -si=nang tiejie-ni
1:SG:NOM livestock-PL=REFLPOSS feed -1:FUT
I will feed my livestock,

Filial Obedience 23
*qimai **hutala,"***
qimai hu -tala
2:SG:DAT give-before
rather than give (it) to you,"

This example shows that *-tala* can be used to indicate a slightly more abstract, non-temporal sense of 'rather than,' in addition to its strictly temporal meaning 'before.' Secondly, (64) shows that *-tala* clauses, like some other non-final clauses, can be postposed.

There is another device, *-tula*, which Zhu Yongzhong reports (personal communication) to be a dialectal variant of *-tala*. Example (65) shows one use of this form.

(65) (Monkey 87-88)
*Gerdu chulerdunang **zhuangluotula,***
ger =du chuler =du =nang zhuangluo-tula
house=DAT kitchen:basket=DAT=REFLPOSS put:in -before
Before (he) put (the chopsticks) in his kitchen basket in his house,

Monkey 88
gan yao khuoluotujiang.
gan yao khuoluotu -jiang
3:SG go become:far-N1:PERF
she went far away.

The form *-tula* is perhaps slightly more common that *-tala*, appearing 4 times in the folktales. Further examples of both forms need to be examined, in order to determine the relationship between these two morphological devices.

2.2.6 Dependency with -∅ *danang*

Non-final clauses created with the bare stem of the verb and the non-final conjunction *danang* 'after' express various types of dependency. Most commonly, this is interpreted temporally, and means that the action of the non-final clause verb occurs prior to the action of the matrix clause. (66) is a typical example:

(66) (Sangbura 226)
Gansi jigela durasisini ***suer danang***
gan -si ji -ge=la durasi-si=ni suer danang
3:SG-PL several-CL=COLL liquor-PL=ACC buy after

ganni qinla ti ruangdu kuerjiang.
gan =ni qinla ti ruang=du kuer -jiang
3:SG=ACC welcome that place=DAT arrive-N1:PERF
After the several of them bought liquors, (they) took him along and went to that place.

Danang can also indicate a sort of "not until" semantic relationship. In one folktale example, the Chinese borrowing *cai* (才) 'not until' appears, reinforcing this function of *danang*.

(67) (A Cow Mother 56)
Aguer tingdu **xi danang cai** xiang'hu
aguer ting=du xi danang cai xiang'hu
daughter that=DAT go after not:until enjoy

gekuniang.
ge-kuniang
do-N1:FUT
Not until after the daughter went there did (she) begin to enjoy (herself).

The use of *danang* thus seems to emphasize the fact that the earlier event was completed before a later one occurred. One other usage which seems to

follow from this basic pattern is this: *danang* sometimes also indicates that one action continues up until the point that another action takes place. Example (68) illustrates this.

(68) (Sangbura 93)
Yao danang *yige miao diamangdu xijiang.*
yao danang yi -ge miao diamang=du xi-jiang
go after one-CL temple door =DAT go-N1:PERF
(They) walked until (they) reached a temple gate.

In some instances, *danang* clauses can also indicate a cause-result relationship. Thus:

(69) (Three Daughters 67)
Naosa aba gua luosi danang hugulang
nao-sa aba gua luosi danang hugu-lang
see-COND father totally be:hungry after die -N1:IMPERF

bai,
bai
EMPH
When they looked, (their) father was completely hungering to death,

Clearly, causation is conceptually related to the sort of temporal succession that we see with other uses of *danang*. Not until the cause takes place is its result called for.

It seems, then, that *danang* generally suggests some sort of dependency between the two events it links.

I have not seen any example which would suggest that a *danang* clause can be embedded within another clause. *Danang* is always used to mark clauses which appear in a sequence.

When a non-final clause is marked with *danang*, the following clause almost always has the same clausal subject as did the *danang* clause. This is true of examples (66)-(69), above. Notice that in that all of these examples, it was not necessary to repeat the subject in the second clause. Since *danang* usually indicates continuity of the clausal subject, this continuity can be assumed when no subject is expressed in the following clause.

However, the two clauses need not have the same subject. Example (70) shows that there can be different subjects; in cases such as this, the subject of the second clause, since it is not maintaining the expected continuity from the previous clause, must be explicitly indicated.

(70) (The Rabbit Judge 3-5)

tiker shijiedu yige chuna,
tiker shijie=du yi -ge chuna
past time =DAT one-CL wolf
in the past a wolf

The Rabbit Judge 4
yige gong nukuangdu deghela bao xijiang.
yi -ge gong nukuang=du deghela bao xi-jiang
one-CL deep hole =DAT fall go:down go-N1:PERF
fell down into a deep hole.

The Rabbit Judge 5
Bao xi danang *yitian nige khuoni biesi diji*
bao xi danang yi -tian nige khuoni biesi di -ji
go:down go after one-day one sheep grass eat-IMPERF

ning geji nuqiji rijiang ma,
ning ge-ji nuqi-ji ri -jiang ma
this do-IMPERF pass-IMPERF come-N1:PERF PRT
After (it) fell in, one day a sheep was eating grass
and passed by like this,

In line 5, the clause *bao xi danang* 'after he went down' has the wolf as its subject; the following clause has a different subject, expressed as *khuoni* 'sheep.'

Example (70) also shows that *danang* clauses can be used with recapitulative function. Most often, however, *danang* clauses assert an event which has not yet been mentioned. This is true of both (66) and (69); in both examples, the *danang* clauses present events which have not been alluded to in the preceding discourse.

Both (66) and (70) have already illustrated the appearance of *danang* clauses in a series of chained clauses. We can also find examples of multiple *danang* clauses in a similar chain. This is illustrated in (71).

(71) (Filial Obedience 53)

tiangeresa honghuang ge ***baoji*** ***ri***
tiangere=sa honghuang ge bao -ji ri
Heaven =ABL phoenix SG:INDEF go:down-IMPERF come

danang *cibangnang yige* ***banla danang*** *arong*
danang cibang=nang yi -ge banla danang arong
after wing =REFLPOSS one-CL flap after all:away

xida gejiang bai.
xida ge-jiang bai
burn do-N1:PERF EMPH
a phoenix came down from Heaven, flapped her wings,
(and) burned away everything (that the older sons owned).

Like other temporal non-final clauses, clauses with *danang* have some freedom of movement. An interesting example is (72). The first line of this example was given in (69), above, but if we add another line to that example, we find that it also contains a postposed *danang* clause.

(72) (Three Daughters 67-68)

Naosa aba gua luosi danang hugulang
nao-sa aba gua luosi danang hugu-lang
see-COND father totally be:hungry after die -N1:IMPERF

bai,
bai
EMPH
When they looked, (their) father was completely
hungering to death,

Three Daughters 68
yigua tuerha zhuerdu ***kaola*** ***danang.***
yigua tuerha zhuer =du kaola danang
totally column bottom=DAT lie:against after
lying against a the bottom of a house column.

There are a couple of other examples of postposed *danang* clauses in the folktales, and Zhu Yongzhong told me (personal communication) that this should be considered an afterthought.

There is an alternate form, *-da*, which appears to have the same set of functions as does *danang*. This form is found only a few times in the folktales. One example is (73):

(73) (Stupid Boy 34)

Yaoda *yige mula mieran chaibai kuerjiang.*
yao-da yi -ge mula mieran chaibai kuer -jiang
go -after one-CL small river bank arrive-N1:PERF
(He) went on until (he) arrived at the bank of a small
river.

With only a few examples, I cannot say if the functions of *-da* are actually identical to those of *danang*. The morphemes are probably related (see the next paragraph), but more data is needed to clarify their synchronic relationship to one another.

Chen (1986a:306) gives the form *da* for Tongren Monguor, and notes that it sometimes appears in a clause-final construction *da noŋ de.* This joins the current clause to the following one, indicating that an ensuing action occurs *immediately following* (立即) a prior one. This construction must surely be related to the Mangghuer *danang*.

Field (1997:410-15) reports a Santa nonfinite form =*dənə*, and gives an example of an eleven-clause chain, using this form on all 10 non-final clauses! This, too, must be related to the Mangghuer form *danang*.

2.2.7 Conditionals and Event-State Relations with *-sa*

The nonfinite marker *-sa* has two major functions. One of these is to indicate a conditional or concessive/counterfactual relationship between two clauses. The other is to relate an event in a non-final clause to a state in the following clause.

Examples of conditional and concessive uses of *-sa* are illustrated in (74) and (75), respectively.

(74) (The Rabbit Judge 15-16)

"Nini ge lai ***jiulasa,***
ni =ni ge lai jiula-sa
this=ACC once NEG save -COND
"If (I) do not save this one,

The Rabbit Judge 16
nini nukuangdu dianke gekuniang."
ni =ni nukuang=du dianke ge-kuniang
this=ACC hole =DAT bury do-N1:FUT
this one will be buried in the hole."

(75) (Sangbura 237-38)

Dajia jinpan yinpanla dangren ***gesa,***
dajia jinpan yinpan =la dangren ge-sa
everyone gold:plate silver:plate=INST reward do-COND
Even though everyone (tried to) reward (him) with gold plates and silver plates,

Sangbura 238
gan yifen lai kerlilang.
gan yi -fen lai kerli-lang
3:SG one-fen NEG want -N1:IMPERF
he didn't take one fen (in payment).

When *-sa* is used for its other major function, it appears on a non-final verb which expresses an action. The following clause expresses a state, which may be a result of the action expressed in the *-sa* clause, as in (76), or may express a state of affairs that will be found to be true, once the first action is complete, as in (77) and (78).

(76) (The Rabbit Judge 49)

"Bi ya ***gesa*** *berkuni sha?"*
bi ya ge-sa ber -ku -ni sha
1:SG:NOM what do-COND become-IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR PRT
"What can I do that will be ok?"

(77) (Shalangguer's Story 33-34)

Risa,
ri -sa
come-COND
When (Bumblebee) came,

Shalangguer's Story 34
lai jielielang bai.
lai jielie-lang bai
NEG meet -N1:IMPERF EMPH
(the old man) did not welcome him.

(78) (Shalangguer's Story 37-38)

Xisa,
xi-sa
go-COND
(When she) went,

Shalangguer's Story 38
Shalangguerni gerdu hudu bayang bang bai.
shalangguer=ni ger =du hudu bayang bang bai
Shalangguer=GEN house=DAT very rich N1:COP EMPH
(she found that) in Shalangguer's house (the family) was very rich.

In (77), one character finds, upon coming, that he is not being greeted. A few lines later in the same story, (78) tells of a group who, when they go someplace else, discover that Shalangguer's household is rich.

The two major functions of *-sa* thus seem to be related. Both involve an event which, when (or if) fulfilled, leads to the actualization or discovery of some particular state of affairs. Alternately, in concessive clauses and some conditionals, the *non*actualization of some state may be asserted.

The principles given so far account for nearly all of the instances of non-final *-sa* clauses in the folktales. However, there are a few such constructions which do not seem to follow any of these patterns. One such exception is (79), which relates two events. There does not seem to be either a conditional relationship or the discovery of a state, although the finite clause does express a result of the non-final clause action.

(79) (Sangbura 277-78)

Terghaini peghe ***kheghersa,***
terghai=ni peghe khegher-sa
head =ACC hit break -COND
When (they) broke (its) head,

Sangbura 278
naosuini zanke gher rijiang.
naosui=ni zanke gher ri -jiang
brain =POSS spread go:out come-N1:PERF
its brain came out.

This example does seem to have some similarity to the types seen above, though. It does involve an action, followed by a event that occurs as a result of the prior action. The linking of successive actions like this is a rare use of *-sa*, but it does occur.

One factor that helps to explain non-prototypical uses of *-sa*, like (79), is the continuity of the grammatical subject between clauses. When used to relate a state to an event, *-sa* almost always appears when the subject of the non-final clause is different from the subject of the following clause. Examples (76)-(78) are all of this type, and so is (79).

There are even some instances in which *-sa* seems to function primarily to indicate switch reference. A particularly interesting case is given in (80):

(80) (Monkey 41-42)

Bulaini hu ***gesa,***
bulai=ni hu ge -sa
child=ACC give QUOTE-COND
When (she) said "give (me) the baby,"

Monkey 42
bulai nerrijiang ge,
bulai nerri-jiang ge -Ø
child sleep-N1:PERF QUOTE-SEQ
saying "the child has gone to sleep,"

The quotative marker *ge* appears line 41 with the marker *-sa*, and seems to indicate primarily a shift in speakers. (In the next line, the quotative verb appears with nonfinite zero-marking, which indicates that the actor in this clause -- the speaker -- will continue to be the subject of the next clause. See 2.2.8 for more comments on this nonfinite form.)

However, when *-sa* functions as a conditional marker, the subject of its non-final clause may be either the same as or different from that of the following clause. Since a different subject is the norm in a clause following a *-sa* clause, the subject must be explicitly present in the second clause, if it remains the same. This can be seen in (81):

(81) (Nine-headed Ghost 3-4)

Ni bieri yitianjia yerri gher sai lujiang bai.
ni bieri yitianjia yerri gher sai lu -jiang bai
this wife all:day look:for fire NEG find-N1:PERF EMPH
This wife had looked all day (but) hadn't found any fire.

Nine-headed Ghost 4
Yerri ***burasa*** *gan Jiutou Yaomaoni yerri*
yerri bura -sa gan jiutou yaomao=ni yerri
look:for finish-COND 3:SG nine:head ghost =ACC look:for

lujiang bai.
lu -jiang bai
find-N1:PERF EMPH
After looking, she found Nine-headed Ghost.

Non-final clauses with *-sa* can be used in recap constructions, as we have seen for other non-final clauses. Several examples given so far fall into this category: (77), (78), and (79) each contain a *-sa* clause recapitulating an action which was expressed in the immediately preceding (finite) clause. This form is used for recap constructions, in accordance with to the normal conditions for its use, as outlined above.

Finally, we can note that *-sa* clauses, like *-ku*, *-tala*, and *danang* clauses, can be postposed. A folktale example of this is (82):

(82) (Two Wives 13)

"Qi yaji nige bierinang
qi ya =ji ni -ge bieri=nang
2:SG:NOM what=IMPERF this-CL wife =REFLPOSS

shinilang kao ghula jieliea ***gesa?***
shini-lang kao ghu=la jielie-a ge -sa
smile-N1:IMPERF son two=COLL meet -VOL QUOTE-COND
"Why did you laugh at this wife, when (she) said (that she planned) to greet (you) with a son?

Zhu Yongzhong (personal communication) made the same comments about postposed examples of *-sa* clauses as those which I have recorded for postposed *-ku* clauses, above. He also reports that conditional clauses with *-sa* can be postposed.

2.2.8 Sequentiality with -∅

There is also a class of non-final clauses which have no morphological marking at all. I treat these as having a zero morpheme suffix, symbolized -∅.[6] These clauses tend quite strongly to assert events in a sequence. However, we will see that they, too, can apparently be used for presupposed material.

The primary relationship between clauses linked with the zero morpheme seems to be one of sequentiality. In the vast majority of cases, these clauses appear when a single actor is presented as carrying out a series of actions.

Consider examples (83) and (84):

(83) (Three Daughters 63-64)
[Yigua puzighuo ***china],***
yigua puzighuo china-∅
totally deep:fried:dough:stick cook -SEQ
They cooked deep-fried twisted dough sticks,

Three Daughters 64
[zou ***beila]*** *[gerdunang yaojiang bai.]*
zou beila-∅ ger =du =nang yao-jiang bai
thus carry-SEQ house=DAT=REFLPOSS go -N1:PERF EMPH
(and) then carried (the dough sticks) and went to their home.

(84) (Monkey 83)
[zaohangdu ***xi]*** *[shuerni* ***bari]*** *[guijiang.]*
zaohang=du xi-∅ shuer =ni bari-∅ gui-jiang
kitchen=DAT go-SEQ chopsticks=ACC take-SEQ run-N1:PERF
(she) went into the kitchen, took the chopsticks and ran.

Each of these examples contains three clauses, which are bracketed. In each instance, the clauses represent a series of actions, carried out sequentially, by the same actor. Other clausal arguments do not need to be maintained between clauses linked in this way, but we see that the clausal subjects do remain the same throughout each of these clause chains. Continuity of the subject is the normal case for zero-marked non-final clauses, although in just a moment we will see that there are some apparent exceptions even to this.

The final sequence of verbs in (84) resembles the auxiliary verb constructions that we saw in chapter 3, with a bare verb stem preceding a finite auxiliary verb. Compare (84) to (85):

[6] Zero marking is indicated with -∅ only when relevant to the immediate discussion. In other examples, the -∅ marker is not indicated.

(85) (Rabbit's Trick 32)
Chuna dai Yehu ghula xi danang dimei a bo a
chuna dai yehu ghu=la xi danang dimei a bo a
wolf and fox two=COLL go after bread also drum also

luoti a nisini yigua ***bari*** *rijiang*
luoti a ni -si=ni yigua bari-∅ ri -jiang
boot also this-PL=ACC totally take come-N1:PERF

bai.
bai
EMPH
Wolf and Fox went and took away all these things: the bread and the drum and the boots.

The final two verbs of (85) are an example of a main verb + auxiliary construction. This differs from the sequence *bari guijiang* 'take ran' in (84), primarily in that the sequence in (84) is interpreted as two independent actions, while in (85) it is intepreted as a single action.

There is more to be said about the similarity of these two constructions, from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective; both of these perspectives will be adopted in the general discussion of section 2.3.

I noted above that a zero-marked non-final clause nearly always has the same subject as the following clause. Example (86), repeated from the previous section with the addition of one more clause, shows that this indicating of subject continuity sometimes seems to be the primary function of zero-marked non-final clauses.

(86) (Monkey 41-43)
Bulaini hu ***gesa,***
bulai=ni hu ge -sa
child=ACC give QUOTE-COND
When (she) said "give (me) the baby,"

Monkey 42
bulai nerrijiang ***ge,***
bulai nerri-jiang ge -∅
child sleep-N1:PERF QUOTE-SEQ
saying "the child has gone to sleep,"

Monkey 43
ni Huer sai hujiang.
ni huer sai hu -jiang
this monkey NEG give-N1:PERF
this Monkey didn't give (the child to her).

The subject of the second quotative verb *ge-∅* 'QUOTE-SEQ' is the same as the subject of the finite clause; it is the bear who both says 'the boy has gone to sleep' and then does not hand the boy over.

However, there are a few examples in which subject continuity does not seem to be maintained. One such case is given in (87):

(87) (Filial Obedience 17)
Khuonuo ***kuer*** *ergha guang ma,*
khuonuo kuer -∅ ergha guang ma
later arrive-SEQ power N1:NEG:COP PRT
Later, he had no means (to feed her) and,

Although the subject of the second clause is not expressed, it seems that this clause asserts that a particular character had no means. However, it is possible that one or both of these clauses can be taken as impersonal, the latter of which is perhaps equivalent to saying that they have the same subject. There are a couple of other apparent examples of noncontinuing subjects with *-∅* clauses, but they are similarly unclear.

The temporal relation of sequentiality does seem to be the primary function of zero-marked non-final clauses. However, in addition to simple temporal relations, these clauses often seem to suggest further pragmatic inferences as to the relationship between two actions. For example, one event might follow another temporally, and also be in some sense a result of the first event. Thus, we find examples like (88) and (89):

(88) (The Rabbit Judge 25)
bi ***luosi*** *hugukuniang.*
bi luosi -∅ hugu-kuniang
1:SG:NOM be:hungry-SEQ die -N1:FUT
I will hunger to death.

(89) (Monkey 88)
gan ***yao*** *khuoluotujiang.*
gan yao-∅ khuoluotu -jiang
3:SG go -SEQ become:far-N1:PERF
she went far away.

In each of these examples, the verb which appears in bold type is an event which in some way results in the next event.

It is tempting here to note the similarity of these constructions to some common Chinese constructions (see, for example, Li and Thompson 1981:54-68 on "resultive verb compounds," and Chao 1968:443-46 on "resultative complements.") An example might be:

(90) Chinese resultive construction

ni	*dou*	*shu-guang*	*le*
你	都	输光	了
2sg	all	lose-used:up	PERF

'you have lost everything; you have lost until there is no more'

The verb *shu* 'lose' is an action which has the result expressed by *guang* 'used up.' The addressee has lost with the result that there is no more to lose.

The Mangghuer constructions above are somewhat similar to this, although they involve two actions, whereas the Chinese resultive form *guang* 'used up' is less clearly an event. However, we also find Mangghuer examples which are obviously modelled on the Chinese pattern, because they use Chinese borrowings. One such case is given in (91):

(91) (Sangbura 317)
Bi ***luosi*** ***wanlaba."***
bi luosi-∅ wanla -ba
1:SG:NOM be:hungry complete-1:PERF
I am completely hungry (so hungry I can't stand it)" (he said).

The result here, *wanla*, is a borrowing from the Chinese *wan* (完) 'finish.' This form can be used in nearly identical constructions in modern Standard Mandarin.

Although zero-marked non-final clauses are nearly always used to assert events in a series, there are also a few examples of recap clauses that take this form. One is:

(92) (Shalangguer's Story 101-102)
Ganni erqigheni chuchuerla gerdunang
gan =ni erqighe=ni chuchuerla-∅ ger =du =nang
3:SG=GEN gem =ACC pocket -SEQ house=DAT=REFLPOSS

xijiang.
xi-jiang
go-N1:PERF
(She) pocketed her erqighe and went to her own home.

Shalangguer's Story 102
Xi *zaoyedunang xianli gejiang.*
xi-∅ zaoye =du =nang xianli ge-jiang
go-SEQ kitchen:goddess=DAT=REFLPOSS present do-N1:PERF
After (she) went, (she) presented (the erqighe) to her kitchen goddess.

It seems to be possible, then, even for zero-marked non-final clauses to summarize an earlier event, as background for an upcoming one.

One final observation needs to be made about zero-marked non-final clauses. We saw in previous sections that non-final clauses with *-ku*, *danang*, *-tala*, or *-sa* can be postposed. Although postposing is reported by my consultant to indicate that such a clause is an afterthought, the semantic relations which hold between a postposed non-final clause and the preceding clause are the same as those which hold when the non-final clause is not postposed. That is, postposing of non-final clauses does not affect their meaning.

No such postposing of zero-marked non-final clauses is possible. These clauses rely on their position (preceding another clause) to give them a semantic interpretation (preceding the action of the other clause in time).

This same fact is also true of the other type of sequential non-final clause, which we will see in the next section.

2.2.9 Imperfective/Default Nonfinite Marker *-ji*

By far the most common nonfinite marker in the Mangghuer folktales is *-ji*. This form most often indicates imperfective aspect, but it also appears to be in the process of generalizing to function as a default marker of nonfinite status. We will see in this section that *-ji* has a very wide range of functions.

The nonfinite marker *-ji* is often used to create non-final clauses which express an action occurring concurrently with that of a following clause. These are quite similar to clauses created with *-ser*, as outlined in 2.2.1, above; because these *-ji* clauses pattern syntactically like other Mangghuer non-final clauses, I will treat them as non-final, too.

