Word-class-changing Derivations in Rawang

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1. Introduction

Rawang (Rvwang \[rə'waŋ\]) 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

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¹This paper builds on, and includes, examples and discussion presented in LaPolla 2000, 2002 and 2006.
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. Vpungen lēgā '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’, shōngshāng ‘separate’, dvshā ‘difficult, poor’, krvk ‘perfect’, and tōng ‘hard’, which require the copula to be predicative.

- Some nouns are compounds made up of Noun + Noun (e.g. tirvmē [water+river] ‘river); Verb (or Noun + Verb) + Noun (e.g. āptī [drink+water] 'drinking water', yūngra všīmcē [vegetables+cut sword+DIM] 'food chopper', yōpgu [sleep+bed] 'bed', laqtūn dvsē jvk [clothes sew machine] 'sewing machine'); Noun + Verb (e.g. gōbām [head+to wrap] 'turban', juaq vnīm [waist+to wrap around] 'belt, girdle, tishū [water+boil] 'hot (boiled) water', rīngsōm [floor+sweep] 'broom', ngūnhwām [sweat+fan(v.)] 'fan(n.)'); Verb + Noun + Classifier (e.g. chōmpōn [put into+shield (vt.)] 'shoes', rūngvdīŋ [sit+stuck] 'chair'); Noun + Classifier (e.g. chōmāng [house+CL(long object)] 'longhouse', shōngdām [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: ngā-ô [1sg-poss] 'mine'. 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>
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<th>singular</th>
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<td>kū-(lōng)</td>
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<td>kā-rī</td>
<td>kā-yēng</td>
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<td>kā-pēn</td>
<td>kā-dō</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kā-pā ‘what’</td>
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- 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).

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2 Most of these compounds are used with the verb that also forms part of the compound, e.g. gōbām bāmshīē ‘wrap one's head in a turban', juaq vnīm vnīshīē ‘wrap a belt around one's waist', ngūnhwām hwāmshīē ‘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’.
• 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, -ři, can follow the noun directly, e.g. lègã-ři, 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. lègã  bok-ní  
  book  CL(books)-dl  
  'the two books'

b. lègã  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  lègã-ři  
  1sg  book-pl  
  'my books'

b. ngà  lègã  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. gõ ‘also’, vrá ‘again’, topn̄i toprâŋ ‘completely and in detail’, wā ‘only’, shvṅbē ‘all’, gvzā ‘very/so’, gāi ‘very’, tē ‘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. ngõē 'to cry') and the intransitive past tense marker (-j) in past forms (with third person argument); they can be used transitively only when they take valency-increasing morphological marking (causative, benefactive).4

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4 Some stative intransitive verbs can take an oblique argument marked by the locative/dative marker sîng, e.g. svrē 'to be afraid', where the stimulus is marked as an oblique argument:
Adjectives take the nominalizer we 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 (ā) plus the non-past affirmative/declarative particle (ē) in non-past forms (e.g. rēqē 'to carry (something)') and the transitive past tense marker (-ē) 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 (ēmōq / ēmē 'to eat'). There are both S=O type and S=A type ambitransitives. With the S=O type, (e.g. gzēqē 'be broken, destroyed' ~ gzēqēqē '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.

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-ē [wall put.up.wall-3.TR.N.PAST-N.PAST] 'put up
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. shvrôm rôm-shi-č
    longgyi wear.longyi-R/M-N.PAST
    ‘wear a (Rawang-style) longgyi’

       b. naqdô dô-shi-č
    trousers wear.trousers-R/M-N.PAST
    ‘wear trousers’

       c. waqhâm hâm-shi-č
    fence put.up.fence-R/M-N.PAST
    ‘put up a fence’

