



**DIRECTION AND TIME REFERENCE IN THE  
RVMØL (DVRU) DIALECT OF RAWANG,  
FROM NORTHERN MYANMAR**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates direction and time reference in the Rvmø1 [ɾəmùl] dialect of Rawang, spoken mainly in northern Myanmar and also by a few speakers in Thailand. The purpose is to identify the markers and structures that denote direction and time reference (looking mainly at the verb phrase), describe how they function in narrative, and determine connections between direction and time reference. Examples are taken from elicitation and natural texts.

Rvmø1 belongs to the Nungish (Rawang-Dulong-Anong) branch of Tibeto-Burman. Like all Rawang dialects except for standard Mvtwang [mətwàŋ] and Waqdamkong, this dialect is relatively undocumented. It shares some features with Mvtwang, others with Tangsar dialects to the east, and others with Dvru-Jerwang and Dulong varieties to the north.

Brief overviews of the phonology (Chapter 2) and grammar (Chapter 3) are given. Like Mvtwang, Rvmø1 morphology is agglutinating, marking case roles on the noun phrase, and many grammatical categories on the verb phrase. Clauses are verb-final, with noun phrases ordered by focus. Sentences make extensive use of clause chaining.

Directional verb suffixes (Chapter 4) indicate movement 'toward' (*-ra/re/rət*), 'away' (*-bu*), 'up' (*-luŋ*), and 'down' (*-zək*). These have time-related senses as well (Chapter 5): *-bu* 'away' marks recent past, anterior tense, and perfective aspect, and the other directionals mark inceptive aspect (change of state, beginning of action). Metrical past tense includes *-bu* 'recent past', *-ri* 'before today', and *-yəŋ* 'years ago'.

It appears that in some cases direction led to time reference by metaphorical extension, although the origins of two of the past tense markers remain speculative. The direction markers themselves seem to have originated from verbs of motion.

Future time reference (Chapter 6) is accomplished in several ways: nominalization, verb concatenation, the proclitic *ya=*, and the intensitive suffix *-i*, as well as the direction/inceptive aspect markers discussed in Chapter 5. Many of these forms have modal senses such as purpose, desire, intent, or prediction.

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## บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาเรื่องทิศทางและการอ้างอิงถึงเวลาในวิธภาษา Rvmøl ของภาษาราวง ผู้พูดภาษานี้ส่วนใหญ่อยู่ในประเทศพม่า และมีบางส่วนอยู่ในประเทศไทย จุดประสงค์การศึกษามีดังต่อไปนี้ 1) เพื่อระบุตัวบ่งชี้และโครงสร้างที่แสดงถึงทิศทางและการอ้างอิงถึงเวลา (โดยการสังเกตที่กริยาวลีเป็นหลัก) 2) เพื่ออธิบายว่าตัวบ่งชี้และโครงสร้างดังกล่าวมีหน้าที่อย่างไรในเรื่องเล่า และ 3) เพื่อบ่งชี้ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างทิศทางและการอ้างอิงถึงเวลา ตัวอย่างข้อมูลทั้งหมดศึกษาจากการตั้งข้อมูลและตัวบทธรรมชาติ

วิธภาษา Rvmøl จัดอยู่ในสาขา Nungish (ราวาง-ตู้หลง-อานง) ของกลุ่มภาษาทิเบต-พม่า ภาษานี้มีสถานะเหมือนวิธภาษาราวงอื่นยกเว้นภาษาราวง Mvtwàng มาตรฐาน และภาษา Waqdamkong คือยังไม่มีกำกวมที่ข้อมูลภาษามากเท่าไร มีลักษณะทางภาษาบางประการร่วมกับภาษา Mvtwàng และวิธภาษา Tangsar ซึ่งอยู่ทางทิศตะวันออก และวิธภาษา Dvru-Jerwang และตู้หลงที่อยู่ทางเหนือ

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

*	unacceptable sentence, or proto-form
=	clitic, or morpheme boundary in a compound word
>	becomes (as historical or synchronic change), or acts upon (as transitive action)
1/2/3	1st/2nd/3rd person
3U	3rd person undergoer
ABL	ablative (from)
ADMON	admonition
ADV	adverbial or adverbializer
AGT	agentive
ALL	allative/dative/patient/anti-agentive marker
AUG	augmentative (indeed)
AVS	adversative
BEN	benefactive
BEN:3U	benefactive for a 3rd person
BEN.REFL	benefactive reflexive (for oneself)
Bur.	Burmese
C. Dulong	central Dulong
CAUS	causative
Ch.	Chinese
Chd.	Chvngdvng (Rawang family name)
Chgg.	Chømgunggang (Rawang family name)
CIS	cislocative direction marker (toward the deictic center)
CLF	classifier
CONJEC	conjunctural mood

CONTR	contrastive
DEC	declarative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIS	dislocative direction marker (away from the deictic center; also expresses perfect tense and perfective aspect)
DL	dual
DOWN	downward direction marker (also expresses completive and inceptive aspect)
elic.	elicited
EMPH	emphatic marker
Eng.	English
EXCL	exclamatory
FUT	future
GMf	female gender marker for humans
GMm	male gender marker for humans
HS	hearsay
IMP	imperative
INST	instrumental
INTENT	intentional
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
LNK	linker
LOC	locative
MOD	modifier
MODCL	modifier clause
MODN	modifier noun
MODV	modifier verb
Mvt.	Mvtwang
N	noun
N. Dulong	northern Dulong



N1	non-first person actor, where a speech act participant is involved (2nd person actor or patient, or 1st person patient).
NCERT	uncertain future marker, irrealis
NEG	negative
NFP	noun-forming prefix
NMLZ	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
NPST	non-past
NSG	non-singular
NUM	numeral
OMP	onomatopoeia
OPT	optative (expresses wishes, or commands regarding a third person; also used for indefinite hypothetical future)
PFV	perfective aspect and anterior/perfect or recent past tense
PL	plural
POSS	possessive (same as NMLZ in Rvmø1)
PST	past
PS	predicate sequence marker (like a verb linker; also used as an adverbializer)
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
PUR	purposive
Q	question
R/M	reflexive/middle voice
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
RelatorN	relator noun (equivalent to locational prepositions in English such as on, above, under, etc.)
REQ	request
S	subject
S. Dulong	southern Dulong
SG	singular
TB	Tibeto-Burman
TMdys	tense marker, before today but less than a year ago
TMhrs	tense marker, hours ago
TMyrs	tense marker, a year or more ago

TOP	topic marker
TR	transitive
UP	upward direction marker (also expresses inceptive aspect)
U	undergoer
V	verb
VOC	vocative
VP	verb phrase

## GLOSSARY

aspect	"[T]he way that an event is distributed through the time frame in which the event occurs" (Frawley 1992: 294). Examples: perfective, completive, telic, iterative, progressive, habitual
cislocative	(also venitive) Toward the deictic center. Grammaticalized from 'come'. Examples: <i>-ra, -re, -rət</i> 'CIS'
completive	"[T]o do something thoroughly and completely" (Bybee et al. 1994: 57). Completives often come from dynamic verbs or directionals, and imply total affectedness of the patient. Example: <i>-zək</i>
declarative mood	Marks a "[s]entence type whose primary purpose is to give information, as opposed to questions or imperatives." (Busmann 1996: 112) Example: <i>=e~è</i> 'DEC'
deictic center	The reference point for direction (spatial deixis), usually the location of the speaker.
dislocation (left- or right-)	A construction where a phrase which could be an argument or adjunct is moved to the left or right edge of the clause. The referent is double-marked, with a pronoun inside the clause in addition to the dislocated phrase. The dislocated phrase is often marked with pause or intonation. (Lambrecht 2001: 1050)
dislocative	(also translocative or andative) Away from the deictic center. Grammaticalized from 'go'. Examples: <i>-bu</i> 'DIS'
Dulong	(also Derung, T'rung, Trung, Drung, Tvrung, Tarong, Qiu, Lu) The Chinese name for the dialect chain of Nungish varieties spoken along the Dulong and Nu rivers in Gongshan County, Yunnan Province, China.
Dvru	(also Daru, Duru) A Rawang dialect cluster originally spoken by hunters and metalworkers along the Rvmeti river and its tributaries north of Konglangphu.
future	any time after the moment of speaking. Future tense is grammaticalized future time reference.
Gvnøng	(also Ganung, Dvru-Jerwang, Dvru-Zewang) A term for the northern Rawang varieties included under Dvru and Jerwang as well as Dulong.
hearsay	An evidential category where the reported speech marker is used to indicate that the information comes from others. Used especially in traditional narrative. Example: <i>wa~wà</i> 'HS'

imperfective aspect	"[T]he situation is viewed as unbounded in the sense that it is habitual, continuous, progressive, or iterative." (Bybee et al. 1994: 317)
inceptive aspect	"[T]he action or event begins." (Bybee et al. 1994: 318) With stative verbs, Bybee and colleagues use "state commences" for the "beginning of a state of 'becoming'", also called "inceptive" or "inchoative". LaPolla (2000: 289) calls this "change of state" and LaPolla & Sangdong (2015: 54, 203) call it either "the beginning of an action" or "inchoative". Since the same forms are used for all these functions in Rvmøɭ, with both states and actions, they will all be included under inceptive aspect, although sudden (-zək) vs. gradual (-luŋ) beginnings can be distinguished. Examples: -luŋ 'UP', -zək 'DOWN'
metrical tense	A kind of tense which distinguishes various distances in the past or future such as 'before today' (pre-hodiernal) or 'long ago' (remote past) (Chung & Timberlake 1985: 207; Frawley 1992: 363).
modality	A "semantic category which expresses the attitude of the speaker towards that expressed in the sentence." (Bussmann 1996: 307) The most well-known modal distinction is between realis and irrealis. Other subtypes include epistemic modality (certainty, inferred certainty, probability, possibility), evidential source, speaker-oriented modality (commands, requests, exhortations, wishes, permissions, warnings, prohibitions), and agent-oriented modality (obligation, necessity, ability, possibility, desire) (see Bybee et al. 1994: 177-180).
mood	A "grammatical category of verbs which expresses the subjective attitude of the speaker towards the state of affairs described by the utterance." (Bussmann 1996: 312) At its most basic level, includes sentence types such as declarative, interrogative, exclamatory, imperative, optative, and the negation of these. It can also include the expression of any modal category, as long as it is by a dedicated grammatical means such as affixes, clitics, or multi-word constructions.
Mvtwang	(abbreviated Mvt., also Matwang, Rawang) The standard dialect of Rawang used in writing and as a lingua franca among the Rawang. Originally spoken along the Mvt and Mek streams and the adjoining part of the Rvmeti river south of Konglangphu.
non-past	any time from the moment of speaking up until the distant future. Non-past tense is grammaticalized non-past time reference. Example: (Mvt.) =e 'NPST'
Nungish	(also Nungic, Gvnøŋg Rawang, Rawang-Dulong, Rawang-Dulong-Anong) A group of related Tibeto-Burman languages and dialects in Myanmar, China, and NE India spoken by the Rawang, Dulong (T'rung), Anong/Anung, and Nung Lungmi ethnic groups.

past	(abbreviated PST) Any time before the moment of speaking. Past tense is grammaticalized past time reference. For metric tense, different time depths can be distinguished.
perfect tense	(also anterior) A tense where the event is before another reference point, whether the time of speaking or another time (see Frawley 1992: 346). When the reference time is the time of speaking, anterior denotes "a past action with current relevance." (Bybee et al. 1994: 61) Often grammaticalizes from verbs of motion, and is linked with resultative senses. Often used for recent past, indeterminate past, or experiential. Timberlake (2007: 289-292) considers perfect/anterior a type of aspect; Frawley (1992) and Bybee and colleagues (1994) consider it a complex tense. Example: <i>-buu</i>
perfective aspect	"[T]he situation is viewed as bounded temporally. It cannot be simultaneous with the moment of speech; in the non-past it is sometimes interpreted as future." (Bybee et al. 1994: 317)
pre-hodiernal	"[B]efore today", a metrical past tense. (Bybee et al. 1994: 316) Example: <i>-ri</i> 'TMdys'; (Mvt.) <i>-əp~ap</i> 'TMdys'
remote tense	"A situation temporally distant from the moment of speech", usually a metrical past tense. (Bybee et al. 1994: 317) Example: <i>-yəŋ~yaŋ</i> 'TMyrs'
resultative	(also resulting state) "[A]ction in the past produces a state that persists into the present." (Bybee et al. 1994: 318) Resultatives often come from stative verbs, and focus on the resulting state brought about by an action. Often linked with perfective/anterior. Example: <i>-buu</i> 'PFV', <i>-luŋ</i> 'UP'
Rvmeti	The Rawang name for the river which forms the eastern source of the Irrawaddy river, joining the Mali river at Myitkyina. In Jingpho, called the Nmai Hka.
Rvmøl	(also Rvmøn, Rvmun, Rvmil, Rvmøl) A regional name that refers to several Rawang dialects originally spoken along the Rvmeti river between Konglangphu and the Nam Tamai river confluence, especially along the old east-west road leading to China across the upper Tangsar territory. David Sangdong (p.c.) lists ten southern Dvru clans under Rvmøl: Abør, Chømkunggang, Chvngdvng, Dvlinvm, Dvngnoi, Gvtsan, Mvzung, Rødvvm, Tisewang, Zingdvvm. Others have used the term Rvmøl for Tangsar and Dvru clans in the surrounding area:  Morse & Morse (1966: 199) use it for four Tangsar clans (Āchán, Awāl, Mābøq, Dākòm); Stephen Morse (1989: 244) uses it for two Tangsar clans (Chinle, Mvbøq); Mani (1997:iv) uses it for eight clans, including five Tangsar (Mvbøq, Dakum, Chinle, Acha, Vwal) and two Dvru (Changtang, Tsangnai), and one unidentified

	(Taqzòm). (Macro-group identification of clans is based on clan lists from Stephen Morse (1989) and David Sangdong (p.c.).)
Tangsar	(also Dvngsar, Tangsarr) A Rawang dialect cluster spoken along the Achang, Reninti, and Langdaqgong streams east of Konglangphu.
tense	"[T]he grammatical and morphological means that a language uses to locate an event in time." (Frawley 1992: 336) Examples: past, non-past, perfect/anterior (relative past)
Ticvlwang	(Also Tisewang, Ticewang, Chicvlwang, Tisanwang, Htisewang) A prominent Rvmøl (southern Dvru) clan. First mentioned by Barnard (1934:vii), along with seven Mvtwang clans.
time reference	For purposes of this study, time reference is defined as the indication of the time when a situation takes place, whether directly through tense or indirectly through the implications of aspect or mood.

## LIST OF TEXT TITLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>abbreviation</b>	<b>title</b>	<b>source</b>	<b>method of elicitation</b>
API	Pear story inline	Abør Yosep	asked him to narrate the Pear Story video while he watched
APS	Pear story summary	"	asked him to summarize the Pear Story video as a story
C436	436 wordlist	Chømgunggang Chang	showed her T436 transcribed in Rawang orthography and asked her to check it and say the words in her dialect
C75	Grammar elicitation 75 sentences	Chømgunggang Chang	translated from Burmese
CB	Birth order names	Chømgunggang Dø	elicited using Thai and Mvtwang
CE	What would you do with an elephant?	Chømgunggang Chang	asked what she would do if someone gave her an elephant
CO1	Orange notebook 1	"	language learning
CO2	Orange notebook 2	"	language learning
DGM	Ken Manson/Larin Adams grammar questionnaire	Chømgunggang Dø	translated from Burmese
DGZ	Ziggi Lew grammar questionnaire	"	translated from Burmese

DH	Hunting story	"	asked him to tell about a scary time in his life
DI	Dø interview	"	asked where his family came from migrated to
DM	If you received a million dollars	"	asked him what he would do if he received a million dollars
DM65	Morse 1965 examples	"	example sentences translated from Mvtwang
DPR	Pear story retold	"	asked him to retell the Pear Story video as a story
DPT	Power tools	"	translated from Burmese
DW	<i>wa</i> 'do' paradigm	"	elicited via Mvtwang
FCS	Creation story	Rakwi Tang	recorded by Randy LaPolla;
FT1	Folktale 1: The Trickster and the Bear	"	transcribed by Rakwi Pung and translated by Rakwi Pung and Rawang Meram
FT2	Folktale 2: The Trickster and the Stupid Man	"	
FT3	Folktale 3: The Trickster and the Monkeys	"	
FT4	Folktale 4: A Plot to Kill the Trickster	"	
FT5	Folktale 5: How the Trickster Got Rich	"	
FT6	Folktale 6: The Crow and the Night Bird	"	
T436	436 wordlist	Ticewang Pong	elicited by David Sangdong via Bur. and Mvt.



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Overview

This thesis is an investigation of time reference and direction in the Rvmøɭ dialect of Rawang, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in northern Myanmar. The Nungish language group is a subgroup of Tibeto-Burman, with varieties spoken in the border area between China, Myanmar, and Northeast India. The most widely known ethnic subgroups are Rawang (spoken in Myanmar), Dulong (spoken in China), and Anong (spoken in both countries, but with few remaining speakers). According to Bradley (2007: 169), there are approximately 159,000 Nungish speakers, including 147,000 in Myanmar.

Because their homeland is an area of high mountains and deep valleys, the Rawang have proliferated into over 70 different dialects, defined by both clan and region (Morse & Morse 1966). These dialects have been traditionally been lumped into five regional groups: Gvnøŋ<sup>1</sup> (Dvru-Jerwang), Tangsar, Mvtwang, Lungmi, and Anong (these have been partially absorbed into the Lisu, so sometimes maintain a separate identity).<sup>2</sup> (For a listing of the historical names of these groups, see Appendix A.)

Most Rawang speakers are bilingual in their clan or local dialect and in Mvtwang, which is the standard literary dialect. In areas where Mvtwang and other dialects are spoken together, there is high comprehensibility and some dialect leveling. In more isolated areas, there is less mutual intelligibility with dialects from farther away.

Outside of their own language group, many Rawang can also speak Burmese (the national language), Lisu, and Jingpho (the regional language in Kachin State), and those who are educated can speak English to varying degrees. Those who have

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the names here are written in Rawang orthography, which generally uses the same letter values as English except for v [ə], ø [u], and q [ʔ]. Tones are high (á), low (à), mid (ā or unmarked), and neutral/unstressed (also unmarked).

<sup>2</sup> Bradley (2007: 169) breaks down the population estimates as follows: Dvru 35,000, Jerwang 15,000, Dulong 14,000, Tangsar 15,000, Mvtwang 50,000, and Lungmi 30,000. The Anung, he says, have 4,000 speakers in Myanmar out of 10,000 ethnic Anung, and one Anong-speaking village in China out of 7,300 ethnic Anong. The Ethnologue has lower population estimates: 62,000 Rawang in Myanmar, 1,000 Rawang in other countries, including NE India, 14,000 Dulong in China (5,500 on the Dulong River, 8,500 on the Nu River), and 400 Anung speakers in Myanmar (out of 10,000 ethnic Anung who speak Lisu).

emigrated to Thailand speak Thai, and there are also a number who speak Lisu due to language contact and intermarriage.

The present chapter will first review the literature on Nungish in order to summarize the language situation historically and today, and then outline the problem and research questions. Following that will be a review of the literature on direction and time reference, and finally the research methodology and data.

## 1.2 The Nungish language group

This section outlines the previous literature on the Nungish language group. Nungish can be divided into Rawang (spoken in Kachin State, Myanmar), Dulong (spoken in Gongshan County, Yunnan Province, China) and Anong/Anung (spoken in Fugong County, Yunnan Province, China, and also in Kachin State, Myanmar). Rawang is traditionally divided into Dvru-Jerwang in the north, Tangsar in the east, Mvtwang in the center and south, and Lungmi in the southwest, taking the Rvmeti river as the geographic center (see Figure 1). The Rvmøl dialect, which is featured in this thesis, is considered to be a southern Dvru dialect.

### 1.2.1 Ethnography

The earliest English descriptions of the Rawang people are from Bridgman (1836), Pemberton (1837), and the Royal Geographical Society (1856). There, the Rawang are called Hkanung ("slave Nung"), since they had emigrated from the Nung (Nujiang/Salween) River in China, and often worked for the Hkamti Shan.<sup>3</sup> These sources say that the Hkanung lived to the north and east of Hkamti plain (modern-day Putao), and that the Hkamti Shan were in contact with them and traded with them for iron and silver mined in the mountains, and dominated them politically, as the Shan were dominated by the Burmese. The Hkanung were also probably one of the "tribes to the east", with whom the Abor of Assam bartered for poison for making poisoned arrows (Bridgman 1836: 99), as the Anong on the Nujiang used to search in the mountains for this kind of poison (Sun & Liu 2009: 326).

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<sup>3</sup> The term Hkanung is similar to the Rawang autonym Gvnøng, referring to the northern groups (Dvru, Jerwang, and Dulong) as opposed to the Rvwang (Mvtwang and Tangsar) and Lungmi to the south. However, Hkanung is now offensive but Gvnøng is acceptable. For example, there is a 30-year-old Jerwang hymnbook entitled *GVMEUS KVSEAQ MVKUH SHINGNI: Hymns of Praise in Ganeungk*. In Rawang orthography, this would read *Gvmø Kvseq Mvkun Shingni: Hymns of Praise in Ganøng*.

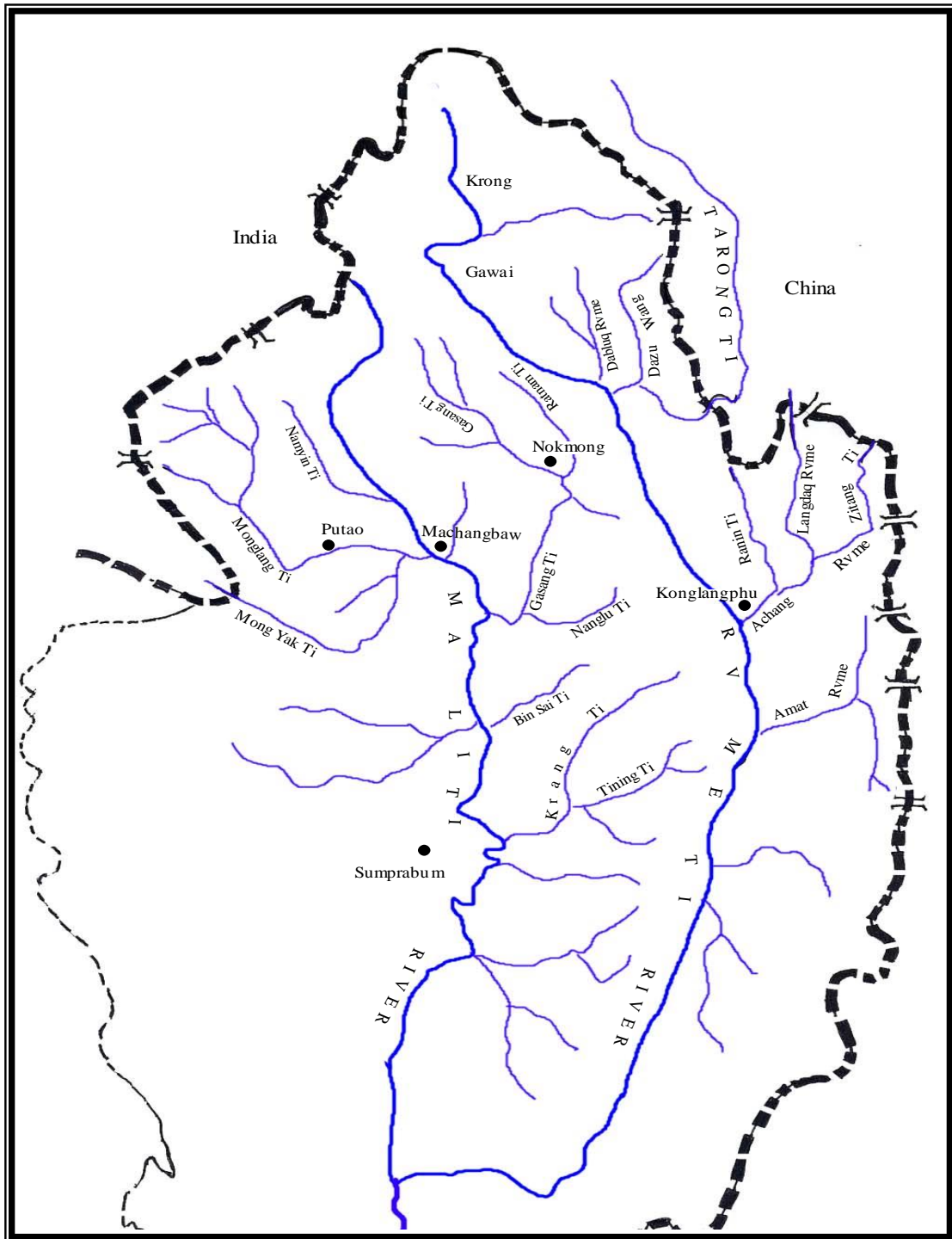


Figure 1 Map of the Rawang area (by David Sangdong)

Furthermore, Bridgman (1836: 104) quotes a letter from a British officer, saying that a group of 250 "Hkúnúngs" had recently moved to Sadiya in Assam and settled there, and were thinking about sending word to 5,000 of their friends to come settle there, too, on account of being crowded out of their homeland east of the Irrawaddy by Chinese settlers.

Scott (1900: 331), quoting Hannay (1847), says the "Khumongs" were bordered on the south by their allies, the Jingpho. Barnard (1934:vii) also mentions several large Nung villages on the Da and Jai rivers, eastern tributaries of the Mali Hka below Putao, where the people had intermarried with Jingpo and adopted part of their culture. (Judging from the area, these were the Lungmi subgroup of Rawang.) Although the Shan were afraid of the Jingpho, who raided them every year, it seems the Nung were more afraid of the Lisu, who followed them as they migrated west from the Salween, and levied tribute on them. According to Barnard (1934:ix), many Nung paid tribute to the Shan to protect them from the Lisu, although eventually the Tangsar and Anong clans adopted Lisu dress, and the Anong intermarried with them to such a large extent that by the early 21st century, the Lisu considered them one of their own clan groups, calling them No-Pha, meaning "Bean people" (Nawsawu, p.c.; The Fu Na (2009)).

A full discussion of migrations and the history of Nungish peoples is not possible in this thesis (see Morse & Morse 1966; Morse 1975; LaPolla & Poa 2001). However, in broad outline, Rawang tradition states that they migrated down from Mongolia through China, by way of the river valleys, and eventually settled in northern Kachin State, Myanmar. Multiple waves of migration came into Kachin State, with several mountain passes as points of entry, with the most prominent one leading to Konglangphu, which was a gathering place from which most of the clans split off in different directions.

Rawang settlers came to Putao (the Hkamti plain) at least three times in history (Dvlvnggøng David, p.c.); the last time was in the 1950s following a major earthquake and famine. At that time, the Morses, a family of American missionaries, were living in Putao and doing development work. As a result of this, many Rawang settled in Putao and learned to read and write their own language. It was around this time that Mvtwang was chosen as a standard for literacy and intergroup communication.

Northwest of Putao in the Gasang Ti river valley is the town of Nokmong (currently around 1000 inhabitants), with several villages upriver from it such as Tangtuq. Nokmong (< Shan 'outside + city') was the home of several Nungish or Kachinic groups, which moved down to Putao for protection from the Jingpho around the 1870s and there became linguistically assimilated to the Shan (Barnard 1925). After this, Rawang settlers moved into Nokmong. Nokmong was a popular destination for

Dvru and Tangsar people looking for better places to grow rice in the early 20th century (David Sangdong, p.c.).

Taking Chømgunggang Dø's family as an example, we have a family of blacksmiths living along the Rvmeti river north of Konglangphu; in the early 20th century, they moved to Putao, but decided that it was too hot, and so they moved from village to village along the rivers and mountains north of Putao, and finally settle in Tangtuq village a few miles north of Nokmong around 1950. Chømgunggang Dø later moved to Myitkyina for the sake of his children's education, and finally to Thailand (DI; DH).

The story of Rakwi Tang's family is similar; his father's family was Rakwi, a Mvtwang clan originally from Rakwipø in the hills north of Konglangphu near the Rvmeti river, and his mother's family was Tisanwang, a Dvru clan living somewhere near Wang-u-ku in the hills between Nokmong and the Rvmeti. At some point, the family migrated to Nokmong, where Rakwi Tang became the town leader until he moved to Myitkyina, the state capital to hold political office (Rakwi Tang (FCS); Rakwi Pung, p.c.).

Both stories show a pattern of migration out of the homeland valleys, where clans, dialects, and places formed a unity, and down to the plains and cities, where there was more opportunity and where dialects and languages mixed together.

Some recent ethnographic descriptions of Nungish people in China have been written by Gros (2005) for N. Dulong, and Sun & Liu (2009) for Anong. Overviews of the Nungish subgroups are also found in various writings by Bradley (e.g. 2007: 169). Next we proceed to a review of the linguistic literature on Nungish.

## **1.2.2 Linguistic literature on Nungish**

### **1.2.2.1 Wordlists**

The earliest Nungish wordlists were collected by the French missionary Desgodins (1873), and the travelers Peal (1883) and Orléans (1898); the locations of Orléans's data sources are shown in Figure 2. Unfortunately, their transcriptions are not consistent, and do not mark tone. Luo Changpei (1999) gives wordlists for Dulongjiang Dulong and Nujiang Dulong, collected in the 1940s. Several Mvtwang

wordlists were also collected by Gordon H. Luce in the 1940s-60s<sup>4</sup>, and some short wordlists of several Dulong and Rawang varieties were collected by Bodman (1992) in the 1960s-70s. Stephen Morse (1989) presents comparative 100-item wordlists of ten Rawang dialects. An extensive Anong wordlist is found in Sun & Liu 2009. More recently published Dulong wordlists include: Nujiang Dulong (Sun 1982), S. Dulong (Huang & Dai 1992), and C. Dulong (Sun 1982; Zangmianyu yuyin he cihui bianxiezu 1991; Yunnansheng Difang Zhi Bian Zuan Weiyuanhui & Yunnansheng Shaoshu Minzu Yuwen Zhidao Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1998; Li & Yang 2014).

The latest source for Dulong words, with over 4,000 entries, is the *Concise Trung-English-Chinese dictionary*, recently posted online in draft form (Trung Dictionary Committee et al. 2015). The dictionary is based on C. Dulong, but contains comparative entries for N. and S. Dulong as well.



**Figure 2 Wordlist datapoints from Orléans (1898)<sup>5</sup>**

<sup>4</sup> Luce's wordlists are archived online at <http://sealang.net/archives/luce/>.

<sup>5</sup> Tseku is on the Lancang river, called the *Wangba* (river+cross) or *Rvwewang* (middle+river) in Rawang; the latter term is said to be the origin of the name Rawang. Tamalo is on the Nu river, near the site of present-day Gongshan, the county seat of Gongshan County, Yunnan. Fu Rong (2006) estimates around 100 Dulong speakers still live around the town of Gongshan. Tuki Mu is considered Jerwang-speaking territory today. Cheulemi and Bouniang represent the same wordlist in d'Orléans' study, since the wordlist was collected in Bouniang from a group of Hkanung speakers from Cheulemi who were traveling with the Hkamti Shan.

### 1.2.2.2 Studies of Rawang (Myanmar)

Most of the linguistic studies of Rawang in Myanmar have focused on Mvtwang, the standard dialect. The phonology of Mvtwang has been described in an MA thesis and article by Robert Morse (1962; 1963), who also wrote a conference paper and article describing the syntactic frames of the Mvtwang verb (1965).<sup>6</sup> His son, Stephen Morse, also published an article on Mvtwang phonology (1988).

In the last 20 years, Randy LaPolla has written many articles on Mvtwang grammar, including valency-changing verb derivations (2000), comparative constructions (2004), inclusive and exclusive pronouns (2005), copula constructions (2006a), clause linking (2006b), word-class-changing derivations (2007), relative clauses (2008a), nominalization (2008b), transitivity (2010a; 2011), person marking (2010b), and affectedness (2014). He has also produced a collection of Rawang texts along with his wife, Dory Poa (2001), and more texts have been made available online at <http://www.tibeto-burman.net/rda/>. Most recently, in collaboration with David Sangdong, a Rawang linguist, he has produced a conference paper on grammatical tone change (2014) and a Rawang-English-Burmese dictionary (2015).

In Japanese, Onishi has written on Mvtwang adjectives (2014a), plural marking and definiteness (2014b), reflexive marking (2014c), and the noun clause + copula construction (2014d).

