

## Aspects of the Historical Development of Nominalizers in the Tamangic Languages

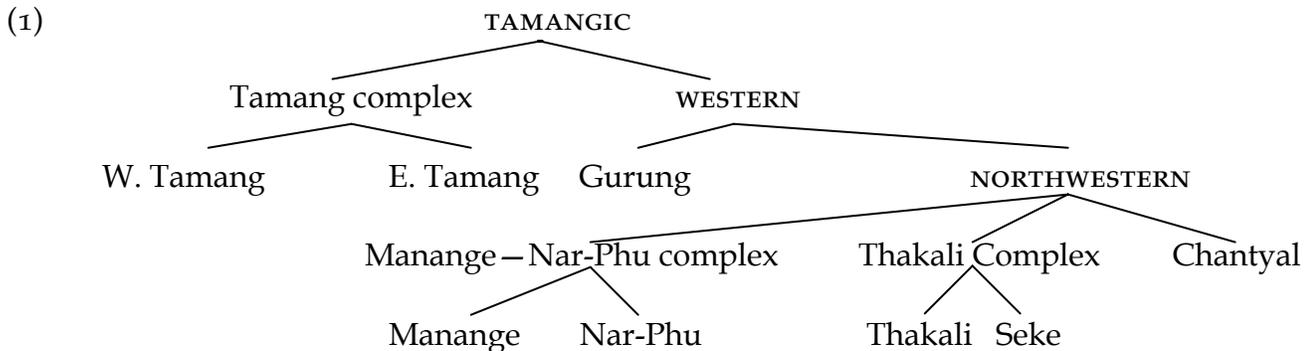
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### 1. TAMANGIC LANGUAGES

The Tamangic languages<sup>1</sup> are a small, uncontroversial grouping within the Bodic section of Sino-Tibetan spoken entirely within Nepal. Within Bodic, the Tamangic languages are placed within the Tibetic branch of the Bodish languages, along with Central Bodish [the Tibetan Complex and Tshangla] and Ghale. Proposed relationships of the languages within Bodic are displayed in Appendix 1. The languages within the Tamangic group and their relationships to each other are given in the figure below.



People speaking Proto-Tamangic entered Nepal from Tibet between fifteen hundred and two thousand years ago. The center of their radiation is the upper Kali Gandaki Valley; from there the Tamangs and later the Gurungs moved east.

The Tamangic languages are notable for the extensive use made of nominalized clauses and nominalizations generally within their grammars. This state of affairs is most fully developed in Chantyal and is discussed in detail in Noonan 1997: a brief summary is provided in Section 2 below.

In this paper, I will discuss some issues concerning the historical development of nominalizations within the Tamangic family. In Section 2, I will provide a bit of background information concerning the form and function of nominalizations within this group, followed by a discussion in Section 3 of some historical developments affecting nominalizations.

### 2. TAMANGIC VERBAL SYSTEMS AND NOMINALIZATION

In this section, I'll provide some background information concerning Tamangic verbal systems and the functions of nominalizations.

**2.1 INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS IN PROTO-TAMANGIC:** Data from the grammars of the modern languages, together with comparative and areal data, yield information concerning many basic aspects of the interclausal syntax in Proto-Tamangic, though many problems remain. From a morpho-syntactic perspective, two sorts of clause-types can be distinguished, independent and dependent: independent clause types are capable of being integrated into discourse on their own, while dependent clause types depend on another clause for at least part of their interpretation. In Proto-Tamangic, the two sorts were also identifiable morphologically.

In dependent clause types, the final verbal within the verb complex is overtly marked with a subordinator suffix; this verbal heads a nominalized or a converbial [*i.e.* adverbial] clause. The nomi-

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nalization suffix is \***pa**, which goes back at least to Proto-Bodic. There were likely a number of converbal suffixes. All the languages evidence a sequential converb in \***si**, which is likely Bodish. There is also a certain amount of evidence for a simultaneous converb in \***ma** and perhaps one in \***kay**, and a manner converb in \***na**. The conditional is \***la**, which may also be Proto-Bodic: this suffix is evidenced in a wide variety of functions in the contemporary Tamangic languages and may already have assumed some other functions in the Proto-Tamangic period.<sup>2</sup>

For independent clauses, negative, imperative, and interrogative affixes can be reconstructed back to Proto-Tamangic.