A couple of examples are given in (93) and (94):

(93) (Monster Girl 51)

```
Xuezini    ge    naoku      a     [guiji]     cainang
xuezi=ni   ge    nao-ku     a     gui-ji      cai =nang
boot =ACC once   see-IMPERF also  run-IMPERF  food=REFLPOSS

      nige ama    dila      xilang.
      nige ama    di -la    xi-lang
      one  mouth  eat-PURP  go-N1:IMPERF
After seeing the boots, (she) also went running to eat a
mouthful (a taste) of her food.
```


(94) (Rabbit's Trick 51)

```
[Yehu ti    boni      bariji]      wower
yehu  ti    bo  =ni   bari-ji      wower
fox   that  drum=ACC  take-IMPERF  cave

      amangdunang              kuerjiang      ma,
      amang  =du =nang         kuer  -jiang   ma
      opening=DAT=REFLPOSS     arrive-N1:PERF PRT
Fox took that drum and went to the entrance to his cave,
```

Both of these examples involve nonfinite verbs marked with *-ji*, which express actions that overlap in time with the action of the following clause. *Guiji* 'running,' in (93), looks like an adverbial, expressing the manner in which the action of the following verb is carried out, so that the two actions are entirely simultaneous.

However, we see in (94) that *-ji* clauses can also express what look like two independent actions, which have some temporal intersection.

It is also possible to find examples of *-ji* clauses which express actions occurring in a sequence; in these situations, *-ji* seems to function like the zero-marking which was outlined in the previous section. A couple of examples are:

(95) (Shalangguer's Story 99-100)

```
Yitian    nige,
yi -tian  nige
one-day   one
One day,

Shalangguer's Story 100
kheghai danglaku                ninger     ge riji
kheghai dangla-ku               ninger     ge ri  -ji
pig     herd  -IMPERF:NOMLZR    old:woman  CL come-IMPERF

      ganni     zaohamangsa             yan        ge
      gan =ni   zaoha  -amang  =sa      yan        ge
      3:SG=GEN  kitchen-opening=ABL     cigarette  SG:INDEF

      wujiang.
      wu   -jiang
      drink-N1:PERF
an old woman who herded pigs came and lit a cigarette
from her (Elder Sister's) stove opening.
```

(96) (A Cow Mother 34)

```
ganni     Huguerni    alaji       mugha dikuniang   bai.
gan =ni   huguer=ni   ala -ji     mugha di -kuniang bai
3:SG=GEN  cow    =ACC kill-IMPERF meat  eat-N1:FUT  EMPH
(the stepmother) planned to kill Cow and eat (its) meat.
```

Each of these examples presents a sequence of two events. In both cases, the event presented in the non-final *-ji* clause has not been referred to before in the

discourse. And, in both cases, the events can be seen as sequentially related in time; not until after the completion of the first action can the second event occur.

Whether *-ji* is taken, in non-final clauses, to indicate imperfectivity and temporal overlap, or sequentiality, seems to have to do with Aktionsart. In examples (95) and (96), *-ji* marks the verbs *ri* 'come' and *ala* 'kill,' which are semantically telic, and which therefore naturally lead to interpretations of sequentiality. *Gui* 'run' in (93) is not semantically telic, but instead naturally tends to suggest an ongoing action. The verb *bari* in (94), can mean either 'take up' or 'carry,' it is thus an intermediate case, with regard to lexical aspect, and the interpretation of (jianjia 50) therefore leaves open either possible reading: sequential action or concurrent action.

The contribution of *-ji* itself, therefore, is semantically quite vague. It most commonly seems to link events which are simultaneous, but these examples show that it is extremely flexible, and leaves the listener room for significant pragmatic inferencing about the relationship of two events which it links.

We also saw, in chapter 4, that *-ji* alternates with *-∅* as a linking device in verb + auxiliary constructions.

Because it has such a broad range of functions, and often makes so little semantic contribution, in addition to the fact that it is the most common of the nonfinite verbs markers, we can conclude that *-ji* has a sort of default status, appearing when a speaker wishes to link two clauses without specifying the semantic relationship between them.

Like most non-final clauses, *-ji* clauses are usually ambiguous with regard to embedding. Most instances are like (93) and (94), above, where the *-ji* clauses might be seen as appearing embedded in clause-initial oblique positions, but can equally well be seen as clause chains.

However, there is a special type of clause with *-ji* which sometimes is clearly embedded. This is illustrated in (97):

(97) (Nine-headed Ghost 38)

```
Tingsa Jiutou     Yaomao [ra       geji]
tingsa jiutou     yaomao ri  -a    ge   -ji
later  nine:head  ghost  come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF

      dayinglajiang.
      dayingla-jiang
      promise -N1:PERF
Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying "I'll come."
```

The bracketed clause is a direct quotation and a quotative marker *ge-ji*, which functions to indicate that the quote is over. The quotative marker often appears with *-ji* as its suffix, and in this instance, it can be seen as clearly embedded, since

it is surrounded by material from the clause which reports that 'then the Nine-headed Ghost promised.'[7]

This is the only sort of unambiguously embedded *-ji* clause which I have observed, and it turns out that this behavior is a special feature of the quotative marker. This will be discussed in chapter 7, section 2.2.1. So embedding like what we find in (97) is not a systematically allowed function of *-ji*.

In the previous section we noted that non-final zero-marked clauses expressing sequentiality cannot be postposed. This seems also to be true of *-ji* clauses.

I have not observed any examples of *-ji* clauses which are postposed. This makes sense, since *-ji* in most cases makes such a minimal semantic contribution that the relationship of a *-ji* clause to the preceding clause would be unclear. More comments will be made on this subject in section 2.3.3, below.

The range of syntactic behaviors which we have seen *-ji* to exhibit are basically the same as those of other non-final clause markers, and we can thus conclude that *-ji* clauses are non-final clauses in clause chains, as well.

The *-ji* clauses in all of the examples presented so far share the same subject as the following clause. This seems to be true of all *-ji* clauses. The only possible exception I have found to this generalization is example (98):

(98) (A Cow Mother 52)

```
Yige   yue   berji          aguer    wujisa,
yi -ge yue   ber   -ji      aguer    wuji     -sa
one-CL month become-IMPERF daughter take:note-COND
When the girl went to look a lunar month later,
```

Here, however, there is no clear subject in the *-ji* clause, and it is likely that a construction of this sort may be grammaticalized, being produced as a unit without attention to internal structure. Thus, although the two clauses of (98) do not share the same logical subject, it does not seem necessary to conclude that they have different subjects, either. This example is probably not relevant to this question.

It seems, then, that *-ji* clauses always do have the same subject as the following clause.

Non-final *-ji* clauses can also be used to recapitulate the action of a previous clause, as we see with the bracketed clause in (99).

---

[7] See also 1.2, above, and 4.2, below, for further discussion of quotation within dependent clauses.

(99) (Madage 50-51)

ni Madage lenmusenmu ge bari danang
ni madage lenmusenmu ge bari danang
this Madage bow:and:arrow SG:INDEF take after

yaojiang.
yao-jiang
go -N1:PERF
this Madage took a bow and arrow and left.

Madage 51
[Yaoji] yige beghe tada kuerjiang.
yao-ji yi -ge beghe tada kuer -jiang
go -IMPERF one-CL tree near arrive-N1:PERF
(He) walked until he came near a tree.

As I have noted in previous sections, it is unnecesary in a recap clause to give any clausal arguments. The participant structure of the event is clear, and is not at issue, in any case. The function of such clauses is to reiterate an action as means of setting the context for the action of an upcoming clause. Thus, these clauses usually seem to belong to what is often called *narrative background* -- they do not assert an event, so much as remind us of one which has already been asserted. Clauses with *-ji*, like most non-final clauses, can also be used for this pragmatic function.

2.2.10 Overlapping Functions and Variation

In the preceding nine sections, we have seen that Mangghuer has a large inventory of clause-chaining devices, and many of these have similar semantic functions. Thus, speakers often have multiple means for expressing similar concepts. Consider, for example, three different ways of asserting the events of hungering and resultant dying, which we find in the following three lines from the folktales.

(100) (Three Daughters 67)

Naosa aba gua ***luosi*** ***danang*** *hugulang*
nao-sa aba gua luosi danang hugu-lang
see-COND father totally be:hungry after die -N1:IMPERF

bai,
bai
EMPH
When they looked, (their) father was completely hungering to death,

(101) (Filial Obedience 34)

Ana ***luosiji*** *hugukuniang."*
ana luosi -ji hugu-kuniang
mother be:hungry-IMPERF die -N1:FUT
Mother is hngering to death" (youngest son thought).

(102) (The Rabbit Judge 25)

bi ***luosi*** *hugukuniang.*
bi luosi -∅ hugu-kuniang
1:SG:NOM be:hungry-SEQ die -N1:FUT
I will hunger to death.

Both (101) and (102) present the events of hungering and dying as a series, leaving the hearer to infer the specific semantic relationship between them. Example (100), however, uses the conjunction *danang* 'after,' which seems here to emphasize the fact that dying will be a result of the event of hungering.[8]

The alternation between *-ji* and *-∅*, which we see in the link between *luosi* 'hunger' and *hugu* 'die' in (101) and (102), which we saw also in verb + auxiliary constructions, is quite common in clause-combining environments. Since both of these markers can indicate sequential actions, leaving wide lattitude for pragmatic inferencing about the semantic relationship, we find many similar pairs of examples.

This same alternation also occurs in some situations which may be semantically ambiguous. Some sequences of actions can equally be seen as sequential, or as concurrent. This, too, can lead to an alternation of *-ji* and *-∅*, as we see in (103) and (104):

(103) (Nine-headed Ghost 41)

Gan ghula du Jiutou Yaomaoni ***pegheji***
gan ghu=la du jiutou yaomao=ni peghe-ji
3:SG two=COLL now nine:head ghost =ACC hit -IMPERF

alakuniang *bai.*
ala -kuniang bai
kill-N1:FUT EMPH
Now the two of them would beat Nine-headed Ghost to death.

[8] It ought to be noted that (102) comes from a folktale by one speaker, while (100) and (101) come from tales by a different speaker. However, all of these devices seem to be used by all speakers I, so I do not believe that interspeaker variation is the main variable here, although it is potentially relevant.

(104) (Monster Girl 69)

liangge bersi yijia yichui shi ***peghe ala*** *gejiang*
liang-ge bersi yijia yi -chui shi peghe ala ge-jiang
two -CL tiger each one-fist COP hit kill do-N1:PERF

bai.
bai
EMPH
each tiger beat (her) with one paw (and they) killed (her).

In both examples, hitting will begin first, and its result will be killing. The first example presents hitting as concurrent with the killing (or as the manner of killing), while the second seems to present them only as a series. Note, however, that although (104) does not specify morphologically the semantic relationship between the two events, the hearer presumably has no problem interpreting this example in much the same way as the morphologically contrasting (103). In the same way, the hearer of (103) also has no problem interpreting the act of hitting as beginning first.

The minimal semantics of these two morphological connectors, then, means that hearers are called upon to make significant pragmatic inferences, based largely on the linear order of the predicates involved.

2.3 Discussion: Clause Chaining, Serialization, and Auxiliaries

2.3.1 Clause Chains and Adverbial Clauses

We have seen that some Mangghuer nonfinite clauses are clearly both dependent and embedded. These are nominalizations, which function as relative clauses or as complements.

Nonfinite clauses of another type are dependent, but are only rarely unambiguously embedded. I have called these clauses *non-final*, and we have seen that they share the characteristics of typical clause chaining constructions.

If we adopt a primarily syntactic perspective, as I have done in this discussion, there does not seem to be any principled way of differentiating among these non-final clauses. Although some of the morphological devices create non-final clauses which can also be embedded under certain circumstances, clauses created with these same devices, when they are not clearly embedded, do not seem distinguishable from other non-final clauses. They appear in the same syntactic position, and their relationship to the following clause can be described with the same set of variables that we found useful for describing the more prototypical clause chains.

Syntactically, then, we are justified in treating all of these clause types as clause chaining forms.

Analysts of nonfinite clauses have sometimes also appealed to the function of those clauses in order to distinguish various clause types. Thus, Payne (1991:253), discussing the difference between non-final (or *medial*) clauses and adverbial clauses, notes:

> This is one of the main differences between adverbial clauses and medial clauses: adverbial clauses are presuppositions, i.e. they are presented as unchallengeable or taken for granted, whereas medial clauses are assertions (Givón 1987). This universal characterization of adverbial clauses is based purely on their function.

However, it is difficult to justify distinctions of clause type on functional grounds such as these.

Givón (1987) has noted that a binary foreground/background distinction is difficult to maintain. Any particular clause can in fact have some features that normally correlate with foreground, and some that normally correlate with background, information. Myhill and Hibiya (1988:395), in a study of Japanese clause chaining, conclude that non-final clauses "occupy a position between fully finite forms and other subordinate forms," in terms of whether they express foreground or background information.

These observations seem quite applicable to the Mangghuer non-final clauses we have seen, as well. As I have tried to show, the function of a particular clause as a presupposition or an assertion is a feature of that particular clause. Nearly all Mangghuer non-final clause types, no matter what nonfinite morpheme is used to mark them, seem to function sometimes as presupposed, adverb-like, background for an ensuing clause. Likewise, nearly all Mangghuer non-final clauses seem also to have at least some uses in which they function to assert events.

It seems, then, that we cannot appeal to function to help in distinguishing adverbial clauses from non-final clauses. This distinction must be made on structural grounds. But structural considerations also led us to conclude that no distinction should be made in Mangghuer.

The Mangghuer data, then, does not seem to support a distinction between adverbial clauses and clause-chaining constructions.

Since the term *converb* originated in Altaic studies, we ought also to look at how Mangghuer clause types can be related to this term.

Haspelmath (1995:3) defines a converb as "a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination." If we adopt this definition, there are no clear instances in Mangghuer of converbs. None of the forms we have examined seems to have as its "main function" the marking of "adverbial" clauses.

In fact, it is not even clear how we can determine the "main" function of a particular clause combining morpheme, if it can be used for several functions.

As an example of the difficulty, consider the nonfinite form *-ser*. It can be used to mark the main verb in a progressive construction, together with a copular auxiliary (chapter 4, section 4.9.1). It can also appear in non-final clauses, usually expressing an action concurrent with that of the next verb (section 2.2.1, above); *-ser* clauses of this latter type can be embedded in another clause, under certain conditions. Finally, we have seen that non-final *-ser* clauses can be used to express either presuppositions or assertions, depending on the speaker's pragmatic goals when any individual *-ser* clause is produced.

What, then, is the main function of *-ser*? It is not clear how to address such a question. We could appeal to frequency of construction types, or to speaker intuitions about the "meaning" of the form. But both approaches would miss the fact that *-ser* has several different pragmatic functions. What all of them share is an indication of progessive aspect (which is why I have labelled this form simply PROGRESSIVE).

More importantly, perhaps, Haspelmath (1995:23) distinguishes adverbial clauses (converbs) from clause chains on the basis of the distinction between embedded and unembedded syntax. As we have seen, it is difficult to decide whether Mangghuer non-final clauses are embedded or not. In many instances, their status is ambiguous on just this syntactic point. Thus, it is not possible in Mangghuer to maintain a distinction like the one Haspelmath proposes, between converbs, which are embedded, and non-final verbs, which are not embedded.

It is not clear, then, that the term *converb* can be very helpful to us, in our description of Mangghuer syntax and morphology. There are no morphological forms which fall clearly into this category.

Both Payne (1991) and Haspelmath (1995) have pointed out that it is difficult to distinguish between adverbial clauses and clause chains. I suggest that this difficulty is partly due to the fact that most analysts have tried to account for a combination of syntactic and pragmatic facts with these labels. If we separate syntax and pragmatics more clearly, as I have tried to do in this presentation, the difficulties seem a bit more manageable.

2.4.2 Verb Serialization

I have already noted (in section 1.3.3) that the term *serialization* (or its kin) is sometimes applied based on morphological criteria. In a language with morphological devices, serialization is sometimes used to describe juxtaposition of unmarked verb stems.

In Mangghuer, we have seen two different construction types which might qualify for this title. The main verb in a verb + auxiliary sequence often appears

with the zero suffix. We also saw that zero marking is common for non-final clauses, presenting a sequence of events (in time) which also would be considered by many to constitute a serial verb construction.

I have tried to show that both of these construction types can be treated with syntactic labels. Although we could retain the term "serialization" as a morphological description, it is not a necessary term for distinguishing Mangghuer clause combining strategies.

2.4.3 The Role of Position

We have seen that *-ji* has the broadest range of clause combining functions of any Mangghuer nonfinite form. It can appear in non-final clauses, allowing a range of semantic interpretations, from concurrent action to sequential action. Furthermore, *-ji* can optionally appear in many verb + auxiliary constructions, as we saw in chapter 4, section 3.

In some of their functions, *-ji* and *-∅* seem to alternate freely. I illustrated this with non-final clauses in section 2.2.10, above, and we also saw it with verb + auxiliary constructions in chapter 4.

In the contexts which *-ji* and *-∅* share, a common feature is that of the importance of position. These markers make minimal semantic contribution, and require the hearer to infer the semantic relationship between verbs; the relative order of the verbs is important for enabling these inferences, since this order is iconic of temporal, causal, or other semantic relationships between the actions expressed. Thus, neither of these devices allows postposing of non-final clauses, which would remove the iconic basis for their semantic interpretation.

By contrast, we saw that non-final clauses with *-ku*, *danang*, *-tala*, and *-sa* all have the freedom to appear in postposed position. When they do so, they bear the same semantic relationship to the neighboring verb as they would have had if preceding, rather than following, it. Each of these markers has a more specific semantic force than do *-ji* and *-∅*, and this accounts for the difference in freedom of movement.

The difference, then, is not one of different syntactic construction types. Rather, it simply describes differing degrees of syntactic freedom which arise as a consequence of the differing degrees of semantic specificity of non-final clause markers.

2.4.4 Auxiliarization

I want to close this section by making just a few comments about the relationship of auxiliary verbs to clause combining strategies. Nearly all

Mangghuer auxiliary verbs have other uses as main verbs, and in most cases, the meaning of an auxiliary verb is in some fairly transparent way related to its meaning as a main verb. Thus, we should probably conclude that current auxiliary constructions must have descended from sequences of clauses.[9]

It is interesting to note which nonfinite markers can appear in verb + auxiliary constructions, and to contrast these with those which cannot.

With the copula as auxiliary, we find the progressive marker *-ser*. With other auxiliaries, both *-∅* and *-ji* appear.

What is striking here is that these forms include those whose nonfinite clauses are the most likely to be embedded (*-ser* and *-ji*), and also those whose nonfinite clauses express sequential actions, and have the least freedom of syntactic movement (*-∅* and *-ji*).

Once again, the difference between these clauses and other non-final clauses is significant. The devices *-ku*, *danang*, *-tala*, and *-sa* all have fairly specific semantics, as well as some freedom of movement. They further demonstrate their greater degree of autonomy by not participating in the grammaticalization of auxiliaries, while the markers with less semantic content and/or more constricted positional possibilities do show play a part in this grammaticalization process.

Along the path of development from combinations of clauses to main verb + auxiliary, there must be stages in which a particular construction is ambiguous as to which type of structure it has. In fact, we have seen an intermediate instance of this sort in the Mangghuer purpose clauses (section 2.2.2). These constructions require motion verbs, which usually express separate events of movement. However, the motion verbs seem to be in the process of grammaticalizing, losing their status as separate clausal verbs, and becoming instead directional auxiliaries. In some constructions, it is currently unclear whether motion is expressed or not.

The non-final devices with relatively specific semantics (presumably) rarely appear in situations which allow such an ambiguity, and this would explain why they fail to participate in the system of marking verb + auxiliary constructions.

We will return to the topic of auxiliarization in the historical discussion of the next section.

3 Historical and Comparative Concerns

In this section we will consider some historical issues related to the clause combining strategies of Mangghuer. Comparative data is somewhat limited, and

[9]DeLancey (1991) describes auxiliary verbs of Lhasa Tibetan in just these terms, and I will explore the striking similarities of these two systems in the historical discussion of section 3, below.

what data there is is often presented in different analytical terms than my own. Nonetheless, we will see some interesting similarities among Mongolic languages and some of their neighbors, which suggest that the long history of interaction in the Mangghuer region may have led to significant contact-induced changes in the languages of the area.

3.1 Clause combining

3.1.1 Types of Clause Combining

Bisang (1995:165-68) considers a large number of Khalkha Mongolian nonfinite verb forms, treating most of them as converbs.[10]

Several of these Khalkha forms are probably cognate with Mangghuer markers which we have seen: *-ž* expresses *simultaneity* (compare Mangghuer *-ji*); *-aad* expresses *anteriority* (compare the initial consonant in Mangghuer *danang*); and *-saar* also expresses *anteriority* (compare Mangghuer *-ser*). These are illustrated in (105)-(107), respectively.

(105) Khalkha Mongolian (Bisang 1995:166)

Cas	***or-ž***	*xüjen*	*bol-loo*
snow	**fall-CONVERB**	cold	get-TAM[11]

'When the snow was falling, it became cold'

(106) Khalkha Mongolian (Bisang 1995:167)

Bi	*dund*	*surguul'*	***tögs-ööd*** [12]	*end*	*ir-sen*
I	middle	school	**finish-CONVERB**	here	come-TAM

After having finished middle school, I came here.

(107) Khalkha Mongolian (Bisang 1995:168)

ter	***ir-seer***	*bi*	*jav-na*
he	**come-CONVERB**	I	go-TAM

I'll go as soon as he comes.

[10] Bisang also considers the Japanese nonfinite form *-te*, which we saw in section 1.3.2, above, and labels this a 'converb' as well (1995:160-65). Bisang does not discuss the forms *-∅* and *to*. Zero-marking would probably fall under verb serialization, in Bisang's terms; and *to*, since it is a separate phonological word, is not a morphological device, and thus does not meet a standard criterion for converb status.

[11] Author's abbreviation means "tense, aspect and mood."

[12] The vowel change is due to vowel harmony.

Bisang (1995), like other authors describing Mongolic languages, does not attempt to demonstrate that these converb clauses are in fact embedded. The examples I have given here seem representative of those which are usually discussed, and their similarity to the Mangghuer examples given in this chapter is obvious. As I have attempted to show, it is difficult in such cases to demonstrate that the nonfinite clauses are actually embedded; it seems that similar comments may apply to Khalkha Mongolian.

Bisang's (1995) discussion follows the Altaicist tradition of dividing nonfinite forms into the categories of "verbal nouns" and "converbs." (See, for example, Poppe 1955:269-86.) Haspelmath (1995) adopts a similar perspective, with the term *masdar* representing the category of verbal nouns (1995:4).

The nominalizing forms *-ku(ni)* and *-sang(ni),* which we have seen in Mangghuer, could be described as falling into this class of verbal nouns, since they are used for nominal functions as complement clauses. However, both also function as modifiers nouns, when used to mark relative clauses. This role would fall under Haspelmath's (1995:4) category of *participles*, which are nonfinite verb forms with adjectival functions.

