Spatial Relations in Manange (Tamangic)
(With Comparative Reference to Nar-Phu)
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I. Introduction[1]

- In a family as large and diverse as Sino-Tibetan/Tibeto-Burman, it is not surprising to see this diversity manifested also in the complex and interesting forms and semantics of spatial relations across the languages
- As a preview for Manange:
- Topological relations are primarily encoded in nominal suffixal/enclitic forms or else in quasi-free root-like forms variably called "relator/locator nouns/locational elements." Additional spatial relations are encoded in verbal lexical semantics, with some variation observed across Tamangic languages
- Enclitics and a small set of these locational elements do the lion's share of spatial encoding in Manange discourse, while Nar-Phu makes much more productive use of locational roots in both elicited and discourse contexts
- The linguistic frame of reference in both languages includes a complex combination of relative, absolute and also intrinsic patterns
- Many of these forms are easy enough to discover through formal elicitation, but it is through examination in discourse contexts that their structural and semantic intricacies may be more deeply appreciated, and that subtle similarities and differences across languages may be discovered

II. Location, Status, and Morpho-Syntactic Typology of Manange

- Manange (endonyms: Nyeshang, Nyeshante, Nyangmi) spoken in eight villages of the upper Manang District in central-northern Nepal; Nar-Phu (endonym: tshyprung/nartwe) spoken in Nar/Phu villages, with residents who have relocated to other parts of Manang; both have active communities residing in Kathmandu and abroad
- Other Tamangic languages: Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Nar-Phu, Seke/Tangbe and Chantyal. Published reports on speaker populations are conflicting: CBS (2012) under 400 speakers while speaker self-reporting 3,000 and 5,000. In other cases, Manange is lumped in with Gurung (Gurung 1998; Tumbahang 2012). More recent research: some 2,000-3,000 active speakers distributed across Manang, with roughly the same number of members living in Kathmandu and abroad (Hildebrandt et al 2015). Not all diaspora Mananges are active speakers, so Manange could be classified as 'threatened/shifting'; Nar is moribund
- The basic word-order in elicited structures and in most discourse-embedded clauses is verb-final, with post-positions and post-nominal modification

- Relative clauses are pre-nominal; negation is prefixal or via copula suppletion
- Case marking is reliably ergative-absolutive in elicitation, but the frequency of overt realization in discourse is low and tied to pragmatic factors (Bond et al 2013)
- Manange and Nar-Phu lack agreement. With the exception of the negative prefix, noun and verb morphology is exclusively suffixing or enclitic
- Verbal affixes code aspect and modality, and nominalization of main verbs is frequently encountered in discourse

III. Spatial Relations in Post-nominal Enclitics

- Hildebrandt (2004) a very basic overview of spatial encodings, and all elicited examples come from this sketch, and more extensive examples from discourse collected in 2013 & 2014.
- Michael Noonan provided some additional semantic observations via unpublished notes on Nar Phu; almost all discourse examples in this talk come from data gathered in 2010 (ELDP), and in 2012-2014 (NSF).
- In these languages, topological relations are largely encoded via enclitics, and there is a general locative enclitic (*ri~re*) encoding a wide range of containment and support expressions, as well as dynamic, motion towards:

(1)

a. Manange IN/AT

^{22}kʰi	**^{52}pwal=ri**	^{22}ʈu-pɜ	^{22}mo
3.SG	**KTM=LOC**	stay-NMLZR	COP

'He lives in Kathmandu.'

^{22}ŋɜ=tse	^{22}ʃɜ=ko	**^{42}ʃoʃo=ri**	^{42}tsʰor-tsi
1.SG=ERG	meat=DEF	**paper=LOC**	wrap-PFV

'I wrapped the meat in the paper.'

b. Manange ON

^{22}ŋɜ	**^{22}tʰaŋ=ri**	^{22}ʈu-tsu	^{22}mo
1.SG	**ground=LOC**	stay-PROG	COP

'I am sitting on the ground.'

c. Manange TO/TOWARDS

^{52}mi=ko	**^{52}jul=ri**	^{44}kaŋ	^{42}kʰja=ro	^{42}pʰro-tsi
person=DEF	**village=LOC**	mountain	place=ABL	walk-PFV