- |     |      |                              |        |                            |
|-----|------|------------------------------|--------|----------------------------|
| (2) | *-e  | <i>interrogative</i>         | *-(k)u | <i>imperative</i>          |
|     | *ha- | <i>negative</i> <sup>3</sup> | *tha-  | <i>negative imperative</i> |

Tense-aspect morphology in the modern languages is mostly transparently derived from the non-finite morphology discussed above or from verbs. The deverbal affixes in (3) are universally attested in Tamangic.

- |     |        |                                                       |         |                                                 |
|-----|--------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------------------------|
| (3) | *-m(u) | <i>non-past/imperfective</i> [ <i>&lt; *mu 'be'</i> ] | *-ci(n) | <i>perfective</i> [ <i>&lt; *cin 'finish'</i> ] |
|-----|--------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------------------------|

These suffixes suggest a syntagm in which the verb complex could consist of juxtaposed bare verbals [*i.e.* where no verbal is marked with non-finite suffixes] and where the final verbal is also unsuffixed [*i.e.* not overtly marked for tense-aspect]. Both possibilities persist in the Tamangic languages, albeit as minority patterns. Nar-Phu, for example, attests juxtaposed bare verbals [*a.k.a.* verb concatenation], in particular with motion verbs:

- |     |                                                |         |      |        |      |     |         |      |         |
|-----|------------------------------------------------|---------|------|--------|------|-----|---------|------|---------|
| (4) | nôkyu                                          | ce-se   | thuŋ | nâpraŋ | čhâŋ | ce  | pi      | tê   | lâ-č'in |
|     | dog                                            | DEF-ERG | bee  |        | nest | DEF | go.fast | fall | do-PAST |
|     | 'the dog unwittingly knocked down the beehive' |         |      |        |      |     |         |      |         |

Nar-Phu also attests unmarked final verbals, though only modal verbs allow this:

- |     |                           |         |           |         |
|-----|---------------------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| (5) | Lakpe-se                  | inliš   | pfi-ne    | čhur    |
|     | Lakpa-ERG                 | English | speak-INF | be.able |
|     | 'Lakpa can speak English' |         |           |         |

Mazaudon 2003 describes a similar pair of constructions for Eastern Tamang.

Dependent clauses were, by definition, subordinate. Independent clauses could also be subordinate, but only as complements of 'say', a situation that persists in the modern languages except where the relevant constructions are transparently borrowed from Indo-European Nepali.<sup>4</sup>

**2.2 CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NOMINALIZERS:** The internal grammar of nominalized clauses is fairly consistent across the modern languages, and we can therefore assume that it has been unchanged since the Proto-Tamangic period. The argument array associated with the nominalized verbals is assigned the same cases as their independent clause counterparts.<sup>5</sup> Compare the independent clause (6a) with its nominalized counterpart (6b) in the Chantyal sentences below:

- |     |    |                                       |             |           |         |          |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|---------|----------|
| (6) | a. | bhulur-sə                             | ghwaral     | ca-i      |         |          |
|     |    | leopard-ERG                           | wild.goat   | eat-PERF  |         |          |
|     |    | 'The leopard ate the wild goat'       |             |           |         |          |
|     | b. | na-sə                                 | [bhulur-sə  | ghwaral   | ca-wa]  | marai    |
|     |    | I-ERG                                 | leopard-ERG | wild.goat | eat-NOM | see-PERF |
|     |    | 'I saw the leopard eat the wild goat' |             |           |         |          |

<sup>2</sup> The uses of the various converbs in Chantyal are discussed in detail in Noonan 1999. The reconstructions provided here are informal, lacking specifications for vowel length and, where applicable, tone.

<sup>3</sup> The negative can also occur in dependent clauses.

<sup>4</sup> See Noonan 2006 for an extended discussion of the discourse functions of complements of 'say' in Chantyal.

<sup>5</sup> This is true as well for converbal clauses.

