

Contact-induced change in the Himalayas: the case of the Tamangic languages

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Tamangic languages are a small and uncontroversial genetic grouping spoken entirely within Nepal.¹ Since their arrival in Nepal from Tibet, perhaps 1500 years ago, speakers of these languages have been in contact with speakers of languages belonging to a number of different phyla, some of which are also Tibeto-Burman [*e.g.* the Kham-Magar family, Ghale, and the Tibetan Complex] and others not [*e.g.* Indo-European Nepali and the isolate Kusunda]. This contact has resulted in a number of changes in these languages, though the source, type, and degree of change varies among the languages of the group. For example, Chantyal has been greatly affected by contact with Magar and especially Nepali [Noonan 1996, 2003a], while others – *e.g.* Nar-Phu, Manange, and Seke – have been much less affected by contact-induced change, and what influence they have undergone has come from other sources [for these languages, the Tibetan Complex].

This paper has two goals. The first is to describe the sorts of contact-induced changes the Tamangic languages are presumed to have undergone in recent times and to examine the sociolinguistic situations prevailing between speakers of the recipient and donor languages which existed at the time of the change. The second goal is to examine the data from the Tamangic languages in light of some hypotheses concerning both the relationship between kinds of contact situations and kinds of contact-induced change, and the grammatical effects of contact induced change. As Haspelmath 2004 has pointed out, diffusional linguistics is still in the ‘hunting and gathering stage’, with relatively little attention yet paid to the evaluation of models or competing hypotheses. Such hypotheses exist, however, and it is important to begin the process of examining them against linguistic data.

The paper will be organized as follows. In §2 I will provide some linguistic, historical, and demographic background on Nepal and on the Tamangic languages. In §3 I will describe the linguistic effects of language contact on these languages, focusing especially on Chantyal [the most affected by contact] and Nar-Phu [one of the least affected]. In §4 I will discuss a number of hypotheses concerning contact-induced change in light of the data presented in §3.

2. BACKGROUND: LANGUAGE, HISTORY, AND DEMOGRAPHICS

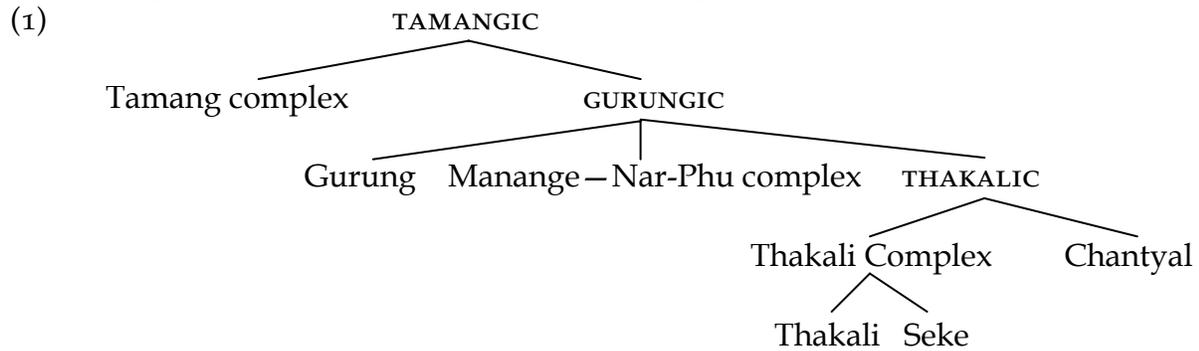
2.1 NEPAL: Nepal is a very complex area ethnically and linguistically. There are at least 140 languages spoken in the country with the indigenous languages divided between various branches of the Tibeto-Burman family and the Indic branch of Indo-European;

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in addition, there is one language isolate, Kusunda.² About half of the population are mono-lingual speakers of Indo-European Nepali, the national language. The rest are all fluent in varying degrees in Nepali, and Nepali continues to encroach steadily on the other languages of the country, both in terms of the continued rise in the percentage of effectively monolingual speakers and in terms of contexts of use among those who continue to speak the other languages. The Nepali government has, in a variety of ways, encouraged this development (Noonan 2006a).

Socially, people were traditionally assigned to a *jat*, which is translated in the Western scheme of things either by 'caste' or 'ethnic group': one's *jat* could therefore be Brahman or Chantyal. In the past, one's *jat* determined one's place in the social hierarchy, one's occupation, whom one could marry, whether one was considered 'clean' [in the Hindu sense], whether one could be enslaved, etc. This system was not native to the Tibeto-Burman ethnicities of Nepal, but was an import from India, written into law by official decree in 1854, and ultimately accepted, at least in basic outline, by the great majority of Nepalis.

2.2 THE TAMANGIC LANGUAGES: People speaking Tamangic languages entered Nepal from Tibet perhaps 1500 years ago, most likely settling initially in the valley of the Kali-Gandaki River and then radiating eastward and southward from there. The area surrounding the Annapurna massif is still the primary locus of this family, though Tamangs have moved much further east. Assessment of the internal relations within the Tamangic languages is complicated by a number of factors, among which is the fact that shared innovations may be the product of geographic contiguity as much as shared genetic background. At the moment, the most likely classification is as follows:



The relation of the Tamangic languages to other languages in the Bodic section of Tibeto-Burman is presented in Figure 1.

Population figures for the ethnic groups speaking the Tamangic languages are provided in (2). Where exact figures are given, they are taken from the 2001 census; the smaller groups were not counted separately in the census.

(2) Tamang 1,282,304

² 'Non-indigenous languages' is taken here to include the languages of relatively recent immigrants, e.g. Hindi, Santali, Kurux, Mundari, and Lhasa Tibetan. Of the 141 languages I have some evidence for in Nepal, 110 are Tibeto-Burman.

Gurung	543,571
Thakali	12,973
Chantyal	9814
Manange	approx. 3000
Nar-Phu	approx. 800
Seke	approx. 500

As to what percentage of the populations of any of these groups continues to speak these languages is an open question. The 2001 census contains figures for language retention, but these figures are almost certainly over-inflated for all the Tamangic languages. For example, approximately 60% of the Chantyal ethnic group claimed in the census to speak the Chantyal language, but my own research on this language indicates that the figure can be no higher than 20%, and is perhaps even smaller.³

2.3 DEGREE AND MANNER OF CONTACT WITH THE SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES: The Tamangic languages differ considerably among themselves as to the degree and manner of contact with other languages, in particular with Nepali. In the chart below, I've tried to summarize a few salient facts. In §2.4 I'll discuss the histories of two of the communities, the Chantyal and the Nar-Phu, in more detail as these represent the extremes of outside contact – in particular, contact with Nepali – among these languages.

(3) CONTACT WITH NON-TAMANGIC LANGUAGES

language	degree and manner of contact with speakers of Nepali	speakers of other languages absorbed into the community	possible sources of linguistic influence besides Nepali
<i>Chantyal</i>	intense	Nepali, Magar, Thakali, Newari, and probably others	most likely some influence from Magar at an early period
<i>Gurung</i>	steady influence for at least two centuries	probably speakers of Ghale	in the early period, Tibetan and possibly Zhangzhung ⁴ ; Ghale
<i>Tamang</i>	sporadic influence until recently	quite possibly speakers of Central Himalayish languages	Central Himalayish?
<i>Thakali</i>	sporadic influence until recently		Tibetan
<i>Manange</i>	little, until recently	Ghale? Tibetan?	Tibetan
<i>Seke</i>	little, until recently		Tibetan
<i>Nar-Phu</i>	little, until quite recently	Ghale? Tibetan?	Tibetan and possibly Ghale; Zhangzhung?

³ See Noonan 2006a for a discussion of this issue.

⁴ Zhangzhung is the language of the Bon scriptures.

In the chart above, languages are ordered informally by degree of Nepali influence, with Chantyal placed first. It's also worth noting that Chantyal is the only language of the group known to have absorbed speakers of Nepali.

The influence of languages besides Nepali and Tibetan cannot easily be assessed and in most cases must be noted as simply probable. The state of our knowledge of the histories of the Tamangic languages – and indeed all the languages of Nepal – is such that we are still in the speculation mode with satisfying proofs lacking almost everywhere. In what follows, I'll mostly ignore other sources of influence and will focus on Nepali influence.

2.4 HISTORIES OF THE CHANTYAL AND NAR-PHU COMMUNITIES: In discussing contact situations, it's important not simply to present information about the linguistic effects of contact, but also to present information about the sorts of social situations that obtained during the period of contact that produced the linguistic effects. Since the social situations are rather complex, and since this paper has to be kept to a reasonable length, I will focus here on the Chantyal and Nar-Phu languages, representing as they do the extremes of contact-induced influence within the family. The Chantyal situation is, in any case, rather unusual, and deserves special attention.

2.4.1 THE CHANTYAL PEOPLE: The Chantyal people are a relatively small ethnic group, numbering about 10,000 people, historically centered in the Baglung and Myagdi districts within the Dhaulagiri Zone of west-central Nepal, though the recent political and economic difficulties have led to considerable numbers of Chantyls moving to Kathmandu and to the cities along the Indian border. The Baglung Chantyal ceased to speak the Chantyal language sometime in the 19th century; the majority of the Myagdi Chantyal continue to speak the Chantyal language. The Chantyal who do not speak Chantyal speak the national language, Nepali.