Kullman and Tserenpil (1996) classify nonfinite clauses in Khalkha Mongolian into two types: coordinate and subordinate. Some subordinate clauses are considered adverbial clauses (see below); the other types given by the authors can all be seen as nominalizations (1996:395-97).

For Kullman and Tserenpil (1996), the terms *coordinate* and *subordinate* are partly syntactic, and partly functional. Two clauses are said to be coordinate if "neither of the two actions is more important than the other," while one clause is subordinate to another if "the action of the main clause is described by the action of the subordinated clause" (1996:156). The authors note that the morphemes they consider under both labels are "traditionally called converb suffixes" (1996:156).

Here again, it seems that Khalkha clause-combining resembles what we have seen in Mangghuer. This treatment is reminiscent of the difficulties we found in maintaining a distinction between subordinate and cosubordinate for Mangghuer.

Kullman and Tserenpil's (1996) discussion reveals an interesting difference between Khalkha nominalizations and those we find in Mangghuer. Consider the following examples:

(108) Khalkha Mongolian (Kullman and Tserenpil 1996:393)[13]

ta	***[bagsh-iig***	*ire-kh-ed]*	*angi-daa*	*bai-can*	*uu*
you	**teacher-ACC**	come-NOM-DAT	classroom-DAT	be-PERF	QUEST

Were you in your classroom when the teacher came?

(109) Khalkha Mongolian (Kullman and Tserenpil 1996:392)

[minii	*tar'-san]*	*tsetseg*	*mash*	*goyo*	*urgajee*
1GEN	plant-NOM	flower	very	beautiful	grow

The flowers I planted grew very beautifully.

In both (108) and (109), the subjects of the nominalized clauses do not appear in nominative case. *Bagshiig* 'teacher' is marked as accusative, and *minii* 'my' is genitive. In the Mangghuer data, I have not found any examples of this sort.

To my knowledge, Qinggeertai (1991) is the most complete analysis of Khalkha Mongolian within the framework of the tradition of Mongolic linguistics in China. Here, a distinction is made between (nonfinite) verbs which modify nouns or serve as nominalizations (Chinese: *xing dong ci* 形动词) and those which modify verbs (*fu dong ci* 副动词). Qinggeertai does mention (1991:267-68) that the functions of these two types of forms overlap, and that no clear distinction between them can be drawn.

In the discussion of *xing dong ci*, (1991:285-310), all of Qinggeertai's examples seem to be either noun modifiers nor nominalizations.

However, among Qinggeertai's examples of *fu dong ci* (1991:267-84), there do seem to be many nominalizations, as well. For example, consider (110):

(110) Khalkha Mongolian (Qinggeertai 1991:276)

[čimayi	***kele-beču]***	*kin-e,*
2(ACC)	**say-COND**	do-VOL

If you say (it), I'll do (it),

As we saw in example (108), the accusative form of the embedded subject (in this case, the pronoun *čimayi* 'you') appears with nominalized clauses. So it seems that this conditional clause may actually be a nominalization.

However, there are many other examples among Qinggeertai's *fu dong ci* which seem more like the Mangghuer examples which we found to be indeterminate as to cosubordinate or subordinate status. In (110) I gave only the first half of Qinggeertai's original example; the entire example reads:

---

[13] I have transliterated this example, and the next, from Cyrillic, according to the correspondences given by the authors (1996:vi). Interlinear glossing is my own. Free translations are from the authors.

(111) Khalkha Mongolian (Qinggeertai 1991:276)
[čimayi ***kele-bečŭ]*** *kin-e,*
2(ACC) **say-COND** do-VOL
If you say (it), I'll do (it),

[kele-kü *ügei* ***bol-bačŭ]*** *kin-e*
say-IMP NEG **be-COND** do-VOL
if you don't say (it), I'll do (it) (nonetheless).

The second appearance of the conditional marker *-bačŭ* in (111) could easily have appeared among the Mangghuer conditional examples (section 2.2.6), which I have called cosubordinate clauses. In fact, we can find extremely similar Mangghuer constructions, such as (112).

(112) (Sangbura 83)
```
Bi        zou  angji      kuerku          kerliji
bi        zou  ang  =ji   kuer  -ku      kerli-ji
1:SG:NOM thus where=DIR arrive-IMPERF want -IMPERF

      bisa        dikuniang.
      bi   -sa    di -kuniang
      1:COP-COND eat-N1:FUT
Whereever I go, even if (I) beg, (I) will eat.
```

This example is nearly the same, structurally, as (111): if X is true, I will do Y.

However, there are no examples in the Mangghuer data like the first clause of (111), in which the conditional marker seems to create a nominalized clause.

In general, then, it seems that nominalization is a more important strategy in Khalkha Mongolian than it is in Mangghuer.

An important recent work is that of Field (1997), who outlines the grammar of Santa, using much the same terminology as I have adopted here. His work is thus perhaps the easiest to compare to my own. Santa, it turns out, is quite similar to Mangghuer, although here, too, we find some noteworthy differences.

Nominalized clauses (Field 1997:373-81) are quite similar to what we have seen in Mangghuer. Two of the three Santa nominalizers, *-san ~ -sən* 'PERFECTIVE' and *-ku ~ -wu* 'IMPERFECTIVE' are certainly cognate with the corresponding Mangghuer forms, *-sang* and *-ku*, respectively. Syntactically, these clauses also seem quite commensurate with their Mangghuer equivalents; they are clearly embedded, and function either as relative clause modifiers of head nouns, or as complements of a main verb.

Turning to nonfinite clauses which are not nominalized, Field concludes that these Santa clauses are not embedded. Considering, for example, the question of whether a nonfinite clause can appear within another clause, he notes, "a clause with a nonfinite verb form in Santa never makes the superordinate or main clause discontinuous" (1997:387).

Thus, Field concludes that Santa exhibits the features of a typical clause chaining language. Those nonfinite clauses that are not nominalized are treated in his discussion as instances of clause chaining, and the nonfinite verb forms themselves are labelled *medial* (*non-final*) verbs:

> Since the grammatical requirements of clause chaining, as described by Longacre (1985), are fulfilled in Santa; and since the nonfinite verb forms in Santa are used primarily in cosubordinate clauses as defined by Haspelmath (1995), I will henceforth consider Santa to be a clause chaining language. (Field 1997:388)

Most of the nonfinite forms which Field discusses are quite clearly related to those we have seen in Mangghuer. These include (1997:397) *-sə* (compare Mangghuer *-sa*), *=dənə* (Mangghuer *danang*), *- dzi* (Mangghuer *-ji*?), *-lə* (Mangghuer *-la*), and *-∅* (Mangghuer *-∅*). I will not undertake a detailed comparison here, but Field's descriptions of each of these forms make it clear that they are extremely similar in funtion to the Mangghuer forms I have indicated for comparison.

To summarize the discussion of this section, then, we can note that the clause combining strategies found in Mangghuer seem quite similar, on the whole, to those found in other Mongolic langauges. Many of the particular morphemes involved have apparent cognates in other languages, and the general range of functions played seems quite similar in each language.

There are, of course, some differences. Some of these are due to divergent historical developments, which seem, for example, to have led to a greater reliance on nominalization as a clause combining strategy in Khalkha than we find in Mangghuer.

However, some of the apparent differences must almost certainly be due to the varied perspectives adopted by those who describe the Mongolic languages. It has not always been clear to me just what other scholars have intended by their choice of terms with which I am less familiar, and this may have resulted in some distortion of the similarities and differences among these languages.

3.1.2 Zero-marked Predicates

One of the major strategies for Mangghuer clause combining, dependent clauses with the zero nonfinite marker -∅, appears to be quite rare among Mongolic languages. I have found no mention of this strategy in descriptions of Khalkha Mongolian (Kullman and Tserenpil 1996; Qinggeertai 1991), nor in geographically nearest Mongolic languages Tongren Monguor (Chen 1986a) and Huzhu Mangghuer (Qinggeertai 1988).[14]

However, Field (1997:422) reports that this same strategy is used in Santa, and it appears that the Santa functions of zero-marking are quite similar to what we saw in Mangghuer. Example (113) shows a series of 4 clauses linked with this device in Santa.

(113) Santa Zero-Marked Clause Chain (Field 1997:422)

bi	***aji-∅***	***xolu-∅***	***hətʂə-∅***	*buɕin-da+dzi̯wo*
I	afraid-∅	run-∅	tire-∅	weak-VBLZR+PROG

'I am running because I was afraid and I have become so tired I am weak'

In section 2.2.10, above, we saw that in sequences of Mangghuer verbs, we often find an alternation between the nonfinite markers *-ji* 'IMPEFECTIVE' and *-∅* 'SEQUENTIAL.' A corresponding alternation is also found in Santa, between *-∅* and *-dzi̯*. This alternation can be seen in (114); in the recap clause of the second line, the verb *xolu* 'run' appears with zero-marking. Contrast this with its appearance in the preceding clause.

(114) Santa (Field 1997:423)

niə	*taulәi*	***xolu-dzi̯***	*giəru-dzi̯*	*irə-wo*
one	rabbit	run-*dzi̯*	cross-*dzi̯*	come-PERF

taulәi	*xolu-∅*	*giəru-dzi̯*	*irə-sə*
rabbit	run-∅	cross-*dzi̯*	come-*sə*

I noted above that no other Mongolic language seems to form clause chains with zero-marking. Thus, we do not find this alternation in other Mongolic languages, either.

[14] I should point out, though, that many of these descriptions are morphologically-oriented. Since they often organize their discussions around particular morphological forms, it is possible that zero marking might be present in a particular language, but nonetheless be omitted from such a description, on the grounds that it does not appear to be a separate morphological form.

DeLancey (1991) reports precisely this same phenomenon in Lahu, but notes that Lhasa Tibetan, though exhibiting the marked/unmarked alternation in auxiliary verb formation (see next section), does not allow this alternation in chains of separate clauses.

I have not found any explicit discussion of this issue in Amdo Tibetan, but an examination of the data given by J. Sun (1993) suggests that a similar morphological alternation may in fact be found in the clause chains of this language. Compare the following examples.

(115) Amdo Tibetan Clause Chain (J. Sun 1993:978)[15]

kʰo	*həɣə*	*næ*	*ŋə=kʰod=ʰkə*
he(abs)	there	LOC	cry=prog.aux=ev

ŋæ	***sʰoŋ=nə***	*tɕəg*	*ʰta*	*dæ*
I(abs)	go(com)=con	a little	look(desid)	IFM

'He is crying over there; let me go and take a look.'

(116) Amdo Tibetan Clause Chain (J. Sun 1993:980)

Kʰo	*joŋ*	*jod*	*sʰa jod=ʰkə;*	*kʰu*	*ham*
he(abs)	come	aux	inferential ev	his	boot

gokhaæ	*næ*	***həd***	*ɕʰag*	*jod=ʰkə*
doorway	LOC	take off (com)	put (com)	aux=im ev[16]

'He must have come; (for) his boots are (lit: were taken off and put) at the door.'

The verbs in bold type, *sʰoŋ=nə* 'go' in (115) and *həd* 'take off' in (116), appear to be nonfinite verbs in clause chaining constructions, and may illustrate a marked/unmarked alternation. In a footnote, J. Sun (1993:972 italics added) notes: "Amdo Tibetan, like other Tibeto-Burman languages, is a clause-chaining language. Predicates in non-final clauses are nonfinite in morphology and *usually* take the morpheme *=nə* ... which is a semantically bleached connective enclitic."

However, it is far from clear that these examples actually illustrate an alternation between marked and unmarked nonfinite verbs, as we have seen for Santa and Mangghuer. Although this is one possible interpretation of what (115) and (116) show, it may be that these are actually two different syntactic constructions.

[15] The author's abbreviations mean: *abs* 'absolutive case'; *ev* 'evidential marker'; *com* 'completive aspect'; *desid* 'desiderative'; *IFM* 'illocutionary force marker'.
[16] *im ev* means 'immediate evidential'.

It seems, though, that it may prove quite interesting to compare the clause combining strategies of Mangghuer and Amdo, once fuller structural descriptions of the latter become available.

The alternation which we have seen, in both Mangghuer and Santa, between -∅ and *-ji* (Santa *-dzi*) also occurs in verb + auxiliary constructions. It is to this topic that we now turn.

3.2 Auxiliaries

In chapter 4, section 3, I described the functions of the various Mangghuer auxiliary verbs. Most of these also have uses as main verbs; only *da* 'cannot' functions solely as an auxiliary.

DeLancey (1991) describes in detail the apparent process by which clause chaining constructions have grammaticalized into verb + auxiliary constructions in Lhasa Tibetan. It turns out that much of his discussion could also be applied to Mangghuer.

DeLancey describes a set of auxiliaries which appear with or without a non-zero nonfinite marker on their main verb.[17] The following examples show the similarity of some of these to Mangghuer auxiliary constructions.

(117) Lhasa Tibetan Auxiliary Construction (DeLancey 1991:6)
kho *bros(-byas)* *yongs-pa red*
he flee(-NF) came-PERF
'He fled hither (or toward the deictic center).'

(118) Lhasa Tibetan Auxiliary Construction (DeLancey 1991:6)
kho *bros(-byas)* *phyin-pa red*
he flee(-NF) went-PERF
'He fled (in some direction other than hither), ran away.'

(119) Lhasa Tibetan Auxiliary Construction (DeLancey 1991:7)
kho *las=ka* *byas(-byas)* *sdad-pa red*
he work did(-NF) stay-PERF
'He was working, kept working, was always working.'

In each of these examples, the auxiliary is the final verb: *yongs* 'came,' *phyin* 'went,' and *sdad* 'stay.' In all three cases, the nonfinite marker *-byas* is optional on the main verb.

[17] DeLancey (1991:6) calls these "versatile verbs," referring to the fact that they can be either full verbs or auxiliaries (in different constructions).

In contrast to these examples, DeLancey gives (120):

(120) Lhasa Tibetan Clause Chain (DeLancey 1991:9)
khos *las=ka* *byas-byas* *zas-pa red*
he work did-NF ate-PERF
'He worked and then ate; having worked, he ate.'

Here, the nonfinite marker *-byas* is obligatory.

DeLancey's discussion (1991:8-9) suggests that the difference between (117)-(119), on the one hand, and (120), on the other, has to do with possible pragmatic interpretations of the relationship between the events. In the former set, the combination of verbs expressing motion ('flee') with verbs expressing direction ('come' and 'go'), or of a verb expressing action ('do') with one expressing an ongoing state ('stay'), enables a diachronic process of semantic bleaching of the second verb, such that it comes to indicate only direction or aspect, in such constructions. In examples such as (120), no such semantic bleaching occurs, because 'eat' is too clearly a separate event, and thus does not reduce easily to a modifier of the preceding verb.

These semantic concerns are the motivation for the structural distinction which arises: example (120) is clearly biclausal, while examples (117)-(119) are monoclausal, with main verb and auxiliary. This monoclausal status is true, whether or not the nonfinite marker is present. The omissability of the nonfinite marker is enabled by an already-occuring reanalysis of the construction. As DeLancey points out, "functional change leads rather than follows formal grammatical change (1991:2).

As I mentioned above, all of this is quite familiar to the Mangghuer analyst.[18] In fact, the Mangghuer equivalents of these same verbs ('go,' 'come,' 'stay') also appear as auxiliary verbs, and we saw that all of them permit an alternation of the most semantically vague nonfinite marker *-ji* and the even-less-specific zero-marking option -∅, on their associated main verbs.

However, the Lhasa Tibetan pattern is not identical to what we saw in Mangghuer. Most importantly, the inventory of auxiliary verbs is not quite the same. Although both languages use 'go,' 'come,' and 'stay' as auxiliaries, with roughly the same semantic functions, there are other verbs which do not share this function in both languages.

Lhasa additionally has *bzhag* 'put,' *tshar* 'finish,' and *myong* 'taste,' all of which have perfective meanings when used as auxiliaries (DeLancey 1991:9).

Mangghuer, on the other hand, has *ge* 'do,' with perfective meaning, *hu* 'give,' which indicates a benefactive sense, as well as *bao* 'go down' and *gher* 'go out', which indicate direction.

[18] If you've read this far, you are included in this title.

Other Mongolic languages also have verb + auxiliary constructions generally resembling these facts, although again we find some apparent differences among the languages.

Bisang (1995:169-70) illustrates constructions like these in Khalkha Mongolian, involving verbs meaning 'go,' 'come,' 'enter,' 'stay,' and 'give.' Kullman and Tserenpil (1996:208-10) give similar examples, and include a much longer list of auxiliary verbs. In both discussions, it appears that main verbs, when appearing with one of these auxiliaries, must bear a nonzero nonfinite marker.

Qinggeertai (1988:242), describing Huzhu Mongghul auxiliaries, notes explicitly that Khalkha Mongolian does not allow zero-marking.

Several languages do, however, allow main verbs to appear with zero-marking, when used with an auxiliary. These include Huzhu Mongghul (Qinggeertai 1988:242) and Tongren Monguor (Chen 1986a:251). This is also true of Santa (Field 1997:423), although Field considers many of these constructions to constitute clause chains in Santa.

There is, in fact, no standard terminology, among the analysts I have cited, for constructions of this type. Qingeertai (1988:242) calls some instances of what I label the "main verb" a *fu dong ci* (adverbial verb or converb) in Huzhu Mongghul. In Khalkha Mongolian, Qinggeertai (1991:347) includes some of the forms discussed here under the heading *zhu dong ci* (助动词) 'auxiliary verbs.' Bisang (1995) and DeLancey (1991) refer to constructions of this sort as *serialization*, and DeLancey (1991:7) once uses the term "auxiliarized serialized verb constructions."

As DeLancey (1991) also notes, this phenomenon is part of a larger process of grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott (1993:108-11) discuss this same process cross-linguistically, noting that auxiliary verb is just one stage along a common grammaticalization path, leading from full verb status to bound morphology. Since the Mangghuer forms discussed here seem to have settled, for the moment, in the vicinity of a set of features that fall into the category of auxiliary verbs, I refer to the Mangghuer process as one of *auxiliarization*, and to the constructions themselves as verb + auxiliary constructions. Other languages, including those which I have discussed here, may not treat these verbs quite the same, and it is possible that auxiliary is not the best label in all of these cases. Nonetheless, it is clear that the same basic process is at work in all of the languages I have cited in this section.

3.3 Discussion

In this historical and comparative section, I have cited descriptions arising from several different descriptive traditions, and of course each such tradition has its own set of terms, as well as its own set of analytical approaches and acceptable

descriptive conclusions. My own approach is no different, and it is quite probable that, in my attempt to compare my own analysis of Mangghuer with the descriptions of other Mongolists, I have failed to adequately understand their use of terms with which I am less familiar.

It does seem, though, that a more comprehensive comparative study of Mongolic clause combining strategies will lead to interesting conclusions about the typology of nonfiniteness, as well as to interesting observations about the influence of language contact on strategies such as these.

An issue of particular interest is the role of zero-marking in both clause chains and verb + auxiliary constructions.

Khalkha Mongolian does not seem to have any constructions built with a -∅ marker.

Some other Mongolic languages -- Huzhu Monguor and Tongren Monguor -- seem to have verb + auxiliary constructions involving -∅ marking on the main verb, but do not seem to build clause chains with the -∅ forms of verbs. Lhasa Tibetan seems also to be of this type.

At the other extreme, Minhe Mangghuer and Santa use zero-marking both with auxiliary verb constructions and as a means of clause chaining.

Further comparative study ought to take up the issue of how this strategy rose to such prominence in just two of the Mongolic languages. Does this represent an innovation common to just these two languages? If so, can the influence of other, neighboring languages have played a role? One is tempted to hypothesize that Mangghuer and Santa have come into contact with a language like Lahu, allowing widespread alternation of a general nonfinte marker with zero-marking, and that this external influence may have contributed to the development of the pattern now observed in these two Mongolic languages. However, I have not yet found evidence of such a language in contact with Mangghuer or Santa, so this is perhaps more idle speculation than hypothesis.

There are, of course, many other possibilities. Much more will need to be known, however, about neighboring languages, before such an adequate comparative study becomes feasible.

In any case, it is clear that many of the languages of the Qinghai-Gansu border area have similar clause-chaining and auxiliary constructions. Although discussions like those of DeLancey (1991) and Hopper and Traugott (1993) offer a firm basis for treating the auxiliarization process as a natural grammaticalization development, it seems likely that contact among languages is an important factor in this region, where similar processes seem to be occurring in a number of languages. It is quite plausible that auxiliarization could have been internally motivated in each language, but perhaps even more plausible, given the current situation, that the external motivation of contact-induced change has also played a significant role.

4 The Sentence

To this point in the discussion, I have been assuming a common-sense notion of the *sentence*. I would like to clarify this notion a bit in this section, although, for reasons I will explain shortly, I will not attempt to develop a broad definition of the term.

From a morphosyntactic point of view, finite verb inflection provides the most consistent means of identifying units which we might choose to call sentences. A syntactic sentence, then, can be defined as in (121):

(121) Definition of a syntactic sentence

> A *syntactic sentence* consists of a clause whose main verb is a finite verb, plus any finite clause(s) embedded in it, and any nonfinite clause(s) dependent on it.

However, this notion of the sentence, centered around the criterion of finiteness, is somewhat incomplete. In this section, we will see three sorts of considerations which make the notion of sentence considerably more complicated than this.

4.1 Coordination

Coordination involves the conjoining of two or more linguistic units at the same level of grammatical structure. In chapter 3, section 2.8, we saw coordination of nouns within a noun phrase. In the present section, we will see that finite clauses, too, can be coordinated. This can be done either lexically, with the coordinator *ma*, or intonationally.

In Foley and Van Valin's (1984) classification (section 1.2, above), coordination is treated as one of three logically possible clause-combining types. This occurs when the relationship between two clauses involves neither embedding nor dependency.

4.1.1 Lexical Coordination

One of the devices used to coordinate nouns is *ma* 'and.' This form also functions as an interactional particle and as a topic marker, as we saw in chapter 4, section 7.2.

One aspect of the function of clause-final *ma* is that it often implies a close relationship between the event in its own clause and that in the following clause. (I also pointed this out in chapter 4, section 7.2.) Consider (122) and (123), which both illustrate this fact.

(122) (Monkey 26-27)

```
Tierberser   gan  yigama       ghazhajiang    ma,
tierber-ser  gan  yi -ge-ama   ghazha-jiang   ma
hold   -PROG 3:SG one-CL-mouth bite  -N1:PERF PRT
Holding (the baby), he took a bite,

Monkey 27
bulai "zha" geji          khailajiang.
bulai zha   ge   -ji      khaila-jiang
child EXCL  QUOTE-IMPERF shout -N1:PERF
the child cried "zha" like that.
```

(123) (Monkey 84)

```
Huer   maidiejiang    ma  zhuajiang.
huer   maidie-jiang   ma  zhua -jiang
monkey know  -N1:PERF PRT catch-N1:PERF
Monkey realized (what had happened) and chased (her).
```

In (122), a monkey's act of biting the child is the cause of the child's shout. Similarly, (123) uses *ma* to show a close link between the monkey's realization and his subsequent action, which is a response to that realization.

Notice that, in both instances, Zhu Yongzhong has indicated that the clause with *ma* and the following clause belong to the same sentence. In (122), *ma* is followed by a comma; in (123), no punctuation at all is used with *ma*.

