NOMINALIZATION IN RAWANG[*]

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Abstract: This paper discusses the various forms, origins, and uses of nominalization in the Rawang (Rvwàng) language, a Tibeto-Burman language of northern Myanmar, with data taken mainly from naturally occurring texts.

Keywords: Rawang (Rvwàng) language, Tibeto-Burman languages, copula constructions, nominalization, Sino-Tibetan languages

1. INTRODUCTION

Rawang (Rvwàng [rə'wàŋ]) is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by people who live in the far north of Kachin State in Myanmar (Burma), particularly along the Mae Hka ('Nmai Hka) and Maeli Hka (Mali Hka) river valleys; population unknown, although Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) gives 100,000. In the past they had been called 'Nung', or (mistakenly) 'Hkanung', and are considered to be a sub-group of the Kachin by the Myanmar government. Until government policies put a stop to the clearing of new land in 1994, the Rawang speakers still practiced slash and burn farming on the mountainsides (they still do a bit, but only on already claimed land), in conjunction with planting paddy rice near the river. They are closely related to people on the other side of the Chinese border in Yunnan classified as either Dulong or Nu(ng) (see LaPolla 2001, 2003 on the Dulong language and Sun & Liu 2005 on the Anong language). In this paper, I will be discussing constructions found in the Mvtwang (Mvt River) dialect of Rawang, which is considered the most central of those dialects in Myanmar and so has become something of a standard for writing and inter-group communication.[1]

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[1] In the Rawang writing system (Morse 1962, 1963), which is used in this paper, most letters represent the standard pronunciations of American English, except that *i* = [i], *v* = [ə], *a* = [ɑ], *ø* = [ɯ], *q* = [ʔ], and *c* = [s] or [ts] (free variation; historically [ts]). Tones are marked as

Rawang is verb-final, agglutinative, and with both head marking and dependent marking. There are no syntactic pivots in Rawang for constituent order or cross-clause coreference or other constructions that I have found. The order of noun phrases is decided by pragmatic principles. Word classes and transitivity are clearly differentiated, and the distinctions are important to understanding Rawang grammar.

2. MAJOR FORM CLASSES

2.1 Nouns

The noun can be defined as an element that in citation does not take any morphological marking and can be directly modified by a (numeral)-classifier phrase, dual or plural marking, diminutive marking, augmentative marking, and/or gender marking. Nominals are forms that in citation take verbal or adjectival morphology, but appear in a clause with the morphology of nouns and/or have the function of a noun phrase in a clause (these two criteria are independent of each other), with or without overt form-class-changing morphology.

A noun phrase has a noun or nominal as its head and often may include a genitive modifier, a demonstrative modifier, an adjective modifier, and a relative clause modifier, as well as a numeral-classifier phrase modifier. A noun phrase may act as an argument of a clause or modifier of another noun, but cannot act as a predicate. There is semantic role marking on the noun phrases, and also pragmatic marking of topic and contrast, but there is no genitive marking; a genitive relationship is expressed by simple juxtaposition (e.g. *Vpū ng lègā* 'Apung's book'). This fact limits possessors to nouns or noun phrases.

The class of nouns includes forms representing some property concepts, such as *shī ng* 'different', *shòngshā ng* 'separate', *krvk* 'perfect', and *tóng* 'hard', *chàng* 'round', *dvn* 'full', which require the copula to be predicative (unlike the adjectives).

Some nouns are compounds made up of Noun + Noun (e.g. *tì rvmè* [water+river] 'river); Verb (or Noun + Verb) + Noun (e.g. *apt̀ì* [drink+water] 'drinking water', *yúngrvt shìvmcè* [vegetables+cut sword+DIM] 'food chopper', *yøpgù* [sleep+bed] 'bed', *laqtū n dvsē jvk* [clothes sew machine] 'sewing machine'); Noun + Verb (e.g. *gō bām* [head+to wrap] 'turban', *juqnívm* [waist+to wrap around] 'belt, girdle', *tì shū* [water+boil] 'hot (boiled) water', *tìvngsóm* [floor+sweep] 'broom', *ngúnghwám* [sweat+fan(v.)] 'fan(n.)');[2] Verb + Verb

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follows (using the letter *a* as a base): high tone: *á,* mid tone: *ā,* low tone: *à.* All syllables that end in a stop consonant *(-p, -t, -q, -k)* are in the high tone. Open syllables without a tone mark are unstressed. A colon marks non-basic long vowels. Four lines are used in the examples because of the many morphophonological changes that obscure the morpheme boundaries.

[2] Most of these compounds are used with the verb that also forms part of the compound, e.g. *gō bām bāmshìē* 'wrap one's head in a turban', *juqnívm nívmshìē* 'wrap a belt around one's waist', *ngúnghwám hwámshìē* 'to fan oneself with a fan'.

(e.g. *chøpdøn* [put into+shield (vt.)] 'shoes', *rúngdv̄ng* [sit+stuck] 'chair'); or Noun + Classifier (e.g. *chòmùng* [house+CL(long object)] 'longhouse', *shóngdøm* [tree/wood+CL(log-like objects)] 'log').

Classifiers are a somewhat open class (I have identified 73 regular classifiers so far), as many nouns can be used as repeater classifiers. They historically derive from nouns, but classifiers differ from nouns in terms of usage: the classifier generally follows the noun and numeral, as in (1a), or demonstrative within the noun phrase. If a classifier is used after a noun without a numeral, then the sense is that the referent of the noun phrase is specific, as in (1b).

(1) a. *lègā   tiq   bok*   b. *lègā   bok*
         book   one CL(books)   book CL(books)
         'one book'   'the book'

Classifiers can take the usual dual marker, as in (2a), but have a unique type of plural marking, as in (2b) (the other type of plural marking, *-rì,* can follow the noun directly, e.g. *lègā-rì,* but without the classifier *bok,* this form could mean either 'books' or 'mail'; with the classifier *bok* it can only mean 'books'). The referents in cases like in (2) are also specific.