       d. lỳngdûn dûn-đë
    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 naqdô ‘trousers’ in (5b), the first syllable is ‘black’, in waqhâm ‘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 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. (ang)chër chërë ‘make wings’, shôm shômë ‘The shôm (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)  Tôngwà svmîtaq svmîtaq âdô  (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 244)
    tông-wà svmî-taq svmî-taq â-dô
    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 lîmrà ‘dancing place’ (< lîmè ‘dance’), derives from the noun shvrà ‘place’. The full form can also be used for the nominalizing function, as in lîm shvrà ‘dancing place’. Other examples are yôprà ‘(one’s) usual sleeping place’ (this word has a less specific meaning than yôpgû ‘bed’; there is also a form yôprâ ‘inn, temporary sleeping place’ with a changed tone -râ > -râ), and rûngrà ‘sitting place’ (< rûngë ‘sit’; note the tone change). This form can in some instances also be used adnominally, e.g. gôngrà hwâng [enter+place hole] ‘threshold’. 
4.2 The agentive nominalizer -shù
The agentive nominalizer -shù creates agentive nominals where the person involved normally does the action as a job or regular activity.5 Compare RÚNGSHù `one who sits (a retired person)' and RÚNGGò [sit+CL(people)] `the one sitting'. Other examples are KÀ WVÁLSHù [word divide+person] `mediator', LÈGÀ ÈVNGSHù [letter/book take+person] `postman', ZÀYWÀ WÀSHù [song/hymn sing+person] `(professional) singer', MVKùN SÀOSHù [song lead+person] `one who leads the singing', and DVZÀRSHù `helper' (< dvzívròè `send', with change of vowel). This form can occasionally be used adnominally, e.g. DVZÀRSHù VSÀNGRì `people who are helpers', and can take the gender and plural markers, e.g. DVZÀRSHùPÈ `male helper', DVZÀRSHùRì `helpers'.

4.3 The nominalizing prefix àng-
The nominalizing prefix àng- (< Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ñy-; = 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.)' (< dálì `to be foolish'), àngwvm `lid' (< wvmòè `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 àngti `liquid' (< tì `water'), and on classifiers, e.g. àngchìngnì `the trucks' (< chìng `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 vngò `one who cries easily' (< ngò `to cry'; note the tone change) and vkò `thief' (< kòè / kòòè `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 dvshì `a spirit who can make you die' (< dvshì `cause to die'), and vỳà `lier' (< vỳàè `to lie'). This seems not to be productive.

4.6 The nominalizer wè
The most general nominalizer in Rawang derives from the distal demonstrative wè, 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 wè, 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

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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. Mvnuqlông wā ेविम nong wē ىما? (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 176)
   [mvnuq-lông wā े-्विम nong wē] ى-ما?
   shoot-cl. only N.1-eat 2pl NOM be-Q
   'Is it only the shoots that you eat?'

b. Vdő diwē dvīc nō, Vpūng nō mv-di.
   [Vdő di-wē] dv-i-ę nō Vpūng nō mv-di
   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 diwē dvīc nō . . .
   [zung-kaq di-wē] dv-i-ę nō
   school-LOC go-NOM CFP-be-N.PAST TOP
   'He's going to school (not anywhere else)'

d. ًāngí lēgā riowē dvīc nō . . .
   [āng-ı lēgā ū-₀-wē] dv-i-ę 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. ًāng di bōwē iē.
   [āng di bō-₀-wē] i-ę
   3sg go PFV-1.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
   '(Yes,) He went.'

f. Vpūng nō Vdői vdirōwē iē.
   Vpūng nō [Vdő-ı vdir-₀-wē] i-ę
   PN TOP PN-AGT hit-3.TR.N.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
   'Vpung was hit by Vdeu.'

g. Vdő nō ًāngí dvtōm-ō-wē iē.
   Vdő nō [āng-ı dvtōm-₀-wē] i-ę
   PN TOP 3sg-AGT delay-3.TR.N.PAST-NOM be-N.PAST
   'Vdō 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 kū kënî nô, sỳng gvbà mà-gvbà wëdô gwaq nô,*
*Rvwàng kū kënî nô [sỳng gvbà] [mv-gvbà] wë-dô gwaq nô*  
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,  
raqô kënî nô yâ:ngô, gô té gô mv-të, wëmô wâ yâ:ngà wë. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 224)  
raq-ô kënî nô yɔŋ-ô [gô té gô mv-ô] wë-mô wâ yâ:ng-à wë  
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 shông nînô, nvngwà zî-ô kënî mv-shá câng gô lô nô,*  
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,  
zâgô bânlîm ìwë. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 9)  
[zâ-gô bân-lîm] ì-wë  
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) *Nîmbông wâ rái wëî shônggùng ngaq ráà.*  
[nîmbông wâ rá-i wë]-î shônggùng 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 wë 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) *ång dîwë nô, ngà mv-dông.*  
[ång dî-wë] nô [ngà mv-dî-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 adverbial clause can be nominalized with wē and take the comitative marker -ó. (e.g. gōngrái wēó ‘Just as he entered . . .’; Lit: ‘With his entering . . .’).  

