

How do you 'Do' in Manange?
Kristine A. Hildebrandt
Institut für Linguistik
Universität Leipzig
khilde@uni-leipzig.de

Abstract

The Manange lexical verb *IIA* 'do' shows evidence of polygrammaticization, or, grammaticization along a number of different clines. It occurs in a variety of constructions and performs several different functions, including: verbalizer, transitivizer, morphological and syntactic causative morpheme, aspect, and modality marker. It is argued that both the semantic properties of lexical *IIA* 'do' and already-extant morpho-syntactic resources in Manange allow for its movement into a number of distinct structural and functional dimensions.

0 Introduction¹

In Manange, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal, the lexical verb *11Λ* ‘do’ functions as a (transitive) main verb in simple clauses and also as a verbalizer, as illustrated in the examples below:²

(1) Main Verb

1ŋΛ=tse³ 11Λ-tsi⁴
1(SG)=ERG do-PERF
‘I did it.’

(2) Verbalizer

a. *narrative*

1nyukyu=ko=tse 1ca-pΛ-ri 3sro 11Λ 1mi 1ro
dog=DEF=ERG search-NOM-ADV friend do EVID REP
‘The dog helped to search.’

b. *citation forms*

1tŋ 11Λ-pΛ⁵
heart do-NOM
‘to remember’

In example (1), *11Λ* as a main verb is transitive, with an ergative marked A.⁶ In example (2) *11Λ* combines with nouns (and to a lesser extent, adjectives) to form active verbs. Such functions of ‘do’ are common, and are attested in many other Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Matisoff 1969; Denwood 1999; Noonan 2002). However, it is interesting to note that *11Λ* also appears in many other types of constructions in the language, performing markedly different semantic and pragmatic functions. It occurs in morphological and periphrastic causatives, in immediate future constructions, in perfective recapitulations in narratives, and in embedded clauses of various modal constructions, shown in the examples below:

(3) Morphological Causative

1mriŋ=ko=tse 2kosho 1ki 11Λ-tsi

woman=DEF=ERG cup break **do-PERF**

‘The woman broke the cup.’

(4) **Periphrastic Causative**

1ale=ko=tse 11A-tse 1nani 1kra-tsi

boy=DEF=ERG **do-CC** child cry-PERF

‘The boy made the little girl cry.’

(5) **Immediate Future**

1ŋΛ 1nyukyu=ri 2prim-pi 11A-tsi

1SG dog=LOC hit/kick-IMM **do-PERF**

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

(6) **Perfective Recapitulator in Narratives**⁷

1 *1khim=ko=tse 4shi 4pholpΛ=ko boʃΛl 3naŋ=ri*
3(PL)=DEF=ERG one frog=DEF bottle inside=LOC

2 *2tshaŋ 1mi 1ro//*
keep EVID REP//

3 *1ane 1Λle 11A-tse/ 3muntse 1tΛ 1mi 1ro//*
after like.this **do-CC/** night becomeEVID REP//
‘They (the boy and dog) kept the one frog inside a bottle. After they had done this, the night came.’

(7) **11A in (Deontic) Modals**

1khi 4nu-1Λ 3yaŋ
3(SG) sleep-**do** DEONTIC

‘He should/must sleep.’

As these above examples also show, the structural characteristics of grammatical *11A* vary considerably; *11A* appears in clause chaining structures¹ (in examples 4 and 6), in serial verb constructions, in complex predicates (in examples 3 and 5), and as a fully morphologized verbal suffix (in example 7)⁸. From these examples, we can note that grammaticized *11A* is multifunctional, marking aspectual distinctions as well as marking valency adjustment, and also showing varied morphosyntactic characteristics.

¹ Some prefer the term ‘converb’ to clause chaining, as the wide range of semantic and pragmatic function of these forms in Manange and related languages corresponds more closely with what is found with converbal clauses in Central and South Asian languages.

1 Grammaticization And Polygrammaticization

That *IIA* occurs as a grammaticized morpheme in Manange is not in itself surprising, as it is well known cross-linguistically that lexical verbs can assume more grammatical uses and meanings (Matisoff 1969; Bybee and Pagliuca 1985; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994; DeLancey 1991; Matisoff 1991; Lord 1993). The difference here however is that while descriptions of the grammaticization of a lexical item are most often limited to a single cline of change, whereby a lexical verb, for example, moves into a single particular more grammatical domain, Manange *IIA* has been extended into several grammatical domains. Of course, such phenomena have been cited in other literature (e.g. Lord 1976 for Kwa languages; Craig 1991 for Rama; Givón 1991 for Biblical Hebrew; Heine 1992 for English). In this process, commonly referred to as polygrammaticization (also termed polygrammaticalization), a single form follows multiple paths of development, entering into different domains of the grammar of a language, performing diverse functions, and showing varied structural characteristics. In examples (3-6) above, *IIA* has moved into the argument-marking domain (as a valency adjuster in morphological causatives), as well as into the aspect domain (by marking both the anterior and perfective aspects in periphrastic causatives, perfective recapitulations, and in immediate mood). Manange *IIA* is also used in the embedded clause of modal constructions (example 7), a third domain.

1.1 Polygrammaticization and Grammatical Chains

Central to the notion of polygrammaticization for some scholars is the presence of what Craig (1991) terms as ‘grammatical chains’ and what Heine (1992) terms ‘grammaticalization chains.’ These chains are defined by Craig (1991) as the “step by step nature of the grammaticalization process, with the pairing of two morphemes through a scenario of change, creating links,” thus allowing for the identification of immediate and distant sources of a particular grammatical morpheme (456). In effect, grammatical chains re-trace chronologically the diverging routes of the polygrammatical development of a morpheme, allowing for an ordered linking of each resulting form and function of the source morpheme.

My own position in this paper is that a step-by-step or ‘grammatical chaining’ account of change along multiple clines is not a necessary factor in a polygrammaticization analysis. Rather, polygrammaticization may occur in the absence of grammatical chains. Insight into the nature of this process can be found when one analyzes the semantic characteristics of the lexical source word together with the pre-existing structural resources of the language. These combine to allow for the movement of a lexical morpheme into varied structural and functional realms of the grammar of a language. A polygrammatical account of Manange *IIA* links such multiple movements to tendencies and characteristics of the language itself.

1.2 Complementary Strategies in Polygrammaticization

Given this position, the goals of this paper are two-fold. One goal is to provide an account of the various forms and functions of Manange *IIA* ‘do.’ Specifically, I argue that this verb is following two separate functional paths of development into its various representations as a grammatical morpheme, which include adjusting valency in morphological causatives, and marking both perfect (anterior) and perfective aspects in other constructions.⁹ It is the

‘semantically vacuous’ and anaphoric basic meaning of the lexical source *11A* in Manange that provides semantic resources from which these more grammatical functions can develop. The variety of individual structural resources that speakers employ when using *11A* allow for its extension and grammaticization in a number of distinct dimensions.

