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LAHU NOMINALIZATION, RELATIVIZATION, AND GENITIVIZATION

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INTRODUCTION

James McCawley is reputed to have said a while ago that if one were to penetrate deeply enough into the workings of English grammar one could come up with the answers to "all questions of interest for linguistic theory" without bothering to look at any other languages. Presumably, McCawley meant that to plumb the depths of any single language—whether English, Yiddish, or Lahu—would provide us with all the answers. Yet even this modified claim is false, as this paper is partly intended to demonstrate. In fact, we would like to lodge a counterclaim: Any language, if studied deeply enough, will supply us with new insights into questions of general theoretical interest; and some of these, at least, will be questions that could not possibly have been raised from the study of other languages.

Lahu is a language of southeast Asia belonging to the Lolo-Burmese family of the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan. I have been working on Lahu and related languages since 1965, with fieldtrips to Thailand in 1965–1966 and 1970. The most intriguing and exasperating word in Lahu is the particle *ve*, which serves not only as the marker of genitive constructions and relative clauses, but also as a clause nominalizer. These are construction types that may not at first

seem to be particularly closely related in languages like English. However, once the connection has been pointed out for a language in which it is obvious and overt, parallel phenomena can be discovered in other languages [see pp. 254–256], and we are challenged to find some theoretical basis for the relationship. We shall observe that in other languages where there is an overt connection between *nominalization* and relative-genitive constructions, there is a strong tendency to treat whole sentences as nounlike objects.

LAHU NOMINALIZATION BY MEANS OTHER THAN VE

Lahu has a rich array of devices for converting clauses into nounlike structures that can then be embedded into larger sentences. These devices are nominalizing particles that are postposed to the clause. All of them except *ve* have clear-cut meanings, and present no particular problems of analysis.

A Lahu clause is defined as a VP plus any (perhaps zero) preceding NPs that are associated with it [LG 2.1].¹ A structure is functioning as a noun if it may be followed by a member of the class of noun-particles (P_n s), crucially the accusative P_n *thà^p* [LG 3.8].

Agentive Nominalizations [LG 6.13]¹: *pā, ma; šē-phā, šē-ma*

A clause may be turned into a noun of agent (“the clauser; the one who clauses”) by one of several particles, most productively by *pā*. Thus:

- (1) *qhō-qhō-lò-qhō | mā tā^p e gā*
 ‘(They) don’t want to climb up into the hills.’²
- (2) *{{qhō-qhō-lò-qhō | mā tā^p e gā pā} | qò^p e phè^p ve}yò*
 ‘Those who don’t want to climb up into the hills
 may go home.’

Sentence (2) as a whole is nominalized by the *ve* at the end (see p. 246). Despite the relative clause in the English gloss, the embed-

¹ Bracketed references are to the author’s “Lahu Grammar,” to appear in the series University of California Publications in Linguistics.

² To obviate somewhat the need for tedious interlinear glosses, the following diagrammatic conventions are used: a solid vertical line (X | Y) separates a NP from a VP; a broken vertical line separates two NPs belonging to the same clause (X | Y); a double vertical line separates two clauses conjoined in the same sentence (X || Y). Nominalized clauses are enclosed in braces, and relative clauses in square brackets. The diacritics over Lahu vowels are tone marks [LG 1.6].

ded clause is clearly functioning as a unitary derived noun: ‘the not-wanting-to-climb-up-into-the-hill-ers.’ This is obvious when the clause is of simpler structure, so that the English translation tends to be a single noun: *šā | bō^p* ‘shoot animals’/{*šā | bō^p pā*} ‘hunter’; *lò | lè^p* ‘ask to eat’/{*lò | lè^p pā*} ‘beggar’, etc.

Locative Nominalizations [LG 6.14]: *kì*

The particle *kì* has the power to convert a clause into a noun of location (‘the place where one clauses’):

- (3) *yō | yù tā*
 ‘He has taken (it).’
- (4) *khā^p thā^p | {yō | yù tā kī}ō | qò^p te ò*
 ‘(He) has already put the crossbow back where he had
 taken it from.’

In (4), the nominalized clause is followed by the locative P_n *ō*. When the *kī* clause is of simple enough structure, a single noun usually serves for an English translation: *mī* ‘sit’/{*mī kī*} ‘stool, chair’; *te cā* ‘cook’/{*te cā kī*} ‘kitchen’; *cha | hō* ‘sell one’s vulva’/{*cha | hō kī*} ‘brothel.’

Purposive Nominalizations [LG 6.15]: *tù*

The verb-particle *tù* indicates that the verbal event is hypothetical, unrealized, or future oriented. Often it is used to mark purpose clauses that are not nominalizations, but rather structures that stand in an adverbial relationship to the higher sentence. We diagram such clauses by enclosing them in inward-pointing arrows.