Several works have been written on varieties of the Waqdamkong dialect, from the northern end of the Mvtwang subgroup. The first writer was J. T. O. Barnard (1934), a British officer who wrote a grammar handbook with a wordlist and example sentences. The second was Hpung Sarep (1995; 1996), a Rawang linguist who also studied at Payap University, writing his MA thesis on the morphology of nouns and verbs in the Sinwal subdialect of Waqdamkong; he includes a brief grammar sketch and wordlist. Most recently, Shintani (2014), a Japanese linguist, has published an extensive Waqdamkong wordlist with example sentences, collected in Thailand.

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<sup>6</sup> The conference version may be cited as Morse, Robert H. 1965. Syntactic frames for the Rvwàng (Rawang) verb. Paper presented at the Conference on Linguistic Problems of the Indo-Pacific Area, SOAS, University of London, 5-8 January 1965. LIPA Proceedings, vol. 2. London: University of London School of Oriental and African Studies (archived at the Payap Linguistics Institute, David Thomas Library). A reformatted version, combining the material of both the published version and the conference version is available at <https://archive.org/details/Morse1965>.

On the Mashang dialect of the Lungmi subgroup, Rachel Powelson (2015), another Payap student, has presented a conference paper on person marking, with some comparison to Mvtwang.

On the Rvmøl dialect, the subject of this thesis, I have presented two conference papers: on demonstratives (Straub 2014) and cislocative direction markers (Straub 2016). I have also presented on kinship terms across Nungish varieties (Straub 2015). Next we proceed to linguistic descriptions of Dulong and Anong, two Nungish varieties spoken in China.

### **1.2.2.3 Studies of Dulong (China, Gongshan County)**

Dulong is the term for Nungish varieties spoken in Gongshan County, Yunnan Province. The earliest linguistic studies are from Luo Changpei (1945; 1952; 1999), based on elicitation from a Dulong student at National Dali Normal School.

Dulong dialects are now divided into five dialects, along two rivers: the Dulongjiang to the west and the Nujiang to the east. On the Dulongjiang, there is Central Dulong (3rd Township), Northern Dulong (1st and 2nd Townships), and Southern Dulong (4th Township). On the Nujiang, there are two dialects that have been studied: the dialect of Bingzhongluo Town and the dialect of Xiaochala Village near Bingzhongluo, which was populated by settlers from the Dulong valley in the 1950s.

Studies of C. Dulong have been based on data from two villages: Longla and Kongmu/Kongdang. Based on data from Longla village, Sun Hongkai (1979; 2007) has written a short phonology and grammar sketch, a longer grammar description with a wordlist (1982), a comparison with the Nujiang dialect of Bingzhongluo (1983a), and a description of person marking (1983b).

Based on data from Kongdang village, Yang Jiangling, a Dulong linguist, has written on post-verbal direction marking (1999a), causatives (1999b; 2001; 2003), vowel length (2000), tense-aspect (2002), modality and evidentiality (2004), etymology (2009), classifiers (2011), and compound words (2013). He has written with LaPolla (2004) on reflexive and middle voice marking, and together with Li Aixin (2014), he has produced a collection of Dulong dialogues for language learning. Also, as mentioned above, there is now a Trung-English-Chinese dictionary based on C. Dulong, a result of collaboration between Ross Perlin, Yang Jiangling, Li Aixin, and Li Jinming (Trung Dictionary Committee et al. 2015).



On N. Dulong, Mei Guang has written on post-verbal markers (1995; 1996) and tense-aspect (2002). Randy LaPolla has produced a collection of procedural and narrative texts (2001), and a brief phonology and grammar sketch (2003a) based on data from Dizhengdang village. Stéphane Gros, a French anthropologist, includes some traditional N. Dulong chants in his dissertation (2005).

On S. Dulong, most of the work to date has been done by Liu Juhuang (a student of Dai Qingxia at the time), based on data from Muliwang village. She produced an MA thesis and two articles on verb morphology (1987; 1988a; 1988b), an article on tone (1989), and a phonology and grammar sketch (1991). In collaboration with Dai Qingxia, she also discussed vowel length (1986; 1990a) and weakened syllables (1987; 1990b). Finally, Wang Lining (2015), another Chinese scholar, has recently published a study of S. Dulong tone with data from Bapo village.

Studies of the Nujiang dialect of Dulong, mostly using data from Bingzhongluo, include writings by Luo Changpei (1944; 1999) and Sun Hongkai (1982; 1983a). Qin Liying (2014), in a recent conference paper, also discusses language vitality and includes phonological comparisons of all five Dulong dialects, including the variety spoken in Xiaochala village near Bingzhongluo.

#### **1.2.2.4 Studies of Anong (China, Fugong County) and Anung (Myanmar)**

Anong is spoken by a few people in Fugong County, Yunnan Province, China, along the Nujiang. It was first described in English by Sun (1988) in a phonology and grammar sketch, and more fully in a grammar by Sun & Liu (2005; 2009), with an extensive wordlist. Mei (2002) also provides some information on the tense-aspect system. Anung, a mutually intelligible dialect, is spoken in Myanmar. They are sometimes considered part of the Rawang ethnic group, but a number of them consider themselves to be a separate group, and many of them have been absorbed into the Lisu ethnic group. Stephen Morse (1989) presents a 100-item wordlist from the Kopàng clan, and Nye Wu (2013), a Payap student, wrote an MA thesis on the vitality of the Anung language in Myanmar.

#### **1.2.2.5 Historical and comparative linguistics**

There have been numerous historical-comparative studies dealing with the subgrouping of Nungish within Tibeto-Burman, but not many on the internal comparison and reconstruction of Nungish. Examples of the first category include:

Nishida (1987), who discusses the place of Dulong and Nu within Tibeto-Burman; LaPolla (1987), who traces PTB roots from Sun's C. Dulong and Nujiang lexical data; and DeLancey (1989), who extends LaPolla's analysis with examples of historical metathesis in Dulong.

On the relatedness of Nungish to other TB language groups, Sun (1982: 2; 1983a: 243) posited a link between Nungish, Jingpho, and Kaman Deng (Miju Mishmi). Sun & Liu (2009: 143–178) present more extensive comparison between these, partly typological and partly lexical and morphological, still tentatively including Nungish in a subgroup with Jingpho. Matisoff (1996; 2003) hypothesized that Nungish, Jingpho, and Luish are related, but has since withdrawn the claim regarding Nungish (2013a). LaPolla (2003b) argued from verb morphology for a Rung subgroup which includes Rawang, Dulong, rGyalrong, Kiranti, Kham, and Western Himalayan.

Several recent studies (Matisoff 2013; Cui 2009; Dai & Cui 2009) conclude that Nungish and Jingpho share vocabulary due to language contact, but are genetically not that close, as seen by their divergent morphology. Dai and Cui conclude that Nungish should have its own branch of Tibeto-Burman. Matisoff remarks that Nungish and Lolo-Burmese belong to different subgroups, but that within the context of the whole TB family, the high number of cognates indicates a moderately close relationship between Nungish and Burmish.<sup>7</sup>

As far as internal comparison of Nungish dialects, Stephen Morse (1989) has published a lexicostatistical study of five Rawang dialects, along with wordlists for ten dialects. LaPolla & Yang (2007) compare morphosyntactic data in Dulong and Mvtwang to shed light on the historical development of both.

In an article on methodology in TB subgrouping, LaPolla (2013) includes a reconstruction of Proto-Dulong-Rawang person-marking. Sun (1982; 1983a), as already mentioned, has published brief comparisons of C. Dulong with Nujiang Dulong. Finally, Yang (2015) has recently written on agentive and instrumental marking in the Dulong dialects and in TB as a whole.

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<sup>7</sup> Indeed, I have heard from Rawang speakers that the Jingpho and other groups in northern Myanmar call the Rawang "White Burmese", due to this lexical similarity and their relatively pale complexion and/or their white traditional clothing.



- 4) Analyze linguistic data from Rvmøɭ speakers and compare its features with those of other dialects to find out which isoglosses it shares with which other dialects, and which isoglosses are unique to Rvmøɭ.

Selected isoglosses or identifying features are listed below:

*Rvmøɭ and northern varieties*

- Rvmøɭ has a falling tone like Dvru, Dulong, and Waqdamkong, instead of Mvtwang's simple low or low falling tone. Likewise, it has a high, rising tone corresponding to the high tone in Mvtwang; in Mvtwang, the high tone is realized as high falling in word-final position.
- Rvmøɭ has a yes/no question marker *má=* which goes before the verb like in Dvru and Dulong, as well as a sentence-final question marker *=má* for both yes/no questions and content questions. In contrast, in Mvtwang, only sentence-final *=má* is used for both types of questions.
- Rvmøɭ has the 1pl pronoun *iŋ* like Dvru and C. Dulong, as opposed to Mvtwang *nuŋma?* (1pl inclusive) or *ŋanuŋ* (1pl exclusive).

*Rvmøɭ and eastern varieties*

- Before the vowel *i*, Rvmøɭ palatalizes *n* to *ɲ*, *t* to *tɕ*, and *d* to *dʒ*, like Tangsar and Nujiang Dulong.

*Rvmøɭ and Mvtwang*

- Rvmøɭ retains the historical final *-l* like Mvtwang, C. Dulong, and N. Dulong, whereas this has changed to *-n* in Dvru, S. Dulong, and Nujiang Dulong.
- The Rvmøɭ non-first person verb prefix *i-* 'N1' becomes *na-* when combined with a sesquisyllabic *ə*, just like the *è-/na-* alternation in Mvtwang, and unlike the unchanging prefix *nə-* in Dvru and Dulong.
- Rvmøɭ has the agentive marker *=í* like Mvtwang (hereafter Mvt.), as opposed to Waqdamkong *=mu*, Dvru *=me* and *=dáy*, S. Dulong *=me*, C. Dulong *=mi*, and N. Dulong *=te*.

### *Rvmø1 alone*

- Rvmø1 has a non-first person agent verb prefix *i-* 'N1', unlike Mvtwang *è-* and Dvru *nə-*.
- Rvmø1 has the same plural verb suffix *-iŋ* for both 1pl and 2pl, whereas Dvru has *-ì* '1PL' vs. *-nìŋ* '2PL', and Mvtwang has *-ì* '1PL' vs. *-nuŋ* '2PL'.
- Rvmø1 has a tendency to leave off historical alveolar initials on verb suffixes, enclitics, and particles, such as *-iŋ* '2PL' (Dvru *-nìŋ* and Mvt. *-nuŋ*), *-ì* 'intensive marker' (Mvt. and Dvru *-ni*), *əŋ wa* 'just like' (Mvt. *dəŋ wa* and Dvru *zəŋ wà*), and *əŋ* 'verb linker', which may be related to Mvt. *dəŋ* 'finish', *dəŋ* 'just/only', or *nəŋ* 'with, in order to', as well as Jerwang *zəŋ* 'allative marker/just like/verb linker'.

From all of this, we can start to get a picture of Rvmø1 as a regional dialect spoken by a cluster of clans, chief among which is the Ticvlwang clan, originally living along the Rvmeti river north of Konglangphu, sharing certain features with Mvtwang, (prototypical) Dvru, and Reninti Tangsar, and also possessing one or two innovations of its own, such as the verb suffix *-iŋ* (1st or 2nd person plural).

Now that we have placed Rvmø1 within its linguistic context, we turn to the problem to be investigated.

### **1.3 Problem and research questions**

The problem investigated in this thesis concerns one crucial part of the grammar system: how to express tense, aspect, and direction in the Rvmø1 dialect. Some of the previous studies dealing with tense and aspect in Nungish were written by non-linguists (Barnard 1934) or were written in Chinese (Yang 2002). Other mentions of Nungish tense and aspect have been brief overviews as part of a larger catalogue of the verb system (Sun 1982; Liu 1988; Sarep 1995, 1996; Mei 1996, 2002) or simply defining morphemes (LaPolla & Poa 2001; LaPolla & Sangdong 2015).

The intent here is to answer three questions: 1) What are the markers and structures for referring to direction and time in Rvmø1? 2) How do they function in narrative discourse? 3) What is the connection between direction and time reference in Rvmø1?

It is somewhat difficult to define the scope of the problem, since tense is strictly about time reference, while aspect is strictly about the internal structure of an event. Furthermore, past tense is often intertwined with perfective aspect, and future tense is often bound up with modal expressions concerning intention, prediction, and wishes. However, by limiting the scope to "time reference", this study will deal with aspect and modality only insofar as they are expressed with the same structures that indicate past, present, and future.

Unlike the previous studies mentioned, this study will make extensive use of natural texts, in order to describe how direction and time reference works in discourse. Also, comparative data from other Nungish varieties will be referenced, both from previously published work, and from my own fieldwork with the Rawang community in Chiang Mai, in order to show the internal similarities and differences within Nungish.

#### **1.4 Motivations and contributions**

The linguistic motivation for choosing time reference and direction as a topic of study lies in the fact that it is "intricate enough to be challenging, and it reveals the backbone of a text that's crucial in discourse" (Stephanie Wong, p.c.).

The social motivation for the study is due to the current historical situation: on the one hand, with the publication of a new Rawang dictionary (LaPolla & Sangdong), and ongoing production of Mvtwang and Dulong literature by native speakers, and participation in social media such as Facebook among Rawang speakers, there is active progress in language development. For those working in literature development, a more accurate linguistic understanding of time reference and direction in Nungish varieties should prove useful.

Also, among the younger generation of Rawang speakers, there is a significant degree of both dialect leveling and language attrition, with urban youth speaking Mvtwang or the national language (Burmese in Myanmar; Thai in Thailand) rather than their parents' dialects. In remote areas of Kachin State, some Tangsar and Lungmi speakers have difficulty understanding Mvtwang (David Sangdong and Sønwal Peram, p.c.), and thus are attracted to the Lisu and the Jingpho orbits, respectively. With these sociolinguistic forces at work, it is important to document the existing dialects, such as Rvmøl, before they are lost. Based on these factors, there is much to gain, and much to preserve, in carrying out a research project like this.

Nungish linguistic studies are less than a hundred years old, and very little has been written about any Rawang dialects besides Mvtwang. Thus, the documentation of dialects such as Rvmøɭ will break new ground in the field. Hopefully, it will also help make future writers and translators aware of the similarities and differences between the various dialects, so that any literary productions will accurately reflect the diversity and complexity of the language as it is actually used.

### **1.5 Theoretical topics: direction, tense, aspect, and modality**

In this section, several theoretical topics will be introduced, based largely on definitions from Bybee et al. (1994: 316–324).

Direction describes movement with reference to a deictic center (usually the speaker's present location), just as tense makes reference to a temporal point (usually the time of speech). Directions include motion away from the center (dislocative), toward the center (cislocative), up, and down. Sometimes, categories of person or transitivity are intertwined with direction, as when the movement is toward or away from the addressee, or when there is a distinction between moving independently and moving an object.

Although direction is concerned with space rather than time, it is a prime source for grammaticalized time metaphors, which is why I deal with it first in Chapter 4 before dealing with tense and aspect in Chapter 5. In the case of Rvmøɭ, the marker for dislocative movement (away from the center) also encodes perfective aspect (having done X and gone away > having done X already), and the markers for cislocative, upward, and downward movement also encode inceptive aspect (coming to do or be X > beginning or becoming X).

Tense and aspect are two different ways of viewing a situation in time. Tense "locate[s] an event in time" (Frawley 1992: 336) by relating the event to a reference time such as the time of speaking. Basic tense distinctions include past, present, and future; in many languages, present and future are combined as non-past. A further set of distinctions, which is found in Nungish, is metrical tense: various distances in the past or future such as 'before today' (pre-hodiernal) or 'long ago' (remote past) (Chung & Timberlake 1985: 207; Frawley 1992: 363; LaPolla 2003c: 133). Immediate past, when combined with a sense of current relevance, can be called perfect/anterior tense. This means that the situation occurred before the reference time, with current "hot news" value (Bybee et al. 1994: 117).

The typical reference time for tense is the time of speaking, but other reference times are possible, such as the time in a narrative right after a transition point. Tense that is anchored to a reference point besides the time of speech is called relative tense. Besides perfect/anterior tense ("to have V-ed"), a posterior tense is also possible, which Jespersen (1924: 262) calls "after-past" and "after-future"; it is basically a relative future, and while not common, can be intertwined with prospective aspect.

Aspect deals with the internal structure or "contour" of an event, "the way that an event is distributed through the time frame in which the event occurs" (Frawley 1992: 294). The two most basic types of aspect either look at the situation as a complete whole (perfective), or as an ongoing situation (imperfective). Aspect also includes phases, focusing on when a situation is about to begin (prospective), is beginning (inceptive), is continuing (continuous), is ending (completive), and has been completed (resultative). There are also various ways to quantify an event, such as one time (punctual), multiple times (iterative), habitual, general, a little (delimited), or a lot (augmented) (cf. Bybee et al. 1994).

Grammatical aspect interacts a great deal with lexical aspect, also known as Aktionsart. Aktionsart puts situations into different categories, such as states ("being fast") and dynamic situations. Dynamic situations include activities ("running"), accomplishments ("running a mile"), achievements ("reaching the finish line"), and semelfactives ("tripping"). (Semelfactives are introduced in Comrie 1976: 42; the other categories are introduced in Vendler 1957.) When viewed imperfectively (from the inside), dynamic situations can be termed processes; when viewed perfectly (from the outside, as a whole), they can be termed events (Comrie 1976: 51).

Modality refers to "the [semantic] content of an expression that reflects the speaker's attitude or state of knowledge about a proposition" (Frawley 1992: 386). Several modal distinctions include: realis (actual) vs. irrealis (unrealized), levels of certainty, information source (evidentiality), and desire, possibility, or obligation for a situation to occur. Since irrealis modality deals with things that have not happened yet, it is often used for talking about the hypothetical or the future, and is thus closely linked with tense and aspect. Mood, on the other hand, refers to the particular grammaticalized means for expressing certain modal distinctions, usually morphologically (Frawley 1992: 386–390).

I have set about this research by starting with verb morphology, trying to find the language-internal, emic categories of direction, tense, and aspect – focusing mostly



on time reference. Because of this morphological approach, I deal in detail with the usage and grammaticalization of individual affixes and clitics that refer to direction and time, without comprehensively describing modal and evidential categories. The latter categories are often marked by periphrastic structures such as adverbials, nominal obliques, verb concatenation, and nominalization. Some of these structures are dealt with in Chapter 6, in order to deal with reference to future time.

## 1.6 Methodology

The methodology I have followed is basically three-fold: 1) glossing and analyzing Rvmøɭ texts; 2) eliciting and analyzing words and sentences translated from Burmese or Mvtwang into Rvmøɭ; and 3) comparing structures found with those in the published literature on Rawang, Dulong, and Anong.

The Rakwi Tang stories (from Randy LaPolla) and the Ticewang Pong wordlist (from David Sangdong) came to me in the form of digital audio files and preliminary transcriptions. The rest of the data I elicited myself, and recorded on a Zoom H2 digital recorder. The typical workflow was to archive the recording, then enter it into a SayMore database. From there, I would listen, break up utterances into natural pause groups, and then supply free translations, usually with the help of a native speaker. When this was finished, I would export the transcription and free translation into FieldWorks Language Explorer and gloss the individual morphemes.

In the course of my fieldwork, I attended Chiang Mai Christian Church, the largest Rawang church in Chiang Mai, established in 1998. There, I was able to do some language learning in Mvtwang, Waqdamkong, Dvru, Jerwang, and Rvmøɭ. Occasionally I was able to get native speakers to describe cross-dialect morpheme equivalencies, which aided in the investigation. I also created FieldWorks databases for Dulong, Waqdamkong, and Mvtwang, analyzing sentences and texts in order to shed some light on possible parallel structures in Rvmøɭ.

As a result of these emerging understandings from analysis of Rvmøɭ texts and sentences and comparison with other dialects, I have generated hypotheses about the forms, meanings, and usage of morphosyntactic structures for expressing direction, tense, aspect, and modality in Rvmøɭ; these hypotheses have been further refined and confirmed by corpus searches and consultation with native speakers. The results of these understandings are presented here in the thesis.

## 1.7 Data

The Rvmøɭ data corpus which this thesis is based on contains wordlists, verb paradigms, elicited phrases and sentences, and natural texts. The wordlists were collected from Ticewang Pong (436 items), Chømgunggang Chang (436 items), and Chømgunggang Dø (700 items). Person-marking and tense-aspect-direction paradigms for several verbs were collected from Chømgunggang Chang and Chømgunggang Dø. Several sets of grammatical sentence questionnaires were also collected from Chgg. Chang and Chgg. Dø, amounting to around 400 sentences and phrases translated from Burmese or Mvtwang into Rvmøɭ.

The text data includes six folktales and a creation and migration story by Rakwi Tang (collected by Randy LaPolla), a family history interview and a hunting story by Chgg. Dø, two hypothetical monologues by Chgg. Dø and Chgg. Chang, and narrations and summaries of the Pear Story videos by Abør Yosep and Chgg. Dø. Altogether, the corpus contains over 12,000 words of running text.

## 1.8 Native speakers

In this section, I give some information on six Rvmøɭ speakers who provided the data this thesis is based on, along with speakers of other Rawang dialects who have helped. This is necessary because their personal histories show the types of multilingualism currently at play in the Rawang community, and their family origins help to trace the spread of the Rvmøɭ dialect from its original home area.

### 1.8.1 Rakwi Tang

Rakwi Tang is the source of about half of the Rvmøɭ corpus. He recorded six folktales and a creation and migration story for Randy LaPolla in 1996, when he was 88 years old. The stories were transcribed by his son, Rakwi Pung, and free translations were supplied by Rawang Meram. LaPolla supplied the stories to me to analyze for this thesis.

Rakwi Tang was a Rawang elder and statesman, widely known as a great storyteller. He was born around 1908 and died in 2011 in Yangon. His father was Rakwi Dee, born at Rakwi Pø near Konglangphu, and his mother was Tisanwang Tsin, possibly born at Wanguku near Gawle. He and his wife, Bangsar Nangzi, had their first son, Pung, in Nokmong (also called Lungmong) in 1944. They had three sons and four daughters, as well as 23 grandchildren and 10 great-grandchildren.

He lived in Nokmong and was the local Rawang leader there until he moved to Myitkyina to serve on the Kachin State Judges' Committee, the civil and criminal court for Kachin State (Chgg. Dø, p.c., and Rakwi Tang's obituary).

His eldest son, Pung, was a member of the People's Assembly (national parliament) representing Putao in 1974, and chairman of the Rawang Literature Committee in 1976. Later, Pung was the managing director of Snowland Travel until his retirement.

The Rakwi clan is found in the list of Rvmeti Mvtwang clans (Sangdong, p.c.) and also in the list of Rvshóm Rawang (Mvtwang branch) clans (Morse & Morse 1966). However, in the Creation story, Rakwi Tang says that his family lived in the Rvninti area for a long time, and then finally settled in Rakwi Pø near Konglangphu as their homeland. In recent history, however, he lived in Nokmong, and, according to Randy LaPolla (p.c.), identified himself as Dvru.

He had a vast linguistic repertoire. Primarily, he spoke the dialect of his mother's clan, Tisanwang, also called Tisv̀lwàng, Tisèwàng, or Chicv̀lwàng, (Rakwi Pung, p.c.), which is one of the main Rvmøl-speaking clans (Chgg. Dø, p.c.). In his telling of the Creation Story, he also inserted a few lines of Mvtwang and Jerwang dialogue, and sang a few lines of Mv̀ngrùng, the language of Rawang traditional chants. In his official duties, he would probably have spoken Burmese and Jingpho as well.

### **1.8.2 Chømgunggang Dø**

Chømgunggang Dø is the most senior and proficient speaker of Rvmøl living in Chiang Mai. I have elicited several hundred sentences from him via Mvtwang and Burmese translation, and also recorded some interviews and personal narratives. He has also helped with interpreting some of the Rakwi Tang stories.

The Chømgunggang ancestral family was originally from Puzi mountain. From there, they eventually moved to Konglang village near the Rvmeti river, where his great-grandparents were blacksmiths. In his grandparents' time, they moved to Putao. His father later went over the Mvliqku (the upper Mali Hka river), and moved to Tvnu village on Lang Razi mountain near Kagaburazi mountain, north of Putao, where Dø was born in 1949. Then, they moved down the mountain to Ngvwa village in 1951, and finally to Tvngtuq, 1.5 miles upriver from Nokmong, in 1954. Dø studied as far as the 8th grade in Putao, and later worked as a farmer and a village head in

Tvngtuq while Rakwi Tang was the leader of Nokmong. In 2007, Dø moved to Myitkyina, and then finally to Thailand in 2010.

His main dialect is Rvmø1, which he learned from both parents. (His father spoke Rvmø1, Burmese, Lisu, Jingpho, and Khamti Shan; his mother spoke only Rvmø1.) He says that he speaks some Mvtwang, but "not perfectly", and can understand all the other dialects, but cannot speak them. He can speak and read Burmese and Jingpho, and can also speak a little Lisu.

He is married to Mvplmchvng Nin, a Jerwang speaker, and they have ten children, who are now grown and living in Myanmar, the U.S., and Thailand. Their third daughter, Chømgunggang Chang, lives with them in Dongbago village.

### **1.8.3 Chømgunggang Chang**

Chømgunggang Chang (hereafter Chgg. Chang) has been my most regular Rvmø1-speaking informant in Chiang Mai. I have elicited a number of sentences, and one personal narrative from her. She has also helped with glossing and interpreting the Rakwi Tang stories.

She was born in Tvngtuq village in 1973. Her father speaks Rvmø1 and her mother speaks Jerwang. She studied up to the 5th grade, with Burmese as the main language of instruction. She moved to Thailand sometime in the last ten years. She now lives in Dongbago village with her husband, two children, and parents.

Besides Rvmø1 and Jerwang, she can speak and read Mvtwang. Growing up, Rvmø1 was spoken in the home, Mvtwang was spoken at church, and she was also exposed to many other Rawang dialects. She can speak and read Jingpho, Burmese, and Thai. Her husband, Awiqwang Angyø, speaks Dvru. Her children speak Thai and Rawang (probably a leveled variety of Mvtwang and Dvru).

### **1.8.4 Abør Yosep**

Abør Yosep is a Rvmø1-speaking pastor who lives in Yangon. While he was visiting Chiang Mai, I elicited some sentences and short texts from him, including the Pear Story.

### **1.8.5 Chvngdvng Sønrvm**

Chvngdvng Sønrvm (hereafter Chd. Sønrvm) is a Rvmøl-speaking elder at Chiang Mai Christian Church, the largest Rawang church in Chiang Mai. I have elicited some verb paradigms and sentences from him.

### **1.8.6 Ticewang Pong**

Ticewang Pong is an elderly Rvmøl speaker in Nokmong Township, Putao District, Kachin State, Myanmar. He recorded a 436-item wordlist in his clan dialect for David Sangdong in 2003, which I have used in my phonological analysis.

### **1.8.7 Speakers of other dialects**

Joseph Sinwal, a Waqdamkong-speaking pastor in Chiang Mai, and Malong Pung, a Dvru speaker in Chiang Mai, are two individuals who grew up in contact with Rvmøl speakers, and whose own dialects are similar enough to Rvmøl to understand it. Both of them have helped me with glossing the Rakwi Tang texts. They and other Rawang speakers in Chiang Mai, including Jesse Yangmi (Jerwang) and Jerry Awiqwang (Dvru), Dvngshing Nvng, Dvlvnggøng Dukaw, and Andrew Mana (Mvtwang), have provided very helpful comparative data.

## **1.9 Limitations**

Due to the particular circumstances of the research, the thesis is subject to several limitations. First, the bulk of the texts were collected from only one speaker, Rakwi Tang, who is now deceased. I had to have other Rawang speakers listen to his recordings and tell me what dialect he was speaking, and if they said that they spoke the same dialect as Rakwi Tang, I had to rely on them to help me flesh out the grammar through elicitation.

Second, Chgg. Dø and Chgg. Chang live in a village outside Chiang Mai, so I had to make trips to visit them, with my other Nungish input coming from Mvtwang and Dvru speakers who I met at the Rawang church in Chiang Mai. Also, there was a language barrier, as the only common language I had with Chgg. Chang was my limited Thai and Mvtwang; at times I would bring someone to translate through Burmese, but if I came alone, I had to use a mixture of Thai, Mvtwang, gestures, and lists of words and sentences translated into Mvtwang and Burmese for elicitation. Chgg. Dø does not speak Thai at all, so his daughter or one of my friends had to translate when I spoke with him, unless I was using Mvtwang or Rvmøl.

Another limitation is that the recordings of the Rakwi Tang stories and the Ticewang Pong wordlist were digitized from poor-quality tape recordings, so phonetic conclusions from these can only be taken so far. Furthermore, tones as transcribed in the texts are no doubt affected by intonation, and should not be treated as an infallible reflection of the lexical tones.

Finally, there is a genre limitation, in that the folktales and the elicited sentences are the data I have worked with the longest, and analyzed the most thoroughly. The folktales contain both narrative action and dialogue, which provides examples of many common grammatical structures. The elicited sentences, however, contain a number of disfluencies and self-corrections, as well as some grammatical peculiarities due to being translated from Burmese.

In particular, the declarative sentence-final marker =*e* is used by Chgg. Dø to translate the Burmese sentence-final marker -*tɛ* (realis, non-future), although (in Mvtwang at least) =*e* is used for non-past tense, which only partially overlaps with the meaning of -*tɛ*. Add in the fact that =*e* is optional in Rvmø1 and many questions are raised over the naturalness of the elicited data. However, the sentences in texts are often very long, with clause chaining and zero anaphora, making them difficult to use as examples in the thesis. Thus, compromises have to be made with both types of data, and we have to accept that conclusions made based on this data will be tentative.

## **1.10 Conclusion**

This introductory chapter has outlined the theoretical field of direction, tense, aspect, and modality, as well as the relevant literature on the Nungish language group. The methodology, data, and profiles of informants have also been presented, as well as limitations and potential contributions of the research.

Looking ahead to the rest of the thesis, Chapters 2 and 3 outline the phonology and grammar of Rvmø1, respectively. The next three chapters discuss the main topic of the research: Chapter 4 discusses post-verbal direction marking; Chapter 5 discusses post-verbal tense-aspect marking; and Chapter 6 discusses "predictive modality", that is, various ways of talking about future predictions and intentions. Finally, Chapter 7 draws some conclusions from the study.

## Chapter 2

### Phonology

This chapter gives an overview of the phonemes, tones, and phonological processes found in Rvmøɭ, followed by some comparison with Mvtwang. Lexical data is taken from wordlists elicited from Ticewang Pong and Chømgunggang Chang (for the latter, see Appendix B).

#### 2.1 Phonological inventory

Rvmøɭ has 22 or 23 consonant phonemes, as seen in Table 1. The inventory is very similar to Mvtwang (Morse 1962, 1963); the only major difference is the phonemic status of *ɲ* and *tsʰ*. One marginal possible phoneme, *f*, only occurs in the onomatopoeic word *fíŋ* 'the sound of whistling' and the English loanword *fón* ~ *fóŋ* 'phone'. The glottal stop is not contrastive in syllable onsets, although it sometimes appears to separate vowels of adjacent syllables, as in *məʔu* 'smoke'.

**Table 1 Consonant phonemes**

	labial		alveolar		alveolo-palatal		palatal	velar		glottal
plosive	p <sup>h</sup>	b	t <sup>h</sup>	d				k <sup>h</sup>	g	ʔ
affricate			ts <sup>h</sup>	dz	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	dʒ				
nasal		m		n			ɲ		ŋ	
fricative	(f)		s		ɕ			x		
approximant				ɹ			j		w	
lateral				l						

The following words constitute a near-minimal set for 22 initial consonants:

<i>p<sup>h</sup>à</i> 'what'	<i>sa</i> 'to know'
<i>t<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'each'	<i>ɕa</i> 'flesh'
<i>k<sup>h</sup>agù</i> 'gibbon'	<i>xaŋ wa</i> 'quiet ADV' (quietly)
<i>bà</i> 'to be thin, shallow'	<i>má-sì</i> 'to hide oneself'
<i>dá</i> 'to have'	<i>na</i> 'probably, NCERT' (nominalizer)
<i>ga</i> 'to be bright'	<i>nəŋa? í</i> 'many be' (to be many)
<i>ts<sup>h</sup>a-ni</i> 'yester-day'	<i>ŋa</i> 'fish'
<i>tɕ<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'to be right'	<i>əra</i> 'which'
<i>dza-zì</i> 'bead-DIM' (small bead)	<i>ja</i> 'this'
<i>dzà</i> 'friend'	<i>wa</i> 'to say'
<i>fí</i> 'sound of whistling'	<i>la</i> 'to drop something'

The phonetic variation found in each consonant phoneme, and the transcriptions used in the other chapters of this thesis, are given below in Table 2.