Within the Tamangic family, Chantyal is closest to Thakali, lexically and grammatically. Most likely, then, the Chantyal people originated as a separate group in the region of the upper Kali-Gandaki Valley, where the Thakalis still live and moved from there to the west. At some point they became specialists in mining. The first trace of them as a separate group finds them living to the west of their present location, working in mines and quarries and moving gradually eastward. They seem to have arrived in their present homeland in the Myagdi and Baglung districts in the late 18th century or early in the 19th century, having a patent from the King of Nepal to mine the copper found there.

The Chantyls who arrived in the Baglung and Myagdi districts were a very different group from the people currently calling themselves Chantyal. There is strong evidence indicating that a single clan, the Għərəmja [or Għərəbja], served as the nucleus for the entire group. The twelve [or fourteen⁵] other clans derive from non-

⁵ Two clans, Nəŋərkuṭi and Phare, are not universally recognized as being 'true' Chantyls, *i.e.* as being eligible to marry other Chantyls, even though they live in Chantyal communities and claim Chantyal status.

Chantyalys who were inducted into the Chantyal ethnic group. Chantyal oral tradition preserves memory of the origin of most of these clans. This memory is reinforced by the fact that some of the clan names are identical to clan names of other nearby ethnic groups. Below is a list of the clans showing their ethnic origin and the language the clan members would have spoken natively:

(4)	clan	ethnic origin	language
	Bhulanja	nomadic forest dweller	Kusunda? Chepang?
	Burathaki	Magar	Nepali or Magar
	Bwanjale	Magar?	Nepali or Magar
	Dademare	probably descendants of slaves	[all? mostly?] Nepali
	Gherti	descended from mixed marriages or slaves	Nepali, some Chantyal?
	Ghyapcan	Thakali	Thakali
	Jhinrajya	Magar?	Nepali or Magar
	Kharka	Chetri	Nepali
	Nanjarkuti	Newar	Newari
	Parlange	Magar?	Nepali or Magar
	Phare	descendants of slaves	[all? mostly?] Nepali
	Purane	low caste Nepali speakers	Nepali
	Sinje	Magar?	Nepali or Magar
	Syanjyali	Magar	Nepali or Magar

Ethnic Magars in the Baglung and Myagdi districts currently speak Nepali natively, though their co-ethnics elsewhere speak various dialects of the Magar language, a Tibeto-Burman variety rather distantly related to Chantyal and not mutually intelligible with it. It is not known when the Magars in these districts shifted to Nepali, though as we will see below, there are some possible traces of the Magar language in modern Chantyal, suggesting that at least some of these Magars may have spoken their ancestral language at this time. It is clear, however, that the language of interethnic communication in this region of Nepal during this period was Nepali, which was already well established locally in the 18th century. Clearly, then, when new groups, including those who ultimately were inducted into Chantyal ethnicity, encountered the core Chantyal, the language they would have communicated in would have been Nepali.⁶

It is not known at this time how many Chantyal clans there were when the group moved into the Dhaulagiri Zone, but it seems likely that the great majority of the existing clans assumed Chantyal status after the move. There are a number of kinds of evidence for this assertion, including marriage patterns, modes of ancestor and clan god worship, and oral tradition. One thing that is clear, however, is that it must have been very attractive at that time to be a Chantyal; the profits from mining must have been considerable and the role of the Chantyalys as miners was so valuable to the Nepalese state that Chantyalys were exempt from the military draft during the period of wars with

⁶ The exception would likely have been the progenitors of the Ghyapcan clan, whose native Thakali would have been more-or-less mutually intelligible with Chantyal.

British India early in the 19th century.⁷ Further, the patent assigned to the Chantyalys specified that only they could do the mining,⁸ so the Chantyalys themselves must have been in need of additional labor to deal with the extensive copper deposits in the considerable area over which they had been granted a patent.

The social and linguistic effects of this influx of non-Chantyalys into the community must have been considerable. The Chantyalys had for long been a small group living among Nepali speakers [the west of Nepal is primarily Nepali speaking]. But after moving into the Dhaulagiri Zone, native speakers of Chantyal became a minority within their own communities. The massive influx of non-Chantyal speakers, many or most of whom must have had Nepali as their native language, resulted in the large-scale use of Nepali within Chantyal villages. This overwhelmed the Chantyal language in the Baglung District. In the Myagdi District, the Chantyal language survived, but the presence of so many non-native speakers in the community had profound effects on the lexicon, the phonology, and the syntax.⁹

The Chantyal people are a minority in both the Baglung and Myagdi districts. Nepali-speaking Brahmins and Chetris, Nepali-speaking Magars, and a few Thakalis and Newars make up the bulk of the population. Within the Chantyal-speaking villages, alongside the Chantyal, live Nepali-speaking Kamis, an untouchable caste of blacksmiths, who are always addressed in Nepali. When Chantyalys and other peoples live on the same slope, the Chantyal farm the highest land: on the slopes below them live Magars and members of the Hindu castes, all of whom are addressed in Nepali.

In sum, what is being claimed here is that the Chantyal language was a fairly typical Tamangic language at the time of its appearance in the Dhaulagiri Zone, after which the induction of large numbers of non-Chantyal speaking peoples into the ethnic group in a very short period had a large-scale impact on the community language, resulting in its replacement by Nepali in most villages and its retention in greatly changed form in the remainder. In §3, we will examine the nature of the changes to Chantyal in the communities where it survived.

2.4.2 THE NAR-PHU PEOPLE: The Nar-Phu people also seem to have originated in the Kali-Gandaki Valley, and moved from there to their present location in the valley of the Nar River in the Manang District of Nepal, north of the Annapurna massif next to the Tibetan border. The region is very high, with altitudes beginning around 3500m.

The Nar-Phu language is spoken in two villages, called in Nepali *Nar* and *Phu*, which lie above the tree line, though some agricultural activity is still possible at both sites. People from both villages traditionally move seasonally to lower elevations. The

⁷ An additional indicator of the importance of the Chantyal mines to the state was the presence of a royal mint at the mine in the Chantyal town of Jhij Khani.

⁸ Only Chantyalys could work in the mines themselves, but others, for example slaves, could transport the raw ore, break up ore-bearing rocks, smelt the ore, etc.

⁹ The information in this section was drawn from Noonan 1996, which can be consulted for a further analysis of the contemporary sociolinguistic situation among the Chantyal. Noonan 2006a provides a description of current attempts to revive and promote Tibeto-Burman languages, including Chantyal, in west-central Nepal.

small valley in which Nar is located contains three Buddhist monasteries adhering to the Nyingmapa sect of Tibetan Buddhism. One large Nyingmapa monastery is located right in the middle of Phu. The monks and nuns at these monasteries may be local people, or may be from other parts of Nepal or Tibet. In the past, important lamas would visit – and sometimes settle – there from the Kyirong region of Tibet.

Until quite recently, outside contacts were largely limited to speakers of Tibetan dialects and the closely related Tamangic languages Manange and Gurung. Since Gurung and especially Manange are largely mutually intelligible with Nar-Phu, the Nar-Phu people of the two villages have a ‘secret language’, the point of which is to confound Mananges and Gurungs who might otherwise understand their conversations. Contact with the government of Nepal and Nepali speakers generally was quite limited until the 1970s; foreigners required special permission to enter the area. As a result, the Nar-Phu lexicon had few Nepali borrowings, at least until the last decade or so. There was rather more influence from Tibetan, however, as there have been speakers of Tibetan dialects in the villages almost continually for a long period. Because the Tamangic group and Tibetan are related languages, it is not always easy to identify Tibetan borrowings, particularly older ones.

All the inhabitants of Nar and Phu speak the Nar-Phu language, though with decreasing fluency as the national language, Nepali, has come to be used more and more commonly among the Nar-Phu diaspora and even within the villages of Nar and Phu.¹⁰ When Nar-Phu is spoken, it is now frequently mixed with a good deal of Nepali. In addition, almost all adults past thirty know Tibetan as well, though knowledge of Tibetan is decreasing as people spend less time in the villages and as the importance of Nepali has increased. Until quite recently, literacy in Classical Tibetan was more common than literacy in Nepali. Tibetan literacy is taught in the monasteries; Nepali literacy is picked up either outside the region or in the local, government-run school, which has been open only intermittently due to the difficulty of retaining qualified teachers in this area where living is hard, even by the standards of rural Nepal. Still the importance of Nepali literacy is obvious to all, and all younger people seem to be literate in Nepali.

The language that we will be concerned with here is the speech of older, more fluent speakers, who still speak a version of the language which is relatively uninfluenced by Nepali.

3. THE LINGUISTIC EFFECTS OF CONTACT

In this section, we’ll consider briefly the linguistic effects of contact on the Tamangic languages, surveying the lexicon, the phonology, the morpho-syntax, and rhetorical strategies.¹¹

¹⁰ This decline in fluency is marked, but is quite recent, and affects at this stage only younger people.

¹¹ Sources of information on the Tamangic languages are: Chantyal (Noonan 2003a), Gurung (Glover 1974, Glover *et al* 1977), Manange (Hoshi 1986, Hildebrandt 2003b), Nar-Phu (Noonan 2003b), Tamang (Mazaudon 1973, 1993-4, 2003), Thakali (Georg 1996), Seke (Honda 2003).