(2) a. *lègā bok-ní*   b. *lègā   bok-lā*
         book CL(books)-dl   book CL(books)-pl
         'the two books'   'the books (three or more)'

2.2 Adverbs

Adverbs are also bare forms in citation, but do not take the nominal morphology, and can modify a verb without taking adverbial marking or reduplication. Other form classes used adverbially take an adverbial marker *(wā or dø)* or are reduplicated. This seems to be a closed class, with around a dozen members (e.g. *gø̄* 'also', *vrá* 'again', *tøpnì tøprāng* 'completely and in detail', *wā* 'only', *shv̄ngbe* 'all', gvzà 'very/so', *gā i* 'very', *té* 'more').

2.3 Verbs

Verbs can take (hierarchical) person marking, aspect marking, directional marking (which also marks aspect in some cases), and tense marking. The different classes of verb each take morphology in citation that can be used to identify that class (the citation form for verbs is the third person non-past affirmative/declarative form):[3]

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[3] The verbal morphology can also be added to some nouns to make transitive cognate noun-verb combinations, e.g. *(àng)chē r chēròē* 'make wings', *pvlū pvlū ǣ* 'lay out a mat', *shòm shòmē* 'The shòm (a type of bamboo that only ripens once in 50 years) are ripe.' This is the only type of verbalization in the language; neither the causative or applicative markers are used to make verbs from nouns.

Intransitives take the non-past affirmative/declarative particle *(ē)* alone for non-past situations and in citation (e.g. *ngō̄ ē* 'to cry'), and the intransitive past tense marker *(-ì)* in past situations (with third person argument); they can be used transitively only when they take valency-increasing morphological marking (causative, benefactive; see LaPolla 2000 on valency-changing derivations).[4]

Adjectives often take the nominalizer *wē* in citation (e.g. *tēwē* 'big'), and when modifying a noun can follow the noun (*lègā tē bok* 'the big book'), but when used as predicates function the same as other intransitive verbs and so are considered a subclass of intransitive verb.

Transitives take the non-past third person object marker *(ò)* plus the non-past affirmative/declarative particle *(ē)* in non-past situations (e.g. *ríòē* 'to carry (something)') and the transitive past tense marker *(-à)* in past situations (with third person P arguments); they can be used intransitively only when they take valency-reducing morphological marking (i.e. the intransitivizing prefix or the reflexive/middle marking suffix). In transitive clauses the enclitic agentive marker *(í)* generally appears on the noun phrase representing the A argument.

Ambitransitives (labile verbs) are a subset of verbs that can be used as transitives or intransitives without morphological derivation *(vmòē / v̄mē* 'to eat'). There are both S=P type and S=A type ambitransitives.[5] With the S=P type, (e.g. *gvyaqē* 'be broken, destroyed' ~ *gvyaqòē* 'break, destroy'), adding an A argument creates a causative, without the need to use the causative prefix. With the S=A type, use of the intransitive vs. the transitive form marks a difference between a general or habitual situation and a particular situation respectively. If the P is specific, then the transitive form must be used, but if the P is non-specific, it is not necessary to use the intransitive form. If no P is mentioned, then usually the intransitive form is used.

The copula, *íē,* takes the intransitive morphology and is like other intransitive verbs in terms of person marking, tense/aspect marking, interrogative marking, applicative marking, and nominalization, but it has two arguments. The copula cannot take causative marking, the way most other intransitives can, though it can take the precative marker *(laq-),* which is a sub-type of imperative (e.g. *cílcè laq-(mø̀)-í* '(Don't) let him be a soldier').

3. CLAUSE TYPES

A main clause generally will end in a tensed verb, as in line 4 of (3) (past) and line 2 of (4) (non-past declarative), below. A subordinate clause, relative clause or

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[4] Some stative intransitive verbs can take an oblique argument marked by the locative/dative marker *sʼvng,* e.g. *svrē ēʼ* to be afraid', where the stimulus is marked as an oblique argument:

(i)   *Ngà vgī sʼvng svrēngē*
       ngà vgī-sʼvng svrē-ng-ē
       1sg dog-LOC   afraid-1sg-N.PAST
       'I'm afraid of dogs.'

[5] These refer to whether the single argument of the intransitive use of the verb (S) corresponds to the A(ctor) argument or the P(atient) argument of the transitive use.

a noun complement clause may have the same form as a main clause, minus the final non-past declarative marker -*ē* in the present, as in the case of the subordinate clause in line 3 of (3), and the relative clause in line 2 of (3), or it may be nominalized, as in the case of the relative clause in line 4 of (3). A non-nominalized relative clause can only appear before the head noun, and the head noun is obligatory. A nominalized relative clause can appear before or after the head, or can be headless. This is because the nominalized relative clause is historically a relative clause plus head, where the head noun has been reanalyzed as a nominalizer. (See LaPolla 2008 for more on relative clauses in Rawang.) Complement clauses are always nominalized, as in line 1 of (4), line 2 of (4), where the plural marker acts as a nominalizer, and in line 1 of (5).

1 (3)   *Kà gø̄ shíng shø̀n yàng gø̄*
          kà   gø̄   shíng   shø̀n   yàng   gø̄
          word also different say   TMyrs   also(although)
          'Although the words were said differently,

2   *tá mū:nò vsà:ngí nø̄ tásháshì yàng*
      [[tá   mū n̄ò]RC   vsv̀ng]NP-í   nø̄   tá-shá-shì   yàng
        hear used.to-TNP   person-AGT   TOP   hear-know-R/M   TMyrs
      a person who got used to it could understand it.

