Versatile Nominalizations

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Over the years, many linguists[1] working on Tibeto-Burman languages have pointed out the wide range of uses of nominalizations that are encountered in many languages within the family.[2] Besides the 'expected' functions of nominalizations [the reification of events and processes, the expression of clauses as arguments within clauses], nominalizations frequently take on attributive functions [for example, take on the role of relative clauses], serve as the 'equivalent' of finite verbs in main clauses, and take on other functions as well. Such uses of nominalizations are by no means restricted to Tibeto-Burman, however, and a number of scholars have reported similar phenomena in other languages.[3]

This paper constitutes a sort of first report of work in progress on the historical development of nominalizations and the related question of the kinds of uses to which they can be put. I'll restrict my comments here to some developments in Tibeto-Burman which, in any case, constitute the most interesting set of examples I have found so far. I will begin the discussion with some data from Chantyal [tsʰəntjal], a language which displays an unusually broad range of functions for nominalizations [or, if you will, constructions derived historically from them]. I will then discuss some aspects of the history of these constructions, utilizing data from similar constructions in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages of the Nepal Himalayas and environs. I will end with a brief discussion of whether the range of constructions exemplified for Chantyal can constitute a unified grammatical category of any sort.

In this paper, I will refer to a form as a nominalization if it includes among its functions the naming of activities or states. This is done, in part, simply to help keep track of forms regardless of where they are along grammaticalization chains, *ie* regardless of whatever other label we might, in a synchronic grammar, want to assign to the form.

§1.0 *Chantyal*

Chantyal is one of the Tamangic languages of the Bodish section of the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman.[4] Other Tamangic languages are Gurung, Manangba, Narpa, Tamang, and Thakali.

§1.1 *Typological characteristics:*

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[1] See, for example, Matisoff (1972a, 1972b), DeLancey (1986, 1989), Genetti (1992, 1994), Kölver (1977).

[2] I would like to thank Randy LaPolla and Edith Moravcsik for helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

[3] Matisoff (1972b) describes similar relations between nominalization and attribution for Chinese and Japanese, Binnick (1979:90) for Mongolian, Foley (1986:204) for Papuan languages, Langdon (1970:142f, 171) for Diegueño, and Weber (1989:9) for Quechua. See also Ch. 9 in Bhat (1994) for a discussion of the relation between nominalization and attribution on a more general level. Fowkes (1991), van Holk (1951), and Spitzer (1954) discuss the use of nominalizaitons [or infinitives] in lieu of finite verbs in main clauses in various Indo-European languages.

[4] Chantyal is described in Noonan *et al* (in press) and Noonan *et al* (in preparation).

Because of their unfamiliarity, and because of the large number of examples given below from Chantyal and its Tamangic kin, I've listed some of the major typological features of these languages below in (1):

(1)
1. overwhelmingly suffixing and agglutinating
2. nouns can be inflected for number, singular & plural
3. there are a large number of grammatical & local case enclitics; there may be multiple case clitics on a given word
4. verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, and mood; there are a large number of periphrastic TAM constructions; verbs are not inflected for person
5. word order is overwhelmingly head-final
6. overwhelmingly ergative; anti-dative marking of direct objects[5]
7. no voice distinctions, but there is a productive causative
8. non-finite subordination except for complements of 'say'[6]
9. coordination of clauses is rare [morphemes borrowed from Nepali]; native pattern involves use of conjunctive participles
10. zero anaphora

§1.2 *Nominalizations in Chantyal*

Nominalizations in Chantyal are formed with the morpheme **-wa**, a form having cognates in many TB languages [*eg* Classical Tibetan **-pa**, Gurung **-ba**, etc.]. Words containing this form can be used to express a wide variety of functions:

(2)
1. nominalization [*ie* naming activities and states]
2. verb complementation
3. noun complementation
4. purpose clause
5. relative clause
6. non-relative attributive
7. agent and patient nominal
8. attributive nominal
9. expression of the semantic predicate in verbal periphrasis
10. main verb

§1.2.1 *Nominalization:*

Forms in **-wa** are used as citation forms for verbs. They are also used in discourse as names of activities or states. These forms are nouns and may be case-marked.

(3)   **ɦya-wa   aŋgreji bɦasa-ri   khawa bɦi-m-ẽ**
go-NOM English language-LOC how   say-NPST-Q
'How do you say "to go" in English?'

(4)   **pəri-wa   gãra-wa   mu**
study-NOM good-NOM be+NPST
'Studying is good'

(5)   **capa ca-wa-ye   ligam**

[5] Anti-dative shift in Chantyal is discussed in Noonan (1991).
[6] This is discussed in detail for Chantyal in Noonan (1996).

meal eat-NOM-GEN back
'after eating'[7]

§1.2.2 *Verb complements:*
Forms in **-wa** are used as verb complements. The anterior suffix **-si** is available for indicating a secondary [relative] past tense in complement clauses.