**Table 2 Consonant allophones and transcriptions**

Rawang orthography	transcription used in this thesis	phoneme	allophones	syllable-final?
p	<i>p</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> /	[p <sup>h</sup> -, -p, -mʔ]	+
t	<i>t</i>	/t <sup>h</sup> /	[t <sup>h</sup> -, -t, -nʔ]	+
k	<i>k</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> /	[k <sup>h</sup> -, -k, -ŋʔ]	+
b	<i>b</i>	/b/	[b, p]	
d	<i>d</i>	/d/	[d, t]	
g	<i>g</i>	/g/	[g, k]	
-/q	<i>ʔ</i>	/ʔ/	[ʔ]	+
c	<i>ts</i>	/ts <sup>h</sup> /	[ts <sup>h</sup> ]	
ch	<i>tɕ</i>	/tɕ <sup>h</sup> /	[tɕ <sup>h</sup> ]	
z	<i>z</i>	/dz/	[dz]	
j	<i>dʒ</i>	/dʒ/	[dʒ]	
(f)	<i>(f)</i>	/f/	[f]	
s	<i>s</i>	/s/	[s]	
sh	<i>ɕ</i>	/ɕ/	[ɕ, ʃ]	
h	<i>h</i>	/x/	[h, x]	
m	<i>m</i>	/m/	[m]	+
n	<i>n</i>	/n/	[n]	+
ny	<i>ɲ</i>	/ɲ/	[ɲ]	
ng	<i>ŋ</i>	/ŋ/	[ŋ]	+
l	<i>l</i>	/l/	[l]	+
r	<i>r</i>	/ɹ/	[ɹ, -r-]	+
w	<i>w</i>	/w/	[w]	+
y	<i>y</i>	/j/	[j, ʝ]	+

There are a number of onset clusters in Rvmøɭ, with a consonant followed by *ɹ*, *l*, *j*, or *w*. Examples are as follows:

**Consonant + ɹ**

<b>p<sup>h</sup>ɹən</b> 'to tie'	<b>nagɹeŋ</b> 'frog'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>ɹək</b> 'exactly'	<b>(j)ip mɹeŋ</b> 'dream' (Abør Yosep)
<b>ts<sup>h</sup>əbɹù</b> 'porcupine'	

**Consonant + l**

<b>p<sup>h</sup>láj</b> 'nat, spirit'	<b>glot</b> 'to jump'
<b>k<sup>h</sup>lu?</b> 'to dig'	<b>mlak</b> 'to swallow', <b>ip mláj</b> 'dream' (Chgg. Chang)
<b>blət</b> 'to weave a basket'	

**Consonant + j**

<b>p<sup>h</sup>jeŋ</b> 'to slap'	<b>mju?</b> 'township' (< Burmese)
<b>dəbjù</b> 'pus'	

**Consonant + w**

<b>səbwe</b> ~ <b>səboy</b> 'table' (< Burmese)	<b>gwi</b> 'to wear a bead necklace'
<b>kwá</b> 'bee'	<b>məxwám əxwàm</b> 'to yawn'

Occasionally, an oral stop coda (p, t, or k) will be realized as a homorganic nasal + glottal stop combination, e.g. *rəmut* [ɹəmʷnʔ] 'cloud'. This occurs especially after central vowels, and with older speakers, and does not appear to be phonemic; it may be related to the phonetic affinity between nasality and glottality known as rhinoglottophilia (Matisoff 1975).

Rvmøɭ has seven phonemic vowels, shown in Table 3.

**Table 3 Vowel phonemes**

	front	central	back
close	i	ɯ	u
mid	e	ə	o
open		a	

Examples of the vowels are as follows:

sí 'fruit'

sú 'fat' (n.)

sé 'to be spicy'

so 'to know something' (sa 'to know'  
+ \*-ò '3rd person undergoer')

su 'rain' (n.)

sa 'to know'

sə- 'CAUS'

The allophones of these vowels and some comments on their environments are given in Table 4. Certain vowel height distinctions are neutralized in closed syllables except for where the coda is a glottal stop, e.g. *múŋ* 'country' (Chgg. Dø) vs. *mōŋ* 'country' (Chgg. Chang), whereas *əmoʔ* 'hat' presents a near contrast to *muʔ* 'sky'. This could be evidence that the glottal stop is actually a tonal property rather than a segment. However, a definite conclusion on this question will have to await further research.

**Table 4 Vowel allophones and transcriptions**

Rawang	transcription used in this thesis	phoneme	allophones	environments
i	i	/i/	[i, ɪ]	[i]~[ɪ]; neutralized with /e/ on closed syllables except before /ʔ/
e	e	/e/	[e, ɛ]	[e]~[ɛ]; neutralized with /i/ in closed syllables except before /ʔ/
ø	u	/ɯ/	[i, ø, ɯ, u]	[ɯ] before or after back consonants; [u] after labial initial; [i]~[ø] elsewhere; neutralized with /ə/ in open syllables
v	ə	/ə/	[ə, ɛ̃]	neutralized with /a/ when stressed and lengthened
a	a	/a/	[a, ɑ]	[a]~[ɑ]
u	u	/u/	[u]	neutralized with /o/ in closed syllables except before /ʔ/
o	o	/o/	[o, ɔ]	[o]~[ɔ]; neutralized with /o/ in closed syllables except before /ʔ/

True diphthongs are rare in native Rvmø1 lexemes. Normally, when two vowels appear together, each carries its own tone in slow speech. The possible diphthongs *ai*, *ui*, and *oi* are analyzed as having a palatal glide coda *j*, producing *aj*, *oj*, and *uj*. Many of these are loanwords.

*aj*

<i>daj</i> 'become' (Rakwi Tang; < Jingpho)	<i>gaj</i> 'wow!' (Rakwi Tang)
<i>naj</i> 'nickname for 8th or higher daughter' (Chgg. Dø)	<i>gəràj</i> 'God' (Chgg. Dø; < Jingpho)
<i>raj</i> 'nickname for 8th or higher daughter' (Chgg. Dø)	<i>tɕʰambajlajʔ</i> 'lightning' (Chgg. Chang; < Jerwang dialect)
<i>gàjwa</i> 'very much' (Rakwi Tang)	<i>tʰaj</i> 'Thai' (Chgg. Dø; < Thai)

*oj*

<i>səbój</i> 'table' (Chgg. Dø; < Burmese)	<i>uʔojʔ</i> 'pole to hold' (Rakwi Tang)
<i>bój</i> 'festival' (Chgg. Dø; < Burmese and Jingpho)	

*uj*

*guj* 'dog' (Rakwi Tang, in story dialogue represented as Nat (spirit) speech; compare Mvkømgang Dvru-Jerwang *dəgùj*, S. Dulong *du<sup>31</sup>gui<sup>55</sup>* (Huang & Dai 1992), and C. Dulong *də<sup>31</sup>gui<sup>55</sup>* (Trung Dictionary Committee et al. 2015))

Only one example of the possible diphthong *au* has been found, and it has been analyzed as having a labiovelar glide coda, producing *aw*.

*aw*

*gəjaw* *gəjà* 'to be mixed up' (Rakwi Tang; < Jingpho)

The other consonant codas are *p*, *t*, *k*, *ʔ*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *ɹ*, and *l*. Examples are as follows:

<i>ga lap</i> 'bright side' (dawn)	<i>kʰwan</i> 'to hunt'
<i>əkʰat</i> 'to be hot'	<i>ŋaŋ</i> 'to climb'
<i>əxak-sì</i> 'noisy-R/M' (to be noisy)	<i>naɹ</i> 'to stop someone'
<i>ɹaʔ</i> 'to weave'	<i>al</i> 'to tell'
<i>kʰam</i> 'firewood'	

## 2.2 Tone

This section presents the tones that appear at the syllable level. There are three major tonemes on stressed, open syllables and syllables with a sonorant coda: high (55/35), mid (33), and falling (53/31). On unstressed syllables, there is neutral tone, and on syllables with a stop coda (p, t, k, ?), there is stopped tone. Stopped tone may be realized with either high or mid pitch, and sometimes as quick falling pitch. When vowel length is added to a verb with stopped tone, the pitch is realized as high rising (35), but the coda is retained.

**Table 5 Tone minimal sets**

	form	gloss	form	gloss
<b>high</b>	əlé	'to be far'	rəsú	'lungs'
<b>mid</b>	t <sup>h</sup> əlē	'to exchange'	sū	'rain'
<b>falling</b>	p <sup>h</sup> əlè	'tongue'	sù	'boat'
<b>stopped</b>	me?	'eye'	suup	'nest'
<b>neutral</b>	mə-	'NEG'	sə-	'CAUS'

Notes on tone alternations:

1. High > Mid: when unstressed, e.g. *mé~mē* 'CLF.general'; *í~i* 'be'.
2. High ~ Falling: on sentence-final markers such as *má~mà* 'Q'.
3. Mid > Super-high: an extra-high tone along with vowel length is used for emphasis of extent.
  - (a) *k<sup>h</sup>ū = mé*  
that(remote) = CLF.general  
'that one'
  - (b) *k<sup>h</sup>ú: = me*  
that(very.far.away)  
'that one way over there'
4. Mid ~ Falling: *əlā ~ əlà* 'friend'; *əē ~ əè* 'DEC'.

5. Neutral > Mid: Mid tone accompanies vowel length added to ə when prefixes are combined.

- (c) mā-léŋ  
 mə-ə-léŋ  
 NEG-INTR-change  
 '(it) never changes'

6. Falling > Neutral: when unstressed.

7. Falling > Mid: on a non-final verb.

- (d) dà = e  
 be.surprised = DEC  
 '(he) is surprised'

- (e) dā                    ləm    i = e  
 be.surprised    PUR    be = DEC  
 '(he) will be surprised'

### 2.3 Rvmøł and Mvtwang phonology compared

In some ways, Rvmøł and other northern dialects are rather conservative compared to Mvtwang (LaPolla 2000: 283). First, final *l* is preserved in highly-used words like *ts<sup>h</sup>əl* 'child' where in Mvtwang it is eroded to *ts<sup>h</sup>è ~ sè* (although in speakers influenced by Dvru-Jerwang phonology, this tends toward *ts<sup>h</sup>ən*).

Second, the *ts<sup>h</sup>* affricate is more often preserved, whereas in Mvtwang it is usually eroded to *s*, as in Rvmøł *ts<sup>h</sup>i* 'urine' vs. Mvtwang *si* (cf. Morse 1963: 37n4).<sup>8</sup> However, in some cases such as the word for 'person', Rvmøł and Mvtwang both have *s* (*əsəŋ*), whereas C. Dulong has the affricate *ts* (*ə<sup>31</sup>tsəŋ<sup>53</sup>*) (Trung Dictionary Committee et al. 2015).

Third, Rvmøł preserves more types of onset clusters, with the second element of the cluster being *w*, *ɹ*, or *l*, with the addition of *j* for Burmese loanwords (see also Morse 1963: 37n6). Clusters with *w* are limited to the velars *gw*, *k<sup>h</sup>w*, and *xw*, except for Burmese loans like *səboy ~ səbwe* (Mvt. *fəboy ~ fəbwe*) 'table'. Words with onset clusters in Rvmøł (mostly from Chgg. Chang, as found in Appendix B) are compared below

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<sup>8</sup> In like manner, Rvmøł *dz* is sometimes pronounced as [z] ~ [dz] or weakly voiced approaching [s] in Mvtwang.

with possible Mvtwang cognates from LaPolla & Sangdong's (2015) dictionary in Table 6.

**Table 6 Words with onset clusters**

Rvmøl	Mvtwang	gloss	Rvmøl onset	Mvtwang onset
əbli	əbì	four	bl	b
əbrəŋ	bàŋ	right (side)	bɿ	b
ts <sup>h</sup> əbrù	dəzò	porcupine	bɿ	z
dəbjù	dəzù	pus	bj	z
p <sup>h</sup> ɿən	p <sup>h</sup> ən	to tie	p <sup>h</sup> ɿ	p <sup>h</sup>
mlak	naʔ, ɲaʔ	to swallow	ml	n, ɲ
ip mláj, (j)ip mɿəŋ <sup>9</sup>	jɿp náŋ, jɿp ɲáj	dream (n.)	ml, mɿ	n, ɲ
bɿŋ, miŋ <sup>10</sup>	bùŋ, bɿŋ, miŋ	name	bɿ, m	b(ɿ), m
əglà	ədʒa	to fall	gl	dʒ
gɿùŋ	dʒu	to bark	gɿ	dʒ
əgɿà	əgà, ədʒà	to be full (stomach)	gɿ	g, dʒ
əgwí	əgwé	left (side)	gw	gw
kɿáj	k <sup>h</sup> áj	to be strong	k <sup>h</sup> ɿ	k <sup>h</sup>

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a brief sketch of the phonemes and tones found in the Rvmøl dialect of Rawang. I have also shown several areas where Rvmøl is more conservative than Mvtwang, such as the preservation of the *ts<sup>h</sup>* affricate and a wider variety of onset clusters.

<sup>9</sup> *ip mláj* is from Chgg. Chang; *(j)ip mɿəŋ* is from Abør Yosep.

<sup>10</sup> *bɿŋ* is from Ticvlwang Nensar, *miŋ* is from Chgg. Chang.

## Chapter 3

### Grammar

This chapter presents an overview of the grammar of the Rvmøl dialect. The purpose is to provide some idea of the structures and grammatical morphemes in the Rvmøl dialect for purposes of language documentation, and, more immediately, to provide enough orientation that the example sentences in the following chapters, and the sample text in the appendix will be understandable.

We will first look at the clause structure, followed by noun phrase structure and noun morphology. Following that, there will be a listing of role-marking postpositions, and a discussion of nominalization and adverbialization. Rounding out the overview of the non-predicate parts of the sentence is a section on time and locative phrases.

Next, there will be a section on the verb phrase and verb concatenation, followed by a catalogue of verb morphology, and then sentence-final marking. In order to give some clues to the sentence and paragraph level, there are sections on clause-linking and topic markers as well. We now start with a look at the clause.

### 3.1 The clause

Excluding background information, the core arguments are the agent and the object (in transitive clauses), or the subject (in intransitive clauses). Clauses as a rule are verb-final, with the agent often before the object (Morse 1965: 344), but the order is variable and dependent on focus. Although the subject/agent and object are semantically obligatory, they are often omitted in discourse as long as they are understood. Morse (1965) provides a schema for the Mvtwang clause that is adapted below, since Rvmøl follows the same patterns.

Clause: [(Time, Location, Benefactive/Purpose, Instrument/ Accompaniment, Adverbial, Subject/Agent, Object) + Verb]
--

**Figure 3 Clause schema**



The schema should be read as follows: a clause consists of one or more optional phrases denoting time, location, benefactive/purpose, instrument/accompaniment, adverbial of manner or extent, subject/agent, and object, followed by an obligatory verb with its various affixes and clitics.

A sentence can consist of either one clause or multiple clauses chained together. As Morse (1965) explains, each dependent, optional clause followed by a clausal conjunction or non-final clause marker, and the final, obligatory, independent clause followed by sentence-final marking and accompanied by sentence-final intonation:

Sentence: [(Clause + conjunction) + Clause + Sentence-final marking + Intonation]

**Figure 4 Sentence schema**

### 3.1.1 Intransitive clauses

Basic intransitive clauses consist of the subject followed by the predicate as in (1).

- (1) [dəgi]<sub>SUBJECT</sub> [sì = e]<sub>PRED.</sub>  
 dog die = DEC  
 'The dog dies.' (elic. from Chgg. Dø)

The intransitive clause can be modified by time and manner adverbials, as in (2).

- (2) [yā kám]<sub>TIME</sub> [səí ti? gún]<sub>S</sub> [ŋám wā]<sub>MANNER</sub> [dzì-rət = wà]<sub>PRED.</sub>  
 this time bear one CLF.animal suddenly ADV walk-CIS = HS  
 '[At this time]<sub>TIME</sub>, [a bear]<sub>S</sub> [suddenly]<sub>MANNER</sub> came toward (Mangkang Aya).' (FT1: 4)

### 3.1.2 Copula clauses

The copula clause is like an intransitive clause, in that arguments do not take case role marking, but unlike an intransitive clause in that there is more than one subject noun phrase. The main copula, í 'be', is used for equation, identification, and specifying qualities which are lexically nouns.

- (3) [ya əsəŋ yoʔ]<sub>A</sub> nu, [rəwàŋ, pən]<sub>B</sub> í = e.<sup>11</sup>  
 this person CLF.person TOP Rawang kind be = DEC  
 '[This person]<sub>A</sub> is [Rawang]<sub>B</sub>.' (DGM: 71)

<sup>11</sup> Commas in the transcription line represent pauses in the recorded version of the sentence. They may or may not represent syntactic phrase boundaries.

The phrases can be expanded with more description, as in (4).

- (4) [ɲà numnəŋ pè, apuŋ]<sub>A</sub> nu, [səra tçi? = yo?]<sub>B</sub> í = e.  
 1sg friend GMm Apung TOP teacher one = CLF.person be = DEC  
 '[My friend, Apung]<sub>A</sub> is [a teacher]<sub>B</sub>.' (DGM: 160)

A copula clause can show possession, if one of the arguments specifies a possessor.

- (5) [ya lega = buk]<sub>A</sub> nu, [ɲà lega = buk]<sub>B</sub> í = e.  
 this book = CLF.book TOP 1sg book = CLF.book be = DEC  
 '[This book]<sub>A</sub> is [my book]<sub>B</sub>.' (DGM: 57)

Another use of the copula clause is to specify the number of entities, as in (6).

- (6) [dətsómra = rì]<sub>A</sub> nu, [puŋwà yo?]<sub>B</sub> í = e.  
 child = PL TOP five CLF.person be = DEC  
 '[The children]<sub>A</sub> are [five people]<sub>B</sub>.' (DGM: 80)

A special use of the copula clause is to attribute a quality to the topical entity, where that quality is expressed by a noun rather than a stative verb, as in (7).

- (7) [uya, hítaləŋ]<sub>A</sub> nu, [əŋsár]<sub>B</sub> í (= e).  
 that bicycle TOP new.one be (= DEC)  
 '[That bicycle]<sub>A</sub> is [(a) new (one)]<sub>B</sub>.' (DGM: 183)

For copula clauses where the situation has recently or already come about, the perfect(ive) marker *-bu* is added.

- (8) [dətsómra = rì]<sub>A</sub> nu, [əsa? puŋwà jíŋ]<sub>B</sub> í-bú = e.  
 child = PL TOP old five year be-PFV = DEC  
 '[The children]<sub>A</sub> are (already) [five years old]<sub>B</sub>.' (DGM: 81)

Another copula-like verb is *əl* 'exist, live, stay', which is used for presenting entities as either existing, or staying in a particular location.

- (9) [mətsú\_dál ti? = pè]<sub>s</sub> əl wà.  
 Mvcu.Dal one = GMm exist HS  
 'There was [a man (named) Mvcu Dal<sup>12</sup>]<sub>s</sub>, it is said.' (FT2: 1)

<sup>12</sup> Mvcu Dal means 'stupid man' (man+stupid). He appears in many folktales as a foil for the Trickster Mangkang Aya (trickster+liar).

The verb  $\partial l$  'exist' can be used to show the time of an event, if one of the NPs is a time phrase, and the event is expressed as a noun.

- (10) [əɣəŋ = ɲí]<sub>TIME</sub> nu, [bóy]<sub>S</sub>  $\partial l = e$ .  
 tomorrow = day TOP festival exist = DEC  
 '[The festival]<sub>S</sub> is [tomorrow]<sub>TIME</sub>.' (DGM: 83)

A clause with  $\partial l$  can show location, if one of the NPs is a locative phrase.

- (11) [waʔ]<sub>S</sub> nu, [son = ədúŋ = taʔ]<sub>LOC</sub> nu  $\partial l = e$ .  
 pig TOP garden = inside = LOC.on TOP exist = DEC  
 '[The pig]<sub>S</sub> is [inside the garden]<sub>LOC</sub>.' (DGM: 61)

$\partial l$  also appears in clauses that show locational possession with a locative phrase.

- (12) [əŋŋiŋ dóm]<sub>LOC/POSS</sub> nu, [dətsəməra puŋwà = yoʔ]<sub>S</sub>  $\partial l = e$ .  
 3pl LOC TOP child five = CLF.person exist = DEC  
 '[They]<sub>LOC/POSS</sub> have [five children]<sub>S</sub>.' (lit. at their place, children five persons exist.)  
 (DGM: 58)

Such clauses can also depict temporary locational possession in conjunction with ownership by a different entity.

- (13) [nà kəmpùŋ]<sub>S</sub> nu, [əŋ dóm = í]<sub>LOC/POSS</sub>  $\partial l = e$ .  
 2sg money TOP 3sg LOC = ADV exist = DEC  
 '[He]<sub>LOC/POSS</sub> has [your money]<sub>S</sub>.' (lit. your money, is on him.) (DGM: 60)<sup>13</sup>

The addition of = í 'ADV' to the locative phrase seems to mark the phrase as circumstantial or background information (e.g. time and location). This function of = í was first identified for Mvtwang as "association" (Morse 1965: 368), and later glossed by LaPolla & Poa (2001:viii) as "ADV" (adverbial marker).

### 3.1.3 Transitive clauses

In transitive clauses with specific patients, especially animate ones, both the agent and the patient are often marked. The agent is marked by = í and the patient is

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<sup>13</sup> Compare Mvtwang:  
 əŋ = yəŋ nà gəmsùŋ əl = e.  
 3sg = LOC 2sg money exist = NPST  
 'He has your money.' (Andrew Mana, p.c.).

This carries the sense of 'I gave your money to him, so go get it from him; it's on him, in his hand.'

marked by the allative marker =kaʔ or the more elaborate =kaʔ=əŋ=í.<sup>14</sup> This pattern can occur with both animate objects as in (14) and inanimate objects as in (15).

- (14) əgoʔ=jəʔ=í                      nu,    dəgi =kaʔ = aŋ = í                      sət-bu = e  
 head = CLF.person = AGT    TOP    dog = ALL = ALL = ADV            hit-PFV = DEC

'The headman hit the dog.' (elic. from Chgg. Dø)

- (15) ya    əsəŋ = í,                      síŋ = kaʔ = aŋ = í,                      tət-bu = e  
 this    person = AGT    tree = ALL = ALL = ADV    cut-PFV = DEC

'This person cut the tree.' (elic. from Chgg. Dø)

Here, the patient is inanimate, but relatively specific and greatly affected by the action, which may be why the agent and patient marking is used. In the next two examples, there is marking on the agent (əŋ=í 'he') but not the patient (tɕùm 'house'). This may be because it is clear that people make houses, and houses do not make people. Transitivity is also marked by a vowel change on the verb (wa 'do' > wo) and the benefactive suffix (-pa 'BEN' > -po), reflecting a coalesced suffix -o '3rd person undergoer'.

- (16) əŋ = í                      dú    tɕùm    wó-po = è  
 3sg = AGT    Dø    house    do:3U-BEN:3U = DEC

'He's making Dø's house (for Dø).' (DM65: 93)

- (17) əŋ = í,                      dú    tɕùm,    wò-bú = e  
 3sg = AGT    Dø    house    do:3U-PFV = DEC

'He made Dø's house.' (DM65: 94)

The following sentence is similar to the above examples, except that the agent is not marked and there is no vowel change on the verb. Here, the action is generic and not specific to a particular entity, and thus there is no morphological transitivity.

- (18) əŋ    nu,    tɕùm,    wà = è  
 3sg    TOP    house    do = DEC

'He builds house(s in general).' (DM65: 93)

<sup>14</sup> əŋ seems to be a reflex of the Mvtwang allative/patient marker səŋ, as in Mvtwang kaʔ=səŋ 'toward', and the Dvru allative/patient marker zəŋ. The initial consonant is deleted in Rvmø, leaving a potential ambiguity with the agentive form of the 3sg pronoun əŋ=í.

The order of elements can be rearranged by topicalizing the object and nominalizing the event, as in (19).

- (19) *nəmbrá = dám = í ya tçim nu, ya əsaʔ = pè = í,*  
 field = LOC = ADV this house TOP this old = GMm = AGT  
*wò = a í = e*  
 do:3U = NMLZ be = DEC

'In the field, this house is made by this old man.' (elic. from Chgg. Dø)

For more detailed treatments of transitivity in other Nungish varieties, see LaPolla (2000: 284–286; 2011: 367–369) for Mvtwang and Yang (2002: 141–142) for C. Dulong.

### 3.1.4 Ditransitive clauses

In a ditransitive construction, an agent, a recipient, and an object are all presented. The agent is marked by =*í* AGT, and the recipient is marked by =*kaʔ = aŋ = í*. In (20), the transferred object is unmarked.

- (20) *ku = pè = tsəl = í nu, ku = mè = tsəl = kaʔ = aŋ = í,*  
 that = GMm = child = AGT TOP that = GMf = child = ALL = ALL = ADV  
**lega tçi = buk bí-bu = e.**  
**book one = CLF.book give-PFV = DEC**

'The boy gave the girl a book.' (lit. that boy, to that girl he, one book gave) (elic. from Chgg. Dø)

### 3.1.5 Causative constructions

Causation can be shown in two ways: analytically, with the causative verb *dətsu*<sup>15</sup> 'to send, to cause', or morphologically with the causative prefix *də-/tə-/sə-* 'CAUS'. With the first strategy, *dətsu* follows the verb expressing the action the causer is causing the causee to do: [Causer + Causee + (Location) + [V + *dətsu*]], as seen in (21). As with other sentence types, the order of noun phrases is variable, and case role marking can be used if necessary to disambiguate arguments.

<sup>15</sup> *dətsu* 'to send, to cause' may be composed of the causative prefix *də-* and a verb *tsu*, which does not appear in the Rvmøl corpus but may be related to the Mvtwang verb *su* 'to take, to move things around' (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 364). The compositional meaning of *dətsu* would then be 'to cause someone to move something'.

- (21) àŋ = í nu, dəgi = ka? = aŋ = í, əróm = ka? ət dətsu = e.  
 3sg = AGT TOP dog = ALL = ALL = ADV away = ALL run send-DEC  
 'He made the dog run far away.' (lit. he sent the dog running to a far away place)  
 (elic. from Chgg. Dø)

The verb *dətsu* in its full-verb sense of 'send', and both forms of the causative prefix are seen in (22).

- (22) ti? = pən ti? pən də-dì ì = gu  
 one = kind one kind CAUS-go be = also

'Although (the people) sent one kind (of animal) after another (to Gameu),

gəməù pè-í nəm mà-də-gó wa.  
 Gameu GMm = AGT sun NEG-CAUS-light HS

Gameu didn't make the sun shine.

tən = pəŋ ləŋdùm dətsi í nu, ka? dəŋgú  
 later = next last last ADV TOP chicken rooster

ti? gúŋ dətsu wa...  
 one CLF.animal send HS

Finally, (they) sent a rooster...

çəwà dúŋ ta? wentəŋ pəlu àŋ,  
 common room LOC small.mat spread LNK

(After the rooster arrived,) (Gameu) spread a mat in the common room

sə-róŋ wà, tsət sə-ám wà.  
 CAUS-sit HS food CAUS = eat HS

and made (the rooster) sit and eat.<sup>16</sup> (FCS: 244-253)

### 3.2 The noun phrase

The simplest noun phrase consists of a head noun or pronoun, such as *ta?* 'pot' or *ŋà* 'I (1sg)'. Many more complex noun phrase constructions are possible, and some of these are discussed in this section under the headings of noun modification (Section 3.2.1), possession (Section 3.2.2), pronouns (Section 3.2.3), demonstratives (Section

<sup>16</sup> *sə-ám* 'cause to eat' can also be translated "feed".

3.2.4), numerals (Section 3.2.5), quantification without numerals (Section 3.2.6), and classifiers (Section 3.2.7).

To briefly state the patterns, a head noun can be modified by nominals before or after it, and by nominalized verbs or clauses before it. Possession is specified by placing the possessor word, phrase, or affix before the possessed head noun, sometimes with a subordinating postposition.

Demonstratives appear before the head noun or classifier. Numerals appear before the classifier. A numeral-classifier phrase is a nominal phrase in its own right, but it typically follows a head noun. An alternative construction is where a bare classifier follows the head noun to mark definiteness. Quantifiers other than numerals appear in a variety of positions, depending on the word and the construction. We now proceed to look at these constructions in detail, starting with noun modification.

### 3.2.1 Noun modification

Nouns may be modified by simple nominals, or by nominalized (relative) clauses (whether a single verb or a full clause). Here, all of these elements will be termed "modifiers" whenever they modify a noun, abbreviated MODN for nominals, MODV for single verbs, and MODCL for clauses.

#### 3.2.1.1 Noun modification by nominals

Nouns can be modified by other nouns, which come either before or after the head noun, depending on the word. An example of each pattern is given below.

N + MODN *tçùm gəbà* 'big house'

(23) *ηà nu... [tçùm]<sub>N</sub> [gəbà]<sub>MODN</sub> tçi = mé wa məyɯ-ŋ = e.*  
 1sg TOP house big one = CLF do/make want.to = DEC

'As for me... I want to build a big house.' (DM: 24-25)

Here, *tçùm* 'house' is followed by the modifier noun *gəbà* 'big (one)', a Jingpho loanword (see LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 128).

MODN + N *siŋsí gadon* 'fruit basket'

(24) *tətsəmra tci = yo? nu...*  
child one = CLF.person TOP

*əya [siŋ = sí]<sub>MODN</sub> [gadoŋ]<sub>N</sub> nu, əbón-bù.*  
that tree = fruit basket TOP lift-DIS

'A child... lifts that fruit basket (and takes it) away.' (DPR: 5-7)

Here, the head noun, *gadoŋ* 'basket' is modified by *siŋ = sí* 'fruit', representing the basket's contents. (Of course, generalizing from the fact that possessors precede their possesseees, this could be read as 'the fruit's basket'.) Also, *siŋ = sí* is a compound word composed of 'tree + fruit', so it is a further embedded MOD + N compound. Thus, a literal reading would give us *siŋ = sí gadon* 'the tree's fruit's basket'.

### 3.2.1.2 Noun modification by verbs

Sometimes a stative verb can modify a noun, with no extra marking. In the texts I have examined, the verb modifier always comes before the noun.

MODV + N *gəm kən* 'delicious curry'

(25) *nəŋ nu, [gəm]<sub>MODV</sub> [kən]<sub>N</sub> kùt = e.*  
Nang TOP delicious curry cook = DEC

'Nang cooks delicious curry.' (based on DGM: 165)

MODV + MODV + N *tsəm yòl yòl pən* 'little, easy kind'

(26) *[tsəm]<sub>MODV1</sub> [yòl yòl]<sub>MODV2</sub> [pən]<sub>N</sub> sùn lám í = e*  
little easy REDUP kind tell PUR be = DEC

'(I'm) going to tell a little, easy kind (of story).' (or 'tell it the easy way') (FT3: 1.2)

Normally, modifiers which are also verbs do not appear after the noun. The main exception is  $[N + V]<sub>N</sub>$  compound words such as *híkəri* 'bicycle', composed of *hí* 'foot' + *kəri* 'rotate', but space does not permit further discussion of this phenomenon.

### 3.2.1.3 Noun modification by nominalized (relative) clauses

A relative clause typically goes before the noun that it modifies. Sometimes the relative clause receives no special marking, as in (27).



(27) ...əlú gu, [dəsà]<sub>MODV</sub> [əsəŋ]<sub>N</sub> kaq zəŋ-si məyú-ŋ = e...  
 donation also be.poor person ALL put-R/M want.to = DEC

'I want to give a donation also to those who are poor...'

[ám ám mə-lón-si]<sub>MODCL</sub> [əsəŋ]<sub>N</sub> ka? gu, ya = yong...  
 food eat NEG-get-R/M person ALL also this = manner

'and also, like, to those who cannot (afford) to eat...' (DM: 13-14, 17)

In (27), *əsəŋ* 'person' is modified two times, first with the simple stative verb *dəsà* 'be poor or in trouble', and secondly by a relative clause containing a noun and two verbs, *ám ám mə-lón-si* 'not get to eat food'.

Often, the modifier clause is followed by the nominalizer = *a*, making it a nominal modifier, as in (28).

