

## Nominalizers in Tamangic Languages

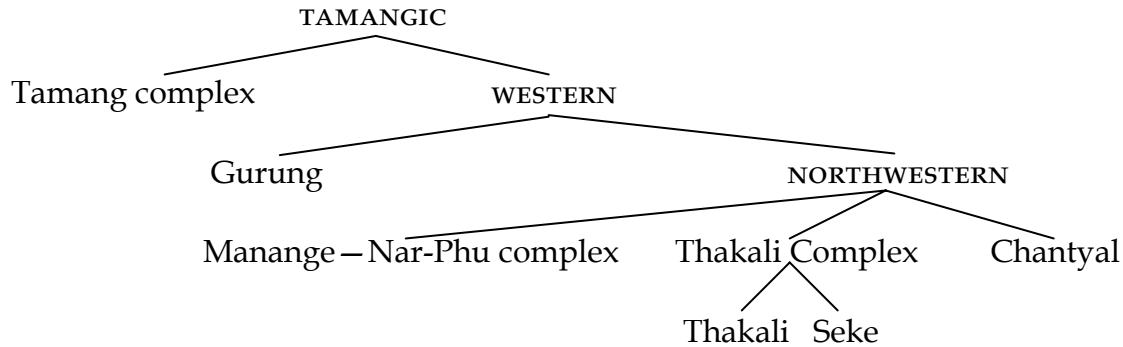
Michael Noonan

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

<http://www.uwm.edu/~noonan>

### 1. TAMANGIC LANGUAGES

(1)



### 2. PROTO-TAMANGIC [tones/vowel length are disregarded in protoforms]

#### A. VERBAL AFFIXES

*-mu	<i>non-past/imperfective</i> [ <i>&lt; *mu 'be'</i> ]	*-pa	<i>nominalizer</i>
*-ci	<i>perfective</i> [ <i>&lt; *cin 'finish'</i> ]	*-si	<i>sequential converb</i>
*-ma	<i>simultaneous converb/imperfective past</i>	*-kay	<i>simultaneous converb/future</i>
*-la	<i>conditional/irrealis</i>	*-(k)u	<i>imperative</i>
*ha-	<i>negative</i>	*tha-	<i>negative imperative</i>
*-e	<i>interrogative</i>		

#### B. COPULAR VERBS

meaning	positive	negative	source
'location, attribution'	*mu	*a-re	*mu < 'stay, sit'; *re < old Bodish copula
'identity'	*yin	*a-yin	< old Bodish copula
'dynamic' ['become']	*ta	*a-ta	found elsewhere in Bodic, e.g. in Kham

#### C. CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NOMINALIZERS

- nominalization in the strict sense [*ie* naming activities and states]
- verb complementation
- purpose nominal ['in order to'] with locative: \*-pa-ri < nominalizer+locative case
- adnominal clause, possibly with genitive [see §3.1 below]
- non-relative attributive, possibly with genitive [see §3.1 below]
- agent and patient nominals
- as main clause verb with mirative sense

Some illustrations:

#### adnominal clause

- (1) mənchi-sə ca-si-wa gay-ye sya CHANTYAL  
 person-ERG eat-ANT-NOM COW-GEN meat  
 'the beef that the person ate'
- (2) cá p̄xra-bá-e mxi jaga GURUNG  
 that walk-NOM-GEN person PL  
 'those walking people' (=sentries)

#### non-relative attributive

- (3) a. təyla-wa saka CHANTYAL

yesterday-NOM ancestor  
'yesterday's ancestors' [V101]

b. ligã-wa samra-ye phəlce CHANTYAL  
back-NOM thigh-GEN muscle  
'back thigh muscle' [I24]

(4) bana·-r-bá-e sī GURUNG  
forest-LOC-NOM-GEN wood  
'trees from the forest'

### agent and patient nominals

(5) AGENT NOMINAL CHANTYAL

a. 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'

PATIENT NOMINAL CHANTYAL

b. 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 that I made might not have become good strips' [I110]