3   *Dvmø̀ d̓vmshà gø̄, dvgá tiqcáng sv̀ng d̓vmshàò nì gø̄,*
      dvmø̀   d̓vmshà   gø̄   dvgá   tiq-cáng   sv̀ng   d̓vmshà-ò   nì-gø̄
      Dameu   shaman   also   another   one-spirit   LOC   do.shaman.work-TNP   if-also
      Although the shaman speech to Dameu can be addressed to other spirits too,

4   *wē dā̄ng wē dāng í́wø̄ mvshǿl tiqyv̀ng sv̀ng tvnùng yà:ngà.*
      [[wē-dā ngwē-dā ng í-**wē**]RC   mvshǿl tiq-yv̀ng]NP   sv̀ng   tvnùng   yàng-à
        that-way that-way be-**NOM**   story   one-essay/part   LOC   follow   TMyrs-TR.PAST
      one story of how things are was followed (by all the shamans).'
      (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 16)

1 (4)   *Wē d̓vngtē dvshà rvgaqø̄ té yv̀ngshà wē í nø̄*
          [wē-d̓vngtē dvshà rvgaq-ø̄   té   yv̀ng-shà-**wē**]NP/COMP   í-nø̄
           that-much poor place-LOC   grow   TMyrs:1st person-1pl.PAST-**NOM**   be-PS
          'As it is the case that we grew up in a place with that much hardship,

2   *wē d̓ǿ í ǹ dvdv̄ mòē*
      [wē-dø̄   í-r̀ì]NP/COMP   dv-dv̄ m̀-ò-ē
       that-ADV be-pl   CAUS-remember/think:1sg-TNP-N.PAST
      'I remember things like that. (I remember those things.)'
      (LaPolla & Poa 2001:163-4)

1   (5)   *Shvrì mə́vr mvcøt yàng wē gø̄*
           [shvrì   mə́vr   mvcøt   yàng-**wē**]_{COMP} gø̄
           barking.deer   face   have.wrinkles   TMyrs-**NOM**   also

2   *wē rvt ʼí ē̠ wā.*
     wē-rvt   ́ı-ē̠   wā
     that-because   be-N.PAST   HS
     'That the face of the barking deer became wrinkled (out of shame) was also
     because of this, it is said.'   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 33-34)

4. NOMINALIZERS AND NOMINALIZATION CONSTRUCTIONS

Nominalization in Rawang can be of a bare verb alone or a bare verb plus one or more nouns to create lexical forms for referring to things, that is, lexical nominalization, or it can be of whole clauses, most often used as complements or embedded modifiers such as relative clauses and noun complement clauses, that is, clausal nominalization. Forms used for creating lexical nominalizations can be more or less productive, and the forms created by the nominalization can be more or less conventionalized (lexicalized). In the case of clausal nominalization, the nominalizers are all productive, and do not become conventionalized as lexical items. Section 4.1 discusses the different types of lexical nominalization, while Sections 4.2-4.7 discuss the different types of clausal nominalization.

4.1 Lexical nominalization

The locative nominalizer *-rà,* as in *ə́vmrà* 'dancing place' (< *ə́vmē* 'dance'), derives from the noun *shvrà* 'place'. The full form can also be used for the nominalizing function, as in *ə́vm shvrà* 'dancing place'.[6] Other examples are *yøprà* '(one's usual) sleeping place' (this word has a less specific meaning than *yøpgù* 'bed'; there is also a form *yøprá* 'inn, temporary sleeping place' with a changed tone *-rà > -rá),* *rúngrà* 'sitting place' (< *rū ngē* 'sit'; note the tone change), and *laqtū n zʼvlrà* 'place for washing clothes'. The resulting nominalization can in some instances also be used adnominally (in a nominal + nominal / modifier-modified structure), e.g. *góngrà hwáng* [enter+place hole] 'threshold'.

   The agentive nominalizer *-shú* creates agentive nominals where the person involved normally does the action as a job or regular activity.[7] Compare *rúngshú* 'one who sits (a retired person)' and *rúnggø̄* [sit+CL(people)] 'the one sitting'. Other examples are *kà vwálshú* [word divide+person] 'mediator', *lègā ə́vngshú*

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[6] An issue that came up in discussions of nominalization was where to draw the line between compounding and affixation. In this case *ə́vm shvrà* 'dancing place' might be seen as the compound type that led to the grammaticalization of the locative suffix *-rà.* An alternative analysis is that this nominalizer developed out of the reanalysis of a relative clause construction with *(shv)rà* as head.

[7] This form is probably cognate with the common Lolo-Burmese morpheme found for example in the names *Lisu* and *Nuosu.*

[letter/book take+person] 'postman', *zàywà wáshú* [song/hymn sing+person] '(professional) singer', *mvkún shō lshú* [song lead+person] 'one who leads the singing', and *dvzárshú* 'helper' (< *dvźvròē* 'send', with change of vowel). Such derived forms can occasionally be used adnominally, e.g. *dvzárshú vsàngrì* 'people who are helpers', and can take the gender and plural markers, e.g. *dvzárshúpè* 'male helper', *dvzárshúrì* 'helpers'.

The noun *pà* 'thing, what, anything' also functions as a classifier and a suffix-like instrumental/objective nominalizer.[8] As the latter it creates nominals that refer to the undergoer of the action (sometimes appearing with the purposive nominalizer *ĺvm*), as in *v́mpà* 'rice' (< *v̄ mòē* 'eat'; also *v́mĺvmpà* [eat+PUR+NOM] 'food')[9] and *nvppà* 'cooked vegetables (that go along with rice)' (< *nvpòē* 'to go along with'), or the instrument used for the action, as in *ngū ngòpà* (or *ngū ngĺvmpà* or *ngū ngpà*) 'steelyard, scale' (< *ngū ngòē* 'weigh'), *toqtip ĺvmpà* [speak+speak PUR+NOM] 'telephone', and *kàźvngpà* [word+record+NOM] or *kàtvppà* [word+catch+NOM] 'tape recorder'. As can be seen from these last two examples, the instrumental type can include the patient of the action as well. These structures could also be seen as compounds or relative clause structures, with the noun *pà* 'thing' as head, e.g. 'thing for catching words', but in many cases the structure has been lexicalized or reanalyzed as a nominalization. In many cases there is no difference in meaning between using the purposive nominalizer before *-pà* or not, as with 'scale' above, and *vhō ĺvmpà* [laugh+PUR+NOM] or *vhō òpà* 'joke, jest; i.e. something to laugh at'. The form *pà* is also in the interrogative form *kā-pà* 'what'. As a classifier it used for general 'things', e.g. *tiq pà-pà* [one CL-CL] 'some things'.