'The person walked to the village from the mountain.'

d. Nar-Phu IN

tʃû=re	tʃʰæ	mû
DIST=LOC	tea	COP

'There's tea in this (container)' (Noonan elicitation notes)

e. Nar-Phu ON

pʰoto	**kaŋ=re**	kʰe-tse
photo	**wall=LOC**	put-IPFV

'(Someone) puts a photo on the wall.' (MPI put_028)

f. Nar-Phu IN/AT

ŋæ̂	tʰosor	**pʰâlpe=re**	mû
1.SG	now	**KTM=LOC**	COP

'I'm in Kathmandu now.' (Noonan elicitation notes)

g. Nar-Phu TO/TOWARDS

tʃʰupruŋ-se	JM	**pʰâlpe=re**	ni-tʃi	mû
Nar.village=ABL	JM	**KTM=LOC**	go-PST	EVID

'JM went from Nar to Kathmandu.' (Noonan elicitation notes)

- In discourse in Manange, most topological encoding is with *=ri*; in Nar-Phu, "locator nouns" are more prolific (§ IV), but noun + enclitic are found in discourse too:

(2)

a. Manange IN

²²**kɜjɜ=ri**	⁴⁴prin	²²lɜ,	²²tʰe	²²jɜ-tsi
pot=LOC	put	do,	keep	go-PFV

'Putting (yeast) in a pot, it is cooked…' (NgawalM99_F2,_009)

b. Manange IN/AT

²²tiŋi	²²ŋi	pisaŋ	⁵²**jul=ri**	²²ŋʌ	⁴²lo	⁴²ŋʌtsju	epʌ=ko	⁴²lo
day	1.PL	Pisang	**village=LOC**	1.SG	year	five.ten	age=DEF	year

⁴²ŋʌ	tĩ	bahirʌ	²²ʈutsi
five	class	outside	sit-PFV

'Today, we in this Pisang village, as I was about to become fifty years old, I lived outside for five years.' (PisangM2013_2_007)

c. Manange TOWARDS/UNTIL

tilitsʰo	⁴⁴kju	mi=ko	⁴²**kjomtso=ri**	⁴⁴je-pɜ
Tilicho	water	source=DEF	**sea=LOC**	return-NMLZR

'Tilicho lake (the source is in Manang) flows towards the ocean/goes to the ocean.' (Khangsar13_MM1_030)

d. Nar IN/AT

ŋæ̂	ɦjontɛn	**pʰwɛj-re**	tʃɦâŋ-tʃi
1.SG	education	**Tibet=LOC**	study-PST

'I was educated in Tibet.' (The Three Brothers)

e. Nar ON

ɦotʃu=re pʰæ tsam khjɛta pʰɾâ-pɛ tæ pʰɾâ-pɛ
this=LOC iron bridge cattle walk-NMLZR horse walk-NMLZR
'On this, iron bridges, cattle walk, horses walk.' (Contemporary Nar, 7)

f. Nar IN/INSIDE

paŋ=tʃuke=re âpɛ phruŋ-pɛ
pen=PL=LOC excrement defecate=NMLZR
'In the pens, (the animals) defecated.' (Contemporary Nar, 12)

- Very rarely (in Manange), location is marked only with a locational element, without the locative:

(3) Manange

^{44}pu **^{52}naŋ** ^{22}tsʰaŋ-tsi
clay.pot **inside** put-PFV
'I put (yeast) inside of the clay pot.'

- These examples illustrate a "relative" frame-of-reference system at work in both Manange and Nar-Phu (Bickel 1994; 1997; Levinson 2003; Levinson and Wilkins 2006; Bowerman 2007) i.e., the location of an object is expressed in relation to both the viewpoint of the perceiver (speaker) and the position of another referent.
- Both Manange and Nar-Phu have lexemes for "left/right":

(4)
a. Manange: ^{22}tor ~ ^{22}ja ^{22}tortse 'left ~ left hand', kje ~ ^{22}ja ^{22}kjetse 'right ~ right hand'
b. Nar-Phu: tôr 'left side', ke 'right side'

- These are also nouns or noun-like:

(5) Nar, MPI Classifier_009

tepe kap kal=ri nɦâŋ=ri,
again cup like=LOC inside=LOC,

kɦɾî tʃʰaŋ-tse pʰjaŋ=ri **tôr**
one is.kept-PFV top=LOC **left**

ken=ri læ̂ tɦen-tse mo mû
right=LOC do put-PFV COP EVID

'Again, that (wooden object) being put inside the cup, it is (also) put on top to the left and right (of the cup).'

