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(n)g (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 = [ɔ], a = [a], ə = [u], 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: ą,
mid tone: ą, low falling tone: ą. 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 (่อ) alone in the non past (e.g. งอ 'to cry') and the intransitive past tense marker (-) 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 ว in citation (e.g. ต์ว '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 (อะ) plus the non-past affirmative/declarative particle (่อ) in non-past forms (e.g. รือ 'to carry (something)') and the transitive past tense marker (-'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 (ยมอ / ยม 'to eat'). There are both S=P type and S=A type ambitransitives.⁴ With the S=P type, (e.g. ยก 'be broken, destroyed' ~ ยก 'be broken, 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. ผ recognise vnt.  
    ผ recognise  vnt-่  
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 ส, e.g. สต 'to be afraid', where the stimulus is marked as an oblique argument:

(i) ณ วกสส สต-่งจะ  
    ณ วก-สส สต-่ง-่  
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. (งยชร งยร 'make/grow wings', ปล่าว ปลาว 'lay out a mat', ท่อม ท่อม 'The ท่อม (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.
   áng-í  [pè  tiq-chvng] zvt-ø-è
   3sg-AGT  basket one-CL  weave-TNP-N.PAST
   'He is weaving a basket.'

- The copula, íè, 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 preceptive marker (laq), which is a sub-type of imperative (e.g. cîlcè 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, nò, 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).

1 (2)  Rvwàng mvshöl yâlông nò
   [Rvwàng mvshöl  yâ-lông]CS nò
   Rawang story  this-CL  TOP
   'This Rawang story

2 dîmshàría  rîma:tnà  wè  mvshöl  íè, . . .
   [dîmshà-ri-í  rimp-at-à  wè  mvshöl]CC  í-è
   shaman-pl-AGT  keep-DIR-TR.PAST  NOM  story  be-N.PAST
   is a story being kept by the shamans, . . .

3 Nguí gô ngà  not kënì  dîvû:nè  wè  mò-í,
   [ngà-í  gô  ngà  not  kënì  dîvûng-ò  wè]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),

4 dàrî  vshaqwàngvînî  dîmshàría  gùng  râ à  wè,
   [darî  vshaq-wângvîn-ri-í  dîmshà-ri-í  gûng  rà-à  wè]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,
The words of the shaman chiefs are reliable.

I can recall only this much.

I cannot recall all, since I am not a shaman,

I can recall only this much.

The words of the shaman chiefs are reliable. (LaPolla & Poa 2001:1-5)

Following the story taught by Apang Pung,

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.)

'Growing up in a place with that much hardship,
wêdô in dvmômô.  
[wê-dô i-ri] dv-dvm-ô-ê  (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.)

Gvray Gvsvngpê jêjú kêní îê.  
[gvray gvsvng-pê jêjú kênî]CC î-ê 
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 -ê 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 wê, which derives from the distal demonstrative wê, 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 wê 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) Kâ gô shîng shôn yàng gô,  
[kâ gô shîng shôn yàng] gô 
word also different say TMîrs also(although) 
'Although the words were said differently,

2 tâ mû:nô vs:ngî nô tâsháshí yàng.  
[[tâ mûn-ô vsvng]-î nô t-á-shá-shì yàng] 
hear used.to-TNP person-AGT TOP hear-know-R/M TMîrs 
a person who got used to it could understand it.

