

Nominalization in Rawang*

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

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1. Introduction

Rawang 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 gives 100,000). In the past they had been called 'Nung', or (due to a translator's error) '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). In this paper, I will be discussing the nominalizers and nominalizer constructions found in Rawang, using data of 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

Rawang is verb-final, agglutinative, and with both head marking and dependent marking. There are no pivots in Rawang for cross-clause coreference or other constructions that I have found. Nouns are bare forms in citation and can take classifiers, number, and sometimes gender marking. Nominals are nouns or derived forms that take the morphology of nouns and/or have the function of a noun phrase in a clause (these two criteria are independent of each other). Verbs can take hierarchical person marking, aspect marking, directional marking (which also marks aspect in some cases), and tense marking. Word classes and transitivity are clearly differentiated, and the distinctions are important to understanding Rawang grammar.

* This paper builds on, and includes, examples and discussion presented in LaPolla 2000, 2002 and 2006.

¹In the Rawang writing system (Morse 1962, 1963), which is used in this paper, most letters represent the standard pronunciations of English, except that *i* = [i], *v* = [ə], *a* = [a], *ø* = [ʊ], *q* = [ʔ], and *c* = [s] or [ts] (free variation; historically [ts]). Tones are marked as follows (using the letter *a* as a base): high falling tone: *á*, mid tone: *ā*, low falling 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. Verb classes

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):

- Intransitives take the non-past affirmative/declarative particle (\bar{e}) alone in the non past (e.g. *ngōē* 'to cry') and the intransitive past tense marker (\bar{i}) in past forms (with third person argument); they can be used transitively only when they take valency-increasing morphological marking (causative, benefactive).²
- Adjectives take the nominalizer *wē* in citation (e.g. *tēwē* 'big'), 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 (\bar{o}) plus the non-past affirmative/declarative particle (\bar{e}) in non-past forms (e.g. *rīdē* 'to carry (something)') and the transitive past tense marker (\bar{a}) in past forms (with third person P arguments);³ they can be used intransitively only when they take valency-reducing morphological marking (intransitivizing prefix, reflexive/middle marking suffix). In transitive clauses the agentive marker generally appears on the NP representing the A argument.
- Ambitransitives (labile verbs) can be used as transitives or intransitives without morphological derivation (*v̄mōē* / *v̄mē* 'to eat'). There are both S=P type and S=A type ambitransitives.⁴ With the S=P type, (e.g. *gvyaqē* 'be broken, destroyed' ~ *gvyaqōē* 'break, destroy'), adding an A argument creates a causative, without the need to use the causative prefix. With the S=A type, as in (1), 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.

- (1) a. *Àng pé zvt̄nē.*
 àng pé zvt-ē
 3sg basket weave-N.PAST
 'He weaves baskets.' (general or habitual sense)

² Some stative intransitive verbs can take an oblique argument marked by the locative/dative marker *s̄ng*, e.g. *svrē* 'to be afraid', where the stimulus is marked as an oblique argument:

- (i) *ngà vḡis̄ng svrēngē*
 ngà vḡi-s̄ng svrē-ng-ē
 1sg dog-LOC afraid-1sg-N.PAST
 'I'm afraid of dogs.'

³ The transitive verb marking can also be added to some nouns to make transitive cognate noun-verb combinations, e.g. (*àng*)*chēr chērōē* 'make/grow wings', *pvlū pvlūōē* 'lay out a mat', *shòm shòmē* 'The shòm (a type of bamboo that only ripens once in 50 years) are ripe.' (Neither the causative or applicative markers are used to make verbs from nouns.)

⁴ These refer to whether the single argument of the intransitive use of the verb corresponds to the A(ctor) argument or the P(atient) argument of the transitive use.

b. *À:ngí pé tiqch̀v̀ng za:tnòē.*

àng-í [pé tiq-ch̀v̀ng] zvt-ò-ē

3sg-AGT basket one-CL weave-TNP-N.PAST

'He is weaving a basket.'

- 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-(mò)-í* '(Don't) let him be a soldier'). The word order of a copula clause is always verb final, though the copula can be omitted in certain contexts, as in lines 4 and 9 in (2) below, and the copula can be nominalized, as in line 6 of (2).

The S of the copula clause does not take any semantic role marking, though it can take the topic marker, *nō*, as in line 1 of (2). The S of the copula clause can be omitted in certain contexts, as in lines 3, 4 and 7 of (2). It can also be quite complex, as in (3). If there is relativization, it is usually on the S of the copula clause (the head may be an NP or a classifier, as in (28a) below).

The copula complement does not take any relational marking. It can be a plain noun or pronoun (including interrogative pronoun), a more complicated noun phrase involving nominalization and/or relativization, as in lines 2, 3, and 4 of (2); or a postposition phrase, as in line 3 of (4).

