

Word-class-changing Derivations in Rawang*

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1. Introduction

Rawang (Rvwang [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 (see map on back page); population unknown, although Ethnologue 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). In this paper, I will be discussing the word-class-changing 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 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. Word 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. Nominals require the copula to be predicative.

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

* 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* = [w], *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.

well as a numeral-classifier phrase. A noun phrase may act as an argument of a clause or modifier of another noun, but not 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. *Vpūng 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 *shīng* 'different', *shòngshāng* 'separate', *dvshà* 'difficult, poor', *krvk* 'perfect', and *tóng* 'hard', which require the copula to be predicative.
- Some nouns are compounds made up of Noun + Noun (e.g. *tìrvmè* [water+river] 'river'); Verb (or Noun + Verb) + Noun (e.g. *aptì* [drink+water] 'drinking water', *yúngrvt sh̀vmcè* [vegetables+cut sword+DIM] 'food chopper', *yøpgù* [sleep+bed] 'bed', *laqtūn dvsē jvk* [clothes sew machine] 'sewing machine'); Noun + Verb (e.g. *gōbām* [head+to wrap] 'turban', *juqǹvm* [waist+to wrap around] 'belt, girdle', *tìshū* [water+boil] 'hot (boiled) water', *t̀vngsóm* [floor+sweep] 'broom', *ngúngchwám* [sweat+fan(v.)] 'fan(n.)');² Verb + Verb (e.g. *chøpdòn* [put into+shield (vt.)] 'shoes', *rúngd̀vng* [sit+stuck] 'chair'); Noun + Classifier (e.g. *chòm̀ung* [house+CL(long object)] 'longhouse', *sh̀ongd̀òm* [tree/wood+CL(log-like objects)] 'log').
- The personal pronouns function syntactically like nouns, and take the same dual marking as nouns, but take special plural marking and also have a special genitive form when the head of the possessive phrase is omitted: *ngà-ò* [1sg-POSS] 'mine'.³ They form a closed class (in contrast to nouns in general), as do the three demonstrative stems (*yā-* (proximate), *wē-* (distal), *kū-* (remote)) and one interrogative stem (*kā-*), which combine with classifiers, locational nouns, or the adverbial or plural marker to form pronouns.

Table 1. *The Rawang demonstrative and interrogative pronouns*

	singular	plural	locative (general)	locative (side)	kind	method
proximate	<i>yā-(l̀ong)</i>	<i>yā-rì</i>	<i>yā-ỳvng</i>	<i>yā-lap</i>	<i>yā-p̀vn</i>	<i>yā-d̀ò</i>
distal	<i>wē-(l̀ong)</i>	<i>wē-rì</i>	<i>wē-ỳvng</i>	<i>wē-lap</i>	<i>wē-p̀vn</i>	<i>wē-d̀ò</i>
remote	<i>kū-(l̀ong)</i>	<i>kū-rì</i>	<i>kū-ỳvng</i>	<i>kū-lap</i>	<i>kū-p̀vn</i>	<i>kū-d̀ò</i>
interrogative	<i>kā-g̀ò</i> 'who' <i>kā-p̀à</i> 'what'		<i>kā-ỳvng</i>	<i>kā-lap</i>	<i>kā-p̀vn</i>	<i>kā-d̀ò</i>

- 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).

² Most of these compounds are used with the verb that also forms part of the compound, e.g. *gōbām bāmshìē* 'wrap one's head in a turban', *juqǹvm ǹvmshìē* 'wrap a belt around one's waist', *ngúngchwám hwámshìē* 'to fan oneself with a fan' (see below).

³ Personal names also can take this possessive marker, and can take the same plural marker as the pronouns (*-maq*), but the sense is 'and others', e.g. *Petermaq* 'Peter and others'.

- (1) a. *lègā tiq bok*
 book one CL(books)
 'one book'
- b. *lègā bok*
 book CL(books)
 '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 referent in these cases is also specific.

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

- If a possessor appears in the noun phrase, there are a number of possible configurations. If the referent of the head noun is plural, then a classifier is not necessary; the pronoun representing the possessor appears before the head noun and the head noun is marked by the plural marker, as in (3a). If the referent of the head noun is singular, then the classifier follows the head noun, as in (3b). The dual and plural marking can also be used after the classifier.