3.1 LEXICON: Chantyal has borrowed massively from Nepali: 71% of the morphemes recorded in Noonan *et al* 1999 are of Nepali origin. All of the other Tamangic languages have borrowed from Nepali, but in no other Tamangic language has the native linguistic stock been so reduced as in Chantyal and in so many lexical domains. In Chantyal, even very basic lexical items – many names for body parts, many kinship terms, many common verbs, the entire number system – have been borrowed from Nepali. In many respects, it's difficult to establish a lexical boundary between Nepali and Chantyal since virtually any lexical [as opposed to grammatical] morpheme may be used in a Chantyal sentence, replacing even surviving [and still commonly occurring] Chantyal words.¹² This is especially likely to happen in more formal contexts, but it is found in other social contexts as well. To illustrate just how extensive borrowing has been, I've provided a short excerpt from a personal narrative, the full text of which can be found in Noonan *et al* 1999. Borrowed Nepali morphemes are in boldface type:

- (5)
1. **jəstəy** na **yekkays** **sal-ri-wa** **jənmə** **ɦin**
 ever.since I 21 year-LOC-NOM birth be.NPST
 'Ever since...I was born in the year 21.' [*i.e.* in 2021, in the Nepali calendar]
 2. **əni** **yekkays** **sal-gəm** **tin** **bərsə** **umer-ri** **nə-ye** **ama** **si-i**
 then 21 year-ALB three year age-LOC I-GEN mother die-PERF
 'Then, three years from the year 21, my mother died.'
 3. **əni** **cəwdfhə** **bərsə** **umer** **səmmə** **baba-sə** **pəni** **ərko** **swasni**
 then 14 year age until father-ERG also another wife
 ɦa-ka
 NEG-bring-PERF
 'Then until I was fourteen, my father didn't get another wife.'
 4. **cəwdfhə** **bərsə** **umer** **legəm** **baba-sə** **ərko** **swasni** **kɦa-i**
 14 year age back father-ERG another wife bring-PERF
 'After I was 14 years old, my father got another wife.'
 5. **cəratər** **tɦāy** **sanima** **mu**
 from.then now step-mother be.NPST
 'From then until now, she's my step-mother.'
 6. **əni** **sorə** **bərsə** **umer-ri** **sanima-ru** **nikki** **khəllə** **bəllə**
 then 16 year age-LOC step-mother-COM a.lot quarreling
 ta-si-rə
 become-ANT-SEQ
 'Then at 16 years of age, I was quarreling with my step-mother a lot, and'
 7. **na** **tɦem-əŋ-gəmsə** **bɦagi-si-rə**
 I house-LOC-ABL run-ANT-SEQ
 'I ran away from home, and'

¹² This is not code-switching [though that may happen occasionally as well], since the borrowed words are fully integrated grammatically into the Chantyal sentence.

8. thak **khola**-nas fya-si-rə
Thak Khola-ALL go-ANT-SEQ
'I went toward Thak Khola, and'
9. **der** bərsə səmmə ci-si-rə
one.and.a.half year until sit-ANT-SEQ
'I stayed for a year and a half, and'
10. kha-i
come-PERF
'I came back.'
11. əni kha-si-rə
then come-ANT-SEQ
'Then, having come back,'
12. chim **khola**-ri dwi bərsə səmmə na iskul pəni pəri-i
Chim Khola-LOC two year until I school also study-PERF
'In Chim Khola, I went to school for two years.'
13. **iskul** pəri-si-rə
school study-ANT-SEQ
'Having gone to school,'
14. **ath kəlas pas** la-i
8 class pass do-PERF
'I passed the eighth grade.'
15. cater **phiri** them-əŋ kha-i
from.then again house-LOC come-PERF
'Then, I again came home.' [W1-15]

[Note: the it's not clear whether *ama* 'mother' is borrowed or native. *iskul*, *kəlas*, and *pas* are words of English origin which entered Chantyal via Nepali.]

While the discourse in (3) is very typical, the number of Nepali morphemes may be slightly inflated due to the presence of numbers and school terms, all of which are borrowed. Even so, it is clear from even this small sample that Chantyal is saturated with Nepali borrowings, and that these borrowings extend beyond technological and cultural vocabulary.

Of the other languages, Gurung has been borrowing the most Nepali vocabulary over the longest period. Not only have Gurung speakers been in contact with speakers of Nepali in and around their home territory for a long period, but Gurung men have traditionally served in the Gurkha units of the British and Indian armies, in which Nepali was the working language.

The Tamangic languages in the Tibeto-sphere, *i.e.* the languages whose speakers were in contact with Tibetans and practice Tibetan Buddhism [Nar-Phu, Manange, Seke, and Thakali], have borrowed vocabulary from Tibetan in varying degrees. This appears to be most extensive in Nar-Phu, which has also borrowed some numerals, especially higher numerals and ordinals, from Tibetan.

3.2 PHONOLOGY: Various phonological features are discussed below and summarized in Table 1.¹³

3.2.1 TONE, VOICE QUALITY, AND VOICING: The Tamangic languages are best described as having a basic four-tone system [Mazaudon 1973, 1978a, 1978b, 1993-4; see also Noonan 2003b for a sketch of such a system in Nar-Phu]. In the prototype pattern, two of the tones have modal voice [these are referred to as ‘high register’], while two are often associated with phonetic murmur¹⁴ [these are referred to as ‘low register’]. Consonant voicing is not contrastive:¹⁵ initial stops and affricates in the high register tones may be either voiceless or voiceless aspirated; voice quality and glottal timing is not contrastive in the low register tones, which, depending on the language, may be phonetically murmured or voiced. Intervocally, voiceless consonants are voiced. All native roots are C(R)V(C), and the final consonant is not contrastively voiced or aspirated. The system of initial stop and affricate consonants is summarized below:¹⁶

(6)	TONE	INITIAL CONSONANT	SYLLABIC QUALITY
	1	C or C ^h	modal
	2	C or C ^h	modal
	3	C ^{h̥}	murmured
	4	C ^{h̥}	murmured

[Where C = voiceless, C^h = voiceless aspirated, and C^{h̥} = murmured or voiced.]

In contrast, Nepali is toneless; stops and affricates have a four-way contrast of voiceless, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and murmured variants initially, medially, and finally. The two systems, then, have some areas of overlap, but many differences. The outlines of the two systems are contrasted below:

(7)

feature	Nepali	Tamangic Prototype
<i>tone</i>	no tones	four-way tonal contrast
<i>phonetic murmur</i>	feature of consonants; found only with stops and affricates	feature of tones; note that initial consonant in a low-register tone can have any consonantal manner of articulation
<i>voiceless & voiceless aspirate distinction</i>	distinctive in all positions [initial, medial, final]	distinctive in word-initial position in high register tones
<i>voicing</i>	distinctive in all positions	redundantly specified for stops and fricatives in initial position in low register tones and with phonemically voiceless stops and affricates intervocally

¹³ Many of the features discussed in §3.2 and §3.3 are placed in a larger areal context in Noonan 2003c.

¹⁴ Murmur is also known as ‘breathy voice’.

¹⁵ Voicing is contrastive with liquids, however, in the non-murmured tones. See below.

¹⁶ Mazaudon’s analysis of the prototype system is slightly different, but the differences do not affect the essentials of the argument that follows.

Given all this, what was the outcome of contact between these two rather different systems in the phonology of Chantyal, the language most affected by contact with Nepali? The result was a system that is different from either model.

First, the tonal system as such was a casualty of the contact situation. Contour pitch distinctions, which characterized the earlier Tamangic system were completely lost. Even under less extreme contact situations, Tamangic tone systems are often casualties of contact with Nepali: Manange (Hildebrandt 2003a) and Nar-Phu have both witnessed reduction in the number of tonal distinctions made by some speakers as a result of increased use of Nepali, even in speech among co-ethnics. Further, most of the people inducted into Chantyal ethnicity were native speakers of non-tonal languages: of the native languages of the new Chantyls, only Thakali, another Tamangic language, is tonal. In any case, the massive influx of Nepali vocabulary would likely have overwhelmed the tone system.

Despite the loss of the tone system, the high-low register distinction survived, but assumed a different status in the grammar. Low-register tones were associated with murmured voice quality: murmured voice quality was retained, and, as in Nepali, came to be analyzed as a feature of consonants. In Nepali, murmur is contrastive only with stops and affricates; in Chantyal, any sort of consonant [stop, affricate, fricative, liquid, and glide] can be associated with distinctive murmur. Further, in a development whose origins are not completely understood, murmur came also to be associated with voiceless stops and affricates and with voiceless aspirated stops.¹⁷ A few examples follow:

(8)	para	'male water buffalo calf'	tan	'loom'
	phara	'flour'	than	'hang'
	pharak	'skirt'	than	'shrine'
			thhan	'put down, store'
	bar	'fence'	dan	'man's name'
	bhar	'rack'	dhan	'paddy rice'
	marā	'see'	na	'I'
	mhar	'gold'	nha	'ear'
	sya	'meat'	lam	'unidentified plant'
	shya	'look at'	lham	'long'

[<h> indicates murmur; <h> indicates aspiration.]

Because of the large number of Nepali borrowings, voice, aspiration and murmur are now distinctive in all consonantal positions: initially, medially, and finally. The murmured consonants not found in Nepali are only realized as murmured word-initially.

In sum, Chantyal lost its tone system, but in its place it now has a new set of phonemic contrasts. No other Tamangic language, nor indeed any other language in the region, has this combination of a lack of a tone system and the presence of all of these

¹⁷ Actually, only /thh/ and /khh/ are attested; */phh/ is not. Phonetically, the murmur in these cases is realized on the following vowel, though is associated phonologically with the consonant.

phonemic contrasts involving murmur:¹⁸ indeed no other language in the region has the phonetic sequence of an aspirated stop followed by a phonetically murmured vowel.¹⁹

Of the other languages, Gurung had undergone the most change as a result of Nepali influence. Like Chantyal, Gurung came to allow voicing and murmur contrasts in positions other than initial position and permitted voicing contrasts in some tones. It should be noted that in the last two decades, most of the Tamangic languages have come under intense pressure from Nepali and the rate of lexical borrowing has increased considerably.