I also address in further detail ‘polygrammaticalization chains’ as they are discussed by Craig (1991), arguing that while there is evidence of a limited degree of grammatical chaining of *11A* evident in the aspectual domain, polygrammaticization and grammatical chaining are not a necessarily unified process in diachronic development, and that Manange *11A* provides evidence of the two processes as being complementary strategies in a single language.

The contributions of this paper towards the field of grammaticization are on two levels. On a language internal level, this paper provides a unified explanation for the differing forms and functions that one morpheme in Manange shows. On a more typological level, this paper provides a case study account of how grammaticizing morphemes can naturally employ the already-extant structures of the language, suggesting that such structures are productive environments for additional functional developments.

2 *Manange Language*

Manange is a member of the TGTM (Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manange), or Gurungic (or Tamangic), sub-grouping of the West Bodish branch under the Bodic grouping of the Tibeto-Burman language family (Benedict 1972; Bradley 1997; van Driem 2001). It is spoken in 12 villages, which are spread in chain-like fashion throughout the Manang district of central and northern Nepal. Current speaker-reported estimates place the number of Manange speakers at between 3,000-5,000 (Hildebrandt 2003, 2004).

In addition to a description currently in preparation (Hildebrandt 2004) and one other previous grammar (Hoshi 1986a), there are two glossaries of Manange published (Nagano 1984; Hoshi 1986b), as well as two tonogenetic analyses of Manange in relation to other Tamangic languages (Mazaudon 1978, 1988).

3 *Cline 1: 11A As Valency Adjuster*

I begin my analysis of grammatical *11A* with a description of its use in morphological causatives, so defined because they involve a (productive) derivational change in the form of the verb (Comrie 1985).¹⁰ In this case, the derivational change is the addition of the verb stem *11A*, following the main verb of the clause, in the form of a serial verb construction (in boldface):

(8)

a. *1ŋΛ=tse* *3cΛ* *1le¹¹* *11Λ-tsi*
 1(SG)=ERG tea **warm** **do-PERF**
 ‘I made the tea warm/warmed the tea.’

b. *1mriŋ=ko=tse* *2kosho 1te* *11Λ-tsi*
 woman=DEF=ERG cup **fall** **do-PERF**
 ‘The woman dropped the cup.’

In these constructions, *11A* functions as a valency increaser, creating an ergative marked A causer and an absolutive (zero marked) causee (or a =*ri* marked Patient causee when the referent is animate). When a verb-like adjective or verb such as *1le* ‘be warm’ and *1te* ‘fall’ occur without *11A*, they are understood as intransitive in their valency, and show an absolutive S only, as the following examples show:

(9)

a. *3cΛ* *1le-tsi*
 tea warm
 ‘The tea was warm.’

- b. *2kosho 1te-tsi*
 cup fall-PERF
 ‘The cup fell.’

In morphological causatives, the vacuous semantic content and the transitive valency of *1lΛ* allows for its function in the designation of an A role argument (causer), without necessarily contributing any additional semantic content to the proposition. This function of ‘do’ is frequently attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Lahu and Nar Phu (Matisoff 1991; Noonan 2002).

3.1 Serialization As A Structural Resource

The presence of transitivizing *1lΛ* in a series is a somewhat unique phenomenon, in that typically, the second (or auxiliary) position in Manange serial verb constructions contains verbs that convey only aspect or direction-marking information, as in the examples below:

(10) **Durative Aspect**

- 1khi=tse 3ηyo 1tu-tsi*
 3(SG)=ERG look stay-PERF
 ‘He continued to look.’

(11) **Directional Change**

- a. *1ale=ko skul=ri 4phro 1yΛ-tsi*
 boy=DEF school=LOC walk go-PERF
 ‘The boy walked (that way) to school.’
- b. *3kyΛ=lΛ 1ama=tse 2phuη=tse 3pu 1khΛ-tsi*
 2(SG)=GEN mother=ERG egg=PL carry come-PERF
 ‘Your mother brought (over) some eggs.’

It should be noted that *1lΛ* in morphological causatives is the only second-position morpheme in Manange serial verbs to affect argument structure, rather than just specifying aspectual or directional information about the event. Despite this difference, morphological causatives are like other serial verb constructions in a number of ways. First, both verbs of the predicate

comprise a single, monoclausal event. This is evidenced in that the same structural restrictions that apply to other serial verb constructions in Manange (and in other languages) apply to morphological causatives as well (e.g. Foley and Olson 1985; DeLancey 1991). These restrictions involve the scope of negation over both elements in the series, as in:

- (12) *Imrij=ko=tse* *2kosho 1a-te* *11Λ-tsi*
 woman=DEF=ERG cup NEG-fall do-PERF
 ‘The woman did not drop the cup.’

Second, as in other serial verb constructions, intervening morphology (e.g. core or oblique arguments or adverbials) between the two verbal elements is not permitted. Additionally, as in other serials, both elements in the verb series can be said to hold grammatical relations with the subject referent, with separate subject relations among the two verbal elements not being permitted.

Looking at the semantic contribution of *11Λ*, much as in other serial verb constructions, some feature of the semantic origin of lexical *11Λ* ‘do’ is still being emphasized in morphological causatives, specifically, transitive valency. In durative aspect serials it is the continuative semantic information in *1tu* ‘stay’ and in directional serials it is the motion away from information in *1yΛ* ‘go’ or motion towards in *1khΛ* ‘come’ which is emphasized in a serial verb construction, or which contributes in some way to the semantically complex, single event.

It is most notably the transitive valency of *11Λ* that makes it stand out in contrast to the other intransitive verbs that typically appear in Manange serials. In their analysis of serialization, Foley and Olson (1985) propose a typological continuum with respect to which verbs in a given language are more susceptible and which are less susceptible to serialization. In this continuum, intransitive motion verbs are more likely to serialize, and are more frequently

attested cross-linguistically, than are transitive or ditransitive verbs, in that their presence in a series introduces no new core arguments to the clause. At the other end of this continuum exist transitive and ditransitive verbs, which are less likely to be incorporated into serials because their multi-valency statuses do introduce new core arguments. Given this tendency, it is likely that aspectual and directional serials such as those shown in (10) and (11), were in existence in Manange prior to the strategy for morphological causation, and that this strategy, which utilizes transitive *IIA* in a series, is a more recent innovation, using an already existing structural resource.¹² Additionally, it is precisely the presence of *IIA* that serves to introduce the necessary core argument to the causative, namely a causer. Therefore, its presence in serials, despite its transitive valency, is not necessarily a marked one.