- (5) *{yà | → mā^p-pāw=šī | cā hō tù ← là ve}yò*
 ‘I’ve come to sell (my) coconuts.’

Sometimes, however, especially when the main verb is *cò* ‘have, be there,’ a *tù* clause functions as a noun of purpose (‘that which is for clausing; that which is to be claused’):

- (6) *ò-vi-ò-ni thā^p | qò^p qò^p lâ*
 ‘(I) am speaking once again to my brethren.’
- (7) *{{ò-vi-ò-ni thā^p | qò^p qò^p lâ tù}thō | cò šō ve}yò*
 ‘There are still things (for me) to say once again
 to (my) brethren.’

When the nominalized clause is simple enough, a single English noun is often the best translation: *câ* 'eat'/{*câ tù*} 'food'; *cì* | *šì^p* 'brush teeth'/{*cì* | *šì^p tù*} 'toothbrush'; *ğâ^p-mu* | *dô^p* 'hit chicken feathers'/{*ğâ^p-mu* | *dô^p tù*} 'badminton racquet.'

Temporal Nominalizations [LG 6.12]: *thâ*

The temporal particle *thâ* 'when' is often used to mark a non-nominalized clause that stands in an adverbial relationship to a higher sentence:

(8) *yô* | *šì e*
'He died.'

(9) *yô* | *šì e thâ* || *ğà* | *yâ-nè* | *phè^p šô*
'I was still a young man when he died.'

Sometimes, however, when the time in question is focused upon as the main center of interest in the sentence, rather than being an ancillary modifier of the verbal idea, a *thâ* clause may function as a temporal noun ('the time when clause'):

(10) {*yô* | *šì e thâ thâ^p* | *ğà* | *qha-dè^p dô-nô šô*
'I still clearly remember the time he died.'

In (10), the nominalized clause is followed by the accusative P_n *thâ^p*.

VE AS A SUBORDINATOR

Before going on to consider the role of *ve* as a nominalizer, it is time to examine its occurrences as a subordinator of modifying material to nounheads.

Genitival Subordination

Ve is regularly used to indicate that one nominal nucleus (*v*) is modifying another within the same NP in a genitival relationship [LG 3.7]. The possessor nucleus (v_p) precedes the possessed head (v_h); thus: *ğà ve mí-cho* 'my shoulder-bag'; *šì^p-cè ve ó-qô* 'the top of the tree'; *qhâ^p-še ve ó-qâ* 'the headman's buffalo'; *mâ^p-pâw-šì ve ó-qu* 'the shell of the coconut.'

Under certain favorable circumstances, particularly when the v_p is a pronoun, genitive *ve* may be deleted with no change in meaning [LG 3.75]: *ğà* □ *ò-mî-ma* 'my wife', *ğì-ša* □ *ò-bo* 'the grace of God'; *nò* □ *phâ* 'your dog.' The deleted constituent is symbolized by an empty box.

When the general context is clear, or to avoid repetition of a nucleus mentioned elsewhere in the discourse, the v_h may be deleted: $v_p + ve + v_h \rightarrow v_p + ve + \square$ [LG 3.76]. These residual structures still behave like nouns and may be followed by P_n s. They have the same semantic relationship to full genitive constructions that English pronominal expressions like *mine*, *yours*, and *Noam's* bear to their corresponding possessive adjectives plus noun (*my mango*, *your jackfruit*, *Noam's durian*). Thus:

(11) *ğà ve* □ | *nò ve* □ *a-ké* | *yè jâ*
'Mine is much longer than yours.'

Into the empty box one may freely stick any appropriate noun (*á-tà* 'stick', *nâ^p* 'rifle', *nî-qhè^p* 'penis').

Relative Subordination

A relative clause (RC) is embedded in a larger sentence in such a way that it modifies the particular noun of the sentence to which it is preposed. The marker of this subordination is *ve* [LG 6.4]:

(12) [*yâ^p-qo* | *jú qay ve*] *a-pi-qu chí* | *a-šu le*
 N_{rh}
'Who's this old lady that's walking along the road?'

(13) [*vâ^p qhe* | *chu ve*] *Pichô-pâ ô tê ġâ* | *nò ve ó-cho lâ*
'Is that Shan man over there who's fat as a pig your friend?'

(14) [*vâ^p-ó-qô thâ^p* | *cô tã ve*] *yâ-mî-ma lè* | *qhâ^p-še=ma yò*
'The woman who boiled the pig's head is the headman's wife.'

(15) [*qhâ^p-še=ma* | *cô tã ve*] *vâ^p-ó-qô* | *mè jâ*
'The pig's head the headman's wife boiled is yummy.'