- (2) *Rvwàng mvshól yālòng nō*
[Rvwàng mvshól yā-lòng]_{CS} nō
Rawang story this-CL TOP
'This Rawang story'
- d̀vmshàrì rīma:tnà wē mvshól íē, . . .*
[d̀vmshà-rì-í rīm-at-à wē mvshól]_{CC} í-ē
shaman-pl-AGT keep-DIR-TR.PAST NOM story be-N.PAST
is a story being kept by the shamans, . . .
- Ngài gō ngà nọt kèní d̀vbū:ngò wē mò-í,*
[ngà-í gō ngà nọt kèní d̀vbōng-ò wē]_{CC} mò-í
1sg-AGT also 1sg mind from originate-3.TR.N.PAST NOM NEG-be
(This) does not come from me (is not something that originated with me),
- d̀ārì vshaqwàngv̀nrì d̀vmshàrì gùng ráà wē,*
[d̀ārì vshaq-wàngv̀nrì-í d̀vmshà-rì-í gùng rá-à wē]_{CC} (Ø Copula)
long ago old-very.old-pl-AGT shaman-pl-AGT tell DIR-TR.PAST NOM
(it) was told by damshas and very old men of long ago,

5 *táng ỳngàrì shònò wē íē.*

[tá-ng ỳng-à-rì]_{CS} [shòn-ò wē]_{CC} í-ē
 hear-1sg TMyrs(1stperson)-TR.PAST-pl say-3.TR.N.PAST NOM be-N.PAST
 what I will tell you is what I heard (from them).

6 *Iwē, t̀pnì t̀prāng nō*

í-wē [t̀pnì t̀prāng] nō
 be-that in.detail complete.details TOP
 Be that as it may, as for being complete and in detail,

7 *d̀mshà mò-óngà rvt*

[[\emptyset CS] [d̀mshà]_{CC} mò-í-ng-à] rvt]
 shaman NEG-be-1sg-1/2.I.PAST because
 since I am not a shaman,

8 *mv-g̀p mv-rà:lò,*

mv-g̀p mv-ràl-ò
 NEG-cover NEG-think.of-3.TR.N.PAST
 I cannot recall all,

9 *dvd̀m-rónshì d̀vngtē wā íē.*

[dvd̀m-rón-shì]_{CS} [d̀vngtē wā]_{CC} í-ē
 think-reach-R/M much only be-N.PAST
 I can recall only this much.

10 *D̀mshà ch̀ngwàrì kà nō k̀m-ým daq wē.*

[d̀mshà ch̀ngwà-rì kà]_{CS} nō [k̀m-ým daq wē]_{CC} (\emptyset copula)
 shaman chief-pl word TOP reliable-DIR possible NOM
 The words of the shaman chiefs are reliable.' (LaPolla & Poa 2001:1-5)

(3) *Vp̀ng Pū:ngí shvng̀t dvtú ỳng-à mvshól sv̀ng cà:nò nò*

[[[[Vp̀ng Pūng-í shvng̀t dvtú ỳng-à mvshól sv̀ng] c̀vn-ò nò]
 PN PN-AGT teach guide TMyrs-TR.PAST story LOC follow-3.TR.N.PAST PS
 'Following the story taught by Apang Pung,

dvtut dvtut tvnù:ngò nò wà ỳng-à wē d̀mshà íē. (LaPolla & Poa 2001:13)

[dvtut dvtut tvnùng-ò nò] wà ỳng-à wē]_{CS} [d̀mshà]_{CC} í-ē
 in.continuation trace-3.TR.N.PAST PS do TMyrs-IP NOM damsha be-N.PAST
 the damsha rites were handed down continually. (Lit.: That which follows the story
 taught by Apang Pung and has been handed down continually is the damsha rites.)'

1 (4) *Wēd̀vngtē dvshà rvgaq-ō té ỳng-shà wē ínò*

[wē-d̀vngtē dvshà rvgaq-ō té ỳng-shà wē]_{CC} í-nò
 that-much poor place-LOC grow TMyrs(1stperson)-1pl.PAST NOM be-PS
 'Growing up in a place with that much hardship,

- 2 *wēdō írì dvdvmòē.*
 [wē-dō í-rì] dv-dvm-ò-ē (nominalization by plural marker)
 that-ADV be-pl CAUS-remember/think-3.TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 I remember things like that. (I remember those things.)
- 3 *Gvray Gvsvngpè jējú kèní íē.*
 [gvray gvsvng-pè jējú kèní]_{CC} í-ē
 God-MALE grace from be-N.PAST
 (It) is from God's grace. (By God's grace.)' (LaPolla & Poa 2001:163-4)

3. Clause types

A main clause generally will end in a tensed verb, as in the examples in (1). A relative clause or a noun complement may have almost the same form as a main clause (minus the final non-past marker *-ē* in the present), but it will be used to modify a head noun (which may be a classifier—see below). In cases other than when the head is a classifier, it may be nominalized, as in line 4 of (5), and also in line 2 of (2), where it takes the general nominalizer *wē*, which derives from the distal demonstrative *wē*, or it may not be otherwise nominalized, as in line 1 of (3) and line 2 of (5). That is, it would be possible to omit *wē* from the relative clause structure in line 2 of (2), and to add it to the relative clause in line 1 of (3) or line 2 of (5) with no change in meaning (cf. English *the book (that) I bought*, but there is no constraint on agent vs. non-agent in this construction in Rawang).