Nominalized verbals clearly played an important role in the grammar of Proto-Tamangic, judging by the role they currently play in the grammars of the modern languages. The functional range of nominalized verbals is fairly similar within the languages of the group, allowing us to infer that the proto language probably shared this functional range. These functions are listed in (7) below and are discussed in detail in Noonan 1997:

(7) *functions of forms with the nominalizer in Tamangic languages*

- NOMINALIZATION IN THE STRICT SENSE: naming activities and states
- VERB COMPLEMENTATION: clausal complements of verbs
- PURPOSE NOMINAL: ‘in order to’ sense, with the locative: \*-pa-ri < nominalizer+locative case
- ADNOMINAL CLAUSE: clausal modifiers of nouns, possibly with the genitive [see §3.1 below]
- NON-RELATIVE ATTRIBUTIVE NOMINALS: nominal, even case-marked nominal, modifiers of nouns, possibly with the genitive [see §3.1 below]
- AGENT AND PATIENT NOMINALS: nominals referring to the agent or patient roles within predications
- AS MAIN CLAUSE VERB WITH A MIRATIVE SENSE

For illustrations of the first three, see Noonan 1997. The others, crosslinguistically somewhat more unusual, are illustrated and discussed below.

2.2.1 ADNOMINAL CLAUSES: The use of clauses whose heads are nominalized verbs and which function as adnominal modifiers is characteristic of the Bodic languages [Noonan 2008b]. Within the Tamangic languages, this is the only native syntactic device for allowing clausal modification of nouns. Examples can be found in (8) and (9) below. The use of the genitive with these nominalizations will be discussed in §3.1.

**adnominal clauses**

- (8) mənchi-sə ca-si-wa gay-ye sya CHANTYAL  
 person-ERG eat-ANT-NOM cow-GEN meat  
 ‘the beef that the person ate’
- (9) cá pxra-bá-e mxi jaga GURUNG  
 that walk-NOM-GEN person PL  
 ‘those walking people’ (=sentries)

2.2.2 NON-RELATIVE ATTRIBUTIVE NOMINALS: Rather less common within Bodic, though well attested in Tamangic, is the situation where the affix used to form nominalizations is suffixed to non-verbal roots [*e.g.* in (10)] and case-marked nouns [*e.g.* in (11)]. The resulting nominals can be used attributively, hence the designation ‘non-relative attributive nominals’.

**non-relative attributive nominals**

- (10) a. təyla-wa saka CHANTYAL  
 yesterday-NOM ancestor  
 ‘yesterday’s ancestors’ [V101]<sup>6</sup>
- b. ligã-wa samra-ye phəlce CHANTYAL  
 back-NOM thigh-GEN muscle  
 ‘back thigh muscle’ [I24]
- (11) a. bana·r-bá-e sī GURUNG  
 forest-LOC-NOM-GEN wood  
 ‘trees from the forest’
- b. nfi-a-ri-gəm-wa sya CHANTYAL  
 inside-LOC-ABL-NOM meat

<sup>6</sup> [V101] and similar notations below refer to published Chantyal discourses: Noonan *et al* 1999, Noonan 2005.

‘innards’

c. ram-siŋ-wa photo  
Ram-COM-NOM photo

CHATYAL

‘Ram’s photo’ [*i.e.* a photo Ram owns]<sup>7</sup>

In some languages, as in the Gurung example in (11a), these non-relative attributive nominals occur with the genitive: these are the same languages that use the genitive with nominalized clauses used adnominally.

Two additional facts about these non-relative attributives should be noted. First, the forms affixed with the nominalizer are nouns: they can fill noun slots, be pluralized, and take case affixes. The following examples from Chantyal illustrate this.

(12) məŋgəle-ri-wa gay-ma  
Mangale-LOC-NOM cow-PL  
‘cows from Mangale’

(13) məŋgəle-ri-wa-ma-sə syal mara-i  
Mangale-LOC-NOM-PL-ERG jackal see-PERF  
‘the people from Mangale saw the jackal’

In (12), the non-relative attributive nominal modifies ‘cows’. By itself, however, it is also a noun meaning ‘those from Mangale’, and as such it can take a plural suffix and fill a clausal noun slot, as in (13).<sup>8</sup> It should be noted that when simple, non-case-marked nouns like **təyla** ‘yesterday’ in (10a) are not used adnominally, they are never found with the nominalization suffix.