(28) [[(gəmè) əkat-si]<sub>MODCL = a</sub>]<sub>MODN</sub> [bət = gok]<sub>N</sub> nu, ya = dóm əl = e.  
 very hot-R/M = NMLZ glass = cup TOP this = LOC exist = DEC

'The (very) hot glass is here.' (DGM: 188)

Here, the optional *gəmè* 'very' intensifies the stative verb *əkat-si* 'hot'. A verb followed by = *a* can also stand on its own as a nominal:

(29) ya mənṛòŋ tərà gəmù nóŋ tərà nu,  
 this chant about God sacrifice about TOP

ya tən ḡà = í [sùm = a] nu,  
 this now 1sg = AGT speak = NMLZ TOP

tçi = yá dəm duŋ tçi dəm dəŋ wa  
 one = hundred part from one part about only

əŋ-tot í ku ya [sùm = a] í = e.  
 NFP-short be way this speak = NMLZ be = DEC

'About these chants and sacrifices to God, this that I tell now is just about one percent, the short way, this is what (I) tell.' (FCS: 728-730)

The appearance of the verb *sùm* 'speak' with the nominalizer = *a* first before a topic marker and second before a final copula, both times referring to 'what I tell' is fairly good evidence that = *a* is indeed a nominalizer.

Sometimes, multiple embedded relative clauses occur with =a, as in (30).

- (30) [[dè = a] sà] ədáj<sub>MODCL = a</sub><sub>MODN</sub> [mí]<sub>N</sub> nu, pərisì = e.  
sharp = NMLZ tooth have = NMLZ cat TOP be.hungry = DEC

'The cat with sharp teeth is hungry.' (lit. the cat that has teeth that are sharp is hungry.) (DGM: 193)

Clauses with active verbs such as ləŋ 'take' can also be relativized, as in (31).

- (31) [[ŋà tɕi (= kaʔ)] ləŋ]<sub>MODCL = a</sub><sub>MODN</sub> əsəŋ = yoʔ pərisì = e.  
1sg water = LOC take = NMLZ person = CLF.person be.hungry = DEC

'The man who brings my water is hungry.' (DGM: 194)

To further show the order of elements, a numeral-classifier phrase and a stative clause modifier can be added to the sentence, as in (32).

- (32) [[ŋà: tɕi] ləŋ]<sub>MODCL = a</sub><sub>MODN</sub> [[gəmè té]<sub>MODCL = a</sub><sub>MODN</sub>  
1sg:POSS water take = NMLZ very big = NMLZ

[əsəŋ əùm yoʔ]<sub>NP</sub> nu, pərisì = e.  
person three CLF.person TOP hungry = DEC

'The three large men who bring my water are hungry.' (DGM: 198)

Examples (33) and (34) show two different ways to express a quality in the pre-noun position, using V + a or V + dəŋ = wa.

- (33) [[tɕàŋ]<sub>MODV = a</sub><sub>MODN</sub> [tɕim]<sub>N</sub>  
be.red = NMLZ house

'red house' (DGM: 131)

- (34) [tɕàŋ dəŋ = wa]<sub>MODCL</sub> [tɕim]<sub>N</sub>  
be.red like = do house

'red house' (lit. the house that is reddish or red-like) (C75: 16)

Example (35) shows a nominalized modifier verb before the head noun, and a quality-expressing noun after the head noun.

- (35) [tɕàŋ = a]<sub>MODV</sub> [tɕim]<sub>N</sub> [əŋ-sár]<sub>MODN</sub>  
be.red = NMLZ house NFP-new.one

'the new red house' (DGM: 133)

### 3.2.2 Possession

Possession is shown by juxtaposition, with the possessor NP appearing just before the possessed NP. Possession may be made more explicit by the use of the nominalizer/possessive marker =a.<sup>17</sup>

- (36) [àŋ]<sub>POSS</sub> [tɕim]<sub>N</sub>  
 3sg house  
 'his house'

- (37) àŋ aŋ-pè tɕim  
 3sg 3-father house  
 'his father's house'

Probably, *aŋ-pè tɕim* 'his father's house' by itself would be sufficient, but reiterating the pronoun is a way of emphasizing who is being talked about.

- (38) ŋà = a tɕim, əsùm = pòŋ  
 1sg = POSS house three = CLF  
 'my three houses'

- (39) apu, àŋ = a tɕim, əsùm pòŋ  
 Apu 3sg = POSS house three CLF  
 'Apu's three houses'

Possession can also be shown explicitly by a relative clause marked by =a, just as with pronouns.

- (40) apu, sè:ŋ<sup>18</sup> = a tɕim  
 Apu own:3 = NMLZ house  
 'the house that Apu owns'

<sup>17</sup> Combining the possessive and nominalizing/relativizing uses of =a, we could call it an associative or subordinating marker. Such functions are also combined into one marker in Lahu, Chinese, Japanese and possibly Jingpho (Matisoff 1972). However, for now, I will use two glosses, NMLZ and POSS, for the separate functions.

<sup>18</sup> There is a verb similar to *sè:ŋ* in Mvtwang, *siŋ* 'to be concerned with, be relevant':

ya=lòŋ bənli nu nà=nəŋ siŋ=e  
 this=CLF work TOP 2sg=with be.concerned=NPST  
 'This work concerns you.' (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 357)

Both *sè:ŋ* and *siŋ* may be related to Burmese *sʰàĩ* 'concern, have the right to something, belong to' (<http://www.sealang.net/burmese/dictionary.htm>).

There are also possessive prefixes added to kinship terms:

*ə-pè* (1-father) '(my) father' (used as a term of address)

*nə-pè* (2-father) 'your father'

*aŋ-pè* (3-father) 'his father'

Note that the third person possessive prefix has also grammaticalized into a general noun prefix. In elicitation, an independent pronoun appears along with *aŋ-* for emphasis: *àŋ aŋ-pè* 'his father'. If one were to say *àŋ pè* "his father" (with a pause between the words) there may be some ambiguity, because *pè* is also used as a gender marker for male humans. Likewise, *àŋ-pè* '3-father' by itself would have to pick up a possessor referent from context – either a specific someone's father, or a father in general, but not the father of the speaker or the addressee.

The pronoun *ŋà* '1sg' can also be used as a possessive prefix as in *ŋà-tsəl* 'my son', but it is impolite if used for relatives on the same level or above the speaker, so *ə-* is used instead, e.g. *ə-pè* 'Father'.

When addressing a sibling, the birth-order name is normally preceded by *ə-*, e.g. *ə-puŋ* (1st-born boy). When referring to siblings, the 1pl pronoun *iŋ* is normally used, followed by the birth-order name (such as *iŋ puŋ* "our first-born brother"), or *iŋ=ra* "our relative/person" (used only for siblings).

### 3.2.3 Pronouns

Personal pronouns, as seen in Table 7, include the following forms: *ŋà* 'I (1sg)', *nà* 'you (2sg)', *àŋ* 'he/she/it (3sg)'. To form dual pronouns, *ní* 'two' is added. Plural pronouns for 2nd and 3rd person are formed by adding the plural marker *niŋ*. First person plural has a special form, *iŋ* 'we', which appears to have originally been clipped from the expected form (present in other Nungish varieties), *ŋaŋniŋ*. There is also an emphatic pronoun, *dù* 'self', which can be combined with other pronouns, e.g. *ŋadù* 'myself'.

**Table 7 Personal pronouns**

	singular	dual	plural
<b>1st person</b>	ŋà	ŋàní	iŋ
<b>2nd person</b>	nà	nàní	nàniŋ ~ nəniŋ
<b>3rd person</b>	àŋ ~ əŋ	àŋní	àŋniŋ

For content questions, several different interrogative pronouns are used, as seen in Table 8.

**Table 8 Interrogative pronouns**

category	form
who	ərá yo? 'which CLF.person'
what	tsəwà (pən) 'what (kind/thing)' pá gu 'anything' (lit. 'what/thing also') pá pən 'what kind' əra 'which/what'
where	əra dóm 'which place'
when	ədóngí
why	pá dəkàŋ 'what reason'
how	əté
how many	ədóŋ (yo?) 'how many (persons)'

### 3.2.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic words for pointing out an entity, either in a physical space, as when pointing to something with the finger, or in a discourse space, pointing either to something already mentioned (anaphora), or something coming up ahead (cataphora).

In a nominal phrase, the demonstrative always precedes the head, whether the head is a noun or a classifier.

- (41) **ya** yo?  
**this** CLF.person  
'this person'

- (42) **ya** əsəŋ yo?  
**this** person CLF.person  
'this person'

In Rvmøl, there are two distance-related demonstratives: ə/a/ya 'this' and ku 'that'.<sup>19</sup> There is also an anaphora-related demonstrative əya (pronounced uya by Chgg. Chang and uya by Abør Yosep). According to Chgg. Dø, it is used to refer to things

<sup>19</sup> In Mvtwang, by contrast, there are three basic demonstratives according to my fieldwork: ə/a/ya 'this', we 'that (medial)', and ku 'that (distal)'.

out of sight and already mentioned in the discourse. According to Abør Yosep, *aya* is used for referring to specific things, whereas *ku* is used to refer to general things; this still seems to fit the description of an anaphoric demonstrative.

When something is pointed out far away, pitch and length are added for emphasis, as in *kú: = yo?* 'that person way over there'. Another way to point out something far away is to use a relative clause and shift the demonstrative onto a location, as in (43).

- (43) [kú = dóm                      əl]\_{MODCL} yo?  
       **that(remote) = place**    exist      CLF.person  
       'the person [who is at that place way over there]\_{MODCL}'

Another demonstrative, this one with a height component as well as distance, is *lu* 'that up there'. The latter occurs five times in the corpus, each time referring to a high place in contrast to some other reference point such as the speaker's present location. For example, in the creation story, the father-in-law tells his son-in-law to go down into the valley. The son-in-law pretended to go down, but when his father-in-law wasn't looking,

- (44) lú                      məròl gəŋ ka? má-sì      wa.  
       that.up.there    hill      spot    ALL    hide-R/M    HS  
       '...(he) hid himself at that mountain up there.' (FCS: 77)

The high tone on *lú* here is due to emphatic intonation, emphasizing that the mountain was high. As a counterpoint to this evidence for a height-based distinction for *lu*, Chgg. Dø informs me that *lu* is now used as an alternate form of *ku* 'that'.<sup>20</sup>

There are other words which have deictic functions like demonstratives and appear in the same place in the sentence, but relate to time rather than space. These can be thought of semantically as adverbial demonstratives:

*tí* ~ *tú* 'formerly/again'

- (45) tí                      sún      yoŋ = í...  
       **formerly**    speak    manner-ADV  
       'Like (I) said before...' (DH: 28)

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<sup>20</sup> Diachronic cross-dialect evidence for the height-based distinction comes from Barnard's (1934: 8) description of Waqdamkong demonstratives: *ya* 'this', *hku* [k<sup>h</sup>u] 'that, same level as the speaker', *law* [lɔ] 'that, higher than the speaker', and *er* [u] 'that, lower than the speaker'. Waqdamkong [lɔ] would correspond to Rvmøɭ *lu*.

Here, *ti* 'formerly' could be replaced by *ya (kà)* 'this (word)', with the clause meaning "Like (I) said this".

*tán* 'now/again/next'

- (46) ...táy mǒŋdàn ya = kət yon dú:ŋ = a tǎn = yon...  
 Thai kingdom this = time manner arrive:1PL = NOM now = manner  
 '...at this time (we/I) arrived in Thailand, just as (we are here) now.' (DI: 43)

Here, *tán = yon* means "like now", as the narrator was living in Thailand at the time of speaking. *tán* could be replaced by *ya* 'this', with the phrase meaning "this way" or "like this".

### 3.2.5 Numerals

The following are examples of numerals:

1. *tçi* ~ *tçi?* ~ *tí?* 'one'
2. *əní* 'two'
3. *əsùm* 'three'
4. *əblì* 'four'
5. *puŋwà* 'five'
6. *təru?* 'six'
7. *çuŋit* 'seven'
8. *çət* 'eight'
9. *dəgù* 'nine'
10. *tçi = sál* ~ *tçitsál* 'ten'
11. *tçi = sál tçi?* 'eleven'

Tens digits 10-1,000,000 each have their own morpheme, with 'one' or another numeral added at the beginning:

- *tçi = yá* 100 'one hundred' (Mvt. *yá*, C. Dulong *ça*<sup>55</sup>, Nujiang Dulong *ça*<sup>55</sup>)
- *tçi = kín* 1,000 'one thousand' (< Jingpho *hkying*; Mvt. *kín*; contrast C. Dulong *tu*<sup>55</sup>)
- *tçi = mùn* 10,000 'ten thousand' (Thai *mùn*, Shan *mun*<sup>2</sup>; Mvt. *mon/mun*, C. Dulong *mu*<sup>55</sup>, Nujiang Dulong *mu*<sup>53</sup>)
- *tçi = sèn* 100,000 'one hundred thousand' (Thai *sěn*, Shan *s<sup>h</sup>en*<sup>1</sup>; Mvt. *sen*)
- *tçi = wàn* 1,000,000 'one million' (Jingpho *wan/wən*; Mvt. *wàn/wən/wín*)

### 3.2.6 Quantification without numerals

There are a number of words besides numerals which can semantically specify a noun's quantity. Each of these has different syntactic properties. Some quantifiers appear after the head noun: *tɕim ə̀rəm* 'every house', *tɕim gəlúum* 'all houses', or *tɕim kotwa* 'all houses'.

*bèta?* 'all' appears before the verb, as in (47).

- (47) *siŋsí gadóŋ gu bèta? dza?*  
 fruit basket also all pour

'The fruit basket all spills (out), too.' (APS: 26)

*tɕi = wal* 'some' is a numeral-classifier phrase (one portion), which can appear before the noun referring to the larger group or class the portion is extracted from, as in (48).

- (48) *tɕi = wal tɕim nu, pəŋkàtsí, ə̀ní kwáj ə̀l = e.*  
**one = portion** house TOP window two CLF.window exist = DEC

'Some of the houses have two windows.' (based on DGM: 127)

*gəmè* 'many', which is also a degree adverb ('very'), appears between the noun and the verb, with its quantifying sense seen in (49).

- (49) *tətsómra = rì gəmè gəl dəkàŋ, apu nu, byo = e.*  
 child = PL **many** keep/bear because Apu TOP be.happy = DEC

'Because Apu has many children, he is happy.' (DGZ: 106)

Another word for many is *məme*. In (50), it appears before the classifier *pən* 'kind', in the same position as a numeral, as seen in the following phrase.

- (50) *iŋ rəmùl nu, [məme pən] [təru? pən] ta? al-iŋ ka? í.*  
 1pl Rvmøl TOP **many** kind **six** kind LOC exist-PL NMLZ be

'We Rvmøl live in many kinds, it must be about six kinds (i.e., clans).' (or 'there are about six types of Rvmøl people.')

The stative verb *tsəm* 'to be small' with the diminutive enclitic = *tsəl* (< child) can also be used as an adverb to mean 'few' or 'a little'. Another verb which can be used to quantify mass nouns is *ə̀rəm* 'be enough', which is possibly related to the quantifier *ə̀rəm* 'all' mentioned above. Both *tsəmtsəl* and *ə̀rəm* are seen in (51).



- (51) *nù* *ì-kwut-sò...* *ɲà* *dəpət* *nw* *əsìŋ* *nw*,  
 wine N1-cook-DL:3U 1sg for TOP pure TOP  
*pà* *gw* *mə-zən* *a* **tsəm = tsəl** *i-kwut*.  
 what also NEG-include NMLZ a.little = DIM N1-cook  
 'Make wine... for me, cook a little pure (rice wine), without anything mixed in.  
**ərəm** *kwut = nəŋ* *í = e*  
**be.enough** cook = PUR be = DEC  
 Be sure to cook enough!' (FCS: 149-152)

### 3.2.7 Classifiers

Syntactically, a classifier appears in a numeral-classifier phrase after the numeral, as in (52).

- (52) *(əsəŋ)* *tɕi = yoʔ*  
 (person) one = CLF.person  
 'one person'

Classifiers can also be combined with demonstratives to create nominal phrases, especially *pè* 'GMm' (male gender marker for humans) and *mè* 'GMf' (female gender marker for humans): *ya = pè* 'this man', *ya = mè* 'this woman', etc. For animals, the noun/classifier *gúŋ* 'body' is used.

- (53) *dəgi* *tɕi = gúŋ*  
 dog one = CLF.animal  
 'one dog'

The general classifier for inanimate objects is *mé*, but there are also specific classifiers for different types of things, such as *poŋ* 'round thing'.

Definiteness and specificity can be shown by putting a classifier directly after the noun, even if the noun is a person's name.

- (54) *dəgi* **gúŋ**  
 dog CLF.animal  
 'the dog'

- (55) *məŋkán* *əyá* **pè**  
 trickster liar GMm  
 'the Trickster' (a trickster character in folktales named Mangkang Aya).

This can be called the bare-classifier or "classifier-alone-plus-noun" construction, and is present in many languages of Southeast Asia such as Hmong, Cantonese, Vietnamese, and Bangla (Baron 1973; Simpson et al. 2011).

Semantically, classifiers can be divided into individual classifiers and measure classifiers. Individual classifiers are used for counting things or people. They are often derived from nouns. Several are listed in Table 9, taken from the folktales and from elicitation.

**Table 9 Individual classifiers**

Example noun	Classifier	Relevant feature
book, notebook	buk	book (< English)
house	tɕùm	autoclassifier
candle, arrow	dəm	long straight thing
pillar	gōŋ	dead trunk
dog	gúŋ	animal (body)
leaf	kùm	flat thing
boat	kòŋ	autoclassifier
rope, necklace	láj	long flexible thing
cup, table, ring, bicycle, spoon, dish, pen	mē/mé	inanimate thing
cup, star, pear, house	pōŋ/póŋ	round thing
tree	tùŋ	live trunk (partial autocl.f.)
eye	tóŋ	side
woman, man	yo?	human

Group classifiers and measure classifiers are used for counting parts or groups or quantities of things, times, people, etc. Several are listed in Table 10.

**Table 10 Group and measure classifiers**

Example noun	Classifier	Measurement
rice	bàn	plate
journey	dətəŋ	step
time	kət	moment
cows	mədò	group
animals, yeast, people	pən	kind, clan
night	rí	time period
leaves	rədol	roll
people	wāl	group, portion
beads	yàŋ	chain
shoes	zūm	pair

### 3.3 Noun morphology

Noun morphology is not very extensive, in terms of affixation. There are several possessive and noun-forming prefixes, and several enclitics and suffixes. There is extensive compounding as well, but since it is difficult to make a clear distinction between compound words and phrases, and Sarep (1996) has already provided a study of noun morphology in the Sinwal Waqdamkong dialect, the comments here will be brief, and not address compounding.

#### 3.3.1 Possessive and noun-forming prefixes

There are three possessive noun prefixes used only for family members or people in relations such as master and servant: *ə-* '1' (my), *nə-* '2' (your), *əŋ-* '3' (his/her/its). *nə-* and *əŋ-* are derived from the pronouns *nà* '2sg' and *àŋ* '3sg'.

*əŋ-* is used not only for possession, but also as a general derivational prefix for forming nouns such as *hí əŋhèm* 'toe' (lit. foot its-finger). It can also be used in forming descriptive nouns, such as *əŋsár* 'new (one)' (NFP + new.one).

#### 3.3.2 Enclitics and suffixes

There are several enclitics or suffixes that mark plurality, personhood, group, category, smallness, or bigness. Plural markers include *=rì* 'plural', e.g. *nəŋwà=rì* 'cows', and *-niŋ*, which is used only with pronouns, e.g. *aŋ-niŋ* 'they' (3-pl). *-rā/rá* is a personhood marker, used after terms for different kinds of people, such as *asa?-ra* 'old person', *pəma-ra* 'woman', *nəŋlā-ra* 'man'. It has a specialized sense of 'family member' or 'sibling', as in the compound *iŋ=ra* 'our sibling' (lit. 'our person'), which uses the the 1pl exclusive pronoun; here, *ra* is actually functioning as the head, and so it might need to be considered a category-marking word that cliticizes to its host when modifying another word.

A marker of smallness is *-(t)sì* 'small', e.g. *pəŋká-(t)sì* 'window', lit. opening-small; a marker of bigness is *-me*, e.g. *bóy-me* 'big festival'.

Out of these, I have marked *=rì* as an enclitic, because it seems to encapsulate phrases as well as words, and appears syntactically in the same position as a classifier in the bare-CLF construction, and thus could be analyzed as a group classifier. The others seem to be pronounced with light stress and minimal pausing after the head word, and so I would term them suffixes.

After discussing noun morphology in general, we now turn to a discussion of role-marking postpositions, which function as a kind of phrase-level enclitics.

### 3.4 Role-marking postpositions

Semantic case roles are marked on the noun phrase by postpositions, which often cliticize to the words before them. The agentive marker =*í* and the allative patient marker *kaʔ* have already been mentioned (Section 3.1.3), but there is another use of *kaʔ* as a goal marker, as in (56).

#### Goal

- (56) *dəgi nuu*, [ə̀rùm **kaʔ**=*í*]<sub>GOAL</sub>, ə̀t-se-bú.  
 dog TOP forest ALL=ADV run-R/M-DIS/PFV

'The dog ran [to the forest]<sub>GOAL</sub>.' (DGM: 11)

The opposite of *kaʔ* 'ALL', in a spatial sense, is the ablative (source) marker *duŋ* 'from', shown in (57).

#### Source

- (57) *dəgi nuu*, [kàŋ **duŋ**=*í*]<sub>SOURCE</sub>, ə̀t-bu=e.  
 dog TOP tiger from=ADV run-DIS/PFV=DEC

'The dog ran [from the tiger]<sub>SOURCE</sub>.' (DGM: 15)

Other case role markers are listed in Table 11.

**Table 11 Role-marking postpositions**

form	function	gloss	free translation
= <i>í</i>	agent, instrument, accompaniment, setting (time, location, adverbial)	AGT, INST, ADV	by
<i>kaʔ</i>	patient, recipient, goal, location	ALL, LOC	to, at
<i>taʔ</i>	location, surface	LOC	at, on
<i>duŋ</i>	source	from	from
<i>ləpət</i>	beneficiary	for	for
<i>dəkàŋ</i>	reason	because	because

### 3.5 Nominalization and adverbialization

There are a number of frequently-used nominalizers, as shown in Table 12. These appear at the end of a verb or clause, in order to form a noun-like entity. This entity may stand alone as an argument, modify another noun, or serve as an adverbial.

**Table 12 Nominalizers and adverbializers**

form	meaning	free translation	nominalizer	adverbializer
= <i>a</i> ~ = <i>ya</i>	association, noun modifier, possessor ( < 'this' )		+	
= <i>lám</i>	purpose	to, for, will	+	
= ( <i>d</i> ) <i>əŋ</i>	characterization	like, -ish(ness), color, appearance	+	+
= <i>té</i>	manner, result, quality, extent ( < <i>tè</i> 'big'?)		+	+
<i>kət</i>	moment	when	+	+
<i>kam</i>	time	while	+	+
= <i>wa</i>	manner, onomatopoeia, quotative ( < <i>wa</i> 'do, say'?)			+
= <i>kù</i>	path, instrument	way	+	+
= <i>yoŋ</i>	manner	way, like (that)	+	+

Several of these nominalizers and adverbializers require special comments:

= *a* is the most common nominalizer. Its special possessive sense was already discussed in Section 3.2.2, while its general associative sense is seen below in (58).

- (58) [səbóy mətsəŋ ta? əl] = **a**,      kedàn nu, glik-bú = **e**.  
 table top LOC.on exist = **NMLZ** pencil TOP broken-PFV = **DEC**

'The pencil **that** [is on the table top] is broken.' (DGM: 191)

Here, the existential/locative clause 'is on the table top' is nominalized by = *a*, and functions as a modifier for *kedàn* 'pencil'.

The adverbializer (*d*)*əŋ* 'like' normally co-occurs with *wa* 'do', with the meaning 'be like' (described in Morse 1965a: 362 and LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 99).

The prototypical adverbials appear before the verb and mark manner, result, extent, or onomatopoeia. These are different from the time and location phrases that typically appear at the beginning of the sentence, which act more like noun phrases (called "nadverbs", i.e. noun-adverbs in Matisoff 1982). Extent and onomatopoeic adverbials are demonstrated below.

### 3.5.1 Extent

The adverbializer/relativizer *té* can be placed after a stative verb phrase, in order to make an adverbial describing the extent or quality of an action or state, as in (59).

- (59) kamaŋdiŋtaŋ gúŋ kaʔ=əŋ wì dəŋká gúŋ=i nu  
 night.bird CLF ALL=ALL first crow CLF=AGT TOP  
 gáywá ənəp té əru wà.  
 very beautiful ADV paint HS

'First the crow painted the night bird very beautifully.' (FT6: 4)

### 3.5.2 Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeic adverbial phrases are headed by the particle *wā* 'ADV'. The onomatopoeic word, which may be reduplicated, evokes the sound of a certain action or the feeling experienced when an event takes place in a certain manner. The onomatopoeic word *duŋ* in (60) represents the sound of putting something down hard, and has a connotation of doing something firmly or permanently.

- (60) ...duŋ = duŋ = wā siŋ = tot siŋ = múm  
 OMP.firmly = OMP.firmly = ADV wood = piece wood = rotten  
 məsol rì let mǎn kù i nu, let = let..  
 trash PL cover continue manner be TOP cover = cover

'...with a "deung, deung" sound (firmly), (Mangkang Aya) piling up broken sticks and rotten wood like that to cover (the bear)...' (FT1: 14-15)

Other times, an onomatopoeic adverbial is only used for its sound, as in (61).

- (61) ...cā\_maʔ kek = kek = wā dəklək i nu..  
 flint&steel OMP = OMP = ADV strike be TOP

'(Mangkang Aya) struck flint and steel with sound like "kek kek" (to start a fire)' (FT1: 16)

Here, there is no other meaning to *kek kek* except for the sound. If we imagine the flint and steel saying 'kek kek' as they are struck together, it is possible to suggest that the adverbializer =*wā* 'ADV' originated as the verb and quotative marker *wa* 'say'.

### 3.6 Time and locative phrases

Time and locative phrases are special types of NP, which set the stage for the event. In a sentence, they typically come first, and are often immediately followed by the adverbializer =*í* 'ADV' and/or the topic marker *nu* 'TOP'. Common time phrases include *ya kám* or *ya kət* (this + time) 'now', *tsəgáni* 'yesterday', *dení* 'today', *əsəŋni* 'tomorrow', and *tsa rəmàŋ* 'long ago', the latter of which is seen in (63).

A whole clause can be adverbialized and turned into a time phrase when it is followed by a time word such as *kám* 'time when' or *kət* 'moment when', or *pəŋ* 'after' (< 'below') or *daŋ* 'after' (< 'finish'), followed by the adverbializer =*í*.

Locative phrases indicate either a static location or a direction (e.g., toward a certain place). Common locative phrases that appear as nominals include *ya dàm* 'this place', and *əbrəŋ daŋ* 'right side'. The schema for locative phrases is [NP + LOC], with either a noun or a noun phrase followed by a locative word.

- (62) [mərèŋ (ti? mé)]<sub>NP</sub> ta?  
 village (one CLF) LOC  
 N (NUM CLF) LOC  
 'in (a) village'

- (63) tsa\_rəmàŋ [mərèŋ ti? mé ta?]<sub>LOC</sub> mənkaŋ\_əyá əl wà.  
 long.ago village one CLF LOC Mangkang\_Aya live HS  
 'Long ago, in a village, lived Mangkang Aya (the Trickster).' (FT3: 1.3)

In a complex locative phrase, the locative marker will be preceded by a noun phrase plus a "relator noun" (Watters 2002: 136) such as *mənu?* 'top', *mədàm* 'above', *rəwè* 'middle', or *pəŋ* 'below'. The schema for a complex locative phrase is [NP + RelatorN + LOC]. This is illustrated in (64).

(64)	[(lú	siŋtùŋ] <sub>NP</sub>	mənu?	ta?
	(that.high.distal)	tree	top	<b>LOC</b>
	(DEM)	N	RelatorN	<b>LOC</b>

'on (the) top of that tree'

The phrase appears in context in (65).

(65)	ŋà	ya = dóm	zəŋ-si	əŋ,				
	1sg	this = CLF	enter-R/M	LNK				
	[lú	siŋtùŋ	mənu?	ta?] <sub>LOC</sub>	tɕóŋ	lóm	wá-ŋ-si-ŋ = e.	
	that.high.distal	tree	top	LOC	hang	PUR	do-1SG-R/M-1SG = DEC	

'I am going to enter this (basket) and hang on top of that tree.' (FT3: 4.2)

### 3.7 The verb phrase and verb concatenation

The verb phrase at its most basic consists of a single verb:

(66)	àŋ	hí	gu	[zà] <sub>VP</sub>
	3sg	leg	also	hurt

'His leg also hurts.' (APS: 30)

A more complex kind of verb phrase, however, is a concatenated verb phrase. This construction consists of one inflected verb preceded by another verb. The final verb in this construction can be called either an auxiliary verb (Morse 1965) or a complement taking verb (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015). A short list of these kinds of verbs in Rvmøl includes the following: *pəŋ* 'start', *dəŋ* 'finish', *mən* 'continue'; *səlap* 'teach'; *sá* 'know'; *məyú* 'want to'; *nə* 'be willing to'; *da?* 'be able to'; *lón* 'get, be able to'; *dəŋ* 'be able to, beat, finish'; *ədù* 'be proper'; and *ələn* 'agree'. Examples of some of these will be examined below, under the headings of phasal verbs, verbs of desire, verbs of ability, and verbs of speaking.

#### 3.7.1 Concatenation with phasal verbs

Phasal verbs are complement-taking or auxiliary verbs which denote the aspectual phase of the event: beginning, ending, or continuing. In the examples below, the phasal verbs will be given in **bold**, while their complement verbs will be in [brackets].



### 3.7.1.1 *pàŋ* 'start'

The verb *pàŋ* 'start' is a phasal verb, indicating the beginning of an event, such as building a house in (67).

- (67) àŋ tɕùm [wá] **pàŋ**.  
 3sg house do **start:3**

'He's started building the house.' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvn)

In example (67), *pàŋ* 'start' is realized as *pàŋ* due to vowel lengthening associated with 3rd person and transitivity. This change of vowel length and quality is seen with the other phasal verbs as well. In (68) below, *pàŋ* takes the complement verb *sì* 'die'; all the tones are high in this verb phrase, possibly due to intonation, as it is nearing the last part of the episode in the discourse.

- (68) əyā nī ìmí səŋzà = tsəl nū  
 that day from human = child TOP  
 [sí] **pəŋ-sí-yáŋ** = ē wā = ē.  
 die **start-R/M-TMyrs = DEC** say = DEC

'From that day, humans began to die, (they) say.' (FCS: 227)

### 3.7.1.2 *dáŋ* 'finish'

The verb *dáŋ* 'finish', another phasal verb, shows that an event has ended.

- (69) əle-bùr tɕi səlá rətùr àŋ tɕùm [wá] **dáŋ**.  
 pass-PFV one month time 3sg house do **finish:3**

'About a month ago he finished building the house.' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvn)

A word which is might be the same, but with a different sense, is *dáŋ* 'can' or 'beat (someone)'. In (70), it takes the complement verb *dədzup* 'to trick'.

- (70) "e, məŋkaŋ əyá dərət ka? nu [dədzup]  
 VOC Makang Aya orphan ALL TOP trick  
 mi-dáŋ-sà" wà  
 NEG:N1-can-NSG say

'Eh, you guys can't trick poor Makang Aya!' he said.' (FT4: 9)

### 3.7.1.3 *mən* 'continue'

The verb *mən* 'continue', another phasal verb, shows that an event is ongoing. When the main verb is transitive and the actor is a 3rd person, agreement-marking stress and length is added, changing the form to *man* or *mán*. The following are some examples of *mən* in Rvmøl:

- (71) àŋ tɕùm [wá] **má:n**.  
3sg house do **continue:3**

'He's continuing building the house.' (elicited from Chd. Sønrvm)

The auxiliary verb *mən* sometimes collocates with *məbət* 'continually', which appears to be an adverb, glossed by Sarep (1996: 173) as 'recurring action' for Sinwal Waqdamkong.

- (72) ...[dəkúúm] **məbət** **mān** **mān** =i  
gather/pile **continually** **continue:3** **continue:3** =PS  
[let] **mān** wà.  
cover **continue:3** HS

'(he) kept on piling it on and covering (the bear and the hole).' (FT1: 9.2)

Sometimes, *mən* takes the reflexive/middle suffix *-sì* to preserve the intransitivity of the main verb (LaPolla 2010a: 3–4), as seen in (73).

