

The Typology of Nominalization*

Review article on: Foong Ha Yap, Karen Grunow-Hårsta and Janick Wrona.
Nominalization in Asian Languages: Diachronic and Typological Perspectives.
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In this review article, I propose a new organization of the data in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona (2011)'s edited volume on nominalization in about sixty Asian languages. The chapters lack systemic integration into a coherent system. There is no systematic exposition of the logically possible expression types of each variable. The editors do not systematically identify nominalizers with specialized functions. This article classifies the data contained in the volume into a logical system of morphological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and diachronic types.

Key words: nominalization, specialized nominalizers, logical types

1. Introduction

This volume consists of twenty-six chapters on nominalization in about sixty languages spoken in Asia: one Indo-European, eighteen Tibeto-Burman, three Sinitic, one Korean, two Japanese, thirty-one Austronesian and one Trans-New-Guinea languages. Most chapters concentrate on one language (e.g. Rhee on Korean), several chapters survey small groups of languages (e.g. Noonan on Tamangic). All papers are descriptive but vary in the coverage of syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and diachronic phenomena. This compilation of new, mainly undescribed, data on nominalization offers new insights on typological research of other authors (Comrie & Thompson 1985).

In the introduction (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011:1-57), the editors YG-HW summarize certain facts discussed by the contributors but do not systemically integrate the data. The structure of their typology is not tight and logically conceived. It takes time, for example, to discover that the editors discuss semantic issues under the header 'nominalization types' and morphological issues under the header 'nominalization

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strategies⁷. The summary does not systematically expose the logical expression types of a parameter¹ and also fails to systematically profile nominalizers with specialized functions.² The editors have not elaborated on the syntax of nominalization although such information is available in the papers. As for the pragmatics of nominalization, the concept of *stance* (\approx speaker attitudes) is overemphasized at the expense of other pragmatic concepts. The authors sometimes use baroque terminology that makes cross-comparisons difficult.³ There is a proliferation of labels used in interlinear glosses which this reader found confusing.⁴ For an areal typology of Asia, the sample of languages is not optimally balanced. The Himalayan (Tibeto-Burman) languages are well represented with twelve languages, but data from Tai-Kadai, Miao-Yao, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic language were not included.

What was initially meant to be just a review gradually developed into a review article because YG-HW did not develop the potential typology of nominalization that can be established from the contributed chapters. This paper proposes a complete reorganization of the data from the following perspectives: morphology (§2), syntax (§3), semantics (§4), pragmatics (§5) and diachrony (§6). For each parameter I present all logical expression types and for each function I identify nominalizers that are specialized in that function. Almost all language data are drawn from the volume. Some data are taken from additional Asian languages (mainly personal field notes).

In this paper I take an inclusive view of nominalization as most authors of the volume do: “Nominalization is a transcategorial operation, one which derives nominals from non-nominals” (Comrie & Thompson 1985:349, Grunow-Hårsta 2011:216).

2. Morphology

Nominalization can be unmarked in serial verb constructions (§2.1). Nominalization can also be morphologically encoded in the verbal (§2.2) and/or nominal complex (§2.3). Markers in the verbal domain are dedicated nominalizers. Markers in the nominal domain

¹ For example, it would be useful to know all the syntactic cases for which nominalized expressions can be marked in at least one language (see §2.3.1).

² For each function (e.g. finite clause nominalization) it would be interesting to know whether there is a nominalizer in at least one language which is specialized in marking this function.

³ For example, on pp.433-436 two different constructions are contrasted named ‘copula-type construction’ and ‘stand-alone type construction’. The exact definition of these constructions is not important here except to note that the labels are confusing since both constructions use copulas.

⁴ For example, NOM is used for ‘nominalizer’ and ‘nominative’. ‘Nominalizer’ is glossed by NOM, NMLZ, NOMZ, NMZ. . . .

are nominalizers whose main function is to mark syntactic cases, possession, specificity and so forth.

2.1 Zero-nominalization

Verb phrases and clauses can be nominalized without any formal marking. Complement clauses in Mandarin Chinese are embedded in serial verb constructions.

- (1) Mandarin Chinese (Li & Thompson 1981:604, 599)
- a. tā bù chī xīguā tài kěxī le
 3SG NEG eat watermelon too bad D.PFT
 ‘It’s too bad (that) s/he doesn’t eat watermelon.’
- b. wǒ pànwàng nǐ kuài yidiǎn biyè
 1SG hope 2SG soon a little graduate
 ‘I hope (that) you’ll graduate a bit sooner.’

In Dong, a Tai-Kadai language not investigated in this volume, relative clauses can be encoded by serial verb constructions (zero-nominalization).

- (2) Dong (Tai-Kadai: China) (Gerner, field notes)
- maoh jangs (mungx) nyenc jiul yaot
 3SG COP CL person 1PL.EX fear
 ‘He is a person whom we fear.’

2.2 Encoding the verbal input

Nominalization is primarily encoded by unbound morphemes (§2.2.1), by affixes (§2.2.2), by suppletive morphemes (§2.2.3), or by reduplicated morphemes (§2.2.4).

2.2.1 by free morpheme

Nominalizers derived from common nouns⁵ are unbound or weakly cliticized. Morphological boundedness depends on prosodic properties (e.g. loss of word stress, tone lenition) and on the separability of morpheme and stem (e.g. insertion of other morphemes). The Chinese nominalizer *suo* and the Japanese nominalizer *tokoro* are morphologically unbound as they have a robust prosodic profile and can be separated from the verb stem.

⁵ Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona use the Chomskyan term of “light noun” (2011:11).

- (3) Old Chinese (Sinitic: China) (Yap & Wang 2011:83)
 富與貴，是人之所欲也 (Lun Yu)
 fu yu gui, shi ren zhi suo yu ye
 rich and noble DEM people GEN NMLZ (from ‘place’) want PRT
 ‘Being rich and noble, this is what people want.’
- (4) Japanese (Isolate group: Japan) (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011:11)
 kodomo-ga nai-te i-ru tokoro-o mi-ta (Horie 2008:175)
child-NOM cry-GER exist-PRS NMLZ-ACC see-PST
 ‘I saw a child crying.’

2.2.2 by affix

Affixal nominalizers are nested in the predicate. In the languages of the volume, about 64% of all affixal nominalizers are suffixes, about 24% are prefixes, 11% are circumfixes and 1% are realized as infixes. This distribution replicates universal tendencies of affixation (Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1990).⁶ Furthermore, a language can make use of different affixal processes (prefixal, infixal and suffixal).

A. *Prefix.* Nominalizers can be prefixed to the verbal stem in both verb-initial and verb-final languages.

- (5) Muna (Austronesian: Indonesia) (Kaufman 2011:736)
- | | |
|--|-----------|
| a. no-pana lalo-ku!
3SG-hot heart-1SG.GEN
‘I am angry (= my heart is hot).’ | V-initial |
| b. ka -pana-no lalo-ku!
NMLZ-hot-3SG.GEN heart-1SG.GEN
‘How angry I am (= the heat of my heart)!’ | V-initial |
- (6) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:228)
- | | |
|--|---------|
| howei-o mi -bñur dñerai lot-cΛ ale
airplane-GEN <u>NMLZ-fly</u> very long-NMLZ COP | V-final |
|--|---------|
- ‘The plane’s flight is very long.’

⁶ Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1990) found that suffixation was more common than prefixation at the ratio of 3:1 (for verb-final languages the ratio is 5:1, for verb-initial languages it is still 2:1). The preference for suffixing was explained in terms of grammaticalization and cognitive processing of the human mind (Whaley 1997).

B. *Infix*. The former verb-initial now verb-middle Saisiyat language (Hsieh & Huang 2006:91) encodes nominalization by submorphemic infixation (see also §6.2.1).

- (7) Saisiyat (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Yeh 2011:579)
 ma'an k<in>a:at ha'ino'=ila
 1SG.GEN write<NMLZ> where=INC
 'Where is my book (where is my written stuff)?'

C. *Circumfix*. Circumfixal nominalizers combine prefixes and suffixes with separate grammatical functions. No language in the sample uses circumfixal nominalizers whose components are meaningless in isolation.