The noun in the higher sentence that is modified by the RC is the relative head or N_{rh} (*a-pi-qu* 'old lady', *Pichô-pâ* 'Shan man', *yâ-mî-ma* 'woman', *vâ^p-ó-qô* 'pig's-head'). In general, when the verb of the RC is an intransitive action verb—like *jú qay* 'walk' in (12)—or an adjective—like *chu* 'be fat' in (13)—the N_{rh} is its underlying subject. When the verb of the RC is transitive—like *cô* 'boil' in (14–15)—the N_{rh} is either its underlying subject (14) or object (15). Sometimes there is ambiguity, when it makes sense to interpret the N_{rh} either as the subject or as the object of the RC: [*šì ve*] *cho thâ^p* | *tâ qô^p pí* (a) 'Don't tell (it) to the people who know (it)' [N_{rh} is subject]; (b) 'Don't tell (it) to the people (we) know' [N_{rh} is object]. In any case, no RC may contain a noun that is coreferential with the N_{rh} ; that is, the underlying

subject or object in the RC that is equivalent to the N_{rh} is obligatorily deleted on the surface.

So far, there is nothing very remarkable about the role of *ve* in these constructions. There is an obvious analogy between the possessor nuclei of genitive expressions and relative clauses. Both are structures that are semantically subordinate to a nounhead (ν_h or N_{rh}), and in fact, there are other languages where the same particle is used to mark both relationships. A notable case is the Mandarin *.de*, used both in genitives (*woo .de kuay.tz* 'my chopsticks'; *feiji .de chyan.tour* 'the front of the airplane') and in relative clauses (*[may | shu .de] ren_{Nrh}* 'the person who sells books'; *[tsorng Meei.gwo | lai .de] feiji* 'airplanes that come from America').

NOMINALIZING VE IN NONFINAL CLAUSES

Clauses in Lahu are either final or nonfinal. A final clause (Cl_f) is the last clause of its sentence. Simple sentences comprise a single (therefore final) clause. Nonsimple sentences contain at least one nonfinal clause (Cl_{nf}). A sentence is complex if it contains a Cl_{nf} embedded within the Cl_f , and compound if it has a Cl_{nf} conjoined to the Cl_f [LG 2.1]. The various types of Cl_{nf} s differ from one another and from Cl_f s with respect to the kinds of unrestricted particles that may follow them [LG 4.72, 5.43 et passim]. These details need not concern us here. However, it is convenient to begin our discussion of nominalizing *ve* with those cases where the *ve* clause is nonfinal, since it is here that its nounlike nature is most apparent to our alien eyes.

Embedded *ve* Clause Followed by a Noun Particle [LG 6.115]

The clearest cases are those where the *ve* clause is followed by a P_n -morphemes that otherwise occur only after natural nouns (or clauses nominalized by one of the particles discussed above, pp. 238–240). The P_n s that may occur after *ve* clauses are *pa-to* 'causal' and (more importantly) *thà^p* 'accusative.' Thus, analogously to (16)–(18), where natural nouns are marked by these P_n s, we have (19)–(21):

(16) *qhà^p-šē pa-to | he | tú mâ phè^p šē*
N P_n

'Because of the headman, (he) can't fire (his) fields yet.'

(17) *ò-šē thà^p | nò | mâ ġa mò lâ*
N P_n
'Didn't you see the blood?'

(18) *ò-mâ=ma thà^p | nò | mâ šī šē lâ*
N P_n

'Don't you know (his) wife yet?'

(19) *{yò | he | mâ ġa phò pà šē ve}pa-to | he | tú mâ phè^p šē*
'Due to the fact that he still hasn't finished clearing his fields, he can't fire them yet.'

(20) *{ò-šē | tó^p la ve}thà^p | nò | mâ ġa mò lâ*
'Didn't you see that blood was coming out?'

(21) *{yò ò-yâ=pâ | ò-mâ=ma | bà tù ve}thà^p | nò | mâ šī šē lâ*
'Don't you know yet that his son is going to divorce his wife?'

As the glosses indicate, the meaning of nominalizing *ve* is much more abstract than those of the other nominalizing particles (pp. 238–240 above). *Ve* adds nothing to the meaning of its clause other than the gift of nounhood itself, and is in fact as semantically colorless as the English complementizer *that*. For want of a better term, we may call *ve* an indicative nominalizer, understanding by this nothing more than the semantically unmarked nominalizer.

Ve Clause Not Followed by Any Particle [LG 5.21, 6.11].

Most of the time, the syntactic-semantic relationship of the nonfinal *ve* clause to the rest of its sentence is not signalled overtly by any particle, as in (22)–(27):

(22) *{nò-pa ve ò-khò | mâ na ve} | dà^p ve}lâ*
'Is it good not to listen to your father's advice?'

(23) *{ġà-hi thà^p | Kâlâ-phu-khò | mâ lâ chē ve} | ó-kì | cò jâ*
'(Your) continuing to teach us English is very important to us.'