- (73) ...dəhòŋ [blət] **mən-sì** kám...  
basket weave **continue-R/M** time/when

'...while (he) was basket-weaving...' (FT3: 11)

Here, *mən* takes the reflexive/middle marker to agree with *blət* 'weave', which at this point in the story is construed as intransitive, since the activity is what is in focus, rather than a specific basket.

### 3.7.2 Concatenation with verbs of desire

The verb *məyú* 'want to' takes the complement verb *lón* 'get' in (74). The Dvru-area equivalent of *məyú*, *pədiù*, is discussed in Section 6.2.1.

- (74) "ŋà gū yā pən [lón] **məyú-ŋ** ó", wa wà.  
1sg also this kind get **want.to-1SG** EXCL say HS

"I also want to get this kind of thing,' he said (it is said)." (FT5: 13)

The verb *nè*, which shows willingness or enjoyment of an activity, takes the complement *ip* 'sleep' in (75). Further discussion of *nè* 'to be willing to' is found in Section 6.4.

- (75) ...gaywà əsəŋ rì gu [ip] lə-nè-sì yon...  
 many human PL also sleep AUG-**be.willing**-R/M manner  
 "...many people also might want to sleep (there) like that..." (FT5: 3)

### 3.7.3 Concatenation with verbs of ability

The verbs *da?* and *lón* are both verbs that meaning 'can' or 'be able to', although *lón* has an original sense of 'get'. Both verbs may be used as either independent verbs or auxiliaries, depending on the construction.

- (76) a, [ip] mə-lón-si, ɲà tɕùm ta? nu, [ip] mə-da? = e.'  
 ah sleep NEG-**can**-R/M 1sg house LOC TM sleep NEG-**can**-DEC  
 'Ah, you can't sleep in *my* house, you can't sleep (here).' (FT5: 5)

### 3.7.4 Concatenation with three verbs

The verb phrases examined so far have consisted of just one complement-taking or auxiliary verb preceded by one other verb. However, it is possible to combine two concatenated verb phrases and thus have three verbs in a row. In (77), *məyú* 'want to' takes the complement verb *sá* 'know', which in turn takes the complement verb *əyá* 'lie'.

- (77) 'əyá siləp ó, gāywā [[əyá] sá] məyú-ŋ o  
 lie N1:teach EXCL very.much lie **know want.to**-1SG EXCL  
 'Teach me to lie, I really want to know how to lie!' (FT2: 4)

### 3.7.5 Quotative complementation

The speech verb *ələn* 'agree', seen below in (78), takes an entire quotation as its complement.

- (78) ["gaywa ənəp té ə-rù-si-si"] ələn wà.  
 very beautiful ADV RECIP-paint-R/M-DL **agree** HS  
 "(We two will) paint each other very beautifully" (they) agreed.' (FT6: 3)

At first, this example appears similar to the other types of verb concatenation discussed above, but the dual agreement marker *-sì* 'DL' does not appear with a 3rd person subject, and yet *ələn* 'agree' does not take any person-marking and thus should be interpreted as 3rd person. This mis-match of person marking on the two consecutive verbs indicates that the first verb is part of a quotation, which the second verb takes as its complement, i.e., they agreed/said X.

### 3.8 Verb morphology

Verb morphology consists of pre-verbal marking and post-verbal marking. These two types of marking will be considered in turn below, followed by a chart of position classes for the verb complex.

#### 3.8.1 Pre-verbal marking

Pre-verbal markers are grouped into two categories, tense and mood-marking, and valency and person-marking. The first category is divided further into pro-clitics and prefixes, depending on whether the vowel can be reduced.

##### *Tense and mood-marking*

1. *má* = 'Q' (yes/no question)
2. *ya* = 'FUT' (future/irrealis)
3. *laʔ* = 'OPT' (optative)
4. *lə* 'Q' (indirect question)
5. *lə* 'AUG' (augmentative, indeed)
6. *tsə* 'CONTR' (contrast)
7. *mə* 'NEG' (negation)

##### *Valency and person-marking*

8. *ə* 'INTR/RECIP' (intransitivizing or reciprocal)
9. *i* 'N1' (non-first person actor)
10. *sə/də* 'CAUS' (causative)

Examples of each of these markers are given in the following sections.

### 3.8.1.1 Tense and mood-marking

#### 3.8.1.1.1 *má* = (Q)

*má* is a polarity (yes-or-no) question marker that appears before the verb, as in (79). It appears to be related to both the sentence-final question marker *má* and the negative prefix *mə-*. It is also used before the verb in Dvru and Dulong, but in Mvtwang the question marker *má* appears only at the end of the sentence.

(79) "tán nu **má** í-bu" āl wā. "í-bu" wā wà.  
now TOP Q be-PFV tell HS be-PFV say HS

"Is (it enough) now?" (he) said. (The bear) said, "(It) is (about enough)."  
(FT1: 15)

#### 3.8.1.1.2 *la?* = (OPT)

The marker *la?* = can be easily glossed as 'let' or 'may'. It appears before the verb, and shows optative mood, that is, wishing that something may happen, as in the story-closing formula in (80).

(80) yā dǎŋte **la?**=í tçi me nu.  
this much OPT=be one CLF TOP

'Let it be just this much, for this one (story).'

(FT1: 20)

A verb phrase with *la?* = can also be nominalized and used in a hypothetical sense, as in (81).

(81) lamala əsəŋ=í mægù tçi?=gúŋ  
for.example human=AGT elephant one=CLF  
**la?**=i-zi-ŋ-rət ya í inu əté əl=lám ì?  
OPT=N1-give-1SG-CIS NMLZ be then how exist=PUR be

'Supposing someone is going to give me an elephant, how is it going to be?'  
(CE: 1)

This sentence contains a subjunctive use of *la?* =, in setting up a hypothetical situation. The whole clause *əsəŋ=í mægù tçi?=gúŋ la?* = *i-zi-ŋ-rət* "may a person give me an elephant" is nominalized by *ya*, and followed by a copula. While the primary grammatical function here of *ya* is nominalizing (derived from *ya* 'this'), it is the same form as the future marker *ya* =, and so this sense may be invoked as well. In addition, *la?* = may be frozen in the sentence-opener *lamala* 'for example, supposing'.

### 3.8.1.1.3 *ya* = (FUT)

In Rvmøl, there is a preverbal future tense marker *ya* =, shown in (82). It is often phonologically separate from the verb stem, but bound in its position, and so it should be treated as a proclitic. It appears also in Dvru, Jerwang, and C. Dulong, but not in Mvtwang. For more analysis, see Chapter 6.

- (82) *ya* = dʒi-ŋ-rət  
FUT = walk-1SG-CIS  
'I will come.' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

### 3.8.1.1.4 *mə*- (NEG)

Negation is expressed by the prefix *mə*-, as in (83).

- (83) ku yo? nu (ŋà = i) mə-so-ŋ  
that CLF.person TOP (1sg = AGT) NEG-know:3U-1SG  
'(I) don't know that person.' (elic. from Abør Yosep)

### 3.8.1.1.5 *lə*- (Q)

The prefix *lə*- is used for questions that are a bit less direct than *má* (cf. Barnard 1934: 25). It often collocates with the copula *í* 'be', and the final particles *e* or *a*.

- (84) á dʒà pā pən i-wò lə-í e?  
VOC friend what kind/thing N1-do:3U Q-be DEC/Q/EXCL  
'Hey, friend, what are you doing (there)?' (or 'what might you be doing') (FT1: 5)

- (85) a kek kek wà ā tsəwà pən lə-í ā?  
ah OMP OMP do/say NMLZ what kind/thing Q-be NMLZ/Q  
'That kek kek sound, what could it be?' (FT1: 16)

### 3.8.1.1.6 *lə*- (AUG)

There is another *lə*-, which is used for augmentative emphasis to show that a situation is "indeed" or "very much".

- (86) na? dəŋ lə-wà  
black like AUG-do  
'(that) is very black' (elic. from Abør Yosep)<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> A synonymous phrase is *na? dəŋ ko wà*.

This phrase is an example of the construction  $V + (d)\text{̀}\eta + w\grave{a}$  'to be characterized by V', and  $l\grave{a}$ - is added to the beginning of  $w\grave{a}$  'do', in order to augment or intensify it.  $l\grave{a}$ - is also used in irrealis situations for positing that something would indeed be a certain way, as in (87).

- (87)  $la\eta$   $la\eta$   $w\acute{a}$ ,  $gayw\grave{a}$   $\text{̀}\text{ə}\text{̀}\text{ə}\eta$   $r\grave{i}$   $g\text{u}$   $ip$   $l\grave{a}$ - $n\grave{e}$ - $s\grave{i}$   
 clean clean ADV many person PL also sleep AUG-be.willing-R/M  
 $yo\eta$ ,  $g\grave{a}r\grave{e}$   $r\grave{i}$   $g\text{u}$   $d\grave{a}na$   $l\grave{a}$ - $l\grave{e}$   $ko\eta gr\grave{a}m$   $r\grave{i}$   $w\grave{o}$   
 manner thing PL also rest AUG-good cabinet PL make:3U  
 $sop$   $w\acute{a}$   $w\grave{o}$   $w\grave{a}$ .  
 clean/neat ADV make:3U HS

'(He) built (the house) very neatly and cleanly, so it was very attractive for guests to stay in, (and he) made some cabinets (that were) good for storing things.' (FT5: 3)

In some cases, the allomorph  $la?$ - appears instead of  $l\grave{a}$ -:

- (88)  $s\grave{a}\eta z\grave{a}tse$   $\text{̀}\text{c}\grave{u}$   $g\bar{u}$   $la?$ - $\eta\grave{a}$ .  
 human scent also AUG-smell

'I also indeed smell humans' scent.' (FCS: 475)

The speaker at this point in the story is a giant looking for humans to eat (like in Jack and the Beanstalk), and he is using Mvtwang words, but the form  $la?$ - is also used by a Rvmøl-speaking character in Folktale 5, in example (202). This form may be related to the pre-verbal forms  $la?la?$ ,  $la?la?ni$ , and  $la?ni$  in Mvtwang, derived from Jingpho and meaning 'very/much' (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 197). According to Joseph Sinwal,  $la$ - in Waqdamkong means 'indeed, specifically'. I have chosen to call this morpheme 'augmentative' rather than 'emphatic' because in a way, it contrasts with the diminutive adverbial  $ts\grave{a}mts\grave{a}l$  'a little', which de-emphasizes the event.

### 3.8.1.1.7 $ts\grave{a}$ - (CONTR)

The prefix  $ts\grave{a}$ - (also pronounced  $z\grave{a}$ -) is used in clauses which carry modal meanings such as counter-expectation, emphasis, and contrast, as if defending an assertion or showing that one thing is different from another. It is used in the following tone elicitation frame:

- (89) *ɲà nuu \_\_\_ mə-sùn, ɲà nuu \_\_\_ tsə-sùn = e.*  
 1sg TOP NEG-speak 1sg TOP CONTR-speak = DEC

'I didn't say \_\_, I said \_\_\_\_.' (elic. from Chgg. Dø)<sup>22</sup>

A similar usage is found when pointing and giving directions, as in (90). Notice that the form is changed to *tsuʔ-* before a vowel.

- (90) *ɯya brəŋ kaʔ mi-dzì:, ɯya brəŋ kaʔ tsuʔ-i-dzì.*  
 that place ALL NEG:N1-walk that place ALL CONTR-N1-walk

'Don't go to that place, go to that (other) place!' (elic. from Abør Yosep)

### 3.8.1.2 Valency and person-marking

#### 3.8.1.2.1 Causative *sə/də/tə-* (CAUS)

The causative prefix has three allomorphs, *sə-*, *də-*, and *tə-*. *sə-* is typically used when the verb stem begins with a vowel or a sonorant consonant, while *də-* is typically used when the verb stem begins with an obstruent. *tə-* is a variant of *də-* that occurs sometimes where the onset is voiceless. An example of the causative prefix used in a sentence can be seen below.

- (91) *...təwā uʔoiʔ gəbà tiʔ = gòŋ*  
 bamboo something.to.carry big one = CLF  
*tì mələŋ tāʔ də-tsaʔ əŋ...*  
 river middle LOC CAUS-set.up LNK

'...(he took) a big bamboo pole to hold and stick in the ground in the middle of the river...' (FT2: 7)

When combined with the non-first person marker *i-* 'N1', the vowel changes to *i*, as seen in the following sentence. (The coda also changes to *k*, but I am not sure why.)

- (92) *lò, ya = mé təwā gòŋ, ku ti mələŋ taʔ*  
 ok this = CLF bamboo pole that river middle LOC  
*dərkət di-tsək tsək = í...*  
 set.up CAUS:N1 = plant plant PS

'...Ok, take this pole and **stick** it (lit. make it stick) in the middle of the river firmly...' (FT2: 6)

<sup>22</sup> This is equivalent to the emphatic prefixes *də-* in Mvtwang (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 81), and *tə-* in Sinwal Waqdamkong (Sarep 1996: 122-124).



### 3.8.1.2.2 Non-first person *i/nə/n-* (N1)

The non-first person prefix *i-* is used to mark a second-person actor, or an inverse situation where the first or second person is affected but the first person is not the actor. It does not occur when a third person is acting on another third person, or when the first person is acting on the second person. It has three allomorphs: *i-*, *nə-*, and *n-*. The latter two are used where the verb stem or a co-occurring prefix begins with *ə*.

(93) *i-dzi-lùŋ*

N1-walk-UP

'Come up here!' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

(94) *i a, nənuŋ mə-ə mə-tɕa*  
 be TOP 2pl NEG-be.correct NEG-right

*dəŋ i-wà-ri-iŋ i nu nənuŋ gərən ri, nəŋwà ri,*  
 manner N1-do-TMdys-PL be TOP 2pl thing PL cow PL

*dəpù rì nu kotwá n-ə-məŋ-nòŋ a í=é*  
 valuable.thing PL TOP all N1-INTR-lose-2PL:3U<sup>23</sup> NMLZ be=DEC

'But, if you acted in an incorrect, not right way, your things, cows, and valuables are all lost to you.' (FT5: 6.2)

This sentence is said in a subjunctive sense, where the Trickster allows a group of people to stay in his house, on the condition that if they do something wrong, all their things become his. The non-first person prefix is used twice, once as *i-* and once as *n-*. Configurations of this prefix with post-verbal person and number marking are demonstrated in Section 3.8.2.3.

### 3.8.1.2.3 Intransitivizing *ə-* (INTR)

As in Mvtwang (LaPolla 2000: 288), there is a prefix *ə-* in Rvmø that can either change a transitive verb into an intransitive verb, or give a reciprocal meaning. The intransitivizing sense, which is similar to the English passive, is shown in (95).

(95) [*kōŋgrəm mədəm ta? əl a*]<sub>MODCL</sub> [*ə-tòt*]<sub>MODV</sub> *kedàn*  
 table/cabinet above LOC exist NMLZ INTR-break pencil(Bur.)

'the broken pencil that is on the table' (C75: 39)

<sup>23</sup> *-nòŋ* '2PL:3U' is a transitive inflection marking a 2nd person plural subject (*\*-niŋ*) and a 3rd person undergoer (*\*-ò*), i.e. "You guys lose it/them." The inflected verb *nəmáŋnòŋ* is then nominalized, giving the clause a passive sense of "They are all lost to you."

Here, a modifier clause and a modifier verb both modify the noun *kedàn* 'pencil'. The modifier verb, *ə-tòt* 'broken' is composed of *ə-* 'INTR' + *tot* 'break (something)', with the combined intransitive meaning of 'being broken'. This is the prototypical intransitivizing function of *ə-* as described by LaPolla for Mvtwang.

One further context where *ə-* is frequently used is with reduplication. *ə-* seems to put an imperfective viewpoint on the action, while the reduplication indicates an extended activity, followed by a different activity.<sup>24</sup> This usage is seen in (96), where *də-* is also used the same way.

- (96) ...məŋkaŋ\_əyá = í      nu,      kǎŋgō      pəyɯ      əkùm      pəyù      nu...  
Mangkang.Aya = AGT    TOP    pumpkin    insides    gourd    insides    TOP  
dətçet    əŋ...    ə-rɯŋ      rɯŋ = í...    tçi = púŋ              tçi = púŋ  
boil      LNK    INTR-mix    mix = PS    one = CLF.clump    one = CLF.clump  
də-tsen    tsèn    wà = í    haŋ    wa    əl    wà.  
CAUS-put    put    do = PS    quiet    ADV    exist    HS

'...Mangkang Aya took the insides of a pumpkin and a gourd, and boiled them... then mixed them... and then... plopped a clump of the stuff (at each person's bottom), and then stayed quietly (pretending to be resting).'

 (FT5: 8-9.1)

There are also some verbs where *ə-* normally used, but the function of the prefix is not quite clear, such as *ədur* 'pour (liquid)' and *ətəŋ* 'return'; this requires further study.

### 3.8.1.2.4 Reciprocal *ə-* (RECIP)

Another function of *ə-*, which is different enough to merit a separate section, is that of reciprocal, showing that an action is done by at least two participants, to each other, as in (97).

- (97) [əsəŋ]<sub>A</sub>    yɔŋ                      [nat    iŋ]<sub>B</sub>    tara      əl      wà.  
person    (this)manner    nat    with    together    live    HS

'The humans thus lived together with nats (spirits).'

- kà              gu    ə-tçéŋ                      yɔŋ.      ə-sət              gu    ma-ə-sət.  
speech    also    RECIP-understand    manner    RECIP-kill    also    NEG-RECIP-kill

'They both understood each other's speech, and also didn't fight (kill) each other.'  
(FCS: 302-304)

<sup>24</sup> Liu (1988a: 187) describes an imperfective sense of *a<sup>3l</sup>*- in S. Dulong, but without reduplication.

In (97), two participants are first set out, namely *əsəŋ* 'humans' and *nat* 'spirits'. These guide the interpretation of the verb prefix *ə-* on the verbs in the next two sentences as being reciprocal: *tʃéŋ* 'understand' > *ə-tʃéŋ* 'understand each other' and *sət* 'hit/kill' > *ə-sət* 'fight, quarrel (lit. hit/kill each other)'.

### 3.8.2 Post-verbal marking

Post-verbal markers, which I will treat as suffixes, fall into four different slots: benefactive, orientation, person agreement, and mood. The only suffix filling the mood slot is the intensitive suffix *-i*, dealt with in Section 6.4. Sentence-final markers come after the suffixes, and will be treated as enclitics in Section 3.9.1, since they properly belong to the utterance or sentence level and not to the verb phrase. (A verb phrase can be either sentence-final or non-final.)

#### 3.8.2.1 Benefactive slot

The benefactive slot holds the class of suffixes closest to the right edge of the main verb. It includes the reflexive and middle voice marker *-sì* 'R/M', the benefactive markers *-pa* 'BEN' and *-po* 'BEN:3U', the reflexive benefactive marker *-əm* 'BEN.REFL', and the adversative marker *-ke* 'AVS'.

##### 3.8.2.1.1 Reflexive/middle *-sì* (R/M)

The reflexive/middle voice suffix *-sì* indicates self-directed action or action upon oneself (Benedict 1972: 98; LaPolla 1996: 4), as in (98).

- (98) lo,    i    nu    i-záŋ-sì  
       okay be TOP N1-put-R/M  
       'Okay then, get in (the hole).' (FT1: 9.1)

Here, *zéŋ* 'put something in' becomes *záŋ-sì* 'enter'. Compare (99), where *záŋ* appears by itself.

- (99) nanuŋ    **záŋ**    lóm    nà  
       2pl        **put**    PUR    of.course  
       '(I'm weaving the basket) to put you in, of course!' (FT3: 13)

Here, the speaker is talking about putting the addressee into the basket, rather than inviting him to get in himself.

In some cases, *-si* has a stativizing function, where the object of an event is put in focus as the only explicit argument like an English passive construction as in the following:

- (100) ó, ya nu, mərəŋ tərɛŋ gu kaʔ, dəŋɡú gí ya,  
 oh this TOP village nearby also chicken rooster crow NMLZ  
 a, (ə)-ta-si = é...  
 ah (INTR)-hear-R/M = DEC

'Oh, as for this, near a village the crowing of a rooster is audible...' (API: 2-4)

Here, the speaker is narrating while watching the Pear Story video. The act of the rooster crowing is nominalized and made the passive subject of being heard. It is not clear whether the intransitivizing prefix is present or not; in the recording, just a single glottal pulse before *ta-si = é* suggests that *ə-* was intended.<sup>25</sup>

- (101) 'əra pən si ma' nu krək mə-sa-sí...  
 what kind fruit Q TOP perfect NEG-know-R/M

'What kind of fruit (is it)?' is not exactly known...' (API: 10-11)

### 3.8.2.1.2 Benefactive *-pa* (BEN)

The benefactive suffix indicates that the action is done for the benefit of someone else, or because of or on behalf of them. There are two allomorphs: *-pa* and *-po*. *-pa* is used for speech act participant beneficiaries, while *-po* used for 3rd person beneficiaries, and is coalesced from *-pa + \*-o* (3rd person undergoer).

- (102) ɲà-í, má rí-ŋ-pà-ŋ-zək-ì-ŋ màʔ  
 1sg = AGT Q carry-1SG-BEN-DOWN/CIS-INTENT-1SG Q

'Shall I carry it here for you?' (DM65: 3)

- (103) i-əm-pó  
 N1-eat-BEN:3U

'Eat it for him!' (he gave me some food to give to you). (elic. from Chd. Sørvm)

<sup>25</sup> According to David Sangdong (p.c.), the Mvtwang equivalent would be:  
 dəŋɡú gí we/shaq tá-ʃi=e.  
 rooster crow NMLZ/sound hear-R/M-NPST  
 'A rooster's crowing is audible.'

Without the nominalizer, the sentence is incomplete in Mvtwang. Also, there is no *ə-* intransitivizing prefix in this sentence in Mvtwang.

### 3.8.2.1.2.1 Cross-dialect comparison

The Dvru benefactive suffix is *-po* (at least with a 3rd person beneficiary), as in:

- (104) na-əm-**po**  
N1-eat-**BEN:3U**

'(You) eat it for him' (he gave some food to me to give to you). (Dvru, elic. from Malong Pung)

The Mvtwang benefactive suffix is *-a*, as in:

- (105) è-ám-ā-ò = e  
N1-eat-**BEN-3U** = NPST

"(You) eat it for him." (Mvtwang, elic. from Malong Pung and Chd. Sønrvm)

In central Dulong, there is a benefactive construction with *wā* for speech-act participant beneficiaries and *ṣ* for 3rd person beneficiaries, as follows:

- (106) jo?      nǎ-dzəl      **wā-ŋ**  
clothes    N1-wash    **BEN-1SG**

'He washes clothes for me.' (C. Dulong, LaPolla & Yang 2007: 122)<sup>26</sup>

- (107) jo?      dzəl      ṣ-?  
clothes    wash    **BEN-3sg**

'He washes clothes for him.' (C. Dulong, LaPolla & Yang 2007: 122)

According to LaPolla and Yang, the two benefactive forms in Dulong appear to be derived from the verb *wā* 'do/make', which takes the form *ṣ* under certain circumstances (i.e., when there is a 3rd person undergoer). They hypothesize that the Mvtwang *-ā* is also derived from *wā* 'do/make', with the initial *w-* being worn away. This still appears likely, but somehow an explanation needs to be made for the *p-* initial in Rvmøl and Dvru. The reconstruction of a proto-form will have to await further research.

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<sup>26</sup> Here and throughout this study, examples from published sources have been reanalyzed to some extent in terms of morpheme breaks and glossing, and orthographic transcriptions have been converted to IPA. This is inevitable when translating glosses from another language or when analyzing examples that were left unglossed in the original publication, and it is a deliberate choice for the sake of consistency in other cases. For the original analysis, please see the original publications.

### 3.8.2.1.3 Reflexive benefactive *-əm* (BEN.REFL)

The reflexive benefactive is the suffix *-əm*, derived from *ám* 'to eat'. Example (108) is the only instance of its use in the Rvmø1 corpus, but it appears regularly in Mvtwang, with two functions: to denote that a referent is in the edible category (i.e., rice or vegetables, but not meat, which would be denoted by *-ké*, from *kè* 'to bite'), and to show that the action is for the agent's own benefit.

(108) *nəmbrá tçù rətù=í əba duŋkùr klu? əŋ,*  
 field clear time-ADV earth hole dig LNK

'At the time of clearing the field, (he) dug a hole,

*əŋ zəŋ-si ləm má-si ləm,*  
 3sg put-R/M PUR hide-R/M PUR

'to get into and hide,'

*ya = dəm əkúim ləm*  
 this = place cover PUR

'and in order to cover the hole here,'

*luŋ kùim gu ti? = me təlú lá əŋ,*  
 stone flat also one = CLF ready find LNK

*gəl-əm-yəŋ wà*  
 keep-BEN.REFL-TMyrs HS

'he found a big flat stone and kept (it ready for himself).' (FT4: 6.2)

### 3.8.2.1.4 Adversative *-ke* (AVS)

The adversative suffix *-ke* indicates that the event is harmful to someone involved. It is derived from the verb *ke* 'bite, eat (meat)'. While the suffix is common in Mvtwang, it is only found once in the Rvmø1 corpus:

(109) *gumdi dəm ta? gu, əl mə-zàt-yàŋ nu,*  
 Kamti place LOC also live NEG-increase-TMyrs TOP  
*sí-ke-yəŋ, əya dúŋ-í, ya = yoŋ nəm = gəŋ-í*  
 dry-AVS-TMyrs that from-ADV this = manner sun = hot-ADV  
*əl mə-zàt-ìŋ dəkàŋ-í, ti: yoŋ-í,*  
 live NEG-increase-PL because-ADV former manner-ADV  
*rəmè = tçì ka? ətəŋ-yəŋ rətù i.*  
 Rame = river ALL return-TMyrs time be

'But in Kamti land (Putao), we didn't increase (want, continue) to stay there because it was too dry, it was too hot, so we didn't increase to stay there, so it was a time that we went back again to the Rameti river.' (DH: 14-16)

In this passage, the speaker is talking about his family's travels and where they settled. Apparently, when they moved to Kamti (the Putao plain), they found it too hot and dry, so crops didn't grow well and they didn't want to live there. Literally, *sú-ke-yáŋ* means "dry-bite-TMyrs", with the idea that the land was dry to the point that it hurt them or ate up their crops. (*sú* 'dry' is cognate to Mvtwang *əfū* 'to boil'.)

According to Elissa Ikeda (p.c.), the verb 'to bite' seems to be a general adversative across languages in northern Myanmar. For example, in a Leme (northern Bai) story, it appears where the narrator explains "how a shaman would diagnose sickness by figuring out which spirit was 'biting' the ill person."

In Mvtwang, there are several other senses to *-ke* besides adversative: (*ə*-)V-*ke* is reciprocal (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 168); V + *ke* can categorize an activity associated with eating meat, such as fishing or raising animals for food, bringing about a reflexive benefactive meaning since the food is for oneself (LaPolla 2000: 306-307). These same three senses of adversative/passive, reciprocal, and reflexive benefactive associated with eating meat, appear in Sinwal Waqdamkong (Sarep 1996: 132). In addition, an unrelated *ke* in Mvtwang is a clause subordinator meaning 'while'.

### 3.8.2.2 Orientation slot (tense/aspect/direction)

Members of the orientation slot can indicate directional and temporal (tense-aspect) orientation, depending on event type and context. *-rí* and *-yáŋ* are past tense markers for days ago and years ago, respectively. The directionals *-ra/re/rət*, *-luŋ*, and *-zaʔ/zək* denote motion toward the deictic center, with *-lúŋ* ascending, *-zək/zaʔ* descending, and *-ra/re/rət* coming toward the center from the same level. The forms and meanings are summarized in Table 13, and dealt with extensively in Chapters 4 and 5. It should be noted that the orientation marker is often optional because the time of an event can also be marked with a time phrase or understood from the context.

**Table 13 Orientation markers**

	<b>direction</b>	<b>tense/aspect</b>
<b>-bu</b>	away	perfective ('just a moment ago' with falling tone; 'hours ago or longer' with mid or high tone)
<b>-ri</b>		hours ago or before today
<b>-yéŋ</b>		years ago
<b>-ra/re/rət</b>	toward	inceptive aspect?
<b>-luŋ</b>	upward	inceptive aspect
<b>-zək/zaʔ</b>	downward, toward	inceptive aspect, success

### 3.8.2.3 Person agreement slot

Person-marking is a combination of the use or non-use of the non-first-person prefix *i-* and the post-verbal person agreement slot. The suffixes in this slot mark person and number, in the case of 1sg, and only number, in the case of dual and plural. For 3rd person, there are no agreement markers, but vowel length is often added to the last vowel of the verb stem.

- *-ŋ* '1sg person singular' (1SG) (appears at the end of any open-syllable inflected verb stem or verb suffix)
- *:* '3rd person, transitive, emphatic, or plural (the last vowel of the verb stem and/or suffix is lengthened)

There are number-marking suffixes for dual and plural speech act participants (1st or 2nd person). With a 3rd person undergoer, the suffixes are fused with a fossilized 3rd-person undergoer suffix *\*-ò* '3U' (the 3rd person non-past object marker in Mvtwang).

- *-sì* '1st or 2nd person dual' (DL)
  - *-sò* 'dual + 3rd person undergoer' (DL:3U)
- *-iŋ* '1st or 2nd person plural' (PL)
  - *-nòŋ* '1st or 2nd person plural + 3rd person undergoer' (PL:3U)<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> In elicitation, Chgg. Chang and Chd. Sønrvn both gave *-nòŋ* for both 1pl and 2pl with a 3rd person undergoer. However, in texts, it is only used for 2pl.



There is an alternate form, *-sà*, for 1st or 2nd person dual or plural, which is often used for past tense and sometimes for present tense. This is probably derived historically from the dual suffix *-sì*.

- *-sà* '1st or 2nd person non-singular' (NSG)

These are illustrated below with text examples:

1SG (1st person singular): *V-ŋ*

- (110) *məŋkaŋ əyá məsíl ti? = mé ŋà = í tsəm = tsəl*  
 Mangkang.Aya story one = CLF 1sg = AGT small = DIM

*sùŋ-rət-ì-ŋ...*  
 speak-CIS-INTENT-1SG

'I'm going to tell (you) a little story about Mangkang Aya...' (FT1: 1)

2SG (2nd person singular): *i-V*

- (111) *səŋ səraŋ nu təwa tiq i-brək-rət = é*  
 tomorrow morning TOP bamboo one N1-carry-CIS = EXCL

'Tomorrow morning, bring a bamboo pole.' (FT2: 4.2)

1DL (1st person dual): *V-sì*

- (112) "gaywa ənəp = té ə-rù-si-sì" ələn wà.  
 very/many beautiful = ADV RECIP-paint-R/M-DL agree HS

'Let's paint one another with different colors and make ourselves pretty,' they said/agreed.' (lit. 'very beautifully (we two) paint ourselves') (FT6: 3.2)

2DL (2nd person dual): *i-V-sì*

- (113) *e ì-ət-sì-sì, həmdùŋ ka? i-ŋāŋ-sì*  
 Eh N1-run.away-R/M-DL chimney ALL N1-climb-DL

'Hey, run you two! Climb up into the chimney!' (FCS: 465-466)

2DL:3U (2nd person dual + 3rd person undergoer): *i-V-sì + \*-ò > i-V-sò*

- (114) *é, əzú ləm rà. nu ì-kut-sò...*  
 eh azeu(Rawang.dance) dance need wine N1-cook-DL:3U

'Eh, (you) must have a dance ceremony. Make wine (you two)...' (FCS: 148-149)

1PL (1st person plural): *V-ij*

- (115) *ìŋ nu, tsa\_rəmàŋ nu, rəmè = tɕì məʔoŋ\_nəm, ga?*  
1pl TOP long.ago TOP Rame = river Mvong\_Nvm place  
*əl-yaŋ-ìŋ = a əsəŋ i-ìŋ...*  
live-TMyrs-PL = NMLZ person be-PL

'We, in the old days, were people who were living in Mvong Nvm (village) on the Rvmeti river...' (DH: 12)

2PL (2nd person plural): *i-V-ij*

- (116) *i-yəŋ-ìŋ = e!*  
N1-see-PL = EXCL  
'Look (all of you)!' (FT5: 11.1)

2PL:3U (2nd person plural + 3rd person undergoer): *i-V-(n)ij + \*-ð > i-V-nòŋ*

- (117) *a, nənuŋ = í nu mi-sò-nòŋ.*  
ah 2pl = AGT TOP NEG:N1-know:3U-2PL:3U  
'Oh, you guys don't know (what's going to happen).' (FT3: 4.1)

1NSG (1st person non-singular, dual or plural): *V-sà*

- (118) *ɕíŋwa àŋ = í, ə = yoŋ, uya,*  
Shingwa LNK = ADV this = manner that  
*tɕì = kət əní = kət taʔ = í dʒì-bu-sà...*  
one = time two = time LOC = ADV walk-PFV-NSG

'We had been to Shingwa only once or twice before...' (DH: 52)

2NSG (2nd person non-singular, dual or plural): *i-V-sà*

- (119) *e, məŋkaŋ\_əyá dərət kaʔ nu dədʒuɔp m-i-dáŋ-sà*  
eh Mangkang\_Aya orphan ALL TOP trick NEG-N1-possible-NSG  
'Eh, you guys can never trick poor Makang Aya at all!' (FT4: 10.2)

### 3.8.2.4 Cross-dialect comparison of plural suffixes

The plural suffix in Rvmøl has two forms: *-ij* 'PL' (similar to the 1pl pronoun *ij*), and *-nòŋ* 'PL + 3U', which is similar to *-ŋij*, the plural suffix for pronouns, with the addition of *\*-ð* (3rd person undergoer). I suspect that the 1pl pronoun *ij* was worn

away from the compound pronoun *ɲà-niŋ* '1pl' (1sg + pl). However, there is a possibility that *iŋ* is closer to the original plural form, and *n-* was added to it as a contraction of *nà* '2sg', becoming *niŋ*, and later *-niŋ* became fossilized as a general plural marker (see LaPolla 2013: 470). Table 14 shows the 1PL and 2PL pronouns and verb suffixes for a number of different varieties. (Transitive forms are for a 3rd person object.)