- And both languages have lexemes for 'north/south/east/west'; these are not encountered in any discourse, but in elicitation (7-9 below), *aŋse* 'side' follows the direction word

(6) Cardinal Directions

	Manange	Nar
North	^{52}tʃaŋ	tʃɦaŋ
South	^{42}lo	lô
East	^{44}ʃer	ʃâr
West	^{52}nu	nɦup

(7) Manange
^{22}ŋɜ   **^{52}tʃaŋ**   **aŋse(=ri)** ^{22}jɜ-tsi
1.SG   **north**   **side(=LOC)**   go-PFV
'I went north.'

(8) Nar
ŋæ̂   thim   **ʃâr**   **aŋse(=ri)**   mo
1.SG   house   **east**   **side(=LOC)**   COP
'I'm at the east side of (my) house.'

(9) Nar
ŋæ̂   amrika   **nɦup aŋse(=ri)**   ni-tʃi
1.**SG**   America   **west side(=LOC)**   go-**PST**
'I went west to America.'[2]

IV. "Locational Elements"

- In Manange and Nar-Phu topological relations are productively encoded by what is termed by Hildebrandt as "locational roots"; In Nar-Phu, not explicitly discussed by Noonan, but also probably noun-like in their morpho-syntax
- These forms encode both static and dynamic (motion) relations
- These are easy enough to elicit in Manange, and they are of course also encountered in discourse, but they are far more frequently encountered in Nar-Phu discourse, while the general locative =ri is more frequent in Manange discourse

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[2] In Phu, the word for 'side' is tʃʰo, as in ŋæ̂amrika nɦup **tʃʰo(=ri)** ja-tʃi 'I went west to America.'

(10)

a. Manange ⁵²naŋ 'inside'

⁴⁴tsu	⁴²ja	⁴²ru	**⁵²naŋ=ko=ri**	²²kɜru	⁴²pʰlu	⁴²ŋɜ	⁴⁴prin-tse	²²lɜ-tsi
PROX	yak	horn	**inside=DEF=LOC**	barley	seed	five	hit-CC	do-PFV

'Inside of the (dead) yak's horn, (the lama) put five barley seeds.' (Ghyaru_ManM1)

b. Manange ⁴⁴litse 'behind,' ²²pɜr 'in between', ²²ti 'near'

⁴⁴tsu	²²tʰjɜ-pɜ	ku	⁴⁴sẽ	⁴²tsʰaŋ-tse	**⁴⁴litse=ri**	²²mo-pɜ	²²tʰe-tsi.
PROX	big-NMLZR	idol	three	put-CC	**behind=LOC**	COP-NMLZR	keep-PFV

⁴⁴u	ku=ko	**²²pɜri=ri**	**²²ti=ri**	⁴⁴u	²²lɜ-tse
DIST	idol=DEF	**between=LOC**	**near=LOC**	DIST	do-CC

⁴⁴u=ko=ri	⁵²sɜ-ni	²²lɜ-tse	⁵²mi	⁵²ŋjo-pɜ	⁴⁴u	⁴⁴tsu=ko
DIST=DEF=LOC	nice-ADV	do-CC	person	look-NMLZR	dist	PROX=DEF

'Having made three idols, those there **in the back**, those were made/kept...having done like this, (those) **in between/near here**, having done well, people look there (at them)/regard them.' (Braga13_MM3_028-30)

(11)

a. Nar: pʰjaŋ 'top' stative

nôkju=tɛn	ɛ̂le=cɛ	pɦomi	**pʰjaŋ=re**	tʰan-tse
dog=COMIT	boy=DEF	shoulder	**top=LOC**	keep-PFV