- (3) a. *ngà lègā-rì*
 1sg book-pl
 'my books'
- b. *ngà lègā bok*
 1sg book CL(books)
 'my book' (only one)

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 or are reduplicated. This seems to be a closed class, with around a dozen members (e.g. *gō* 'also', *vrá* 'again', *tōpnì tōprāng* 'completely and in detail', *wā* 'only', *shvngbē* 'all', *gvzà* 'very/so', *gāi* '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):

- Intransitives take the non-past affirmative/declarative particle (*ē*) alone in the non past (e.g. *ngōē* 'to cry') and the intransitive past tense marker (*-ì*) in past forms (with third person argument); they can be used transitively only when they take valency-increasing morphological marking (causative, benefactive).⁴

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

- 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 (*ò*) plus the non-past affirmative/declarative particle (*ē*) in non-past forms (e.g. *ríòē* 'to carry (something)') and the transitive past tense marker (*-à*) in past forms (with third person O arguments); 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 noun phrase representing the A argument.
- Ambitransitives (labile verbs) can be used as transitives or intransitives without morphological derivation (*vmòē* / *vmē* 'to eat'). There are both S=O type and S=A type ambitransitives. With the S=O 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, 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 O is specific, then the transitive form must be used, but if the O is non-specific, it is not necessary to use the intransitive form. If no O is mentioned, then usually the intransitive form is used.

- (4) a. *Àng pé zvtñē.*
àng pé zvt-ē
3sg basket weave-N.PAST
'He weaves baskets.' (general or habitual sense)
- b. *À:ngí pé tiqchv̀ng za:tnòē.*
àng-í [pé tiq-chv̀ng] zvt-ò-ē
3sg-AGT basket one-CL weave-3.TR.N.PAST-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').

3. Verbalizations

There is no marker distinct from the normal verbal morphology that we can point to as a verbalizer (the causative and applicative markers are not used to make verbs from nouns), though there are cases of noun-verb isomorphy, that is, cognate noun-verb pairs showing either complete isomorphy, as in *dōn dōn-ò-ē* [wall put.up.wall-3.TR.N.PAST-N.PAST] 'put up

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

a wall' and *mvkún mvkúnòē* 'sing a song' (cf. English *scoop a scoop of ice cream with an ice cream scoop*), or partial isomorphy, where the noun includes another syllable, as in the following examples:

- (5) a. *shvròm ròm-shì-ē*
 longgyi wear.longgyi-R/M-N.PAST
 'wear a (Rawang-style) longgyi'
- b. *naqdø dø-shì-ē*
 trousers wear.trousers-R/M-N.PAST
 'wear trousers'
- c. *waqhám hám-shì-ē*
 fence put.up.fence-R/M-N.PAST
 'put up a fence'
- d. *l̀vngdūn dūn-ò-ē*
 ladder put.up.ladder-TNP-N.PAST
 'put up a ladder'

The other syllable that forms part of the noun that is cognate with the verb sometimes is identifiable. For example, in *naqdø* 'trousers' in (5b), the first syllable is 'black', in *waqhám* 'fence' in (5c), the first syllable is 'bamboo'. But notice in the examples given, that the verb in each case is specific to that noun (compare (5a) with (5b) and (5c) with (5d)). In some of cases of isomorphy we can say the noun derives from the verb (see below), but there are also cases where it is clearly the case that verbal morphology has been added to a noun to form a cognate noun-verb (transitive or intransitive) pair, e.g. (*àng*)*chēr chēròē* 'make wings', *shòm shòmē* 'The *shòm* (a type of bamboo that only ripens once in 50 years) are ripe.' This form of verbalization is not very productive (I have only a few examples of verbs clearly formed from nouns), and there are no other ways of verbalizing.

It is possible in some cases to use the verb *wà ~ wā* 'do' as a 'light' verb with a noun, as in (6) but this is very rare as well. The adjectives in Rawang are a subclass of verb, and so do not need verbalization. There is only a small class of adverbs, with forms that do not verbalize.