So here, we have a case of a productive structural resource being utilized with *IIA* ‘do’ to create a unique construction, a morphological causative. The grammaticization of the construction has relied on the semantic vacuity and the transitive case frame that characterizes only this lexical item. In these serials, *IIA* functions to create a core participant (causer) in the event, rather than pointing to specific temporal or directional details of the event. As we shall see with the other grammaticized uses of *IIA*, this utilization of extant structural resources (in this case, serialization) is a common occurrence, suggesting that certain areas of the grammar of a language can be viewed as fruitful realms from which additional, more grammatical functions can develop.

4 *Cline 2: I_A As Aspect Marker*

The first account in section 3 of grammatical *IIA* in Manange analyzes its movement into the argument-marking domain of the language as it utilizes an extant and productive serialization

structure. Other instances of grammatical *11* Λ perform quite different functions however, marking aspectual relationships between separate clauses, or even marking aspect within the clause itself. I begin here with an examination of an alternative strategy for marking causation in Manange, that of periphrastic causation.

4.1 Periphrastic Causation

Periphrastic (also called analytic or syntactic) causatives are so defined in that the predicate of causation is structurally separate from the predicate that is affected by the causative predicate (Comrie 1985). Manange *11* Λ is also used in periphrastic causative constructions. In this type of causative, the clause containing *11* Λ is preposed (in a bi-clausal structure) before the clause which is affected by the agent of the causative, and is also separated from the affected clause by the *-tse* clause chaining suffix. Examples, with the clause of causation in boldface, are shown in (13):

(13)

- a. ***1am Λ =tse 11 Λ -tse*** *1 η Λ =tse 1th η 1phya-tsi¹³*
mother=ERG do-CC 1(SG)=ERG floor clean-PERF
 ‘My mother made me clean the floor.’
- b. ***3mo=tse 11 Λ -tse 4minto=ko 1thy Λ -p Λ 1t Λ -tsi***
rain/sky=ERG do-CC flower=DEF big-NOM become-PERF
 ‘The rain caused the flower to grow/become big.’
- c. ***1nyukyu=tse 11 Λ -tse 3khim=l Λ 3tsa η =ko***
dog=ERG do-CC 3(PL)=GEN nest=DEF
1pha.te 1kh Λ 1mi 1ro
 direction.fall come EVID REP
 ‘The dog caused their (honey bees) nest to come crashing down.’
- d. ***1ale=ko=tse 11 Λ -tse 1nani 1kra-tsi***
boy=DEF=ERG do-CC child cry-PERF
 ‘The boy made the little girl cry.’

Note that in example (13 a) above, the A arguments in each clause are specified separately and are independently casemarked. Additionally, as example (13 b) shows, inanimate causers are possible in periphrastic causatives, while they are not possible in morphological causatives.

4.1.1 *Iconicity, Clause Chaining, And Anterior Aspect*

Periphrastic causatives are highly productive in Manange and also occur with higher frequency in connected speech than do morphological causatives, and in this causative strategy, just about any causer (human or non-human, animate or inanimate, volitional or non-volitional) can influence the actions of the causee. Their different structure and more frequent use may be explained through principles of iconicity (Haiman 1983, 1985). The closely integrated morphosyntax of the serialized morphological causatives (in example 8) suggests that the causer is more involved with, and may be held more directly responsible for, the resulting actions of the causee. Periphrastic causatives conversely (in example 13), make no such claim about the causer. The loosely integrated morphosyntax does not entail as much responsibility of the causer, but instead puts more of an emphasis on how the actions of one participant in a sentence (in clause one) have resulting consequences for the actions of another participant (in clause two). In this way, the relationship between the two events in a periphrastic causation strategy is more of an anterior aspectual one in nature.

A closer look at the structure of clause chaining in general in Manange, as well as a closer examination of the semantics of periphrastic causatives lends support to this analysis. Clause chaining in general in Manange is marked by the suffix *-tse*, which attaches to non-final

lexical verbs and verb-like adjectives. An example is provided below, with the *-tse* suffix in boldface:

- (14) *lale* ***lɬu-tse¹⁴*** / *ltsʌ-tsi*//
 boy sit-CC/ eat-PERF//
 ‘The boy (first) sat (and then) ate/the boy sat (while he) ate.’

As the two English translations suggest, the temporal relation between the clause-chained verb and the final verb is unspecified, and is usually interpretable through context. In other cases, the semantics and pragmatics allow only for an interpretation of temporal overlap, and an adverbial relation is obtained, as (15) shows:

- (15) *3mi=ko* *lthyʌ-pʌ* ***lʌ-tse*** / *lkete-tsi*//
 person=DEF big-NOM do-CC/ shout-PERF//
 ‘The man shouted loudly.’

In example (15) it is specifically a manner adverbial relation between the two clauses that is being conveyed.

In contrast to the underspecified temporal information in clause chains without *11ʌ*, the description of the periphrastic causation strategy above shows that in chained clauses with *11ʌ* present, there is always an anterior temporal relationship between the two events/clauses, where the assumed prior action of the first participant has consequential relevance to the actions of the second participant. An example is reproduced here as an illustration of this temporal relation:

- (16) ***lale=ko=tse*** ***11ʌ-tse*** *1nani* *1kra-tsi*
boy=DEF=ERG **do-CC** child cry-PERF
 ‘The boy made the little girl cry.’

In example (16), the unnamed actions of the boy in the first clause have a resulting impact on or causal relation to the named actions (namely crying) of the girl in the second clause. It is

precisely this resulting or ‘current relevance’ relationship between the two events, marked by a *IIA-tse* clause chaining structure, which defines the anterior aspect.

So we have another instance where there is an adaptation of another productive structural resource in Manange, namely clause chaining, in the formation of an additional, more grammaticized function of *IIA*, that of marking indirect (periphrastic) causation. Whereas clause chains without *IIA* are open to interpretation with respect to temporal relations between clauses, those with *IIA* are specified. An iconically motivated alternative to expressing more direct causation, through serialization, is to express it more indirectly, through a bi-clausal, chained resource that is already available as a resource in the language. In the cases of periphrastic causatives, the presence of *IIA* indicates an anterior temporal relationship between events, which brings with it a causal implicature.