3 Dvmô dvmsôhà gô, dvgá tiqcâng sîng dvmsôhà nîgô,  
[dvmô dvmsôhà gô dvgá tiq-câng sîng dvmsôh-ô] nî-gô 
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 wêdâng wêdâng íwê, mvshôl tiqcynnîng sîng twnùng yáng-nà.  
[[wê-dâng wê-dâng í-wê mvshôl tiq-yîng] sîng twnùng yáng-à] 
that-way that-way be-NOM story one-essay/part LOC follow TMîrs-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) .Names (mvtû) nô ñmpà wînlûm rvt iê.  
ång dt-wê (mvtû) nô ñmpà wînlûm rvt iê  
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 dv gp ‘time period’, or kv t ‘moment, time’ as the head of the relative clause (which can be followed by locative or adverbal 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 wê 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)  Vnûm gôm nûmbàng nô  
[nûm gôm nûm-bàng] nô sun flat sun-beam TOP  
'(When) the beams of the sun

2 nûmlôp shîgûng taqvûng sîr daq-â [wê] sîng  
[nûmlôp shîgûng] taq vûng sîr daq-â wê sîng west mountain LOC first shine down-T.PAST NOM LOC  
first shined down on the western mountain,

3 shvrûgô-i ngûr wâ yûng bô-à kv t  
[shvrû-gô-i Ngûr wâ yûng bô-à kv t] barking.deer-CL-AGT notice ADV see T.PAST time  
when the barking deer noticed (noticingly saw) it,

4 dvûbû nô chûng-shì lûng-i kv t  
[dvûbû nô chûng-shì lûng-i kv t] happy PS jump-R/M up-I.PAST time  
when (the barking deer) was happy and jumped up (with joy),

5 dûngdê nô dvûp hûm gô zeq lûm bô-à wâ  
[dûngdê nô dvûp hûm] gô zeq lûm bô-à wâ soy.bean bean CAUS-rot basket also press.down step.on T.PAST HS  
(s/he) also stepped on the basket with fermented soy beans, it was said.

6 'Nûm wûnza mî-doq wê nà-i vzûng èyà:ngû,  
“You did not contribute to buy the sun, (yet) you saw (the sun) first,
Most of these postpositions can be used without the subordinate clause being nominalized (see LaPolla 2006 for more examples). Shvr vnó dvbōp shōng vn̄gā nō, wā
(wē-rvt shvr-hī nō vn̄o dv-bōp shōng vn̄gā nō)
Because of this, the legs of the barking deer smell like (fermented) beans and

A subordinate clause can also take postpositions such as kēnī(nō) ‘from, if, after’, as in (8), rvt ‘because, in order to’, as in (9), n̄v̄ng ‘purpose, comitative’, or ni(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 nōnlōng kēnī nō, vbaq īlōngē,
ò yā-dō nōn-lōng kēnī nō [vbaq][CC ī-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,'

(9)

. . . dāmshā mō-ōngā rvt mv-gōp mv-rā:lō,
[dāmshā mō-ī-ng-ā] rvt [mv-gōp mv-rā:l-ō]
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 wê, 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 Ivmrà 'dancing place' (< Ivm 'dance'), derives from the noun shvrà 'place'. The full form can also be used for the nominalizing function, as in Ivm shvrà 'dancing place'. Other examples are yöprà 'one's usual' sleeping place (this word has a less specific meaning than yöpgù 'bed'; there is also a form yöprâ 'inn, temporary sleeping place' with a changed tone -rà > -rå), and rûngrà 'sitting place' (< rûngê 'sit'; note the tone change). This form can in some instances also be used adnominally, e.g. gòngrà hwáng [enter+place hole] 'threshold'.

The agentive nominalizer -shû creates agentive nominals where the person involved normally does the action as a job or regular activity. Compare rûngshû 'one who sits (a retired person)' and rûnggô [sit+CL (people)] 'the one sitting'. Other examples are kà vwlshû [word divide+person] 'mediator', lêgâ lîngshû [letter/book take+person] 'postman', zâywà wâshû [song/hymn sing+person] 'professional' singer', mvkùn shôshû [song lead+person] 'one who leads the singing', and dvzârshû 'helper' (< dvzîro 'send', with change of vowel). This form can occasionally be used adnominally, e.g. dvzârshû všàngri 'people who are helpers', and can take the gender and plural markers, e.g. dvzârshûpê 'male helper', dvzârshûrì '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. Some of these have become lexicalized, such as àngdâl 'fool (n.)' (< dálé 'to be foolish'), àngwvêm 'lid' (< wvêm '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 ângtì 'liquid' (< ti 'water'), and on classifiers, e.g. àngchîngri 'the trucks' (< chîng 'classifier for lump-like objects', with the plural marker -rì).