(24) *{ġà nālī | mâ ġa ve} | nī chí minì^p | cò šō*
'It's twenty minutes to five' ('As for not reaching 5:00, there are still twenty minutes').

(25) *{nò kà^p | là ve} | ġà | ha-lè jâ*
'I'm very happy that you came too.'

(26) *{nò | í-kâ^p | ló pí ve} | ġà | mâ šī*
'I didn't know that you could swim.'

(27) *{yò ve khí-šē thà^p | pí | chē^p lâ ve} | yò | bə^p jâ cē*
'He got very angry at the mosquitoes' biting him on the feet.'

In all sentences of this type, it is possible to insert a topicalizing unrestricted particle after the *ve* clause. Furthermore, in sentences like (25)–(27), where the *ve* clause may alternatively be considered the object of the higher verb, the P_n *thà*^P may be inserted after it.

Where semantically appropriate, as in (23) or (27), the causal P_n *pa-to* may also freely be inserted ('Because of your continuing to teach us English, [you are] very important to us'). The point is, there is still no doubt that these clauses are functioning as nouns, even when a P_n is not overtly present.

Ve Clause Followed by a P_{unf} [LG 6.110]

An unrestricted particle (P_u) is a morpheme of abstract meaning that may occur either after nouns or verbs. P_u s are thus more powerful than noun particles, which occur only after nouns, or verb-particles (P_v s), which come only after verbs. A subclass of these are the nonfinal unrestricted particles (P_{unf} s), which occur only in nonfinal position, either after the verb of a nonfinal clause or after a noun that does not come last in its sentence. Sentences whose last structure is a NP (rather than a VP) are minor sentences. See, for example, sentence (14). The presence of a P_{unf} in the middle of a sentence, therefore, is not a criterion for deciding whether a preceding structure is nominal or verbal. Nevertheless, since we find P_{unf} s after natural nouns, naked verbs, and *ve* clauses, and since the meaning of $V + P_{unf}$ is indistinguishable from that of $V + ve + P_{unf}$, it is clear that the only difference between these two is that provided by the nominalizing power of the *ve*. In other words, $V + ve + P_{unf}$ is more like $N + P_{unf}$ than like $V + P_{unf}$. Consider (28)–(30):

(28) with the conditional P_{unf} *qo*

- a. *Lâhû-yâ qo | i-mû | mâ ġa cî qay hé*
 $\quad \quad \quad N \quad P_{unf}$
 'If (he's) a Lahu, he probably won't be able to go on horseback.'
- b. *mû-cha | cha qo || i-mû | mâ ġa cî qay hé*
 $\quad \quad \quad V \quad P_{unf}$
 'If the sun is hot, (he) probably won't be able to go on horseback.'
- c. *{mû-cha | cha ve} qo | i-mû | mâ ġa cî qay hé*
 'If the sun is hot, (he) probably won't be able to go on horseback.' ('If it is a sun-being-hot . . .')

(29) with the concessive P_{unf} *thô*

- a. *yâ-é thô | ó-qô | dà^P jâ*
 $\quad \quad \quad N \quad P_{unf}$
 'Although (he's) a child, he's got a good head' ('the head is very good').
- b. *yô | mô jâ thô || ó-qô | dà^P jâ*
 $\quad \quad \quad V \quad P_{unf}$
 'Although he's very old, he's got a good head.'
- c. *{yô | mô jâ ve} thô | ó-qô | dà^P jâ*
 'Although he's very old, he's got a good head.' ('Although it is a his-being-very-old . . .')

(30) with the topicalizing P_u sequence *tí qo lè*

- a. *ġà tí qo lè | yâ^P-to pí à*
 $\quad \quad \quad N \quad P_u \quad P_u \quad P_u$
 'As for me, I'd be awfully embarrassed!'
- b. *ġà | á-thâ | mâ^P tí qo lè || yâ^P-to pí à*
 $\quad \quad \quad V \quad P_u \quad P_u \quad P_u$
 'As for me playing the jewsharp, I'd be awfully embarrassed!'
- c. *{ġà | á-thâ | mâ^P ve} tí qo lè | yâ^P-to pí à*
 'As for me playing the jewsharp, I'd be awfully embarrassed.'

Note that the difference in structure between (30b) and (30c) cannot be captured in English translation, since English *as for* requires us to nominalize the following clause anyway. In general, we regard utterances like (28b), (29b), (30b) as ordinary compound sentences, where the Cl_{nf} is merely conjoined to the Cl_f , not embedded within it as in (28c), (29c), (30c).

Ve Deleted from the Nominalized Clause [LG 5.11]

Sometimes, especially when the *ve* clause is quite short and the sentence as a whole is not very complicated in structure, the *ve* itself may be deleted:

- (31) *{{lâ^P | tha (ve)} | šê è qay ve}*
 'The hand-clapping was boisterous.'
- (32) *{qhâ^P-šê | te (ve)} | dà^P à mē*
 'The way the headman does it is really fine!' ('The headman's doing it . . .')