(6) **nɦi-sə   reysi thũ-wa   a-kham   mu**
     we-ERG raksi drink-NOM NEG-be+able be+NPST
     'We aren't able to drink raksi'

(7) **nɦi-i   tɦem-əŋ   pali-ri   mi phur-si-wa   puttə**
     we-GEN house-LOC veranda-LOC fire blow-ANT-NOM smoke+rising
     dɦwãl wurə-wa   mãra-i
     smoke fly-NOM see-PERF
     'we saw a fire set and smoke rising on the veranda of our house' [O12]

§1.2.3 *Noun complements:*
Forms in **-wa** may also act as noun complements.

(8) **na-ra   reysi thũ-wa   mən kha-i**
     I-DAT raksi drink-NOM desire come-PERF
     'I want to drink raksi' [*lit* a desire to drink raksi came to me]

(9) **na-sə   reysi thũ-wa   thaa   yã-i**
     I-ERG raksi drink-NOM knowledge find-PERF
     'I recall drinking raksi' [*lit* I found knowledge that I drank raksi]

§1.2.4 *Purpose clauses:*
A nominalization with **-wa**, with the addition of the locative case suffix, is used to code purpose clauses:

(10) **khi ca-wa-ri   kha-i**
     he eat-NOM-LOC come-PERF
     'He came to eat'

(11) **səŋlal-ma məə   tara-wa-ri   ɦya-i**
     Sanglal-PL honey gather-NOM-LOC go-PERF
     'Sanglal and some others went to gather honey'

§1.2.5 *Relative clauses:*
Relative clauses are formed with **-wa**. The anterior suffix **-si** is a secondary [relative] past tense marker available in relative clauses:

(12) **gay-ye   sya ca-wa   mənchi**
     cow-GEN meat eat-NOM person
     'the person who is eating beef'

(13) **gay-ye   sya ca-si-wa   mənchi**
     cow-GEN meat eat-ANT-NOM person
     'the person who ate beef'

These **-wa** relative clauses can be used to relativize on any core argument, whether animate or inanimate, and on many obliques:

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[7] Notice that the word **capa** 'meal' is a fossilized nominalization of the root **ca-** 'eat'.

(14)   **mənchi-sə ca-si-wa   gay-ye   sya**
        person-ERG eat-ANT-NOM cow-GEN meat
        'the beef that the person ate'

(15)   **kɦi pəyle india-ri   ɦya-si-wa   byala-mar**
        you before India-LOC go-ANT-NOM time-CIRC
        'around the time when you went to India' [U81]

(16)   **dukho   a-la-gɦəre   ca-la   a-yã-wa   kɦyala**
        hard+work NEG-do-COND2 eat-COND1 NEG-find-NOM place
        'The place where we won't be able to eat unless we work hard' [S75-6]

All but one attested native word translating an English adjective contains the suffix **-wa** or a [presumably] fossilized earlier form of the suffix:

(17)   **gãra-wa**   'good'
        thya-wa   'big'
        lim-pa   'sweet, tasty'

Such forms were thus once analyzable as stative verbs in a relative construction, albeit special verbs that could not be conjugated. However, the recent massive influx of Nepali vocabulary — including most of the Chantyal stock of adjectives — has weakened [or perhaps even destroyed] this analysis:

(18)   **thya-wa kalce naku**
        big-NOM black dog
        'big, black dog'

§1.2.6 *Non-relative attributive:*

There is an additional, related set of uses for the suffix **-wa**, which I will refer to loosely as the 'non-relative attributive'. In this use, **-wa** may be suffixed onto adverbs, relative words, locative nouns, and case-marked nouns when they are used as modifiers of nouns:

(19)   **təyla-wa   saka**
        yesterday-NOM ancestor
        'yesterday's ancestors' [V101]

(20)   **ligə̃-wa   samra-ye phəlce**
        back-NOM thigh-GEN muscle
        'back thigh muscle' [I24]

(21)   **yəwta dyammər-ma citro-ma-ye   ɦə-sərə-wa   phəlphul-ma-ye**
        one   dogwood-PL barberry-PL-GEN that-manner-NOM fruit-PL-GEN
        rəksi
        raksi
        'raksi from some fruits like dogwood and barberry' [Q329]

(22)   **chə məyna-ri-wa   nani**
        six month-LOC-NOM baby
        'six-month old child'

(23)   **məŋgəle-ri-wa   mənchi-ma**
        Mangale-LOC-NOM person-PL
        'people from Mangale'

(24) **syãlkhərkə-õra-wa** **mənchi**
Syalkharka-CIRC-NOM person
'person from around Syalkharka'

(25) **gãw-muwa-ri-wa** **kyeles**
village-INCL-LOC-NOM field
'a field near the village'

(26) **nɦa-ri-gəm-wa** **sya**
inside-LOC-ABL-NOM meat
'innards'

(27) **kɦwara-ru-wa** **kəru**
wheat-COM1-NOM hooded+barley
'the hooded barley among the wheat'

(28) **ram-siŋ-wa** **photo**
Ram-COM2-NOM photo
'Ram's photo' [*ie* a photo Ram owns]

This last example can be contrasted with a similar construction involving the genitive:

(29) **ram-ye** **photo**
Ram-GEN photo
'Ram's photo' [*ie* a photo Ram owns *or* a photo taken of Ram]

Where the two contrast, the genitive indicates a more intimate relationship than is signaled by an attributive with **-wa**. It should be noted that an NP juxtaposed before another NP can function as an attributive as well:

(30) **pyã** **mɦintho**
flute flower
'flute flower'

(31) **phuli** **kũro**
nose+stud burr
'Bidens biternata'

(32) **chimkhola iskul**
Chimkhola school
'the Chimkhola school'

§1.2.7 *Agent and patient nominals:*

Forms in **-wa** can also be used as agent nominals. So, a form like

(33) **ca-wa**
eat-NOM
'eating' *or* 'eater'

can be interpreted as either a simple nominalization ['eating'] or as an agent nominal ['eater']. Such forms can fill any sort of nominal slot:

(34) **na-sə capa ca-wa-ra** **kwi pin-ji**
I-ERG meal eat-NOM-DAT water give-PERF
'I gave water to the one who was eating'

(35) **na-sə reysi thũ-wa-ye** **naku khway-kəy mu**
I-ERG raksi drink-NOM-GEN dog feed-PROG be+NPST

'I'm feeding the raksi-drinker's dog'

(36) **reysi thũ-si-wa-ma-sə   goth   khãra-i**
       raksi drink-ANT-NOM-PL-ERG cowshed burn-PERF
       'Those who had been drinking raksi burned down the cowshed'

Notice that the anterior suffix **-si** can occur with these nominals.

      Interestingly, these nominals may be interpreted either as agent nominals or as patient nominals, *ie* either as referring to the agent or to the patient. The three examples above receive an agent nominal interpretation. The example below receives a patient nominal interpretation:

(37) **cə ləra pari-wa-ma   gətilo ləra a-ta-si-n   tə**
       that strip make+happen-NOM-PL good strip NEG-become-ANT-SUP fact
       'those strips, the ones that I made, might not have become good strips' [I110]

§1.2.8 *Attributive nominals:*

Nominals can be formed from structures analogous to relative clauses, as we have seen, and also from non-relative attributives.

(38) **na-sə məŋgəle-ri-wa-ma-ra   kwi   pin-ji**
       I-ERG Mangale-LOC-NOM-PL-DAT water give-PERF
       'I gave water to the people from Mangale'

Suffixation of **-wa** is recursive, the limitations being those of sense and processability. The first example below shows a non-relative attributive formed from a case-marked attributive nominal:

(39) **məŋgəle-ri-wa-ma-siŋ-wa   photo**
       Mangale-LOC-NOM-PL-COM2-NOM photo
       'the photo belonging to the people from Mangale'

The next example shows that this form, too, may fill a nominal slot. In other words, an attributive nominal can be built off of another attributive nominal:

(40) **na-sə məŋgəle-ri-wa-ma-siŋ-wa-ra   dekhə-i**
       I-ERG Mangale-LOC-NOM-PL-CIRC-NOM-DAT show-PERF
       'I showed it to the owners from Mangale'

§1.2.9 *Expression of the semantic predicate in periphrastic verb complexes:*

Verbal periphrastic constructions in Chantyal are many and complicated, and I mention this usage here only because of its connection with the use mentioned in the next section. Nominalizations figure prominently in verbal periphrasis. A few simple examples here will suffice:

(41) **bəw-ra   dɦo-wa   ɦin**
       father-DAT meet-NOM be+NPST
       'I'll meet my father'

(42) **kadmandu-ri   ɦya-si-wa   ɦin**
       Kathmandu-LOC go-ANT-NOM be+NPST
       'I've gone to Kathmandu'

(43) **Moscow-ri   ətki-si-rə   ci-si-wa   mu   ley**
       Moscow-LOC get+stuck-ANT-CP sit-ANT-NOM be+NPST unplanned+action
       'Having got stuck in Moscow, I have stayed there'

§1.2.10 *Main verb:*
The suffix **-wa** may also mark the syntactically main verb within the verb complex, as in:
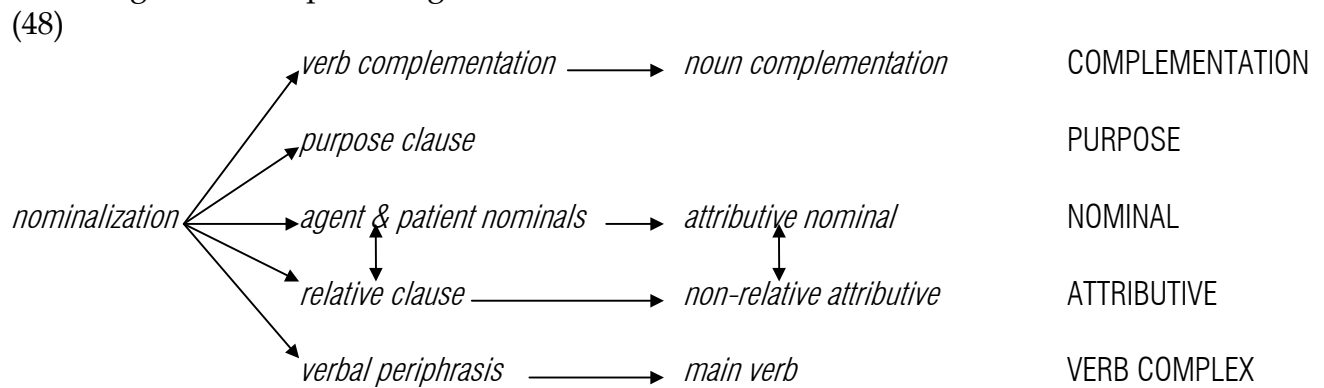
(44) **ci-wa   də**
      sit-NOM fact
      'I'll stay!' [U202]