Second, suffixation with the nominalizer is recursive, the only limitations being those of sense and processability. Example (14) below shows a non-relative attributive nominal formed from a case-marked attributive nominal:

(14) məŋgəle-ri-wa-ma-siŋ-wa photo  
Mangale-LOC-NOM-PL-COM-NOM photo  
‘the photo belonging to the people from Mangale’

This form, too, may fill a nominal slot. In other words, an attributive nominal can be built off of another attributive nominal and fill a noun slot within a clause, as in (15):

(15) 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’

2.2.3 AGENT AND PATIENT NOMINALS: Agent and patient nominals are also formed with the nominalizer in Tamangic languages like Chantyal.

### agent and patient nominals

(16) AGENT NOMINAL CHANTYAL

a. na-sə reysi thū-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]

<sup>7</sup> In Chantyal, a construction with the genitive, **Ram-ye photo**, is used to express ‘a photo of Ram’ [*i.e.* one having his image], though the latter can also be used to identify one one he owns: see Noonan 1997.

<sup>8</sup> Nouns formed in this way are thus a species of the agent and patient nominals discussed in §2.2.3.

In (16a), the agent nominal **reysi thū-wa** ‘raksi drinker’ is suffixed with the genitive marker and modifies ‘dog’. Agent and especially patient nominals are often referred to as ‘internally headed relative clauses’ in the literature on Bodic languages. In the context of some languages, that might be a reasonable analysis, but for many, perhaps most Bodic languages, these constructions are probably best analyzed as agent and patient nominals. For instance in (16b), the patient nominal **cə ləra pari-wa-ma** ‘those strips that I made’ is treated as a single nominal and the nominalized verb receives the plural suffix **-ma**, an unlikely scenario if the construction were an internally headed relative clause since we would expect the internal head to bear the plural in that case.<sup>9</sup>

2.2.4 MAIN CLAUSE VERB WITH A MIRATIVE SENSE: In Tamangic languages, when nominalizations appear as main clauses, the typical effect is one of mirativity, *i.e.* the sense that the predication so expressed is in some sense surprising, contrary to expectation, or in some way exasperating.

**main clause with mirative sense**

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

Noonan (2008b) provides some discussion and references to the situation in other Bodic languages.

3. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In this section I’ll discuss some historical developments of nominalizations in the Tamangic languages. These developments include 1) the issue of the genitive with adnominals nominalizations, 2) the development of tense distinctions in nominalized clauses, 3) the creation of new nominalizers, and 4) the use of nominalized verbals in periphrastic constructions.

3.1 THE GENITIVE WITH ADNOMINALS: It was noted in several places above that nominals used adnominally may or may not occur with the genitive in Tamangic languages. Compare, for example, the Chantyal and Gurung examples of nominalized clauses used adnominally in (8) and (9), and the Chantyal and Gurung examples of non-relative attributive nominals in (11). In this section we will take up the question of whether the genitive should be posited with this construction in Proto-Tamangic.

3.1.1 THE USE OF THE GENITIVE IN THE MODERN LANGUAGES: The modern Tamangic languages present a mixed picture with regard to the use of the genitive with nominalizations used adnominally. A summary of the data from the modern languages can be found in (18):

- (18) 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**. Still, it is probable that at one point, Manange had a genitive in **-i** [**\*kyi**], the modern genitive in **-la** deriving historically from the dative, which frequently is

<sup>9</sup> The patient nominal in (16b) can’t easily be analyzed as consisting of a head followed by a postmodifier since postmodifiers don’t otherwise occur in Chantyal.

**-ra/la** in other Tibetic languages. However the data from closely related Nar-Phu offers another interpretation of Manange **-pe**.