- 1 (5) *Kà gō shíng shòn yàng gō,*
 [kà gō shíng shòn yàng] gō
 word also different say TMyrs also(although)
 'Although the words were said differently,
- 2 *tá mū:nò vsà:ngí nō tásháshì yàng.*
 [[tá mūn-ò vsvng]-í nō 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 *Dvmò dvmshà gō, dvgá tiqáng svng dvmshàò nìgō,*
 [dvmò dvmshà gō dvgá tiq-cáng svng dvmshà-ò] nì-gō
 Dameu damsha also another one-spirit LOC do.damsha-TNP if-also
 Although the Dameu damsha speech can be made/addressed to other spirits too,
- 4 *wēdāng wēdāng íwē, mvshól tiqvng svng tvnùng yà:ngà.*
 [[wē-dāng wē-dāng í-wē mvshól tiq-yvng] svng tvnùng yàng-à]
 that-way that-way be-NOM story one-essay/part LOC follow TMyrs-T.PAST
 one story of how things are is followed (by all the damshas).' (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 16)

A noun complement, as in (6), has the same form as a relative clause, and as is true also of relative clauses, the head is optional if the noun complement is nominalized, as in this example, but obligatory if it is not.

- (6) *Ang dīwē (mvtú) nō vmpà wñnlým rvt íē.*
 àng dī-wē (mvtú) nō vmpà wñn-lým rvt í-ē
 3sg go-NOM reason TOP food buy-INF because be-N.PAST
 '(The reason) he goes (is) in order to buy food.'

A subordinate clause will also often have the form of a relative clause with a noun or classifier such as *dvgyv* 'time period', or *kvt* 'moment, time' as the head of the relative clause (which can be followed by locative or adverbial marking, but does not take nominalization if it is a classifier), as in lines 3 and 4 of (7). Another option is for the subordinate clause to be nominalized by the general nominalizer *wē* and optionally followed by a locative clitic, as in lines 2 and 6 of (7). This form is also used for complement clauses, as in line 11 of (7). Aside from this, a subordinate clause does not differ from a main clause in terms of person, number, or tense/aspect/modality, but the nominalized clause is a constituent of the main clause, so it will not have the illocutionary force of a main clause. It most often represents background information.

- 1 (7) *Vnvm gòm nvmbàng nō*
 [[vnvm gòm nvm-bàng] nō
 sun flat sun-beam TOP
 '(When) the beams of the sun
- 2 *nvmlop shìgùng taqvzùng svr daqà wē sùng*
 [nvmlop shìgùng] taq vzung svr daq-à **wē] sùng**
 west mountain LOC first shine down-T.PAST **NOM LOC**
 first shined down on the western mountain,
- 3 *shvrìgōí ngvr wā yvng bōà kvt*
 [shvrì-gō-í ngvr wā yvng bō-à **kvt]**
 barking.deer-CL-AGT notice ADV see PFV-T.PAST **time**
 when the barking deer noticed (noticingly saw) it,
- 4 *dvbù nō chóngshì lú:ngì kvt*
 [dvbù nō chóng-shì lúng-ì **kvt]**
 happy PS jump-R/M up-I.PAST **time**
 when (the barking deer) was happy and jumped up (with joy),
- 5 *dvngdè nō dvbøp hvm gō zeq lvm bōà, wā.*
 [dvngdè nō dv-bøp hvm] gō zeq lvm bō-à wā
 soy.bean bean CAUS-rot basket also press.down step.on PFV-T.PAST HS
 (s/he) also stepped on the basket with fermented soy beans, it was said.
- 6 *"Nvm wñnzà mè-doq wē nàí vzvng èyà:ngòē,*
 [nvm-wñn-zà mv-è-doq **wē] nà-í vzvng è-yvng-ò-ē**
 sun-buy-gold NEG-N.1-give/put.in **NOM** 2sg-AGT first N.1-see-TNP-N.PAST
 "You did not contribute to buy the sun, (yet) you saw (the sun) first,

- 7 *vnō dvbøp h́vm gō èlvmāòē, " wā,*
 [vnō dv-bøp h́vm] gō è-lvm-ā-ò-ē wā
 bean CAUS-rot basket also N.1-step.on-BEN-TNP-N.PAST say
 (and) also stepped on the basket full of fermented beans.”
- 8 *ngv́nké yà:ngà, wā.*
 ngv́n-ké yàng-à wā
 scold-AVS TMyrs-T.PAST HS
 they scolded him, it is said.
- 9 *Wērvt shvrìhí nōvnō dvbøp shōng vngà nò,*
 wē-rvt shvrì-hí nō vnō dv-bøp shōng vngà nò
 that-because deer-leg TOP bean CAUS-rot smell smells PS
 Because of this, the legs of the barking deer smell like (fermented) beans and
- 10 *vgīí tō pvńvm b́òòē, wā.*
 vgī-í tō pvńvm b́ò-ò-ē wā
 dog-AGT short.time(quickly) smell PFV-TNP-N.PAST HS
 (can) easily traced by the dog, it was said.
- 11 *Shvrì mvr mvcøt yàng wē gō wērvt íē, wā.* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 33-34)
 [shvrì mvr mvcøt yàng wē] gō wē-rvt í-ē wā
 barking.deer face have.wrinkles TMyrs **NOM** also that-because be-N.PAST HS
 And also because of this, the face of the barking deer became wrinkled (out of shame), it is said.’