- (8) Mongsen Ao (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Genetti 2011:185, 164)
 a. **tə-** nəmpháj **-pàʔ**
 NMLZ- cover -NMLZ
 'cover (= instrument for covering)'

- b. mùŋsən-əɪ **tə-** khəlem **-pàʔ**
 Mongsen-GEN NMLZ- worship -NMLZ
 'Mongsen person's manner of worship'

- (9) Kavalan (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Hsieh 2011:517)
 a. **pa-** salekiaw **-an**
 CAUS- dance -NMLZ
 'dancer'

- b. **pa-** sudad **-an**
 CAUS- write -NMLZ
 'office-worker'

- (10) Budai Rukai (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Sung 2011:551)
 a. **ta-** su|a-su|a **-anə**
 NFUT- cure~PROG -NMLZ
 'hospital (place of curing)'

- b. **ta-** bu|u-bu|u **-anə**
 NFUT- teach~PROG -NMLZ
 'classroom; church (= place of teaching)'

D. Suffix. Most affixal nominalizers are suffixes.

- (11) Manange (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Genetti 2011:174)
 ηΛ=tse²² mwi⁴² phrΛ⁴² kyΛ=ri⁵² pim-**pΛ**²² nese²²
 1SG=ERG money NUM.100 2SG=LOC give-NMLZ tomorrow
kyΛ⁵² kola⁵² kyu-pΛ⁵²
 2SG clothes buy-NMLZ
 ‘Because I gave you 100 rupees, you will buy a dress tomorrow.’
- (12) Korean (Isolate: Korea) (Rhee 2011:398)
 ku-ka phyenhi calcinay-koiss-**ki**-lul pala-n-ta
 3SG-NOM comfortably get.along-PROG-NMLZ-ACC hope-PRS-DECL
calcinay-koiss-ki-lul
 ‘(I) hope that he is living comfortably.’
- (13) Toqabaqita (Austronesian: Solomon Islands) (Lichtenberk 2011:703)
 fasi-**laa** qoe qana baqu qena ki
 plant-NMLZ 2SG PREP[of] banana DEM.DIST PL
 ‘Your planting of those bananas.’

2.2.3 by suppletion

Suppletive nominalizers are morphemes that are unrelated in form and encode contrastive features of the event. The only uncontroversial case in the volume is the Galo language. Galo has two suppletive event nominalizers that encode realis and irrealis mood.

- nám** Nominalizer for events construed as real
 -**há** Nominalizer for events construed as pending, not yet realized

- (14) Galo (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Post 2011:267)
- a. nó-kə hocər [?]áp-**nám**=go mèn-bəə-dùu Realis
2SG-GEN deer shoot-NMLZ.RLS=IND say-HAB-IMPF
 ‘(You’re) always talking about your stag-shooting (incident).’
- b. bulù-kə [?]agóm=əm pori-**há** káa-máa Irrealis
3PL.GEN speech=ACC study-NMLZ.IRR have/exist-NEG
 ‘There would be no need to study their language.’

Nominalizers of other languages derive additional senses as pragmatic implicatures but do not encode these meanings. Plenty examples are provided in §5.

2.2.4 by reduplication

In Tagalog, action nominalization is realized by partial prothetic reduplication of the verbal stem. Kaufman provides one example.

- (15) Tagalog (Austronesian: Philippines) (Kaufman 2011:741)
 mag-**húli** pag-**huhúli**
 INF-catch ('to catch') NMLZ-NMLZ~catch ('catching')

In the Ulawa language (Ivens 1929), reduplication of the nominalizer encodes the semantic difference between action nominalization (e.g. 'thinking') and product nominalization (e.g. 'thought'), but the quality of the quoted data is uncertain.

- (16) Ulawa (Austronesian: Solomon Islands) (Lichtenberk 2011:709)
 a. mala oho-**nga** (Ivens 1929:236)
 ? attempt/strive-NMLZ
 '(action of) tempting'
 b. mala oho-**nga-nga**
 ? attempt/strive-NMLZ~NMLZ
 'temptation, trial'

In several unrelated languages of the volume, the nominalizer can be reduplicated. Reduplication contributes an emphatic or expressive meaning but does not encode nominalization *per se*.

- (17) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:237)
 mirga jfʉruk so-**cyo-cyo** ho-se babu-ja
 deer suddenly rise-NMLZ~EXPR DEM.DIST-DEF boy-child
cahine mirga-e jfʉruk jfʉruk mi-mi-rʉaŋ-aŋ
 well deer-ERG suddenly suddenly POSS-POSS-horn-LOC
 hak-ak-mo kher-ak-a (mirative meaning)
 stick-CAUS-SEQ run-CAUS-PST
 'The deer suddenly stood up, the boy, well, the deer suddenly, suddenly, with the boy having gotten stuck on his horns, (it) ran off with him!'
- (18) Tuvuluan (Austronesian: Solomon Islands) (Lichtenberk 2011:710)
 a. i te sigaa-**ga** ki lalo (Besnier 2000:512)
 at ART fall-NMLZ to down
 'when he fell down'

- b. i te sigaa-**ga-ga** ki lalo (emphatic meaning)
 at ART fall-NMLZ~EXPR to down
 ‘when it was the case that he fell down’ (translation consistent with description provided)

The notion of “cognate nominalization” refers to nominalized predicates that also occur in the matrix clause (‘shout with a loud shouting’). Lichtenberk provides examples of “cognate nominalization” in the Toqabaqita language which I skip here (2011:712-713).

2.3 Encoding the nominal output

Nominal modifiers either contribute to or represent the only strategy of encoding nominalization. Nominalizations can be marked by case morphemes (§2.3.1), possessive linkers (§2.3.2), classifiers (§2.3.3), plural morphemes (§2.3.4) or determiners (§2.3.5). The number of nominal modifiers that can mark nominalized expressions is a measure of nounhood.

2.3.1 by case markers

Case-marked nominalizations are assigned thematic roles by the main predicate on an equal footing with noun phrase arguments. In the languages of the volume, nominalizations can be marked by the following cases: nominative (A), accusative (B), ergative (C), absolutive (D), genitive (E), dative/benefactive (F), locative (G). The authors did not provide information about cases unavailable for marking nominalized structures. Such information would allow making predictions based on case/nominalization hierarchies.

- A. *Nominative*. The Japanese *sa*-nominalizations can be sentence-subjects marked by nominative case.

- (19) Japanese (Isolate group: Japan) (Wrona 2011:425)
 utukusi-sa-**ga** hosii
beautiful-NMLZ-NOM want
 ‘Beauty is wanted.’

- B. *Accusative*. Korean marks the nominalized complement clause with accusative case.

- (20) Korean (Isolate: Korea) (Rhee 2011:398)
 na-nun ku-ka mwucoyha-m-**ul** cheum-pwuthe
 1SG-TOP 3SG-NOM innocent-NMLZ-ACC beginning

kwutkey mit-ess-ta
 firmly believe-PST-DECL
 ‘I firmly believed from the beginning that he was innocent.’

C. *Ergative*. Ergative languages such as Chantyal mark nominalizations that are transitive subjects with the ergative case.

- (21) Chantyal (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Noonan 2011:200)
 məŋgələ-ri-wa-ma-sə syal mara-i
Mangale-LOC-NMLZ-PL-ERG jackal see-PFV
 ‘The people from Mangale saw the jackal.’

D. *Absolutive*. Chantyal marks nominalizations that are intransitive subjects with the absolutive case.

- (22) Chantyal (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Noonan 2011:201)
 cə ləra pari-wa-ma-Ø gətilo ləra
 DEM strip make_happen-NOM-PL-ABS good strip
 a-ta-si-n tə
 NEG-become-PFT-SUP FACT
 ‘Those strips that I made might not have become good strips.’

E. *Genitive*. In Dongwang Tibetan, relative clauses are marked with the genitive case and are treated like possessors of the head noun.

- (23) Dongwang Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman: China) (Genetti 2011:177)
 shihui sə³⁵³-sa=ji dong¹³
limestone burn-NMLZ=GEN hole
 ‘The hole where limestone is burned.’

Furthermore, many languages mark the agent of a nominalization (‘John’s singing’) with genitive case. An example from Kavalan is provided.

- (24) Kavalan (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Hsieh 2011:514)
 m-liuq=ti sa-paluma-an-ku tu sinsuli
 AVC-rotten=PFV PRT-plant-NMLZ-1SG.GEN OBL plum
 ‘(The seedlings of) the plums that I am going to plant are rotten.’

F. *Dative or benefactive.* The Chantyal dative marker *-ra* can be appended to nominalized structures. In Newar, causal adverbial clauses are marked by the benefactive case marker *lāgin*.

- (25) a. Chantyal (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Noonan 2011:201)
 na-sə məŋgəle-ri-wa-ma-siŋ-wa-**ra** dekhŋ-i
 1SG-ERG Mangale-LOC-NMLZ-PL-be around-NMLZ-DAT show-PFV
 ‘I showed it to the owners from Mangale.’
- b. Dolakha Newar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Genetti 2011:175)
 dukha bi-e-**lāgin** āpen=ri jaŋgal oŋ-an
 trouble give-NMLZ-BEN 3SG=IND jungle go-PRT
 con-hin hā
 stay-3SG.PST EVID
 ‘Because she gave them trouble, they went and stayed in the jungle.’

G. *Locative.* The locative case marker *ta* in Kavalan marks locative nominalizations (relative clauses).

- (26) Kavalan (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Hsieh 2011:515)
 matiw **ta** ni-paluma-an-na tu sinsuli
 AVC.go LOC PFV-plant-NMLZ-3SG.GEN OBL plum
 ‘(He) went to the place where he grew plums.’

2.3.2 by possessive morpheme

Several languages mark nominalizations with a morpheme whose basic function is to link a possessor to a possessee. Northern Kurdish, for example, uses three possessive linkers inflected for the gender and number of the possessee. (These possessive morphemes are called “Ezafe” by Arabian grammarians.)