(45) **aay, kattay talay tha-i   nə   a-tha-wa   tane**
      gosh definitely   cut-ANT focus NEG-cut-NOM affirmation
      'Gosh, it didn't even cut, right?' [I56]

(46) **bɦalu nə   puli-puli   la-wa   ro**
      bear   focus wiggle-wiggle do-NOM hearsay
      'Bear wiggled!' [L21]

(47) **bənnu-ye nal   tato ta-si-wa**
      gun-GEN barrel hot   become-ANT-NOM
      'The barrel of the gun had become hot!' [R29]

While there is little doubt that this construction derived historically from the use of **-wa** in verbal periphrasis where the syntactic main verb [one of the copular verbs] had undergone ellipsis, main verb **-wa** represents an independent construction and should not be viewed as an elliptical version of another construction. The main reason for claiming this is that there is no construction in contemporary Chantyal involving an auxiliary verb whose meaning is the same or very similar to that of main verb **-wa**.

As a main verb suffix, **-wa** always has the sense of signaling that the situation described in the clause is either contrary to expectation or in some way exasperating. Without the anterior suffix **-si**, it takes its temporal interpretation from context; with the anterior suffix, it ordinarily has a past perfect interpretation.

§1.3 *Relations among the various functions of -wa:*
On the basis of just the Chantyal data, we might, on purely logical grounds, posit the following relationships among the various uses of **-wa**:

(48)

	verb complementation ⟶ *noun complementation*	COMPLEMENTATION
	purpose clause	PURPOSE
nominalization ⟨	*agent & patient nominals* ⟶ *attributive nominal*	NOMINAL
	relative clause ⟶ *non-relative attributive*	ATTRIBUTIVE
	verbal periphrasis ⟶ *main verb*	VERB COMPLEX

The nominalization function is assumed here to lie at the heart of the set of uses of **-wa**. The labels on the right represent what I'll refer loosely to as grammaticalizations chains, though these forms do not meet the formal criteria of grammaticalization chains in the

sense of Heine (1992). Instead they simply represent relations among the various uses of **-wa**, relations that may or may not represent diachronic developments.

§2.0 *Some Questions*

Given the Chantyal data presented earlier, a couple of interrelated questions emerge:

(49)   1. Do the relations mapped out in (48) reflect the historical evolution of a single nominalizer **-wa**?

       2. Do the forms coded by **-wa** constitute a unified category of any sort?

§3.0 *Historical considerations:*

Let us consider first the question of whether the relations mapped out in (48) reflect the historical evolution of a single form. I will take as uncontroversial the assertion that the COMPLEMENTATION, PURPOSE, and VERB COMPLEX grammaticalization chains derive by a natural series of processes from the nominalization function. Numerous parallels to these developments can be found all over the planet.

Less obvious, perhaps, is the motivation for the evolution of the NOMINAL and ATTRIBUTIVE chains from nominalization. Let us consider the ATTRIBUTIVE chain first. Matisoff (1972b) and particularly DeLancey (1989) provide much discussion and exemplification of the evolution of nominalizations into relative clauses. I won't repeat their extensive documentation here except to say that such a development is quite common in Sino-Tibetan, with numerous parallels elsewhere. Further, DeLancey provides evidence that the direction of change is from nominalization to the relative clause function, and not vice versa.

The problem, however, is the motivation: how does a nominalization acquire an attributive sense?

The NOMINAL chain is similarly problematic: how does one go from a nominalization to an interpretation as an agent or patient nominal?

One possibility is that the NOMINAL and ATTRIBUTIVE chains are related, thus leaving us with only one transition from nominalization to explain. For example, if the agent & patient nominal is taken to be notionally and/or temporally prior, it would be possible to explain the development of the relative clause function as arising from an appositive. Thus, if **reysi thũ-wa** means 'drinker of raksi' as well as 'drinking raksi' then the expression

(50)   **reysi thũ-wa   mənchi**
        raksi drink-NOM person
        'the person who drinks raksi'

can be understood as being in origin simply an appositive: 'the person, the drinker of raksi'.