Again, we see here that the vacuous semantics of *IIA* ‘do’ are suitable for use in periphrastic causatives, as well as in the morphological causatives described earlier. It is not of so much importance *what* the particular action of the causer is in this more indirect causation strategy, but rather that the causer’s actions *affect* (or have some current relevance to) the actions/behavior of the causee.

4.2 Perfective Recapitulations

A third grammaticized use of *IIA* in Manange also utilizes a clause-chaining structure, and like the function in periphrastic causatives, this use also specifies an aspectual relation between events. However, unlike the anterior relation conveyed in periphrastic causatives, the aspectual relation conveyed in these structures is more perfective in nature. These clause chained *IIA* constructions, which I term perfective recapitulations, occur in narrative settings,

and generally serve dual functions; they recapitulate a previous event in the narrative line, and they also signal a sequential relation between events in the story that occur prior to and following the clause-chained *11Λ* structure. Examples are provided below, with the *11Λ* chained clause in boldface, and with the separate lines in the narrative numbered:

(17)

a.

- 1 *1Λne* *1khim=ko* *1Λne* *1u* *1ale=ko=tse*
 then 3(PL)=DEF then DIST boy=DEF=ERG
- 2 *1nyukyu=ko=ri* *1cu-pΛ* *la-kΛ* *ʼ1kye*
 dog=DEF=LOC keep-NOM say-** ʼsound
- 3 *2a-te-roʼ* *3pi-tsi//*
 NEG-take.out-IMPERʼ say-PERF//
- 4 *1Λtse* *11Λ-tse/* *2ŋyo* *1yΛ* *1mi* *1ro//*
 like.this do-CC/ look go EVID REP//

‘After, the boy told the dog to stay quiet, not make any sound. Having said this, they went looking.’

b.

- 1 *2cucu* *1u* *1ŋyaŋ* *4yul* *1tu-pΛ*
 after DIST 1(PL)(GEN) village stay-NOM
- 2 *3ya=ko* *ʃoŋ* *a* *2no-pΛ=ri* *1tu-pΛ*
 yak=DEF EMPH EMPH tall-NOM=LOC stay-NOM
- 3 *3ya=ko* *ten* *ʼ1khΛ ki* *1a-khΛ-pΛʼ/*
 yak=DEF then ʼcome or NEG-come-NOMʼ/
- 4 *3pi-tse/* *11Λ-tse/tē* *3naŋ=ri* *2ŋyo* *1tu* *1mi* *tē//*
 say-CC/ do-CC/then inside=LOC look stay EVID then//

‘After, those yaks who stayed in our village, who stayed in our tall place, said ‘are they (the bad yaks) coming or not coming?’ Having said this, they continued to look (for them).’

The presence of clause-chained *IIA* between two clauses in the narrative not only functions to repeat or recapitulate the previous action or event, but also serves to treat the previous event in the narrative as temporally complete and bounded in relation to the ensuing event. As the above examples illustrate, the previous actions (the boy telling his dog to be quiet in lines 1-3 of example 17 a, and the yaks speaking of their friends in lines 1-3 of example 17 b) are recapitulated by the *IIA-tse* form in a perfective manner before the ensuing events unfold (the looking by the boy and the dog in line 4 of 17 a and the yaks continuing to search for their friends in line 4 of 17 b).

In this sense, the presence of clause-chained *IIA* in narrative recapitulations (as in periphrastic causatives) makes explicit a sequential temporal relationship between two (or more) events in a narrative line. However, unlike the relationship signaled in periphrastic causatives, this temporal relationship in perfective recapitulations is not so much one where one action has a current relevance (causal) relation to another, but where one action is repeated as a bounded whole (without any attention to internal temporal detail) before another action begins. Another term that has been suggested by Michael Noonan for this relationship is ‘summative,’ in that the first event is viewed as a summarized whole in relation to the second event (personal communication).

There are instances where the dual function of recapitulating the event and signaling a perfective aspectual relationship between events is narrowed to a single function only, that of signaling the perfective relationship alone. In some examples, there is no sense that the *IIA-tse* structure serves to recapitulate a previously mentioned event; rather it serves only to highlight a perfective aspectual relation between two newly introduced pieces of information. The

following example (18) illustrates this (only the *11A-tse* chain that illustrates the perfective relationship alone is in boldface):

- (18)
- | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>4tshə-pʌ</i>
hot.weather-NOM | <i>1khʌ=ko</i> | <i>nʌ//</i>
come=EVID EVID// | | |
| 2 | <i>4tshə-pʌ</i>
hot.weather-NOM | <i>4a-thya-tse/</i>
NEG-bear-CC/ | | <i>11A-tse/</i>
do-CC/ | |
| 3 | <i>2kyu=ri</i>
water=LOC | <i>2shu-pʌ//</i>
wash-NOM// | <i>pokhari=ri</i>
lake=LOC | <i>2shu-pʌ//</i>
wash-NOM// | |
| 4 | <i>2khaŋ-tse</i>
cold-CC | <i>11A-tse</i>
do-CC | <i>tɕ/</i>
then/ | | |
| 5 | <i>2khaŋ-tse/</i>
cold-CC/ | <i>2khaŋ-tse/</i>
cold-CC/ | <i>4a-thya-pʌ</i>
NEG-bear-NOM | <i>11A-tse</i>
do-CC | <i>tɕ/</i>
then/ |
| 6 | <i>pora</i>
bag | <i>2coŋ-pʌ</i>
similar-NOM | <i>1tuŋ-tse</i>
cover-CC | <i>11A</i>
do | <i>1tu-pʌ</i>
stay-NOM |
| 7 | <i>1u</i>
DIST | <i>sʌrap=ko//</i>
curse=DEF// | | | |

‘The heat comes. Not able to bear the heat (the cursed ones) bathe in the lake, they will bathe in the water. The cold (having come) and not able to bear the cold the cursed ones will remain covered in bags.’

The above example is from a section in the narrative ‘The Yak Buffalo Story,’ where the results of the curse given to the forgetful yaks are evident; the yaks are turned into water buffalo (by their friends) and will no longer be able to bear extremely hot or cold weather. They therefore must soak in water in summer and wear protective burlap bags in winter. In earlier clauses after the narrator has initially described the curse given to the yaks, he explicitly states that they will not be able to bear the heat or the cold. In line 2 above he recapitulates this earlier event (the inability to bear the heat) before he moves on to describe in more detail the upcoming resulting

behavior in line 3. The expectation then is that the narrator will use the same perfective recapitulating structure as he reiterates the harsh effects of the *cold* weather (as opposed to the hot weather). Contrary to this expectation however line 4 above does not perform a recapitulating function (e.g. **2khaŋ-tse 4a-thya-tse 11Λ-tse** ‘having not been able to bear the cold’), but rather shows clause chained **11Λ** following the verb-like adjective **2khaŋ** ‘be cold’ only. The lack of an eventive verb which would be repeated in the boldfaced structure above, coupled with the presence of clause chained **11Λ**, suggests that in some contexts it is the perfective aspectual function only that **11Λ-tse** is performing.