The intransitivizing prefix v- (see LaPolla 2000) is involved in some deverbal nominals as well, such as vngô 'one who cries easily' (< ngô 'to cry'; note the tone change) and vkô 'thief' (< kô / kódô '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 dvshî 'a spirit who can make you die' (< dvshî 'cause to die'), and vyâ 'lier' (< vyâ 'to lie').

4.2. Nominalization by the distal demonstrative wê

The most general nominalizer in Rawang is the distal demonstrative wê, 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.

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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. *Mvnuqlong wā èvǐm nonga wē ímā.?* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 176)

   mvnuq-long wā  èvǐm nonga wē  í-mā
   shoot-CL only N.1-eat 2pl NOM be-Q
   'Is it only the shoots that you eat?'

b. *Vdō dīwē dviē nō, Vpǔng nō mv-dī.*

   [Vdō dī-wē]  dī-�e  nō  Vpǔng 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. *Zūngka dīwē dviē nō . . .*

   zūng-kaq  dī-wē  dī-�e  nō
   school-LOC  go-NOM CFP-be-N.PAST TOP
   'He's going to school (not anywhere else)'

d. *à:ngì lēgā rìowē dviē nō . . .*

   à:ng-i  lēgā  rì-₀-wē  dī-�e  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 bōwē iē.*

   àng dī  bō-₁-wē  i-e
   3sg  go  PFV-₁.PAST-NOM  be-N.PAST
   '(Yes,) He went.'

f. *Vpǔng nō Vdōi vdıörowē iē.*

   Vpǔng nō  Vdō-i  vdıör-₀-wē  i-e
   PN  TOP  PN-AGT  hit-3.TR.N.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
   'Vpung was hit by Vdeu.'

g. *Vdō nō à:ngi dviːmō wē iē.*

   Vdō  nō  à:ng-i  dvtəṃ-₀-wē  i-e
   PN  TOP  3sg-AGT  delay-3.TR.N.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
   'Vdō is by him delayed.'(from Morse 1965:353)

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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) ̀āng dīwē nō, ngā mv-dōn.
     [̀āng  dī-wē]  nō  [ngā  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. gōngrāi
wēō ‘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) Nymbōng wā rái wēí shōnggūng ngaq rāa.
     [nymbōng  wā  rá-i  wē-i]  shōnggūng  ngaq  rā-ā]
     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) Rvwāng kū kēnī nō, s̀ving gvbā m̀a-gvbā wēdō gwaq nō,
     Rvwāng kū  kēnī  nō  [s̀ving  gvbā]  [mv-gvbā]  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 kēnī nō yà:ngō, gō té gō mv-tē, wēmō wā yà:ngā wē. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 224)
     raq-ò  kēnī  nō  yòn-gō  [gō  té  gō  mv-tē]  wē-mō  wā  yàng-ā  wē
     weave-TNP  from  TOP  see-TNP  also  big  also  NEG-big  that-size  make  TMysrs-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, (does matter) one size is made.'

(14) Nvngwā shōng nīnō, nvgwā zí-ò kēnī mv-shā cāng 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,