4.7 The classifier and instrumental/objective nominalizer -pā
The noun pā 'thing, what, anything' also functions as a classifier and a suffix-like instrumental/objective nominalizer. As the latter it creates nominals that refer to the undergoer of the action (sometimes appearing with the purposive nominalizer lvm), as in lvpā 'rice' (< lmvō ‘eat’; also lvmvpā [eat+PUR+NOM] ‘food’) and ntvpā 'cooked vegetables (that go along with rice)' (< nvpō ‘to go along with’), or the instrument used for the action, as in ngōngòpā (or ngōnglvmpā or ngōngpā) 'steelyard, scale' (< ngōngōdē ‘weigh’), toqtip lvpā [speak+spoken PUR+NOM] 'telephone', and kāzvpnpā [word+record+NOM] or kātvvpā [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 -pā or not, as with 'scale' above, and vhōlmvpā [laugh+PUR+NOM] or vhōvpā 'joke, jest; i.e. something to laugh at'. The form pā is also in the interrogative form kā-pā 'what'. As a classifier it is used for general 'things', e.g. cīq pā-pā [one CL-CL] 'some things'. When pā 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 . . .':

(13) àŋg di ām-í pā i-ē.
   [àŋg di ām-í pā] i-ē
   3sg go DIR-I.PAST thing be-N.PAST
   'I guess he left.'

(14) à:ngi dvg ap-pa pā i-ē.
   [àŋg-í dvg ap-à pā] i-ē
   3sg-AGT finish DIR-TR.PAST thing be-N.PAST
   'I guess he finished it.'

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

(i) ò yādō nōn-lōŋ kēnǐ nō, vbaq i-lōŋgē, āngkē i lōŋgē.
   (LaPolla & Poa 2001:166-7)
   ò yā-dō nōn-lōŋ kēnǐ nō [vbaq]CC i-lōŋgē [āng-kē]CC i-lōŋgē
   uh this-ADV done-DIR from TOP solidething 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 tʃa-pa? 'what', sa-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-agent 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 pvn ‘kind’ also functions in a way similar to pā in forming nouns: lvmvmpvn [eat+PUR+kind] ‘food’. Compare lvmvmpvn tū̆ pāpā ‘some food’, vmlvmpā tū̆vpvn ‘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. Wë vshôm nî hóq bôy lûmrârisvng
[wë vshôm nî] hóq [bôy lûmrâ-ri]-sûng
that three day until festival people.who.come.to.the.festival-pl-LOC
'The ones who came to participate in the celebration

àngkàng ra:pmí ímlvm aqlvm shvngbê dó yàngà.
àngkàng rvp-í ím-lvm aq-lvm shvngbê 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. Dîmshâ chîngwâ-pê nô gwâlvm, pêlvm, bûnlvm pûnriî,
dîmshâ chîngwâ-pê nô [gwâ-lvm pê-lvm bûn-lvm pûn-ri]-í
 damsha chief-MALE TOP wear-PUR put.on-PUR wear(on.ear)-PUR kind-pl-INST

dvgô dvcôşpì hÎdângí, (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 11)
dvgô dvcôp-shî dîng-í
prepare adorn-R/M finish-ADV
'After the damsha had prepared and adorned himself by putting on various clothes, equipment, and earrings, . . .

(16) Rvwâng Kàrû Shvngotshîlvm Vtông
kà-rû shvngot-shî-lvm vtông
word-write teach-R/M-PUR rules
Rules for Learning Literacy in Rawang (title of book)

(17) Tvmá zînglvùn shvrâ . . . (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 240)
tvmá zîng-lvûn shvrâ
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) Vmô vdm këni tvnë vdvm taq âl lîvrmvtvcìl yàngà, (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 21)
[vmô vdm këni tvnë vdvm taq âl-[lvm]-rvt vcìl 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.'
A purpose-marked clause followed by the copula can be used to express first person intention, as in (20):\(^{12}\)

(20) \textit{Dvmshāri shōn yā:ngā dāng kēnī kā dvha:mnī.}  

[[\textit{dvmshā-ri-i} shōn yā:ng-ā dāng] kēnī] [kā dvha-\textit{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,

\textit{vmō, gvmō nṅg dvmō wāwē nṅg vsṅg tynècē}  

[\textit{vmō gvmō nṅg dvmō wā-wē}] nṅg [vsṅg tynè-cē]  
amen gameu and damen call/say-NOM and person human-son

\textit{būng rā-ī dāng ąngdōng kū sḥōn-lvm ī.}  

\textit{būng rā-ī dāng]} ąng-dōng-kū \textit{shōn-lvm} \textit{ī-ē}  
originating DIR-IP regarding \textit{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 \textit{dvṅōē} ‘intend, plan’ (or \textit{wāē} ‘to do’) to express the sense 'about to V'.