A subordinate clause can also take postpositions such as *kèní(nō)* ‘from, if, after’, as in (8), *rvt* ‘because, in order to’, as in (9), *ǹng* ‘purpose, comitative’, or *nì(nō)* ‘if, when, as’ without the subordinate clause being nominalized (see LaPolla 2006 for more examples). Most of these postpositions can be used after noun phrases as well.

- (8) *ò yādō ǹnlōng kèní nō, vbaq ílōngē,*
 ò yā-dō ǹn-lōng **kèní** nō [vbaq]_{CC} í-lōng-ē
 uh this-ADV done-DIR **from** TOP solid.thing be-DIR-N.PAST
 'Uh, when it becomes cooked, (it) becomes a solid thing,

àngkè í lōngē.

[àng-kè]_{CC} í-lōng-ē
 NFP-solid be-DIR-N.PAST
 (it) becomes a solid thing.’

(LaPolla & Poa 2001:166-7)

- (9) *. . . d̀vmshà m̀-óngà rvt mv-gøp mv-rà:lò,* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 5)
 [d̀vmshà m̀-í-ng-à] **rvt** [mv-gøp mv-rà-l-ò]
 damsha NEG-be-1sg-T.PAST **because** NEG-cover NEG-think.of-TNP
 '. . . since I am not a damsha, I cannot recall all.'

4. Nominalizers and nominalization constructions

Aside from when a clause is nominalized by the distal demonstrative *wē*, the prefix *àng-*, the intransitivizing prefix *v-*, or by tone change, the other nominalization structures all take the form of a relative clause, with different generalized heads.

4.1. Deverbal nominals (less often, or not, used for whole clauses)

Nominals can be derived by the nominalization of verbs or clauses using a variety of methods:

The locative nominalizer *-rà*, as in *Ívmrà* 'dancing place' (< *Ívmē* 'dance'), derives from the noun *shvrà* 'place'. The full form can also be used for the nominalizing function, as in *Ívm shvrà* 'dancing place'. 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*), and *rúngrà* 'sitting place' (< *rūngē* 'sit'; note the tone change). This form can in some instances also be used adnominally, 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. Compare *rúngshú* 'one who sits (a retired person)' and *rúnggǝ* [sit+CL(people)] 'the one sitting'. Other examples are *kà vwáshú* [word divide+person] 'mediator', *lègā Ívngshú* [letter/book take+person] 'postman', *zàywà wáshú* [song/hymn sing+person] '(professional) singer', *mvkún shǝlshú* [song lead+person] 'one who leads the singing', and *dvzárshú* 'helper' (< *dvzýrǝē* 'send', with change of vowel). This form 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', *dvzárshúri* 'helpers'.

The nominalizing prefix *àng-* (< Proto-Tibeto-Burman **aŋ-*; = the third person pronoun and third person possessive prefix) is used quite productively to form nominals.⁵ Some of these have become lexicalized, such as *àngdál* 'fool (n.)' (< *dálē* 'to be foolish'), *àngwǝm* 'lid' (< *wǝm* '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. *àngchvngri* 'the trucks' (< *chvng* 'classifier for lump-like objects', with the plural marker *-ri*).

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

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

4.2. Nominalization by the distal demonstrative *wē*

The most general nominalizer in Rawang is the distal demonstrative *wē*, though it is not quite as versatile as the nominalizer in Chantyal (Noonan 1997). It can be used for nominalization, verb complementation, noun complementation, and relative clauses, but is not used in purpose clauses (there is a separate nominalizer for that), non-relative attributives (this is handled by juxtaposition), agent and patient nominalizations (special forms for these), or with a main verb. Unlike many of the other nominalizers, it does not derive from a relative clause structure.

⁵ Cf. the use of the third person possessive prefix *ku-* on noun modifiers in Limbu (Michailovsky 2002).

A common pattern is where an otherwise unmarked clause is nominalized by the distal demonstrative *wē*, and then followed by the copula. It is generally used to contrast referents ((10a-d), something like a cleft construction) or emphasize that something is in fact the case ((10e)), but can sometimes have something like a passive sense ((10f-g)). In contrastive clauses the copula often takes the contrastive prefix *dv-*.