- (6) *Tǝngwà svmītaq svmītaq ādǝ* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 244)
 tǝng-wà svmī-taq svmī-taq ā-dǝ
 hard-do/make fire-LOC fire-LOC this-ADV
 (To) make (it) stronger on the fire like this

4. Nominalizations

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

4.1 The locative nominalizer -rà

The locative nominalizer *-rà*, as in *l̀vmrà* 'dancing place' (< *l̀vmē* 'dance'), derives from the noun *shvrà* 'place'. The full form can also be used for the nominalizing function, as in *l̀vm 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'.

4.2 The agentive nominalizer -shú

The agentive nominalizer *-shú* creates agentive nominals where the person involved normally does the action as a job or regular activity.⁵ Compare *rúngshú* 'one who sits (a retired person)' and *rúnggǒ* [sit+CL(people)] 'the one sitting'. Other examples are *kà vwálishú* [word divide+person] 'mediator', *lègā lǐngshú* [letter/book take+person] 'postman', *zàywà wáshú* [song/hymn sing+person] '(professional) singer', *mvkún shǒlshú* [song lead+person] 'one who leads the singing', and *dvzárshú* 'helper' (< *dvzǎrè* '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', *dvzárshúrì* 'helpers'.

4.3 The nominalizing prefix àng-

The nominalizing prefix *àng-* (< Proto-Tibeto-Burman **aŋ-*; = the third person pronoun and third person possessive prefix) is used quite productively to form nominals.⁶ Some of these have become lexicalized, such as *àngdál* 'fool (n.)' (< *dálē* 'to be foolish'), *àngwǎm* 'lid' (< *wǎmòē* '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. *àngchvnggrì* 'the trucks' (< *chvng* 'classifier for lump-like objects', with the plural marker *-rì*).

4.4 The intransitivizing prefix v-

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

4.5 Tone change

We saw above that in some 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'). This seems not to be productive.

4.6 The nominalizer wē

The most general nominalizer in Rawang 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, verb complementation, noun complementation, and relative clauses, and is the main form for making action nominalizations, but is not used in purpose clauses (there is a separate nominalizer for that), non-relative clause noun attributives (this is handled by juxtaposition), agent and patient nominalizations (there are special forms for these), or on a main verb. Unlike many of the other nominalizers, it does not derive from a relative clause structure.

A common pattern is where an otherwise unmarked clause is nominalized by the distal demonstrative *wē*, and then followed by the copula, making the nominalized clause the copula complement. It is generally used to contrast referents ((7a-d), something like a cleft construction) or emphasize that something is in fact the case ((7e)), but can sometimes have

⁵ This form is probably cognate with the Lolo-Burmese morpheme found for example in the name *Lisu*.

⁶ Cf. the use of the third person possessive prefix *ku-* on noun modifiers in Limbu (Michailovsky 2002).

something like an affective sense ((7f-g). In contrastive clauses the copula often takes the contrastive prefix *dv-*.

- (7) a. *Mvnuqlòng wā è'vm nòng wē ímá?* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 176)
 [mvnuq-lòng wā è-vm nòng wē] í-má⁷
 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. *à:ngí lègā ríòwē dvíē 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 bōiwē íē.*
 [àng dī bó-ì-wē] í-ē
 3sg go PFV-I.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
 '(Yes,) He went.'
- f. *Vpūng nō Vdóí vdór-òwē 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 à:ngí dvtò:mò wē íē.*
 Vdó nō [àng-í dvtòm-ò-wē] í-ē
 PN TOP 3sg-AGT delay-3.TR.N.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
 'Vdó is by him delayed.' (from Morse 1965:353)

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 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?'

- (8) *Rvwàng kù kèní nǒ, sǜng gvbà mà-gvbà wēdǒ gwaq nǒ,*
 Rvwàng kù kèní nǒ [sǜng gvbà] [mv-gvbà] wē-dǒ gwaq nǒ
 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 nǒ yà:ngò, gǒ té gǒ mv-tē, wēmō wà yà:ngà wē. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 224)
 raq-ò kèní nǒ yǜng-ò [gǒ té gǒ mv-tē] wē-mō wà yàng-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.'