4.2.1 *Clause Chaining And Perfective Aspect*

Here, as in the case of morphological and periphrastic causatives, we see the utilization and adaptation of a productive (although semantically unspecified) clause chaining structure in the development of additional grammatical forms and functions. In this case, **11Λ** along with the clause chainer *-tse* serves to mark a temporally specified relationship between events, in this case, perfective aspect. Again, extant clause chaining provides a fruitful realm in which two different types of aspectual marking are developing in the language. In addition, the anaphoric semantic content of **11Λ** contributes to its recapitulative function. In such recapitulations, **11Λ** refers to whatever previous action (or actions) has (or have) occurred in the narrative line.

5 *Grammatical Chains Revisited*

As we have seen so far, **11Λ** appears to be moving along two separate clines of grammaticization, as both a valency adjustment marker (in a serialized structure), and as two types of intra-clausal relation marking (in a modified clause chaining structure). As was stated in

section 1, polygrammaticization is by no means a process unique to Manange. Another case study of movement along two or more clines concerns the verb **bang* ‘go’ in Rama, a Chibchan language of Nicaragua (Craig 1991). In a way similar to Manange *IIA*, Rama **bang* has grammaticized into both the argument-marking domain (as a Goal marker) and the aspectual domain (marking both prospective and desiderative prospective aspects). Craig terms this process of multiple paths of grammaticization of a single source morpheme ‘polygrammaticalization,’ defining it as “the phenomenon by which a single morpheme is the source of multiple grammatical chains (455).”

These “grammatical chains” represent the “step by step nature of the grammaticalization process, with the pairing of two morphemes through a scenario of change, creating links with the internal structure [of] source...pathway...outcome [links] (455).” In sum, grammatical chaining happens when an outcome link becomes a possible source domain for another link. A chief benefit of grammatical chains is that they allow for the identification and reconstruction of the different stages that have existed as a particular lexical item has moved into divergent grammatical domains.

A major goal of a polygrammaticization account in languages is to illustrate in (chronological) detail the whole of the development of a form along each cline. In such an analysis, an examination of one grammatical development (an outcome domain) may reveal it to be a source domain for later developments.

Turning again to Manange, an analysis of grammatical chaining for *IIA* may indeed illuminate motivations for its movement from an anterior marker in indirect, periphrastic causation towards its use as a perfective marker in perfective recapitulations. For one thing, it is common for perfective aspect to arise diachronically from anterior aspect through a process of

semantic generalization (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994). Additionally, in both cases, the separate functions utilize the same basic (modified) chaining structure.

However, it is not evident that all of the stages of grammaticized *11Λ* can be successfully plotted along a grammatical chain that diverges into both aspect and valency adjustment. In the first place, given that the Manange language has no written record and that the data from this paper originate synchronically from recorded stories and elicited sentences, an analysis which assumes a direction of movement for *11Λ* (from marking anteriority in periphrastic causation to marking perfectivity in connected speech) is speculative at best. In addition, some functions of *11Λ* show structures and semantics that are not reconcilable with the other, previously described, valency and aspect marking developments of this form. These include its structurally unique appearance as a clause-level aspect marker in immediate constructions and its functionally opaque presence in the embedded clauses of modals, both of which I will now examine in more detail.

5.1 *11Λ* In immediates

11Λ occurs as the second verb in the predicate of a certain type of construction in Manange, with the first verb of the predicate marked with the immediate suffix *-pi*. The resulting meaning of the clause is the preparation to undertake an action or the imminency of an action or event. Examples are shown in (19):

(19)

- a. *1ηΛ 1nyukyu=ri 2prim-pi 11Λ-tsi*
 1SG dog=LOC hit/kick-IMM do-PERF
 'I prepared to/was about to hit/kick the dog.'¹⁵
- b. *1ale=ko 4nu-pi 11Λ-tsi*
 boy=DEF sleep-IMM do-PERF

‘The boy prepared to/was about to sleep.’

- c. ***l*khi** ***1*ts Δ -*pi*** ***1*l Δ -*p* Δ**
 3SG eat-IMM do-NOM
 ‘He is prepared to/is about to eat.’

Following *1l Δ* in these cases is clause-level aspect morphology or the *-p Δ* nominalizer, which occurs with most irrealis modal (including future) constructions. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 246) discuss these sub-types of futurity as “immediate futures,” and describe them as referring to events which are imminent or are about to occur.

That *1l Δ* occurs in these constructions is initially perplexing. The structure of immediates differs from that of serial verb constructions. Immediates contain an intervening suffix *-pi*. They do not show the bi-clausal structure of clause chaining. In addition, it is not immediately obvious what *1l Δ* contributes semantically to immediates. A question then is what function *1l Δ* may be performing in a construction such as immediates.

The function of *1l Δ* in immediates becomes clearer when we consider the morphological structure of immediate constructions in other languages. In their examination of the cross-linguistic evolution of tense, aspect, and modality, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994) describe immediate (futures) as typically interacting with the tense/aspect system of a language, and even shading into sub-types of immediacy influenced more by aspect than by tense. In Chepang, another Tibeto-Burman language of eastern Nepal, for example, immediate future is marked with an immediate suffix *-khe?* as well as the past/perfective suffix *-?a* (Caughley 1982). In his grammar of Chepang, Caughley describes this marking as occurring with the perfective suffix (rather than with future suffixes) because the interpretation of this construction is ‘the action as a *completed unit* is about to begin.’ It is this viewing of the imminent action as a temporally bounded whole that explains the perfective aspect marking.

Given the tendency for languages to frame immediates in perfective temporal packaging, the function of *IIA* in these constructions becomes clearer. In Manange immediates, we find the first evidence that *IIA* is functioning as a perfective aspect marker at the clause level, framing the action as an imminent bounded ‘event package.’ In this case however, the structure of verb + *IIA* is not in a true series, but is rather a more complex, monoclausal event structure.

5.1.1 *Complex Predicates And Grammatical Chains*

It is the morphologically complex, but still clearly mono-clausal structural characteristics of *IIA* in immediates which pose an even greater challenge to a grammatical chaining analysis of the polygrammaticization of *IIA*. The presence of *IIA* depends upon the immediate marker *-pi*; the tendency by speakers to view an immediate or imminent event (marked by *-pi*) in a perfective temporal frame thus makes available the presence of perfective *IIA*. As a result, while it is not obvious that the anaphoric semantics or transitive valency of *IIA* have contributed to its function in immediates (as they have in the other grammaticized functions), it is plausible that *IIA* as a perfective marker at the intra-clausal level has been reanalyzed as a perfective marker at the clausal level.