- (33) ê ||| {a-pi | qhê | tē^p (ve)} | nù à
 'Whew! Grandma's farting sure stinks!'

It is hopeless to try to formulate precise conditions for the deletability of this *ve*, just as it would be to try to specify exactly when English *that* may be omitted from relative clauses (*the man [that] I know*).

VE IN FINAL CLAUSES—NONEMBEDDED NOMINALIZATIONS [LG 4.711, 6.118]

We come now to a phenomenon that is quite alien from the point of view of standard average European languages but surprisingly widespread elsewhere—the nominalization of entire sentences that are embedded in nothing larger than themselves.

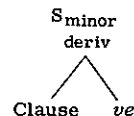
Ve appears in the final clauses of Lahu sentences with enormous frequency. [For additional examples, see sentences (2), (5), (7), (22), and (31) above.]

- (34) {yô | vên qhɔ | mɔ | ca hɔ qay ve}
 'He went/goes/will go to town to sell some things.'

As the gloss of (34) shows, *ve* has nothing to do with tense. So what is it doing in sentences like this? It is tempting to take refuge in such empty labels as indicative, general, neutral, or actualizable. The situation is actually more straightforward. The verbal event is being objectified, reified, viewed as an independent fact, endowed with a reality like that inhering in physical objects—in short, *nominalized*. It is standing on its own, and is not a constituent of any sentence higher than the one to which it belongs itself.

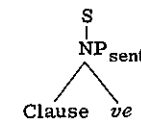
In formalizing this interpretation, it is important to avoid setting up an overly complex underlying structure when a simpler one would do just as well. Perhaps the most comfortable solution would be to recognize two types of minor sentences—natural and derivative. A natural minor sentence [e.g., sentences (12), (13), (14)] has a natural noun phrase as its final constituent. A derivative minor sentence is one that has been nominalized by a *ve* in its final clause:

(35)



Alternatively, one could recognize sentential noun phrases:

(36)



In any event, it is necessary to guard against being misled by attempts at English translation of these structures. It may help us to understand a sentence like:

- (37) {yô | là tù ve}
 'He will come.'

by glossing it with painful literality as 'It is the case that he will come' or 'It is a he-will-come case.' But this does not mean that we have to assume that there is some higher verb floating around with the meaning "be the case."

Ve-Clauses Plus P_{ur}s

Final *ve*-clauses may be followed by final unrestricted particles (P_{ur}s), morphemes of abstract meaning which come at the end of sentences, supplying information about the speaker's propositional attitude toward the sentence as a whole [LG 4.72]. The P_{ur}s may be roughly subdivided semantically into several categories—declarative, dubitative, interrogative, persuasive, quotative, and interjectory. They occur equally well after naked verbs and after the final NP in natural minor sentences. However, analogous to the situation described above (p. 244) with respect to P_{unr}s, sequences of V + *ve* + P_{ur} are more like N + P_{ur} than like V + P_{ur}:

(38) with the declarative P_{ur} yò

- a. yô | qhâ^p-šɛ yò
 N P_{ur}
 'He (is) the headman.'
- b. yô | qay yò
 V P_{ur}
 'He's going!'
- c. {yô | qay ve}yò
 'He's going' ('It is a his-going').³

³ As the glosses of (38) indicate, it is more usual (and semantically colorless) to have the *ve* than not. When *ve* is absent, the verb retains an 'untrammelled verbality' which manifests itself as an additional nuance of emphasis. See the discussion of *ve* and negation, p. 249 below.

- (39) with the dubitative P_{ur} *hé*
- $yô$ | $qhâ^p$ - $š\epsilon$ *hé*
N P_{ur}
 'He('s) probably the headman.'
 - $yô$ | qay $gâ$ *hé*
V P_v P_{ur}
 'He probably wants to go.'
 - { $yô$ | qay $gâ$ *ve*}*hé*
 'He probably wants to go.' ('It's probably a his-wanting-to-go').
- (40) with the interrogative P_{ur} *lâ*
- $yô$ | $qhâ^p$ - $š\epsilon$ *lâ*
N P_{ur}
 '(Is) he the headman?'
 - $yô$ | qay *lâ*
V P_{ur}
 'Is he going?'
 - { $yô$ | qay *ve*}*lâ*
 'Is he going?' ('Is it that he's going?').

Citation Forms of Verbs

Perhaps the clearest situation where a verb is treated as a nounlike object is when it is cited in isolation—metalinguistically, as it were. Just as we cite verbs with the nominalizer *to*, so the Lahu invariably cite them with *ve*: *qay ve* 'to go'; *chu ve* 'to be fat'; *š\epsilon ve* 'to twist.' Consider the following:

- (41) {{*qay ve*} | *Kâlâ-phu-khô* | *qhâ-qhe qo^p ve*}*le*
 'How do you say "to go" in English?'
- (42) { \ll {*qô^p dà^p ve*} \gg *qô^p qo* || \ll {*dê dà^p ve*} \gg *qô^p ve*}⁴
 "'To have words with each other" means "to quarrel with each other."'