**Table 14 Plural pronouns and suffixes across dialects<sup>28</sup>**

	1pl pronoun	2pl pronoun	1PL intrans.	1PL trans.	2PL intrans.	2PL trans.
<b>Rvmøł</b>	<i>iŋ</i>	<i>nə-niŋ</i>	<i>-iŋ</i>	<i>-nòŋ</i>	<i>-iŋ</i>	<i>-nòŋ</i>
<b>Dvru (older)</b>	<i>iŋ</i>	<i>nə-niŋ</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-i / :</i>	<i>-niŋ</i>	<i>-nàŋ/na:ŋ</i>
<b>Dvru (younger)</b>	<i>iŋ</i>	<i>nə-niŋ</i>	<i>-niŋ</i>	<i>-i / :</i>	<i>-niŋ</i>	<i>-nàŋ/na:ŋ</i>
<b>Dvru (LaPolla 2013)</b>			<i>-i</i>		<i>-nuwŋ</i>	
<b>Tangsar</b>			<i>-ɲùŋ</i>		<i>-ɲùŋ</i>	
<b>Mvtwang</b>	<i>nùŋ-ma?</i> (incl.) <i>ɲà-nuwŋ /</i> <i>nà-ma?</i> (excl.)	<i>nà-nuwŋ /</i> <i>nà-ma?</i>	<i>: + -i</i>		<i>-nùŋ</i>	
<b>N. Dulong</b>	<i>ɹəŋ</i> (incl.) <i>əjùŋ-(ma?)</i> (excl.)	<i>nɹ-niŋ</i>	<i>:</i>		<i>-juwŋ</i>	
<b>C. Dulong</b>	<i>ɹəŋ</i> (incl.) <i>iŋ</i> (excl.)	<i>nɹ-ɲùŋ</i>	<i>-i</i>		<i>-n</i>	
<b>S. Dulong</b>	<i>iŋ</i>	<i>nɹ-niŋ</i>	<i>-i</i>		<i>-n</i>	
<b>Nujiang Dulong</b>	<i>ɹùŋ</i> (incl.) <i>ɲùŋ</i> (excl.)	<i>nɹ-ɲùŋ</i>	<i>-i</i>		<i>-ɲuwŋ<sup>29</sup></i>	
<b>Proto-Nungish</b>			<i>*-i</i>		<i>*-n</i>	

<sup>28</sup> Sources include Chgg. Chang and Chd. Sønrvm for Rvmøł, Jerry Awiqwang for older generation Dvru, Malong Pung for younger generation Dvru, Vwvl Nvng for Tangsar (Reninti valley), Yintvng (2010) for Mvtwang, Huang & Dai (1992) for S. Dulong, LaPolla for Mvtwang, Sun (1982; 1983) for C. Dulong and Nujiang Dulong, Huang & Dai (1992) for S. Dulong, and LaPolla (2005: 305; 2013: 470) for multiple varieties, including Dvru and Proto-Nungish, which he calls Proto-Dulong-Rawang. It should also be noted that Vwvl Nvng is Malong Pung's mother, which may account for the form *-niŋ* '1PL intr.' in his dialect. Also, the 1PL intransitive form in older-generation Dvru is based on elicitation of the verb *di* 'walk', and there may be dissimilation from the vowel *i*.

<sup>29</sup> LaPolla (2013) gives this form; Sun (1983) shows zero marking for 2PL except for the N1 prefix.

It appears from this data that the distinction between 1PL and 2PL is neutralized in Rvmø1, Tangsar, and younger-generation Dvru (at least for intransitive clauses). Also, there is a fusion of the 3rd-person object suffix (-ð in Mvtwang; -a in older-generation Dvru) with the plural suffix in Rvmø1 and the 2PL suffix in Dvru to form -nòŋ and -nàŋ/naŋ respectively.

### 3.8.3 Verb morphology position classes

To summarize the verb morphology discussed in this section, we can posit the following position classes for clitics and affixes on an unconcatenated finite verb:

**Table 15 Pre-verb position class chart**

Tense/Mood		Valency/Person			V
má = 'Q'	mə- 'NEG'	sə/də- 'CAUS'	i/nə/n- 'N1'	ə- 'INTR'	-
la? = 'OPT'	lə- 'Q'			ə- 'RECIP'	
ya = 'FUT'	lə- 'AUG'				
	tsə- 'CONTR'				

Notes:

1. Any prefix before a sesquisyllable gains a full vowel (ə → a).
2. Before ə-, i- 'N1' becomes nə-.
3. i- 'N1' changes the vowel of the negative and causative prefixes from ə to i, except for the intransitivizing/reciprocal prefix ə-, as well as the presyllables of certain verb stems, such as *gərùn* 'pull' > *girùn* 'you pull'.

**Table 16 Post-verb position class chart**

V	Benefactive	Orientation	Person/ Number	Mood		
-	-sì 'R/M'	-buu 'DIS/PFV'	-sì 'DL'	-ì 'INTENT'	= e 'DEC'	= ma 'Q'
	-pa 'BEN'	-rí 'TMdys'	-iŋ 'PL'		= é/è 'EXCL'	
	-po 'BEN:3U'	-yóŋ 'TMyrs'	-sà 'NSG'			
	-əm 'BEN.REFL'	-ra/re/rət 'CIS'	-sò 'DL:3U'			
	-ke 'AVS'	-lúŋ 'UP'	-nòŋ 'PL:3U'			
		-za?/zək 'DOWN'				

Notes:

1. -ŋ '1SG', a person and number agreement marker not included in the chart above, has a special distribution. It can appear after any open-syllable verb stems or suffixes, but not after enclitics. When a verb stem or suffix ends in -

?, it becomes *-k* with 1sg. Thus, a verb complex inflected for 1sg may be marked multiple times.

2. Verb stems and suffixes inflected for 1sg tend to have short vowels, whereas with 1pl or a 3rd person undergoer, vowel length is added and the vowel *a* becomes *a*.
3. The listing of mood-marking sentence-final clitics and particles is not exhaustive, and their correlation with tense, person-marking, and transitivity seems much less systematic than in Mvtwang.
4. The intensitive suffix *-ì* 'INTENT' is included as a suffix rather than as a sentence-final clitic because it can be followed by the 1SG suffix *-ŋ*. It is dealt with detail in Section 6.4.

### 3.9 Sentence-final marking

Sentence-final marking is done with sentence-final markers (particles or enclitics) and intonation. Both of these will be examined in this section.

#### 3.9.1 Sentence-final markers

In narrative, declarative sentences are ended with the hearsay marker *wà*, derived from *wa* 'say/quotative marker'.

Although yes/no questions are normally marked with *má=* before the verb, *má* can optionally appear at the end of the sentence to mark any kind of question. Echo questions (X, right?) are marked with *i ò* (be Q), pronounced in a short burst, with low tone on *ì* and high falling tone on *ò*. For example:

(120) [...]                    ...wá kà i ò?  
           [quoted text] say word be Q

'he said X, right?' (overheard from Chgg. Dø during wordlist elicitation)

Another kind of tag question after an utterance is *má mə-i?* (Q + NEG-be) 'Isn't it?', with high intonation on the first syllable, followed by low intonation on the last two syllables.

The declarative marker *=e* requires some special notes at this point. In general, it marks declarative statements about a presently relevant state or ongoing action. The usage of *=e* reflects a dialect continuum: in Rvmøl and Dvru, it is optional, while in Mvtwang it is used sentence-finally on all non-past indicative sentences except for those which are negated. In Jerwang and S. Dulong, based on conversations with

native speakers and analysis of several songs, it appears that *è* is both a declarative marker and a copula, depending on the sentence. In N. Dulong, there is no declarative marker, but there is a copula *ē* which is probably cognate (LaPolla & Yang 2007: 123).

Since *=e* is optional in Rvmøł, usage may vary even among family members. Chgg. Dø uses *=e* more frequently than his daughter Chgg. Chang, in elicited sentences. Both of Dø's parents were Rvmøł speakers, whereas Chgg. Chang's mother, Mvplvmcvng Nin, is Jerwang, and her husband, Awiqwang Angyø, is Dvru. Thus, Chgg. Chang may have been more influenced toward Jerwang grammar in her formative years than her father was.

On the other hand, one of the contexts where Dø used *=e* was when translating sentences from Mvtwang into Rvmøł, so he may have been using Mvtwang-influenced grammar. When I elicited a wordlist using written Burmese, Chgg. Dø added *=e* to the end of verbs and adjectives, but when he repeated the word, on some repetitions he would use *=e* and on some he would leave it out. When I asked, he explained that he was using *=e* because he was translating directly from the Burmese SFP *tɛ*, which is a realis marker for present or past situations. He also said that in school, they are taught to use *=e* (I suppose for standard Mvtwang), but in normal conversation it is sometimes used and sometimes not.

In narratives, *=e* often comes near the end of the story, with definitive summary statements, as in the following:

- (121) məŋkəŋ əyá = í            ruŋdāŋ      dù    dvm    təmi    tā?  
Mangkang.Aya = AGT   edible.root   dig   LOC   fire   LOC
- wà-yāŋ      məŋ      yoŋ      nā?      əŋ      wà      té  
burn-TMyrs   but/since   manner   black   like   do   ADV
- səí    nu    i = e      wà    məsíl -  
bear   TOP   be = DEC   HS   story
- ya    ku    məŋkəŋ əyá      məsíl    sùn = e  
this   way   Mangkang\_Aya   story   speak = DEC

'But since Mangkang Aya burned (him) in the fire at the root-digging site like that, (the bear) became black. The story – the story of Makang Aya is told this way.'  
(FT1: 19)

*=e* is also used sometimes in daily conversation, to make announcements about things of present relevance; it can appear with a variety of intonations, mainly

rising-falling. For example, when another student and I came to visit Chgg. Dø, he was out in the garden, and so his daughter Chang had us sit in the living room, while she called him:

- (46) pé = á!            rumnaŋ    di<sup>33</sup> = é:<sup>533</sup>  
 father = VOC    friend    walk = DEC  
 'Father! Friend(s) have come!' (Chgg. Chang)

In narrative dialogue, the more excited sense of = *e* 'EXCL' marks the end of the clause for reminders, admonishments, and exclamations, as in (122).

- (122) yà    mu?    gwe?    lóm    wā = é,  
 this    sky    break    PUR    do = EXCL  
  
 hāŋ    wá    i-má-si = é,            kà            mi-sòn = dé  
 quiet    ADV    N1-hide-R/M = EXCL    speech    NEG:N1-speak = EXCL  
 'The sky is going to break, hide (there) quietly, don't talk!' (FT1: 17)

In the example above, = *é* is used twice; the high tone is probably due to exclamatory and non-final intonation. The third clause has = *dé* instead, an exclamation marker somewhat similar in form to = *e*.

In Mvtwang, these are two separate morphemes, = *ē* 'non-past sentence final marker' and = *é* ~ *lé* 'exclamatory/vocative/emphatic assertion' (LaPolla & Poa 2001:viii–ix). It is harder to make a distinction between these two in Rvmø1, though, since = *e* is optional in this dialect, and also because Rvmø1, Dvru, and Jerwang speakers often pronounce = *e* with a high falling pitch [*e*<sup>53</sup>] similar to how the high tone in Mvtwang is often pronounced utterance-finally. It is not clear whether this pitch should be considered tone, or intonation, or an iconic tone arising out of intonation.

### 3.9.2 Sentence-final intonation

The comments on intonation here are necessarily brief observations without examples; for more detail, see Morse (1963). The end of a declarative sentence in a narrative is indicated by final intonation, lengthening before the final syllable, and a drop in pitch and volume with attendant glottalization on the last syllable. The end of a turn in conversation is marked by silence, with high final intonation for a yes/no question. An emphatic question is marked by high falling pitch on the last syllable. An emphatic, mirative exclamation would be marked by increased volume and high or high falling pitch.

### 3.10 Clause-linking

The most basic method of clause-linking is to simply chain clauses together in one sentence, with each nonfinal clause followed by a marker such as  $\partial\eta$  'LNK' and/or  $i$  'PS, ADV'. This kind of marker is called a predicate sequencer (LaPolla & Poa 2001:ix), a linker (LaPolla 2001: 36), or a developmental marker (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 93). The use of  $\partial\eta$  is illustrated in (123).

- (123)  $y\bar{a}=k\bar{a}m$      $ts\bar{a}ma?$      $d\bar{a}kla?$      $\partial\eta$      $du\eta k\bar{u}r$      $d\bar{u}ng$      $w\bar{a}$      $w\bar{a}r$ .  
           this = time    flint.&.steel    strike    LNK    hole    OMP(whoosh)    ADV    burn  
           'Then (he) struck the flint and steel, **and** with a whoosh (he) burned the hole (i.e., set the hole on fire).' (FT1: 18.1)

Clauses separated by  $\partial\eta$  happen in sequential order, as seen in (123). First there is the striking of flint and steel, then, as a result, the burning of the hole, or actually the contents of the hole.

Another clause linker is  $i$  'PS'. In (124) the non-final verbs are reduplicated and followed by  $i$ ; this seems to show a sequence of actions, of which each involves some duration of time (cf. LaPolla 2001: 2 for a similar construction in N. Dulong procedural texts).

- (124)  $\text{\textcircled{a}}d\bar{o}\eta$   $\text{\textcircled{a}}t\bar{c}i$      $du = d\bar{u} = \bar{i}$      $ga?$      $du\eta k\bar{u}r$      $ta?$      $z\bar{a}\eta = z\bar{a}\eta\text{-}s\bar{i} = \bar{i}$   
           taro.root    dig = dig = PS    earth    hole    LOC    put = put-R/M = PS  
            $y\bar{o}\eta$      $d\bar{u}$      $m\bar{a}n$      $w\bar{a}$ .  
           manner    dig    continue    HS

'So he dug (to get this) taro root, and (made a hole and) got into the hole, and continued to dig like that. (FT1: 3.1)

As a linker,  $i$  usually cliticizes to the last morpheme of the non-final clause to its left, and could thus be represented as  $=\bar{i}$ . However, when followed by the topic marker  $nuu$ , it cliticizes to  $nuu$  as  $i = nuu$ , which is why I have only added the clitic symbol (=) in the context of appropriate text examples.

Phonetically,  $i$  'PS' takes the same form as the copula, the adverbial marker  $=\bar{i}$  'ADV', the agentive marker  $=\bar{i}$  'AGT', the instrumental marker  $=\bar{i}$  'INST', and the non-first person marker  $i$ - 'N1'. It is unclear which of these, if any, to identify it with. Arguments could be made for either the copula, the adverbial marker, or the instrumental marker.



Other linkers which follow a non-final clause include: *yoh* 'manner' ("like that"), *kù* 'way/means' ("by that means"), *kət* 'time' ("when"), *lám* 'purpose' ("for/to/will"; see Chapter 6), and *dəkàŋ* 'reason' ("because/in order to"). Sometimes =í comes after one of the other markers, e.g. *dəkàŋ = í* 'because' or *kət = í* 'when'. This usage has been glossed as 'ADV' (adverbializer, putting the preceding clause into the background information).

Space does not permit illustrations of all of these, but since *yoh* 'manner' is already illustrated in (124), it bears some comments. By itself, *yoh* is a noun, since it can be preceded by a demonstrative as in *ya = yoh* or *ə = yoh* 'this way/like this'. (The Mvtwang equivalent is *du* 'ADV'.) In discourse examples, *yoh* comes after a non-final clause, either as a hedging device, or to show that the non-final clause is the way or manner in which the following action was accomplished.

### 3.11 Topic markers

There are certain particles that appear after noun phrases or non-final clauses (as nominalizers), which play a larger role in managing the listener's attention, and in the structure and cohesion of discourse (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 92).

#### 3.11.1.1 Topic

The main topic marker is *nu* 'TOP'. In free-standing elicited sentences, *nu* appears in almost every sentence, because its function is to set up the background or the main participant. Background information such as the time setting is marked with *nu* 'TOP' after the noun phrase, as in (125).

- (125) tsā\_rəmàŋ    **nu**    məŋkaŋ\_əyá    tɪ? = pè    əl    wa = e.  
 long.ago    **TOP**    Mangkang.Aya    one = GMm    exist    say = DEC

'Long ago, there was a man (named) Mangkang Aya, (they) say.' (FT4: 1)

The main participant may also be introduced by *nu*, as in (126).

- (126) əsa? = rá    tɕi = pè    **nu**,    siŋ = sí    rùp    i = a...  
 old = CLF.person    one = GMm    **TOP**    tree = fruit    pick    be = NMLZ

'One old guy is picking fruit...' (DPR: 1)

### 3.11.1.2 Additive topic

There is an additive topic marker, *gu* 'also', as in (127). Additive connectives like this "instruct the hearer to find a parallel proposition to which to append the current one" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 92).

- (127) e, ηà **gu** yoŋ wà lóm i=e  
Eh 1sg **also** (this)manner do PUR be=DEC

'Eh, I'm also going to do like this...' (FT3: 11.1)

Here, one character has just listened to his friend tell how he caught a lot of monkeys. He applies an additive topic marker *gu* 'also' to himself (1sg ηà), in order to emphasize the similarity between his friend's previously mentioned action and his own intended action.

### 3.11.1.3 Exclusive topic

Another particle which has a similar distribution is *wa* 'only'. It specifies that the noun phrase it follows is the only one that can claim the predicate, as in (128).

- (128) a, [nəniŋ ləpət] **nu** mə=í,  
ah 2pl for **TOP** NEG-be

'Oh, (the basket) is not for you all;

- [ηà zəŋ-si lóm ləpət] **wa** i=e  
1sg put-R/M PUR for **only** be=DEC

it's only for me to get into.' (lit. put myself (in)) (FT3: 6.2)

Here, the topic of the first clause, *nəniŋ ləpət* 'for you' (followed by *nu* 'TOP') contrasts with the topic of the second clause, *ηà zəŋ-si lóm ləpət* 'for me to get into' (followed by *wa* 'only'), showing that the truth value of the statement with the copula *i=e* is restricted to the speaker, and does not include the addressees.

### 3.11.1.4 Contrastive topic

The contrastive topic marker *məŋ* 'but' shows that a new situation is different than a previously mentioned situation, as in (129).

(129) **tsā\_rəmàŋ** nu sái nu mój əŋ=wá wà pən i.  
**long.ago** TOP bear TOP white like=ADV only kind be

'Long ago, the bear was only the white kind.'

yoŋ [məŋkəŋ\_əyá=í... wàr-yāŋ] **məŋ** yoŋ  
 manner Mangkang\_Aya=AGT burn-TMyrs **but** manner

**But since** Mangkang Aya... burned him like that,

na? əŋ=wà té sái nu i=e...  
 black like=ADV ADV bear TOP be=DEC

he is a blackened bear.' (FT1: 18.3-19)

This is the only appearance of *məŋ* in the Rvmøl corpus, but it also appears in Mvtwang, and is described as a 'marker which occurs after nominals to mark contrary to others' (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 249). If *məŋ* acts the same way in Rvmøl as in Mvtwang, then the unit before *məŋ* in (129) could be considered a headless nominalized clause.

Syntactically, *nu* 'TOP', *gu* 'also', *wa* 'only', and *məŋ* 'but' all belong to one set of discourse connectives, appearing after nominals or nominalized clauses and setting them up as topics or conditions.<sup>30</sup> The semantics of each marker creates different cohesion effects, such as raising attention (*nu* 'TOP'), adding agreeing information (*gu* 'also'), excluding other topics (*wa* 'only'), or adding contrastive information (*məŋ* 'but').

### 3.12 Conclusion

This section has been a brief overview of Rvmøl grammar, looking first at the clause, then at the noun phrase and noun morphology, with many of the minor word classes exemplified along the way. Some attention has been given to role-marking postpositions, which follow a noun phrase and specify its semantic role in the clause. Then, we looked at nominalization and adverbialization, followed by some examples of time and locative phrases.

<sup>30</sup> I have not observed different topic markers stacking together after the same noun phrase in Rvmøl, but it does occur in the following sentence from the Rawang Bible:

nuŋma? **məŋ nu** gəray=ò í-shà nu...  
 1pl **but TOP** God=POSS be-NSG TOP

'But we are God's (people)...' (in contrast to the false prophets) (Mvtwang, 1 John 4:6 (Rvwang Bible Committee 2009: 1720))

Thus, being in the same class of particles, syntactically, does not necessarily mean that topic markers cannot co-occur, just as nouns can join together in compounds.

Next, there was a discussion of the verb phrase, looking specifically at certain types of verb concatenation where two or three verbs appear in a row, each a complement of the one after it. Several of these constructions are relevant to our upcoming discussion of time reference, with such meanings as 'start', 'finish', 'continue', and 'want to'. These constructions will be referred to again in Section 6.2, when discussing future time reference.

Following the verb phrase, we looked at an extensive catalogue of verb morphology, followed by shorter discussions of sentence-final marking, clause linking, and topic markers.

Now that the grammatical overview is complete, the next three chapters will examine direction and time reference in detail, starting with Chapter 4, on post-verbal direction marking.

## Chapter 4

### Post-verbal direction marking

Besides time and location phrases (Section 3.6), one of the main ways that spatial and temporal information is encoded in Nungish is by a post-verbal slot, which Sarep (1996: 133) calls the "orientation marker slot". In Rvmøl, the slot does not always have to be filled, but it seems to only hold one marker. Directions include motion toward, away, up, or down.

Tense in Nungish is metrical, with several degrees of time remoteness; LaPolla (2015: 41–42) shows four different past tenses for Mvtwang. Aspectual meanings include perfective (completed), perfect (currently relevant, anterior, before the time in focus), and inceptive (beginning of an action, or change of state). Another type of meaning often encoded and intertwined with other meanings is evidentiality, i.e., a speaker's attitude toward the information and its source. Evidentiality and modality are highly relevant to our discussion here, but due to limited data and space, I will not focus on them in detail.

Morphologically, only one time or direction marker can occur after a single head verb. (There are several ambiguous cases in the texts and in Liu 1988a, but this is the general rule.) The verb position class chart for Sinwal Waqdamkong (Sarep 1996: 167) likewise treats all tense, aspect, and direction markers as fillers of the same slot, as markers of "orientation", whether spatial or temporal.

For Tibeto-Burman as a whole, DeLancey and colleagues (1978) discuss two main mechanisms for encoding tense and aspect in Tibeto-Burman: auxiliaries (verb concatenation) and particles (bound morphemes after the verb, treated here as suffixes). In their paper, they present two examples from Mvtwang (morpheme glosses mine):

(130) àŋ di = e  
3sg walk NPST

'he goes/is going' (Mvtwang, DeLancey et al. 1978)

- (131) àŋ di -daʔ =e  
 3sg walk DOWN/CIS NPST

'he comes/ is coming' (Mvtwang, DeLancey et al. 1978)

Based on these examples, and consultation with Stephen and Betty Morse, they conclude that Rawang appears to base its tense-aspect-direction system on post-verbal particles alone. Actually, both mechanisms are used in Rvmøɭ.

This chapter will describe the use of post-verbal markers for direction in Rvmøɭ with some reference to other varieties as well. Chapter 5 presents post-verbal orientation markers in their tense-aspect uses. Finally, regarding strategies for time reference, Chapter 6 deals with strategies for future time reference, including verb concatenation, nominalization, and affixation. (Event phases indicated through verb concatenation have already been dealt with in Section 3.7.1.)

#### 4.1 *-luŋ* (up)

The marker of upward direction, *-luŋ* 'UP', is shown most simply in (132). The tone has not been marked in citation, because it is found with all tones in the corpus, depending probably on intonation and the tones around it.

- (132) àŋ dʒi-lúŋ  
 3sg walk-UP

"He's coming up" / "He is come up." (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

There is flexibility in the selection of spatial orientation markers available for a given situation. Often, the upward marker *-luŋ* can be exchanged with the cislocative (toward) marker *-re*, as in (133).

- (133) àŋ dʒi-ré  
 3sg walk-CIS

'He's coming / he is come (same level)'

The high/rising tone changes to falling tone in commands:

- (134) i-dʒi-lùŋ  
 N1-walk-UP

"Come up here!" (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

There are also uses of *-luŋ* as a change of state marker, which will be addressed in Section 5.4.

### 4.1.1 Cross-dialect comparison

In Dvru, the marker has the same form, and example (135) is nearly the same as (134), except for differences in the form of the non-first person prefix and the verb.

(135) nə-di-lùŋ  
N1-walk-UP

'Come up here!' (Dvru, elic. from Malong Pung)

In Mvtwang, the upward marker is *-lōŋ* or *-lúŋ*, depending on the suffix after it (LaPolla & Poa 2001:viii). It can also mark inceptive aspect. In Waqdamkong, *luŋ* is called a "locative particle", used "when the speaker is on a higher level", as in (136).

(136) ŋa ka e- zi-ŋ -luŋ -a  
1sg ALL N1 give-1SG -UP EXCL

'Come up and give me.' (Waqdamkong, Barnard 1934: 31).

In Sinwal Waqdamkong, the 'up' marker is similar but with a different initial and vowel: *-nūŋ* (*-núŋ* if followed by a low-tone suffix). According to Sarep (1996), *-nūŋ* shows that the speaker is "higher than the addressee" and that "the starting or ending point of the action" is "remote from the speaker or the addressee". He offers the following examples, to which I have added my own analysis underneath:

(137) dū-ŋ-nūŋ-ē  
go-1SG-SPEAKER.HIGH-IPFV  
walk-1SG-UP-NPST

'I will come down' (Sinwal Waqdamkong, Sarep 1996: 137).

(138) dī-núŋ-ŋi = ē  
go-SPEAKER.HIGH-DL-IMPV  
walk-UP-DL-NPST

'We (two) will come down.' (Sinwal Waqdamkong, Sarep 1996: 137).

With this example, *-nūŋ* seems opposite to *-luŋ* in terms of the direction of motion, and yet both (136) and (137) are from varieties of Waqdamkong, and both encode speaker elevation as higher than the addressee.

In central Dulong, the 'upward' direction marker is *luŋ*<sup>31</sup> (Sun 1982: 117; Yang 1999: 40). The inceptive and the directional senses of *luŋ*<sup>31</sup> are seen in the following two examples.

- (139) nǎm<sup>53</sup> a<sup>31</sup>lai<sup>55</sup>-luŋ<sup>31</sup>.  
sun rise-UP

'The sun is coming up/has come up.' (C. Dulong, Sun 1982)

- (140) ǎŋ<sup>53</sup> nuŋ<sup>55</sup>ŋwa<sup>53</sup> ce<sup>l55</sup>-luŋ<sup>31</sup>.  
3sg cattle lead-UP

'He is bringing/has brought the cattle up (to here).' (C. Dulong, Sun 1982)

In southern Dulong, the 'upward' marker is *luŋ*<sup>53</sup> (Liu 1988: 67) or *luŋ*<sup>31</sup> (Yang 1999: 40). In northern Dulong, there is no equivalent 'upward' direction marker (Yang 1999), but there is a post-verbal tense-aspect marker *luŋ*<sup>31</sup> for recent past actions (LaPolla 2003a: 679). The 'recent past' usage also appears in C. Dulong, to which Yang interprets a sense of perfective action completed just a moment ago, but not directly observed when it happened (Yang 2002). He presents the following examples:

- (141) əŋ<sup>53</sup> ə<sup>31</sup>ɿd<sup>55</sup> le<sup>31</sup> di:<sup>53</sup> -lu:ŋ<sup>31</sup> e<sup>31</sup>.  
3sg where ALL go/walk ASPECT/INDIRECT.EVIDENCE be

'Where did he go up to?' (C. Dulong, Yang 2004)

This example shows both upward movement, indirect evidentiality, and perfectivity, as the subject is out of sight, but presumed to have gone up somewhere recently. The next two examples, (142) and (143), take this sense of recent past and indirect evidence, and completely abandon the directional element.

- (142) əŋ<sup>53</sup> mi<sup>31</sup> ŋul<sup>55</sup> ə<sup>31</sup>ma:ŋ<sup>55</sup> -lu:ŋ<sup>31</sup>.  
3sg AGT money lose -ASPECT

'He lost the money.' (C. Dulong, Yang 2002)

- (143) ŋaŋ<sup>55</sup> ə<sup>31</sup>su<sup>55</sup> -luŋ<sup>31</sup> tuʔ<sup>31</sup>e<sup>31</sup> pə<sup>31</sup>- jəŋ<sup>53</sup> -bu<sup>31</sup>.  
water boiled -ASPECT JUDGMENT IMP- look -DIS

'The water might have boiled (by) now; go and look.' (C. Dulong, Yang 2002)

The origin of *luŋ* seems to be a verb meaning 'to ascend': *luŋ*<sup>55</sup> in C. Dulong (Yang 1999: 42) and N. Dulong (Mei 1996: 165), as when an animal climbs up a tree, or a bird flies upward, and *luŋ*<sup>31</sup> in Jingpho, as in *pum*<sup>31</sup> *luŋ*<sup>31</sup> 'go up a mountain' (Liu 1988: 67). The various senses of *-luŋ* in Nungish are summarized in the following Figure 5.



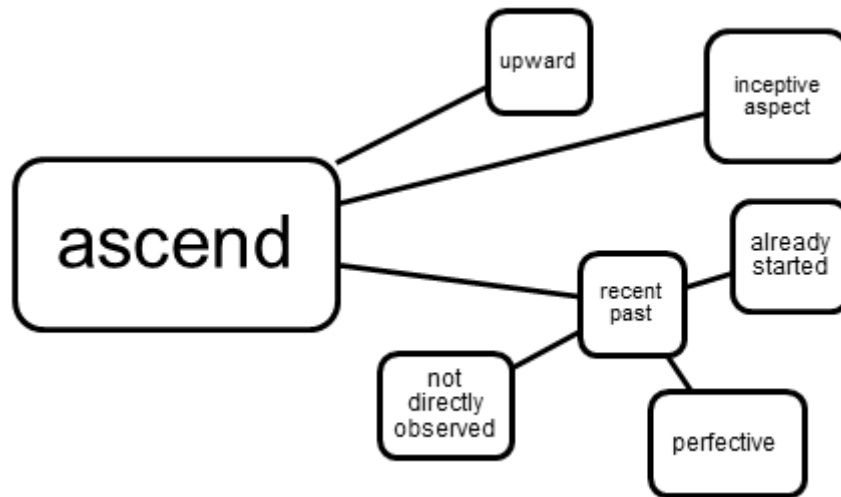


Figure 5 Grammaticalization pathways of *-luŋ* 'UP'

Here in the diagram, we have the general verb of motion ASCEND, grammaticalizing to upward direction, and then into aspectual meanings such as inceptive aspect like the sun beginning to rise, then a sense of being already started, as if the sun has already begun to rise, and from there to recent, non-observed past/perfective as in C. Dulong, where someone has gone up while I wasn't looking, before being grammaticalized into usages reflecting only those perfective and evidential aspects, whereas in Rvmø, *-luŋ* is associated more with imperfective aspect, as will be seen in Section 5.4.