The nominalizing prefix *àng-* (= the Rawang third person pronoun and third person possessive prefix; < Proto-Tibeto-Burman *aŋ-*) is used quite productively to form nominals.[10] Some of these have become lexicalized, such as *àngdál* 'fool (n.)' (< *dálē* 'to be foolish'), *àngwv̄m* 'lid' (< *wv̄m (wā mòē)* 'to cover'). This prefix is actually more of a general formative prefix, and so can be used on some nouns as well, such as in *àngtì* 'liquid' (< *tì* 'water'), and on classifiers, e.g. *àngchv̀ngrì* 'the trucks' (< *chv̀ng* 'classifier for lump-like objects', with the plural marker *-rì*).

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[8] This form is clearly related to similar forms in related languages, such as the Ao non-agentive, non-locative nominalizer *-pàʔ* (Coupe 2005, 2006), also used in *tʃə-páʔ* 'what', *sə́-páʔ* 'who' (Coupe 2007: 98-99), the Limbu nominalizer *-pa*, which is also used with interrogative pronouns (van Driem 1987), the Tibetan perfective non-actor nominalizer *-pa* (DeLancey 1999), and the common Tamangic nominalizer **pa* (Noonan 2007), and forms in other related languages (DeLancey 2002). In most of these languages the form is the same as that of the male gender marker, but in Rawang the two forms are distinct (see below, §4.7; see also Noonan 1997 on distinguishing two *-pa* morphemes in Tibetan).

[9] The classifier *pv̀n* 'kind' also functions in a way similar to *pà* in forming nouns: *v́mĺvmpv̀n* [eat+PUR+kind] 'food'. Compare *v́mĺvmpv̀n tiq pàpà* 'some food', *v́mĺvmpà tiqpv̀npv̀n* 'some food'.

[10] Cf. the use of the third person possessive prefix *ku-* on noun modifiers in Limbu (Michailovsky 2002).

The intransitivizing prefix *v-* (see LaPolla 2000) is involved in some deverbal nominals as well, such as *vngǿ* 'one who cries easily' (< *ngǿ ē* 'to cry'; note the tone change) and *vkǿ* 'thief' (< *kǿ ē* / *kǿòē* 'to steal'), though it is not very productive.

We saw above that in a few cases nominalization by an affix also involved a tone change. In some cases nominalization is achieved by tone change alone, as in *dvshī* 'a spirit who can make you die' (< *dvshí* 'cause to die'), and *vyá* 'lier' (< *vyàē* 'to lie').[11]

4.2 Nominalization by wē

The most general clausal nominalizer in Rawang is *wē,* which derives from the distal demonstrative *wē,* though it is not quite as versatile as the nominalizer in Chantyal (Noonan 1997). It can be used for nominalization, particularly of adjectives *(tē wē* 'the big one'; also often used for the citation form of adjectives), complementation (i.e. embedded and acting as an argument of a clause; e.g. as an argument of the copula in line 1 of ex. (4) and line 1 of ex. (5), or some other verb, as in (6) below), noun complementation and relative clauses (see exx. (3)-(5)), but is not used in purpose clauses (there is a separate nominalizer for that, see §4.5), non-relative clause noun attributives (this is handled by juxtaposition), agent and patient nominalizations (there are special forms for these, see §4.1), or on a main verb. Unlike most of the other nominalizers, it does not derive from a relative clause structure.

(6)   *"Mìwà móng rvgaq høq yà:ngà" wā wē mètáō?*   (Just Chatting 2, p. 24)
      [[Mìwà móng   rvgaq høq   ỳng-à]   wā **wē**]$_{NP/COMP}$ è-mv-tá-ò
       China country area   arrive TMyrs-TR.PAST HS **NOM**   N.1-NEG-hear-TNP
      'Didn't you hear "It got into the China area"'?

The most common pattern is where an otherwise unmarked clause is nominalized by *wē,* and then is used as the complement of the copula. This pattern is generally used to contrast referents ((7a-c)),[12] or emphasize that something is in fact the case (line 1 of (4), (7d), (8)-(9) below), but can sometimes have something like an affective sense ((7e)). Although nominalization is used in the question in (7a), there is no particular association of questions (or imperatives) with nominalizations, as in some languages. This could also have been said without nominalization and the copula with the meaning being 'You only eat shoots?' instead of 'Is it the case you only eat the shoots?'.

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[11] Verbs often have a changed tone when they appear non-finally, e.g. *ỳng mv-lúnshì* 'can't see' (< *ỳngòē* 'see'), and this may also be a case of nominalization.
[12] In contrastive clauses the copula often takes the contrastive prefix *dv-.*

(7) a. *Mvnuqlòng wā èʹvm nòngwē í mǎ?*
         [mvnuq-lòng   wā   è-ʹvm   nòng-**wē**]   í-má
         shoot-CL   only   N.1-eat 2pl-**NOM**   be-Q
         'Is it (the case that) you only eat the shoots?' (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 176)

   b. *Vdǿ đī wē dví ē nø̄, Vpū ngnø̄ mv-đī.*
        [Vdǿ đī-**wē**]   dv-í-ē   nø̄   Vpū ng   nø̄   mv-đī
        PN   go-**NOM**   CFP-be-N.PAST TOP   PN   TOP   NEG-go
        '*Vdeu* went, not Vpung.' (Lit.: 'It was a case of *Vdeu* going.')

   c. *Zùngkaq đī wē dví ē nø̄ . . .*
        zùng-kaq   đī-**wē**   dv-í-ē   nø̄
        school-LOC go-**NOM**   CFP-be-N.PAST   TOP
        'He's going to school (not anywhere else).'

   d. *àng đì bǿì wē í ē*
        àng đī bǿ-ì-**wē**   í-ē
        3sg go PFV-I.PAST-**NOM**   be-N.PAST
        '(Yes,) He went.'

   e. *Vpū ngnø̄ Vdǿí vdǿròwē í ē*
        Vpū ŋg   nø̄   Vdǿ-í   vdǿr-ò-**wē**   í-ē
        PN   TOP   PN-AGT   hit-TNP-**NOM**   be-N.PAST
        'Vpung was hit by Vdeu.'