(51)   [agent/patient nominal$_i$] [noun$_i$] → [[relative clause] head]

Interestingly, DeLancey (1989) provides evidence that this sort of thing is possible. In Lhasa Tibetan, the agent nominal **-mkhan**, which can be traced back to Classical Tibetan in this [and only this] function (Beyer 1992:120), can be used to form relative constructions in precisely this way:

(52)   **stag gsod-mkhan mi   pha=gi red**
        tiger kill-NOM   man that   be

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'that is the man who killed/kills/will kill the tiger' [ex9]

On the other hand, we might explain the development of agent/patient nominals as arising from a relative clause via the ellipsis of a generic head.

(53)   [[relative clause] generic head] → [agent/patient nominal]

But even if one accepts either of these explanations for the development of the relative clause or agent/patient nominal, there remains the problem of explaining the transition from simple nominalizations.

(54)   [NOM Xj Y VN] [nounj] → [[relative clause] head]

(55)   [NOM Xj Y VN] → [agent nominal]

Comparative data will show that the ATTRIBUTIVE and NOMINAL chains are not related in either of the ways suggested and, further, that neither evolved directly from the nominalization function.

§3.1 *Nominalization and relativization in the other Bodish languages:*

In the other languages of the Tamangic group, most if not all of the functions of Chantyal **-wa** are coded by cognate forms, though, in some cases, with an interesting difference. The difference relates to the ATTRIBUTIVE grammaticalization chain: in all the other languages,[8] the relative clause and the non-relative attributive [to the extent this can be determined from the descriptions of these languages] are formed with cognates of **-wa** together the with the genitive. Consider the following examples from Gurung [all from Glover (1974), who calls the form cognate to **-wa** a gerund]:

(56)   **cá   pxra-bá-e   mxi   jaga**
       that walk-NOM-GEN person PL
       'those walking people' (=sentries) [p97]

(57)   **bana·-r-bá-e   sĩ**
       forest-LOC-NOM-GEN wood
       'trees from the forest' [p81]

(58)   **dxĩ-r-bá-e   ax-cʰyã̃-bá-e   gara· gadi**
       house-LOC-NOM-GEN NEG-good-NOM-GEN influences
       'the evil influences in the house' [p97]

Non-attributive uses of the nominalizer **-ba** do not involve the genitive, as the following examples show:

(59)   **jxa·le tilí sae-b   ŋxyo-l   kʰã̃-ĩ birí**
       then   pig kill-NOM watch-INF finish-CP
       'Then after the watching of the killing of the pig is finished,' [p204]

(60)   **sa·rón   tʰe-bá·   mu-la·**
       extremely big-NOM be-PLUP
       'they were extremely big' [p106]

(61)   **ŋa hã·jir la-bá-r   bxa·ráta-r xyá·-m**
       I   report do-NOM-LOC India-LOC go-NPST
       'I'm going to India to report for duty' [p31]

(62)   **mxa·ga-r   kʰe-maẽ bxa·ráda xyá·-b   ro**

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[8] Other than a few vocabulary items, there is no published data on Narpa.

Magh-LOC s/he-PL India   go-NOM quotative
'They are going to India in Magh, they say' [p125]

There are a number of things one could infer about the place of the NOM+ GEN construction from the facts so far presented. First, as pointed out by DeLancey for similar structures elsewhere, the genitive provides a link between the nominalization and the head of a relative clause, a way of subordinating the clause to the head. Thus, it provides a kind of solution to the problem of how to relate a relative clause to a nominalization.

(63)   [NP[AP[nominalization]-GEN] head]

And, as DeLancey also notes, it provides an argument [though not the only one] for the priority of the nominalization over the relative clause.

Second, the fact that all the other Tamangic languages employ the genitive in this usage implies that Chantyal has innovated by eliminating the genitive from these attributive constructions [Hari & Maibaum 1970, Hoshi 1986, Taylor 1973]. In Thakali, the closest relative of Chantyal, it appears that the genitive is 'sometimes ... omitted' [Hari & Maibaum (1970), p303]; a similar situation appears to be the case in Gurung [Glover 1974:89] where the genitive is omitted in 'fast speech'. The Chantyal situation, then, likely evolved from a situation where the genitive was obligatory, through a Thakali-like situation with an optional genitive, to the current situation where the genitive is absent altogether.

In examining data from the Tibeto-Kanauri branch of Bodish, we find further evidence for a situation similar to that in Gurung, where relative clauses formed with a nominalizer cognate with Chantyal **-wa**, are constructed with the genitive. DeLancey (1989) provides evidence for this in Lhasa Tibetan:

(64)   **kho-s   bsad-pa-'i   stag pha=gi red**
he-ERG kill(PF)-NOM-GEN tiger that   be
'that is the tiger which he killed' [ex6]

Compare a construction corresponding to the Chantyal patient nominal, which does not employ the genitive since it's not attributive:

(65)   **kho-s   bsad-pa   stag red**
he-ERG kill(PF)-NOM tiger be
'what he killed is a tiger' [ex7]

Balti [Read (1934), p37f] and Purki [Rangan (1979), p125: assuming that **-pi** derives from *__-pa__ + **-i**] provide further attestation of the genitive with nominalizatins used as attributives in Bodish.

The situation in Classical Tibetan is a bit murky. Beyer (1992:316) says that the genitive is used with nominalizations functioning as attributives when the nominalization precedes the head; when it follows the head, the genitive is not used.