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| -(y)ê | Ezafe for singular number and male gender of possessee |
| -(y)a | Ezafe for singular number and female gender of possessee |
| -(y)ê(n)/yêt | Ezafe for plural number of possessee |

- (27) Northern Kurdish (Indo-European: Turkey) (Haig 2011:365-366)
 a. dest-ê te
 hand[male]-EZ.M 2SG.OBL
 ‘your hand’

- b. heval-**ên** keck-ê
 friend[plural]-EZ.PL girl-OBL
 ‘friends of the girl’
- c. tišt'-ê min day-av hinga
 thing-EZ.PL 1SG.OBL give.PST-PRT 2SG.OBL
 ‘the things [I gave to you]’

The Malay possessive morpheme *punya* links a possessor to a possessee or a relative clause to a head noun.

- (28) Colloquial Malay (Austronesian: Malaysia) (Yap 2011:645-646)
- a. jaga-jaga kau **punya** barang
 look_after 2SG POSS thing
 ‘Look after your stuff.’
- b. (yang) mau jahit **punya** baju letak dekat sini
 NMLZ want sew NMLZ[from ‘master’] clothes put LOC here
 ‘The clothes that you want to sew (or mend), put (them) here.’

Cantonese *ge* (and Mandarin *de*) are possessive linkers that are used as nominalizers.

- (29) Cantonese (Sinitic: China) (Sio 2011:129)
- a. ngo5 **ge3** ce1
 1SG POSS car
 ‘my car’
- b. fei4 **ge3** neoi5jan2
 fat NMLZ woman
 ‘fat woman/women’
- c. ngo5 maai5 **ge3** ce1
 1SG buy NMLZ car
 ‘cars that I bought (relative clause)’
- d. keoi5 zi6-sat3 **ge3** siu1sik1
 3SG self-kill NMLZ news
 ‘news that he killed himself’ (noun complement)

2.3.3 by classifiers

Numeral classifiers are extensively used for nominalization in Tai-Kadai and Miao-Yao languages. No language in the sample belongs to these two families. The Chaozhou

dialect of Chinese exhibits a classifier with a derived function as nominalizer reminiscent of Tai-Kadai languages.

- (30) Chaozhou dialect (Sinitic: China) (Xu & Matthews 2011:113-115)
- a. sā³³ **kai**⁵⁵⁻¹¹ p'eŋ⁵⁵⁻¹¹kue⁵³
 NUM.3 CL apple
 'three apples'
- b. tsi⁵³⁻³⁵ no³⁵⁻²¹ **kai**⁵⁵⁻¹¹ naŋ⁵⁵
 DEM.PROX NUM.2 CL person
 'these two persons'
- c. ua⁵³ **kai**⁵⁵⁻¹¹ hiā³³ti³⁵
 1SG POSS brothers
 'my brothers'
- d. ua⁵³ tsau³³zek⁵ boi⁵³ **kai**⁵⁵⁻¹¹ tiaŋ³⁵⁻²¹si³⁵
 1SG yesterday buy NMLZ television
 'The television which I bought yesterday.'

2.3.4 by plural markers

Plural morphemes sometimes become the principal way of encoding nominalizations. This is the case in Rawang, a language not investigated in this volume.

- (31) Rawang (Tibeto-Burman: India, Myanmar) (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011:20)
 wē-dø³ í-ri dv-dvm-ò-ē (LaPolla & Poa 2001:163)
DEM-ADV be-PL CAUS-remember/think[1SG]-PRT-NPST
 'I remember things like that (= I remember those things).'

In many languages, plural morphemes are additional markers that encode a verbal constituent as nominal expression. The Chantyal examples (21) and (22) above employ the plural suffix *-ma* together with the principal nominalizer *-wa*.

2.3.5 by determiners

Demonstratives and definite articles can contribute to the expression of nominalization. In some languages, they are the sole means for encoding nominalized structures.

A. Demonstratives.

In Mongsen Ao, the proximal demonstrative marks nominalizations together with a

nominalizer. The nominalized event is referential, a reading imposed by the proximal feature of the demonstrative.

- (32) Mongsen Ao (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Genetti 2011:165)
 tsəhji ku hwaŋ-əkə mən-pəʔ i aɹu-ə.rùʔ
 sun LOC roast-like sit-NMLZ DEM.PROX good-PRS-DECL
sun LOC roast-like sit-NMLZ DEM.PROX
 ‘This sitting and bathing in the sun is good.’

In Abui, the proximal demonstrative also encodes the nominalized event as referential. The distal demonstrative implies a nominalized event that is nonreferential.

- (33) Abui (Trans-New Guinea: Indonesia) (Kratochvíl 2011:772)
 no-mi=ng maran nu,# na kul Kalang-Fat jaar=te
 1.REC-IN=LOOK come up.CPL DEM.DIST 1SG must place name go.CPL=INC
1.REC-IN=LOOK come up.CPL DEM.DIST 1SG must place name go.CPL=INC
 ‘Whenever I feel like that, I must go to Kalabahi.’

The Ahamo language, a Miao language not included in the volume, has eight demonstrative determiners but only two, the medial and the recognitional, demonstratives mark relative clauses.

- (34) Ahmao (Miao-Yao: China) (Gerner & Bisang 2010:590)
 a. luw⁵⁵ a³³bfi³⁵ dfa³⁵ dfi³⁵ dau¹¹ vfi³⁵
 CL.AUG.SG.DEF woman come opposite side D.PRV DEM.MED
 ‘the woman who came from the opposite side (at medial distance from me)’
 b. lai⁵⁵ tʃho³³ gfi³¹ və³¹ i⁵⁵
 CL.MED.SG.DEF garment 2SG admire DEM.FAM
 ‘the garment that you admire (you know which I mean)’

B. Definite articles.

The Tagalog definite article *ang*= is cliticized to verb phrases, in many sentences as the sole mark of nominalization.

- (35) Tagalog (Austronesian: Philippines) (Nagaya 2011:595, 608)
 a. d<um>ating ang= bata sa=simbahan. (main clause)
 arrive<AVC> ART.DEF.NOM child DAT=church
 ‘The child arrived at the church.’
 b. ma-hirap ang=mag-mahal ng=syota ng=iba (nominalized clause)
 ADJ-hard NMLZ=AVC-love GEN=girlfriend GEN=another
NMLZ=AVC-love GEN=girlfriend GEN=another
 ‘It is hard to love the girlfriend (of another).’

3. Syntax

The process of nominalization imposes constraints on the verb phrase which is transformed into a nominal expression (§3.1). On the other hand, the nominalized expression assumes a syntactic function in the main clause (§3.2).

3.1 Verbal input

Main clauses have four basic syntactic projections: the predicate (§3.1.1), the predicate with its complements and adjuncts (§3.1.2), the nonfinite clause (§3.1.3), the finite clause (§3.1.4).

Many languages in the volume exhibit nominalizers that can scope over several projections. Some nominalizers have a specialized syntactic scope.

3.1.1 V-nominalizers

Most languages in the sample exhibit nominalizers that only apply to the root verb. The productivity of V-nominalizers varies. Some have formed lexicalized expressions with the verb.

The Nuosu language exhibits three V-nominalizers: *-lu* (action), *-jjux* (quality) and *-tie* (manner).

(36)	Nuosu (Tibeto-Burman: China)			(Gerner, field notes)
Verb	-lu (action)	-jjux (quality or extent)	-tie (manner)	
mgu ‘love’	mgu- lu ‘love’ (n.)	mgu- jjux ‘extent of love’	mgu- tie ‘expression of love’	
zze ‘eat’	zze- lu ‘diet’	zze- jjux ‘quality of diet’	zze- tie ‘way of eating’	
syp ‘know’	syp- lu ‘knowledge’	syp- jjux ‘extent of knowledge’	syp- tie ‘way of knowing’	
ju ‘govern’	ju- lu ‘acts of governing’	ju- jjux ‘extent of government’	ju- tie ‘way of governing’	
hmat ‘teach’	hmat- lu ‘teaching’	hmat- jjux ‘quality of teaching’	hmat- tie ‘way of teaching’	
hxip ‘speak’	hxip- lu ‘speech’	hxip- jjux ‘quality of speech’	hxip- tie ‘way of speaking’	
chyp ‘weave’	chyp- lu ‘act of weaving’	chyp- jjux ‘weaving quality’	chyp- tie ‘way of weaving’	
mu ‘do’	mu- lu ‘acts’	mu- jjux ‘extent of deeds’	mu- tie ‘way of doing’	
ggat ‘wear’	ggat- lu ‘wardrobe’	ggat- jjux ‘quality of clothing’	ggat- tie ‘way of clothing’	
hxep ‘see’	hxep- lu ‘view’	hxep- jjux ‘extent of view’	hxep- tie ‘perspective’	
ndo ‘drink’	ndo- lu ‘acts of drinking’	ndo- jjux ‘extent of drinking’	ndo- tie ‘way of drinking’	
bbur ‘write’	bbur- lu ‘writing’	bbur- jjux ‘quality of writing’	bbur- tie ‘manner of writing’	
nra ‘measure’	nra- lu ‘act of measuring’	nra- jjux ‘measure’ (n., abstract)	nra- tie ‘manner of measuring’	

V-nominalizers cannot scope over arguments of the verb, as in (37a-b). The agent

is often marked by genitive case or in a way that identifies it as the possessor of the nominalized event, as in (37c-d).