'The boy kept/held the dog on his shoulders.' (grammar notes 5:5)

b. Nar: pʰjaŋ 'top' dynamic

ɛ̂le=cɛ=tɛn	nôkju=cɛ	tɦoŋpɛ	rɦul-pi	**pʰjaŋ=re**	krê-tse
boy=DEF=COMIT	dog=DEF	tree	spoil-NMLZR	**top=LOC**	climb-CVB

'The boy and/with the dog, having climbed to the top of the fallen/rotting tree...' (grammar notes 5:6)

c. Nar: nɦâŋ 'inside/into'

nôkju=tɛn	ɛ̂le=cɛ	kju	tʃʰô	**nɦâŋ=re**	pi	tê-tʃi
dog=COMIT	boy=DEF	water	lake	**inside=loc**	go.fast	fall-PSt

'The dog and the boy accidentally fell into the lake.' (grammar notes 5:4)

d. Nar: pɦo 'beside'

njûku	bâksa	**pɦo=re**	mô	mu
pen	box	**beside=LOC**	COP	EVID

'The pen is beside the box.' (grammar notes 10:1)

- Most of these locator roots convey a relative frame of refrence, but 'front/back' appears to be absolute (ie. the location of the object is defined in relation to arbitrary or fixed bearings):

(12) Manange (Hoshi 1986: 198)

^{42}tʰi	**^{22}ŋwontse=ri**	^{44}ʈʒpʒ	^{44}kʒtti	^{22}mo	^{22}mu
house	**front=LOC**	monk	many	COP	EVID

'There are many monks in front of the house.'

(13) Nar-Phu

pjuŋ	ŋwonte	ŋwonte	pɦrâ-tse
man	front	front	walk-CVB

ni-tʃi
go-PST

'The man, in a walking manner, goes forward.'
(MPI Set1_105ET)

- Upon consultation with Nar speakers, these encode 'front/back' no matter where the speaker is in relation to the location or movement of the referent. 'Front/back' in reference to the speaker is encoded lexically: Manange tenje 'back of body' ku 'chest/front of torso'; Nar-Phu rɦôte 'lower back side', thwɛku 'upper front or back side', mæko 'lower front torso side'

V. Dynamic Spatial Relations Encoded in Verbs

- A small set of verbs in both Manange give evidence of a second frame-of-reference system at work in the language, although limited to a small set of verbs; 'descend' is part of the larger lexical construction for weather and environmental phenomena, as in (15):

(14) Select Motion Verbs in Manange
^{22}jʒ 'go'
^{22}kʰʒ 'come'
^{22}ju 'descend'
^{44}je 'ascend/return' (distinct from ^{22}kre 'climb')

(15) Manange weather/environment verbs
^{52}mo ^{22}ju-pʒ 'to rain' (lit. sky descend)
^{42}kʰĩ ^{22}ju-pʒ 'to snow' (lit. snow descend)
^{22}ʈʰi/^{22}sʒ ^{22}ju-pʒ 'to have a landslide/an avalanche' (lit. ground/slope descend)

(16) Manange ^{22}ju 'descend' in discourse

^{52}mo	^{22}a-ju-pʒ-ko	ʒni	eka=ri	**^{22}ju**	iten
sky	NEG-descend-NMLZR-REP	then	Yarka=LOC	**descend**	and.then

'If there is no rain, we go down/descend to Yarka (to worship).' (Pisang13_MM1_014)

(17) Manange ⁴⁴je 'ascend/return' in discourse

⁵²siki	²²ta	²²ts₃-tse	²²l₃-tse	²²aʃaŋ=tse	**⁴⁴je-p₃**
food	what	eat-CC	do-CC	uncle=PL	**return/ascend**

²²kʰimi	⁴²tʰĩ=ri
3.PL	house=LOC

'After the feast/whatever foods being eaten, the uncles return to their own homes.'
(Tengki13_mm1_025)

- These are like extrinsic frame-of-reference: the location of an object/referent is calculated on a fixed coordinate (in this case, slope)
- But one is just as likely to encounter generic 'come/go' plus a locative root in discourse to express similar frame of reference:

(18) Manange ⁴⁴kaŋro ²²kʰ₃ 'come up/ascend'

²²lake	**⁴⁴kaŋro**	**²²kʰ₃-p₃**	²²ŋjaŋ	⁵²pi
again	**upward**	**come-**NMLZR	we	say

'Again, saying, we came up (to Pisang village from Kathmandu).' (Pisang13_MM3_046)

- In Nar-Phu, the situation is a bit different. There are verbs that orient along slope:

(19)
jê 'ascend/return/go back'
ɦjû 'descend'

- There are also directionals that combine with 'come/go' and include slope as well as orientation of movement with respect to the speaker (towards or away from), as reported by Noonan:

(20)

mâr 'down towards the speaker'	tor 'up towards the speaker'
kɦjuru 'down away from the speaker'	kʰɛnro 'up away from the speaker'

mâr kʰ₃ 'referent comes downward towards the speaker'
mâr ɦjû 'referent comes/descends downward towards the speaker'
tor kʰ₃ 'referent comes upward towards the speaker'
kɦjuru ni 'referent goes downward away from the speaker'
kʰɛnro ni 'referent goes upward away from the speaker' (grammar notes 3)

(21) Nar mâr and tor

tor	**kho**	pɦi-pa	a-ɦi-ne,	**mâr**	**njo**	pɦi-pi
up	**come**	say-NMLZR	NEG-stay-ADV	**down**	**go**	say-NMLZR

mɦi=ce   su   a-re
person=PL   who   NEG-COP
'Many (people) tell us to **come up**, not to settle; nobody says "you settle (lit. **go down**)."' (Koto13_NF1_139-140)

VI. Semantic Extensions

- The locative enclitic and locational roots locate objects not only in space/time, but may also locate ideas or more abstract concepts in relation to each other

(22) Manange **^{52}naŋ=ri 'inside'**

^{22}ʒtse	^{22}mo	^{52}pi-tse	^{22}lʒ-tse	kʒrtʃa	^{52}**naŋ=ri**
like.this	COP	say-CC	do-CC	holy.book	inside=LOC

^{22}ʒle	^{22}mo	^{22}mu
like.this	COP	EVID

'We say like this, (the history of Braga village) is contained inside of the temple/in its scriptures.' (a gentleman remarking on the relationship of the Braga Gompa to the history of the village) (Braga13_MM3_040)

- The locative optionally appears when people elaborate on their ages:

(23) Nar

ŋɦaču	ŋɦar	kɦu	**ʈhukču=ri**	**lɦo=ri**	a-jo-pɛ
fifty	CONJ	nine	sixty=LOC	year=LOC	neg-reach-NMLZR

'I'm fifty nine, one year shy of sixty.' (Koto13_NM1_005)

- Locative structures also relate spaces (in this case, agricultural) to people's lives:

(24) Nar

čæ̌pɛ	thuŋpɛ	sagsəbdzi	tæ̌	to-ri	râŋe	**bari=ri**		mo
food	drink	vegetable	what	need-SUBORD	self	**field(Nep)=LOC**		COP

'Whatever we need to eat or drink, we have it right here.' (Koto13_NF1)

(25) Nar

toŋri=re	phaita	the-tse	mo	mu
animal=LOC	benefits	be.big-IPFV	COP	EVID

'We get many benefits from (the presence of) our animals (such as yaks).' (Nar_Lifetory_1)

- Truly conventionalized metaphorical uses of locational structures are more elusive

VII. Concluding Remarks

- Other than Bickle and Gaenszle eds. 1999 or else gleaned from individual descriptions and accounts, there is still not much in terms of family-internal comparative studies of the spatial domain
- We see in Manange use of both enclitics and locational roots for static/topological and dynamic movement, with a combination of relative, absolutive and intrinsic frame-of-reference situations; We see in Nar-Phu that locational roots are more frequently encountered in discourse, while Manange speakers make more use of locative *=ri*
- This comparative account will hopefully become a part of a larger crosslinguistic comparison of the ways that T-B grammars encode space

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