- (10) a. *Mvnuqlòng wā è-vm nòng wē í-má?* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 176)
 mvnuq-lòng wā è-vm nòng wē í-má⁶
 shoot-CL only N.1-eat 2pl NOM be-Q
 'Is it only the shoots that you eat?'
- b. *Vdó dīwē dvíē nō, Vpūng nō mv-dī.*
 [Vdó dī-wē] dv-í-ē nō Vpūng nō mv-dī
 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 dīwē dvíē nō . . .*
 zùng-kaq dī-wē dv-í-ē nō
 school-LOC go-NOM CFP-be-N.PAST TOP
 'He's going to school (not anywhere else)'
- d. *àng í lègā rí-ò-wē dv-í-ē nō . . .*
 àng-í lègā rí-ò-wē dv-í-ē nō
 3sg-AGT book carry-3.TR.N.PAST-NOM CFP-be-N.PAST TOP
 'He's carrying *books* (not something else)' or '*He's* carrying books (not someone else)'
- e. *àng dī bōi-wē íē.*
 àng dī bō-ì-wē í-ē
 3sg go PFV-I.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
 '(Yes,) He went.'
- f. *Vpūng nō Vdóí vdór-ò-wē íē.*
 Vpūng nō Vdó-í vdór-ò-wē í-ē
 PN TOP PN-AGT hit-3.TR.N.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
 'Vpung was hit by Vdeu.'
- g. *Vdó nō àng í dvtòm-ò-wē íē.*
 Vdó nō àng-í dvtòm-ò-wē í-ē
 PN TOP 3sg-AGT delay-3.TR.N.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
 'Vdø is by him delayed.' (from Morse 1965:353)

⁶ Although nominalization is used in this question, 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 only shoots that you eat?'

This same structure might also be used for expressing a cause-effect relationship (the reason for what is expressed in the focus 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.

- (11) *àng dīwē nō, ngà mv-dōng.*
 [àng dī-wē] nō [ngà mv-dī-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. *gòngrái wēó* 'Just as he entered . . .', Lit: 'With his entering . . .').

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 result clause, as in (12):

- (12) *Nvmbòng wà rái wēí shónggùng ngaq ráà.*
 [[nvmbòng wà rá-ì wē]-í shónggùng ngaq rá-à]
 wind do DIR-I.PAST NOM-AGT tree knock.over DIR-T.PAST
 'The blowing of the wind knocked the tree over.'

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):⁷

- (13) *Rvwàng kù kèní nō, s̀vng gvbà mà-gvbà wēdō gwaq nō,*
 Rvwàng kù kèní nō [s̀vng gvbà] [mv-gvbà] wē-dō gwaq nō
 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,

raqò kèní nō yà:ngò, gō té gō mv-tē, wēmō wà yà:ngà wē. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 224)
 raq-ò kèní nō ỳvng-ò [gō té gō mv-tē] wē-mō wà ỳàng-à wē
 weave-TNP from TOP see-TNP also big also NEG-big that-size make TMyrs-T.PAST NOM
 to see it from (the point of view) of weaving, (it doesn't matter) whether a person is big or is not big, (only) one size is made.'

- (14) *Nvngwà shòng nìnō, nvngwà zí-ò kèní mv-shá cáng gō lō nō,*
 [nvngwà shòng] nì-nō [nvngwà zí-ò] kèní [mv-shá-cáng gō lō] nō
 cow like if-TOP cow give-TNP from NEG-know-spirit CL return PS
 'If (the spirit) preferred a cow, after a cow is offered, (then) the unknown spirit would leave,

⁷ The nominalizer *ká* seen in line 3 of (15) derives from a relative clause structure with the word *kà* 'word, speech', as the head, but has developed into a general nominalizer that can be used in most of the contexts that *wē* is used. It is not common among older people, but becoming more common among young people.

zāgǒ bānlǐm íwē. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 9)

[[zā-gǒ bān-lǐm] í-wē]

sick-CL get.well-INF be-NOM

and the sick person would get well.'

1 (15) *Wēdǒ wēdǒ gǒ mè-ǎl daqshà kèní nǒ*

[wē-dǒ wē-dǒ gǒ mv-è-ǎl daq-shà] kèní nǒ
that-ADV that-ADV also NEG-N.1-say DIR-1plpast from TOP

'If (you) don't also say this and that to me (if you don't remind me),

2 *kàòng zǐngāng lóngò má*

kà-òng zǐng-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 *wǎng nǒ vrá vnángò ká lè.*

(LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133)

[wǎ-ng] nǒ 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).'

4.3 Nominalization by *-pà*

The classifier and instrumental/objective nominalizer *-pà*⁸ creates nominals that refer to the undergoer of the action (sometimes appearing with the infinitive marker *lǐm*), as in *ǐmpà* 'rice' (< *ǎmòē* 'eat'; also *ǐmlǐmpà* [eat+INF+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 *ngūngòpà* (or *ngūnglǐmpà* or *ngūngpà*) 'steelyard, scale' (< *ngūngòē* 'weigh'), *toqtíp lǐmpà* [speak+speak INF+NOM] 'telephone', and *kàzǐngpà* [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. In many cases there is no difference in meaning between using the infinitive marker before *-pà* or not, as with 'scale' above, and *vhǒlǐmpà* [laugh+INF+NOM] or *vhǒòpà* 'joke, jest; i.e. something to laugh at'. The form *kā-pà* / *pà* 'what' involves the instrumental and objective nominalizer *-pà*, which in some cases is used alone. As a classifier it means 'thing', e.g. *tiq pà-pà* [one CL-CL] 'some

⁸ This form is clearly related to similar forms in related languages, such as the Ao non-agentive, non-locative nominalizer *-pa?* (Coupe 2006), also used in *tfə-pa?* 'what', *sə-pa?* 'who' (Alec Coupe, p.c.), the Limbu nominalizer *-pa*, which is also used with interrogative pronouns (van Driem 1987), and the Tibetan perfective non-actor nominalizer *-pa* (DeLancey 1999). 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; also see Noonan 1997 on distinguishing two *-pa* morphemes in Tibetan).

