

A Grammar of Mangghuer

A Mongolic language of China's Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund

Keith W. Slater



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A GRAMMAR OF MANGGHUER

Mangghuer is a Mongolic language spoken by approximately 35,000 people in China's northwestern Qinghai Province. No grammar of Mangghuer has ever been published in any language. This book is a systematic, typologically-oriented grammatical description, based primarily on narrative text data. Historical discussions emphasize the extensive effects of language contact on Mangghuer, which has been heavily influenced by neighboring Chinese and Tibetan languages.

The book's primary importance is as a typologically-oriented grammatical description of a little-known language. It also makes a significant contribution to comparative Mongolic studies and to the characterization of language contact processes in the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund.

Keith W. Slater is a member of SIL International's East Asia Group. He holds a PhD in Linguistics from the University of California, Santa Barbara.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABL	Ablative case	LOC	Locative case
ACC	Accusative case	NEG	Negative
ADV	Adverb	NF	Nonfinite
Affr	Affricate	NOM	Nominative case
ASP	Aspirated	NOMLZR	Nominalizer
	or: Aspect marker	NP	Noun phrase
ASSOC	Associative	OBJ	Objective
AUX	Auxiliary verb	ONOM	Onomatopoeia
C	Consonant	ORD	Ordinal enumerator
CAUSE	Causative	PERF	Perfective aspect
c/d	Conjunct/disjunct	PL	Plural number
CH	Chinese	POSS	Possessive
CL	Classifier	PP	Postpositional phrase
COLL	Collective	PROG	Progressive aspect
COMP	Comparative	PROHIB	Prohibitive
	or: Complementizer	PRT	Final particle
COND	Conditional	PURP	Purpose
COP	Copula	QGS	Qinghai-Gansu
CP	Conjunctive participle		Sprachbund
DAT	Dative case	QUEST	Question
DIR	Directive case	QUOTE	Quotative
EMPH	Emphatic	REFLPOSS	Reflexive possessive
ERG	Ergative case	SEQ	Sequential actions
EV	Evidential	SG	Singular number
EXCL	Exclamatory interjection	SOV	Subject-object-verb
FUT	Future tense	SUBJ	Subjective
GEN	Genitive case	Syll	Syllabic
HEARSAY	Hearsay evidential	V	Vowel
HORT	Hortative	VLZR	Verbalizer
IMPER	Imperative	Vc	Voicing
IMPERF	Imperfective aspect	VOL	Voluntative
INDEF	Indefinite	1	First person
INDIR	Indirect	2	Second person
INSTR	Instrumental case	3	Third person

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

*	Reconstructed form; or: Ungrammatical form	: (in gloss)	Multiple semantic or grammatical meanings included in a single form
\$	Syllable boundary		
()	Optional element	~	Alternate forms
	or: (in gloss) Meaning inferred from context	Ø	Zero morpheme
		-	Morpheme boundary
[]	Phonetic transcription	=	Clitic boundary

BACKGROUND

This book is a descriptive study of the Mangghuer language. Referred to in previous linguistic literature as the Minhe County dialect of the *Monguor*, *Tu*, or *Tuzu* language, Mangghuer is spoken primarily in Qinghai Province, in northwest China.

The study is primarily synchronic, detailing aspects of the Mangghuer phonological, morphological and syntactic systems, with much attention given to the patterns of natural discourse. 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, as well as the profound influences of non-Mongolic languages, which have led to some dramatic shifts from Mongolic features to those of other language families. These effects of language contact will constitute a secondary thrust of the description and analysis, and will be explicitly examined in Chapter 8, where I consider the relationship of Mangghuer to other Mongolic languages.

The book is a substantially revised version of my 1998 University of California, Santa Barbara doctoral dissertation, *Minhe Mangghuer: A Mixed Language of the Inner Asian Frontier*. Since the former version has not been widely circulated, I will not elaborate here on the nature of the revisions, except to point out that I now see Mangghuer not as a mixed language, but as a clear member of the Mongolic language family, albeit one which has undergone extensive contact-induced change, as the current title suggests. The reasons for this conclusion should be apparent throughout the book's historical sections, and particularly in the discussion of the final chapter.

To begin the book, this initial chapter serves to describe some of the background factors which have shaped the Mangghuer language and my description of it. Before launching into a description of the structures of Mangghuer, and an account of their historical development, I want to begin by describing the scholarly context into which this account falls, as well as the linguistic and sociocultural context in which Mangghuer speakers have developed their language.

Section 1.1 presents background of a linguistic nature, including an introduction to the structural features of Mangghuer and some discussion of the history of scholarly work on Mangghuer and closely related languages, as well as some introduction to the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund, in which Mangghuer is one of several participating languages. Section 1.2 outlines sociocultural and geographical factors relevant to the development of the Mangghuer language. Finally, section 1.3 gives some brief orientation to the goals, philosophy and methods of this study, as well as a description of the sources of data which I have used.

1.1 LINGUISTIC OVERVIEW

1.1.1 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 morphosyntactic behavior: objects always precede the verb; most nominal modifiers, including relative clauses, precede their head noun; and the language has postpositions.

Phonologically, though, Mangghuer most strongly resembles Sinitic. It has simple syllable structure, with a very restricted set of coda consonants and few onset clusters, and its inventory of phonemes and syllable types almost exactly mirrors that of nearby Chinese dialects. However, Mangghuer has a stress system, rather than the tone system typical of Sinitic.

An informal frequency count found 15 percent of the lexical items in a narrative text to be Sinitic borrowings, with the vast majority of the remainder being of Mongolic extraction. In a wordlist, however, the percentage of Sinitic loans rises considerably, perhaps to over 50 percent; once again, the remainder are overwhelmingly Mongolic.

1.1.2 Genetic classification

Mangghuer has always been considered to fall within the Mongolic language family. While one focus of this book is to demonstrate that a genetic classification of Mangghuer must acknowledge and exclude many non-inherited features, it is nonetheless fairly clear that many features of the language have indeed been inherited in direct fashion from Mongolic.

A recent statement on Mongolic family relatedness 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 developed by scholars in the former Soviet Union. The differences between these two models need not concern us here (but see Chapter 8). One thing that they share, however, is the inclusion of Monguor as one language of the Mongolic family.

The same may be said of linguists working in China, where the term *Tuzuyu* (土族语) is used with approximately the same range of meaning as Monguor has in the West. Chinese linguists referring to the language of the Tuzu usually note that this language has two major dialects, spoken in geographically distinct locations. For instance, Zhaonasi (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 belongs 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.

It turns out that these “differences” are quite fundamental, and that native speakers of the two Monguor varieties actually report being unable to communicate with each other (without resorting to, for example, Chinese). I will point out many formal differences between these two linguistic systems in this book; the reader is also referred to Slater (forthcoming) and Georg (forthcoming); a comparison of these two articles will reveal some of the more obvious systematic differences.

Why, then, have the two “dialects” of Monguor been considered a single language? Without doubt, the two linguistic systems share a great number of features, and I will conclude in Chapter 8 that these two Mongolic varieties constitute a valid genetic subgroup within the family. However, it appears that the major reasons for the assumption that these two varieties constitute a single language are sociocultural, rather than linguistic. In fact, I have never seen a linguistically-based argument for their unity as a single language. Rather, it appears that previous analysts have followed the lead of the political and social groupings generally recognized in eastern Qinghai, where the Monguor (Tuzu) of Minhe County and those of Huzhu County are considered members of a single ethnic group, and where the two communities have apparently been subsumed under identical political classifications since (at least) the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (see the historical discussion below, from section 1.2.1 onwards). This is understandable, since until now there has been very little published description of Minhe Monguor, and comparison was therefore impossible.

The only previously published claim (of which I am aware) that the Minhe and Huzhu varieties of Monguor in fact constitute separate languages is Sinor (1952:373), where “Monguor” and “San-ch’uan” (三川 ‘three rivers’ or ‘three plains,’ a geographic feature and place name of southern Minhe County) are listed as two separate languages; the author, however, does not explain how this conclusion was reached.

As I have already noted, the linguistic evidence supports the claim that Huzhu Monguor and Minhe Monguor are in fact distinct languages. In this book, I will refer to the two “Monguor” varieties by the local pronunciations of the names these groups use for themselves. The name *Mangghuer* will be used to refer to what has previously been called Minhe Monguor, while the Huzhu Monguor variety will be referred to as *Mongghul*. Further discussion of these names is given in 1.2.1, below.

Both *Mangghuer* and *Mongghul* belong fairly clearly to the Mongolic language family, as previous authors have claimed. In Chapter 8, we will make some initial exploration of the issue of the genetic subgroupings into which these two Mongolic languages fall.

The book has two separate indexes: an index of *Mangghuer* forms discussed in the book; and an index of subjects.

1.1.3 Previous linguistic studies

1.1.3.1 *Mangghuer*

Aside from this book, the only work to date which attempts to provide a substantial characterization of *Mangghuer* linguistic structures is Slater (forthcoming). The most ambitious previous investigation into *Mangghuer* grammar was that of Qinggeertai (1991b); this work is actually a grammar of the *Mongghul* language, but the author

frequently closes discussion of a particular linguistic feature by presenting a few Mangghuer equivalents for the Mongghul examples he has given. Similarly, a brief phonological and morphological comparison is given by Zhaonasitu and Li (1982). Zhaonasitu (1981:86–92) also alludes to a few of the differences between the two varieties, but this treatment is extremely brief. Additionally, Zhu, Üjiyediin and Stuart (1999) examine a few morphological features of Mangghuer.

Another work of relevance is Zhu, Üjiyediin 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 the appearance of only a fairly narrow range of syntactic phenomena.

Another, somewhat more detailed analysis of Mangghuer syntax and morphology, is presented in Zhu et al. (1997). Here, as with Qinggeertai (1991b), the discussion is arranged 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.¹

These few works represent the whole of the linguistic analysis that has been published for Mangghuer, as far as I am aware. 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 Mangghuer texts. Most important among these is Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al. (1996), which includes a large corpus of Mangghuer sentences, mostly translated from English, with Mongghul and English equivalents. Wang, Zhu and Stuart (1995), Wang and Stuart (1995), and Zhu and Stuart (1996) give the texts of several Mangghuer songs. Zhu, Üjiyediin and Stuart (1995), mentioned above, gives the text of a folktale, with English glossing.

A large collection of Mangghuer folklore texts will appear, with English translations and morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, in Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming); it is from this body of folktale materials that most of the examples used in this book will be drawn. Finally, Wang (forthcoming) will be the first published dictionary of Mangghuer.

1.1.3.2 *Other Qinghai-Gansu Mongolic languages*

A brief summary of publications concerning other Mongolic languages of the Qinghai-Gansu region is in order here. I will not summarize work on all Mongolic languages, but only on those which are also spoken in the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund (see section 1.1.4 for discussion of this Sprachbund), to which I will frequently make reference for purposes of comparative historical study. These languages, which share many linguistic features with Mangghuer and are near geographic neighbors, include Mongghul, Baonan and Santa.

1.1.3.2.1 *Mongghul*

The primary structural descriptions of Mongghul are Qinggeertai (1991b), Smedt and Mostaert (1964), Üjiyediin (1994), and Zhaonasitu (1981).² Of these, Qinggeertai (1991b)

is the most ambitious and valuable, providing systematic description and examples of a fairly wide range of construction types.

Smédet and Mostaert (1964) is primarily a morphological description. Zhaonasi (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. Üjijidiin (1994) is essentially a translation of Qinggeertai's works, and represents the first general description of the Mongghul dialect in English.

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 Pinyin-based Mongghul orthographic system, which has been approved for testing in Qinghai Province, and is intended for use by native speakers of the language.

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

A number of volumes have provided texts of Mongghul. 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 two-thirds of the entire epic. Translations of only a few lines are provided.) Prior to his death, Schröder himself had published two earlier volumes of Mongghul folktales, Schröder (1959, 1970), including translations. Further text materials are presented by Qinggeertai (1988).

A large collection of Mongghul sentences appears in Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al. (1996). Limusishiden and Stuart (1998) provide a collection of Mongghul texts with English translations, and Limusishiden, Jugui and Stuart (forthcoming) presents some 800 pages of Mongghul materials which have been previously distributed in China.

1.1.3.2.2 *Baonan*

The term "Baonan" (Chinese: *bao'an* 保安) is used among linguists in China to refer to a language spoken in two distinct geographic locations: the Tongren region of Qinghai Province and Jishishan County of Gansu Province. This name is based on a town called *Bao'an* in the vicinity of Tongren, which is thought to be the original home area of both groups. Some linguistic publications describe the speech of the Tongren community, while others describe the speech of the Gansu group.

The Chinese government classifies the Tongren population of Baonan speakers as Monguor (*Tuzu* 土族), while the Gansu group is recognized as a distinct minority, Baonan (保安 *bao'an*). Apparently, however, the speech varieties used in these two communities differ in only minor ways, and they may be considered to constitute a single language, according to all linguistic analysts (see, for example, H. Wu, forthcoming). One scholar does note, however, that Qinghai Baonan differs from Gansu Baonan "in that the former is primarily influenced by Tibetan, whereas the latter are heavily sinicized" (C. Li 1983:39). It is also clear from the available descriptions that the Baonan language differs substantially from Mangghuer and other Mongolic languages of the region.

One major cultural difference between the two Baonan groups is that the Qinghai population are Tibetan Buddhists, while the Gansu population are Muslims; apparently

this factor contributed to their being assigned to different minority classifications by the government.

The primary structural description based on the speech of Tongren Baonan is N. Chen (1987a). A dictionary is provided by N. Chen (1986), and N. Chen (1987b) contains text materials for this Baonan variety. H. Wu (forthcoming) is a summary based primarily on these works. Recent English publications which refer to the Baonan language generally seem to follow the work of C. Li (1983, 1984, 1985, 1986), which examines the speech variety of the Islamic group in Gansu province, immediately across the Yellow River from where the Mangghuer live. The other major study of this variety of which I am aware is C. Li's (MS) *A Dictionary of Baonan*, which remains unpublished at this writing.

1.1.3.2.3 *Santa*

Santa is known in China as *Dongxiang* (东乡). The linguistic structures of this language have been described quite extensively in Field (1994, 1997), Jin (1998), Buhe (1986), and Kim (forthcoming). Buhe (1983) is a valuable lexicon, and Field (1991) describes the extensive borrowing of Hui Chinese lexical items into this language. An additional lexicon is Ma and Chen (2000), which employs a pinyin-based orthography and is designed for use by Santa native speakers.

A significant corpus of Santa texts can be found in Buhe (1987).

1.1.4 The Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund

Practically any structural description of any language within the Qinghai-Gansu border area makes at least passing mention of language contact phenomena, and most focus primarily on this topic. The region is such a hotbed of cultural and linguistic diffusion that no language seems to be immune from undergoing significant changes, brought on by influences from the speech of neighboring groups. Thus, one of the first impressions that 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.

The weakness of most previous linguistic work in this region (including my own) is that each study tends to treat in isolation the relationship between two language varieties. My colleagues and I did this in Zhu et al. (1997), for example, comparing the Chinese variety of Gangou Township to the Mongolic language spoken by many Gangou residents, Mangghuer. This has led to the overlooking of significant area-wide processes.

It certainly is true that intense two-language contact situations have resulted in many instances of localized contact-induced language change, and I do not mean to suggest that two-language comparisons should not be made in the Qinghai-Gansu region. However, what has often been lacking is an overview of the regional processes of linguistic feature diffusion. Such an overview, it turns out, helps quite a lot in promoting an understanding of the specific linguistic features found in local language varieties.

The Qinghai-Gansu border region contains languages descended from (at least) four different language families: Sinitic, Bodic, Mongolic, and Turkic. If we look at

the linguistic features of the region as a whole, we find that what is happening diachronically is not simply the outworking of the normal tendency of any pair of languages in intense contact to influence each other, but, rather, an overall pattern of structural convergence among all the languages.

Taken individually, most of the region's languages do not seem typologically coherent. Each has a set of linguistic features which seem to be drawn from more than one historical source. However, if we compare the structural features of languages throughout the region, we find that there is a bundle of features which is shared by most of the region's local language varieties. There is, thus, a sort of regional typological coherence, and this phenomenon is the hallmark of a prototypical *Sprachbund*, or *linguistic area*. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:96) characterize a Sprachbund as an area in which long-term multilingualism promotes "the gradual development of isomorphism (equivalence of form) in all areas of structure except the phonological shapes of morphemes."

Comparison of many studies of individual languages, and their contact-induced changes, in the Qinghai-Gansu border area suggests that precisely this phenomenon is occurring here. Taken together, the many two-language comparisons which have been made in the area show that an overall process of structural convergence is affecting all of the regional languages, such that all currently share essentially the same grammatical system, as well as many other structural features. Not all of the languages are being affected to the same degree, but the overall pattern is one of significant structural convergence. I will therefore refer to the area as the *Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund*, or *QGS*.

As far as I know, the term *Sprachbund* was first applied to the Qinghai-Gansu region by Dwyer (1995). In an earlier paper (Dwyer 1992), the same author gives an initial outline of some of the sociocultural factors which must have led to the formation of the QGS. I have developed elsewhere a more detailed expansion of this account of the social formation and structural feature bundle which characterizes the QGS (Slater MS), and I will not repeat all of those details here. However, a brief sketch is in order, to indicate both the nature of feature diffusion in the area and also something of the range of features which are currently shared by most QGS languages.

As I see it, QGS structural convergence has proceeded in two more or less independent (but probably overlapping) stages, corresponding to two different sets of social circumstances. In the earlier stage, which probably began no earlier than the mid-thirteenth century, when Mongolic speakers likely first settled in the region in significant numbers, small groups of Sinitic speakers came into sustained social contact with Mongols and Tibetans (and possibly also speakers of Turkic languages) who were farming in the region's river valleys. In this stage, the outnumbered Sinitic speakers maintained their Sinitic languages, but they gradually adopted the morphosyntactic strategies of their neighbors. The primary motivation for this was probably that large numbers of Mongolic and Bodic speakers learned Chinese, imperfectly, in order to trade with the Sinitic speakers, who had economic and political ties to the dominant Han community to the East. There was probably also significant intermarriage of Sinitic-speaking men, many of whom came to the region for military or other political reasons, to local women, which would have led to language shift on the part of many of the women, and perhaps to bilingualism on the part of their children.

In fact, it is likely that the non-native speakers of Chinese outnumbered the native speakers during much of this earlier period, since the Sinitic-speaking communities tended to be small, isolated settlements in river valleys, which certainly required significant economic interaction with their immediate neighbors. Since the Han had access to trade routes leading into the region, other local inhabitants would have had significant motivation to learn enough Chinese to carry out economic negotiations with them. As a result, the grammar of the non-native speakers' first languages gradually became the regional standard, even for Sinitic language varieties.

In the earliest part of this first stage, eastern China was under the control of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty. However, it should be pointed out that although the Mongols were the ultimate rulers of the empire, they exercised local political control in outlying areas primarily by relying on the established Chinese bureaucracy, and did so primarily through Chinese-speaking officials (although they did also post Mongolian-speaking garrisons to such regions for defense, as will be shown below). The important point here is to note that, although for several decades the Mongols had political control of the empire, even during this period the primary language of government and trade in the Qinghai-Gansu border region was Chinese; this has certainly continued pretty much up through modern times.

The second stage of language contact is more recent. In the last few generations, Han Chinese influence has grown tremendously in the region, and the population of Sinitic speakers has swelled massively, through successive waves of settlement from eastern China. As Sinitic speakers have spread out from their earlier small settlements in the river valleys and gained more pervasive social influence, entire populations of neighboring groups have become highly bilingual in Chinese, which is by now the language not only of government and trade, but also of increasingly available education and mass media. In this later stage, the speakers of Mongolic and Tibetan (as well as the speakers of Salar, currently the region's only Turkic language) have borrowed massively from Sinitic in lexicon and structure.

Throughout this book, we will see evidence especially of this second stage of feature spreading, since Mangghuer is one of the languages which has adopted many Sinitic features. Here, without going into much detail, let us simply list a few of the structural features which have spread in the two waves of diffusion. The interested reader is referred to Slater (MS) for further illustration and discussion.

In the first stage, verb-final word order and other head-final morphosyntax (postpositions, suffixes, etc.) spread into Sinitic from neighboring languages. Native Sinitic morphemes were reanalyzed to perform casemarking and other Mongolic and Bodic grammatical functions. A clause-combining strategy that resembles clause chaining developed in the Sinitic varieties. There was significant borrowing of lexical items, especially of Bodic items into the languages of groups who had adopted Tibetan Buddhism—including many of the Mongolic groups. The Bodic evidential system also spread widely.

In the second stage, as Sinitic-language speakers became more socially dominant, we find massive borrowing from the Sinitic lexicon by other languages. This is accompanied by extreme phonological accommodation—so extreme that some Mongolic languages (Mangghuer, Baonan, and Santa) now have essentially Sinitic phonological systems (though without full-fledged tone systems). Many Sinitic syntactic constructions

have also spread, such as the resultative construction and the use of a medial copula in equational clauses.

These are just a few of the features which characterize the QGS, but they should serve to illustrate the complex nature of feature diffusion in the formation of this linguistic area. After completing our study of Mangghuer, we will return in the final chapter (section 8.2) to some discussion of feature diffusion in this Sprachbund.

1.2 SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL CONTEXT

In this section, I will give some further details about the environment in which Mangghuer is spoken. Aspects of both the social and physical environment will be considered, because both have been relevant to the creation and maintenance of the Mangghuer language in its current form.

The QGS area belongs to the Amdo region, at the northeastern edge of the Tibetan cultural area; Tibetan groups have lived for centuries in this area, as well as in the regions 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 and northeast are lands of Mongol tribes. Finally, in the arid lands which stretch away to the northwest, Turkic groups such as the Uygur (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 (Tibetan: *a mdo*; Chinese: *anduo* 安多). From the Chinese perspective, it is both the frontier with Inner Asia and the border with Tibetan tribes. The modern 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 give some brief description of the historical and current sociocultural diversity of the region, emphasizing factors which are most obviously relevant to an understanding of the development of Mangghuer language. One recurrent point which will be made is this: 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 documentary 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 we can draw from this study will prove to be the strongest available evidence 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.

1.2.1 On the names *Mangghuer* and *Mongghul*

The ethnonym *Mangghuer* has been selected for the Monguor of Minhe County because that is what they generally call themselves (see Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming) for discussion). Similarly, the term *Mongghul* reflects the pronunciation of Huzhu Monguor people’s

name for themselves. The first writer to begin using one of these terms appears to have been 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 1988), and began to use the spelling *Mongghul* to refer to this group and its language. 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.

My decision to use the name *Mangghuer* has been made in consultation with Zhu Yongzhong, Hu Jun, Wang Xianzhen, and Kevin Stuart. These scholars (the first three of whom are themselves 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 awareness of Mangghuer language and culture.

1.2.2 Ethnicity, population, and language use in Qinghai

At present, Mangghuer speakers live in close proximity to members of many of the cultural groups mentioned so far. Cultural and linguistic diversity go hand in hand in the region; languages from four language families are spoken in this immediate area.

Although the name of the county where most Mangghuer live—Minhe Huizu and Tuzu Autonomous County—suggests that all of Minhe County is inhabited by Mangghuer speakers (referred to in Chinese as members of the *Tu* minority), in fact, nearly all speakers of the language live in the county’s southernmost areas, near the Yellow River. Zhu, Üjiyediin, and Stuart (1995:199), citing “county records” give 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 1.1.

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

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

Table 1.1 Population of southern Minhe County regions

<i>Area</i>	<i>Han</i>	<i>Hui</i>	<i>Mangghuer</i>	<i>Tibetan</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Qianhe	3,739	4,106	3,746	11	11,602
Gangou	4,582	4,703	2,581	1,372	13,238
Guanting region	198	1,276	13,266	16	14,756
Zhongchuan	60	4,288	12,790	18	17,156
Xing'er	388	—	781	2,436	3,605
Xiakou	267	328	3,847	944	5,386
Totals	9,234	14,701	37,011	4,797	65,743

Tibetans are a smaller minority in this area, constituting only about 7 percent 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 percent and 68 percent of the population; in Xiakou, 18 percent.

Since this is the Amdo region of Tibet, the Tibetan language used by Minhe county Tibetans is an Amdo dialect. Zhu, Üjiyediin, 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 1.1 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 to the west of the county, across a high mountain range and on the opposite side of the Yellow River, is the Xunhua Salar Autonomous County. According to Lin (1985:1), 49,000 Salar live in the Xunhua area.

Also close by, just across the Yellow River from the Mangghuer, is land inhabited by the Gansu Baonan group (保安 *Bao'an*). And just to the east of the Gansu Baonan, beyond the city Linxia, live the Santa or Dongxiang (东乡 *Dongxiang*). The Gansu Baonan number about 3,500 (C. Li 1986:174) and the Santa number about 370,000 (Field 1997). Both of these latter two groups speak languages which are similar in many ways to Mangghuer, with Mongolic basic vocabulary and morphosyntax, but with evidence of heavy influence from nearby languages, especially Chinese.

Zhu, Üjiyediin, 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 percent of these speak the Mangghuer language, usually in versions closely resembling those of Minhe County.

Members of the Monguor nationality living in several nearby areas are often grouped together as “Huzhu Monguor” (at least by linguists). These areas are Huzhu, Datong, and Ledu Counties of Qinghai Province, and Tianzhu County of Gansu Province. The Monguor populations of these areas total approximately 98,250, according to Zhu and Stuart (1999:343). The vast majority of these Monguor (approximately 91,650) are concentrated in just Huzhu and Datong Counties.

Tongren County, approximately 75 km to the southwest of the Mangghuer areas, is reported by N. Chen (1987a:9–10) to have about 10,000 Monguor residents. He suggests that about three-quarters of these people use the Baonan language. Another small portion of these Tongren Monguor speak a mixed language known as Wutun.

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 (*A Brief Account of the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County* 1985:30). It is 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 Qinghai Mongolians do still speak Mongolian (Kevin Stuart, personal communication (p.c.)). Unfortunately, I do not currently have access to detailed reports about language use among Mongolians in eastern Qinghai.

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 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, so we cannot say what role these Mongolic varieties might have played in the historical development of Mangghuer.

We will see in section 1.2.4 that historical records of the area do not permit definite conclusions about how long the present makeup of the area has existed. Historical reports about the region refer to many different groups, but generally do not make explicit whether ethnic, political, geographic, or linguistic criteria are used to delineate group membership. It is probable that 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.” In contrast, during a second trip just a few years later, 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” (1894:63–4).

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, 1911–22, 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* 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 sixteen 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. Clearly, the “Monguor” category was at that time defined in a political sense which had only a limited relationship to linguistic affiliation.

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

In describing the complex intergroup relations which have characterized the Qinghai-Gansu region for many generations, many authors have noted the high degree of multilingualism which characterizes this interaction. In the remainder of this section, I will briefly summarize the use of multiple languages by Mangghuer and some of 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, Üjiyediin, and Stuart (1995:198–9) 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 among the members of Mangghuer society. Those with greater social mobility tend to attain higher levels of Mandarin ability. Zhu, Üjiyediin, and Stuart note, for instance, that “Tibetan and Monguor females, particularly 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” (1995:198).

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

Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming) 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 Zhu Shanzhong, who travel extensively, must have fairly high functional ability at least in some form of Mandarin Chinese.

Historically, Mangghuer men living in the area’s important 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.

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

Other neighbors of the Mangghuer have clearly had a similar history of multilingual interaction. Concerning the Salar, for example, Rockhill gives the following report in a diary of his second trip to the area (1894:66):

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 . . . 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 indispensable, as nearly the whole male population is occupied driving mules from Salar pa kun to Luser [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 an 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 intergroup relations.³

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 percent of Salar men over the age of 50 speak very good Amdo.” Similarly, Arienne Dwyer reports (forthcoming:59):

Most all Salar children grow up speaking Salar in the home, but may use other languages in multilingual contexts outside the home. An interesting example of this is the Eastern Salar (formerly Tibetan) village of Tángsigang (Gandu, Huàlóng county) on the north side of the Yellow River. There, children playing outside use Tibetan, even when no Tibetans are present. What once served the demands of bicultural communication now serves as a children’s jargon.

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 (*A Brief Account of the Henan Mongolian Autonomous County* 1985:30). This suggests that a large-scale shift occurred at some point in the past.

Schram's (1954:69) report, cited above, of a Monguor clan member who enrolled in a Tibetan group and was "already speaking Tibetan" quite possibly 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." Reports of language shifts like this abound throughout the region.

The few comments which have been presented here by no means exhaust the available descriptions of widely-varied multilingual competence and practice in the QGS region. All the available evidence points to the conclusion that multilingualism has been the regional norm for quite a long time, as it continues to be today.

1.2.3 Geography

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 county publication (*A Brief Account of the Minhe Huizu and Tuzu Autonomous County* 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 thus the easternmost part of Qinghai.

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 toward the Tibetan plateau. According to U.S. Defense Mapping Agency Aerospace Center Maps (dated 1983, 1988), Lanzhou, in the Yellow River valley, lies at about 5,320 feet (1,623 meters) elevation, and Xining, in the valley of the Huangshui river, is at 7,205 feet (2,198 meters). Guanting, in the Yellow River valley at the southern edge of Minhe County, is the low spot in the county, at about 6,000 feet (1,830 meters). Immediately to the west, the mountains rise precipitously toward the highlands of Tibet, with some nearby peaks over 13,000 feet (3,965 meters) high.

Climate is in transition here, too. Blunden and Elvin (1983:11) identify four major climatic zones which intersect in 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 Brief Account of the Minhe Huizu and Tuzu Autonomous County (1986:1) lists the population as 95 percent 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.

1.2.4 Monguor origins

In spite of a dearth of clear historical records, (or perhaps due to this dearth), there has been quite a bit of scholarly speculation regarding the origins of the Monguor. A recent statement on the question 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 (K. Li 1993:7) is that the Monguor are descended from the Tuyuhun (吐谷浑). This group is mentioned in historical accounts of the region before and during the time of the Xi Xia kingdom (see below), and is thought to have spoken an Altaic language.

K. Li (1993:11–29) points out a number of problems with this theory, including these: the similarity of the names Tuyuhun and Tuzu is probably due simply to accident, since the syllable *tu* of Tuzu (土族) is used simply to mean a local native; the neighboring Tibetans, who presumably would have retained an older name for their neighbors than would the more recently-arrived Han Chinese, refer to the Monguor as *Hor*; and the Monguor themselves retain 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 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 (阿拉善), in Inner Mongolia. A third variation, which itself has at least two versions, is that the Monguor came from Ganzhou (甘州), somewhat north of the current Monguor territory, 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). 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 named *tusi* by the Ming.

Schram's comment that there is no reference to the Monguor before the Ming means that these local chiefs who submitted to the Ming are not mentioned in Yuan or pre-Yuan records. He concludes from this that they were not present before the Yuan, and must therefore represent settlers of the Yuan era (1954:29–30). But the lack of earlier explicit 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 some 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 today's 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, while others, as I mentioned above, have related it to the Tuyuhun. Unfortunately, there is apparently no real evidence to support either claim.

The predominantly Mongolic structures of the Mangghuer language, which will be illustrated many times throughout this book, prove that Mongolian speakers played a significant role in the historical development of this group. The language has clearly been heavily influenced by languages of other families, but this influence can be primarily attributed to a combination of intense borrowing and interference through shift, as speakers of other languages came into the Mangghuer community, which seems to have been basically preserving a form of a Mongolic language, perhaps brought to the region as early as the first years of the Yuan dynasty.

In the remainder of this section, we turn to an outline of this important period when, as far as historical documentation allows us to tell, Mongols seem to have first taken up residence in the Qinghai-Gansu area.

In the 1220s A.D., the Mongol armies of Genghis Khan conquered the Tangut Xi 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 1993a: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 Saryġ Uighurs and other groups of the Kōkōnor 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 Kōkōnor 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 Mongols established the Yuan 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 also conscripts from other 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 Kōkōnor quite possibly included significant numbers of Central Asians; and the later Yuan-occupying forces almost certainly did not consist solely of Mongol soldiers, since the Mongols continued to use this conscription strategy for enlarging their armies.⁴

The ethnographic history of the Qinghai-Gansu border area is extremely complex, and remains unclear even where historical records exist. This cursory discussion of just a single period intends mainly to point out that a myriad of groups have passed through, or resided in, this highly strategic area. The history of intergroup relations, which obviously has contributed much to the makeup of today's Monguor people, is clearly quite complex, and many of its details are lost. In the next section, we will see some of the current effects of this complex history, in the form of Mangghuer cultural practice, which show evidence of tremendous cultural interchange. This may serve as an indication of the range of linguistic interchange which can be expected to emerge in the remainder of this book.

1.2.5 Mangghuer cultural practices

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 Mongghul area, and that they simply assume that Mangghuer customs are similar.

Since about 1991, a highly productive group of researchers in Qinghai has published a number of studies of specific Mangghuer cultural practices. Many of these papers illustrate the intense degree of cultural intermingling in which the Mangghuer have participated. Specifically, elements shared with Tibetan, Mongolian, and Han Chinese cultures have been identified. 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 be representative of the other. Here, then, I will consider only descriptions specific to the Mangghuer areas.

1.2.5.1 Wedding customs

In an article about 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 marriages, 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 religious 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 Township: “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.

1.2.5.2 *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.”

1.2.5.3 *Religion*

The religious practices of the 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 Xining 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 Mangghuer were enrolled in lamaseries in the same proportions. However, Zhu and Stuart (1999:369) confirm that a large number of Mangghuer males historically entered

the lamaseries. In addition to exemption from military conscription, the authors mention several economic motivations for this pattern: monks earned money and had food provided for them, and “parents were relieved of the worry of providing for a son’s marriage” or of including him as an heir, which could mean splitting up a small land inheritance among multiple sons. Although no overall percentage is estimated, the authors conclude: “typically, if a family had four sons, one stayed home to do fieldwork, while the other three became monks.”

1.2.5.4 *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), which describes the role of the *Fala* trance medium in course of the *nadun*.

1.2.5.5 *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 Mangghuer language.

Formal education is conducted in Chinese, although Zhu and Stuart (1999:372) report that some local teachers speak Mangghuer in the first three grades. The goal of formal education is to produce literacy in Written Chinese, and to enable students to advance to higher educational levels through the entrance examination system.

Formal education is not available to all Mangghuer, for a variety of reasons, though many do live within walking distance of at least a primary school. The current and historical educational situation has been described in some detail by Zhu and Stuart (1999), and I will not repeat their observations here, except to highlight a few salient points.

First, although the Monguor (as they are politically defined) have the highest educational levels among Qinghai’s minority groups, only 45 percent of them are reported to have received at least some formal schooling (Zhu and Stuart 1999:345).

The situation has improved somewhat in recent years. Zhu and Stuart (1999:364–5) report that in 1985, 91 percent of elementary-aged children in Minhe County were enrolled in school. However, local school conditions are extremely poor, and long-term achievement is generally not high, so that many Mangghuer children do not continue in school for very long. Zhu and Stuart note (1999:370) “many parents reason that if there is little chance for children to pass the higher education entrance examination, the long-term investment needed to sustain a child through upper secondary school provides no more advantages in life than the basic literacy obtained through attending elementary school for a few years.”

Thus, while there is basic literacy in Written Chinese among many younger Mangghuer, this skill is by no means universal.

1.2.6 Discussion

The discussion of the social and physical context presented in this section has intended to show that the environment in which the Mangghuer live is linguistically, culturally, and ethnically complex. Furthermore, this complexity has been a lasting feature of the entire region, at least since the earliest detailed historical records.

Thus, it is impossible to describe in much detail just what the history of the Mangghuer themselves has been. Most accounts suggest that Mongolians played a significant part in the formation of the Mangghuer, and the linguistic study of this book will be seen to support this. However, it seems inescapable that significant intermingling between various ethnic groups has been a feature of the region for centuries, as it remains today. The ancestors of the Mangghuer probably included members of many other groups besides Mongolians, even from an early date. These groups may have included some of the earliest residents of the area, whose ethnic and linguistic affiliations have only been guessed at by historical commentators.

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

A linguistic study of the sort undertaken in this book can certainly not be expected to clear up the historical issues raised here. However, the linguistic evidence which we will see in the following chapters does in fact seem to support the account which I have given (section 1.1.4) of a two-stage diffusion of linguistic features in the QGS region, and thus serves as evidence for evaluating some of the historical proposals which have been reviewed in this discussion.

1.3 THE PRESENT STUDY

1.3.1 Goals, philosophy, and methods

Descriptive and historical discussions in this book are framed, to the extent possible, 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 typological tradition founded by Joseph Greenberg (see especially Greenberg 1966; 1978). A broad approach to language typology can also be found in Shopen (1985). The basic philosophy of these works and their approach to terminology and description have heavily influenced my own work.

My perspective on syntactic and morphological change has been influenced significantly by the study of grammaticalization, and this perspective shapes many parts of the historical discussion. Grammaticalization theory is introduced well in Hopper and Traugott (1993) and in Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer (1991).

An adequate account of the formal structures of a language entails, in my opinion, a description of the functions for which those structures are used. Similarly, an adequate account of the synchronic state of a language entails a description of the factors, both external and internal, which influenced the language's development in

the particular directions in which it did develop, rather than in other possible directions. An account 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. This is what I aim for, and thus, the perspective of this book may be said to be both functional and historical in terms of its attempts to explain the linguistic structures of Mangghuer.

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 the full range of uses of Mangghuer linguistic structures, and of the factors which led to the synchronic state of the language. 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 when my analyses seem to me more than usually speculative.

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

First, I compare Mangghuer structures to those of other Mongolic languages, focusing heavily on Khalkha Mongolian and Written Mongolian (which are the best described of these languages) and also on Mangghuer's geographically closest neighbors, Santa, Mongghul, and Baonan. These comparative sections set the stage for discovering contact-induced changes in Mangghuer, since they suggest which 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. These comparative issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Second, I compare Mangghuer structures with those of Chinese and (where data allows) Amdo Tibetan and Salar. These non-Mongolic languages have been in intense contact with Mangghuer, and can 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.

1.3.2 Data

The primary database for this study is a collection of fifteen Mangghuer folktale narratives which together consist of roughly 1,400 clauses. These tales were originally told by three different native Mangghuer speakers, and were recorded, transcribed, and translated into English, by Mr. 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 transcribed 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. One of these folktales, "Rabbit's Trick," is presented in the appendix of this book, and all of the folktales in my database, as well as several others, are included in Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming).⁵ Folktale examples in this book are indexed with story titles and line numbers, in order to facilitate comparison with the full tales as they appear in Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming).

The folktale materials are supplemented by the extensive elicitation notes that I gathered during fieldwork in Qinghai in the summer of 1994. This material records the speech of two 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 a wordlist comprising almost 2,000 items, were all preserved on high-quality audio recordings, which facilitated analysis of the Mangghuer phonological system.

Another significant source of data is Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al. (1996), which includes roughly an additional 1,300 Mangghuer sentences, most of them produced by Dr. Wang Xianzhen, a Mangghuer speaker, as elicitation-like translations of English sentences.

Some further data has been provided through elicitation by Mr. Hu Jun, a Mangghuer speaker currently living in the United States, and by Mr. Li Xingzhong.

Wherever possible, the structural descriptions presented in the book are illustrated with data of the most natural sorts; however, for ease, clarity, or both, I sometimes also present data garnered by elicitation or from published sources. When elicited data is used, the name of the speaker who provided it is given in parentheses.

PHONOLOGY

This phonological sketch presents an analysis of the Mangghuer dialect of Mr. Zhu Yongzhong. It is important to note that Mr. Zhu is a young, highly-educated individual with extensive exposure to Standard Mandarin, because this probably has significant implications for this speaker's phonological system. Dwyer (1995:149) points out that the phonology of the Sinitic Xunhua variety (spoken quite near the Mangghuer area) shows significantly greater affinity for Standard Mandarin among younger speakers than among older speakers.¹

Since, as we will see, Mangghuer phonology has been so pervasively influenced by contact with Chinese—to the point that its sound system is essentially a Sinitic one—we must expect that the phonological features of Mangghuer will pattern somewhat like the features of Sinitic varieties in the region; older, more rural, less-educated speakers of Mangghuer can probably be expected to have phonological systems which are less affected by Standard Mandarin influence than are the systems of younger speakers, like Mr. Zhu.

In a few cases, I have been able to observe some phonological variation, and this is noted at several points in this chapter. However, a systematic study of the varieties of Mangghuer phonological systems will have to await further study.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2.1 deals with segmental phonology. Section 2.2 adopts a combinatorial perspective, outlining the features of Mangghuer syllable structure. In section 2.3, the suprasegmental feature of stress is examined. This section discusses the phonological evidence for word boundaries, as well as the status of clitics. Section 2.4 considers the Mangghuer historical data in light of the perspective of Thurgood (1996), who discusses the role of external factors in phonological drift.

2.1 SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

2.1.1 Phonemic inventory

2.1.1.1 *Consonants*

The consonant phonemes of Mangghuer are given in Table 2.1. Represented here are both phonetic and orthographic symbols. The orthography used for Mangghuer in this book is based on the Chinese *Pinyin* system, and is introduced in section 2.1.5.

2.1.1.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Table 2.1 Mangghuer consonant phonemes (orthographic symbols in parentheses)

		<i>Labial</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i> ²	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i>
-Vc	stop +asp	p ^h (<i>p</i>)	t ^h (<i>t</i>)			k ^h (<i>k</i>)	q ^h (<i>kh</i>)
	stop -asp	p (<i>b</i>)	t (<i>d</i>)			k (<i>g</i>)	q (<i>gh</i>)
	affr. +asp		ts ^h (<i>c</i>)	tɕ ^h (<i>q</i>)	tɕ ^h (<i>ch</i>)		
	affr. -asp		ts (<i>z</i>)	tɕ (<i>j</i>)	tɕ (<i>zh</i>)		
	fricative	f (<i>f</i>)	s (<i>s</i>)	ɕ (<i>x</i>)	ʂ (<i>sh</i>)		χ (<i>h</i>)
+Vc	nasal	m (<i>m</i>)	n (<i>n</i>)			ŋ (<i>ng</i>)	
	liquid		l (<i>l</i>)		ɭ (<i>r</i>)		
	glide	w (<i>u, o, w</i>)		j (<i>i, y</i>)			

Phonetic realizations of each consonant phoneme are discussed below.

2.1.1.1.1 Aspirated stops /p^h/, /t^h/, /k^h/, /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.

- (2) a [t^ha] *ta* second person plural pronoun
b [mə't^hu] *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 [k^hʊ'li] *keli* 'to say'
b [t^hɪ'k^hʊ] *tiker* 'past'

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

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

There are no occurrences of word-medial /kh/ in my data. Since /h/ does appear intervocalically (see 2.1.1.1.5), we might say that the contrast between /kh/ and /h/ is neutralized in this position. Alternately, since /gh/ also appears intervocalically (see 2.1.1.1.2), /kh/ can also be said not to contrast with that phoneme in this position. However, all three contrast in initial position.

2.1.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

2.1.1.1.2 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] *baɔ* 'to go down, descend'
 b [kʰəpə'qɕə] *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 [tɪ] *di* 'to eat'
b [maɪ'tɪɛ] *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 [kø̃] *ger* 'house'
b [a'kwø̃] *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 [^haj'qaj ~ t^haj'qɤaj ~ t^haj'ɤaj] *taighai* 'head'

2.1.1.1.3 Aspirated affricates /cl/, /ql/, /chl/

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

- (9) [ts^hu_oto'r^wo] *cuduoruo* 'inside'

Speakers may optionally replace /c/ with the phoneme /s/, as in (10); this seems to be permissible whenever /c/ appears.

- (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 Mangghuer phonology. I have found no other instances of word-medial /c/, and we can perhaps conclude that /c/ does not systematically appear word-medially.

- (11) [ats^haja] *acaya*⁴ exclamation

/c/ also does not appear in syllable codas.

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

- (12) a [tɕʰj] *qi* second person singular pronoun
 b [nʷo'tɕʰɪ] *nuoqi* 'to pass'

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

- (13) a [tʂʰy'tsɿ] *chuzi* 'blood'
 b [lu'tʂʰu] *luchu* 'rolling stone'

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

2.1.1.1.4 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 substitute the phoneme /s/ for the phoneme /z/. This is an optional replacement, which seems to be permissible whenever /z/ appears. This is illustrated in (14c).

- (14) a [tsʷo'nʷo] *zuonuo* 'bumblebee'
 b [kə'tsaj] *gezai* 'good'
 c [tsaj'hã ~ saj'hã] *zaihang ~ saihang* 'beautiful'

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

- (15) a [tɕaw'ton] *jiaodun* 'dream'
 b [kʰə'tɕɛ] *kejie* 'when'

/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'

2.1.1.1.5 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. /f/ appears word-initially (17a) and word-medially (17b), but not in syllable codas.

2.1.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

- (17) a [fuma] *fuma* ‘official’s son-in-law’ (CH: 驸马)
 b [pæn'fa] *banfa* ‘means, method’ (CH: 办法)

For some speakers, /f/ seems to be simply an allophone of /h/, appearing only preceding the vowel /u/. For other speakers, however, /f/ is a separate phoneme. The synchronic and diachronic details of the relationship between /f/ and /h/ are the subject of section 2.1.4.3.

/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 [sʊ'kwo] *suguo* ‘ax’
 b [law'sa] *laosa* ‘mule’

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

- (19) a [çj] *xi* ‘go’
 b [nɿ'çjə] *nixier* ‘earring’

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

- (20) a [ʂɿ'ni] *shini* ‘new; to smile’
 b [muqa'ʂɿ] *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.

- (21) a [χã'pʊ'ra] *hangbura* ‘to rest’
 b [saj'χaŋ] *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). Another allophone is the velar [x], which appears quite rarely. It is illustrated in (22c), where its appearance may be conditioned by the preceding velar nasal [ŋ].

- (22) a [haj'naŋ ~ χaj'naŋ] *hainang* ‘one’s own shoes’
 b [saj'haŋ ~ saj'χaŋ] *saihang* ‘beautiful’
 c [maŋ'xutsɿ] *manghuzi* ‘monster’

2.1.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

2.1.1.1.6 Nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/

/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'z̥æ̃] *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 [kʰæn] *kan* 'who'

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

- (25) [kwãŋ] *guang* objective negative copula

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

- (26) a [paŋ ~ pã] *bang* objective copula
 b [mo'z̥æ̃n ~ mo'z̥æ̃] *moran* 'large river; Yellow River'

This alternation is an optional allophonic variation, but it is so common with /ŋ/ as to suggest that word-final /ŋ/ 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.

Morphophonemic assimilation of a nasal to a following consonant can be seen in (1b) and (21a), above, where underlying /n/ and /ŋ/, respectively, become /m/ before the bilabial stop /p/.

2.1.1.1.7 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 [lɔ̃tɕɪ'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 [ɭ]; and a voiced retroflex fricative [ʐ]. The allophone [ɭ] is a permissible realization of this phoneme in any syllable-initial context. The allophone [ʐ] most often appears when /r/ is the onset of a word-initial syllable, or of a stressed

syllable, as in (28a) and (28b), respectively. (See section 2.1.3 for a general discussion of spirantization.)

- (28) a [ʒwo] *ruo* ‘to enter’
 b [tʃa'ɭɿ ~ tʃa'zɿ] *jiari* ‘to kill’

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

- (29) [çitɛra'laŋ] *xideralang* ‘be like; resemble (objective 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 [ɤ]. This is discussed in detail in section 2.2.5.1. Some examples are:

- (30) a [kɤ] *ger* ‘house’
 b [twɤ] *duer* ‘day’

2.1.1.1.8 Glides /w/, /y/

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

- (31) a [wej'ljɛ] *weilie* ‘work’
 b [ʷo'wɤ] *wower*⁶ ‘cave’

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

- (32) a [k^hwɤ] *kuer* ‘arrive’
 b [ʃwɛ] *xue* ‘study’ (CH: 学)
 c [kwi] *gui* subjective negative copula

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

- (33) a [paw] *baow* ‘to go down’
 b [χow] *houw* ‘back’ (CH: 后)

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

- (34) a [ja] *ya* ‘what’
 b [jɤ'zɿ] *yerrɿ* ‘to look for’

Word-initial /y/ is usually realized with 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 [ʒ], [j] seems to appear most strongly in syllables which are stressed.

- (35) a [ja ~ ja] *ya* ‘what’
 b [jʂʷz̥ɿ ~ jʂʷz̥ɿ] *yerri* ‘to look for’

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

- (36) [paˈjã] *bayang* ‘rich’

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

- (37) a [nɲɛˈtʂã] *nierzhang* ‘wretched’
 b [tjə] *dier* ‘clothes’
 c [tʰjəˈpə] *tierber* ‘to hold’

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

- (38) a [pɛj] *bai* emphatic particle
 b [pawpɛj] *baobei* ‘treasure’ (CH: 宝贝)

2.1.1.2 Vowels

Mangghuer has five phonemic vowels, symbolized /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/, as shown in Table 2.2. 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 [ə], and so forth.

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

Table 2.2 Mangghuer vowel phonemes

	Front	Back
high	i	u
mid	e	o
low	a	

2.1.1.2.1 /i/

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

- (39) a [ˈponɪ] *boni* ‘drum’
 b [tɪ] *di* ‘eat’

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

- (40) [maŋˈxutsɨ] *manghuzi* ‘monster’

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

- (41) [muqaˈʂɨ̥] *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 seems almost 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* first person singular pronoun

Discussion of spirantization as a general process in Mangghuer is found in section 2.1.3.

/i/ is one of three vowels which are devoiced in certain environments; this effect is described in 2.1.2.

2.1.1.2.2 /e/

/e/ is a mid front vowel. The phonetic value of /e/ varies a great deal, and may approach [ɛ] or [ə] in most contexts. In stressed syllables with neither onset clusters nor coda consonants, [ə] generally appears.

- (43) a [kə] *ge* ‘to do’
 b [ɕɨˈkə] *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 [ɕɨˈmje] *ximie* ‘temple’
 b [ɕweˈtu] *xuedu* ‘study (dative)’ (CH: 学)
 c [naˈmɛj] *namei* first person singular dative pronoun

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

(45) [mæn'tʰən] *manten* ‘bread’

/e/ is one of three vowels which are devoiced in certain environments; this effect is described in 2.1.2, below.

2.1.1.2.3 /a/

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

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

(46) [ʷuˈlaŋ] *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 word given in (46):

(47) [ʷuˈlæn] *wulan* ‘more’

The optional deletion of either final nasal [ŋ], or [n], does not change the quality of /a/ in this position. (48a–b) show that the variants *wulang* and *wulan* ‘more’ remain distinct, due to vowel quality, even when the final nasal consonants are optionally reduced to just nasalization on the preceding vowel.

(48) a [ʷuˈlaŋ ~ ʷuˈlã̃] *wulang* ‘more’
 b [ʷuˈlæn ~ ʷuˈlæ̃] *wulan* ‘more’

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) [çɛn] *xian* ‘first’ (CH: 先)

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 [ɛ̥] 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) [pɛj] *bai* emphatic particle

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

2.1.1.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

- (51) a [a'na] *ana* 'mother'
 b [maw] *mao* 'bad, evil'
 c [k^hu'njaŋ] *kuniang* subjective future tense suffix

In example (51c), /a/ has both a following /ŋg/ and a preceding palatal consonant. In this complex environment, the allophone [a] appears, instead of either [ɑ] or [ɛ], which these two environmental factors individually condition.

2.1.1.2.4 /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'zɪ⁺] *mori* 'horse'

In some Chinese borrowings, such as (53a), /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' (CH: 后)
 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 [t^wo'k^hə] *duoke* 'chop' (CH: 剁)
 b [q^{hw}o'n^wo] *khuonuo* 'later'
 c [w'o'wə] *wower* 'cave'

2.1.1.2.5 /u/

/u/ is a high back rounded vowel. Its allophones are [ʊ], [u], and [u]. The allophone [ʊ] has the most limited distribution, appearing only following palatal consonants, as in (55):⁷

- (55) [çʊ'tçʊŋ] *xujun* 'daughter'

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

- (56) a [tçawton'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):

- (57) a [k^huŋ] *kong*⁸ ‘person’
 b [ɕwɛ^htu] *xuedu* ‘study (dative)’ (CH: 学)

When /u/ appears word-initially, it often begins with a spirantized onset, as (58) illustrates (see also 2.1.3):

- (58) [ʷu^hlaŋ] *wulang* ‘more’

/u/ is one of three vowels which are devoiced in certain environments; this effect is described in 2.1.2, below.

2.1.2 Vowel devoicing

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

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

- (59) a [ɕʰʉ^hʰtɕʰn] *xujun* ‘daughter’
 b [χə^hʰla] *hela* ‘in order to take’
 c [ts^hʉto^hʰr^wo] *cuduoruo* ‘inside’
 d [p^hʰtɕʰi^hqə] *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 addition to voicelessness of the preceding consonant, there are several other phonetic conditions which correlate strongly with devoiced vowels, but which are not necessary for its occurrence. 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.

The devoicing examples given above illustrate conditions in which devoicing commonly occurs; here are some additional examples 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 /e/ (60d).

- (60) a [ji'p^hʊta] *yipuda* 'one bunch'
 b [s̺^hi't^how'kə] *shitouge* 'elder brother stone' (CH: 石头哥)
 c [χ^huntu'qaj] *hundughai* 'fox'
 d ['χ^hə ɕiqa'tɕã] *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^hu'lã ~ pjɛt^hu'lã] *bietulang* 'like (objective imperfective)'
 b [sats̺^hi'qaj ~ sats̺^hi'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.

Vowel devoicing has also been described by Field (1997:45) for Santa, operating on similar principles.

2.1.3 Spirantization

In the preceding discussion, several phonemes in the 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 /ɾ/, which have alternants [j], and [ɹ], respectively. Among the vowels, /u/ has the alternant [ʷu] and /i/ has the alternant [j~ji].

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 initiation of some friction.

This process affects most, but not all, of the 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 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.

2.1.4 Historical notes

From a comparative perspective, Mangghuer and other QGS Mongolic languages are notable for having phonological systems quite different from those of Mongolic languages outside this region. In large part, this is due to the extensive language contact which has characterized the social history of Mangghuer and other QGS languages.

In this section, I will sketch the historical paths of some Mangghuer consonant phonemes, noting the role that contact with other languages has played in shaping the current consonant inventory. Part 2.1.4.1 presents comparisons of the consonant phonemes of reconstructed Proto-Mongolic, of Mangghuer, and of several other QGS languages. In 2.1.4.2, I show how palatal and retroflex obstruent series developed from Mongolic alveo-palatals. Section 2.1.4.3 describes the history and synchronic status of the alternation between /f/ and /h/.

2.1.4.1 Comparison of regional consonant phoneme inventories

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

For ease of comparison with the inventories presented here, the reader is referred to the Mangghuer consonant inventory (Table 2.1) on page 26.

Poppe (1955:95) posits a reconstructed consonant system for “Common Mongolian” (the term means proto-Mongolic; see Poppe 1955:15); this is given in Table 2.3.

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 thirteenth–sixteenth centuries A.D. (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

Table 2.3 Reconstructed Proto-Mongolic consonant phonemes (Poppe 1955:95)

		<i>Labial</i>	<i>Dental and alveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i> ⁹
Stop	-voice	*p	*t		*k	*q
	+voice	*b	*d		*g	*g ¹⁰
Affricate	-voice		*tʃ			
	+voice		*dʒ			
Spirant	-voice		*s, *ʃ			
	+voice	*β		*j		
Nasal		*m	*n		*ŋ	
Lateral			*l			
Vibrant			*r			

2.1.4 HISTORICAL NOTES

Table 2.4 Linxia Hui Chinese consonant phonemes (C. Li 1984:308–9)

	<i>labial</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>retroflex</i>	<i>velar</i>
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 2.5 Xining Chinese dialect consonant phonemes (Zhang and Zhu 1987:5–6)

	<i>labial</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>retroflex</i>	<i>velar</i>
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		

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 2.1.4.2 I will demonstrate the origins of these relative newcomers to the Mangghuer phonemic inventory.

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

For comparison, we should also note the consonant inventory of Amdo Tibetan. Table 2.6 presents the inventory for the Amdo Tibetan dialect of Labrang, which is in Gansu Province, not far from the Mangghuer area.¹¹

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

First, notice that both reconstructed Proto-Mongolic and Amdo Tibetan include a voicing distinction in obstruents. Mangghuer does not employ voicing for obstruents, making instead a contrast between aspirated and unaspirated obstruents. In this,

Table 2.6 Labrang Amdo Tibetan consonant phonemes (Makley et al. 1999:110)

	<i>labial</i>	<i>apical</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>retroflex</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>laryngeal</i>
stop -asp	p		t			k	
stop +asp	p ^h		t ^h			k ^h	
stop +voice	b		d			g	
affr. -asp		ts		tɕ	tʂ		
affr. +asp		ts ^h		tɕ ^h	tʂ ^h		
affr. +voice		dz		dʑ	dʐ		
fric. -asp		s		ɕ	ʂ	x	h
fric. +asp		s ^h		ɕ ^h		x ^h	
fric. +voice		z		ʐ		ɣ	
nasals	m		n	ɳ		ŋ	
laterals			l ɭ				
rhotic			r				
semivowels	w			j			

Mangghuer mirrors the distinctions found in the Sinitic dialects of Xining and of the Linxia Hui.

One voiced obstruent which does appear in the Sinitic varieties, [ʐ], may in fact pattern as a liquid. Recall from the description of Mangghuer /r/ (section 2.1.1.1.7) 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, phonologically, in the category of retroflex approximant. Otherwise, the Xining system in particular is 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 neighboring Chinese dialects, and also in 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).

In contrast, Makley et al. (1999:110) note that Labrang Amdo Tibetan /r/ is phonetically [ʐ] “in initial position,” and similar comments are made by J. Sun (1986:29) regarding the Amdo dialect of northern Sichuan Province.

Thus, the phonetic behavior of /r/ in Mangghuer can be seen to mirror regional characteristics, rather than inherited Mongolic characteristics. The spirantized allophone of /r/, [ʐ], has clearly spread among the QGS languages as a result of language contact.

Mangghuer does preserve some sounds which clearly reflect Mongolic inheritance. The uvular stops [q] and [q^h] correspond to the uvulars of Poppe’s reconstruction of proto-Mongolic (Table 2.3), and in fact are retained only in Mongolic roots, such as [qø] ‘hand,’ which is cognate with Mongolic [gar] ‘hand’ (Poppe 1955:160).

The Sinitic varieties and Amdo Tibetan do not share all of their consonant phonemes. 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; this contrast is not found in the Mongolic reconstruction of Table 2.3. And it is these languages, or their close relatives, which Mangghuer speakers come into contact with in multilingual contexts.

Influence from either Sinitic or Amdo Tibetan could have contributed the retroflexes and palatals to Mangghuer, since both languages make this distinction. We should note, though, that the particular retroflex obstruents found in Mangghuer are identical to the *whole set* found in the Sinitic dialects, and identical only to a *part* of the retroflex inventory of Amdo Tibetan. The same can be said of the palatal obstruents. Amdo Tibetan also has a system of preaspiration and prenasalization (Makley et al. 1999:110)¹² which has no counterpart in Mangghuer, and furthermore has a three-way distinction in stop consonants, among voiceless, voiced, and voiceless aspirated, whereas Mangghuer has only a two-way contrast. This systemic evidence thus suggests that Chinese has been the major factor motivating the Mangghuer phonological innovations; if Amdo Tibetan were the primary force here, we might expect the total Mangghuer inventory to resemble that of Amdo Tibetan, rather than that of Chinese.

A couple of comments about 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 2.1.1.1.6 that syllable-final /ŋ/ and /n/ are optionally realized 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.

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

In these two significant ways, then, the inventory of nasal consonants in Xining Chinese differs from that of 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, Mangghuer more closely resembles the Chinese of the Linxia Hui than that of Xining.

The Labrang Amdo data of Table 2.6 shows that this language has both the palatal and the velar nasals /ɲ/ and /ŋ/. Here again, 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 Mangghuer bears significantly closer resemblance to that of nearby Chinese dialects than to reconstructed Mongolic or to Amdo Tibetan. In particular, Mangghuer has nearly the same set of consonants as does the Linxia Hui dialect of Chinese.

Other Mongolic QGS languages have, like Mangghuer, developed phonemic inventories of a similar nature. For example, Field (1997) describes a very similar inventory for Santa. The Santa consonant inventory is illustrated in Table 2.7, which is taken from Field (1997:37). Compare also the inventory of Mongghul, a language closely related to Mangghuer, which is given in Table 2.8, and finally, note the inventory of another Mongolic language of the area, the Baonan variety of Tongren, shown in Table 2.9.

Table 2.7 Santa consonant phonemes (Field 1997:37)

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labio-dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>Alveolo-palatal</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
Stop +Asp	p ^h		t ^h				k ^h	q ^h	
Stop -Asp	p		t				k	q	
Affricate +Asp			ts ^h	tɕ ^h	tɕ ^h				
Affricate -Asp			ts	tɕ	tɕ				
Fricative -Vc		f	s	ʂ	ɕ		x		h
Fricative +Vc				ʐ				ʁ	
Nasal	m		n				ŋ		
Trill			r						
Lateral			l						
approximant						j			
Central	w								
approximants									

Table 2.8 Mongghul consonant phonemes (Qinggeertai 1991b:79–80)

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labio-dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>Alveolo-palatal</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i>
Stop +Asp	p ^h		t ^h				k ^h	
Stop -Asp	p		t				k	q
Affricate +Asp			ts ^h	tʂ ^h	tʂ ^h			
Affricate -Asp			ts	tʂ	tʂ			
Fricative -Vc		f	s	ʂ	ʂ		x	
Fricative +Vc				(z _u) ¹³				
Nasals	m		n				ŋ	
Trill			r					
Lateral approximant			l			j		
Central approximants		v						

Table 2.9 Baonan consonant inventory (N. Chen 1987a:65)

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labio-dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>Alveolo-palatal</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
Stop +asp	p ^h		t ^h				k ^h		
Stop -asp	p		t				k	q	
Affricate +asp			ts ^h	tɕ ^h	tɕ ^h				
Affricate -asp		f	ts	tɕ	tɕ				
Fricative -Vc			s	ʂ	ç			χ	h
Fricatives +Vc			z	ʐ	ʑ				ʕ
Nasals	m		n		ɲ		ŋ		
Trill			r						
Lateral approximant +Vc			l						
Lateral approximant -Vc			ɭ						
Central approximants	w				j				

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

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 (1991b:79–80) includes 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 choosing different basic allophones (see 2.1.1.1.5); but [v] appears in Mangghuer only as an optional onset to /u/, with no historical (or synchronic) relationship to /w/, so the Mangghuer and Mongghul systems are quite different on this point.

The consonants of Baonan (Table 2.9) are also quite similar, but this language has some features which did not appear in any of the Mongolic 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, and almost certainly are due to intimate contact with the Amdo Tibetan variety spoken in the Tongren area.

Of all the languages we have seen, then, Mangghuer most strongly resembles Santa, Mongghul, and Linxia Hui Chinese, with respect to consonant phoneme inventories. The same phonological processes which have led Mangghuer to develop phonology so strikingly Sinitic must also be influencing Santa and Mongghul. This could indicate that these three Mongolic languages underwent a common period of influence from Chinese, before they became differentiated from one another; however, the fact that all three are currently in extremely close contact with Chinese makes it perhaps equally plausible that these phonological similarities have developed independently.

2.1.4.2 *Palatalization and retroflexion*

The Mangghuer retroflex and the palatal series of consonants appear both in Chinese borrowings and also in native Mongolic words. As I suggested in the previous section, the development of this distinction is most likely due to the influence of Sinitic on Mangghuer, and thus, this change belongs to the second wave of QGS linguistic feature diffusion.

In Mongolic roots, the palatal–retroflex distinction arose as a split of the alveolar affricates [dʒ] and [tʃ], as well as of the alveolar fricative [s]. We will examine the historical split of each of these three sounds in turn in the next three sections, followed by a discussion of the synchronic phonemic status of the palatal series in section 2.1.4.2.4.

2.1.4.2.1 *Reflexes of Mongolic *dʒ*

Due to heavy bilingualism, Mangghuer phonology has drifted toward that of Northwest Chinese, and Mangghuer segmental phonology is now nearly identical to that of

Chinese. This includes the development of segments like [tʂ] and [tɕ], which were not native to Mongolic phonology. These two segments may be found in Chinese borrowings into Mangghuer such as the following:

- (62) a [tʂʊn'tʂʰən] *zhongcheng* 'sincere, honest' (CH: 忠诚)
 b ['ji'tʂʰi] *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 [ɕtɕi'kə] *erjige* 'donkey'
 c [paja'tɕi] *bayaji* 'rich'
- (64) a [tʂa'lə] *zhaler* 'strong young man'
 b [tʂwə'ka] *zhuergai* 'heart'
 c [qa'tʂə] *ghazher* '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, (CH: 出家)
 (e.g. to become a monk)'

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.¹⁴

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 historical developments in Mangghuer may be written as follows:

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

These historical developments are closely paralleled by, but not identical to, what Poppe (1955:114–19) reports for Mongghul. Poppe's discussion states that Mongolic **dʒ* became [dʒ] when preceding the high front vowel [i], and generally became [dʒ̥] elsewhere. He gives the examples:

- (67) 'year'
**dʒil* Middle Mongolian
dʒir Mongghul

(Data from Poppe (1955:116))

- (68) 'penis'
**odʒaqaj* Middle Mongolian
dʒogue: Mongghul

(Data from Poppe (1955:119))

The Mongolic affricate **dʒ* was not the only native source which gave rise to instances of /j/ in 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*.

2.1.4.2.2 Reflexes of Mongolic **tʃ*

Both of the Mongolic alveo-palatal affricates, voiced **dʒ* and voiceless **tʃ*, have been replaced in Mangghuer. Whereas the former gave rise only to the two reflexes described above, **tʃ* 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 reinterpreted as a palatal affricate [tʃ^h] (/q/); when preceding a back vowel, its reflex is a retroflex [tʃ^h] (/ch/). These changes are illustrated in (69) and (70).

- (69) a [pəʔtʃ^hɛ] *berqie* 'pasture'
 b [tʃ^hɛtʃ^hqə] *qijighe* 'flower'

- (70) a [tʃ^huʔtsɪ] *chuzi* 'blood'
 b [tʃ^ha'la] *chala* 'to divine'

(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* → [tʃ^h] / __ V(+front)
 → [tʃ^h] / elsewhere

As before, this rule closely approximates what Poppe (1955:111–12) describes for Mongghul, though once again he sees the distinction as setting [i] alone against all other segments to condition palatalization. He gives:

- (72) ‘you’
 **tʃi* ‘you’ Middle Mongolian
 tʃʰi ‘you’ Mongghul

(Data from Poppe (1955:112))

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

The palatal–retroflex distinction is not found solely in Mongolic roots. Indeed, a primary motivation for the innovation in Mangghuer must have been the presence of many Sinitic loanwords, such as those illustrated in (73) and (74), which contain these phonemes (see also (62), above):

- (73) a [tʃʰaw] *qiao* ‘bridge’ (CH: 桥)
 b [tʃʰj] *qi* ‘seven’ (CH: 七)
- (74) a [tʃʰawʰkʰə] *chaoke* ‘to fry’ (CH: 炒)
 b [tʰjəntʃʰwaŋ] *tianchuang* ‘skylight’ (CH: 天窗)

To return now to the exception alluded to above, *qijighe* ‘flower’ (example 69b) contains an instance of **tʃ* which developed not into the aspirated affricate [tʃʰ] (/q/) but, rather, into an unaspirated counterpart [tʃ] (/j/). (Compare, for example, Eastern Yugur (Z. Sun 1990:568): [tʃetʃig].)

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 [tʃʰ] 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) [tʃʰ] → [tʃ] / S __ V(-stress)
 where S = any segment (i.e. not a word boundary)

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

- (76) ‘letter’
 **bitʃik* Middle Mongolian
 pudzig Mongghul

(Data from Poppe (1955:114))

Again, we find similar historical paths in the Monguor languages of Mangghuer and Mongghul. However, as we saw above, the development of palatals and retroflexes may not have been entirely identical in Mangghuer (where palatals developed preceding any front vowel) and Mongghul (where Poppe reports palatals only preceding /i/). Further comparison needs to be made, to determine the degree of similarity in these two historical developments. Additional comments on this subject will be made in section 8.4.2, below.

2.1.4.2.3 Development of [ɕ] and [ʂ]

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

Parenthetically, 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 sections 2.1.1.1.7, 2.1.3, and 2.1.4.1, above. Therefore, it is irrelevant to the current discussion.

Given the principles observed in the previous two subsections, 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 a couple of potential correspondence sets with the palatal [ɕ] in Mangghuer. One of these is given in (77). Here, as in other examples which I have seen, it is somewhat unclear what the original vowel was, though it does seem possible that [ɕ] in fact arose before a front vowel in this instance, since the cognate forms in Dagur and Santa have [i].

(77) ‘to burn’

<i>ʃataːx</i>	Buriat Mongolian
<i>ʃədaː</i>	Eastern Yugur
<i>ʃitaːgu</i>	Dagur
<i>ʂda</i>	Mongghul
<i>ɕidaraya</i>	Santa
[ɕᵢʰ'ta]	Mangghuer <i>xida</i> ¹⁵

(Data from Z. Sun (1990:710))

However, while we would expect to find the retroflex [ʂ] preceding everything except front vowels in Mangghuer, instead we find it in practically all phonetic environments, including preceding the front vowel /i/, as illustrated in (78a–c).

- (78) a [ʂatsᵢʰ'qaj] *shazighai* ‘magpie’
 b [ʂuᵢ'kwo] *shuguo* ‘large’
 c [ʂᵢʰ'ni] *shini* ‘to smile’

Thus, although there seems to be some slight evidence to suggest that the same vowel environments may have conditioned the split of [ʃ] into [ɕ] and [ʂ], this remains somewhat uncertain. Examples like (78c) are problematic, because they show that the retroflex form can also appear before a front vowel.

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

(79) ‘another’

**buʃi* Middle Mongolian
buɕi Mongghul
 [pəʕɪ] Mangghuer *buxi* ‘other’

(Data from Poppe (1955:124))

(80) ‘to urinate’

**ʃi'e* Middle Mongolian
ʂe:dzə Mongghul
 [ʂə] Mangghuer *sher*

(Data from Poppe (1955:123))

For ‘urinate’ we find the [ʂ] which Poppe predicts before /e/ for Mongghul, but the Mangghuer form is once again problematic, since it shows another apparent instance of a retroflex which developed before a front vowel. Based on the development of the Mangghuer retroflex and palatal affricates, we do not expect to find a retroflex here.

Thus, the history of Mongolic *ʃ in Mongghul and Mangghuer is somewhat unclear. Although some general rules do seem helpful, there are also a number of exceptions. Most provocatively, the Mangghuer fricatives /x/ and /sh/ seem not to have arisen under exactly the same phonological conditions as did the affricates /q/, /j/, /ch/, and /zh/. The data that I have thus far examined has not told the whole story about how Mangghuer speakers developed this particular palatal–retroflex distinction in Mongolic words. Considerably more data will need to be examined and brought to bear on this question.

2.1.4.2.4 The phonemic status of palatals

Synchronic phonologies of Mandarin dialects often run up against the question of whether palatal consonants could be treated as phonologically-conditioned allophones of some other consonant series, rather than as separate phonemes. Zhang and Zhu (1987:8), for example, mention that the Xining Chinese palatals are in complementary distribution with the alveolar series, the retroflex series, and also the alveolar series. Dede (1993:56) considers this evidence and notes that the palatals could be eliminated if a “true phonemicization” were carried out.

The same issue arises for Standard Mandarin. C. Cheng (1973:36–40) presents some perspectives on this question and concludes (1973:40) that the palatals are best treated as “underlying:” that synchronically they are independent phonemes. Pulleyblank (1984:44) similarly finds “no advantage of treating the palatals as

allophones of the velars” (despite a historical relationship between these two series), and no principled basis, synchronically, for pairing the palatals with any one of the complementary series, as opposed to any other of the series. In the end, Pulleyblank too adopts the “current practice” of treating the palatals as separate phonemes.