3.2.2 VOICING OPPOSITION IN LIQUIDS: Historically, the Tamangic languages contrasted voiced and voiceless liquids, as we see in the examples in (9) from Nar-Phu:

- (9) hlâ [ʰʰla] 'month' hru [ʰʰru] 'thread'
lâ [ʰʰla] 'do' ru [ʰʰru] 'squint'

Nepali has no such contrast. Chantyal also lacks this contrast, and it is at least possible that this distinction was lost due to contact with Nepali. The other Tamangic languages still contrast voiced and voiceless liquids, at least in some dialects, though the etymological sources for the voiceless consonants may not line up in all the languages.

3.2.3 RETROFLEX CONSONANTS: In the South Asian region, there are phonetically two sorts of oppositions that are referred to as 'retroflex': dental *vs* true retroflex [apical post-alveolar] and dental *vs* alveolar, with the [apical] alveolar being affricated with a rhotacized off-glide such as [ɽ]. The first is characteristic of Indic languages like Nepali, the second characteristic of the Bodish group, such as the Tamangic languages. See Michailovsky 1988 for discussion.

Chantyal lacks a retroflex series of any sort, again making it unique among the Tamangic languages. Historically, the Magar languages also lacked a retroflex series, and this may account for the fact that the regional Nepali in the Dhaulagiri Zone also lacks retroflex consonants: Nepali had replaced Magar as the main regional language by the early 19th century. In any case, Chantyal has aligned with the regional [but not Standard] Nepali in lacking a retroflex series.

3.2.4 PHONEMIC OPPOSITION BETWEEN AN ALVEOLAR AND AN ALVEOPALATAL SERIES OF FRICATIVES AND AFFRICATES: The Tamangic group historically had a phonemic opposition between an alveolar and an alveopalatal series of fricatives and affricates. Spoken Nepali lacks such an opposition — though a few purists pronounce written ञ <ś> as an alveopalatal. In Nepali the opposition is allophonic, with alveopalatal vari-

¹⁸ Alternatively, one could analyze Chantyal as having a phonemic two-register system, high [modal] and low [murmured], in place of the old tone system, accounting in this way for the presence of murmur in morphemes. This would require, however, either analyzing Nepali borrowings in the same way — difficult since murmured consonants can occur without a following vowel — or setting up a two-tiered system of Nepali *vs* native vocabulary, with murmur having a different status within each set. Even under this analysis, Chantyal would still have unique system in this region.

¹⁹ In the Magar language, it is possible to have a murmured vowel preceded by a voiceless aspirated consonant, but this appears to be a recent development with quite different origins; it has, in any case, an entirely different basis phonologically (Grunow-Hårsta *in preparation*).

ants pronounced before front vowels and /y/. Chantyal conforms to the Nepali pattern, as does Tamang. Gurung preserves the opposition marginally, and Thakali preserves it only in the affricates.

3.2.5 WORD-INITIAL /ŋ/: Chantyal apart, the Tamangic languages allow the velar nasal to appear in word initial position; Nepali does not. Chantyal has converged with Nepali in not allowing /ŋ/ to appear word initially, though unlike Nepali, in Chantyal /ŋ/ contrasts with other nasals medially and finally.

3.2.6 $\Lambda \sim \text{D}$ ALLOPHONY: This refers to a characteristic of Nepali which has been passed on to a number of other Nepalese languages. In Nepali, the mid-central phoneme /ə/ has two allophones, a mid-central vowel and a low back rounded vowel in more-or-less free variation. This feature has been borrowed into Chantyal for its phoneme /ə/; it has also been borrowed into the Tamangic language Thakali (Georg 1996) and may well be found in other Tamangic languages, though the published descriptions of these languages are not clear on this point. It is not found in Nar-Phu.

3.2.7 VARIABLE WORD STRESS: In Standard Nepali, stress is phonemic, though it is largely predictable from the orthography, which writes distinctions in vowel length that are no longer pronounced. In the Tamangic languages, stress was predictable and was generally fixed on the root. Where languages have borrowed large amounts of Nepali vocabulary, the borrowed items have accommodated to the Nepali stress pattern. Of the languages in our sample, this is most evidently true of Chantyal, though it is true to lesser degrees for most of the other languages.

3.3 MORPHO-SYNTAX: The features discussed in this §3.3.1 to §3.3.8 are summarized in Table 2.

3.3.1 WORD ORDER: Nepali and the Tamangic languages both allow AN word order, but the Tamangic languages also permit NA order. Chantyal alone stands out among the Tamangic languages in not allowing NA order, conforming to Nepali preferences.

Nepali allows only Num N order, and the Tamangic languages, again excepting Chantyal, allow only N Num order. Here too, Chantyal has conformed to the Nepali norm.

3.3.2 DATIVE SUBJECTS: The 'dative subject' construction is one in which the most animate argument is rendered in the case ordinarily assigned to indirect objects and, moreover, acquires many of the characteristics of subjects in the language. Semantically, dative subjects are typically non-volitional experiencers. See Masica 1991 for an extended discussion.

The dative subject construction is a prominent feature of Nepali syntax, and while examples of dative subjects can be found in all contemporary Tamangic languages, it would appear that the construction has spread from Nepali into these languages as its extent and frequency can be correlated with the degree of contact with Nepali. Predictably, Chantyal exhibits the construction with the widest range of predicates [though still not as wide as Nepali], and Nar-Phu shows the least, with the construction there only sporadically attested. Some examples follow:

- (10) NEPALI
 mə-lai bʰok lag-yo
 1S-DAT hunger attach-3S.PERF
 'I got hungry'
 CHANTYAL
 na-ra khyana kha-i
 1S-DAT hunger come-PERF
 'I got hungry'
 NAR-PHU
 ŋæ̌ čhê-č̌in
 1S hungry-PERF
 'I got hungry'

3.3.3 MORPHOLOGICAL VALENCE INCREASING STRATEGY: We refer here to derivational processes which increase valence [applicative or causative]; Nepali and the Tamangic languages have periphrastic causative constructions, and we are not considering these here.

Nepali has productive valence increasing derivational morphology, but the Tamangic languages do not.²⁰ Chantyal has borrowed a valence increasing derivational process from Nepali, along with [the very numerous] borrowed verbs, though interestingly the morphology and the semantic categories it encodes are not identical to that found in Nepali (Noonan 2003a); it is restricted to Nepali borrowings.

3.3.4 TENSE DISTINCTIONS IN NON-FINITE VERBALS: Nepali has a set of non-finite verbals which encode [secondary] tense. The Tamangic languages lack such forms, except for Chantyal, which has innovated by utilizing the sequential converbal affix *-si* in combination with the nominalization affix *-wa*, resulting in a combination *-si-wa* which is assigned a secondary past tense and is used in all of the many functions of nominalizations in Chantyal: see Noonan 1997 for a summary of these functions.²¹

The path by which *-si* came to be used in combination with the nominalizing suffix *-wa* is interesting and worth discussing in this context. Nepali has a sequential converb [referred to as a 'conjunctive participle' in traditional descriptions of Nepali] in *-erə*. As it happens, Nepali has a perfect participle in *-e* and a coordinative conjunction in *-rə*. Chantyals borrowed the coordinative conjunction from Nepali and at some point analyzed Nepali *-erə* as consisting of the perfect participle in *-e* and the coordinate conjunction *-rə*, and equated their sequential converb *-si* with Nepali *-e*. One result was that *-si*, which in other Tamangic languages is used alone as a sequential converb, is now found in combination with *-rə* in most of its uses: see the discourse in (3) for examples of the reanalyzed sequential converb *-si-rə*. Once *-si* was reanalyzed as an anterior suf-

²⁰ There are a very few lexical traces of such a strategy in the Tamangic languages inherited from Proto-Sino-Tibetan, but no productive morphological processes.

²¹ Nar-Phu has also innovated a tense distinction in nominalizations, but from a completely different source: present tense *-pɛ* is distinguished from past tense *-pi*. *-pi* appears to consist of *-pɛ* together with the Tamangic past tense suffix *-i* [*<*-ci*].

fix in the new combination, it was available for combining with the nominalizer to create a new anterior nominalization *-si-wa*.

3.3.5 PERIPHRASTIC TENSE-ASPECT WITH COPULAR VERBS: Nepali has a number of non-finite verbals which combine with the two copular verbs to create a variety of tense-aspect distinctions, often including evidential and/or modal senses.²² The basic Tamangic pattern lacks this completely: tense-aspect-mood distinctions are rendered by a small set of inflectional suffixes, though Nar-Phu has innovated an evidentiality system using copular verbs (Noonan 2003b), and a number of languages use nominalizations as finite verbs (Noonan 1997, *to appear*).²³

Chantyal has innovated in the direction of Nepali. It now has a considerable number of periphrastic verbal constructions composed of its two copular verbs with an expanded [relative to other Tamangic languages] set of non-finite verbals. The Chantyal system is as complex as the Nepali system, but doesn't map onto it perfectly, although there is considerable overlap. One reason that the systems don't match perfectly is that non-finite verbals in Chantyal have a substantially different syntax than those in Nepali: Chantyal relies much more on converbs than Nepali does [see Noonan 1999 for a list of uses of converbs in Chantyal] and nominalizations in Chantyal have a much wider array of functions than they do in Nepali (Noonan 1997).