**NAR-PHU:** In Nar-Phu, adnominal clauses with present senses use the nominalizer **-pe** [**<\*pa**], but those with past senses use **-pi**. The latter could be the nominalizer and the genitive **-ye** [**<\*kyi**]. 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(n)**, the Proto-Tamangic perfective [*cf* (3) above], which in Nar-Phu and elsewhere in Tamangic often reduces to **-i**. [So, Manange **-pe** is likely cognate with Nar-Phu **-pi**, both deriving from **\*-pa-ci** NOM-PERF, not **\*-pa-kyi** NOM-GEN.]

**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. Poudel 2006, describing the Dhankute dialect, the easternmost Tamang variety, does not mention the genitive with adnominal nominalizations. He contrasts, however, a perfect nominal in **-ba-la**, which contrasts with a non-perfect form in **-ba**. The **-la** of the perfect is homophonous with the dialect's genitive, however, though it is far from clear how a genitive could result in a perfect reading in these forms: see below §3.2.3.

**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.

3.1.2 EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION: DeLancey 2005 reconstructs the genitive with nominals used adnominally for Proto-Tibetic. His evidence includes Tamangic data [though not the full range of data summarized above], but relies most heavily on the situation in the Tibetan complex. In the Tibetan Complex, the genitive is found consistently with adnominals utilizing reflexes of **\*-pa**, but not with those of the other nominalizers, of which there are several within the Tibetan Complex. Since **\*-pa** is the only relevant nominalizer that can be reconstructed for this Tibetic, he proposes that the genitive be reconstructed for adnominal uses of **\*-pa** in Proto-Tibetic, the lack of the genitive with newer nominalizers and the loss of the genitive in some Tibetic languages being later developments.

DeLancey does not consider the situation in Ghale and Tshangla, the remaining Tibetic languages. Ghale [Smith 1999] does not use the genitive with its reflex of **\*-pa**; Tshangla [Andvik 2003] uses the dative/locative, not the genitive.

An alternative hypothesis is that the use of the genitive with adnominal nominalizations in **\*-pa** originated as an innovation in the Tibetan complex and spread from there incompletely into Tamangic. In the past, a number of Tamangic languages borrowed vocabulary from Classical Tibetan and also from the spoken Tibetan dialects used by the Tibetan monks living in monasteries in Tamangic communities.<sup>10</sup> A number of grammatical constructions also seem to have originated in borrowings from the Tibetan Complex, including obligatory marking of evidentiality in the verb complex [as opposed to occasional marking of evidentiality with verb particles] and honorific nouns and verbs.

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<sup>10</sup> At this time, only the Nar-Phu and Manange communities are wholly Tibetan Buddhist, though the other groups have Tibetan Buddhist adherents [Thakalis the most, Gurungs the least] except for the Chantyals, who hold to the common Nepalese syncretism of Animism and Hinduism. There are still some followers of the Bon religion among some Himalayan communities, though fewer than in the past.

Support for the alternative hypothesis is not strong, however. Clear Tibetan grammatical and lexical influence is strongest in the communities where Tibetan Buddhism is most strongly entrenched [*e.g.* in the Nar-Phu and Manange communities] and weaker or non-existent elsewhere. Further the distribution of the genitive with adnominal nominalizations doesn't correspond to the regions most influenced by Tibetan: Gurung is the only Tamangic language to use consistently the genitive with nominalizations used adnominally, but it is also one of the languages least influenced by Tibetan. Further, the genitive is not used with nominalizations used adnominally with other Tibeto-Burman languages with which the Tamangic languages are in contact, *e.g.* the languages of the Kham-Magar group. This suggests that if outside influence were responsible for change in the use of the genitive with adnominals, the circumstances would have favored the loss of the genitive rather than its adoption.

In sum, while the evidence is a bit mixed, it would seem to favor DeLancey's hypothesis. What this suggests is that the purely attributive uses of the nominalizer alone are a later development and that these developed from an already attributive construction, the genitive.

3.2: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TENSE DISTINCTIONS IN NOMINALIZATIONS: All Tamangic languages retain reflexes of *\*-pa* and use them essentially in the ways described in (7) above.<sup>11</sup> In Proto-Tamangic, the nominalization and the various converbs could not express primary tense distinctions; the nominalization also could not express secondary [or relative] tense. With regard specifically to nominalizations, this analysis seems well-motivated since when tensed nominal forms occur, they are typically not shared with other languages: that is, there is no reconstructable form that could go back to Proto-Tamangic.