(66)   **bla-ma-s   btul-ba-i   bgegs**
lama-ERG tame-NOM-GEN demon
'the demon which the lama tamed' [p316]

(67)   **bgegs   bla-ma-s   btul-ba**
demon lama-ERG tame-NOM

'the demon which the lama tamed' [p312]

Adjectives, which are also nominals [or, at least, derived from nominals] follow the same pattern:

(68)   **mgyogs-po-i   rta**
      fast-NOM-GEN horse
      'fast horse' [p204]

(69)   **rta   mgyogs-po**
      horse fast-NOM
      'fast horse' [p204]

It's not clear to me whether the attributive without the genitive is a native construction or a construction modeled on Indic [*ie* on Sanskrit and/or Pali]. The word order might suggest the latter, but one gets the impression from Beyer that such constructions were common since so many of his examples are of this type. In any case, Chantyal aside, there seem to be no modern instances of a genitiveless relative in Bodish formed from the old nominalizer *-**pa**, and nowhere else within Bodish, to my knowledge, is there any morphological distinction between preposed and postposed relatives. [See Genetti (1992) for a survey of relative clause types in Nepalese languages generally].

Regardless of its source, the Classical Tibetan postposed relative without the genitive shows that nominalizations may apparently evolve into relative clauses without the genitive. There appear to be other such cases in Tibeto-Burman.

§3.2 *Agent nominals:*

Classical Tibetan provides evidence that the Chantyal agent/patient and attributive nominals in **-wa** may well have a different source from the nominalization in **-wa** and those syntagms built off of it. Beyer (1992) distinguishes between a nominalizer -ᴘᴀ [the consonant of which he writes in small caps] and a formative **-pa** [with the <p> not written in small caps] glossed as 'person having to do with', *ie* functioning as a sort of agent nominal. Beyer [p120] warns us that the two suffixes must be clearly distinguished, but doesn't tell us whether this is for formal or functional reasons. Looking over his data, however, there seem to me to be at least two reasons for keeping the suffixes separate. First, the two suffixes have a different allomorphy.

(70)   *-pa nominalizer*
      ʙden-pa 'truth' [BDEN 'be true']
      sñom-pa 'equanimity' [SÑOM 'make level']
      ɴdod-pa 'lust, longing' [NDOD 'desire, long for']
      lta-ba 'opinion' [LTA 'look']
      ʙya-ba 'deed, action, work' [BYA 'do']
      ɴbul-ba 'gift' [PUL 'give']
      nor-ba 'error' [NOR 'err']
      -pa agent nominal
      sman-pa 'doctor' [sman 'medicine']
      khyim-pa 'householder' [khyim 'house']
      bod-pa 'Tibetan' [bod 'Tibet']
      rta-pa 'horseman' [rta 'horse']

gar-pa 'dancer' [gar 'dance']

The -pa nominalizer has an allomorph in -ba which has no counterpart with the -pa agent nominal in the same environments.

Second, the agent nominal suffix can be affixed directly onto a nominal already suffixed with the nominalizer:

(71) dpyod-pa 'examination'
      dpyod-pa-pa 'examiner'

So, assuming the situation in Classical Tibetan is similar to that in their common ancestor, we have reason to suppose there were originally two separate, though probably related, suffixes.

§3.3 *Conclusion: the **-wa** chains have multiple sources:*

So, we conclude that there may be as many as three historical sources for the various **-wa**'s in modern Chantyal: a nominalization, an agent/patient nominal, and a nominalization plus the genitive.

§4.0 *A puzzle from Lahu and a potential solution:*

I would like at this point to digress briefly and discuss a problem in Tibeto-Burman linguistics on which the Chantyal data may have some relevance. The problem has to do with Lahu and the particle **ve**, which has at least three distinct functions: as a marker of genitive subordination, as a marker of relative subordination, and as a nominalizer [all examples from Matisoff (1972b:240-3)]:

(72) **ŋà ve mí-chɔ**
      I   shoulder-bag
      'my shoulder-bag'

(73) **vàʔ qhe chu ve Pîchɔ̂-pā ô   tê ɣâ**
      pig as fat   Shan   that one person
      'that Shan over there who's fat as a pig'

(74) **ɔ̀-šɨ̄   tɔ̂ʔ   la   ve thàʔ nɔ̀ mâ ɣa mɔ̀ lâ**
      blood emerge come   ACC you NEG get see Q
      'Didn't you see that blood was coming out?'