As a general rule of thumb applicable throughout the Tibeto-Burman family, whenever one discovers the particle used in verb citation, one can be sure of having discovered the most important nominalizer of the language (see pp. 250–251).

⁴ We diagram embedded clauses governed by verbs of utterance like *qô^p* 'say' by enclosing them in angular brackets [LG 6.3].

Ve and Negation

After a non-negated verb, *ve* is actually more conspicuous by its absence than by its presence [LG 4.711]. It is as if the Lahu verb were so brimming with potency that it must be gelded by nominalization in order to avoid giving the sentence a special mark of emphasis:

- (43) a. {*ŋâ-hi* | *tê g\epsilon* | *qay ve*}
 'We go/went/will go together.'
 b. *ŋâ-hi* | *tê g\epsilon* | *qay*
 'Let's go together!'; 'We go together!'; or 'We'll go together!'

However, the situation is reversed when the verb is negated by preposing the adverb *mâ* 'not' to it:

- (44) a. $yô$ | *mâ hâ*
 'He's not tired.'
 b. { $yô$ | *mâ hâ ve*}
 'He's not tired!'

Here, the power of the naked verb is sufficiently attenuated by the negative adverb, so that nominalization by *ve* is no longer necessary to avoid special emphasis. It is now the presence of *ve* that is semantically marked. To negate the verbal event and reify it at the same time is to give extra force to the negation.

Natural nouns are negatable in Lahu by preposing them to the VP *mâ hê^p* 'is not the case' [LG 6.111]:⁵

- (45) $yô$ | *Lâhū-yâ* | *mâ hê^p*
 'He is not a Lahu.'

Since they are nounlike entities, *ve* clauses may be negated the same way:

- (46) { $yô$ | *hâ ve*} | *mâ hê^p*
 'He's not tired'; 'His being tired is not the case.'

Note that both (46) and (44b) are more emphatic than (44a). In the case of (44b), one is nominalizing a negation; in the case of (46), one is negating a nominalization.

⁵ *hê^p* is a defective verb that always occurs negated (except in disjunctive questions). It is probably related to the noun *h-hê^p* 'omen; true harbinger,' and is certainly cognate to the functionally parallel Burmese verb *hou^p* (< Old Bs. *hut*). In positive identity statements Lahu (like many other languages) requires no verb at all: $yô$ | *Lâhū-yâ yô* 'He is a Lahu.' To say there is an underlying copula here would be to destroy the analogy between *ve* clauses and natural minor sentences.

Citation Forms and Nominalizers Elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman

As hinted above, Lahu is by no means alone in its penchant for nominalizing whole sentences. This is in fact a pervasive tendency throughout the Tibeto-Burman family.

BURMESE

In modern Burmese, verbs are cited with the particle *te*: *hpya^p te* 'to cut'; *thwà te* 'to go'; *pein te* 'to be thin.' This same particle appears with great frequency in clause final position, where the standard grammars misinterpret its true function and characterize it by such vacuous labels as nonfuture or general: (e.g., Okell, 1969, p. 119).

- (47) {*còu* | *mə-hpyei nain lóu* || *dà né* | *hpya^p te*}
 'Because he couldn't undo the rope, he cut it with a knife'
 ('It is a case of his-cutting-it-with-a-knife-because-he
 couldn't-undo-the-rope').

The proof that *te* is really a nominalizer is that *te* clauses may be followed by the accusative particle *kou*, which otherwise occurs only after natural nouns:

- (48) {*hkinbyà* | *hyi te* || *mə-hyi te*}*kou* | *be hne* | *thi mālè*
 'How will I know whether you're there or not?'

JINGHPAW [KACHIN]

In Jinghpaw (an important Tibeto-Burman language spoken in northern Burma), verbs are cited with the particle *ʔai*: *lú ʔai* 'to have'; *hkráp ʔai* 'to weep'; *ləgú ʔai* 'to steal.' This particle occurs with tremendous frequency in clause final position:

- (49) {*ʃɪŋhpò^p ʔá^p məšà* | *myit* | *kəbà ʔai*}
 'Jinghpaw people are proud at heart.'

Hanson, the pioneer lexicographer of this language, misses the point by calling this *ʔai* a verbal particle, present indicative, third person singular (Hanson, 1906, p. 54). In point of fact, *ʔai* has no special connection with the third person at all, but follows all person markers. Yet strangely enough, on the same page of his dictionary Hanson has a separate entry '*ai*' glossed as a 'noun affix used . . . in the formation of abstract or verbal nouns.' This was in fact close to the truth.