In this section, innovations leading to the development of primary and secondary tense distinctions in nominalizations will be discussed.

3.2.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTERIOR NOMINALIZATION OF CHANTYAL: In modern Chantyal there is a contrast between an anterior and a plain nominalization. Depending on context, the anterior can either express a secondary [relative] past analogous to a perfect tense or a primary [non-relative, absolute] past tense. An example contrasting the two possibilities in adnominal function can be found in (19):

- (19) a. *duli-wa kyata*  
 wander-NOM boy  
 'the boy who wanders'  
 b. *duli-si-wa kyata*  
 wander-ANT-NOM boy  
 'the boy who wandered'

The anterior suffix here is *-si*, which derives from *\*-si*, the Tamangic sequential converb. *-si* is still used with that function in Chantyal, though in restricted contexts. In ordinary discourse, however, the sequential converb takes the form of *-si-rə*, and therein lies an interesting tale of contact-induced change.

In Indo-European Nepali, a language with which Chantyal has been in intense contact for over two hundred years [Noonan 1996], the sequential converb suffix is *-erə*. As it happens, the coordinating conjunction of Nepali [and borrowed into Chantyal] is *rə*; *-e* in Nepali is the suffix for one of the two perfect participles. The suffix *-erə* could be folk-etymologized into *-e-rə*, which form served as the basis for the new Chantyal sequential converb in *-si-rə*, *-si* being interpreted as the functional

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<sup>11</sup> The published descriptions for some of the languages make it difficult to determine whether or not all the languages attest non-relative attributive nominals.

equivalent of *-e*. The semantic contribution of *-si* to *-si-rə* was anteriority, and so *-si* was reinterpreted as an anterior affix, making it available for use with the nominalizer as in (19b).

The nominalization with the anterior suffix can have primary past tense meanings when the nominalization is used in its mirative sense as a main clause affix:

- (20) ãt a-ca-si-wa  
innards NEG-eat-ANT-NOM  
'It didn't eat the innards!'

3.2.2 ADNOMINAL TENSE CONTRAST IN NAR-PHU: In §3.1.1 it was noted that Nar-Phu contrasts adnominal clauses with present senses formed with the nominalizer *-pə* [*<\*pa*] with those with past senses formed with *-pi*.

- (21) a. mîn te-ne a-tâ-pə pfuluŋ  
name call-NOM NEG-become-PRES.RELATIVE insect  
'centipede' ['the insect whose name isn't called']  
b. ŋâ-se šî-pi tfulthun mraŋ-čîn  
I-ERG die-PAST.RELATIVE snake.body see-PAST  
'I saw a dead snake'

It was also noted there that the likely source of the past tense *-pi* is *\*-pa-ci(n)* NOM-PERF, the nominalizer plus the Tamangic perfective suffix, itself derived from *\*cin* 'finish'. In this way, the tense contrast in the nominalization comes via analogy from the finite verbal paradigm.

3.2.3 ADNOMINAL TENSE CONTRAST IN DHANKUTE TAMANG: In §3.1.1 it was also noted that Dhankute Tamang contrasts a nominalization with a present tense in *-ba* with one having a past tense in *-ba-la*.

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

The nominalizer in *-ba* is simply derived from the Tamangic nominalizer *\*pa*, but the source of the past morpheme *-la* is less clear. Gurung has developed a 'pluperfect' affix [always translated as past by Glover 1974] in *-la/-lu*, though this form is never affixed on to a nominalization or a form obviously derived from one.

There are at least three possible sources for Dhankute Tamang *-la*. The first, as noted in §3.1.1, is the genitive, though it is not obvious how the past meaning could evolve from a genitive<sup>12</sup> and, if the Gurung form is cognate, how the Gurung form, which is only used with finite verbs, could have evolved from a genitive. The second possibility is the Proto-Tamangic conditional/irrealis *\*-la*. The third is Proto-Tamangic *\*la* 'do', reflexes of which are found in all the languages. For this to be the correct analysis for the Gurung forms, the grammaticalization of 'do' would have to have taken place while bare verbals [see §2.1] were still possible in the relevant contexts since the *-la* form itself shows no finite [or non-finite] morphology.<sup>13</sup> For Dhankute Tamang, the question arises as to how an unaffixed 'do' could assume an adnominal role. This issue cannot be resolved at this point.