The problem has been to try to explain how **ve** could have functions this diverse; in particular, how it could have a genitive function along with its relativization and nominalization functions, since, as we have seen, the last two are frequently related in Tibeto-Burman. Recall that in Chantyal, **-wa** has a function referred to above as the 'non-relative attributive', a couple of examples of which are repeated below:

(75) **təyla-wa   saka**
      yesterday-NOM ancestor
      'yesterday's ancestors' [V101]

(76) **ligɔ̃-wa   samra-ye phəlce**
      back-NOM thigh-GEN muscle
      'back thigh muscle' [I24]

This use may well have evolved by analogy with the use of **-wa** in relative clauses: Gurung has similar examples involving its attributive NOM+GEN:

(77) **tel-bá-e   sadá-r**

yesterday-NOM-GEN week-LOC
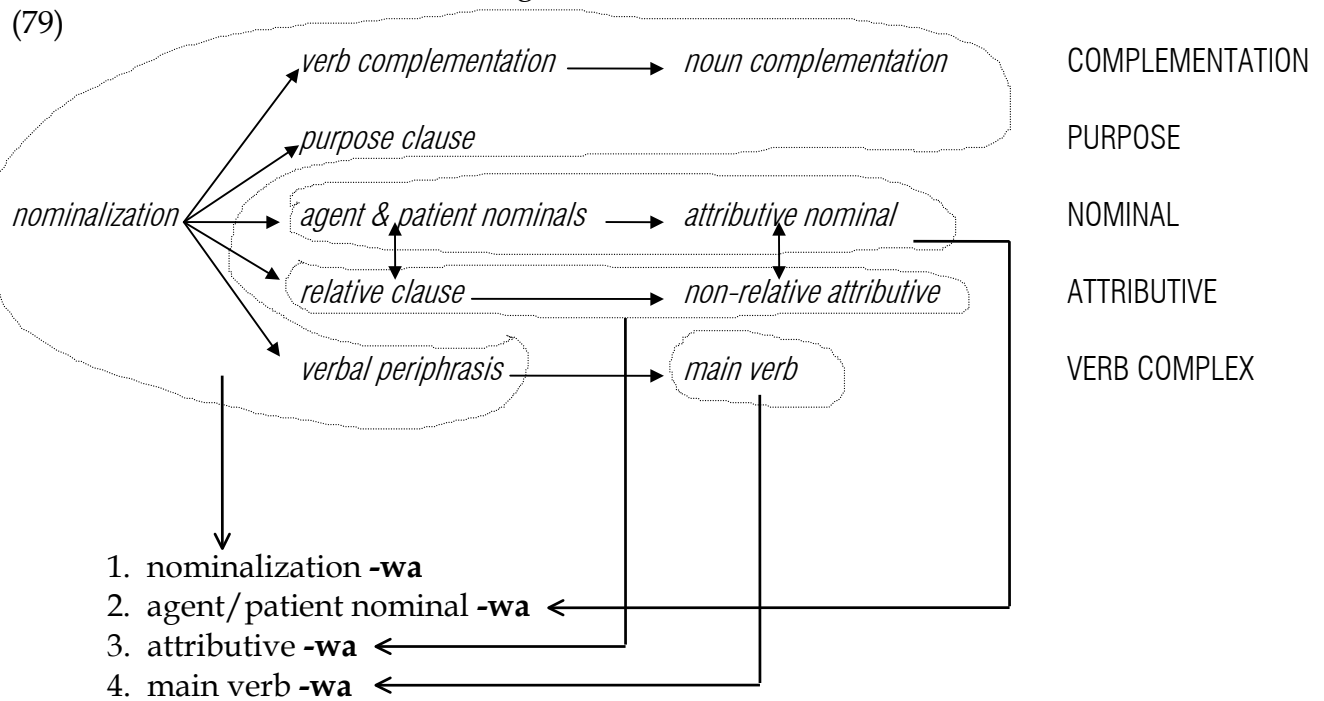'in a week from yesterday' [Glover 1974:149]

Once the attributive function becomes established in relative clauses, it may be extended to other sorts of attributives. The Chantyal examples above are not very far from genitives: indeed, it is possible to paraphrase the first with the genitive:

(78) **təyla-ye**   **saka**
     yesterday-GEN ancestor
     'yesterday's ancestors'

If Lahu **ve** followed the same line of development as Chantyal **-wa**, then the nominalization function is the oldest, from which the relative clause function develops, and from which the genitive function develops. DeLancey (1989) notes that there is some evidence that the Classical Tibetan genitive **-kyi** [which is cognate with Chantyal **-ye**] developed from a nominalizer.

§5.0 *A unified category?*

The last question to be addressed in this paper has to do with whether **-wa** constitutes a single grammatical form in Chantyal, which would mean that all the uses of **-wa** are expressions of the same grammatical form. An alternative view might posit as many as four distinct **-wa**'s based on meaning and function:

(79)

1. nominalization **-wa**
2. agent/patient nominal **-wa**
3. attributive **-wa**
4. main verb **-wa**

Linguists working on Tibeto-Burman languages have taken various positions on the syntactic relatedness of the nominalization and relativization functions. Matisoff and DeLancey have taken the position that in languages like Lhasa Tibetan and Lahu [and, by extension, Chantyal] relative clauses are nominalizations. Genetti (1992, 1994) has argued against this position. Matisoff has also argued that a construction in Lahu analogous to the main verb use of **-wa** should be considered a nominalization. To my

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knowledge, forms analogous to agent/patient nominals and attributive nominals have previously not been considered in this context.