On a side note, the 'upward' markers in Anong are quite different, as seen in Table 17 (Sun & Liu 2009: 87–88). In fact, it appears that Anong 'up + toward' ( $a^{31}na^{55}$ ) and 'down + away' ( $a^{31}la^{31}$ ) are more phonetically similar to each other than to the forms that share the same vertical orientation, and the same goes for 'down + toward' ( $a^{31}qa^{55}$ ) and 'up + away' ( $qaŋ^{55}$ ).

Table 17 Anong directionals

	up	down
<b>cislocative (toward)</b>	V + $a^{31}na^{55}$	V + $a^{31}qa^{55}$
<b>dislocative (away)</b>	V + $qaŋ^{55}$	V + $a^{31}la^{31}$

## 4.2 -zək/zaʔ (down)

The 'downward' marker in Rvmøɭ is pronounced as either -zaʔ or -zək. Chgg. Dø normally pronounces it -zək, whereas Chvngdvng Sønrvm and Rakwi Tang use -zaʔ more. It has three basic senses: cislocative descent, success (arrival, or acquiring something for oneself), and inceptive aspect.

### 4.2.1 Downward and cislocative motion

In its most basic sense, -zək/zaʔ means to descend, as in the following:

(144) i-dzi-zaʔ

N1-walk-DOWN

'Come down here!' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

(145) àŋ dzi-zaʔ

3sg walk-DOWN

'He's coming down' / 'He is come down.' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

One very literal usage is with rain, where zaʔ/zək can be either a post-verbal marker or an independent verb:

(146) su, wè<sup>31</sup>-zək

rain do-DOWN

'It is raining.' (DGZ: 49)

(147) muʔlàŋ mədəm dúŋ əbìtsé = nī əbìtsé = yaʔ sū zaʔ kət...  
sky above from 40 = day 40 = night rain descend when

'When rain descended from the sky above for 40 days and 40 nights...' <sup>132</sup> (FCS: 388)

The possibility of using zək/zaʔ either as an independent verb or as a post-verbal marker points to a grammaticalization pathway from a verb to an auxiliary to a post-verbal marker.

-zək is also used as a cislocative marker even when there is no literal descent involved:

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<sup>31</sup> The verb 'do' is normally wà, so something has caused a stem change from a to e, possibly a suffix -i or the copula í.

<sup>32</sup> There appears to be code-mixing here on the part of either the transcriber or the speaker, as the Mvtwang numeral əbìtsé '40' is used instead of Rvmøɭ əblìtsól, but the postposition dúŋ 'from' is Rvmøɭ.

- (148) əng-í,      rí-zək = è  
 3sg = AGT    carry-**DOWN** = DEC

'He brought it.' (DM65: 13)

This is similar to the English phrase "come on down", which can be used even when there is no difference in elevation. This seems to be a metonymic relation where height represents distance and lowness represents closeness.

## 4.2.2 Success

There is one usage of *-zək* which encodes successful action. It is a kind of completive aspect, showing that a deliberate, somewhat vigorous, telic event has accomplished its goal and is complete. With intransitive verbs of motion, it carries a sense of arrival. With transitive verbs related to getting food, it carries a sense of successfully getting the food for oneself.

### 4.2.2.1 Intransitive success: arrival

With verbs of motion, this sense of *-zək* is used to show arrival at the deictic center.

- (149) dətšómra nu,    tçim    (əđúŋ) = ka? = aŋ = í,      (zán)    ət-zək = e.  
 child      TOP    house    (inside) = ALL = ALL = ADV    (enter)    run-**DOWN** = DEC

"The boy ran inside of the house." (DGM: 98-99)

The verb *ət* 'run' normally means 'flee, run away from'. Here, however, *ət-zək* means to run into a house. The use of *-zək* could indicate that the speaker is in the house, or at least that the deictic focus is in the house. Another possibility is that *-zək* here signifies completion of the act of arrival. This sense is also seen in (150).

- (150) àŋ,    tsəgáŋí,    dúŋ-zək = e.  
 3sg    yesterday    arrive-**DOWN** = DEC

"S/he arrived yesterday." (DGM: 109)

Both of the examples above highlight the moment when the arrival at a destination is complete. It is significant that *-zək* 'DOWN' is used rather than *-luŋ* 'UP', because in Mvtwang, *-luŋ* might be used for coming into a house because houses are typically built on stilts, so the boy would be coming up into house from outside. This consistent use of *-zək* shows that it is the preferred choice for motion-related accomplishments in Rvmøl.

#### 4.2.2.2 Transitive success: getting food for oneself

With activities related to getting food, *-zək* carries a sense of success, getting something for oneself.

- (151) á, çìl wər dóm təwa pəŋ ləŋ taʔ dəhòŋ blət  
 ah charcoal burn PUR bamboo grove area LOC basket weave  
 dóm yon əgwè tìʔ rá dì-rət dəkàŋ yon  
 LOC manner monkey one CLF.group walk-CIS because manner  
 dəzup əŋ rí-ŋ-zək-ŋ = a<sup>33</sup> í = e  
 prepare LNK carry-1SG-**DOWN**-1SG = NMLZ be = DEC

'Oh, (I was) at a bamboo grove to weave a basket to burn charcoal like this, and because a group of monkeys came like this, (it) is (the case that) I prepared and carried (them) down (i.e., put them in the basket and carried them here).'

 (FT3: 10)

In the sentence above, the speaker has met someone on the road and is explaining how he came to be carrying a basket of monkeys. *-zək* might also be used because the speaker is talking about how he carried the basket to where he was now.

However, the "for oneself" sense is also seen in the following:

- (152) kəntçì, wa = ləm dəkàŋ, apu-í nu,  
 soup make = PUR reason Apu = AGT TOP  
 tsetləŋ tçi = guŋ, wəp-zək  
 deer one = CLF shoot-**DOWN**

'Apu shot (down) a deer in order to make soup.' (DGZ: 102)

- (153) kəntçì wa = ləm, dəkàŋ, apu-í nu, kənləmp, ya:m-zək  
 soup make = PUR because Apu = AGT TOP leaf pick:3-**DOWN**

"Ahphu picked the leaves in order to make soup." (lit. picked down) (DGZ: 103)

These last two sentences do have a downward element, since a deer falls down when it dies, and leaves come down off the plant. However, the sense of the food being for oneself is also present, since *-zək* could have been omitted, as in the following description of a man picking fruit in (154).

<sup>33</sup> The transcription is thus. In the recording, it is elided to [riŋzəŋ].

- (154) əsaʔrá tçi=pè nu, siŋsí rùp i=a;  
 old.man one=GMm TOP fruit pick be=NMLZ  
 əya siŋsí gadóŋ tçi=púj tə-tsén tsèn i...  
 that fruit basket one=CLF CAUS-put REDUP PS

'An old man is picking fruit; he is putting that fruit into a basket...' (DPR: 1-3)

Here, the focus is on ongoing action, so nominalization and predicate sequence structures are used, whereas in the 'for oneself' examples, the focus was on the achievement of a purpose, and thus *-zək* was appropriate.

The sense of 'for oneself' seems suspiciously close to the suffix *-əm*, which is derived from the verb *əm* 'eat (rice or vegetables)'. It is used when talking about things related to food, and actions for one's own benefit (LaPolla 2000: 306–308). The reflexive suffix *-sì* (Mvtwang *-fi*) is also used for actions affecting oneself.

### 4.2.3 Cross-dialect comparison

The Dvru form *-zaʔ* is the same as Rvməl, as in the following sentence:

- (155) nə-di-zaʔ  
 N1-come-DOWN

'Come down here!' (Dvru, elic. from Malong Pung)

In Mvtwang, the 'down' marker is *-daʔ* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:viii). There is also a sense of inceptive aspect, which will be discussed in Section 5.4. The primary sense is seen in the following example:

- (156) we=yəŋ kəní nu ná nuŋmaʔ rəm səŋ è-di-daʔ nínu,  
 that=LOC from TOP 2sg 1pl place LOC N1-walk-DOWN when  
 dùŋgàl shìgùŋ le lóm í=e.  
 Deunggal mountain pass PUR be=NPST

'From that place [when] you come down (south) to our valley, (one) must pass Deunggal mountain.' (Mvtwang, Mountains in the area: 6)<sup>34</sup>

For Waqdamkong, Barnard transcribes the form as *za*, noting that it means the "speaker is on a lower level":

<sup>34</sup> Available online at <http://www.tibeto-burman.net/rda/texts/7mountains.html>.

- (157) *ŋa ka e-zi-ŋ -za a*  
 1sg ALL N1-give-1SG **DOWN** EXCL

'Come down and give me.' (Waqdamkong, Barnard 1934: 31)<sup>35</sup>

The same marker is *-zaʔ* in Sinwal Waqdamkong, pronounced *-zak* before the 1sg suffix *-ŋ*. Agreeing with Barnard, Sarep says the marker indicates that "the speaker is located at a place which is lower than the addressee":

- (158) *ē-di-zaʔ*  
 2-go-SPEAKER.LOW  
 N1-walk-DOWN/CIS

'Come down.' (Sinwal Waqdamkong, Sarep 1996: 136).

The downward marker in central and southern Dulong shows very little phonetic variation: C. Dulong *-dzaʔ<sup>31</sup>* (Yang 1999: 39) or *dzǎʔ<sup>55</sup>* (Sun 1982: 116), becoming *-dzək<sup>31</sup>* when inflected for 1st person (Yang 1999: 39); S. Dulong *-dzaʔ<sup>31</sup>* (Yang 1999: 39) or *dzaʔ<sup>55</sup>* (Liu 1988b: 67). In N. Dulong, there are no upward or downward markers at all (Yang 1999: 39–40).

Each variety differs as to the semantic range of the downward marker. In Mvtwang, it can mean 'towards the center' even without elevation differences, although its primary sense is 'down, towards the center'. In C. Dulong, *ɰa<sup>31</sup>* and *ɰət<sup>31</sup>* (toward the center, same elevation) can be substituted for *-dzaʔ<sup>31</sup>*, but in S. Dulong, they are not interchangeable.

Liu (1988b) points out that the downward marker is still being used as a verb in the compound *nam<sup>53</sup>dzaʔ<sup>55</sup>* 'rain falls' (lit. 'weather + descend'), although it is not found as a verb in other contexts. In an editorial footnote to Sarep's article on Sinwal (1996: 136), Matisoff attributes the origin of the morpheme to the general Tibeto-Burman verb root *\*zak* 'to descend', reconstructed for Lolo-Burmese in Benedict 1972: 30. Matisoff (2003: 482) later reconstructs the PTB root as *\*s/?yuk*, based on Lushai *zuk* 'verbal affix indicating motion downwards', and Jingpho *ʔyúʔ* 'descend' and *šəyúʔ* (causative) 'let down'.

Regarding the "success" sense of *-zək*, Coupe has found a similar suffix, *-zək*, in Mongsen Ao, a Naga language from NE India. In Ao, *-zək* has several senses: motion away from the deictic center, direction downward (reinforcing the downward direction marker *-lak*), finality of an action (increasing transitivity), and causation

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<sup>35</sup> Barnard omits glottal stop and tone in his transcription.

(Coupe 2007: 322–325). According to Coupe, *-zək* is derived from the verb *zək* 'to send', which is still used in Ao. While in Rvmøɭ, *-zək/zaʔ* indicates movement toward the center rather than away from it, the sense of finality is definitely the same as in Rvmøɭ.<sup>36</sup>

Similar "success" constructions are found in Chinese and Thai. In Chinese, *dào* 到 'arrive' shows successful completion in the the following compounds: *lái dào* 来到 'arrive' (*lái* 来 'come'); *zuò dào* 做到 'accomplish' (*zuò* 做 'do'); and *dé dào* 得到 'get (successfully)' (*dé* 得 'get'). In Thai, *dây* ได้ 'get' indicates success when combined with other verbs, such as *dzām* จำ 'bind, remember' + *dây* > *dzām* *dây* จำได้ 'remember (successfully)'.

Figure 6 below shows the various senses and grammaticalization pathways of the 'downward' marker. With verbs of motion, the basic sense is downward toward the center, in keeping with the meaning of the independent verb 'to descend'. Sometimes with verbs of motion, the sense is generalized to merely cislocative (even if not strictly downward). The downward sense, at least in Mvtwang, can also be generalized to include downriver or down from the north. With actions such as coming and arriving, the focus can be on the endpoint, and thus *-zək* has a sense of accomplishment. When used with motions related to getting food, such as shooting an animal or picking leaves, there is a sense of achievement, or acquiring something

<sup>36</sup> It is an open question whether *zək* originally meant 'send' or 'descend' in a particular language, or whether the Ao and Nungish roots are actually cognates. The Mvtwang word for 'send/cause' is *də-zər*; see also Dulong *dzuu*<sup>53</sup> 'make/cause' (Huang & Dai 1992: 542). In Rvmøɭ, 'send' is *sə-ri* (CAUS-carry) and 'send/cause' is *dətsu-tətsu*, which may be derived from *sə/tə/də-* 'CAUS' plus *tsu* 'go around picking things up' (Waqdamkong dialect). If *dətsu* is not from this root, it may be related to Ao *zək* 'send', along with Old Chinese *\*s-rəʔ* 使 (Mandarin *shǐ*) 'send/cause' (Baxter & Sagart 2014: 144). The following Tibetan forms for 'make/cause' make this clearer: Written Tibetan *hidzug/bteug*, Alike Tibetan *ndzuk*, Batang Tibetan *teu*<sup>53</sup>, Lhasa Tibetan *teu*<sup>52</sup> (Huang & Dai 1992: 542). The progression would thus be something like *s-(r/dy)(u/ə)k* 'send' > *s-teuk* / *dzək* > *s-tsuʔ* / *zək* > *tə-tsu* (Rvmøɭ) / *zək* (Ao).

Mvtwang *də-zər* 'send/cause' may be related to WT *ster-ba* 'give/bestow/let/permit' and Lai Chin *-tèr* 'causative suffix', which Matisoff reconstructs as PTB *\*s-ter* 'give/causative' (2003: 399) or *\*s-tyar* (STEDT #649). Assuming an alternation between final *-r* and *-y*, we can relate this to PLB *\*ʔ-dzəy* 'send on an errand / causative', which is based on Written Burmese *ce* and Lahu *ci* (Matisoff 2003: 199).

As for 'descend', Matisoff looks at Written Burmese *sak* and Lahu *yàʔ*, and relates them to Jingpho *ʔyúʔ* and Lushai *zuk*, ultimately reconstructing both *\*zak* and *\*ʔ/s-yuk* (2003: 317-318, 620).

Thus, there are a few phonetic similarities between 'send' (*\*s-(r/dy)(u/ə)k*) and 'descend' (*\*zak*, *\*ʔ/s-yuk*) across TB languages. However, since Ao also has a 'downward' suffix, *-lak*, which precedes *-zək* in the Ao verb complex, and since *-lak* has the same initial as Mpi *la* 'descend' (Matisoff 2003: 28), and Ao *zək* 'send' is so close phonetically to Ao *-zək* 'success', it does not seem likely that Ao *-zək* is a cognate with Rvmøɭ *-zək/zaʔ* 'downward/success'. Two other possibilities remain: either Rvmøɭ *-zək* 'success' is actually different from *-zək/zaʔ* 'downward', and is related to Ao *-zək* via language contact, or else *zək* is used as a success/finality marker in both languages for onomatopoeic reasons. The latter is most likely, in my opinion.

for oneself. With non-motion verbs, *-zək/zaʔ* has a sense of beginning something or being about to begin something (especially for the first time), which, when dealing with stative verbs, denotes a change of state. When work is in view, it can be construed as progressive, as the action has begun (or is beginning), and is expected to continue for several more hours.

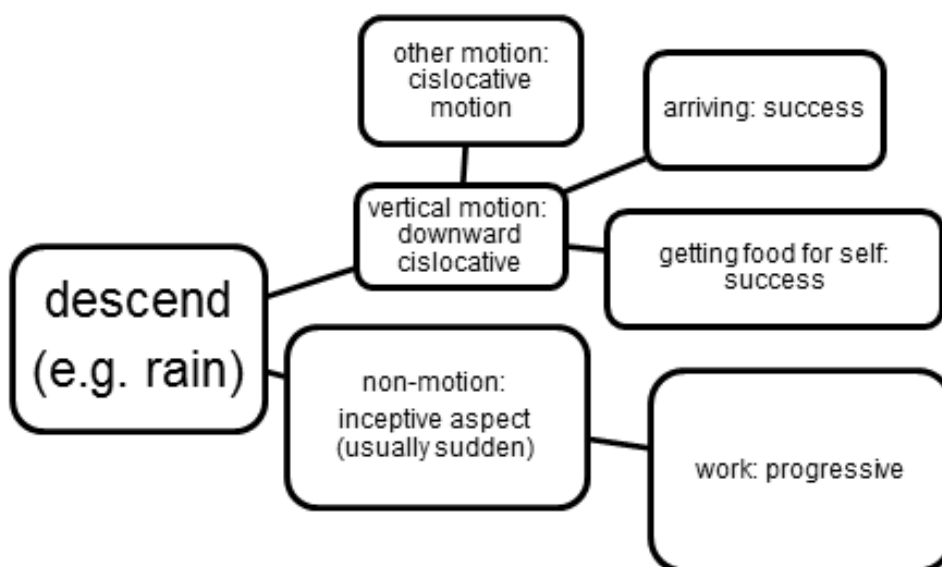


Figure 6 Grammaticalization pathways of *-zək* 'DOWN' with event types

### 4.3 *-ra*, *-re*, and *-rət* (cislocative)

In Rvmø, there are several cislocative post-verbal markers: *-ra*, *-re*, and *-rət*.<sup>37</sup> One more form found in the Creation Story is *-ət*, which is a Mvtwang morpheme equivalent to *-rət*, used where Rakwi Tang was code-switching. When interviewing native speakers, I have been told that all of these forms are interchangeable, but each has certain nuances, which will be explored below.

#### 4.3.1 *-ra*

In the corpus, *-ra* nearly always occurs with commands or wishes. (Except for tone, it has the same form as *rà* 'must/need'.) It is illustrated as follows:

- (159) *i-dzi-ra*  
 N1-walk-CIS  
 'Come here!' (same elevation) (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

<sup>37</sup> An expanded version of this section was presented at the Payap University Research Symposium (Straub 2016).



The following example from the Creation Story contrasts *-ra* with *-za?* 'DOWN':

(160) "do əkùr=pè                      ì-ləm-**za?**"                      āl wā.  
 now father.in.law = GMm N1-dance-**DOWN** say HS

"Now, Father-in-law, it's your turn to dance," they said.

"á, kùrzì                      yùm yùm, kùrtà                      yùm yùm la? wā-**ra**"                      āl wā.  
 ah small.star dim dim big.star dim dim let do-CIS say HS

"Ah, let the small stars and the big stars come out, (and I will dance)" he said.' (FCS: 157-158)

Here, both statements are irrealis, dealing with commands and wishes. The reason why *-za?* is used for the first sentence and *-ra* for the second sentence seems to be that the dancing ground was on a level plain, and the father-in-law, who was really a god, was apparently up on a hillside above the dancing ground, so the son-in-law calls him to come down and dance. In the second sentence, however, the stars are on the same level they always have been, but their brightness needs to come out more. (Here there is again some sense ambiguity between *-ra* 'CIS' and *rà* 'must/need').

Curiously, in elicitation, *-ra* was not allowed for a 3rd person indicative sentence:

(161) \*àŋ dʒì-**ra**  
 3sg walk-**CIS**

Intended: 'he comes.' (grammaticality judgment from Chd. Sønrvm)

#### 4.3.2 *-re*

For indicative sentences, the indicative cislocative marker *-re* is used.

(162) àŋ dʒì-**ré**.  
 3sg walk-**CIS**

'He's coming (here) / he is come.' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

(163) nà əra                      dúŋ-i                      i-lo?-**ré**                      mà?  
 2sg which/where from-ADV N1-return-**CIS** Q

'Where have you come (back) from?' (DPT: 33)

In a wordlist elicited from Ticewang Pong and checked with Chgg. Chang, the following verbs of motion are found with *-re*: *dʒì-ré* (walk-CIS) 'to come'; *zán-sì-ré* (put.in-R/M-CIS) 'to enter', and *lòk-ré* (return-CIS) 'to return'.

The suffix *-re* can also be used with a cislocative meaning even with verbs that do not involve motion. One collocation that is fairly common is with the verb *sùn* 'speak'.

- (164) uya = yo? nu "dʒi-ŋ-bu-ŋ = é," wà, àŋ nu  
 that = CLF TOP walk-1SG-DIS-1SG = DEC/EXCL say 3sg TOP  
 ŋà = ka? = aŋ = í sù:n-re  
 say = ALL = ALL = AGT speak:3-CIS

'That person said to me, "I'm leaving!"' (DGZ: 66)

Here, *-re* emphasizes that the speaking was directed toward "me". *-re* can also add motion and direction to a verb that does not inherently possess motion, as in the following example:

- (165) əya aŋ-niŋ-rəp tsən... əya ka? kotwa- tú dəba:ŋ-re...  
 that 3-pl-family child that ALL all pick.up help:3-CIS

'His brothers... all come there to help pick up (the spilled fruit).'

 (API: 85, 88-89)

This example is part of an ongoing narration while watching a video, where a boy was carrying a basket of fruit on his bicycle, and then had an accident and spilled the fruit. At this point, three boys (possibly his brothers) were coming down the road, saw him crash, and came to help. In this case, *-re* describes their *coming* to help, or their helping-coming-toward-him. Strictly speaking, it could just be like the former example with *sùn* 'speak', where the action was directed toward someone. However, in the video the boys do move toward the boy who fell down, and *-re* in its primary sense is associated with cislocative motion, so it makes sense to interpret it with both motion and direction.

The suffix *-re* can encode prospective aspect, because if someone is coming (toward a person or deictic center), they haven't arrived yet. Apparently, this sense is stronger in *-re* than in *-lùŋ* 'up' or *-zək/za?* 'down', even though they also encode prospective aspect, since it is possible to combine *ya* = 'FUT' with *-lùŋ* and *-zək/za?* but not with *-re*. I suspect this is due to the desire to avoid redundancy:

- (166) àŋ nu ya = dʒi -lùŋ.  
 3sg TOP FUT walk -UP

'He will come up.' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvn)

(74) àŋ nu ya = dʒi -zaʔ.  
 3sg TOP FUT walk -DOWN

'He will come down.' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvn)

(167) \*àŋ nu ya = dʒi -ré.  
 3sg TOP FUT = walk -CIS

Intended: 'he will come.' (grammaticality judgment from Chd. Sønrvn)

### 4.3.3 -rət

The cislocative marker *-rət* has several different senses. One of the primary senses is 'bring toward', as in the second half of (168). Another sense, which appears when combined with a verb of speaking such as *sùn* 'say' or *sələp* 'teach', seems to carry the idea of 'toward you'. This sense is expressed in the first half of (168).

(168) sələp-rət-i-ŋ,  
 teach-CIS-INTENT-1SG

I'll teach you;

səŋ sərāŋ nu təwā tiʔ gōŋ i-brək-rət = é.  
 tomorrow morning TOP bamboo one CLF.trunk N1-carry-CIS = EXCL

tomorrow morning, (come and) bring a bamboo pole.' (FT2: 4.2)

The sense of bringing an object is also present in (169) and (170).

(169) lamala əsəŋ = í mægùr tʃiʔ = gúŋ laʔ-i-zi-ŋ-rət  
 for.example person = AGT elephant one = CLF OPT = N1-give-1SG-CIS

ya í i = nu əté əl = lám iʔ  
 NMLZ be be = TOP how exist = PUR be

'Supposing a person were to give me an elephant, how is it going to be?' (CE: 1)

(170) i nu, ŋà gu dədəm té ì-láŋ -rət é tiʔ = mé  
 be TOP 1sg also try ADV N1-bring -CIS EXCL one = CLF

'Oh, then bring some. I'll see if it works.' (FCS: 334)

In both of the preceding examples, the direction is toward the speaker. In the next example, the direction is toward someone in the background (the girl's master).

(171) pàŋ tsél gū əma? əwa lo? -rət wà.  
 next morning also empty ADV return -CIS HS

'The next morning also (the nat servant girl) came back empty-handed (to her master).' (FCS: 357)

*-rət* in the 'toward you' sense can be contrasted with *-ra* (see Section 4.3.1) in the 'toward me' sense, with verbs of speaking and listening, as in (172).

(172) mənkaŋ\_əyá məsíl ti? = mé ŋà = í  
 Mangkang.Aya story one = CLF 1sg = AGT

tsəm = tsəl sùn-rət-ì-ŋ,  
 small = DIM speak-CIS-INTENT-1SG

'I'm going to tell you a little story about Mangkang Aya;

lè té i-tá-rá-iŋ.  
 good ADV N1-listen-CIS-PL

listen carefully to me.' (FT1: 1)

Here, it appears that *sùn-rət* means 'speak to you', while *i-tá-rá* means 'listen to me', ascribing personal directions via the two spatial direction markers. This agrees with the Mvtwang sense of *-ra* as directed toward the speaker, and *-ət* as directed toward the addressee.

*-rət* can also be used in relative clauses as a way of talking about dates, in a "time-as-space" metaphor, i.e. 'the week that is to come', as in (173).

(173) [tén i-rət]<sub>MODCL</sub> ləbán = í nu, əbòn-sì = lóm wa = e.  
 next be-CIS week-ADV TOP leave-R/M = PUR do = DEC

'He will leave next week.' (lit. this coming week...) (DGM: 107)

For a summary of cislocatives in Rvmø1, see Table 18 below.

**Table 18 Rvmø1 cislocative markers**

	typical meaning	mood	deictic center	associated verbs	origin
<b>-ra</b>	CIS + imperative, toward speaker	imperative, optative	speaker	walk, do, give, listen	*ra 'come'
<b>-re</b>	CIS + declarative	declarative, interrogative	any	walk, return, speak, help	*ra 'come' + <i>i</i> 'intransitive past' and/or 'be'
<b>-rət</b>	CIS + transitive, or toward addressee	any	any	speak, teach, give, bring, carry, return	*ra 'come' + *-t 'transitive' > *rat 'bring'

#### 4.3.4 Cross-dialect comparison

In Mvtwang, movement towards the speaker is marked by *-ra*, with a mid tone before =*e* and a high tone before -*à* or -*ì*. Movement towards the addressee is said to be marked by *-ət* (LaPolla & Poa 2001:viii), but this is just one of the meanings. *-ra* collocates with both *buŋ* 'appear' (coming into existence or coming toward here/now from somewhere) and with *çùn* 'speak' (saying toward the person who is now the speaker), as in the following example:

- (174) we = yóŋ kèní nəŋwà ŋəpu? nu we = yóŋ kèní  
that = place from cow Rawang.ox TOP that = place from  
buŋ-rá-ì é çə? = ré rì = í çùn-rá-à.  
appear-CIS-INTR.PST EXCL be.old = CLF(people) PL = AGT say-CIS-TR.PST  
'From there, as for the cow, the older people said that the cow appeared from there.'  
(The first Rawang cow: 8)<sup>38</sup>

(In the story the above example appears in, the first cow was dropped from heaven onto a certain mountain, and from there, it went on to produce all the other cows in the Rawang area.)

*-ət* appears in the following quotation, which comes from a part of the Rakwi Tang Creation Story where the characters are speaking Mvtwang, as can be seen by the agreement suffix *-nùŋ* '2PL' instead of *-iŋ* 'PL', and *əzùŋ* 'drum' instead of *əzìŋ*:

<sup>38</sup> Available online at <http://www.tibeto-burman.net/rda/texts/23firstcow.html>.

(175) "...mənò əzùŋ ɕə-gəp lóm  
 manau(dance) drum CAUS-stick.together PUR  
 gətsət è-là-ət-nùŋ, paʔzi è-lá-ət-nùŋ" āl = wā.  
 idea N1-find-CIS-2pl knowledge N1-find-CIS-2pl tell = HS

'[Now then the older people said to the young men] "...in order to put together a manau drum, find ideas, find knowledge.'" (Mvtwang, FCS: 579-580)

In this context, both verbs occurring with *-ət* are imperative. The verb *là* 'find' means either to search for something or to search for and find something. In other contexts, *-ət* is used when asking someone to bring something to the speaker, and so there may be a sense here of finding and bringing ideas to the older people. Another possibility is that the older people are telling the young men to find out and pull ideas toward themselves, which would agree with LaPolla's characterization of *-ət* as 'toward the addressee'.

In Sinwal Waqdamkong, *-rat* "shows that the addressee is located at a certain remote place", and that "the direction of the movement of the action is either to the speaker or to the listener or to some other person" (Sarep 1996: 137). Sarep presents the following example, to which I have added my own glosses underneath his glosses:

(176) kū marèŋ-rì dī-rat-ì  
 that village-PL go-FROM.REMOTE-PFV  
 that village-PL walk-CIS-INTR.PST

'People from that village come.' (Sinwal, Sarep 1996: 137)

As for *-rā*, Sarep says that it "encodes that the action of the verb occurs at a remote time, or at a remote place from someone or something, not the present time and place" or that the subject is at a remote place from other persons. According to Sarep, only time and location orientation, not spatial movement direction, is marked with *-rā*. However, both examples that he gives could also reasonably imply cislocative movement. In the examples below, Sarep's examples are presented, with my glosses underneath.

(177) nà ka? āma? tsā-ŋ-rā-ŋ-ē  
 you to here wait-1S-AT.REMOTE-1S-IPFV  
 2sg ALL this = LOC wait-1SG-CIS-1SG-NPST

'(I) will wait for you here.' (i.e. 'At the time I am waiting for you, you will be away from me.') (Sinwal, Sarep 1996: 138)

In (177), if the speaker is expecting the addressee to leave and then return to the place where the speaker is waiting, then there would be a cislocative motion on the part of the addressee which is somehow shifted onto the speaker, since the speaker is the subject of the verb *tsā* 'wait'. Another possibility is that *-rā* here simply encodes inceptive aspect, i.e. 'I will (start to) wait'. Another example from Sarep is presented below:

(178) *dì-rá-s-à*  
 go-AT.REMOTE-PL-PFV  
 walk-CIS-NSG

'(We) went to your house, too.' (Sinwal, Sarep 1996: 138)

In (178), it is not specified whether the addressee was at home when the speakers came. However, in either case, there is still a sense of moving toward either the addressee or the addressee's house, which is an extension of the addressee's person.

Perhaps *-rā* in Sinwal encodes both the perspective of the subject being away from the center, and an implied cislocative movement of either the subject, speaker, or addressee, so that the subject and the center tend to converge on the same location. This spatial perspective of moving toward a point might then be extended into time and event structure, encoding inceptive aspect and a kind of posterior tense, like Jespersen's (1924: 262) "after-past" and "after-future".

Among Dulong dialects, there is a group of related forms, all with similar cislocative meanings. Sun (1982: 113–114) lists *ɹa<sup>53</sup>*, *ɹǎi<sup>53</sup>*, and *ɹǎt<sup>55</sup>* for C. Dulong, saying they are interchangeable, but have certain semantic nuances: *ɹa<sup>53</sup>* implies first-hand knowledge, *ɹǎi<sup>53</sup>* implies non-first-hand knowledge and a lesser degree of certainty, and *ɹat<sup>55</sup>* implies the idea of 'bringing something', and that the action is already accomplished, whereas *ɹa<sup>53</sup>* and *ɹǎi<sup>53</sup>* are often used for inceptive or progressive aspect.

LaPolla (2001: 27) analyzes *ɹā* and *ɹət* as independent verbs in N. Dulong, both meaning 'come'. He notes that they have a politeness function of softening an imperative.

(179) "dēlā buktɕit buŋɹām pē pā-sǎŋām ɹā"  
 later edge.of.the.field ABL IMP-see come

'(So the man said to the monkey,) "Later you can **come** to the edge of the field and see (eat a bit)."' (N. Dulong, LaPolla 2001: 19)

- (180) ..."ǝ-kùr niçàm, nitçɔʔ pǝ-çà:m        **ɹət.**"  
 1-uncle (name) tail IMP-hang.down come

'(They invited Nisham into the house, and said from below the house,) "Uncle Nisham, please hang your tail down."' (N. Dulong, LaPolla 2001: 27)

In both (179) and (180), the verb translated 'come' follows a verb of motion, in imperative mood, and the movement invited is toward the speaker with an element of politeness. The distinguishing feature between them is that *ɹā* is used with an intransitive verb (*səŋām* 'see'), whereas *ɹət* is used with a transitive verb (*çà:m* 'hang (something) down'), the transitivity being indicated both by the presence of an object (*nitçɔʔ* 'tail'), and the vowel length added to the verb.