- (37) a. *zzax zze-**jjux**
 food eat-NMLZ
 ‘the quality of diet’
- b. *bbur ma hmat-**tie**
 written language teach-NMLZ
 ‘the way of teaching the written language’
- c. *nga syp-**lu**
 1SG know-NMLZ
 ‘my knowledge’
- d. ngat syp-**lu**
 1SG.POSS know-NMLZ
 ‘my knowledge’

The Japanese V-nominalizer *-sa* applies to root adjectives and negated verbs. It is productive and returns stative nouns.

- (38) Japanese (Isolate group: Japan) (Wrona 2011:425-426)

Adjective	-sa (state)	Adjective	-sa (state)
taka- ‘high’	taka- sa ‘height’	utukusi ‘beautiful’	utukusi- sa ‘beauty’
huka- ‘deep’	huka- sa ‘depth’	muzukasi ‘difficult’	muzukasi- sa ‘difficulty’
benri- ‘convenient’	benri- sa ‘convenience’	ningen-rasi ‘human-like’	ningen-rasi- sa ‘humanness’
hagesi- ‘intense’	hagesi- sa ‘intensity’		

Arguments of the adjective or of the negated verb are invariably marked by genitive case which demonstrates that *-sa* is a V-nominalizer (and not for example a VP-nominalizer).

- (39) a. nedan-no (/ *ga) taka-**sa**
 price-GEN (/ *NOM) high-NMLZ
 ‘the highness of price’
- b. saikin-no gakusei-no (/ *ga) hon-no (/ *o) yom-ana-**sa-ni**
late-GEN student-GEN (/ *NOM) book-GEN (/ *ACC) read-NEG-NMLZ-DAT
 akire-ta
 surprise-PST
 ‘I was surprised that students nowadays do not read books.’

3.1.2 VP-nominalizers

VP-nominalizers scope over the predicate with its complements and adjuncts. The external agent of the VP is encoded as the possessor of the nominalized event. Specialized VP-nominalizers cannot nominalize finite verb forms, i.e. verbs that are marked for tense, aspect and modality.

Nuosu has two VP-nominalizers: *-ddu* (product, instrument) and *-dde* (place).

(40) Nuosu (Tibeto-Burman: China) (Gerner, field notes)

Complement	Verb	-ddu (product, instrument)	-dde (place)
zzax ‘food’	zze ‘eat’	zzax zze- ddu ‘cutlery’	zzax zze- dde ‘place of eating’
bbur ma ‘script’	ssox ‘study’	bbur ma ssox- ddu ‘study tools’	(bbur ma) ssox- dde ‘school’
vap la ‘coat’	chyp ‘weave’	vap la chyp- ddu ‘loom’	vap la chyp- dde ‘place of weaving’
vit gga ‘clothes’	ggat ‘wear’	vit gga ggat- ddu ‘clothing utensils’	---
nry ‘wine’	ndo ‘drink’	nry ndo- ddu ‘drinking utensils’	nry ndo- dde ‘wine drinking place’
---	nyi ‘sit’	---	nyix- dde ‘seat’
---	it nyi gu ‘sleep’	---	it nyi gu- dde ‘sleeping place’

In (41), *-ddu* and *-dde* cannot nominalize VPs marked for aspect and tense. Example (42) shows that agents must be expressed as possessors (with a tone change).

- (41) a. *zzax zze ox-**ddu**
 food eat-D.PRV-NMLZ
 ‘utensils that were used for eating’
- b. *nyi da-**dde**
 sit-ST.PRV-NMLZ
 ‘the place of sitting (now)’
- (42) a. *cy nry ndo-**ddu**
 3SG wine drink-NMLZ
 ‘his drinking utensils’
- b. cyp nry ndo-**ddu**
 3SG.POSS wine drink-NMLZ
 ‘his drinking utensils’

Zhuokeji rGyalrong uses two VP-nominalizers with similar properties: *kə-* (agent) and *sɛ-* (place, instrument). They scope over complements but not over the external agent which is indexed on the verb by a genitive prefix.

- (43) Zhuokeji rGyalrong (Tibeto-Burman: China) (Genetti 2011:187)
- a. rɿalpô wə-**kə**-nəmfi
king 3SG.POSS-NMLZ-know
'the one who knows the king'
- b. ŋə-**sɛ**-rmɛ
1SG.POSS-NMLZ-sleep
'the place where I sleep'

3.1.3 Nonfinite clause nominalizers

Nonfinite clause nominalizers scope over all arguments and adjuncts of the predicate. Case-marking of arguments is not changed during nominalization. The sole restriction is that the nominalized clause cannot be marked for tense, aspect and modality.

The morpheme *-cyo/-cɿ* in Magar is a nonfinite clause nominalizer. The adnominal restrictive relative clauses or nonembedded nominalizations it marks do not carry TAM inflections.

- (44) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:227)
- a. ŋa-o bfiɔya-ke dus-**cɿ** bfiormi tafi-rafi-a
1SG younger brother-DAT help-NMLZ person reach-come-PST
'The man who helped my younger brother arrived.'
- b. ŋa-e ŋa-o boi-e phinfi-**cɿ** cho rɿ
1SG-ERG 1SG-GEN mother-ERG cook-NMLZ rice and
dal jak=le-aŋ
lentil like=IMPF-1.PRO
'I like the rice and the lentils that my mother cooks.'
- (45) cituwa rafi-a rɿ mi-ja-ke sat-a rɿ kher-ak-**cɿ**
leopard come-PST and POSS-child-DAT kill-PST and run-CAUS-NMLZ
'The leopard came, killed the baby and ran away with it.'

3.1.4 Finite clause nominalizers

Finite clauses are clauses marked for tense, aspect and modality. Finite clause nominalizers scope over morphemes that express TAM notions. There is a tendency for finite clause nominalizers to allow nonembedded nominalizations (§3.2.2) but this tendency is not absolute. For a counterexample see (45).

Several languages of the sample display finite clause nominalizers. The nominalizer *-anə* in Budai Rukai scopes over TAM affixes such as the perfective aspect in (46a) or

the progressive aspect in (46b) which is expressed by reduplication. Yet, *-anə* does not scope over the agent of the nominalized clause which is marked by genitive case.

- (46) Budai Rukai (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Sung 2011:548-549)
- a. malisi ka sa|abu ka ta-kan-**anə**-ŋa-li
 angry NOM name OBL NFUT-eat-NMLZ-PFV-1SG.GEN
 ‘Salabu is angry at my having eaten already.’
- b. kiala|a-la|a-aku ku ta-sənasənað-**anə** ki aðaðamə
 listen~PROG-1SG.NOM OBL NFUT-sing~PROG-NMLZ GEN bird
 ‘I am listening to the singing sound of the bird.’

The relative clause marker *-ba* in Dhankute Tamang scopes over tense affixes. It is unknown whether *-ba* also scopes over other TAM markers.

- (47) Dhankute Tamang (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Noonan 2011:206-207)
- a. chjoi do-**ba** mfi
book read-NMLZ person
 ‘person who reads books’
- b. chjoi do-**ba**-la mfi
book read-NMLZ-PST person
 ‘person who read books’

The Galo language has two suppletive nominalizers *-nám* and *-há* that are marked for realis/irrealis mood (see §2.2.3 above). The finiteness of the nominalized clause is thus encoded by the nominalizers.

3.2 Nominal output

The nominalized expression is either embedded in a main clause (§3.2.1) or makes up a main clause on its own (§3.2.2). Many nominalizers generate structures that fall into both categories such as the Nuosu nominalizer *-su*. (48a-d) exemplify embedded nominalizations and (49) a nonembedded nominalization.

- (48) Nuosu (Tibeto-Burman: China) (Gerner, field notes)
- a. tep yy mu ga gup gox sha **su** a shyt-jjy-a shyt adnominal embedding
 book name throw SEND NMLZ new-very-new as relative clause
 ‘The books which were thrown away by Muga were brand-new.’

- b. nga syr juo go da hxip mgep **su** bbux dde adnominal embedding
 1SG forest LOC COV chat NMLZ story as noun complement clause
 syp cyx ge.
 converse 3SG tell
 ‘I told him the story about forest chatter.’
- c. sut co mox da ngax wa zyt bit **su** jjo. pronominal embedding
 someone else COV 1SG after criticize NMLZ have as headless relative clause
 ‘There are those who speak badly about me in front of others.’
- d. nga bbur ma bbur **su** sso njuo. pronominal embedding
 1SG written language write NMLZ study PROG as verb complement clause
 ‘I am learning how to write.’
- (49) (ne xip mu go li,) nonembedded
 2SG DEM.DD do COMP TOP
 cy a hnat mu nit jox zyt ry la **su** nge.
 3SG especially 2SG toward enrage become NMLZ COP
 ‘(If you proceed in this way,) **he** will be particularly enraged against you.’

Some nominalizers, however, are specialized in encoding only one of these functions.