The proof that *ʔai* is a nominalizer is that *ʔai* clauses may be followed by the accusative particle *hpé^p*, which otherwise occurs only after natural nouns:

- (50) . . . *Ningawn Wa Mägam* | *dai{sa ai}ni hpe* | *hkap*
yu yang . . .⁶
 . . . and when the mighty Ningawn Wa had examined
 those who had come . . .

Here the *ʔai* is nominalizing the verb *sa* 'go, come.' This expression, meaning "comer, one who comes" is then modified by the determiner *dai* 'those,' and followed by the noun-pluralizing particle *ni* and the accusative *P_n hpé^p*.

TIBETAN

Classical Tibetan has a morpheme [pa ~ ba] used in the citation-form of verbs: *dogs-pa* 'to fear'; *snyam-pa* 'to imagine'; *snyi-ba* 'to be soft'; *blo-ba* 'to be able.' It occurs frequently in clause final position, where the nineteenth century lexicographer Jäschke (1881) seems almost to have recognized its true function:

pa, an affix . . . which, when attached to the roots of verbs, gives them the signification of nouns, or in other words is the sign of the infinitive and the participle; in the language of common life, however, it is frequently used for the finite tense . . . [p. 321].

PROBLEMS AND INTRICACIES WITH VE NOMINALIZATIONS

Before attempting to relate the nominalizing power of *ve* to its subordinating function, we should mention a few problems that arise in the interpretation of *ve* clauses.

Ve in the Final Clauses of Compound Sentences [LG 6.118]

No matter how long and complicated a sentence is, there is nothing to stop a *ve* from occurring in its final clause. Confining ourselves to relatively uncomplicated compound sentences, we have cases like the following:

- (51) {*chə-qhə* | *qhə^p-šə thə^p* | *mə qo* || *phə e tū ve*}*yò*
 'If the thief sees the headman, he'll run away.'
 (52) {*yə* | *mə hə^p gə thə* || *yə* | *hə^p gə ve*}*yò*
 'Even if he doesn't want to get it, I want to get it.'
 (53) {*və^p-gə^p* | *ca hu le* || *hə a le* || *və lè^p ve*}*ti yò-qə*
 'We just raise pigs and chickens, sell them, and buy them to
 earn our living.'

⁶ This example is taken from H. F. Hertz (1935, p. 58), and is left in his orthography.

The question is, does a *ve* appearing in the final clause of a compound sentence nominalize the entire sentence or just the Cl_f alone? Where are we to insert the lefthand brace in the diagram? For example, in (52), if we put it in before *ɲà*, we are analyzing the sentence as meaning 'Even if he doesn't want to get it, it is an I-do-want-to-get-it thing.' If, on the other hand, we regard the nominalizing force of *ve* as extending back to the beginning of the sentence, it would mean, 'It is an even-if-he-doesn't-want-to-get-it-I-do-want-to-get-it thing.' Although it is a hard-to-prove thing, I espouse the wide range of nominalization theory, simply because there is no principled basis for decreeing that the nominalizing force of *ve* is exhausted at some particular point within the sentence.

Similar considerations hold true in fact for any member of the class of final unrestricted particles. In the compound sentence

- (54) $nò | qay qo || \eta à | m\grave{a} qay q\hat{o}^2-ma$
'If you go, I'm not going!'

there is no reason to assume that the force of the interjectory P_{ur} *q\hat{o}^2-ma* extends only to the Cl_f. One does not first say "if you go," and only then turn on the exclamatory juice, as it were. The whole sentence is an exclamation.

In sentences like (53), containing the conjoining P_{unf} *le*, the situation is particularly clear. It would be absurd to assume that only the last VP is nominalized (*v\grave{a} l\grave{e}^2* 'buy to earn a living'), and not the others as well, considering that all three have the same NP (*v\grave{a}^2-g\grave{a}^2* 'pigs and chickens') as their object.

One argument one could advance in favor of the narrow range theory might be that in the case of permuted compound sentences, where the Cl_{nf} is shifted to the right of the final clause [LG 6a.11], any *ve* in the original Cl_f stays where it was and is not transported to the end of the permuted sentence:

- (55) $\eta à | h\hat{a}^2 g\hat{a} ve\}y\grave{o} \} \{y\hat{o} | m\grave{a} h\hat{a}^2 g\hat{a} th\hat{o} ||$
P_{ur} P_{unf}
'I do want to get it—even if he doesn't.'

But this does not prove anything, since *clause permutation* is a very late rule, applied well after the process of *nominalization* has been carried out.

Appositional Ve Clauses [LG 6.31].

There does exist one situation where a *ve* in a final clause affects only that clause and not what comes before. This happens when two *ve* clauses stand in apposition to one another:

- (56) $\{y\hat{o} | q\hat{o}^2 ve\} | \{\hat{s}\acute{o}-p\bar{o} | qay ve\}$
'What he said was, he'd go tomorrow.'