The issue for Mangghuer is quite similar. With its Northwest Mandarin segmental phonological system, Mangghuer appears at first glance to have a similar ambiguity—the palatals could be allophones of the retroflexes (with which they have a historical relationship), or with the velars or alveolars.

However, there are two considerations which argue for treating the Mangghuer palatals as independent phonemes. The first is that, as we have seen in the preceding section, the split between palatal /x/ and retroflex /sh/ does not seem to have been conditioned by precisely the same environment. As a result, we cannot distinguish these two sounds, synchronically, by the same phonological rule which distinguishes /q/ from /ch/ and /j/ from /zh/ (see rules (66) and (71)).

The second problem comes from the analysis of Mangghuer syllable structure. As we will see in section 2.2.4.4, considering the palatals to be allophones of another series, conditioned by a following sound, would lead to some complications in the Mangghuer syllable template. These complications can be avoided, however, if the palatals are simply another set of independent phonemes.

Thus, although it would perhaps be possible to eliminate the Mangghuer palatals from the phoneme inventory by treating them as allophones of some other set, I will follow the same practice as is current in descriptions of Mandarin dialects (including those of the QGS region) and also in descriptions of other QGS languages such as Santa (see Field 1997:62), treating the palatals as separate phonemes.

2.1.4.3 *The relationship between /f/ and /h/*

Poppe (1955:16) states that word-initial [f] in Monguor represents a normal development from proto-Mongolic *p.¹⁶ Word-initial *p in Mongolic has been reduced to varying degrees in the daughter languages, along the path *p → f → h → Ø. This development can be seen in the data of (81) and (82):

(81) ‘red’

<i>fulaan</i>	Mongghul
<i>fulaŋ</i>	Baonan
<i>xulan</i>	Santa ¹⁷
<i>xulaan</i>	Dagur
<i>hulayan</i>	Written Mongolian
[χu ^h ’laɣ]	Mangghuer <i>hulai</i> ‘to become red’
<i>ula:ŋ</i>	Buriat Mongolian (Z. Sun 1990:671)

(Data from Kuribayashi (1989:246))

(82) ‘to die’

<i>fugu</i>	Mongghul
<i>fgu ~ gu</i>	Baonan

<i>fugu</i>	Santa
<i>hgu</i>	Eastern Yugur
<i>huk</i>	Written Mongolian
[χu'ku]	Mangghuer <i>hugu</i>
ᠬᠠᠭᠤ	Buriat Mongolian (Z. Sun 1990:698)
<i>ugu</i>	Dagur

(Data from Kuribayashi (1989:249))

In native Mongolic roots, [f] appears only word-initially, in all those Mongolic languages which retain it, and always before the vowel /u/. These languages include Santa (Buhe 1986:46; Field 1997:88), Mongghul (Hasibate 1986), Baonan (N. Chen 1986), and some varieties of Mangghuer.

In all of these languages, [f] appears to be in complementary distribution with [h], which also occurs syllable-initially, but never before /u/.

Some Mangghuer speakers, however, have an [f] ~ [h] alternation in this position. Thus, Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al. (1996:241) report the following alternation in the (Mongolic) word for ‘ox’:

- (83) *huguer* ~ *fuguer* ‘cow, ox’

This would seem to suggest that [f] and [h] are allophones in free variation. It is not surprising, then, that when a Chinese word like *fuma* ‘official’s son-in-law’ is borrowed into Mangghuer, speakers report the following alternation:

- (84) [‘fuma ~ ‘huma] *fuma* ‘official’s son-in-law’ (CH: 驸马)¹⁸

This confirms the theory that some Mangghuer speakers hear [f] simply as the form of /h/ which precedes /u/.

Up to this point, it seems straightforward to treat [f] simply as an allophone of /h/, for those Mangghuer speakers who have [f] in their speech. However, the situation is complicated by the interesting evidence provided in the next example, which shows that [f] and [h] can alternate in borrowings, even where no /u/ is present in the source language morpheme.

- (85) a [fa'ʃɿ ~ hwa'ʃɿ] ‘trance medium’ (CH: *fashi* 法师)
 b [pan'fa ~ pan'hwa] ‘method’ (CH: *banfa* 办法)

In both (85a) and (85b), the source morpheme contains an [f] in Standard Mandarin. Some Mangghuer speakers replace this phone with the sequence [hw]. For those speakers who make the replacement, this provides further evidence that [f] is, for them, a labialized allophone of /h/; an [f] implies not only [h], but a following [u], as well, which then syllabifies as part of an onset cluster (as described in 2.2.4.4, below).

The reason that (85) complicates the picture is this: while some speakers replace [f] in Sinitic borrowings with [hw], not all speakers do so. For some speakers, including Mr. Zhu Yongzhong, /f/ in Sinitic borrowings retains the same status as an independent phoneme that it has in the source language.

Thus, although Mangghuer /f/ may at one time have been a phoneme representing an inheritance from Mongolic, it appears to have lost its phonemic status for many (perhaps all?) Mangghuer speakers at some point in time, only to reacquire that status as a result of extensive borrowing from Chinese. Not all speakers seem to have reacquired /f/ as an independent phoneme, so the inclusion of /f/ as a Mangghuer phoneme in Table 2.1 thus may not apply to all speakers of the language, though it does accurately reflect the phonological system of Mr. Zhu Yongzhong, my primary consultant.

2.1.5 Orthographic notes

In subsequent chapters, except where discussing phonetic forms, I will write Mangghuer with an orthography based on the Chinese *pinyin* romanization system. This system was developed by Zhu Yongzhong, Wang Xianzhen, Hu Ping, and Hu Jun, who are all native speakers of Mangghuer. They in turn relied on a provisionally-approved system which has been developed by Li Keyu for representing Mongghul, a system further refined by Limusishiden. I have made some slight alterations to this orthography, but basically it reflects the work of these individuals.¹⁹

Basically, this *pinyin*-derived system works quite nicely for Mangghuer, since the language has adopted nearly the same set of phonemes as are found in nearby North-west Mandarin varieties. 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.

Perhaps the least perspicuous feature 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 descriptions above, should enable fairly accurate phonetic interpretation of Mangghuer examples.

2.1.5.1 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* [wejlje] ‘to work’). When /w/ appears as the second consonant in an onset cluster, it is written with the symbol *u* (*kuer* [k^hwø] ‘arrive’). 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’) (see section 2.2.4 on the analysis of glides as consonants).

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* [ʷoʷər] ‘cave’, *wuber* [uʷpə] ‘horn’). Here, the *w* is not phonemic, although these words often do have bilabial onglide, as the phonetic transcription of ‘cave’ indicates.

2.1.5.2 The glide /y/

As with the glide /w/, *pinyin* orthography breaks up the phoneme /y/, based on its position within a syllable. Here, however, there are only two orthographic variants.

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* (*dier* [tjə] ‘clothes’). Similarly, when /y/ occurs in a syllable coda, the symbol *i* is used (*dai* [taj] ‘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,’ phonemically /i/).

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* [tʃakʰə] ‘pinch’) (see also 2.1.4.2.4).

2.2 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

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

For even more details about a system nearly identical to that described here, the reader is referred to Field (1994, 1997). Field’s work contains an extremely thorough treatment of the syllable in Santa, which seems to have undergone more or less the same set of changes that affected 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 phonological 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 Mangghuer.

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

Part 2.2.1 presents the maximal syllable template for Mangghuer, and in 2.2.2 examples of each possible syllable type are given. Sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4 deal, respectively, with the potentially problematic affricates and glides, justifying my treatment of them as consonant phonemes. In 2.2.5, I will illustrate a number of cooccurrence restrictions within CC onset clusters and between vowels and coda consonants. Finally, 2.2.6 discusses four significant differences between Mangghuer syllables and those of most other Mongolic languages: the historical loss of most coda consonants, the absence of vowel length distinctions and that of vowel harmony patterns, and the reduced distribution of stem-final *-n* for nouns.

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 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.

2.2.1 Maximal syllable template

The maximal syllable template for Mangghuer is given in (86). In his extensive discussion of syllable types, Field (1994, 1997) notes that Santa is the only other Mongolic language with this syllable structure. It is identical, however, to the syllable template of Linxia Hui and other Sinitic varieties of the region.

(86) Maximal syllable template for Mangghuer

(C₁) (C₂) V (C₃)

where:

a if C₁ C₂ then C₂ = /y, w/, C₁ ≠ C₂ and C₁ ≠ /ng/

b if only C₂ then C₂ ≠ /ng/

c C₃ = /r, ng, n, y, w/²⁰

2.2.2 Syllable types

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 Figure 2.1. For syllable types with syllable-final consonants, an example is given showing each consonant in that position.

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.

V	[a'ta]	<i>ada</i>	'father'
VC	[ə-q ^w o'si]	<i>erghuo'si</i> ²¹	'thorn'
	(V + /n/	no example found)	
	[ǎŋ]	<i>ang</i>	'where'
	[ow]	<i>ou</i>	'EXCL'
	(V + /y/	no example found)	
CV	[pǰ]	<i>bi</i>	'first person singular pronoun'
CVC	[kø]	<i>ger</i>	'house'
	[k ^h æŋ]	<i>kan</i>	'who'
	[k ^h ũŋ]	<i>kong</i>	'person'
	[k ^h aw]	<i>kao</i>	'son'
	[la]	<i>lai</i>	'NEG'
CCV	[kwi]	<i>gui</i>	'SUBJ:NEG:COP'
CCVC	[tjø]	<i>dier</i>	'clothes'
	[tjen'tun]	<i>diandun</i>	'stupid'
	[kwǎŋ]	<i>guang</i>	'OBJ:NEG:COP'
	[tjaw]	<i>diao</i>	'younger brother'
	[kwaj]	<i>guai</i>	'strange'

(CH: 怪)

Figure 2.1 Examples of Mangghuer syllable types

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

2.2.3 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 analysis 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 2.10 illustrates the possibilities.

There are no analogous sequences involving the palatal glide [j] (/y/). Recall from the discussion of sections 2.1.4.2.1 and 2.1.4.2.2, above, that it was the presence of a following front 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]). I have not seen an example, but presumably an affricate + [j] sequence would similarly have become a palatal affricate, and /y/ could thus not have been preserved in this position. In any case, there are no synchronic examples of /y/ following an affricate; /w/ is the only permissible C₂ in a C₁ C₂ onset cluster, where C₁ is an affricate.

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

If affricates are considered sequences of two phonemes, the clusters in the right-hand column of Table 2.10 would then have three consonants, rather than two. However, there are no other examples of onsets with three consonants—if it were allowed

Table 2.10 Affricates in consonant cluster onsets

<i>Affricate</i>	<i>Alone as C onset</i>	<i>Initial in CC onset</i>
ts ^h	ts ^h ʊto'r ^w o <i>cuduoruo</i> 'inside'	[no example] ²²
ts	tsaj'χā <i>zaihang</i> 'beautiful'	tswe <i>zui</i> 'most' (CH: 最)
tʂ ^h	tʂ ^h ən'li <i>chenli</i> 'to listen'	tʂ ^h wāj'mu <i>chuangmu</i> 'to pick'
tʂ	tʂa'lə <i>zhaler</i> 'hired farmhand'	tʂwə'kaj <i>zhuergai</i> 'heart'
tɕ ^h	tɕ ^h ɿ <i>qi</i> 'second sg. pronoun'	tɕ ^h wɛ <i>que</i> 'to lack' (CH: 缺) ²³
tɕ	tɕɿ <i>ji</i> 'to look'	tɕwɛn <i>juan</i> 'pen' (CH: 圈)

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

(C₁) (C₂) (C₃) V (C₄)

where

- a if C₁ C₂ C₃ then C₁ = /t/, C₂ = /s, x, sh, s^h, x^h, sh^h/, C₃ = /w/
- b if only C₂ C₃ then C₃ = /y, w/, C₂ ≠ C₃ and C₂ ≠ /ng/
OR C₂ = /t/, C₃ = /s, x, sh, s^h, x^h, sh^h/
- c if only C₃ then C₃ ≠ /ng, s^h, x^h, sh^h/
- d C₄ = /r, n, ng, y, w/

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

(86) Maximal syllable template for Mangghuer

(C₁) (C₂) V (C₃)

where:

- a if C₁ C₂ then C₂ = /y, w/, C₁ ≠ C₂ and C₁ ≠ /ng/
- b if only C₂ then C₂ ≠ /ng/
- c C₃ = /r, ng, n, y, w/

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 accommodated 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 six affricate phonemes.

The other reason to treat affricates as single consonants is this: if the sequences /c/, /q/, /ch/ ([ts^h, tɕ^h, tʃ^h]) are seen as phonemically CC clusters, as in (87), then we have to add some other phonemes to the phoneme inventory, since this would posit /s^h/, /x^h/, /sh^h/ as separate phonemes. These three phonemes, however, are 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 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 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 clusters. 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).

2.2.4 Treatment of glides as consonants

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

Unlike many Mongolic languages, Mangghuer has no phonemic vowel length (see 2.2.6.2). Sequences of glide + vowel and vowel + glide are therefore the only sequences which could potentially be analyzed as V + V.

These sequences are summarized in Tables 2.11 and 2.12.

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

2.2.4.1 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 Mangghuer phonology.

Table 2.11 Glides in syllable onsets

nuclear vowel	/y/ as onset	/w/ as onset
i	(see 2.2.4.1)	[kwi] <i>gui</i> ‘run’ (see 2.2.4.4)
e	[jɔ̌ʔzɪ] <i>yerri</i> ‘to look for’	[wejʼlje] <i>weilie</i> ‘work’
a	[ja] <i>ya</i> ‘what’	[χwa] <i>hua</i> ‘give:VOL’
o	[jow] <i>you</i> ‘right’ (CH: 右) ²⁴	(see 2.2.4.2)
u	(see 2.2.4.4)	(see 2.2.4.1)

Table 2.12 Glides in syllable codas

nuclear vowel	/y/ as coda	/w/ as coda
i	(see 2.2.4.1)	→ [ju] (see 2.2.4.4)
e	[pawpej] <i>baobei</i> ‘treasure’ (CH: 宝贝)	none in my data
a	[pɕj] <i>bai</i> ‘emphatic particle’	[paw] <i>bao</i> ‘to go down’
o	none in my data	[χow] <i>hou</i> ‘back’ (CH: 后) ²⁵
u	→ [wi] (see 2.2.4.4)	(see 2.2.4.1)

2.2.4.2 *The sequence /w/ + /o/*

As outlined in 2.1.1.2.4, word-initial /o/ often appears with an on-glide [w]. However, this is a phonetic characteristic of the phoneme /o/, rather than a glide + vowel sequence. No contrastive example of the sequence /w/ + /o/ has been found.

2.2.4.3 *Consonant status of glides*

Syllable-final glides [j] and [w] could be considered either vowels or consonants, phonologically. It seems to be simpler to treat them as consonants.

Recall that the maximal syllable template allowed for a final consonant which could be: $C_3 = /r, ng, n, y, w/$. Even if /y/ and /w/ were omitted here, the C_3 position is still necessary in Mangghuer syllable structure, in order to allow /r, ng, n/ to appear there. If, on the other hand, we decided to treat [j] and [w] as the vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively, we would have to add a new combinatorial possibility, allowing for $V_1 V_2$ sequences. Since there are no such sequences involving non-glides, there is no independent motivation for $V_1 V_2$ sequences in Mangghuer. However, there is independent motivation for syllable-final consonants. Thus, it is simplest to consider syllable-final glides to be phonologically consonants.²⁶

Similarly, where a syllable has 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/.

2.2.4.4 *Consonant status of glides in onset clusters*

Similarly, where a glide appears as the second element in an onset cluster, it turns out to be simplest to analyze this as a CC sequence, treating the glide as a consonant, rather than a vowel.

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 this chapter (see especially 2.1.1.1.8 and 2.2.3), 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 a CC cooccurrence restriction that applies to the glides; in (86a) above, this was covered in the restriction: “if $C_1 C_2$ then $C_2 = /y, w/$, $C_1 \neq C_2$ and $C_1 \neq /ng/$.” Since C_2 can be only $/y/$ or $/w/$, the effect of the restriction $C_1 \neq C_2$ is just to prevent the occurrence of a pair of identical glides in an onset cluster. 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, the two sequences cannot be distinguished from each other, phonetically 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 $[ɥən]$. All of the Mangghuer examples of this sequence, in my database, are found in Chinese borrowings.

In section 2.1.4.2.4, 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* ‘lack’ and *juan* ‘pen’ (see Table 2.10). 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 Mangghuer phonological system, or by introducing $/q/$ 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 (1994:257–8) on English onset maximization.

We can see something like this at work in Mangghuer when the volutative suffix, consisting of just 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) $/χu/ + /a/ \rightarrow [χwa]$ ‘let me give’

A similar example was given in 2.1.4.3, above, as part of the discussion of epenthetic labials, inserted when $[f]$ in borrowed Chinese morphemes is replaced by $[h]$ by some Mangghuer speakers. This leads to alternations such as */banfa ~ banhua/* ‘method,’ with the high rounded back vowel $/u/$ inserted, since speakers seem to perceive $/f/$ as appearing only when conditioned by an $/u/$, and thus infer that an underlying $/u/$ must have been present in the original Chinese form *banfa* (办法). On the surface, the inserted $/u/$ syllabifies as part of the onset, yielding $[pan'hwa]$.

None of the arguments given here is a 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 (1997) 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, this analysis further complicates the phonological system in yet 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. Mangghuer phonology thus has no VV sequences.

2.2.5 Vowel and coda consonant cooccurrence restrictions

In addition to the cooccurrence 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 observations are probably due to gaps in the data I have examined, while others are probably accidental gaps in Mangghuer phonology—phonologically permissible 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.

2.2.5.1 Coda *lrl*

Phonologically, the coda consonant /r/ can appear following any vowel. However, contrast among the vowels is neutralized in this position, such that all V + /r/ sequences are phonetically [ɤ].

Orthographically, all V + /r/ sequences are represented as *er*. Since there is no contrast among vowels in this position, the choice of the vowel symbol *e* is phonologically arbitrary. Phonetically, though, the central vowel [ə] closely resembles [ɤ]; since [ə] is commonly an allophone of /e/, the orthographic sequence *er* does make phonetic sense.

Thus, we find:

- (89) a [ɤtɕrɪ'kə] *erjige* 'donkey'
 b [pɤ'tɕ^hɛ] *berqie* 'pasture'
 c [pɤ'zɤ] *burer* 'calf'
 d [a'kwɤ] *aguer* 'daughter'
 e [nɟ'ɕɤ] *nixier* 'earring'

Examples (89d) and (89e) illustrate a complication which will be dealt with shortly, but first let us consider the general case of V + /r/. Instead of treating these as sequences of V + /r/, it would be quite possible to add a single phoneme /ɤr/ to the

Mangghuer inventory. However, there are a couple of arguments in support of the V + /r/ sequence analysis adopted here.

First, the sequence analysis avoids a problem which would be created if we did recognize a new phoneme /ɤ/. This new phoneme would never appear before any syllable-final consonant; sequences such as /ɤ/ + /n/ or /ɤ/ + /y/ would never appear within a syllable. So in fact, adding this new phoneme would complicate our syllable structure analysis, because a new restriction statement would have to be added, disallowing any final consonant after this particular vowel. All other vowels in the Mangghuer inventory may appear preceding a syllable-final consonant; if /ɤ/ is a vowel phoneme, it is one with unique combinatorial behavior.

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

- (90) ‘day’
udur Mongghul
udur Eastern Yugur
~~u~~*dər* Buriat Mongolian
udu Santa
 [twɤ] Mangghuer *duer*

(Data from Z. Sun (1990:540))

- (91) ‘tiger’
bar Buriat Mongolian
barəs Eastern Yugur
bas Mongghul
bas Baonan
 [pɤ'si] Mangghuer *bersi*

(Data from Z. Sun (1990:141))

- (92) ‘sleep’
no:r Mongghul
noir Buriat Mongolian
nu:r Eastern Yugur
nor Baonan
 [nɤ] Mangghuer *ner*

(Data from Z. Sun (1990:511))

This data shows that [ɤ] corresponds to Mongolic syllable-final /r/, which generally remained /r/ in other Mongolic languages. In Mangghuer, most vowels fell together in this position; the vowel /u/ left behind a bilabial approximant [w] (/w/), as (90) illustrates. Similarly, /i/ must have yielded the glide [j] (/y/), unless preceded by an

affricate, as in (89e), which became a palatal due to the front vowel. Unfortunately, I have found no comparative data for the few examples of [jɤ̥] available to me.

The basic rule needed to account for these facts is given in (93), capturing the generalization that syllable-final /r/ usually coalesced with a preceding vowel to yield [ɤ̥].

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

V + r → [ɤ̥] / __ \$

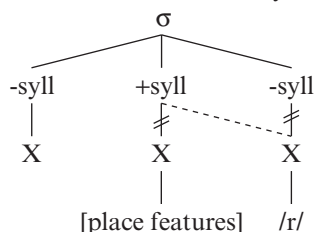
However, to account for the onset cluster glides left behind by /u/ and (we assume) /i/, we need an additional rule which can preserve the place features of high vowels, before V + /r/ coalesces into [ɤ̥]. Such a rule might be formulated as in (94):

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

V_{+high} → -syllabic / __ r \$

Unfortunately, though, 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 a simple autosegmental representation, such as that given in (95):

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



This autosegmental rule causes any vowel, when followed by /r/ within a syllable, to become nonsyllabic. If the vowel is /i/ or /u/, its remaining place features will be the same as those of a glide, /y/ or /w/, respectively, and it will thus be reinterpreted as a consonant which is part of an onset cluster. Any other vowel to which this rule applies, however, will not be subject to such a reinterpretation, since other vowels do not share their place features with any consonant. Other vowels before syllable-final /r/ will thus not be realized phonetically at all; they may be said to have been deleted.

Meanwhile, the final timing unit in the syllable becomes syllabic, and default vowel features must be filled in, since none have been assigned in the rule; this can naturally yield the central rhotacized vowel [ɤ̥].

This process naturally captures the historical fact that [ɤ̥] results, regardless of the quality of the (historically) preceding vowel, since the phonetic value of [ɤ̥] is supplied as a default, regardless of what the place features of the preceding vowel originally were.

2.2.5.2 Coda *lnl*

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

- (96) a [ata'ln] *adalin* ‘the same’
 b [k^hæn] *kan* ‘who’
 c [mæn't^hɿn] *manten* ‘bread’
 d [tɕaw'ton] *jiaodun* ‘dream’

2.2.5.3 Coda *lngl*

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

- (97) a [t^hɿŋ 'kə] *ting ge* ‘then’
 b [ʷu'laŋ] *wulang* ‘more’
 c [ɕwe'ʂəŋ] *xuesheng* ‘student’ (CH: 学生)
 d [k^hŋ] *kong* ‘person’

The syllable-final sequence /eng/ occurs only in Chinese borrowings, as in (97c).

Following *pinyin* practice, the Mangghuer orthographic 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*, *Mongolian*, and *Mongghul*. However, the syllable /*mong/ is lacking in Mandarin phonology, (apparently as an accidental gap), and where it historically occurred in Mongolic words, Mangghuer has replaced it with /mang/, which Mandarin does allow.

2.2.5.4 Coda *lyl*

The coda consonant /y/ ([j]) appears following two vowels, /a/ and /e/. These are illustrated in (98).

- (98) a [pɛj] *bai* emphatic particle
 b [pawpej] *baobei* ‘treasure’ (CH: 宝贝)

2.2.5.5 Coda *lwl*

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)

2.2.6 Phonological differences from Mongolic

Four particularly striking differences between Mangghuer phonology and the phonologies of most Mongolic languages are the loss of most Mongolic coda consonants, the absence of vowel length distinctions, the lack of vowel harmony, and the reduced distribution of stem-final *-n* for nouns. Here I will give data to illustrate these changes.

Once again, the historical processes detailed here served to make Mangghuer phonology more similar to that of the neighboring Chinese dialects, which lack precisely the features that Mangghuer has lost, and which have those features that Mangghuer preserved.

2.2.6.1 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 Mangghuer syllable codas, though a few have been retained.

I have not yet found examples of Middle Mongolian words with syllable-final *b, d, m*, or *ɣ* and cognate Mangghuer words for comparison. In sections 2.2.6.1.1–2.2.6.1.3, we will examine the phonological developments which affected the remainder of these syllable-final consonants in Mangghuer. Section 2.2.6.1.4 shows that word-final [aj] has been retained in Mangghuer, though it was lost in many other Mongolic languages.

Mangghuer consonantal glides are a fairly recent development, not inherited from Common Mongolic, according to Poppe (1955:76). These will be discussed in section 2.2.6.2.

2.2.6.1.1 Coda consonants retained from Mongolic

The Mongolic coda consonants which remain unchanged in Mangghuer are /n, ng, r/. In (100)–(102), correspondence sets show the retention of these consonants.

- (100) 'who'
- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>ken</i> | Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:45) |
| <i>xəŋ</i> | Buriat Mongolian |
| <i>ken</i> | Eastern Yugur |
| <i>kaŋ</i> | Baonan |
| <i>kiən</i> | Santa |
| [k ^h æn] | Mangghuer <i>kan</i> |

(Data from Z. Sun (1990:342))

- (101) 'monster'
- | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>maŋɣus</i> | 'dragon' | Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:171) |
| [māŋ'xʊtsɪ] | 'monster' | Mangghuer <i>manghuzi</i> |

- (102) ‘hand’
gar Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:160)
 [qə] Mangghuer *gher*

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.

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

- (103) ‘gold’
altan ‘golden’ Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:157)
 [əʰtʰã] ‘gold’ Mangghuer *ertang*
- (104) ‘fire’
gal Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:157)
 [qə] Mangghuer *gher*

This development has led to homophony of the words for ‘hand’ and ‘fire’ (compare (102) and (104)) in Mangghuer, but these items contrast in other Mongolic languages. Mongghul, for example, has *gar* ‘hand’ and *gal* ‘fire’ (Z. Sun 1990:279, 284).

2.2.6.1.2 Insertion of /i/ following coda /s/

Wherever /s/ appeared in final position, an epenthetic vowel /i/ has been inserted in Mangghuer, as in (105) and (106).

- (105) ‘to get up’
bos- Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:121)
 [po'sɪ] Mangghuer (imperative form) *bosi*
- (106) ‘to wear, put on’
emɬs Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:122)
 [mu'sɪ] Mangghuer (imperative form) *musi*

Poppe (1955:121) notes that a vowel was also inserted following word-final /s/ in Mongghul.

2.2.6.1.3 Loss of other coda obstruents

None of the other Mongolic coda obstruents listed by Poppe (1955)—*b*, *d*, *g*, *ɣ*, *m*—appears synchronically in Mangghuer syllable codas. Among these, I have thus far identified only an example of *g*, which was deleted, as shown in (107):

(107) Mongolic syllable-final *g*

<i>nögc̥i</i>	Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1955:154)	‘to pass (time)’
[n ^w o'tɕ ^h ɪ]	Mangghuer <i>nuoqi</i>	‘to pass’

Whether *b*, *d*, *g*, and *m* were similarly deleted, resyllabified, or replaced by some other coda consonants which are synchronically permissible, is unclear to me at present.

2.2.6.1.4 Word-final [aj]

Where Mongolic roots had word-final [aj] (which, according to Poppe 1955:76–84, was found only in word-final position) Mangghuer has retained this sequence, though it has been lost in most other Mongolic languages. This is illustrated in (108):

(108) ‘forehead’

<i>maɣlaj</i>	Middle Mongolian
<i>maɣlaj</i>	Written Mongolian
<i>maɣnⁿee</i>	Khalkha
<i>maɣnil</i>	Dagur
<i>maɣlii</i>	Mongghul
[mæn'laɣ]	Mangghuer <i>manlai</i>

(Data from Poppe (1955:84))

Mangghuer has also created new V + glide coda sequences, when some 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 Mangghuer.

2.2.6.2 Lack of vowel length

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

(109) *uula* ‘mountain’

ula ‘sole’

ulaa ‘a requisitioned animal for riding or transportation purposes’

According to Field (1997:109–15), vowel length distinctions are found in most Mongolic languages, including Mongolian, Dagur, Eastern Yugur, and Mongghul. Santa, however, has no vowel length distinction; nor does the Gansu variety of Baonan (see also C. Li 1983:41).

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 Mangghuer.

Poppe (1955) shows that length distinctions in Mongolic languages arose from the loss of the intervocalic consonants (usually *g* or *β*). Where the two vowels concerned

were identical, long vowels regularly arose. When we compare the cognates in Mangghuer, we find that similar vowel qualities are generally retained, but that other changes have sometimes been effected. (All forms in these correspondence sets are taken from Poppe 1955, except those for Mangghuer items, which come from my own field notes.)

- (110) **ɸulagan* ‘red’
hula’an Middle Mongolian
ulagan Written Mongolian
ulaaŋ Khalkha
ulaaŋ Dagur
fulaan Mongghul
 [χʊˈlaŋ] Mangghuer *hulang*

(Data from Poppe (1955:61))

- (111) **degere* ‘above’
de’ere Middle Mongolian
deerə Khalkha
deere Ordos
dəɾə Mongghul
 [tʃeˈrə] Mangghuer *diere*

(Data from Poppe (1955:62))

- (112) **kʰβʰn* ‘person’
gʰʰn Middle Mongolian
kunuuŋ Dagur
kʰʰn Kalmuck
kun Mongghul
 [kʰũŋ] Mangghuer *kong*

(Data from Poppe (1955:63))

In some Mongolic languages, long vowels could also arise when *g* 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:

- (113) ‘face’
niḡur Written Mongolian
ni’ur Middle Mongolian
nuur Khalkha
nʰʰr Kalmuck
niuur Mongghul
 [nœ] Mangghuer *ner*

(Data from Poppe (1955:66))

It is the 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 Mangghuer form *ner* shows not only the effects of simplification of long vowels, but also the later development, which apparently occurred only in this language, of V + /r/ within a syllable to [œ], as described in section 2.2.5.1, above.

In some other instances, however, deletion of an intervocalic consonant led to the formation of a V + glide combination. In some of the Mongolic languages, including Mangghuer, this change was effected when a sequence of a non-high V + /u/ was created by medial consonant deletion, as in (114)–(115):

(114) ‘younger brother’

<i>degguu</i>	Written Mongolian
<i>de'ᠡ</i>	Middle Mongolian
<i>dəu</i>	Dagur
<i>dunu</i>	Buriat
<i>duuu</i>	Kalmuck
[tjaw]	Mangghuer ²⁷ <i>diao</i>

(Data from Poppe (1955:69))

(115) ‘bird’

<i>sibagun</i>	Written Mongolian
<i>ᠰibao'un</i>	Middle Mongolian
<i>ᠰiboun</i>	Oirat
[ᠰi'paw]	Mangghuer <i>shibao</i>

(Data from (Poppe 1955:67))

This process had exceptions, however. Mangghuer has lost the final nasal segment in its word for ‘bird,’ given in (115), but 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 the current Mangghuer syllable template), there was apparently a coalescence of the V + glide sequence into a single vowel phoneme. This avoided the creation of syllable-final VCC string. Compare (115) with (116):

(116) ‘hot’

<i>qalagun</i>	Written Mongolian
<i>qala'un</i>	Middle Mongolian
<i>χaluuᠭ</i>	Buriat
<i>χahuun</i>	Kalmuck
<i>χalooᠭ</i>	Mongghul
[q ^h a'lun]	Mangghuer <i>khalun</i>

(Data from Poppe (1955:68))

Although the [agun] sequence is the same in the Written Mongolian versions of ‘bird’ (115) and ‘hot’ (116), these two items came into Mangghuer with different results: [aw] in ‘bird’ and [un] in ‘hot.’ The other cognate forms show that ‘bird’ and ‘hot’ were not phonologically identical, but more work nonetheless needs to be done, to uncover the reasons why Mangghuer ‘hot’ (116) turned out like ‘person’ (112), rather than like ‘bird’ (115).

In this discussion, I have not addressed the question of whether 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 probably started after the Mongolic changes which led to long vowel creation in so many Mongolic languages; then, the new phonological system being adopted by Mangghuer speakers would have simply wiped out those long vowel sequences which had been created. If this is the case, then there may yet remain some more conservative Mangghuer dialects which could give evidence of the earlier stage; as I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the speaker on whose pronunciation most of this chapter is based is relatively young and has had a great deal of exposure to Chinese.

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

Nonetheless, the fact that 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 the Mongolic languages of the QGS region.

2.2.6.3 *Lack of vowel harmony*

One of the most frequently noted features of Mongolic languages is vowel harmony. Svantesson (1985) describes three different systems of vowel harmony, found 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*)” (Svantesson 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 (front-back) vowel harmony.²⁸ 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 *mongyol* ‘Mongol’ (from **mongyal*) and *nokor* ‘friend’ (from **noker*).

This assimilation was not obligatory, and Classical Mongolian has many unassimilated words, such as *olan* ‘many’ and *koke* ‘blue.’

Rounding harmony is now 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 Mongolian has only front–back harmony.

Mangghuer, however, does not have productive vowel harmony of any of these three types. I have seen only a couple of examples of anything resembling any form of vowel harmony.

The collective form *ghu=la* ‘two=COLL’ has several phonological variants, including *ghulu* and *ghuerluo*. 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 [la] in all other instances which I have seen. Thus, these forms may perhaps represent fossilized holdovers from an earlier stage, in which rounding harmony was beginning to develop in a parent language of Mangghuer.

Similar evidence is found among derivational suffixes used to mark borrowed verbs; as we will see in section 4.1.1, suffixes which may be underlyingly *-la* or *-li* occasionally appear on the surface as *-lie* or *-luo*, depending on the shape of the final syllable of the root to which they are attached. Since I have seen only a few examples, I cannot say for certain whether or not this pattern is synchronically productive among borrowed verbs, but at least it probably does give evidence for an earlier historical stage in which harmonic patterns had begun to develop.

However, this process must not have continued very far, since it does not seem to have affected syllables within a word root, nor any other affixes or clitics. For example, we can compare the Mangghuer *wulan* [‘u’lɛ̃] ‘many’ with the “unassimilated” Classical Mongolian form given by Svantesson (1985:318), above: *olan* ‘many.’ The Mangghuer form remains unassimilated, suggesting that rounding harmony never applied to it in the history of this language.

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 southeastern Mongolic languages Dagur, Monguor, Santa, and Baonan. This group of languages includes the ones which have been most heavily influenced by Sinitic neighbor languages, and this observation will be returned to in Chapter 8, where we will see that the lack of vowel harmony is probably not a useful criterion for establishing genetic relationships within the Mongolic family, at least among the QGS Mongolic languages.

2.2.6.4 *Reduced distribution of stem-final -n for nouns*

Some Mongolic languages retain an optional stem-final *-n* with some noun roots. Analogous stem-final nasal consonants also appear in Mangghuer, but they are quite restricted in distribution. In Mangghuer, this phenomenon is manifested as a velar or alveolar nasal consonant, found only with a very few native lexical items, and, as far as I have observed for common nouns, only in the dative case: *qige* ‘ear,’ *qigeng=du* ‘in

the ears;’ *bie* ‘body,’ *bien=du* ‘on the body;’ *nudu* ‘eye,’ *nudun=du* ‘in the eye;’ *nukuo* ‘hole, cave,’ *nukuang=du* ‘in the hole.’ Since they appear only in the dative case, and thus preceding the enclitic *=du*, such stem-final nasal consonants never appear word-finally in Mangghuer.

The stem-final nasals are optional in Mangghuer, which is demonstrated by the fact that in addition to the forms just cited, we also find forms such as *nukuo=du* ‘in the hole;’ Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming) explicitly note that this form is a dialectal variant of *nukuangdu*. (See section 2.2.5.3 for a comment on the fact that the syllable rhyme *-ong* systematically becomes *-ang* in Mangghuer.)

The demonstratives *ni* ‘this’ and *ti* ‘that’ have stem-final velar nasals in both the dative and the ablative cases: *tingdu* ‘at that place’, *tingsa* ‘from then;’ *ningdu* ‘at this’, *ningsa* ‘from this (time) on’ (for further discussion of these demonstrative forms, see sections 3.1.2.3, 4.8.2, 4.9.2.4, and 7.1.3.2.3).

2.3 STRESS

In this section, we adopt a suprasegmental perspective, to discuss the phonology of Mangghuer stress. Both synchronic and diachronic aspects will be considered.²⁹

2.3.1 Placement of stress

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

Stress in Mangghuer, as in Baonan, consists of higher pitch and greater amplitude (loudness), relative to the pitch and amplitude of neighboring unstressed syllables.

A summary of stress placement in Mongolic languages is provided by Field (1997:114), who notes that Mongghul, Baonan, and Eastern Yugur all have word-final stress. (Baonan is described by N. Chen (1987a:71–2) as *generally* having stress on the final syllable of a word root.) Mongolian and Dagur, on the other hand, have word-initial stress. Field suggests (1997:9) that Middle Mongolian had word-initial stress, so a change seems to have occurred in those languages which now have stress on the final syllable of a word.

Field (1997) claims that Santa developed word-final stress as a result of substratum interference, because a large number of Turkic speakers shifted to Mongolic as part of the historical development of Santa. Further discussion of this suggestion, and some other possible sources for word-final stress in Mangghuer, will be given in section 2.4.2.

The important thing to note here 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.

Mangghuer, however, has a system of stress placement which is only partially predictable. Due to extensive borrowing from 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:

- (117) a [tɪ] *di* 'eat (imperative)'
 b [tɪ'qa] *digha* 'cause to eat'
 c [tɪqa'sa] *dighasa* 'if one causes to eat'
 d [tɪqa'lā] *dighalang* 'causing to eat'
 e [tɪqak^hu'nɪ] *dighakuni* 'the thing one is caused to eat'
- (118) a [sɥ'kwo] *shuguo* 'big'
 b [sɥkwot^huqa'tɕā] *shuguotughajiang* 'raised (i.e. raised a child to adulthood)'

Both *di* 'eat' and *shuguo* 'big' are native Mongolic lexical items, and as (117) and (118) 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; (119)–(121) illustrate that stress falls on the final syllable, even if there are preceding heavy syllables.³⁰

- (119) a [t^hjə'pə] *tierber* 'to hold'
 b [t^hjəpə'tɕi] *tierberji* 'holding'
 c [t^hjəpə'tɕā] *tierberjiang* 'held'
- (120) a [t^haw'laɰ] *taolai* 'rabbit'
 b [t^hawlaɰ'tu] *taolaidu* 'rabbit (dative)'
- (121) a [k^huŋ] *kong* 'person'
 b [k^hun'tu] *kongdu* 'person (dative)'

All of the morphemes illustrated so far are native Mongolic items. In borrowings from Chinese, a different rule governs the placement of stress, and it is to this other pattern that we now turn. In Sinitic borrowings, some non-initial syllable(s) may receive primary stress; however, the Mangghuer Mongolic suffixes generally have word-final stress, as we have just seen, even when a non-initial syllable in a borrowing is also stressed.

C. Li (1986) discusses a similar phenomenon in Baonan. In this language, native Mongolic words have stress on their final syllable, while borrowings from Chinese have stress on any syllable which, in the source language, 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 Baonan borrowing of that item may correspondingly have multiple stressed syllables. Some of C. Li's (1986:175) examples are:

Linxia, not on the word-final syllable.” The 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 codeswitching; this issue acts as a potential confound for generalizations concerning the category of “stress” in a borrowing language like Mangghuer. When words are elicited in isolation, there is the obvious danger that a speaker—especially a fluently bilingual speaker—will pronounce loanwords 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 functions, a speaker may produce loanwords with phonological features that identify them as somewhat different from other items in the same discourse, or even in the same clause.

Thus, a more complete study of stress and the borrowing of Chinese lexical items into 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 speakers’ 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.

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 Baonan probably comes close to capturing the Mangghuer situation, as well. It is already clear that C. Li’s (1986) main point is relevant for Mangghuer, as much as for Baonan. Baonan is in the process of moving from reliance on a stress system toward 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 the lexical representation of each word, rather than simply being filled in by a phonological rule. Clearly, the same sort of process is occurring in Mangghuer, as a result of a similar stimulus: Chinese borrowings are redefining the stress system to make it like 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 all speakers are aware of that historical fact) and leaves other words marked as stressless; words of the second type receive stress only on their final syllables, after the phonological addition of suffixes and enclitics.

2.3.2 Word boundaries

2.3.2.1 *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 Mangghuer.

Leaving aside, for a moment, the complicated situation of Sinitic loanwords, consider (126) (which repeats (117)) for an example of the basic stress pattern. (The data in this section, and in the rest of the book, is transcribed using the Mangghuer orthography.)

- (126) a *di* ‘eat (IMPER)’
 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 item in (126) constitutes a single phonological word. Each of (126b–e) has one or more elements added to the root *di-* ‘to eat.’ These added elements are verbal suffixes, which may only appear bound to a preceding verbal root. While the root *di* can appear alone, as in (126a), 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 (126a–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) *ta'shi'ge duoruo='sa hu'ni gher-'lang*
 stone SG:INDEF under=ABL smoke go:out-OBJ:IMPERF
 (they saw) smoke coming out from under a stone
 (‘Madage’ 62; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In this example, the morphologically uncomplex words *tashi*, *ge*, and *huni* all receive one primary stress, on their final syllables. The verbal suffix *-lang* receives the primary stress in the phonological word *gherlang*. The word *duoruosa* contains not a suffix, but, rather, an encliticized casemarker; enclitics are the subject of the next section.

As illustrated in 2.3.1, above, some Chinese loanwords allow multiple stressed syllables. This causes some difficulty for a stress-based identification of phonological word boundaries. However, as I also pointed out in 2.3.1, 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” themselves must be defined based on their appearance attached to Mongolic lexical roots, because Sinitic borrowings may have additional primary stresses on non-final syllables.

If the frequency of Chinese borrowings in Mangghuer usage continues to rise, in the company of fluent bilingualism, the day could come when stress will fail to correlate with any useful notion of the phonological word for this language. For the present, however, with the preponderance of Mongolic roots and the fact that the final suffix tends to receive primary stress, even if earlier syllables were also stressed in a borrowing, a stress-based definition of the phonological word is satisfactory.

2.3.2.2 *Enclitics*

There are two types of enclitic postpositions: casemarkers and possessive markers. Both types appear at the end of a noun phrase, postpositional phrase, or nominalized clause. Since these elements bear stress, while the final syllable of a preceding word or suffix does not, they are considered phonologically bound to the immediately preceding word.

Phonologically bound casemarking postpositions include the following (section 4.9.2 provides some description of each):

(128) Casemarkers

- =*ni* Accusative case
- =*ni* Genitive case
- =*la* Instrumental/comitative case
- =*tai* Comitative case
- =*du* Dative case
- =*sa* Ablative case
- =*ji* Directive case

The two enclitic possessive postpositions 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) a *ana'nang* 'one's own mother'
 b *ana'ni* 'his/her mother'

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 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 (130); and the singular indefinite marker *ge* in (131). In each example, brackets are used to indicate the phrase to which an enclitic is attached.

- (130) *ni* [*muni aguer*]=*ni* *ala ge-jiang*
 this 1:SG:GEN daughter=ACC kill do-OBJ:PERF
 It killed my daughter.

(A Cow Mother 36; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (131) *bi* [*tuerghang kong ge*]=*ni* *ala ge-ba*.
 1:SG fat person SG:INDEF=ACC kill do-SUBJ:PERF
 I have killed a fat person.

(Monkey 79; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The dative casemarker =*du* also appears attached to the end of a noun phrase, in (132):

- (132) “*Qi jiaoduer [huguer=ni basi shersi a kong=ni basi*
 2:SG every:day cow=GEN excrement urine also person=GEN excrement
shersi]=du take ma ni luoti chuoruo-ni.”
 urine=DAT step PRT this shoe break-SUBJ: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.”
 (A Hired Farmhand 19; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, the ablative case enclitic =*sa* appears after the final element in a noun phrase in (133) and (134).

- (133) [*ti duoruo*]=*sa poluo shige laihamage gher-ji*
 that under=ABL shallow:basket like frog SG:INDEF go:out-IMPERF
ri-kuniang.
 come-OBJ:FUT
 a frog as big as a shallow basket will come out from under them.
 (Sangbura 152; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (134) [*gaga-si*]=*sa=nang kerli-la xi-jiang bai.*
 elder:brother-PL=ABL=REFLPOSS want-PURP go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 (he) went to ask his older brothers (for some food).
 (Filial Obedience 18; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The possessive enclitics =*ni* and =*nang* similarly attach phonologically to the end of a preceding phrase. Example (134) shows =*nang* attached to a PP, while (135) illustrates this form attached to the end of an NP.

- (135) *Laohan [aguer san-ge]=nang berqie=du sao-gha ge*
 old:man daughter three-CL=REFLPOSS pasture=DAT sit-CAUSE do
danang,
 after
 After Old Man had his three daughters sit in the pasture,
 (Three Daughters 27; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

For further discussion of the syntactic positioning of the possessive enclitics (which turns out to be a bit more complicated than just what we have seen here), see section 4.9.3.3.

2.4 INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS IN PHONOLOGICAL DRIFT

In an important article, Thurgood (1996) discusses the role of internal and external factors in guiding phonological drift. Thurgood shows that some aspects of the

phonological history of the Chamic languages are most naturally explained by reference to the influence of neighboring languages.

Various 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 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. For most of them, regular sound change rules can be formulated. If we knew nothing of the Northern Mandarin varieties, the changes observed in Mangghuer would be accepted as natural phonological developments.

However, in most cases, it is clear that in fact, the drift has been in the direction of making Mangghuer phonology more like that of a neighboring language—in most cases, specific neighboring languages with which the Mangghuer have had close relations and extensive bilingualism. Mangghuer phonological drift has not been random, but has proceeded quite successfully in the direction of actual languages to which Mangghuer speakers have been extensively exposed.

In the next section, I will briefly summarize Mangghuer changes which have moved the language in the direction of being nearly completely Sinitic in its phonology. In section 2.4.2, we will review another phonological change which quite likely also is due to contact influence, but for which the motivating contact language(s) have not yet been positively identified.

2.4.1 Drift toward Chinese

Most of the phonological changes in Mangghuer have led to a system resembling Sinitic phonology. One of the few nearby Sinitic systems for which we have a detailed description is the Linxia Hui dialect. Because the Mangghuer system so strongly resembles that of Linxia Hui, 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 toward which Mangghuer phonology has been drifting.

In section 2.1.4.1, I showed that the Mangghuer phonemic inventory is nearly identical to that of Linxia Hui Chinese, and that this differs significantly from what has been reconstructed for Proto-Mongolic. Other QGS Mongolic languages, however, have systems similar to the Mangghuer system.

Section 2.1.4.2 pointed out that the Mongolic sibilant consonants split in Mangghuer into a palatal and a retroflex series. The conditioning environments for the split mirror to a great extent the environments in which Northern Mandarin languages display this same distinction.

The re-emergence of /f/ as a separate phoneme, distinct from /h/, is being motivated by extensive borrowing of lexical items from Sinitic varieties in which /f/ is an independent phoneme; this was described in 2.1.4.3.

The syllable structure of Mangghuer, outlined in section 2.2, is nearly identical to that of Northern Chinese. Onset consonant clusters are narrowly restricted according to exactly the same pattern as is found in Mandarin. The set of coda consonants similarly 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) Sinitic dialect, Mangghuer may be on its way to developing a pitch-accent or tone system, to replace its current system of predictable stress.

This Chinese-based influence on 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 change is the topic of the next section.

2.4.2 Development of word-final stress

I pointed out in 2.3.1 that Mangghuer belongs to a relatively small group of Mongolic languages—Mangghuer, Mongghul, Santa, Eastern Yugur, and Baonan—which have word-final stress, instead of the word-initial stress which might be expected in any Mongolic language. It appears that these ultimate-stress languages have undergone a change, while other Mongolic languages retained the original Mongolic stress pattern, but neither the motive nor the mechanism for such a change is clear.

Field (1997) claims that Santa developed word-final stress as a result of substratum interference, resulting when a large number of Turkic speakers shifted to Mongolic in the thirteenth century A.D., as part of the historical development of the Santa-speaking community. Ultimate stress is just one piece of evidence for such a shifting population; see Field (1997:8–15) for discussion.

Something much like this might also have been true 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 political groups are ancestors, apparently, of at least some of the modern Monguor (see section 1.2.4 for historical discussion). So Turkic is a potential influence toward word-final stress.

However, in the Mangghuer situation, Amdo Tibetan seems just as likely to have been an influence, and perhaps this is 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, and that many Mangghuer have had reason and opportunity to learn Tibetan languages. The presence in Mangghuer of the subjective-objective perspective system (see Chapter 5) lends further credence to the idea that the influence of Bodic language(s) on Mangghuer has quite possibly been substantial.

If the stress change is due to either Bodic or Turkic influence, this would probably represent a contribution to Mangghuer through language shift. There does not seem to have been 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 (1988:37–8).

This is only one 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. There is also the very real possibility that Mongolic-speaking settlers intermarried with earlier indigenous groups such as the Tanguts or Tu-yu-hun, whose language(s) also might have left traces of substrate interference, if they shifted to Mongolic on a large scale.

Since several Mongolic languages, all in the QGS region, share the ultimate-stress feature, it seems desirable to produce a single explanation for the presence of this feature in all of them. However, it is not at all certain that ultimate stress represents a shared innovation in these languages. It might just as well have developed independently in several of them, as a result of same (or different) contact influence; or even as normal phonological change, though this seems considerably less likely.

In the absence of better historical records, it is unlikely that this question can be resolved satisfactorily. However, it does seem fairly clear that the development of 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, given so many potential influences in this direction, among neighboring languages in the QGS environment.

2.4.3 Discussion

Contact-induced changes have led to massive restructuring of the Mangghuer phonological system. Most of the specific phonological developments which have been described in this chapter are clearly the results of the adoption of Sinitic phonological features into Mangghuer; these changes thus date to the comparatively recent period of QGS feature spreading, during which rising bilingualism in Chinese has led to widespread diffusion of Sinitic features into Mangghuer and other QGS languages.

There has also been the hint of a contact-based explanation for the word-final stress pattern found in QGS Mongolic languages.

The pervasiveness of contact-based influences on phonological developments in Mangghuer serves to indicate the importance of considering the potential role of other languages when trying to account for any historical change in a region of such intense contact among multiple languages as the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund. Even where purely internal explanations seem possible, it is probably unwise to resort to them without first considering the systems of other languages as potential influences on the direction of linguistic change. In the QGS, it appears to be true that, as Thurgood (1996:30) suggests, “external rather than internal paths may be the primary determinant of the direction of change.”

NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

3.1 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 with any modifiers, but instead have the syntactic properties of a complete noun phrase.

3.1.1 Lexical nouns

Lexical 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 lexical noun can be the head of a noun phrase, and thus can be modified by any of the modifiers described in this chapter.

Several additional structural criteria help to identify a lexical class of nouns. 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 (section 4.9.2) and other clitics, such as the reflexive possessive enclitic *=nang* (section 4.9.3.1); they may appear in subject or direct object position in a clause (section 4.2.2); and they may appear in postpositional phrases (sections 4.9.3 and 4.9.4).

Lexical adjectives may also be used as nouns, without derivational morphology. However, adjectives do constitute a separate lexical class, as will be shown in 3.2.5, below, and in section 4.2.4.2.

Lexical verbs may become derived nouns, by two means: the nominalization strategies described in section 4.1.1; and the derivational suffix *-qin*, which creates agentive nouns, such as *kerliqin* ‘beggar’ from the verb *kerli* ‘ask for, want.’¹

3.1.2 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.

3.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

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 their relative frequency in the materials available to me.

3.1.2.1.1 Singular personal pronouns

Table 3.1 lists the most common singular personal pronouns in my database.

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 first person singular may also be referred to with the pronoun *gulian*, which appears only a few times in my data.

The first person accusative forms *namei* and *nangda* sometimes also appear as *damei* and *dangda*, respectively.

Table 3.1 Singular personal pronouns

	NOM	ACC	DAT	GEN
First person	<i>bi</i>	<i>namei, nangda</i>	<i>namei=du, nangda(=du)</i>	<i>mu=ni</i>
Second person	<i>qi</i>	<i>qimei</i>	<i>qimei(=du)</i>	<i>qi=ni</i>
Third person	<i>gan</i>	<i>gan=ni</i>	<i>gan=du</i>	<i>gan=ni</i>

3.1.2.1.2 Plural personal pronouns

A plural pronoun root is always followed by either the plural marker *si* (see also 3.2.6.1.2) or a numeral with the comitative enclitic =*la*. (Although forms with =*la* do not appear in the nominative morphological case, they may also serve as grammatical subjects. See 3.2.6.2.2 for discussion.)

The most commonly-occurring plural pronouns are illustrated in Table 3.2.

Among the singular personal pronouns (Table 3.1, above), the 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 the 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

Table 3.2 Plural personal pronouns

	Root	Generic plural	With collective numeral	
First person	<i>da</i>	<i>dasi</i>	<i>da ghu=la</i> <i>da sange=la</i> , <i>etc.</i>	‘we two=COLL’ ‘we three=COLL’
Second person	<i>ta</i>	<i>tasi</i>	<i>ta ghu=la</i> , <i>etc.</i>	‘you two=COLL’
Third person	<i>gan</i>	<i>gansi</i>	<i>gan ghu=la</i> <i>gan sange=la</i> , <i>etc.</i>	‘s/he two=COLL’ ‘s/he three=COLL’

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 the third person is entirely regular. We will return to this point in the historical discussion of 3.1.2.1.3, below.

In elicitation, Qing Yongzhang 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 4.9.3.1.

Two additional third 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) *Bi ghu=la di-lang*,
1:SG two=COLL eat-OBJ:IMPERF
We two have been eating,

(Sangbura 47; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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) *Du dasi ji-ge=la ni=ni khuba di-gha*.
now 1:PL several-CL=COLL this=ACC divide eat-CAUSE
Now let’s the several of us divide and eat this one.

(Sangbura 365; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (3) *Gan-si san-ge=la*,
3:SG-PL three-CL=COLL
The three of them,

(Madage 69; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (4) *ta-si=la*
 2PL-PL=COLL
 you (PL)

(Qing Yongzhang)

Collective forms with the comitative enclitic *=la* are discussed in greater detail in 3.2.6.2.2, below.

3.1.2.1.3 Some historical notes about personal pronouns

One phenomenon frequently observed in Mongolic languages is a distinction in first person pronouns between forms which include the hearer (inclusive) and those which do not (exclusive).

N. Chen (1987a:169) gives the forms *mangə* (inclusive) and *bədə* (exclusive) in Baonan. Qinggeertai (1991b:190) describes the same distinction for Mongghul, listing the forms *buda* (inclusive) and *ndazs* (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 claimed to be exclusive in Baonan, while the latter is inclusive in Mongghul. On the other hand, H. Wu (forthcoming) describes the Baonan forms *man'ge* as exclusive and *bede* as inclusive, which is the opposite of N. Chen's (1987a:169) analysis, and consistent with the functions of the Mongghul cognates and also with the Mongolian forms to which we will turn next. This suggests that N. Chen's (1987a:169) presentation is probably mistaken.

Poppe (1974:85) gives *bida* as the inclusive root in Written Mongolian, with *man-* as the root for exclusive forms.² Qinggeertai (1991a:221) and Poppe (1951:71) both give modern cognates of these in modern 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 frequently appears in Mongolic languages, it is not maintained in all languages.

Since Mangghuer forms all of its first person plural pronouns from the root *da* (cf. Written Mongolian *bida*, above), the morphological means for distinguishing inclusive vs. exclusive reference has been lost in this language.

Concerning third person forms, 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 (1986:132) identifies the Santa third person pronoun as *əʁən*, which he says derives from a demonstrative found in Written Mongolian as *egən*, meaning ‘this’. Ma and Chen (2000:84) similarly list *əʁən* with the glosses ‘he’ and ‘she.’ Field (1997:310) gives this same form in a footnote as a “rare” alternate third person pronoun (with the plural form *əʁəsila*), while Kim (forthcoming) does not include this form at all. The Santa form must certainly be cognate with Mangghuer *gan*, but because it is not accorded equal status by all analysts, it is not at all clear that this form is a full member of the Santa personal pronoun system—at least not for all speakers.

For Mongghul, both Qinggeertai (1991b:195–7) and Hasibate (1986:239) list a third person pronoun form *rgən*, which must also be cognate, but neither source discusses its etymology. Georg (forthcoming) gives this Mongghul form as *gan*, of which he says “the written language also makes frequent use of a special third person personal pronoun,” apparently coexisting alongside a set of demonstrative pronouns which “are generally used.” Georg (forthcoming) derives the form *gan* from the Common Mongolian common noun *irgen* ‘people,’ and says that in earlier Mongghul sources, the variant forms *rgen*~*rgan* appeared in Mongghul with the gloss ‘(the) other (one).’

Like the Santa and Mangghuer forms, this Mongghul form seems also to be completely regular (Qinggeertai 1991b:196–7), suggesting that this may be a recent development in this language, as well. Again, though, it seems to be a somewhat marginal example of a personal pronoun.

For Eastern Yugur, Bao and Jia (1991) do not give any apparent cognates, but Bao (1985:12) does list Eastern Yugur *ergen* ‘he,’ with a note that this form “indicates respect,” while Nugteren (forthcoming) refers to the same form as “a less frequent secondary personal pronoun” and gives the translation ‘s/he.’ Thus, Eastern Yugur *ergen* is apparently a pronoun, but its functional load appears to be quite restricted, and remains poorly described.

Baonan, in contrast to the other Mongolic languages of the Qinghai-Gansu region, does not seem to have any cognate of Mangghuer *gan*; neither N. Chen (1986, 1987a) nor H. Wu (forthcoming) gives any form which could plausibly be related.

Given these data, it appears most likely that Mangghuer *gan* and its cognates in Santa, Mongghul, and Eastern Yugur are in fact reflexes of Mongolic *irgen* ‘people,’ as Georg (forthcoming) suggests, and not of a demonstrative form, as suggested by Buhe (1986:132). This etymology accounts for the cognate forms with an initial *r*- which have been recorded by some authors.

Whatever their etymological source, however, the fact that these clearly cognate forms have become (wholly or partially) integrated into the system of pronominal reference, for only Mangghuer, Mongghul, Santa, and Eastern Yugur among the Mongolic languages, has important implications for genetic subgrouping within the Mongolic language family. It appears that this feature gives evidence of a common period of development, in which a parent of these four languages began to develop a new third person pronominal form, not shared by other members of the Mongolic family. We will return to this point in Chapter 8, where I make some remarks on the position of Mangghuer within the Mongolic family, emphasizing in particular the importance of shared innovations (such as this one) in the establishment of genetic subgroupings.

3.1.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used when asking a question. They include:

(5) Interrogative pronouns

a	<i>ang</i>	where	d	<i>kanni</i>	whose	g	<i>yala</i>	why
b	<i>ayige</i>	which	e	<i>ya</i>	what; why	h	<i>yaji</i>	why
c	<i>kan</i>	who	f	<i>yang</i>	what	i	<i>amerda</i>	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.’ (5f) *yang* ‘what’ appears also to have a historical relationship to *ya* ‘what’, but I am not aware of any morpheme which might have yielded the coda consonant /ng/ on this form.

3.1.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives *ni* ‘this; these’ and *ti* ‘that; those’ (see 3.2.2, below) may also function as demonstrative 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 the nominative, accusative, and genitive morphological cases, respectively. (In each sentence, the demonstrative is, conveniently, the first word.)

- (6) *ni nen'gan-her bang*,
this clever-COMP OBJ:COP
(but now) this one is clever,
(Stupid Boy 64; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (7) *ni=ni nukuang=du dianke ge-kuniang*.
this=ACC hole=DAT bury do-OBJ:FUT
this one will be buried in the hole.
(The Rabbit Judge 16; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (8) *Ni=ni xian=du muni kao-xujun hugu sao-jiang*.
this=GEN reason=DAT 1:SG:GEN son-daughter die sit-OBJ:PERF
Because of this one, my children died.
(Rabbit’s Trick 62; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, the distal demonstrative *ti* means something like ‘that one’ when it is used as a pronoun:

- (9) *Ti zou zai yibeizi ri-ku-ni bang*.
that thus next life come-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP
That is precisely what will come in (your) next life.
(A Hired Farmhand 91; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (10) *ti=ni peghe kaike-jiang bai*.
that=ACC hit begin-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) began to beat that (drum).
(Rabbit’s Trick 53; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (11) *Ti=ni naosui=ni di-gha-sa,*
that=GEN brain=ACC eat-CAUSE-COND
If (they) have (the girl) eat that one's brain,
(Sangbura 154; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 3.2.6.1.2, below.)

- (12) *Chuna dai Yehu ghu=la xi danang dimei a bo a luoti a*
wolf and fox two=COLL go after bread also drum also boot also
ni-si=ni yigua bari ri-jiang bai.
this-PL=ACC totally take come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Wolf and Fox went and took away all these things: the bread and the drum
and the boots.
(Rabbit's Trick 32; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (13) *Ti-si kan a lai maidie-lang.*
that-PL who also NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
No one knows about those.
(Sangbura 166; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

However, (14) and (15) demonstrate that either *ni* or *ti* may refer to a plural entity, even without the plural marker *si*. In line 151 of (14), *nini* refers to 'these things;' in line 64 of (15), *tini* has the corresponding distal sense 'those things.'

- (14) *Ni bayang kong=ni diamang=du san-ge shuguo biesi tuoluo*
this rich person=GEN door=DAT three-CL big straw stack
bang.
OBJ:COP
At this rich man's gate are three big stacks of straw.
(Sangbura 149)

Zha,
ok
OK,

(Sangbura 150)

- ni=ni berdu-gha bura-ku,*
this=ACC burn-CAUSE finish-IMPERF
after these things (the straw stacks) are caused to burn,
(Sangbura 149–51; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (15) “*taiting=du huguer liang-ge ri-ba*,
there=DAT cow two-CL come-SUBJ:PERF
“two bulls are coming over there,

qi ti=ni di-la xi.”
2:SG that=ACC eat-PURP go
you go eat those (bulls).”

(Monster Girl 64)

(Monster Girl 63–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Both of the demonstratives have allomorphs with a final velar nasal consonant. These appear when either form is used in dative case (16) or ablative case (17).

- (16) *Huguer gan manten=nang yi-ge qige-gha ya ting=du lai*
cow 3:SG bread=REFLPOSS one-CL see-CAUSE PRT that=DAT NEG
hu-lang,
give-OBJ:IMPERF

Cow she kept showing some of her bread (out of her anus), but didn’t give
(any) to her,

(A Cow Mother 27; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (17) *Zha tingsa ti zhouwei=du gan zou shenxian*
ok later that surroundings=DAT 3:SG thus supernatural:being
ber-jiang.
become-OBJ:PERF

OK, from then on, he became a supernatural being in that area.

(Sangbura 290; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Further discussion of these oblique forms, some of which have specialized discourse functions, is given in sections 4.8.2, 4.9.2.4, and 7.1.3.2.3, below.

3.1.2.4 Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun *jie* means ‘self’. It is illustrated in (18) and (19). 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. (See also section 4.9.3, on possession.)

- (18) *Jie=ni aguer=du tuosi kaker di-gha-ku ger=du*
self=GEN daughter=DAT oil cake eat-CAUSE-IMPERF house=DAT
sao-gha-lang.
sit-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF

(The stepmother) had her own daughter eat oily cake and sit at home.

(A Cow Mother 7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (19) *Di-san-tian=ni* *Madage jie=nang* *xige-jiang*.
ORD-three-day=POSS Madage self=REFLPOSS watch-OBJ:PERF
On the third day, Madage himself kept watch.
(Madage 89; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

3.1.3 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 (20). 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) *gugu ghua-si=nang*
cuckoo feather-PL=REFLPOSS
their own cuckoo feathers
(Madage 101; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (21) *kuer wuruang*
foot print
footprint
(Nine-headed Ghost 16; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (22) *mieran chaibai*
river bank
river bank
(Stupid Boy 34; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (23) *duguli zhuerghai*
spirit heart
trick
(Rabbit's Trick 16; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The folktale narratives do not contain many noun 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 doubtless yield.

3.2 NOUN PHRASES

In this section, we will examine the internal structure of the noun phrase, considering the constituents which it can contain, as well as their relative ordering.

The relative order of constituents in an NP is given in (24):

- (24) (Poss) (Dem) (Num) (CL) (Adj) N (Quant)

The modifier types given in (24) will be treated, in turn, in the following subsections; here are a few elicited examples of NPs, which can serve to show how various elements combine within an NP.

- (25) Num - CL - Adj - N

yi-ge mula ger
one-CL small house
one small house

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (26) Num - CL - N

yi-wan yama
one-bowl food
one bowl of noodles, one bowl of rice

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (27) Dem - CL - Adj - N

ni-ge mula ger
this-CL small house
this small house

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (28) Dem - Num - CL - Adj - N

ti liang-ge shuguo ger
that two-CL big house
those two big houses

(Qing Yongzhang)

Another type of NP, not represented in (24), 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. (Nominalized clauses, which function as NPs within larger syntactic constructions, are also discussed in Chapter 6.)

3.2.1 Possessive NPs

There are two major devices for signaling 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 section 4.9.3.

A possessor may be any NP; it appears in the genitive case, with 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=ni Liang-ge Aghadio*].
 Sangbura=GEN two-CL brother
 Two Brothers from Sangbura.
 (Sangbura 1; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (30) [*Gan=ni xianliang bieri*] sara sao-ku shijie kuer-jiang
 3:SG=GEN kind wife month sit-IMPERF time arrive-OBJ:PERF
bai.
 EMPH
 His kind wife's time to give birth arrived.
 (Two Wives 16; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (31) [*gan=ni ti-ge bieri*] xi bajia-ji jielie-jiang.
 3:SG=GEN that-CL wife banquet prepare-IMPERF meet-OBJ:PERF
 that (evil) wife of his welcomed him (by) preparing a banquet.
 (Two Wives 35; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

A genitive NP often appears as the only modifier of a head noun, as in (32) and (33):

- (32) *Cai dunda [bulai=ni khuru] ri-jiang.*
 food in child=GEN finger come-OBJ:PERF
 In the food the boy's fingers came.
 (Monkey 54; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (33) *Ni [muni bieri] puzhang.*
 this 1:SG:GEN wife OBJ:NEG:COP
 This isn't my wife.
 (Shalanggur's Story 64; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Multiple embeddings of genitive NPs are possible, since any NP, even if it itself serves as a possessor, may contain a possessor.

- (34) [*[muni ana]=ni shu*]
 1:SG:GEN mother=GEN book
 my mother's book
 (Qing Yongzhang)
- (35) *Bi [[qi=ni burer]=ni kelie]=ni lai di-sa,*
 1:SG 2:SG=GEN calf=GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
 If I do not eat your calf's tongue,
 (Two Wives 54; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The most common genitive NPs are possessive pronouns, as in (33), (34), and (35), above. In the folktales, the most commonly occurring of 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 (30) and (31), above. However, there is sometimes some semantic bleaching of *ganni*, such that it sometimes occurs without any clear antecedent referent. In line 74 of (36), for example, the owners of the cave have not yet been introduced, so it does not appear that *ganni* refers to any participant. It seems that this form serves as an indicator of definiteness, rather than as a referential pronoun, in such instances; thus, *ganni* is translated ‘this’ in this example.

- (36) *Yao yao gan-si yi-ge yaodong=du kuer-jiang.*
 go go 3:SG-PL one-CL cave=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
 (They) walked and walked (until) they reached a cave.

(Madage 73)

[*Gan=ni yaodong*] *ye yi-ge baowo yaodong bang.*
 3:SG=GEN cave also one-CL sacred cave OBJ:COP
 This cave was even a sacred cave.

(Madage 74)

Yaodong=du gugu san-ge sao-lang.
 cave=DAT cuckoo three-CL sit-OBJ:IMPERF
 There were three cuckoos living in the cave.

(Madage 73–5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

3.2.2 Demonstratives

The demonstratives *ni* (proximal) and *ti* (distal) often appear within an NP. These are the same forms which we saw used as demonstrative pronouns in 3.1.2.3, but here they function syntactically as modifiers of a head noun. This function is illustrated by (37) and (38).

- (37) [*Ni bayang kong*] *ger=du=nang tao xi danang*
 this rich person house=DAT=REFLPOSS drive go after
khudang=du=nang khuori ge-jiang gelang.
 shed=DAT=REFLPOSS pen do-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
 This rich man drove (the calf) to his home and penned (it) in his shed, they say.
 (Two Wives 61; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (38) “*Du qi [ti khuonuo yanzi]=du wuji-la xi.*”
 now 2:SG that back yard=DAT take:note-PURP go
 “Now you go look in that backyard.”
 (A Hired Farmhand 83; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In 3.1.2.3, we saw that the demonstrative pronouns can be pluralized. A demonstrative can also modify a plural head noun, as illustrated in (39) and (40). Note that the modifying demonstrative does not agree in number with the head noun; it is of the same form, whether the head noun is singular or plural.

- (39) *Ting ge-ku [ni aguer-si] tughuo=ni xida-jiang.*
 that do-IMPERF this daughter-PL pot=ACC burn-OBJ:PERF
 Then these girls heated the pot.
 (Three Daughters 57; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (40) *du ni=ni [ti ban'gachen gha-si]=la yeke.*
 now this=ACC that medium:size bowl-PL=INST dip
 now dip this (liquid) with those medium-sized bowls.
 (Sangbura 280; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Demonstratives sometimes appear with classifiers, when there is no numeral, as in (31), above, where we find *ti-ge* ‘that-CL.’ However, this is not systematically required.

3.2.3 Numerals

Generally, when an NP contains a lexical numeral, the numeral appears before the nominal head. In 3.2.6.2, 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) “[*Nige nanxin kong*]=ni ruo-ji ri-gha ma?”
 one poor person=ACC enter-IMPERF come-CAUSE PRT
 “Can (I) let a poor man come in?”
 (A Hired Farmhand 41; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (42) [*Liang-ge kong*] zheng keli-lang,
 two-CL person just:then say-OBJ:IMPERF
 Two people were just then saying,
 (Stupid Boy 44; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (43) *bi [qi=ni san-shi-jin tuosi]=ni lai kerli-ang.*
 1:SG 2:SG=GEN three-ten-jin oil=ACC NEG want-OBJ
 (but) I don’t want your thirty *jin* of oil.
 (A Hired Farmhand 32; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Nige ‘one’ (see example 41) is one of only two Mangghuer numeric forms which retain Mongolic roots. The other is *ghula*, which retains the root *ghu* ‘two’, and which is discussed in section 3.2.6.2.2, below. The rest of the numerals in the language are Chinese borrowings.

This complete replacement of the numeral system is apparently a fairly recent development, as one of my consultants passed along a personal memory of someone within the last couple of generations who could still remember how to count to nineteen, using Mongolic numbers. Furthermore, Rockhill (1894:377) provides a brief wordlist for Mangghuer, in which all of the numbers (up to forty, 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.

According to Field (1997:251–9), 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, although Santa has not replaced Mongolic numerals as completely as Mangghuer has.

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.

3.2.4 Classifiers

Along with the majority of its numerals, Mangghuer has also borrowed some of the Chinese numeral classifiers, which generally have similar behavior in Mangghuer to what they have in Chinese.

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 occurrence 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* ‘a little while’ (一会儿), and thus may be a calque from the Chinese expression.

When an NP contains neither a demonstrative nor a numeral form, no classifier appears. In Mangghuer, as in Chinese, classifiers appear as bound forms only, affixed phonologically to the preceding word.

The set of numeral classifiers appearing in Mangghuer seems to be considerably more restricted than that of Mandarin, but it includes at least the following:

- (44) *zhang yi-kuer gher-jiang*.
 only one-CL go:out-OBJ:PERF
 (but) only one head sprouted.