⁹ The word *pǎn* 'kind' also functions in a way similar to *pà* in forming nouns: *ǐmlǐmpǎn* [eat+INF+kind] 'food'. Compare *ǐmlǐmpǎn tiq pǎpà* 'some food', *ǐmlǐmpà tiqpǎnpǎn* 'some food'.

things'. When *pà* is used as the head of a relative clause structure, and this nominal then is used as the complement of the copula, it expresses the sense of 'I guess . . .':¹⁰

- (16) *àng dì àmì pà íē.*
 [àng dì àm-ì pà] í-ē
 3sg go DIR-I.PAST thing be-N.PAST
 'I guess he left.'
- (17) *à:ngí dǎng a:pmà pà íē.*
 [àng-í dǎng ap-à pà] í-ē
 3sg-AGT finish DIR-TR.PAST thing be-N.PAST
 'I guess he finished it.'

4.4 Nominalization by the infinitive marker *-lǎm*

The infinitive marker *-lǎm* can be used to make simple deverbal nouns (these can then take plural marking), such as the references to clothes, things draped on the body, and earrings in (18), or can form a relative clause, as in the title of a Rawang literacy textbook given in (19).

- (18) *Dǎmshà chǎngwàpè nǒ gwálǎm, pélǎm, bǎnlǎm*
 dǎmshà chǎngwà-pè nǒ [gwá-lǎm pé-lǎm bǎn-lǎm]
 damsha chief-MALE TOP wear-INF put.on-INF wear(on.ear)-INF

pǎnrìí, dǎgø dǎcøpshì dá:ngí,
 pǎn-rì]-í dǎgø dǎcøp-shì dǎng-í
 kind-pl-INST prepare adorn-R/M finish-ADV

'After the damsha had prepared and adorned himself by putting on various clothes, equipment, and earrings.

- jǎngtùng lá:ngò nǒ, àng vdè vyā dǎng vzǎng shǒnshì yàng.* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 11)
 jǎng-tùng lǎng-ò nǒ àng vdè vyā dǎng vzǎng shǒn-shì yàng
 jang-bundle¹¹ hold-TNP PS 3sg self rank about first tell-R/M TMyrs
 he would grab a *jang*-bundle and would first identify or introduce his damsha rank.'

- (19) *Rvwàng Kàrū Shvngøtshìlǎm Vtóng*
 kà-rū shvngøt-shì-lǎm vtóng
 word-write teach-R/M-INF rules
 'Rules for Learning Literacy in Rawang' (title of book)

The infinitive marker *lǎm* is also used for purpose clauses, as in (20) and (21):

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ This is a bundle of a special kind of leaf for performing a shaman ritual.

- (20) "Vǹ̀m w̄n-l̀̀m vǹ̀mw̄nzà doq̀ì," wā, (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 26)
 [vǹ̀m w̄n-l̀̀m] vǹ̀m-w̄n-zà doq̀-ì wā
 sun buy-INF sun-buy-gold match.in.price-1plHORT HS
 "Let's collect the amount to buy the sun," (they) said.'

- (21) Vm̀̀ò vd̀̀m k̀̀nì tvǹ̀è vd̀̀m taq̀ òl l̀̀mrvt vc̀̀l yà:ngà, (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 21)
 [vm̀̀ò vd̀̀m k̀̀nì tvǹ̀è vd̀̀m taq̀ òl-l̀̀m]-rvt vc̀̀l yàng-à
 Ameu plain from human plain LOC live-INF-in.order.to move TMyrs-T.PAST
 'They were moved from *Ameu-adam* in order to live in *Tane-adam*.'

An infinitive-marked clause followed by the copula can be used to express first person intention, as in (22):¹²

- (22) D̀̀vmshà-r̀̀í sh̀̀n yà:ngà dāng k̀̀nì kà dv̄ha:t̀̀nì.
 [[[d̀̀vmshà-r̀̀í sh̀̀n yàng-à dāng] k̀̀nì] [kà dv̄hat-í]
 shaman-pl-AGT say TMyrs-TR.PAST regarding from word simple-INST
 '(I will tell) in simple words in line with what the damsha says,

vm̀̀ò, gvm̀̀ò ǹ̀ng dvm̀̀ò wāwē ǹ̀ng vs̀̀ng tvǹ̀èc̀̀
 [vm̀̀ò gvm̀̀ò ǹ̀ng dvm̀̀ò wā-wē] ǹ̀ng [vs̀̀ng tvǹ̀è-c̀̀
 ameu gameu and dameu call/say-NOM and person human-son

būng rāi dāng àngdōng kū sh̀̀n-l̀̀m íē. (LaPolla & Poa 2001:18)
 būng rá-ì dāng] àng-dōng-kū sh̀̀n-l̀̀m] í-ē
 originate DIR-IP regarding PREF-short-ADV say-INF be-N.PAST
 regarding the (god) called Ameu, Gameu and Dameu and the beginning of man in short.'