In this case however, we have evidence of different semantic and structural resources resulting in a grammatical pathway that is distinct from the others which have been described. It is not obvious that any other occurrence of grammatical *IIA* shown in previous examples can be viewed as the ‘source domain’ from which immediates have developed. Therefore, immediates present the first break, or gap, in the link of a grammatical chaining analysis.

5.2 *IIA In The Embedded Clause of Modals*

A final account of grammatical *11Λ* in Manange, the use in the embedded clause of some modal expressions, provides a still greater challenge for a grammatical chaining analysis of the polygrammaticization of this morpheme. This function of *11Λ* is also arguably its oldest and most grammaticized form, as the semantic contribution (if any) of *11Λ* in these constructions is entirely opaque. These modals include deontics, permissives and potentials (abilitatives). Examples are shown in (20-22):

(20) **Deontic**

a. *3khi 4nu-1Λ 3yaŋ*
 3(SG) **sleep-DO** DEONTIC
 ‘He should/must sleep.’

b. *1ŋΛ 1shΛ 1tsΛ-1Λ 3yaŋ*
 1(SG) meat **eat-DO** DEONTIC
 ‘I should/must eat the meat.’¹⁶

(21) **Permissive**

a. *1khi=ri 1yΛ-1Λ 1pŋ-no*
 3(SG)=LOC **go-DO** give-3.IMPER
 ‘Let him/her go!’

b. *1ŋΛ=ri 11Λ-1Λ 1piŋ-ko*
 1(SG)=LOC **do-DO** give-1.IMPER
 ‘Let me do it!’

(22) **Potential**

a. *1ŋΛ manəŋkye 1kye 1ko-1Λ 4khyëë 1mo*
 1(SG) Manange sound **understand-DO** able COP
 ‘I am able to understand the Manange language.’

b. *1ŋΛ 2kyu-1Λ 4khyeen 1mo*
 1(SG) **run-DO** 4able COP
 ‘I am able to run.’

c. *1khi 4khwe 2priin-1Λ 4khyen-tsi*

3(SG) song **hit-DO** 4able-PERF
'He was able to sing.'

The grammatical form of *IIΛ* is not the morpheme which marks these constructions as modals; rather, it is suffixed to the verb in the dependent clause which is followed by the modal verb (*3yaŋ* 'must,' *1pŋŋ* 'give,' *4khyeε* 'be able'), with the resulting meaning of 'I must/am able to X,' or 'Let him/her X.'¹⁷ In elicited environments, Manange consultants do not analyze *IIΛ* as 'do.' Instead, they identify it only as part of the larger construction of modals. This suggests that *IIΛ* in these modals is fully morphologized, and is not analyzable in its lexical form.¹⁸

In the case of modals, it appears that *IIΛ* originally resided in the second, more grammatical position of a serial verb construction in the embedded clause. Whatever semantic function it may have contributed has since been obscured as it has become reanalyzed as a verbal suffix in the embedded clause. That *IIΛ* is now semantically unanalyzable in modals is evidence of its older, prior status as a grammatical morpheme in these constructions. Such is frequently the case for grammatical uses of 'do' in other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Lahu (Matisoff 1991: 432), where *te* 'do' can carry a "purely redundant" function in some constructions, and does not always contribute semantically to the form in which it appears.

Here again we are faced with a gap in the grammatical chaining device. Suffixal *IIΛ* is not found in any other constructions in the language, and it is not clear here what the semantic or syntactic contribution is from lexical *IIΛ*.

5.3 Complementary Processes

As was stated, immediates and the modal constructions described above provide a challenge to a grammatical chaining analysis of the polygrammaticization of *IIΛ*. In the case of

immediates, it may be plausible to propose that there is a type of diachronic link in the movement of anterior aspect marking to perfective aspect marking in structures which show the same morphosyntactic characteristics. But the structure of immediates, when compared with other grammatical *IIA* constructions, is a different one. Since there clearly was at some point another verb (or at least there is another morpheme) in immediates, the structure is not comparable and thus one cannot posit an input structure based on an earlier output. Hence, there is no evidence for grammatical chaining.

In the case of modals, the semantic contribution of *IIA* in these constructions is no longer obvious, as is any clear explanation for its structural characteristics. Any attempt to link the structure and function of *-IA* in modals back to a particular stage in the other main verb, aspect or valency marking functions that it performs is speculative, at best. In this light, we have evidence of polygrammaticization of *IIA* 'do' in Manange and grammatical chaining as distinct processes. While it is clear that *IIA* is moving along divergent grammatical pathways, it is not obvious that each resulting form and function can be linked along one grammatical chain.

Given then that the varied functions and structural characteristics of *IIA* do not appear to align neatly along a single chain of input and output domains, we may return to the issue of what a polygrammaticization account without grammatical chaining buys in the larger framework of grammaticization. We can immediately see that such an account buys us a great deal.

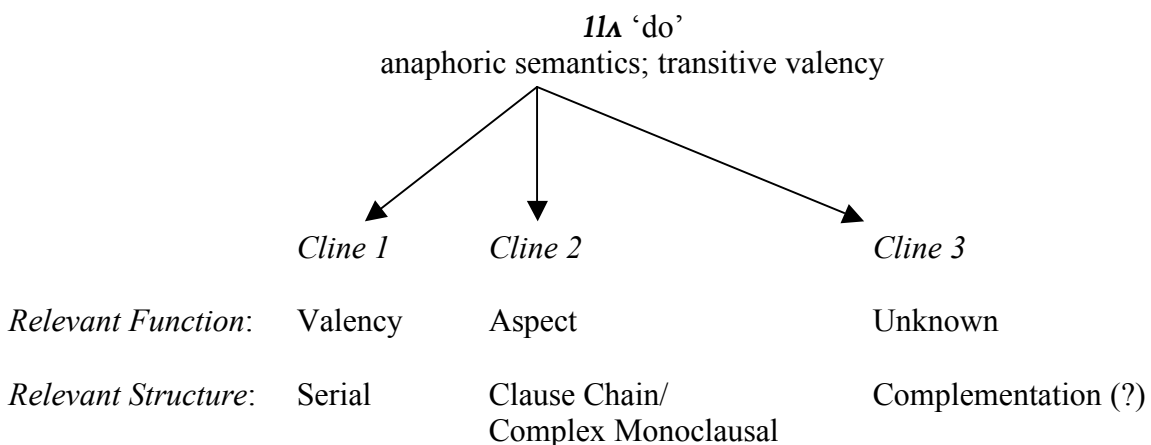
First, the benefit of a polygrammaticization account of *IIA* derives, on the one hand, from attention to the overall direction of this form into different functional domains. It is important to acknowledge that polygrammatical *IIA* conforms to the unidirectionality hypothesis (Hopper and Traugott 1993) in that each case of its use outside of its function as a main verb, namely valency

adjustment and aspect marking, is more abstract, reduced (morpho-phonemically), and more generalized.