In fact, *ma* follows finite clauses in 104 total instances, and in only 9 of these cases did the transcriber put a period (or other final punction) after *ma*. All other cases are like the two illustrated here.

So one important function of *ma* seems to be as a coordinator of finite clauses. Mangghuer has no other morphosyntactic device for this function; we will see in the next section, however, that prosody can apparently also perform this function.

4.1.2 Intonational Coordination

The folktale texts suggest that, in the opinion of the transcriber, prosody can also be used as a device for coordinating finite clauses. Examples (124) and (125) show that even clearly finite clauses often appear with following commas; in cases such as these, the first clause has some fairly close conceptual link with the following clause.

(124) (Filial Obedience 8-9)

Laosa morini lai hulang,
laosa mori =ni lai hu -lang
mule horse=ACC NEG give-N1:IMPERF
(They) didn't give (him) horses or mules,

Filial Obedience 9
gansi huguer ge hulang.
gan -si huguer ge hu -lang
3:SG-PL cow SG:INDEF give-N1:IMPERF
they (only) gave (him) a cow.

(125) (Three Daughters 13-14)

Ting geku gan Laohan aruoghuonang
ting ge-ku gan laohan aruoghuo =nang
that do-IMPERF 3:SG old:man back:basket=REFLPOSS

beilajiang gelang,
beila-jiang gelang
carry-N1:PERF HEARSAY
Then Old Man took his back basket, they say,

(Three Daughters 14
suguonang barijiang gelang.
suguo=nang bari-jiang gelang
axe =REFLPOSS take-N1:PERF HEARSAY
(and) took his axe, they say.

Just as nouns or noun phrases can be coordinated in a list, by intonational means, so we find a few examples of finite clauses which seem to constitute a listing of actions. Thus, (126) gives a short list of two different actions attempted by a Shaman, coordinating those actions intonationally with the concurrent action by which Rabbit evades him.

(126) (Rabbit's Trick 26-28)

Ning geji barila xisa Huashi bari
ning ge-ji bari-la xi-sa huashi bari
this do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND fashi take

dalang,
da -lang
cannot-N1:IMPERF
When (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) this way, the fashi couldn't catch (him),

Rabbit's Trick 27
ting geji barila xisa bari dalang,
ting ge-ji bari-la xi-sa bari da -lang
that do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND take cannot-N1:IMPERF
when (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) that way, (the fashi) couldn't catch (him),

Rabbit's Trick 28
taolai gan yibenzi diaoli yaolang bai.
taolai gan yi -benzi diaoli yao-lang bai
rabbit 3:SG one-jump jump go -N1:IMPERF EMPH
(because) Rabbit, he hopped (away).

From a prosodic point of view, an example like (126) is best considered a single sentence; the speaker apparently used prosodic cues to indicate that the first two clauses, though morphogically finite, were intended to be taken together with the upcoming material as part of single construction.

More discussion of prosodic sentences is found in 4.3, below.

4.2 Quotation within the Sentence

I pointed out in section 1.2, above, that Foley and Van Valin's (1984) classification of clause-combining types omitted a logical possibility that does, in fact, occur in the Mangghuer data. Foley and Van Valin (1984:393) considered the possibility of clauses which are +embedded but -dependent, and concluded that this combination of features could not occur. However, example (127), repeated from the discussion above, shows that this is incorrect.

(127) (Nine-headed Ghost 38)

Tingsa Jiutou Yaomao [ra] geji
tingsa jiutou yaomao ri -a ge -ji
later nine:head ghost come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF

dayinglajiang.
dayingla-jiang
promise -N1:PERF
Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying "I'll come."

The quoted material *ra* 'let me come' is embedded within the clause which reports the Nine-headed Ghost's action of promising. However, the embedded quote is in no way dependent on the surrounding material: it constitutes a fully finite and independent clause.

Quotations which are clearly embedded, like (127) are relatively rare. However, there are numerous examples in which one or more quotations appear with nonfinite forms of the quotative marker *ge*. Consider (128), (129) and (130):

(128) (Filial Obedience 36-38)

Ganni tinang suzu qierghaji
gan =ni ti =nang suzu qier-gha -ji
3:SG=GEN that=REFLPOSS hair cut -CAUSE-IMPERF

*hula bi **geji,***
hu -la bi ge -ji
give-IMPERF 1:COP QUOTE-IMPERF
He would cut the (child's) hair, he said,

Filial Obedience 37
suzuni nuerghuosang zhi,
suzu=ni nuerghuo-sang zhi
hair=ACC wet -PERF after
after (he) wet the (child's) hair,

Filial Obedience 38
bulainang jiari anadunang
bulai=nang jiari ana =du =nang
child=REFLPOSS kill mother=DAT=REFLPOSS

dighajiang.
di -gha -jiang
eat-CAUSE-N1:PERF
(he) killed his son and had his mother eat (the child).

(129) (Monkey 55-58)

Di hangbura,
di hangbura
eat finish
After finishing eating,

Monkey 56
"Du bi yizhuan langlaya,"
du bi yi -zhuan langla -ya
now 1:SG:NOM one-circle walk:around-VOL
"Now I'll go walk around"

Monkey 57
***geji** zaohangdu xisa,*
ge -ji zaohang=du xi-sa
QUOTE-IMPERF kitchen=DAT go-COND
saying this (the boy's mother) went into the kitchen,

Monkey 58
ganni bulaini di khuonuo guala geser bang
gan =ni bulai=ni di khuonuo guala ge-ser bang
3:SG=GEN child=ACC door back hang do-PROG N1:COP

bai.
bai
EMPH
(she found that) her son was hanging behind the door.

(130) (Monkey 41-43)

*Bulaini hu **gesa,***
bulai=ni hu ge -sa
child=ACC give QUOTE-COND
When (she) said "give (me) the baby,"

Monkey 42
*bulai nerrijiang **ge,***
bulai nerri-jiang ge -Ø
child sleep-N1:PERF QUOTE-SEQ
saying "the child has gone to sleep,"

Monkey 43
ni Huer sai hujiang.
ni huer sai hu -jiang
this monkey NEG give-N1:PERF
this Monkey didn't give (the child to her).

These examples, like most of the nonfinite clauses we have seen in this chapter, are ambiguous with regard to the question of embeddedness. The quotative marker *ge* is in each case dependent, since it has a nonfinite verb ending.

In (128), the imperfective ending *-ji* marks the event of saying as nonfinite, but does not specify clearly its relationship to that of the next clause; this must be inferred from context. In (129), the specific semantic relationship is similarly unspecified. Here, the quoted material appears as the second of 4 clauses in a chain.

Example (130) has already been cited in the above discussion (sections 2.2.7 and 2.2.8). This is a rare example in which two successive quotes are both marked as nonfinite, and thus, seem to be treated as elements within a single syntactic sentence.

Futher facts about nonfinite forms of the quotative marker *ge* are detailed in chapter 7, section 2.2.1.

4.3 Prosodic Sentences

I have already said more about prosody in the preceding sections than my Mangghuer data reliably shows, since my primary database consists of folktale

transcripts in which only punctuation hints at prosodic information. However, it does seem fairly clear that prosodic organization is important to the structure of Mangghuer.

In Genetti and Slater (forthcoming), we show that prosodic and syntactic patterns are interwoven by a narrator to create what we call *prosodic sentences*. These units, which may be considerably larger (or smaller) than syntactic sentences, are a further device used by speakers to help listeners negotiate the structure of a narrative as it is delivered.

While syntactic and prosodic sentences often coincide, they often do not. Thus, a notion of the sentence ought in the end to take into account both of these significant domains of linguistic coding. A thorough examination of Mangghuer prosodic structure will certainly yield substantially greater conclusions than what I have been able to speculate about in the preceding sections.

Chapter 7
Reported Speech

1 Introduction and Goals

The reporting of words and thoughts of characters is an extremely significant device in the Minhe Mangghuer folktale database. Of 1475 total lines[1] of text (in 15 folktale narratives) 787 lines, or 53%, involve some form of reported speech.

In this chapter I will focus primarily on morphosyntactic description of reported speech, as well as pragmatic issues of lexical choice and choice of linguistic code.

A major concern will be the characterization of how speakers manipulate the degree of displacement between the event of narrating and the events reported when they are reporting the speech of folktale characters. I use *displacement* in the sense of Chafe (1994), who uses the terms *immediacy* and *displacement* as a way of showing that a speaker's focus of consciousness, as well as the features of the language which the speaker produces, may either highlight that which is present in the immediate environment at the moment of speaking, or may indicate displacement of various sorts -- removal from the present moment in time may be indicated by the use of past tense, removal from the current speech situation may be indicated by choice of third person pronouns, and so forth.

One major disadvantage of using the folktale database is that the original prosodic information is not represented in the transcripts. Prosody is clearly an important device in the reporting of speech, when this is done orally, and I will not be able to make reference to any prosodic devices for this study. A more complete characterization of reported speech in Minhe Mangghuer would certainly need to take prosodic factors into account. Nonetheless, useful and interesting generalizations will arise from the study.

It should also be noted that all of the people who were present when the folktales were recorded are fluent speakers of Minhe Mangghuer. There were no non-speakers present. The recordings were made by Zhu Yongzhong himself. Since bilingualism and code-switching are discussed below, it is important to realize that the Minhe Mangghuer observed here represents the language as it is used among fluent speakers.

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[1] Line breaks are based on Mr. Zhu's original punctuation of the narratives, and correlate best with grammatical units such as the clause and the sentence. However, they generally should not be accorded any theoretical or analytical status.

transcripts in which only punctuation hints at prosodic information. However, it does seem fairly clear that prosodic organization is important to the structure of Mangghuer.

In Genetti and Slater (forthcoming), we show that prosodic and syntactic patterns are interwoven by a narrator to create what we call *prosodic sentences*. These units, which may be considerably larger (or smaller) than syntactic sentences, are a further device used by speakers to help listeners negotiate the structure of a narrative as it is delivered.

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The reporting of words and thoughts of characters is an extremely significant device in the Minhe Mangghuer folktale database. Of 1475 total lines[1] of text (in 15 folktale narratives) 787 lines, or 53%, involve some form of reported speech.

In this chapter I will focus primarily on morphosyntactic description of reported speech, as well as pragmatic issues of lexical choice and choice of linguistic code.

A major concern will be the characterization of how speakers manipulate the degree of displacement between the event of narrating and the events reported when they are reporting the speech of folktale characters. I use *displacement* in the sense of Chafe (1994), who uses the terms *immediacy* and *displacement* as a way of showing that a speaker's focus of consciousness, as well as the features of the language which the speaker produces, may either highlight that which is present in the immediate environment at the moment of speaking, or may indicate displacement of various sorts -- removal from the present moment in time may be indicated by the use of past tense, removal from the current speech situation may be indicated by choice of third person pronouns, and so forth.

One major disadvantage of using the folktale database is that the original prosodic information is not represented in the transcripts. Prosody is clearly an important device in the reporting of speech, when this is done orally, and I will not be able to make reference to any prosodic devices for this study. A more complete characterization of reported speech in Minhe Mangghuer would certainly need to take prosodic factors into account. Nonetheless, useful and interesting generalizations will arise from the study.

It should also be noted that all of the people who were present when the folktales were recorded are fluent speakers of Minhe Mangghuer. There were no non-speakers present. The recordings were made by Zhu Yongzhong himself. Since bilingualism and code-switching are discussed below, it is important to realize that the Minhe Mangghuer observed here represents the language as it is used among fluent speakers.

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[1] Line breaks are based on Mr. Zhu's original punctuation of the narratives, and correlate best with grammatical units such as the clause and the sentence. However, they generally should not be accorded any theoretical or analytical status.

2 The Grammar of Reported Speech

2.1 Reported Speech and Verbs of Saying

2.1.1 The Syntactic Status of Quoted Speech

The most common way to report the speech of a character is simply to say what the character said, without any narrator comment. Of the approximately 322 instances of reported utterances in the Minhe Mangghuer folktales, 102 instances are of this type: a simple imitation of the speech of a character. In (1), we see an example of a conversation reported in this fashion.

(1) (Monkey 10-20)

```
Mughashi shidiedu,
mughashi shidie=du
tomorrow early =DAT
Early the next morning,

Monkey 11
Huer   gan  hela      rijiang.
huer   gan  he  -la   ri  -jiang
monkey 3:SG take-PURP come-N1:PERF
Monkey, he came to take (her).

Monkey 12
"Ajia,
ajia
elder:sister
"Elder Sister,

Monkey 13
ajia,
ajia
elder:sister
Elder Sister,

Monkey 14
bi       qimai    hela      riba."
bi       qimai    he  -la   ri  -ba
1:SG:NOM 2:SG:DAT take-PURP come-1:PERF
I've come to take you" (Monkey said).

Monkey 15
"Dangda  niangjia      gui!"
dangda   niangjia      gui
1:SG:DAT parental:home 1:NEG:COP
"I have no parents' home!" (she said).
```



```
Monkey 16
"Qimai   khara mulasa    asira hu   danang lai
qimai    khara mula =sa  asira hu   danang lai
2:SG:DAT black small=ABL raise give after  NEG

      maidielang       bai.
      maidie-lang      bai
      know  -N1:IMPERF EMPH
"You were given (to someone else) to raise when (you)
were very young, so (you) don't know (about it).

Monkey 17
Ajia         lai maidielang       ma,
ajia         lai maidie-lang      ma
elder:sister NEG know  -N1:IMPERF PRT
Elder Sister (you) don't know (about it),

Monkey 18
bi       hela      riba,
bi       he  -la   ri  -ba
1:SG:NOM take-PURP come-1:PERF
(but) I've come to take (you),

Monkey 19
ana    nangda   heghala          riba."
ana    nangda   he  -gha  -la    ri  -ba
mother 1:SG:DAT take-CAUSE-PURP come-1:PERF
Mother sent me to take (you)" (Monkey said).

Monkey 20
Khara quequer erjige ge       taoser     bang.
khara quequer erjige ge       tao  -ser  bang
black lame    donkey SG:INDEF drive-PROG N1:COP
A black lame donkey had been driven (there by Monkey).
```

The reported speech of this example is in no way grammatically integrated into the surrounding narrative discourse. Lines 10-11 and 20 are included to show that the quoted material bears no syntactic relation to either the preceding or the following discourse. Outside of the quotations, no indication is given of speaker identification, turn-taking structure, or of any evaluation by the narrator of the events of speaking she reports.

However, it is also common for a narrator to integrate a quote grammatically into the narration, and this can be done in a number of ways. Often a speaker characterizes the speech act being attributed to a quoted speaker, using a verb such as *keli* 'to say', *ersighe* 'to ask', or *mula* 'to think'.[2] The verb of saying may either precede or follow the quoted material, and may bear any of a number of

[2] I will refer to the set of verbs used to introduce reported speech as 'verbs of saying', even though some (such as *mula* 'to think') refer to non-speech actions. Since this group behaves as a class, it is useful to refer to the whole set with a single term.

different morphological markings, depending on how the speaker wishes to characterize the aspect of the speech situation.

(2) (Stupid Boy 6-8)

Bierini ***keliji,***
bieri=ni keli-ji
wife =POSS say -IMPERF
His wife said,

Stupid Boy 7
"Bi niaoduer xi'a.
bi niaoduer xi-a
1:SG:NOM today go-VOL
"I will go (to my parents' home) today.

Stupid Boy 8
Qi mughashi riku shijiedu yaji
qi mughashi ri -ku shijie=du ya -ji
2:SG:NOM tomorrow come-IMPERF time =DAT what-IMPERF

rini?"
ri -ni
come-1:FUT
When you come tomorrow, how will you come?"

(3) (Three Daughters 7-9)

"Aba,
aba
father
"Father,

Three Daughters 8
dasi angji yaoni?"
dasi ang =ji yao-ni
1:PL:NOM where=DIR go -1:FUT
where will we go?"

Three Daughters 9
yige aguerni ***erseghejiang*** *bai.*
yi -ge aguer =ni erseghe-jiang bai
one-CL daughter=POSS ask -N1:PERF EMPH
one daughter of his asked.

(4) (Stupid Boy 15-17)

Ting ge gan ***mulalang,***
ting ge gan mula -lang
that do 3:SG think-N1:IMPERF
Then he thought,

Stupid Boy 16
"Ni bieri keliji erjigedu dameiher ge
ni bieri keli-ji erjige=du damei-her ge
this wife say -IMPERF donkey=DAT heavy-COMP SG:INDEF

erqiji ri gelang ma,
erqi -ji ri ge -lang ma
carry-IMPERF come QUOTE-N1:IMPERF PRT
"This wife said (I should) come carrying a heavy thing on the donkey,

Stupid Boy 17
yang damei bang sha?"
yang damei bang sha
what heavy N1:COP PRT
what is heavy?"

What is the syntactic status of quotes such as these, with respect to the surrounding constructions? The quote of example (1) is syntactically independent, but (2)-(4) involve quotes which might be seen as constituents of the quotative clauses which introduce them.

Quotes have sometimes been thought of as objects of a verb of saying, but none of the examples (2)-(4) seem to strongly suggest this analysis. Minhe Mangghuer has SOV basic word order. In chapter 4, section 9.6, we saw that OSV is also possible, with highly topicalized objects, so (3) might be seen as an example of this pattern, with the quotation appearing in the topicalized object position. However, I have never seen a postposed NP object appearing after a transitive verb; SVO structures never occur in my data. This means that the reported words of (2) and (4) are decidedly un-object-like, since they both appear following their verbs of saying.

Recall, too, that (1) had no verb of saying at all, and the quotation there cannot plausibly be the object of any verb at all.

Quotations, then, do not seem to be nominal complements of verbs of saying. In fact, they behave according to syntactic patterns which seem to be unique. The syntactic behavior outlined in this section is characteristic of quotations, but not of any other construction type that I have found. Therefore, it does not seem useful to assign them a construction type label, other than simply to refer to them as instances of "quotation" or "reported speech". For the remainder of this section, we will explore the structural characteristics of this construction type.

2.1.2 Generalizations about Verbs of Saying

A few generalizations may be made about the relation between verbs of saying and the quotes they attribute. Three will be considered here.

2.1.2.1 Order of Verb of Saying and Quote

First, while the verb of saying may either precede (examples 2 and 4) or follow (example 3) the reported speech, it is much more common for it to precede; in the folktales, 103 verbs of saying precede the speech acts they name, while only 40 follow.

2.1.2.2 Aspect Marking

Second, we can consider aspect marking. Minhe Mangghuer distinguishes perfective and imperfective aspect in the marking of finite and some nonfinite predicates, and verbs of saying may thus be either perfective or imperfective. Where aspect is marked, imperfective verbs of saying are most common; there are 61 verbs of saying which appear in imperfective aspect, compared with only 36 which have perfective marking. Imperfectives are illustrated in (5)-(6), and perfectives are shown in (7) and (3), above.

(5) (Monkey 59

"Niaoduer nangda dini bai!"
niaoduer nangda di -ni bai
today 1:SG:DAT eat-1:FUT EMPH
"Today (they) will eat me!"

Monkey 60
shinagu ***mulalang.***
shinagu mula -lang
woman think-N1:IMPERF
the woman thought.

(6) (Human-bear 31-33)

bulaini tierbersang zhi ***khailaser bang,***
bulai=ni tierber-sang zhi khaila-ser bang
child=ACC hold -PERF after shout -PROG N1:COP
holding the child, (he) was shouting,

Human-bear 32
"Xiongwadi niang,
xiong-wa -di niang
bear -baby-ASSOC mother
"Baby bear's mother,

Human-bear 33
zao huixiang."
zao hui -xiang
early return-home
come back home earlier."

(7) (Sangbura 43-48)

Buraku,
bura -ku
finish-IMPERF
After finishing,

Sangbura 44
Gagasanang ***kerlijiang,***
gaga =sa =nang kerli-jiang
elder:brother=ABL=REFLPOSS want -N1:PERF
(he) asked of his older brother,

Sangbura 45
"Qi nangdadu dimeinang diger hu ma,
qi nangda =du dimei=nang diger hu ma
2:SG:NOM 1:SG:DAT=DAT bread=REFLPOSS little:bit give PRT
"You give me a little of your bread,

Sangbura 46
muni ge burajiang.
muni ge bura -jiang
1:SG:GEN SG:INDEF finish-N1:PERF
mine is finished.

Sangbura 47
Bi ghula dilang,
bi ghu=la di -lang
1:SG:NOM two=COLL eat-N1:IMPERF
We two have been eating,

Sangbura 48
qi khezhighernang dilang."
qi khezhigher=nang di -lang
2:SG:NOM alone =REFLPOSS eat-N1:IMPERF
you have been eating by yourself."

What is the function of imperfective verbs of saying, as in (5) and (6)? This seems quite similar to the phenomenon observed in languages with present/past tense distinctions, where a past tense narrative may shift into present tense when a quote is being introduced. This leads to constructions like the following, from Mark Twain's short story "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."

(8) Present tense verb of saying; Twain (1869:16)
And the feller took it, and looked at it careful, and turned it round this way and that, and **says**, "Hm -- so 'tis. Well, what's *he* good for?"

The verb says, in bold, shifts from the narrative past tense to present tense. Twain uses this device frequently in the "Jumping Frog" story. The bulk of the story consists of a man narrating a remembrance, and this narrator character *always* uses present tense with verbs of saying, as in (8). However, when the Twain returns to his own voice, the verb say appears in past tense to introduce a quote:

(9) Past tense verb of saying; Twain (1869:18)
And turning to me as he moved away, he **said**: "Just set where you are, stranger, and rest easy -- I an't going to be gone a second."

The use of present tense, or of imperfective aspect, with verbs of saying seems to lend a sense of immediacy to the speech being quoted. By moving into the present tense, or into the imperfective, a speaker can present a quotation as if it were currently underway, removing the displacement of time from this part of a narrative. Chafe (1994:242) suggests that this effect may be observed with the use of progressives in English, where "was wanting to know" may be seen as lending the sense of being in the middle of an ongoing event, more so than "wanted to know" would do.

Taking a cognitive perspective might help us to explain why imperfectives are so common with verbs of saying. When a speaker is reporting the words of a particular character, the speaker normally puts herself into the role of that character temporarily, trying at least to some degree to model accurately what that character might say. In order to do this, the speaker might need to attempt also to determine what the character might be thinking. To fail to do these things would lead to highly unconvincing attempts to portray a character's speech.

Thus, when producing a quote, the speaker needs to pretend to be a participant producing the actual speech event being reported.

Just as nasal consonants in many languages assimilate to the place of articulation of a following obstruent, reflecting a speaker's ongoing task of anticipating what is to be articulated next, so the appearance of verbs of saying in present tense, or imperfective aspect, may reflect another ongoing task: the task of adopting the proper perspective for the bit of speech being produced. In this case, rather than anticipating an articulatory gesture, the speaker seems to be anticipating a shift of perspective, using the tense/aspect marking appropriate for one who is actually experiencing the speech situation she is in fact preparing to pretend to experience.

Similarly, the use of imperfective verbs of saying which follow the reported speech might reflect the persistence of the speaker's pretending to actually be in the situation she has reported.