(21) a. \textit{A:ngī lēgā vrūlvm dā:nōē.}  

\textit{āng-ī} lēgā vrū-\textit{lvm} dvin-ō-ē  
3sg-AGT letter write-PUR intend-3.TR.N.PAST-N.PAST  
'He is about to write a letter.'

b. \textit{A:ngī yālōng āmpā vmlvm dā:nōē.}  

\textit{āng-ī} yā-lōng āmpā vml-\textit{vm} dvin-ō-ē  
3sg-AGT this-CL food eat-PUR intend-3.TR.N.PAST-N.PAST  
'He's about to eat this food.'

\textbf{4.9 Intransitivization and nominalization by v-\textit{shaq}}

This construction is formed by adding the intransitivizing prefix \textit{v-} before the verb and the nominalizer \textit{-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 \textit{gvray} ‘god’.

\(^{13}\) The origin of this form is unclear. The only other word I have found this morpheme in is \textit{hoqshaq} ‘until, up to (place-name)’ (< \textit{hoqōē} ‘arrive’).
(22) a. *Shé nô vdûshaq iê.*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{shé} & \text{nô} \\
v-dû-shaq & \text{iê} \\
gold & \text{TOP} \\
\text{INTR-dig-PERF} & \text{be-N.PAST} \\
\end{array}
\]

'The gold is dug.' Morse (1965:353)

b. *Lègâ nô vrîshaq iê.*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{lègâ} & \text{nô} \\
v-rî-shaq & \text{iê} \\
\text{book} & \text{TOP} \\
\text{INTR-carry-PERF} & \text{be-N.PAST} \\
\end{array}
\]

'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-i) (âng-svng) lègâ shârîshaq iê.*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ngà-i} & \text{âng-svng} \\
lègâ & \text{shv-rî-shaq} \\
1\text{sg-AGT} & \text{3sg-LOC} \\
\text{book} & \text{CAUS-INTR-carry-PERF} \\
\text{be-N.PAST} & \\
\end{array}
\]

'Books have already been sent (to him) (by me).'</n

b. *âng nô (ngài) vdvngkê shaq iê.*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{âng} & \text{nô} \\
ngà-i & \text{v-dvng-kê-shaq} \\
3\text{sg} & \text{TOP} \\
1\text{sg-AGT} & \text{INTR-finish-eat(defeat)-PERF} \\
\text{be-N.PAST} & \\
\end{array}
\]

'He has already been defeated (by me).'</n

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) *Wërvt vyô nô âkvt gô ū vrîshaq iê.*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wë-rvt} & \text{vyô} \\
nô & \text{âkvt} \\
gô & \text{û} \\
v-rî-shaq & \text{iê} \\
\text{that-because bumble.bee} & \text{TOP} \\
\text{now also water} & \text{INTR-carry-PERF} \\
\text{be-N.PAST} & \\
\end{array}
\]

'Therefore, the bumble bees have been carrying water until now.'

---

\(^{14}\) In (23a) the basic verb is *rìôè '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 pā, expressing ‘probably . . .’, ‘maybe’ . . .’, or ‘might have . . .’:

(25) èng tuq-am nā ēi.
   [èng tuq-ām nā] i-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. ângri ‘bundle (e.g. of hemp plant), tuq-ī (one-pl) ‘some’) as the head, as in (26)-(29). In (28) the male human gender marker/classifier, pē16 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, rōyŋg, is a nominalization of the word for ‘to count’, rōōg, by the classifier for sections, yōŋg, lit. ‘sections which are counted’. Such a nominalization can also be used to modify other nouns, e.g. dāmshā wā-pē mvshōl [shaman.work do-MALE story] ‘story of the man who did shaman work’.

(26) a. shōng vdōng rūm īlōng
   [shōng vdōng-rūm ī-lōng] tree inside-inside be-CL
   ‘the thing that is inside the tree’

   (LaPolla & Poa 2001:152)

   b. wēdō īrī dvēyng-drē.
   ‘I remember things like that.’

   (LaPolla & Poa 2001:163-4)

   c. nāi ēshō:nōrī
   [nā-i ē-shōn-ō-rī] 2sg-AGT N.1-say-3.TR.N.PAST-pl
   ‘the things you say’

   (LaPolla & Poa 2001:134)

---

15 This includes some nouns that are at the same time classifiers, e.g. nōng ‘year’, pān ‘kind’, and kvō ‘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 āng di rāi nōng [3sg come DIR-L.PAST year] ‘the year he came’, we could not add wē after the relative clause.