(Madage 6; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (45) *Niker jiura ning=du mer liang-tiao bang*,
 this time this=DAT road two-CL OBJ:COP
 Now here there are two roads,

(Sangbura 77; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (46) *terghai=du=ni yi-pao ba hu-lang.*
 head=DAT=POSS one-CL defecate give-OBJ:IMPERF
 (the bird) would defecate on her head.
 (Shalangguer's Story 90; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (47) *Ni zhaler yi-zhuan mergu nuqi ri-ku,*
 this hired:farmland one-circle kowtow pass come-IMPERF
 When this hired farmland came back (after) kowtowing for one circuit
 (around the temple),
 (A Hired Farmland 51; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (48) *yi-zhang charsi*
 one-CL paper
 a piece of paper
 (Qing Yongzhang)

A much larger body of texts needs to be examined in order to reveal the full inventory of Mangghuer classifiers, and the range of uses of each one.

3.2.5 Adjectives

Lexical adjectives are words which can be marked with the comparative suffix *-her* (example 49), can be modified by *hudu* 'very' (examples (53) and (54)), and which can appear as modifiers of a noun within a noun phrase. They also have a unique set of syntactic properties, which are outlined in section 4.2.4.2.

An adjective appearing within a noun phrase expresses some property or attribute of the referent. Some examples of NPs containing adjectives are:

- (49) *Du da ghu=luo khuoluo [gezai-her ruang] yerri-ji*
 now 1:PL two=COLL far:away good-COMP place look:for-IMPERF
yao-a,
 go-VOL
 Now let us two go far away looking for a better place,
 (Sangbura 10; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (50) *Ting-ku [gan=ni shuguo bulai-si]=du ghazher a wulan bang.*
 that-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN big child-PL=DAT ground also many OBJ:COP
 After this, her older sons had many fields.
 (Filial Obedience 48; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (51) *[Gan=ni xianliang bieri] sara sao-ku shijie kuer-jiang bai.*
 3:SG=GEN kind wife month sit-IMPERF time arrive-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 His kind wife's time to give birth arrived.
 (Two Wives 16; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

One example has been found which includes two adjectives within a single NP:

- (52) [*Khara quequer erjige ge*] *tao-ser* *bang*.
black lame donkey SG:INDEF drive-PROG OBJ:COP
A black lame donkey had been driven (there by Monkey).
(Monkey 20; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

There is also an intensifier *hudu* ‘very,’ which seems to appear only with adjectives. This is illustrated in (53):

- (53) *Shalangguer=ni ger=du hudu bayang bang bai*.
Shalangguer=GEN house=DAT very rich OBJ:COP EMPH
(she found that) in Shalangguer’s family was very rich.
(Shalangguer’s Story 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In this example, *hudu bayang* ‘very rich’ is an attributive complement, and does not appear within a noun phrase. *Hudu* ‘very’ can also modify an adjective within a noun phrase, as in (54):

- (54) *Gan-si=du hudu zaihang xujun ge bang*
3:SG-PL=DAT very beautiful daughter SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
They have a very pretty daughter.
(Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:41)

There is an alternate construction for adjectival modifiers which seems to have developed as a result of contact with Chinese. Example (55) shows that an adjective may optionally appear with the genitive enclitic *=ni*.

- (55) *Qi=ni zui-jin=ni xinxi*
2:SG=GEN most-recent=GEN news
your latest news
(Sangbura 115; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In Mandarin Chinese, this NP would have been something like:

- (56) *ni zui-jin de xinwen*
你 最-近 的 新闻
2 most-recent ASSOC news
your latest news
(Mandarin translation of (54))

The Chinese form *de*, (的) glossed “associative” in (56), is used with several types of nominal modifiers, including adjectives, other nouns, and relative clauses. It is also used for possessors. In Mangghuer, *=ni* has most of these functions (for relative clauses, see section 6.2.1.1). So the extension of the Mangghuer genitive *=ni* to mark

adjectives, in addition to genitives, gives *=ni* a range of functions quite similar to Chinese *de*.³

Another example, constructed on this same pattern but using the Mongolic imperfective nominalizer *-ku*, is given in (57).

- (57) *qi [muni mieshi-ku bieri] bi-sa,*
 2:SG 1:SG:GEN first-IMPERF wife SUBJ:COP-COND
 if you are my former wife,
 (Shalangguer's Story 81; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Since (57) resembles the pattern of (55) and (56), 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*. Example (57) is, however, the only such construction in the folktales, so this is clearly not a widely-used strategy. Similarly, there is also one example of *-ku* used to mark a noun which modifies another noun. This, too, is apparently an uncommon usage.

Both the relativizer *-ku* and the genitive enclitic *=ni* probably started out with some functions which resemble functions of Chinese *de*, so it is not surprising that these morphemes should be extended to perform additional functions of *de*, as competence in Chinese rises among Mangghuer speakers.

The relativizer *-ku* is related to a Mongolic imperfective form (also *-ku* in Mangghuer), which is discussed by C. 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. (This form is introduced as the *Nomen Futuri* (1974:94); its use in relative clauses is illustrated in a later section (1974:133).) Poppe also makes no mention of any form analogous to the genitive *=ni* we have seen with Mangghuer adjectives.

We can conclude, then, that 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.

3.2.6 Postnominal quantifiers

There are two types of postnominal quantifiers. The grammatical number markers *ge* ‘SG:INDEF’ and *si* ‘PL’ always appear in this position (section 3.2.6.1). Numerals, which usually appear prenominally, may also be postposed for certain pragmatic purposes (section 3.2.6.2).

3.2.6.1 Grammatical number markers

There are two postnominal quantifiers which indicate grammatical number. These are *ge*, which indicates singular number and also indefiniteness, and *si*, which is a marker for plurality, without respect to definiteness. Neither *ge* nor *si* is grammatically required.

3.2.6.1.1 Singular indefinite marker *ge*

The word *ge* appears only following lexical nouns which refer to singular entities that are indefinite. It never cooccurs with the plural marker *si*, nor with any NP referring to a clearly plural entity.

Phonologically, *ge* is an independent word. Both *ge* and the syllable preceding it always bear stress. As was outlined in section 2.3.2, this indicates that the syllable preceding *ge* is the end of a phonological word, and that *ge* is an independent phonological word.

Examples (58)–(61) illustrate this item.

- (58) [*shuguo beghe ge*] *bang*.
big tree SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
there is a big tree.
(Sangbura 219; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (59) *Gan* [*kong ge*] *ber-jiang* *gelang*.
3:SG person SG:INDEF become-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
It had become a person, they say.
(Two Wives 68; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (60) [*Khara quequer erjige ge*] *tao-ser* *bang*.
black lame donkey SG:INDEF drive-PROG OBJ:COP
A black lame donkey had been driven (there by Monkey).
(Monkey 20; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (61) *Bi* [*tuerghang kong ge*]=*ni* *ala ge-ba*.
1:SG fat person SG:INDEF=ACC kill do-SUBJ:PERF
I have killed a fat person.
(Monkey 79; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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. This item is given in (62):

- (62) *qi* [*mamei ge*] *chaoke ma*,
2:SG wheat SG:INDEF fry PRT
you roast some wheat,
(Madage 33; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

I claimed above that *ge* appears only with entities which are singular in number. The noun *mamei* “wheat” in (62) seems to contradict this generalization, since it is marked with *ge* but does not seem semantically singular; however, this example may be considered 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, as in (61), above. I have not found this form to appear with NPs marked for any of the oblique cases.

In most instances, an NP may contain either a pre-head determiner or numeral, or a post-head numeral, but not both. Qing Yongzhang reported that (63) and (64) are both ungrammatical.

- (63) **yige maokung ge*
 one evil person SG:INDEF
 an evil person

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (64) **tige maokung ge*
 that evil person SG:INDEF
 that evil person

(Qing Yongzhang)

However, (65) appears in one of the folktale texts, and includes both a prenominal numeral *yige* ‘one’ and the postnominal *ge*.

- (65) *Ti ruang=du*,
 that place=DAT
 In that place,

(Sangbura 135)

[*yi-ge shuguo gu-shu ge*] *bang bai*.
 one-CL big ancient-tree SG:INDEF OBJ:COP EMPH
 there is a huge ancient tree.

(Sangbura 135–6; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Further investigation is needed, to discover whether (65) 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 the singular indefinite marker *ge* synchronically play slightly different discourse functions, such that occasionally these forms may both be called for in a single construction.

The singular indefinite marker *ge* is probably historically related to one or both of the current Mangghuer lexical items meaning ‘one’: *yige* and *nige*. Both forms, since they are numerals, may appear postnominally, as we will see below, in section 3.2.6.2. 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 一个) may also have played a role.

N. Chen (1987a:78) discusses a likely cognate morpheme in Baonan. 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*.

N. Chen also observes (1987a: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, who tend to be more fluent in Chinese, may have reanalyzed the erstwhile numeral as an occurrence of the classifier.

Todaeva (1970:561–3) discusses a cognate form *-ŋge* in Mongghul. (Qinggeertai (1991b:149) transcribes this same form as *-ŋge*.) Todaeva suggests that *-ŋge* has two functions; in addition to indicating singular number, *-ŋge* may function to emphasize the noun to which it is suffixed (1970:562).

The form *-gə* is apparently phonologically bound in Baonan, and the same appears to be true of Mongghul *-ŋge*. However, the Mangghuer form *ge* is, as I have noted, a separate phonological word. Thus, while a similar grammaticalization process, involving phonological reduction and loss of syntactic freedom, seems to be taking place in all three of these languages, this process has not progressed as far in Mangghuer as in the two related languages.

We will see in 3.2.6.2, 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:

- (66) Amdo Tibetan indefinite marker

ŋa ^hŋ.əd tso=nə ^hlak^hæ zəg ji=t^hæ
 I:DAT sleep desire=CON yawn INDEF do:COM=DIR:EV
 I felt sleepy and yawned

(J. Sun 1993:963)⁴

We may contrast (66) with (67), which suggests that the indefinites are the marked case; when a definite entity is referred to, no overt morphological indication is apparently needed.

- (67) Amdo Tibetan definite NP

ŋə der tɕag=taŋ
 I:ERG dish break=AUX
 ‘I broke the dish (on purpose).’

(J. Sun 1993:963)

The Amdo Tibetan indefinite marker *zəg* can also be used with plural entities, as (68) illustrates. This may be parallel to the use of Mangghuer *ge* with mass nouns, as illustrated in (62).

- (68) Amdo Tibetan indefinite plural

k^hu mumu zəg li=t^hæ
 he:ERG momo INDEF make=DIR:EV
 He made some momos (I saw it)

(J. Sun 1993:980)

There is thus apparently considerable similarity between the functions of the Amdo Tibetan indefinite marker *zəg* and the Mangghuer singular indefinite marker *ge*. Similar syntactic behavior, but with additional phonological reduction, is also found in the Mongghul and Baonan cognates of *ge*. This appears to be a promising area for additional study of the interaction between genetic relationships and contact-induced spreading of linguistic features in the QGS area.

3.2.6.1.2 *Plural marker si*

When a plural referent is intended, the postnominal plural marker *si* may optionally be used. This form is illustrated in (69)–(71).

- (69) *mori-si=nang wuni,*
horse-PL=REFLPOSS ride
rode his horses,
(A Hired Farmhand 70; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (70) *Bulai-si xi-ku,*
child-PL go-IMPERF
(Some) boys went,
(Stupid Boy 24; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (71) *Du dasi ning ge-a,*
now 1:PL this do-VOL
Now let's do like this,
(Rabbit's Trick 18; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Si usually appears only when there is no numeral or other lexical indicator of number.⁵ The only exceptions I have seen are when a plural pronoun with *si* is followed by a collective form, as in (72) and (73), which repeat examples (2) and (3) from above.

- (72) *Du dasi ji-ge=la ni=ni khuba di-gha.*
now 1:PL several-CL=COLL this=ACC divide eat-CAUSE
Now let's the several of us divide and eat this one.
(Sangbura 365; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (73) *Gan-si san-ge=la,*
3:SG-PL three-CL=COLL
The three of them,
(Madage 69; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Speakers often choose not to use *si* when the referent has the characteristics of a non-individuated set, as do *puzighuo* 'deep-fried twisted doughsticks' in (74) and *khuoni* 'sheep' in (75).

- (74) *Yigua puzighuo china,*
 totally deep:fried:dough:stick cook
 They cooked deep-fried twisted dough sticks,
 (Three Daughters 63; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (75) *Qi jiaoduer khuoni zhua-ni a buxi-di,*
 2:SG every:day sheep catch-SUBJ:FUT also other:things-ASSOC
 Every day you chase sheep and other things,
 (Rabbit's Trick 36; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 never observed *si* to appear with borrowed lexical nouns.

The phonological status of *si* is more complicated than that of the singular indefinite 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.

When appearing with a few words, *si* seems to be consistently phonologically bound. These words include *aguer* 'daughter' and the third person pronoun *gan*, 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 (76a–d) indicate (data from Zhu Yongzhong).

- (76) 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 (1991a:143–5) 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 earlier 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 1991:147); Santa has *-sla*, which is formed of the plural marker plus the instrumental marker (Buhe 1986:87); Mongghul has *-sge* (Qinggeertai 1991b:148).⁶

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 Mangghuer. The process by which this development occurred bears some investigation.

It seems that *si* originated simply as a single consonant suffix *-s*. As we saw in section 2.2.6.1.2, 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, which does not allow coda *s*. After this vowel was inserted, creating a separate syllable, the previously non-syllabic plural morpheme apparently began to be reanalyzed as a separate phonological word.

One possible motivation for the incipient phonological independence of *si* might be analogy with the singular indefinite marker *ge*, which clearly is a separate word and which appears in the same position.

The 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 Sinitic plural marker *men* (人) to mark all plural nouns. They attribute this development to the influence of Amdo Tibetan, which has a postnominal plural marker *te'o* (which they also write as a separate word). K. Li (1987:27) reports a similar development in Qinghai Chinese, although this author attributes the generalization of *men* to the influence of Altaic languages.

So both Amdo Tibetan and Qinghai Chinese provide potential motivations for the reanalysis of Mangghuer *si* as a separate word, but I am not aware of any evidence which would make one source more plausible than the other. As with many linguistic features of the QGS region, this one may not have a historical path of diffusion which can be reconstructed with any certainty.

Whatever the diachronic motivations for this Mangghuer development may have been, the phonological independence of *si* has interesting significance for grammaticalization theory. 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 grammaticalization 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 Mangghuer plural marker *si* may be added to Rubino’s list of counterexamples to this generalization. Here, it is likely that language contact has provided the motivation for the violation of a strong cross-linguistic tendency.⁷

3.2.6.2 *Postposed numerals*

3.2.6.2.1 *The general case*

In 3.2.3, above, we saw that numerals within a noun phrase usually appear before the head noun. However, in certain instances a numeral may be postposed to follow 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:

- (77) [*Bersi liang-ge*] *ti kong=ni beila-la ri-jiang gelang.*
 tiger two-CL that person=ACC carry-PURP come-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
 Two tigers came to carry that person (away), they say.
 (Monster Girl 65; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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.

- (78) *Tiedun=du,*
 past=DAT
 In olden times,
 (Shalangguer’s Story 2)
- yi-ge laohan=du [aguer liang-ge] bang.*
 one-CL old:man=DAT daughter two-CL OBJ:COP
 an old man had two daughters.
 (Shalangguer’s Story 3)

- [*Liang-ge aguer*] *jiaoduer qijighe chuangmu-ji hu ge-ji*
 two-CL daughter every:day flower pick-IMPERF give QUOTE-IMPERF
kerli-lang,
 want-OBJ:IMPERF
 Every day the two daughters wanted (him) to pick flowers (for them),
 (Shalangguer’s Story 2–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 3.2.6.1.1, 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 (79), where the three daughters are presented at the beginning of a story, with a prenominal numeral, and then (twenty-four lines later) appear with a postposed numeral. The beginning of this story is nearly identical to that of example (78); the variation we see between them suggests that speakers have a fairly wide degree of latitude in deciding when to postpose a numeral.

- (79) *Tiedun=du,*
 past=DAT
 In olden times,
 (Three Daughters 2)

nige laohan=du [san-ge aguer] bang.
 one old:man=DAT three-CL daughter OBJ:COP
 an old man had three daughters.

(Three Daughters 3)

Twenty-four lines later:

Laohan [aguer san-ge]=nang berqie=du sao-gha ge
 old:man daughter three-CL=REFLPOSS pasture=DAT sit-CAUSE do
danang,
 after

After Old Man had his three daughters sit in the pasture,

(Three Daughters 2–3, 27; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Prenominal numerals can also be used to refer to indefinite participants. This is illustrated in both (78) and (79), each of which begins a story with reference to ‘an old man’ (*yigelnige laohan*) who is unidentifiable to the listeners from context. Thus, although postposed numerals generally seem to indicate indefiniteness, the converse is not true; pronominal numerals do not necessarily indicate definiteness, but may instead be used with either definite or indefinite participants.

N. Chen (1987a) says that numerals in Baonan may either precede or follow a head noun, and notes that this is also true in 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 (CH: *Qidan* 契丹) manuscripts of the Liao Dynasty period (A.D. 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 Middle Mongolian *Secret History of the Mongols*, numerals were always prenominal unless they modified a coordinate NP or a pronoun, in which case they were postnominal. (See also the similar constructions described in the next section.)

Several other modern Mongolic languages also have postnominal numerals, apparently similar to the Mangghuer pattern. Qinggeertai (1988:204) provides a Mongghul folktale example much like those we have seen here:

- (80) Mongghul postnominal numeral
a:ne:də [ɕdzyn ɡʊra:n] vai-ɡuna
 old woman daughter three COP-IMPERF
 The old woman had three daughters

(Qinggeertai 1988:204)

Postnominal numerals also appear, infrequently, in Santa, according to Ken Field (p.c.). Although this is not discussed as a systematic possibility by Buhe

(1986), this author does provide the following example of a postposed numeral + classifier:

- (81) Santa postnominal numeral
*madə [tʂugu **Guari suan**] ogi*
 me chopsticks two pair give:IMPER
 give me two pairs of chopsticks!

(Buhe 1986:118)

I have not, however, found any author who describes conditions for the appearance of this construction type, for either Mongghul or Santa.

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 the 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 that the postnominal pattern originates in Tibetan.

It seems likely that the postnominal numeral pattern is being fostered in various QGS languages at least partly through language contact influences, since it is currently found in languages of several families. However, it is unclear which language(s) or family(-ies) the pattern might have originated in.

3.2.6.2.2 *Collective numerals*

When a subject NP is plural, speakers have the option of using a postnominal numeral, marked with the instrumental/comitative enclitic *=la*, to indicate that the action of the verb 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) [*Chuna dai Yehu **ghu=la***] *xi danang dimei a bo a luoti a*
 wolf and fox two=COLL go after bread also drum also boot also
ni-si=ni yigua bari ri-jiang bai.
 this-PL=ACC totally take come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Wolf and Fox went and took away all these things: the bread and the drum
 and the boots.

(Rabbit’s Trick 32; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (83) [*Da **san-ge=la***] *ang=ji yao-ni a?*
 1:PL three-CL=COLL where=DIR go-SUBJ:FUT PRT
 Where will we three go?

(Three Daughters 43; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (84) [*Gan-si ji-ge=la*] *durasi-si=ni* *suer danang gan=ni*
 3:SG-PL several-CL=COLL liquor-PL=ACC buy after 3:SG=ACC
qinla ti ruang=du kuer-jiang.
 welcome that place=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
 After the several of them bought liquor, (they) invited him along and went to that place.

(Sangbura 226; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Although this construction normally appears with grammatical subjects, it may also be used with nominative NPs which are not subjects, as in (85):

- (85) *Qimai [aguer bulai-di ji-ge=la] bang ma,*
 2:SG:DAT daughter child-ASSOC several-CL=COLL OBJ:COP PRT
 You have several sons and daughters,
 (Rabbit's Trick 40; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

When a collective numeral appears, the head noun is often omitted, as in (86). However, this is not required, as (82)–(85) have already shown.

- (86) [*liang-ge=la*] *daghu yerri-la xi-jiang.*
 two-CL=COLL firewood look:for-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
 (while the other) two went to look for firewood.
 (Madage 78; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The history of the instrumental/comitative marker is described in section 4.9.2.5.1. 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 historically have been of a similar type.

Similar patterns of coordination with a postposed numeral are found in other Mongolic languages as well. For example, Kullmann and Tserenpil (1996) give the following example from Khalkha:

- (87) Khalkha subject with postposed numeral
[Bold Baatar Dorj Tulga dorov] xicheeldee yavav
 B. B. D. T. four to:lesson went
 Bold, Baatar, Dorj, and Tulag went to the lesson.
 (Kullmann and Tserenpil (1996:385))

Dwyer (1992:165–9) discusses collective numerals in a number of modern QGS languages. Similar constructions are reported for Linxia, Xining, Tangwang, and Wutun Chinese dialects, Amdo Tibetan, Salar, Western Yugur, Santa, Mongghul, Baonan, and Eastern Yugur. Many of these languages have comitative forms similar to Mangghuer =*la*, and several also use constructions of the numeral ‘two’ plus the comitative marker.

Dwyer shows that some languages have this latter type as fossilized constructions, having lost the meaning of ‘two’ and become simply comitative or instrumental markers in some of the languages she surveys. Mangghuer also sometimes uses *ghula* as an instrumental postposition, as in:

(88) [*shuguo tashi ghula*] *yanke*.

big stone with grind

(and then) grind (it) with a big stone.

(Sangbura 285; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 the meaning indicated in most of its appearances.

Examples (82) and (86) show that either the native Mongolic root *ghu* or the Chinese borrowing *liang* may appear with the meaning ‘two.’ As noted in 3.2.3, 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*.⁸ 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 variant forms.

3.2.7 Headless NPs

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 (89) is another of this type; the numeral + classifier *liang-ge* ‘two-CL’ constitutes an NP, which functions as the subject argument in its clause.

(89) [*Liang-ge*]=*nang ghua-sa*,
two-CL=REFLPOSS wash-COND

If (he) washes both of his (eyes),

(Sangbura 122; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Evidence that such headless NPs are in fact NPs is provided by the appearance of the enclitic postposition =*nang* in (89) (see section 4.9.3.1), as well as by (90), which shows that accusative casemarking may appear on a numeral + classifier.

- (90) *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
ge-lang.
 do-OBJ:IMPERF
 when she let one suckle, she would eat (another) one.
 (Monster Girl 7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

3.2.8 Coordination

Two lexical nouns may be coordinated within a single NP by the use of either of the two coordinating forms *dai* and *ma*.

When *dai* is used to form such a construction, the coordinated NPs are often followed by a collective numeral (see 3.2.6.2.2). For example:

- (91) [*Chuna dai Bersi ghu=la*] *keli-ji*,
 wolf and tiger two=COLL say-IMPERF
 Wolf and Tiger these two said,
 (Sangbura 156; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (92) [*Shitouge dai Shu'erge ghu=luo*] *ri-jiang ma*,
 Shitouge and Shu'erge two=COLL come-OBJ:PERF PRT
 (When) Shitouge and Shu'erge these two came,
 (Madage 106; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The other coordinator, *ma*, appears frequently in the Mangghuer materials of Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al. (1996). *Ma* can also coordinate two lexical nouns within an NP, as illustrated in (93) and (94).

- (93) *taiti [muni nukuer Renhua ma gan=ni kuergan] bang*
 there 1SG:GEN assistant R. and 3SG=GEN husband OBJ:COP
 There are my assistant Renhua and her husband.
 (Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al. 1996:29)
- (94) [*Jihua ma Erzihua ghuer=luo*] *dianyinyuan diamang=du paidui ge-ser*
 J. and E. two=COLL cinema door=DAT line:up do-PROG
bang
 OBJ:COP
 Jihua and Erzihua are in line at the cinema door.
 (Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:29)

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). *Ma*, then, seems to be a candidate for further interesting study of the diffusion of lexical items and grammatical patterns into the various languages of the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund.

However, the form *ma* does not appear as a coordinator of nouns in my Mangghuer folktale database, but has a different set of syntactic and pragmatic functions (see section 4.7.2). Mangghuer dialects may apparently differ significantly on the use of this morpheme.

Similarly, Qing Yongzhang, a Mangghuer speaker currently living in a primarily Mandarin-speaking environment, did not recognize the form *dai* as a nominal conjunction at all. He reported 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 of the Mangghuer text data that I have observed thus far.

THE CLAUSE

In this chapter, the focus will be on the internal structure of clauses, which is basically quite similar for independent and dependent clauses. The wide range of Mangghuer nonfinite verb forms, and their juxtaposition with finite verbs to make complex sentences, will be discussed in Chapter 6.

If any individual 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 begin this chapter by presenting a general schematic, summarizing the most typical relative positioning of the clausal constituents which we will see in this discussion. 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 its particular subset of these elements.

(1) Normal clausal constituent order

Discourse connector	Topic <i>or</i> Oblique	Subject	Second position adverbial	Oblique (benefactive, ablative, instrumental)	Direct object
	Oblique (length of time, amount) <i>or</i> (Adverbial)	Negative particle	Verb	AUX	Final particle

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.1 describes the lexical category of verbs, outlining in particular their morphological behavior. Section 4.2 describes the valency of Mangghuer clauses. Valence-changing strategies are the subject of section 4.3. Another part of the verbal complex, auxiliary verbs, is described in section 4.4. Sections 4.5–4.8 characterize various clausal modifiers: negation; adverbial particles; final particles; and discourse connective devices. In section 4.9, the behavior of noun phrases within the clause is examined. This includes treatment of grammatical relations, casemarking, postpositional phrases, word order, and the optionality of overt expression of clausal arguments.

4.1 THE VERB

There is a clear lexical class of verbs in Mangghuer. Verbs are words which may be marked with a particular 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.

4.1.1 Derivational morphology

Several suffixes are used to change lexical items of other classes into verbs. The suffix *-tu* clearly makes an adjective into a transitive verb, meaning ‘to become X,’ but no clear generalizations have emerged about the semantic 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 morphologically 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 identified any verbs borrowed from other languages.

A few comments should be made about these derivational suffixes.

Of the derivational suffixes listed in the table, *-la* and *-ke* appear with vastly greater frequency than any others.

Table 4.1 Derivational verb morphology

<i>Derivational suffix</i>	<i>Mongolic root</i>	<i>Derived verb</i>	<i>Borrowed root</i>	<i>Derived verb</i>
<i>-la</i>	<i>burer</i> ‘calf’	<i>burerla</i> ‘to calve’	<i>daying</i> (答应) ‘to promise’	<i>dayingla</i> ‘to promise’
<i>-ke</i>		(none observed)	<i>kai</i> (开) ‘to begin’	<i>kaike</i> ‘to begin’
<i>-tu</i>	<i>shuguo</i> ‘big’	<i>shuguotu</i> ‘become big’	<i>ping</i> (平) ‘equal’	<i>pingtu</i> ‘be equal’
<i>-ge</i>		(none observed)	<i>xiaoshun</i> (孝顺) ‘show filial obedience’	<i>xiaoshunge</i> ‘show filial obedience’
<i>-ra</i>	<i>asi</i> ‘herd animals’	<i>asira</i> ‘to raise (herd animals)’	<i>gaoxing</i> (高兴) ‘happy’	<i>gaoxinra</i> ‘be happy’
<i>-li</i>	<i>qijighe</i> ‘flower’	<i>qijigheli</i> ‘to bloom’	<i>bian</i> (变) ‘to change’	<i>bianli</i> ‘to change’

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.

Since vowel harmony phenomena are quite widespread within the Mongolic language family, it is tempting to see potential harmonic variants in the forms *-la* and *-li*. However, there appear to be no phonological grounds on which the two could be said to have any relationship.¹ Among borrowed verbs, we find for example, both *beila* (白 Standard Mandarin *bai*) ‘be white’ and *peili* (陪) ‘accompany,’ both *chuanli* (传) ‘spread’ and *dangla* (档) ‘keep away.’ Among native Mongolic roots, compare *nuduli* ‘to eye’ (cf. *nudu* ‘eye’) and *burerla* ‘to calve’ (cf. *burer* ‘calf’). In many (but not all) instances, *-li* appears with a root that includes a front vowel or glide, and it is possible that *-li* was formerly restricted to appearing in only this context. Furthermore, *-li* is considerably less common than *-la*. It may be that there was formerly a vowel harmony distinction between the two forms, and that as this distinction was lost, *-li* became restricted to appearing with only a few stems; however, since there appear to be no clear phonological constraints on the synchronic use of *-li*, this cannot be the whole story. Further research is needed to determine whether *-li* remains synchronically productive, but at least we can clearly conclude that these two forms do not give evidence of any synchronic pattern of vowel harmony.

However, I have seen just a few borrowed verbs whose derivational suffixes do show evidence of what appear to be very restricted vowel harmony patterns. Thus, both of the Chinese verbs *jie* (接) ‘meet, receive’ and *jie* (借) ‘borrow’ are borrowed in Mangghuer as *jielie*, while *xinhuo* (信服) (Standard Mandarin *xinfulu*) ‘believe’ is borrowed as *xinhuoluo*. In these few words, the form of the derivational suffix is clearly conditioned by the final syllable of the root. However, very few such forms exist, and it is not presently clear to me whether they represent a pattern which is synchronically productive.

We might note, though, the similarity between these forms and the various phonetic forms of the collective numeral ‘two,’ which appears as *ghula*, *ghulu* or *ghuerluo* (see sections 2.2.6.3 and 3.2.6.2.2). As I noted in section 2.2.6.3, these various phonetic forms of the Mongolic numeral ‘two’ plus the instrumental case marker may give evidence of a fossilized vowel harmony rule. The variant derivational suffixes *-lie* and *-luo* which we have seen here may probably also be taken as evidence of vowel harmony patterns, which in this case might even turn out to be productive.²

Even if vowel harmony does turn out to be productive for the derivational verb suffixes, though, it clearly does not represent a general phonological rule in the language. Evidence of this is given by the purposive suffix, also appearing on verbs, which also has the phonological shape *-la*. This form never varies, regardless of the final syllable of the root to which it is attached. Thus, we find *naola* ‘in order to look,’ *daodala* ‘in order to call,’ but also *kerlila* ‘in order to ask,’ *dila* ‘in order to eat’ and *chaokela* ‘in order to fry.’ If the assimilatory pattern seen in the derivational suffixes applied here, we might expect the shape of the purposive suffix to change when preceded by a front vowel, but in fact it does not.

Similarly, the instrumental casemarker has the phonetic shape *=la* in all instances other than the lexicalized ones discussed above. Aside from those instances, this form never assimilates to the quality of the preceding vowel, such that we find *amala* ‘with

the mouth,’ *yang banfala* ‘by what method,’ and also *tuosila* ‘with oil’ and *keliela* ‘with the tongue.’

Thus, we may conclude that the minor instances of apparent vowel harmony in Mangghuer are lexically conditioned, and should not be treated as a general phonological rule in the language.

4.1.2 Inflectional morphology

In this section, we will see the various inflectional categories relevant to Mangghuer verbs. Following a prose description of the morphological categories which are distinguished, I 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, only one of the inflectional suffixes (the voluntative; see 4.1.2.2.3.2) displays any morphophonemic variation.

4.1.2.1 Inflectional categories

Mangghuer verbs are inflected for three grammatical categories: mood, speaker involvement, 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 4.1.2.2, the specific morphological forms used to mark each category will be presented.

4.1.2.1.1 Mood

In finite verbs, Mangghuer morphologically distinguishes declarative, interrogative, and imperative moods. Declaratives may be thought of as typically statements, interrogatives as questions, and imperatives as commands.

4.1.2.1.2 Subjective/objective speaker involvement

The pragmatics of subjective/objective marking will be treated in detail in Chapter 5; here, we will note only that most finite verbs must be marked for one of two categories, which basically distinguish the perspective of the speaker from all other perspectives. The speaker’s perspective will be referred to as *subjective*, and finite verbs marked with this set of forms will be glossed with “SUBJ.” The non-speaker perspective will be referred to as *objective*, and its morphological markers will be glossed with “OBJ.”

4.1.2.1.3 Aspect/tense

There are three aspect/tense categories: perfective; imperfective; and future. Finite declarative and interrogative verbs must be marked for aspect/tense, and some nonfinite markers also indicate either perfective or imperfective aspect.

4.1.2.1.4 Person

Although the subjective/objective distinction at first glance resembles person marking, we will see in Chapter 5 that it is not essentially a person-marking system. However, the category of person is relevant to imperative mood verbs in Mangghuer: in this mood, there are separate morphological forms for first, second, and third person subjects.

4.1.2.2 Finite inflectional forms

In the following sections the morphological forms of finite inflection will be presented.

4.1.2.2.1 Declarative mood

Table 4.2 gives the subjective and objective forms for the various aspect/tenses in the declarative mood. The verb root used here is *ri* ‘come’.³

With the exception of the subjective imperfective, each of these categories is marked with a single suffix. The subjective imperfective involves a main verb marked with the imperfective auxiliary linker *-la* plus the subjective copula *bi* (see discussion, section 4.4.9.1).

There are also different subjective and objective forms of both the equational and attributive copula verbs, which are presented in Table 4.3.

4.1.2.2.2 Interrogative mood

Table 4.4 shows Mangghuer verb morphology for interrogative mood. Again, the verb root *ri* ‘come’ is used.

As in the declarative, most of these forms involve only the addition of a suffix, but the subjective imperfective once again involves both a suffix and a copula.

Table 4.2 Declarative verb forms

	<i>Perfective</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>Future</i>
Subjective	<i>ri-ba</i>	<i>ri-la bi</i>	<i>ri-ni</i>
Objective	<i>ri-jiang</i>	<i>ri-lang</i>	<i>ri-kunang</i>

Table 4.3 Declarative copular forms

	<i>Positive equational and attributive</i>	<i>Negative equational</i>	<i>Negative attributive</i>
Subjective	<i>bi</i>	<i>puzhi</i>	<i>(u)gui</i>
Objective	<i>bang</i>	<i>puzhang</i>	<i>(u)guang</i>

Table 4.4 Interrogative verb forms

		<i>Perfective</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>Future</i>
Polar questions	Subjective	<i>ri-bu</i>	<i>ri-la biu</i>	<i>ri-nu</i>
	Objective	<i>ri-jinu</i>	<i>ri-leinu</i>	<i>ri-kuninu</i>
“Why” questions		<i>ri-ji</i>		

Table 4.5 Interrogative copular forms

		<i>Equational and attributive</i>
Subjective		<i>biu</i>
Objective		<i>beinu</i>

Both types of questions are formed with the same syntactic pattern as are 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.

The subjective and objective interrogative forms of the equational and attributive copulas are the same; they are given in Table 4.5.

4.1.2.2.3 Imperative mood

Within the imperative mood, only one further inflectional distinction is made: agreement with the person of the subject. Tense/aspect and subjective/objective perspective 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 4.6, and described in the following three sections.

An additional suffix, *-sa*, usually functions to create nonfinite verbs, but also has a special function as a marker of polite requests, and seems to be in the process of becoming an additional member of the imperative verb paradigm. This is illustrated and discussed in 6.2.3.4, below.

Table 4.6 Imperative verb morphology

	<i>Morphological form</i>
Second person (imperative)	<i>-Ø</i>
First person (voluntative)	<i>-a</i>
Third person (hortative)	<i>-ge</i>

4.1.2 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

4.1.2.2.3.1 SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVES

Second person imperatives are true *imperatives*, which have the form of a command to the listener. Thus, the gloss “IMPER” will be used for these forms.

Morphologically, second person imperatives are created with 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 Ø. Example (2) shows a folktale example of an imperative with the verb *ri* ‘come.’

- (2) *tasi ri-Ø ma*
2PL come-IMPER PRT
you come and

(Three Daughters 26; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In the examples provided in this book, the zero form for second person imperatives is not explicitly marked, except where this is relevant to the immediate discussion.

4.1.2.2.3.2 FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVES

Also belonging to the imperative mood is another inflectional form which can be considered a first person imperative. A speaker may use this form to express a command toward himself or herself, or to make a suggestion regarding his or her own behavior, sometimes as a means of promising to undertake a certain action.

There are two reasons for treating this form as belonging to the imperative mood. First, like the second person imperatives, this form does not inflect for tense–aspect or for subjective/objective perspective, but is sensitive to the person of the clausal subject. Second, there is a special prohibitive negative marker *bao*, which appears with first, second and third person imperatives, but which is not used to negate any other type of construction. This prohibitive marker will be discussed in 4.5.1.3, below.

I will use the term *voluntative* (glossed “VOL”) to refer to first person imperatives, which generally express the speaker’s voluntary participation in a particular event. This term is not intended to imply that voluntatives represent a different mood category, but simply to make 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 rounded vowels and /w/; [ja] following /a/, /i/ and /y/, and [a] everywhere else. An example of a voluntative is given in (3):

- (3) *bi daghu duoke-a*
1:SG firewood chop-VOL
Let me chop firewood,

(Three Daughters 17; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

I have observed a number of instances in which a word-final vowel /e/ is deleted when the voluntative suffix is added to verbs such as *ge* ‘do’ and *xige* ‘watch,’ yielding

ga (see Appendix, line 18) and *xiga*, respectively. However this deletion seems to be optional; example (3) illustrates that it does not always occur, even when a verb ends in /e/.

4.1.2.2.3.3 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 speaker involvement or aspect/tense. Thus, this form also belongs 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 in current usage 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) *Ruo-ji* *ri-ge*,
 enter-IMPERF come-HORT
 Let (him) come in,

(A Hired Farmhand 43; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.1.2.3 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 given here are compared to those described for other Mongolic languages. A few such observations are presented in this section.

Scholars working on several other individual Mongolic languages of the QGS region have made reference to a distinction which is clearly the same as the Mangghuer subjective/objective speaker involvement distinction. This system seems to have originated in Tibetan, and has spread into the Mongolic QGS languages which have a history of contact with Tibetan. These issues will be taken up in much greater detail in Chapter 5.

The other categories which I have discussed in this section also 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* (my *imperative mood*), which includes imperatives, voluntatives, and several other forms which do not seem to be represented in Mangghuer, and *indicative mood*, which corresponds to my term *declarative mood*. To this classification, we can add *interrogative mood*, as I have done above.

The category of *person* has only limited relevance in most Mongolic languages. From the discussion of Poppe (1955:252, 255), it seems that a three-way person distinction is maintained by many languages with imperative, voluntative, and

4.1.2 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Table 4.7 Comparative Mongolic finite morphology (after C. Wu 1996:57)

		<i>Nonpast 1</i>	<i>Nonpast 2</i>	<i>Past 1</i>	<i>Past 2</i>
Mangghuer		<i>-ni</i>	<i>-kuniangl-kunang</i>	<i>-ba</i>	<i>-jiang</i>
Mongolian		<i>-nal-ne</i>	<i>-qul-k#</i>	<i>-bal-be</i>	<i>-jail-jei</i> <i>-čail-čei</i>
Dagur		<i>-n</i>	<i>-yu</i>	<i>-bāi</i>	
Mongghul	<i>-m</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-gul-gun</i>	<i>-val-ba</i>	
Eastern Yugur		<i>-ni:</i> <i>-nam, -nem</i>	<i>-ge, -ge, -ke</i>	<i>-βal-βe</i>	<i>-dʒl-tʃ,</i> <i>-dʒə:</i>
Baonan	<i>-m</i>	<i>nal-nə</i>	<i>-gu, -gə,</i> <i>-gə, -guu</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-tɕl-rtɕ</i> <i>-dʒl-rdʒ</i>
Santa	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-nə</i>		<i>-wo</i>	

hortative forms in the imperative mood. However, person is not generally relevant in other contexts. Binnick (1987:187, citing Poppe 1955:251f) notes that only Buriat, Kalmuck, and Mogol have developed general systems of person marking on verbs (presumably declaratives). 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 subjective and objective forms.

In a recent study, C. 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 of Mangghuer to 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 4.7 presents the correspondences which I will treat in this discussion.

Under the heading Nonpast 1, C. Wu (1996:57) gives two sets of forms. One set involves a bilabial nasal consonant, and appears in only a few languages: Mongghul and Baonan 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 subjective 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 (C. Wu 1996:58–65). Others also use cognates of *-ni* in present contexts. Mangghuer, however, does not use *-ni* in this function.

C. Wu (1996:57) gives the label Nonpast 2 to a set of forms which seem to be cognate with the Mangghuer objective future marker *-kun(i)ang*. This form is also

cognate with the Mangghuer imperfective nominalizer *-ku(ni)* (see 6.2.1, 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 (C. Wu 1996:65–8).

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 *-yu*, and Mongghul *-gu ~ -gun* (C. Wu 1996:57).

In Mangghuer, then, the difference between the forms *-ni* and *-kun(i)ang*, in finite future contexts, is one of speaker involvement. 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 C. Wu (1996:57). In the category Past 1, we find forms clearly cognate with the Mangghuer subjective perfective *-ba*; in Past 2, the forms given are probably cognate with Mangghuer *-jiang*, the objective perfective form. This last relationship is less certain, however, due to greater phonetic differences among the forms, as we will see below.

Some of the Past 1 forms given by C. Wu (1996:57) are *-ba ~ -be* (for Mongolian), *-bäi* (Dagur), *-wa* (Baonan), and *-wo* (Santa). In most languages, these forms are clear past tense markers, although C. Wu (1996:68–73) shows that the cognates in some languages can also indicate future tense.

The Past 2 forms (C. Wu 1996:57) include *-jai* or *-čai* in Mongolian, *-dʒ ~ -tʃ* or *-dʒäi* in Eastern Yugur, and *-tɕ ~ -rtɕ* or *-dʒ ~ -rdʒ* in Baonan. Wu reports no cognates of this form in other languages. The Eastern Yugur Past 2 forms often appear in nonfinite contexts, at least in C. Wu's (1996:73, 76) examples. In the other two languages, the forms do seem to be finite, and to indicate past tense. C. Wu (1996:74–5) summarizes a description of the forms in Baonan, indicating that analysts see a distinction between “definite” and “indefinite” forms, of which these Past 2 forms represent the “indefinite” category. The examples given seem quite similar to those which occur with the Mangghuer objective perspective marking, which will be discussed in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the similarity of the initial consonant here to the Mangghuer objective perfective marker *-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 which 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 the categories subjective and objective perspective, categories which are represented in only a few of the Mongolic languages. In Baonan, though, it seems that at least the Mangghuer objective perfective form *-jiang* has a cognate with similar function.

4.1.2.4 Nonfinite inflectional forms

Like their finite counterparts, nonfinite verbs usually appear as the final word in their respective clauses.

Table 4.8 Nonfinite verb morphology

<i>Type</i>	<i>Morpheme</i>	<i>Meaning/function</i>
nominalizers	<i>-ku(ni)</i>	Imperfective aspect
	<i>-sang(ni)</i>	Perfective aspect
complementizers	<i>-la</i>	Purpose
	<i>-ji</i>	Verbal complement marker
	<i>-Ø</i>	Verbal complement marker
non-final clause markers	<i>-ku</i>	Imperfective aspect
	<i>-sang zhi</i>	Perfective aspect
	<i>-tala</i>	Prior event
	<i>-sa</i>	Conditionals <i>and</i> event–state relations
	<i>-Ø</i>	Sequential actions
	<i>danang</i>	Dependency
	<i>-ji</i>	Imperfective aspect
	<i>-ser</i>	Progressive aspect

A dependent clause (with a nonfinite verb) is usually combined with an independent clause (with a finite verb) to form a complex sentence. Thus, dependent clauses will be treated in detail in Chapter 6. However, we may consider the internal structure of a dependent clause to be basically the same as that of an independent clause. Some dependent clauses will therefore be used as examples in this chapter.

In this section, I will simply list the nonfinite endings which appear in Mangghuer, leaving analysis of their external relations until Chapter 6. The nonfinite suffixes are given in Table 4.8. Note that the two auxiliary linkers *-la* ‘IMPERFECTIVE’ and *-der* ‘should’ are used only in monoclausal constructions, and therefore are omitted from this list of nonfinite endings used for clause combining, though in fact they also create nonfinite verbs (see section 4.4.9.1).

4.2 VALENCY

This section outlines the permissible argument structures of Mangghuer clauses. In parts 4.2.1–4.2.3, we will see constructions with one, two, or three arguments, respectively. Part 4.2.4 describes three types of copular clauses: equational clauses; predicate adjective clauses; and existential, locative, and possessive clauses.

4.2.1 Intransitive clauses

An intransitive clause is one which has only one argument, the subject of its main verb, usually appearing in nominative case (see section 4.9.2.1, below). This argument may or may not be overtly expressed; if its referent is clear from context, it may be omitted (see section 4.9.7 for more discussion). Consider the following:

- (5) *taolai xi-jiang*
 rabbit go-OBJ:PERF
 Rabbit went (home).
 (Rabbit's Trick 56; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (6) *shi-ji-tian yao-jiang.*
 ten-several-day go-OBJ:PERF
 (They) walked for ten to twenty days.
 (Sangbura 40; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (5) contains the verb *xijiang* 'went' and its single argument, the subject *taolai* 'Rabbit' (the parenthetical noun *home* in the translation is not an argument, but is understood from the context). In contrast, (6) contains no overt argument of *yaojiang* 'went;' the subject 'they' is understood from context and has been omitted here.

Although the single argument of a finite intransitive verb is optional, it generally is not omitted unless there is another preverbal constituent, such as *shijitian* 'ten to twenty days' in (6). However, in Chapter 6, we will see that certain nonfinite constructions, called recapitulative clauses, frequently omit all of their arguments. This is one way in which independent and dependent clauses differ in actual usage.

A special subtype of intransitive clauses is copular clauses. These are treated separately, in section 4.2.4, below.

4.2.2 Transitive clauses

Simple transitive clauses involve two syntactic arguments of the main verb, a subject and a direct object. Subjects usually appear in nominative case, which is morphologically unmarked. Direct objects may also be unmarked, or may appear in accusative case (see 4.9.2.2, below). 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:

- (7) (Contains both subject and object)
Ni muni aguer=ni ala ge-jiang.
 this 1:SG:GEN daughter=ACC kill do-OBJ:PERF
 This one killed my daughter.
 (A Cow Mother 36; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (8) (Contains only overt subject)
Gan ghu=la zhua-ji ri-jiang.
 3:SG two=COLL catch-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
 The two of them came to catch (Rabbit).
 (Rabbit's Trick 64; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (9) (Contains only overt object)

Mamei=ni chaoke-jiang ma,
 wheat=ACC fry-OBJ:PERF PRT
 (She) roasted wheat,

(Madage 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (10) (Contains neither overt subject nor object)

ning ge khuba di ge-jiang.
 this do divide eat do-OBJ:PERF
 like this (they) divided and ate (him).

(Sangbura 371; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

When both arguments appear, the normal order is for the subject to precede the object, as in (7). However, this order may be reversed when the object is highly topical, as illustrated in (11), where the accusative direct object *gagani* ‘Elder Brother’ appears in clause-initial position:

- (11) ***Gaga=ni*** *gan-si lake gher-gha-jiang.*
 elder:brother=ACC 3:SG-PL pull go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 Elder Brother, they dragged out.

(Sangbura 360; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The fronting of topics will be discussed in 4.9.6, below.

4.2.3 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses are clauses which contain three arguments of the main 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 usually appears in nominative case, the direct object usually in accusative case, and the beneficiary/recipient in dative/locative case (see section 4.9.2.3, below).

A few generalizations can be made about word order in ditransitives. Generally, the direct object argument is placed closest to the verb. If a subject is overtly expressed, 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 noncanonical order. Thus, (12) has all three arguments present, but the direct object *kebeghenang* ‘my wheat bran,’ 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; this response might be paraphrased something like “as for my wheat bran, I’m giving it to my horses!”

- (12) *“kebeghe=nang bi mori=du=nang tiejie-ni.”*
 wheat:bran=REFLPOSS 1:SG horse=DAT=REFLPOSS feed-SUBJ:FUT
 “I will feed my wheat bran to my horses” (Elder Brother said).

(Filial Obedience 29; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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.

- (13) (Subject and direct object are present)

gan-si huguer ge hu-lang.

3:SG-PL cow SG:INDEF give-OBJ:IMPERF

they (only) gave (him) a cow.

(Filial Obedience 9; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (14) (Subject only is present)

Gan ning ge lai hu-lang bai.

3:SG this QUOTE NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH

He in this way didn’t give (it to him).

(Shalanguer’s Story 20; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (15) (Direct object only is present)

Laosa mori=ni lai hu-lang,

mule horse=ACC NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF

(They) didn’t give (him) mules or horses,

(Filial Obedience 8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.2.4 Copular clauses

The term *copula* is used here in the broad sense, to refer not just to the linking element in equationals, but also to those of attributives, existentials, locationals, and possessives. All of these are intransitive clauses which consist of just a subject and a stative predication about that subject.

There are two sets of copular forms in Mangghuer (though they differ formally only in their negative forms). One set is used for equational clauses, which equate two noun phrases, and the other set is used for all other copular clauses (see Tables 4.3 and 4.5, above, for these forms).

Copulas do not vary for aspect/tense, because they are semantically imperfective, but mood and speaker involvement distinctions are relevant. Copulas distinguish declarative and interrogative moods, and also subjective and objective perspective. Copulas also appear in the clause-final syntactic position which is appropriate for verbs. Thus, because they have verb-like morphosyntactic behavior, Mangghuer copulas may be considered to be verbs.

4.2.4.1 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, they take the following form, with both NPs appearing in nominative case: NP(subject) NP Copula.

In addition to the equational copular forms presented in Tables 4.3 and 4.5, which are all based on Mongolic roots, Mangghuer optionally uses an additional equational 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 copulas. 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 permissible only in equational clauses, and that even in these clauses, it is optional.⁴

Example (16) shows how equational constructions of this sort are formed.

- (16) *bi (shi) laoshi bi*
 1:SG COP teacher SUBJ:COP
 I am a teacher.

(Qing Yongzhang)

The borrowed copula *shi* has no inflectional forms; it is invariant. It therefore should not be considered a verb in Mangghuer, since it shares neither the morphological nor the syntactic characteristics of verbs in this language. This copula, then, is a nonverbal particle.

This same borrowing has been reported also for Baonan (C. Li 1983:46–7) and for Santa (Field 1997:355–7), with similar structural behavior.

As shown in Table 4.3, there are suppletive negative forms of the copula. Example (17) illustrates a negative equational with the objective negative equational copula *puzhang*.

- (17) *qi ti ningger=ni kao puzhang.*
 2:SG that old:woman=GEN son OBJ:NEG:COP
 You aren't that old lady's son.

(Madage 28; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.2.4.2 Predicate adjective copular clauses

These copular clauses predicate a quality of a subject NP, using a predicate adjective. Syntactically, these constructions are of the form: NP Adjective COP(Attributive). The sole noun phrase in a predicate adjective copular clause is the syntactic subject, and it appears in nominative case.

Since there is a particular set of descriptive words which can be identified as appearing in this type of construction, attributive clauses provide evidence for adjectives as a separate syntactic category.

In (18), we see an example of a predicate adjective copular clause with the adjective *saihang* 'beautiful.'

- (18) *gan saihang bang*
 3:SG beautiful OBJ:COP
 she's beautiful

(Qing Yongzhang)

A negative example is provided in (19) with the objective attributive copula (*u*)*guang*.

- (19) *gan wunduer (u)guang*
 3:SG tall OBJ:NEG:COP
 S/he is not tall.

(Qing Yongzhang)

There is an additional type of attributive clause which appears quite frequently, and has an intensified sense; whereas (18) meant ‘she is beautiful,’ (20) means ‘she is very beautiful.’

- (20) *gan saihang=ni ting ge-jiang*
 3:SG beautiful=GEN this do-OBJ:PERF
 she’s very beautiful

(Qing Yongzhang)

Intensives of a similar sort may also be made with the verb *ala* ‘kill.’ An example is (21).

- (21) *tige kong wunduer=ni ala-jiang*
 that person tall=GEN kill-OBJ:PERF
 that person is very tall

(Qing Yongzhang)

4.2.4.3 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 copula. In almost all cases, the order of elements is: NP/PP(Location) NP COP(attributive). However, it is permissible to reverse the order of the two NPs, although I have not yet found an example of this outside of elicitation.

Example (22) is an existential clause, and (23) illustrates a locational clause.

- (22) *Tiedun=du,*
 past=DAT
 In olden times,

(Human-bear 2)

4.3 VALENCE-CHANGING STRATEGIES

bergandiao ghū=la=nang bang.
 wives:of:brothers two=COLL=REFLPOSS OBJ:COP
 there were two sisters-in-law.

(Human-bear 2–3; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (23) *muni shu zhuozi diere bang*
 1:GEN book table on OBJ:COP
 my book is on the table

(Qing Yongzhang)

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, in (24), the second person dative pronoun *qimai* refers to the possessor of ‘several sons and daughters.’

- (24) *Qimai aguer bulai-di ji-ge=la bang ma,*
 2:SG:DAT daughter child-ASSOC several-CL=COLL OBJ:COP PRT
 You have several sons and daughters,

(Rabbit’s Trick 40; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Because a possessor is expressed as a location, it always appears in the dative/locative case, as does the second singular pronoun in this example.

Negative existential, locational, and possessive clauses are constructed with the negative attributive copula. An example is given in (25); this is a negative locational copular clause.

- (25) *ti shu zhuozi diere (u)guang*
 that book table on OBJ:NEG:COP
 That book is not on the table.

(Qing Yongzhang)

4.3 VALENCE-CHANGING STRATEGIES

Speakers have at their disposal two major strategies for changing the valence of a clause: some individual verbs 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.

4.3.1 Variable argument structure for individual verbs

Examples (26) and (27) show that the verb *tiejie* ‘feed’ has variable argument structure. In (26), *asisinang* ‘livestock,’ the semantic recipient, appears as a direct object, with the reflexive possessive enclitic *=nang*. However, in (27), which was produced just a few clauses

later by the same speaker, the semantic recipient *mori* ‘horses’ appears in dative case, and the direct object argument *kebeghenang* ‘my own wheat bran’ is the semantic patient.⁵

- (26) *Bi asi-si=nang tiejie-ni,*
 1:SG livestock-PL=REFLPOSS feed-SUBJ:FUT
 I will feed my livestock,
 (Filial Obedience 22; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (27) *kebeghe=nang bi mori=du=nang tiejie-ni.*
 wheat:bran=REFLPOSS 1:SG horse=DAT=REFLPOSS feed-SUBJ:FUT
 “I will feed my wheat bran to my horses” (Elder Brother said).
 (Filial Obedience 29; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, *wuni* ‘ride’ sometimes takes a direct object (28), and sometimes instead takes a dative of location (29).

- (28) *mori-si=nang wuni,*
 horse-PL=REFLPOSS ride
 (he) rode his horses,
 (A Hired Farmhand 70; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (29) *tingsa qi muni tiemie=du wuni sao a.*
 then 2:SG 1:SG:GEN camel=DAT ride sit PRT
 then you may ride on my camel (the person said).
 (Monkey 94; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

I have observed this situation with only a few verbs; it is not clear whether it is limited to just these few, or whether the same is true of other Mangghuer verbs, as well.

4.3.2 Causatives

Causatives are an important valence-changing device in Mangghuer, appearing in 120 of the approximately 1,500 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. Semantically, these constructions indicate that an event has been caused or allowed by the syntactic subject.

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 (30) is a non-causative with the intransitive verb *ber* ‘become,’ (which here has the sense ‘become well’ or ‘become ok’); compare this with (31), produced by the same speaker, which is a causative construction with the same verb. In (30), the subject *bieqin* ‘illness’ appears in nominative case. In (31), the verb has become transitive and the daughter, the referent who experiences the ‘becoming well’ and 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.

- (30) *gan=ni aguer=ni bieqin ber-jiang.*
 3:SG=GEN daughter=GEN illness become-OBJ:PERF
 (and then) his daughter's illness got better.
 (Sangbura 289; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (31) *qi gan=ni aguer=ni ber-gha-lang.*
 2:SG 3:SG=GEN daughter=ACC become-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
 you (can) make his daughter become well.
 (Sangbura 164; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, (32) and (33) show corresponding constructions with a transitive verb. In (32), the non-causative verb *di* 'eat' calls for an agent (*qi* 'you,' appearing in nominative case) and a patient (*muni mughani* 'my meat,' appearing in accusative case).

- (32) *qi muni mugha=ni bao di,*
 2:SG 1:SG:GEN meat=ACC PROHIB eat
 you don't eat my flesh,
 (A Cow Mother 42; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

When a causative is created with the verb *di* 'eat', as in (33), 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.

- (33) *Tasi muni songziwer=ni nangda di-gha-ji?*
 2:PL 1:SG:GEN grandson=ACC 1:SG:DAT eat-CAUSE-IMPERF
 Why did you make me eat my grandson?
 (Filial Obedience 45; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 following casemarking continuum: 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 seen in (34), where *gan=du* 'he=DAT' is the causee.

- (34) *Laoye gan=du ge ji-gha-jiang bai.*
 living:buddha 3:SG=DAT once look-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Living Buddha let him see (this).
 (A Hired Farmhand 59; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.4 AUXILIARY VERBS

Besides causatives, the dative case is also used for various other obliques. Thus, in the second clause of (35), which is bracketed, we have a causative construction in which the dative marks a locative expression, rather than the causee.

- (35) *Jie=ni aguer=du tuosi kaker di-gha-ku*
 self=GEN daughter=DAT oil cake eat-CAUSE-IMPERF
 [*ger=du sao-gha-lang*].
 house=DAT sit-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF

(The stepmother) had her own daughter eat oily cake and [had (her) sit at home].

(A Cow Mother 7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In some few cases, a dative oblique like this might look like a causee. Consider (36): 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.

- (36) *Ting ge ni erqighe aguer ge bianli danang*
 that do this spindle daughter SG:INDEF become after
 [*ningger=du yama china-gha-jiang*].
 old:woman=DAT food cook-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF

Then this spindle became a girl and afterwards [(she) prepared meals for the old lady].

(Shalangguer’s Story 103; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Structurally, it appears that the bracketed clause could also be interpreted to mean “this spindle changed into a girl and (the girl) caused the old lady to 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 physical transformations, she became the spindle mentioned here. Since she was a wronged woman of noble character, the hearer expects that the spindle will become an agent of benevolence, rather than one bringing harm to others, and this final line meets this expectation only if *ningger=du* is beneficiary, rather than a causee.

4.4 AUXILIARY VERBS

Mangghuer has ten auxiliary verbs, all of which are etymologically native Mongolic items. These are listed in (37):

(37) Auxiliary verbs

a	<i>da</i>	‘cannot’
b	<i>ge</i>	‘do’
c	<i>sao</i>	‘sit’
d	<i>ri</i>	‘come’
e	<i>xi</i>	‘go’
f	<i>yao</i>	‘go’
g	<i>bao</i>	‘go down’
h	<i>gher</i>	‘go out’
i	<i>hu</i>	‘give’
j	<i>bi, bang</i>	ATTRIBUTIVE COPULA

Items (37a–i) will be described in sections 4.4.1–4.4.8. The copulas (37j) appear as auxiliaries with the nonfinite verb markers *-ser* ‘PROGRESSIVE,’ *-la* ‘IMPERFECTIVE,’ *-der* ‘should,’ and also with nominalizations; these will be the subject of section 4.4.9.

With only one exception, the verbs listed in (37) 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, and these will be outlined here, before we turn to individual consideration of each of the auxiliaries.

In a main verb + auxiliary construction, the main verb is nonfinite. There are six morphological 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 five nonfinite markings (*-ji*, *-ser*, *-la*, *-der*, or *-sang*, depending on the specific construction) which will be described in the following sections. Some auxiliaries allow variation in the marking of their accompanying main verbs, while some are quite restrictive; I will note in the following sections what range of main verb morphological behavior is associated with each of the auxiliaries.

An auxiliary verb always follows the main verb. The auxiliary verb (the final one, if more than one is present in a particular clause) 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 another clause, on which it is dependent.

Let us illustrate these facts with two examples before continuing. In (38), the auxiliary *da* ‘cannot’ appears with the main verb *keli* ‘speak.’ The main verb is nonfinite, appearing as a bare stem, and the auxiliary bears the finite morphology for the clause.

- (38) *ge keli da-lang bai.*
 word say cannot-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
 (but) could not speak.

(Sangbura 91; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In line 64 of example (39), we have the auxiliary *ri* ‘come’ with the main verb *khari* ‘return.’ Here, the main verb has the nonfinite suffix *-ji*. Additionally, this whole

clause is dependent; the auxiliary bears the nonfinite morphology appropriate to signal this clause's external relations.

- (39) *Ni bayang kong ger=du=nang khari-ji ri-sa,*
 this rich person house=DAT=REFLPOSS return-IMPERF come-COND
 When this rich man returned to his home,
 (Two Wives 64)

gan huguer shu mushi-lang gelang.
 3:SG cow book read-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
 he, the cow, was reading, they say.
 (Two Wives 64–5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Notice that the hearsay evidential marker *gelang*, which appears as the final word in (39), is *not* an auxiliary verb. *Gelang* 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 it therefore fails a structural test for auxiliary status. The functions of *gelang* will be described in 4.7.5, below, where it is treated as a sentence-final particle, like the emphatic particle *bai* in (38).

We now look at 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 with which they combine.

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 4.5). 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 may prototypically be considered to express a single event. For those auxiliaries which can also function as main verbs, this means that they are somewhat semantically bleached when they function as auxiliaries. For example, *ri* 'come' 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, as it is for example in the main verb *khari* 'return' in (39).

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 some types of clause combining. Historically, most auxiliaries derive from main verbs, and at present, some constructions are intermediate between status as sequences of clauses or verb + auxiliary constructions. In the following sections, 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.

4.4.1 Auxiliary *da* ‘cannot’

The auxiliary verb *da* means ‘cannot.’ This is the only auxiliary verb which has just auxiliary functions; *da* never appears as a main verb.

Syntactically, *da* always appears immediately after a suffixless main verb stem and bears finite or nonfinite morphology appropriate to its clause. In (40) *da* is illustrated in a perfective clause, with the main verb *zhuo* ‘wear.’

- (40) *gugu ghuasi=nang zhuo da-jiang.*
 cuckoo feather=REFLPOSS wear cannot-OBJ:PERF
 (that they) couldn’t put on their cuckoo feathers.
 (Madage 101; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In (41) we find *da* in an imperfective clause with the main verb *gher* ‘go out’ and the additional auxiliary *xi* ‘go.’

- (41) *Daighai gher-ji xi da-lang ma,*
 never go:out-IMPERF go cannot-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
 (She) could never go out,
 (Human-bear 22; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In (42), the main verb is *ber* ‘become,’ and *da* is nonfinite, so this clause is dependent on the one which follows it.

- (42) *Du queshi ber da-sa,*
 now really become cannot-COND
 Now if (you) really can’t stand it,
 (Sangbura 75; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.4.2 High transitivity auxiliary *ge* ‘do’

When appearing as a main verb, *ge* means ‘do’ or ‘say.’ This morpheme has an extremely interesting history, which is outlined in section 7.1.3.

As an auxiliary, *ge* is used to indicate that the action of the (zero-suffixed) 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.

Example (43) shows how *ge* is used with *di* ‘eat.’ If we compare this with (44), which has the same verb but 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.

- (43) *nughuai pusa di ge-jiang.*
 dog another eat do-OBJ:PERF
 the dog also ate (it).

(Sangbura 65; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (44) *San-ge=la yi-ren diger ge di-jiang.*
 three-CL=COLL one-person little:bit SG:INDEF eat-OBJ:PERF
 The three of them each ate a little bit.

(Three Daughters 48; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 *di* ‘eat,’ as in (43), and also with verbs such as *ala* ‘kill,’ or *bula* ‘bury.’ In the rest of this section, 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 with which it appears. 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 in 4.9.2.2, below, unmarked objects tend to be less affected by the action of the verb, whereas highly affected ones are generally marked. This correlation, then, also suggests that *ge* normally appears with highly affected patients.

However, *ge* does not appear only with verbs which have a transitive argument structure.⁶ Example (45) shows that *ge* may also appear with a main verb that takes only a single argument:

- (45) *Adi gan yao ge-jiang bai.*
 dad 3:SG go do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Dad, he had left.

(Three Daughters 40; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In situations like (45), 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 of 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 (46), the horse is an unexpected agent. A woman has been waiting for a prophesied piece of fruit to fall from the heavens, which is supposed to bring her a child if she eats it. 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.

- (46) *mori di ge-jiang.*
 horse eat do-OBJ:PERF
 (but) the horse ate (it).

(Madage 21; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Another transitivity 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.

In summary, then, several factors show that the auxiliary *ge* ‘do’ is used to indicate a high degree of transitivity in the clauses in which it appears.

4.4.3 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. Second, *sao* can also be used to indicate a high degree of affectedness of an experiencer subject; in this latter function, it is in some ways a counterpart to *ge*, discussed in the previous section.

Like *da* and *ge*, *sao* is used as an auxiliary with a suffixless main verb.

4.4.3.1 Ongoing action

Actions which are ongoing may be expressed with *sao* as an auxiliary, as in the bracketed second clause of (47). This can be seen as a metaphorical extension of the meaning of ‘stay’ to indicate ‘staying in a particular state.’

- (47) *Gan wower=du=nang kedie [dimei=ni di sao-jiang].*
 3:SG cave=DAT=REFLPOSS lie bread=ACC eat sit-OBJ:PERF
 It lay in its cave, [eating the bread].

(Rabbit’s Trick 57; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, for actions which are repeated over time, *sao* can be used to indicate this fact. Thus, the disappearing reported in line 17 of (48) occurs repeatedly, every day, over some unspecified extended period.

- (48) *jiaoduer gan=ni khuergha ge hugu-lang,*
 every:day 3:SG=GEN lamb SG:INDEF die-OBJ:IMPERF
 (because) every day one of her lambs died,

(Monster Girl 15)

hugu-lang ge,
 die-OBJ:IMPERF QUOTE
 (she) said (one) died,

(Monster Girl 16)

khuergha ge guida sao-lang ma.
 lamb SG:INDEF disappear sit-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
 a lamb disappeared.

(Monster Girl 15–17; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, it is the *repeated* disappearing which justifies the use of the auxiliary *sao* in line 17.

4.4.3.2 Affectedness of experiencer subjects

There are other instances, however, in which *sao* appears with punctual events, and in these cases the event does not continue 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 (49) and (50), which describe the same event from two different perspectives, we can see that these two auxiliaries do, in fact, serve complementary functions:

- (49) *Yehu kao-xujun=nang hugu-gha ge-jiang.*
 fox son-daughter=REFLPOSS die-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
 Fox caused his children to die.

(Rabbit’s Trick 75; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (50) *Ni=ni xian=du muni kao-xujun hugu sao-jiang.*
 this=GEN reason=DAT 1:SG:GEN son-daughter die sit-OBJ:PERF
 Because of this one, my children died.

(Rabbit’s Trick 62; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (49), where the narrator relates Fox’s (unintentional) action, is like those which we saw above, where *ge* is used to indicate high transitivity: it includes a highly agentive (albeit unwilling) agent, a highly affected patient, and a perfective verb. In (50), where Fox complains about what happened, the argument structure is quite different. There is neither agent nor patient. However, there is a highly affected participant, which is the subject *kaoxujun* ‘children.’ In this clause, the subject is an experiencer which undergoes a change as a result of the action 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 (51). Here, the speaker’s lateness is being caused by the actions of his addressee, and *sao* seems to suggest that the experience of being late is happening to the speaker.

- (51) *bi wuda sao-jiang,*
 1:SG be:late sit-OBJ:PERF
 I am late,

(Shalanguer’s Story 24; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

We might note that, when *sao* functions in this way, the clause is usually perfective, as in both (50) and (51). This is different from the behavior we saw in the previous section, where *sao* indicated ongoing sorts of meanings and usually 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 be parallel to the use of 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 one cross-linguistically common linguistic discourse function of passive constructions, 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 (51) would have been an experiencer subject, too, had *sao* not been used. Thus, this construction cannot be considered a passive.⁷

4.4.4 Movement toward: 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 (52) 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 toward the speakers, rather than away from them (this utterance is attributed to the characters Fox and Wolf together, addressing a rabbit who has tricked them).

- (52) *qi mali gher-ji ri*,
 2:SG quickly go:out-IMPERF come
 you come out quickly,
 (Rabbit’s Trick 67; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

When *ri* is used as an auxiliary, the main verb normally bears the nonfinite imperfective suffix *-ji*, which appears in (52). However, when the main verb is *gher*, as in (52), there is some variation; in many cases, speakers do not use *-ji* in this same situation. This seems to be true only for *gher*. All other verbs which I have observed usually do have *-ji* when *ri* appears as their auxiliary. However, the variation in the marking of *gher* suggests that similar variation might be possible with other verbs, as well.

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:

- (53) *mula kong khari-ji ri-jiang*.
 small person return-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
 the young man (Stupid Boy) returned (to his wife’s home).
 (Stupid Boy 56; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 the storyteller herself. Rather, the narrator has here adopted the perspective of one of the characters, and the auxiliary *ri* shows that the motion is toward that character.

In the most abstract cases, *ri* appears when there is no physical motion at all. This is illustrated in the next example:

- (54) *Aguer-si=ni gedie-si luosi-ji ri-jiang.*
 daughter-PL=GEN belly-PL be:hungry-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
 The girls’ stomachs became hungry.
 (Three Daughters 34; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 of *sao* ‘sit,’ in 4.4.3, though, this does not have a valence-changing effect. The auxiliary does not change the argument structure of the main verb *luosi* ‘hunger.’

4.4.5 Movement away: auxiliaries *xi* ‘go’ and *yao* ‘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 (55), where the event of walking around moves away from the speaker’s current location:

- (55) “*Du bi qi=ni houyan=du ge langla-ji*
 now 1:SG 2:SG=GEN back:courtyard=DAT once walk:around-IMPERF
xi-a.”
 go-VOL
 “Now I’ll go walking around in your back courtyard,” (she said).
 (Monkey 61; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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, where the second line simply asserts the event promised in the first. I do not believe that the change from presence to absence of *-ji* is conditioned by anything else in these lines; this appears to be simply a case of free variation.

- (56) “*bi ana=ni shuduer-ji xi-ni.*”
 1:SG mother=ACC lead-IMPERF go-SUBJ:FUT
 “(but) I will take mother and go” (Youngest Son said).
 (Filial Obedience 11)

Gan ana=nang shuduer xi-jiang.

3:SG mother=REFLPOSS lead go-OBJ:PERF

He took his mother and went,

(Filial Obedience 11–12; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

However, it is more common to find *-ji* present in such instances than to find it absent.

Like *ri*, *xi* also can be used from the perspective of someone other than the speaker. Thus, in (57), it is from the characters’ perspective that movement toward the outside is considered *going*, rather than *coming*.

(57) *yao-ji diamang=du gher-ji xi-jiang.*

go-IMPERF door=DAT go:out-IMPERF go-OBJ:PERF

(they) walked outside to the gate.

(Stupid Boy 74; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 (58), the speaker is realizing that someone overheard, and thus stole, secrets that he and his friends had shared. He says:

(58) *Ni zou mieshi=ni xiaoxi=ni khulu chenli xi-jiang.*

this thus first=GEN news=ACC peep hear go-OBJ:PERF

So this one overheard the previous news.

(Sangbura 364; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This subjective use of *xi* expresses motion only in the most abstract sense.

I have seen just a few instances in which *yao* ‘go’ is apparently used as an auxiliary. When this occurs, it appears that *yao* functions just as does *xi* in similar contexts, expressing movement away from the speaker or from the perspective being adopted. In (59), for example, the speaker claims to have seen someone go down under the ice covering a river, away from where the speaker himself is located:

(59) “*ni mersi duoruo ruo yao-ba.*”

this ice under enter go-SUBJ:PERF

“this one went under the ice.”

(Monkey 100; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

It appears, then, that *yao* may function as a motion auxiliary much like *xi*. However, *xi* appears in this function vastly more commonly than does *yao*, which usually expresses an actual event of motion, and sometimes means ‘walk,’ rather than simply ‘go.’ This verb, then, has not traveled as far along the path of grammaticalization into auxiliary status as has *xi*.

4.4.6 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 main verbs which would call for a motion auxiliary with such specific semantics.