This cognitive explanation might in fact account for the origin of this phenomenon, but after it occured often enough to become salient, it probably became conventionalized to some degree. Conventionalization leads to freedom for a construction to perform a different range of functions, and we might expect this to be true here, as well.

Returning to the examples from Mark Twain's writing, we note that one particular character (the person who utters (8)), is portrayed as always using present tense with verbs of saying. In Twain's story, then, this device functions as a means of characterizing a specific individual's speech. Twain is careful not to use this device when writing from the narrator's point of view.

This suggests that, in addition to a potential function of lending immediacy, Twain is using tense variation to convey social information. A linguistic variable which can be used as a means of characterizing the speech of specific individuals must certainly be one which speakers associate with specific groups of people. (These groups might be, for example, socioeconomic groups, genders, age groups, or even something as vague as "good storytellers.")

That is, by choosing to use present tense verbs of saying for one character, and only for that one character, Twain probably shows that, for him, this variable carries social implications. The message that is conveyed seems to suggest "there is some group (or type) of English speakers who habitually speak this way, and this character is to be associated with that group."

So, in addition to lending immediacy to narration, tense variation in English verbs of saying probably also carries sociolinguistic information.

2.1.2.3 Finiteness

A third generalization about verbs of saying is this: verbs of saying are more commonly nonfinite than finite in the folktale narratives.

There are 52 finite verbs of saying, and 94 with nonfinite marking.

A large number (forty-three) of the nonfinite verbs of saying appear in zero-marked non-final clauses. Two such clauses are given in (10):

(10) (Rabbit's Trick 59-63)
*Chuna **mulaji**,*
chuna mula -ji
wolf think-IMPERF
Wolf thought,

```
Rabbit's Trick 60
"Ni  Taolaini   kao   naojiang    bai."
ni   taolai=ni  kao   nao-jiang   bai
this rabbit=GEN trick see-N1:PERF EMPH
"(We) saw (i.e. were taken in by) this Rabbit's trick."

Rabbit's Trick 61
Yehu keliji,
yehu keli-ji
fox  say -IMPERF
Fox said,

Rabbit's Trick 62
"Nini    xiandu     muni     kaoxujun     hugu
ni  =ni  xian  =du  muni     kao-xujun    hugu
this=GEN reason=DAT 1:SG:GEN son-daughter die

     saojiang.
     sao-jiang
     sit-N1:PERF
"Because of this one, my children died.

Rabbit's Trick 63
Du  nini     zhuaji       yaoa."
du  ni  =ni  zhua -ji     yao-a
now this=ACC catch-IMPERF go -VOL
Now let's go catch this one."
```

In chapter 6, section 4, I claimed that a syntactic sentence generally must have a finite verb. However, examples like (10) contain no finite verb at all. It is a special property of verbs of saying, not shared by other verbs, that they often appear with nonfinite morphology, even when serving as the main verb of a sentence.

This behavior, unique to verbs of saying, is presumably motivated primarily by the concern for immediacy which was mentioned in the last section.

2.1.2.4 Summary

The three major morphosyntactic generalizations, then, are that verbs of saying commonly precede, rather than follow, the speech they report; that verbs of saying are more often imperfective than perfective; and that verbs of saying are more often nonfinite than finite.

2.1.3 Syntactic Status Revisited: the Quotative Marker

The examples we have considered thus far involve a relatively loose syntactic connection between quoted material and a main clause. There is another device available to Minhe Mangghuer speakers, which creates a closer syntactic bond, in some cases explicitly embedding quoted material within another clause. This device is a quotative marker which appears immediately following a quote, as illustrated in (11):

(11) (Nine-headed Ghost 38)

```
Tingsa Jiutou    Yaomao ra       geji
tingsa jiutou    yaomao ri  -a   ge   -ji
later  nine:head ghost  come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF

     dayinglajiang.
     dayingla-jiang
     promise -N1:PERF
Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying "I'll come."
```

The quotative marker *ge* is not a main verb, though it is descended historically from a verb, and retains some verbal characteristics. The main verb in (11) is *dayingla-jiang* 'promised.'

The primary function of *ge-ji* 'QUOTE-IMPERF' is to indicate that the foregoing quote is over. It is sometimes translated 'like that.'

In chapter 6, section 4.2, I showed that the quote in example (11) is unambiguously embedded in another clause. However, the quotative marker does not always function to indicate this sort of syntactic relationship. We will see in the next section the range of functions that various morphological forms of *ge* can perform.

2.2 Grammaticalization of the Quotative Marker *ge-*

In this section we will examine the form and function of the quotative marker introduced in (11). This marker is related to a family of homophonous verbal forms, each with a clearly identifiable range of functions, which all seem to have descended from a common Mongolic source morpheme. Each of these forms will also be examined. Finally, I will discuss the historical relationship among these forms, within a grammaticalization framework.

Although I have found little comparative data for these forms, I will also show that at least some of the functions outlined here are also performed by cognate morphemes in other Mongolic languages.

2.2.1 Form and Function of the Quotative Marker

The quotative marker *ge* appears 55 times in the folktale database, each time indicating that the preceding material is a direct quote. In 32 of these instances, it appears with the imperfective nonfinite suffix *-ji*. Next most common is for *ge* to appear with no morphological marking at all, just as we saw with verbs of saying, above. This happens 14 times in the folktales. These two situations may be compared in (12) and (13):

(12) (Monkey 27)

bulai "zha" ***geji*** *khailajiang.*
bulai zha ge -ji khaila-jiang
child EXCL QUOTE-IMPERF shout -N1:PERF
the child cried "zha" like that.

(13) (Shalangguer's Story 4)

Liangge aguer jiaoduer qijighe chuangmuji hu
liang-ge aguer jiaoduer qijighe chuangmu-ji hu
two -CL daughter every:day flower pick -IMPERF give

geji *kerlilang,*
ge -ji kerli-lang
QUOTE-IMPERF want -N1:IMPERF
Every day the two daughters wanted (him) to pick flowers (for them),

Examples (12) and (13) are like (11). The quotation is embedded within the clause of the verb of saying, and the quotative marker has appropriate nonfinite morphology for this embedded syntax.

The next two examples, rather than embedded clauses, show non-final clauses in which *ge* 'QUOTE' again has appropriate nonfinite morphology. In both of these, however, the next verb in the chain is not a verb of saying.

(14) (Monkey 56-57)

"Du bi yizhuan langlaya,"
du bi yi -zhuan langla -ya
now 1:SG:NOM one-circle walk:around-VOL
"Now I'll go walk around"

Monkey 57
geji *zaohangdu xisa,*
ge -ji zaohang=du xi-sa
QUOTE-IMPERF kitchen=DAT go-COND
saying this (the boy's mother) went into the kitchen,

(15) (Monkey 23-25)

"Ajia,
ajia
elder:sister
"Ajia,

Monkey 24
diaoni bi tierbera,"
diao =ni bi tierber-a
younger:sibling=ACC 1:SG:NOM hold -VOL
I'll hold the baby,

Monkey 25
ge *tierberjiang.*
ge -Ø tierber-jiang
QUOTE-SEQ hold -N1:PERF
saying this (Monkey) held (the baby).

So the quotative marker, with nonfinite morphology, can be used either to embed a quotation in another clause, or to mark a quotation as a non-final clause in a clause chain.

Additionally, one of the morphological forms of the quotative marker, *geji* 'QUOTE-IMPERF,' has apparently become routinized to the point that the form has become somewhat bleached semantically. This form now functions as a simple marker of reported speech, without clear external syntactic relationships at all. This has led to some syntactic freedom, such that *geji* can appear following a quote when no verb of saying is present; in (16), the function of the quotative marker seems to be solely to indicate that a direct quote has been produced, without indicating any syntactic relationship with respect to any other clause.

(16) (Sangbura 95-97)

nara pudajiang.
nara puda-jiang
sun set -N1:PERF
(because) the sun set.

Sangbura 96
Du zou shulianni a ningdu guo ye ge
du zou shulian=ni a ning=du guo ye ge-a
now thus evening=ACC also this=DAT cross night do-VOL

geji.
ge -ji
QUOTE-IMPERF
Now (they decided they would) spend the night here.

Sangbura 97
Ghuerluonang ning ge saojiang.
ghuer=luo =nang ning ge sao-jiang
two =COLL=REFLPOSS this do sit-N1:PERF
So the two stayed (there).

I have not observed the zero-marked quotative *ge-∅* to behave in this way, but this may be due simply to the paucity of examples of this form, which appears only 14 times in my database. However, it may be that the range of functions of the two forms is actually undergoing a split, since there do seem to be some patterns in the choice of one over the other. In the context just noted, *geji* appears, but *ge* may not. Similarly, there are some contexts in which *ge* seems to be more common. One is when an onomatopoetic sound is reported, as in (17). *Geji* is rare in constructions of this type.

(17) (Human-bear 13-14)
Gan shidietai xi "bang,
gan shidie=tai xi bang
3:SG early =COM go ONOM
Very early, he went (making the sound) "bang,

Human-bear 14
*bang" **ge** peghe saojiang bai.*
bang ge peghe sao-jiang bai
ONOM QUOTE hit sit-N1:PERF EMPH
bang" like that, hitting (on the ice).

Ge also appears when a nickname is reported by which a character is called, as in (18).

(18) (Madage 59-60)
Gan ghula Madage,
gan ghu=la madage
3:SG two=COLL Madage
The two of them, Madage

Madage 60
*Shu'erge **ge** yaojiang.*
shu'erge ge yao-jiang
Shu'erge QUOTE go -N1:PERF
and Shu'erge (were what they called each other), left.

Both quotative forms seem, then, to be moving in the direction of becoming unanalyzed grammatical particles, functioning only to mark reported speech. The specific functions of the two forms may be in the process of splitting, though this development remains perhaps at an early stage.

2.2.2 The Hearsay Evidential *gelang*

A closely related form is the hearsay evidential *gelang*. This item appears in Monguor in accordance with an areal pattern of postposing a form of the verb 'to say' after a statement, with the basic meaning 'it is said' or 'I've heard it said.' Use of this form in interaction explicitly denies that the speaker's claim is based on firsthand witness -- rather, s/he is reporting a claim which came to her/him verbally.

In the Qinghai dialect of Chinese, this appears as:

(19) Qinghai Mandarin (Zhu Yongzhong)
*ta lai-liao **shuo***
3 come-PERF say
S/he came, they say.

where *shuo* is the commonly-used word meaning "to say", postposed after a finite clause (that is, a complete sentence) to indicate that the speaker only *heard* that s/he came.

Similar constructions from the Mangghuer folktales are given in (20) and (21).

(20) (Filial Obedience 58)
*ni honghuang ganni ana bang **gelang.***
ni honghuang gan =ni ana bang gelang
this phoenix 3:SG=GEN mother N1:COP HEARSAY
this phoenix was his mother, they say.

(21) (Three Daughters 53)
*Tinang diku zou yaojiang **gelang** bai.*
ti =nang di -ku zou yao-jiang gelang bai
that=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF thus go -N1:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
After eating that thing of theirs, then (they) walked, they say.

In both (20) and (21), the material preceding the hearsay evidential *gelang* constitute complete sentences; both *bang* 'non-first evidential copula' and *yaojiang* 'walked' are finite predicates.

Notice that in (21) *gelang* is followed by the sentence-final emphatic particle *bai*. I will not explore here the topic of coocurrence of various sentence-final forms such as these, but it is useful to note that *gelang* appears in the same location as other particles of this sort.

In a large collection of Minhe Mangghuer sentences translated from English (Zhu et al, to appear 1), Dr. Wang Xianzheng, a Mangghuer speaker, uses

the marker *gelang* in some sentences, and comments that this form "emphasizes the statement" which it follows. This fact, along with the syntactic fact just noted, suggests that *gelang* is regarded by speakers as an unanalyzed sentence-final particle, and that its prior function as an indicator of hearsay evidence is losing influence in its current range of uses. Although it retains the function of a hearsay evidential, it may also function in discourse as a more general indicator that a statement is reliable. Study of the use of this form in interactive discourse will no doubt prove enlightening.

2.2.3 *Ge* as a Full Verb

So far, we have looked at morphological forms of the verb *ge* 'to say' which have developed restricted syntactic and semantic behavior. There are also instances in which *ge* appears as a full verb, with more or less unrestricted morphological marking options. A few examples are presented here.

Example (22) shows the appearance of *ge* as a full verb. It appears with the generic noun *weilie* 'work' to mean 'to do work'. Here, we see that the meanings of the verb *ge* include more than just 'to say'. In contexts like this one, *ge* also has the broader sense 'to do.'

(22) (A Hired Farmhand 31)

```
"Tingsa bi       qimaidu       sanshinian     weilie
tingsa  bi       qimai   =du   san  -shi-nian weilie
then    1:SG:NOM 2:SG:DAT=DAT three-ten-year work

     geghajiang       ma,
     ge-gha  -jiang   ma
     do-CAUSE-N1:PERF PRT
"Then, I worked for you for thirty years,
```

The morphological form of *ge* in example (23) is the same as that of the hearsay evidential *gelang*. Here, though, ge-lang is used with its compositional meaning 'say-N1:IMPERF.' It reports an act of speaking which is specifically attributed to another character in the story, in contrast to the rather impersonal, non-present source generally implicated by *gelang* as a hearsay evidential.

(23) (The Rabbit Judge 38)

```
gan  namei    dini       gelang          bai.
gan  namei    di -ni     ge    -lang     bai
3:SG 1:SG:DAT eat-1:FUT QUOTE-N1:IMPERF EMPH
it said it would eat me.
```

The construction in (24) is an imperative, which is a finite form, using *ge* as the main verb, again meaning 'say.'

(24) (Monkey 72)

```
Buraku        burajiang      ge,
bura  -ku     bura  -jiang   ge   -Ø
finish-IMPERF finish-N1:PERF QUOTE-IMPER
      When (they) are finished, (say) "finished" like that,
```

Finally, (25) shows that *ge* may be used as a non-final verb in a clause chain, marked with the non-final suffix *-sa*.

(25) (Sangbura 169-70)

```
Dajiani      kanni   gezai bang   gesa,
dajia  =ni   kan=ni  gezai bang   ge   -sa
everyone=GEN who=GEN good  N1:COP QUOTE-COND
When everyone discussed whose (secret) was best,

Sangbura 170
dajia    keli pingtulang.
dajia    keli pingtu  -lang
everyone say  be:equal-N1:IMPERF
everyone said (all the secrets) were equal.
```

These examples show that *ge* may also appear in the same range of finite and nonfinite morphosyntactic environments as other verbs. Its appearance as a quotative and as a hearsay marker represent stages along grammaticalization paths which lead to restrictions in the combinatorial freedom of particular forms, but this process is by no means complete. The restricted forms coexist synchronically alongside forms which illustrate a freer (and probably older) range of combinatorial possibilities.

2.2.4 Demonstrative Forms Related to *ge*

There is a set of demonstrative forms related to *ge* 'to say, to do' which deserve mention here. In some instances these seem to represent only another variation of the forms we have so far examined, but once again we will see a slightly different range of functions here.

Some of these forms involve the combination of *ge* with a form related to the proximal demonstrative *ni* 'this'. This yields forms such as the one illustrated in (26), line 42.

(26) (Filial Obedience 39-43)

```
Anaǹi        songziwernang      erseghejiang,
ana  =ni     songziwer=nang     erseghe-jiang
mother=POSS grandson =REFLPOSS ask    -N1:PERF
His mother asked about her grandson,
```

Filial Obedience 40
"Songziwerni ang xighaba?"
songziwer=ni ang xi-gha -ba
grandson =ACC where go-CAUSE-1:PERF
"where did (you) send (my) grandson?"

Filial Obedience 41
"Ghada angji angji yaojiang,"
ghada ang =ji ang =ji yao-jiang
outside where=DIR where=DIR go -N1:PERF
"(He) has gone someplace outside,"

Filial Obedience 42
ning geji.
ning ge -ji
this QUOTE-IMPERF
(he) said this.

Filial Obedience 43
Tingsa ninger caini diser diser ganni
tingsa ninger cai =ni di -ser di -ser gan -ni
later old:woman food=ACC eat-PROG eat-PROG 3:SG=GEN

ghadu bulaini khuru rijiang bai.
gha =du bulai=ni khuru ri -jiang bai
bowl=DAT child=GEN finger come-N1:PERF EMPH
Later as the old woman was eating and eating (her) food, the boy's finger came in her bowl.

In (26), the function of *ning geji* seems identical to what we we have seen for the quotative form *geji*, indicating just the end of a quote, without any syntactic dependence on the surrounding material. (Line 43 bears no syntactic relation to line 41, as far as I can determine. The adverbial *tinsa* 'later' normally appears in sentence-initial position, which suggests that the speaker began a new syntactic construction in line 42.)

However, forms of the *ning ge* family have a somewhat broader range of functions and of morphological distinctions. In addition to marking the end of direct quotes, *ning ge* may appear with a recap function, summarizing the action of speaking in a previous sentence as an introduction to the upcoming action. Thus, we find line 17 of (27):

(27) (The Rabbit Judge 12-17)
Bi gherji riku,
bi gher -ji ri -ku
1:SG:NOM go:out-IMPERF come-IMPERF
After I come out,

The Rabbit Judge 13
qini nenqinni bao mershidaya bai."
qi =ni nenqin =ni bao mershida-ya bai
2:SG=GEN kindness=ACC PROHIB forget -VOL EMPH
may I not forget your kindness."

The Rabbit Judge 14
Ning geku Khuoni mulajiang bai,
ning ge -ku khuoni mula -jiang bai
this QUOTE-IMPERF sheep think-N1:PERF EMPH
Then Sheep thought,

The Rabbit Judge 15
"Nini ge lai jiulasa,
ni =ni ge lai jiula-sa
this=ACC once NEG save -COND
"If (I) do not save this one,

The Rabbit Judge 16
nini nukuangdu dianke gekuniang."
ni =ni nukuang=du dianke ge-kuniang
this=ACC hole =DAT bury do-N1:FUT
this one will be buried in the hole."

The Rabbit Judge 17
Ning ge *gan zou dongsa chunani lake gher*
ning ge gan zou dong=sa chuna=ni lake gher
this QUOTE 3:SG thus hole=ABL wolf =ACC pull go:out

righajiang.
ri -gha -jiang
come-CAUSE-N1:PERF
Then it dragged Wolf out of the hole.

Moreover, *ning ge* does not have to characterize only acts of speaking. Like *ge* the main verb, it may also be used to refer to acts of doing, as illustrated in (28).

(28) (Rabbit's Trick 18)
"Du dasi ***ning ga,***
du dasi ning ge-a
now 1:PL:NOM this do-VOL
"Now let's do like this,

Finally, *ning ge* may refer to no particular action at all. It may be semantically bleached, in some contexts, to the point of meaning someting akin to 'thus.' Line 10 of (29) illustrates a construction of this sort. The characters involved have not been identified as performing any action; in fact, they are clearly *not doing anything*, and sitting there 'in that manner.'

(29) (Rabbit's Trick 6-10)

Du gesi yige wula diere saoser bang
du gesi yi -ge wula diere sao-ser bang
now 3:PL:NOM one-SG:INDEF mountain on sit-PROG N1:COP

ma,
ma
PRT
Now they were sitting on a mountain,

Rabbit's Trick 7
jianjianni gediesi luosiji lai
jianjian=ni gedie-si luosi -ji lai
each:one=GEN belly-PL be:hungry-IMPERF NEG

berlang bai.
ber -lang bai
become-N1:IMPERF EMPH
(and) each one's belly was (so) hungry (that) he couldn't stand it.

Rabbit's Trick 8
Disa dikuni guang,
di -sa di -ku -ni guang
eat-COND eat-IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR N1:NEG:COP
There was nothing to eat,

Rabbit's Trick 9
wusa wukuni guang.
wu -sa wu -ku -ni guang
drink-COND drink-IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR N1:NEG:COP
there was nothing to drink.

Rabbit's Trick 10
Jigela ***ning ge*** *sao saoser bang bai.*
Ji -ge=la ning ge sao sao-ser bang bai
several-CL=COLL this do sit sit-PROG N1:COP EMPH
The several of them were sitting just like this.

In addition to these forms related to the proximal demonstrative *ni*, there is also a set of forms related to the distal demonstrative *ti*. These are even more restricted in function, however, and display an even more restricted range of combinatorial possibilities than do the forms of the *ning ge* familiy.

The most common forms here are *ting ge*, *ting geku*, and a contracted form *tingku*. Of a total of 38 occurrences of these forms, 25 are *ting geku* or *tingku*, 12 are *ting ge*, and one is *ting geji*.

Only in the one occurrence of *ting geji* does *ting ge* seem to have a clear function of specifically referring to an action -- although even here the activity is a generic one, rather than a specified action. This example is reproduced in (30).

(30) (Rabbit's Trick 26-27)

Ning geji *barila xisa Huashi bari*
ning ge-ji bari-la xi-sa huashi bari
this do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND fashi take

dalang,
da -lang
cannot-N1:IMPERF
When (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) this way, the fashi couldn't catch (him),

(Rabbit's Trick 27
ting geji *barila xisa bari dalang,*
ting ge-ji bari-la xi-sa bari da -lang
that do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND take cannot-N1:IMPERF
when (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) that way, (the fashi) couldn't catch (him),

Similarly, there are only a few cases in which *ting ge* forms may be seen as referring to an act of speaking. I have identified only four such instances out of the total 38 *ting ge* forms in the folktales. Line 11 of (31) illustrates a situation of this type.

(31) (A Hired Farmhand 8-11)

Ni kong kelijiang,
ni kong keli-jiang
this person say -N1:PERF
This man said,

A Hired Farmhand 9
"Qi muni luotini musiku huguer
qi muni luoti=ni musi-ku huguer
2:SG:NOM 1:SG:GEN shoe =ACC wear-IMPERF cow

danglaghaji hu.
dangla-gha -ji hu
herd -CAUSE-IMPERF give
"You wear my shoes and herd cattle.

A Hired Farmhand 10
Nige luotini musi chuoruoghaku qimaidu
ni -ge luoti=ni musi chuoruo-gha -ku qimai =du
this-CL shoe =ACC wear break -CAUSE-IMPERF 2:SG:DAT=DAT

huguer yige hua."
huguer yi -ge hu -a
cow one-CL give-VOL
wear the shoes and when (you) break (them), I will give you a cow" (in payment).

A Hired Farmhand 11
Ting geku *ni zhalao kong keliji*
ting ge -ku ni zhalao kong keli-ji
that QUOTE-IMPERF this be:hired:hand person say -IMPERF

berni geji.
ber -ni ge -ji
become-1:FUT QUOTE-IMPERF
When (he) said this, the hired hand said "ok" like this.

In the vast majority of cases, however, *ting ge* and *ting geku/tingku* seem to function mostly as discourse connectors, not indicating any particularly specific semantic connection between the clauses they link. Thus, they are similar to the semantically bleached sense of *ning ge*, illustrated in (29), where that form seemed best translated 'thus' or 'in this manner'. But *ting ge* forms generally function to link separate actions, rather than adverbial modifiers or closely connected acts, so these forms usually are best translated with something like the sense of 'then'. (32) and (33) illustrate typical occurrences of these forms.