An infinitive-marked verb can also be followed by the auxiliary verb *d̀̀vǹ̀èē* 'intend, plan' (or *wāē* 'to do') to express the sense 'about to V'.

- (23) a. *À:ngí l̀̀gā vr̀̀l̀m dá:ǹ̀èē.*
 àng-í l̀̀gā vr̀̀l̀m d̀̀vǹ̀-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT letter write-INF intend-TNP-N.PAST
 'He is about to write a letter.'
- b. *À:ngí yā̀l̀ng ýmpà ýml̀̀m dá:ǹ̀èē.*
 àng-í yā̀-l̀ng ýmpà ým-l̀m d̀̀vǹ̀-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT this-CL food eat-INF intend-TNP-N.PAST
 'He's about to eat this food.'

4.5. Intransitivization and nominalization by *v-* -*shaq*

This construction is formed by adding the intransitivizing prefix *v-* before the verb and the nominalizer *-shaq* after the verb. The nominalized clause then functions as the complement

¹² In line 2 of (22) is a headless relative clause. The assumed head would be something like *gvr̄ay* 'god'.

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 nō vdúshaq íē.*
 shé nō v-dú-shaq í-ē
 gold TOP INTR-dig-PERF be-N.PAST
 'The gold is dug.' Morse (1965:353)
- b. *Lègā nō vríshaq íē.*
 lègā nō 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 NPs representing the A and P arguments, and the marking is the same as in the unmarked clause, except where the NP representing the P argument appears in topic position and is followed by the topic marker, as in (25b).¹³

- (25) a. *(Ngà-í) (àng-s̀v̀ng) lègā shàríshaq íē.*
 ngà-í àng-s̀v̀ng 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) vd̀v̀ngké shaq íē.*
 àng nō ngà-í v-d̀v̀ng-ké-shaq í-ē
 3sg TOP 1sg-AGT INTR-finish-eat(defeat)-PERF be-N.PAST
 'He has already been defeated (by me).'

Informants 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 far ago the action happened in the past 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.

¹³ In (25a) the basic verb is *ríðē* '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 *sha-*.

- (26) *Wērvt vyò nō ākvt gō tì vríshaq íē.* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:36)
 wē-rvt vyò nō ākvt gō 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.'

4.6. Nominalization by *nā*

The nominalizer *nā* used in construction with the copula, a loan from a Jinghpo construction with the same form, marks even greater uncertainty than *pà*, expressing 'probably . . .', 'maybe . . .', or 'might have . . .':

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

4.7. Nominalization by classifier or plural marker

Very often a clause will be nominalized by making it a relative clause with a classifier¹⁴ or the plural marker (which possibly derives from a classifier, cf. *àngrī* 'bundle (of hemp plant, etc.)') as the head, as in (28)-(31). In (30) the male human gender marker/classifier, *pè*¹⁵ 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, *rōyàng*, is a nominalization of the word for 'to count', *rōdē*, by the classifier for sections, *yàng*, lit. 'sections which are counted'. Such a nominalization can also be used to modify other nouns, e.g. *dàmshà wā-pè mvshól* [shaman.work do-MALE story] 'story of the man who did shaman work'.

- (28) a. *shóng vdòng rvm ílòng* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:152)
shóng vdòng-rvm í-lòng
 tree inside-inside be-CL
 'the thing that is inside the tree'
- b. *wēdō írì dvdvmòē.* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:163-4)
 [wē-dō í-rì] dv-dvm-ò-ē
 that-ADV be-pl CAUS-remember/think-TNP-N.PAST
 'I remember things like that.'

¹⁴ This includes some nouns that are at the same time classifiers, e.g. *nóng* 'year', *pvn* '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 rái nóng* [3sg come DIR-I.PAST year] 'the year he came', we could not add *wē* after the relative clause.

¹⁵ 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 Rvwang *-a*, as in *ηà* '1sg pronoun' (< PST **ηa*) and *ηā* 'fish' (< PST **nya*); see Matisoff 1995 on palatal suffixes in PST).

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

- (29) *Shóngcit wēdō Rvwangrìí v̄m ỳngshàrì,*
shóngcit wē-dō [Rvwang-rì-í v̄m ỳng-shà]-rì]
sheungsit that-ADV Rawang-pl-AGT eat TMyrs-1plPAST-pl
 '(Things) like sheungsit (that) we Rawangs used to eat,

kādō wà yà:ngà wē wē-rì gō èshò:nò. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133)
[kā-dō wà yàng-à wē] wē-rì gō è-shòn-ò
 WH-ADV make TMyrs-T.PAST NOM that-pl also N.1-say-TNP
 also tell us about the making of those things.'