Another benefit of a polygrammaticization account derives from how the semantic and transitivity characteristics of the lexical *11A* may be contributing towards its diversity of grammatical functions. Specifically, it is the transitive valency of *11A*, as well as its anaphoric semantic content, which lend nicely to its use in both the argument marking and aspect domains.

A polygrammaticization account of *11A* is also useful because it illustrates the ways in which certain pre-existing and productive formal strategies can be accessed by forms in the development of additional and varied grammatical functions. It is the gravitation of lexical *11A* towards extant and productive clause chaining and serial verb structures which best demonstrates this phenomenon. These semantic and structural resources can be visually represented in the diagram in (23):

(23) Semantic and Structural Resources of *11A* ‘do’



6 *Concluding Remarks*

As this paper has shown, grammatical *IIA* ‘do’ in Manange is multifunctional, marking both valency adjustment and anterior and perfective aspects. It also shows varied formal characteristics, occurring in verb series, a complex mono-clausal construction, as a verbal suffix, and in clause chaining constructions. A polygrammatical account of multifunctional *IIA*, including an examination of its semantic characteristics, and also combined with a recognition of the structural resources which the language provides for grammaticizing forms, best captures the diversity of the grammatical forms and functions of this verb. It is hoped that future studies of grammatical ‘do’ in other Gurungic (and in other Tibeto-Burman) languages may reveal the employment of similar processes and resources.

A goal of this paper was to provide evidence for polygrammaticization and grammatical chaining as at times complementary processes. Given the multiplicity of functions and structures of grammaticized *IIA* described in the previous sections, it is not always plausible to analyze a particular outcome link as a source link for another function or form. Such is the case with the perfective and semantically opaque functions of *IIA* in immediates and modals.

While the contributions of this study lie mainly in the analysis of the functional and structural resources of extant forms in a particular language, this paper also serves to illustrate the versatile and multifunctional nature of ‘do’ in Manange. While its transitive valency and anaphoric semantic content may initially make it appear as an unlikely candidate for movement into multiple functional domains, it is exactly these characteristics (or lack thereof) which make it amenable for these various uses and forms.

References

- Benedict, Paul. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A conspectus*. NY: Cambridge University Press
[Princeton-Cambridge Series Chinese Linguistics 2.]
- Bradley, David. 1997. "Tibeto-Burman languages and classification". In Bradley, David (ed.), *Papers in Southeast Asian linguistics No. 14: Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas* 1-72. Australian National University: Pacific Linguistics.
- Bybee, Joan and Pagliuca, William. 1985. "Cross-linguistic comparison and the development of grammatical meaning." In Fisiak, Jace (ed.), *Historical semantics and historical word formation* 59-83. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Bybee, Joan, Perkins, R. and Pagliuca, W. 1994. *The evolution of grammar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Caughley, Ross. 1982. *The syntax and morphology of the verb in Chepang, Pacific*. Canberra: Australian National University [Linguistics Series B no. 84].
- Comrie, Bernard. 1978. Ergativity. In Lehmann, Winfred P. (ed.), *Syntactic typology: Studies in the phenomenology of language* 329-94. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1985. "Causative verb formation and other verb-deriving morphology." In Shopen, Timothy (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description* 309-348. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Craig, Collete. 1991. "Ways to go in Rama: A case study in polygrammaticalization". In Traugott, Elizabeth and Heine, Bernd (eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization, Vol. II* 455-492. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1991. "The origins of verb serialization in Modern Tibetan". *Studies in Language* 15-1: 1-23.

- Denwood, Philip. 1999. *Tibetan*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Foley, William and Olson, M. 1985. "Clausehood and verb serialization". In Nichols, Johanna and Woodbury, Anthony C. (eds.), *Grammar inside and outside the clause* 17-60. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Genetti, Carol, and Hildebrandt, Kristine A. 2004. "A sketch of Manange adjective classes". In R.M.W. Dixon and A. Aikhevald, *Adjective Classes*. London: Oxford.
- Givón**, Talmy. 1991. "The evolution of dependent clause morpho-syntax in Biblical Hebrew". In Traugott, Elizabeth and Heine, Bernd (eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization, Vol. II* 257-310. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Haiman, John. 1983. "Iconic and economic motivations". *Language* 59: 781-819.
- Haiman, John. 1985. *Natural syntax: Iconicity and erosion*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, Bernd. 1992. "Grammaticalization chains". *Language* 16-2: 335-368.
- Hildebrandt, Kristine A. 2003. "Manange Tone: Scenarios of Retention and Loss in Two Communities" University of California Santa Barbara Dissertation.
- Hildebrandt, Kristine A. 2004. "A sketch grammar of the Manange language." In Genetti, Carol (ed.), *Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal: Manange and Sherpa*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Hopper, Paul and Traugott, Elizabeth. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

- Hoshi, Michiyo. 1986a. *An outline of the Prakaa grammar: A dialect of the Manang language*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Hoshi, Michiyo. 1986b. "A Prakaa vocabulary: A dialect of the Manang language". In *Anthropological and linguistic studies of the Gandaki area in Nepal, Vol. II* 133-202. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Lord, Carol. 1976. "Evidence for syntactic reanalysis: From verb to complementizer in Kwa". In Seever, Sanford B., Walker, Carol A., and Mufwene, Salikoko S. (eds.), *Papers from the parasession on diachronic syntax* 179-191. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Lord, Carol. 1993. *Historical change in serial verb constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Matisoff, James A. 1969. "Verb concatenation in Lahu: The syntax and semantics of 'simple' juxtaposition". *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 12-1: 69-120
- Matisoff, James A. 1991. "Areal and universal dimensions of grammaticalization in Lahu". In Traugott, Elizabeth and Heine, Bernd. (eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization, Vol. II* 383-454. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mazaudon, Martine. 1978. "Consonantal mutation and tonal split in the Tamang sub family of Tibeto-Burman". *Kailash* 6-3: 157-179.
- Mazaudon, Martine. 1988. "The influence of tone and affrication on manner: Some irregular manner correspondence in the Tamang group". Paper Presented at 1st International Conference on Sin-Tibetan Linguistics.