3.2.1 Embedded

If the nominalization is embedded in a larger clause, it is either used adnominally (§A) or pronominally (§B).

A) *Adnominal*. Nominalizations are attached to lexical nouns as complement clauses or as relative clauses (adjunct clauses). Relative clauses are abundantly recorded in the volume. Nominal complement clauses are sparsely attested. The relative clause markers in (50)-(53) are specialized adnominal nominalizers.

- (50) Galo (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Post 2011:267)
 tatik káa-**nám** doojii ə=əi. noun complement clause
 frog look-NMLZ.RLS story COP=TAG
 ‘(So it’s) the story of looking at the frog, eh?’
- (51) Numhpuk Singpho (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Morey 2011:293)
 a kawhtaq ni grim **re** māgui wa. restrictive relative clause
 EXCL caste name PL catch NMLZ elephant DEF
 ‘Yes, the elephant that was caught by the Kotha people.’

- (52) Northern Kurdish (Indo-European: Turkey) (Haig 2011:366)
aw kas-ē awwilī b-ē-t restrictive relative clauses
DEM person-EZ.M first SUB-come.PRS-3SG
‘The person who shall come first.’
- (53) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:227)
jya-cyo ja-ja-ko ma-nak=le nonrestrictive relative clauses
eat-NMLZ child-PL NEG-talk=IMPF
‘Eating children do not talk.’

In accordance with word order universals (Greenberg 1963), OV languages in the volume almost always embed nominalizations *pre*nominally. One counterexample is Northern Kurdish, as shown in (52). Contrary to typological predictions, VO (i.e. Sinitic and Austronesian) languages in the volume also favor *pre*nominal embedding. Exceptions are Tagalog (Nagaya 2011:601) and Malay (Yap 2011:633) with *post*nominal relative clauses.

Kavalan exhibits *pre*nominal and *post*nominal relative clauses with no change in meaning (Hsieh 2011:505). In Nuosu, relative clauses can be attached to both sides of the noun with a semantic difference. Postnominal relative clauses are always restrictive; prenominal relative clauses are always nonrestrictive.

- (54) Nuosu (Tibeto-Burman: China) (Gerner, field notes)
- a. co nax jjo mgo jjo **su** *post*nominal
person illness have illness have NMLZ common noun
Restrictive relative clause: ‘the people who are ill’
- b. *mu ga nax jjo mgo jjo **su** *post*nominal
name illness have illness have NMLZ proper noun
Ungrammatical restrictive relative clause: ‘the Muga who is ill’
- c. nax jjo mgo jjo **su** co *pre*nominal
illness have illness have NMLZ person common noun
Nonrestrictive relative clause: ‘the people who are ill’
- d. nax jjo mgo jjo **su** mu ga *pre*nominal
illness have illness have NMLZ name proper noun
Nonrestrictive relative clause: ‘Muga who is ill’

Head-internal relative clauses are ‘gapless’ relative clauses in which the head noun is not extraposed. They are attested in Japanese, Korean (Horie 2011:474) and some Tibeto-Burman languages.

- (55) Galo (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Post 2011:270)
 nó-kə ʔagóm takàa-**nám** gadə *circumnominal*
 2SG-GEN speech ask-NMLZ.RLS QUANT[group]
 ‘the bunch of [questions that you asked]’

B) *Pronominal*. Nominalizations are pronominally embedded as verb complement clauses or as headless relative clauses. Complementizers always produce pronominal structures, as in (56).

- (56) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:220)
 ŋa ŋar għoyof-**ke** pɔɽ-dí=le *verb complement clause*
 1SG field plough-NMLZ MOD[must]-LN=IMPF
 ‘I need to plough the field.’

In a similar way, dedicated V- and VP-nominalizers (§3.1.1 & §3.1.2) almost always generate pronominal expressions.

- (57) Kavalan (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Hsieh 2011:517)
pa-tud-an timaiku mai mawtu taqsian *VP-nominalizer*
CAUS-teach-NMLZ 1SG.ACC NEG AVC.come school
 ‘My teacher did not come to school.’

3.2.2 Nonembedded

Nonembedded nominalized expressions can stand alone as relative clause (§A) or as whole clause (§B). There is a correlation between nonembedded nominalization and finite clause nominalization (§3.1.4). Finite clause nominalizations often occur as independent clauses which give rise to pragmatic implicatures (§5). These implicatures are sometimes reanalyzed as TAM concepts (§6).

A) *Adnominal*. Adnominal nonembedded nominalizations are common in Austronesian languages but are also attested in Tibeto-Burman Japanese/Korean and Sinitic languages. Stand-alone relative clauses are typically used for exclamations.

- (58) Malagasy (Austronesian: Madagascar) (Potsdam 2011:664)
 izany boky vakiany
 DEM book read.PASS.3SG
 ‘The book that he reads!’

B) *Pronominal*. Pronominal nonembedded nominalizations are widespread in Tibeto-Burman languages but exist also in Japanese/Korean, Sinitic and Austronesian languages.

- (59) Cantonese (Sinitic: China) (Xu & Matthews 2011:121)
 Peter zung1ji3 sik6 lau41lin4 **ge3**
 name like eat durian NMLZ
without copula support
 ‘Peter likes to eat durians.’
- (60) Budai Rukai (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Sung 2011:543)
 lisi-**anə**-li (inianə)!
 angry-NMLZ-1SG.GEN 3SG.OBL
without copula support
 ‘I am very angry (at him) (*lit.* my being angry (at him)).’
- (61) Chaozhou dialect (Sinitic: China) (Xu & Matthews 2011:121)
 ua⁵³ si³⁵⁻²¹ tio⁵⁵⁻¹¹ ziu³³ lai⁵⁵⁻¹¹ **kai⁵⁵⁻¹¹**
 1SG COP Chaozhou come NMLZ
with copula support
 ‘I do come from Chaozhou.’
- (62) Dolakha Newar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Genetti 2011:170)
 mansu la⁼na syen-**gu** ka
 name=ERG teach-NOM ASSERTION
with particle support
 ‘Mansu Lal taught us (that song).’
- (63) Galo (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Post 2011:274)
 ŋó caacii əm-**nám** =ə jòo
 1SG elder brother say-NMLZ.RLS COP NEXP
with copula & particle support
 ‘No, I said “caaci” (not “caaca” as you had accused).’

The nominalizers used in (59)-(63) are also employed to embed nominalizations in main clauses. By contrast, the Magar nominalizer *-o* is specialized in marking nonembedded nominalizations. Grunow-Hårsta describes *-o* as “erstwhile nominalizer” (2011: 233).

- (64) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:235)
 thapa i-laŋ le-**o**=le
 name DEM.PROX-LOC IMPF-NOM=IMPF
 (I realize to my surprise that) ‘Thapa is here!’
with particle support

4. Semantics

The nominalized expression encodes semantic aspects of the verbal input, either its participants (§4.1), its nonphysical properties (§4.2), or the situation denoted by it (§4.3).

Several languages in the volume display nominalizers that can be used for participant *and* event nominalization. The Chantyal nominalizer *-wa* (Noonan 2011:198-201) and the Kavalan nominalizer *=ay* (Hsieh 2011:503-509) convey both concepts in different syntactic constructions. Singpho (Morey 2011:297) and Nuosu may encode participant and event nominalization in the same construction.

- (65) Nuosu (Tibeto-Burman: China) (Chen & Wu 1998:116)
- hxip **-su** mu **-su** jjyx- qo ssox
 say NMLZ do NMLZ RECL follow MOD[should]
 (i) ‘The speaker should agree with the doer.’ (Participant nominalization)
 (ii) ‘Speech should agree with deeds.’ (Event nominalization)

4.1 Participant nominalization

Many participant nominalizers can encode several participant roles of the verb. The Magar suffix *-cya* is a specialized participant nominalizer that returns agents, patients and places (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:227).

4.1.1 Agent (subject)

The Old Chinese nominalizer *-zhe* functioned as specialized agent nominalizer during 700 BC-100 AD before enlarging its uses to subordinating functions.

- (66) Old Chinese (Sinitic: China) (Yap & Wang 2011:66)
- 夫執與者爲誰 (Lun Yu)
 fu zhi yu zhe wei shei?
 DEM control carriage NMLZ COP who
 ‘Who is the one driving the carriage?’

The Galo morpheme *-nà* is specialized as agent nominalizer and is relatively productive.

- (67) Galo (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Post 2011:268)
- aə Ø_i [?]acir-[?]abük bük-nà Ø_i=əm làa-kàa-tó
 HDST.SLEV pockmark emerge-NMLZ =ACC take-TENT-IMPF.ODIR
 ‘Get the one which is bulging with pockmarks.’

In the same way, the circumfix *pa-...-an* in Kavalan is a specialized agent nominalizer, as illustrated in the above example (57).

4.1.2 Patient (direct object)

The Old Chinese nominalizer *suo* was a dedicated patient nominalizer derived from the noun for places.

- (68) Old Chinese (Sinitic: China) (Yap & Wang 2011:84)
 獨籍所殺漢軍數百人 (Shi Ji)
 du Ji **suo**_i sha_i han jun_i shu bai ren
alone name NMLZ kill Han army several hundred people
 ‘The Han army that Ji alone has killed numbered several hundred people.’