3.3.6 HONORIFIC VERB STEMS: Within Nepal, honorific noun and verb stems are characteristic of the Bodish group, including the Tamangic languages. They are well preserved only in those languages spoken by people who adhere to the Tibetan Buddhist faith – and can be considered a linguistic marker of that faith.²⁴ Chantyal is nominally Hindu, although their daily practice is better described as shamanistic. In any case, Chantyal has only traces of the honorific system left. Nepali has no honorific nouns or verbs.

Honorific nouns and verbs are best preserved in Nar-Phu, Manange, Thakali, and Seke. See Noonan 2003b for exemplification of the phenomenon in Nar-Phu.

3.3.7 NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS: Numeral classifiers are entirely absent from the Tamangic structural profile, but are present in Nepali. The Nepali classifier system is quite simple, consisting only of a human/non-human distinction.

Chantyal has borrowed the entire Nepali numeral system, and along with this system they have borrowed the Nepali system of classifiers. However, the human classifier is seldom used except in very formal speech, and this usage is consistent with the local colloquial Nepali. See Noonan 2003a for discussion.

3.3.8 CORRELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS: The correlative construction that concerns us here is a complex construction formed with a relative pronoun in the first clause and a

²² In fact, there are a number of other verbs which function as auxiliaries in Chantyal, and mood distinctions and evidentiality are also conveyed by the rich array of periphrastic constructions the language now allows. This is sketched out very briefly in Noonan 2003a.

²³ The Tamangic present/imperfect suffix *-m* derives from one of the copular verbs. It combines not with a non-finite verbal [as its counterpart does in Nepali], but rather with the bare verbal root, consistent with the usual pattern found in Bodish languages.

²⁴ It would appear that this feature characterizes Bon communities as well.

demonstrative in the second: *who believes my argument, that person will be enlightened*. The Tamangic languages natively lacked this construction; it is, however, characteristic of Nepali. Chantyal has borrowed this construction from Nepali, as has Tamang; I have no evidence of this construction in any other Tamangic language.

3.3.9 ADDITIONAL GRAMMATICAL BORROWINGS: The Tamangic languages have borrowed some additional grammatical morphemes and constructions.

RELATIONAL MORPHEMES: Chantyal, Gurung, and Tamang (and perhaps some others²⁵) have borrowed relational morphemes from Nepali. All three borrowed a comparative morpheme and a benefactive ‘for’; Gurung and Tamang borrowed an allative; Chantyal borrowed a comitative; and Gurung borrowed a dative.

In the case of the comparative and benefactive there was no simple form to express these meanings, so far as I can tell: certainly there are no forms which one could reconstruct for Proto-Tamangic. In these cases, the forms could be viewed as filling in a gap. This sort of functional rationale is not available for the other borrowings: Chantyal, for example, has two other comitatives, so it’s difficult to explain the borrowing in these terms. In the case of the Gurung dative, the borrowed Nepali form is *-lāi*; the Tamangic languages, however, have an inherited dative in **la/ra*, so it is likely that in Gurung the native form was remodeled on the Nepali one.

CONJUNCTIONS: All the languages except Nar-Phu, Manange, and Seke have borrowed conjunctions meaning ‘and’ and ‘or’ from Nepali. In addition, Tamang has borrowed the complementizer *ki* from Nepali (Poudel 2005).

PERIPHRASTIC EVIDENTIAL MARKING: Nar-Phu has borrowed a periphrastic evidential construction involving the copula from the Tibetan Complex. This construction is central to the organization of the verbal system and signals that the information so reported was obtained indirectly, through inference, hearsay, etc. (Noonan 2003b). All the other Tamangic languages and Nepali employ sentence-final particles to signal evidentiality; Nar-Phu uses sentence-final particles too, along with the obligatory expression of evidentiality in the verb complex.

3.3.10 FEATURES NOT BORROWED INTO THE TAMANGIC LANGUAGES FROM NEPALI: For the sake of a more balanced presentation, it’s worth considering features that were not borrowed into Chantyal from Nepali.

(11) Nepali features that were not borrowed into Chantyal:

1. *person-number features on verbs*: The Central Himalayish languages as well as Nepali have person-number marking on verbs, but the Tamangic languages have not developed this feature.

²⁵ Grammar writers tend to underreport contact-induced phenomena when the contact situations are relatively recent. That is, they tend to report only structures which are perceived as ‘native’ or ‘nativized’ if obviously borrowed. This means that much evidence for contact phenomena is systematically excluded from grammars and grammar sketches.

2. *honorific grades of second and third person pronouns*: This feature has been borrowed into Chantyal and some of the other languages in a modest way: there is some tendency to use the 2pl pronoun for singular honorific reference. However, there is nothing comparable to the multiple-level honorific system of Nepali in the Tamangic languages.
3. *split-ergative syntax*: Except for Nar-Phu and Manange, the Tamangic languages demonstrate remarkably consistent ergative marking on transitive subjects. Nar-Phu and Manange have ergative marking that is based partly on discourse factors. This feature may have been influenced by Tibetan, but the matter requires more study.
4. *valence decreasing strategy*: No Tamangic language has borrowed a valence decreasing strategy from Nepali or developed one independently.
5. *finite subordinate clauses [except as complements of 'say']*: Nepali has finite subordinate clauses of various sorts, but the Tamangic languages as a group do not employ finite subordination except as complements of 'say'. [The correlative construction discussed above does not involve straightforward subordination.] Poudel 2003 reports that Tamang has borrowed a finite subordinate construction from Nepali along with the complementizer *ki*.

Features not found in Nepali that were retained in Tamangic languages:

1. *compound case*: The Tamangic languages [and other Bodish languages] utilize compound case (Noonan 2005b, 2007). In fact, by the standards of the region, Chantyal makes extensive use of this feature, more than other Tamangic languages.
2. *verbal with nominal and adjectival functions*: The Tamangic languages have retained this feature, and have apparently extended the use of this verbal in ways that mark the languages as increasingly different from Nepali (Noonan 1997).
3. *double demonstratives*: Chantyal, and to a small extent the other Thakalic languages, employ 'double demonstratives' (Noonan 2001). Nepali does not have this feature.

3.4 RHETORICAL STRATEGIES: Very little research has been carried out on rhetorical strategies in the languages of Nepal — or, indeed, from a typological perspective, on languages generally. Nonetheless, some observations can be made on the effects of contact on certain rhetorical strategies employed in the Tamangic languages. The features discussed here are summarized in Table 3.

3.4.1 REFERENTIAL DENSITY: It has long been recognized that languages differ in the percentage of possible arguments that, in continuous text, are given overt expression versus those that are not. The percentage of overtly expressed core arguments to possible [*i.e.* notional] core arguments is referred to as 'referential density' [RD]. We know, for example, that languages long resident in the western littoral of Eurasia have high RD values, whereas languages in East Asia, in particular languages in the Sino-Tibetan family, have low RD values. Two studies (Bickel 2003, Noonan *ms*) have investigated differences in referential density between Indo-European and Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, and both found that, in the terms of Noonan (*ms*), Indo-European Nepali scores in the moderate RD value range, whereas the Tibeto-Burman languages,

including Chantyal, score in the low range.²⁶ In Noonan's (*ms*) crosslinguistic investigation, the lowest RD values of any language were recorded for the Tamangic language Manange: one discourse had an RD value of 34%.

In that same study, some Chantyal discourses, however, were in the moderate range, approaching percentages characteristic of Nepali, which averages 62%, while others had lower RD values. For the discourses with the moderate RD values, it's not clear whether any possible influence comes from Nepali or from English, as the speakers producing these discourses are fluent in English and use it frequently. Still, the mean RD values for all Chantyal discourses in the study, 50.3%, are somewhat higher than those of the Tamangic languages influenced by Nepali only recently, Manange and Nar-Phu, 38% and 40%, respectively.²⁷ So, while the evidence for Nepali influence is not striking, we can tentatively conclude that Nepali has some slight influence on Chantyal with regard to RD.²⁸

3.4.2 DIRECT SPEECH STYLE: The 'direct speech style' (Noonan 2006b) exploits the device of the direct quote in order to accomplish narrative objectives that in other languages/genres might be accomplished in other ways [or, indeed, be left unexpressed]. In other words, the device of the direct quote is often best interpreted as signaling not someone's actual speech, but rather information about supposed motives, plans, decisions, etc. Given space limitations, it will suffice to provide a few examples from Chantyal in which direct quotes are in boldface type: see Noonan 2006b for extensive discussion.

- (12) naku-sə "kəlo ca-wa" bfi-si-rə tʰim-nʰari wō-i
 dog-ERG dog.food eat-NOM say-ANT-SEQ house-INES enter-PERF
 'The dog, having said "I will eat dog food!", went into the house.'
 'In order to eat dog food, the dog went into the house.'
- (13) 391. **phəlphul-ra ni mästəy thʰan-si-rə**
 fruit-DAT little a+lot store-ANT-SEQ
 "Having stored the fruit a little longer,"
392. **pari-wa pəri-m** bfi-si-rə
 make.happen-NOM happen-NPST say-ANT-SEQ
 '[we] must make [raksi] happen," having said,'
393. nʰi-sə ənnə-bʰənda phəlphul ce mästəy səmmə thʰana-m
 we-ERG grain-COMP fruit little a+lot until store-NPST
 'we store the fruit a little longer than grain.'
 'Because we need to ferment the fruit a little longer in order to make raksi, we keep the fruit a little longer than grain.' [Q391-3]²⁹
- (14) 139. canə **khi-siŋ ʰya-wa** bfi-si-rə
 then he-COM go-NOM say-ANT-SEQ

²⁶ The somewhat arbitrary ranking used in Noonan (*ms*) is: low is less than 50% of possible arguments overtly expressed, moderate is 50-70%, and high is above 70%.