As mentioned above, the copula can be omitted from a copula clause, and so the result is what appears to be a main clause that ends in a nominalizer (though the copula or some other predicate is understood), as in (8) and (9):

1 (8) *Rvwàng kū kèní nø̄ sʹvng gvbà mà-gvbà wē dø̄ gwaq nø̀*
        Rvwàng kū   kèní   nø̄   [[sʹvng   gvbà]   [mv-gvbà]]   wē-dø̄   gwaq nø̀
        Rawang that from TOP   person   big   NEG-big   that-ADV   wide PS
        'From (the point of view of) the Rawang people, whether a person is big or is not big (doesn't matter), (we only make) one size,

2 *raqò kèní nø̄ yàngò, gø̄ té gø̄ mv-tē,*
   raq-ò   kèní   nø̄   yʹvng-ò   [gø̄ té gø̄ mv-tē]
   weave-TNP   from TOP   see-TNP   also big also NEG-big
   to see it from (the point of view) of weaving, (it doesn't matter) whether a person is big or is not big,

3 *wē mō wà yàngàwē.*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 224)
   wē-mō   wà   yàng-à-**wē**
   that-size   make   TMyrs-TR.PAST-**NOM**
   (only) one size is made.'

(9) *Nvngwà shòng nì nø̄, nvngwà zí-ò kèní,*
    [nvngwà shòng] nì-nø̄ [nvngwà zí-ò] kèní
    cow   like   if-TOP cow   give-TNP from
    'If (the spirit) preferred a cow, after a cow is offered,

mv-shá cáng gø̄ lō nø̀ zā gǿ bānǐvm ́ıwē   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 9)
[mv-shá-cáng   gǿ lō]   nø̀ [[zā-gǿ bā n-ǐvm]   ́ı-**wē**]
 NEG-know-spirit CL return PS   sick-CL get.well-PUR be-**NOM**
(then) the unknown spirit would leave, and the sick person would get well.'

When the nominalized clause is embedded in other than a copula clause, it can take the usual marking of semantic relations, for example, to represent the agent of the clause, as in (10):

(10) *Nvmbø̀ng wà râı wē ́ı shǿnggùng ngaq ráà*
    [[nv̀mbø̀ng wà rá-ı̀   **wē**]-**ı́**   shǿnggùng ngaq   rá-à]
    wind   do DIR-I.PAST **NOM-AGT** tree   knock.over DIR-TR.PAST
    'The blowing of the wind knocked the tree over.'

A nominalized clause can also be used for expressing a cause-effect relationship (the reason for what is expressed in the second clause): the 'cause' clause is nominalized by *wē* and generally followed by the topic marker, presenting it as a fact, as in (11). The sense of (11) is that since he is going, there is no need for me to go. This could also be interpreted as conditional or contrastive as well.

(11) *àng đī wē nø̄, ngà mv-đø̄ ng*
    [àng đī-**wē**]   nø̄   [ngà mv-đī-ng]
    3sg   go-**NOM** TOP 1sg NEG-go-1sg
    'He's going, (so) I'm not going.'

To achieve the sense of 'just as (someone did something they did something else)', the lead-up clause can be nominalized with *wē* and take the comitative marker *-ó*. (e.g. *Gòngrâı wēá . .* 'Just as he entered . . .', Lit: 'With his entering . . .').

4.3 Nominalization by ká and kū

When the nominalizer *wē* is used in the construction with the copula, as in (7)–(9), it conveys the sense of certainty about the proposition expressed by the nominalized clause. Several other nominalizers can be used in the same construction, but they contrast with *wē* in that their use does not convey certainty, but instead convey uncertainty or a suggestion. The constructions with the nominalizers *pà* and *nā*, which convey uncertainty, are dealt with in Section 4.4.

In this section we will look at the construction with the nominalizers *ká* and *kū,* which convey a suggestion or a probablity.

The nominalizer *ká* seen in line 3 of (12) derives from a relative clause structure with the word *kà* 'word, speech', as the head, but has developed into a general clausal nominalizer that can be used in most of the contexts that *wē* is used, except that it conveys the sense of suggestion or probability rather than certainty.

1 (12) *Wē dø̄ wēdø̄ gø̄ mè̄v̄ l daqshà kèńí nø̄*
  [wē-dø̄   wē-dø̄   gø̄   mv̀-è-vl   daq-shà]   kèńí   nø̄
  that-ADV that-ADV also NEG-N.1-say DIR-1pl.PAST from TOP
  'If (you) don't also say this and that to me (if you don't remind me),

2 *kàòng zv́ngā ng lóngò má*
  kà-òng   zv́ng-ā-ng   lóng-ò   má
  word-CL put.on.record-BEN-1sg DIR-TNP Q
  what words I should put on record (for you),

3 *wv̄ ng nø̀ vrá vnángò ká lè*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133)
  [wv̄-ng]   nø̀   vrá   [vnáng-ò   **ká**   lè]
  do:1st.person-1sg PS again forget-TNP **NOM** REM
  in doing it, again, I will forget words (what to say).'

4

The nominalizer *kū* is the remote demonstrative pronoun, and can also appear in the same contexts as *ká,* and the resulting construction has roughly the same sense of suggestion or probability as the construction with *ká.*

4.4 Nominalization by -pà and nā

We saw the use of the word *pà* above in §4.1 to create referring expressions. It can also be used to nominalize tensed clauses, and the resulting nominal then is used as the complement of the copula to expresses the sense of 'I guess . . .':[13]

(13) *àng dì ámì pà í ē*
  [àng dì   ám-ì   **pà**]   í-ē
  3sg go DIR-I.PAST **NOM** be-N.PAST
  'I guess he left.'

---

[13] That the nominalized clause functions as a single constituent (i.e. the arguments of that nominalized verb are not arguments of the copula but of the nominalized verb) can be seen from the fact that even if a first or second person referent is involved in the nominalized clause, the copula does not take person marking.