Most often in my data, *bao* appears as an auxiliary with *deghe* ‘to fall.’ This is illustrated in (60):

- (60) *Gan san-ge duoke-tula duoke-ku suguo terghai gan*
 3:SG three-CL chop-before chop-IMPERF axe head 3:SG
*Shalangguer=ni ger=du deghe**ba**o-jiang bai.*
 Shalangguer=GEN house=DAT fall go:down-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Before he chopped three times, (his) axe-head fell down into Shalangguer’s home.
 (Shalangguer’s Story 9; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

When *bao* appears as an auxiliary, it is common to find that either of the auxiliaries *xi* ‘go’ or *ri* ‘come’ also appears in the same construction. Consider (61):

- (61) “*muni suguo qi=ni ger=du deghe**ba**o ri-jiang.*”
 1:SG:GEN axe 2:SG=GEN house=DAT fall go:down come-OBJ:PERF
 “my axe fell down into your home.”
 (Shalangguer’s Story 12; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This example is like (60), with the addition of the auxiliary *ri* ‘come,’ which indicates that the direction of the downward motion is toward the perspective currently being adopted.

We saw in earlier sections that motion auxiliaries allow variation in the morphological marking of their main verbs. *Bao* is also of this type. A nice contrast to example (61), in which both nonfinite verbs are morphologically unmarked, is provided by (62), in which the same two verbs are marked with the nonfinite marker *-ji*.

- (62) *dong-guo ge deghe**ba**o-j*ji* **ba**o-j*ji* ri-ni.*
 winter-fruit SG:INDEF fall-IMPERF go:down-IMPERF come-SUBJ:FUT
 a winter pear will fall down.
 (Madage 13; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

We have already seen that some other auxiliaries allow a main verb to be marked with either *-ji* or *-Ø*; in (61) and (62) we see that a verb preceding *bao* can also vary morphologically in the same way.

4.4.7 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 proceeds in an upward or outward direction from its starting point. Thus, we find *gher* with the main verb *lake* ‘pull’ in (63):

- (63) *Gaga=ni gan-si lake gher-gha-jiang.*
 elder:brother=ACC 3:SG-PL pull go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 Elder Brother, they dragged out.
 (Sangbura 360; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The elder brother is hiding, and he is pulled *out of* his hiding place; the auxiliary *gher* expresses the outward direction.

Like *bao*, *gher* often appears with an additional auxiliary *xi* or *ri*, expressing the direction of going out as toward or away from someone whose perspective is adopted. Thus, in (64), 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 (53), above.)

- (64) *Tingsa gan a sangba-ji gher-ji ri-ba.*
 then 3:SG also climb-IMPERF go:out-IMPERF come-SUBJ:PERF
 Then she also (started) climbing up.
 (Monster Girl 60; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Like other motion auxiliaries, *gher* also allows variation in whether the main verb is marked as nonfinite by *-Ø* or *-ji*.

4.4.8 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 (65):

- (65) *Huguer=du tiejie-gha hu-lang.*
 cow=DAT feed-CAUSE give-OBJ:IMPERF
 (so she) had Cow feed on (them).
 (A Cow Mother 10; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Again, we should note that the auxiliary does not change the argument structure of the verb. In (65), the causee argument is already required, because of the use of the causative suffix *-gha* (see also 4.3.2, above). *Hu* functions only to indicate that this action is for the benefit of the causee.

As we saw with the motion auxiliaries 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 (66) may be contrasted with (65) to show both of these facts.

- (66) *Huguer jiaoduer gan=du manten ba-ji hu-lang.*
 cow every:day 3:SG=DAT bread defecate-IMPERF give-OBJ:IMPERF
 Cow defecated bread for her every day.
 (A Cow Mother 11; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, since the causative marker does not appear on the main verb, it appears that the auxiliary *hu* does function to add a benefactive argument to the clause. However, it is also possible that the benefactive could have been added, whether or not *hu* were used. I have not yet had the opportunity to investigate the details of benefactives of this sort, which occur only rarely in the natural texts that I have examined.

4.4.9 Attributive copulas as auxiliaries

The final type of auxiliary verb is the attributive copula. There are two different constructions of this type. The first uses a nonfinite verb marked with progressive *-ser*, imperfective *-la*, or *-der* ‘should,’ and the second involves a nominalized clause.

4.4.9.1 Verb with *-ser*, *-la*, or *-der* + attributive copula

The progressive marker *-ser* has several syntactic functions. One of these is its appearance on a main verb, followed by a copula, to create a clause with the meaning ‘be doing X,’ as in (67):

- (67) *Mang’huzi Aguer cai=nang chaoke-ser bang,*
 monster daughter food=REFLPOSS fry-PROG OBJ:COP
 Monster Girl was cooking her food,
 (Monster Girl 49; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

For clause-combining functions of *-ser*, see section 6.2.3.8.

A second type of copular auxiliary was presented in the discussion of finite declarative morphology (section 4.1.2.2.1). This is the subjective declarative imperfective form, which is built with the imperfective auxiliary linker *-la* and the attributive copula, as is shown in (68):

- (68) *Bi ti-ge ruang=du xi-la bi.*
 1:SG that-CL place=DAT go-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
 I am going to that place.
 (Sangbura 239; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This should be considered to be a syntactic construction with nonfinite verb + copula. However, since the corresponding objective form *-lang* does not have a separate copula, I chose to include these forms together in the presentation of finite verb morphology, section 4.1.2.2.1, above. In reality, though, 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 suffixes *-la* and *-der* (to be discussed below) are a special type of nonfinite form which appears only in monoclausal auxiliary verb constructions. In this way, *-la* and *-der* differ from the other nonfinite markers which we have seen in verb + auxiliary constructions, since each of these other forms (*-Ø*, *-ji*, and *-ser*) also appears in some clause-combining environments (see Chapter 6). Thus, a special label “auxiliary linker” may be applied to just *-la* and *-der*, to indicate their unique morphosyntactic behavior.

The imperfective auxiliary linker *-la* also appears with negative copulas, as in the following example, provided by Qing Yongzhang in elicitation:

- (69) *bi ri-la gui*
 1:SG come-IMPERF SUBJ:COP:NEG
 I am not coming
 (Qing Yongzhang)

Only one negative construction of this type appears in the folktales; it is given in (70):

- (70) *khura bao-la guang.*
 rain go:down-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
 rain doesn't fall.
 (Sangbura 211; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

I have not seen any examples of the progressive marker *-ser* used in negative contexts like (69) and (70).

Like the imperfective auxiliary linker *-la*, the auxiliary linker *-der* is also used only in verb + auxiliary constructions. In the few examples I have seen, it has a modal function, indicating that an act ought or ought not to be undertaken.

A folktale example of *-der* is given in (71), where in the first two lines we find the verb + auxiliary construction, and then in the third line the same verb *guaila* ‘to blame’ appears in a finite form.

- (71) *Ni qimai=du guaila-der guang.*
 this 2:SG:DAT=DAT blame-should OBJ:NEG:COP
 This shouldn't be blamed on you,
 (Rabbit's Trick 78)
- namei=du ye guaila-der guang.*
 1:SG:DAT=DAT also blame-should OBJ:NEG:COP
 (it) also shouldn't be blamed on me,
 (Rabbit's Trick 79)

Huashi=ni guaila-kuniang.
fashi=ACC blame-OBJ:FUT
 The *fashi* will be blamed.

(Rabbit's Trick 78–80; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

A contrasting pair of positive and negative examples provided by Li Xingzhong (p.c.) is given in (72) and (73).

- (72) *tin=du xi-der bang*
 there=LOC go-should OBJ:COP
 It's worth going there; there are reasons why one should go there.
 (Li Xingzhong)

- (73) *tin=du xi-der guang*
 there=LOC go-should OBJ:NEG:COP
 One shouldn't go there; there's no reason to go there.
 (Li Xingzhong)

4.4.9.2 Nominalized clause + negative attributive copula

As is common in Mongolic languages, one way to accomplish negation is by the 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*.

- (74) *bi hai=nang musi-sang gui.*
 1:SG shoe=REFLPOSS wear-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP
 I haven't put on my shoes.
 (Shalangguer's Story 19; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (75) *Huer qige-sang guang.*
 monkey see-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
 (so) Monkey did not see (her).
 (Monkey 96; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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, *-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*, on the other hand, does not seem to be used in negative constructions such as these.

This final type of auxiliary verb construction serves as an introduction to the topic of the next section—a systematic treatment of Mangghuer clausal negation strategies.

4.5 NEGATION

Mangghuer provides three basic strategies for clausal negation: preverbal negative particles; a negative auxiliary verb; and negative copulas.

4.5.1 Negative particles

There are three monosyllabic negative particles. Each bears stress, and is considered a separate phonological word. Negative particles always appear immediately preceding the first word in the verb complex of a clause. No other constituents can be interposed.

4.5.1.1 Negative *lai*

The most commonly-occurring negative particle, appearing in the widest range of contexts, is *lai*. In the vast majority of cases, this form appears with verbs which are imperfective, as in (76) and (77):

- (76) *Qi wuge lai maidie-lang,*
 2:SG word NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
 You do not understand language,
 (Sangbura 181; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (77) *Qi lai sao-sa ba ma bi aguer=nang lai ala.*
 2:SG NEG sit-COND PRT PRT 1:SG daughter=REFLPOSS NEG kill
 If you will not stay, OK, (but) I will not kill my daughter.
 (Monster Girl 26; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

However, *lai* does appear with a few perfective verbs in my data. An example is given in (78):

- (78) *Ni kong gan lai chengrengla-jiang.*
 this person 3:SG NEG consent-OBJ:PERF
 This man, he didn't consent.
 (A Hired Farmhand 26; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Perfectives like (78) constitute over 10 percent of the uses of *lai* in the folktales (5 of a total of 48), so although *lai* usually appears with imperfectives, it appears also with some frequency in perfective contexts.⁸

There is apparently some variation among Mangghuer dialects as to the phonological form of this negative particle. The Mangghuer materials included in Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al. (1996) often use the form *ai* where *lai* would have been expected in the folktale database, and *ai* also appears in a number of the folktales included in Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming) which were not part of my original database.

4.5.1.2 Perfective negative *sai*

The label “perfective negative” is somewhat tentative. The negative form *sai* appears only a few times in my folktale database, always with perfective verbs. However, *sai*

also appears frequently in the Mangghuer examples of Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al. (1996:28–62), in clearly perfective contexts. *Sai* is illustrated in line 15 of (79):

- (79) *Mula Bulai ana=du=nang di-gha-ku-ni*
 small child mother=DAT=REFLPOSS eat-CAUSE-IMPERF-NOMLZR
yang a guang bai,
 what also OBJ:NEG:COP EMPH
 There was nothing that Youngest Son could have his mother eat,
 (Filial Obedience 14)

tingsa gan-si yang a sai hu-jiang bai.
 later 3:SG-PL what also NEG give-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 because they hadn't given (him) anything.
 (Filial Obedience 14–15; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.5.1.3 Prohibitive *bao*

The negative particle *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 clausal subject may be included when these constructions are negated, but an overt subject is not required and is often omitted.

Examples (80) and (81) are prohibitive imperatives:

- (80) *qi muni mugha=ni bao di-Ø,*
 2:SG 1:SG:GEN meat=ACC PROHIB eat-IMPER
 you don't eat my flesh,
 (A Cow Mother 42; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (81) *Bao xi-gha-Ø!*
 PROHIB go-CAUSE-IMPER
 (You) don't let (her) go (with him)!
 (Stupid Boy 81; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (82) is a prohibitive voluntative:

- (82) *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 13; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (83) is a prohibitive hortative:

- (83) *bao ri-ge*
 PROHIB come-HORT
 ‘let him/her not come’

(Qing Yongzhang)

Two alternative forms of the prohibitive negative appear, though rarely, in the folktales: *bai* and *bu*. The latter appears only in the story “Three Girls, a Monster and a Peddler” (Z. Chen et al., forthcoming), and probably represents a borrowing of the Chinese negative *bu* 不, since that story was told by a speaker whose first language was Qinghai Chinese.⁹

4.5.2 Negative auxiliary *da*- ‘cannot’

The auxiliary *da* means ‘cannot,’ and is a frequently-appearing means of negation. It has been described in 4.4.1, above.

4.5.3 Negative copulas

In Table 4.3 we saw morphologically suppletive negative forms of both the equational and attributive copulas. These negative copula forms are used to build clauses of two types, both of which have already been illustrated in earlier discussions.

First, both the negative equational and the negative attributive copulas are used to create negative copular clauses; these were illustrated in sections 4.2.4.1–4.2.4.3, above.

The second construction type, which involves negative attributive copulas, is negation with a nominalized clause. Constructions of this type were illustrated in section 4.4.9.2.

4.5.4 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 in Mangghuer. Let’s consider a few of these here.

The Mongolian 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 Mongolian negative copula (Bese 1974:5), is cognate with the Mangghuer negative attributive copula (*u*)*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 synchronic function. However, these forms are descended from negatives which were more clearly distinct in function. Bese (1974:4) observes: “the negative particle *ülü* occurs exclusively before the verb and is used to express the negative form of verbs ‘non.past.’” This particle is cognate with Mangghuer *lai*. On the other hand, “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 form is cognate with Mangghuer *sai*.

In sections 4.5.1.1 and 4.5.1.2, 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*, at least in some dialects.

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 attributive 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 negation strategies, then, have been inherited from Mongolic, though their range of functions seems to have shifted somewhat over time.

4.6 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) morphologically 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 syntactic 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 preverbal major constituent.

The particles which fall into this class can be roughly translated as follows: *han* ‘still,’ *hanshi* ‘still,’ *yigua* ‘totally,’ *ge* ‘once,’ *zou* ‘thus, so,’ *pusa* ‘again,’ *yan* ‘again,’ *xian* ‘first,’ and *yizhi* ‘continually.’ It is interesting to note that a number of these are borrowed words. In the remainder of this section I will exemplify each of these forms.

Han and *hanshi* both mean ‘still,’ and are probably borrowed from Chinese *hai*(*shi*) 还(是) ‘still, yet,’ which Zhang and Zhu (1987:290) transcribe as [xâ] for Xining Chinese dialect. Example (84) illustrates the use of *hanshi*:

- (84) *bi* ***hanshi*** *luosi* *hugu-kuniang* *bai*.
 1:SG still be:hungry die-OBJ:FUT EMPH
 I will still hunger to death.

(The Rabbit Judge 44; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Han can also be used with intensive meaning; in (85) it is translated ‘extremely:’

- (85) “*Ni han guai=ni ala-jiang!*”
 this extremely strange=GEN kill-OBJ:PERF
 “This is extremely strange!” (the evil wife thought).
 (Two Wives 42; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The adverbial particle *yigua* means ‘totally’ or ‘all of them.’ It appears fairly frequently in the folktales, usually following the subject (if one is present). Hasibate (1986:12) reports that the form *igua* in Mongghul is borrowed from Chinese (一挂 *yigua*), so this is probably the etymology of the Mangghuer word *yigua*, as well.

Example (86) shows the use of *yigua*.

- (86) *Bi yigua dong=du shi-ji-tian naila,*
 1:SG totally hole=DAT ten-several-day be.hungry
 I have been totally hungry for ten to twenty days in the hole,
 (The Rabbit Judge 20; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In section 3.2.6.1.1, 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; sometimes it can be translated ‘once’ or ‘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.

- (87) *Du qi ge keli.*
 now 2:SG a:bit say
 Now you say a bit.
 (The Rabbit Judge 47; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (88) *Bulai zou “bi ge langla-ya,”*
 child thus 1:SG a:bit walk:around-VOL
 So the boy (said) “I’ll walk around a bit,”
 (Monster Girl 43; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Another adverbial particle which also appears in (88) is the Sinitic borrowing *zou* (Chinese *jiu* 就) ‘thus, also,’ which appears in second position within its clause. Discussion of the functions of *zou* is presented in 4.8.1, below, where its role as a discourse connector is emphasized.

The adverb *pusa* means ‘another’ or ‘again.’ It is Mongolic. The use of *pusa* is illustrated in (89).

- (89) *Renxun gan pusa yerri ri-jiang,*
 human:bear 3:SG again look:for come-OBJ:PERF
 Human-bear, he came again to look (for Elder Sister-in-law),
 (Human-bear 30; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.7 FINAL PARTICLES

The word *yan* means ‘again,’ and is illustrated in (90). I do not know the origin of this word.

- (90) *Du qi Chuna yan nukuang=du=nang bao.*
 now 2:SG wolf again hole=DAT=REFLPOSS go:down
 Now you, Wolf, go down in your hole again.
 (The Rabbit Judge 53; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Another Chinese borrowing is *xian* (先), which means ‘first’ but which appears in second position in its clause, as in (91):

- (91) *qi xian nughuai=du=nang nudu ge=nang waji*
 2:SG first dog=DAT=REFLPOSS eye SG:INDEF=REFLPOSS dig
hu a,
 give PRT
 you first dig out one of your eyes for your dog (to eat),
 (Sangbura 51; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Yet another borrowed form is *yizhi*, which also comes from Chinese (一直). This word means ‘directly’ or ‘continually’ in the folktales, where it appears only three times. One of these instances is:

- (92) *Du yizhi kerli luosi wanla danang,*
 now continually beg be:hungry complete after
 Now (he) was continually begging, completely hungry, until,
 (Sangbura 310; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.7 FINAL PARTICLES

Although no major constituents can follow the verb in a Mangghuer clause, there is a set of pragmatic particles which regularly appear in this position. These *final particles* will be described in the following sections.

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 the finite verb of an independent clause: a noun phrase; a sentence-initial temporal oblique; or even the nonfinite verb of a dependent clause.

Final particles are not often produced in elicitation. This is probably because they have pragmatic functions which are highly context-sensitive, 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 additional communicative genres will doubtless considerably broaden our understanding of the particles’ functions.

4.7.1 Emphatic particle *bai*

One of these final particles is *bai*, which was universally identified by my consultants as having ‘emphatic’ force. One speaker told me that it is primarily used by older people, 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 (93) and (94):

- (93) *bulai=ni bosi yao-jiang bai.*
 child=POSS get:up go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 her son left (home).

(Monster Girl 28; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (94) *Ni zou gan=ni wei bang bai,*
 this thus 3:SG=GEN seat OBJ:COP EMPH
 So this was his seat,

(A Hired Farmhand 57; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This particle is probably descended from a Mongolic copula, the same etymon which gave rise to the bilabial stop onset of the Mangghuer copulas *bi* and *bang*. Qinggeertai (1991b:297) cites an identical form *bai* in 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;” see Appendix) uses *bai* at the end of 24 of 68 clauses with finite verbs, or 35 percent of the time. In *Taolaini Pangguan* (“Rabbit’s Judgment”), told by Zhu Wenhui, *bai* occurs only 16 percent of the time, with just 8 of 50 clauses with finite verbs.

4.7.2 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 folktale 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 (95) and (96), which represent, respectively, a prediction received in a dream and a plea by a woman standing in a pot under which a fire has been built:

- (95) *Ti=ni di ma,*
 that=ACC eat PRT
 Eat that,

(Madage 14)

kao ge ri-ni.

son SG:INDEF come-SUBJ:FUT

(and) a son will come (i.e. you will have a son).

(Madage 14–15; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (96) *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 59)

tuli-lang a.
 burn-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
 I'm burning!

(Three Daughters 59–60; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In (95) the command of the first clause is issued to bring about the desirable result of the second clause, whereas obeying the command of the first clause of (96) is intended to prevent the undesirable outcome of the second. The woman who utters (96) apparently hopes that the socks will insulate her feet from the rising heat of the pot in which she is standing.

Almost half of the folktale occurrences of *ma* are in reported speech (see 7.2.2.2), from which we may 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 some of 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 it often follows an imperative verb, as in both (95) and (96). This is true of twenty-one occurrences of *ma* (18 percent of the total), and once again suggests that this particle functions to call for some response on the part of the listener.

Ma 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 4.9.6, below.

My consultant Zhu Yongzhong sometimes translated *ma* with the English conjunctions 'and' or 'but,' and in section 3.2.8 we saw that in some of the Mangghuer data of Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al. (1996) *ma* also appears as a coordinator of nouns. Since, in the primary function 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 independent clauses. More discussion of this point, as well as some examples, can be found in section 6.4.1.1, since in this role, *ma* functions to link clauses into sentences.

4.7.3 Interactional particle *a*¹⁰

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. Consider (97):

- (97) “*Ai*,
EXCL
“*Ai*,
(Stupid Boy 70)

gan=du yi-ger shuer hu-sa,
3:SG=DAT one-CL chopsticks give-COND
when (we) gave him one chopstick,

(Stupid Boy 71)

liang-ger kerli-lang a”
two-CL want-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
(he) asked for two!” (the others said).

(Stupid Boy 70–2; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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, and *a* appears in line 72 at the end of the surprised declaration.

In the next example, the speaker (a monster) is very glad to see the addressee—particularly glad because she intends to eat him. The particle *a* of line 38 probably helps to convey this enthusiasm.

- (98) *Gan bayasi-ji jielie-jiang*.
3:SG glad-IMPERF meet-OBJ:PERF
She welcomed (him) gladly.
(Monster Girl 37)

“*Sao-Ø a*,
sit-IMPER PRT
“Sit,

(Monster Girl 38)

mali bi qimai cai chaoke-la xi-a.”
quickly 1:SG 2:SG:DAT food fry-PURP go-VOL
I'll quickly go to cook some food for you” (she said).

(Monster Girl 37–9; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

One final example is given in (99), spoken by three girls whose father, tired of feeding so many mouths, has abandoned them. They have just discovered the deed, and the particle *a* appears twice as they contemplate how to respond.

- (99) “*Du*,
now
“Now,
(Three Daughters 41)

ya-ni *a?*
what-SUBJ:FUT PRT
what will we do?
(Three Daughters 42)

Da san-ge=la ang=ji yao-ni a?”
1:PL three-CL=COLL where=DIR go-SUBJ:FUT PRT
Where will we three go?
(Three Daughters 41–3; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 thirty examples, and clearly this is insufficient for formulating any detailed characterization of the functions of such an apparently versatile pragmatic device.

It is tempting to note that Standard Mandarin also has a final particle with the phonetic shape *a/ya* (啊). Li and Thompson (1981:313) describe the basic function of Mandarin *a* as that of “reducing the forcefulness of the message conveyed by the sentence.” This is different from the functions of Mangghuer *a* which we have seen in the few examples cited here, but more extensive investigation ought to be carried out; since Standard Mandarin has influenced Mangghuer in so many other areas, some influence might be expected here, as well.

4.7.4 Deliberative particle *sha*

In the folktales, the final particle *sha* has a limited set of functions, and is less frequent than the other particles discussed so far, appearing only fourteen times in the folktales. 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 (100), for example, a sheep bemoans having rescued a wolf from a pit, because the wolf has announced that he now plans to eat his liberator.

- (100) *Bi ni=ni ya=la jiula-ba sha?*
1:SG this=ACC what=INST save-SUBJ:PERF PRT
Why did I save this one?
(The Rabbit Judge 30; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The speaker of (101) has nothing to feed his mother.

- (101) *Du yang di-gha-ni sha?*
 now what eat-CAUSE-SUBJ:FUT PRT
 Now what will (I) have (her) eat?
 (Filial Obedience 16; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The optionality of *sha* can be demonstrated by comparing (101) with (102), which comes from the same story, 17 lines later. Here, the speaker asks himself a similar question, but does not use *sha*.

- (102) *Ana=du yang di-gha-ni?*
 mother=DAT what eat-CAUSE-SUBJ:FUT
 What will (I) have mother eat?
 (Filial Obedience 33; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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.”

- (103) *du qi mali-her sha*
 now 2:SG quick-COMP PRT
 Now you hurry move more quickly!
 (Zhu et al., 1997:447)

Similarly, Zhu Yongzhong told me (p.c.) 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 serving generally to indicate dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs.

Dwyer (1995:158) gives a homophonous particle for Xunhua Chinese, and suggests that it is a tag question form derived from the form *sha* (啥) ‘what,’ which is commonly used in Qinghai dialects of Chinese. The Mangghuer particle *sha* may well have originated as a borrowing of this Chinese form.

4.7.5 Hearsay evidential *gelang*

The final particle *gelang* is morphologically complex, and its internal structure is transparent: it consists of the quotative marker *ge* plus the objective imperfective verb suffix *-lang*. Whether speakers are aware of this internal structure, however, is not clear.

This word occurs clause-finally as a hearsay evidential, 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 preceding material and always follows a finite verb. Its compositional semantic value is something like “it is said” or “they say,” and in the folktale narratives it generally reinforces the fact that an event being related is common knowledge, as in (104).

- (104) *ni honghuang gan=ni ana bang gelang.*
 this phoenix 3:SG=GEN mother OBJ:COP HEARSAY
 this phoenix was his mother, they say.
 (Filial Obedience 58; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The hearsay evidential *gelang* can also cooccur with the final particle *bai*. This is illustrated in (105):

- (105) *Ti=nang di-ku zou yao-jiang gelang bai.*
 that=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF thus go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
 After eating that thing of theirs, then (they) started walking, they say.
 (Three Daughters 53; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 Xianzhen, commenting to me (p.c.) on the use of *gelang* in isolated sentences, noted that this form “emphasizes the sentence” in which it appears. It seems, then, that *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. J. Sun (1993) describes similar constructions for Amdo Tibetan, such as the one given in (106):

- (106) Amdo Tibetan
k^harnəb ne xor-wə-t^hæ se
 last:night fire slip-away-DIRECT:EV QUOTE
 I heard (from someone who saw it happen) that a fire broke out last night.
 (J. Sun 1993:983)

Zhu Yongzhong pointed out to me (p.c.) that Qinghai Mandarin also allows similar constructions, using the verb *shuo* 说 ‘say’ as a hearsay marker:

- (107) Qinghai Mandarin hearsay evidential
ta lai liao shuo
 he/she come PERF say
 3 come PERF say
 S/he came, they say.
 (Zhu Yongzhong)

In fact, constructions of this type are frequently commented on by linguists describing the Chinese dialects of the QGS area: see, for example, X. Cheng (1980:148–9), Zhang and Zhu (1987:287), Dede (1993:83–8), and Zhu et al. (1997:446–7).

Historical discussion of the development of *gelang* and several morphologically related forms, with divergent functions, can be found in section 7.1.3.

4.7.6 Particle *ba*

There is one additional final particle which appears, only once, in the folktales. This particle is *ba*, which is most likely a borrowing of the homophonous Chinese particle *ba* (吧), used to solicit agreement from a hearer (Li and Thompson 1981:307–11), although with only one example to consider, this cannot be certain. The one occurrence of *ba* is given in (108):

- (108) *Qi lai sao-sa ba ma bi aguer=nang lai ala.*
 2:SG NEG sit-COND PRT PRT 1:SG daughter=REFLPOSS NEG kill
 If you will not stay, OK, (but) I will not kill my daughter.
 (Monster Girl 26; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.7.7 Discussion

Taken together, the two most common final particles *ma* and *bai* occur at the end of approximately 20 percent of all clauses with finite verbs in the folktale narratives. These particles are obviously quite important, and worthy of significant additional study. The fact that these two particles never cooccur might suggest that they perform related functions (or simply that their meanings are incompatible). Since at least one of these may cooccur with the hearsay evidential *gelang*, this latter marker's functional load must cut across a different pragmatic category.

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 can only have begun to scratch the surface in describing their full range of uses.

Since many final particles seem clearly to perform interactional functions, we certainly need to take conversational language into account, in 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.

4.8 DISCOURSE CONNECTIVE DEVICES

In this section, we will describe 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 and give information about how the current clause fits into the foregoing discourse.

4.8.1 Resultive marker *zou*

An important discourse marker, which was mentioned briefly in section 4.6, above, is the adverbial particle *zou* 'thus.' My Mangghuer consultants identified *zou* as a borrowed form of the Chinese resultive marker *jiu* (就). This word, which is used forty-six times in the folktales, generally appears in second position within its clause, usually

following the subject but sometimes following a clause-initial adverbial such as *du* ‘now.’ Occasionally, when no other constituent precedes the verb, *zou* itself appears clause-initially.

Generally, *zou* indicates that the current clause is in some way a result of what went before. For instance, consider (109), where a speaker uses *zou* in the (bracketed) apodosis of a conditional construction, expressing the result that will obtain if the protasis is fulfilled:

- (109) *lai ala-sa [bi zou qi=ni ger=du lai sao],*
 NEG kill-COND 1:SG thus 2:SG=GEN house=DAT NEG sit
 if (you) will not kill (her), [then I will not stay in your home],
 (Monster Girl 23; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The relationship does not have to be one of causation, however. Earlier in the same story, the narrator had described a particular character’s inhuman actions, and then concluded:

- (110) *Ni zou mang'huzi bang.*
 this thus monster OBJ:COP
 So this was a monster.
 (Monster Girl 10; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, the statement presents a conclusion that can be reached on the basis of the foregoing narrative 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*:

- (111) *Ni zou Mang'huzi=ni bihuang bang.*
 this thus monster=GEN story OBJ:COP
 So this is the story of Monster.
 (Monster Girl 70; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

With 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 (109), the speaker announces that his decision depends on someone else’s action. In (110), the narrator suggests that, given the narrative evidence, the listener (and perhaps the story’s characters, too) can reach a particular conclusion. Similarly, in (111), in the final line of the story the storyteller announces a shift in perspective—I have told you the facts, and now you, the listener, can conclude that the story is finished.

Zou, then, has both local and global functions as an organizer of discourse structure.

4.8.2 Clause-initial connectors

There are also some discourse connectors which appear in clause-initial position. We will note two such forms here, *tingku* and *tingsa*. Each may be translated several different ways, depending on its context.

Tingsa appears twenty-nine times in the folktales. Etymologically, it is derived from the distal demonstrative *ti(ng)* ‘that’ plus the ablative enclitic =*sa*. (For discussion of other forms related to *tingsa*, see the general historical discussion of demonstrative forms related to the quotative marker *ge*, in section 7.1.3.2.3.)

An example of *tingsa* is presented in (112), where three characters have just been accusing each other of giving away a shared secret. Each denies making the disclosure, and one of the three concludes:

- (112) “*Tingsa ning=du kendin kong-si niu-ji chenli-ser bang.*”
 then this=DAT certainly person-PL hide-IMPERF hear-PROG OBJ:COP
 “Then certainly some people are hiding here listening.”
 (Sangbura 358; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Thus, *tingsa* can be used to introduce a conclusion drawn from observed evidence. However, its meaning is usually not so semantically specific; in most instances, it seems to function to mark an event as occurring later than others in a sequence. In this more general sense, we find *tingsa* in line 43 of (113):

- (113) *Ana=ni songziwer=nang erseghe-jiang,*
 mother=POSS grandson=REFLPOSS ask-OBJ:PERF
 His mother asked about her grandson,
 (Filial Obedience 39)

“*Songziwer=ni ang xi-gha-ba?*”
 grandson=ACC where go-CAUSE-SUBJ:PERF
 “where did you send (my) grandson?”
 (Filial Obedience 40)

“*Ghada ang=ji ang=ji yao-jiang,*”
 outside where=DIR where=DIR go-OBJ:PERF
 “(He) has gone someplace outside,”
 (Filial Obedience 41)

ning ge-ji.
 this QUOTE-IMPERF
 (he) said this.
 (Filial Obedience 42)

Tingsa ningger cai=ni di-ser di-ser gan=ni
 later old:woman food=ACC eat-PROG eat-PROG 3:SG=GEN
gha=du bulai=ni khuru ri-jiang bai.
 bowl=DAT child=GEN finger come-OBJ:PERF EMPH

Later as the old woman was eating and eating the food, in her bowl the boy's finger came.

(Filial Obedience 39–43; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, *tingsa* 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, *tingsa* seems to have a more global function, perhaps indicating that the scene is shifting (note the translation 'later'). Thus, *tingsa* seems similar to *zou* in the types of discourse functions it might be expected to play.

The related form *tingku* appears twelve times in the folktales, as in (114):

- (114) *Gan huguer=ni ger=du nughuai zhuerge ge=ni*
 3:SG cow=GEN house=DAT dog heart SG:INDEF=ACC
he xi-gha-jiang gelang.
 take go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY

He had a dog heart taken to the cow's home, they say.

(Two Wives 62)

Ting-ku gan=ni bieri=ni bieqin=ni ber-jiang gelang.
 then 3:SG=GEN wife=GEN illness=POSS become-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
 Then his wife's illness got better, they say.

(Two Wives 62–3; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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). In either case, this use of *tingku* resembles the scene-shifting use of *tingsa* which we saw in (113).

I have not undertaken a detailed study of the discourse functions of either of these morphemes, having seen only a handful of examples of each. 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 higher levels.

4.9 THE NOUN PHRASE WITHIN THE CLAUSE

For the remainder of this chapter we will examine the morphosyntactic behavior of NPs within the clause. Section 4.9.1 characterizes the two grammatical relations of

Mangghuer: subject and direct object. In 4.9.2, we see the various grammatical cases of Mangghuer, noting their morphosyntactic instantiation and tracing the history of the various postpositional casemarkers. Section 4.9.3 examines the two possessive postpositions =*nang* and =*ni*, which attach to noun phrases and postpositional phrases to indicate possession by other referents. Postpositional phrases of yet another type, constructed with relational nouns, are described in section 4.9.4. Section 4.9.5 presents generalizations about the syntactic placement of obliques within the clause, and in section 4.9.6 we see that NPs may be fronted within a clause for the pragmatic purpose of topicalization. Finally, 4.9.7 illustrates the presence and absence of various clausal arguments in a stretch of narrative discourse.

4.9.1 Grammatical relations

There are two grammatical relations in Mangghuer: *subject* and *direct object*. These two relations have special morphosyntactic characteristics which set them apart from other types of nominal expressions within a clause. Two types of evidence for these two grammatical relations will be given in this section.

First, imperative mood constructions give evidence for the subject grammatical relation, because in the imperative mood, the verb agrees with its grammatical subject (see section 4.1.2.2.3).

Second, the role of word order and casemarking gives evidence for both subject and direct object grammatical relations. Subjects and direct objects can appear as unmarked NPs which are distinguished by word order, with subjects preceding direct objects, while all other NPs must obligatorily appear in postpositional phrases. This evidence thus also shows that subject and direct object NPs have grammatical relations with the verb, which sets them apart from all other NPs.

This second claim, though, needs some clarification. As we will see in the discussion of casemarking (4.9.2, below), and also that of topic fronting (4.9.6), direct objects often 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 often do bear casemarking, this category nonetheless is often distinguished by word order. Similarly, subjects sometimes appear in the instrumental/comitative case, as outlined in section 3.2.6.2.2, but this is an optional construction, not a required means for indicating a syntactic subject.

The property of being distinguished by word order, rather than by obligatory postpositions, thus differentiates subjects and direct objects from other NPs. I recognize this difference by calling subject and direct object *grammatical relations*.

4.9.2 Casemarking

The Mangghuer data which I have seen provides evidence of seven morphological cases: nominative, accusative, dative/locative, ablative, instrumental/comitative, directive, 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 section 2.3.2.2. 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 4.9.1, the nominative case is always morphologically unmarked. Syntactic direct objects are often unmarked, as well, rather than appearing in accusative case; we will see in 4.9.2.2, below, that this morphological behavior depends on the degree of transitivity of a particular clause.

4.9.2.1 Nominative case

Syntactic subjects usually appear in nominative case.¹¹ 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 subject NP and a direct object NP appear within the same clause, and the direct object NP is not marked with the accusative enclitic *=ni*, the normal order is for the subject to precede the direct object. Thus, syntax distinguishes subject and object NPs, when casemarking is not available for this function.

In examples (115)–(116), the bold NPs appear in nominative case. The first example is an agent, and (116) illustrates one type of experiencer.

- (115) ***Gan=ni*** ***mao bieri*** *huguer=ni lake ri danang di-gha*
 3:SG=GEN bad wife cow=ACC pull come after eat-CAUSE
ge-jiang.
 do-OBJ:PERF

After his evil wife led a cow (there), (she) had (it) eat (the flowering plant).

(Two Wives 43; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (116) ***ni zhaler*** *jiaoduer mula-lang.*
 this hired:farmhand every:day think-OBJ:IMPERF
 this hired farmhand thought every day.

(A Hired Farmhand 16; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (117) illustrates a clause type that contains two nominative arguments—the equational clause.

- (117) ***ni honghuang*** *gan=ni* ***ana*** *bang gelang.*
 this phoenix 3:SG=GEN mother OBJ:COP HEARSAY
 this phoenix was his mother, they say.

(Filial Obedience 58; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, the two NPs *ni honghuang* ‘this phoenix’ and *ganni ana* ‘his mother’ are equated, and their respective head nouns (in bold type) appear in the unmarked nominative case. This same casemarking behavior is found in all equational clauses.

4.9.2.2 *Accusative case*

Accusative case is marked by the postpositional enclitic =*ni*. This marking is reserved for syntactic direct objects in highly transitive clauses; not all direct objects appear in accusative case.

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 direct object goals are those of perception, cognition or speaking verbs, including *maidie* ‘to know,’ *tani* ‘to recognize,’ *jige* ‘to remember,’ *kerli* ‘to want; to ask,’ *yerri* ‘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, accusative case is reserved for the most patient-like argument of a transitive or ditransitive verb.

Accusative casemarking 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 casemarking. Verbs which semantically require highly affected patients, such as *ala* ‘to kill’ and *di* ‘to eat’ thus usually have accusative casemarked objects, as in the following examples (the direct object NP and the accusative casemarkers are in bold type in each example):

- (118) *Ni muni aguer=ni ala ge-jiang.*
 this 1:SG:GEN daughter=ACC kill do-OBJ:PERF
 It killed my daughter.

(A Cow Mother 36; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (119) *Bi qi=ni burer=ni kelie=ni lai di-sa,*
 1:SG 2:SG=GEN calf=GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
 If I do not eat your calf’s tongue,

(Two Wives 54; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

However, if the identity of the particular entity affected by an action is not important, a speaker does not need to use the accusative casemarker, even with a highly transitive verb. Indefinite or generic NPs therefore are often morphologically unmarked when appearing as direct objects. In such situations, direct objects may generally be distinguished from subjects by syntactic position, with SOV word order. This is illustrated in (120)–(122), all of which have morphologically unmarked direct objects.

- (120) *bi mamei di-ni,*
 1:SG wheat eat-SUBJ:FUT
 I will/want to eat wheat,

(Madage 34; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (121) *gan-si huguer ge hu-lang.*
 3:SG-PL cow SG:INDEF give-OBJ:IMPERF
 they (only) gave (him) a cow.

(Filial Obedience 9; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (122) *Qi wuge lai maidie-lang,*
 2:SG word NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
 You do not understand language,
 (Sangbura 181; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 of the patient, rather than its identity. A couple of examples are:

- (123) *Ti shinagu gan diamang=du=nang Jiutou Yaomao=ni*
 that woman 3:SG door=DAT=REFLPOSS nine:head ghost=GEN
khuer duoruo pijighe=ni sigha-jiang,
 foot under bean=ACC spread-OBJ:PERF
 That woman, she spread beans under (where) Nine-headed Ghost's feet
 (would be) at her door,
 (Nine-headed Ghost 39; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (124) *Bi tuerghang kong ge=ni ala ge-ba.*
 1:SG fat person SG:INDEF=ACC kill do-SUBJ:PERF
 I have killed a fat person.
 (Monkey 79; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

An elicited contrast between the appearance and non-appearance of the accusative case enclitic is illustrated in (125) and (126); (125) means simply that s/he rode a horse, while (126) 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.

- (125) *gan mori wuni-jiang*
 3:SG horse ride-OBJ:PERF
 s/he rode a horse, went horse-riding
 (Qing Yongzhang)
- (126) *gan mori=ni wuni-jiang*
 3:SG horse=ACC ride-OBJ:PERF
 s/he rode the horse (and not something else)¹²
 (Qing Yongzhang)

One final factor is relevant to whether or not *=ni* appears in a given construction: if the reflexive-possessive enclitic *=nang* marks a direct object NP, the accusative postposition *=ni* never appears. In (127), we have an example of an accusative-marked direct object. Example (128) is a similar construction, but here, the speaker chose to specify that the thing eaten was 'their own' thing. There, the accusative enclitic *=ni* cannot also appear.

- (127) *Ti=ni di ma,*
that=ACC eat PRT
Eat that,

(Madage 14; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (128) *Ti=nang di-ku zou yao-jiang gelang bai.*
that=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF thus go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
After eating that thing of theirs, then (they) started walking, they say.

(Three Daughters 53; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

For more discussion of the relationship between *=nang* and accusative case, see 4.9.3.1, below.

Under certain conditions, accusative direct objects may be fronted to topic position. These conditions will be outlined in section 4.9.6.

First and second person pronouns have suppletive forms for use in dative and accusative cases which do not bear the accusative casemarker *=ni* (see sections 3.1.2.1.1 and 3.1.2.1.2). These forms are the only exceptions to the discussion of accusative *=ni* given here.

Poppe (1955:191–4) 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 Mangghuer and Mongghul, is attributed by Poppe to a reanalysis of an earlier stem-final *-n*, which occurred with 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): [**quruyun-i*] ‘finger-GEN’ → [**quruyu-ni*]. This explanation seems plausible as an account of the current phonetic form of both the accusative and the genitive in Mangghuer.

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 section 2.3.2.2, there are strong phonological reasons for identifying them as enclitic postpositions in Mangghuer. Since most Mongolic scholars do not mention the possibility of an enclitic analysis, I presume that most have not considered the possibility (but see Binnick (1987:185), where the directive case is considered an enclitic). While it might be that Mangghuer alone uses postpositional enclitics for casemarking functions, it seems more likely that other Mongolic languages could be described in a similar way, as well.

4.9.2.3 Dativelocative case

Among the Mangghuer casemarkers, the dative/locative subsumes the broadest set of semantic roles. Semantic roles which may be indicated with this marker include: benefactive or malefactive; recipient; location in space, in time, or in the course of an event; goal of movement or speaking; and impersonal agency. A special locative sense is found in possessive clauses, in which the possessor is treated as a location in which the possessed item exists.

Dative or locative NPs are usually marked with the enclitic postposition =*du*. However, sometimes semantically specific locational postpositions are used, and in such instances, the dative/locative marker =*du* does not appear (see section 4.9.4). There is also a small class of lexical time obliques which never bear dative/locative casemarking (see section 4.9.5.2).

In some few instances, an alternate marker =*di* is used. This form seems to have the same functions as does =*du*, but it appears quite infrequently in my data. Zhu Yongzhong (p.c.) reports that =*di* is a regional variant of =*du*, used in a few Mangghuer dialect areas, 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. Example (129) is a benefactive:

- (129) *Huguer jiaoduer gan=du manten ba-ji hu-lang.*
 cow every:day 3:SG=DAT bread defecate-IMPERF give-OBJ:IMPERF
 Cow defecated bread for her every day.
 (A Cow Mother 11; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (130) illustrates a locative:

- (130) *Ni ger=du laoshi ningger ge bang.*
 this house=DAT honest old:woman SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
 In this house there was an honest old lady.
 (Three Daughters 55; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Examples (131) and (132) show goals of movement and speaking, respectively:

- (131) *qi=ni huayan=du bao-ba.*
 2:SG=GEN garden=DAT go:down-SUBJ:PERF
 (it) fell into your garden.
 (Shalangguer's Story 17; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (132) *gan ana=du=nang keli-jiang.*
 3:SG mother=DAT=REFLPOSS say-OBJ:PERF
 he said to his mother.
 (Monster Girl 24; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (133) illustrates the use of the dative with an impersonal agent:

- (133) *Banber kai=du yi-tian "bang!" "bang!" di daogher sao-jiang*
 board wind=DAT one-day ONOM ONOM QUOTE sound sit-OBJ:PERF
bai.
 EMPH
 All day the board sounded "bang! bang!" like that in the wind.
 (Three Daughters 29–31; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Finally, here are examples of a dative of possession (134) and of the alternate dative enclitic =*di* (135):

- (134) *Ana=du ergha guang bai.*
 mother=DAT power OBJ:NEG:COP EMPH
 Mother had no power (any more).
 (Filial Obedience 7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (135) *gan zou luchu=di sao danang.*
 3:SG thus rolling:stone=DAT sit after
 he had sat on a roller stone (used to thresh grain).
 (Human-bear 35; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Due in part to 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 (136) and (137). (In each sentence, the first dative postpositional phrase is in **bold** type, and the second is underlined.)

Example (136) contains two locative expressions:

- (136) ***Ger=du*** *chuler=du=nang* *zhuangluo-tula,*
 house=DAT kitchen:basket=DAT=REFLPOSS put:in-before
 Before (he) put (the chopsticks) in his own kitchen basket in the house,
 (Monkey 87; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (137) contains a temporal locative and a possessive expression:

- (137) ***Tiedun=du,***
 past=DAT
 In olden times,
 (Three Daughters 2)
- nige laohan=du* *san-ge aguer bang.*
 one old:man=DAT three-CL daughter OBJ:COP
 an old man had three daughters.
 (Three Daughters 2–3; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The dative/locative postposition =*du* is descended from one of several forms identified by Poppe (1955:195–9) 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*.¹³ There seems to be a reflex of the form *-da* in the Mangghuer first person dative pronoun *nanгда/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 is likely related. The final form, *-a*, seems to have no reflex in Mangghuer.

If Poppe's (1955) statement is correct, then 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.

4.9.2.4 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. Examples (138)–(140) show some uses of this casemarker, illustrating these three semantic roles, respectively.

- (138) *tiangere=sa honghuang ge bao-ji ri danang*
 Heaven=ABL phoenix SG:INDEF go:down-IMPERF come after
cibang=nang yi-ge banla danang arong xida ge-jiang
 wing=REFLPOSS one-CL flap after all:away burn do-OBJ:PERF
bai.
 EMPH
 a phoenix came down from Heaven, flapped her wings, (and) burned away
 everything (that the older sons owned).
 (Filial Obedience 53; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (139) *gaga-si=sa=nang kerli-la xi-jiang bai.*
 elder:brother-PL=ABL=REFLPOSS ask-PURP go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 (he) went to ask his older brothers (for some food).
 (Filial Obedience 18; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (140) *Dasi=ni ruang=sa kejia-sang-ni qi-shi-li mer=du,*
 1:PL=GEN place=ABL separate-PERF-NOMLZR seven-ten-li road=DAT
 In (a place) which is seventy *li* away from our place,
 (Sangbura 144; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Ablative case also appears with nouns being compared to a standard, as in:

- (141) *Qi nige dasi nige=sa han qiang bang bai.*
 2:SG one 1:PL one=ABL still better OBJ:COP EMPH
 Your (secret) is even better than ours.
 (Sangbura 158; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In section 3.1.2.3 we saw that the demonstratives *ni* 'this' and *ti* 'that' have allomorphs with a final nasal, which appear in dative and accusative case. Similarly, we find the ablative form *ningsa* 'from here,' as in (142):

- (142) *Ning=sa kejia-sang-ni ge wu-shi-li mer=du,*
 this=ABL separate-PERF-NOMLZR SG:INDEF five-ten-li road=DAT
 In (a place) which is fifty *li* distant from here,
 (Sangbura 129; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This form, when compared with *ningdu* and *tingdu*, leads us to expect the form *ting=sa*, meaning ‘from there;’ in fact, this morphological form does appear quite frequently, but not with pronominal function. Rather, *tingsa* has grammaticalized to become a clause-initial discourse connective device, as discussed in section 4.8.2. However, *ningsa* does not appear to have a similarly broad range of discourse functions, in the examples I have seen. Rather, *ningsa* 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 Mongghul as the only language to retain the affricate, but Qinggeertai (1991b:162) gives *-sa*, with a fricative, rather than an affricate, for this form in Mongghul.

As we saw in section 2.1.4.2, Mongolic affricates remained affricates in Mangghuer, splitting into a palatal and retroflex opposition. So a recent change from [tɕia] to [sa] would in fact be, as Poppe writes, “exceptional.” Nonetheless, I have identified no alternate source for the ablative postposition, so it seems likely that Poppe’s suggestion is correct. Apparently the Mongolic affricate was reduced to a fricative only in the context of this particular grammatical morpheme.

4.9.2.5 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.

4.9.2.5.1 =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 accompaniment an action takes place. This marker also has a special use as an indicator of collective action, described in section 3.2.6.2.2. This special function of *=la* serves to mark subjects, rather than obliques.

Here, we will see examples of *=la* only in oblique instrumental (143) and comitative (144) postpositional phrases.

- (143) *Gan-si ni tuosi=la dimei china-jiang bai.*
 3:SG-PL this oil=INST bread cook-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 They cooked bread with this oil.

(Three Daughters 62; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (144) *Madage chu-saihang nige=la ger pudu-jiang.*
 Madage most-beautiful one=COM house change-OBJ:PERF
 Madage set up house with the most beautiful one (and had a happy family all his life).

(Madage 115; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The form *ghula* ‘two together,’ which consists of the Mongolic root ‘two’ and the instrumental postposition =*la* sometimes functions as an additional instrumental postposition, as described in 3.2.6.2.2.

The instrumental/comitative *=la* is a reflex of the Common Mongolian comitative **-luga* (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 **-gar* or **-βar* which seems to have disappeared in Mangghuer.

4.9.2.5.2 =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 very productive in Mangghuer, perhaps appearing only in a few lexicalized contexts. However, its appearance in (145), with the borrowed Chinese noun *wenti* ‘problem,’ suggests that it may in fact remain productive, though infrequent.

- (145) “*ni cuduoruo wenti=tai bang.*”
 this inside problem=COM OBJ:COP
 “there are some problems in this (matter)” (Shalangguer said).
 (Shalangguer’s Story 78; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 casemarker (see 4.9.2.7, below). This is exemplified in (146).

- (146) *dasi=ni nasi=tai kong-si keli-ku,*
 1:PL=GEN age=COM person-PL say-IMPERF
 as our old people told it,
 (Sangbura 3; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Poppe (1955:204) gives *-taj* as a derivational suffix, used to make forms meaning ‘one who has X,’ as in: *mori-tāj* ‘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.

4.9.2.6 Directive case

The directive case is restricted to just marking nouns referring to a place toward which motion is progressing. The enclitic postposition is =*ji*. Thus:

- (147) *bi beijing=ji xi-la bi*
 1:SG B.=DIR go-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
 I'm walking (going) toward Beijing.
(Qing Yongzhang)

- (148) *bi ger=ji xi-la bi*
 1:SG house=DIR go-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
 I'm walking toward home.

(Qing Yongzhang)

An alternate form of the directive casemarker appears in some folktales which were produced in written Mangghuer by Wang Xianzhen, and which appear in Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming). This alternate form is =*juji*, as in example (149):

- (149) *yi-bang kong-si mori=nang wuni-ji gan=ni*
 one-group person-PL horse=REFLPOSS ride-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN
ger=juji ri-lang
 house=DIR come-OBJ:IMPERF

A group of people were riding their horses toward her house.

(Wang Xianzhen, from the story "Sister Ali," Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Wang Xianzhen reports (p.c.) that =*ji* and =*juji* are interchangeable in this context. Like =*ji*, =*juji* is phonologically bound, and may be considered a postpositional enclitic.

Juji is etymologically morphologically complex, consisting of the verb root *ju* 'see' and the imperfective nonfinite suffix *-ji*. Here, however, it has been reanalyzed and functions as a monomorphemic enclitic postposition.

It appears, then, that the directive casemarker =*ji* is derived from the grammaticalization of a nonfinite verb into a bound casemarker, which was then further reduced phonologically. Thus, the directive casemarker =*ji* is etymologically identical to the imperfective nonfinite verb marker *-ji*. Clearly, though, it has been reanalyzed as a separate morpheme in this context. The fact that the original verb root is lost in the reduced form shows that the reanalyzed form has lost its original semantic content in this new grammatical context.

Qinggeertai (1991b:169) discusses a probable cognate casemarker in Mongghul, *-dzə*, which appears in the same set of contexts. Mongghul appears to be the only other Mongolic language which utilizes a related form for this function.

Other Mongolic languages have directive 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. No cognate of this form seems to exist in Mangghuer. Kim (To Appear), meanwhile, gives two directive/locative suffixes for Santa: *-re*, which is likely cognate with the Mongolian form just cited; and *-gvun*. Neither H. Wu (to appear) nor N. Chen (1987a) makes any mention of a directive form for Baonan.

It appears, then, that the innovation of this new directive casemarker is a feature which distinguishes Mangghuer and Mongghul from all other Mongolic languages, including their geographically closest Mongolic neighbors.

4.9.2.7 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 event or state expressed by a verb.

Genitive postpositional phrases are formed with the enclitic *=ni*, which identifies the preceding noun as the possessor of the following noun. In (150), for example, *qini burerni kelieni* contains two genitive modifiers: *qi=ni* ‘2:SG=GEN’ modifies *burer* ‘calf,’ showing that the person being addressed 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.

- (150) *Bi qi=ni burer=ni kelie=ni lai di-sa,*
 1:SG 2:SG=GEN calf=GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
 If I do not eat your calf’s tongue,

(Two Wives 54; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

All other casemarkers discussed in this section are referred to as postpositional 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, so I cannot be sure that the genitive marker combines with a phrase, rather than with a word. However, since all the other casemarkers behave as enclitic postpositions, I have decided to treat the genitive marker similarly.

In Chapter 3, we saw that there is a special genitive personal pronoun form for first person singular: *muni*. The apparent root *mu-* does not appear in any other context. Both second and third person singular genitive pronouns, however, simply add the genitive enclitic *=ni* to the nominative form 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 4.9.2.2, 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.” Mangghuer belongs to this group of Mongolic languages.¹⁴

4.9.3 Possessive enclitics

In section 3.2.1, I outlined the use of possessive noun phrases as prenominal modifiers 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 other than one’s self, and may be translated ‘his’ or ‘her,’ depending on the context.

The syntactic status of these forms 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 section 2.3.2.2, we saw that both of these forms are phonologically bound to whatever word precedes them. Thus, they can be treated as enclitic postpositions.

After characterizing the uses of each of these forms, in sections 4.9.3.1 and 4.9.3.2, respectively, I will return to the topic of their syntactic behavior and syntactic status in 4.9.3.3.

4.9.3.1 Reflexive possessive =nang

The reflexive possessive enclitic =nang appears with NPs and postpositional phrases. Most frequently, it is found with accusatives and datives, and it can appear with any casemarking, except accusative, as well as with nominative case NPs.

When a direct object NP bears the =nang enclitic, the accusative case postposition =ni never appears. Thus, we find *cai=ni* ‘food=ACC’ in (151) and *cai=nang* ‘food=REFLPOSS’ in (152). The latter, appearing with =nang, cannot also have the accusative =ni.

- (151) *Tingsa ningger cai=ni di-ser di-ser gan=ni gha=du*
 later old:woman food=ACC eat-PROG eat-PROG 3:SG=GEN bowl=DAT
bulai=ni khuru ri-jiang bai.
 child=GEN finger come-OBJ:PERF EMPH

Later as the old woman was eating and eating the food, in her bowl the boy’s finger came.

(Filial Obedience 43; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (152) *cai=nang di-ser jiao=du sher xi-gha-jiang.*
 food=REFLPOSS eat-PROG cellar=DAT urinate go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 eating their own food, (they) urinated into the cellar.

(Stupid Boy 25; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

However, =nang does cooccur with postpositional phrases expressing other grammatical cases. Normally, =nang follows the enclitic casemarker. Thus, consider (153)–(155), where =nang follows the dative, instrumental and ablative casemarkers, respectively:

- (153) *Jiaren-si=du=nang keli-ji,*
 servant-PL=DAT=REFLPOSS say-IMPERF
 (He) said to his own servants,

(Sangbura 323; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (154) *Huguer kelie=la=nang duer danang aguer=ni suzu=ni*
 cow tongue=INST=REFLPOSS lick after daughter=GEN hair=ACC
tao sangmula hu ri-lang.
 drive comb give come-OBJ:IMPERF

Cow licked with her own tongue and combed the girl’s hair.

(A Cow Mother 48; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (155) *Meghe=sa=nang zhaler kong san-wu-shi-ge daoda.*
 village=ABL=REFLPOSS strong person three-five-ten-CL call
 Call thirty to fifty strong young men from your own village.

(Sangbura 266; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The reflexive possessive enclitic may also appear on clausal subjects. In (156), for example, it seems to function as a sort of emphatic marker, something like English ‘we ourselves.’

- (156) *“dasi=nang aghadiao tani yao-a.”*
 1:PL=REFLPOSS friend recognize go-VOL
 “let’s become friends and go” (Madage said).
 (Madage 58; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Other occurrences of this rather uncommon construction (there are only about half a dozen in the folktales) are illustrated in (157) and (158):

- (157) *Ghuer=luo=nang ning ge sao-jiang.*
 two=COLL=REFLPOSS this do sit-OBJ:PERF
 So the two of them stayed (there).
 (Sangbura 97; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (158) *Dajia=nang sao-jiang.*
 everyone=REFLPOSS sit-OBJ:PERF
 Everyone sat,
 (Sangbura 111; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In all of the examples cited thus far, *=nang* has referred back to the subject of the clause as possessor. However, it is also possible for this form to refer to a non-subject; this occurs when *=nang* appears with an NP containing a genitive modifier which is not coreferential with the clausal subject, as in:

- (159) *mula aguer ana=ni ger=du=nang ri-jiang.*
 small daughter mother=GEN house=DAT=REFLPOSS come-OBJ:PERF
 Younger Daughter visited her mother’s own home.
 (Shalangguer’s Story 41; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, *=nang* apparently refers to the genitive NP *ana* ‘mother’ as the reflexive possessor of the house, although *ana* is not the subject of the clause (Younger Daughter had previously married and moved away, so the mother’s home is no longer Younger Daughter’s own home).

4.9.3.2 Non-reflexive possessive =ni

When an entity is possessed by someone other than the clausal 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 cooccurs 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.¹⁵

The following examples show some uses of the non-reflexive possessive *=ni*, with nouns in different morphological cases: nominative (160), dative/locative (161), and ablative (162):

- (160) *yi-ge aguer=ni erseghe-jiang bai.*
 one-CL daughter=POSS ask-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 one daughter of his asked.
 (Three Daughters 9; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (161) *Diao=du=ni han mula nughuai yi-ge bang,*
 younger:sibling=DAT=POSS also small dog one-CL OBJ:COP
 His younger brother also had a small dog,
 (Sangbura 21; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (162) *Chuler=sa=ni shuer=ni bari yi-ge-jier*
 kitchen=basket=ABL=POSS chopsticks=ACC take one-CL-short:distance
yao-ku a yi-ge kerla.
 go-IMPERF also one-CL throw
 Take the chopsticks from her kitchen basket (and), one by one, throw
 (them) after walking a short distance.
 (Monkey 74; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.9.3.3 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, built with possessive pronouns. Thus, in (163), the reflexive possessive relationship is indicated by the word *jie=ni* ‘self=GEN’ (‘one’s own’), rather than the possessive enclitic *=nang*.

- (163) *gan jie=ni kuergan=ni khuer duoruo kebeghe=ni*
 3:SG self=GEN husband=GEN foot under wheat:bran=ACC
sighe-jiang bai.
 spread-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 (and) she spread wheat bran under (where) her own husband’s feet (would be).
 (Nine-headed Ghost 40; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The expression *kuergan=nang* ‘her own husband’ would have been semantically equivalent to *jie=ni kuergan*, which the speaker actually used.

Similarly, we can contrast the following two examples, which show that *ganni gaga* ‘her brother’ and *gaga=ni* ‘brother=his’ are equivalent expressions. (Recall that gender is not marked in Mangghuer; the genders of these two possessors are supplied from the original contexts.)

- (164) *gan=ni gaga keli-ji*,
 3:SG=GEN elder:brother say-IMPERF
 her elder brother said,
 (Monster Girl 62; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (165) *Gaga=ni keli-jiang*.
 elder:brother=POSS say-OBJ:PERF
 his Elder Brother said.
 (Sangbura 12; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In fact, either =*nang* or =*ni* may be semantically redundant, when they appear with NPs containing lexical genitive modifiers. Thus, (166) and (167) each contain both a possessive enclitic and its periphrastic equivalent.

- (166) *khuaitu ana jie=ni aguer=du=nang mazha kaker*
 step mother self=GEN daughter=DAT=REFLPOSS residue cake
bari-gha Huguer dangla-gha-la xi-jiang,
 take-CAUSE cow herd-CAUSE-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
 the stepmother had her own daughter carry residue cakes and go to pasture
 Cow,
 (A Cow Mother 23; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (167) *gan=ni Diao=ni yigua chenli ge-jiang*.
 3:SG=GEN younger:sibling=POSS totally hear do-OBJ:PERF
 (but) his Younger Brother overheard everything.
 (Sangbura 178; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Some comment regarding the relative order of these clitics and the elements of the noun phrases and postpositional phrases to which they attach 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 (168) and (169) show that =*nang* may actually appear either before or after the singular indefinite marker *ge*, when this postnominal element appears within a noun phrase.

- (168) *Ting ge aguer gan puzighuo=nang ge*
 that do daughter 3:SG deep:fried:dough:stick=REFLPOSS SG:INDEF
kerla-ji xi-gha-jiang.
 throw-IMPERF go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 Then (one) daughter she threw one of her own deep fried dough sticks
 (to him).
 (Three Daughters 69; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (169) *qi xian nughuai=du=nang nudu ge=nang waji hu*
 2:SG first dog=DAT=REFLPOSS eye SG:INDEF=REFLPOSS dig give
a,
 PRT
 you first dig out one of your own eyes for your dog (to eat),
 (Sangbura 51; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, for =*ni*, we may contrast (170) and (171), which show that this enclitic may appear either before or after the dative/locative enclitic =*du*.

- (170) *Bieri=ni=du banhua guang ma,*
 wife=POSS=DAT method OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
 His wife had no recourse and,
 (Stupid Boy 30; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (171) *Diao=du=ni han mula nughuai yi-ge bang,*
 younger:sibling=DAT=POSS also small dog one-CL OBJ:COP
 His Younger Brother also had a small dog,
 (Sangbura 21; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

So the placement of =*nang* and =*ni* is subject to some variation. In the great majority of instances, however, the pattern is for the possessive enclitics to appear after all NP elements, as well as after a casemarking postposition, when one is present.

We can therefore consider =*nang* and =*ni* to be postpositions, syntactically, which combine with either a noun phrase or a postpositional phrase.

4.9.4 Postpositional phrases with relational nouns

In addition to postpositional case enclitics (section 4.9.2) and postpositional possessive enclitics (4.9.3), Mangghuer has a set of relational nouns which exhibit both postpositional behavior and nominal behavior. Like the other postpositions, these words may also combine with noun phrases to form postpositional phrases which are syntactically obliques. One additional postposition, *shige* ‘like’ shares only some of the syntactic behaviors of this set.

A list of the relational nouns I have found thus far is given in (172):

- (172) a *duoruo* under
 b *cuduoruo* inside¹⁶
 c *dunda* in
 d *diere* on
 e *khuonuo* behind, after
 f *tada* near
 g *zhagha* above
 h *shige* like

With the exception of *shige* ‘like’, which will be discussed below, these relational nouns function to indicate something about the location of the noun phrase they combine with. The following examples show how some of these forms are used to construct postpositional phrases. In each example, the postpositional phrase is in bold type.

- (173) “*ni mersi duoruo ruo yao-ba.*”
 this ice under enter go-SUBJ:PERF
 “this one went under the ice” (the person said).
 (Monkey 100; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (174) *Cai dunda bulai=ni khuru ri-jiang.*
 food in child=GEN finger come-OBJ:PERF
 In the food the baby’s fingers came.
 (Monkey 54; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (175) *Du gesi yi-ge wula diere sao-ser bang ma,*
 now 3:PL one-CL mountain on sit-PROG OBJ:COP PRT
 Now they were sitting on a mountain,
 (Rabbit’s Trick 6; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (176) *Ger khuonuo qijighe yi-puda bang bai.*
 house behind flower one-CL OBJ:COP EMPH
 Behind the house there was a clump of flowers.
 (Shalanguer’s Story 8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (177) *Yao-ji yi-ge beghe tada kuer-jiang.*
 go-IMPERF one-CL tree near arrive-OBJ:PERF
 (He) walked until (he) came near a tree.
 (Madage 51; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In terms of their external syntactic relations, these postpositional phrases are equivalent to those discussed under the heading of casemarking in section 4.9.2. A pair of elicited examples, (178) and (179), show that the dative enclitic postposition =*du* and the postposition *cuduoruo* ‘inside’ have the same function: to mark an NP as a locational oblique.

- (178) *gan ti ger=du ruo-jiang*
 3:SG that house=DAT enter-OBJ:PERF
 s/he went into that house
 (Qing Yongzhang)
- (179) *gan ti ger cuduoruo ruo-jiang*
 3:SG that house inside enter-OBJ:PERF
 s/he went into that house
 (Qing Yongzhang)

The relational nouns also have nominal properties, and thus, may also behave in any syntactic way that other nouns do. Example (180) shows that *duoruo* can have syntactic behavior which appears somewhat like a prototypical noun (since it is the head of the phrase marked with the ablative postposition =*sa*), but also somewhat like a prototypical postposition (since it follows the final element in a full NP).

- (180) *tashi ge duoruo=su huni gher-lang.*
stone SG:INDEF under=ABL smoke go:out-OBJ:IMPERF
(they saw) smoke coming out from under a stone.
(Madage 62; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

More unambiguously, noun-like behavior is illustrated in (181), which shows that the relational noun *khuonuo* can appear as the first noun in a noun compound. (Compare (176), above, where *khuonuo* functions postpositionally.)

- (181) *Du qi ti khuonuo yanzi=du wuji-la xi.*
now 2:SG that back yard=DAT take:note-PURP go
Now you go look in that backyard.
(A Hired Farmhand 83; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The postposition *shige* ‘like’ behaves rather differently from what we have seen so far in this section. It does not have locational meaning, and does not seem to have noun-like syntactic behavior. This postposition is exemplified in (182):

- (182) *Gan=ni ti yi-kuer terghai luchu shige ber-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN that one-CL head rolling:stone like become-OBJ:PERF
That one (millet) head of hers became (as big) as a rolling stone.
(Madage 7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In addition to creating postpositional phrases like *luchu shige* ‘like a rolling stone’ in (182), *shige* can also be used within a noun phrase, to make one noun into a modifier of another. This is illustrated in (183).

- (183) *ti duoruo=su poluo shige laihamu ge gher-ji*
that under=ABL shallow:basket like frog SG:INDEF go:out-IMPERF
ri-kuniang.
come-OBJ:FUT
a frog as big as a shallow basket will come out from under them.
(Sangbura 152; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This syntactic behavior is not shared by the relational nouns.

So the postposition *shige* ‘like’ exhibits a partially different set of syntactic behaviors than do the other phonologically unbound postpositions, which I have called *relational nouns*. This suggests that the historical development of *shige* has been along different paths than those which the relational nouns have traveled.

Phonologically, though, *shige* ‘like’ belongs to the class of unbound postpositions, rather than to the class of enclitics. Although I have chosen to discuss *shige* in this section, its total set of phonological and syntactic properties seem to place it in an intermediate position between the enclitic postpositions (sections 4.9.2 and 4.9.3) and the relational nouns.

4.9.5 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 4.9.2); or with relational nouns which also serve as locational postpositions (4.9.4).

Mangghuer has SOV basic word order. In this section, we take up the question of how obliques 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 topic fronting will be discussed; this discussion will also help to clarify some of the pragmatic concerns which motivate variation in the placement of obliques.

4.9.5.1 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 (172), above.

A locative oblique has some freedom of movement within its clause. In elicitation, Qing Yongzhang accepted all of the following possible word orders:

- (184) a **ger** **cuduoruo** *bi* *qighuo=la* *kong=ni* *ala-ba*
 house inside 1:SG knife=INST person=ACC kill-SUBJ:PERF

[or]

b *bi* **ger** **cuduoruo** *qighuola* *kongni* *alaba*

c *bi* *qighuola* **ger** **cuduoruo** *kongni* *alaba*

d *bi* *qighuola* *kongni* **ger** **cuduoruo** *alaba*

I killed a person in the house with a knife.

(Qing Yongzhang)

This shows that the locative oblique *ger cuduoruo* ‘in the house’ can be placed in any position, with respect to other major constituents, except that it cannot follow the verb. Of these possible orders, though, (184b) 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. Obliques are in bold type. In (186) and (187), accusative arguments are underlined; these will be discussed momentarily.

- (185) *Jiutou Yaomao ger=**du** ruo-ji ri-ku,*
 nine:head ghost house=DAT enter-IMPERF come-IMPERF
 When Nine-headed Ghost entered the house,
 (Nine-headed Ghost 43; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (186) “*Ni muni bieri=ni suzu=**du** tuer-ku bao-gha*
 this 1:SG:GEN wife=ACC water=DAT push-IMPERF go:down-CAUSE
xi-gha-jiang.”
 go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 “(Someone) pushed my wife down into the water” (he thought).
 (Shalanguer’s Story 86; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (187) *Ti shinagu gan diamang=**du**=nang Jiutou Yaomao=ni*
 that woman 3:SG door=DAT=REFLPOSS nine:head ghost=GEN
khuer duoruo pijighe=ni sigha-jiang,
 foot under bean=ACC spread-OBJ:PERF
 That woman, she spread beans under (where) Nine-headed Ghost’s feet
 (would be) at her door,
 (Nine-headed Ghost 39; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Comparing (186) and (187), we see that a locative oblique (in bold) may appear either before or after an accusative argument (underlined). The pattern of (187) is most common, with the accusative argument generally appearing closest to the verb.

Example (187) also illustrates the cooccurrence of two locative obliques in the same clause. *Diamangdunang* ‘at her 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 (185)–(187) have in common the fact that the location expressed is one toward which the action of the verb moves. Most locative 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 describe an aspect of the context in which an event occurs.

Locative expressions of this second type often appear in clause-initial position. Example (188) illustrates this, as does (189).

- (188) *Mer=**du**,*
 road=DAT
 On the way,
 (Monkey 89)
- yi-ge-jian kong tiemie ge tao-ser bang.*
 one-CL-person person camel SG:INDEF drive-PROG OBJ:COP
 a person was driving a camel.
 (Monkey 89–90; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (189) *Cai dunda bulai=ni khuru ri-jiang.*
 food in child=GEN finger come-OBJ:PERF
 In the food the baby's fingers came.
 (Monkey 54; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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, though, 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.

- (190) *gan=ni jiaodong=du gan yi-ge laohan keli-lang,*
 3:SG=GEN dream=DAT 3:SG one-CL old:man say-OBJ:IMPERF
 in his dream he, an old man said,
 (A Hired Farmhand 18; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

It bears emphasizing that it is only a general tendency for this latter type of locative oblique to appear sentence-initially. One final example, (191), shows that the physical context within which an event occurs may also appear after the clausal subject.

- (191) *Bi yigua dong=du shi-ji-tian naila,*
 1:SG totally hole=DAT ten-several-day be.hungry
 I have been totally hungry for ten to twenty days in the hole,
 (The Rabbit Judge 20; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 (192), it is *within the house* that the old lady is asserted to exist.

- (192) *Ni ger=du laoshi ningger ge bang.*
 this house=DAT honest old:woman SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
 In this house there was an honest old lady.
 (Three Daughters 55; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, in (193) it is *in the mother's possession* that no power (*ergha*) exists.

- (193) *Ana=du ergha guang bai.*
 mother=DAT power OBJ:NEG:COP EMPH
 Mother had no power (any more).
 (Filial Obedience 7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.9.5.2 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 clause-initial position, since that would make their behavior parallel to that of the context-setting locative obliques we saw in the last section. In fact, many time obliques do appear in this position.

Seven of the fifteen folktales begin with the expression *tiedundu* ‘in the past; in olden times,’ and two others start with the expression *tiker shijiedu*, which similarly means ‘in the past.’ In each case, these expressions appear in initial position in their respective clauses, setting the temporal context. This pattern is illustrated in example (194).

- (194) *Tiedun=du,*
 past=DAT
 In olden times,
 (Shalangguer’s Story 2)
- yi-ge laohan=du aguer liang-ge bang.*
 one-CL old:man=DAT daughter two-CL OBJ:COP
 an old man had two daughters.
 (Shalangguer’s Story 2–3; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Clause-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 4.6 and 4.8, above, this position is one in which a number of other clausal modifiers appear, as well. An example of this appears in (195), where the date *eryue’er=du* ‘on the second day of the second month’ appears following the subject NP *ganni shinagu* ‘his wife.’