- (9) *Nvngwà shòng nìnǒ, nvngwà zí-ò kèní mv-shá cáng gǒ lǒ nǒ,*
 [nvngwà shòng] nì-nǒ [nvngwà zí-ò] kèní [mv-shá-cáng gǒ lǒ] nǒ
 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,

zāgǒ bānlǐm íwē. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 9)
 [[zā-gǒ bān-lǐm] í-wē]
 sick-CL get.well-PUR be-NOM
 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 a clause, as in (11):

- (11) *Nvmbǒng wà rái wēí shǒnggùng ngaq ráà.*
 [[nvmbǒng wà rá-ì **wēí**]-í shǒnggùng 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.'

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. The sense of (12) is that since he is going, there is no need for me to go. This could also be interpreted as conditional or contrastive (as in (7b)) as well.

- (12) *àng dīwē nǒ, ngà mv-dǒng.*
 [àng dī-wē] nǒ [ngà mv-dǒng]
 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 adverbial clause can be nominalized with *wē* and take the comitative marker *-ó*. (e.g. *gòngrái wēó* ‘Just as he entered . . .’, Lit: ‘With his entering . . .’).⁸

4.7 The classifier and instrumental/objective nominalizer *-pà*

The noun *pà* ‘thing, what, anything’ also functions as a classifier and a suffix-like instrumental/objective nominalizer.⁹ As the latter it creates nominals that refer to the undergoer of the action (sometimes appearing with the purposive nominalizer *Ívm*), as in *ímpà* ‘rice’ (< *v̄mòē* ‘eat’; also *v̄mlímpà* [eat+PUR+NOM] ‘food’)¹⁰ 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 *ngūnglímpà* or *ngūngpà*) ‘steelyard, scale’ (< *ngūngòē* ‘weigh’), *toqtíp Ívmípà* [speak+speak PUR+NOM] ‘telephone’, and *kàzvíngpà* [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 purposive nominalizer before *-pà* or not, as with ‘scale’ above, and *vhòlímpà* [laugh+PUR+NOM] or *vhòpà* ‘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’. 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 . . .’:¹¹

(13) *àng dī àmì pà íē.*
 [àng dī àm-ì **pà**] í-ē
 3sg go DIR-I.PAST **thing** be-N.PAST
 ‘I guess he left.’

(14) *àngí dving apmà pà íē.*
 [àng-í dving ap-à **pà**] í-ē
 3sg-AGT finish DIR-TR.PAST **thing** be-N.PAST
 ‘I guess he finished it.’

⁸ A subordinate clause can also take postpositions such as *kèní(nō)* ‘from, if, after’, as in (i), *rvt* ‘because, in order to’, *n̄ng* ‘purpose, comitative’, or *nì(nō)* ‘if, when, as’ without the subordinate clause being nominalized (see LaPolla 2006 for more examples).

(i) *ò yādō n̄nlōng kèní nō, vbaq ílōngē, àngkè í lōngē.* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:166-7)
 ò yā-dō n̄n-lōng **kèní** nō [vbaq]_{CC} í-lōng-ē [àng-kè]_{CC} í-lōngē
 uh this-ADV done-DIR **from** TOP solid.thing be-DIR-N.PAST NFP-solid be-DIR-N.PAST
 ‘Uh, when it becomes cooked, (it) becomes a solid thing, (it) becomes a solid thing.’

⁹ 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 *tʃə-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).

¹⁰ The word *p̄n* ‘kind’ also functions in a way similar to *pà* in forming nouns: *v̄mlímp̄n* [eat+PUR+kind] ‘food’. Compare *v̄mlímp̄n tiq p̄p̄à* ‘some food’, *v̄mlímp̄n tiq̄p̄n̄p̄n* ‘some food’.

¹¹ 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.

4.8 *The purposive nominalizer -lvm*

The purposive nominalizer *-lvm* 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 line 1 of (15a), but are more often used adnominally, as in (15b), in the title of a Rawang literacy textbook given in (16), and in (17). Notice the use of *lvm* and *shvrá* (discussed above) together in (17).