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7 The nominalizer kā seen in line 3 of (15) derives from a relative clause structure with the word kā ‘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.
Compare two gender marker, but in Rawang the two forms are distinct (see below; also see Noonan 1997 on distinguishing nominalizer some[cases[is[used[alonel[As[aclasssifier[it[means[ethingej[elgl\[form\[above, and difference in meaning between using the infinitive marker before instrumental type[word+catch+[speak+speak

go along with rice)' (<rice' (<undergoer of the action (sometimes appearing with the infinitive marker before instrumental type[word+catch+[speak+speak

glo\|alvn|ang

NOM

-\|vml|vmp

PS

again

Q

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 creates nominals that refer to the undergoer of the action (sometimes appearing with the infinitive marker lém), as in ímpà 'rice' (<ímoèç 'eat'; also ímlímpà [eat+INF+NUM] 'food') and npà 'cooked vegetables (that go along with rice)' (<npëôç 'to go along with'), or the instrument used for the action, as in ngúngòpà (or ngúnglímpà or ngúngpà) 'steelyard, scale' (<ngúngòç 'weigh'), tipíp límpà [speak+speak INF+NUM] 'telephone', and káþýngpà [word+record+NUM] or káþíppà [word+catch+NUM] or 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 vhólímpà [laugh+INF+NUM] or vhódpà 'joke, jest; i.e. something to laugh at'. The form ká-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

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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 -pa? (Coupé 2006), also used in tf-pa? 'what', sa-pa? 'who' (Alec Coupé, 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 pûn 'kind' also functions in a way similar to pà in forming nouns: vmlímpûn [eat+INF+kind] 'food'. Compare vmlímpûn tiq pà-pà 'some food', vmlímpûn tiq+pûn '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 . . .'.

(16) łoŋ dì ʔámì pà ìē.
[łoŋ dì ʔám-ì pà] ìē
3sg go DIR-1.PAST thing be-N.PAST
'I guess he left.'

(17) ʔaŋgà d TICKNG ap-à pà ìē.
[ʔaŋg-ì d TICKNG ap-à pà] ìē
3sg-AGT finish DIR-TR.PAST thing be-N.PAST
'I guess he finished it.'

4.4 Nominalization by the infinitive marker -lým

The infinitive marker -lým 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) Dvmshà chvngwàpè nô gwâlym, pélým, b̲vnlym
dvmshà chvngwàpè nô [gwâ-lým pél-lým b̲vn-lým]
damsha chief-MALE TOP wear-INF put.on-INF wear(on.ear)-INF

pvnrii, dvgö dvcopshi đàŋgì,
pvn-ri]-i dvgö dvcop-shi dvg-ì
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.

jvngtung lāngò nô, łoŋ vdè vyā dâŋg vz̲ng shônshì yàng. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 11)
jvng-tung lāng-ò nô łoŋ vdè vyā dâŋg vz̲ng shôn-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 Kàrũ Shvngotshílým Vtông
kà-rũ shvngot-shí-lým vtông
word-write teach-R/M-INF rules
'Rules for Learning Literacy in Rawang' (title of book)

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

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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) "Vnvm wënłvm vnvmwpréz doqi," wá, (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 26) 
[vnvm wën-lvm] vnvm-wën-zá doq-i wá
sun buy-INF sun-buy-gold match.in.price-1pHT HORT HS
"Let's collect the amount to buy the sun," (they) said.'

(21) Vmö vdvm këni tvmn vdvm taq vî lvmvt vcm yângâ, (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 21) 
[vmö vdvm këni tvmn vdvm taq vî-lvm]-rvt vcm yâng-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) Dvmshârî shën yângâ dâng këni kà dvha:tnî. 
[[[dvmshâ-rî-i shën yâng-à dâng] këni] [kà dvha-i]
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,

vmö, gvmö ñng dvmö wäsë ñng vsng tvnècè
[vmö gvmö ñng dvmö wäsë-wë] ñng [vsng tvnè-cè
ameu gameu and dameu call/say-NOM and person human-son

bûng râi dâng àngdong kû shën[lvm] îê. (LaPolla & Poa 2001:18)
bûng râ-i dâng]] àng-dông-kû shën-lvm] ñê-
origin 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 dvnöe ‘intend, plan’ (or wâe ‘to do’) to express the sense 'about to V'.