- (195) *Gan=ni shinagu er-yue-er=du mamei chaoke-kuniang bai.*
 3:SG=GEN woman two-month-two=DAT wheat fry-OBJ:FUT EMPH
 His wife wanted to roast wheat on the second day of the second lunar month.
 (Nine-headed Ghost 2; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 postpositions 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:

(196) Lexical time obliques

- | | | |
|---|---------------------|-------------------|
| a | <i>du</i> | 'now' |
| b | <i>jiaoduer</i> | 'every day' |
| c | <i>niaoduer</i> | 'today' |
| d | <i>mughashi</i> | 'tomorrow' |
| e | <i>niaoshulian</i> | 'tonight' |
| f | <i>chugushulian</i> | 'yesterday night' |
| g | <i>yitian nige</i> | 'one day' |

The time expression given in (196g), *yitian nige*, is etymologically a noun phrase of the form 'one-day one,' but it seems to behave as a lexicalized expression. *Yi-tian* 'one-day' is a borrowing from Chinese (一天). *Nige* is the Mongolic numeral 'one.'

Consider examples (197) and (198). These show that *du* 'now' may appear in either first or second position in its clause.

- (197) **Du** *dasi ji-ge=la* *ni=ni* *khuba di-gha*.
 now 1:PL several-CL=COLL this=ACC divide eat-CAUSE
 Now let's the several of us divide and eat this one.

(Sangbura 365; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (198) *Gan ghu=la* **du** *jiutou* *yaomao=ni* *peghe-ji* *ala-kuniang*
 3:SG two=COLL now nine:head ghost=ACC hit-IMPERF kill-OBJ:FUT
bai.

EMPH

Now the two of them would beat Nine-headed Ghost to death.

(Nine-headed Ghost 41; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Most often, though, *du* 'now' is found in clause-initial position; (198) is the only example in my database of its second position placement.

Other items listed in (196) tend to appear in second position, but may occasionally be found at the beginning of a clause. Consider, for example, the following uses of *niaoduer* 'today.' Example (199) shows its usual position; (200) is the only example in the folktales of *niaoduer* appearing clause-initially.

- (199) *Bi* **niaoduer** *xi-a*.

1:SG today go-VOL

I will go (to my parents' home) today.

(Stupid Boy 7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (200) *“niaoduer yang kong bajia-ji ge-ji?”*
 today what person prepare-IMPERF do-IMPERF
 “what person prepared (the feast) today?” (they asked).
 (Madage 82; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Neither *du* ‘now’ nor *niaoduer* ‘today’ ever appears with the dative/locative enclitic =*du*, and the same is true for all the words listed in (196).

There is one further subtype of the time oblique expressions which never require postpositional marking. These are 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, and therefore it is not surprising that they should appear close to it. Examples are given in (201) and (202):

- (201) *Bi yigua dong=du shi-ji-tian naila,*
 1:SG totally hole=DAT ten-several-day be.hungry
 I have been totally hungry for ten to twenty days in the hole,
 (The Rabbit Judge 20; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (202) *Tingsa bi qimai=du san-shi-nian weilie ge-gha-jiang*
 then 1:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT three-ten-year work do-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
ma,
 PRT
 Then, I have worked for you for thirty years,
 (A Hired Farmhand 31; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 semantics and syntactic position to identify their function.

I mentioned earlier 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 (203) (where *shijie* is modified by a relative clause) and (204) (which contains a less complex NP).

- (203) *Gan nukuang=du bi-ku shijie=du ya=ji ya=ji*
 3:SG hole=DAT SUBJ:COP-IMPERF time=DAT what=DIR what=DIR
nangda dayingla-ba.
 1:SG:DAT promise-SUBJ:PERF
 At the time when it was in the hole, (it) promised me this and that.
 (The Rabbit Judge 39; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (204) *ni shijie yi-ge huashi nuqi-ji ri-jiang bai*,
 this time one-CL fashi pass-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 (at) this time a *fashi* (trance medium) came passing by,
 (Rabbit's Trick 12; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

From the examples seen earlier in this section, it appears that we can roughly divide time obliques into two major categories, 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, since *shijie* sometimes does and sometimes does not appear with a locative postposition. However, since I have not observed variation of this sort with many forms other than *shijie*, I think this may be generally a useful typology of Mangghuer time obliques.

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 characteristic 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 correlates with generalizations about their syntactic behavior.

4.9.5.3 Other oblique postpositional phrases

One final group of obliques consists of postpositional phrases (PPs) expressing instrumental/comitative, ablative, and directive case obliques. Also included here are dative/locative PP's 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 that subject is overtly expressed. Example (205) illustrates an instrument, (206) a causee, and (207) a locational source, in each case following the subject.

- (205) *Huguer kelie=la=nang duer danang*
 cow tongue=INST=REFLPOSS lick after
 Cow licked with her tongue,
 (A Cow Mother 48; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (206) *Laoye gan=du ge ji-gha-jiang bai*.
 living:buddha 3:SG=DAT once look-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Living Buddha let him see (this).
 (A Hired Farmhand 59; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (207) *gan beghe=sa chenli ge-jiang.*

3:SG tree=ABL hear do-OBJ:PERF

he overheard from a tree (i.e. he was sitting in the tree and listening).

(Human-bear 12; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 it is marked with the reflexive possessive postposition *=nang*, then the oblique usually follows the accusative argument. However, if the direct object is unmarked, then the oblique usually appears first.

The following two pairs of examples illustrate this contrast. In (208) and (209), respectively, we see that an instrumental oblique (in bold type) can either precede or follow a direct object (underlined).

- (208) *Gan-si ni **tuosi=la** dimei china-jiang bai.*

3:SG-PL this oil=INST bread cook-OBJ:PERF EMPH

They cooked bread with this oil.

(Three Daughters 62; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (209) *du ni=ni ti **ban'gachen** gha-si=la yeke.*

now this=ACC that medium:size bowl-PL=INST dip

now dip this (liquid) with those medium-sized bowls.

(Sangbura 280; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, in (210) a benefactive oblique precedes a direct object, while in (211) the opposite order is found:

- (210) *Huguer jiaoduer **gan=du** manten ba-ji hu-lang.*

cow every:day 3:SG=DAT bread defecate-IMPERF give-OBJ:IMPERF

Cow defecated bread for her every day.

(A Cow Mother 11; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (211) *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

hu-lang.

give-OBJ:IMPERF

He didn't give even one of (his) horses and mules to the Youngest Son.

(Filial Obedience 6; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

4.9.6 Topic fronting

A number of examples in the preceding sections have illustrated the appearance of oblique NPs in clause-initial position. This position sometimes functions like the Mandarin Chinese topic position, hosting a constituent which “sets a spatial, temporal, or

individual framework within which the main predication holds” (Li and Thompson 1981:85). A couple of such examples are (212) and (213), which illustrate a goal oblique and an ablative oblique, respectively, in topic position:

- (212) *Khuaitu ana=du pusa aguer ge ri-jiang.*
 step mother=DAT another daughter SG:INDEF come-OBJ:PERF
 To the stepmother came another daughter. (i.e. The stepmother gave birth to another daughter)
 (A Cow Mother 4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (213) *Beghe zhuer=sa huni maoke-lang.*
 tree bottom=ABL smoke waft-OBJ:IMPERF
 From the bottom of the tree smoke was wafting out.
 (Madage 52; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Direct objects may also serve as sentence topics. Whereas clause-initial position is a common location for oblique PPs, direct objects normally appear in preverbal position. Thus, when a direct object appears in topic position, it is easy to see that it has been fronted for pragmatic purposes (as long as there are other preverbal constituents). For example, consider (214), where the accusative direct object *dimei* ‘bread’ appears in topic position:

- (214) *Dimei=ni bi he-ji xi-a bai,*
 bread=ACC 1:SG take-IMPERF go-VOL EMPH
 The bread, let me take (it),
 (Rabbit’s Trick 42; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In this example, Rabbit is discussing several items which he and his friends have acquired. Rabbit suggests that each of the others, in turn, take an item, and then comes to himself, uttering (214). Thus, the fronted object *dimei=ni* is being contrasted with the other items in the list; ‘as for the bread, I’ll take (it)’ is another way to paraphrase this clause.

Occasionally the final particle *ma* is used to formally mark a topic, as in (215), in which Rabbit proposes what should be done with the first item in this same list:

- (215) *Ni-ge luoti=ni ma Chuna qi musi.*
 this-CL boot=ACC PRT wolf 2:SG wear
 These boots, Wolf, you wear (them).
 (Rabbit’s Trick 35; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, *ma* functions just as do the Mandarin topic markers *a*, *me* and *ne* (Li and Thompson 1981:86), indicating that the PP it marks (‘these boots=ACC’) is the topic about which the clause comments.

A direct object in topic position is almost always marked either with the accusative postposition =*ni*, as in (214) and (215), or with the reflexive-possessive enclitic =*nang*. As we saw in 4.9.2.2 and 4.9.3.1, these two forms do not cooccur; but most items marked with =*nang* are direct objects, and this must be the default interpretation when =*nang* is used and no other case is indicated. Thus, the fronted object in (216) is unambiguously a direct object.

- (216) “*kebeghe=nang* *bi* *mori=du=nang* *tiejie-ni*.”
 wheat:bran=REFLPOSS 1:SG horse=DAT=REFLPOSS feed-SUBJ:FUT
 “I will feed my wheat bran to my horses” (Elder Brother said).
 (Filial Obedience 29; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

There is only one example in my database of a fronted direct object which is completely unmarked. This is given in (217):

- (217) *shuer* *gan-si* *jiang yi-ger* *hu-jiang* *gelang*.
 chopsticks 3:SG-PL only one-CL give-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
 they only gave (him) one chopstick, they say.
 (Stupid Boy 67; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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. Finally, *shuer* has the right semantic characteristics to be the omitted head noun of the NP *jiang yiger* \emptyset , which is in object position. So *shuer* has to be the direct object, and the speaker need not mark it overtly as such.

These examples show that topic position is exploited for establishing boundaries as to the significance of a clause. Further study of the discourse functions of this pragmatic device will be very interesting. In particular, it will be interesting to compare Mangghuer topic strategies with those of Standard Mandarin and those of QGS Mandarin varieties.

4.9.7 Argument expression

Mangghuer clauses usually do not have many expressed arguments. Many clauses have no overt arguments at all, consisting of simply a verb. If overt NPs are present, it seems to be 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 (in which a monstrous bear lures a woman from home and kidnaps her) 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.

- (218) *Gan ghuer=luo shangliangla-lang,*
 3:SG two=COLL discuss-OBJ:IMPERF
 (As) the two of them were discussing,

(Human-bear 9)

line 9: subject only (*shangliangla*: intransitive)

Huer,
 monkey
 Monkey,

(Human-bear 10)

Renxun bai,
 human:bear EMPH
 (also known as) Human-bear,

(Human-bear 11)

gan beghe=sa chenli ge-jiang.
 3:SG tree=ABL hear do-OBJ:PERF
 he overheard from a tree (i.e. he was sitting in the tree and listening).

(Human-bear 12)

lines 10–12: subject and ablative oblique (*chenli*: intransitive)

Gan shidie=tai xi “bang,
 3:SG early=COM go ONOM
 Very early, he went (making the sound) “bang,

(Human-bear 13)

line 13: subject and comitative oblique (*xi*: intransitive)

bang” ge peghe sao-jiang bai.
 ONOM QUOTE hit sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 bang” like that, hitting (on the ice).

(Human-bear 14)

line 14: none (no subject, no object) (*peghe*: transitive)

Gan=ni shinajia=ni xi-ku,
 3:SG=GEN elder:sister:in:law=POSS go-IMPERF
 When Elder Sister-in-law went,

(Human-bear 15)

line 15: subject only (*xi*: intransitive)

Renxun huai=du beila xi-jiang bai.
 human:bear forest=DAT carry go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Human-bear carried (her) into a forest.

(Human-bear 16)

line 16: subject and location oblique (no direct object) (*beila*: transitive)

Shinagu=ni di-ku=sa ayi-jiang,
 woman=POSS eat-IMPERF=ABL fear-OBJ:PERF
 The woman (Elder Sister-in-law) was afraid of being eaten,

(Human-bear 17)

line 17: subject and ablative oblique (*ayi*: intransitive)

linshangmoyi di da-jiang.
 finally eat cannot-OBJ:PERF
 (but) in the end, (he) didn't eat (her).

(Human-bear 18)

line 18: none (no subject and no object) (*di*: transitive)

Sao-ser,
 sit-PROG
 (She) went on living (there),

(Human-bear 19)

line 19: none (no subject) (*sao*: intransitive)

sao-ser,
 sit-PROG
 went on living,

(Human-bear 20)

line 20: none (no subject) (*sao*: intransitive)

mula nige ri-jiang.
 small one come-OBJ:PERF
 (and) a little one came (i.e. she gave birth).

(Human-bear 21)

line 21: subject only (*ri*: intransitive)

Daighai gher-ji xi da-lang ma,
 never go:out-IMPERF go cannot-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
 (She) could never go out (of the bear's cave),

(Human-bear 22)

line 22: none (no subject) (*xi*: intransitive)

shinagu Shazighai=du nixier=nang make xi-gha-jiang.

woman Magpie=DAT earring=REFLPOSS remove go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(so) the woman removed her earrings (and gave them) to Magpie to take (to her home).

(Human-bear 23)

line 23: subject, direct object, oblique (causee) (*make xigha*: ditransitive(?))¹⁷

(Human-bear 9–23; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This extended example shows that the speaker has a large degree of freedom to leave unexpressed any argument which may be clearly understood from the discourse context. I have not undertaken a systematic study of the discourse motivations for the expression or non-expression of individual arguments, but this example suggests that much variation of this sort exists in Mangghuer.

THE SUBJECTIVE/OBJECTIVE SPEAKER INVOLVEMENT DISTINCTION

Mangghuer finite verbs (with the exception of imperatives) must be marked for one of two pragmatically-governed categories, labeled here *subjective* and *objective*. The subjective/objective distinction at first glance resembles a system of person agreement, but in actuality it basically functions to indicate the degree to which the speaker wishes to identify him- or herself as being personally involved in the claim being made. Subjective marking indicates a high degree of speaker involvement, while objective marking indicates a lesser degree of involvement, as though the speaker were standing back and presenting the event as a detached observer, rather than one who is personally involved.

Section 5.1 outlines the basic features of the Mangghuer subjective/objective speaker involvement distinction. Binary distinctions like the Mangghuer subjective/objective distinction are an areal feature of the QGS, and section 5.2 outlines the closely-related evidential system of Bodic languages (in which systems of this sort must almost certainly have first arisen), and in other QGS languages. In section 5.3, a few concluding comments are made about the historical spreading of this interesting pragmatic distinction.

5.1 SUBJECTIVE/OBJECTIVE MARKING IN MANGGHUER

The presentation of the Mangghuer subjective/objective distinction in this section is intended to allow us to contrast this system with the similar (and better-known) evidential systems found in Bodic languages. To make this comparison, we need to examine the basic features of the agreement-like subjective/objective marking system (sections 5.1.1–5.1.2), as well as the Mangghuer treatment of direct and indirect quotation (section 5.1.3). A brief summary is presented in section 5.1.4.

5.1.1 An agreement-like system

In this section, I will present data illustrating the major features of the Mangghuer subjective/objective system. At first glance, the system resembles one of person agreement; however, its true nature is one of representing the degree of personal involvement which the speaker wishes to assert.

We will consider the basic subjective/objective distinction (section 5.1.1.1), control vs. non-control verbs (5.1.1.2), finite vs. nonfinite environments (5.1.1.3), interrogatives (5.1.1.4), and, finally, copular constructions (5.1.1.5).

5.1.1.1 *The subjective/objective distinction*

To illustrate the features of this system, we will begin with finite environments showing the basic subjective/objective distinction. Examples (1)–(3), which were elicited, show that in declarative clauses, verb morphology appears to distinguish first person subjects (example 1) from second and third person subjects (examples 2 and 3):

- (1) *bi ri-ba*
1:SG come-SUBJ:PERF
I came.
(Qing Yongzhang)
- (2) *qi ri-jiang*
2:SG come-OBJ:PERF
You came.
(Qing Yongzhang)
- (3) *gan ri-jiang*
3:SG come-OBJ:PERF
S/he came.
(Qing Yongzhang)

This fundamental subjective/objective distinction holds with finite verbs, regardless of aspect or tense. The following examples illustrate the same distinction in both imperfective contexts (examples (4)–(6)) and future contexts (examples (7)–(9)).

- (4) *bi ri-la bi*
1:SG come-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
I am coming.
(Qing Yongzhang)
- (5) *qi ri-lang*
2:SG come-OBJ:IMPERF
You are coming.
(Qing Yongzhang)
- (6) *gan ri-lang*
3:SG come-OBJ:IMPERF
S/he is coming.
(Qing Yongzhang)

- (7) *bi ri-ni*
 1:SG come-SUBJ:FUT
 I will come.

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (8) *qi ri-kunang*
 2:SG come-OBJ:FUT
 You will come.

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (9) *gan ri-kunang*
 3:SG come-OBJ:FUT
 S/he will come.

(Qing Yongzhang)

5.1.1.2 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, subjective marking does not occur. In examples (4)–(9), the verb *ri* ‘come’ is one which is usually seen as being under the control of its subject. However, verbs of perception or emotion, and verbs expressing actions not voluntarily undertaken by the subject, do not receive subjective marking, even when the grammatical subject is first person. Examples (10)–(12) illustrate verbs of this sort:

- (10) *ni guai shi, bi ni=ni bietu-lang*
 this good time 1:SG this=ACC like-OBJ:IMPERF
 When he was good, I liked him/her.

(Zhu Yongzhong)

- (11) *bi gan=ni tani-lang*
 1:SG 3=ACC recognize-OBJ:IMPERF
 I recognize him/her.

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (12) *Bi qimei=du huangxin ai ber-lang.*
 1:SG 2:DAT=DAT take:heart NEG become-OBJ:IMPERF
 I worry about you,

(Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:42)

Only first person shows this systematic alternation. Second or third person subjects, whether they occur with control or non-control verbs, normally trigger the objective perspective marking.

5.1.1.3 *Nonfinite environments*

Mangghuer employs a large number of nonfinite verbal marking devices, which will be described in detail in Chapter 6. Here, we need to note only that subjective/objective distinctions are not made in any of these nonfinite 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.

In (13), (14), and (15), respectively, we find first, second and third person grammatical subjects, each with the same form of the conditional marker *-sa* on the clause’s final verb. (The third person subject in (15) is understood from context.)

- (13) *Bi qi=ni burer=ni kelie=ni lai di-sa,*
 1:SG 2:SG=GEN calf=GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
 If I do not eat your calf’s tongue,
 (Two Wives 54; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (14) *Qi zou ni aguer=nang ala-sa ala ma,*
 2:SG thus this daughter=REFLPOSS kill-COND kill PRT
 “If you (will) kill this daughter of yours, kill (her),
 (Monster Girl 22; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (15) *Wuji-la xi-sa,*
 take:note-PURP go-COND
 When (they) went to look,
 (Three Daughters 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, in (16), (17), and (18), with first, second, and third person subjects, respectively, the conjunction *danang* ‘after’ (at the end of each bracketed clause) is invariant in form, and the verb is always morphologically unmarked:

- (16) [*Bi ni dimei=ni di danang*] *ama kheghera sao-jiang bai,*
 1:SG this bread=ACC eat after mouth split sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 When I ate this bread, (my) mouth split.
 (Rabbit’s Trick 77; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (17) [*Du qi yi-zhuan harge danang*] *taighai ma ge mergu-Ø,*
 now 2:SG one-circle turn after head PRT once kowtow-IMPER
 Now you go around (the temple) once kowtowing,
 (A Hired Farmhand 45; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (18) [*Gan=ni huer=ni jige danang*] *ri-jiang.*
 3:SG=GEN cave=ACC remember after come-OBJ:PERF
 After (he) learned where its cave was, (he) came (back home).
 (Nine-headed Ghost 20; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

These examples show that nonfinite verbs in dependent clauses of two different types make no subjective/objective distinctions. The same is true for all nonfinite verbs in Mangghuer.

5.1.1.4 Interrogatives

Mangghuer also uses subjective marking with finite verbs in second person questions. Here, the subjective/objective split functions to distinguish second person from the non-second persons: first and third. This is illustrated in (19)–(21).

- (19) *bi ri-jinu*
 1:SG come-OBJ:PERF:QUEST
 Did I come?
 (Qing Yongzhang)
- (20) *qi ri-bu*
 2:SG come-SUBJ:PERF:QUEST
 Did you come?
 (Qing Yongzhang)
- (21) *gan ri-jinu*
 3:SG come-OBJ:PERF:QUEST
 Did s/he come?
 (Qing Yongzhang)

The motivation for this interesting difference between declaratives and interrogatives, found also in Bodic evidential systems, has been much discussed (see J. Sun 1993: 955–9 for some of the proposals), and similar distinctions are being reported in an increasing number of languages (Maxwell 1999 gives a brief overview).

5.1.1.5 Copulas

Copulas are similarly marked to distinguish the subjective and objective perspectives. Consider the following elicited examples, which again distinguish first vs. second and third person:

- (22) *bi laoshi bi*
 1:SG teacher SUBJ:COP
 I am a teacher.
 (Qing Yongzhang)
- (23) *qi laoshi bang*
 2:SG teacher OBJ:COP
 You are a teacher.
 (Qing Yongzhang)

- (24) *gan laoshi bang*
 3:SG teacher OBJ:COP
 S/he is a teacher.

(Qing Yongzhang)

In interrogatives, we once again find second person distinguished from first and third persons:

- (25) *bi laoshi meu*
 1:SG teacher OBJ:COP:QUEST
 Am I a teacher?

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (26) *qi laoshi biu*
 2:SG teacher SUBJ:COP:QUEST
 Are you a teacher?

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (27) *gan laoshi meu*
 3:SG teacher OBJ:COP:QUEST
 Is s/he a teacher?

(Qing Yongzhang)

In section 5.1.1.1 we saw that the basic subjective/objective distinction holds in perfective, imperfective, and future contexts. Copular constructions are the remaining major domain of finite verbal morphology,¹ and (22)–(27) show that the distinction is made identically in these constructions. This uniformity suggests that a single principle underlies the entire 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. Only interrogative contexts suggest that the system is not agreement. In the following sections, we will see that systematic possibilities for manipulation of this basic distinction show that the system actually codes complex pragmatic information.

5.1.2 Manipulation of the basic system

We have thus far seen the basic principles on which the Mangghuer subjective/objective system works. In this section, I will demonstrate that the system is not simply a type of agreement, but is basically pragmatic in character.

There are two logically possible ways to manipulate the basic system: a speaker may use objective marking when subjective marking would have been expected, based on the principles we have seen so far; or s/he may use subjective marking when the basic principles would have called for objective marking. We will see in the next two sections that two different sorts of pragmatic inference arise when the expectations of the basic system are violated in these two ways.

When objective marking is used with a first person subject, in a declarative clause, the speaker distances him- or herself from the action. As we will see in 5.1.2.1, this is interpreted to mean that the speaker was not in control of the act being reported, or that s/he does not wish to assume responsibility for the event.

However, when subjective marking is used with a second or third person subject, in a declarative clause, we will see in section 5.1.2.2 that an inference must be drawn at a different level. Rather than assuming personal responsibility for the event itself, a speaker using this device is interpreted to be asserting his or her personal involvement in the knowing of the event. This may involve certainty of knowledge, in which case the subjective marking functions as an indicator of evidentiality, or else it may involve the active participation of the speaker in making a supposition or hypothesis. Examples of all these functions will be given below.

5.1.2.1 *First person subjects with objective marking*

In declarative clauses with a first person subject and a control verb, a speaker may choose to use objective marking to indicate an unusual degree of distance between him- or herself and the event being reported. This is usually interpreted as indicating that the speaker is not in control of the event. Thus, compare (28) and (29):

- (28) *bi ri-ni*
 1:SG come-SUBJ:FUT
 I will come.

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (29) *bi ri-kunang*
 1:SG come-OBJ:FUT
 I will come (because someone else decided that I would).

(Qing Yongzhang)

As we saw in section 5.1.1.2 above, verbs which express actions that are inherently non-control are systematically marked with objective 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 subjective or objective marking, speakers indicate how their participation in the action is to be viewed. Thus, in (29), the speaker indicates by use of an objective form that he was not in control of the decision to come, and thus, that the event is not one for which he should be held responsible.

Another pair is provided in (30) and (31). Example (30) 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 the speaker more problems.

- (30) *bi wuda sao-jiang,*
 1:SG be:late sit-OBJ:PERF
 I am late,

(Shalangguer's Story 24; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

It is possible, however, to express the concept of 'being late' without explicitly denying responsibility. Compare (30) with the elicited contrasting example (31), where subjective marking is used with the same main verb:

- (31) *bi wuda-ba*
 1:SG late-SUBJ:PERF
 I was late.

(Zhu Yongzhong)

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 suffix whether they wish to accept or deny responsibility for the action described.²

While a speaker may indicate his or her own lack of responsibility by use of objective marking, this does not necessarily imply that the addressee is responsible. In the following folktale example, the speaker has been feeding both himself and his dog with a small supply of bread, while the addressee has been using an equivalent supply of bread to feed only himself. By using the objective marker in line 47, the speaker presents this situation in a detached way, as though it is simply a fact about the world for which no one in particular is responsible. He hopes, perhaps, that this device will help him to avoid being blamed for the situation, and thus help him win sympathy for his request for help.

- (32) “*Qi nangda=du dimei=nang diger hu ma,*
 2:SG 1:SG:DAT=DAT bread=REFLPOSS little:bit give PRT
 “You give me a little of your bread,

(Sangbura 45)

muni ge bura-jiang.
 1:SG:GEN SG:INDEF finish-OBJ:PERF
 mine is finished.

(Sangbura 46)

Bi ghu=la di-lang,
 1:SG two=COLL eat-OBJ:IMPERF
 We two have been eating,

(Sangbura 47)

qi khezhiger=nang di-lang.”
 2:SG alone=REFLPOSS eat-OBJ:IMPERF
 you have been eating by yourself.”

(Sangbura 45–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, a speaker may present a fact about him- or herself with objective marking, as in (33). No particular attribution of responsibility is needed or implied here; it is simply an objective fact about the world that the speaker has been a painter.

- (33) *Bi shinian huajiang dangla-jiang*
 1:SG ten:years painter serve:as-OBJ:PERF
 I've been painting for ten years.

(Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:52)

There is one additional form which sometimes appears with first person subjects, and which appears to be a further instance of this non-control phenomenon, although I have seen so few examples that this remains unclear. This is the optional appearance of a special objective suffix, *-ang*, which (as far as I have seen) can be used only with first person subjects in negative constructions with *lai* 'not'. This is illustrated in the first line of (34):

- (34) *"Mugha=ni bi lai di-ang,*
 meat =ACC 1:SG NEG eat-OBJ
"I won't eat the meat (of Cow),

(A Cow Mother 49)

kelie=ni nangda hu."
 tongue=ACC 1:SG:DAT give
 give me the tongue (instead)"

(A Cow Mother 49–50; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The use of *-ang* in this context is definitely optional, as it does not always appear in first person negations of this sort, and this suggests that it has a pragmatic function. The speaker here is reporting an event which, on the face of it, should be under her own control—she refuses to eat the cow meat which is offered to her. However, if we consider the possibility that *-ang* has a function similar to what we have seen in this section, we can interpret this to be a denial of responsibility; the objective suffix functions to indicate that the event being reported (in this case, that something will not happen) is not within the speaker's own control, and therefore, that the assertion is unchallengeable. We might thus paraphrase (34) something like this: "There is no way that I will eat the cow's meat," or "It is impossible for me to eat the cow's meat."

Unfortunately, there are only five examples of this construction in my database, so it is not possible to give here a full outline of the range of its functions, but the account which I have given for (34) seems plausible for all of the instances which I have seen so far.

In 5.1.1.2, above, I noted that non-control verbs with first person subjects receive special speaker involvement marking, but that this does not happen when the subject is second or third person. Similarly, no such alternation occurs in constructions of the type seen in this section. 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 demonstrates the essentially speaker-oriented 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 subjective verb marking with a second or third person subject. This manipulation will be discussed in the next section.

5.1.2.2 *Second and third person subjects with subjective marking*

Thus far, we have seen examples of how speakers use objective marking to disclaim control or responsibility for an action. Another logical possibility would be the use of subjective marking with a second or third person subject; this does indeed occur, and it 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, but it is also used when a speaker is drawing an inference or reporting a hypothesis, both of which naturally involve a high degree of personal involvement.

In the first few examples below, the basic function being performed 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, for example, the following exchange from the text "Elder Sister and the Monkey":

- (35) *Huer ri-ji ersegehe-jiang,*
 monkey come-IMPERF ask-OBJ:PERF
 Monkey came and asked,

(Monkey 97)

"Ningda ningda bieri ge qige-bu gui a?"
 such such wife SG:INDEF see-SUBJ:QUEST SUBJ:NEG:COP PRT
 "Did you see such and such a wife?"

(Monkey 98)

"Ai,
 EXCL
"Ai,

(Monkey 99)

ni mersi duoruo ruo yao-ba."

this ice under enter go-SUBJ:PERF

this one went under the ice (on the river)" (the person answered).

(Monkey 97–100; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The second speaker (lines 99–100) is trying to deceive the monkey. The woman is in fact hiding under the speaker's large coat, but this is a monstrous monkey who will eat the woman if he catches her. The use of subjective marking in line 100 suggests that the speaker is sure, probably from having witnessed it himself in this case, that his claim is true—he is sure that the woman has disappeared under the ice on the river. Of course, in this situation the strongest possible way of asserting this is desirable, since failure to convince the monkey will result in the woman's death (and perhaps that of the speaker, as well). The context suggests, then, that this use of subjective marking functions to boost the level of epistemic authority the speaker claims for his utterance.

A similar example is taken from the text *Mang'huzi* "Monster Girl:"

- (36) *gan=ni gaga keli-ji,*
3:SG=GEN elder:brother say-IMPERF
her elder brother said,

(Monster Girl 62)

"taiting=du huguer liang-ge ri-ba,
there=DAT cow two-CL come-SUBJ:PERF
"two bulls are coming over there,

(Monster Girl 63)

qi ti=ni di-la xi."
2:SG that=ACC eat-PURP go
you go eat them."

(Monster Girl 62–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This utterance occurs at the climax of a narrative. The older brother has climbed a tree to escape his sister, because the sister had turned out to be a monster, who is now trying to eat him. The "two bulls" he mentions are actually 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 subjective marking in this line seems to be to attempt to move the 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.

Predictions about the future made by supernatural beings also use subjective marking, presumably because a supernatural being is able to be supernaturally certain of the truth of its prediction. This is illustrated in a passage from the text "Madage" entitled "Older Brother Horse":

- (37) *gan=ni jiaodong=du keli-ku-ni shi,*
3:SG=GEN dream=DAT say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
what was said in her dream was,

(Madage 11)

“*Qi mori angchighuo tada xige sao ma,*
 2:SG horse trough near watch sit PRT
 “You watch near the horse trough and,

(Madage 12)

dong-guo ge deghe-la-ji bao-ji ri-ni.
 winter-fruit SG:INDEF fall-IMPERF go:down-IMPERF come-SUBJ:FUT
 a winter pear will fall down.

(Madage 13)

Ti=ni di ma,
 that=ACC eat PRT
 Eat that,

(Madage 14)

kao ge ri-ni.”
 son SG:INDEF come-SUBJ:FUT
 (and) a son will come (i.e. you will bear a son).”

(Madage 11–15; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Although we are not told the identity of the being which reveals this information, it is obviously something supernatural. Thus, it presumably has extraordinary knowledge of events of which humans are not aware, and can make authoritative predictions based on that knowledge. In lines 13 and 15, this authority is indicated by the use of subjective marking on *rini* ‘will come’.

A similar predictive example appears in line 19 of (38), from another text, “A Hired Farmhand,” where the addressee has been trying to find a way to destroy a magical pair of shoes:

- (38) *gan=ni jiaodong=du gan yi-ge laohan keli-lang,*
 3:SG=GEN dream=DAT 3:SG one-CL old:man say-OBJ:IMPERF
 in his dream he, an old man said,

(A Hired Farmhand 18)

“*Qi jiaoduer huguer=ni basi sharsi a kong=ni*
 2:SG every:day cow=GEN excrement urine also person=GEN
basi sharsi=du take ma ni luoti chuoruo-ni.”
 excrement urine=DAT step PRT this shoe break-SUBJ: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.”

(A Hired Farmhand 18–19; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Non-supernatural beings may also use subjective marking to indicate a strong degree of certainty about a future event. For instance, example (39) comes as Rabbit is considering the likely response to a trick he has played on Fox and Wolf:

- (39) *Mula-sa ni ghu=la namei=du zhua-ji*
 think-COND this two=COLL 1:SG:DAT=DAT catch-IMPERF
ri-ni bai.
 come-SUBJ:FUT EMPH
 (Rabbit) thought “these two will come to chase me.”
 (Rabbit’s Trick 58; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

However, when a speaker is predicting something about the future, it is not required that s/he use subjective or objective marking to indicate any particular degree of certainty. Rather, this is a pragmatic choice. In the following example, we see variation in the marking used by the same speakers, addressing the same listener, with apparently the same degree of certainty. In line 65 of (40) the normal objective marking appears, even though the lexical item *yiding* ‘certainly’ specifically claims a high degree of certainty. Just a few clauses later, in line 69, we find this certainty indicated by a switch to subjective marking.

- (40) *Gan-si keli-ku-ni shi,*
 3:SG-PL say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
 What they said was,
 (Monkey 64)

“*Niao-shulian gan qimai=du yiding ala-kuniang.*
 today-evening 3:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT certainly kill-OBJ:FUT
 “This evening he will certainly kill you.
 (Monkey 65)

[three lines omitted]

Qimai ti yang’huo=ni hu-ni,
 2:SG:DAT that match=ACC give-SUBJ:FUT
 (She) will give you those matches,
 (Monkey 64–5; 69; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Since subjective marking is inconsistently applied to these predictions, we may conclude that its appearance is pragmatically determined.³

Certainty can also be expressed in clauses with copular verbs. For example:

- (41) *Shalangguer keli-ji,*
 Shalangguer say-IMPERF
 Shalangguer said,
 (Shalangguer’s Story 69)

“*Muni bieri=ni dama=du mazi gui.*”

1:SG:GEN wife=GEN face=DAT pockmark SUBJ:NEG:COP

“My wife’s face doesn’t have pockmarks.”

(Shalangguer’s Story 67–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 subjective negative copula *gui* with a third person subject here.

In (42), a woman has taken a child from its mother, a horse, and raised it as her own child. The subjective form of the copula *bi* in the quote of line 25 indicates the speaker’s desire to strongly assert her claim over the child.

- (42) *ningger gan shuer-di tierber xi,*
old:woman 3:SG quick-ADV hold go
the old woman, she quickly took (the child) and went,

(Madage 24)

“*muni kao bi*” *ge asira shuguotu-gha-jiang.*

1:SG:GEN son SUBJ:COP QUOTE raise grow:up-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF

saying “(he) is my son,” (she) raised (the child).

(Madage 24–5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 subjective 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 (41) and (42) 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 susceptible to the appearance of optional subjective marking. However, the optionality of using subjective forms in this context is illustrated by (43). This example is attributed to the same speaker as was (41), and forms an earlier part of the same dispute, preceding (41) by just a few lines of text. The negative equational copula *puzhang* appearing in line 64 is an objective form.

- (43) *Shalangguer keli-ji,*
Shalangguer say-IMPERF
Shalangguer said,

(Shalangguer’s Story 62)

“Aya!
EXCL
“Aya!

(Shalangguer’s Story 63)

*Ni muni bieri **puzhang**.*
this 1:SG:GEN wife OBJ:NEG:COP
This isn’t my wife.”

(Shalangguer’s Story 62–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Supernatural beings which predict the future and relatives asserting kinship status share the characteristic of being in a position to know the truth of their assertions. In other instances, when a speaker is not really able to be sure of an assertion, s/he may choose to use subjective marking to advance a hypothesis about some state of affairs. This is illustrated in (44) and (45):

- (44) *Niaoduer duersughuo tiangere **aruer-ni** a*
today afternoon sky clear-SUBJ:FUT PRT
It (the rain) will probably clear up this afternoon.
(Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:22)

- (45) *Gan nadun tangzi=du xi-ji **bi***
3:SG afterharvest:festival=DAT go-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
He might have gone to the afterharvest festival.
(Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:55)

In both (44) and (45), the speaker has no first-hand knowledge of the events, but instead uses subjective morphology to indicate personal involvement in the act of proposing a set of truth conditions.

A speaker may even use subjective morphology to signal a supposition about him- or herself, as in (46). The first clause of this example was used earlier (see (12), above) to illustrate the normal objective marking with a first person subject, when the subject is not in control of an event. The full text of this example from Dr. Wang Xianzhen (Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:42) is given here:

- (46) *Bi qimei=du huangxin ai ber-lang,*
1:SG 2:DAT=DAT take:heart NEG become-OBJ:IMPERF
I worry about you,

*yizhi huangxin ai **ber-ni***
continually take:heart NEG become-SUBJ:FUT
and I suppose I always will.

(Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:42)

In the second line of (46), the speaker hypothesizes a future continuation of his current state of worry; although ‘worry’ is an action over which the speaker has little or no control, and thus typically triggers objective marking in the first clause, the activity of speculating about the future introduces the speaker’s personal involvement, and this is what the final verb’s subjective marking indicates.

Since we have already seen that speaker involvement marking is a pragmatic device, it is not surprising that a speaker need not use subjective marking to indicate a hypothesis. Examples (47) and (48) provide a nice contrast, showing that a hypothesis introduced with *jusa* ‘if I guess, if I say’ may be marked with either subjective (example (47)) or objective (example (48), second line of the constructed conversational exchange) verb morphology.

- (47) *Qi ni=ni ai dueruala-sa, bi ju-sa qi ning ge-ji*
 2:SG this=ACC NEG like-COND 1:SG guess-COND 2:SG this do-IMPERF
keli-sa ber-ni
 say-COND become-SUBJ:FUT
 If you don’t like it, I think (it would be) better if you would say so.
 (Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:26)

- (48) *Qi ta, bi kedu ber-ji.*
 2:SG guess 1:SG how:many become-IMPERF
 Guess how old I am.

Bi ju-sa qi ershisan ber-jiang.
 1:SG guess-COND 2:SG twenty:three become-OBJ:PERF
 I’d say you are about twenty-three.
 (Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:19)

Interestingly, we have seen evidence in this section that subjective marking can function to signal that a speaker is reporting knowledge of which s/he is highly certain or, in other instances, a hypothesis of which s/he is, presumably, not sure at all. The reason for this apparent contradiction is that the basic function of subjective marking is not to signal epistemological stance, but, rather, to indicate the degree to which the speaker wants to be seen as personally involved in the assertion. It is left to pragmatic inferencing to determine the precise epistemological interpretation which will be made—depending, for example, on whether or not the speaker is in a position to know something personally (as a supernatural being, perhaps), or simply to make an educated guess (as one who predicts this afternoon’s weather).

Finally, subjective marking can also be used with a question about a third person subject, though it would normally be expected only with a second person subject in an interrogative. This phenomenon, illustrated in (49), must be used to elicit the addressee’s subjective perspective on the event being questioned. However, as I have seen only a couple of examples thus far, I am unable to comment in detail on the range of possibilities for such personal involvement marking in questions. Further research on this issue will certainly be extremely interesting.

- (49) *Gan guori=ni yang keli-ba*
 3:SG extra=GEN what say-SUBJ:PERF
 What else did he say?

(Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:59)

5.1.3 Quotation

In order to compare Mangghuer with the evidential systems of Tibetan languages, in later sections, we need also to make note of how Mangghuer handles the reporting of someone's speech. The speaker involvement devices outlined above help to clarify the nature of the Mangghuer system of quotation. Fuller treatment of reported speech is the topic of Chapter 7.

Quotation is handled in a very consistent way in Mangghuer. In all cases, a speaker reporting someone else's words reproduces in the quote the exact verb morphology that the quoted speaker originally used. Although direct and indirect quotation types are distinct, they do not differ in their use of verbal morphology. Let us consider two examples which illustrate this point:

- (50) *Bulai zou "bi ge langla-ya,"*
 child thus 1:SG once walk:around-VOL
 The boy (said) "I'll walk around a bit (outside),"

(Monster Girl 43)

ge-ji.

QUOTE-IMPERF

(he) said this.

(Monster Girl 43–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (51) *gan namei di-ni ge-lang bai.*
 3:SG 1:SG:DAT eat-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
 it said (it) would eat me.

(The Rabbit Judge 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (50) contains an embedded direct quote *bi ge langlaya* 'I'll walk around a bit (outside),' while (51), which is part of an extended direct quote, contains an embedded indirect quote *namei dini* '(it) 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 (50) we find reproduced the actual first person pronoun *bi* which the original speaker would have used; in (51) 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 something like *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 verb marking, as described in 5.1.2.1 and 5.1.2.2, above. Example (52) shows what this looks like when the quoted speaker indicated lack of control (section 5.1.2.1) by using an objective form, and the reporting speaker reproduces this form.

- (52) *Chuna gher ri-jiang ma,*
 wolf go:out come-OBJ:PERF PRT
 Wolf came out and,
 (The Rabbit Judge 18)

keli-ku-ni shi,
 say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
 what (it) said was,
 (The Rabbit Judge 19)

“Bi yigua dong=du shi-ji-tian naila,
 1:SG totally hole=DAT ten-several-day be.hungry
 “I have been totally hungry for ten to twenty days in the hole,
 (The Rabbit Judge 20)

du bi hugu-kuniang.”
 now 1:SG die-OBJ:FUT
 now I will die.”
 (The Rabbit Judge 18–21; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The objective marking on *hugukuniang* ‘I will die’ indicates the Wolf’s lack of control or volition, with respect to the event of dying.

Similarly, when the quoted speaker originally used a subjective form to indicate a high degree of certainty (see 5.1.2.2), another speaker reporting this speech reproduces it, as in (53), which reproduces (39) from above:

- (53) *Mula-sa ni ghu=la namei=du zhua-ji*
 think-COND this two=COLL 1:SG:DAT=DAT catch-IMPERF
ri-ni bai.
 come-SUBJ:FUT EMPH
 (Rabbit) thought “these two will come to chase me.”
 (Rabbit’s Trick 58; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 (53). The verb of the embedded quote, *rini* ‘(they) will come’ is marked with subjective marking, by which Rabbit shows his certainty that the prediction is true. (Note that the verb *mula* ‘think’ behaves like a verb of saying; see 7.1.2 for discussion.)

Quotation in Mangghuer, then, always reproduces the subjective or objective verbal morphology used by the original speaker.

The motivations for the development of this quotative pattern are probably to be found in the essentially pragmatic character of the subjective/objective 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 speaker involvement choice made by the original speaker; the reporter of speech thus assumes no responsibility for any claims made, except to note how s/he heard them uttered.

5.1.4 Summary

In this section we have seen the principles on which the Mangghuer speaker involvement system works. We can summarize this system as in (54), which gives the conditions for the systematic appearance of subjective forms, since they have the more restricted distribution.

(54) Conditions for Mangghuer subjective forms

Subjective forms appear in clauses with *finite* verbs 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.

Objective forms occur in all other finite environments. However, we have also seen that these conditions may be violated for pragmatic functions.

5.2 CROSS-LINGUISTIC COMPARISON

In this section we will consider a number of verbal marking systems which must be related, historically, to the Mangghuer subjective/objective distinction. Systems of this family are usually referred to in the descriptive literature as evidential systems. Most descriptions focus on Bodic languages, and we will examine a few of these languages in section 5.2.1, before turning to published descriptions of similar systems in non-Bodic languages of the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund, in section 5.2.2.

5.2.1 The Bodic conjunct/disjunct evidential 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.

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 treatment of coreferentiality in reported speech. The *conjunct* category corresponds in function to what I have called *subjective* verb marking in Mangghuer, while *disjunct* marking parallels Mangghuer *objective* marking. Hargreaves (1990:2, cited in Genetti 1994:105) presents a schematic account of the environments in which conjunct forms⁴ appear in Kathmandu Newari:

(55) 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 (54), 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 Mangghuer subjective/objective system. This discussion will help in the search for a historical account of the system's development in Mangghuer.

According to DeLancey (1992, 1997), the conjunct/disjunct (hereafter, "c/d") system probably began historically with a *mirativity* distinction in copular 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 grammaticalized to become verbal morphology, the function of the distinction shifted, yielding an agreement-like system which distinguishes first person from others, and which has some essentially evidential functions.

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:

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):

- (56) *ngar dngul tog=tsam yod*
 1:DAT money some exist:CONJUNCT
 I have some money.

(Lhasa Tibetan; DeLancey 1992:43)

- (57) *ngar dngul tog=tsam 'dug*
 1:DAT money some exist:DISJUNCT
 I have some money.

(Lhasa Tibetan; DeLancey 1992:44)

Examples (56) and (57), with existential copulas, differ in this way: (56) is an unmarked way of expressing the proposition “I have some money,” while (57) would be appropriate if the speaker were surprised to discover the money, and could not immediately account for its presence. Thus, (57) is a *mirative* form, while (56) 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 5.1.1.5, above, that copular constructions in Mangghuer seem to obey the same set of subjective/objective principles that are found in all other finite verb environments. There seems to be nothing in 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 which express actions that are inherently not controlled by an agent, such as ‘hear,’ ‘see,’ ‘fall,’ etc. Thus, once the old–new knowledge distinction has become grammaticalized as part of verbal morphology, we find situations like this:

- (58) *ngas stag bsad-pa yin*
 1:ERG tiger killed-PERF:CONJUNCT
 I killed a tiger.

(Lhasa Tibetan; DeLancey 1992:45)

- (59) *ngas stag mthong-song*
 1:ERG tiger see-PERF:DISJUNCT
 I saw a tiger.

(Lhasa Tibetan; DeLancey 1992:45)

This feature corresponds closely to what we observed for Mangghuer in 5.1.1.2. However, languages with related systems apparently vary in the amount of freedom

speakers have to indicate degree of control over a particular action. It is my impression that *any* Mangghuer verb can be marked as non-volitional with a objective 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 (60)–(62)), with second person actors in finite interrogative clauses (examples (63)–(65)), and in quoted speech when the quoter and the actor within the quote are coreferential (compare (66) and (67)). 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), who elaborates Hale’s (1980) original examples with morpheme-level glossing.

Examples (60)–(62) show that conjunct forms (like Mangghuer subjectives) distinguish first person from second and third persons in finite declaratives:

(60) *ji wan-ā*

I go-PAST:CONJUNCT

I went.

(Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)

(61) *cha wan-a*

you go-PAST:DISJUNCT

You went.

(Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)

(62) *wa wan-a*

he go-PAST:DISJUNCT

He went.

(Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)

Again, like Mangghuer subjectives, conjunct forms also distinguish second person from first and third person in interrogatives, as shown by (63)–(65):

(63) *ji wan-a*

lā

I go-PAST:DISJUNCT QUESTION PARTICLE

Did I go?

(Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)

(64) *cha wan-ā*

lā

you go-PAST:CONJUNCT QUESTION PARTICLE

Did you go?

(Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)

- (65) *wa wan-a* *lā*
 he go-PAST:DISJUNCT QUESTION PARTICLE
 Did he go?

(Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:105)

The final conjunct environment is in reported speech. Compare (66) with (67):

- (66) *wā-ā* *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.

(Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:104)

- (67) *wā-ā* *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.

(Kathmandu Newari; Genetti 1994:104)

The term *conjunct* was originally used by Hale (1980) for the set of forms which appear in situations like that of the embedded verb *wanā* ‘went’ in (66). Here, the subject of a verb of saying (*dhāla* ‘said’) 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 (67). (The complementizer *dhakāā* immediately follows the quoted material in both cases.)

We saw in 5.1.3, above, that Mangghuer handles quotation differently. Rather than a system indicating coreferentiality in embedded and matrix clauses, 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 Mangghuer thus provides my motivation for naming the verbal marking forms differently for this language. However, the similarity of the Mangghuer subjective/objective system to the Bodic c/d system is striking in many areas, and it is quite clear that the two systems must share a common origin.

There is, though, some significant variation in the evidential features found in various c/d languages. The evidential system of Amdo Tibetan has been described in some detail by J. Sun (1993), and since this is Mangghuer’s geographically closest Bodic neighbor, we should consider some of the particular features of the Amdo evidential system here. Since J. Sun’s description is of an Amdo variety spoken in northern Sichuan Province, we cannot be sure that the details of the system are identical to what Mangghuer speakers have been in direct contact with, but this is the only detailed Amdo description available for comparison.

In fact, the Amdo evidential system is rather different from that of Lhasa Tibetan, and also from that of Kathmandu Newari. Like these other languages, Amdo also exhibits a type of conjunct/disjunct 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 1993:956–9). 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. Mangghuer, as we saw, makes the same subjective/objective distinctions in all tenses and aspects, including future tense.

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 (56)–(57), above; nor does it apparently mark copulas for evidential functions; here again Amdo differs from Mangghuer, which distinguishes subjective and objective in copulas just as in all other finite verbs.

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 Mangghuer subjective and objective morphemes and the evidential markers 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 equally clear that it shares with them some fundamental 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.⁵

Similarly, Amdo evidentiality differs from the Mangghuer subjective/objective functions in significant ways. This suggests that, while contact with Amdo Tibetan may indeed have provided some of the impetus for the development of a c/d-like system in Mangghuer, it is clearly not the case that the system has been simply borrowed wholesale, structurally or etymologically, from Amdo.

There is, however, one important shared feature which does seem to set Amdo Tibetan and Mangghuer into a class apart from the other c/d languages: that feature is their handling of 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:

(68) *k^harnəb ne xor-wə-t^hæ se*

last night fire slip-away-DIRECT:EV QUOTE

I heard (from someone who saw it happen) that a fire broke out last night.

(Amdo Tibetan; J. Sun 1993:983)

(69) *k^harnab ne xor-s^hoŋ-zəg se*

last night fire slip-away-INDIR:EV QUOTE

I heard (from someone who didn't see it happen) that a fire broke out last night.

(Amdo Tibetan; J. Sun 1993:983)

This is exactly the sort of pattern that we found for Mangghuer reported speech (section 5.1.3).

5.2.2 Other Mongolic languages and the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund

I have adopted the terms *subjective* and *objective* from the work of Qinggeertai and Chen Naixiong, who apply these terms (CH: 主观 *zhuguan*, 客观 *keguan*) to Mongghul (Qinggeertai 1991b:252–81; Chinggeltai 1989) and Baonan (N. Chen 1987a, 1989:29). N. Chen comments (1987a:195) that among the modern Mongolic languages, only Mongghul, Baonan and Mangghuer have subjective/objective distinctions.⁶ Both Mongghul and Baonan make use of finite verbal morphology to indicate subjective and objective perspectives; it appears that these categories are functionally extremely close to what we have seen in Mangghuer, although direct comparison of the various studies is difficult, as they are couched in differing analytical frameworks.

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 apparently not a very elaborate one. And nothing resembling the complexity of the subjective/objective system has been hinted at for other Mongolic languages, to my knowledge. The few Mongolic languages which have subjective/objective distinctions have clearly acquired them as a result of areal spreading in the QGS region, where extensive interactions with Bodic speakers have led to the spread of c/d-type systems into a number of non-Bodic languages. This is not an instance of Mongolic inheritance.

Dwyer (2000), Han (1990a), and Liu and Lin (1980) all describe a binary evidential-like distinction in Salar, the only Turkic language of the QGS region. At first glance, the Salar system appears quite similar to the Mangghuer subjective/objective distinction, but in another article Dwyer (1998:62–3) attributes the Salar system to internal Turkic developments.

Finally, N. Chen (1989) shows that the mixed language Wutun also has a form of subjective/objective distinction.

Much work remains to be done, in order to provide an adequate comparison of the many QGS binary perspective distinction systems, and in particular, to determine the full extent of similarities and differences that exist among them.

Since so many QGS languages have developed versions of the Bodic c/d 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-type marking pattern. Similarly, it is possible that the system was borrowed by Mangghuer from Salar, or from Mongghul, or from Baonan. 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 the system in other, as yet undescribed, languages of the region.

5.3 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

I have claimed that the facts of the Mangghuer subjective/objective system seem best explained in terms of the degree of personal involvement which a speaker wants to assert. In the normal case, first person statements are presented with subjective verb forms, and second or third person statements are presented with objective verb forms. Variation is introduced in two ways: on the one hand, there are the first person subjects with non-control predicates, which receive objective marking. These are systematic, and seem to have been adopted as a feature of the system when it was originally borrowed into Mangghuer, since the same pattern is found in Bodic languages as well. On the other hand, we find pragmatically-determined use of unexpected verbal marking (subjective in objective contexts or vice-versa). 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 second or third person syntactic subject occurs with subjective marking, the speaker *asserts his or her involvement in the activity of making the claim*; when the opposite situation occurs, the speaker is *denying his or her responsibility* for the event itself.

Although the basic contrast of this system, the distinction of first person versus second and third person, must almost certainly have been introduced through language contact, the 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 subjective/objective perspective 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 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 own version of the system.

J. Sun (1993:994) reports 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-type systems found in Mangghuer and in neighboring languages, there is little suggestion of common etymology. The 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 the quoted speaker’s original morphology in reported speech, which we have seen in Mangghuer and also in Amdo Tibetan, does provide 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 in which I have analyzed Mangghuer quotation. Alternately, it might be that other *c/d* languages once had a quotation pattern like the one Mangghuer now has, and that in those languages 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 properties of the *c/d* system in Bodic languages, this would improve our understanding of a family of evidential-like systems which currently remain somewhat enigmatic.

CLAUSE COMBINING

6.1 A FRAMEWORK FOR DESCRIBING 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 relatively 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 6.4, below.

The following subsections present the basic parameters which we will need for a characterization of dependent clause behavior in Mangghuer. Then, in section 6.2, we will look in some detail at the various types of Mangghuer dependent clauses, considering their internal structure and their external syntactic relations. We will also consider some implications for cross-linguistic categorization of clause combining phenomena, based on these observations. In section 6.3, a historical and comparative perspective on Mangghuer clause combining is adopted. Finally, section 6.4 introduces a few issues relevant to the sentence as a larger unit.

6.1.1 Finiteness

Most of the clause-combining phenomena we will see here involve nonfinite verb forms. In a prototypical syntactic sentence (see 6.4, below) there is generally only one finite verb form, and this is almost always the final verb in the sentence. Non-final verbs are usually also nonfinite, except in the cases of embedded quotations, which may contain finite verbs (see the next section and also 6.4.2), and coordination of independent clauses (section 6.4.1).

In Chapter 4, we saw that finite verbs in Mangghuer bear finite morphology which indicates mood, speaker involvement, and aspect/tense. Verbs in the imperative mood are a special case; these verb forms do not indicate speaker involvement or aspect/tense, but do indicate person of the subject, and are also finite.

In contrast, nonfinite verbs do not indicate mood, speaker involvement, or person. However, some nonfinite verbs do indicate aspect/tense.

Nonfiniteness, then, does not mean that a verb indicates no grammatical categories at all. Rather, it means that the verb does not indicate the full set of grammatical categories that are required for finite status.

6.1.2 External syntactic relations

Any Mangghuer clause whose final verb is nonfinite is a dependent clause. A nonfinite verb is not fully specified for the grammatical categories which finiteness requires, and the nonfinite verb must therefore have a syntactic relationship with a finite verb, so that values can be specified for its unspecified grammatical categories. A nonfinite verb's clause must therefore be syntactically related to a clause containing a finite verb, and this is taken to constitute *dependency*. Any clause whose final verb is nonfinite is thus a dependent clause.

Taking the converse perspective, we can also say that all Mangghuer dependent clauses are built on nonfinite verbs. That is, there are no fully finite verbs whose clauses are dependent.

Another important notion is that of *embedding*. I consider clause A to be unambiguously embedded in clause B if either of the following two conditions hold: clause A is a constituent of (or is a constituent of a constituent of) clause B; or constituents of clause B appear both before and after clause A (that is, clause A is surrounded by constituents of clause B).

An interesting perspective on the external relations of clauses, using these two categories, 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). They note that clauses may be characterized by the features \pm dependent and \pm embedded. Combining these two binary oppositions, they obtain the following typology:

(1) Clause-combining strategies

-embedded	-dependent	<i>coordination</i>
+embedded	+dependent	<i>subordination</i>
-embedded	+dependent	<i>cosubordination</i>

(Foley and Van Valin 1984:241–2)

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.” A similar approach, with a similar three-way distinction, is adopted in later work in this framework by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:441–54).

However, such clauses certainly do exist in Mangghuer. Consider (2):

- (2) *Tingsa* *jiutou* *yaomao* [*r-a*] *ge-ji* *dayingla-jiang*.
 later nine:head ghost come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF promise-OBJ:PERF
 Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying “I’ll come.”
 (Nine-headed Ghost 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The bracketed clause *ra* ‘I’ll come’ is a direct quotation, and is quite clearly embedded within a larger matrix clause, because it is surrounded by constituents of that clause. As we will see in 6.2.3.7, below, the nonfinite suffix *-ji* of the quotative marker *geji* indicates that this quotation is to be taken as an embedded constituent of the larger clause. *Geji* functions here as a complementizer, marking the reported speech as a complement of the verb of saying *dayinglajiang* ‘promised’—the quoted material constitutes the content of the promise made by the nine-headed ghost. 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 (first person imperative) form, and is thus finite. (For more discussion of speech complements, see sections 6.2.2.3 and 6.4.2.)

So what seemed to Foley and Van Valin (1984) to be an impossibility does, in fact, occur. Embedded quotation, as in (2), has the features +embedded, -dependent, and completes the set of logically possible combinations of the Foley and Van Valin features.

The appearance of all four logically possible combinations supports Foley and Van Valin’s two-way distinction, since it demonstrates that the features \pm dependent and \pm embedded are not simply ad hoc means of describing a three-way distinction with two terms. Rather, they represent two interacting parameters, all possible combinations of which can be observed to occur naturally.

We can now restate (1) as follows, with our addition in bold type.

- (3) Clause-combining strategies, revised
- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| -embedded | -dependent | <i>coordination</i> |
| +embedded | +dependent | <i>subordination</i> |
| -embedded | +dependent | <i>cosubordination</i> |
| +embedded | -dependent | <i>embedded quotation</i> |

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
- | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| Nucleus | contains the predicate |
| Core | contains nucleus and core arguments |
| Periphery | contains nucleus, core, and obliques |
- (after Foley and Van Valin 1984:77,187)

The authors note that, in theory at least, coordination, subordination, or cosubordination can occur at any of these three levels of clause structure.

6.1.3 Converbs and clause chains

Some of the most interesting theoretical issues in Mangghuer syntax arise when we consider noncomplement dependent clauses. Such clauses are extremely important in Mangghuer discourse, and yet in many cases their syntactic status is not straightforward. In this section we will consider two types of dependent clauses which have been much discussed in the typological literature, which have relevance to the analysis of Mangghuer syntax: adverbial (or *converb*) clauses; and clause chains. After introducing each of these construction types (sections 6.1.3.1 and 6.1.3.2), I will note how the two are usually distinguished (6.1.3.3), and outline some of the cross-linguistic difficulties which have been encountered in maintaining the distinction, as well as the specific difficulties which the Mangghuer data contributes to the discussion. In the final analysis, I will suggest that Mangghuer dependent clauses (apart from the clearly-embedded complement clauses, which will be presented separately) are in the normal case ambiguous with respect to embedding, and therefore also with respect to the converb-clause chain distinction.

It is difficult to adopt theory-neutral terminology when discussing a topic of such divergent opinions as is the topic of dependent clauses. I will use the term *non-final* to refer to the noncomplement dependent clauses in a multi-clause construction. This term is borrowed from discussions of clause-chaining languages (see below), but should not be taken to imply that Mangghuer dependent clauses are identical in syntactic behavior to what has been described in prototypical clause-chaining languages. It is hoped that the degree of similarity to, and divergence from, this prototype will become clear in the course of the chapter.

6.1.3.1 Converbs

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; these are categories for which languages often “have monomorphemic non-anaphoric adverbs.” The other semantic categories do not generally have such lexical items, and use adverbial clauses instead.

Much recent work has examined the role of adverbial clauses from a cross-linguistic perspective. An important contribution to this research is Haspelmath and König (1995), where the term *converb* is adopted to refer to the nonfinite verb forms which appear in adverbial clauses. A converb, writes Haspelmath in that volume (1995:3), is “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination.”

The term *converb* 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, and the term has continued to be used by many scholars describing

Mongolic languages, including, to select a prominent example, Poppe (1951, 1955, 1970, 1974).

6.1.3.2 *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 dependent clauses, all of which are related to a single, independent clause. Most chaining languages are verb-final, and the finite verb usually appears in the last clause in the chain. Example (5), from Nepali, is a prototypical chaining construction:

(5) Nepali clause chain

ma pasāl-mā ga-era

1:SG 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-ē

read-NF sit-1:SG:PAST

I went to the store, bought rice, came home, cooked rice, and sat down to read.

(Slater 1994:139)

The nonfinite verb marker *-era* is traditionally called a *conjunctive participle* (CP) in South Asian linguistics. The nonfinite marker itself makes a minimal semantic contribution; 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 naturally-occurring examples, in Nepali and other clause-chaining languages, 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 *non-final* or *medial* verbs.

Languages often have more than one device for creating non-final clauses in a clause chain. 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 a different one of these devices:

(6) Japanese clause-chaining devices

numa no nushi wa, sore o miru to
 marsh GEN spirit TOPIC that DO¹ see CHAIN
 Once the marsh spirit saw it,

makkana kuchi o ake-te
 red mouth DO open-CHAIN
 (he) opened (his) red mouth,

saburoo ni tobikakari-O
 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 1994:134)

Watanabe (1994) is not alone in claiming that these various Japanese morphological forms create non-final verbs in a clause chain. Myhill and Hibiya (1988) and Iwasaki (1993) are other scholars who adopt this perspective. However, some scholars have considered the same forms to belong to different categories. Watanabe (1994:192) provides a bewildering list of terms which analysts have applied to various ones of these three 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*. Yet other authors have used the term *converb* to refer to at least some of these forms; see, for example, Bisang (1995, 1998).

Payne (1991) helps to clarify just why there should be so much disagreement as to the status of dependent clauses such as these in a particular language. Noting that specific 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 shortly.

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 (1984:341–2) give the following examples from Barai (citing Olson 1981):

(7) Barai

a *Bu ire i-kinu vua kuae*
 3:PL food eat-SIM:SR talk say
 ‘They were eating and talking.’

- b *Bu ire i-ko no vua kuae*
 3:PL food eat-SIM:DR 1:PL talk say
 ‘While they were eating, we were talking.’

(Foley and Van Valin 1984:341)²

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 further shown that other sorts of continuity or discontinuity can be indicated by nonfinite markers in chaining languages. Mithun (1993), for example, 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 dependent 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 (1997:382–432), which shows that nonfinite markers in Santa, many of which have Mangghuer cognates, may also be seen as indicating continuity or discontinuity of various features of the events coded by successive clauses.

As was mentioned above, I will adopt the term *non-final* to refer to Mangghuer noncomplement dependent clauses, as these clauses share a great deal with non-final clauses in prototypical clause chains. However, Mangghuer clausal combinations of this sort are not prototypical clause chains, as we will see. In the following subsection, I will describe some of the issues which make differentiation of converbs and clause chains complex, in Mangghuer and in many other languages.

6.1.3.3 *What distinguishes converbs and clause chains*

Although the discussion thus far might suggest that converbs and clause chains are clearly distinct syntactic types, the distinction is actually far from easy to maintain. It turns out to be extremely difficult to propose any criteria which would distinguish the two types adequately on a cross-linguistic basis. This is partly because, as Payne suggested (1991:248) in the quote cited above, clause chaining is not an easily-definable

syntactic pattern. In practice, it is often difficult to draw a principled line between chaining constructions and adverbial clause constructions in a given language.

Analysts of dependent clauses have sometimes appealed to the function of those clauses in order to distinguish various clause types. Thus, Payne (1991:253), discussing the difference between non-final (he uses the term *medial*) clauses and adverbial clauses, suggests:

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. For example, 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. Similarly, 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 turn out to be quite applicable to the Mangghuer non-final clauses, as well. As I will show in sections 6.2.3.1–6.2.3.8, the pragmatic function of a particular clause as a presupposition or an assertion is a feature of that particular clause. It appears to be the case that any Mangghuer nonfinite morpheme can be used to mark clauses which present presupposed background, and also to mark clauses which present clear assertions. So presupposition versus assertion is not a ground on which different Mangghuer nonfinite markers can be distinguished.

More commonly, analysts have distinguished clause chaining from adverbial clauses on the basis of structural criteria. For example, in Foley and Van Valin’s (1984) terms, adverbial clauses are subordinate (+dependent, +embedded), while non-final clauses in a clause chain are cosubordinate (+dependent, -embedded). Haspelmath (1995:23) follows this distinction, as do many other authors who have addressed the question. This structural distinction is somewhat problematic, though, because in many languages the same set of morphological forms is used in both embedded and non-embedded constructions. As Bickel (1998:395) points out, there is a type of ‘converb’ in a large number of languages (chiefly in Central Asia) which “systematically conflates adverbial modification . . . and narrative chaining.” It appears to be difficult to defend the claim that these are in fact different construction types, at least for these languages.

This latter problem is precisely what we will see in the Mangghuer data of this chapter. Apart from nominal and verbal complement clauses, which are clearly embedded, there is in Mangghuer a large number of dependent clauses which are systematically ambiguous with regard to embedding. In fact, this seems to be the normal situation for many of the Mangghuer nonfinite markers which will be discussed. The effect of this is that we cannot advance any syntactic evidence to show that dependent

clauses performing modifying (adverb-like) functions and those performing narrative chaining functions actually represent different syntactic types. Rather, clausal modification and narrative plot-advancement seem simply to be two different pragmatic functions, to which any non-final clause can be put. In profiling specific nonfinite markers in section 6.2.3, I will show that in most instances we cannot say whether a particular dependent clause is or is not embedded within another clause; this simply does not seem to be a relevant distinction for the Mangghuer non-final clauses.

An additional point of syntactic importance involves postposability of dependent clauses. For Haspelmath (1995), “variable position,” including postposability to follow a main clause, is one of the characteristics of subordinate clauses. We will see a number of postposed non-final clauses in Mangghuer, but it is not at all clear that the ability to be postposed is a *syntactic* fact about these clauses. Rather, it turns out to be just those dependent clauses whose nonfinite markers are relatively rich, semantically, which have a high degree of freedom of movement; these are clauses created with *-ku* (section 6.2.2.1), *-tala* (6.2.3.3), *-sa* (6.2.3.4), and *danang* (6.2.3.6). On the other hand, verbs whose nonfinite markers have relatively vague semantics are much more restricted in terms of syntactic positioning; this type includes *-Ø* (6.2.3.5) and *-ji* (6.2.3.7). This strongly suggests that it is semantic facts, rather than syntactic ones, which govern postposability of Mangghuer dependent clauses. Thus, postposability cannot be used as a criterion for distinguishing embedded versus non-embedded dependent clauses, and therefore, postposability cannot be used to distinguish subordinate from cosubordinate clauses, either.

An additional interesting problem is raised by Haspelmath’s (1995:3) definition of a converb as “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination.” The problem with this definition, which is partly structural and partly functional, is the functional part: it is not at all clear what should be considered the “main” function of many Mangghuer nonfinite markers. If we could delineate a clear syntactic distinction between adverbial subordinate clauses and clause chains, many Mangghuer nonfinite markers would be multifunctional, used to create constructions of both types, and it is not clear how to identify any single “main” function of such multifunctional devices.

In presenting the various Mangghuer nonfinite verb markers, I will return when possible to the issues raised in this discussion, showing what the Mangghuer facts can contribute to this complex area of typological description.

6.1.4 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 cautions 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

nws ntaus tus dev khiav kiag

(s)he beat CL dog flee completely

‘He beat the dog off.’ (He beats dog; it flees.)

(Durie 1997:290)

(9) Yoruba

ó mú ìwé wá

he took book come

‘He brought a book.’ (He takes a book; he comes.)

(Durie 1997:290)

(10) Jeh

ěn loh chièu reng rǔp bǔh cha chò 'wan

3:SG exit go search catch roast eat pig they

‘He went out and got somebody’s pig and roasted and ate it.’

(He exits; he goes; he searches; he catches somebody’s pig; he roasts it; he eats it.)

(Durie 1997:290)

(11) Kalam

nad agl ñag tk yok-Ø-an!

you arrow shoot separate move:off-HORT-2:SG

‘Shoot the arrow clear!’ (Shoot arrow; it separates; it moves off.)

(Durie 1997:290)

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 structure as was outlined for Foley and Van Valin (1984) 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 relatively rich clause-combining morphology, a few authors have used the term *serialization* to describe any combination of morphologically unmarked verbs in a series. For example, in a discussion of Lahu data taken from the work of Matisoff (1969, 1973), DeLancey (1991:4) refers to the following example as an illustration of either clause chaining or serialization: when the optional nonfinite (NF) marker *-le* appears, this is considered a clause chain, but when *-le* is absent, the verbs are said to have been “serialized.”

(12) Lahu

lâ pâʔ(-le) chèʔ(-le) câ pà sěve cê
 tiger jump(-NF) bite(-NF) kill finish
 ‘The tiger jumped on, bit, and killed (it/them).’

(DeLancey 1991:4)

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 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. The verb ‘kill’ cannot bear the nonfinite marker *-le*, but *must* appear with no morphology. This illustrates another type of construction which frequently appears in discussions of serialization. Here, the verb ‘finish’ has grammaticalized into 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, constructions of the first type can also be accounted for as instances of clause chaining, and we will see in this chapter that they fall naturally into the category of Mangghuer non-final clauses. Constructions of the second type have 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 6.3 we will consider in more detail the interrelated nature of clause chaining, serial verbs, and auxiliaries, as well as some issues in the historical development of these construction types in Mangghuer.

6.2 DEPENDENT CLAUSES

In Chapter 4, I gave Table 4.8 of nonfinite verb markers for Mangghuer (see p. 122).

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 4.8, we can divide Mangghuer nonfinite markers into three major syntactic types: nominalizers, complementizers, and non-final clause markers.

Nominalizers create nominalized clauses. These clauses are dependent, since their verbs are nonfinite, and must therefore be combined with independent clauses. Nominalized clauses are also embedded, as will be outlined in 6.2.1, below. Because they are both dependent and embedded, nominalized clauses may be considered subordinate, in the terms of Foley and Van Valin (1984) (see 6.1.2, above).

Complementizers are also used to create subordinate clauses. A complement clause functions as a complement of a verb, and thus is clearly embedded (as a constituent of that verb's clause), in addition to being dependent, due to its nonfinite verbal morphology. Verbal complement clauses are discussed in section 6.2.2.

The other type of nonfinite marker creates non-final clauses. All non-final clauses are dependent clauses, since their verbs are nonfinite. In most cases, though, it is not possible to determine whether a given non-final clause is embedded or not. Thus, with regard to embedding, non-final clauses generally have an ambiguous status, although some of them can also be unambiguously embedded as adverbial modifying clauses. This will be demonstrated in the discussion of the various non-final markers in section 6.2.3.

If we try to apply Foley and Van Valin's (1984) terms to (most) 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.

6.2.1 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 nominal 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, or serving as a noun phrase, is clearly also embedded within the main clause.

Clauses are nominalized by means of either of two morphologically complex suffixes, *-ku(ni)* and *-sang(ni)*. The difference between these two suffixes is one of perfectivity, with *-ku(ni)* occurring in imperfective contexts and *-sang(ni)* in perfective contexts. The final element *ni*, which optionally appears together with either of the nominalizers, will be discussed in 6.2.1.3, below.

In section 4.4.9.2, we saw that nominalization is also used as a negation strategy. These nominalized clauses may be analyzed as subject complements of a copular verb, as will be argued in 6.2.1.2, below.

6.2.1.1 *Relative clauses*

A relative clause is an embedded nominalized clause which functions as a modifier of a head noun; the relative clause is thus a constituent of an NP. The relative clause precedes the head noun which it modifies. The nominalizers, *-ku(ni)* and *-sang(ni)*, function as relativizers, appearing suffixed to the verb of the relative clause, and thus, between this verb and the modified head noun. Within the relative clause, there is a gap corresponding to the NP which is coreferential with the head noun.