### main clause with mirative sense

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

## 3. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

### 3.1: THE GENITIVE WITH ADNOMINALS

- DeLancey 2005 reconstructs the genitive with nominals used adnominally for Proto-Tibetic.
- However, it's not clear whether this use of the genitive can be reconstructed for Proto-Tamangic: it could have spread areally from the Tibetan Complex into Tamangic.
- The distribution of the genitive with such nominalizers in the Tamangic languages is provided below in (7): in sum, the genitive seems firmly established only in Gurung within the Tamangic group; elsewhere it is either optional or is not used.
- Among the other Tibetic languages, the genitive is found with adnominal forms with **\*-pa** in languages of the Tibetan Complex, but not with other nominalizers; Ghale lacks the genitive with adnominal clauses; Tshangla uses the dative/locative, not the genitive.
- Nearby non-Bodish languages [*e.g.* the Kham-Magar group] lack the genitive.
- A number of Tamangic languages borrowed vocabulary from Tibetan and were influenced by Tibetan – and probably Zhangzhung, since some communities were Bon.
- The evidence is mixed, but points to the use of the genitive in Proto-Tamangic.

(7) CHANTYAL: Never uses the genitive.

THAKALI: Georg's 1996 grammar makes no mention of the genitive with relative clauses. Hari & Maibaum 1970 assert that the genitive is optional, but it should be noted that Georg and Hari & Maibaum investigated different dialects of Thakali.

SEKE: Isao Honda (personal communication) reports that the genitive is optional with nominalizations.

MANANGE: Hildebrandt 2003 reports that relative clauses are formed with the nominalizer **-pa** [**<\*pa**], but notes that "at times in relativized contexts the vowel quality of /a/ fronts and sounds like [pe] or [pœ]." DeLancey (2005) interprets this difference to reflect the addition of the genitive: **-pa-i** > **-pe**. One problem with this interpretation is that the genitive in

Manange is **-la**, not **-i**. It is probable that at one point, Manange had a genitive in **-i**, the modern genitive in **-la** deriving historically from the dative, often **-ra** in other Tamangic languages. However the data from closely related Nar-Phu suggests another interpretation of Manange **-pe**.

**NAR-PHU:** In Nar-Phu, relative clauses with present senses use the nominalizer **-pe** [**<\*pa**], but those with past senses use **-pi**. This could be the nominalizer and the genitive **-ye**. However, this could also be the nominalizer and the morpheme **-i** which produces past tense interpretations in the copula, as in **mû-i**, the indirect [*i.e.* non-witnessed] past of the copula. The source of this **-i** is **\*-ci**, the PT perfective, which in Nar-Phu and elsewhere in Tamangic reduces to **-i**.

**TAMANG:** The examples in Taylor's 1973 paper suggest that the genitive may be used with relative clauses in Western Tamang, but Mazaudon 2003 states that the genitive is not found in Eastern Tamang, and Varenkamp 2003, also discussing Eastern Tamang, says "it is most common to express the relative with the nominalization only," *i.e.* not with the genitive, though this implies that the genitive may be used also. [See §3.2 below.]

**GURUNG:** Glover's 1974 grammar states that the genitive is always used with relative clauses, making Gurung then the only Tamangic language to use the genitive consistently.

### 3.2: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TENSE DISTINCTIONS IN NOMINALIZATIONS

- All Tamangic languages retain reflexes of **\*-pa** and use them for the ways described in §2.c above.
- Some Tamangic languages have innovated tense distinctions in nominalizations. The tense distinctions can be secondary [relative] and/or primary.
- As noted in (7) above, Nar-Phu has developed a tense distinction in nominalizations used adnominally, presumably by utilizing the historic perfective **\*-ci** in adnominal uses: in (8a) below, **-pi** would be analyzed as **-pe-i** NOM-PERF. This tense distinction is not found in other uses of nominalizations. Examples follow:

(8) a.  $\eta\hat{a}$ -se       $\acute{s}i$ -pi                       $\{f\}ulthun$      $mra\eta$ - $\acute{c}in$   
 I-ERGATIVE die-PAST.RELATIVE snake.body see-PAST  
 'I saw a dead snake'

b.  $m\hat{i}n$      $te$ - $ne$                        $a$ - $t\hat{a}$ - $pe$                                        $pf\}ulun\eta$   
 name call-NOMINALIZER NEGATIVE-become-PRESENT.RELATIVE insect  
 'centipede' ['the insect whose name isn't called']

- In Chantyal, a tense contrast was made using the sequential converb **-si**, best described in the context of Chantyal as marking anterior [secondary past] senses. Examples follow:

(9) a.  $duli$ - $wa$        $kyata$   
 wander-NOM boy  
 'the boy who wanders'

b.  $duli$ - $si$ - $wa$        $kyata$   
 wander-ANT-NOM boy  
 'the boy who wandered'

- Dhankute Tamang has developed a present/past tense distinction illustrated in (10). The source of the perfective affix in **-la** is unclear: in other Tamangic languages, a form in **-la** has conditional/irrealis or future senses, and has this even in other Tamang dialects. However, in Gurung and Dhankute Tamang, the form signals past or perfective. The origin of the past/perfective **-la** may not be the conditional/irrealis **\*la**, but possibly **\*la** 'do', or, more interestingly **\*r/la**, the dative clitic, which in all Tamangic dialects [and some others] has evolved

into a genitive. If so, this could be additional evidence for the genitive in adnominal nominalizations and provide a parallel for developments in Nar-Phu.

- (10) a. chjoi ɖo-ba mfi  
 book read-NOM person  
 'person who reads books'  
 b. chjoi ɖo-ba-la mfi  
 book read-NOM-PERF person  
 'person who reads books'

### 3.3: NEW NOMINALIZERS

A number of forms are found in these languages which have assumed some, but not all, of the functions of the historical nominalization in \*pa. Nowhere in these languages, however, does one find a full replacement for \*pa. I'll provide just a few illustrations here.

#### 3.3.1: Nar-Phu -te

- Nar-Phu has innovated a new nominalizer which contrasts with the nominalizer derived from the historic \*-pa nominalizer. The contrast involves one of aspect and modality: the indeterminate form implies progressive action and/or uncertainty; the determinate implies completive and/or certainty:

(11) a. ŋâ-se lakpɛ-re hîke p̄hri-pe mraŋ-č̄in  
 I-ERGATIVE Lakpa-DAT/LOC letter write-INDET.NOM see-PAST  
 'I saw Lakpa writing the letter'

b. ŋâ-se lakpɛ-re hîke p̄hri-te mraŋ-č̄in  
 I-ERGATIVE Lakpa-DAT/LOC letter write-DET.NOM see-PAST  
 'I saw Lakpa write the letter'

(12) a. ŋê kha-pe mû  
 1S come-INDET.NOM be  
 'I am coming'

b. ŋê kha-te mû  
 1S come-DET.NOM be  
 'I am coming'

- The first sentence (11a), with the indeterminate nominalizer, makes no claim that the writing of the letter was ever completed. The second sentence (11b), which involves the determinate nominalizer, implies that the writing was completed. Both clauses in (12) are progressive in sense, but the contrast here involves certainty: (12a) is less certain than (12b).

- The -te suffix most likely derives from \*ta 'become'.

#### 3.3.2: Nar-Phu -ne

- This form can be used to exemplify a class of suffixes which have developed in Tamangic languages and whose meanings include [but are often not restricted to] potential actions or states. These forms are often labeled 'infinitive', e.g. Gurung -l(a). I will provide just a few illustrations here.