(14) *à:ngí ďvng a:pmà pà íē*
     [àng-í   ďvng   ap-à   **pà**]   í-ē
     3sg-AGT finish DIR-TR.PAST **NOM** be-N.PAST
     'I guess he finished it.'

The nominalizer *nā* nominalizes a clause that then acts as the complement of the copula, much like the construction we saw that involved the nominalizer *pà*, but *nā* (and possibly the whole construction) is a loan from Jinghpo, and marks even greater uncertainty than *pà*, expressing 'probably . . .', 'maybe' . . .', or 'might have . . .':

(15) *àng tuqám nā íē*
     [àng tuq-ám   nā]   í-ē
     3sg arrive-DIR PROB be-N.PAST
     'He might have arrived (there) (already).'

4.5 Nominalization by -ǐvm

The purposive nominalizer *-ǐvm* can be used to make simple deverbal nouns, such as the references to food and drink in line 2 of (16), and the references to clothes, things draped on the body, and earrings in line 1 of (17), but nominalizations with *ǐvm* are more often used adnominally, as in (18)-(19). Notice the use of *ǐvm* and *shvrà* (discussed in §4.1) together in (19).

1 (16) *Wē vshə̀m ñī høq bòy lúmrārìsv̀ng*
     [wē vshə̀m ñī] høq [bòy   lúmrā-rì]-sv̀ng
     that three day until festival people.who.come.to.the.festival-pl-LOC
     'The ones who came to participate in the celebration

2 *àngkàng ra:pmí ǔmǐvm aqǐvm shv̄ ngbē dó yàngà.*
    àngkàng rvp-í   **ǔm-ǐvm aq-ǐvm**   shv̄ ngbē dó   yàng-à
    lord/host family-AGT **eat-PUR drink-PUR** all   feed/host TMyrs-TR.PAST
    were served by the hosts with food and drinks.'

1 (17) *Ďvmshà chv̀ngwàpè nə̄ gwáǐvm, péǐvm, bv́nǐvm*
     ďvmshà chv̀ngwà-pè nə̄ [**gwá-ǐvm**   **pé-ǐvm**   **bv́n-ǐvm**
     shaman chief-MALE TOP **wear-PUR** **put.on-PUR wear(on.ear)-PUR**

2 *pv̀nrìí, dvgø dvcøpshì dángí, . . .*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 11)
    pv̀n-rì]-í   dvgǿ   dvcøp-shì   ďvng-í
    kind-pl-INST prepare adorn-R/M finish-ADV
    'After the shaman had prepared and adorned himself by putting on various clothes, equipment, and earrings, . . .

(18) *Rvwàng Kàrū Shvngøtshìĺvm Vtóng*
    kà-rū   shvngøt-shì-**ĺvm**   vtóng
    word-write   teach-R/M-**PUR**   rules
    Rules for Learning Literacy in Rawang (title of a Rawang literacy textbook)

(19) *Tvmá zV̄ ngĺvm shvrà. . .*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 240)
    tvmá   zV̄ ng**ĺvm** shvrà
    arrow   put-**PUR**   place
    'The place to put the arrow . . .'

The purposive nominalizer *ĺvm* is also used for purpose clauses, with or without the marker *rvt* 'because, for, in order to', as in (20) and (21) respectively:

(20) *Vmǿ vďvm kèní tvnè vďvm taq ˋvl ĺvmrvt*
    [vmǿ vďvm kèní tvnè   vďvm taq   ˋvl-**ĺvm**]-**rvt**
    Ameu plain from human plain LOC live-**PUR-in.order.to**

vcíl yàngà,   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 21)
vcíl   yàng-à
move   TMyrs-TR.PAST
'They were moved from *Ameu-adam* in order to live in *Tane-adam*.'

(21) *"Vnˋvm wV̄ nĺvm vnˋvmwV̄nzà doqɻ̀" wā,*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 26)
    [vnˋvm wV̄ n-**ĺvm**] vnˋvm-wV̄ n-zà   doq-ɻ̀   wā
    sun   buy-**PUR** sun-buy-gold match.in.price-1pl.HORT HS
    '"Let's collect the amount to buy the sun," (they) said.'

A purposive-marked clause followed by the copula can be used to express first person intention, as in (22). (In line 2 of (22) is a headless relative clause. The assumed head would be something like *gvray* 'god'.)

1 (22) *Dˋvmshàrìí shˋøn yà:ngà dā ngkèní kà dvha:tní.*
      [[[dˋvmshà-rì-í   shˋøn yàng-à   dā nɡɻ   kèní][kà   dvhat-í]
        shaman-pl-AGT say TMyrs-TR.PAST regarding from word simple-INST
        '(I will tell) in simple words in line with what the shaman says,

2 *vmǿ, gvmǿ nˋvng dvmǿ wā wēnˋvng vsˋvng tvnècè*
    [vmǿ gvmǿ nˋvng dvmǿ wā-wē]   nˋvng [vsˋvng tvnè-cè
    ameu gameu and damuu call/say-NOM and   person human-son

3   *bū ngrâi dā ngàngdō ngkū shǿnĺvm íē*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001:18)
    bū ng   rá-ì   dā ng]]   àng-dō ngkū   shǿn-ĺvm] í-ē
    originate DIR-I.PAST regarding NFP-short-ADV   say-**PUR** **be-N.PAST**
    regarding the (god) called Ameu, Gameu and Dameu and the beginning of man in
    short.'

A purposive-marked clause can also be followed by the auxiliary verb *dˊvnòē*
'intend, plan' (or *wā ēˊ* 'to do') to express the sense 'about to V'.

(23)   *À:ngí lègā vrūĺvm dánòē.*
       àng-í   lègā   vrū-ĺvm   dˊvn-ò-ē
       3sg-AGT   letter write-PUR intend-TNP-N.PAST
       'He is about to write a letter.'

4.6 Intransitivization and nominalization by v- -shaq

There is a construction formed by adding the intransitivizing prefix *v-* before the
verb and the nominalizer *-shaq*[14] after the verb, which nominalizes it, and then
the nominalized clause functions as the complement of the copula. Morse
(1965:353) discussed this as an adverbial clause subtype and called the two
elements just mentioned "passive voice affixes" which, together with the copula,
"manifest passive voice".