²⁷ The mean percentage figures given here are based on small samples and should be interpreted accordingly. Nonetheless, they accord with my general impressions of how discourses work in these languages these languages.

²⁸ Bickel 2003 and Noonan *ms* would predict on structural grounds that Chantyal would have lower RD values than Nepali, and in general these predictions are borne out by the analyzed data.

²⁹ The letters here refer to the discourses published in Noonan 2005a and Noonan *et al* 1999.

140. ni tor ləmmyakkə la-si-rə
 little upward extended do-ANT-SEQ
 'having extended [himself] a little upward,'
141. ni tor ləmmyakkə ta-si-rə
 little upward extended become-ANT-SEQ
 'having become extended upward,'
142. lñāpo ta-si-rə
 long become-ANT-SEQ
 'having stretched out,'
143. fya-wa la-si-m khi-ye cāy bñyakuta khi-i
 go-NOM do-ANT-NPST he-GEN aforementioned toad he-GEN
 cari-wa bñyakuta
 look.for-NOM toad
 '[he] has begun to go, his very own toad, the toad that he searched for.'
 'Then he determined to go with him, and having extended himself a little upward, having
 become extended upward, having stretched out, he began to go, his toad, his searched-for
 toad.' [X139-143]
- (15) 1. Bini-ri baŋ-gəm-sə na-ye tələb tñur-si-rə
 Beni-LOC bank-ABL I-GEN money remove-ANT-SEQ
 'In Beni, having withdrawn my money from the bank,'
2. tñem-əŋ pəthə-i
 home-LOC send-PERF
 '[I] sent it home.'
3. na-siŋ jəmmə dwi səye rupəyā mu-ō ki ta
 I-COM total two hundred rupee be-IMPFF or what
 'I had maybe a total of two hundred rupees.'
4. "gāw-ri-wa pərdñan rə fñitman bñyanā-ru
 village-LOC-NOM mayor and Hitman brother.in.law-COM
 Kadmādu-ri fya-wa" bñi-si-rə pñara-i
 Kathmandu-LOC go-NOM say-ANT-SEQ walk-PERF
 'Having said, "[I] will go to Kathmandu with the village mayor and brother-in-law
 Hitman!" [we] walked.'
5. dwi din ligam Pwakhəra-ri tñio kha-si-rə
 two day after Pokhara-LOC arrive come-ANT-SEQ
 'After two days, having arrived in Pokhara,'
6. capa ca-i
 meal eat-PERF
 '[we] ate a meal.'
 'In Beni, I withdrew my money from the bank and sent it home. I had maybe a total of two hun-
 dred rupees. I decided to go to Kathmandu with the village mayor and fellow villager Hitman, and
 we walked together. After two days, we arrived in Pokhara and had a meal.' [G1-6]
- (16) 299. cyaw pəni ni thəri thəri ta-m
 mushroom also little kind kind become-NPST
 'There are also a few kinds of mushrooms.'
300. yewta rato cyaw ta-m
 one red mushroom become-NPST
 'One is a red mushroom.'
301. seto cyaw ta-m
 white mushroom become-NPST
 'One is a white mushroom.'
302. "nəmre cyaw bñüre cyaw" bñi-wa

- claw mushroom pot-bellied mushroom say-NOM
'Saying "claw mushrooms and pot-bellied mushrooms,"'
303. "camre cyaw" bfi-wa
tough mushroom say-NOM
'saying "tough mushrooms,"'
304. "ciple cyaw" bfi-wa
smooth mushroom say-NOM
'saying "smooth mushrooms,"'
305. "mane cyaw" bfi-wa
mana-pot mushroom say-NOM
'saying "mana-pot mushrooms":'
306. fiə-sər-wa bibfiinnə kisim-ri-wa cyaw-ma ta-m
that-manner-NOM various kind-LOC-NOM mushroom-PL become-NPST
'so, there are various kinds of mushrooms,'
307. rə fiə-jə cyaw-ma nfi-sə ca-m
and that-that mushroom-PL we-ERG eat-NPST
'and those mushrooms we eat.'
- (17) 45. "cə-rasə yek pəltə kfiap-ji" bfi-lanə
that-TEMP one time COVER-PERF say-COND
46. paki-m
cook-NPST
'At that time, if [we] say, "[We] will cover it one time," it cooks.'
'Afterward, once we cover the pot, it cooks.' [Q45-6]

Chantyal makes extensive use of the direct speech style. Published data on the other Tamangic languages make it difficult in most cases to evaluate the extent to which they use it too, though it is clear that Nar-Phu and Manange do not make much use of it. Nepali makes extensive use of the direct speech style, especially in colloquial registers.

4. HYPOTHESES ON THE LINGUISTIC EFFECTS OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

In this section, we will consider a number of hypotheses proposed in the last few years concerning the linguistic outcomes of language contact situations. We will compare the predictions made by these hypotheses against the data we have been examining from the Tamangic languages. The hypotheses will be divided informally into six sorts:

- (18) a. factors relating to communities in contact and linguistic change
b. general constraints on contact-induced change
c. general predictions regarding borrowing of morphemes
d. specific predictions regarding borrowing of morphemes
e. general predictions regarding borrowing of grammatical constructions
f. specific predictions regarding borrowing of grammatical constructions

Many hypotheses have been proposed in the last few years, and we will only consider here those that bear on the kind of data we have been considering from the Tamangic languages.

A. FACTORS RELATING TO COMMUNITIES IN CONTACT AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE

1. Nichols 1992:193.

"It can be concluded that contact among languages fosters complexity, or, put differently, diversity among neighbouring languages fosters complexity in each of the languages."

The Chantyal data would seem to confirm this, at least in the areas of morphosyntax and rhetorical strategies, which became more complex overall. In (18) I list the morphosyntactic and rhetorical features discussed in §3 and assess informally the effects of contact as either increasing or decreasing complexity:

(19)

feature	increase or decrease in complexity as a result of change
<i>allow NA order</i>	decrease: Chantyal now allows only AN order
<i>N Num order</i>	neutral: Chantyal substituted one word order for another
<i>dative subjects</i>	increase: there is a new construction in Chantyal
<i>morphological valence increasing strategy</i>	increase: no comparable morphological strategy existed pre-contact
<i>tense distinctions in non-finite verbals</i>	increase: the contact-induced reanalysis of the old sequential converbal morpheme has resulted in a new set of oppositions
<i>periphrastic tense-aspect with copular verbs</i>	increase: a large number of TAM distinctions are now available with the rise of a set of new constructions
<i>honorific verb stems</i>	decrease: the contrast is no longer available
<i>numeral classifiers</i>	increase: there is a new construction in Chantyal
<i>correlative constructions</i>	increase: there is a new construction in Chantyal
<i>referential density</i>	neutral: changes in RD cannot straightforwardly be associated with either an increase or a decrease in overall complexity
<i>direct speech style</i>	increase: the adoption of the direct speech style allowed for an increase in expressiveness and, probably, the addition of new constructions

The phonology, however, would appear not to have become more complex as a result of contact. Chantyal lost its tone system as a result of contact with Nepali, and appears to have lost other phonemic contrasts as well. Other languages more recently, *e.g.* Manange and Nar-Phu, have also found their tone systems weakened as a result of contact with Nepali (Hildebrandt 2003a): if these languages survive for much longer, their tone systems will likely best lost.

Overall, then, Nichols' hypothesis is confirmed by the Tamangic data with regard to morphosyntax and rhetorical strategies, but not with regard to phonology.

2. Thomason 2001:78-9.

If the shifting language group is large relative to the target language group, then the shifting language group's linguistic features will become established in the target language. This hypothesis would seem to be referring to substractive influence. So far as we know, this hypothesis would apply among the Tamangic languages only to Chantyal, where a large percentage of the population at one point were not native speakers of the language. Given that the bulk of the shifting population spoke Nepali, then this hypothesis would be confirmed as regards the phonology, which definitely aligned itself with

Nepali in many respects. This seems to have occurred in other aspects of grammar as well. We can say, therefore, that while this hypothesis is rather vague, it is consistent with the data.

3. Ross 2001, Curnow 2001, *et al.*

In cases of language shift, *i.e.* where one community adopts the language of another, the affected elements in the recipient language are phonology and morphosyntax, but not lexicon.

This hypothesis says, in effect, that substratic influence is not accompanied by lexical borrowing. I can think of many instances which would seem to confirm this [Irish English, Lango (whose speakers shifted from a Teso-like language to an Acholi-like one: Noonan 1991)], but it is not confirmed in the case of Chantyal, where massive lexical borrowing is found along with a large shifting population. It is, of course, possible that the massive lexical borrowing occurred after the period of shift, but this cannot be confirmed at this stage.

B. GENERAL CONSTRAINTS ON CONTACT INDUCED CHANGE

1. Thomason 2001

(i) Languages that are typologically very different are likely to follow the borrowing scale [p70-1] closely, while languages that are very similar are likely not to do so in all respects.