The Mongsen Ao nominalizer *tə-* is dedicated to marking the participant role of patient.

- (69) Mongsen Ao (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Genetti 2011:185)
 tə-mə-tʃã? i
NMLZ-NEG-eat DEM.PROX
 ‘that which is not to be eaten’

4.1.3 Recipient (indirect object)

Almost no author of the volume investigated the possibility of recipient nominalization. It seems that no nominalizer is specialized in marking the participant role of recipient. Most nominalizers cannot even be used for this function.

On a nonexclusive basis, the Nuosu nominalizer *-su* can encode the participant role of recipient. The extraposed recipient NP does not leave a gap in the nominalized clause but a resumptive pronoun.

- (70) Nuosu (Tibeto-Burman: China) (Gerner, field notes)
 ax yi nga bbux dde sip **cop** ge **su** o bbu-jjy-o bbu
 child 1SG story COV[take] 3P PL tell NMLZ very intelligent
 ‘The children whom I told the story are very intelligent.’

4.1.4 Instrument

Several languages in the volume exhibit specialized instrument nominalizers. Syntactically, instrument nominalizers scope either over V or VP (§3.1.1 and §3.1.2). They have reduced productivity and often produce lexicalized expressions.

The Saisiyat bare prefix *ka-* derives instruments from verbs that subcategorize instrumental nouns.

- (71) Saisiyat (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Yeh 2011:567)
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| a. ka-pahayo' | b. ka-bo:bo: |
| NMLZ-light up | NMLZ-fan |
| ‘your hand’ | ‘fan’ |

In many languages of the volume, instruments can be encoded by a relative clause in which the instrumental noun is extraposed as head noun. Examples are omitted here.

4.1.5 Location

The Nuosu VP-nominalizer *-dde* is dedicated to mark the role of location. Examples are provided in §3.1.2. Similarly the Galo nominalizer *-kò* is specialized in encoding places. It is a productive suffix.

- (72) Galo (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Post 2011:278)
- mark jòo=lo làa jùp-dùu-**kò**=ə
- name what=LOC INT sleep-IMPF-NMLZ=TOP
- ‘Where does Mark sleep (*lit.* Mark is where that is his sleeping place)?’

4.2 Property nominalization

Nonphysical properties of events are immanent attributes such as *manner*, *reason*, *purpose*. Languages of the volume encode these nonphysical properties by complement clauses of an abstract lexical noun, case markers and specialized affixal nominalizers.

In Mandarin Chinese, the general nominalizer *-de* may connect a clause to an abstract noun that encodes a property of the event.

- (73) Mandarin Chinese (Li & Thompson 1981:583)
- | | |
|--|--|
| a. wǒ lái zhèr de yuángù | |
| <u>1SG come here</u> NMLZ reason | |
| ‘the reason why I came here’ | |
| b. pǎshǒu tōu dōngxī de fāngfǎ | |
| <u>pickpocket steal thing</u> NMLZ method | |
| ‘the method by which pickpockets steal things’ | |

In Dolakha Newar, the benefactive case marker *-lāgin* encodes the nominalized clause as the cause of the event expressed in the main clause, as illustrated in (25). Mongsen Ao uses the instrumental case marker *-nə* to encode the cause of an event.

- (74) Mongsen Ao (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Genetti 2011:175, quoting Coupe 2007:11)
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------------|------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| pa | tə-ləm | ku | tsə- pà-nə | tə-ləm | tʃu | apak-tʃuk |
| <u>3SG</u> | <u>PREF-head</u> | <u>LOC</u> | <u>peck-NMLZ-INS</u> | <u>PREF-head</u> | <u>DEM.DIST</u> | <u>flat-PFV.PST</u> |
- ‘Because [the other birds] pecked on her head, [owl’s] head became flat.’

Nuosu exhibits two suffixes that are specialized property nominalizers: *-jjux* (extent) and *-tie* (manner). They are presented in (36) above. Gallo displays several suffixal nominalizers dedicated to mark property nominalization.

- (75) Galo (Tibeto-Burman: India) (Post 2011:264)
- | Nominalizer | Property | Nominalizer | Property |
|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| -pée | ‘habit of doing’ | -dín | ‘reason for’ |
| -dò | ‘range of’ | -kór | ‘manner of’ |
| -zék | ‘section resulting from’ | -róo | ‘completion of’ |
| -tə | ‘spatial endpoint of’ | -di | ‘time of’ |
| -lám | ‘point along path of’ | | |

4.3 Situation nominalization

A nominalized expression can name the state (§4.3.1) or event (§4.3.2) denoted by the clause. For both functions, there are languages in the volume with specialized nominalizers.

4.3.1 States

Nominalizers dedicated to naming states are sparsely attested in the sample. The only uncontroversial example is the Japanese suffix *-sa*. It is a productive V-nominalizer which requires adjectives as input.

- (76) Japanese (Isolate group: Japan) (Wrona 2011:425)
- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|----------|
| sono | ningen-rasi- sa -o | kanzi-ta |
| DEM | <u>human-like-NMLZ-ACC</u> | feel-PST |
- ‘(He) felt his humanness.’

4.3.2 Events

The prototypical event nominalizer is the productive English suffix *-ing*. It requires a dynamic interpretation of the verbal predicate. If this interpretation is not available, it cannot be used (e.g. **being dead*).

Toqabaqita uses the suffix *-la* as dedicated action nominalizer. Lichtenberk (2011: 702) did not discuss whether *-la* can also nominalize non-control processes such as *raining*.

- (77) Toqabaqita (Austronesian: Solomon Islands) (Lichtenberk 2011:702)
 raa keeroqa ni bo=naqa lae-laa uri-a raqa-futa-**laa**
 work 3DL POSS INTS=INTS go-NMLZ PURP-3OBJ climb-possum-NMLZ
 ‘Their work was to go possum-hunting.’

5. Pragmatics

In addition to the meaning encoded in nominalizations, nominalizers may develop contextual effects. In implicature theory, it is possible to distinguish between encoded and contextually derived meaning by using the so-called test of intra-sentential cancellation. Meaning encoded in a linguistic expression cannot be negated in the same sentence without a sense of contradiction; implicated meaning can be negated.⁷ No author in the volume has applied this test to the data.

Contextually derived meanings are almost always generated in nonembedded nominalizations. Nominalizations in the volume are used to convey contrastive focus (§5.1), aspect and tense (§5.2), modality (§5.3), evidentiality (§5.4) and speaker attitudes (§5.5).

5.1 Focus

Many languages in the volume use nominalizations to place a syntactic constituent in contrastive focus (Kiss 1998). Examples from Korean and the Chinese Chaozhou dialect are provided.

⁷ For the quantified clause *John has three cows*, we have the scalar implicature *John has three cows and not more*. This implicature is defeasible through intra-sentential cancellation: *John has three cows, in fact ten*. The encoded meaning of *John has three cows* is *John has three cows and not less*. This sense cannot be cancelled without creating a sense of contradiction: *#John has three cows, in fact none*.

- (78) Korean (Isolate: Korea) (Rhee 2011:414)
 kuke-n phokhayng-i-ci, cangnan-i anti-ta
 it-TOP violence-COP-NMLZ play-COP be.NEG-DECL
 ‘It is violence, not a playful action.’
- (79) Chaozhou dialect (Sinitic: China) (Xu & Matthews 2011:121)
 ua⁵³ si³⁵⁻²¹ tio⁵⁵⁻¹¹ ziu³³ lai⁵⁵⁻¹¹ kai⁵⁵⁻¹¹
 1SG COP Chaozhou come NOM
 ‘I come from Chaozhou (*lit.* It is Chaozhou that I come from).’

5.2 Aspect and tense

Another secondary meaning developed by nominalizers is aspect and tense. The Magar event nominalizer *-mΛ* is co-associated with the copula to indicate progressive aspect. It is reminiscent of the English suffix *-ing*.

- (80) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:223)
 naŋ-ko-e ho-laŋ hi jat-mΛ=na=le-nis
 2SG-HON-ERG DEM.DIST what do-NMLZ=2SG=COP-2SG
 ‘What were you doing there?’

The Magar complementizer *-ke* conveys (immediate) future tense, typically when it is supported by the copula in nonembedded nominalizations.

- (81) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:229)
 khalap ŋa-e cho jya-ke=le
 one.minute 1SG-ERG rice meal eat-NMLZ-COP
 ‘Just a minute, I am about to eat my meal.’

The Northern Kurdish nominalizer derives *present relevance*. With unbound stative predicates, it conveys present tense and with bound predicates it indicates present relevance of a completed action.

- (82) Northern Kurdish (Indo-European: Turkey) (Haig 2011:370-371)
- a. ew (y)êt kurd-in present tense
 DEM EZ.PL[NMLZ] Kurd-COP.PL stative predicate
 ‘They are Kurds.’
- b. xuşk-a min ya çut-î sîk-ê present relevance
 sister 1SG.OBL EZ.F[NMLZ] go.PST-PRT market-OBL bound predicate
 ‘My sister has gone to the market.’