(24)   a. *Shé nø̄ vdúshaq íē*
           shé   nø̄   v-dú-shaq   í-ē
           gold   TOP   INTR-dig-PERF   be-N.PAST
           'The gold is dug.'   Morse (1965:353)

       b. *Lègā nø̄ vrí shaq íē*
           lègā   nø̄   v-rí-shaq   í-ē
           book   TOP   INTR-carry-PERF be-N.PAST
           'The books have been carried.'   Morse (1965:353)

While these clauses have the intransitive prefix and are nominalized, they can
still take two noun phrases representing the A and P arguments, and the marking
is the same as in the unmarked clause, except where the noun phrase representing
the P argument appears in topic position and is followed by the topic marker, as in
(25b).[15]

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[14] The origin of this form is unclear. The only other grammatical word I have found this
morpheme in is *høqshaq* 'until, up to (placename)' (< *høqòē* 'arrive').

[15] In (25a) the basic verb is *rí òē* 'carry', which becomes 'send' by the addition of the causative
prefix *shv-,* but then takes the intransitivizing prefix *v-* as part of this construction. The
intransitive prefix and the causative prefix combine to form *shà-.*

(25) a. *(Ngà-í) (àng-sʋ̀ng) lègā shàrí shaqíē*

  ngà-í àng-sʋ̀ng lègā shv-v-rí-shaq í-ē
  1sg-AGT 3sg-LOC book CAUS-INTR-carry-PERF be-N.PAST
  'Books have already been sent (to him) (by me).'

  b. *àng nō (ngàí) vɗvngké shaq íē*

  àng nō ngà-í v-ɗvng-ké-shaq í-ē
  3sg TOP 1sg-AGT INTR-finish-eat(defeat)-PERF be-N.PAST
  'He has already been defeated (by me).'

Language consultants uniformly say the meaning of the construction (or the particle *shaq)* is 'already'. It seems that rather than being a true passive, it is simply a way of marking something like perfect aspect, a way of emphasizing that a certain situation has already come about and is still relevant (cf. the development of English perfect marking from a construction with an adjectival participle and the verb *have* or *be;* see Mitchell 1985, Carey 1990). How long ago in the past the action happened is not specified, unlike normal tensed clauses, which can have four degrees of remoteness in the past. Where this situation is associated with a particular referent being affected, it has something of the sense of a passive, but we can see from examples such as (26) that it does not always have this sense.

(26) *Wē rvtvyø̀ nō ā kvtgø̄ tì vrí shaqíē* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:36)

  wē-rvt vyø̀ nō ā kvt gø̄ tì v-rí-shaq í-ē
  that-because bumble.bee TOP now also water INTR-carry-PERF be-N.PAST
  'Therefore, the bumble bees have been carrying water until now.'

4.7 Nominalization by classifier or plural marker

Very often a clause will be nominalized by making it a relative clause with a classifier[16] or the plural marker *rì* (which possibly derives from a classifier, cf. *àngrī* 'bundle (e.g. of hemp)') as the head, as in (27)-(30). In (29) the male human gender marker/classifier, *pè,*[17] is used first as a gender marker, marking the Changnang (a type of shaman) as male, then as a classifier, here in an ordinal use, and then as a nominalizer (and gender marker at the same time). Also, the word for 'number' in Rawang, *rø̄ yʋ̀ng* is a nominalization of the word for 'to count',

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[16] This includes some nouns that are at the same time classifiers, e.g. *nóng* 'year', *pʋ́n* 'kind', and *kvt* 'time, moment', and so when these nouns are the head of a relative clause, the relative clause cannot take the nominalizer *wē.* For example, in *àng dì rǎi nóng* [3sg come DIR-I.PAST year] 'the year he came', *wē* generally can not be added after the relative clause.
[17] This form, plus the female gender form, *mè,* seem to derive from the Proto-Sino-Tibetan forms **pa* 'father, male' and **ma* 'mother' plus a palatal suffix of unknown meaning (cf. the corresponding Dulong forms *pèi ~ pài* and *mèi ~ mài;* the usual reflex of PST **-a* is Rawang *-a,* as in *ŋà* '1sg pronoun' (< PST **ŋa)* and *ŋā* 'fish' (< PST **nya);* see Matisoff 1995 on palatal suffixes in PST).

rō ò̧ē by the classifier for sections, *ỳvng*, lit. 'sections which are counted'. The resulting forms can also be used to modify other nouns, e.g. *dàmshà wā -pè mvshǿl* [shaman.work do-MALE story] 'story of the man who did shaman work'.

(27) a. *shǿng vdòng rv́m í lòng*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001:152)
          shǿng vdòng-rv́m   í-**lòng**
          tree   inside-inside   be-**CL(general)**
          'the thing that is inside the tree'

      b. *wē dø̄ ír̀ı dvdv̄mòē*   (line 2 of (4); LaPolla & Poa 2001:164)
          [wē-dø̄   í-**r̀ı**]   dv-dv̄ m̀ò-ē
           that-ADV be-**pl**   CAUS-remember/think-TNP-N.PAST
          'I remember things like that.'

      c. *nàí èsh̀ø̀nòr̀ı*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001:134)
          nà-í   è-sh̀ø̀n-ò-**r̀ı**
          2sg-AGT   N.1-say-TNP-**pl**
          'the things you say'

(28) *Shǿngcit wē dø̄ Rvwangr̀ıí v́m ỳvngshà̀r̀ı,*
      shǿngcit   wē-dø̄   [Rvwang-r̀ı-í   v́m   ỳvng-shà]-**r̀ı**
      sheungsit   that-ADV   Rawang-pl-AGT   eat   TMyrs-1plPAST-**pl**
      '(Things) like sheungsit (a type of food) (that) we Rawangs used to eat,

      kā dø̄ wà yàngàwē wēr̀ı gø̄ èsh̀ø̀nò.   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133)
      [kā-dø̄   wà   yàng-à-wē]   wē-r̀ı   gø̄   è-sh̀ø̀n-ò
       WH-ADV make TMyrs-TR.PAST-NOM that-pl also   N.1-say-TNP
      also tell us about the making of those things.'