(23) a. Ângî lëgá vru³lm dâ:nöê.
âng-î lëgá vru³-lvm dvn-ô-ê
3sg-AGT letter write-INF intend-TNP-N.PAST
'He is about to write a letter.'

b. Ângî yâlông ñmpâ ñmlvm dâ:nöê.
âng-î yâ-lông ñmpâ ñm-lvm dvn-ô-ê
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 gvmry ‘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 nô vdušaq ̀e.*
   shé nô v-du-šaq ̀e
   gold TOP INTR-dig-PERF be-N.PAST
   'The gold is dug.' Morse (1965:353)

b. *Lègā nô vrišaq ̀e.*
   lègā nô v-ri-šaq ̀e
   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-i) (àng-svng) lègā šaríshaq ̀e.*
   ngà-i ñ̄g-svng lègā shv-v-ri-šaq ̀e
   1sg-AGT 3sg-LOC book CAUS-INTR-carry-PERF be-N.PAST
   'Books have already been sent (to him) (by me).'</n>

b. *àng nô (ngàì) vdvngke šqaq ̀e.*
   ñ̄g nô ngàì v-dvng-ké-šqaq ̀e
   3sg TOP 1sg-AGT INTR-finish-eat(defeat)-PERF be-N.PAST
   'He has already been defeated (by me).'</n>

Informants uniformly say the meaning of the construction (or the particle *šqaq*) 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.

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13 In (25a) the basic verb is *riòè '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 *šqa-.
(26) Wērvt vyò nō ākv\o ĭ.  (LaPolla & Poa 2001:36)
  wē-rvt  vyò  nō  ākv\o  fû  v-rí-shaq  ï-ê
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) ñìng tuqâm nā ï.ë.
  [ñìng  tuq-âm  nā]  ï-ê
3sg  arrive-DIR  PROB  be-N.PAST
'He might have arrived (there) (already).'</n
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. ñìngři 'bundle (of hemp plant, etc.)') as the head, as in (28)-(31). In (30) the male human gender marker/classifier, pē15 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, ñìng, is a nominalization of the word for 'to count', ñìng, by the classifier for sections, ñìng, lit. 'sections which are counted'. Such a nominalization can also be used to modify other nouns, e.g. ñámshâ wā-pē mvshôl [shaman.work do-MALE story] 'story of the man who did shaman work'.

(28) a. ñìng lôm ñì ng
  ñìng  lôm-rvå  ï-ìng
  tree  inside-inside  be-CL
'the thing that is inside the tree'

b. wēdô ñì ri dvsômôë.  (LaPolla & Poa 2001:163-4)
  [wē-dô  ñì-ri]  dvsôm-ô-ê
that-ADV  be-pl  CAUS-remember/think-TNP-N.PAST
'I remember things like that.'

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

This form, plus the female gender form, më, seem to derive from the Proto-Sino-Tibetan forms *pà 'father, male' and *ma 'mother' plus a palatal suffix of unknown meaning (cf. the corresponding Dulong forms pēi ~ pài and mëi ~ mài; the usual reflex of PST *-a is Rvwang -a, as in ñä '1sg pronoun' (< PST *ñä) and ñì 'fish' (< PST *nya); see Matisoff 1995 on palatal suffixes in PST).
nominalization seems to ‘stand alone’ nominalizations, as some sort of predicate is understood in those cases where nominalizer, a purpose nominalizer, a general nominalizer, and a number of other forms that justaposition is used for this. We have seen that there is an agentive nominalizer, a patientive relativization, as we have seen, but are not used for

In terms of the use of nominalizations in Rawang, nominalizations can be used in

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 justaposition 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. 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 nominalizers (with the clauses so nominalized optionally modifying other noun heads), and has led to the variety of specific nominalizers we find in Rawang.

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 wèi, 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) and possibly wa in Singpho (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.

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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. OF 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

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

### References


Watters, David E.. 2006. Nominalization in Himalayish Languages. ms. RCLT.