5.3 Modality

Nominalizers investigated in the volume also derive modal meanings, both epistemic and deontic. For example the Nar-phu language displays two nominalizers: *-pɛ* and *-te*. Both suffixes derive epistemic modality senses.

- (83) Nar-phu (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Noonan 2011:208)
- | Nominalizers | Derived meanings |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| -pɛ | completive and epistemic necessity |
| -te | progressive and epistemic possibility |
- (84) a. ηæ kha-**pɛ** mû b. ηæ kha-**te** mû
 1SG come-NMLZ COP 1SG come-NMLZ COP
 ‘I have (definitely) come.’ ‘I might be coming.’

When the Korean nominalizer *-lkes* is used in nonembedded nominalization it derives the illocutionary force of an order (deontic modality), as in (85a). It is also co-associated with the negative imperative suffix to convey the sense of prohibition, as shown in (85b).

- (85) Korean (Isolate: Korea) (Rhee 2011:401)
- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. nayil chayk sa- lkes! | b. wuhoycen ha-cima- lkes! |
| tomorrow book buy-NMLZ | right.turn do-NEG.IMP-NMLZ |
| ‘Buy a/the book tomorrow!’ | ‘Do not turn right!’ |

5.4 Evidentiality

Some nominalizers indicate the information source that underpins an assertion. Three types of evidence can be implicated by nominalizers in the volume (Willett 1988: 57): attested (personal experience), reported (tradition), inferred (reasoning).

In Abui, the proximal demonstrative *-do* implicates that the information was obtained from the speaker’s personal experience. The distal demonstrative *-nu* indicates that the basis of the information is tradition.

- (86) Abui (Trans-New Guinea: Indonesia) (Kratochvíl 2011:773)
- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| a. na nala nee=ti beek-a do | personal experience |
| 1SG something eat=CPL bad-PROG DEM.PROX | |
| ‘I couldn’t eat up (swallow) something.’ | |
| b. nuku oro mali do=ng we-i nu | tradition |
| NUM.1 DEM.DIST place DEM.PROX=look leave-PFV DEM.DIST | |
| ‘one (ancestor) went to Mali over there’ | |

The Japanese nominalizer *-n(o)* together with the copula indicates that the information is based on reasoning.

- (87) Japanese (Isolate group: Japan) (Horie 2011:484)
 Yamada-san-ga ko-nai-na. kito yoozi-ga aru-**n**-da reasoning
 name-HON.NOM come-NEG-PRT surely errand-NOM be-NMLZ-COP
 ‘Mr. Yamada does not come. It must be that he has something to do.’

5.5 Speaker attitude

In many languages of the volume, nominalized expressions serve an exclamative function. Exclamations are not necessarily associated with one particular attitude of the speaker. The same exclamation can be interpreted as an expression of good or bad attitudes. In some languages, however, the exclamative function of nominalizers is associated with a particular attitude. The attested attitudes are surprise (“mirativity”) and annoyance.

In Tagalog, nominalized expressions are often used to make an exclamation.

- (88) Tagalog (Austronesian: Philippines) (Nagaya 2011:610)
ang=ganda ni=Kim
 NMLZ=beautiful NOM=name
 ‘How beautiful Kim is! (*lit.* Kin’s beauty.)’

The Chantyal nominalizer *-wa* is associated with contexts in which the utterance represents unexpected information.

- (89) Chantyal (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Noonan 2011:202)
 bənnu-ye nal tato ta-si-**wa** mirative
 gun-GEN barrel hot become-PRV-NMLZ
 ‘The barrel of the gun had become hot!’

The Toqabaqita nominalizer *-laa* is typically connected with contexts in which the speaker voices his annoyance.

- (90) Toqabaqita (Austronesian: Solomon Islands) (Lichtenberk 2011:711)
 liu-**laa** ni boqo neri annoyed
 walk.aimlessly-NMLZ POSS ASSERT NPST.here
 ‘Walking all over the place (all the time)!’

6. Diachrony

Forms that encode nominalization often served different functions at an earlier stage in history (§6.1). On the other hand, nominalizers also make way for new functions and meanings (§6.2).

6.1 Sources

Many nominalizers in the collection have opaque sources like, for example, the Korean nominalizers (except *-kes*, see Rhee 2011:395). Nominalizers with identifiable sources almost always originate from less grammatical concepts, either lexical nouns or nominal function words. One exception of this uni-directionality hypothesis seems to be the Saisiyat nominalizer *Ca-* which evolved from a former future tense marker (see Yeh 2011:578).

Nominal function words that were reanalyzed as nominalizers overlap with items in the following list (§2.3): case markers, possessive morphemes, classifiers, plural morphemes and determiners.

6.1.1 ‘person’

In several languages of the volume, the nominalizer is historically developed from a human common noun. An overview is provided in the following table.

Language	Nominalizer	Lexical source	Reference
Chinese	-zhe	‘person’	Yap & Wang (2011:63)
Nuosu	-su	‘other person’	Gerner, field notes
Many Tibeto-Burman languages	-wa	‘father’	Morey (2011:298) (for example)
Malay	punya	‘master, owner’	Yap (2011:649)

6.1.2 ‘place’

A number of languages derive their nominalizers from the common noun *place*: the Old Chinese nominalizer for the participant role of patient and instrument (*suo*, Yap & Wang 2011:79), the Galo nominalizer for the role of location (*ko*, Post 2011:280) and the Japanese locative nominalizer (*tokoro*, Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011:11).

6.1.3 Other lexical sources

The Japanese root nominalizer *-sa* is possibly derived from the Old Japanese noun *sama* ‘appearance, direction’ but this hypothesis is not accepted by all specialists (Wrona

2011:427). The Korean nominalizer *-kes* started as a lexical noun denoting ‘thing, skin, surface’ (Rhee 2011:395). The etymon of the Chinese nominalizer *de* is probably the noun *di* 底 ‘bottom’ (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011:29).

6.1.4 Case markers

The Magar nominalizer *-o* is grammaticalized from a genitive case marker which is still in use today (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:224). Similarly, the Magar nominalizer *-ke* is derived from a dative case marker still in circulation.

- (91) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:221)
- | | | | | |
|----------|----------|--------|----------|---------------|
| kumari-e | bhim-ke | gyok | yafi-a | dative marker |
| name-ERG | name-DAT | basket | give-PST | |
- ‘Kumari gave a basket to Bhim.’
- | | | | | |
|----------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| kumari-e | gyok | jafi-ke | pa-m _Λ =le | nominalizer |
| name-ERG | <u>basket</u> | <u>weave-NMLZ</u> | seek-NMLZ=IMPF | |
- ‘Kumari wants to weave a basket.’

6.1.5 Possessive morpheme

Several languages derive the nominalizer from morphemes whose main function is/was to mark possessive noun phrases.

The Malay nominalizer *-nya* (unrelated to *punya*, see §6.1.1) originates from the third person possessive pronoun *-nya* ‘his’ (Yap 2011:643).

- (92) Malay (Austronesian: Malaysia) (Yap 2011:638)
- a. potong saja ekor=**nya** Third person possessive
 cut just tail=3SG.POSS
 ‘Just cut off its tail.’
- b. budak 'ni makan=**nya** tak ikut masa Nominalizer
 child DEM.PROX eat=NMLZ NEG follow time
 ‘This child is not eating regularly (*lit.* The child, his eating does not follow the schedule).’
- c. nampak=**nya** enak juga Nominalizer
see=NMLZ delicious also
 ‘It appears to be quite delicious, too.’

The Magar nominalizer *mi-* is grammaticalized from a morpheme that marks inalienable possession.

- (93) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:228)
- a. tul ruma-o **mi**-ja ale Inalienable possession
 name name POSS-child COP
 ‘Tul is Ruma’s child.’
- b. ho-se motΛr-o **me**-kher kat għanta parchas Nominalizer
DEM.DIST motor-GEN NMLZ-run NUM.1 hour NUM.50
 kilΛmter le
 kilometer IMPF
 ‘Tha motor’s speed is fifty kilometers per hour.’

6.1.6 Relative pronoun

The nominalizer of Northern Kurdish is derived from an Old Iranian relative pronoun inflected for case, number and gender (Haig 2011:387). As relative pronouns encode relative clauses, a particular kind of nominalization, the Kurdish “Ezafe” appears to have broadened its nominalization function and not reanalyzed its meaning.

6.1.7 Classifiers

In Tai-Kadai and Miao-Yao languages, a classifier together with a demonstrative encodes nominalized expressions, see example (34) above. The function of nominalization is not assumed by one particular form but by a family of forms. The nominalizers are derived by a process of polygrammaticalization.

By contrast, in the Chaozhou dialect of Chinese only one form, the general classifier *kai*⁵⁵⁻¹¹, gives rise to the function of nominalizer (see §2.3.3).

6.1.8 Determiner

The Malay nominalizer *yang* probably originates from a Proto-Malayo-Polynesian demonstrative (Yap 2011:631). In Modern Malay *yang* is only used as a definite article and as nominalizer.