(29) *Ch̀vngnv̄ ngpè nø̄ cv̄ nsh̀ıwē vnípè wāpè íē*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001:3)
      ch̀vngnv̄ ng**pè**   nø̄   [[[cv̄ n̄sh̀ı-wē]   vní-**pè**]   wā-**pè**]_{NP}   í-ē
      changnang-**MALE** TOP   learn-R/M-NOM two-**MALE** say-**MALE** be-N.PAST
      'Changnang is the one called the second learner.'

1 (30) *"Vnv̄ ng" wā b̀ø̀nggø̄*
         [[vnv̄ ng wā]_{RC}   b̀ø̀ng]_{NP} gø̄
          Anang   say   name   also
         'The name Anang also,

2 *nv̀mlat gǿ taq rv̄ msh̀ı nv̄ngsh̀ı daq̀ı gǿ írv̧t*
   [[nv̀mlat gǿ taq   rv̄ m̄sh̀ı nv̄ ngsh̀ı   daq-̀ı]_{RC}   **gǿ**]_{NP}   í-rv̧t
    the.first CL LOC   add-R/M accompany-R/M DIR-I.PAST**CL**   be-because
   because (she) is one added to the first born as company,

3   *"Vnv̄ng" wā bòng dènī dèyaq gø̄ wēdø̄nī lángìē.*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 41)
[vnv̄ng wā]$_{RC}$ bòng]$_{NP}$ dènī   dèyaq   gø̄   wē-dø̄nī   ĺvng-ì-ē
 Anang say   name   today   tonight   also   that-just.like   use-1pl-N.PAST
the name Anang, in like manner we still use to the present day.'

5. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In terms of the use of nominalizations in Rawang, nominalizations can be used in relativization, as we have seen in line 4 of (3), but are not used for non-verbal attribution, as simple juxtaposition is used for this. We have seen that there is an agentive nominalizer *(shú),* a patientive nominalizer *(pà),* a purpose nominalizer *(ĺvm),* a general nominalizer *(wē),* and a number of other forms that act as nominalizers. Nominalization can also be of whole clauses which can function as embedded clauses. In the case of clausal nominalizations with *wē,* the nominalized clause often marks a proposition that is assumed to be true. In other cases the nominalized clause is in focus and so represents something that is asserted with certainty.[18] Sometimes the nominalized clause seems to be acting as a predicate itself, as in (8) and (9), but the situation is similar to what Watters (this volume) talks about in his survey of the Himalayish languages: when the nominalization seems to be used as the predicate, it is actually understood to be predicated by a copula or other unstated predicate. Other nominalizations are backgrounded information. As the discussion so far has been from form to function, in Table 1 I give a function to form summary (in the table, a blank means "not applicable"):

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[18] Whether or not a nominalized clause evokes a presupposition or not is a matter of how it is used, that is, whether it is taken as a topic, and so there is then an existential presupposition, or not, where there is no presupposition: compare *That her guests are vegetarian may be worrying her* vs. *She may be worrying that her guests are vegetarians* (see Horn 1986 for discussion).

Nominalizer	-rà	-shù	àng-	v-	tone change	wē	-pà	-ĺvm	v- -shaq	nā	classifier
A. Activity, State, or Property						all					activity
B. Core Arguments		habitual actor	A/S	actor	actor		patient	patient			S/O
C. Obliques	locative						instrument				
D. Used adnominally?	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes
E. Meaning as subordinator						general		purpose			temporal (other possibilities)
De-adjectival			person/thing having property			Used in citation form					person/thing having property
Meaning in embedded construction						general	modality	intention	aspect	modality	
Only nonce nominals?	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Used with nouns?	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Embedded clauses only?						no		no	yes	yes	no
Productive?	yes	yes	yes	no	(no)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Origin	shvrà 'place'	*su 'person'	*3sg pro			distal demon.	= 'thing'/ 'what'	*lam 'road'?		loan from Jinghpo	derived from nouns

Table 1: Function > Form Summary of Nominalizers

In terms of the structure of nominalizations, we have seen that in Rawang there are two nominalizing prefixes and several types of enclitic forms that can be used for nominalization. Tone change also sometimes can be used alone or together with some nominalizing segmental form for nominalization. In the case of many of the enclitic nominalizers, and the use of the classifiers and plural marker as nominalizers, it is sometimes not clear whether the form is a nominalization construction or a relative clause plus head. The reason for this is that most of the enclitic nominalizer constructions and the classifier constructions derive from relative clause plus head constructions, and have been reanalyzed as nominalizers to different degrees (see LaPolla 2008). In the case of the classifier constructions discussed in §4.7, we might want to still consider them relative clause structures.

ABBREVIATIONS

1pl.PAST	1st person past	NFP	noun forming prefix
1pl.HORT	1st person hortative	NOM	nominalizer
A	actor of a prototypical transitive clause	NP	noun phrase
ADV	adverbial marker	N.PAST	non-past
AGT	agentive	P	patient of a prototypical transitive clause
BEN	benefactive	PERF	perfect nominalizer
CAUS	causative	PFV	perfective
CC	copula complement	pl	plural
CL	classifier	PN	proper name
CFP	contrastive prefix	PROB	marker of probability
DIR	direction marker (also has aspectual functions)	PS	predicate sequencer (marker of non-final clause)
dl	dual marker	PUR	purposive
HS	hearsay marker	RC	relative clause
INST	Instrumental marker	R/M	reflexive/middle
INTR	intransitivizing prefix	S	single direct argument of an intransitive verb
I.PAST	3rd person intransitive past	TMyrs	marker of remote past
LOC	locative (also used for dative and animate P)	TNP	3rd person transitive non-past
N.1	non-1st person actor (in a clause with a speech act participant)	TOP	topic
NEG	negative prefix	TR.PAST	transitive past

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