Relative clauses are illustrated in (13) and (14):

- (13) *yama china-sang kong*
 food cook-PERF person
 ‘person who has cooked’

(Qing Yongzhang)

- (14) *mughashi yama china-ku kong*
 tomorrow food cook-IMPERF person
 ‘person who will cook tomorrow’

(Qing Yongzhang)

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) *Ti bayang kong=ni [bieqiere-sang-ni] aguer=ni*
 that rich person=GEN be:ill-PERF-NOMLZR daughter=ACC
dawenla-jiang.
 ask:about-OBJ:PERF

(He) asked about that rich man’s daughter who had become sick.

(Sangbura 243; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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) *yi-ge bayang kong=ni aguer bieqiere-ser bang.*
 one-CL rich person=GEN daughter be:ill-PROG OBJ:COP
 a rich man’s daughter is ill.

(Sangbura 145; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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) *[nige kong china-sang] buda*
 this person cook-PERF noodle
 ‘the noodles this person cooked’

(Qing Yongzhang)

Obliques may also be relativized, as in (18), where the head noun *ruang* ‘place’ is relativized from an oblique slot in the bracketed clause. (The fact that it is also an oblique in the main clause is irrelevant to this point, but see below.)

- (18) *Qi [ti ninger=ni nita-ku] ruang=du qi nita.*
 2:SG that old:woman=GEN sleep-IMPERF place=DAT 2:SG sleep
 You sleep in the place where that woman sleeps.

(Monkey 66; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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.

- (19) *Gan=ni³ [mojielie ala-sang] kong huguer ge bianli*
 3:SG=GEN torment kill-PERF person cow SG:INDEF become
ri-jiang.
 come-OBJ:PERF

The person who had been tormented to death became a cow and came (to the home).

(A Cow Mother 5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In (15), above, *aguer=ni* ‘daughter=ACC’ is the direct object of its main clause. And in (18), *ruang* ‘place’ is a locational oblique, appearing with the dative casemarker =*du*.

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 constructions 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. (Compare section 3.2.7, where we saw that an NP can appear without a head noun.) An example of a headless relative is given in (20).

- (20) [*Shalangguer=ni bieri bari-sang-ni*] *tiemer=ni*
 Shalangguer=GEN wife take-PERF-NOMLZR metal=GEN
bi-ku=la,
 SUBJ:COP-IMPERF=INST
 Because the one Shalangguer's wife had taken was a metal one,
 (Shalangguer's Story 52; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- Additional comments will be made about this subject below.

6.2.1.2 Nominal complement clauses

A nominal complement clause serves as an argument of a verb. Thus, the complement clause is clearly embedded as a constituent of another clause.

Example (21) shows a subject complement; the bracketed nominalized clause is the subject of the main verb *hangbura* 'stop.'

- (21) [*'Bang bang' di duoke-ku-ni*] *hangbura-ku*,
 ONOM ONOM QUOTE chop-IMPERF-NOMLZR finish-IMPERF
 When the chopping—'bang, bang'—stops,
 (Three Daughters 24–5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (22) contains a direct object complement. The bracketed nominalized clause is the object of the main verb 'know.'

- (22) [*Huguer=ni jiari-ku-ni*] *jienang maidie-lang*.
 cow=ACC kill-IMPERF-NOMLZR self know-OBJ:IMPERF
 (The cow) herself knew that the cow would be killed.
 (A Cow Mother 39; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Oblique complements are shown in the next three examples. In each example, the nominalized clause is marked with the appropriate enclitic case postposition: (23) is a dative, (24) is an instrumental, and (25) is an ablative example.

- (23) [*gan ri-sang*]=*du bi zheng di-ser bi*
 3:SG come-PERF=DAT 1:SG just eat-PROG SUBJ:COP
 'At (the time) he arrived, I was eating.'
 (Qing Yongzhang)
- (24) [*nangda nukuang=du dianke ge-ku*]=*la yigehua bang bai*.
 1:SG:DAT hole=DAT bury do-IMPERF=INST same OBJ:COP EMPH
 it's the same as burying me in the hole.
 (The Rabbit Judge 46; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (25) [*Shinagu=ni di-ku*]=*sa ayi-jiang*,
 woman=ACC eat-IMPERF=ABL fear-OBJ:PERF
 (The woman herself) was afraid that the woman would be eaten,
 (Human-bear 17; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 the bracketed clause *zai yibeizi rikuni* ‘what will come in the next life.’

- (26) *Ti zou [zai yibeizi ri-ku-ni] bang.*
 that thus next life come-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP
 That is precisely what will come in (your) next life.
 (A Hired Farmhand 91; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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) *[xuesheng-si jiaoduer keli-ku-ni] shi,*
 student-PL every:day say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
 what the students said every day was,
 (Madage 27)

“Qi mori=ni kao bang bai,”
 2:SG horse=GEN son OBJ:COP EMPH
 “You are a horse’s son,”

(Madage 27–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This last example represents a borrowed quotative formula which will be described in section 7.2.3.2.2.1.

I noted above that one difference between complement clauses and relative clauses is the presence or absence of the arguments within the nominalized clause. A relative clause has an argument (coreferential with its head noun) which has been gapped. However, in many nominalized clauses it is not clear whether a particular argument has been gapped, or simply omitted, as Mangghuer clausal arguments often are (see section 4.9.7). This is the case when it is possible to imagine a coreferential head noun which has also been omitted. 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.’ In both examples, a head noun, coreferential with these ‘missing’ arguments, is quite plausible (and in fact, shows up as ‘what’ in the English translation of each example). So these examples 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.

Another ambiguous example is given in (28), where the bracketed nominalized clause may be a nominal complement of the copula *guang* (literal translation: ‘there is no eating for my livestock’), or a headless relative clause (translation as given in the example):

- (28) *Muni asi-si=du a [di-ku-ni] guang.*
 1:SG:GEN livestock-PL=DAT also eat-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:NEG:COP
 My livestock don’t have anything to eat either.
 (Filial Obedience 21; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Finally, the negation strategy which was discussed in section 4.4.9.2 actually consists of a nominal complement clause followed by a negative copula. Consider again (29), repeated from that discussion.

- (29) *[bi hai=nang musi-sang] gui.*
 1:SG shoe=REFLPOSS wear-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP
 I haven't put on my shoes.
 (Shalangguer's Story 19; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In negations such as this, we can say that the negative copula *gui* takes a single argument, which is a nominalized clause. This, then, is probably another type of subject complement.

6.2.1.3 Optionality of the 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 interchangeable:

- (30) *qi yao-ku mer=nang yao ma,*
 2:SG go-IMPERF road=REFLPOSS go PRT
 you walk the road you are walking,
 (Madage 55; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (31) *qi yao-ku-ni mer=nang yao ma,*
 2:SG go-IMPERF-NOMLZR road=REFLPOSS go PRT
 you walk the road you are walking,
 (Madage 65; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, (32) and (33) show the equivalence of *-sang* and *-sangni*.

- (32) *Ting-ku aba-si=nang yigua taimai ge-ji*
 that-IMPERF father-PL=REFLPOSS totally bury do-IMPERF
huli-sang-ni diger=nang ghu=la khuba
 remain-PERF-NOMLZR little:bit=REFLPOSS two=COLL divide
bari-jiang.
 take-OBJ:PERF
 After that, burying their fathers, the two of them divided their little remaining
 (things) and took (them away).
 (Sangbura 16; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (33) *Yi-ge gaotai shengmai shi huli-sang dige=nang yijia*
 one-CL lift:high:bury:deep time remain-PERF little:bit=REFLPOSS each
ge aruoghuo beila-jiang.
 SG:INDEF back:basket carry-OBJ:PERF

After the funeral, each (of the sons) carried a basket of their little remaining (bread).

(Sangbura 19; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Comparative works on Mongolic do not, to my knowledge, make any mention of an element like this *ni*, although they do often 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 an extension of the Mangghuer genitive marker *=ni*.

Motivation for the appearance of the genitive marker in this context would probably come from contact with Chinese, which uses a nominalizer and relative clause marker *de* (的) and 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
 1:SG 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'

Since so many Mangghuer speakers also speak Chinese well, 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 hypothesis 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 he said was' (see 7.2.3.2.2.1). Additional evidence is provided by (20), above, where the predication asserts that Shalangguer's wife's item (a washtub) was *tiemer=ni* 'of iron'. *Ni* in this example parallels another, modifying, function of Chinese *de*.

6.2.2 Verbal complement clauses

Like nominalized clauses, verbal complement clauses are unambiguously subordinate. A verbal complement clause is a dependent clause which is called for by the semantics

of the verb on which the clause is dependent, and thus may be considered a constituent of its matrix clause. Verbal complement clauses are therefore both +dependent and +embedded, which means that they are subordinate, in Foley and Van Valin's (1984) terms.

There are just a few verbs which take complement clauses. I have so far found verbal complements appearing with the motion verbs *xi* 'go,' *yao* 'go,' and *ri* 'come,' and with the verbs *kaike* 'begin' and *hangbura* 'finish.'

The motion verbs appear with a special kind of complement clause expressing purpose. Complements of this type are constructed with a specialized nonfinite suffix *-la*, which has only this function. Other verbal complement clauses are constructed with the nonfinite markers *-ji* and *-Ø*, which can also mark non-embedded dependent clauses, as we will see in sections 6.2.3.5 and 6.2.3.7.

Similar in some important ways to the verbal complement clauses, speech complements are also called for by the semantics of a main verb, which in this case is a verb of saying. Speech complements may optionally appear with the either of two morphological forms of the quotative marker, *ge* or *geji*, which functions as a complementizer when it appears in this context. Note that these two nonfinite forms use the same two markers as do other non-purpose verbal complement clauses. However, speech complements have some significant differences from other complement clauses; primary among these is that the speech complement, although embedded within a matrix clause, is not dependent, as we have already seen in 6.1.2, above.

Purpose complement clauses are described in 6.2.2.1, other verbal complement clauses are described in 6.2.2.2, and speech complements in section 6.2.2.3.

6.2.2.1 Purpose complements

Purpose complement clauses can be embedded only within matrix clauses containing the main verbs *xi* 'go,' *yao* 'go,' and *ri* 'come.' The complement clause verb is nonfinite, marked with *-la*. A purpose complement clause is illustrated in (36), where the bracketed purpose clause *ti kungni beilala* 'to carry (away) that person' expresses the purpose for which the action of coming (*rijiang* 'came') was carried out.

- (36) *Bersi liang-ge [ti kong=ni beila-la] ri-jiang gelang.*
 tiger two-CL that person=ACC carry-PURP come-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
 (Actually), two tigers came to carry that person (away), they say.
 (Monster Girl 65; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 (36), *bersi liangge* 'two tigers,' ought to be considered a constituent of the purpose clause or not. The subject is in some sense shared by the two clauses, being the agent of both the *coming* and the *carrying*, and it seems rather arbitrary to assign it syntactically to one verb or the other (as I have done by excluding it from the brackets). This ambiguity is true of the grammatical subjects of all purpose clauses.

As we will see below, the biclausal status of purpose constructions with *-la* seems to be eroding, as a result of a grammaticalization process by which these are being

However, unlike auxiliary verbs, which do not express separate events, the matrix clause motion verb in a purpose construction usually does indicate a separate event of motion. This is illustrated in (36)–(38), where both *ri* ‘come’ and *xi* ‘go’ express actual movement for the purpose of undertaking another action. We also see this fact with *yao* ‘go’ in (39), where it is clear that the event of going is a different one from that of picking flowers.

- (39) *Dasi qijighe chuangmu-la yao-a.*
 1:PL flower pick-PURP go-VOL
 Let’s go to pick flowers.

(Three Daughters 10; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Nonetheless, there are a few examples in which there is no clear action of movement associated with the motion verb in a purpose construction. An example of this is (40); here, no event of actual motion is being referred to.

- (40) *niebie=la ke-la⁴ xi-ku,*
 current=INST say-PURP go-IMPERF
 when spoken of these days,

(Sangbura 147; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Examples like (40) 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, and are clearly in the process of grammaticalizing in that direction, the facts that the two verbs involved do not share all of their arguments, and usually express clearly different events, lead us to conclude that purpose clause constructions are not (yet) examples of main verb + auxiliary. Rather, they represent the embedding of a purpose clause as a complement of a verb of motion.

6.2.2.2 Other verbal complements

In the data that I have examined so far, there are just a couple of other verbs which call for complement clauses that do not function as arguments: *kaike* ‘begin,’ and *hangbura* ‘finish.’ It is possible that a larger body of data would reveal additional complement-taking verbs like these.

Kaike ‘begin’ is a Chinese borrowing (*kai* 开). It takes the bracketed complement clause *tini peghe* ‘to hit that (drum)’ in (41):

- (41) [*ti=ni peghe*] *kaike-jiang bai.*
 that=ACC hit begin-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 (and he) began to beat that (drum).

(Rabbit’s Trick 53; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The main verb of such a complement clause may appear with zero morphological marking, as does *peghe* ‘hit’ in (41), or it may appear with the imperfective marker *-ji*, as in (42):

- (42) [*Bi chuzhong=sa Yinyu suer-ji kaike-ba*
 1:SG junior:middle:school English learn-IMPERF begin-OBJ:PERF
 I began learning English in junior middle school.
 (Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:60)

Examples (41) and (42) show that these verb + complement constructions are quite similar to verb + auxiliary constructions, even allowing the complement clause (like a main verb, when combined with an auxiliary verb) to be marked with either *-Ø* or *-ji* (see section 4.4 for discussion). However, there is an important structural difference between the two construction types. When a verb + auxiliary construction is negated, the negative particle precedes the main verb; in contrast, example (43), an elicited negative corresponding to (41), illustrates that the negative in a verb + complement construction is placed outside the complement clause, before the complement-taking verb:

- (43) [*ti=ni peghe-ji sai kaike-jiang*
 that=ACC hit-IMPERF NEG begin-OBJ:PERF
 (he) didn't begin to beat that drum
 (Wang Xianzhen)

Thus, although complement-taking predicates share some behavior with auxiliary verbs, these should in fact be considered two different construction types.

These complement-taking verbs can also be used without verbal complements. In (44), for example, *kaike* takes a nominal direct object. (Here, *kaike* has the sense 'to open'):

- (44) *Taolai bayasira shini danang ama=nang huohuer ge*
 rabbit be:glad smile after mouth=REFLPOSS split SG:INDEF
kaike-gha-jiang.
 open-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 Rabbit laughed (so hard) that (it) opened a split in (its) lip.
 (The Rabbit Judge 69; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The other complement-taking verb which appears in my data is *hangbura* 'finish.' This verb appears with complement clauses in (45) and (46). In (45), the embedded main verb *herge* 'turn' is marked with *-ji*, while in (46), the embedded main verb *keli* 'say' is unmarked.

- (45) [*Gansi yinhang diamang=du guolai guoqi herge-ji hangbura-la*
 3:PL bank door=DAT coming going turn-IMPERF stop-IMPERF
guang
 OBJ:NEG:COP
 They were walking back and forth in front of the bank without stopping.
 (Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis et al., 1996:46)

- (46) [*Bersi keli*] *hangbura-jiang*.
 tiger say finish-OBJ:PERF
 Tiger finished speaking.

(Sangbura 124; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Like *kaike* ‘begin,’ *hangbura* ‘finish’ is negated with a negative particle external to the complement clause, immediately preceding the complement-taking verb itself, as in (47):

- (47) *bersi keliji sai hangburajiang*
 tiger say-IMPEF NEG finish-OBJ:PERF
 Tiger didn’t finish speaking.

(Wang Xianzhen)

Finally, (48) illustrates a use of *hangbura* as a main verb with no complement clause:

- (48) *dasi niaoduer hangbura-ya*.
 1:PL today finish-VOL
 let’s stop for today.

(Sangbura 172; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

6.2.2.3 Speech complements

Verbs which express an event of saying, or a conceptually similar event such as thinking or planning, often take a complement which gives the content of the speech. Complement constructions of this type will be discussed in detail in sections 6.4.2 and 7.1, which outline some structural aspects of Mangghuer strategies for the reporting of speech.

Example (49) was presented earlier in this chapter (example (2), above) to show that reported speech may be clearly embedded as a complement within a matrix clause.

- (49) *Tingsa jiutou yaomao [r-a] ge-ji dayingla-jiang*.
 later nine:head ghost come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF promise-OBJ:PERF
 Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying “I’ll come.”

(Nine-headed Ghost 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The quotative marker *geji* here functions as a complementizer, although as we will see in section 7.1.1, this device is not required with speech complements. Nor does this form always function as a complementizer; see 6.4.2 and 7.1.3 for examples in which *geji* and related forms are used to mark noncomplement clauses.

6.2.3 Non-final clauses

Non-final clauses are created with any of the non-final clause markers which were shown in Table 4.8 (p. 122). Eight such forms were listed, and the range of functions of each of these forms will be outlined here.

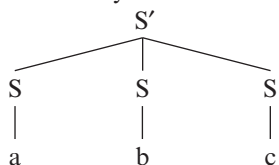
In 6.1.3.3, above, I presented a series of arguments for the claim that non-final clauses in Mangghuer are ambiguous with respect to whether they are embedded or non-embedded. To summarize, the arguments presented there were as follows: non-final clauses cannot be distinguished on functional grounds, as they do not consistently perform either presupposing or asserting functions; nor do they have any clear “main” function by which they can be categorized; these clauses are systematically ambiguous with respect to syntactic embedding; and postposability (often taken as evidence of embedding) appears to be a semantic, rather than a syntactic property of some of these clauses. In the remainder of this section we will consider these arguments in somewhat more detail, and in the following subsections, we will see further evidence for these claims, as we consider the specific syntactic and pragmatic properties of non-final clauses built on each of the various Mangghuer nonfinite markers.

In many instances, sequences of non-final clauses assert a sequence of events, as we might expect to find in a prototypical clause-chaining language. Consider, for example, (50):

- (50) a *[gan xi-Ø]*
 3:SG go-SEQ
 He (Monkey) went,
- b *[gan=ni bulai=ni liang-banjier cida danang]*
 3:SG=GEN child=ACC two-piece tear after
 tore his child into two pieces,
- c *[gerdi kerla gher-gha-jiang].*
 roof throw go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 (and) threw (the pieces) onto the roof.
 (Human-bear 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In this example, each of the successive lines asserts one event in a series, each following the previous event successively in time: ‘he went’ *and then* ‘he tore’ *and then* ‘he threw.’ This appears to be a straightforward example of a clause-chaining construction, with a syntactic structure something like the following tree:

- (51) Possible syntactic tree for (50)



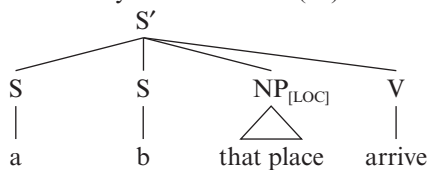
In contrast to (50), though, consider (52):

- (52) a *Dawenla-ser*
ask:about-PROG
(By) asking,
- b *yao-ji*
go-IMPERF
going on,
- c *ti ruang=du kuer-jiang.*
that place=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
(he) arrived at that place.

(Sangbura 244; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Structurally, (52) resembles (50). It contains a series of three clauses (lettered a–c), which appear in a sequence. Semantically, however, it appears that clauses a and b, rather than presenting an event in the sequence, instead modify the verb of clause c, *kuerjiang* ‘arrived,’ giving the circumstances in which the event of arriving was carried out. If clauses a and b are modifiers, then we expect them to be embedded as constituents of the following clause, and thus, we expect (52) to have a syntactic structure something like (53):

- (53) Possible syntactic tree for (52)



In (53), clauses a and b are embedded as sisters of the finite verb, while in (51), clauses a and b do not belong to the same clausal node as does the finite verb of clause c; rather, clauses a and b are sisters of the clause which contains the finite verb.

It appears, from these examples, that we have in Mangghuer a contrast between clauses which assert events in a sequence and those which modify an event within its own clause.

The difficulty with this analysis, and with trees (51) and (53), is that there appear to be no *syntactic* arguments to support the distinction. Instead, the arguments which lead us to hypothesize (51) and (53) as structurally distinct accounts of (50) and (52) are purely semantic, based on whether each dependent clause functions to modify a later verb, or to present an event in a sequence.

In 6.1.3, above, I referred to the criteria by which I believe that unambiguous embedding can be demonstrated. Applying those criteria here, we conclude that in order to prove that clause y is embedded in clause z, we need to show that clause y is a constituent of z, or that clause y is completely surrounded by other unambiguous

constituents of *z*. In presenting the various nonfinite verb markers, I will attempt to show that neither criterion can be met for Mangghuer non-final clauses. Thus, I will conclude that these constructions are systematically ambiguous with regard to embedding; this means that either tree (51) or tree (53) may be correct, but that there is no principled way to choose between the two structures, for either example (50) or example (52). Either of these examples could equally well have either underlying structure.

We have already seen, of course, that Mangghuer does allow unambiguous embedding of dependent clauses, in the form of relative clauses and complement clauses. In the following sections, we will see that some of the nonfinite markers to be discussed create dependent clauses which can be embedded as clausal modifiers. When such clauses are clearly embedded, they function as adverbial modifiers of a matrix clause verb, akin to Haspelmath's (1995) definition of a converb, cited in section 6.1.3.1.

I pointed out above that dependent clauses built with the more semantically specific nonfinite markers (*-ku*, *-tala*, *-sa*, *danang*) are more likely to have some freedom of movement, such that they can be postposed after a main clause. Similarly, dependent clauses built on the nonfinite markers with imperfective meaning (*-ser*, *-ji* and, rarely, *-ku*), which signal close semantic interclausal relations such as temporal overlap, are relatively more likely to be embedded within a matrix clause as clausal modifiers. For example, consider (54):

- (54) *Gan zou hengda-sang-ni aguer=du=nang [yila-ser]*
 3:SG thus strong-PERF-NOMLZR daughter=DAT=REFLPOSS cry-PROG
keli-jiang,
 say-OBJ:PERF
 So, crying, she said to her daughter who had grown plump,
 (A Cow Mother 40; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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. Structurally, the bracketed clause is 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. So this example shows that a *-ser* clause can be unambiguously embedded, according to the criteria I have given for embedding.

The nonfinite marker *-ser* is one of the markers which are bifunctional, in that they can create non-final clauses of the sort illustrated in (50) and (52), and also embedded adverbial clauses like the one we find in (54). It is important to remember, however, that constructions like (50) and (52) are systematically ambiguous with respect to embedding. This is not changed by the fact that some of these nonfinite markers can also be used to create unambiguously embedded adverbial clauses.

In the following sections (6.2.3.1–6.2.3.8) each of the non-final clause markers will be treated in turn, with attention given to the structural details of their use, as well as to the range of semantic and pragmatic functions which each can perform. Following this individual treatment of the various devices, a concluding section (6.2.3.9) illustrates some of the overlap in functions which can be observed among the various members of Mangghuer language's rich set of non-final clause markers.

6.2.3.1 Temporal succession (imperfective) with -ku

We have already seen *-ku*, together with the optional element (*ni*), as a nominalizer (section 6.2.1). In this section we will consider a range of syntactic functions which *-ku* performs in different contexts. In the constructions we will see here, there is no indication of nominal behavior; *-ku* never appears with *ni* in these contexts, and there is no morphosyntactic evidence that these dependent clauses function as clausal arguments or nominal modifiers. Instead, the examples we will consider here illustrate *-ku* functioning to build non-final clauses, with the syntactic characteristics which I outlined in the previous section.

In non-final clauses, as in nominalizations, *-ku* usually indicates imperfective aspect. The imperfective event of the non-final *-ku* clause generally precedes the event of the following clause; *-ku* may thus be taken as an indicator of temporal succession.

Consider, for example, (55), where *-ku* marks a future event ('when we reach the mountain'), and the following clause tells what will happen after that occurs.

- (55) *Gan keli-ji,*
 3:SG say-IMPERF
 He said,
(Three Daughters 15)

"Wula=du yao-ku,
 mountain=DAT go-IMPERF
 "When (we) reach the mountain,
(Three Daughters 16)

bi daghu duoke-a,"
 1:SG firewood chop-VOL
 let me chop firewood,"
(Three Daughters 15–17; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Another type of imperfectivity is found in (56), where the event marked with *-ku* occur repeatedly ('every day'). Again, the event of the following clause occurs later in time, after the event of the *-ku* clause.

- (56) *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 4)

khuerga ge tierber-ji ri-lang bai.
 lamb SG:INDEF hold-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
 (he) came (back) holding a lamb in (his) arms.
(Monster Girl 4–5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Structurally, both (55) and (56) have the syntactic characteristics which I have already outlined for Mangghuer non-final clauses. Note in particular that they are ambiguous with respect to embedding. In each instance the *-ku* clause could be interpreted as a subordinate adverbial clause, embedded within the matrix clause of the following finite verb. Under this analysis, the *-ku* clauses occupy the same position as might be expected to host a sentence-initial time or place oblique (see section 4.9.5). Alternately, though, the *-ku* clauses could be interpreted as cosubordinate clauses in a clause chain construction. For *-ku* clauses like those of (55) and (56), Mangghuer appears to provide no syntactic evidence which would favor either of these analyses. These non-final clauses are thus ambiguous with respect to embedding.

One aspect of this systematic ambiguity is that in many examples, including (56), there is an overtly expressed grammatical subject which is shared by multiple successive clauses. In (56), the subject *ganni kao* ‘her son’ could be interpreted as belonging syntactically to either the dependent clause (as in the English translation I have given) or the independent clause (‘her son, going to herd livestock every day, came back . . .’). Alternately, the subject might be shared by the two clauses. In many instances which might be analyzed as embedding of a dependent clause as an adverbial modifier, it turns out that the only constituent of the independent clause which is positioned before the dependent one is just such a shared subject. In these cases, the subject cannot be used to argue that the dependent clause is embedded, because it does not belong unambiguously to the independent clause.

As would be expected in prototypical clause-chaining constructions, it is possible to have multiple non-final clauses related to a single finite verb. This is illustrated in (57), which has two [bracketed] non-final *-ku* clauses followed by a single finite verb + auxiliary construction *di gelang* ‘(she) ate’.⁵

- (57) [*Ti=ni aguer khuergha=ni shulian=du kuguo-gha-la*
that=GEN daughter lamb=ACC evening=DAT nurse-CAUSE-PURP
xi-ku.]
go-IMPERF

When her daughter went to let the lamb suckle (its mother every) evening,
(Monster Girl 6)

- [*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
ge-lang.
do-OBJ:IMPERF

when she let one suckle, she would eat (another) one.

(Monster Girl 6–7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

I have noted that 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 (58), in which the two non-final clauses marked with *-ku* express states, rather than events.

- (58) *Dimei gui-ku* *kebeghe=nang* *diger*
 bread SUBJ:NEG:COP-IMPERF wheat:bran=REFLPOSS little:bit
hu-sa.
 give-COND
 If (you) have no bread, please give (me) a little of your wheat bran.
 (Sangbura 315)

Kebeghe gui-ku *mazha=nang* *diger*
 wheat:bran SUBJ:NEG:COP-IMPERF residue=REFLPOSS little:bit
hu-sa.
 give-COND
 If (you) have no wheat bran, please give (me) a little of your chaff.
 (Sangbura 315–16; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Since the non-final clauses in (58) express states, rather than events, there cannot be a temporal relation of succession between the two clauses. The same can be said of (59); in this example, the second clause is a state, rather than an event, and there is no clear temporal relationship between the two clauses at all.

- (59) *Tiedun=du,*
 past=DAT
 In olden times,
 (Sangbura 2)

dasi=ni nasi=tai kong-si keli-ku,
 1:PL=GEN age=COM person-PL say-IMPERF
 as our old people told it,
 (Sangbura 3)

Sangbura=ni alige wula=di yi-ge bayang kong bang.
 Sangbura=GEN some mountain=LOC one-CL rich person OBJ:COP
 on a mountain of Sangbura village, there was a rich man.
 (Sangbura 2–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

One interesting pragmatic fact about *-ku* is that it is the morphological device which is most frequently used to create recapitulative (or *recap*) clauses, which summarize an already-reported event (usually repeating the main verb of the previous clause) as background for another event. These clauses often have no expressed arguments, since they are recapitulating an event which has already been described, rather than asserting an event for the first time. In (60), for example, the speaker tells us that the older sister ‘went’, and then uses that event of going as the context in which another character’s response occurs.

- (60) *Gan gan=ni diao=ni ruang=du xi-jiang.*
 3:SG 3:SG=GEN younger:sibling=GEN place=DAT go-OBJ:PERF
 She went in her younger sister’s place (i.e. she posed as her younger sister).
 (Shalangguer’s Story 60)

Xi-ku,

go-IMPERF

When (she) went (to Shalangguer's home),

(Shalangguer's Story 61)

Shalangguer keli-ji,

Shalangguer say-IMPERF

Shalangguer said,

(Shalangguer's Story 62)

"Aya!

EXCL

"Aya!

(Shalangguer's Story 63)

Ni muni bieri puzhang."

this 1:SG:GEN wife OBJ:NEG:COP

This isn't my wife."

(Shalangguer's Story 60–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

One thing which (60) shows us is that the nonfinite marker *-ku* does not exclusively indicate imperfectivity. In this example, the 'she' who is the subject of the first line has killed her own younger sister, Shalangguer's wife, and is now going to Shalangguer's house to attempt to take her sister's place. The event of going, in line 61, begins at another place, and it is not until the going is completed, and the elder sister arrives at Shalangguer's home, that he can react to her presence. Thus, the event marked with *-ku* is entirely completed when the event of the next line occurs.

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. This is another way in which *-ku* clauses are ambiguous, having some of the features of prototypical clause chains and some features which would be expected of adverbial clauses. Presupposing and asserting are thus both functions which non-final *-ku* clauses can play, in different pragmatic contexts.

Most *-ku* clauses have different clausal subjects than do the clauses which follow them. We can see this in examples (55), (59), and (60), above. However, a *-ku* clause can have the same subject as the following clause, as in examples (56), (57), and (58).

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 (61):

- (61) *"Bi qimai=du [mula=ni kao ge ri-ku]*
 1:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT small=GEN son SG:INDEF come-IMPERF
jielie-a,"
 welcome-VOL

"I will welcome you (with the son) when a little son comes,"

(Two Wives 10; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

It is clear that the bracketed *-ku* clause here is embedded, because it appears between the finite verb *jieliea* ‘welcome’ and its arguments. The argument *qimaidu* ‘to you’ could possibly be shared by the two verbs, but the first word in the sentence, *bi* ‘I,’ cannot possibly be an argument of *riku*, since that verb has its own subject ‘a little son.’ *Bi* must, therefore, be an argument only of *jieliea*, and the *-ku* clause is thus clearly surrounded by constituents of another clause.

Example (61) is difficult to translate. The embedded *-ku* clause is rendered here as describing the circumstances under which a welcoming will happen. In fact, the speaker is planning to welcome her addressee on his return from a journey, but is only predicting that she will have a son in the meantime, and will be able to welcome him with the child. It seems, in any case, that the *-ku* clause functions as an adverbial modifier of the matrix clause, characterizing something of the circumstances of that event.

In summary, the *-ku* clause of (61), then, is not ambiguous with respect to embedding. It is embedded, and functions as an adverbial modifier of a matrix clause verb.

However, this sort of embedding is quite rare. In fact, (61) is the only such example in my database. So although *-ku* clauses can apparently be embedded as adverbial modifiers, they much more frequently appear as non-final clauses, ambiguous with respect to embedding.

A somewhat more frequent 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 (62):

- (62) *Gan ning ge khuleghe-ji nao-la xi-jiang gelang,*
 3:SG this do peep-IMPERF see-PURP go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
 He thus went to look secretly (at his sister), they say,
(Monster Girl 18)

[ajia=ni kuguo-gha-la xi-ku].
 elder:sister=POSS nurse-CAUSE-PURP go-IMPERF
 when his elder sister went to let (a lamb) suckle.
(Monster Girl 18–19; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

It is uncommon to find postposed *-ku* clauses, and Zhu Yongzhong reports (personal communication) that this sort of structure can be thought of as the result of an afterthought. It would have been equally acceptable, and perhaps better, for line 19 to be placed before line 18. However, constructions of this sort do occur naturally in texts, just as (62) did, and Zhu Yongzhong agreed that they were acceptable.

We will see that postposing is also possible for some other non-final clauses. As I pointed out in 6.1.3, above, this seems to be a feature of the semantic specificity of the particular nonfinite markers involved. Those which allow postposing of their non-final clauses, like *-ku*, are precisely the forms which are fairly rich, semantically, while the forms with little semantic content (*-ji* and *-Ø*) must indicate their semantic relation to another clause by means of position, and cannot therefore be postposed.

Historically, *-ku* is most probably related to the Mangghuer objective future verb suffix *-kuniang*; see section 4.1.2.3 for some comparative discussion.

6.2.3.2 Temporal succession (perfective) with -sang zhi

There are only a few examples in the folktales of non-final clauses marked with *-sang zhi*, which is a perfective counterpart to *-ku*. The suffix *-sang* is identical to the perfective nominalizer *-sang*, which was described in 6.2.1, above. Just as *-ku* has the non-nominalizing clause-combining functions which we saw in the previous section, so we will see in this section that *-sang*, when it appears with the conjunction *zhi* ‘after’, also creates non-nominalized dependent clauses. Like the *-ku* clauses which have just been described, *-sang zhi* clauses are also ambiguous with respect to embedding.

Consider (63):

- (63) *Kuergan=ni yimeghe-ku kong-si=ni daoda-sang zhi*
 husband=POSS village-IMPERF person-PL=ACC call-PERF after
bieri=nang yerri-la xi-jiang bai.
 wife=REFLPOSS look:for-PURP go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Her husband called the people of the village and went to look for his wife.
 (Human-bear 27; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In this example, the event of calling, presented by the first clause, precedes the event of the following clause. In fact, it is only together with the people he has called that the husband goes looking.

Another example is (64):

- (64) *Gan=ni ti=nang suzu qier-gha-ji hu-la*
 3:SG=GEN that=REFLPOSS hair cut-CAUSE-IMPERF give-IMPERF
bi ge-ji,
 SUBJ:COP QUOTE-IMPERF
 He would cut the (child’s) hair, he said,
 (Filial Obedience 36)

suzu=ni nuerghuo-sang zhi,
 hair=ACC wet-PERF after
 after (he) wet the (child’s) hair,
 (Filial Obedience 37)

bulai=nang jiari ana=du=nang di-gha-jiang.
 child=REFLPOSS kill mother=DAT=REFLPOSS eat-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 (he) killed his son and had his mother eat (the child).
 (Filial Obedience 36–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here again, *-sang zhi* marks a clause whose event occurs prior to the next event described. After wetting the child’s hair, as though to cut it, the father kills him.

In both (63) and (64) we have examples of non-final clauses which might be taken as sentence-initial adverbial clauses, setting the context for the upcoming event, or as clauses in chaining constructions. As I have pointed out, there are no syntactic

arguments which would allow us to decide between these two analyses. The construction is simply ambiguous with regard to whether the dependent clause is embedded or not.

I have seen no examples of *-sang zhi* clauses which are postposed. This may be possible, but it did not occur naturally in my database of folktales. Since there are only a few examples of *-sang zhi* clauses in the folktales, though, much more data needs to be examined.

Although most *-sang zhi* clauses are clearly perfective, there are some examples which do not fit this description. In (65), for example, it seems that the non-final clause with *-sang zhi* expresses an event occurring concurrently with that of the following clause:

- (65) *bulai=ni tierber-sang zhi khaila-ser bang,*
 child=ACC hold-PERF after shout-PROG OBJ:COP
 holding the child, (he) was shouting,
 (Human-bear 31; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Tierber can mean either ‘hold’ or ‘take in the arms,’ so *-sang zhi* in this example might also express perfectivity, meaning ‘after taking the child in his arms.’ However, it seems that there may be some significant variation in the semantic 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 conjunction *zhi* seems to be a borrowing from Chinese, although it is not at all clear what the historical source morpheme might be. Zhang and Zhu (1987:281) report on similar construction types in Xining Chinese. Zhu et al. (1997:442) similarly describe a Gangou Chinese 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*, examination of the text presented in that study suggests that some of those functions are similar to ones which we observe here for Mangghuer. *Zhi* is vastly more common in Gangou Chinese than it is in my Mangghuer folktale database, however.

We can also note that *zhi* sometimes appears in codeswitching environments in the Mangghuer folktales. In example (66), we find *zhi* appearing in a clause which is entirely Chinese; *zhi* relates this clause to the following clause, which switches to Mangghuer. (See 7.2.3.1 for discussion of codeswitching in Mangghuer folktales.)

- (66) “*Xian zhan-zhi a,*
 first stand-ASP PRT
 “First wait (a moment),
 (Shalangguer’s Story 13)
- bi wazi=nang musi-ku.”*
 1:SG sock=REFLPOSS wear-IMPERF
 until I put on my socks.”
 (Shalangguer’s Story 13–14; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

One other appearance of *zhi* is noteworthy. In (67), *zhi* appears together with both the Mongolic perfective marker *-sang* and the Chinese perfective marker *liao* (Standard Mandarin: 了).

- (67) *Niao-shulian chudu-lang ge diesi=nang di-sang*
 today-evening fill-OBJ:IMPERF SG:INDEF stomach=REFLPOSS eat-PERF
liao zhi,
 PERF after
 That evening (he) ate and filled his stomach (and) after that,

mughashi=ni gan xi-jiang bai.
 tomorrow=GEN 3:SG go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 the next day he went (to the temple).

(Sangbura 346)

(Sangbura 345–6; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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.

6.2.3.3 Prior event with *-tala*

Another somewhat 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 (68):

- (68) *Qi mughashi ri-tala qi=ni ti erjige nuer=nang ge*
 2:SG tomorrow come-before 2:SG=GEN that donkey face=REFLPOSS once
tangla-ku ri.
 burn-IMPERF come
 Before you come tomorrow, scald that donkey face of yours, (then) come.
 (Stupid Boy 10; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The other instance in which *-tala* appears is highly fortuitous, from the analyst’s point of view, because it shows two interesting facts about this morpheme.

- (69) *’Bi asi-si=nang tiejie-ni,*
 1:SG livestock-PL=REFLPOSS feed-SUBJ:FUT
 ‘I will feed my livestock,

qimai hu-tala’
 2:SG:DAT give-before
 rather than give (anything) to you,’

 (Filial Obedience 22)

 (Filial Obedience 23)

Shuguo Gaga keli.
big elder:brother say
Eldest Brother said.

(Filial Obedience 22–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

First, 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.’ Second, (69) shows that *-tala* clauses, like some other non-final clauses, can be postposed; here, the *-tala* clause follows the independent clause (ending in *tiejieni* ‘I will feed’) on which it is dependent.

Non-final clauses built with *-tala*, like those built with *-ku* and *-sang zhi*, are ambiguous with respect to embeddedness. I have not seen any examples of embedded *-tala* clauses.

There is another device, *-tula*, which Zhu Yongzhong reports (p.c.) to be a dialectal variant of *-tala*. Example (70) shows one use of this form which appears in the folktales.

- (70) *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 the house,
(Monkey 87)

gan yao khuoluotu-jiang.
3:SG go become:far-OBJ:PERF
she went far away.

(Monkey 87–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The form *-tula* is perhaps slightly more common than *-tala*, appearing four times in the folktales. Further examples of both forms need to be examined, in order to determine the relationship between these two morphological devices.

6.2.3.4 Conditionals and event–state relations with *-sa*

The nonfinite marker *-sa* has two semantic functions in clause combining. One of these is to construct a non-final clause which has a conditional or concessive–counterfactual relationship with the following clause. The other is to relate an event in a non-final clause to a state in the following clause.

A third function, which is not related to clause combining but will be illustrated here, is that *-sa* is used to mark a polite request.

Examples of conditional and concessive uses of *-sa*, in non-final clauses, are illustrated in (71) and (72), respectively.

- (71) *Ni=ni ge lai jiula-sa,*
this=ACC once NEG save-COND
If (I) do not save this one,

(The Rabbit Judge 15)

ni=ni nukuang=du dianke ge-kuniang.

this=ACC hole=DAT bury do-OBJ:FUT

this one will be buried in the hole.

(The Rabbit Judge 15–16; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

(72) *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 237)

gan yi-fen lai kerli-lang.

3:SG one-fen NEG want-OBJ:IMPERF

he didn't take one *fen* (in payment).

(Sangbura 237–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

When *-sa* is used with its other semantic function, it appears in a non-final clause whose verb expresses an action. The following clause expresses a state, which may be a result of the action expressed in the *-sa* clause, as in (73), or may express a state of affairs that is discovered to be true, once the first action is complete, as in (74).

(73) *Bi ya ge-sa ber-ku-ni sha?*

1:SG what do-COND become-IMPERF-NOMLZR PRT

What can I do that will be OK?

(The Rabbit Judge 49; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

(74) *Xi-sa,*

go-COND

(When she) went,

(Shalangguer's Story 37)

Shalangguer=ni ger=du hudu bayang bang bai.

Shalangguer=GEN house=DAT very rich OBJ:COP EMPH

(she found that) in Shalangguer's family was very rich.

(Shalangguer's Story 37–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The two semantic functions of *-sa* thus seem to be related. Both involve the marking of an event which, when (or if) fulfilled, leads to the actualization or discovery of some particular state of affairs. (Alternately, but still semantically similar, concessive clauses and some conditionals may assert the *non*actualization of some state.)

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 these patterns. One such exception is (75), which relates two events. There does not seem to be either a conditional relationship or the discovery of a state.

- (75) *Terghai=ni peghe khegher-sa,*
 head=ACC hit break-COND
 When (they) broke (its) head,

(Sangbura 277)

naosui=ni zanke gher ri-jiang.
 brain=POSS spread go:out come-OBJ:PERF
 its brain liquid came out.

(Sangbura 277–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 events like this is a rare use of *-sa*, but it does occur.

One factor that helps to explain non-prototypical uses of *-sa*, like (75), is the continuity of the grammatical subject between clauses. When *-sa* is used to relate a state to an event, the subject of the non-final clause is almost always different from the subject of the following clause. Examples (71)–(74) are all of this type, and so is (75). So this example does share some of the properties which listeners might expect of an event–state relation marked with *-sa*.

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 is explicitly re-mentioned in the second clause, if it remains the same. This can be seen in (76), where *gan* ‘she’ in line 4 refers to the same participant as *ni bieri* ‘this wife’ in the previous clause:

- (76) *Ni bieri yitianjia yerri gher sai lu-jiang bai.*
 this wife all:day look:for fire NEG find-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 This wife had looked all day (but) hadn’t found any fire.

(Nine-headed Ghost 3)

Yerri bura-sa gan Jiutou Yaomao=ni yerri lu-jiang
 look:for finish-COND 3:SG nine:head ghost=ACC look:for find-OBJ:PERF
bai.
 EMPH

After looking, she found Nine-headed Ghost.

(Nine-headed Ghost 3–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Non-final clauses with *-sa* can be used in recap constructions, just as we have seen for *-ku* clauses, above. Example (74) was of this type: the event of going was asserted in the previous line, and line 37 recapitulates this event as the context in which the upcoming discovery is made.

All of the examples we have seen here have the same syntactic status as do the other non-final clauses. With either of its semantic functions, *-sa* creates clauses which are ambiguous with respect to whether they are embedded in another clause, or are members of a non-embedded clause chain construction.

Like *-ku* and *-tala* clauses, *-sa* clauses can also be postposed. A folktale example of this is (77):

- (77) *Qi ya=ji ni-ge bieri=nang shini-lang [kao*
 2:SG what=IMPERF this-CL wife=REFLPOSS smile-OBJ:IMPERF son
ghu=la jielie-a ge-sa]?
 two=COLL meet-VOL QUOTE-COND

Why did you smile at this wife, when (she) said (that she planned) to greet (you) with a son?

(Two Wives 13; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Zhu Yongzhong (p.c.) made the same comments about postposed examples of *-sa* clauses as those which I have recorded for postposed *-ku* clauses, above. That is, postposed *-sa* clauses, like the bracketed clause of (77), sound like afterthoughts, although *-sa* clauses do sometimes appear in this position. Mr. Zhu also reported that conditional clauses with *-sa* can be postposed in the same way.

Finally, *-sa* clauses have one unique function, which is not paralleled by any of the other nonfinite markers, and which is not a clause-combining strategy. This device is also used to create a clause which has a polite force, making a request of the listener. This is illustrated in (78):

- (78) *Bayang kong,*
 rich person
 Rich Man,

(Sangbura 313)

qi dimei=nang diger hu-sa.
 2:SG bread=REFLPOSS little:bit give-COND
 please give (me) a little of your bread.

(Sangbura 313–14; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

This construction type clearly represents an extended function of the nonfinite conditional marker *-sa*. Clauses of this type are not treated as syntactically dependent, since they do not appear with a main verb.

It seems that, in this function, *-sa* is in the process of becoming a new member of the Mangghuer imperative verb paradigm (see also section 4.1.2.2.3). The evidence for this is that polite *-sa* clauses are negated with the prohibitive negative *bao*, as in (79), taken from the elicitation-like *Language Materials* of Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al. (1996):

- (79) *Bi zhuangwangla-ji qimei bieqin bao kuer-sa.*
 1:SG hope-IMPERF 2:SG:DAT illness PROHIB arrive-COND
 I hope you don't get sick.

(Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al. 1996:57)

6.2.3.5 *Sequentiality with -Ø*

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 as *-Ø*.⁶ Such zero-marked clauses tend quite strongly to assert events in a sequence. However, we will see that they, too, can apparently be used for presupposed material. Syntactically, zero-marked clauses are always ambiguous with regard to embedding, and they thus share the syntactic characteristics of other Mangghuer non-final clauses.

The primary semantic relationship between clauses linked with the zero morpheme is 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 (80) and (81):

- (80) [*Yigua puzighuo china-Ø*],
 totally deep:fried:dough:stick cook-SEQ
 They cooked deep-fried twisted dough sticks,
 (Three Daughters 63)

[*zou beila-Ø*] [*ger=du=nang yao-jiang bai*].
 thus carry-SEQ house=DAT=REFLPOSS go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 (and) then carried (the dough sticks) and went to their home.
 (Three Daughters 63–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (81) [*zaohang=du xi-Ø*] [*shuer=ni bari-Ø*] [*gui-jiang*].
 kitchen=DAT go-SEQ chopsticks=ACC take-SEQ run-OBJ:PERF
 (she) went into the kitchen, took the chopsticks and ran.
 (Monkey 83; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 the clausal subjects do remain the same throughout each of these sequences of clauses. 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 (81) resembles the auxiliary verb constructions that we saw in Chapter 4, with a bare verb stem preceding a finite auxiliary verb. To see that this construction is different, compare (81) to (82):

- (82) *Chuna dai Yehu ghu=la xi danang dimei a bo a luoti a*
 wolf and fox two=COLL go after bread also drum also boot also
ni-si=ni yigua bari-Ø ri-jiang bai.
 this-PL=ACC totally take-SEQ come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Wolf and Fox went and took away all these things: the bread and the drum
 and the boots.
 (Rabbit's Trick 32; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The final two verbs of (82), *bari rijiang* ‘take came,’ are an example of a main verb + auxiliary construction. This differs from the sequence *bari guijiang* ‘take ran’ in (81), primarily in that the sequence in (81) is interpreted as two independent actions, while in (82) the two verbs are interpreted as characterizing a single action, with the second verb *rijiang* ‘came’ acting as a directional auxiliary, rather than referring to an independent event.

There is more to be said about the similarity of these two construction types, from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives; both of these perspectives will be adopted in the discussion of auxiliarization, section 6.3.2. The appearance of $-\emptyset$ in both clause combining and auxiliary constructions is not an accident.

I noted above that a zero-marked non-final clause nearly always has the same subject as the following clause. An interesting contrast between $-\emptyset$, which correlates with subject continuity, and *-sa*, which correlates with subject discontinuity, is provided by example (83). Here, we find *-sa* with the quotative marker *ge* when the following clause has a different subject, and $-\emptyset$ with *ge* when the following clause has the same subject.

- (83) *Bulai=ni hu ge-sa,*
 child=ACC give QUOTE-COND
 When (she) said “give (me) the baby,”
(Monkey 41)

bulai nerri-jiang ge- \emptyset ,
 child sleep-OBJ:PERF QUOTE-SEQ
 (the Monkey) said “the child has gone to sleep,”
(Monkey 42)

ni Huer sai hu-jiang.
 this monkey NEG give-OBJ:PERF
 this Monkey didn’t give (the child to her).
(Monkey 41–3; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

However, there are a few examples in which strict logical subject continuity does not seem to be maintained between a zero-marked verb and the following clause. One such case is given in (84):

- (84) [*Khuonuo kuer- \emptyset*] *ergha guang ma,*
 later arrive-SEQ power OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
 Later, (he) was at a loss (as to how to feed her) and,
(Filial Obedience 17; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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, and perhaps two impersonal clauses can be considered to have the same subject. Alternately, it might be that impersonal

clauses have no logical value for the subject category, since no participant is referred to, and should not be considered relevant to the same subject/different subject question. If this is the case, then the first clause of (84) effectively has no subject, and subject continuity is irrelevant in this example.

I have seen a couple of other examples of apparently noncontinuing subjects with *-Ø* clauses, but they are similarly unclear.

Indicating the temporal relation of sequentiality does seem to be the primary semantic 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 at the same time be in some sense a result of the first event. Thus, we find examples like (85) and (86):

- (85) *bi* ***luosi-Ø*** *hugu-kuniang*.

1:SG be:hungry-SEQ die-OBJ:FUT

I will hunger to death.

(The Rabbit Judge 25; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (86) *gan* ***yao-Ø*** *khuoluotu-jiang*.

3:SG go-SEQ become:far-OBJ:PERF

she went far away.

(Monkey 88; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 a common Chinese pattern, the resultive construction (see, for example, Li and Thompson 1981:54–68 on “resultive verb compounds,” and Chao 1968:443–6 on “resultative complements.”) An often-cited example is:

- (87) Chinese resultive construction

wo *chi* ***bao*** *le*

我 吃 饱 了

1:SG eat be:full PERF

I’m full; I have eaten until I’m full

The Mangghuer constructions above are somewhat similar to this, although they involve two actions, whereas the Chinese resultive form *bao* ‘be:full’ is less clearly an event. However, we also find Mangghuer examples which are quite obviously modeled on the Chinese pattern, because they use Chinese borrowings. One such case is given in (88):

- (88) *Bi* ***luosi-Ø*** *wanla-ba*.

1:SG be:hungry-SEQ complete-SUBJ:PERF

I am completely hungry (i.e. so hungry I can’t stand it).

(Sangbura 317; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The result here, *wanla*, is a borrowing from the Chinese *wan* (完) ‘finish.’ This form can be used in nearly identical syntactic 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:

- (89) *Gan=ni erqighe=ni chuchuerla-Ø ger=du=nang*
 3:SG=GEN spindle:weight=ACC pocket-SEQ house=DAT=REFLPOSS
xi-jiang.
 go-OBJ:PERF
 (She) pocketed the spindle weight and went to her own home.
 (Shalangguer’s Story 101)

[*Xi-Ø*] *zaoye=du=nang xianli ge-jiang.*
 go-SEQ kitchen:goddess=DAT=REFLPOSS present do-OBJ:PERF
 After (she) went, (she) presented (the spindle weight) to her kitchen goddess.
 (Shalangguer’s Story 101–2; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

It is possible, then, even for zero-marked non-final clauses to summarize an earlier event, as background for an upcoming one. Zero-marked clauses thus do not necessarily assert an event.

One final observation needs to be made about zero-marked non-final clauses. We saw in previous sections that non-final clauses with *-ku*, *-tala*, and *-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). The fact that zero-marked clauses cannot be postposed thus appears to be not a syntactic fact, but rather, simply a semantic fact. If the zero marker had more semantic content, as do some of the other markers we have seen, zero-marked clauses might also be postposable. However, due to the lack of semantic specificity which obtains when no suffix at all is used, linear positioning must bear an unusual semantic load, and postposing becomes impossible. This is also true of another type of sequential non-final clause, built with *-ji*, which we will see in section 6.2.3.7, below.

6.2.3.6 Dependency with *-Ø* *danang*

Similar in many ways to the sequential clauses created with just a bare verb stem, which were described in the previous section, are clauses which use the same zero verb marking plus the addition of the conjunction *danang* ‘after.’ These constructions express various types of semantic dependency. Most commonly, the semantic dependency is interpreted temporally, such that the action of the non-final clause verb occurs prior to the action of the following clause. A typical example is (90), with the zero-

marked verb *suer* ‘buy,’ combined with *danang*, expressing an event which occurs prior to the event of the following clause.

- (90) *Gan-si ji-ge=la durasi-si=ni suer danang gan=ni*
 3:SG-PL several-CL=COLL liquor-PL=ACC buy after 3:SG=ACC
qinla ti ruang=du kuer-jiang.
 welcome that place=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
 After the several of them bought liquor, (they) invited him along and went to that place.

(Sangbura 226; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Danang can also indicate a sort of “not until” semantic relationship. In one folktale example, the Chinese borrowing *cai* (才) ‘not until’ appears at the beginning of the following clause, reinforcing this function of *danang*.

- (91) [*Aguer ting=du xi danang*] *cai xiang’hu ge-kuniang.*
 daughter that=DAT go after not:until enjoy do-OBJ:FUT
 Not until after the daughter went there did (she) begin to enjoy (herself).
 (A Cow Mother 56; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The use of *danang* in addition to the bare verb stem 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 (92) illustrates this.

- (92) *Yao danang yi-ge miao diamang=du xi-jiang.*
 go after one-CL temple door=DAT go-OBJ:PERF
 (They) walked until (they) reached a temple gate.
 (Sangbura 93; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In some instances, *danang* clauses can also indicate a cause–result relationship. Thus, in (93), it is as a result of his hungering that the father will die:

- (93) *Nao-sa [aba gua luosi danang] hugu-lang bai,*
 see-COND father totally be:hungry after die-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
 When they looked, (their) father was completely hungering to death,
 (Three Daughters 67; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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.

In summary, then, *danang* generally suggests some sort of dependency between the two events it links.

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 (90)–(93), 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 (94) 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, is explicitly indicated.

- (94) *tiker shijie=du yi-ge chuna,*
past time=DAT one-CL wolf
in the past a wolf

(The Rabbit Judge 3)

yi-ge gong nukuang=du deghela bao xi-jiang.
one-CL deep hole=DAT fall go:down go-OBJ:PERF
fell down into a deep hole.

(The Rabbit Judge 4)

Bao xi danang yi-tian nige khuoni biesi di-ji ning
go:down go after one-day one sheep grass eat-IMPERF this
ge-ji nuqi-ji ri-jiang ma,
do-IMPERF pass-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF PRT

After (it) fell in, one day a sheep was eating grass and passed by like this,

(The Rabbit Judge 3–5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In line 5, the clause *bao xi danang* ‘after (it) fell in’ has the wolf as its subject; the following clause has a different subject, expressed as *khuoni* ‘sheep.’

Example (94) 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, for example, (90) and (93); in both examples, the *danang* clauses present events which have not been alluded to in the preceding discourse.

Like other non-final clauses, *danang* clauses can be used in fairly long, chain-like series of clauses. We can even find examples of multiple *danang* clauses in a single chain. This is illustrated in (95), which has a total of three clauses in a chain; both of the non-final clauses are marked with *danang*.

- (95) [*tiangere=sa honghuang ge bao-ji ri danang*]
Heaven=ABL phoenix SG:INDEF go:down-IMPERF come after
[*cibang=nang yi-ge banla danang*] [*arong xida ge-jiang*]
wing=REFLPOSS one-CL flap after all:away burn do-OBJ:PERF
bai].
EMPH

a phoenix came down from Heaven, flapped her wings, (and) burned away everything (that the older sons owned).

(Filial Obedience 53; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

I have not seen any example which would suggest that a *danang* clause can be embedded within another clause. *Danang* clauses are always ambiguous as to whether or not they are embedded in the clause of the following verb. They are like other Mangghuer non-final clauses in this respect.

However, like non-final clauses built with *-ku*, *-tala* and *-sa*, clauses with *danang* do have some freedom of movement. An interesting example of this is (96). The first line of this example was given in (93), above, but if we add another line to that example, we find that in addition to the initial *danang* clause, it also contains a postposed *danang* clause.

- (96) [*Nao-sa aba gua luosi danang*] *hugu-lang bai*,
 see-COND father totally be:hungry after die-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
 When they looked, (their) father was completely hungering to death,
 (Three Daughters 67)

[*yigua tuerha zhuer=du kaola danang.*]
 totally column bottom=DAT lie:against after
 having lay against the bottom of a house column.
 (Three Daughters 67–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

There are a couple of other examples of postposed *danang* clauses in the folktales, and Zhu Yongzhong told me (p.c.) that these constructions, like the others we have seen, should be considered afterthoughts. Again, though, the fact that they can occur at all (with perfectly clear meanings) tells us that these particular nonfinite verb forms enable a degree of pragmatic freedom for the non-final clauses they create.

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 (97):

- (97) *Yao-da yi-ge mula mieran chaibai kuer-jiang.*
 go-after one-CL small river bank arrive-OBJ:PERF
 (He) went on until (he) arrived at the bank of a small river.
 (Stupid Boy 34; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

With only a few examples, I cannot say if the functions of *-da* are actually identical to those of *danang*. The morphemes are quite probably related (see the next paragraph), but more data is needed to clarify their synchronic relationship to one another.

N. Chen (1987a:306) gives the form *da* for Baonan, and notes that it sometimes appears in a clause-final construction *da nong de*. This joins the current clause to the following one, indicating that an ensuing action occurs *immediately following* (author's term: *liji* 立即) a prior one. This construction must surely be related to the Mangghuer *danang*.

Field (1997:410–15) reports a Santa nonfinite marker =*dənə*, and gives an example of an eleven-clause chain, using this form on all ten non-final clauses! This, too, must certainly be etymologically related to the Mangghuer form *danang*.

I cannot currently argue, however, whether these related forms represent a common Mongolic inheritance, or a borrowing or innovation common to just these Mongolic languages, as I have as yet been able to identify no potential historical source morpheme.

The semantic similarity of *danang* constructions to those created with only the bare verb stem (see the previous section) is striking. In all likelihood, the origin of the *danang* construction is simply that speakers felt a need to specify some of the semantic relationships which might otherwise be indicated by the zero morpheme. To mark explicitly some of these semantic relations, a new conjunction was apparently created and added to the zero-marked verb forms. Because these constructions are so closely related, historically, and because they indicate such a similar range of semantic relations, they provide an ideal pair for demonstrating the fact that difference syntactic behaviors may be simply the consequences of different degrees of semantic specificity.

Since the conjunction *danang* explicitly indicates certain interclausal semantic relations, its historical addition to zero-marked non-final clauses made it possible for these clauses to be postposed. This syntactic manipulation is not possible for the zero-marked clauses, because apart from sequential ordering, these clauses have no means for indicating their external semantic relationships. As I have claimed in earlier sections regarding the forms *-ku*, *-tala*, and *-sa*, postposability of *danang* clauses is not essentially a syntactic fact about them. Rather, postposability is a syntactic consequence of the degree of semantic specificity of the conjunction *danang*. Since this semantic specificity is not shared by the zero marker, zero-marked non-final clauses cannot be similarly postposed. Thus, postposability cannot be used to argue for a syntactic difference between embedded and non-embedded dependent clauses in Mangghuer.

6.2.3.7 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 have already seen *-ji* used in verb + auxiliary constructions, and also with verbal complement clauses. We will see in this section that *-ji* additionally has the function of creating non-final clauses, ambiguous with respect to embedding, and that it may additionally be used to create clearly embedded clauses which function as adverbial modifiers.

The nonfinite marker *-ji* is often used to create non-final clauses which express an action occurring concurrently with that of a following clause.

A couple of examples are given in (98) and (99):

- (98) [Yehu ti bo=ni **bari-ji**] wower amang=du=nang
fox that drum=ACC take-IMPERF cave opening=DAT=REFLPOSS
 kuer-jiang ma,
 arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT

Fox took that drum and went to the entrance to his cave,

(Rabbit's Trick 51; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (99) *Xuezi=ni ge nao-ku a [gui-ji] cai=nang nige*
 boot=ACC once see-IMPERF also run-IMPERF food=REFLPOSS one
ama di-la xi-lang.
 mouth eat-PURP go-OBJ:IMPERF

After looking at the boots, (she) also went running to eat a mouthful (i.e. a taste) of her food.

(Monster Girl 51; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Both of these examples involve nonfinite verbs marked with *-ji*, which express actions that overlap in time with the action of the following clause. In (98), it is while carrying the drum that Fox goes to the entrance of his cave; in (99) ‘running’ expresses the means of movement by which the next verb’s action (‘went to eat’) is carried out.

Guiji ‘running,’ in (99), looks particularly like an adverbial clause, in that it expresses 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 (98) that *-ji* clauses can also express what look like two independent actions, although these actions do have some temporal intersection. And in both cases, the *-ji* clause has the same ambiguous status which we have seen for all non-final clauses; there is no evidence that these clauses are, or are not, embedded.

It is also possible to find examples of non-final *-ji* clauses which express actions occurring in a sequence; in these situations, *-ji* seems to function like the zero-marking which was outlined in section 6.2.3.5. A couple of examples are (100) and (101):

- (100) *Yi-tian nige,*
 one-day one
 One day,

(Shalangguer’s Story 99)

kheghai dangla-ku ninger ge ri-ji gan=ni
 pig herd-IMPERF old:woman CL come-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN
zaoha-amang=sa yan ge wu-jiang.
 kitchen-opening=ABL cigarette SG:INDEF drink-OBJ:PERF
 an old pig-herding lady came and lit a cigarette from her (Elder Sister’s)
 stove opening.

(Shalangguer’s Story 99–100; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (101) *gan=ni Huguer=ni ala-ji mugha di-kuniang bai.*
 3:SG=GEN cow=ACC kill-IMPERF meat eat-OBJ:FUT EMPH
 (the stepmother) planned to kill Cow and eat (its) meat.

(A Cow Mother 34; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Each of these examples presents a sequence of two events. In both examples, 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 (100) and (101), *-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 (99) is atelic, inherently tending to suggest an ongoing action. The verb *bari* in (98), can mean either ‘take up’ or ‘carry;’ it is thus an intermediate case, with regard to lexical aspect, and the interpretation of (98) therefore leaves open either possible reading: sequential action or concurrent action.

The semantic contribution of *-ji* itself, therefore, is quite vague. It commonly seems to link events which are simultaneous, but these examples have shown that it is extremely flexible, leaving the listener room for significant pragmatic inferencing about the relationship of two events which it links.

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 verb 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. However, there is a special type of clause with *-ji* which sometimes is clearly embedded. These are embedded speech complements like the one illustrated in (102):

- (102) *Tingsa jiutou yaomao [r-a ge-ji] dayingla-jiang.*
 later nine:head ghost come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF promise-OBJ:PERF
 Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying “I’ll come.”
 (Nine-headed Ghost 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

See sections 6.1.2, 6.2.2.3, 6.4.2, and 7.1.3 for further discussion of this form of clausal embedding.

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. So clear embedding like what we find in (102) is not a systematically allowed function of *-ji*.

In section 6.2.3.5, I noted that non-final zero-marked clauses expressing sequentiality cannot be postposed. This seems also to be true of *-ji* clauses. This makes sense, because *-ji* in most cases makes such a minimal semantic contribution that the relationship of a *-ji* clause to the preceding clause would be unclear. Again, we see that a semantic explanation is adequate to account for the freedom (or lack thereof) of non-final clauses to be postposed. This is a fact about semantics, rather than a fact about syntactic construction type.

The *-ji* clauses in all of the examples presented so far share the same subject as the following clause, and this seems to be true of all *-ji* clauses. The only possible exception I have found to this generalization is example (103):

- (103) *Yi-ge yue ber-ji aguer wuji-sa,*
 one-CL month become-IMPERF daughter take:note-COND
 When the girl went to look one lunar month later,
 (A Cow Mother 52; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, however, there is no clear subject in the *-ji* clause, and it is likely that a construction of this sort may be lexicalized, being produced as a unit without attention to internal structure. Thus, although the two clauses of (103) do not share the same logical subject, it does not seem necessary to conclude that they have different subjects, either. Like (84), presented in the discussion of zero-marked predicates, above, this example might be irrelevant to the same subject/different subject distinction. 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 in the second line of (104).

- (104) *ni Madage lenmusenmu ge bari danang yao-jiang.*
 this Madage bow:and:arrow SG:INDEF take after go-OBJ:PERF
 this Madage took a bow and arrow and left.

(Madage 50)

Yao-ji yi-ge beghe tada kuer-jiang.
 go-IMPERF one-CL tree near arrive-OBJ:PERF
 (He) walked until (he) came near a tree.

(Madage 50–1; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

As I have already noted, it is unnecessary 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, but rather 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.

6.2.3.8 Concurrent action with *-ser*

In section 4.4.9.1, we saw the progressive marker *-ser* used to link a main verb with a copular auxiliary. In this section we will see that *-ser* also forms non-final clauses, as well as embedded adverbial clauses. This form differs from all other non-final clause markers which have been presented in the foregoing sections, in that *-ser* clauses are much more frequently clearly embedded than are any of the other clause types we have seen. However, the range of syntactic behaviors which *-ser* displays is very much consistent with what we have seen for other non-final clause markers.

In non-final clauses, *-ser* has the same basic progressive meaning that it has when used in verb + auxiliary constructions. The ongoing action expressed in a *-ser* clause is concurrent with the action of the following clause. This can be illustrated with (105), where it is ‘while’ she is eating that the old woman finds a finger in her food.⁷

- (105) [*Tingsa ninger cai=ni di-ser*] [*di-ser*] [*gan-ni*]
 later old:woman food=ACC eat-PROG eat-PROG 3:SG=GEN
gha=du bulai=ni khuru ri-jiang bai].
 bowl=DAT child=GEN finger come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Later as the old woman was eating and eating the food, in her bowl the
 boy's finger came.

(Filial Obedience 43; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, in (106) the non-final *-ser* clause is the second in a chain-like construction of three clauses.

- (106) [*Bulai-si xi-ku*],
 child-PL go-IMPERF
 (Some) boys went,

(Stupid Boy 24)

[*cai=nang di-ser*] [*jiao=du sher xi-gha-jiang*].
 food=REFLPOSS eat-PROG cellar=DAT urinate go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 eating their food, (they) urinated into the cellar.

(Stupid Boy 24–5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Just as we have seen for other non-final clauses, *-ser* clauses like these can be interpreted as embedded adverbials, occupying the same syntactic position as a time or place oblique, or as examples of chained clauses. Semantically, *-ser* clauses all seem to function as modifiers, so it is tempting to analyze them as adverbial clauses. However, just as we have seen in previous sections, so too with *-ser* there appear to be no syntactic arguments in favor of this analysis of constructions like (105) and (106). From a structural point of view, these examples are just as ambiguous with respect to embedding as are those which we have seen in preceding sections.

One aspect of this ambiguity is the shared status of the grammatical subject. In (106), the NP *bulaisi* ‘children’ is the grammatical subject of all three clauses. Just as it is ambiguous whether this NP belongs to the initial *-ku* clause alone, or is shared by it and the following clause (cf. section 6.2.3.1), so we can see here that a multi-clause construction involving multiple nonfinite markers can have the same ambiguity with regard to subject sharing. Here, a non-final *-ser* clause is one of three clauses which may share the grammatical subject.

In addition to these non-final clause constructions, however, there are also quite a few instances in which *-ser* clauses clearly are 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 (107):

- (107) *Gan zou hengda-sang-ni aguer=du=nang [yila-ser]*
 3:SG thus strong-PERF-NOMLZR daughter=DAT=REFLPOSS cry-PROG
keli-jiang,
 say-OBJ:PERF
 So, crying, she said to her daughter who had grown plump,
 (A Cow Mother 40; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, the bracketed *-ser* clause consists of only the single word *yilaser* ‘crying.’ This clause, which describes the manner in which the action of the verb *keli* ‘say’ is carried out, is entirely surrounded by constituents of 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 an unambiguous instance of the embedding of a *-ser* clause as an adverbial modifier.

However, clear embedding of a *-ser* clause is fairly uncommon, and seems to happen only under certain specific circumstances. The embedded verb *yilaser* ‘crying’ in (107) 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 generally true of clearly embedded instances of *-ser* clauses.

We can contrast (107) with (108), which has a very similar *-ser* clause that is not clearly embedded; here, an oblique time NP appears with *yilaser*:

- (108) *[Jiaoduer yila-ser] yi-mu ghazher=du=nang naramu*
 every:day cry-PROG one-mu ground=DAT=REFLPOSS millet
tari-jiang.
 plant-OBJ:PERF
 Crying every day, (she) planted millet in her one-*mu* field.
 (Madage 4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Like other non-final clauses we have seen, this example is ambiguous with respect to embedding, although the non-final clause clearly has a modifying function, semantically.

It seems, then, that *-ser* clauses can only be placed in an unambiguously embedded position if they are not very clause-like; the embedded clause in (107) consists of just the verb itself. In fact, it might be that *-ser* in constructions like (107) is in the process of grammaticalizing into a derivational suffix which functions to create a manner adverb from a lexical verb.

As I have already noted, *-ser* shares its ability to create embedded adverbial clauses with *-ku* and *-ji*. These three nonfinite markers are just the set which indicate meanings of temporal overlap: progressivity and imperfectivity. It is thus not surprising that their non-final clauses, which tend to characterize the circumstances in which an event occurs, should be the ones which tend to become embedded within another clause. This syntactic behavior can be seen as a consequence of the semantic functions of these particular nonfinite suffixes.

Like almost all of the non-final clauses we have seen, *-ser* clauses can also be used for the pragmatic function of recapitulating the action of the previous clause, as a

means of setting the context for an upcoming event. To see this, let us consider (108) in a slightly broader discourse context:

- (109) *Yi-ge ninger=du kao guang,*
 one-CL old:woman=DAT son OBJ:NEG:COP
 An old woman had no sons,
 (Madage 2)

jiaoduer yila-lang.
 every:day cry-OBJ:IMPERF
 (and she) wept every day.
 (Madage 3)

[Jiaoduer yila-ser] yi-mu ghazher=du=nang naramu
 every:day cry-PROG one-mu ground=DAT=REFLPOSS millet
tari-jiang.
 plant-OBJ:PERF
 Crying every day, (she) planted millet in her one-*mu* field.
 (Madage 2–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Like other recap clauses which we have seen, the progressive nonfinite verb *yilaser* ‘crying’ does not assert a new action. Rather, it summarizes an action which was just reported. It has no overtly expressed arguments; since a recap clause summarizes 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. (It is interesting, though, that in this example the speaker did choose to repeat the lexical time oblique *jiaoduer* ‘every day,’ presumably to emphasize this aspect of the event.)

Recap constructions generally form part of the narrative background, recalling events which have previously been asserted, rather than asserting new events along the main story line. However, even a construction with the same form as the recap of (109) can be used to assert an event for the first time. Thus, in (110), 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 common in recap constructions), this event cannot be presupposed, since this is the first time it has been reported.

- (110) *Shinagu=ni di-ku=sa ayi-jiang,*
 woman=POSS eat-IMPERF=ABL fear-OBJ:PERF
 The woman (Elder Sister-in-law) was afraid of being eaten,
 (Human-bear 17)

linshangmoyi di da-jiang.
 finally eat cannot-OBJ:PERF
 (but) in the end, (he) didn’t eat (her).
 (Human-bear 18)

[*Sao-ser*],
 stay-PROG
 (She) went on living (there),
 (Human-bear 19)

[*sao-ser*],
 stay-PROG
 went on living,
 (Human-bear 20)

mula nige ri-jiang.
 small one come-OBJ:PERF
 (and) a little one came (i.e. she gave birth).
 (Human-bear 17–21; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Once again, this shows that asserting and presupposing are pragmatic functions to which any particular non-final clause may be put, rather than defining characteristics of a particular clause type.