(32) (Three Daughters 67-69)
Naosa aba gua luosi danang hugulang
nao-sa aba gua luosi danang hugu-lang
see-COND father totally be:hungry after die -N1:IMPERF

bai,
bai
EMPH
When they looked, (their) father was completely hungering to death,

Three Daughters 68
yigua tuerha zhuerdu kaola danang.
yigua tuerha zhuer =du kaola danang
totally column bottom=DAT lie:against after
lying against a the bottom of a house column.

Three Daughters 69
Ting ge *aguer gan puzighuonang*
ting ge aguer gan puzighuo =nang
that do daughter 3:SG deep:fried:dough:stick=REFLPOSS

ge kerlaji xighajiang.
ge kerla-ji xi-gha -jiang
SG:INDEF throw-IMPERF go-CAUSE-N1:PERF
Then (one) daughter she threw one of her deep fried dough sticks (to him).

(33) (A Cow Mother 31-34)
Man ghadang guijiang ma,
man ghadang gui-jiang ma
around pasture run-N1:PERF PRT
(Cow) ran around the pasture and,

A Cow Mother 32
aguerni lake ala gejiang.
aguer =ni lake ala ge-jiang
daughter=ACC pull kill do-N1:PERF
dragged the girl to death.

A Cow Mother 33
Tingku,
ting-ku
that-IMPERF
Therefore,

A Cow Mother 34
ganni Huguerni alaji mugha dikuniang bai.
gan =ni huguer=ni ala -ji mugha di -kuniang bai
3:SG=GEN cow =ACC kill-IMPERF meat eat-N1:FUT EMPH
(the stepmother) planned to kill Cow and eat (its) meat.

2.2.5 Ge as an Auxiliary Verb

The form *ge* also appears frequently as an auxiliary verb. In this function, it indicates high transitivity in the clause in which it appears.

Auxiliary verb uses of *ge* have been described in chapter 4, section 4.2. The reader is referred to that section for discussion.

We might note, though, that in this environment *ge* is highly bleached, semantically. As an auxiliary verb, *ge* has basically only grammatical meaning. This is probably the most completely grammaticalized function of *ge*.

2.2.6 Summary and Discussion

In this section I have outlined a series of morphological forms of the verb *ge* 'to say, to do'. Although historical data is lacking, and comparative data from related languages is sparse (but see below for some comments), the internal situation of Minhe Mangghuer seems to allow us to make some hypotheses about the history of these forms.

None of the forms treated here is morphologically fossilized. All are transparent, and in fact we have seen that *ge* retains the ability to productively appear in a range of morphosyntactic environments. However, each of the forms we have examined tends overwhelmingly to be used for some specific set of

functions; though all involve productive morphology, all seem to have acquired conventional uses, and speakers rarely, though not never, go beyond these conventions to create other possible forms, or to use any of these forms for other functions.

This is a common grammaticalization scenario. A set of morphologically related forms diverge in function over time, as each individual form gradually acquires a conventional set of uses which set it apart from the others. Individual forms then begin to function as unanalyzed units, without regard for their internal morphological constituents, and this in turn leads to the possibility of divergent syntactic functions. This phenomenon resembles what Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991) term "grammaticalization chains," which occur when various related forms in a language become frozen at different points along "the transition from lexical to grammatical category" (1991:221), retaining some similarities in form but diverging in usage as each item develops a restricted set of grammatical functions.

The set of forms we have examined here all illustrate a general loss of verbhood, as each form comes to be associated with a particular set of semantic functions, and all are losing the ability to take the normal range of verbal morphology. The quotative forms *ge* and *geji* are losing their ability to indicate external syntactic relations, and are becoming simple markers of direct quotes. The hearsay marker *gelang*, similarly, is coming to be seen as a sentence-final particle, functioning to assert a non-first person information source. *Ge* retains some flexibility as a main verb, but this is limited by the need to preserve the unique functions of the more routinized forms; *ge* cannot often appear as a main verb of the form *gelang*, since this form has become specialized for hearsay use, and so on. Finally, the combination of *ge* with the demonstrative forms retains some quotative uses, but in general seems to be moving away from clause-combining functions and in the direction of sentence-initial syntactic position and discourse-related semantic functions.

This discussion may at times have seemed to wander rather far from the topic of reported speech, but it is hoped that the interrelatedness of the various forms in this grammaticalization chain adequately justifies the apparent circumlocution. The morphosyntactic treatment of reported speech does not operate independent of other, related functions, in Minhe Mangghuer, and the purpose of this summary has been to illustrate the diachronic structural interrelatedness of the various forms and functions discussed here. Speakers of any language must adapt a few linguistic devices to handle a large range of communicative functions, and the reporting of speech may involve not only forms specialized for this purpose, but also forms with much more general functions.

2.2.7 Quotatives in Other Mongolic Languages

To date, I have not been able to locate any historical discussion of the quotative marker *ge*. However, there clearly are cognate forms in several Mongolic languages.

Binnick (1979:100) gives examples of a form in Khalkha Mongolian which is certainly also related. He notes that "direct discourse is reported using the verb *gex* 'say,'" and that this quotative form behaves "pretty much as a verbal quotation mark."

The verb *gex* consists of a stem *ge* and the infinitive suffix *-x*. The suffix *-ǰ*, which appears in quotative contexts, is the imperfective converbial, which Binnick includes in a class described thus: "the primary use of converbals is as gerundial, i.e. adverbial, clauses" (1979:70). This suffix, then, is undoubtedly derived from the same etymological source as the Mangghuer imperfective non-final suffix *-ji*, which appears in this same environment.

An example is:

(34) Khalkha quotative marker (Binnick 1979:101)

bagš	*bidn-ees*	*"ta*	*nar*	*xičeel-ee*	*sajn*
teacher	we-ABL	2	PL	lesson-REFLPOSS	well

davt-san	*uu?"*	***geǰ***	*asuu-v*
prepare-PERF	QUEST	QUOTE	ask-PST

The teacher asked us "have your prepared your lesson well?"

Poppe (1974:66, 183-84) illustrates phonologically similar lexical forms with a similar range of features in Written Mongolian. Here, we find examples such as:

(35) Written Mongolian reported speech (Poppe 1974:184)

nökör	*maryaši*	*iresüge'*	***kemen***	*ügülebe*
friend	tomorrow	will.come	QUOTE	say:PST

The friend told saying "I shall come tomorrow."

Poppe (1974:183-184) describes the forms *kemen* and *gemen* as interchangable for the quotative function seen in (35). He does not suggest an etymological connection between them, although the similarity of the roots *keme-* and *geme-*, both meaning 'to say' (1974:183) might suggest common etymology.

The final nasal consonant *-n* here is the 'converbum modale', of which Poppe writes (1974:96): "the modal converb expresses an action indicating the manner in which the main verb is performed." This form has no reflex in Minhe

Mangghuer; the suffix *-ji* has broadened to take over this function, in addition to its other imperfective uses.

Written Mongolian has been used in various forms from the 13th Century to the present, and Poppe does not specify whether the quotative marker which he illustrates is ancient, or a more recent development. However, Street (1957) gives similar examples from *The Secret History*, so this function seems to be rather old. One such example is given in (36):

(36) Quotative marker in the Secret History (Street 1957:38)

Bodoncar	*alginci*	*haul-ju*	*dunda*	*deeli-t.ey*
B.	scout	ride:swiftly-ing	middle	belly-having:FEM

eme-yi	*bari-ju*	*"yau-jin*	*guun*
woman-def	capture-ing	"what-member:FEM	person

ci"	***kee-n***	*hasa-ba*
you.SG"	QUOTE-ing	ask-NONFUT

Bodoncar, riding swiftly [ahead] as a scout, captured a certain woman who was half-way pregnant, and asked her saying "of what tribe are you a member?"

The Written Mongolian quotative also may be used as a main verb, so the coexistence of main verb and quotative functions which we see in Minhe Mangghuer seems to have already developed in earlier times. This is illustrated in (37), which can be compared to the use of the same lexical item, *keme-*, in (35).

(37) Written Mongolian quotative verb as main verb (Poppe 1974:184)

nökör	*bi*	*maryaši*	*irsüge*^{i}	***kemebe***^{i}
friend	1st	tomorrow	come	say:PAST

The friend said "I shall come tomorrow."

Poppe notes (1974:183) that "sentences expressing direct discourse usually occupy the place between the subject and the predicate of the whole sentence." That is, reported speech appears in object position within the clause of saying. However, Poppe does not specify that this is always the case, only that it is *usually* true. Even in earlier times, there may have been some freedom of syntactic movement for reported speech.

It seems, then, that at least some of the functions of Minhe Mangghuer *ge-* are descended directly from Mongolic usage. However, I have not (yet) found in either classical or modern Mongolian the same range of functions as has been shown in this section for the various morphological forms of Minhe Mangghuer *ge-*. Further research may bring to light more examples of this sort, but it is also possible that some of the functions currently used in Minhe Mangghuer are relatively recent developments in that language.

It will also be interesting to compare the quotative structures of closely-related Mongolic and mixed languages of the Qinghai-Gansu area. Personal communication with scholars working on these languages suggests that in fact, cognate forms do exist, performing at least some of the same functions as have been outlined here. I have received reports of related forms in Huzhu Mongghul (Li Keyu, p.c.), Santa (Ken Field, p.c.), and Gansu Baonan (Charles Li, p.c.). The similarities and differences among these various languages should certainly be examined.

3 Immediacy in Reported Speech

When narrating a story, a speaker is talking about events removed in some ways from the here and now of his or her current speech situation. The narrator is talking to some particular audience, on some particular day at a given time, in some location. The events being narrated, however, often involve other people, and occur on other days in other locations. In folktales, it may be that all of these things even belong to some other reality -- fiction is additionally removed from current experience by being non-historical and not necessarily set in the teller's own universe.

Chafe (1994) discusses the separation between the here and now of the narrator's speech act and the here and now of the events being narrated in terms of various types of *displacement*. The story may be displaced in time, in place, in participants, or even in factualness.

However, one of the features of narration, and of other forms of talk, is that speakers often utilize devices to reduce these forms of displacement, devices which create the sensation of *immediacy* of the events they narrate.

In this section, we will examine some features of Minhe Mangghuer folktales which contribute an impression of immediacy to reported speech. These devices function to increase the sense that the speech being reported takes place close to the here and now of its reporting.

Many of these devices might be referred to as forms of *imitation*. One way to contribute to the sense that talk is occurring now, rather than being remembered or imagined (cf. Chafe 1994:196-201) is to pretend to be uttering it for the first time, and thus to imitate the actual speaker being quoted.

However, not all of the devices described here could be seen as forms of imitating another speaker. Narrators have many more devices at their disposal than just this simple one. Moreover, when reporting the speech of folktale characters, it is likely that the narrator has no 'original speaker' to quote -- many of these characters are animals, which do not actually speak, or fictional characters.

The narrator might be considered to be imitating the speech of whoever first told the story to him or her, but that speaker, too, must have been removed from the folklore speech event being reported.

However, we can probably consider a folktale narrator to be imitating a particular speaker, who may or may not be a fictional personality. This imitation must be based on an imagined characterization of what talk generally sounds like. Speakers have mental representations (stereotypes) of 'how people talk', and that these representations affect how we report speech, even when not attempting to quote a particular individual. It is this sort of function, probably, that many of the devices to be illustrated here play in the reporting of fictional characters' speech.

3.1 Evidentiality and Reported Speech

In chapter 5, section 2.3, I outlined the Minhe Mangghuer treatment of evidential verb marking in reported speech. Briefly, the system requires that, when one speaker reports the speech of another, the reporter must reproduce exactly the evidential verb morphology used by the quoted speaker (or at least, some morphology that would have been appropriate for that speaker to use). This seems to be an obligatory feature of reporting speech in the language.

What might be the motivation for a system of reproducing an original speaker's verb morphology, in any sort of reported speech environment? The most likely possibility has to do with a desire to report the evidential choices of the original speaker. When reporting someone else's description of an event, a later speaker is in this way absolved of responsibility for deciding what level of authority to put behind the claim made in the quote -- whether to use the first person evidential or not. Rather, the reporting speaker simply reports the evidential commitment made by the original speaker.

It is interesting to note, however, that Minhe Mangghuer speakers do not seem to have created this rule as an innovation. Rather, it has been borrowed into the language along with the other features of the conjunct/disjunct system, which seems to have originated somewhere in the Tibetan language family and spread even to neighboring languages of other families (see Chapter 5 and DeLancey 1992). The social mechanisms by which this evidential system spreads remain unclear, but the reported speech feature seems to be considered by all the borrowing languages to be an integral part of the overall system.

3.2 Other Features

3.2.1 Imperatives, Prohibitives, and Voluntatives

Reproduction of a quoted speaker's original verb morphology is an obligatory feature in Minhe Mangghuer, although of course when one is imagining the original speech event, one has freedom to create that 'original' morphology. Similarly, an examination of reported speech in the folktale narratives reveals the common appearance of morphosyntactic features which are characteristic of interactional language, more so than of narrative. That is, when narrators imitate interactive speech, they infuse it with grammatical devices appropriate to interaction. This, of course, is not surprising.

In this section I will outline a few such features in the reported speech of the folktale narratives. All serve to increase the sense of immediacy of reported speech.

First, there are several morphosyntactic devices which commonly appear in reported speech, indicating that the narrator adopts the point of view of the speaker being quoted. Thus, we find that imperatives, prohibitives, and voluntatives appear almost solely in quotations. All of these are used in interactional settings where a speaker can command, or express an attitude towards, someone else's action, or can propose his/her own actions.

We have already seen examples of imperatives, in examples (13) and (16). Of the total of 96 imperative constructions in the folktale database, all but three appear in reported speech. The remaining three are in the moral at the end of a story, informing the listeners of how to respond to the story.

The voluntative has also appeared, in examples (11), (14), (15), (27) and (29). There are 62 voluntatives in the database, and all of them appear within reported speech.

Prohibitives are simply negative imperatives and negative voluntatives, which use the special prohibitive negative *bao* 'do not'. An example can be found in (27), above.

There are 8 prohibitive constructions in the folktales, and 6 of them appear in reported speech. Once again, the remaining two appear in a moral telling listeners how to respond.

3.2.2 Interactional Particles

In chapter 4, section 7, we saw that Mangghuer has some final particles with highly interactive, pragmatic functions. In particular, the particles *sha*, and *a*, discussed there, show up with disproportionate frequency in reported speech.

The particle *sha* (chapter 4, section 7.4) often appears with syntactic questions, and suggests that the speaker is dissatisfied with the current state of affairs. This particle appears 14 times in the folktales, and only one of these is not contained in an instance of reported speech.

The particle *a* (chapter 4, section 7.3) often functions to communicate a high degree of emotional involvement on the part of the speaker. Of the 30 folktale occurrences of *a*, only 6 are not contained in reported speech.

The disproportionately frequent appearance of these two final particles in reported speech shows that narrators have a mental representation of the characteristics of interactional speech which calls for much greater use of certain pragmatic devices in that context than in narrative contexts. Put more simply: reported speech sounds more like conversation than does narration.

3.2.3 Non-interactional Narrative Particles

This rather inelegantly-titled section intends to show that the phenomenon just described also has its opposite: there is another set of final particles which narrators see as primarily non-interactive, and which they therefore do not use often in reported speech, but reserve instead for other parts of their narratives.

Of course, the claim just advanced seems internally contradictory. If narrators use these particles when narrating, then by definition they have some sort of interactional functions, since narrators narrate for the benefit of listeners. However, the point here is that narrators seem to reserve some particles for the functions appropriate to asserting bits of the story line of a narrative. These particles, then, do not appear often in reported speech, because the narrators reserve them for a different set of functions. Perhaps if a narrator quoted a character's narration of a story, these particles, too, would appear frequently. However, this never happens in the particular folktales I have access to.

The first of these is bai, which is a final particle universally identified by my consultants as 'emphatic' (chapter 4, section 7.1). This common particle appears in examples (1), (3), (5), (17), (20), and (21), among others.

There are a total of 167 occurrences of *bai* in the folktales, and only 41 of these are in reported speech. Since roughly half of the sentences in the folktales are in reported speech, this means that a disproportionately large amount of the appearances of *bai* are in non-quoted contexts.

Similarly, the hearsay marker *gelang*, discussed in section 2.2.2 and also chapter 4, section 7.5, seems to be reserved by narrators for non-quoted contexts. Of the 33 appearances of the hearsay marker, only two are in reported speech contexts. See (21), above, for an example of this particle.

Both of these final particles can appear in reported speech, but neither does very often. As I have pointed out, this suggests that narrators think of these

particles as more appropriate for narrative discourse than for conversational discourse. Snce most reported speech is in the form of reported conversations between characters, these forms do not appear very frequently.

3.3 Choice of Linguistic Code: Codeswitching and Borrowing

As I outlined in chapter 1, Minhe Mangghuer is spoken in a highly bilingual environment. Most of its speakers have at least some proficiency in the local dialect of Chinese, and many could be considered quite bilingual.

In a social context such as this, codeswitching and borrowing are often simply two ends of a continuum. Most listeners can be expected to understand if a Minhe Mangghuer speaker shifts into Chinese, and over time, a vast number of Chinese lexical items have replaced native Mongolic ones in the language's vocabulary. Still others coexist with native Mongolic terms; for example, for the meaning 'wolf' a Monguor speaker can equally well use the Mongolic term *chuna* or the Chinese borrowing *lang*.

In some cases, codeswitching is easy to identify. When a speaker switches into Chinese for any stretch of discourse, many morphological markers disappear, since Minhe Mangghuer retains much of the morphosyntax of its Mongolic roots, even when it borrows Chinese lexical items.

When an isolated word of Chinese origin appears, without clear Mongolic morphological marking, I as a non-native speaker with little access to the speech community have no means for judging whether this should be taken as a switch in codes, or an instance of a borrowed item. In this discussion, then, I will try to focus on the clearest cases, where the presence or absence of morphological devices clarifies which language the speaker is attempting to approximate.

3.3.1 Codeswitching

One common device in reporting a character's speech is to switch into Chinese. We may think of this as similar in function and motivation to the common prosodic device of adopting a different voice quality, or pitch range, or the like, to represent someone else's speech.

Fairly clear examples of codeswitching occur 19 times in the folktales. (38) gives an example of this; the quoted material is entirely in Chinese, with Chinese morphosyntax and no Mongolic morphemes, while the surrounding material is Mongolic (with only the Chinese borrowing: *yige* 'one').

Codeswitching is identified by bold type in the examples of this section.

(38) (Stupid Boy 34-36)

Yaoda yige mula mieran chaibai kuerjiang.
yao-da yi -ge mula mieran chaibai kuer -jiang
go -after one-CL small river bank arrive-N1:PERF
(He) went on until (he) arrived at the bank of a small river.

Stupid Boy 35
"Haodadi qingshui a!"
Hao -da -di qingshui a
very-big-ASSOC blue:water PRT
"How vast the blue water is!"

Stupid Boy 36
yige kong kelilang.
yi -ge kong keli-lang
one-CL person say -N1:IMPERF
a man was saying.

Although narrators use codeswitching to establish immediacy, perhaps creating the sense that a particular character's words are being repeated with great accuracy, they do not tend to apply this device consistently to any given character. Example (39) occurs after two characters, a rabbit and a fox, have entered a temple and sat down.

(39) (Sangbura 105-107)

Yitegher berji bisa,
yi -tegher ber -ji bi -sa
one-while become-IMPERF 1:COP-COND
After a little while,

Sangbura 106
chuna ge ruoji rilang.
chuna ge ruo -ji ri -lang
wolf SG:INDEF enter-IMPERF come-N1:IMPERF
a wolf came in.

Sangbura 107
"Langge lailiao!"
langge lai -liao
Elder:Brother:Wolf come-PERF
"Here comes (our) Elder Brother Wolf!" (Rabbit and Fox said).

None of these characters is ever portrayed as switching to Chinese again, though all do in fact speak in the subsequent discourse. The sentence uttered in line 107 is the only instance of codeswitching attributed to any of these characters in the story. It is not used, here, to consistently characterize a particular individual.

Similarly, there are some instances in which a narrator seems to begin reporting a quotation in Chinese, and then switches to Minhe Mangghuer part-way

through. This perhaps functions to establish immediacy at the beginning of the quote, and the speaker may feel that this impression of immediacy persists, even without the persistence of the switch to Chinese. This phenomenon again resembles common prosodic tendencies; speakers often begin a quotation with some alternate voice quality or pitch range, but settle back into their normal prosodic features before completing the reported speech.

This mid-quote code-switch is illustrated in lines 13-14 and 18-19 of (40). In each case, the first line is in Chinese, and the next switches to Minhe Mangghuer. Notice that this same character speaks Minhe Mangghuer soon afterwards, in line 22, with no hint of codeswitching at all.

(40) (Shalangguer's Story 10-22)

"Shalangguer Ga,
shalangguer ga
Shalangguer brother
"Brother Shalangguer,

Shalangguer's Story 11
mali ma,
mali ma
quickly PRT
please hurry,

Shalangguer's Story 12
muni suguo qini gerdu deghela bao
muni suguo qi =ni ger =du deghela bao
1:SG:GEN axe 2:SG=GEN house=DAT fall go:down

rijiang."
ri -jiang
come-N1:PERF
my axe fell down into your home."

Shalangguer's Story 13
"Xian zhanzhi a,
xian zhan -zhi a
first stand-ASP PRT
"First wait (a moment),

Shalangguer's Story 14
bi wazinang musiku."
bi wazi=nang musi-ku
1:SG:NOM sock=REFLPOSS wear-IMPERF
until I put on my socks."

Shalangguer's Story 15
"Shalangguer Ga,
shalangguer ga
Shalangguer brother
"Brother Shalangguer,

Shalangguer's Story 16
mali muni suguoni ge jieliegha ma,
mali muni suguo=ni ge jielie-gha ma
quickly 1:SG:GEN axe =ACC once meet -CAUSE PRT
please quickly hand (me) my axe,

Shalangguer's Story 17
qini huayandu baoba."
qi =ni huayan=du bao -ba
2:SG=GEN garden=DAT go:down-1:PERF
(it) went down into your garden."

Shalangguer's Story 18
"Xian zhanzhi ma,
xian zhan -zhi ma
first stand-ASP PRT
"First wait (a moment),

Shalangguer's Story 19
bi hainang musisang gui."
bi hai =nang musi-sang gui
1:SG:NOM shoe=REFLPOSS wear-PERF 1:NEG:COP
I haven't put on my shoes."

Shalangguer's Story 20
Gan ning ge lai hulang bai.
gan ning ge lai hu -lang bai
3:SG this QUOTE NEG give-N1:IMPERF EMPH
He thus didn't give (it to him).

Shalangguer's Story 21
Khuonuo khailajiang ma,
khuonuo khaila-jiang ma
later shout -N1:PERF PRT
Later (the old man) shouted,

Shalangguer's Story 22
gan yama disang gui ge lai hulang
gan yama di -sang gui ge lai hu -lang
3:SG food eat-PERF 1:NEG:COP QUOTE NEG give-N1:IMPERF

bai.
bai
EMPH
(but) he didn't give (it to him), saying he hadn't eaten
(his) meal.