3.2.4 SUMMARY: The Tamangic languages have innovated nominalizations with tense marking three times as discussed above. It is notable that with the Nar-Phu and Dhankute Tamang cases, the

<sup>12</sup> The Tamang genitive in *-la* derives from the old dative/locative in *\*-ra/la*. Where dative/locatives become verb suffixes, the resulting meaning usually involves prospective senses, not past ones.

<sup>13</sup> Obviously, the Gurung *-lu* variant would still have to be accounted for.



‘Lakpa needed to drink tea’

The source of Nar-Phu **-ne** is likely the manner converb in **\*-na**, otherwise unattested in Nar-Phu. The Gurung ‘infinitive’ in **-l(a·)** derives from the conditional/irrealis suffix **\*-la**.

3.4 PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NOMINALIZERS: All Tamangic languages employ periphrastic tense-aspect-mood [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, illustrated in (24).

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 (27):

(27)	SEMANTIC	AUX	SENSE
	MAIN VERB		
	V-wa	ɦin	Pres intentional, habitual
	V-si-wa	ɦin	Pres perf, past: ‘it turns out that’; resultant states
	V-wa	ɦin-si-m	Past [discovery of fact; modal sense (?)]
	V-si-wa	ɦin-si-m	Past perf [simply records event: ‘it turned out that’]
	V-wa	ɦin-si-n	Pres perf suppositional
	V-si-wa	ɦin-si-n	Past perf suppositional
	V-wa	ɦin-la-nə	Pres intentional conditional
	V-si-wa	ɦin-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 ɦin-si-m	Pres perf resultative [hidden beforehand]
	V-si-wa	mu-wa ɦin-si-m	Past perf resultative [hidden beforehand]
	V-gəy	mu-wa ɦin-si-m	Pres perf resultative progressive
	V-wa	ta-wa ɦin	Pres hypothetical prospective [‘would come to’]
	V-wa	ta-wa ɦin-si-m	Pres perf hypothetical prospective
	V-si	ni-si-wa ɦin	Catalytic passive [accidental]
	V-si	yã-si-wa ɦin	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	-m	non-past	ɦin	identity copula
-si	anterior/sequential converb	-n	suppositional	mu	locational/attributional copula
-gəy	simultaneous converb	-nə	result	ta	‘become’

-khum	reciprocal	-la	conditional	la	'do'
-ma	past impferective			yã	'find'
-(j)i	perfective			ni	'happen'

#### 4. SUMMARY

Nominalizations have played an important role in the grammar of Tamangic languages from the Proto-Tamangic stage until the present. The basic features of the use of nominalizations have remained constant over this period, though there have been innovations. These include the loss of the genitive with nominalizations used adnominally in most of the languages [given that DeLancey's hypothesis is correct], the development in a few languages of nominalizations exhibiting tense distinctions, the rise of a few new nominalizers, and the development of periphrastic constructions involving nominalized verbals in the verb complex.

With some of these changes, language contact may have been a factor, though demonstrating that changes of this sort were somehow contact-induced is very difficult. A reasonable case, I think, can be made for the claim that contact is responsible for the distribution of periphrastic constructions involving nominalizations discussed in §3.4: bilingualism in Nepali has been common in some communities for perhaps two hundred years or more, but in others it is rather recent [Noonan *to appear*].

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**Abbreviations**

ADES	adessive	ERG	ergative	PERF	perfective
ANT	anterior	GEN	genitive	PL	plural
CIRC	circumlative	IMPF	imperfect	PRES	present
CNV	converb	INDET	indeterminate	PROG	progressive
COM	comitative	LOC	locative	Q	question
DAT	dative	NEG	negative	SUP	suppositional
DEF	definite determiner	NOM	nominalizer	SUPER	superessive
DET	determinate	NPST	non-past		

**Appendix 1: Possible Genetic Relationships Within the Bodic Section of Tibeto-Burman**