16 This form, plus the female gender form, mē, seem to derive from the Proto-Sino-Tibetan forms *pā ‘father, male’ and *ma ‘mother’ plus a palatal suffix of unknown meaning (cf. the corresponding Dulong forms pēi ~ pāi and mēi ~ māi; the usual reflex of PST *-a is Rawang -a, as in ngā ‘1sg pronoun’ (< PST *nā) and gā ‘fish’ (< PST *nyā); see Matirossian 1995 on palatal suffixes in PST).
(27) 

Shòngcit wèdō Rwangri í vm yìngshàrì. 

shòngcit wê-dō [Rwáng-rí-i í vm yìng-shà-rí] 

sheungsit that-ADV Rawang-pl-AGT eat TMyrs-1plPAST-pl 

'Things) like sheungsit (that) we Rawangs used to eat, 

kādō wà yà:ngà wē wèrì gō ēshó:nò. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133) 

[kā-dō wà yàng-ā wē] wē-rì gō ē-shòn-ō 

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) Chìngnìngpè nò, cènshi wē vnìpè wāpè iê. (LaPolla & Poa 2001:3) 

chìngnìng-pè nò [[[cènshi wē] vní-pè] wā-pè] i-ē 

changnang-MALE TOP learn-R/M NOM two-MALE say-MALE be-N.PAST 

'Changnang is the one called the second learner.' 

(29) "Vnüŋ" wā bông gō 

[vnüŋ wā bông] gō 

Anang say name also 

'The name Anang also, 

ñìmlat gō taq rümshi ñìngshi daqi gō írvt, 

[ñìmlat gō taq rüm-shi ñìng-shi daq-i gō]ìrvt 

the.first CL. LOC add-R/M accompany-R/M DIR-L.PAST CL(humans) be-because 

because (she) is one added to the first born as company, 

"Vnüŋ" wā bông dènī dèyaq gō wèdònì lā:ngiê. 

[vnüŋ wā bông] dènī dèyaq gō wē-dònì lificação-iê 

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 -i. The latter is the instrumental an agentive marker, and is used for temporal adverbs as well.
Tell us like (you were) teaching us,
this—
---
gbarking.deer
shvr
shvr
aHeTeatsTfastha
ng
ang
\[d
D
when the barking deer noticed (noticingly saw) it,
1sg
COM
3sg
one-ADV
sit-dl-N.PAST
'He and I are sitting together.' (sitting ‘onely’)

He walks like a bear.'
Shvw|îk|îd
'He eats like a monkey.'

regarding ameu, gameu and dameu and the beginning of man in short (version).'

originate
b
vm
Shaman
[\[d
D

Tell us like (you were) teaching us,
(37)  Angdvtvng angdvtvng nåi ĕshò:nòri ĕshvbē tōpjì tōpprāng,  
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.

cvmrērisvng nåi shĕngò:ntnò bùnzàn írà ĕ.  
[cvmrē-ri-svng nà-i è-shvngônt-ô bùnzàn] írà í-ĕ  
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)  āngdōng āngdōng tutshài nò,  
āng-dōng āng-dōng tut-shà-ĭ nò  
NFP-section NFP-section cut-R/M-1pl PS  
we cut it section by section, (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 135)

(39)  yuqyuqyàyà ĕllômrvnt,  
yuqyuqyàyà ĕll-îvm-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)  ādōngsvng vnélsvng kôt ĕngû:mò nînô  
ā-dōngsvng vnél-svng kôt ĕ-ngûm-ô nî-nô  
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 ē-rà:mô [more N.1-add-TNP] ‘add a bit more’, and in (41).

(41)  té shvlādô wâshîrûrvnt nõ  
té shvlâ-dô wâ-shî-lîvm-rvt nõ  
more good-ADV do/make-R/M-PUR PS  
to make (the house) more comfortable and nicer, (Interview, p. 14)

The purpose nominalizer -lîvm is also involved in the creation of at least one adverbial form: pâ-wâ-lîvm [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.\(^\text{17}\)

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 nominalizers\(^\text{18}\) (with the clauses so nominalized optionally modifying other noun heads), and has led to the variety of specific nominalizers we find in Rawang.\(^\text{19}\)

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 -ô in Angami and Lotha (Herring 1991)\(^\text{20}\) and possibly wa in Singhpo (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 vegetarians 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 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. əŋ 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 mean 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.I 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
1.PAST 3rd person intransitive past marker
TOP topic marker
LOC locative marker (also used for dative, purpose)
TR.PAST transitive past marker

References


Watters, David E. 2006. Nominalization in Himalayish Languages. ms. RCLT.
Northernmost tip of Myanmar (above), with Matwang area marked in lower left.