(13) a. thô-ne lâ-te mûmu  
 arrive-INF do-DET.NOM be-be  
 'he's about to arrive'

b. thor-ne č̄hin-č̄in  
 dig-INF finish-PERF  
 'I finished digging'

c. Lakpɛ-se iŋliš p̄hi-ne č̄hur  
 Lakpa-ERG English speak-INF be.able  
 'Lakpa can speak English'

d. ca-ne lâ-w  
 eat-INF do-IMPER  
 'Make him eat!'

- In general, **-ne** resists contexts where its sense isn't obviously one of potentiality [but see (13b) above]. Consider the set below, where **-pe** or **-te** must replace **-ne** in a past tense affirmative context.

- (14) a. Lakpe-re            čhæ thun-ne    kâr    mûmu  
Lakpa-DAT/LOC tea    drink-INF need be-be  
'Lakpa needs to drink tea'
- b. Lakpe-re            čhæ thun-ne    kâr    fiare  
Lakpa-DAT/LOC tea    drink-INF need NEG.be  
'Lakpa didn't need to drink tea'
- c. Lakpe-re            čhæ thun-pe/te                            kâr    mû-i  
Lakpa-DAT/LOC tea    drink-DET.NOM/INDET.NOM need be-PERF  
'Lakpa needed to drink tea'

### 3.4: PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NOMINALIZERS

- All Tamangic languages employ periphrastic TAM constructions involving the nominalizer, but some languages do very little in this regard, while others have created an extensive array of periphrastic constructions.
- In general, the languages that were traditionally in the Tibeto-sphere [*i.e.* those languages under considerable linguistic and cultural influence of Tibetan language and culture] have done the least in this regard, while those languages that have long been under the influence of Nepali have developed the most.
- Nar-Phu and Manange are the languages most strongly within the Tibeto-sphere, and these languages utilize the fewest periphrastic constructions: Nar-Phu employs only one, a durative construction. The construction is illustrated in (12).
- Chantyal, Gurung, and Tamang, all of which have been under strong Nepali influence for a considerable period, have developed considerable inventories of periphrastic constructions. Chantyal in particular, easily the language most influenced by Nepali, has developed the most extensive set. The attested combinations involving the nominalizer **-wa** are found in (15):

(15)	SEMANTIC	AUX	SENSE
	MAIN VERB		
	V-wa	fiin	Pres intentional, habitual
	V-si-wa	fiin	Pres perf, past: 'it turns out that'; resultant states
	V-wa	fiin-si-m	Past [discovery of fact; modal sense (?)]
	V-si-wa	fiin-si-m	Past perf [simply records event: 'it turned out that']
	V-wa	fiin-si-n	Pres perf suppositional
	V-si-wa	fiin-si-n	Past perf suppositional
	V-wa	fiin-la-nə	Pres intentional conditional
	V-si-wa	fiin-la-nə	Past intentional conditional
	V-wa	mu	Pres prospective [prediction]
	V-si-wa	mu	Pres perf resultative
	V-wa	mu-ma	Past prospective [prediction]
	V-si-wa	mu-ma	Past perf resultative
	V-wa	mu-wa fiin-si-m	Pres perf resultative [hidden beforehand]
	V-si-wa	mu-wa fiin-si-m	Past perf resultative [hidden beforehand]
	V-gəy	mu-wa fiin-si-m	Pres perf resultative progressive
	V-wa	ta-wa fiin	Pres hypothetical prospective ['would come to']

V-wa	ta-wa fin-si-m	Pres perf hypothetical prospective
V-si	ni-si-wa fin	Catalytic passive [accidental]
V-si	yã-si-wa fin	Catalytic passive [deliberate, deserved]
V-wa	ta-T/A/M	Pres predictive [‘come to’: definite result]
V-wa-khum	ta-T/A/M	Reciprocal
V-wa	la-i	Inceptive

**legend:**

-wa	nominalizer	fin	identity copula
-si	anterior/sequential converb	mu	locational/attributive copula
-gəy	simultaneous converb	ta	‘become’
-khum	reciprocal	la	‘do’

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*Possible Genetic Relationships Within the Bodic Section of Tibeto-Burman*