Even more intriguing is a character who reports his own speech in Chinese. Example (41) illustrates a conversation in which the character who is answering questions does so first in Minhe Mangghuer (lines 24-27), and next switching into Chinese (lines 30-36), when reporting the words he habitually uses. It is possible that the Chinese here represents some sort of culturally recognized formula, but

also possible that the narrator is replicating through the speech of a character the function of using codeswitching to establish immediacy for a bit of reported speech.

(41) (Nine-headed Ghost 23-37)
"Qini gerdu yang bi a?"
qi =ni ger =du yang bi a
2:SG=GEN house=DAT what 1:COP PRT
"What is in your home?"

Nine-headed Ghost 24
"Muni gerdu khuoni a bi,
muni ger =du khuoni a bi
1:SG:GEN house=DAT sheep also 1:COP
"In my house there are sheep,

Nine-headed Ghost 25
yima a bi,
yima a bi
goat also 1:COP
there are also goats,

Nine-headed Ghost 26
mori a bi,
mori a bi
horse also 1:COP
there are also horses,

Nine-headed Ghost 27
huguer a bi,"
huguer a bi
cow also 1:COP
there are also oxen,"

Nine-headed Ghost 28
ning geji.
ning ge -ji
this QUOTE-IMPERF
(he) said like this.

Nine-headed Ghost 29
"Khuorikudu yaji kelila bi?"
khuoriku=du ya =ji keli-la bi
pen =DAT what=DIR say -IMPERF 1:COP
"How do you speak (when you put them) in the pen?"

Nine-headed Ghost 30
"Yang,
yang
sheep
"Sheep,

Nine-headed Ghost 31
yang,
yang
sheep
sheep,

Nine-headed Ghost 32
juanli qi; gulu,
juan-li qi gulu
pen -inside go goat
go into the pen; goat,

Nine-headed Ghost 33
gulu,
gulu
goat
goat,

Nine-headed Ghost 34
juanli qi; niu,
juan-li qi niu
pen -inside go ox
go into the pen; ox,

Nine-headed Ghost 35
niu,
niu
ox
ox,

Nine-headed Ghost 36
juanli qi,
juan-li qi
pen -inside go
go into the pen,

Nine-headed Ghost 37
ning geji kelila bi."
ning ge -ji keli-la bi
this QUOTE-IMPERF say -IMPERF 1:COP
I speak (to them) saying like this.

One additional point that should be made about code-switching is this: the switch to another language carries not only purely discourse-oriented meaning, such as increasing immediacy of a quotation, but probably also a heavy dose of social meaning. In one text, 'Stupid Boy', the title character is portrayed as overhearing a series of utterances, all in Chinese, which he memorizes and recites later on, luckily at points when these utterances are seen by his former detractors as highly appropriate and even philosophically deep. (Example (38) is the first episode of this story.) It seems likely here that the use of Chinese in the speech which the stupid boy overhears and repeats carries an indication of high social

status; not only does the stupid boy say brilliant things, but he even says them in Chinese! In a society where Chinese is the language of government, education, inter-group trade, and many types of formal interaction, it is natural that codeswitching into Chinese would carry significant social meaning, in addition to other discourse functions.

Auer (1995) discusses the phenomenon of code-switching from the perspective of a theory of *contextualization* (citing Auer 1992 and Gumperz 1992, among others), which treats discourse activities as means by which discourse participants give and receive cues about meaning -- cues which are recognized to be context-dependent. Auer (1995:123) outlines the theory thus: "In very general terms, contextualisation comprises all those activities by participants which make relevant/maintain/revise/cancel some aspects of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence."

Auer (1995:119) notes that code-switching is frequently observed as a device for reporting speech. He also points out (1995:123) that the functions of code-switching in discourse are similar to those of other "contextualization cues," including prosody and gesture, and in fact that "contextualization cues often bundle together, e.g. there is a certain redundancy of coding" (1995:124).

Auer's observations correspond closely with the functions of code-switching outlined here for Minhe Mangghuer narratives. The narrator of a folktale seems to use a change of linguistic code as a contextual means of indicating a change in speaker -- a shift from the perspective of the narrator herself to that of a character within the world of the narrative. The "redundancy of coding," which Auer suggests may involve overlaps in the functions of prosodic devices and choice of linguistic code, provides a natural account for similarities which I have noted between the functions of these two devices in reported speech.

3.3.2 Borrowing

I pointed out above that in a heavily bilingual social context, borrowing and codeswitching are hard to differentiate. In general, we might think of borrowing as what has occurred when a given morpheme loses most of the sense of being 'from another language', and becomes integrated into the phonological and morphosyntactic structure of the borrowing language. In a sense, borrowing is routinized, or habitualized, codeswitching.

Borrowing is perhaps easiest to label as such when a borrowed item has clearly replaced a native one in a language's vocabulary. This is true of Chinese numerals, which have completely replaced Mongolic numerals in Minhe Mangghuer; only two Mongolic numerals remain in the active vocabulary of the language: *nige* 'one' (and even it competes synchronically with Chinese *yige* 'one');

and *ghula* 'two together,' which preserves a Mongolic root for 'two,' but only in a grammaticalized collective form (see chapter 3, section 2.6.2.2).

I have not noticed any difference between the use of borrowing in reported speech and its use in other contexts. However, there are some interesting patterns of borrowing in the grammar of the reporting of speech, (as discussed in section 1), above, and it is to these patterns that we now turn.

3.3.2.1 Borrowed Verbs of Saying

In most instances, a verb of saying is of Mongolic origin. By far the most common of these is *keli* 'to say', which appears 123 times in the folktales. Other Mongolic verbs of saying include *ersighe* 'to ask' (16 occurences), *mula* 'to think' (14), *khaila* 'to shout' (11), *karli* 'to want, to ask for' (5) and *daoda* 'to call' (5). Together, these 6 common Mongolic verbs of saying are used to report 174 utterances.

In addition to the Mongolic verbs of saying, there are the following borrowed Chinese verbs: *shangliangla* 'to discuss' (3 occurences), *dayingla* 'to promise' (2), *yangjila* 'to beg' (2), *dawenla* 'to enquire about' (2), *tongyi ge* 'to agree' (2), *chengrengla* 'to agree' (1), *chaoke* 'to argue' (1), *manyan ge* 'to accuse' (1). Together, these report 14 utterances.

There are a few other verbs of saying in the folktales, but these are some of the most common ones. In particular, we should note that there are roughly as many borrowed verbs of saying as there are native ones, but that the borrowed verbs appear much less frequently. Similarly, the borrowed verbs tend to have more specific semantics, while the native verbs tend to be more general in meaning, representing the sort of 'basic-level categories' discussed by, for example, Lakoff (1987; see especially pp. 39-55) as part of his 'prototype' approach to semantic categories.

3.3.2.2 Borrowed Quotative Constructions

In addition to borrowed lexical items, Minhe Mangghuer also shows evidence of heavy structural borrowing from Chinese. Here I will discuss two borrowed morphosyntactic constructions which appear with reported speech.

3.3.2.2.1 Nominalizations

One such construction is a nominalization with a verb of saying, used to introduce a quote. Let's consider a couple of nominalizations of this sort.

(42) (Madage 10-15)

```
Yitian   nige,
yi -tian nige
one-day  one
One day,

Madage 11
ganni    jiaodongdu   kelikuni                    shi,
gan =ni  jiaodong=du  keli-ku            -ni     shi
3:SG=GEN dream    =DAT say -IMPERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR COP
what was said in her dream was,

Madage 12
"Qi      mori  angchighuo tada xige  sao ma,
qi       mori  angchighuo tada xige  sao ma
2:SG:NOM horse trough     near watch sit PRT
"You watch near the horse trough and,

Madage 13
dongguo      ge       deghelaji      baoji
dong  -guo   ge       deghela-ji     bao    -ji
winter-fruit SG:INDEF fall   -IMPERF go:down-IMPERF

      rini.
      ri  -ni
      come-1:FUT
a winter pear will fall down.

Madage 14
Tini     di  ma,
ti  =ni  di  ma
that=ACC eat PRT
Eat that,

Madage 15
kao ge       rini."
kao ge       ri  -ni
son SG:INDEF come-1:FUT
(and) a son will come (i.e. you will have a son)."
```

The copula *shi*, which appears in the second line of (42), is borrowed from the Chinese form *shi* 是. In fact, this entire construction seems to be a loan translation of an equivalent Chinese quotative formula, which has the form *ta shuode shi* 他说的是 "what s/he said was." The Minhe Mangghuer construction retains this word order, which contrasts with the verb-final basic word order. In fact, in most nominal copular sentences, a Mongolic copula appears sentence-finally. (See also chapter 4, section 2.4, concerning further uses of *shi*.)

Further evidence that this construction is borrowed from Chinese comes from the nominalizer *-ni* which appears on both of the nominalizers *ku-ni* and *sang-ni*. This apparent extension of the Mangghuer genitive marker *=ni* is

discussed in chapter 6, section 2.1.3, since it generally appears in clause-combining environments.

Another nominalized verb of saying is given in (43):

(43) (Sangbura 295-298)

```
"Taolai kelisangni                ni   gerdu     jin
taolai  keli-sang       -ni       ni   ger  =du  jin
rabbit  say -PERF:NOMLZR-NOMLZR this house=DAT gold

     lianggang,
     liang-gang
     two  -vat
What Rabbit said (was that) in the house (there are) two
vats of gold,

Sangbura 296
yin    sangang    bang   geji,
yin    san  -gang bang   ge   -ji
silver three-vat  N1:COP QUOTE-IMPERF
(and) three vats of silver, like this,

Sangbura 297
bainu        guang      sha?"
bainu        guang      sha
N1:COP:QUEST N1:NEG:COP PRT
is it true or not?"

Sangbura 298
gan  mulalang.
gan  mula -lang
3:SG think-N1:IMPERF
he was thinking.
```

Like (42), (43) has the logical form of an equational, something like "what was said was X". Example (43) contains this construction embedded within another character's speech -- the quotative marker *geji* at the end of line 296 marks the end of rabbit's words, as reported by the character who utters this larger, three-line quote.

3.3.2.2.2 A Borrowed Quotative Marker

The second quotative construction which shows Chinese influence is illustrated in (44). Here, we see the appearance of a different marker of direct quotation, once again borrowed from Chinese.

(44) (Madage 17-18)

```
Tughuruong "guer,
tughuruong guer
wild:goose ONOM
Wild geese (came sounding) "guer,

Madage 18
gua" di    rijiang,
gua  di    ri  -jiang
ONOM QUOTE come-N1:PERF
gua" like that,
```

The quotative marker *di* is borrowed from Chinese, where it has the form *di* 地 and indicates an adverb of manner. In (44) it functions identically to the Mongolic quotative marker *ge* or *geji*. There are 10 occurrences of this form in the folktales.

Usually, the marker *di* appears with onomatopoetic sounds, as in (44). There are also a couple of instances, however, when it is used to indicate the reporting of actual speech, as in the following example:

(45) (Stupid Boy 62-65)

```
"'Diandong bang,
diandong   bang
Stupid     N1:COP
"(Others say 'he) is stupid,

Stupid Boy 63
diandong bang'  di,
diandong bang   di
Stupid   N1:COP QUOTE
he is stupid,' (you say) like this,

Stupid Boy 64
ni   nen'ganher   bang,"
ni   nen'gan-her  bang
this clever -COMP N1:COP
(but now) this one is clever,"

Stupid Boy 65
dajia    keliji.
dajia    keli-ji
everyone say -IMPERF
everyone said.
```

Here, the speakers begin by citing the speech of those they are addressing, and then (in line 64) contradict what the others have said. Examples using *di* in this manner are rare, however; there are only two such cases in the folktales.

It is also possible to find the borrowed quotative *di* appearing together with the Minhe Mangghuer quotative marker *geji*, as we see in (46). Here, *ge* perhaps

indicates external syntactic relations, while *di* (which has no inflectional forms, since it is not verbal) simply indicates that the quoted material is over. But combinations of this sort do not seem to be systematic; they are quite rare.

(46) (Madage 97-98)

```
Tingku       Madage,
ting-ku      madage
that-IMPERF Madage
Then Madage

Madage 98
"Dai!"
dai
EXCL
"Dai!"

Madage 99
di     ge     khailaku,
di     ge     khaila-ku
QUOTE QUOTE shout -IMPERF
when (he) shouted like that,
```

3.3.3 Discussion

Both the lexical and the grammatical phenomena discussed in this section might conceivably arise by the same process that leads to the common appearance of imperfective verbs of saying. As I pointed out in 2.1, above, this might sometimes be due to a mis-timed shift of perspective, in which a reporter of speech realigns her perspective to match that of the person being quoted, but either does so a bit early or hangs on a bit too long, resulting in morphology on the verb of saying which presents the quoted situation as immediate, rather than displaced.

Since codeswitching has been seen to be a common device for effecting immediacy in reporting speech, a similar process might lead to a tendency to borrow verbs of saying; speakers switching to Chinese to portray characters' voices might tend to switch a bit early, leading to a high incidence of Chinese borrowing in constructions and lexical items used to report speech. Extremely frequent items, such as the basic-level terms *keli* 'say' and *ersighe* 'ask,' would be somewhat protected from this process, and it would in fact be in lower-frequency verbs that the tendency should be most obvious.

To be considered seriously, this last hypothesis probably needs the support of similar developments in other languages. I have not yet had opportunity to investigate the question cross-linguistically, but it does seem like a potentially interesting area for further study.

4 General Summary

In this chapter I have presented a formal and functional characterization of the treatment of reported speech in Minhe Mangghuer folktale narratives. Narrators make frequent use of this important tool, with about half of the folktales' clauses reporting someone's speech.

The range of morphosyntactic devices used for reporting speech is rather broad, and we have seen that a number of interrelated functions have led to the formation of a grammaticalization chain, as various forms of a quotative morpheme have tended to become restricted to specialized construction types, though some combinatorial freedom remains for these forms.

A number of means for creating immediacy in reported speech were examined. The reporting of a quoted speaker's original evidential marking is an obligatory feature of this sort. Additionally, it seems that narrators have a strong mental representation of a set of optional linguistic features which are also appropriate for conversational discourse. Narrators seem to succeed rather well at using these devices to set off reported speech as linguistically different from the surrounding narrative.

Finally, we saw that the highly bilingual context in which Minhe Mangghuer is spoken has influenced the treatment of reported speech. Bilingual speakers use codeswitching as a means of creating immediacy in reported speech, in ways similar to the common use of prosodic cues for this function. As codeswitching becomes locally routinized, leading to the borrowing of individual lexical items and construction types, the complex Minhe Mangghuer system for reporting speech is further enriched by importation from another language.

Chapter 8
Language Contact: Summary and Implications

In the preceding chapters we have seen a large number of Mangghuer structures which resemble those of neighboring languages. Of course, the heavy emphasis which I have placed on these cross-linguistic similarities is a result of my own choice -- in a project of this scope, I have been able to emphasize description of those aspects of Mangghuer structure which I have found most interesting. As I noted in the first chapter, however, this interest does seem to arise naturally for nearly every linguist working on a language in the Mangghuer area. One would feel negligent to omit language contact considerations from a description of any of the Inner Asian frontier languages, because these considerations seem so vitally important to an understanding of the history of each language.

In this final chapter, I will pull together a brief summary of the various structural results of language contact that we have seen in Mangghuer and in neighboring languages. This summary is the subject of section 1. Section 2 discusses the status of Mangghuer as a mixed language. Section 3 notes the importance of language contact in some of the grammaticalization processes which we have seen in Mangghuer. Finally, in chapter 4, we take up the question of genetic relatedness, and the relationship of Mangghuer to the Mongolic language family.

1 Summary

In Mangghuer **phonology** (chapter 2), we saw that the phoneme inventory is nearly identical to that of nearby Chinese languages (section 1.4.1). The process of developing this similarity led Mangghuer to innovate several non-mongolic phonemes: palatal and retroflex obstruent series (section 1.4.2); and /f/ (section 1.4.3). Mangghuer syllable structure (section 2) is also identical to that of northern Chinese dialects. We also saw that Mangghuer phonemic word stress has undergone two changes, both apparently contact-induced. First, Mongolic word-initial stress was replaced in Mangghuer with word-final stress; the origins of this shift are somewhat unclear, as outlined in section 4.2. Second, we saw that current influence from Chinese has led to what might become the beginnings of a tone system, replacing phonemic stress (section 4.1).

Throughout the discussion, we have seen extensive Chinese borrowings in the Mangghuer **lexicon**. This borrowing was explicitly noted in several places: numerals (chapter 3, section 2.3); adverbial particles (chapter 4, section 6); and verbs of saying (chapter 7, section 3.3.2.1).

The effects of language contact on Mangghuer **morphology** are most striking in the verbal marking system; in chapter 5, I showed that the Mangghuer

evidential system is nearly identical to what has been described for Bodic languages. Other morphological issues included: numeral classifiers (chapter 3, section 2.4); the independent phonological status of the plural marker *si* (chapter 3, section 2.6.1.2); and the optional nominalization device *-ni* (chapter 6, section 2.1.1.3 and chapter 7, section 3.3.2.2.1). I also suggested that the alternation between the nonfinite verb markers *-ji* 'IMPERFECTIVE' and the zero suffix *-∅*, in both clause chains and auxiliary constructions, might be due to language contact influence (chapter 6, sections 3.1.2, 3.2).

Mangghuer **syntax** also shows some probable language contact influences. I have had relatively little to say here, however, due to inadequate information about the syntactic strategies of the potential contact languages. A borrowed copula construction was illustrated in two places, (chapter 4, section 2.5.1 and chapter 7, section 3.3.2.1), and in the latter discussion we saw a quotative strategy which is probably a contact-induced innovation. I also suggested (in chapter 6, section 3) that influence from other languages may have contributed to the current Mangghuer systems of clause-combining and auxiliary verb constructions.

In the area of **discourse** strategies, I focussed on a discussion of the role of codeswitching in Mangghuer narratives (chapter 7, section 3.3.1). Codeswitching, when locally routinized, can result in borrowing.

2 Mangghuer as a Mixed Language

In his (1976) study *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia*, Masica helps to codify a systematic approach to the phenomenon of linguistic convergence, going beyond the mostly phonological focus of earlier work to include also morphological and syntactic features. Masica attempts to show that a measurable constellation of features, shared by languages within a particular geographic region, across genetic lines, and distinguishing a set of those languages from languages outside the region, can be used to identify an area in which "the area itself" is "a factor of some importance" (1976:12). That is, the fact that a language lies in just that geographic area implies the likelihood of its sharing most of the features in the set. Such a region can be called a *linguistic area* or, traditionally, *sprachbund*.

A linguistic area, then, is simply a region in which languages tend, across genetic lines, to become like each other. Masica (1976:183-185) is cautious about just what social relationships such an area can be taken to imply, but does note that social history is indespensible for understanding the interactions that lead to linguistic convergence.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988:96) offer the following statement on linguistic areas:

> What a long-term multilateral Sprachbund seems to promote, in fact, is the gradual development of isomorphism (equivalence of form) in all areas of structure except the phonological shapes of morphemes.

This is precisely what we see in Mangghuer, and in all the neighboring languages for which descriptions have been published. (For specific references, see chapter 1, section 4.4.2.) I have noted at numerous points that particular linguistic features seem to be shared by many languages of the Mangghuer region, in spite of the fact that these languages come from (at least) four different language families. The Qinghai-Gansu border area is a prototypical case of the sprachbund phenomenon.

Let us consider just a few implications of this fact.

One result of convergence towards isomorphism, among several languages in a linguistic area, is that it becomes impossible to trace the precise historical path of any given linguistic feature. Even if we are fairly sure of the language or family in which a particular form or structure originated, we cannot be certain of the historical path by which it came into any given language in a lingusitic area. Multiple, converging languages allow for multiple intermediaries in the borrowing process, since a feature of language A could be borrowed first into language B, and from there into language C, and so on. Thus, although I suggested in chapter 5 that the Mangghuer evidential system probably represents an influence that originated in Bodic, it is not at all clear that Mangghuer got the system directly from Tibetan. Other languages in the area seem to have similar evidential systems, and the first/non-first distinction could have come into Mangghuer primarily through contact with one or more of these other languages, or through contact with several such languages simultaneously.

Similarly, multilingualism and extensive language shift may obscure the history of particular features. I pointed out in chapter 1 that there is, and has been, a high incidence of intermarriage in the Mangghuer region. This probably implies a large number of multilingual speakers, and probably also that there is a large number of individuals who, through marriage, move into contexts where their primary language is not their first language.[1]

We also saw in chapter 1 that, in the Mangghuer areas at present, there are some geographic locations in which Mangghuer speakers are in a strong numerical majority; but in other areas, the language is spoken by only a small minority.

Historically, the language has probably not occupied a consistent social position, either. At present, Chinese speakers are numerically dominant in most of the region, but this is apparently a relatively recent phenomenon. At the time of

[1] Zhu Yongzhong, for example, reports that his mother was primarily a speaker of Chinese before her marriage into a Mangghuer-speaking household.

the first Mongolic settlers in the area, some form of Tibetan was probably the primary language of many (perhaps most) countryside areas. However, it is quite likely that other languages, of which we have no historical records, were spoken here, too. And we cannot say anything much about the significance of, for example, Salar speakers, who currently live nearby. Field (1997) has shown that a significant presence of Turkic speakers quite possibly added to the makeup of the current Santa nationality, and it is possible that Turkic speakers might have been among the Yuan troops in the Mangghuer areas, as well.

When Mongolic speakers settled at this frontier during the Yuan dynasty, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that their language carried some relatively high level of local prestige; they represented the politically dominant group in much of East and Central Asia, in addition to being in political control of this local area. During many centuries of massive assimilation to Tibetan cultural norms, and of extensive male residence at Lamaseries, a high degree of prestige must have rested with Bodic languages (though we cannot know the relative roles of Central Tibetan (Lhasa dialect) and Eastern Tibetan (Amdo dialect)). And at present, Chinese certainly enjoys a politically privileged status, and at least some indications suggest that it does receive social prestige (see chapter 7, section 3.3.1).

(Actually, it is an oversimplification to refer to "Chinese" as a clear category. As we show in Zhu et al (1997), the Chinese dialect of Gangou Township has, through long-term contact, come to resemble the structures of Mangghuer in nearly all but its lexicon. Chinese dialects which resemble this one to varying degrees (see also the discussion of Qinghai-Gansu Mandarin, chapter 1, section 4.3.1.1) are probably spoken by the majority of the ethnic Han and Hui Chinese of the region. However, there is at present an increasing influence of standard Mandarin; it is quite likely that this high prestige dialect will affect the structures of Qinghai Chinese, as well as those of Mangghuer.)

It is factors like these that lead Thomason and Kaufman (1988:95) to opine "sprachbund situations are notoriously messy." With unclear, and shifting, relationships of social, political, and numerical dominance, languages can influence each other in multiple ways over a long stretch of time. Social shifts can result in opposite relations holding between any two language groups, in different historical periods, with various types of dominance perhaps alternately held by speakers of any pair of languages. Extensive, long-term multilingualism encourages convergence of the structures of the languages involved.