(15) a. *Wē vshòm nī hōq bōy lúmrārisvng*

[wē vshòm nī] hōq [bōy lúmrā-rì]-svng
 that three day until festival people.who.come.to.the.festival-pl-LOC
 'The ones who came to participate in the celebration

àngkàng rapmí vmlvm aqlvm shvngbē dó yàngà.

àngkàng rvp-í **v̄m-l̄vm** **aq-l̄vm** shvngbē 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.'

b. *Dv̄mshà chv̄ngwàpè n̄ gwalvm, pèlvm, b̄vnlvm p̄vnrìí,*

dv̄mshà chv̄ngwà-pè n̄ [g^wá-l̄vm p^e-l̄vm b̄v̄n-l̄vm p̄v̄n-rì]-í
 damsha chief-MALE TOP **wear-PUR** **put.on-PUR** **wear(on.ear)-PUR** **kind-pl-INST**

dv̄gø dvcøpshì dá:ngí,

(LaPolla & Poa 2001: 11)

dv̄gø dvcøp-shì d̄v̄ng-í
 prepare adorn-R/M finish-ADV

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

(16) *Rvwàng Kàrū Shvngøtshìlvm Vtóng*

kà-rū shvngøt-shì-l̄vm vtóng
 word-write teach-R/M-**PUR** rules
Rules for Learning Literacy in Rawang (title of book)

(17) *Tvmá z̄vnglv̄m shvrà . . .*

(LaPolla & Poa 2001: 240)

tvmá z̄vng-l̄vm shvrà
 arrow put-**PUR** place
 The place to put the arrow . . .

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

(18) *Vm̄ò vd̄vm kèní tvnè vd̄vm taq v̄l l̄vmrvt vcíl yàngà,* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 21)

[vm̄ò vd̄vm kèní tvnè vd̄vm taq v̄l-l̄vm]-rvt vcíl yàng-à
 Ameu plain from human plain LOC live-**PUR-in.order.to** move TMyrs-T.PAST
 'They were moved from *Ameu-adam* in order to live in *Tane-adam*.'

- (19) *"Vǹ̀m ẁ̀n-l̀̀m vǹ̀mẁ̀nzà doq̀̀, " wā,* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 26)
 [vǹ̀m ẁ̀n-l̀̀m] vǹ̀m-ẁ̀n-zà doq̀̀-ì wā
 sun buy-PUR sun-buy-gold match.in.price-1plHORT HS
 "Let's collect the amount to buy the sun," (they) said.'

A purpose-marked clause followed by the copula can be used to express first person intention, as in (20):¹²

- (20) *D̀̀mshà-r̀̀-í shòn yà:ngà dāng k̀̀n-í kà dvha:tní.*
 [[[d̀̀mshà-r̀̀-í shòn yà:ng-à dāng] k̀̀n-í] [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 damsha says,

vm̀̀, gvm̀̀ ǹ̀ng dvm̀̀ wāwē ǹ̀ng vs̀̀ng tvnècè
 [vm̀̀ gvm̀̀ ǹ̀ng dvm̀̀ wā-wē] ǹ̀ng [vs̀̀ng tvnè-cè
 ameu gameu and dameu call/say-NOM and person human-son

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

A purpose-marked verb can also be followed by the auxiliary verb *d̀̀vn-ò-ē* 'intend, plan' (or *wāē* 'to do') to express the sense 'about to V'.

- (21) a. *À:ngí lègā vr̀̀l̀m dá:nòē.*
 àng-í lègā vr̀̀-l̀m d̀̀vn-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT letter write-PUR intend-3.TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 'He is about to write a letter.'
- b. *À:ngí yālòng v̀̀mpà v̀̀ml̀̀m dá:nòē.*
 àng-í yā-lòng v̀̀mpà v̀̀m-l̀̀m d̀̀vn-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT this-CL food eat-PUR intend-3.TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 'He's about to eat this food.'

4.9 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.¹³ The nominalized clause then 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".

¹² In line 2 of (20) is a headless relative clause. The assumed head would be something like *gvray* 'god'.

¹³ The origin of this form is unclear. The only other word I have found this morpheme in is *həqshaq* 'until, up to (placename)' (< *həqōē* 'arrive').