This hypothesis suggests that borrowing is more constrained – and more limited to lexical borrowing – when languages are typologically different than when they are typologically similar. Nepali and the Tamangic languages have a number of typological differences, but overall are more similar than they are different: both are SOV languages, with similar sorts of case-marking systems; constituent word order is more-or-less similar; both favor converbals for structuring narratives [Tamangic rather more than Nepali]; both are mostly agglutinative [the Tamangic languages more so than Nepali]; etc. So, borrowing, apart from lexical borrowing, would be predicted to occur in contact situations between Nepali and Tamangic, and that is what we find.

(ii) Marked features in a language are less likely to be learned by the shifting group [because they are harder to learn]. [p76]

This would seem to be confirmed by the data: tone, the voiced/voiceless opposition in liquids, and honorific nouns and verbs are marked features that were not learned by the shifting group in the case of Chantyal.

C. GENERAL PREDICTIONS REGARDING BORROWING OF MORPHEMES

1. Winford 2003, p92ff.

The existence of gaps in the morphemic inventory of a recipient language facilitates the importation of new morphemes and functional categories from a source language.

That is, if a language lacks a category, it may fill the gap with a borrowing from another language. This is confirmed by Chantyal and Nar-Phu, but perhaps trivially. It is perhaps somewhat more interestingly confirmed by the borrowing of certain relational

morphemes discussed in §3.3.9 above. Still, this hypothesis is rather vague: it would be hard to know how to disconfirm it.

2. Thomason 2001, p72

If numerous basic vocabulary items have been borrowed, even more non-basic items will have been borrowed as well.

‘Basic items’ here refers to a set of 100 [or 200] vocabulary items created by Morris Swadesh and claimed to be especially hard to borrow; note that because the items on the list are few and the rest of the vocabulary is large, this prediction, unless somehow qualified, could be found to be generally true, but this might only be a trivial result.

D. SPECIFIC PREDICTIONS REGARDING BORROWING OF MORPHEMES

1. Christel Stolz & Thomas Stolz. 1996. ‘Funktionswortlehne in Mesoamerika,’ *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 49, 86–123.; summarized in Blake:

In Mesoamerican languages, Spanish conjunctions are borrowed in the order: $\gamma > o > pero$.

The equivalent conjunctions from Nepali are *ra*, *ki*, and *tara*. All of these have been borrowed in Chantyal, Gurung, and Tamang. I have no evidence for any of them in Nar-Phu and Manange. The data, therefore, do not provide evidence one way or the other.

2. Curnow 2001, p415-6

(i) Borrowing of vocabulary follows the following scale from easiest to hardest: nouns > verbs > adjectives > adverbs > prepositions. [from Haugen 1950]

Appropriately interpreted – that is, with appropriate adjustments for what ‘adverb’ and ‘preposition’ would have to mean in the context of the Tamangic languages – this receives general support from the Tamangic data. Some languages, Nar-Phu and Manange, seem only to have borrowed nouns from Nepali, though Nar-Phu has also borrowed numerals from Tibetan. Chantyal has borrowed items from all of these classes, if we interpret ‘prepositions’ broadly to mean adpositions and relational morphology generally. Slightly more problematic are the cases in between. Tamang has borrowed nouns, verbs, and relational morphology [as well as conjunctions]. It’s not immediately clear what ‘adverb’ would refer to in the case of the Tamangic languages: European manner adverbs are not rendered by a simple lexical translation in these languages, and many other classes of adverbs in European languages are likewise rendered by complex constructions. Locational adverbs [‘up’, ‘downward’, ‘across a valley horizontally’, etc.] are generally not borrowed, even in Chantyal. That portion of Haugen’s implicational scale may not be appropriate for the languages of this family; in any case, that portion of the scale is not obviously confirmed by our data.

(ii) Derivational morphemes are more easily borrowed than inflectional morphemes.

In the Tamangic languages, markers for categories like plural and case are rendered by clitics, not by inflectional affixes. The same can be said for Nepali, though both families have affixes that are more clearly inflectional in their verbal paradigms. So far as I know, none of these affixes has been borrowed.

Derivational morphology has clearly been borrowed in all of the languages along with the lexical items that bear it. Even in Chantyal, these derivational morphemes are used only with roots of Nepali [or borrowed] origin. There is no evidence disconfirming this hypothesis, but neither is it obviously confirmed.

3. Moravcsik 1978

- (i) Non-lexical properties of a language cannot be borrowed unless lexical properties have been borrowed first.

This hypothesis contradicts a proposal by Ross below, which states that lexical and syntactic borrowing are independent. The data from our region are more consistent with Ross's hypothesis than Moravcsik's.

- (ii) No member of an unaccentable class [*i.e.* bound morphemes] can be borrowed unless a member of an accentable class which contains the unaccentable member [*e.g.* an inflected word] is borrowed first.

This is confirmed by our data: no language has borrowed bound morphology without borrowing nouns, verbs, etc. first.

- (iii) A noun must be borrowed before any non-nominal lexemes can be borrowed.

This aligns with Haugen's implicational scale and is generally confirmed by our data.

- (iv) Grammatical morphemes must be borrowed with their linear order with respect to their head.

This is confirmed by our data, but since the word orders of the Tamangic languages and Nepali are overall rather similar – in particular with regard to the placement of inflectional morphology – it is confirmed weakly.

E. GENERAL PREDICTIONS REGARDING BORROWING OF GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

1. Ross 2001, p139.

Lexical borrowing is independent of 'syntactic borrowing'.

Our Tamangic data confirm this hypothesis weakly, since we have cases of languages which have borrowed vocabulary from Nepali without borrowing any syntactic constructions [*e.g.* Nar-Phu], as well as languages which have borrowed both [Chantyal]. We do not, however, have any instances of Tamangic languages which have borrowed only syntactic constructions without borrowing vocabulary.

What this means is that we have no instances of purely substratic influence in the development of the Tamangic languages so far as we can tell at this stage. However, within our region we can find cases which would confirm the other half of Ross's hypothesis, namely instances of syntactic borrowing in the absence of lexical borrowing. The regional Nepali in the Dhaulagiri Zone has almost no lexical borrowing from Tibeto-Burman languages, but in the most colloquial versions [*i.e.* those relatively uninfluenced by Standard Nepali] we can find a certain amount of syntactic influence, namely consistently ergative syntax [*i.e.* not the standard aspect-based split ergativity of Standard Nepali], avoidance of finite subordination, etc. This, and various phonological features are almost certainly evidence of substratic influence from the Tibeto-Burman

languages which were formerly spoken in the region. So, regionally, Ross's hypothesis is confirmed.

F. SPECIFIC PREDICTIONS REGARDING BORROWING OF GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

1. Ross 2001, p149-50.

The sequence of changes associated with metatypy is: lexical semantic patterns > discourse structure > clause linkage > clause-internal structure > phrase structure > word-internal structure.

Ross was primarily concerned with instances of metatypy, but we will interpret his hypothesis here more generally.

Because Chantyal and Nepali were relatively close typologically, even at the point of first contact, it isn't obvious whether or not Chantyal has undergone metatypy, despite borrowings of all sorts. Nonetheless, we can find in Chantyal examples of most of the items in Ross's implicational list. The one interesting exception is clause linkage: Chantyal has resisted borrowing constructions involving clause linkage.³⁰ That is, Chantyal has not borrowed constructions involving finite subordination from Nepali, and it has retained the Bodic conflation of nominalization and relativization (Noonan 1997, *to appear*) rather than conforming to Nepali, which distinguishes the two.

Other Tamangic languages, however, seem to conform to Ross's hypothesis a bit better. Tamang, for example, borrowed constructions involving the first three, but has not [so far as I can tell] gone further.

2. Haig 2001, p220.

(i) Patterns of clause linkage and of basic constituent order are features which diffuse quickly across large areas, cross-cutting genetic groupings.

Nepali and Tamangic constituent order aligns fairly well, but as noted there are differences in the noun phrase: numeral/noun, adjective/noun. With the exception of Chantyal, the Tamangic languages retain their historic ordering possibilities, though Chantyal now aligns with Nepali. It's not clear, therefore, how to evaluate Haig's hypothesis with regard to constituent order.

With regard to clause linkage, we discussed the matter above in our discussion of Ross's implicational scale. Clause linkage patterns haven't diffused quickly across the Tamangic languages from Nepali, since there are only a few cases where such patterns have diffused despite at least two hundred years of intense contact for half of the Tamangic languages.

(ii) Linear alignment will proceed from larger to smaller units, starting perhaps with the narrative organization, means of expressing direct speech, topic introduction and tracking, and progressing down through clause coordination, subordination, and constituent order in the clause. I would, however, exclude grammatical subsystems such as the numerals from the domain of these generalizations.

³⁰ As noted earlier, Chantyal did borrow from Nepali an analysis of the sequential converb [through a misanalysis of the form] as consisting of two elements: an anterior marker and a conjunction (§3.3.4).

As was noted with regard to Ross's implicational scale, which Haig's scale resembles, this sort of development is mostly confirmed – or at least not disconfirmed – by the data.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has had two goals: to present data on the effects of language contact on the Tamangic languages and to determine the degree to which hypotheses concerning the outcomes of language contact are either supported or not supported by the Tamangic data.

Below is a chart containing the hypotheses discussed in §4 along with a brief indication of whether the hypotheses are confirmed or not confirmed. Note that 'not confirmed' is not the same as 'disconfirmed'.