In summary, then, we have seen that *-ser* clauses may be clearly embedded as adverbials in some situations, but that many *-ser* clauses are ambiguous with respect to embedding, just as are other Mangghuer non-final clauses.

Each of the eight nonfinite markers which has been considered here has a unique set of structural and semantic properties. However, it appears that two structural categories are sufficient to characterize all of the syntactic behaviors which we have seen: non-final clauses are ambiguous with respect to embedding, and adverbial clauses are clearly embedded as clausal modifiers.

6.2.3.9 Overlapping functions and variation

In the preceding eight sections, we have examined the large Mangghuer inventory of markers for non-final clauses, and have seen that many of these have similar semantic functions. Thus, speakers often have multiple morphosyntactic tools 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.

- (111) *Nao-sa aba gua luosi danang hugu-lang bai,*
 see-COND father totally be:hungry after die-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
 When they looked, (their) father was completely hungering to death,
 (Three Daughters 67; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)
- (112) “*Ana luosi-ji hugu-kuniang.*”
 mother be:hungry-IMPERF die-OBJ:FUT
 “Mother is hungering to death” (youngest son thought).
 (Filial Obedience 34; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (113) *bi luosi-Ø hugu-kuniang.*
 1:SG be:hungry-SEQ die-OBJ:FUT
 I will hunger to death.

(The Rabbit Judge 25; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Both (112) and (113) present the events of hungering and dying as a series, leaving the hearer to infer the specific semantic relationship between them. Example (111), however, uses the conjunction *danang* ‘after,’ which may perhaps emphasize the fact that dying will be a result of the event of hungering.⁸

The alternation between *-ji* and *-Ø*, which we see in the link between *luosi* ‘hunger’ and *hugu* ‘die’ in (112) and (113), and 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 latitude for pragmatic inferencing about semantic relationships, we find many similar pairs of examples. This same alternation also occurs in some situations which may be semantically ambiguous. For example, some sequences of actions can equally be seen as sequential, or as concurrent, which can lead to an alternation of *-ji* and *-Ø*, as we see in (114) and (115):

- (114) *Gan ghu=la du Jiutou Yaomao=ni peghe-ji ala-kuniang*
 3:SG two=COLL now nine:head ghost=ACC hit-IMPERF kill-OBJ:FUT
bai.
 EMPH

Now the two of them would beat Nine-headed Ghost to death.

(Nine-headed Ghost 41; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (115) *liang-ge bersi yijia yi-chui shi peghe ala ge-jiang bai.*
 two-CL tiger each one-fist COP hit kill do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 each tiger beat (her) with one paw (and they) killed (her).

(Monster Girl 69; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In both of these examples, hitting begins first, and its result is killing. The first example may present the 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 (115) 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 (114). In the same way, the hearer of (114) also has no problem interpreting the act of hitting as beginning first.

The minimal semantics of these two morphological connectors, as we have already seen, means that hearers are called upon to make significant pragmatic inferences, based largely on the linear order of the predicates involved.

6.3 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 what data does

exist is often presented in different analytical terms than my own. Nonetheless, we will see some interesting similarities among QGS 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 clause-combining strategies of QGS languages.

6.3.1 Clause combining in Mongolic languages

6.3.1.1 Types of clause combining

Bisang (1995:165–8) considers a large number of Mongolian nonfinite verb forms, treating most of them as converbs. Several of these Mongolian 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 (116)–(118), respectively.

(116) Mongolian

Cas or-ž xütjen bol-loo
 snow fall-CONVERB cold get-TAM⁹
 ‘When the snow was falling, it became cold’

(Bisang 1995:166)

(117) Mongolian

Bi dund surguul' tögs-ööd¹⁰ end ir-sen
 I middle school finish-CONVERB here come-TAM
 After having finished middle school, I came here.

(Bisang 1995:167)

(118) Mongolian

ter ir-seer bi jav-na
 he come-CONVERB I go-TAM
 I’ll go as soon as he comes.

(Bisang 1995:168)

Bisang (1995), like many other authors describing Mongolic languages, does not 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 not possible in Mangghuer to demonstrate that the dependent clauses are actually embedded; it seems that similar comments might apply to Mongolian, as well.

Bisang’s (1995) discussion follows the Altaicist practice 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 nominal complement clauses. However, both also function as modifiers of 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.

Kullmann and Tserenpil (1996) classify Mongolian dependent clauses into two types: coordinate and subordinate. Some subordinate clauses are considered adverbial clauses (see below); the other types given by the authors (1996:395–7) can all be seen as nominalizations, in the terms I have adopted here.

For Kullmann 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 Mongolian 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 non-final clauses.

Kullmann and Tserenpil's (1996) discussion reveals an interesting difference between Mongolian nominalizations and those which we find in Mangghuer. Consider the following examples:

(119) Mongolian

ta [*bagsh-iig* *ire-kh-ed*] *angi-daa* *bai-can* *uu*
 you teacher-ACC come-NOMLZR-DAT classroom-DAT be-PERF QUEST
 Were you in your classroom when the teacher came?

(Kullmann and Tserenpil 1996:393)¹¹

(120) Mongolian

[*minii* *tar'-san*] *tsetseg mash goyo* *urgajee*
 I:GEN plant-NOMLZR flower very beautiful grow
 The flowers I planted grew very beautifully.

(Kullmann and Tserenpil 1996:392)

In both (119) and (120), 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 (1991a) is the most complete analysis of Mongolian syntax within 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 (1991a:267–8) 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*, (1991a:285–310), all of Qinggeertai’s examples seem to be either noun modifiers or nominalizations. Among Qinggeertai’s *fu dong ci*, there are many examples which seem to be indeterminate as to embedding, just like the Mangghuer non-final clauses. Consider, for example, (121):

- (121) Mongolian
 [kele-kü ügei **bol-baču**] kin-e
 say-IMPERF NEG be-COND do-VOL
 if you don’t say (it), I’ll do (it) (nonetheless).
 (Qinggeertai 1991a:276)

The bracketed conditional clause marked with *-baču* could easily have appeared among the Mangghuer conditional examples (section 6.2.3.4), which behave like other non-final clauses. In fact, we can find extremely similar Mangghuer constructions, such as (122).

- (122) *Bi zou ang=ji kuer-ku [kerli-ji bi-sa]*
 1:SG thus where=DIR arrive-IMPERF beg-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
di-kuniang.
 eat-OBJ:FUT
 Wherever I go, (even) if (I) beg, (I) will eat.
 (Sangbura 83; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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. Field’s 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 dependent clauses which are not nominalized, Field concludes that these Santa clauses are not embedded. Considering, for example, the question of whether a dependent 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).

Field concludes that Santa exhibits the features of a typical clause-chaining language. Those dependent clauses that are not nominalized are treated in his discussion as instances of clause chaining, and the nonfinite verb forms themselves are labeled *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)

The Santa constructions which Field (1997) describes are thus quite similar to those which we have seen in Mangghuer, but there are clearly some important differences, since Santa dependent clauses cannot be embedded, while some Mangghuer non-final clauses can.

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*), *-dzɨ* (Mangghuer *-jiʔ*), *-lə* (Mangghuer *-la*), and *-Ø* (Mangghuer *-Ø*). I will not undertake a detailed comparison here, but Field's description of each of these forms makes it clear that they are extremely similar in function to the Mangghuer forms I have indicated here 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 languages. 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 significant differences. Some of these are due to divergent historical developments, which seem, for example, to have led to a greater reliance in Mongolian on nominalization as a clause-combining strategy 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 may be that any single analyst, considering the data from Mangghuer and related languages, might propose a unified account of clause combining behavior across the Mongolic family. However, such a comparison remains to be undertaken.

6.3.1.2 Zero-marked predicates

One of the major strategies for Mangghuer clause combining, dependent clauses with the zero nonfinite marker *-Ø*, appears to be quite rare among Mongolic languages. I have found no mention of this clause-combining strategy in descriptions of Mongolian (Kullmann and Tserenpil 1996; Qinggeertai 1991a), nor in geographically nearest Mongolic languages, Baonan (N. Chen 1987a) and Mongghul (Qinggeertai 1991b).¹²

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 (123), for instance, shows a series of 4 clauses linked with this device in Santa.

(123) Santa zero-marked clause chain

bi aji-Ø xolu-Ø hətsə-Ø bucin-da+dzɨwo

I afraid-Ø run-Ø tire-Ø weak-VBLZR+PROG

'I am running because I was afraid and I have become so tired I am weak'

(Field 1997:422)

In section 6.2.3.9, above, we saw that in sequences of Mangghuer verbs, we often find an alternation between the nonfinite markers *-ji* ‘IMPEFECTIVE’ and *-Ø* ‘SEQUENTIAL.’ A corresponding alternation is also found in Santa, between *-dz_i* and *-Ø*. This alternation can be seen in (124); 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.

(124) Santa

niə tauləi xolu-dz_i giəru-dz_i irə-wo.
 one rabbit run-*dz_i* cross-*dz_i* come-PERF
 A rabbit came running across.

tauləi xolu-Ø giəru-dz_i irə-sə,
 rabbit run-Ø cross-*dz_i* come-*sə*
 As the rabbit came running across,

(Field 1997:423)

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.

Outside the Mongolic language family, the clause-combining strategies of Bodic languages may also be of relevance to Mangghuer. DeLancey (1991) reports morphosyntactic phenomena in the Tibeto-Burman language Lahu which are extremely similar to what we have just seen, but he 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 for 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:

(125) Amdo Tibetan Clause Chain

k^ho həɣə nə ɲə=k^hod=^hkə ɲə s^hoŋ=nə tɕəg
 he:ABS there LOC cry=PROG:AUX=EV I:ABS go:COM=CON a:little
^hta dæ
 look:DESID IFM

‘He is crying over there; let me go and take a look.’

(J. Sun 1993:978)¹³

(126) Amdo Tibetan Clause Chain

k^ho joŋ jod s^ha jod=^hkə; k^hu ham gokhaə nə həd
 he:ABS come AUX inferential:EV his boot doorway LOC take off:COM
ɕ^hag jod=^hkə
 put:COM aux=IM:EV¹⁴

‘He must have come; (for) his boots are (lit: were taken off and put) at the door.’

(J. Sun 1993:980)

The verbs in bold type, *s^hoŋ=na* ‘go’ in (125) and *həd* ‘take off’ in (126), appear to be nonfinite verbs in clause-chaining constructions, and may illustrate a marked–unmarked alternation. In a footnote, J. Sun (1993:972 emphasis 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 =*na* . . . which is a semantically bleached connective enclitic.” However, it is not entirely 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 (125) and (126) show, it may be that these are actually two different syntactic constructions. It seems, though, that it will prove quite interesting to compare the clause combining strategies of Mangghuer and Amdo Tibetan. It is possible that zero-marking of nonfinite predicates has spread as part of the QGS feature bundle.

The alternation which we have seen, in both Mangghuer and Santa, between *-Ø* and *-ji* (Santa *-dzi*) also occurs in verb + auxiliary constructions, and it is to the historical development of these constructions that we now turn.

6.3.2 Auxiliarization

In section 4.4, 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, and 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. The following examples show the similarity of some of these to Mangghuer auxiliary constructions.

- (127) Lhasa Tibetan auxiliary construction

kho bros(-byas) yongs-pa red

he flee(-NF) came-PERF

‘He fled hither (or toward the deictic center).’

(DeLancey 1991:6)

- (128) Lhasa Tibetan auxiliary construction

kho bros(-byas) phyin-pa red

he flee(-NF) went-PERF

‘He fled (in some direction other than hither), ran away.’

(DeLancey 1991:6)

- (129) Lhasa Tibetan auxiliary construction

kho las=ka¹⁵ byas(-byas) sdad-pa red

he work did(-NF) stay-PERF

‘He was working, kept working, was always working.’

(DeLancey 1991:7)

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.

In contrast to these examples, DeLancey gives (130):

(130) Lhasa Tibetan clause chain

khos las=ka byas-byas zas-pa red

he work did-NF ate-PERF

‘He worked and then ate; having worked, he ate.’

(DeLancey 1991:9)

Here, the nonfinite marker *-byas* is obligatory.

DeLancey’s discussion (1991:8–9) suggests that the difference between (127)–(129), on the one hand, and (130), 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 (130), 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 (130) is clearly biclausal, while examples (127)–(129) are monoclausal, with main verb and auxiliary. This monoclausal status holds, whether or not the nonfinite marker is present. The omissibility of the nonfinite marker is enabled by a prior reanalysis of the construction. As DeLancey points out, “functional change leads rather than follows formal grammatical change” (1991:2).

All of this is quite familiar to the Mangghuer analyst. In fact, the Mangghuer equivalents of these same verbs (‘go,’ ‘come,’ ‘stay’) also appear as auxiliary verbs, and we have seen that all of them permit an alternation of the semantically vague nonfinite marker *-ji* and the even less semantically 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. So although the similarities between the Mangghuer and Lhasa Tibetan auxiliary systems are striking, inviting speculation of contact-induced change, the differences between the two systems are substantial enough to suggest that their historical paths represent significantly independent development. Once again, it should prove interesting to compare Mangghuer to its nearest Bodic neighbor, Amdo Tibetan.

Other Mongolic languages also have verb + auxiliary constructions generally resembling the Mangghuer facts, although again we find some apparent differences among the languages.

Bisang (1995:169–70) illustrates constructions like these in Mongolian, involving verbs meaning ‘go,’ ‘come,’ ‘enter,’ ‘stay,’ and ‘give.’ Kullmann 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. In fact, Qinggeertai (1991b:242) notes explicitly that Mongolian does not allow zero-marking.

Several Mongolic languages do, however, allow a main verb to appear with zero-marking, when used with an auxiliary. These include Mongghul (Qinggeertai 1991b:242) and Baonan (N. Chen 1987a:251). The same is also true of Santa (Field 1997:423), although Field considers many of these constructions to constitute clause chains in Santa.

There is no standard terminology, among the analysts I have cited, for constructions which I have called zero-marked main verb + auxiliary verb. Qinggeertai (1991b:242) calls some instances of what I label the “main verb” a *fu dong ci* (adverbial verb or converb) in Mongghul. In Mongolian, Qinggeertai (1991a: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 which leads 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 (diachronic) process as one of *auxiliarization*, and to the (synchronic) constructions 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 diachronic process is at work in all of the languages I have cited in this section.

It is interesting to note which of the multifunctional Mangghuer nonfinite markers can appear in verb + auxiliary constructions, and to contrast these with those which cannot. In Chapter 4, we saw that with the copula as auxiliary we find the nonfinite progressive marker *-ser*, while with other auxiliaries, both *-Ø* and *-ji* can appear. What is striking here is that these nonfinite suffixes include just those whose dependent clauses are the most likely to be embedded (*-ser* and *-ji*), and also those whose dependent clauses express sequential actions, and have the least freedom of syntactic movement (*-Ø* and *-ji*).

Once again, the difference between these clauses and other non-final clauses is significant. As I have pointed out, the devices *-ku*, *danang*, *-tala*, and *-sa* all have fairly specific semantics, as well as some freedom of movement. Here, 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 play a part in this grammaticalization process.

Along the path of historical 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 6.2.2.1). These constructions require motion verbs, which usually express separate events of movement. However, the motion verbs seem to have begun the process of grammaticalizing, losing their status as separate clausal verbs, and becoming instead directional auxiliaries, as they have done in some other contexts. In some purpose constructions, it is already unclear whether motion is expressed or not.

The nonfinite markers with relatively specific semantics (presumably) rarely appear in situations which allow such an ambiguity, and this would explain why they have failed to undergo the structural reanalysis necessary to enable them to participate in the system of verb + auxiliary constructions.

6.3.3 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 clause combining strategies. There is considerable similarity among the Mongolic clause-combining structures we have seen here, and yet significant and interesting differences can be found, as well.

An issue of particular interest is the role of zero-marking in both chain-like sequences of clauses and verb + auxiliary constructions (section 6.3.1.2), which is utilized by just a few of the Mongolic languages—apparently just those which are spoken in the QGS region. Further comparative study ought to take up the issue of how this strategy rose to such prominence in just this small set of the Mongolic languages. Does it represent an innovation common to just these few languages? If so, might 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, cited above, allowing widespread alternation of a general nonfinite 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 clear evidence of such a language in contact with Mangghuer or Santa (although Amdo Tibetan may have the right set of features), so this is perhaps more idle speculation than hypothesis.¹⁶

In any case, it is clear that many of the languages of the Qinghai-Gansu border area have similar chain-like 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 an internally-motivated 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.

6.4 THE SENTENCE

To this point in the discussion, I have been assuming a common-sense notion of the *sentence*. I would like to close this chapter by clarifying this notion a bit, although I will not attempt to develop a formal 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, could be loosely characterized as in (131):

- (131) *A syntactic sentence consists of a clause containing a finite verb, plus any clause(s) which, containing no finite verb, is/are dependent upon it.*

As we have seen, dependent clauses may be embedded, nonembedded, or ambiguous with respect to embedding.

However, this notion of the sentence, centered around the criterion of finiteness, is rather incomplete. In this section, we will see two sorts of considerations which make the character of the sentence considerably more complicated than this: coordination of independent clauses by syntactic or intonational means, and quotation in dependent clauses. A satisfactory definition of the sentence would need to take into account at least these two situations, neither of which is allowed by (131), and perhaps also additional construction types which I have not yet identified.

6.4.1 Coordination

Coordination involves the conjoining of two or more linguistic units at the same level of grammatical structure. In section 3.2.8, for example, we saw coordination of nouns within a noun phrase. In the present section, we will see that independent 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 6.1.2, above), coordination is treated as one of three logically possible clause-combining types, occurring when the relationship between two clauses involves neither embedding nor dependency.

6.4.1.1 Syntactic coordination

One of the devices used to coordinate nouns is *ma* 'and', and this form also functions as an interactional particle and as a topic marker, as we saw in section 4.7.2 and 4.9.6. As I pointed out earlier, one notable aspect of the functions 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. Consider (132) and (133), which both illustrate this fact.

- (132) *Tierber-ser gan yi-ge-ama ghazha-jiang ma,*
hold-PROG 3:SG one-CL-mouth bite-OBJ:PERF PRT
Holding (the baby), he took a bite,

(Monkey 26)

bulai “zha” ge-ji khaila-jiang.
child EXCL QUOTE-IMPERF shout-OBJ:PERF
the child cried “zha” like that.

(Monkey 26–7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (133) *Huer maidie-jiang ma zhua-jiang.*
monkey know-OBJ:PERF PRT catch-OBJ:PERF
Monkey realized (what had happened) and chased (her).

(Monkey 84; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In (132), a monkey’s act of biting the child is the cause of the child’s shout. Similarly, (133) 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, the transcriber has indicated that the clause with *ma* and the following clause belong to the same sentence. In (132), *ma* is followed by a comma; in (133), no punctuation at all is used with *ma*.

In fact, *ma* follows finite verbs in 104 of its 115 folktale occurrences, and in only 9 of these cases did the transcriber put a period (or other final punctuation) after *ma*. All other cases are like the two illustrated here.

So one important function of *ma* seems to be as a coordinator of independent clauses. This means that more than one independent clause can be syntactically conjoined within a larger syntactic unit: the sentence. Mangghuer has no other morphosyntactic device for this function; we will see in the next section, however, that prosody can apparently also perform a similar function.

6.4.1.2 Intonational coordination

The folktale texts suggest that, in the opinion of the transcriber, prosody can also be used as a device for coordinating independent clauses. Examples (134) and (135) show that even clearly independent clauses, with no linking devices, often appear with following commas; in cases such as these, the first clause has some fairly close conceptual link with the following clause.

- (134) *Laosa mori=ni lai hu-lang,*
mule horse=ACC NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF
(They) didn’t give (him) mules or horses,

(Filial Obedience 8)

gan-si huguer ge hu-lang.

3:SG-PL cow SG:INDEF give-OBJ:IMPERF

they (only) gave (him) a cow.

(Filial Obedience 8–9; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (135) *Ting ge-ku gan Laohan aruoghuo=nang beila-jiang*
that do-IMPERF 3:SG old:man back:basket=REFLPOSS carry-OBJ:PERF
gelang,

HEARSAY

Then Old Man took his back basket, they say,

(Three Daughters 13)

suguo=nang bari-jiang gelang.

axe=REFLPOSS take-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY

(and) took his axe, they say.

(Three Daughters 13–14; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Just as nouns or noun phrases can be coordinated in a list by intonational means, so we also find a few examples of independent clauses which seem to constitute a listing of actions. Thus, (136) gives a short list of two different actions attempted by a trance medium (*fashi*), coordinating those actions intonationally with the concurrent action by which Rabbit evades him.

- (136) *Ning ge-ji bari-la xi-sa huashi bari da-lang,*
this do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND *fashi* take cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
When (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) this way, the *fashi* couldn't catch (him),
(Rabbit's Trick 26)

ting ge-ji bari-la xi-sa bari da-lang,
that do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND take cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
when (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) that way, (the *fashi*) couldn't catch (him),
(Rabbit's Trick 27)

taolai gan yi-benzi diaoli yao-lang bai.
rabbit 3:SG one-jump jump go-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(because) Rabbit, he hopped (away).

(Rabbit's Trick 26–8; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

From a prosodic point of view, an example like (136) is best considered a single sentence; the speaker apparently used prosodic cues to indicate that the first two predications, though morphologically finite, were intended to be taken together with the upcoming material as part of single construction.

In Genetti and Slater (forthcoming) we argue that, in the Dolakha Newari language, intonational devices such as this can be considered to create *prosodic sentences*, which may or may not correspond to *syntactic sentences* in any particular utterance. I do not have access to adequate prosodic data to comment extensively on this topic for Mangghuer, but in the realm of intonational coordination we can see that Mangghuer certainly must make use of intonation to signal discourse organization beyond the level of the syntactic sentence.

6.4.2 Quotation in dependent clauses

I pointed out in section 6.1.2, 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 (137), repeated from the discussion above, shows that this is incorrect.

- (137) *Tingsa jiutou yaomao [r-a] ge-ji dayingla-jiang.*
 later nine:head ghost come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF promise-OBJ:PERF
 Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying "I'll come."
 (Nine-headed Ghost 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The quoted clause *ra* 'let me come' is clearly embedded as a complement within the clause which reports the Nine-headed Ghost's action of promising, with *geji* functioning syntactically as a complementizer. However, the embedded quote is in no way dependent on the surrounding material: its verb is fully finite and it constitutes an independent clause.

Quotations which are clearly embedded as complements of verbs of saying, like (137) are relatively rare. However, there are numerous examples in which one or more quotations appear with nonfinite forms of the quotative marker *ge*, and in these instances, too, it appears that the reported speech is being integrated into a larger syntactic construction (a sentence) by the use of a nonfinite quotative marker. This is further illustrated in the following three examples. Consider first (138):

- (138) *Gan=ni ti=nang suzu qier-gha-ji hu-la*
 3:SG=GEN that=REFLPOSS hair cut-CAUSE-IMPERF give-IMPERF
bi ge-ji,
 SUBJ:COP QUOTE-IMPERF
 He would cut the (child's) hair, he said,
 (Filial Obedience 36)
- suzu=ni nuerghuo-sang zhi,*
 hair=ACC wet-PERF after
 after (he) wet the (child's) hair,
 (Filial Obedience 37)

bulai=nang jiarì ana=du=nang di-gha-jiang.
 child=REFLPOSS kill mother=DAT=REFLPOSS eat-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 (he) killed his son and had his mother eat (the child).
 (Filial Obedience 36–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In (138), the imperfective ending *-ji*, appearing on the quotative marker *ge*, marks the event of saying as nonfinite, but as there is no complement-taking predicate in the following material, *geji* cannot be said to function here as a complementizer. Nor is there any clear evidence that the reported speech is actually embedded within a matrix clause, since it is neither clearly an argument nor clearly surrounded by material from the neighboring clause. Note, too, that the semantic relationship between the two clauses is only vaguely specified by the choice of the imperfective suffix *-ji*.

Similarly, in (139), the specific semantic relationship is unspecified, and there is no evidence that the speech clause should be considered embedded. *Geji* functions here to mark the end of the quote, and to indicate that the current syntactic sentence is not yet finished (since *-ji* is nonfinite), but this example closely resembles other constructions we have seen in this chapter, stringing together a series of non-final clauses with a final, independent one to create a sentence. Here, the quoted material (“Now I’ll walk around”) appears as the second non-final clause in a syntactic series consisting of four clauses in total.

- (139) *Di hangbura,*
 eat finish
 After finishing eating,
(Monkey 55)

“Du bì yì-zhuan langla-ya,” ge-ji
 now 1:SG one-circle walk:around-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF
 “Now I’ll go walk around,” saying this,
(Monkey 56)

zaohang=du xi-sa,
 kitchen=DAT go-COND
 (the boy’s mother) went into the kitchen,
(Monkey 57)

gan=ni bulai=ni di khuonuo guala ge-ser bang bai.
 3:SG=GEN child=ACC door back hang do-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
 (and she found that) her son was hanging behind the door.
 (Monkey 55–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Finally, consider example (140), which has already been cited earlier (section 6.2.3.5). This is a rare example in which two successive quotes are both marked as nonfinite, and thus, are treated as elements within a single syntactic sentence.

- (140) *Bulai=ni hu ge-sa,*
 child=ACC give QUOTE-COND
 When (she) said “give (me) the baby,”

(Monkey 41)

bulai nerri-jiang ge-Ø,
 child sleep-OBJ:PERF QUOTE-SEQ
 (the Monkey) said “the child has gone to sleep,”

(Monkey 42)

ni Huer sai hu-jiang.
 this monkey NEG give-OBJ:PERF
 this Monkey didn’t give (the child to her).

(Monkey 41–3; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

These examples, like most of those we have seen in this chapter which contain dependent clauses, are ambiguous with respect to the question of embeddedness. The quotative marker *ge* in each case indicates a dependency, since it has a nonfinite verb ending, but it does not function here as a complementizer, since there is no complement-taking predicate. Rather, these are non-final clauses of the type we have seen throughout this chapter, neither clearly embedded nor clearly non-embedded, with respect to their syntactic status.

Further examples of the quotative marker *ge*, with its range of syntactic and semantic functions, are given in section 7.1.3, as part of a fuller discussion of reported speech in Mangghuer folktales.

Both coordination and quotation in dependent clauses, then, serve as devices for combining multiple independent clauses into a single syntactic construction. A sentence, therefore, is a complex syntactic and prosodic unit which does not necessarily consist of just a single independent clause, together with some number of dependent clauses, but, under certain conditions, may actually contain multiple independent clauses. Further research is needed before a truly adequate notion of the sentence can be formulated for Mangghuer, with its rich resources for linking multiple finite and nonfinite predications into these larger constructions.

REPORTED SPEECH IN FOLKTALE NARRATIVES

In this chapter, we turn to an area of Mangghuer discourse which is of great importance in the database on which I have primarily based this study: reported speech. The reporting of words and thoughts of characters is an extremely significant device in the Mangghuer folktales. Of 1,475 total lines of text (in 15 folktale narratives) 787 lines, or 53 percent, involve some form of reported speech.

In this chapter, I will focus 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 contrasts this term with *immediacy* 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 doing this study with the folktale database is that detailed prosodic information is not given 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 Mangghuer would certainly need to take prosodic factors into account. Nonetheless, useful and interesting generalizations do arise from the study.

It should be noted that all of the people who were present when the folktales were recorded are fluent speakers of Mangghuer. There were no non-speakers present. The recordings were made by my Mangghuer colleague Mr. Zhu Yongzhong. Since bilingualism and codeswitching are discussed below, it is important to realize that the Mangghuer observed here represents the language as it is used among fluent speakers.

7.1 THE SYNTAX OF REPORTED SPEECH

In section 6.1.2, I argued that quotations embedded within a matrix clause constitute a type of construction which may be considered embedded but not dependent. In this section, we will examine the range of devices which Mangghuer folktale storytellers use to incorporate reported speech into a narrative sentence.

7.1.1 The syntactic status of reported 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 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 two-party conversation reported in this fashion.

- (1) *Mughashi shidie=du,*
tomorrow early=DAT
Early the next morning,
(Monkey 10)

Huer gan heghe-la ri-jiang.
monkey 3:SG take-PURP come-OBJ:PERF
Monkey, he came to take (her).
(Monkey 11)

"Ajia,
elder:sister
"Elder Sister,
(Monkey 12)

ajia,
elder:sister
Elder Sister,
(Monkey 13)

bi qimai heghe-la ri-ba."
1:SG 2:SG:DAT take-PURP come-SUBJ:PERF
I've come to take you" (Monkey said).
(Monkey 14)

"Dangda niangjia gui!"
1:SG:DAT parental:home SUBJ:NEG:COP
"I have no parents' home!" (she said).
(Monkey 15)

“Qimai khara mula=sa asira hu danang lai
 2:SG:DAT black small=ABL raise give after NEG
maidie-lang bai.
 know-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH EMPH

‘You were given (to someone else) to raise when (you) were very young,
 so (you) don’t know (about it).

(Monkey 16)

Ajia lai maidie-lang ma,
 elder:sister NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
 Elder Sister (you) don’t know (this),

(Monkey 17)

bi heghe-la ri-ba,
 1:SG take-PURP come-SUBJ:PERF
 (but) I’ve come to take (you),

(Monkey 18)

ana nangda he-gha-la ri-ba.”
 mother 1:SG:DAT take-CAUSE-PURP come-SUBJ:PERF
 (because) Mother sent me to take (you)” (Monkey said).

(Monkey 19)

Khara quequer erjige ge tao-ser bang.
 black lame donkey SG:INDEF drive-PROG OBJ:COP
 A black lame donkey had been driven (there by Monkey).

(Monkey 10–20; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The reported speech of this example is in no way grammatically integrated into the surrounding narrative discourse. Lines 10–11 and 20 are included here 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’.¹ The verb of saying may either precede or follow the quoted material, and may bear any of a number of different morphological markings, depending on how the speaker wishes to characterize the aspect of the speech situation. Consider (2)–(4); in each case, the verb of saying is in bold print:

- (2) *Bieri=ni **keli-ji**,*
 wife=POSS say-IMPERF
 His wife said,

(Stupid Boy 6)

“Bi niaoduer xi-a.

1:SG today go-VOL

“I will go (to my parents’ home) today.

(Stupid Boy 7)

Qi mughashi ri-ku shijie=du ya-ji ri-ni?”

2:SG tomorrow come-IMPERF time=DAT what-DIR come-SUBJ:FUT

When you come tomorrow, how will you come?”

(Stupid Boy 6–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

(3) *“Aba,*

father

“Father,

(Three Daughters 7)

dasi ang=ji yao-ni?”

1:PL where=DIR go-SUBJ:FUT

where will we go?”

(Three Daughters 8)

yi-ge aguer=ni erseghe-jiang bai.

one-CL daughter=POSS ask-OBJ:PERF EMPH

one of his daughters asked.

(Three Daughters 7–9; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

(4) *Ting ge gan mula-lang,*

that do 3:SG think-OBJ:IMPERF

Then he thought,

(Stupid Boy 15)

“Ni bieri keli-ji erjige=du damei-her ge

this wife say-IMPERF donkey=DAT heavy-COMP SG:INDEF

erqi-ji ri ge-lang ma,

carry-IMPERF come QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF PRT

“This wife said (I should) come carrying a heavy thing on the donkey,

(Stupid Boy 16)

yang damei bang sha?”

what heavy OBJ:COP PRT

what is heavy?”

(Stupid Boy 15–17; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 suggest this analysis. Mangghuer has SOV basic word order. In section 4.9.6, 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 thus cannot plausibly be the object of any verb.

Quotations, then, do not usually seem to be clausal complements of verbs of saying. In fact, they behave according to syntactic patterns which seem to be unique. In some instances, a quote has no syntactic relations with any surrounding material, while in others, only an extremely loose connection exists between a quote and a clause containing a verb of saying. We will see in section 7.1.3, though, that a quote can also be bound more tightly, sometimes even to the point of clear embedding as a complement within the matrix clause containing the verb of saying.

7.1.2 Verbs of saying

A few generalizations may be made about the relationship between verbs of saying and the quotes they attribute. Three will be considered here.

7.1.2.1 *Relative order of verb of saying and reported speech*

First, while a 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.

7.1.2.2 *Aspect marking*

Second, we can consider aspect marking. Mangghuer distinguishes perfective and imperfective aspect in the marking of most 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) and (6):

- (5) “*Niaoduer nangda di-ni bai!*”
 today 1:SG:DAT eat-SUBJ:FUT EMPH
 “Today (they) will eat me!”

(Monkey 59)

shinagu mula-lang.

woman think-OBJ:IMPERF
the woman thought.

(Monkey 59–60; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (6) *bulai=ni tierber-sang zhi khaila-ser bang,*
child=ACC hold-PERF after shout-PROG OBJ:COP
holding the child, (he) was shouting,

(Human-bear 31)

“*Xiong-wa-di niang,*
bear-baby-ASSOC mother
“Baby bear’s mother,

(Human-bear 32)

zao hui-xiang.”
early return-home
come back home earlier.”

(Human-bear 31–3; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Example (7), line 44 illustrates a perfective verb of saying (see also (3), above):

- (7) *Bura-ku,*
finish-IMPERF
After finishing,

(Sangbura 43)

Gaga=sa=nang kerli-jiang,
elder:brother=ABL=REFLPOSS want-OBJ:PERF
(he) asked Elder Brother,

(Sangbura 44)

“*Qi nangda=du dimei=nang diger hu ma,*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT=DAT bread=REFLPOSS little:bit give PRT
“You give me a little of your bread,

(Sangbura 45)

muni ge bura-jiang.
1:SG:GEN SG:INDEF finish-OBJ:PERF
mine is finished.

(Sangbura 46)

Bi ghu=la di-lang,
 1:SG two=COLL eat-OBJ:IMPERF
 We two have been eating,

(Sangbura 47)

qi khezhiger=nang di-lang."
 2:SG alone=REFLPOSS eat-OBJ:IMPERF
 you have been eating by yourself."

(Sangbura 43–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

What is the function of imperfective verbs of saying, as in (5) and (6)? This seems quite similar to the phenomenon often 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 English example, from Mark Twain's story *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*.

(8) Present tense verb of saying

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?"

(Twain (1869:16; italics original, bold added))

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 he does in (8). However, when the narrative returns to the writer's neutral voice, the verb *say* appears in past tense to introduce a quote:

(9) Past tense verb of saying

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."

(Twain (1869:18; bold added))

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 for example the quotative expression "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 present tense, or imperfective aspect (depending on the resources of one's language) are so common with verbs of saying. When a speaker is reporting the words of a particular character, the speaker normally puts him- or herself into the role of that character temporarily, trying to some degree to model accurately (or at least plausibly) 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 this would lead to highly

unconvincing attempts to portray a character's speech. Thus, when producing a quote, the speaker needs to pretend to be the character producing the actual speech event being reported. We will see below that Mangghuer narrators use a range of devices which indicate that they are undertaking this pretense.

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 s/he 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 s/he has reported. Thus, the frequent Mangghuer use of imperfectives with verbs of saying seems to function, as does the English use of present tense, to increase the degree of immediacy of the reported speech situation.

7.1.2.3 *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 number of the nonfinite verbs of saying are marked as non-final verbs in a sentence, but then we find no later finite verb (outside of the quotation) on which they could be seen to be dependent. Two such nonfinite verbs of saying are given in (10):

- (10) *Chuna mula-ji*,
 wolf think-IMPERF
 Wolf thought,

(Rabbit's Trick 59)

"Ni Taolai=ni kao nao-jiang bai."
 this rabbit=GEN trick see-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 "(We) saw (i.e. were taken in by) this Rabbit's trick."

(Rabbit's Trick 60)

Yehu keli-ji,
 fox say-IMPERF
 Fox said,

(Rabbit's Trick 61)

"Ni=ni xian=du muni kao-xujun hugu sao-jiang."
 this=GEN reason=DAT 1:SG:GEN son-daughter die sit-OBJ:PERF
 "Because of this one, my children died."

(Rabbit's Trick 62)

Du ni=ni zhua-ji yao-a."
 now this=ACC catch-IMPERF go-VOL
 Now let's go catch this one."

(Rabbit's Trick 59–63; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In section 6.4, I suggested that a syntactic sentence generally must have a finite verb. However, examples like (10) contain no finite verbs except those within the quoted material. Two possible explanations suggest themselves. One is that the clauses of lines 59 and 61 are typical non-final clauses, and that the speaker simply treats the reported speech clauses themselves as the final, finite ones in these two sentences. Alternately, it may be a special property of verbs of saying, not shared by any other verbs, that they may appear in nonfinite form even when serving as the main verb of a sentence. That is, it may be that nonfinite verbs can function as though they were finite verbs, only in the case of verbs of saying. If the latter explanation is correct, this behavior is presumably motivated primarily by the concern for immediacy which was discussed in the previous section.

7.1.3 The quotative marker

In this section we will examine a device used to indicate quotation in Mangghuer. This is the quotative marker *ge*, which is descended from a Mongolic verb meaning both 'say' and 'do.' In addition to the quotative functions of this form, which will be outlined in 7.1.3.1, we will also consider a family of etymologically related forms (7.1.3.2), as well as quotative markers in other Mongolic languages and in the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund (7.1.3.3).

7.1.3.1 Form and function of the quotative marker

The examples we have considered thus far involve a relatively loose syntactic connection between reported speech material and a main clause. There is another device available to Mangghuer speakers which creates a closer syntactic bond, in some cases explicitly embedding quoted material within another clause as a complement. This device is a quotative marker *ge*, which appears immediately following a quote, as illustrated in (11):

- (11) *Tingsa jiutou yaomao r-a ge-ji dayingla-jiang.*
 Then nine:head ghost come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF promise-OBJ:PERF
 Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying "I'll come."
 (Nine-headed Ghost 38; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The quotative marker *ge* is not a main verb, though it is descended historically from a verb (meaning 'say' or 'do'), and it retains some verbal characteristics. The main verb in (11) is *dayingla-jiang* 'promised.' In this example, the quotative marker *ge-ji* 'QUOTE-IMPERF' functions syntactically as a complementizer, whose primary semantic function is to indicate that the foregoing quote is over.

In section 6.1.2, I argued that the quote in example (11) is unambiguously embedded, syntactically, in another clause, as a complement of the verb of saying *dayinglajiang* ‘promised’ (see also 6.2.2.3). However, as I pointed out in section 6.4.2, 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.

The quotative marker *ge* appears 55 times in the folktale database, each time indicating that some immediately preceding material is a quote. In 32 of these instances, it appears with the imperfective nonfinite suffix *-ji*, as in (11). Next most common is for *ge* to appear with no morphological marking at all, as in (13), below. This happens 14 times in the folktales, but I have not seen *ge-Ø* used in the complementizer function just outlined.

The next two examples, rather than embedded clauses, show non-final clauses in which *ge* again has appropriate nonfinite morphology. In both of these examples the next verb in the sequence of clauses is not a verb of saying. Rather than embedded complements of a verb of saying, *ge* functions here to mark non-final clauses of the sorts outlined in 6.2.3.

- (12) [*Du bi yi-zhuan langla-ya*,”
now 1:SG one-circle walk:around-VOL
“Now I’ll go walk around”

(Monkey 56)

ge-ji [*zaohang=du xi-sa*],
QUOTE-IMPERF kitchen=DAT go-COND
saying this (the boy’s mother) went into the kitchen,
(Monkey 56–7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

- (13) [*Ajia*,
elder:sister
“*Ajia*,

(Monkey 23)

diao=ni bi tierber-a,”
younger:sibling=ACC 1:SG hold-VOL
let me hold the baby,

(Monkey 24)

ge-Ø [*tierber-jiang*].
QUOTE-SEQ hold-OBJ:PERF
saying this (Monkey) took (the baby in his arms).
(Monkey 23–5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 sequence of clauses (see also 6.4.2 for discussion and additional examples).

Additionally, the most common morphological form of the quotative marker, *ge-ji* ‘QUOTE-IMPERF,’ has apparently become routinized to the point that the form has become somewhat bleached semantically, with a corresponding broadening of syntactic function. This form sometimes 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 line 96 of (14), the function of the quotative marker seems to be solely to indicate that a quote has been produced, without indicating any syntactic relationship with respect to any other clause.

- (14) *nara puda-jiang.*
 sun set-OBJ:PERF
 (because) the sun set.

(Sangbura 95)

Du zou shulian=ni a ning=du guo ye ge-a
 now thus evening=ACC also this=DAT cross night do-VOL

ge-ji.

QUOTE-IMPERF

Now (they decided they would) spend the night here.

(Sangbura 96)

Ghuer=luo=nang ning ge sao-jiang.
 two=COLL=REFLPOSS this do sit-OBJ:PERF
 So the two stayed (there).

(Sangbura 95–7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

I have not observed the zero-marked quotative *ge-Ø* 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 forms *ge* and *geji* is actually undergoing a split, since there do seem to be some observable patterns in the choice of one over the other. In the context just noted, as well as in the complementizer function described earlier, *geji* appears, but *ge* apparently does not. Conversely, there are some contexts in which *ge* seems to be more common. One is when an onomatopoetic sound is reported, as in (15). *Geji* is rare in constructions of this type.

- (15) *Gan shidie=tai xi “bang,*
 3:SG early=COM go ONOM
 Very early, he went (making the sound) “bang,

(Human-bear 13)

bang” ge peghe sao-jiang bai.

ONOM QUOTE hit sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH

bang” like that, hitting (on the ice).

(Human-bear 13–14; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Ge also appears when a name is reported by which a character is called, as in (16).

- (16) *Gan ghu=la Madage,*
3:SG two=COLL Madage

(Madage 59)

Shu’erge ge yao-jiang.

Shu’erge QUOTE go-OBJ:PERF

The two of them, called Madage and Shu’erge,² left.

(Madage 59–60; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In addition to their clause-combining functions, then, we see that both of the quotative forms *ge* and *geji* seem to be acquiring the specialized function of simply marking the ends of certain types of speech events. It may be that, over time, they will lose their clause-combining functions entirely, although at present both forms are clearly multi-functional. It also appears that these two forms are in the process of splitting to perform different specific functions, though this development remains perhaps at an early stage.

7.1.3.2 Grammaticalization of the quotative marker

The quotative marker *ge* is related to a family of homophonous verbal forms, each with an identifiable range of functions, all of which are clearly descended from a common Mongolic source morpheme. Each of these forms will also be examined in this section. Then I will discuss the historical relationship among these forms, within a grammaticalization framework.

7.1.3.2.1 The hearsay evidential *gelang*

One form which is closely related to the quotative marker is the hearsay evidential *gelang*. *Gelang* is a normal inflectional form of *ge*, with the objective imperfective suffix *-lang*, but it has come to be used for the specialized function of indicating hearsay evidence.

The hearsay evidential appears in Mangghuer 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 first-hand witness—rather, s/he is reporting a claim which came to her/him verbally.

Description of the functions of *gelang*, along with some description of similar evidential markers in other QGS languages, is given in section 4.7.5.

7.1.3.2.2 *Ge as a full verb*

Many of the inflected forms of *ge* have developed restricted syntactic and semantic behavior. Concurrently, however, there are also instances in which *ge* appears as a full verb, with more or less unrestricted morphological marking options. In its role as a full verb, *ge* means ‘to do’ or, occasionally, ‘to put,’ as will be illustrated in the following examples.

Example (17) shows one instance of *ge* serving as a full verb. It appears with the noun *weilie* ‘work’ to mean ‘to do work’.

- (17) “*Tingsa bi qimai=du san-shi-nian weilie ge-gha-jiang*
 then 1:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT three-ten-year work do-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
ma,
 PRT
 “Then, I have worked for you for thirty years,
 (A Hired Farmhand 31; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Similarly, in (18) *ge* appears with the borrowed Chinese verb *diantou* ‘nod.’

- (18) *Nughuai=ni diantou ge-lang ma,*
 dog=POSS nod do-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
 His dog nodded,
 (Sangbura 90; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Notice that in this example, *ge* appears in the same morphological form as the hearsay evidential (see the previous section). But here, *gelang* has its compositional meaning ‘do-OBJ:IMPERF,’ whereas the hearsay evidential behaves as an unanalyzed, invariant particle.

Example (19) illustrates the frequent use of *ge* with the direct object *ya* ‘what;’ in this example, we have an objective future tense form *geni*:

- (19) “*Qi ya ge-ni,*
 2:SG what do-SUBJ:FUT
 “What will you do,
 (Two Wives 57; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Finally, the bracketed second clause of (20) shows that *ge* may also appear in a finite form with the sense of ‘to put,’ taking the (omitted) direct object ‘it.’

- (20) *gan ti shibao=nang bari ri [di manlai=du=nang*
 3:SG that bird=REFLPOSS take come door forehead=DAT=REFLPOSS
ge-jiang bai.]
 do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 he took that bird (home) and put (it) on the upper part of his gateframe.
 (Shalanguer’s Story 88; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

These examples show that *ge* ‘do’ may also appear in the same range of finite morphosyntactic environments as do other full verbs. Its uses as a quotative marker, a hearsay evidential, and as an auxiliary verb (see 7.1.3.2.4, below), 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 presumably older) range of combinatorial possibilities.

7.1.3.2.3 *Demonstrative forms related to ge*

There is a set of demonstrative forms related to *ge* ‘to say, to do’ which also 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 *ning*, a form of the proximal demonstrative *ni* ‘this’. This yields constructions such as the one illustrated in (21), line 42.

- (21) *Ana=ni songziwer=nang erseghe-jiang,*
 mother=POSS grandson=REFLPOSS ask-OBJ:PERF
 His mother asked about her grandson,
 (Filial Obedience 39)

“*Songziwer=ni ang xi-gha-ba?*”
 grandson=ACC where go-CAUSE-SUBJ:PERF
 “where did (you) send (my) grandson?”
 (Filial Obedience 40)

“*Ghada ang=ji ang=ji yao-jiang,*”
 outside where=DIR where=DIR go-OBJ:PERF
 “(He) has gone someplace outside,”
 (Filial Obedience 41)

ning ge-ji.
 this QUOTE-IMPERF
 (he) said this.
 (Filial Obedience 42)

Tingsa ninger cai=ni di-ser di-ser gan=ni gha=du
 later old:woman food=ACC eat-PROG eat-PROG 3:SG=GEN bowl=DAT
bulai=ni khuru ri-jiang bai.
 child=GEN finger come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 Later as the old woman was eating and eating (her) food, in her bowl the
 boy’s finger came.

(Filial Obedience 39–43; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In (21), the function of *ning geji* seems identical to what 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 discourse connective *tingsa* ‘later’ normally appears in sentence-initial position (see 4.8.2), which suggests that the speaker began a new syntactic construction in line 43.

However, forms of the *ning ge* family have a somewhat broader range of functions and of morphological distinctions. In addition to marking the ends of quotes, *ning ge* may appear with a recap function, summarizing the action of speaking in a previous clause as an introduction to the upcoming action. Thus, we find lines 14 and 17 of (22):

- (22) *Bi gher-ji ri-ku,*
 1:SG go:out-IMPERF come-IMPERF
 After I come out,
 (The Rabbit Judge 12)

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 13)

Ning ge-ku Khuoni mula-jiang bai,
 this QUOTE-IMPERF sheep think-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 When (he) said this Sheep thought,
 (The Rabbit Judge 14)

“Ni=ni ge lai jiula-sa,
 this=ACC once NEG save-COND
 “If (I) do not save this one,
 (The Rabbit Judge 15)

ni=ni nukuang=du dianke ge-kuniang.”
 this=ACC hole=DAT bury do-OBJ:FUT
 this one will be buried in the hole.”
 (The Rabbit Judge 16)

Ning ge gan zou dong=su chuna=ni lake gher
 this QUOTE 3:SG thus hole=ABL wolf=ACC pull go:out
ri-gha-jiang.
 come-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 Saying this it dragged Wolf out of the hole.
 (The Rabbit Judge 12–17; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Moreover, *ning ge* does not have to characterize only acts of speaking. Like the full verb *ge*, it may also be used to refer to acts of doing, as illustrated in (23).

- (23) *Du dasi ning ge-a,*
 now 1:PL this do-VOL
 Now let's do like this,
 (Rabbit's Trick 18; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Finally, *ning ge* may refer to no particular action at all. It may be semantically bleached, in some contexts, to the point of meaning something akin to 'thus.' Line 10 of (24) illustrates a construction of this sort. The characters involved have not been described as performing any action; in fact, they are clearly *not doing anything*, and sitting there 'just like this.'

- (24) *Du gesi yi-ge wula diere sao-ser bang ma,*
 now 3:PL one-SG:INDEF mountain on sit-PROG OBJ:COP PRT
 Now they were sitting on a mountain,
 (Rabbit's Trick 6)

jianjian=ni gedie-si luosi-ji lai ber-lang
 each:one=GEN belly-PL be:hungry-IMPERF NEG become-OBJ:IMPERF
bai.
 EMPH
 (and) each one's belly was (so) hungry (that he) couldn't stand it.

(Rabbit's Trick 7)

Di-sa di-ku-ni guang,
 eat-COND eat-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:NEG:COP
 There was nothing to eat,

(Rabbit's Trick 8)

wu-sa wu-ku-ni guang.
 drink-COND drink-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:NEG:COP
 there was nothing to drink.

(Rabbit's Trick 9)

Ji-ge=la ning ge sao sao-ser bang bai.
 several-CL=COLL this do sit sit-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
 The several of them were sitting just like this.

(Rabbit's Trick 6–10; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 more restricted in function,

however, and display an even smaller range of combinatorial possibilities than do the forms of the *ning ge* family.

The most common forms here are *ting ge*, *ting geku*, and the contracted forms *tingsa* and *tingku*. Of a total of 67 occurrences of these forms in the folktales, 29 are *tingsa*, 25 are *ting geku* or *tingku*, 12 are *ting ge*, and one is *ting geji*. In this section we will examine only the non-contracted forms; see section 4.8.2 on the specialized discourse connective functions of the contracted forms *tingsa* and *tingku*.

Only in the one occurrence of *ting geji* does any of these forms seem to have the function of referring to an action—and even here the activity is a generic one, rather than a specified action. This example is given in (25), where *ting geji* indicates some unspecified manner in which the action of trying to catch Rabbit was performed; *ting geji* is perhaps best translated ‘that way’ or ‘by doing that.’

- (25) *Ning ge-ji bari-la xi-sa huashi bari da-lang,*
 this do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND fashi take cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
 When (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) this way, the *fashi* couldn’t catch (him),
 (Rabbit’s Trick 26)

ting ge-ji bari-la xi-sa bari da-lang,
 that do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND take cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
 when (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) that way, (the *fashi*) couldn’t catch (him),
 (Rabbit’s Trick 26–7; see Appendix; also in Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 67 *ting ge* forms in the folktales. Line 11 of (26) illustrates a situation of this type.

- (26) *Ni kong keli-jiang,*
 this person say-OBJ:PERF
 This man said,
 (A Hired Farmhand 8)

“*Qi muni luoti=ni musi-ku huguer dangla-gha-ji*
 2:SG 1:SG:GEN shoe=ACC wear-IMPERF cow herd-CAUSE-IMPERF
hu.
 give
 “You wear my shoes and herd cattle (for me).
 (A Hired Farmhand 9)

Ni-ge luoti=ni musi chuoruo-gha-ku qimai=du huguer
 this-CL shoe=ACC wear break-CAUSE-IMPERF 2:SG:DAT=DAT cow
yi-ge hu-a.”
 one-CL give-VOL
 Wear the shoes and when (you) break (them), I will give you a cow”
 (in payment).
 (A Hired Farmhand 10)

Ting ge-ku *ni zhalao* *kong keli-ji*
 that QUOTE-IMPERF this be:hired:hand person say-IMPERF
ber-ni *ge-ji.*
 become-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-IMPERF

When (he) said this, the hired hand said “OK”.

(A Hired Farmhand 8–11; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

In the vast majority of cases, however, *ting ge*, *ting gekultingku* and *tingsa* seem to function mostly as discourse connectors, not indicating any particularly specific semantic connection between the clauses they link (see section 4.8.2). Thus, they are similar to the semantically bleached sense of *ning ge* illustrated in (24), where that form means something like ‘thus’ or ‘in this manner’. But *ting ge* forms generally function to link separate actions in a sequence, so these forms usually are best translated with something like the sense of ‘then’. Let us close this section with an example which illustrates this function of *ting ge*:

- (27) *Nao-sa* *aba* *gua* *luosi* *danang* *hugu-lang* *bai*,
 see-COND father totally be:hungry after die-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
 When they looked, (their) father was completely hungering to death,
 (Three Daughters 67)

yigua *tuerha* *zhuer=du* *kaola* *danang.*
 totally column bottom=DAT lie:against after
 having lay against the bottom of a house column.

(Three Daughters 68)

Ting ge *aguer* *gan* *puzighuo=nang* *ge*
 that do daughter 3:SG deep:fried:dough:stick=REFLPOSS SG:INDEF
kerla-ji *xi-gha-jiang.*
 throw-IMPERF go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF

Then (one) daughter she threw one of her deep fried dough sticks (to him).

(Three Daughters 67–9; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

7.1.3.2.4 *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 section 4.4.2, and the reader is referred to that section for discussion. We might note here, 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*.

7.1.3.2.5 *Summary and discussion*

In this section, I have outlined a series of morphological forms related to the Mongolic verb *ge* ‘to say, to do’. Although historical data is lacking, and comparative data from

related languages is sparse (but see the next section for some comments), the internal situation of Mangghuer allows us to make some hypotheses about the history of these forms.

With the exception of the hearsay evidential *gelang*, none of the morphological forms treated here is completely fossilized. All are at least partly transparent, and in fact we have seen that *ge* retains the ability to appear productively 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 most 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 may 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 Hünemeyer (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 quotation. The hearsay marker *gelang*, similarly, is coming to be seen as a sentence-final particle, functioning to assert a non-first person information source or simply to mark emphasis. Although *ge* retains some flexibility as a main verb, this is limited by the need to preserve the unique functions of the more routinized forms; *ge* cannot generally appear as a main verb of the morphological form *gelang*, since this form has become specialized for use as a hearsay evidential, and so on. The combinations of *ge* with the demonstrative forms retain some quotative uses, but in general seem to be moving away from clause-combining functions, in the direction of sentence-initial syntactic position and discourse-related semantic functions. Finally, *ge* as an auxiliary verb has lost most of its semantic content and has come to have primarily grammatical meaning, indicating high transitivity in its clause.

This discussion may have seemed to wander rather far from the topic of reported speech, but it is hoped that the interrelatedness of the various grammaticalizing forms of *ge* adequately justifies the diversion. The morphosyntactic treatment of reported speech does not operate independent of other, related functions in 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.

7.1.3.3 *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 *-j*, which appears in quotative contexts, is the imperfective converbal, 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. A Khalkha example is given in (28), where *gej* functions as a complementizer for embedded reported speech:

(28) Khalkha quotative marker

bagš bidn-ees “ta nar xičeel-ee sajn davt-san uu?”
 teacher we-ABL 2 PL lesson-REFLPOSS well prepare-PERF QUEST
gej asuu-v
 QUOTE ask-PST

The teacher asked us “have your prepared your lesson well?”

(Binnick 1979:101)

Kullmann and Tserenpil (1996:309–10) illustrate several extended functions of Mongolian *gex*, which also functions as a complementizer with reason and purpose clauses, in addition to marking complements of verbs of saying. Mangghuer *ge*, in comparison, does not have a similarly broad range of functions, being used only with verbs of saying.

Poppe (1974:66, 183–4) illustrates some phonologically similar Written Mongolian lexical forms with a similar range of features. Here, we find examples such as:

(29) Written Mongolian reported speech

nökör maryaši iresüge¹ kemen ügülebe
 friend tomorrow will:come QUOTE say:PST
 The friend told saying “I shall come tomorrow.”

(Poppe 1974:184)

The final nasal consonant *-n* of *kemen* in example (29) 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 Mangghuer; the suffix *-ji* has been extended to take over this function, in addition to its other imperfective uses.

Poppe (1974:183–4) describes the forms *kemen* and *gemen* as interchangeable for the quotative function seen in (29). He does not mention an etymological connection

between them, although the striking similarity of the roots *keme-* and *geme-*, both meaning ‘to say’ (1974:183) certainly suggests an etymological relationship.

Written Mongolian has been used in various forms from the thirteenth 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 (30):

(30) Quotative marker in the *Secret History*

Bodoncar alginci haul-ju du᠋nda deeli-t.ey eme-yi
 B. scout ride:swiftly-ing middle belly-having:FEM woman-def
bari-ju “yau-jin gūūn ci” kee-n
 capture-ing “what-member:FEM person you:SG” QUOTE-ing
hasa-ba
 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?”

(Street 1957:38)

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 Mangghuer seems to have already developed in earlier times (although the Mangghuer form *ge* means ‘do,’ not ‘say,’ when appearing as a full verb). This is illustrated in (31), which can be compared to the use of the same lexical item, *keme-*, in (29).

(31) Written Mongolian quotative verb as main verb

nökör bi maryaši irsügeⁱ kemebeⁱ
 friend 1st tomorrow come say:PAST

The friend said “I shall come tomorrow.”

(Poppe 1974:184)

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 complement 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 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 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 Mangghuer are relatively recent developments in that language.

It will also be interesting to compare the quotative structures of closely-related Mongolic languages of the QGS region. Personal communication with scholars working on some of these languages suggests that cognate forms do in fact exist, performing at least some of the same functions as have been outlined here. I have received reports of related forms in Mongghul (Li Keyu, p.c.), Santa (Ken Field, p.c.), and Baonan (Charles Li, p.c.). The similarities and differences among these various languages should certainly be examined.

7.2 IMMEDIACY IN REPORTED SPEECH

In section 5.1.3, we saw that Mangghuer distinguishes direct from indirect quotation (by means of pronoun reference), but that the quoted speaker's original choice of subjective or objective verb morphology must be reproduced exactly in a quote of either type. In this section, we turn to a fuller consideration of the devices by which reported speech is given speech-like qualities by folktale narrators.

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 linguistic 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 Mangghuer folktales which contribute an impression of immediacy to reported speech. These linguistic 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.

In practice, though, we can probably consider a folktale narrator to be imitating a particular speaker, who may or may not be a fictional personality, when that narrator quotes a character's speech. This imitation must be based on the narrator's own mental characterization of what talk generally sounds like. All narrators, no matter which language they speak, have mental representations (stereotypes) of 'how people talk', and 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 in Mangghuer narratives.

7.2.1 Subjective and objective marking in reported speech

In section 5.1.3, I outlined the Mangghuer treatment of speaker involvement marking in reported speech. Briefly, the system requires that, when one speaker reports the speech of another, the reporter must reproduce exactly the 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 reported 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 pragmatic 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 personal involvement to assume for the claim made in the quote—whether to use subjective marking or not. Rather, the reporting speaker simply indicates the level of personal involvement which was signaled by the original speaker.

However, this rule of copying the original speaker's subjective/objective verb morphology has the additional effect of lending immediacy to the reported speech. By replicating the choice made by the quoted speaker, a narrator reduces the degree of displacement between the act of reporting and the speech event (real or imagined) which is being reported. That is, use of the original verb morphology is a form of imitation, or re-enactment, of the original event.

7.2.2 Other structural features of immediacy and displacement

In addition to the copying of a quoted speaker's original subjective/objective marking choices, Mangghuer narrators use some other structural devices to indicate that they are reducing the degree of displacement between the event of their own speaking and the speech event which they are reporting. We will briefly examine two such features here: the use of imperatives, prohibitives, and voluntatives (section 7.2.2.1); and the use of interactional final particles (7.2.2.2). Following this, we will further note a contrast between the immediacy created by these interactional particles and the displacement implied by the use of a second set of final particles which appear in non-quoted parts of the narration (section 7.2.2.3).

7.2.2.1 Imperatives, voluntatives, and prohibitives

As we have seen, reproduction of a quoted speaker's original verb morphology is an obligatory feature in Mangghuer, although of course when one is imagining the original speech event, one actually has freedom to create that 'original' morphology. Similarly, an examination of reported speech in the folktale narratives reveals the frequent 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 and pragmatic devices appropriate to interaction. This, of course, is not surprising.

There are several additional morphosyntactic devices which commonly appear in reported speech, indicating that the narrator adopts the point of view of the speaker being quoted. For example, in the folktales, we find that imperatives, voluntatives, and prohibitives appear almost solely in quotations. All of these are used in interactional settings where a speaker can command, or express an attitude toward, someone else's action, or can propose his/her own actions.

We have already seen an example of an imperative, in line 9 of example (26). Of the total of 96 imperative constructions in the folktale database, all but 3 appear in reported speech. The remaining 3 are in the moral at the end of a story, informing the listeners of how to respond to the story; obviously, this too is a highly interactive context.

The voluntative has also appeared several times, for example in (11), (12), (13), (14), and (23). There are 62 voluntatives in the folktale database, and all of them appear within reported speech.

Prohibitives are negative imperatives, constructed with the prohibitive negative *bao* 'do not'. An example can be found in line 13 of (22), above. There are 8 prohibitive constructions in the folktales, and 6 of them appear in reported speech. Once again, the remaining 2 appear in a story-concluding moral, telling listeners how they are expected to respond to the narrative.

7.2.2.2 Interactional particles

In section 4.7, 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* (section 4.7.4) often appears with syntactic questions, and seems to suggest that the speaker is dissatisfied with the current state of affairs. This particle appears 14 times in the folktales, and only 1 of these is not contained in an instance of reported speech.

The particle *a* (section 4.7.3) seems to indicate 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. To put it more simply: reported speech sounds more like conversation than does narration.

7.2.2.3 *Non-interactive 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 often use 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 often appear 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 to which I have access.

The first of these final particles is *bai*, which was universally identified by my consultants as 'emphatic' in force (section 4.7.1). This extremely common particle appears in examples (3), (5), and (15), 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 involve some form of reported speech, this means that a disproportionately large amount of the appearances of *bai* are in non-quoted contexts.

Similarly, the hearsay evidential *gelang*, discussed in section 4.7.5 and also section 7.1.3.2.1, seems to be reserved by narrators for non-quoted contexts. Of the 33 appearances of the hearsay evidential, only 2 are in reported speech contexts.

Both of these final particles can appear in reported speech, but neither one does very often. As I have pointed out, this suggests that the range of functions of these particles is more appropriate for narrative discourse than for conversational discourse. Since most reported speech is in the form of reported conversations between characters, these forms do not appear very frequently.

In contrast to the immediacy-creating devices which we saw in the preceding sections, the final particles *bai* and *gelang* may be seen as indexes of a higher degree of displacement between the current situation and the one being described in the narrative. The evidential *gelang* explicitly refers to such displacement, since it means that the speaker is reporting hearsay. *Bai* is not so explicit in reference to displacement, but its strong tendency to occur in non-quoted contexts means that it too indicates that a speaker is generally operating in a displaced mode when s/he uses it.

7.2.3 Choice of linguistic code: codeswitching and borrowing

We saw in Chapter 1 that 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 fluently bilingual.

In a social context such as this, codeswitching and borrowing are perhaps simply two ends of a continuum. Most listeners can be expected to understand if a Mangghuer speaker shifts into the local variety of Chinese, and over time a vast number of Chinese lexical items have become integrated into the Mangghuer system. Some have

replaced native Mongolic terms entirely, while others coexist with native Mongolic terms; for example, for the meaning ‘wolf’ a Mangghuer 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 Mangghuer retains much of the morphosyntax of its Mongolic heritage, 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.

7.2.3.1 Codeswitching

One device which is commonly used in reporting a character’s speech is to switch into the local Chinese variety. We may think of this as similar in function and motivation to the common prosodic device of adopting a different voice quality, pitch range, or the like, to represent someone else’s speech.

Fairly clear examples of codeswitching occur 19 times in the folktales. An example of this is given by (32); the quoted material (line 35, in bold type) is entirely in Chinese, with Chinese morphosyntax and no Mongolic morphemes, while the surrounding material is Mongolic (with only a single Chinese borrowing: *yige* ‘one’).

- (32) *Yao-da yi-ge mula mieran chaibai kuer-jiang.*
 go-after one-CL small river bank arrive-OBJ:PERF
 (He) went on until (he) arrived at the bank of a small river.

(Stupid Boy 34)

“Hao-da-di qingshui a!”
 very-big-ASSOC blue:water PRT
 “What vast blue water!”

(Stupid Boy 35)

yi-ge kong keli-lang.
 one-CL person say-OBJ:IMPERF
 a man was saying.

(Stupid Boy 34–6; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

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 necessarily apply this device consistently to any given character. Consider, for example, (33), which occurs after two characters, a rabbit and a fox, have entered a temple and sat down.

- (33) *Yi-tegher ber-ji bi-sa,*
 one-while become-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
 After a little while,

(Sangbura 105)

chuna ge ruo-ji ri-lang.
 wolf SG:INDEF enter-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF
 a wolf came in.

(Sangbura 106)

“Langge lai-liao!”

elder:brother:wolf come-PERF

“Here comes (our) Elder Brother Wolf!” (Rabbit and Fox said).

(Sangbura 105–7; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Neither of these two characters is ever portrayed as switching to Chinese again, though both 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. Codeswitching is thus 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 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.

Mid-quote codeswitches are illustrated in lines 13–14 and 18–19 of (34). In each case, the first line is in Chinese, and the next switches back to Mangghuer.

- (34) *“Shalangguer Ga,*
 Shalangguer brother
“Brother Shalangguer,

(Shalangguer’s Story 10)

mali ma,
 quickly PRT
 please hurry,

(Shalangguer’s Story 11)

muni suguo qi=ni ger=du degheba bao ri-jiang.”
 1:SG:GEN axe 2:SG=GEN house=DAT fall go:down come-OBJ:PERF
 my axe fell down into your home.”

(Shalangguer’s Story 12)

“Xian zhan-zhi a,

first stand-ASP PRT

“First wait (a moment),

(Shalangguer’s Story 13)

bi wazi=nang musi-ku.”

1:SG sock=REFLPOSS wear-IMPERF

until I put on my socks.”

(Shalangguer’s Story 14)

“Shalangguer Ga,

Shalangguer brother

“Brother Shalangguer,

(Shalangguer’s Story 15)

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 16)

qi=ni huayan=du bao-ba.”

2:SG=GEN garden=DAT go:down-SUBJ:PERF

(it) fell into your garden.”

(Shalangguer’s Story 17)

“Xian zhan-zhi ma,

first stand-ASP PRT

“First wait (a moment),

(Shalangguer’s Story 18)

bi hai=nang musi-sang gui.”

1:SG shoe=REFLPOSS wear-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP

I haven’t put on my shoes.”

(Shalangguer’s Story 19)

Gan ning ge lai hu-lang bai.

3:SG this QUOTE NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH

He thus didn’t give (it to him).

(Shalangguer’s Story 10–20; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Even more intriguing is a character who reports his own speech in Chinese. Example (35) illustrates a conversation in which the character who is answering questions does so first using Mangghuer (lines 24–7), and next switching into Chinese (lines 30–6), when reporting the words he habitually uses. It is possible that the

Chinese here represents some sort of culturally recognized formula, but it is likely that the narrator is simply using codeswitching to establish immediacy for a stretch of reported speech.

- (35) “*Qi=ni ger=du yang bi a?*”
 2:SG=GEN house=DAT what SUBJ:COP PRT
 “What is in your home?”

(Nine-headed Ghost 23)

“*Muni ger=du khuoni a bi,*
 1:SG:GEN house=DAT sheep also SUBJ:COP
 “In my house there are sheep,

(Nine-headed Ghost 24)

yima a bi,
 goat also SUBJ:COP
 there are also goats,

(Nine-headed Ghost 25)

mori a bi,
 horse also SUBJ:COP
 there are also horses,

(Nine-headed Ghost 26)

huguer a bi,”
 cow also SUBJ:COP
 there are also oxen,”

(Nine-headed Ghost 27)

ning ge-ji.
 this QUOTE-IMPERF
 (he) said like this.

(Nine-headed Ghost 28)

“*Khuoriku=du ya=ji keli-la bi?*”
 pen=DAT how say-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
 “What do you say (when you put them) in the pen?”

(Nine-headed Ghost 29)

“*Yang,*
 sheep
 “Sheep,

(Nine-headed Ghost 30)

yang,
sheep
sheep,

(Nine-headed Ghost 31)

juan-li qi; gulu,
pen-inside go goat
go into the pen; goat,

(Nine-headed Ghost 32)

gulu,
goat
goat,

(Nine-headed Ghost 33)

juan-li qi; niu,
pen-inside go ox
go into the pen; ox,

(Nine-headed Ghost 34)

niu,
ox
ox,

(Nine-headed Ghost 35)

juan-li qi,
pen-inside go
go into the pen,

(Nine-headed Ghost 36)

ning ge-ji keli-la bi.”
this QUOTE-IMPERF say-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
I speak (to them) saying like this.

(Nine-headed Ghost 23–37; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

One additional point that should be made about codeswitching is this: the switch to another language not only has purely discourse functions, such as increasing the immediacy of a quotation, but probably also carries 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 for him, he recites these utterances in situations when they are taken (by his in-laws, who formerly considered him stupid) to be highly appropriate and even philosophically deep. Example (32), above, is the first episode of this story; the stupid boy memorizes

the phrase *haodadi qingshui* a ‘what vast blue water!’, and repeats it later in the story, when he has been handed a glass of water to drink. In this context, the saying is interpreted by the listeners to be extremely clever.

It seems likely 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, intergroup trade, and many types of formal interaction, it is natural that codeswitching into Chinese might carry significant social meaning, in addition to other discourse functions.

Auer (1995) discusses the phenomenon of codeswitching 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, contextualization 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 codeswitching is frequently observed as a device for reporting speech. He also points out (1995:123) that the functions of codeswitching 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 codeswitching which have been outlined here for 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 him- or 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.

Concurrently, though, codeswitching in reported speech also functions to increase the degree of immediacy, since it gives the impression of re-enacting in an exact way the actual words of a quoted speaker.

7.2.3.2 *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 or all 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. In Mangghuer, this is true of (for example) Chinese numerals, which have completely replaced Mongolic numerals; only

two Mongolic numerals remain in the active vocabulary of the language: *nige* ‘one’ (and even it coexists synchronically with Chinese *yige* ‘one’); and *ghula* ‘two together,’ which preserves a Mongolic root for ‘two,’ but only in a grammaticalized collective form (see section 3.2.6.2.2).

I have not noticed any difference between the use of borrowing within reported utterances and its use in other contexts. However, there are some interesting patterns of borrowing in the grammar of the reporting of speech, and it is to these patterns that we now turn. After noting the borrowing of Chinese verbs of saying and of two types of Chinese quotative constructions, I will suggest that both lexical and structural borrowings may be another result of speakers’ attempts to create immediacy in reported speech, as we have seen throughout this section.

7.2.3.2.1 Borrowed verbs of saying

Reported speech is often introduced with a lexical verb of saying, and this turns out to be a part of the Mangghuer lexicon which has been significantly influenced by borrowing from Chinese.

The most frequent Mangghuer verbs of saying are 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 occurrences), *khaila* ‘to shout’ (11), *kerli* ‘to want, to ask for’ (5), and *daoda* ‘to call’ (5). Together, these 6 common Mongolic verbs of saying are used to report 160 utterances.

In addition to the Mongolic verbs of saying, there are the following borrowed Chinese verbs: *mula* ‘to think’ (14 occurrences), *shangliangla* ‘to discuss’ (3), *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), *manyang ge* ‘to accuse’ (1).³ Together, these borrowed verbs report 28 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 the borrowed verbs of saying tend to appear much less frequently than do the native Mongolic ones. The borrowings also 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.

7.2.3.2.2 Borrowed quotative constructions

In addition to borrowed lexical items, Mangghuer also shows evidence of significant structural borrowings from Chinese. Here I will discuss two borrowed morphosyntactic constructions which appear with reported speech.

7.2.3.2.2.1 NOMINALIZATIONS

One such construction is a nominalized verb of saying, used to introduce a quote. Let’s consider a nominalization of this sort.

- (36) *Yi-tian nige*,
one-day one
One day,

(Madage 10)

gan=ni jiaodong=du keli-ku-ni shi,
3:SG=GEN dream=DAT say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
what was said in her dream was,

(Madage 11)

“Qi mori angchighuo tada xige sao ma,
2:SG horse trough near watch sit PRT
“You watch near the horse trough and,

(Madage 12)

dong-guo ge deghe-la-ji bao-ji ri-ni.
winter-fruit SG:INDEF fall-IMPERF go:down-IMPERF come-SUBJ:FUT
a winter pear will fall down.