- (30) *Ch̀ngn̄ngpè n̄, c̄vnshì wē vn̄ipè wāpè íē.* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:3)
ch̀ngn̄ng-pè n̄ [[[c̄vn-shì wē] vn̄i-pè] wā-pè] 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 (31) *"Vn̄ng" wā b̀ng gō*
[vn̄ng wā b̀ng] gō
Anang say name also
 'The name Anang also,

- 2 *ǹmlat gō taq r̄vmshì n̄ngshì daqì gō írvt,*
[ǹmlat gō taq r̄vm-shì n̄ng-shì daq-ì gō]_{CC} í-rvt
the.first CL LOC add-R/M accompany-R/M DIR-I.PAST CL(humans) be-because
 because (she) is one added to the first born as company,

- 3 *"Vn̄ng" wā b̀ng dènī dèyaq gō wēdōnī lá:ngiē.*
[vn̄ng wā b̀ng] dènī dèyaq gō wē-dōnī l̀ng-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. Discussion

In terms of the use of nominalizations in Rawang, nominalizations can be used in relativization, as we have seen, but are not used for non-verbal attribution, as simple juxtaposition is used for this. We have seen that there is an agentive nominalizer, a patientive nominalizer, a purpose nominalizer, a general nominalizer, and a number of other forms that act as nominalizers. Nominalizations are used as arguments of clauses; there are no true 'stand alone' nominalizations, as some sort of predicate is understood in those cases where the nominalized form ends the utterance. I agree with Watters (2006) that when the nominalization seems to be used as the focused information, it is actually assumed to be

predicated by a copula or other predicate. Other nominalizations are backgrounded information.¹⁶

In terms of the structure of nominalizations, we have seen that in Rawang there are three types of relative clause. One has the head immediately following the clause, with no nominalizer on the clause. I believe this was the original Sino-Tibetan form, as this type can be found at least in some vestigial way (e.g. compounds) in all ST languages. In another type the relative clause takes a nominalizer that was itself historically a noun head, and the head optionally follows it. As I discussed in the context of the Qiang language (LaPolla with Huang 2003:§5.2), this type developed out of the first type, as former head nouns became so generalized they were reinterpreted as nominalizers¹⁷ (with the clauses so nominalized optionally modifying other noun heads), and has led to the variety of specific nominalizers we find in Rawang.¹⁸

The so-called nominalization-relativization syncretism is due to the historical development in many languages of nominalizers out of relative clauses, and their subsequent use in apposition to or as modifiers of another noun. This develops partly because of the tendency to have noun-noun/modifier-modified constructions. Discussions of relativization and nominalization often mention the fact that the nominalizer derives from a noun, but they do not recognize that the structure that becomes the nominalized clause is in fact a relative clause plus head structure that later gets reinterpreted as a nominalized clause. There is a historical continuum in terms of the degree to which the original head noun has fully grammaticalized into a simple nominalizer (cf. DeLancey 1997).

In the third type of relative clause in Rawang, the relative clause is nominalized by the distal demonstrative *wē*, and the head optionally follows this. This type is an innovation, though it is common for demonstratives to develop into complementizers (cf. English *that*). This may have also been the case with *-ò* in Angami and Lotha (Herring 1991)¹⁹ and possibly *wa* in Singhpo (Morey 2006).

Another source for nominalizers is a copula, as in Lahu (Matisoff 1985), or an auxiliary verb or particle, as in the case of Jinghpo *ai* (see Matisoff 1972 for data).

The different historical origins will affect their modern uses, and so it is important when possible to identify the source of a form.

¹⁶ 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).

¹⁷ This is very similar to the development of noun classifiers from nouns.

¹⁸ In Qiang, for example, the word *mi* 'person' was used often enough as the head of a relative clause for it to become seen as just a nominalizer for animate actor nominalizations, and these nominalizations can then be used to modify other nouns, including *mi* 'person', either as a prehead modifier or as a post-head appositional phrase. In Qiang the nominalizing form is now reduced to *-m*, but the same process happened in Dzongkha, and the form of the nominalizer is still *mi*, e.g. *ɔŋ mi mi* [come NOM person] 'the person who came' (Namgay Thinley, personal communication).

¹⁹ Herring suggests (1991: 66) that such forms arise from resumptive pronoun: "banana eating *one* (boy)". This is an interesting suggestion, but I don't know how such a pronoun work work, unless what is mean is replacive, rather than resumptive pronoun.

Abbreviations

1/2.I.PAST	1st and 2nd person intransitive past marker	N.1	non-1st person actor (in a clause with a speech act participant)
3.TR.N.PAST	3rd person transitive non-past marker	NFP	noun forming prefix
A	actor of a prototypical transitive clause	N.PAST	non-past marker
AGT	agentive marker	P	patient of a prototypical transitive clause
BEN	benefactive suffix	PERF	perfect nominalizer
CAUS	causative prefix	PFV	perfective marker
CC	copula complement	pl	plural
CL	classifier	PN	proper name
CFP	contrastive prefix	PROB	marker of probability
CS	S of a copula clause	R/M	reflexive/middle marker
DIR	direction marker (also has aspectual functions)	S	single direct argument of an intransitive verb
INF	infinitive marker	TMyrs	marker of remote past
INTR	intransitivizing prefix	TOP	topic marker
I.PAST	3rd person intransitive past marker	TR.PAST	transitive past marker
LOC	locative marker (also used for dative, purpose)		

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