(22) 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 noun phrases representing the A and O arguments, and the marking is the same as in the unmarked clause, except where the noun phrase representing the O argument appears in topic position and is followed by the topic marker, as in (23b).¹⁴

(23) a. *(Ngà-í) (àng-svng) lègā shàríshaq íē.*
 ngà-í àng-svng 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) vdýngké shaq íē.*
 àng nō ngà-í v-dýng-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 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 (24) that it does not always have this sense.

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

¹⁴ In (23a) 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-*.

4.9. 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 . . .':

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

4.10 Nominalization by classifier or plural marker

Very often a clause will be nominalized by making it a relative clause with a classifier¹⁵ or the plural marker (which possibly derives from a classifier, cf. *àngrī* 'bundle (e.g. of hemp plant)', *tíq-rì* [one-pl] 'some') as the head, as in (26)-(29). In (28) the male human gender marker/classifier, *pè*¹⁶ 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. *dámshà wā-pè mvshól* [shaman.work do-MALE story] 'story of the man who did shaman work'.

- (26) 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-3.TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
'I remember things like that.'
- c. *nàí èshò:nòrì* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:134)
[nà-í è-shòn-ò-**rì**]
2sg-AGT N.1-say-3.TR.N.PAST-**pl**
'the things you say'

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ 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 *ηà* '1sg pronoun' (< PST **ηa*) and *ηā* 'fish' (< PST **nya*); see Matisoff 1995 on palatal suffixes in PST).

d. *àngkwv̄ng wāshì mvyó-rì nō, àngkwv̄ng wāshìē.*
 [àng-kwv̄ng wā-shì mvyó-**rì**] nō àng-kwv̄ng wā-shì-ē
 NFP-round make-R/M want-**pl** TOP NFP-round make-R/M-N.PAST
 Those who want round ones (houses) build round ones. (Interview, p. 12)

(27) *Shóngcit wēdō Rvwangrì í v̄m ỳngshà-rì,*
 shóngcit wē-dō [Rvwang-rì-í v̄m ỳngshà-**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 ỳng-à wē] wē-rì gō è-shò-n-ò
 WH-ADV make TMyrs-T.PAST NOM that-pl also N.1-say-3.TR.N.PAST
 also tell us about the making of those things.'

(28) *Ch̀ngn̄ngpè nō, c̄vnshì wē vní-pè wāpè íē.* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:3)
 ch̀ngn̄ng-**pè** nō [[[c̄vn-shì wē] vní-**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.'

(29) *"Vn̄ng" wā b̀ng gō*
 [vn̄ng wā b̀ng] gō
 Anang say name also
 'The name Anang also,

ǹm̄lat gō taq r̄vmshì n̄ngshì daqì gō írvt,
 [ǹm̄lat 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,

"Vn̄ng" wā b̀ng dènī dèyaq gō wēdōnī lá:ngìē.
 [vn̄ng wā b̀ng] dènī dèyaq gō wē-dōnī líng-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. Adjectivization

I have not found any examples of adjectivization in Rawang other than by adding the copula to property concepts represented by nouns.

6. Adverbialization

Adverbials are mainly formed in two ways: by adding one of the adverbial markers or reduplicating the form. The adverbial markers are (in order of productivity as adverb markers) *-dō*, *-wā*, *-kū*, and *-í*. The latter is the instrumental an agentive marker, and is used for temporal adverbs as well.