- (94) Malay (Austronesian: Malaysia) (Yap 2011:630)
- a. yang bapa ketawa; **yang** ibu menangis Definite article
 ART father laugh ART mother cry
 ‘The father laughed, the mother cried.’
- b. buang saja bunga **yang** sudah layu itu Nominalizer
 throw just flower ART PFV wither DEM.DIST
 ‘Just throw away those flowers that have withered.’

Similarly, the Tagalog definite article *ang*= has given rise to a nominalizer (Nagaya 2011:594). The example (35) illustrates both uses.

6.2 Destinations

Nominalizers also give rise to new functions and meanings. They morph into voice and TAM markers. These innovations are triggered in nonembedded nominalizations of the pronominal type or of the adnominal type (Wrona 2011:432-435).

- (95) Adnominal nonembedded nominalization: John who behaves so silly!
 Pronominal nonembedded nominalization: (It is the case) that John behaves silly.

Austronesian languages seem to favour the adnominal type as platform for grammaticalization, Tibeto-Burman languages tend to select the pronominal type.

6.2.1 Voice

Voice and aspect marking are closely associated in many Austronesian languages. There is a controversy among Austronesianists as to which function should be posited as original. In Saisiyat, patient voice and perfective aspect both appear to have developed from the nominalization infix *-in-*. Yeh (2011:584) derives nominalization from aspectual meaning but this would require multiple unnatural processes of degrammaticalization. I rather propose the following steps of grammaticalization as reflected by the order of examples. The innovative construction for the development of voice and aspect is (96c). The relative order of (96d-e) is indeterminate.

- (96) Saisiyat (Austronesian: Taiwan) (Yeh 2011:579-581)
- a. t<in>awbon Pronominal nominalization
 pound.rice<NMLZ> (lexical nouns)
 ‘rice cake (*lit.* thing made from pounding rice)’
- b. tibabih ka hiza' b<in>otoe' katin Adnominal *embedded* nominalization
 untie ACC DEM.DIST tie<NMLZ> cow (or relative clause)
 ‘Untie that cow which has been tied.’
- c. hini' ni hi:a' k<in>a:at? Adnominal *nonembedded* nominalization
 DEM.PROX GEN who write<NMLZ>
 ‘By whom is this book written (*lit.* this by whom written thing)?’
- d. tatimae' t<in>alek=ila ni 'oya' Patient voice marker
 dish cook<PVC>=INC GEN mother (sole voice marker, with inceptive marker)
 ‘The dishes have already been cooked by Mother.’

- e. 'obay r<om><in>a'oe:=ila ka ralom Perfective aspect marker
 name drink<AVC><PVC>=INC ACC water (with active voice, inceptive marker)
 'Obay has drunk water.'

6.2.2 Tense, aspect and modality

The nominalizer of several languages grammaticalized into marker of tense, aspect and modality. Sometimes it retained its functions as nominalizer sometimes it did not.

The Magar nominalizer *-o* grammaticalized into a TAM marker. It encodes habitual past tense meaning when co-associated with the copula (Grunow-Hårsta calls it an “erstwhile nominalizer”).

- (97) Magar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (Grunow-Hårsta 2011:224)
 gwa jya-cis-o=le-a
 chicken eat-DTR-NMLZ=COP-PST
 'Chicken used to be eaten.'

In Sunwar, the non-past verb paradigm surfaced as morphologization of the nominalizer *-šo* and the copula *na-* in nonembedded nominalizations of the pronominal type (DeLancey 2011:346-349):

VERB STEM-NOMINALIZER-COPULA

The conjugation of the copula is shown in (98), a reconstruction of the non-past paradigm of the verb *la-* ‘come’ in (99) and its morphologization in Modern Sunwar in (100).

- (98) Sunwar (Tibeto-Burman: Nepal) (DeLancey 2011:347)
- | copula na | Singular | Dual Inclusive | Dual Exclusive | Plural Inclusive | Plural Exclusive |
|-----------|----------|----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1P | na-ŋ | na-se | na-sku | na-i | na-iki |
| 2P | 'na-ye | na-si | na-si | na-ni | na-ni |
| 3P | ho | na-se | na-se | na-m | na-m |
- (99)
- | la- 'come' | Singular | Dual Inclusive | Dual Exclusive | Plural Inclusive | Plural Exclusive |
|------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1P | *la-šo-na-ŋ | *la-šo-na-se | *la-šo-na-sku | *la-šo-na-i | *la-šo-na-iki |
| 2P | *la-šo-'na-ye | *la-šo-na-si | *la-šo-na-si | *la-šo-na-ni | *la-šo-na-ni |
| 3P | *la-ba | *la-šo-na-se | *la-šo-na-se | *la-šo-na-m | *la-šo-na-m |

Morphologization of STEM-NOMINALIZER-COPULA



(100)

la- 'come'	Singular	Dual Inclusive	Dual Exclusive	Plural Inclusive	Plural Exclusive
1P	laî-nuŋ	laî-nase	laî-nasku	laî-nai	laî-niki
2P	laî-neye	laî-nisi	laî-nisi	laî-nini	laî-nini
3P	la-ba	laî-nise	laî-nise	laî-nim	laî-nim

The gap in the third person singular of the copula was copied for the non-past endings by adopting the Bodic nominalizer **ba*.

The Galo nominalizers *-nám* (nominalizer and realis marker) and *-há* (nominalizer and irrealis marker) acquired two mood functions but did not lose their nominalization function (see §2.2.3 for examples).

7. Conclusion

The editors and authors of this volume must be congratulated for the compilation of new, mainly undescribed, data on nominalization in Asian languages. Several rare phenomena stand out in the twenty-six chapter of the volume.⁸ In the Ulawa language (Lichtenberk 2011:709), the reduplication of the nominalizer encodes the semantic difference between action nominalization ('thinking') and product nominalization ('thought'). This is shown in (16). In Nuosu, restrictive relative clauses are always postnominal and nonrestrictive clauses are always prenominal (according to my own field notes, not the edited book). Examples are provided in (54). The Sunwar nonpast tense surfaced through a process of morphologization of the VERB STEM-NOMINALIZER-COPULA, as demonstrated in (98)-(100).

This typology of nominalization must be extended to African, American and additional European languages in the future. It is expected that an extended typology will yield empirically testable hypotheses about the connection between nominalization and other variables (morphological type, syntactic scope, semantic function, origin and outcome of diachronic development).

⁸ Rarissima or rare phenomena teach us as much about natural languages as language universals (Wohlgemut & Cysouw 2010).

Abbreviations

1	First person	INT	Interrogative
2	Second person	INTS	Intensifier
3	Third person	IRR	Irrealis
A	Agent of transitive verb	LN	Loan word
ABS	Absolutive	LOC	Locative
ACC	Accusative	M	Male
ADJ	Adjective	MED	Medial
ADV	Adverb	NFUT	Nonfuture
AVC	Active focus/voice	NEG	Negation
ART	Article	NEXP	Counter-expectation
AUG	Augmentative	NMLZ	Nominalizer/nominalization
BEN	Benefactive	MOD	Modal
CAUS	Causative	NOM	Nominative
CL	Classifier	NPST	Nonpast
COMP	Complementizer	NUM	Number
COP	Copular	OBJ	Object
COV	Coverb	OBL	Oblique
CPL	Completive	ODIR	Other (non-speaker) directed
D	Dynamic	PASS	Passive
DAT	Dative	PFT	Perfect/anterior
DD	Discourse Deixis	PFV	Perfective
DECL	Declarative	PL	Plural
DEF	Definite	POSS	Possessive
DEM	Demonstrative	PREF	Prefix
DIST	Distal	PREP	Preposition
DL	Dual	PRO	Pronominal
DTR	Detransitivizer	PROG	Progressive
ERG	Ergative	PROX	Proximal
EVID	Evidential	PRS	Present
EX	Exclusive	PRT	Particle
EXCL	Exclamative	PST	Past
EXPR	Expressive	PURP	Purposive
EZ	Ezafe (possessive morpheme)	PVC	Patient focus/voice
F	Female	QUANT	Quantifier
FAM	Familiar	REC	Recipient
FOC	Focus	RECL	Reciprocal
GEN	Genitive	RLS	Realis
GER	Gerund	SEND	SEND auxiliary
HAB	Habitual	SEQ	Sequential converb
HDST	Hyper-distal	SG	Singular
HON	Honorific	SLEV	Same topographical level
INC	Inceptive	ST	Stative
IND	Indicative	SUB	Subjunctive
IMP	Imperative	SUP	Suppositional
IMPF	Imperfective	TAG	Tag
IN	Inclusive	TENT	Tentative
INF	Infinitive	TOP	Topic
INS	Instrumental		

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名物化類型

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本文對《亞洲語言的名物化 (2011)》書中大約六十個亞洲語言的數據重新分析並提出新的觀點。作者認為原書的章節缺少系統邏輯的組織。原書主編沒有把每個參數按系統邏輯的方式表達出來；也沒有把特指功能的名物化助詞有系統地提示出來。作者把書中的數據重新整理分到形態、句法、語義、語用和歷史演變各類中，使亞洲語言關於名物化的特殊性，有了更新的想法。

關鍵詞：名物化，特指功能的名物化助詞，邏輯類型