Many of the standard terms of language contact relationships, such as "superstrate language" and "substrate language," "target language," or "shifting population," thus cannot be consistently applied to Mangghuer. In some times and places, Chinese might be treated as a superstrate influence; in other times, or for other individual Mangghuer speakers, Chinese might seem more like an adstratum or substratum. Individuals shift between languages, just as individuals switch between codes, but we cannot identify any clear population which has shifted on a

large scale. Perhaps all of the languages in the region are, or at least have been, at some time, target languages.

We can make a few comments, though, about what seem to be the most likely sources of influence on Mangghuer, historically. I urge the reader to keep in mind, however, that there is clearly a vast amount of data missing from the discussion; one might cite the lack of structural descriptions of Amdo Tibetan as just one of the more egregious omissions. Further research will certainly add considerably to whatever can be conjectured here.

Field (1997:8) hypothesizes that Santa has undergone two distinct stages of contact-induced change: one involving a shift to Mongolic by Turkic speakers, probably in the 13th or 14th Century AD; and a second involving borrowing from Hui Chinese of the Linxia, Gansu, area, where Santa is spoken.

Something much like this appears to have been true also of Mangghuer. The Mangghuer pattern of word-final stress may also be due to the influence of a large-scale language shift situation. Although I have not found significant features to point to Turkic as the source of such a shifting population, there certainly is historical evidence of Turkic speakers in the Mangghuer areas, and also within the political groupings led by local *Tusi*; some of these groups are ancestors, apparently, of the modern Mangghuer. So Turkic is a potential influence towards word-final stress.

However, the potential influence of Amdo Tibetan seems just as likely, and perhaps even more plausible, since Mangghuer cultural and religious practices, as well as accounts from recent history, show clearly that there has been enormous contact between Mangghuer speakers and Tibetans. The Mangghuer evidential system lends further credence to the idea that the influence of Bodic language(s) on Mangghuer has quite possibly been substantial.

If the stress shift is due to either Bodic or Turkic influence, this would probably represent a contribution to Mangghuer through language shift. There does not seem to be massive borrowing of lexical items from either of these languages, and if borrowing were the mechanism for a phonological change as significant as a stress shift, we should expect to see significant lexical borrowings from the same source language, as well, according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37-38).

Recent Chinese influence on Mangghuer, however, seems like a good example of borrowing. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:90), examining published reports on the influence of Hui Chinese on Gansu Baonan (C. Li 1983, 1984) conclude that this language "seems to straddle the borderline between moderate ... and heavy ... borrowing interference." Field (1997:18) reaches the same conclusion about Santa.

Just like these two Mongolic languages, Mangghuer has a massive number of lexical items of Chinese extraction, and significant structural influences in all

areas. The influence is most complete in phonology, where nearly the entire Mongolic system has been replaced by Sinitic strategies.

This fits in nicely with the description of Thomason and Kaufman (1988:75), who give the following as some characteristics of "moderate structural borrowing:"

> Major structural features that cause relatively little typological change. Phonological change at this stage includes introduction of new distinctive features in contrastive sets that are represented in native vocabulary, and perhaps loss of some contrasts; new syllable structure constraints, also in native vocabulary.

I am reluctant, however, to conclude that simple "borrowing" is an adequate term for the Chinese influences we have seen in Mangghuer. As I have argued above, there are clearly multiple types of influence currently active in the relationship between Mangghuer and Chinese; and neither of these languages can be taken as a unified entity, in any case, since both seem to exhibit significant dialect variation. Thus, although borrowing might be the primary kind of relationship here, significant influences of language shift should not be dismissed. And, as we have seen above, in a linguistic area like the Qinghai-Gansu region, it is probably misleading to treat in isolation the apparent relationship between any two languages, since there are clearly multiple, concurrent influences at work among several languages.

In the title of this dissertation, I have referred to Mangghuer as a mixed language. For Thomason and Kaufman (1988), this term is reserved for languages which cannot be said to belong, in the traditional genetic sense, to any particular language family. These languages have not been transmitted in the "normal" fashion, but have instead been affected either by language shift or by massive borrowing -- in either case, the normal genetic relationship fails to hold, due to the pervasiveness of the changes brought about by the contact influence.

I have tried to show that the history of Mangghuer is complex enough to warrant this label of "mixed." The external influences on this originally Mongolic language have been profound, and have originated in at least different language families: Bodic and Sinitic. Other languages, including some from the Turkic family, may also have contributed significantly.

However, the preponderance of Mongolic lexical items in Mangghuer basic vocabulary, together with morphosyntax which is basically Mongolic in both form and etymology, makes Mangghuer only a marginal case of a mixed language. Although many individual speakers clearly have shifted to Mangghuer from other languages, most of the contact-induced changes I have described could be due to heavy borrowing through long-term bilingualism. Others, which are probably not

due simply to borrowing (like the stress shift) might simply be internal developments.

Thus, although Mangghuer does seem to have many characteristics of a mixed language, it can also be thought of as a Mongolic language which has borrowed heavily from languages of other families. Many of its characteristics are those of a genetically Mongolic language. This is why I have also referred to the language as a member of the Mongolic family.[2]

In summary, then, it seems that we can consider Mangghuer both a mixed language and a language of the Mongolic family. This ambiguous status, which violates a binary distinction proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), recognizes the observable fact that Mangghuer has some characteristics of each of these language types. The division between the two categories, which Thomason and Kaufman (1988) seem to take to be rigid, is perhaps not profitably maintained here.

It may be that an ambiguous status of this sort is common among languages in a prototypical linguistic area. As Thomason and Kaufman (1988:95-97) suggest, language contact effects in these situations do not lend themselves to clear description in terms of those authors' framework.

3 Grammaticalization and Contact-induced Drift

In chapter 2, section 4, I examined work by Thurgood (1996), which showed the importance of considering the effects of language contact on phonological drift. Similar comments can be made about drift in morphosyntax, as well; grammaticalization, just like phonological changes, is apparently quite succeptible to drift in directions guided by contact with other languages.

Hopper and Traugott (1993:220) note "contact has been an important factor for most languages, and a strictly monogenetic view of grammaticalization is ultimately inappropriate." Like most scholars, however, these authors focus on grammaticalization effects which can be seen as internally motivated, even though they recognize that contact factors ought eventually to be taken into account.

An interesting study which moves in this direction is Friedman (1995). Friedman considers two morphosyntactic traits of the Balkan linguistic area, "object reduplication" and "auxiliary manipulation" (1995:101). He shows that both of these devices appear as pragmatic, discourse-oriented devices in some languages, but as grammaticalized, obligatory devices in other languages. Friedman (1995:110) concludes that

> the place of these Balkanisms in the systems of the various languages can be described in terms of a continuum from pragmatically conditioned variation to grammaticalization, which in turn suggests ... that discourse functions are not merely subject to borrowing but actually serve as entry points for the development of structural change.

In this study of Mangghuer, I have treated in some detail two instances of grammaticalization: the development of auxiliary verb constructions from clause chaining sequences of main verbs (chapter 6, section 3.2); and the splitting and narrowing of the functions of various forms of the verb *ge* 'do, say' (chapter 7, section 2.2). In both cases, we saw that the set of grammaticalized functions found in Mangghuer is quite similar to what is found in neighboring languages.

There is not enough data about surrounding languages, at this point, to warrant conclusions about the directions of influence in these cases of grammaticalization; and even with more data, we may ultimately be able to conclude only that these particular features are common within this particular linguistic area. Nonetheless, it is quite clear that the grammaticalization process in both instances is one which involves the influence of languages upon each other. An adequate discussion of grammaticalization, in the Gansu-Qinghai linguistic area, will clearly require reference to language contact as a motivator of morphosyntactic change.

4 The Place of Mangghuer in Mongolic

4.1 Introduction

We come, at last, to the question of how Mangghuer fits into the Mongolic language family. Like all historical questions, this is a complicated one, and the facts are clearly not all in yet. But the results of this study do suggest an important revision in the basic perspective that is generally adopted towards this question.

In chapter 1, section 2.2, I gave a brief summary of some of the perspectives which scholars have adopted, concerning the inclusion of "Monguor" as a member of the Mongolic language family. All descriptions seem to include "Monguor" as a distinct language in the family, but there is some variation in how its internal structure is described.

First of all, we can note that the status of "Monguor" has generally been insufficiently characterized in such discussions. My comparison of Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer, as well as the reports of native speakers, suggest that these two speech systems differ quite substantially, and should

[2] In section 4, below, I will return to the question of the placement of Mangghuer within the Mongolic family.

probably be considered different languages. (Tongren Monguor seems to be another language, in addition to these, but most scholars seem to have called it Baonan; here too, published descriptions seem to suggest the conclusion that the "Baonan" of Qinghai and that of Gansu are quite different, as well.)

Moreover, I have noted at many points in this dissertation that there seems to be considerable variation within what I have called "Minhe Mangghuer." Thus, while previous researchers may perhaps have been guilty of treating as one language what ought to be considered two different languages (Mangghuer and Mongghul), my own descriptions may also suffer from the same fallacy. As further data comes to light, dialectal distinctions within "Mangghuer" may prove to be more significant than I have imagined.

So the term "Monguor" needs to be revised, along the lines I am presenting here, before Mongolic classification can proceed.

Secondly, we need to take into account the issues which I have raised in this final chapter. As Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have pointed out, nongenetic transmission, in such forms as extreme borrowing and language shift, can lead to a language which is not genetically related to any language at all. Mangghuer certainly has many such characteristics, and we need to be careful about discussing its "genetic" relationships, when many of its features have not been genetically inherited.

Binnick (1987) summarizes the features which have generally been used to argue for various subgrouping of Mongolic languages. In the next section, I will summarize most of his features, omitting those for which my study has turned up no relevant data. (Since I have not undertaken a systematic study of this question, a few points fall outside of the realm within which I can make comment.) The classificatory implications will be taken up in section 4.3. Finally, in section 4.4, I will outline some implications for Mangghuer, including some discussion of how the linguistic evidence is suggestive of facts about Mangghuer social history.

4.2 Mangghuer Features Compared to Binnick's (1987) Criteria

In this section I will examine the features used by Binnick (1987, relying on Poppe 1955 and others), to suggest a classification of Mongolic languages. In my work with Mangghuer, I have not examined all of the features which Binnick uses, so I am unable to comment on a few of his features.

#1 Labial Harmony (Binnick 1987:184-85)

Mangghuer has no productive vowel harmony (chapter 2, section 2.6.3). Productive labial vowel harmony is found in Buriat, Khalkha, and Inner Mongolian dialects.

#2 [k] → [x] (Binnick 1987:185)

Mongolic initial [k] became [x] in Khalkha and Buriat. Mangghuer retains initial [k]: *keli* 'say;' cf. Khalkha *xelev* 'he said' (Kullman and Tserenpil 1996:399).

#3 Directive case with enclitic postposition *=ru* (Binnick 1987:185)

Found in Khalkha and Buriat. Mangghuer has a directive case, but the marker is *=ji* (chapter 4, section 9.2.6). The Mangghuer form does not seem to have attested cognates.

#8 Epenthetic [n] in nominative case (Binnick 1987:186)

Kalmuck, Moghol and some Buriat dialects have an epenthetic [n] inserted at the end of many noun stems, when they appear in nominative case. Mangghuer has nothing of this sort.

#9 Inclusive/exclusive first person pronouns (Binnick 1987:186)

Mangghuer has not retained the Mongolic inclusive/exclusive distinction (chapter 3, section 1.2.1.3), although both of the Mongolic first person pronoun stem morphemes remain in use. The only Mongolic languages which seem to have retained this distinction are Dagur and Moghol, though, like Mangghuer, several languages still use both of the pronoun stems.

#10 Comitative case forms (Binnick 1987:187)

Many Mongolic languages retain one or more of three comitative casemarkers. Of these, Mangghuer has two forms, *=la* and *=tai* (chapter 4, section 9.2.5). Other languages which also retain cognates of both of these forms are Buriat, Ordos, Kalmuck, and Huzhu Mongghul.

#11 Person agreement in (declarative) finite verbs (Binnick 1987:187)

Buriat, Kalmuck and Moghol have developed (declarative)[3] person agreement systems, which is an innovation in Mongolic. Mangghuer has no person agreement for declarative verbs.

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[3] In my analysis of Mangghuer verbal morphology, I considered imperatives to be marked for person agreement. Previous work by Mongolists has not used this approach, reserving the term

#12 Negation (Binnick 1987:187)

All the Mongolic languages except Kalmuck seem to have a prohibitive related to Mangghuer *bao* 'do not.' Similarly, many seem to have cognates of either *lai* or *sai*, although most do not have both, and some (Buriat, Ordos, Khalkha) generally use constructions related to Mangghuer nominalized clauses, with cognates of the negative copula *gui* or *guang*. Comparative generalizations would require more data.

#16 Stress (Binnick 1987:188)

This was discussed in chapter 2, section 4.2. Mangghuer, Huzhu Mongghul, Tongren Monguor, Qinghai Baonan, and Santa all have word-final stress. Other Mongolic languages generally have word-initial stress, except Moghol where "stress is variable" (Binnick 1987:188).

#20 Demonstrative pronouns (Binnick 1987:198)

Demonstratives related to the Literary Mongolian forms *egün-* and *tegün-* (proximal and distal, respectively) are found in Buriat, Khalkha, Ordos, and Kalmuck. Mangghuer, like all the rest of the Mongolic languages, has demonstratives which are apparently from a different set of stems, *enen-* and *ten-* (again, proximal and distal, respectively). In Mangghuer these latter forms are *ni* (dative *nin=du*) and *ti* (*tin=du*).

As I pointed out in chapter 3, section 1.2.1.3, Mangghuer, Huzhu Mongghul, and Santa all have third person pronouns which seem to be cognates of the first set of demonstratives listed above. These three languages seem to be the only ones to share this development.

#21 Dative/locative casemarker (Binnick 1987:189)

Binnick says that Huzhu Mongghul alone has only a cognate of the Mongolic dative/locative marker *-du*; all other languages have either only forms related to *-da*, or else forms related to both of these.

Mangghuer, like Mongghul, has only the form *=du*. (See chapter 4, section 9.2.3.)

#25 Initial /f/ (Binnick 1987:191)

'person agreement' for declarative contexts only. Thus, although Binnick (1987) does not specify 'declarative' in this discussion, this is clearly his intent.

In chapter 2, section 1.4.3, I showed that word-initial /f/ is an innovation in those Mongolic languages that have it, including Mangghuer.

Among Mongolic languages, only Santa, Huzhu Mongghul, Tongren Monguor, and some dialects of Minhe Mangghuer have this feature.

Binnick, following Poppe and most others, considers initial /f/ a reflex of Proto-Altaic **p*. However, if I am correct in proposing that /f/ is an innovation, this calls into question Altaic reconstructions which depend on it as an argument for initial **p*, as well.

#28 Vowel sequences (Binnick 1987:193)

When the deletion of intervocalic [ɣ] created a sequence of two back vowels, one rounded and the other unrounded, most Mongolic languages developed rounded long vowels.

Binnick (1987:193) says that only Moghol created a dipthong when the rounded vowel was the first of two vowels. Mangghuer shares this feature. Thus: Middle Mongolian [qu'asun] 'dry;' Moghol [quana] 'he dries;' Mangghuer [qwosen] 'dry' (*khuosen*).

When the rounded vowel was the second in a sequence, Dagur, Moghul and Oirat have a dipthong "under certain conditions" (1987:193); Mangghuer also shares this feature. Thus: Written Mongolian [sibaɣun] 'bird;' Oirat [ʃiboun] 'bird;' Mangghuer [ʂi'paw] 'bird.'

In chapter 2, section 2.6.2, I treated some cases like these. As I pointed out there, Mangghuer has no long vowels. The vowel + glide and glide + vowel sequences which were created in these instances conform to the set of sequences which we find also in Chinese.

4.3 Discussion and Implications for Mangghuer

Binnick (1987) notes that scholars have generally interpreted these features (and a few others, which I have omitted) in two ways. In one classificatory scheme, we find: North Mongolian (Buriat); East or Central Mongolian (Khalkha and related dialects); West Mongolian (Oirat); and assorted language isolates, including Monguor, Dagur, and sometimes Santa, etc (Binnick 1987:179). The other classificatory scheme has a three-way division, among: northern languages (which have vowel harmony: Mongolian, Kalmuck, Buriat, Oirat); southeastern languages (which have no vowel harmony: Dagur, Monguor, Santa, Baonan); and an "intermediate" class, including Literary Mongolian and Moghol (Binnick 1987:179-80).

How would Mangghuer fit into these classificatory schemes? Since most authors have considered "Monguor" to include the Mongolic varieties spoken in Minhe County, Mangghuer would usually be considered a dialect of Monguor. This language falls into the language isolates branch, according to the first classificatory scheme, and into the southern, nonharmonizing branch, according to the other scheme.

If we try to evaluate the place of Mangghuer on the basis of the features presented in the previous section, however, some problems arise.

Feature #9 (inclusive/exclusive distinction) seems to group Mangghuer with all the Mongolic languages which do not have this distinction, in contrast to just Dagur and Moghol, which do. This is at odds with Binnick's second classificatory scheme, which suggests that Dagur and Mangghuer ought to behave similarly, while Moghol and Mangghuer ought to behave differently.

Feature #10 (comitative case forms) suggests a grouping of Mangghuer with Mongghul (which works well in either scheme) and also with Buriat, Ordos, and Kalmuck (which are in different subgroups, by both classifications).

Feature #28 (vowel sequences) suggests that Mangghuer and Moghol should be grouped together; again, this is at odds with the second scheme, which suggests they should be different.

Most of the features, however, do suggest groupings which both of these schemes might have predicted. We can note especially the following:

Feature #1 (labial vowel harmony) suggests grouping Mangghuer with the other nonharmonizing languages.

Feature #2 ([k] → [x]) places Mangghuer with all other Mongolic languages, in opposition to just Khalkha and Buriat, which underwent this shift.

Feature #3 (directive case) similarly groups Mangghuer with all Mongolic languages except Khalkha and Buriat.

Feature #16 (stress placement) groups Mangghuer with the other ultimate stress languages: Mongghul, Tongren Monguor, Gansu Baonan and Santa. These are most of the southeastern language isolates (except for Eastern Yugur), and both schemes expect them all to behave similarly.

Feature #20 (demonstrative pronouns) groups Mangghuer with Mongghul and Santa, forming a subset of the southeastern languages.

Feature #21 (dative/locative casemarker) groups Mangghuer with just Huzhu Mongghul, two languages which are usually considered dialects of a single language.

Feature #25 (initial /f/) groups Mangghuer with Mongghul, Tongren Monguor, and Santa; again, this is a subset of the southeastern languages.

The two classifications critiqued by Binnick (1987) share an important characteristic: both attempt to treat Mongolic as a family characterizable with a traditional *Stammbaum* approach. Each presents some version of a family tree, attempting to arrange all known Mongolic languages into a hierarchical structure

which groups together similar languages, and which presumably represents the historical development of the family, in terms of linguistic innovations shared among various languages.

Binnick suggests that this type of model is inadequate for Mongolic. He concludes (1987:194):

> Consequently, no simple *Stammbaum* can do justice to Mongolian linguistic history.... Given the nature of nomadic society, it is not surprising that the sharp, discrete dichotomies of the *Stammbaum* model, designed for sedentary populations living within communities with sharply defined boundaries, might prove less adequate to an understanding of Mongolian linguistic history than some kind of reticulated model. The search for the latter, rather than the former, type of model of genetic relationship is more likely ultimately to prove fruitful.

In addition to these (well-founded) concerns about the spread of innovations in nomadic populations, we can now add another concern to the study of Mongolic. Mangghuer has clearly undergone massive changes as a result of contact with other languages, and it appears that some other Mongolic languages have had similar historical influences. Many of the changes brought about by contact with Chinese, for example, might potentially lead to the same results in any two Mongolic languages, whether or not those two languages underwent the contact influence together.

We might find that, for example, the southeastern language isolates (Mangghuer, Mongghul, Santa, Tongren Monguor, and Gansu Baonan, but not Eastern Yugur) were as yet undifferentiated from each other, when they underwent some influence which led to the development of word-final stress. However, since all of these languages are currently in contact with other ultimate stress languages, (probably including each other) it is just as possible that they all underwent the same sort of influence, with the same results, but separately.

The same can be said for many of the changes which I have documented in Mangghuer. It shares a great many features with other Mongolic languages, but many of the innovations are due to language contact influence. Such innovations are shakey grounds for positing subbranches within a family, if the branches are to represent traditional, *genetic* linguistic relationships. Shared language contact influence might indicate genetic affiliation, but often (perhaps just as often) it may not.

Further, as I noted earlier in this chapter, some contact-induced changes disrupt genetic transmission. Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) distinction between normal transmission and nongenetic transmission points out the fact that contact-induced change often represents such a substantial break in the transmission of a

language's features that the resulting language cannot be said to be genetically related to any language -- it represents a combination of (at least) two languages, and therefore cannot be assumed to carry on in the normal fashion the features of either parent language. A hybrid properly belongs to neither of the parent species.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that even extreme language contact phenomena put an end to useful discussion of historical relationships.

For example, consider just the three languages Mangghuer, Mongghul and Santa. All three of these (and only these three, to my knowledge) have third person pronouns cognate with Mangghuer *gan* (feature #20 in the previous section). All three of these languages also belong to the subset of Mongolic languages which have undergone a phonological shift from initial to ultimate stress (feature #16). It seems likely that this latter development is due to language contact. It is not clear whether this represents a shared innovation, developing at some point before the three languages became differentiated from one another, or if the change happened independently in the three languages. Whatever the answer to that question, however, it remains a fact that these three languages have all shifted from an earlier, Mongolic stress pattern; this shift has had noticable effects on the structure of words, such that we now find reductions in some initial syllables: voiceless vowels in Mangghuer (see chapter 2, section 1.2) and Santa (Field 1997:45); and onset clusters in Huzhu Mongghul (Qinggeertai 1988:126).

A more narrow grouping might be that of just Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer. These two languages have both developed forms of the Bodic conjunct/disjunct evidential system, while Santa has not (see chapter 5). This probably does not represent shared innovation, in Mongghul and Mangghuer, because the actual morphemes involved differ considerably.

In both of these cases, it is of some use to discuss as a group those languages which share a particular innovation. This does set them apart from other Mongolic languages, and may in each case lead to some predictions about other ways in which such a set of languages will differ from other Mongolic languages. In each case, though, we need to be careful to specify that our subgrouping is made on the basis of features that are not genetically inherited.

It seems, then, that it may in fact be profitable to speak of a Southeastern Mongolic subbranch, characterized by changes influenced by extreme contact with Chinese and other languages of the area. But we have to understand by this, not a normal genetic relationship, but a set of common, contact-induced changes. This study gives support to Binnick's (1987) suggestion, cited above, that a simple stammbaum model is an insufficient means for representing the internal structure of Mongolic.

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