- (30) *Rvshàdǝ v̄mē.*
 rvshà-**dǝ** v̄m-ē
 monkey-ADV eat-N.PAST
 'He eats like a monkey.' (he eats monkey-like)
- (31) *Shvwí íd̀v̀ngwā dīē.*
 [shvwí í-d̀v̀ng-**wā**] dī-ē
 bear be-like-ADV go/walk-N.PAST
 'He walks like a bear.'
- (32) *Ngà ǹv̀ng àng tiq̄dǝ r̀ungshìē.*
 ngà ǹv̀ng àng **tiq̄-dǝ** r̀ung-shì-ē
 1sg COM 3sg **one-ADV** sit-dl-N.PAST
 'He and I are sitting together.' (sitting 'onely')
- (33) *àng vpándǝ v̄mē.*
 àng **vpán-dǝ** v̄m-ē
 3sg **fast-ADV** eat-N.PAST
 'He eats fast.'
- (34) *shvrìgōí nḡvrwā ỳv̀ngbǝà kv̄t,* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 33-34)
 shvrì-gō-í **nḡvr-wā** ỳv̀ng-bǝ-à kv̄t
 barking.deer-CL-AGT **notice-ADV** see-PFV-T.PAST time
 when the barking deer noticed (noticingly saw) it,
- (35) *D̀v̀mshà-rì-í sh̀n yà:ngà dāng kèní kà dv̄ha:tní.* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:18)
 [[d̀v̀mshà-rì-í sh̀n yàng-à dāng kèní] [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,
- v̄mǝ, ḡv̄mǝ ǹv̀ng d̄v̄mǝ wāwē ǹv̀ng vs̀v̀ng tv̄nècè*
 [v̄mǝ ḡv̄mǝ ǹv̀ng d̄v̄mǝ wā-wē] ǹv̀ng [vs̀v̀ng tv̄nè-cè
 ameu gameu and dameu call/say-NOM and person human-son
- būng ráì dāng àngdōng k̄ sh̀nl̄v̄m íē.*
 būng rá-ì dāng]] **àng-dōng-k̄** sh̀n-l̄v̄m í-ē
 originate DIR-IP regarding **PREF-short-ADV** say-PUR be-N.PAST
 regarding ameu, gameu and dameu and the beginning of man in short (version).'
- (36) *Ādǝ ǹngmaqsv̀ngó sh̀nḡontshàkū èsh̄h̄:nò,* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133)
 ā-dǝ [ǹng-maq-s̀v̀ng-ó è-sh̄v̀nḡont-shà-**kū**] è-sh̀n-ò
 this-ADV 1pl-pl-LOC-COM N.1-teach-1pl-ADV N.1-say-3.TR.N.PAST
 Tell us like (you were) teaching us,

- (37) *Àngdvtvng àngdvtvng nàí èshò:nòrì shvngbē tǒpnì tǒprāng,*
 [[**àng-dvtvng àng-dvtvng**] nà-í è-shòn-ò-rì] shvngbē tǒpnì tǒprāng
 NFP-step NFP-step 2sg-AGT N.1-say-TNP-pl all in.detail complete
 What you say step by step all should be in detail and complete

cvmrérìsvng nàí shèngø:ntnò būnzàn írà íè.
 [cvmré-rì-svng nà-í è-shvngønt-ò būnzàn] í-rà í-ē
 child-pl-LOC 2sg-AGT N.1-teach-TNP pattern/method be-must be-NP
 in the pattern of you teaching children. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133)

- (38) *àngdōng àngdōng tutshàì nǒ,*
àng-dōng àng-dōng tut-shà-ì nǒ
 NFP-section NFP-section cut-R/M-1pl PS
 we cut it section by section, (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 135)

- (39) *yuquyqyà yà vllvrmvt,*
yuquyqyà yà vll-ív-m-rvt
conveniently live-PUR-for
 . . . in order to live conveniently, . . . (Interview, p. 14)

Aside from these two ways, there are some cases where nouns representing property concepts can be used with an adverbial sense before a verb, as in (40),

- (40) *ādòngsvng vdòngsvng kǒt èngǒ:mò nìnǒ*
 ā-dòngsvng vdòng-svng **kǒt** è-ngǒm-ò nì-nǒ
 this-inside-LOC inside-LOC **bent** N.1-bend-TNP if-TOP
 if you bend (your body) and put (your head) down (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 245)

There is at least one case where there seems to have been derivation by tone change: *té* ‘more’, from *tēwē* ‘big’, as in *té è-rà:mò* [more N.1-add-TNP] ‘add a bit more’, and in (41).

- (41) *té shvlādō wāshìlvrmvt nǒ*
 té shvlā-dō wā-shì-ív-m-rvt nǒ
 more good-ADV do/make-R/M-PUR PS
 to make (the house) more comfortable and nicer, (Interview, p. 14)

The purpose nominalizer *-lvm* is also involved in the creation of at least one adverbial form: *pà-wà-lvm* [what-do-PUR] ‘why’.