(20)

hypothesis	confirmed?
A.1: It can be concluded that contact among languages fosters complexity, or, put differently, diversity among neighbouring languages fosters complexity in each of the languages.	Confirmed for syntax and rhetorical strategies, but not phonology.
A.2: If the shifting language group is large relative to the target language group, then the shifting language group's linguistic features will become established in the target language.	Confirmed.
A.3: In cases of language shift, <i>i.e.</i> where one community adopts the language of another, the affected elements in the recipient language are phonology and morphosyntax, but not lexicon.	Not confirmed.
B.1.i: Languages that are typologically very different are likely to follow the borrowing scale [Thomason, p70-1] closely, while languages that are very similar are likely not to do so in all respects.	Confirmed.
B.1.ii: Marked features in a language are less likely to be learned by the shifting group [because they are harder to learn].	Confirmed.
C.1: The existence of gaps in the morphemic inventory of a recipient language facilitates the importation of new morphemes and functional categories from a source language.	Weakly confirmed.
C.2: If numerous basic vocabulary items have been borrowed, even more non-basic items will have been borrowed as well.	Perhaps trivially confirmed.
D.1: In Mesoamerican languages, Spanish conjunctions are borrowed in the order: <i>y</i> > <i>o</i> > <i>pero</i> .	Implicational order not confirmed or disconfirmed for these languages.
D.2: Borrowing of vocabulary follows the following scale from easiest to hardest: nouns > verbs > adjectives > adverbs > prepositions.	Mostly confirmed.
D.3.i: Non-lexical properties of a language cannot be borrowed unless	Not confirmed.

lexical properties have been borrowed first.	
D.3.ii: No member of an unaccentable class [<i>i.e.</i> bound morphemes] can be borrowed unless a member of an accentable class which contains the unaccentable member [<i>e.g.</i> an inflected word] is borrowed first.	Confirmed.
D.3.iii: A noun must be borrowed before any non-nominal lexemes can be borrowed.	Generally confirmed.
D.3.iv: Grammatical morphemes must be borrowed with their linear order with respect to their head.	Weakly confirmed.
E.1: Lexical borrowing is independent of 'syntactic borrowing'.	Confirmed regionally.
F.1: The sequence of changes associated with metatypy is: lexical semantic patterns > discourse structure > clause linkage > clause-internal structure > phrase structure > word-internal structure.	Mostly confirmed.
F.2.i: Patterns of clause linkage and of basic constituent order are features which diffuse quickly across large areas, cross-cutting genetic groupings.	Disconfirmed with regard to clause linkage.
F.2.ii: Linear alignment will proceed from larger to smaller units, starting perhaps with the narrative organization, means of expressing direct speech, topic introduction and tracking, and progressing down through clause coordination, subordination, and constituent order in the clause. I would, however, exclude grammatical subsystems such as the numerals from the domain of these generalizations.	Mostly confirmed.

In sum, many of the hypotheses discussed above were confirmed by the data, though some only weakly or in part.

Clearly much work remains to be done, both in terms of formulating hypotheses that are testable and in terms of putting together a sufficiently diverse collection of data against which to test them. Fortunately, there are now a number of projects in which scholars are attempting to do just that.

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Figure 1: Proposed Genetic Relationships Within the Bodic Section of Tibeto-Burman

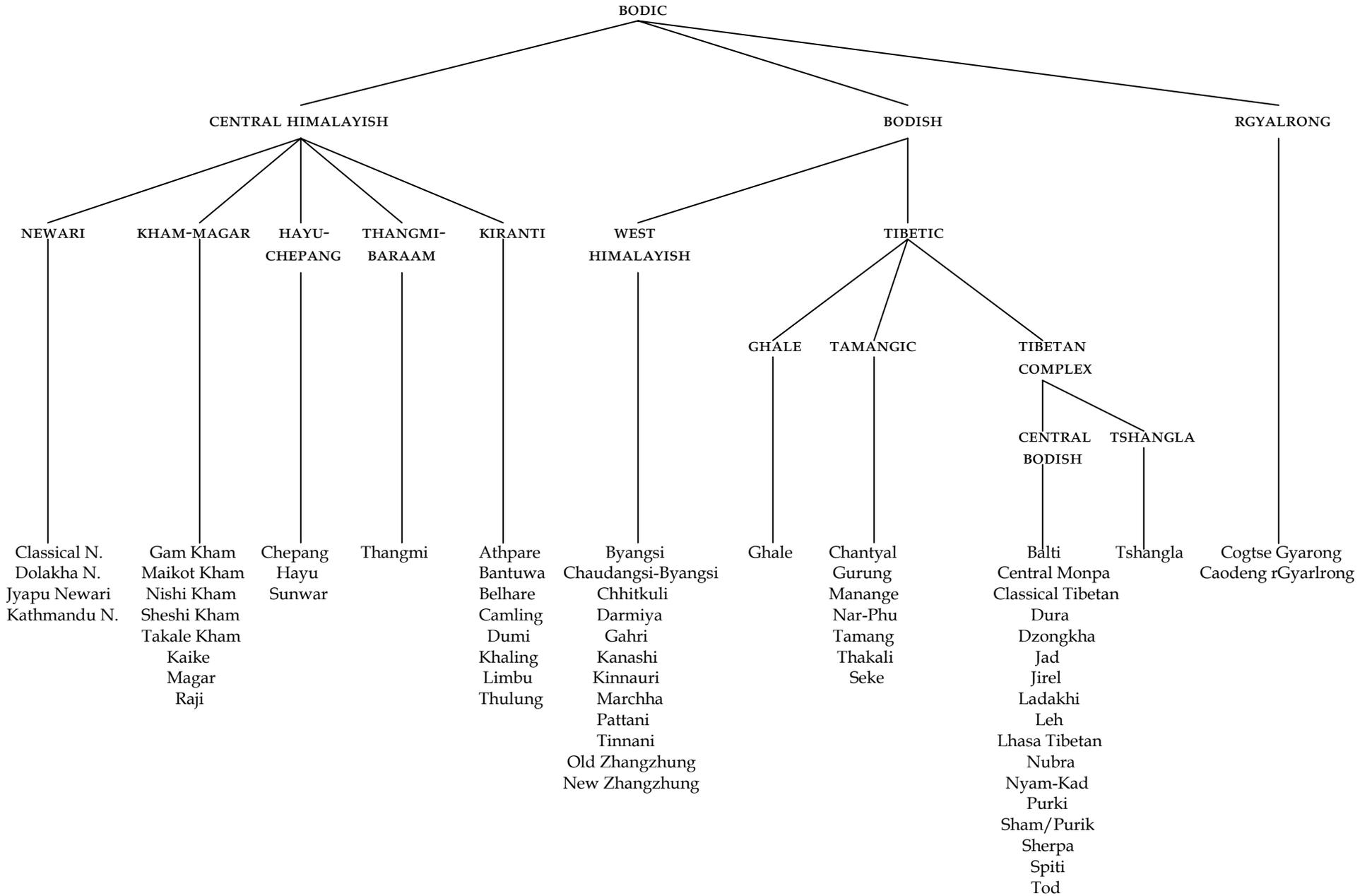


table 1: phonological features

feature	Nepali	Chantyal	Gurung	other Tamangic languages
<i>phonemic voicing contrasts</i>	yes	yes	yes, in some tones, and in borrowings in positions other than initial position	no
<i>tone</i>	no	no, but murmur is a reflex of former tone	yes: 4-tone system [though with some recent erosion]	yes: 4-tone system [though with some recent erosion]
<i>murmur</i>	feature of consonants	feature of consonants, but occurs with voiced <i>and</i> voiceless Cs	features of consonants [in borrowed vocabulary] <i>and</i> features of tones	feature of tones
<i>voicing opposition in liquids</i>	no	no	yes	yes
<i>retroflex series</i>	yes, of the 'true' retroflex sort, but this is lacking in the regional Nepali of Myagdi	no	yes, of the type with with a rhotacized off-glide such as [ɻ]	yes, of the type with with a rhotacized off-glide such as [ɻ]
<i>phonemic opposition between an alveolar and an alveopalatal series of fricatives and affricates</i>	no, distinction is allophonic	no, distinction is allophonic	marginally present	yes, except in Thakali, which distinguishes only the affricates, not the fricatives, and in Tamang, which apparently lacks the opposition
<i>word-initial /ɻ/</i>	no	no	yes	yes
<i>ʌ ~ ɖ allophony</i>	yes	yes	no	no, except in Thakali
<i>variable word stress</i>	yes	yes	marginally, yes	no

table 2: morphosyntactic features

feature	Nepali	Chantyal	other Tamangic languages
<i>allow NA order</i>	no	no	yes
<i>N Num order</i>	no	no	yes
<i>dative subjects</i>	yes	yes	no
<i>morphological valence increasing strategy</i>	yes	yes, but only with borrowed vocabulary	no
<i>tense distinctions in non-finite verbals</i>	yes	yes	no
<i>periphrastic tense-aspect with copular verbs</i>	yes	yes	no, though Seke has apparently developed some and Nar-Phu has periphrastic evidentiality with copular verbs
<i>honorific verb stems</i>	no	no	yes, in some languages
<i>numeral classifiers</i>	yes	yes, though a contrast is found only in the most formal speech	no
<i>correlative constructions</i>	yes	yes	no, except Tamang

table 3: rhetorical strategies

feature	Nepali	Chantyal	other Tamangic languages
<i>referential density</i>	moderate	low, but somewhat higher than the Tamangic languages unaffected by Nepali	very low
<i>direct speech style</i>	common in colloquial styles	common	not native