- Nagano, Yasuhiko. 1984. "A Manang glossary". In Tachikawa, Musahi, et al (eds.), *Anthropological and linguistic studies of the Gandaki area in Nepal No. 1* 203-234. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Noonan, Michael. 1997. "Versatile nominalizations". In Bybee, Joan, Haiman, John, and Thompson, Sandra (eds.), *Essays on language function and language type. In honor of T. Givón* 373-394. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Noonan, Michael. 2002. "NarPhu". In La Polla, Randy and Thurgood, Graham, (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. Richmond, England: Curzon Press.
- van Driem, George. 2001. *Languages of the Himalayas: An ethnolinguistic handbook of the Himalayan region, containing an introduction to the symbiotic theory of language*. Leiden: Brill.

¹ An initial version of this paper was presented at the 32nd ICSTL in Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, in October 1999. Research on the Manange language has been supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation (9729005). I would like to thank here the Manange speakers who have contributed data towards this study, including Eden Gurung, Gyaalpo Gurung, Palten Gurung, and Ongma Gurung. The data for this paper were collected over the span of three field trips to Nepal, taken in 1998, 1999 and 2001.

² Abbreviations used in this paper are: 1=first person, 2=second person, 3=third person, ADV=adverb, CC=clause chain, COP=copula, DET=determiner, DIST=distal demonstrative, EMPH=emphatic marker, ERG=ergative, EVID=evidential, GEN=genitive, IMM=immediate, 1.IMPER=imperative (with first-person benefactor), 3.IMPER=imperative (with non-first-person benefactor), LOC=locative, NEG=negative, NOM=nominalizer, PERF=perfective, PL=plural, REP=reported speech, SG=singular.

³ Monosyllabic lexical items have word-level tone assignments of /1/-/4/. All bound grammatical morphemes carry the respective pitch features of the lexical item to which they are bound. Word that are currently unanalyzeable for tone are unmarked.

⁴ As a main verb, the semantics of *IIA* ‘do’ are anaphoric, with the verb typically referring to a previous and referential action.

⁵ The Manange nominalizer *-pA* in these examples is used for verbs in citation form. *-pA* is multifunctional in Manange, also suffixing to main verbs in irrealis mood (i.e. marking ‘futurity’). For more discussion on the multifunctionality, or ‘versatile’ status of Gurungic nominalizers such as Manange *-pA*, refer to Noonan (1997).

⁶ In this paper I utilize Comrie’s (1978) and Dixon’s (1994) diagnostics of A, S and O for the agentive argument of a transitive clause, the single argument of an intransitive clause, and the affected argument of a transitive clause, respectively.

⁷ The single (/) and double (//) backslashes in this example and in other examples with clause chaining (CC) morphology indicate clause and sentence boundaries, respectively.

⁸ Phonological evidence for the bound status of *IIA* in deontic modals is found in the loss of its independent tonal properties. As a suffix, *-IA* displays the same fundamental frequency trajectories as the stem to which it attaches. In this case, a tone /4/ word like *Anu* ‘sleep’ has a falling pitch contour, which carries across both the stem and any bound morphemes.

⁹ Following Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), in this paper I use the term ‘anterior’ as the operational equivalent of ‘perfect aspect’ in order to distinguish between this and perfective aspect.

¹⁰ Causation in Manange is also signaled lexically (e.g. *Ishi* ‘die’ v. *Ise* ‘kill/cause to die’; *2shu* ‘bathe’ v. *Iphyu* ‘clean something/make something clean’). It is also signaled by no change in the verb complex at all (e.g. *2khol* ‘to boil/to boil something’), but rather only by a change in case marking on arguments.

¹¹ *Ile* ‘be warm’ is a verb-like adjective. Verb-like adjectives in Manange show some of the same verbal inflectional morphology as other verbs, but display other morpho-syntactic properties that suggest they are structurally distinct from other verbs. Morphological causation with simple adjectives and verb-like adjectives in Manange is quite unproductive, and is generally limited to the few examples that I have included in this discussion. For more discussion on adjectives in Manange, refer to Genetti and Hildebrandt (2004).

¹² Given that morphological causatives in Manange are less frequent than are periphrastic causatives, it may be then that the verb + *IIA* series in morphological causatives are more lexicalized forms, suggesting that they are an older serialized form than are aspectual or directional serials in the language.

¹³Interestingly, when I first asked for the causative construction in (13 a), my primary consultant provided me with:

1ŋΛ=1Λ *1amΛ=tse* *'1thaŋ 1phya-ro'* *3pi-tsi*
1(SG)=GEN mother=ERG 'floor clean-IMPER' say-PERF
'My mother said 'clean the floor.'''

This directive (not containing any form of *11Λ* 'do') seemed like a causative to my consultant because she said that when her mother gave an order, she just had to follow it. Other speakers agree that this directive form is a common way to express 'causation' when the agent is a human being who volitionally orders, or 'causes' another human to perform an action. When the agent is not a volitional human, the periphrastic causative construction is the more common structure.

¹⁴ Evidence of the *-tse* clause chainer as non-final includes its never co-occurring with sentence-final evidentials such as *1mi*, *1ko*, *1mu*, and *1a*.

¹⁵ Interestingly, one consultant also interprets the *2prim-pi 11Λ* example in (18 a) as 'I threatened to hit the dog' and says that the gesture of brandishing one's arm or a stick (for example) can also lend itself to the translation of that particular construction. In this sense, *2prim-pi 11Λ* can be seen as meaning a threat as well as imminency.

Conceptually, the action of threatening to do an action and the idea of the imminency of an action or event can be seen as similar.

¹⁶ Deontics and potentials in Manage do not show ergative marking on the A argument, even when the main verb is normally interpreted as transitive in other uses (e.g. the A of *1tsΛ* 'eat' shows the ergative clitic =*tse* in perfective clauses), suggesting that these constructions also fall under a time-system umbrella of irrealis, in which basic 'future' and immediate constructions are also located.

¹⁷ Evidence from negated modals points towards *11Λ* as a part of the embedded clause, rather than as part of the modal clause. When modals are negated, the negative prefix *a-* only attaches to the final, modal verb, and never to the previous, dependent verb + *11Λ* complex.

¹⁸ The unanalyzeable status of *11Λ* in modals corresponds with Hoshi's (1986a) analysis of *31Λ* 'do' in a grammar of Praka Manage as bound to the previous verb, and in the transcription of *31Λ* in permissive and deontic constructions as without independent tone assignment.