(Madage 13)

Ti=ni di ma,
that=ACC eat PRT
Eat that,

(Madage 14)

kao ge ri-ni.”
son SG:INDEF come-SUBJ:FUT
(and) a son will come (i.e. you will bear a son).”

(Madage 10–15; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The copula *shi*, which appears in line 11 of (36), is borrowed from the Chinese copula *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* 她说的是 “what she said was.” The Mangghuer construction mirrors the Chinese word order, which contrasts with Mangghuer’s verb-final basic word order. In fact, in most nominal copular sentences, a Mongolic copula appears clause-finally, but there is never a clause-final copula in this quotative formula. (See also section 4.2.4.1, concerning additional 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 section 6.2.1.3, since it generally appears in clause-combining environments.

Another nominalized verb of saying is given in (37):

- (37) “*Taolai keli-sang-ni ni ger=du jin liang-gang,*
 rabbit say-PERF-NOMLZR this house=DAT gold two-vat
 “What Rabbit said (was that) in this house (there are) two vats of gold,
 (Sangbura 295)

yin san-gang bang ge-ji,
 silver three-vat OBJ:COP QUOTE-IMPERF
 (and) three vats of silver, like this,
 (Sangbura 296)

bainu guang sha?”
 OBJ:COP:QUEST OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
 is it true or not?”
 (Sangbura 297)

gan mula-lang.
 3:SG think-OBJ:IMPERF
 he was thinking.
 (Sangbura 295–8; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Like (36), (37) has the logical form of an equational, something like “what was said was X”. Example (37) contains this construction embedded within another character’s thoughts—the quotative marker *geji* at the end of line 296 marks the end of Rabbit’s words, as reported by the character who thinks this larger, three-line quote. Notice that here, however, no copula appears; *shi* is optional in this construction.

7.2.3.2.2.2 A BORROWED QUOTATIVE MARKER

The second quotative construction which shows Chinese influence is illustrated in (38). Here, we see the appearance of an alternate marker of direct quotation, once again borrowed from Chinese.

- (38) *Tughurong “guer,*
 wild:goose ONOM
 Wild geese “guer,
 (Madage 17)

gua” di ri-jiang,
 ONOM QUOTE come-OBJ:PERF
 gua” came, sounding like that,
 (Madage 17–18; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

The quotative marker *di* is borrowed from Chinese, where it has the form *di* 地 and usually indicates an adverb of manner. In (38) it functions identically to the Mongolic

quotative marker *ge* or *geji*, indicating that the preceding material is a quote. There are ten occurrences of this form in the folktales.

Usually, the marker *di* appears with onomatopoetic expressions, as in (38). If this were the form's only use, we might conclude that it is simply a marker of adverbial expressions. There are also a couple of instances, however, when *di* is used to indicate the reporting of actual speech, as in the following example:

- (39) “*Diandong bang*,
 Stupid OBJ:COP
 “(He) is stupid,
 (Stupid Boy 62)

diandong bang' *di*,
 stupid OBJ:COP QUOTE
 (he) is stupid,' (others say) like this,
 (Stupid Boy 63)

ni nen'gan-her bang,”
 this clever-COMP OBJ:COP
 (but now we realize) this one is clever,”
 (Stupid Boy 64)

dajia keli-ji.
 everyone say-IMPERF
 everyone said.
 (Stupid Boy 62–5; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Here, the speakers begin by citing the speech of the people 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 appears, though, that the functions of *di* may be in the process of expanding to allow it to mark any instance of reported speech, in addition to just onomatopoetic expressions; this would make its total range of quotative functions more nearly the same as that of its Mongolic counterpart *ge*.

7.2.3.2.3 Discussion

Both the lexical and the grammatical phenomena which have been discussed in this section might conceivably arise by the same process that, I have suggested, leads to the common appearance of imperfective verbs of saying. As I argued in 7.1.2.2, above, this might sometimes be due to a mis-timed shift of perspective, in which a reporter of speech realigns his or her perspective to match that of the person being quoted, but either does so a bit early or waits 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 tend to be somewhat protected from this process, and it would in fact be in lower-frequency verbs that the tendency should be most obvious.

Another possible explanation suggests itself for the Mangghuer propensity to borrow verbs of saying. By using a borrowed verb to refer to an act of speaking, a narrator may perform an act something like that of codeswitching within a direct quote. For example, in (40) the narrator characterizes an action of asking with the borrowed verb *dawenla* 'ask about.' This may give the impression that the quoted character may have spoken Chinese, although no actual words are attributed to the character.

(40) *Gan pusa yao-jiang.*

3:SG another go-OBJ:PERF

He went on.

(Sangbura 242)

Ti bayang kong=ni bieqiere-sang-ni aguer=ni

that rich person=GEN be:ill-PERF-NOMLZR daughter=ACC

dawenla-jiang.

ask:about-OBJ:PERF

(He) asked about that rich man's daughter who had become sick.

(Sangbura 243)

Dawenla-ser yao-ji ti ruang=du kuer-jiang.

ask:about-PROG go-IMPERF that place=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF

(By) asking, going on, (he) arrived at that place.

(Sangbura 242–4; Z. Chen et al., forthcoming)

Borrowing a verb of saying may thus be another way to create immediacy like that which is created by codeswitching. Here, no actual words are attributed to the quoted speaker; only the verb chosen to refer to the speech event gives a suggestion that the quoted speaker might have used another language.

Two suggestions have been made in this section regarding possible motivations for the frequent borrowing of Chinese devices related to the reporting of speech. I have not yet had opportunity to investigate these issues cross-linguistically, but it will be interesting to compare other languages spoken in highly bilingual environments, to see if they display a similar tendency to borrow quotative resources.

7.3 GENERAL SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have presented a formal and functional characterization of the treatment of reported speech in Mangghuer folktale narratives. Narrators make

frequent use of this tool, with about half of the folktales' clauses including some form of reported 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 the verb *ge* 'say, do' tended to become restricted for use in 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 subjective or objective verb 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. That is, narrators seem to be good at imitating conversational speech.

Finally, we saw that the highly bilingual context in which 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 Mangghuer system for reporting speech is further enriched by importation from another language.

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, though, this same interest seems to arise naturally for nearly every linguist working on a language in the QGS area. One would feel negligent to omit language contact considerations from a description of any of the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund languages, because these considerations are so vitally important to an understanding of the history and typological features 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, and discuss some of their implications. Contact-induced changes in Mangghuer are reviewed in section 8.1. Section 8.2 revisits the topic of the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund, summarizing a number of areal features which have been mentioned in the course of this study of Mangghuer. In section 8.3, I touch briefly on the importance of areal considerations in the understanding of grammaticalization processes, of which we have seen a couple of examples in Mangghuer. And, finally, section 8.4 concludes the historical focus of this book by considering what the history of Mangghuer may add to a discussion of genetic subgroupings within the Mongolic language family.

8.1 SUMMARY OF CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGES IN MANGGHUER

Many Mangghuer linguistic features clearly reflect Mongolic origins. The core vocabulary is primarily Mongolic. Sound correspondences straightforwardly demonstrate that Mangghuer is a sister of the modern Mongolic languages. Mangghuer morphology is substantially clearly Mongolic in origin. And most Mangghuer syntactic patterns are just what we would expect of a Mongolic language.

Additionally, though, we have seen that many Mangghuer features are attributable to contact-induced changes. Let us review a few such features here.

In Mangghuer phonology, we saw that the phoneme inventory is nearly identical to that of nearby Chinese languages (section 2.1.4.1). In the development of this inventory, Mangghuer innovated several non-Mongolic phonemes, creating a palatal/retroflex distinction in its obstruents (section 2.1.4.2) and also developed a spirantized allophone of /r/ (section 2.1.4.1). Mangghuer syllable structure (section 2.2) is identical to that of northern Chinese dialects, and even the inventory of actual syllables seems to be conditioned by the inventory of syllables which actually occur in neighboring Sinitic varieties (see section 2.2.5.3). We also saw that Mangghuer word stress has undergone two changes, both apparently contact-induced. First, at some point in the past, Mongolic word-initial stress was replaced in Mangghuer with word-final stress; the reasons for this shift are unclear, as outlined in section 2.4.2. Second, we saw that recent influence from Chinese has led to what might be the beginnings of a tone system, which could eventually replace the stress system in the language (section 2.3.1).

Throughout the discussion, we have seen extensive Chinese borrowings in the Mangghuer lexicon. In the first chapter, I pointed out that borrowed lexical items numbered about 15 percent of the words found in an informal count of running narrative text data, and that a wordlist count yields as many as 50 percent Sinitic loans. Borrowing of specific lexical items was explicitly noted in several places: numerals (section 3.2.3); adverbial particles (section 4.6); at least one final particle (section 4.7.6; see also 4.7.4 for another final particle which is quite possibly a Chinese borrowing); the discourse connector *zou* (section 4.8.1); several verbs of saying (section 7.2.3.2.1); and the quotative marker *di* (section 7.2.3.2.2.2).

The effects of language contact on Mangghuer morphology are most striking in the verbal marking system; in Chapter 5, I showed that the Mangghuer subjective/objective distinction system is nearly identical to the “conjunct/disjunct” system that has been described for Bodic languages. Other morphological issues have included: numeral classifiers (section 3.2.4); the independent phonological status of the plural marker *si* (section 3.2.6.1.2); and the optional nominalization device *-ni* (sections 6.2.1.3 and 7.2.3.2.2.1). I also suggested that the alternation between the nonfinite verb markers *-ji* ‘IMPERFECTIVE’ and the zero suffix *-Ø*, in both clause-combining and auxiliary constructions, might be due to language contact influence (see section 6.3.3).

Mangghuer syntax also shows some probable language contact influences, though I have had relatively little to say here. A borrowed copula construction was illustrated in two places, (sections 4.2.4.1 and 7.2.3.2.2.1), and in the latter discussion we saw a quotative formula which is probably a contact-induced development. As was just mentioned, I also suggested (in section 6.3.3) that influence from other languages may have contributed to the syntax of the current Mangghuer systems of clause-combining and auxiliary verb constructions; it is not at all clear just how pervasive these influences may have been, although we have seen at least one specific construction, the resultive construction (section 6.2.3.5), which clearly does illustrate Chinese influence.

In the area of discourse strategies, in addition to several discourse-related devices mentioned already in this summary, I focused in some detail on the role of codeswitching in Mangghuer narratives (section 7.2.3.1). Proficiency in Chinese is the primary reason that so many Sinitic features have been borrowed into the Mangghuer system.

8.2 THE QINGHAI-GANSU SPRACHBUND REVISITED

Some of the linguistic features which characterize the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund were listed in section 1.1.4. Several of the features which Mangghuer has acquired through contact (see the previous section) are among these. Additionally, we have seen several other features in this book which have spread widely among QGS languages, but whose ultimate origins are presently unknown. (At least, they cannot be assigned with certainty to any single language family of origin; a few of these are shared by more than one of the contributing language families.) These features include: voiceless vowels (section 2.1.2); an aspiration distinction (rather than voicing) in the series of stops (section 2.1.4.1); word-final stress (section 2.4.2); optional postposing of numerals after a head noun (section 3.2.6.2.1); hearsay evidential markers (section 4.7.5); and, possibly, zero-marking of some nonfinite predicates in chain-like sequences of clauses (section 6.3).

In many structural features, we have seen an overall pattern of convergence of linguistic structures among the various QGS languages. One result of convergence toward isomorphism among several languages in any 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 linguistic area. Multiple converging languages may obscure multiple intermediaries in the diffusion process, since a feature of language A could be transferred first into language B, and from there into language C, and so on. Thus, although the Mangghuer subjective/objective speaker involvement system almost certainly represents an influence that originated in Bodic, it is not at all certain that Mangghuer got the system directly from a Tibetan variety. Other QGS languages have similar evidential-like systems, and the subjective/objective distinction could have come into Mangghuer primarily through contact with one or more of these other languages, or through simultaneous contact with several of them.

Similarly, multilingualism and 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 QGS region. This probably implies a large number of multilingual speakers, and probably also a large number of individuals who, through marriage, move into contexts where their primary language is not their first language. One contemporary case of which I am aware is Chen Zhaojun, the mother of my colleague Mr. Zhu Yongzhong: she was primarily a speaker of Qinghai Chinese before marrying into a Mangghuer-speaking household at the age of 15 (see the introduction Z. Chen et al., forthcoming). Situations like this one must be extremely common throughout the region.

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. The nature of multilingual practice is likely to be different in such different contexts, meaning that Mangghuer speakers in different local areas probably have different sorts of contact with non-Mangghuer languages. We may guess that Mangghuer is used in a wider variety of social contexts in those locations where its native speakers are in the

majority—but this is only a guess, as no sociolinguistic survey of Mangghuer language use has yet been undertaken.

Historically, probably no QGS language has occupied a consistent social position. When Mongolic-speaking soldiers (apparently) 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, because 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 assimilation to Tibetan cultural norms, when many men spent significant time living in the 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 Amdo Tibetan). Throughout many of these periods, and certainly right up to the present day, Chinese has apparently enjoyed a politically privileged status, and we have seen some indication in the use of Chinese in codeswitching that it currently does receive social prestige, as well (see section 7.2.3.1); on the other hand, there are many reports of local areas in which individuals and communities have abandoned Chinese in favor of one of the region's other languages, suggesting that local prestige has not always coincided with political privilege.

It is factors like these that lead Thomason and Kaufman (1988:95) to observe that “sprachbund situations are notoriously messy.” With shifting relationships of social, political, and numerical dominance, languages can influence each other in multiple ways over a long stretch of time. Sudden social upheavals or gradual, long-term trends can result in different or even 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.

All these factors contribute to the complexity of the social situation and, in turn, to the complexity of the historical linguist's job of identifying sources and pathways of linguistic change. But the results of our linguistic study of Mangghuer have shown that we can tease apart, to some degree, the sources of many features which have spread in the QGS. It is likely that all of the QGS languages, like Mangghuer, can be shown to have undergone certain contact-induced changes, and that the diffusion of many features can be primarily attributed to general historical periods, corresponding to particular stages in the overall patterns of social relations which, we can conjecture, must have characterized the QGS region at various points in history. Although we cannot be *certain* of much of this historical conjecture, the linguistic facts and the available social historical documents do line up to provide a plausible account for many of the linguistic changes which have occurred in the region. The two-stage model of feature diffusion which I outlined in section 1.1.4 seems to provide a satisfactory bridge between the observable linguistic facts and the available historical descriptions.

8.3 GRAMMATICALIZATION AND CONTACT-INDUCED DRIFT

In section 2.4, I referred to a paper 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 change, is apparently quite susceptible 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, though, these authors focus their attention on grammaticalization processes which can be seen as internally motivated, even though they recognize that contact factors also ought to be taken into account.

However, specific instances of contact-guided grammaticalization have been documented in, for example, the Balkan linguistic area (Friedman 1994) and the broader area of East and Mainland South East Asia (Bisang 1996). Studies of this sort show that areal influences must be taken seriously as a potential source of direction in grammaticalization processes.

In this description of Mangghuer, I have treated in some detail two typical instances of grammaticalization: the development of auxiliary verb constructions from sequences of main verbs (section 6.3.2); and the splitting and narrowing of the functions of the various morphological forms of the verb *ge* ‘do, say’ (section 7.1.3). In both cases, we saw that the set of grammaticalized functions found in Mangghuer is quite similar to what is found in neighboring languages.

We also saw, in section 3.2.6.1.2, that the Mangghuer plural marker *si* has been undergoing a process of moving from bound status to phonological independence as a separate word. This development is relevant to grammaticalization theory, because it provides evidence that the normal grammaticalization pathway is not unidirectional: bound morphemes can become free morphemes. Here, again, I suggested that contact with other languages might possibly have played some role in motivating the change which has been occurring in Mangghuer.

At this point, there is not enough data about surrounding languages, or about the specific historical details of multilingual practice in the QGS region, to justify conclusions about the directions of influence in these historical developments, and even with more data, we may ultimately be able to conclude only that these particular features commonly develop in languages within this linguistic area. Nonetheless, it seems extremely likely that both of the typical grammaticalization processes seen here have involved the influence of languages upon each other, and it is quite possible that the development of *si* as a free morpheme has involved such influence, too. Broader discussion of grammaticalization processes in the QGS region will clearly require reference to language contact as an important motivator of morphosyntactic change.

8.4 ON THE POSITION OF MANGGHUER IN THE MONGOLIC FAMILY

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 I have examined only a small part of the relevant comparative data, so the conclusions reached here can only be tentative. But the results of this study do suggest a couple of important revisions in the basic perspective that is generally adopted toward this question, as

well as providing some evidence as to the genetic affiliations of Mangghuer and some of its neighboring Mongolic languages.

The first revision that needs to be made concerns the status of “Monguor” as a member of the Mongolic language family. In section 1.1.2, I gave a brief summary of some of the perspectives which various scholars have adopted concerning the inclusion of “Monguor” as a member of the family. All descriptions seem to include “Monguor” as a distinct language, which usually seems to include the two varieties which I have here called Mongghul and Mangghuer. However, my comparison of Mongghul and Mangghuer, as well as the reports of native speakers, show that these two speech systems differ quite substantially, and should be considered different languages. So in place of “Monguor,” we need to begin by recognizing two separate languages, Mangghuer and Mongghul, before Mongolic classification can proceed.¹

The second revision is that the effects of language contact need to be taken into account. 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, in the normal sense, to any language at all. Mangghuer is not so extreme a case, since it retains primarily Mongolic features, but it does show tremendous influence of other languages in its historical development, and we need to be careful about discussing its genetic relationships, when many of its features have not been inherited through normal transmission. Features which have not been inherited in a normal way are not necessarily relevant to genetic classification.

Binnick (1987) summarizes a number of linguistic features which have generally been used to argue for various subgroupings of Mongolic languages. In the next section, I will summarize some of these features, omitting those for which my study has turned up no data. In section 8.4.2, I will consider the relevance of these features for the genetic affiliation of Mangghuer, taking into account the two factors introduced here.

8.4.1 Mangghuer features compared to Binnick’s (1987) criteria

In this section I will compare Mangghuer linguistic structures to some of the criteria summarized by Binnick (1987, relying on Poppe 1955 and others) in his discussion of the classification of Mongolic languages. In my work with Mangghuer, I have not examined all of the features which Binnick describes, so I am unable to comment on some of them.

Furthermore, since this book has focused narrowly on the linguistic phenomena of Mangghuer, I will not attempt here a general critique of Mongolic classification. Rather, in discussing these classificatory features, I will focus simply on those relevant to establishing the place of Mangghuer within the Mongolic family. In particular, this focus will involve Mangghuer’s nearest geographical neighbors, within the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund.

We should note at the outset that some of these criteria involve shared *retentions* of Mongolic features, rather than shared *innovations*, and it is shared innovations which are the surest grounds for establishing genetic relationships. Individual features may be retained even by distant cousins within a particular language family, and, though

suggestive, are not necessarily conclusive evidence of genetic subgrouping. Ideally, shared retentions ought not to be relied upon as primary criteria for establishing genetic groupings, unless they agree with the evidence provided by whatever shared innovations can be found.

Besides innovations and retentions, some of these criteria represent parallel *losses* of a particular feature (such as vowel harmony) by two or more languages. These changes are even less convincing bases for genetic subgrouping, since the loss of any particular feature could easily occur independently in separate languages. This is particularly true of features which are not particularly stable diachronically anyway—the fact that two modern languages lack such a feature is no guarantee that it was originally lost in a parent language of the two.

The most critical and convincing type of evidence for a genetic relationship, then, is a linguistic feature which represents an innovation shared by two or more modern languages, and which can be shown to be neither an independent parallel development (due to either language contact or normal drift) nor a later borrowing from one of the languages into the other(s). Such an innovation can be assumed to represent shared inheritance from a common parent language, and thus to provide a firm basis for a genetic grouping. Shared retentions of specific features can also be considered, but we need to be convinced that a shared retention really represents shared historical development, rather than simple coincidence, for any languages which share the feature. In general, parallel losses of a particular feature will not be considered useful evidence for genetic grouping.

In relying primarily on shared innovations, and only secondarily on shared retentions, with little weight placed on parallel losses, I hope to provide the “systematic justification of the selection of criterial features” which, as Binnick points out (1987:180), has thus far been lacking in discussions of the genetic affiliations among the Mongolic languages.

In the following paragraphs, I will briefly summarize twelve of Binnick’s (1987) criteria, including the relevant Mangghuer features for comparison. In the following section, this body of evidence is applied to the question of the place of Mangghuer within the Mongolic family.

- 1 *Labial harmony* (Binnick 1987:184–5). Productive labial vowel harmony is found in Buriat, Khalkha, and Inner Mongolian dialects. Mangghuer appears to have no productive vowel harmony (section 2.2.6.3), although we have seen two pieces of evidence that Mangghuer may at one time have begun the process of developing a vowel harmony system. These are the collective marker *ghula*, which has variant forms *ghulu* and *ghuerluo*, and the phonologically similar verbal derivational suffixes *-lie* and *-luo*. If Mangghuer does have any productive vowel harmony pattern at all, it is the use of these variant derivational suffixes with borrowed verbs; but it remains unclear if even this isolated phenomenon is in fact synchronically productive. On the whole, there seem to be no significant vowel harmony patterns in Mangghuer.
- 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’ (Kullmann and Tserenpil 1996:399).

- 3 *Directive case with enclitic postposition =ru* (Binnick 1987:185). Found in Khalkha and Buriat, with a probable cognate in Santa (see section 4.9.2.6). Mangghuer has a directive case, but the usual marker is =*ji*. The Mangghuer form appears to have only one Mongolic cognate: the Mongghul directive casemarker -*dzə*. (See section 4.9.2.6 for discussion of the origin of this morpheme in Mangghuer).
- 9 *Inclusive/exclusive first person pronouns* (Binnick 1987:186). Mangghuer has not retained the Mongolic inclusive/exclusive distinction (section 3.1.2.1.3), although both of the Mongolic first person pronoun stem morphemes remain in use. A few Mongolic languages seem to have retained this distinction, including Dagur, Moghol, Baonan, Mongghul and, to some extent, modern Mongolian (see Binnick 1987:186 and also section 3.1.2.1.3, above). Like Mangghuer, several languages still use cognates of 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* (section 4.9.2.5). Other languages which also retain cognates of both of these forms are Buriat, Ordos, Kalmuck, and Mongghul.
- 11 *Person agreement in declarative finite verbs* (Binnick 1987:187). Buriat, Kalmuck, and Moghol have developed declarative person agreement systems, which is an innovation in Mongolic. In contrast, Mangghuer has no person agreement for declarative verbs.²
- 12 *Negation* (Binnick 1987:187). Mangghuer negation was treated in section 4.5. 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 attributive copula *gui* or *guang*. Comparative generalizations would require more data.
- 16 *Stress* (Binnick 1987:188). Stress was discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4.2. Mangghuer, Mongghul, Baonan, Santa, and Eastern Yugur 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). The respective Mangghuer cognates of these latter forms are *ni/ning* and *tilting*.
 As we saw in section 3.1.2.1.3, Mangghuer, Mongghul, Santa, and Eastern Yugur all have third person pronominal forms which might be cognates of the first set of demonstratives listed above, though they are more likely derived from reanalysis of a Mongolic word meaning ‘people.’ Regardless of the etymological provenance of the forms, these four languages are apparently the only ones to share this innovation in their pronoun systems.
- 21 *Dativelocative casemarker* (Binnick 1987:189). Binnick says that Monguor alone (the data cited is from Mongghul) has only a cognate of the Mongolic dative/

locative marker *-du*, while Oirat and Ordos have reflexes of both *-du* and *-da*; all other Mongolic languages have only forms related to *-da*.

Mangghuer, like Mongghul, has retained *-du* (see section 4.9.2.3.), but not *-da*. Mangghuer additionally has *=di*, whose historical relationship to these other forms is unclear.

- 25 *Initial /f/* (Binnick 1987:191). Among the Mongolic languages, only Santa, Mongghul, Baonan, and some varieties of Mangghuer retain word-initial /f/, taken by most scholars as a reflex of proto-Altaic *p. Some other languages have /h/ in corresponding positions (see section 2.1.4.3).
- 28b *Vowel sequences* (Binnick 1987:193). When the deletion of Mongolic intervocalic [y] created a sequence of two back vowels, one rounded and the other unrounded, most Mongolic languages developed rounded long vowels. If the rounded vowel was the second in the sequence, Binnick reports that Dagur, Moghol, and Oirat have a diphthong “under certain conditions” (1987:193); Mangghuer shares this feature. Thus: Written Mongolian [sibayun] ‘bird;’ Oirat [ʃiboun] ‘bird;’ Mangghuer [sɿ'paw] ‘bird.’ In section 2.2.6.2, I treated some cases like these. As I pointed out there, Mangghuer has no long vowels. Furthermore, the vowel +glide sequences which were created in these instances conform to the set of sequences which are also found in Chinese.

Closely related to this feature is the presence or absence of a distinction between long and short vowels; Santa and the Gansu variety of Baonan appear to be the only other Mongolic varieties which share the Mangghuer lack of long vowels (section 2.2.6.2, above).

8.4.2 Discussion and implications for Mangghuer

As I pointed out in section 1.1.2, Binnick (1987) notes that scholars have generally interpreted these features (along with several others which I have omitted) in one of two ways, which I will refer to here as Scheme I and Scheme II. In Scheme I (see, for example, Poppe 1955, 1965 and Doerfer 1964), we find a four-way division of Mongolic into: North Mongolian (Buriat); East or Central Mongolian (Khalkha and related dialects); West Mongolian (Oirat); and assorted language isolates, including Monguor, Dagur, sometimes Santa, etc. (Binnick 1987:179). The other interpretation, Scheme II (attributed to Bertagaev, Sanžeev, and other scholars of the former Soviet Union), has only 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).

An important methodological characteristic shared by these two classificatory schemes is that 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 periods of shared linguistic development.

Binnick suggests that this type of model is inadequate for Mongolic. He concludes his critique with these observations (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.

These concerns about the spread of linguistic changes in nomadic populations may be well founded, if one attempts to construct a *Stammbaum* representing the entire Mongolic family, but as we will see below, the features which have been treated here, plus a few others which I have outlined in this book, do seem to provide adequate criteria for an initial genetic subgrouping among the QGS Mongolic languages. Although Binnick suggests (1987:191–2) that earlier studies have uncovered no shared innovations which can be used to establish groupings among the “peripheral” languages,³ the results of this study show that some suitable features do exist, at least for grouping those Mongolic languages which lie within the QGS region. This is not very surprising, when we consider the fact that the Mongolic languages of the Qinghai-Gansu border region seem to have been maintained by relatively sedentary populations for several centuries.

It is important, though, to take into account the primacy of shared innovations as primary evidence for genetic affiliation. Furthermore, as I have already pointed out, it is critical to recognize the fact that contact-induced changes (particularly in a strong linguistic area such as the QGS) must not be taken as primary evidence for genetic affiliation, since they are quite likely to represent parallel developments, rather than shared inheritance. When we take this approach, some reasonably clear evidence of genetic affiliation among the QGS Mongolic languages does seem to emerge.

To begin with, let us consider how Mangghuer fits into the two proposed classificatory schemes. Since most authors have considered “Monguor” to include the Mongolic variety spoken in Minhe County, Mangghuer would usually be considered a dialect of Monguor. Monguor falls into the group of language isolates, according to Scheme I, and into the southeastern, nonharmonizing branch, according to Scheme II.

If we try to evaluate the place of Mangghuer on the basis of the features presented in the previous section, some apparent difficulties arise. Four of the features, in particular, appear to make the affiliation of Mangghuer unclear.

Feature 9 (inclusive/exclusive distinction) seems to group Mangghuer with the Mongolic languages which do not have this distinction, in contrast to Dagur, Moghol, Baonan, Mongghul, and modern Mongolian, which do. This is at odds with both schemes. According to Scheme I, Mangghuer ought to share the features not only of Santa, which in this case it does share, but also of Baonan and Mongghul, which in this case it does not share. Scheme II suggests that Dagur and Mangghuer ought to behave similarly, while Moghol and Mangghuer ought to behave differently, but in fact the Mangghuer features are different from those of both Dagur and Moghol.

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 schemes).

Feature 21 (dative/locative casemarker) appears to group Mangghuer with Mongghul, which is predicted by both schemes, but also with Oirat, which is not grouped with Monguor in either scheme.

Feature 28b (creation of vowel + glide sequences) suggests that Mangghuer should be grouped together with Moghol, Oirat, and Dagur; again, this is at odds with both schemes. Scheme I claims that Oirat and Mangghuer should behave differently, and Scheme II places Moghol, Oirat, and Mangghuer in three different subgroups.

Although it appears that these criteria cause problems for both of the classificatory schemes, it turns out that none of them is particularly strong evidence for genetic affiliation. Feature 9 represents the loss of a distinction (inclusive vs. exclusive), and therefore is not strong evidence for any genetic subgrouping. Feature 10 is a retention of a Mongolic feature (the comitative case form) by several languages, and should not be used alone to justify genetic affiliation of these languages, unless it is corroborated by innovations which are shared by the same set of languages. Feature 21 (dative/locative casemarker) similarly represents the retention of a particular casemarker (-*du*), combined with the loss of another casemarker (-*da*), neither of which alone is sufficient justification for establishing subgroupings. Finally, feature 28b (creation of vowel + glide sequences) is an innovation, but as I noted in section 2.2.6.2, the Mangghuer pattern conforms to the rules of NW Mandarin, and thus can be attributed to contact. This is therefore not a strong feature for genetic classification, as it may not represent shared inheritance. So none of these apparent difficulties in fact seems problematic, upon closer inspection.

Most of the features do suggest groupings which both of the schemes would have predicted. We can note especially the following, which are relevant to the position of Mangghuer within the family. The implications of these features will be discussed below.

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 innovated this shift.

Feature 3 (directive casemarker) groups just Mangghuer and Mongghul, two languages which have previously been considered dialects of a single language. These appear to be the only two Mongolic languages which have innovated the use of a new directive casemarker: =*ji* in Mangghuer; -*dʒʷ* in Mongghul.

Feature 16 (stress placement) groups Mangghuer with the other ultimate stress languages: Mongghul, Baonan, Santa, and Eastern Yugur. These are the southeastern language isolates (except Dagur), and both schemes expect them all to behave similarly.

Feature 20 (demonstrative pronouns) groups Mangghuer with Mongghul, Santa, and Eastern Yugur, which have cognates of the Mangghuer third person pronoun *gan*, used for similar functions; these languages form a subset of the southeastern language isolates.

Feature 25 (initial /f/) groups Mangghuer with Mongghul, Baonan, and Santa; again, this is a subset of the southeastern language isolates.

One additional feature which I mentioned above (see the discussion of feature 28b), the presence or absence of contrastive long vowels, groups Mangghuer with only

Santa and the Gansu variety of Baonan, as these are the only other Mongolic languages which have no long vowels.

In summary, then, although the features which I have examined here present some apparent difficulties in placing Mangghuer within the Mongolic family, there do seem to be more features which are consistent with both of the classification schemes presented by Binnick (1987). Furthermore, as we will see below, the most convincing of the features—those which involve shared innovations, rather than retentions or losses of linguistic features—do provide a reasonably firm basis for genetic subgroupings, at least among the Mongolic languages of the QGS region. On the other hand, many of the features which the two classificatory schemes have taken into account turn out not to be convincing evidence for genetic subgrouping, because they are quite likely to represent independent developments, rather than shared inheritance, in the languages which have them.

Let us first consider some of the contact-induced changes which I have documented for Mangghuer and some related languages, to see why these are not useful features for establishing genetic affiliations within the family.

It might be the case, for example, that the southeastern language isolates—Mangghuer, Mongghul, Santa, Baonan, and Eastern Yugur—were as yet undifferentiated from each other when their (hypothetical) parent language encountered some influence which led to the development of word-final stress (feature 16; see also section 2.4.2). However, since all of these languages have demonstrably been in intimate contact with other ultimate stress languages, (perhaps including each other) it is just as possible that they all independently underwent the same sort of influence, with the same eventual results.

The same can be said for many of the other historical changes which have been documented in this book. Consider a second example: Mangghuer and Santa share nearly the same phoneme inventory, but in both languages this is clearly due to intense contact with Chinese (see sections 2.1.4.1 and 2.4.1). Moreover, there is some fairly clear evidence that the development of this entire inventory does not represent a shared innovation, because there are some specific lexical items which show that the innovation of new phonemes must have proceeded along slightly different lines in the two languages. The second person singular pronoun, for example, developed a palatal onset in Mangghuer, which has [tɕ^hɿ], but a retroflex in Santa, where we find [tɕ^hɿ] (Kim forthcoming). This suggests that the palatal–retroflex distinction in these two languages probably developed more or less independently. (See also section 2.1.4.2, where I suggested that the palatal–retroflex distinction in Mongghul, while apparently extremely similar in nature to the Mangghuer system, may nonetheless also have developed according to slightly different principles; if so, then the presence of this distinction cannot be used to argue for genetic relatedness of these two languages, either.)⁴

Two more such developments can be considered. First, as I have already pointed out, both Santa and the Gansu variety of Baonan share the Mangghuer lack of a vowel length distinction, but again, this is probably due in all three of these languages to contact with Chinese, which similarly has no vowel length distinction. Second, as Binnick's classification Scheme II notes, the southeastern Mongolic languages Dagur, Baonan, Mongghul, Mangghuer, and Santa share a lack of vowel harmony (feature 1); this again seems to be due to the influence of language contact. In both of these

cases, it is quite possible that the linguistic feature involved may actually have been lost independently in these various languages.

Mangghuer shares a great many interesting features with other Mongolic languages, but many of its historical changes, including those which I have just mentioned, have been motivated by contact with other languages. Such changes are shaky grounds for positing subbranches within a language family, if the branches are to represent traditional, genetic linguistic relationships. The “nonharmonizing” Mongolic languages may in fact represent a genetic subgroup, but the fact that they have no vowel harmony does not appear to be valid evidence of this relationship.

As I noted earlier, contact-induced changes can disrupt genetic transmission. Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) distinction between normal transmission and nongenetic transmission points out the fact that contact-induced change sometimes 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 the intense language contact phenomena which we find in the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund put an end to useful discussion of historical relationships. Let us note three ways in which the data presented here can be helpful for historical study of the QGS Mongolic languages.

First, we can try to determine whether the contact-induced changes are independent developments or not. The development of the palatal–retroflex distinction, for example, proceeded along similar lines in Mangghuer, Mongghul, and Santa, but we have seen that it probably did not occur in a common parent language of Mangghuer and Santa, and it may be that the same can be said of Mangghuer and Mongghul, although this is less certain. This helps us to understand that Mangghuer and Santa most likely already represented significantly independent speech communities before their respective alveo-palatal affricates codified the innovated palatal–retroflex distinction.

It is quite possible, though, that at least some of the many contact-induced changes which we find in the QGS Mongolic languages can be attributed to the period of some protolanguage, and that they thus represent common inheritance in the modern daughter languages which retain them. However, I have not yet identified with certainty any features which seem to qualify for this status.

Second, we can compare how parallel changes have affected different languages. For example, consider the five QGS languages Mangghuer, Mongghul, Baonan, Santa, and Eastern Yugur, all of which have undergone the phonological shift from initial to ultimate stress (feature 16). Even if this shift postdates the breakup of these Mongolic languages, so that this feature does not indicate genetic affiliation, it remains a fact that these five languages have all undergone the same shift, and that shift has had noticeable effects on the structure of words, which can be compared. Most obviously, all five languages exhibit reductions in some initial syllables: voiceless vowels in Mangghuer (see section 2.1.2) and Santa (Field 1997:45); onset consonant clusters in Mongghul (Qinggeertai 1991b:126) and Baonan (H. Wu forthcoming); and an apparently intermediate stage in Eastern Yugur (Janhunen 2001:67), which may represent “an incipient stage . . . of initial cluster formation.”⁵

A more narrow grouping might be that of just Mongghul, Mangghuer, and Baonan. These three languages have all developed forms of the Bodic conjunct/disjunct system (see section 5.2.2), while Santa has not. This almost certainly does not represent a shared innovation, however, because the actual morphemes used to indicate the distinction in the three languages differ considerably. But comparison of the three systems ought to tell us some interesting things about the features of the conjunct/disjunct system(s) with which these three languages originally came into contact. Comparison of the morphological means by which the three languages indicate this binary distinction may also offer some clarification as to the functions for which these particular morphological resources were used in earlier Mongolic varieties.

In both of these cases, it is of some use to discuss as a group those languages which have undergone parallel changes. Each such development does set a group of languages apart from the rest of the Mongolic family, and might in each case lead to additional predictions of how such a subset 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, and therefore does not represent a normal genetic relationship. It is instead a typological grouping.

Third, we can point out that some of the features compared in this chapter probably *can* be used to establish normal genetic subgroupings, at least among the QGS Mongolic languages.

The most convincing piece of evidence which I have found for establishing genetic relationships among the QGS Mongolic languages is the clearly related forms used in only Mangghuer and Mongghul to mark the directive case (feature 3). This feature represents an innovation shared by just these two Mongolic languages, and thus provides strong evidence that they belong together as a normal genetic subgrouping within the family.

Another fairly strong piece of evidence is the Mongghul, Santa, and Eastern Yugur cognates of Mangghuer third person pronoun *gan* ‘s/he’ (see feature 20), which argue for a normal genetic subgrouping of these four languages within the Mongolic family. This feature most probably also represents a shared innovation, and it therefore constitutes evidence of a shared period of historical development. Among the Mongolic languages, only these four began to use this particular Mongolic lexeme as a third person pronoun, and this suggests that the innovation happened in a genetic parent of these four languages.

We cannot with absolute certainty rule out the possibility that one (or more) of these four languages borrowed the new pronoun form, after it began to be used for this function, but since its functional range seems to be rather different in each of the four languages, this is unlikely. Furthermore, this innovation is clearly not due to contact with non-Mongolic languages, as are so many others that we have seen, so the chances that it does represent shared inheritance are much better than, say, the chances that word-final stress has been inherited in a normal genetic fashion.

One final feature which probably also argues for a normal genetic relationship is word-initial /f/, which is currently found only in Santa, Mongghul, Mangghuer, and Baonan (feature 25). This feature probably represents a shared retention of a Mongolic feature, and can be used to argue that this subgroup of four languages shares some common developmental history, which sets these languages apart from the Mongolic

languages which lost the feature. As I have pointed out, though, retentions alone do not provide conclusive evidence of genetic relationships; it will be important to identify shared innovations which further substantiate this subgrouping. But, since it is found in languages which are geographically close neighbors, and since the innovative pronoun just discussed provides clear corroborating evidence that three of these languages are genetically related, this retention does seem also to be likely evidence of relatedness.

These last two pieces of evidence seem superficially difficult to reconcile, since each suggests a four-language grouping, but the two groupings are partially non-overlapping. There are, though, two plausible historical explanations for this situation, which differ with respect to their account of the relationship of Baonan to the rest of the QGS Mongolic languages.

One possible explanation is that Baonan split off earliest from a common ancestor of these five languages, and that the innovation of a new third person pronoun happened after that split, in a common ancestor of just Mangghuer, Mongghul, Santa, and Eastern Yugur. After this development took place, there was a further split, differentiating Eastern Yugur from the other three, and only Eastern Yugur later lost /f/. This explanation thus involves (at least) a two-stage breakup of the QGS Mongolic languages from a common ancestor.

The second possible explanation is that the innovation of the new third person pronoun happened in a common ancestor of all five of the modern QGS Mongolic languages Mangghuer, Mongghul, Santa, Baonan, and Eastern Yugur. At some point later on, when Baonan had become differentiated from the other language(s), it alone ceased to use the newly-innovated third person pronoun form. Since this form has become a full pronoun in only one of the modern languages (Mangghuer), and remains an apparent alternative form in the others which use it, it must certainly have been only an alternate form in the ancestor language, as well. Thus, the loss of such a form by a single daughter language would not be at all surprising. Once again, this model requires a later loss of /f/ by Eastern Yugur.

The evidence I have presented is clearly not sufficient for distinguishing between these two possibilities.⁶ However, the point which I want to make here is simply that good evidence does exist for establishing normal genetic subgroupings among the QGS Mongolic languages. The retention of /f/ suggests (though it does not conclusively prove) a grouping of Mongghul, Mangghuer, Santa, and Baonan, which is nearly the whole set of what have been grouped as “nonharmonizing” languages or language isolates. Similarly, the innovation of a new third person pronoun gives strong evidence for a subgrouping of Mangghuer with Mongghul, Eastern Yugur, and Santa. Together, these two features suggest that Mangghuer, Mongghul, Eastern Yugur, Santa, and Baonan all belong together in a single, normal genetic subgroup. Finally, at a much narrower level, a genetic grouping of Mangghuer and Mongghul is clearly demonstrated by the innovation of a new directive casemarker, found in just these two modern languages.

Further investigation into the relationships among the QGS Mongolic languages will certainly turn up considerably more evidence relevant to the question of genetic subgroupings among these languages, and within the wider Mongolic family. The few features which have been considered in this cursory overview have shown that it is

possible to argue convincingly for genetic subgroupings among at least the QGS Mongolic languages, including Mangghuer.

In the final analysis, then, it turns out that the most convincing linguistic features argue for normal genetic subgroupings which are much like the groupings that have previously been proposed. Both Scheme I, which grouped the language isolates, and Scheme II, which grouped the southeastern languages, would have suggested a traditional Stammbaum with branches much like what I have just argued for. The difference between my approach and earlier work is that I have excluded from consideration those features which are most unlikely to be reliable indices of shared linguistic development, and have relied on those features which seem to give clear evidence of shared innovations, or at least of shared retentions. Furthermore, I have excluded from consideration the contact-induced features which are so common throughout the QGS region. The criteria examined here suggest that the earlier classificatory schemes have been largely correct, with respect to their proposed subgroupings among the QGS Mongolic languages; but I propose that these subgroupings can be adequately defended only on the basis of a rather small subset of the evidence which has been previously considered.

As I have noted, many of the feature-based Mongolic subgroupings which have been proposed (such as the “nonharmonizing” grouping) are probably the results of independent parallel changes, which happen to be shared as a result of similar contact histories. Such groupings may be useful for some purposes, but in these cases, we have to understand that our groupings may not represent normal genetic relationships, because the features involved may not have been transmitted in the normal genetic fashion.

The primary goal of this book’s historical discussions has been to point out the critical importance of contact-induced changes in the history of Mangghuer and of the other Mongolic languages of the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund. These historical forces must be recognized, if the development of the Mangghuer language is to be adequately described. Furthermore, as I have attempted to show in this final section, an account of contact-induced changes is also critical to an account of the genetic relationships within the Mongolic family. I hope that this attempt has been convincing, and that future comparative Mongolic studies will further probe the implications of the non-genetic spread of features, which is so prevalent among the Mongolic languages of the QGS area.

Appendix

TAOLAINI JIANJIA “RABBIT’S TRICK” (A FOLKTALE TEXT)

A folktale text selected from Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming)

The story was told by Zhu Shanzhong, and was recorded and transcribed by Zhu Yongzhong.

- (1) *Taolai=ni Jianjia.*
rabbit=GEN trick
Rabbit’s Trick.
- (2) *Tiker shijie=du bai,*
past time=DAT EMPH
In the past,
- (3) *yi-ge chuna,*
one-CL wolf
(there were) a wolf,
- (4) *yi-ge yehu,*
one-CL fox
a fox,
- (5) *yi-ge taolai bang bai.*
one-CL rabbit OBJ:COP EMPH
(and) a rabbit.
- (6) *Du gesi yi-ge wula diere sao-ser bang ma,*
now 3:PL=one-CL mountain on sit-PROG OBJ:COP PRT
Now they were sitting on a mountain,
- (7) *jianjian=ni gedie-si luosi-ji lai ber-lang*
each:one=GEN belly-PL be:hungry-IMPERF NEG become-OBJ:IMPERF
bai.
EMPH
(and) each one’s belly was (so) hungry (that he) couldn’t stand it.

- (8) *Dì-sa di-ku-ni guang.*
eat-COND eat-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:NEG:COP
There was nothing to eat,
- (9) *wu-sa wu-ku-ni guang.*
drink-COND drink-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:NEG:COP
there was nothing to drink.
- (10) *Ji-ge=la ning ge sao sao-ser bang bai.*
several-CL=COLL this do sit sit-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
The several of them were sitting just like this.
- (11) *Ning ge-jiang ma,*
this do-OBJ:PERF PRT
Things were like this,
- (12) *ni shijie yi-ge huashi nuqi-ji ri-jiang bai,*
this time one-CL fashi pass-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(at) this time a *fashi*¹ came passing by,
- (13) *dazi diger ge beila-ser bang,*
saddle:bag little:bit SG:INDEF carry-PROG OBJ:COP
carrying a little (pair of) saddle bags,
- (14) *bo=nang bari-ser bang.*
drum=REFLPOSS take-PROG OBJ:COP
(and) carrying his drum.
- (15) *Yigua ning ge-ji yao-ji nuqi-ji ri-lang*
totally this do-IMPERF go-IMPERF pass-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF
ma,
PRT
(He) came passing by going totally like this,
- (16) *ni taolai=ni dughuli zhuerge bao-ji ri-jiang bai.*
this rabbit=GEN spirit heart go:down-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) this rabbit devised a trick.
- (17) *Gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
It said,
- (18) *“Du dasi ning ge-a,”*²
now 1:PL this do-VOL
“Now let’s do like this,

- (19) *Chuna Gaga*,
wolf elder:brother
Elder Brother Wolf,
- (20) *Yehu Gaga*,
fox elder:brother
Elder Brother Fox,
- (21) *bi zou huashi=ni mieshi xi-ku duoghuolang diaoli-a bai.*
1:SG thus fashi=GEN front go-IMPERF lame jump-VOL EMPH
I'll go in front of the *fashi*, jumping lamely.
- (22) *Huashi nangda zhua kaike-ku*,
fashi 1:SG:DAT chase begin-IMPERF
When the *fashi* begins to chase me,
- (23) *ta ghu=luo ti=ni jiashi=ni beila ri bai.*
2:PL two=COLL that=GEN thing=ACC carry come EMPH
you two carry his things here."
- (24) *Ning ge-jiang ma*,
this do-OBJ:PERF PRT
(After) saying this,
- (25) *Taolai yigua duoghuolang diaoli-ji huashi=ni mieshi*
rabbit totally lame jump-IMPERF fashi=GEN front
gui-lang bai.
run-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Rabbit jumped totally lamely, running in front of the *fashi*.
- (26) *Ning ge-ji bari-la xi-sa huashi bari da-lang*,
this do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND fashi take cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
When (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) this way, the *fashi* couldn't catch (him),
- (27) *ting ge-ji bari-la xi-sa bari da-lang*,
that do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND take cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
when (he) tried to catch (Rabbit) that way, (the *fashi*) couldn't catch (him),
- (28) *taolai gan yi-benzi diaoli yao-lang bai.*
rabbit 3:SG one-jump jump go-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(because) Rabbit, he hopped (away).
- (29) *Huashi beila-ku-ni yigua=nang ge ge*,
fashi carry-IMPERF-NOMLZR totally=REFLPOSS do do
The *fashi* put down everything that he carried,

- (30) *luoti=nang tai ge zhua-jiang.*
boot=REFLPOSS take:off do catch-OBJ:PERF
took off his boots (and) chased (Rabbit).
- (31) *Taolai ning ge huashi=ni shuduer danang yi-zhuan herge nuqi*
rabbit this do fashi=ACC lead after one-circle turn:around pass
ri-jiang bai.
come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Rabbit thus led the *fashi* in a circle around (the mountain) and (Rabbit) came back.
- (32) *Chuna dai Yehu ghu=la xi danang dimei a bo a luoti a*
wolf and fox two=COLL go after bread also drum also boot also
ni-si=ni yigua bari ri-jiang bai.
this-PL=ACC totally take come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Wolf and Fox together went and took away all these things: the bread and the drum and the boots.
- (33) *Gan san-ge=la yichuer kuer-jiang ma,*
3:SG three-CL=COLL together arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT
The three of them got together and,
- (34) *taolai keli-ku-ni shi ma,*
rabbit say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP PRT
what Rabbit said was,
- (35) *“Ni-ge luoti=ni ma Chuna qi musi.*
this-CL boot=ACC PRT wolf 2:SG wear
“These boots, Wolf, you wear (them).
- (36) *Qi jiaoduer khuoni zhua-ni a buxi-di,*
2:SG every:day sheep catch-SUBJ:FUT also other:things-ASSOC
Every day you chase sheep and other things,
- (37) *ning ge-sa,*
this do-COND
if (you) do this,
- (38) *qimai=du gezai bang bai.*
2:SG:DAT=DAT good OBJ:COP EMPH
(it) will be good for you.
- (39) *Ni-ge bo=ni ma Yehu qi he-ji xi bai.*
this-CL drum=ACC PRT fox 2:SG take-IMPERF go EMPH
This drum, Fox, you take (it).

- (40) *Qimai aguer bulai-di ji-ge=la bang ma,*
2:SG:DAT daughter child-ASSOC several-CL=COLL OBJ:COP PRT
You have several sons and daughters,
- (41) *qi he-ji xi-ku peghe-ji nadu-gha bai.*
2:SG take-IMPERF go-IMPERF hit-IMPERF play-CAUSE EMPH
you take (it) and let (them) play by hitting (it).
- (42) *Dimei=ni bi he-ji xi-a bai,*
bread=ACC 1:SG take-IMPERF go-VOL EMPH
The bread, let me take (it),
- (43) *damei=du yang a guang ma.”*
1:SG:DAT=DAT what also OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
there isn’t anything else for me.”
- (44) *Ting=sa Chuna keli-ji,*
that=ABL wolf say-IMPERF
So wolf said,
- (45) *“Ni ye gezai bang bai.”*
this also good OBJ:COP EMPH
“This is also good.”
- (46) *Yehu keli-ji,*
fox say-IMPERF
Fox said,
- (47) *“Ni ye dui-lang bai.”*
this also correct-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
“This is also correct.”
- (48) *Jianjian=nang khuba yao-jiang bai.*
each:one=REFLPOSS divide go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(They) divided up each one’s own (things) and left.
- (49) *Chuna luoti=nang musi khuoni zhua-la xi-jiang ma,*
wolf boot=REFLPOSS wear sheep catch-PURP go-OBJ:PERF PRT
Wolf wore his boots and went to chase sheep,
- (50) *ghuiya=nang woke khughuer ge-jiang bai.*
leg=REFLPOSS twist break do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
twisted his leg and broke (it).

- (51) *Yehu ti bo=ni bari-ji wower amang=du=nang*
fox that drum=ACC take-IMPERF cave opening=DAT=REFLPOSS
kuer-jiang ma,
arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT
Fox took that drum and went to the entrance to his cave,
- (52) *du zou zhazhaguer-si=nang ge gaoxinra-gha-ya ge-ji,*
now thus baby-PL=REFLPOSS once happy-CAUSE-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF
(thinking) that now (it) would make its children happy,
- (53) *ti=ni peghe kaike-jiang bai.*
that=ACC hit begin-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) began to beat that (drum).
- (54) *Zhuzhughuer-si lerjighe ge ayi-jiang ma,*
baby-PL suddenly once fear-OBJ:PERF PRT
(Its) children were suddenly frightened and,
- (55) *jinke hugu sao-jiang bai.*
be:frightened die sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
died from fright.
- (56) *Taolai xi-jiang.*
rabbit go-OBJ:PERF
Rabbit went (home).
- (57) *Gan wower=du=nang kedia dimei=ni di sao-jiang.*
3:SG cave=DAT=REFLPOSS lie bread=ACC eat sit-OBJ:PERF
It lay in its cave, eating the bread.
- (58) *Mula-sa ni ghu=la namei=du zhua-ji*
think-COND this two=COLL 1:SG:DAT=DAT catch-IMPERF
ri-ni bai.
come-SUBJ:FUT EMPH
(Rabbit) thought “these two will come to chase me.”
- (59) *Chuna mula-ji,*
wolf think-IMPERF
Wolf thought,
- (60) *“Ni Taolai=ni kao nao-jiang bai.”*
this rabbit=GEN trick see-OBJ:PERF EMPH
“(We) saw (i.e. were taken in by) this Rabbit’s trick.”

- (61) *Yehu keli-ji,*
fox say-IMPERF
Fox said,
- (62) “*Ni=ni xian=du muni kao-xujun hugu sao-jiang.*
this=GEN reason=DAT 1:SG:GEN son-daughter die sit-OBJ:PERF
“Because of this one, my children died.
- (63) *Du ni=ni zhua-ji yao-a.”*
now this=ACC catch-IMPERF go-VOL
Now let’s go catch this one.”
- (64) *Gan ghu=la zhua-ji ri-jiang.*
3:SG two=COLL catch-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
The two of them came to catch (Rabbit).
- (65) “*Ai,*
EXCL
“*Ai,*
- (66) *Taolai,*
rabbit
Rabbit,
- (67) *qi mali gher-ji ri,”*
2:SG quickly go:out-IMPERF come
you come out quickly,”
- (68) *diamang=du=ni xi-jiang ma khaila-jiang.*
door=DAT=POSS go-OBJ:PERF PRT shout-OBJ:PERF
(they) went to his door and shouted.
- (69) “*Ya ge-ni sha?”*
what do-SUBJ:FUT PRT
“What will you do?”
- (70) *Taolai keli-ji.*
rabbit say-IMPERF
Rabbit said.
- (71) “*Ai,*
EXCL
“*Ai,*

- (72) *qi gher-ji ri ma,*
2:SG go:out-IMPERF come PRT
you come out,
- (73) *qi=ni kao nao danang,*
2:SG=GEN trick see after
because of your trick,
- (74) *gulian=ni khuer=nang khughuer ge-ba.*
1:SG=GEN foot=REFLPOSS break do-SUBJ:PERF
I broke my feet.
- (75) *Yehu kao-xujun=nang hugu-gha ge-jiang."*
fox son-daughter=REFLPOSS die-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
Fox caused his children to die."
- (76) *Taolai keli-ji,*
rabbit say-IMPERF
Rabbit said,
- (77) *"Bi ni dimei=ni di danang ama kheghera sao-jiang bai.*
1:SG this bread=ACC eat after mouth split sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
"After I ate this bread, (my) mouth split.
- (78) *Ni qimai=du guailader guang,*
this 2:SG:DAT=DAT blame OBJ:NEG:COP
This shouldn't be blamed on you,
- (79) *namei=du ye guailader guang,*
1:SG:DAT=DAT also blame OBJ:NEG:COP
(it) also shouldn't be blamed on me,
- (80) *Huashi=ni guaila-kuniang.*
fashi=ACC blame-OBJ:FUT
The *fashi* will be blamed.
- (81) *Ni zou huashi=ni mao nao-jiang."*
this thus fashi=GEN bad see-OBJ:PERF
So this was the *fashi's* evil that we saw (i.e. were taken in by)."

NOTES

1 BACKGROUND

- 1 As one of the contributors to Zhu et al. (1997), I would like to point out here that the present book represents my latest thinking about Mangghuer, and that the analysis presented here is intended to supercede my contribution to the discussion of the earlier paper, wherever the two differ.
- 2 In addition to the works in Chinese and English cited here, Qinggeertai has published a number of Mongghul descriptive works in Mongolian. These are inaccessible to me at present, but some are cited in Üjjiyediin (1994). Further materials have been published in Russian, notably by Todaeva.
- 3 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, though 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.
- 4 Field (1997) discusses in detail some further evidence for this, as well as some possible linguistic implications, particularly for the Santa language.
- 5 The fifteen folktales which I have used as data, all found in Z. Chen et al. (forthcoming), are “A Man and His Two Wives,” “A Man and His Three Daughters,” “Showing Filial Obedience to Parents,” “The Stupid Boy,” “A Girl and Her Cow Mother,” “Rabbit’s Trick,” “The Nine-headed Ghost,” “Madage,” “Monster Girl,” “The Rabbit Judge,” “Two Brothers from Sangbura,” “Shalangguer’s Story,” “The Woman and the Human-bear,” “Elder Sister and the Monkey,” and “A Hired Farmhand.”

2 PHONOLOGY

- 1 See also Dede (1999) regarding Xining Chinese, although this author’s concern is not with phonology.
- 2 *Palatal* obstruents are more properly post-alveolar laminal in articulation, while *retroflex* obstruents are post-alveolar apical, with slight retroflexion. I use the terms *palatal* and *retroflex* in order to make my discussion more accessible to those familiar with Chinese linguistic literature, in which these are the standard terms for these categories.

- See 2.1.4.2 for some discussion of the phonemic status of palatal obstruents in both Mangghuer and Mandarin Chinese.
- 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 codeswitching contexts may not yet have become a systematic part of Mangghuer phonology, and are not used for evidence in this section. For more on codeswitching and borrowing, see Chapter 7.
 - 4 This exclamation does not seem to have a consistent stress pattern.
 - 5 On the treatment of glides as consonants, see section 2.2.4.
 - 6 The word-initial glide onset in *wower* 'cave' is non-phonemic; it will be discussed in section 2.1.1.2.4.
 - 7 Standard Mandarin also has /ʍ/ as a separate phoneme, but with a fairly restricted distribution. Since Mangghuer has developed an entire phonemic inventory nearly identical to that of nearby Sinitic varieties, we might expect to find this phoneme in Mangghuer, at least in borrowed lexical items. However, I have not yet encountered [ʍ] in environments other than the one described here.
 - 8 Following *pinyin* orthographic convention, /u/ is written with *o* before a velar nasal coda (see section 2.2.5.3).
 - 9 Author's term: "deep velar."
 - 10 The author uses the symbol *y* for this sound, but clearly intends a stop.
 - 11 For phonological studies of other Amdo dialects, see J. Sun (1986) and Janhunen and Kalsang Norbu (1999). These other dialects have similar consonant inventories, although there are some interesting differences among them.
 - 12 Prenasalized and preaspirated consonants are analyzed as consonant clusters by Makley et al. (1999:110), but as unitary phonemes by J. Sun (1986:17). Depending on which analysis is adopted, this evidence lies either in the domain of syllable structure or in the phoneme inventory. In either case, though, the Amdo Tibetan system is quite different from that of Mangghuer, which has neither preaspiration nor prenasalization.
 - 13 Qinggeertai (1991b:77) notes that the Mongghul phoneme /r/ is usually pronounced [z_l]; the trilled [r] and the spirantized [z_l] are thus probably allophones of a single phoneme.
 - 14 But see the discussion of section 2.1.4.2.4, below.
 - 15 Mangghuer examples in comparative discussions are all provided by Mr. Zhu Yongzhong (p.c.).
 - 16 Doerfer (1964:54) suggests that /f/ may be an innovation, rather than a retention, but this proposal has not been widely accepted.
 - 17 Like Mangghuer [χ], Santa and Dagur [x] are probably allophones of /h/.
 - 18 The modern Chinese expression refers to the son-in-law of an emperor, but the Mangghuer term, appearing in a folktale, refers to an unspecified, probably local, official.
 - 19 For a general discussion of *pinyin* orthography, the reader is referred to, for example, the outline presented by Li and Thompson (1981:3–7). A more detailed presentation can be found in Yin and Felley (1990).
 - 20 That is, any sonorant consonant except /l/ or /m/.
 - 21 [ə] is the phonetic realization of a phonemic V + /r/ sequence. This claim is justified in 2.2.5.1.
 - 22 Probably an accidental gap. This sequence occurs in Mandarin, but is not especially common.
 - 23 Palatals followed by /w/ exist only in Chinese borrowings.
 - 24 In my data, the sequence /yo/ appears only in Chinese borrowings.
 - 25 In my data, the syllable-final sequence /ow/ appears only in Chinese borrowings.
 - 26 See 2.2.5.4 and 2.2.5.5 for a summary of the cooccurrence restrictions on vowels and syllable-final glides.

- 27 The onset glide /y/ is presumably a reflex of a front vowel, which we see preserved in the Middle Mongolian and Written Mongolian forms.
- 28 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 also be considered a type of vowel harmony.
- 29 Due to a lack of natural intonation data, the important suprasegmental feature of intonation will not be treated in this book.
- 30 See section 2.2 for an analysis of syllable structure, including the claim that [ə] represents the phonemic sequence V + /r/.
- 31 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” (4) and “low” (2).

3 NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

- 1 I have observed only a few examples of this derivational suffix, and thus do not know whether it is synchronically productive.
- 2 The Written Mongolian nominative case exclusive form is *ba*, but the exclusive forms in all other morphological cases are built on the root *man-*.
- 3 Zhu, Üjiyediin Chuluu, and Stuart (1999:326–31) give additional examples of the various functions of this morpheme =*ni*, as well as illustrating several homophonous forms.
- 4 Author’s glosses: CON ‘clause-linking connective’, COM ‘completive aspect’, DIR:EV ‘direct evidential.’
- 5 Street (1963:94) reports that this is also true for all plural markers in Modern Khalkha.
- 6 No etymology is given for this form, but its partial resemblance to the singular marker discussed in the previous section invites further investigation.
- 7 To the extent that the singular indefinite 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.
- 8 See section 2.2.6.3 for a comment on these forms as possible evidence of fossilized vowel harmony in Mangghuer.

4 THE CLAUSE

- 1 Nor does it appear that the choice of *-la* or *-li* can be predicted on semantic grounds.
- 2 I have not addressed the issue of whether these variant forms are underlyingly represented as *-la* or *-li*. This neglect is due to the fact that I am not aware of any evidence in favor of either analysis.
- 3 Verb forms in this and the following section are taken from elicitation with Qing Yongzhang. Mr. Qing’s dialect differs in some slight phonological ways from what is reported in the folktales. For example, the objective future declarative suffix here is *-kunang*, while in the folktales it is *-kuniang*.
- 4 There is one construction which does routinely use only this borrowed copula; see section 7.2.3.2.2.1 for a description.
- 5 For a statement of the relationship between accusative case and the reflexive possessive enclitic =*ang*, see 4.9.2.2, below.
- 6 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 detailed discussion, the reader is referred to their paper.

- 7 For interested parties, I point out here that Mangghuer has no passive construction at all. In addition to the construction described here, some passive-like functions are performed by the fronting of direct object topics (see 4.9.6, below). Neither of these constructions, however, can be considered a passive.
- 8 In a later revision, Zhu Yongzhong replaced *lai* with *sai* in (78) and all perfective clauses in the folktales (see Z. Chen et al., forthcoming). It remains to be seen whether this represents a dialect-influenced judgment, 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.
- 9 Because the teller of this story learned Mangghuer as a second language, I did not include it in my original database.
- 10 Like the homophonous voluntative suffix (section 4.1.2.2.3.2), the interactional particle *a* has the alternate morphophonemic forms *ya* and *wa*, depending on the preceding sound.
- 11 The collective marker *=la* is formally an instance of instrumental/comitative case, and appears with some syntactic subjects (see section 3.2.6.2.2.)
- 12 These examples were elicited through Chinese, and the speaker demonstrated a correspondence between the appearance of *=ni* in the Mangghuer sentences and the use of Chinese *ba* 把. The Chinese for (125) was 他/她骑了马 *ta qi le ma* 's/he rode PERF horse', while the translation of (126) was 他/她把马骑了 *ta ba ma qi le* 's/he *ba* horse rode PERF.' The latter construction is used with definite patients in Chinese; see Li and Thompson (1981:463–91) for extensive discussion.
- 13 Poppe (1955:199) hypothesizes that these suffixes 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 they had already fallen together semantically by the time of Middle Mongolian.
- 14 In rapid speech, the Mangghuer genitive enclitic *=ni* sometimes appears to be unstressed. This is different from the behavior of the accusative *=ni*, which is always stressed. However, in careful, reflective speech, Mangghuer speakers consistently do stress the genitive *=ni*. Instrumentally-aided study of natural speech needs to be undertaken, to determine whether there is any systematic difference in the stress-assigning behavior of these two morphemes.
- 15 I have not seen any example in which *=ni* refers to a plural possessor, but this is probably possible. Several of the examples in 4.9.3.1, above, show that this is possible for the reflexive possessive marker *=nang*.
- 16 *Duoruo* 'under' and *cuduoruo* 'inside' are clearly etymologically related forms, and may actually be simply variants of one another.
- 17 This construction might be best considered a sequence of clauses, rather than a complex predicate. It is difficult to determine the argument structure, since the number of clauses is unclear. See Chapter 6 for discussion of the complicated issue of clause boundaries.

5 THE SUBJECTIVE/OBJECTIVE SPEAKER INVOLVEMENT DISTINCTION

- 1 The subjective/objective distinction is not marked in imperatives, which have a subject agreement system, as outlined in 4.1.2.2.3.
- 2 It is my impression that any 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 this claim.

- 3 It might be that the occurrence of subjective 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 (36), which occurs (as I mentioned) at the narrative climax of that story. In order to investigate these possibilities adequately, one would need a much larger database than I have thus far examined.
- 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.
- 5 Perhaps both of these perspectives contain some truth; remnants of earlier Tibetan evidential distinctions in Amdo might coexist with a more recently acquired version of the areal c/d system.
- 6 Chen (1987a) uses different labels for these languages, and does not systematically distinguish the varieties Mongghul and 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.

6 CLAUSE COMBINING

- 1 Author's gloss: DO = 'direct object marker.'
- 2 Authors' glosses: SIM = 'Simultaneous', SR = 'Same Referent', DR = 'Different Referent.'
- 3 *Ganni* 'his/her' seems to function here simply to indicate definiteness, as no specific referent can be identified for the pronoun in its discourse context. See section 3.2.1 for discussion.
- 4 *Kela* is a reduction of *keli-la* 'say-PURP.'
- 5 Example (57) immediately follows (56) in the original text, though it bears no syntactic relation to that material. The two examples are separate sentences.
- 6 Zero marking is indicated with \emptyset only when relevant to the immediate discussion. In other examples, the \emptyset marker is not indicated.
- 7 It is common to repeat a verb which expresses a progressive event, as in (105), 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 (105) might be considered as either three clauses, as I have indicated with the brackets here, or only two.
- 8 It ought to be noted that (113) comes from a folktale told by one speaker, while (111) and (112) come from tales by a different speaker. However, all of these devices seem to be used by all speakers, so I do not believe that interspeaker variation is the main variable here, although it is potentially relevant.
- 9 Author's abbreviation means "tense, aspect and mood."
- 10 The vowel alternations in *-aad* / *-ööd* and *-saar* / *-seer* are due to vowel harmony.
- 11 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.
- 12 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 used in a particular language, but nonetheless be omitted from these descriptions, on the grounds that it does not appear to be a separate morphological form.

- 13 The author's abbreviations mean: *ABS* 'absolutive case'; *EV* 'evidential marker'; *COM* 'completive aspect'; *CON* 'clause-linking connective'; *DESID* 'desiderative'; *IFM* 'illocutionary force marker'.
- 14 *IM:EV* means 'immediate evidential'.
- 15 Original author's note: "The equals sign represents morpheme boundaries represented in Tibetan orthography but not relevant for present purposes" (DeLancey 1991:18).
- 16 Lahu itself, I should note, although a Tibeto-Burman language, is spoken far to the south, well outside the QGS area, and is not a plausible candidate for a history of contact with any QGS language.

7 REPORTED SPEECH IN FOLKTALE NARRATIVES

- 1 I will refer to the set of verbs used to introduce reported speech as 'verbs of saying' (or, occasionally, *verba dicendi*), 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.
- 2 *Madage* and *Shu'erger* are Chinese expressions meaning, respectively, 'Eldest Brother Horse' and 'Second Brother Tree.' Each name indicates something about the background of the person to whom it is applied.
- 3 These borrowed verbs are of two types. Most consist of a borrowed Chinese verb root plus a Mongolic derivational suffix to indicate their borrowed status (see section 4.1.1). Others, such as *tongyi ge* 'agree' consist of a borrowed noun or verb plus the Mongolic verb *ge* 'do' (see section 7.1.3.2.2).

8 LANGUAGE CONTACT: SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

- 1 A caveat is in order here: I have noted at many points in this book that speakers report variation among dialects of what I have called "Mangghuer." Thus, it is possible that further data will show that Mangghuer itself comprises more than one distinct language. However, the dialect differences which I am so far aware of are mostly minor lexical and phonological variations, and thus do not suggest that this will be the case.
- 2 In my analysis of Mangghuer verbal morphology (see Chapter 4), I considered imperatives to be marked for person agreement. Previous work by Mongolists has not used this approach, reserving the term 'person agreement' for declarative contexts only. Thus, although Binnick (1987) does not specify 'declarative' in this discussion, this is clearly his intent.
- 3 Binnick (1987:181) distinguishes "central" from "peripheral" Mongolic languages; the latter group includes the Qinghai-Gansu area Mongolic languages, as well as Dagur and Moghol. The terms are intended to be partly geographical and partly sociocultural.
- 4 Tim Pulju points out (p.c.) that these last two arguments might be incorrect, if it turns out that the palatal-retroflex distinction was not yet completely systematized in NW Chinese, during the time that the distinction was developing in Mangghuer, Mongghul, and Santa as a result of contact. This distinction is also a relatively recent development in Sinitic languages, and if it was not yet fully codified, or was subject to significant dialectal variation, at the time when a QGS Mongolic parent language began to drift in the direction of the Sinitic phonological system, it might be quite natural that this contact-induced change could result in some apparently unsystematic variations in the Mongolic daughter languages. However, since my model of feature diffusion in the QGS

area (see Chapter 1) claims that the spreading of Sinitic features into Mongolic languages is primarily fairly recent, I assume here that the Sinitic palatal–retroflex distinction was already fully codified by the time it began to develop in the QGS Mongolic languages.

- 5 Janhunen (2001) gives an overview of the types of onset consonant clusters which have developed in various Qinghai-Gansu Mongolic languages, critically pointing out that the particular combinatorial patterns which are found can be demonstrably shown to be due to the influence of Amdo Tibetan.
- 6 There are, of course, additional possible explanations, including contact-induced change. However, the particular features which I have discussed here do seem to be quite likely candidates for establishing normal genetic relationships.

APPENDIX *TAOLAINI JIANJIA* “RABBIT’S TRICK” (A FOLKTALE TEXT)

- 1 This term can be pronounced either *fashi* or *huashi*. It refers to a trance medium.
- 2 This word was reduced to *ga* by the speaker.

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INDEX OF MANGGHUER FORMS

This is not an exhaustive index of Mangghuer words and morphemes appearing in the book; rather, the index contains only those Mangghuer forms whose properties (phonological, grammatical, semantic, etymological or otherwise) have been explicitly discussed in the text and those forms which are used to illustrate some point in the discussion. Words and morphemes which appear only in illustrative text examples, or only incidentally in the discussion of the properties of other words or morphemes, are not indexed, nor are all occurrences of other morphemes in such examples indexed. For instance, the word *taolai* ‘rabbit’ is indexed where it is used to illustrate points related to Mangghuer historical phonology, but not where it appears in folktale examples illustrating syntactic phenomena. Likewise, the verb *tiejie* ‘to feed’ is indexed when its transitivity-related properties are discussed, but not in other places. Similarly, bound forms such as the reflexive possessive enclitic postposition *=nang* are indexed only in the places where their properties are specifically discussed; where *=nang* appears in text examples used to illustrate unrelated points, it is not indexed.

As far as the author is aware, all Mangghuer bound morphemes and grammatical words are included in this index, since I have attempted to discuss all such forms explicitly in the book.

Rather than grouping together affixes and enclitics in separate sections, I have arranged all forms, whether bound or free, in alphabetical order. Where homophonous forms exist, free forms are listed first, followed by enclitics and then affixes, such that for example *ni* precedes *=ni*, which in turn precedes *-ni*. Beyond this, multiple morphemes of the same shape are alphabetized by their glosses, such that the *=ni* which marks Accusative case precedes the *=ni* which marks Genitive case.

This is not an etymological index; borrowed items are not distinguished here from native Mongolic ones. However, only true borrowings are included, so all of the items in this list may be considered fully integrated into the Mangghuer lexicon.

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