7. Summary and discussion

We have seen that there are no adjectivizing constructions, one verbalizing construction, a few adverbializing constructions, but many nominalizing constructions in Rawang. In terms of the use of nominalizations in Rawang, nominalizations can be used as arguments and as a relativization strategy, 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. Nominalization can also be of whole clauses which represent assumed information and function as subordinate clauses. In other cases, it seems the nominalized clause is in focus and acting as a predicate itself, but the situation is similar to what Watters (2006) talked 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.¹⁷

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 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 nominalizers¹⁸ (with the clauses so nominalized optionally modifying other noun heads), and has led to the variety of specific nominalizers we find in Rawang.¹⁹

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 in Sino-Tibetan languages 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 often 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 reconstructing earlier stages the form may be the same as the modern form, but the function might be different. For example in this case I would argue that what we reconstruct is a relative clause structure, not a nominalization structure, even though they have the same structure, as it is the former that developed the function of the latter.

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)²⁰ and possibly *wa* in Singpho (Morey 2006).

¹⁷ 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).

¹⁸ This is very similar to the development of noun classifiers from nouns.

¹⁹ 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).

²⁰ Herring suggests (1991: 66) that such forms arise from a resumptive pronoun: "banana eating *one* (boy)". This is an interesting suggestion, but I don't know how such a pronoun would work, unless what is meant is replacive, rather than resumptive pronoun.

In terms of the general issues brought up in the position paper (Aikhenvald 2007), we find the data from Rawang support, or at least do not refute, the generalizations given: (I) derivations apply only to open classes; (II) there are no analytic alternatives to nominalizations; (III) adjectives generally do not modify verbs; and there are a number of adverbializing constructions; (IV) the verbs that are created by adding the verbal morphology act like normal verbs, whereas not all nominals created by nominalization have the full set of properties of nouns; (V) Rawang has both dependent marking and head marking, and strongly favours nominalization. Of the further hypotheses mentioned in the position paper, only one is relevant to Rawang, and is supported by the data, as the result of adding verbal morphology to a noun seems to create a causative or inchoative form ('make wings', 'become ripe').

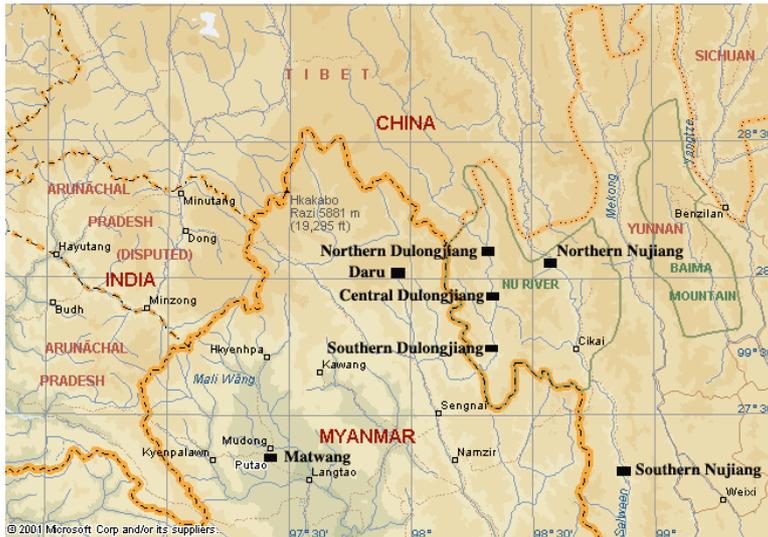
Abbreviations

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	O	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
PUR	purposive nominalizer	TNP	alternate abbreviation for 3rd person transitive non- past marker (to save space)
INTR	intransitivizing prefix	TMyrs	marker of remote past
I.PAST	3rd person intransitive past marker	TOP	topic marker
LOC	locative marker (also used for dative, purpose)	TR.PAST	transitive past marker

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Northernmost tip of Myanmar (above), with Matwang area marked in lower left.