Such sentences are analogous to appositions involving natural NPs:

- (57) $kh\hat{a}^2-p\grave{a}-m\bar{e}-c\acute{i}-c\grave{a}-kw\grave{i} | \eta\hat{a}^2 t\bar{e} c\grave{a} y\grave{o}$
'The racket-tailed drongo (is) a kind of bird.'

Nominalizing Ve versus Relativizing Ve [LG 6.47]

When a *ve* clause is followed directly by a noun, there is often ambiguity according to whether the clause is interpreted as modifying that noun or not. Consider the following sentence:

- (58) a. $\{t\bar{e}-q\hat{h}\hat{a}^2-t\bar{e}-l\grave{o} | \hat{s}\bar{i} ve\} | \{a-pi-qu | \hat{s}\bar{i} e ve\}y\grave{o}$
'What the whole village knows is, the old lady has died.'
b. $\{[t\bar{e}-q\hat{h}\hat{a}^2-t\bar{e}-l\grave{o} | \hat{s}\bar{i} ve] a-pi-qu | \hat{s}\bar{i} e ve\}y\grave{o}$
N_{rh}
'The old lady whom the whole village knew has died.'

In (58a), the sentence is understood as consisting of two appositional *ve* clauses, such that the noun *a-pi-qu* 'old lady' has no connection with the preceding nominalized clause *t\bar{e}-q\hat{h}\hat{a}^2-t\bar{e}-l\grave{o} | \hat{s}\bar{i} ve* 'that which the whole village knows'. In (58b), on the other hand, *a-pi-qu* is taken as the nounhead of what precedes, so that the *ve* clause is not a nominalization at all, but rather a relative clause. In actual speech, there would be no problem in keeping the interpretations apart; a pause before *a-pi-qu* is sufficient to remove the ambiguity of the sentence in favor of the first reading.

Nominalizing Ve versus Ve in Right Relative Clauses [LG 6.497].

Under certain conditions, it is possible to shift a relative clause (*ve* and all) to the right of its N_{rh}, with little or no change in meaning [LG 6.49]:

- (59) a. $\{[c\hat{o} t\bar{a} ve] v\grave{a}^2-\acute{o}-q\bar{o} th\hat{a}^2 | qh\hat{o} | t\bar{e} t\bar{a} ve\}le$
N_{rh}
'Where have you put the boiled pig's head?'
b. $\{v\grave{a}^2-\acute{o}-q\bar{o} [c\hat{o} t\bar{a} ve] th\hat{a}^2 | qh\hat{o} | t\bar{e} t\bar{a} ve\}le$
N_{rh}
'Where have you put the boiled pig's head?'

Sometimes it happens to make sense to interpret a given noun either as the head of a right-shifted relative clause or as being included within a nominalized *ve* clause:

According to Benjamin Ts'ou (private communication), it is often possible to omit the copula *sh* from this construction in colloquial speech. It seems likely that the ancestor-particle to *.de* in classical Chinese, *fy*, also had a dual subordinating/nominalizing function.

JINGHPAW

As discussed above, the Jinghpaw particle *ʔai* is used as a nominalizer in verb citations, nonfinal clauses, and final clauses. Exactly as in Lahu, this particle is also used as a subordinator in relative clauses: [*ʔai hpéʔ | kərum ʔai*] *məšà_{Nth}* 'the person who helps me'; [*nta shātaw kalaw ai*] *hpún* 'the wood (we) use for house-posts' [Hertz (1935) p. 51]; [*kəbà ʔai*] *hpún* 'a tree that is big.'

It seems certain that the Jinghpaw particle used in genitive subordination, *ʔáʔ* (*Jìhphòʔ ʔáʔ məšà* 'a person of the Jinghpaw'), is historically connected to *ʔai*, with the final -*ʔ* analogous to the creaky tone acquired by the Burmese particle *te* in attributive position (next section).

Burmese

We have seen above how the Burmese particle *te* is used in verb citations and nominalizations. But it is also used to connect relative clauses to their heads, in which position it assumes the creaky tone (*té*): [*thutóu | mə-yauʔ hpù thei té*] *əya_{Nth}* 'a place they have never been to.'

SUMMARY

The above remarks are admittedly very sketchy. Here are some even sketchier ones. Alan Stevens (personal communication) reminds me that the Indonesian affix *-nja* may have either possessive or nominalizing force. Margaret Langdon (personal communication) has pointed out some fascinating parallels between my findings and phenomena she has discovered in the Yuman languages of southern California and Arizona. The details of the relationship between nominalization and subordination vary from language to language, and a much more thorough study is needed. In any event, this is a topic worthy of the attention of anyone who is truly interested in putting speculations about universal grammar on an empirical basis.

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