DeLancey claims (1989) that the relative clause function in Tibetan, Lahu, Newari and other Tibeto-Burman languages is [or can be] coded by means an appositional structure involving a nominalization: nominalization creates a noun which can be used like any other in an attributive function. We may then call the form used this way a relative clause, but the crucial fact is that it is a nominalization that is serving to code this function.

Genetti's argument against lumping relativization and nominalization together in languages like Chantyal where the marking is identical is a structural/logical one: 'relative clauses differ from nominalized clauses in that in relative clauses the actual occurrence of all logical arguments in the clause is never grammatical, whereas in nominalizations it is.' (1992:425) Genetti is careful to go on to say that the relationship between nominalization and relativization in the languages of Nepal is not accidental and that the two are clearly related diachronically.

I think DeLancey's position here is correct despite the strong argument against it given by Genetti. I will restrict my argument here to Chantyal, though I assume similar arguments could be advanced for other similar languages.

Genetti's argument fails on several grounds. First, there are languages that permit resumptive pronouns in relative clauses, so crosslinguistically this argument could not be valid. Second, the argument fails to take into account crucial elements of the discourse syntax of zero anaphora languages of the sort we find in the Nepal Himalayas. In these languages, referents receive zero expression when they are contextually predictable. So, in the English sentence,

(80)   Ram$_i$ left home and he$_i$ came to Kathmandu

it is possible to interpret *he* as being coreferential to Ram. But in translating the sentence into Chantyal, placing a pronoun in the second clause would result in a mistranslation: the pronoun would have to refer to someone other than Ram:

(81)   **ram$_i$ tɦem-əŋ   ɦya-si-rə   khi$_j$ kadmandu-ri   kha-i**
         Ram house-LOC go-ANT-CP s/he Kathmandu-LOC come-PERF
         'Ram$_i$ left home and s/he$_j$ came to Kathmandu' [=Ram having left home, s/he came to Kathmandu]

(82)   **khi$_i$ tɦem-əŋ   ɦya-si-rə   ram$_j$ kadmandu-ri   kha-i**
         s/he house-LOC go-ANT-CP Ram Kathmandu-LOC come-PERF
         'With her/him$_i$ having left home, Ram$_j$ came to Kathmandu'

So, in a relative clause construction such as

(83)   **reysi thũ-wa   mənchi**
         raksi drink-NOM person
         'the person who drinks raksi'

the exclusion of a resumptive pronoun would be predicted on general principles: you wouldn't need any specific exclusion for resumptive pronouns in relative clauses.

As for agent/patient nominals, these can be viewed as instances of nominalizations in apposition to a generic zero anaphor. For expressions like

(84) **capa ca-wa-ma-ra**
      food eat-NOM-PL-DAT
      'to the ones who are eating'

the placement of the plural and case markers on the nominalization follow from general principles of the grammar: number and case clitics are placed on the last word in the NP. This is why the case markers in Chantyal are considered clitics and not case suffixes, strictly speaking:

(85) **ram rə pirəm-sə   bɦyara bagra-ma-ra gɦas pin-ji**
      Ram and Piram-ERG sheep   goat-PL-DAT fodder gave-PERF
      'Ram and Piram gave fodder to the sheep and goats'

Attributive nominals likewise can be interpreted as nominals in apposition to a zero anaphor.

Matisoff has argued that sentences in Lahu with final **ve** are instances of 'non-embedded nominalizations' (1972b:246).

(86) **yɔ̂ là   tù   ve**
      he come future NOM
      'He will come'

Matisoff says (247) the sense of this is, literally, 'It is the case that he will come' or 'It is a he-will-come case.'

It was noted above that in Chantyal when **-wa** has its main verb use, it has a meaning that is different from any corresponding construction involving a copular verb. The meaning was described as expressing either a contrary-to-expectation sense or exasperation. The special sense, I think, is the product of the marked nature of the construction, *ie* it has a special, emphatic sense because the structure it represents is so unusual. In over 260 pages of analyzed discourse, there was — this construction apart — only one non-fragment which lacked the expected copula. That is, these 'main verb' **-wa** sentences represent a highly marked structure and consequently are assigned a marked interpretation.

So, whether one holds with Matisoff that non-embedded nominalizations are possible, or whether one thinks that such constructions are marked instances of copular constructions without the copula, these would still count as nominalizations.

§6.0 *Conclusion:*

I've tried to show that the **-wa** construction, while fulfilling a vast number of grammatical functions and deriving from more than one source, is a single grammatical entity in modern Chantyal. Despite its many uses, it is not a polysemous form: it is always the same thing, a nominalization, and its diverse uses are simply contextual interpretations of the same grammatical entity.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	CIRC	circumlative
ACC	accusative	COM1	first comitative
ANT	anterior	COM2	second comitative

COND1	first conditional	NOM	nominalizer
COND2	second conditional	NPST	non-past
CP	conjunctive participle	PERF	perfective
DAT	dative	PL	plural
GEN	genitive	PLUP	pluperfect
ERG	ergative	PROG	progressive
INCL	inclusive	Q	question
INF	infinitive	SUP	suppositional
LOC	locative	VN	nominalized verb
NEG	negative		

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