In Dvru, *-ra* and *-rət* are also used. An example of *-rət* would be:

- (181) *nə-di-rət*  
 N1-walk-CIS

'Come here!' (same elevation) (Dvru, elic. from Malong Pung)

According to Jesse Yangmi, a Jerwang speaker, the various forms are pretty much synonymous in the following examples:

- (182) *nə-di<sup>53</sup>-rət*  
 N1-walk-CIS

'Come!' (Jerwang, elic. from Jesse Yangmi)

- (183) *na<sup>53</sup> nə-di<sup>53</sup>-ə-**ra:t***  
 2sg N1-walk-EMPH-CIS

'You have come.' (Jerwang, elic. from Jesse Yangmi)

- (184) *di<sup>53</sup>-a<sup>31</sup>-**rəi<sup>33</sup>***  
 walk-EMPH-CIS

'He has come/came.' (Jerwang, elic. from Jesse Yangmi)

Looking only at the examples given, there *-rəi* seems to co-occur with 3rd person and *-rət* with 2nd person. However, Jesse also offered a minimal pair with 1st person plural, where *-ra* is used for present tense and *-rət* is used for past tense:

- (185) *iŋ<sup>33</sup> di<sup>53</sup>-(ə)-**ra-çə<sup>33</sup>***  
 1pl walk-(EMPH)-CIS-NSG

'We have come.' (taking place right now) (Jerwang, elic. from Jesse Yangmi)



(186)  $inj^{33} di^{53}-(ə)-rət-ɕə^{33}$   
 1pl walk-(EMPH)-CIS-NSG

'We have come.' (past time) (Jerwang, elic. from Jesse Yangmi)

This correlation of *-rət* with completion agrees with Sun Hongkai's analysis of Dulong, cited above. For a summary of form and function correspondences of the cislocative markers across dialects, see Table 19.

**Table 19 Nungish cislocative markers**

	Rvmø1 <i>-ra</i>	Rvmø1 <i>-re</i>	Rvmø1 <i>-rət</i>
<b>Mvtwang and Waqdamkong</b>	<i>-ra</i> ; <i>-rá-à</i> (CIS-TR.PST or 1st/2nd person)	<i>-rá-ì</i> (CIS-INTR.PST, 3rd person)	<i>-ət</i> (toward addressee, CIS + transitive) <i>-rət</i> (Waqdamkong)
<b>Jerwang</b>	<i>-ra</i> (CIS + 1st person nonpast)	<i>-rəi</i> (CIS + 3rd person past)	<i>-rət</i> (CIS + 1st person past)
<b>C. Dulong</b>	<i>-rà</i> (CIS + 1st-hand sensory knowledge, here-and-now)	<i>-rài</i> (CIS + indirect knowledge, less certain; inceptive)	<i>-rət</i> (CIS + transitive, completed)

In terms of etymology, *-rà* is said to be derived from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *\*ra* 'come' (LaPolla & Poa 2001:viii). This is attested in Matisoff 2003: 484 for PTB as either *\*la* (based on Written Burmese *la*, Lahu *là*, etc.), *\*la-y*, (based on Old Chinese *\*lag* 'come' + a palatal suffix), or *\*lay* (based on Mikir *lè* 'arrive, reach').

*-re* in Rvmø1 is cognate with *-rəy/-rai* in Jerwang and Dulong. One possible etymology is that *-re* is *-ra* plus the copula *í* (*e* in Jerwang and Dulong). A possible origin of *-ra* is the proto-verb *\*ra* 'to come' plus the transitivizing or causativizing proto-suffix *\*-t* (Benedict 1972: 98–102), producing a proto-verb *\*rat* 'to bring', which later became a suffix via a process of verb concatenation. The proto-suffix *\*-t* has already been demonstrated in the Mvtwang verb pair *ŋu* 'to cry' and *ŋut* 'to mourn someone' (LaPolla 2000: 308), which is paralleled in the Limbu (Kiranti) verb pair *ha:b/hap* 'to cry' and *ha:pt/hap* 'to mourn someone' (Driem 1989: 160). Examples of verb pairs with similar meanings from Kiranti languages, Written Tibetan, and Jingpho are given in Table 20.

**Table 20 The transitivizing suffix \*-t in Tibeto-Burman**

Language	Intransitive verb	Transitive verb	Source
Limbu (Kiranti, Nepal)	<i>ta</i> 'come, arrive, appear' (vi.)	<i>tət</i> 'bring' (vt.)	(Michailovsky 1985: 370)
Dumi Rai (Kiranti, Nepal)	<i>hɔ:/hu:</i> 'come, appear' (vi.)	<i>hud/hutš/hɔ:t</i> 'fetch, bring' (vt.)	(van Driem 1989: 162–163)
	<i>pi:</i> 'come (along a horizontal plane)' (vi.)	<i>pid/pitš</i> 'bring (on a level plane)' (vt.)	
Wambule (Kiranti, Nepal)	<i>blak/bla:</i> 'arrive' (vi.)	<i>blat/blan</i> 'bring' (vt.)	(Opgenort 2004: 265)
Written Tibetan	<i>fbye-ba</i> 'open, separate' (vi.)	<i>fbyed-pa</i> 'open, separate' (vt.)	(LaPolla 2003b: 24)
Jingpho (China)	<i>ʃa<sup>55</sup>mu</i> 'move' (vi.)	<i>ʃa<sup>55</sup>mot<sup>55</sup></i> 'cause to move' (vt.)	Dai & Xu 1992: 78-79

#### 4.4 *-bu* (dislocative)

In Rvmøl, *-bu* is often used as a dislocative directional, indicating direction away from the deictic center with generic motion verbs such as *dzi* 'walk', as in (187).

- (187) apu, nəmbrá = ka? i-dzi-**bù**!  
 Apu field = ALL N1-walk-**DIS**  
 'Go to (your) field, Apu!' (DGZ: 131)

Here, *-bù* is given a falling tone, because of the exclamatory nature of the command. In indicative sentences, it often appears with a mid or high tone. *-bu* can accompany a verb such as *ló* 'look for, find something' to supply motion as well as direction, as in (188).

- (188) ...ədəŋ ləm síŋ ló-ŋ-**bu**-ŋ-ì  
 support PUR tree find-1SG-**DIS**-1SG-INTENT  
 '...I am going to find a tree trunk to support (make the bamboo stand firm).'

(189) dè = nī əmí nu gún əma? lo? rɛ<sup>39</sup>-bú.  
 this = day from TOP body empty<sup>40</sup> return must-**DIS**

'From today you must return empty-handed (lit. body empty).' (FT5: 11.3)

ya kət nu əgwè sé = ri nu kràŋ\_ŋa? ta?  
 this moment TOP monkey rat = PL TOP at.once LOC

bràn\_bràn ət-si-**bu**-wà...  
 separately run-R/M-**DIS**-HS

'Then the monkeys immediately ran away separately...' (FT3: 14)

*-bu* can be used not only for starting to move away from the deictic center, but also for arriving at a far-away place, as in (190).

(190) tən mu? = túm ga? = túm ga? dúŋ-**bú** wà.  
 then sky = end earth = end place arrive-**DIS** HS

'Then, they reached the end of the earth and the sky.' (FCS: 85)

*-bu* can also appear with the 'characteristic/description' construction *V + əŋ = wa*, as in (191).

(191) kwá -tsi tsəl ti? gún bū wā  
 bee small small one CLF.animal OMP ADV

əlāŋ ā yoŋ í té əməŋ əŋ = wā-**bú** wā.  
 fly NMLZ manner be ADV disappear like = do-**DIS** HS

'...and then (the father-in-law) disappeared like a small bee buzzing and flying away.' (FCS: 87)

The chunk *əŋ = wa* could be interpreted as 'be like', but since *wa* is also a verb (and adverbializer), I have analyzed it as containing two morphemes: *əŋ*, a nominalizer meaning 'manner, like' and *wa* 'do' (compare Mvtwang *dəŋ wa* in Morse 1965: 362 and LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 99). Under this analysis, *wa* 'do' (the verb to which *-bu* is attached) is semantically bleached, with no inherent movement, and yet because of the suffix *-bu* combined with the context, it still carries the idea of movement away from the center, as well as perfective/completive action of leaving the scene.

<sup>39</sup> *rɛ* 'must' here is normally *rà*. It is unclear what caused the vowel change.

<sup>40</sup> *gún əma?* 'body empty' is some kind of idiom, meaning 'with their bodies and nothing else'. In Mvtwang, *əma?* is the intransitive form of *ma?* 'extinguish', meaning '(the fire) dies out by itself' (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 438).

In the six Rakwi Tang folktales, *-bu* appears 15 times, with five of the occurrences directly construable as dislocative direction (FT2: 6, 7.2; FT3: 14, 16.2; FT5: 11.3), and the other ten showing perfective aspect and perfect tense. The latter senses will be discussed in Section 5.1, since Chapter 5 deals with post-verbal tense and aspect. Also in that section will be a cross-linguistic and historical discussion of *-bu*.

## 4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the post-verbal spatial direction markers, focusing mainly on their directional senses. It may be useful to review these markers here and summarize the arguments made.

The upward marker *-luŋ* in Rvmø1 is the same form as in Mvtwang, S. and C. Dulong, and other varieties; the upward marker in Sinwal Waqdamkong, *-nuŋ*, is somewhat similar, and the direction markers in Anong are totally divergent, form-wise. Rvmø1 uses *-luŋ* like Mvtwang to encode direction upward. Another way of expressing this viewpoint is to say that it shows the speaker is higher than the addressee, as was said for Waqdamkong, but this did not seem to be the primary sense in Rvmø1. Rvmø1 is like Mvtwang in that it uses *-luŋ* for inceptive aspect, especially regarding gradual changes of state or beginnings of action. Unlike in C. Dulong, *-luŋ* is not primarily a marker of perfective aspect, recent past, or indirect evidentiality, although, as we will see in Section 5.4, resultative/perfective aspect is one possible interpretation of *-luŋ* as a marker of inceptive aspect.

The downward marker *-zək/zaʔ* in Rvmø1 is very similar to the downward markers in other varieties; it corresponds to *-daʔ* in Mvtwang and *-zaʔ* in Sinwal Waqdamkong. Functionally, too, it is quite similar to other varieties, expressing downward movement as well as cislocative movement. Aspectually, *-zək* expresses inceptive aspect, usually regarding sudden changes of state or beginnings of action, like Mvtwang. Another sense of *-zək* in Rvmø1, which did not appear in the Nungish literature, but which did also appear for Mongsen Ao, is the idea of successful action, whether arriving, shooting a deer, or picking leaves from a tree. It should also be noted that N. Dulong is said to not have any upward or downward markers, unlike the rest of the varieties examined here.

The three cislocative markers posed a special problem; I have distinguished them as follows: *-ra* is for commands regarding action toward the speaker, and is derived from a proto-verb *\*ra* 'come'. *-re* is for indicative statements and questions regarding action toward the deictic center, with the vowel *e* coalesced from the diphthong *ai*,

as seen from the cognate *-rai* in Dulong and Jerwang. Historically, *-rai* may have come from *\*ra* 'come' plus the copula *í*. *-rət* is for action directed toward any deictic center, but especially toward the addressee, just as *-ət* is used in Mvtwang. Also, like in Mvtwang and C. Dulong, *-rət* is used when talking about bringing objects toward the deictic center, and I have proposed that it originated from the verb *\*ra* plus the proto-suffix *\*-t*, which made it a transitive verb *\*rat* 'bring', like many similar verb pairs in Kiranti. The verb *\*rat* 'bring' would later become a suffix via verb concatenation, but it is still used for situations related to bringing things.

The final marker discussed was the dislocative marker *-bu*, showing movement away from the deictic center. The usage of *-bu* for directional purposes is the same in Rvmøl as in many other Nungish varieties, as will be discussed more fully in Section 5.1.4, although there are a couple other dislocative markers also used in other varieties (*-di* in Dulong and *-əm* in Mvtwang). There are tense-aspect usages of *-bu* as well, which will be discussed in Section 5.1.

In general, Rvmøl encodes direction using these markers in the same ways as other Nungish varieties such as Mvtwang, Dvru, or C. Dulong, and with nearly the same phonetic forms. Historically, it appears that each of these direction markers was grammaticalized from a verb of motion: *-luŋ* 'upward' from *\*luŋ* 'ascend', *-zək* 'downward' from *\*zək* 'descend', *-ra* and *-re* 'CIS' from *\*ra* 'come' and *-rət* from *\*ra* via the derived verb *\*rat* 'bring', and finally, *-bu* 'DIS' from *\*bu* 'go', as will be seen in Chapter 5.

The grammaticalization of direction markers from verbs of motion is a widespread phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman, starting with verb concatenation and gradually becoming conventionalized and fossilized as post-verbal particles and suffixes (DeLancey 1985). The use of verbs of motion in verb concatenation constructions to encode direction, tense, and aspect is also prevalent in Thai and many other languages of Southeast Asia (Prang 2013). Chapter 5 will continue this progression by analyzing post-verbal time reference, that is, the past tense markers and the secondary senses of the direction markers that relate to tense and aspect.

## Chapter 5

### Post-verbal tense and aspect marking

This chapter extends to the tense- and aspect-marking functions of the post-verbal orientation slot. These includes perfective and metrical past tense, as well as inceptive aspect, which often is used to denote future events. In Rvmø1, past tense is metrical, with three levels of time depth, marked by *-bu* 'PFV' (perfect, perfective, or recent past), *-ri* 'TMdys' (before today), and *-yǎŋ* 'TMyrs' (years ago). Following a discussion of these past tense markers, there will be a short introduction to inceptive aspect, encoded by certain direction markers.

#### 5.1 *-bu* 'PFV'

Besides the dislocative directional sense (Section 4.4), *-bu* 'DIS/PFV' has a variety of senses related to past tense and perfective aspect. It can appear with either falling tone or high tone, for pragmatic effect. With falling tone, *-bù* means something has just happened recently.

- (192) sá:t-bù  
kill:3-PFV  
'(he) killed (just now, or an hour ago)' (elic. from Chgg. Chang)

With high tone, *-bú* means something has happened hours ago or longer.

- (193) sá:t-bú = wà  
kill:3-PFV = HS  
'(he) killed, it is said (not long ago, possibly a day or a week ago)' (elic. from Chgg. Chang)

##### 5.1.1 Past tense and perfective aspect

*-bu* can be used for past tense, with the perfective connotation of finality, that this episode is completely over, as when someone has killed a snake.

(194) tsətkok taʔ=í aŋ-mè=í nu,  
 kitchen LOC=ADV 3-GMf=AGT TOP

bù tçi gún kaʔ=aŋ=í sət-**bu**=e.  
 snake one CLF(body) ALL=ALL=ADV kill-PFV=DEC

'His mother killed a snake in the kitchen.' (DGM: 31)<sup>41</sup>

In the perfective sense, *-bu* can indicate a result of the last action recounted, as in "(the fire) burned... and the bear was burned black". In the following example, it has this sense, and is also part of a summary at the end of the story.

(195) yā=kām tsāmaʔ dəklaʔ əŋ duŋkùr dùŋ wà wár.  
 this=time flint&steel strike LNK hole OMP ADV burn

yā səí gún nu nāʔ əŋ wà wà té  
 this bear CLF.animal TOP black like ADV do ADV

gom-**bu** yoŋ...  
 burnt-PFV manner

'Then (he) struck the flint and steel, and with a whoosh (he) burned the hole (i.e., set the hole on fire). (FT1: 18.1-2)

Example (195) helps to show the metaphorical connection between dislocative direction and perfective aspect. With dislocative direction, there is a spatial deixis: someone walks away and at some point disappears from sight, and is thus no longer moving within the viewer's line of vision. With the aspectual sense of *-bu*, we can think of it as situational deixis: the event is thoroughly done and complete (completive aspect), and viewed as a whole (perfective aspect) like the bear's blackness as a result of his being burnt.

### 5.1.2 Present perfect in conversation

In daily conversation, *-bu* often signals current relevance, and a finally completed state. This matches the description of both perfect/anterior tense, where "the situation occurs prior to reference time, and is relevant to the situation at reference time" (Bybee et al. 1994: 317–318).

<sup>41</sup> Since this example was elicited using translated Burmese sentences, I'm not sure if the use of =e is entirely natural in this sentence, as it may be a direct translation of the Burmese final particle *tɛ* 'realis' (past or present). *-bu* and =e do not co-occur in Mvtwang unless a future meaning or a particular type of evidentiality is intended.

For example, in FT1, the bear goes into a hole because Mangkang Aya tells him the sky is going to fall. Then Mangkang Aya piles sticks and leaves on top of the hole (and the bear). He asks the bear three times if it is enough, with a different response each time:

(196) "má- tən gw má lè-**bú**-é?"  
 Q now also Q good-PFV-Q/EXCL

Mangkang Aya: 'Is it enough?/Are you okay now?' (FT1: 10)

"tən gw mə-bùm = e."  
 now also NEG-be.enough = DEC

Bear: 'I'm not fully covered yet.' (FT1: 11)

"tən nu má lè-**bú**?"  
 now TOP Q good-PFV

Mangkang Aya: 'Now is it good?' (FT1: 12)

"tən gw rà = e."  
 now also need = DEC

Bear: '(It) still needs (more).' (FT1: 13)

"tən nu má í-**bu**?"  
 now TOP Q be-PFV

Mangkang Aya: 'Is (it enough) now?' (FT1: 15)

"í-**bu**."  
 be-PFV

Bear: 'It's (about enough).' (FT1: 15)

The examples above show that Mangkang Aya kept using *-bú* in his questions, asking if a state of being "good" had been reached with the pile of leaves and sticks, and each time, the bear answered with a verb plus *=e*, the declarative marker, but without *-bú*, until the final answer, when it was finally good enough, and the action of piling was complete.

With the copula *í*, *-bu* is used to show finality, present relevance, and a change of state, as in (197).



(197) "tén nu ya nənung nəŋwà-rì dəpù-rì nu  
 now TOP this 2pl cattle-PL valuables-PL TOP

'From now on, your cattle and things'

kotwá ɲà ləpət wa i-bú = e"  
 all 1sg for only be-PFV = DEC

'have all become mine alone.' (FT5: 11.4)

Here, the things in question used to belong to the guests, but at the time of speaking or just before, they have changed ownership and now belong to the speaker.

### 5.1.3 Past perfect in time-sequence adverbial clauses

In a subordinate adverbial clause signaling time sequence, *-bú* indicates that the second event happened after the first event was complete (see Thompson & Longacre 1985: 180). This usage occurs three times in the Rakwi Tang folktales, twice with the temporal subordinator *pəŋ* 'after', as in (198) and (199), and once with *kám* 'when' as in (200).

(198) tén əgí lám təmi gu əmit-bú pəŋ = í...  
 then evening fire also burned.out-PFV after = ADV

'That evening, after the fire died out...' (people came to look at the fields) (FT4: 10.1)

(199) əru dáj-bú pəŋ = í...  
 paint finish-PFV after = ADV

'After (he) finished painting...' (the crow said, "Now it's my turn; paint me too.") (FT6: 4.1)

(200) ...zaʔlè rì pèbē ip-bú kám...  
 guest PL all sleep-PFV when

'...when the guests had gone to sleep...' (Mangkang Aya put pumpkin puree next to their bottoms to look like excrement) (FT5: 9.1)

On a semantic note, the English idiom 'gone to sleep' really captures the directional element of *ip-bú*, which could be construed as 'go away and sleep'. There is, however, ambiguity as to whether the guests had just gone to sleep, or had slept already and were now awake. The context, including the word *kám* 'time, when, while' makes it clear that they were still sleeping.

The usage of *-bu* in these three examples appears to be congruent with both perfective aspect, as the event is viewed as one whole occurrence, and past perfect/anterior tense, as the event happened prior to and relevant to the reference time (the time of the main event that follows the subordinate clause).

#### 5.1.4 Cross-dialect comparison

This section deals with *-bu* in both the dislocative and the perfective sense, in a cross-linguistic comparison. There are several dislocative or andative ("while going away") markers used in Nungish, with *-bu* being the most common. An example of its use in Dvru is given below:

- (201) *ya = lok-bú-ŋ*  
 FUT = return:1sg-DIS-1SG  
 '(I) will go away.' (Dvru, elic. from Malong Pung)

In Mvtwang, *-bū* (mid tone) is used before the non-past sentence-final marker *=e*, and *-bú* (high tone) is used before the past tense sentence-final markers *-ì* (intransitive) or *-à* (transitive). LaPolla & Poa (2001) treat it as a perfective marker. Another marker, *-əm*, is also used for dislocative direction or recent past in Mvtwang.

Likewise, in Sinwal Waqdamkong, *-bū* is used for situations or times that are remote from the speaker and addressee. With action or motion verbs, it encodes "movement... toward the remote" (Sarep 1996: 134). Another marker, *-zū*, is used in Sinwal to show both a remote time/place and that the event was not noticed by the speaker or the addressee, or that it was done without their willingness or consent, and they are (now) discovering it.

Finally, in southern and central Dulong, another marker, *dí*<sup>31</sup>, is used postverbally for the dislocative and perfective function. It is grammaticalized from the verb *dí*<sup>53</sup> 'walk' (Liu 1988b: 66-67). As we will see below, this synchronic grammaticalization of *dí*<sup>53</sup> 'walk' may be an example of the kind of process *-bu* went through historically.

According to DeLancey (1985: 377), *-bu* is part of a complex Tibeto-Burman word-family, with the most likely cognate being the Naxi verb *bu*<sup>33</sup> 'go'. In a recent dictionary of Naxi (Pinson 2012: 20), *bu*<sup>33</sup> is defined as a verb meaning 'to go (non-past tense)', with a secondary sense as an auxiliary verb, 'to want to, going to'.

In Western Naxi, the form is *bu*<sup>33</sup> 'go' (Bradley 1975: 139; He & Jiang 1985: 162) or *mbu*<sup>33</sup> (Chang 2008: 545). In Eastern Naxi (He & Jiang 1985: 162) and Yongning Na (Lidz 2010: 117), the form is *bi*<sup>33</sup>. In both eastern and western Naxi varieties, the same form is also used as a future marker. According to Lidz, *bi*<sup>33</sup> and *bu*<sup>33</sup> are descended from PTB *\*byon*.

In Chang's syntactic analysis, *mbu*<sup>33</sup> 'go' is an irrealis verb of motion away from the center ('will go away'), which also functions as a post-verbal marker of prospective aspect ('will V'). It contrasts with the verb *dzi*<sup>33</sup> 'walk, leave', which also functions as a post-verbal marker of past experience (perfective, 'to have V-en before') (Chang 2008: 545-546). (The verb *dzi*<sup>33</sup> appears to be cognate with *dzi* 'walk, go, come' in Rvmøl, pronounced *di* in Mvtwang and *di*<sup>53</sup> in S. Dulong.)

Matisoff mentions two PTB forms that are phonetically similar, both meaning 'go': *\*byon* (Matisoff 2003: 291, based on Written Tibetan *ḥbyon-pa* 'go' and Jingpho *byōn* 'come or go out of') and *\*pay* (Matisoff 2003: 209, based on Kamarupan).

If the Naxi verb *bu*<sup>33</sup> 'go' represents the origin of *-bu* in Nungish, then it appears to have grammaticalized from a full verb of motion and direction, to a post-verbal dislocative direction marker (direction away from the deictic center), and from there to a perfective aspect and perfect/past tense marker. Interestingly, *bu*<sup>33</sup> in Naxi has gone the opposite way, marking something that is about to happen.

In Thai, there is similar grammaticalization with the verb *paj* 'go' (Prang 2013), except that *paj* goes before the main verb rather than after it. The various senses and grammaticalization pathways of *-bu* are shown in Figure 7 below.

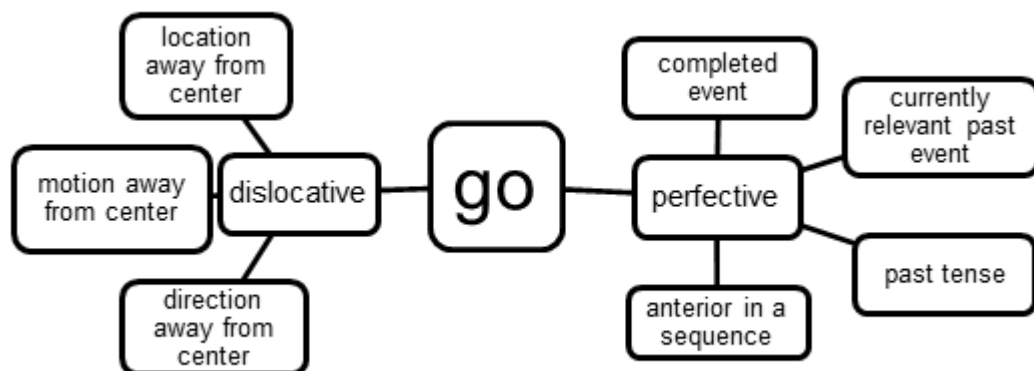


Figure 7 Grammaticalization pathways of *-bu* 'DIS/PFV'

## 5.2 *-ri* 'TMdys'

The post-verbal time marker *-ri* shows that something has happened before today, but not years ago. Bybee and colleagues call this sense "pre-hodiernal" (1994: 316). *-bu* (recent past, perfect, or perfective) and *-ri* can both be used for an event that happened weeks ago, but *-ri* is more common at that time depth. *-bu* and *-ri* could both conceivably be used to talk about something that happened earlier today as well, but the context would likely involve comparing two events, with *-bu* being used for the more recent one, and *-ri* for the one occurring earlier. This sense would be called past perfect/anterior, since the event time of *-ri* is being related to the reference time denoted by *-bu*, rather than the time of speaking.

The tone on *-ri* can vary between high (sometimes realized as rising) and mid. It is homophonous with the noun/classifier *rí* 'time period'<sup>42</sup> and the verb *ri* 'carry', and the latter may be a possible origin for the suffix.

It appears only three times in the folktales, all about the same event: the Trickster agreed to let some travelers stay in his house, on the condition that they not cause any trouble. Then, that night, while the travelers were sleeping in his house, the Trickster made it look as if they had had diarrhea in their beds. When they woke up, they all said:

- (202) a,    *ŋà ka? gu laʔ-əzòn-si-ŋ-rí-ŋ*  
           Oh 1sg ALL also AUG-excrete-R/M-1SG-TMdys-1SG  
           'Oh, last night I had diarrhea. (lit. to me also I myself indeed excreted recently)  
           (FT5: 10.2)<sup>43</sup>

The example above, which is repeated verbatim in FT5: 10.3, carries a sense of past tense (the night before). The whole sentence contains elements of discovery and

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<sup>42</sup> The word *rí* 'time period' appears once in the Creation Story:  
*yā gəmwu=pè nu yādūŋ tíʔ=rí ɛəm-ɛi dəpé=i rùŋ wā*  
 this God=GMm TOP night one=**period** stretch-R/M pretend=PS OMP ADV  
*dəpət wa... ɛəm-ɛi dəpèi rùŋ wā dəpət wa...*  
 push HS stretch-R/M pretend=PS OMP ADV push HS  
 'At **midnight**, Gameu kicked out, as though unintentionally...!' (FCS: 46)

The noun *ri* 'time period' might be a good candidate for the origin of *-ri* 'TMdys', since it has to do with time. However, a verb would still make a better option, since it is more likely to come naturally after another verb.

<sup>43</sup> According to Joseph Sinwal, *laʔ-* here should be *la-*, with a meaning of specificity, as in "yes, me too, I actually did have diarrhea". It is similar in form to the optative marker *laʔ=* and the indirect interrogative marker *la/lə-*.

surprise (*a* 'oh!', *-rí* 'last night'), specificity (*ɲà ka? gu* 'to me also'), and confirmation or augmentation (*la?*- 'indeed').

Earlier in the story, when the Trickster was warning his guests not to cause trouble, *-ri* was used in a conditional clause, which treats a possible future condition (the travelers causing trouble) as if it were in the past. This usage is seen in (203).

(203) *i a, nənɯŋ mə-é mə-tɕa dɔŋ i-wà-ri-iŋ*  
 be NMLZ 2pl NEG-be.correct NEG-right manner N1-do-TMdys-PL  
*i nu nənɯŋ gərèn ri, nəŋwà ri, dəpùr rì nu*  
 be TOP 2pl thing PL cow PL valuable.thing PL TOP  
*kotwá n-əmɔŋ-nòŋ a í = é*  
 all N1-lose-2PL:3U NMLZ be = EXCL

'(Though this) is (the case), (if it) is (found to be the case that) you acted in an incorrect, not-right manner, your things, cows, (and) valuables are all lost (to you).'

(FT5: 6.2)

In elicited sentences, *-rí* is used for situations in the past, from within today to sometime a few days ago:

(204) *tsəgáni, àŋ gat ka? dʒi-rí.*  
 yesterday 3sg market ALL walk-TMdys

'He went to the market yesterday.' (C75: 91)

In the example above, *-ri* is congruent with an event that happened the previous day. Although it is similar in form to the cislocative indicative marker *-re* 'CIS', *-ri* does not indicate direction. This is seen in (205), where the sentence in (204) is changed to talk about the future, and *-ri* disappears.

(205) *əsəŋni, àŋ nu, gat ka? dʒi ləm wà.*  
 tomorrow 3sg TOP market ALL walk PUR do

'He will go to the market tomorrow.' (C75: 90)

In terms of the time scope marked by *-rí*, according to Chvngdvng Sørvm, examples (206) and (207) could refer to a time hours ago or weeks ago.

(206) *sù:n-rí*  
 say:3-TMdys

'(He had already) said (it).' (elic. from Chd. Sørvm)

- (207) àŋ/àŋŋwŋ nəmbrá wa-rí  
 3sg/3pl field do-TMdys  
 'He/they worked (in) the field.' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

### 5.2.1 Cross-dialect comparison

According to Yang (2004), in C. Dulong, the post-verbal marker *-ɿ<sup>31</sup>* indicates action done at night (probably the night before the speech event), with indirect knowledge on the part of the speaker, i.e., the action was not directly observed by the speaker. He offers the following example:

- (208) ŋɑ<sup>53</sup> kaŋ<sup>55</sup> ə<sup>31</sup>tɕɑ:ŋ<sup>53</sup> ku:ɿ<sup>55</sup> -ɿ<sup>31</sup>.  
 1sg chicken person:AGT steal:3 ASPECT/INDIRECT.EVIDENCE  
 '(Last night) my chicken was stolen by someone.' (C. Dulong, Yang 2004: 3)

This depicts a situation similar to that in example (202), where the guests in the trickster story woke up and realized that they had apparently had diarrhea in the night. Just like here, they would not have been able to observe it happening.

*ɿ* is also an auxiliary verb in C. Dulong, meaning 'to have done something before' (glossed in Chinese as *guò* 过). Li & Yang (2014) supply a few examples:

- (209) iŋ bumbum məli jəŋ ɿ.  
 1pl many place see experience  
 'We have been to many great sites.' (lit. We have seen many places before.) (C. Dulong, Li & Yang 2014: 140)

In the example above, *ɿ* occurs after the main verb, just like a post-verbal marker as we've already seen in Rvmø1. However, when inflected for 1st or 2nd person, or negated, *ɿ* is seen to be an auxiliary verb by the positions of the affixes *mə-* 'NEG', *nə-* 'N1', and *-ŋ* '1sg':

- (210) na uzu ja\_ləi ma di nə-ɿ?  
 2sg previously here Q come N1-experience  
 'Have you been here before?' (C. Dulong, Li & Yang 2014: 147)

Here, if *ɿ* were actually a suffix, the verb phrase would be *ma nə-di-ri*.

(211) əni kət di .ɿ-ŋ.  
two CLF(time) walk/go **experience-1SG**

'(Yes.) I've been (there) twice.' (C. Dulong, Li & Yang 2014: 141)

And here, if *ɿ* were a suffix, the phrase would read *di-ŋ-ɿ-ŋ*, since the 1SG suffix *-ŋ* attaches to open-syllable verb stems and, redundantly, to all open-syllable verb suffixes.

(212) di mə-ɿ-ŋ, ti=kət ɕu di mə-ɿ-ŋ.  
come NEG-**experience-1SG** one=time also come NEG-**experience-1SG**

'No, I haven't.' (lit. I haven't come before, not even one time I haven't come before.)  
(C. Dulong, Li & Yang 2014: 147)

Here, if *ɿ* were actually a suffix, the verb phrase would be *mə-di-ŋ-ɿ-ŋ*. Thus, *ɿ* 'experience' in C. Dulong is clearly seen to be an auxiliary verb. It is not only associated with travel; it also occurs with *kai* 'eat':

(213) ətəŋ mən ma kai nə-ɿ?  
what medicine Q eat N1-**experience**

'Are you taking anything for it?' (lit. Have you eaten any medicine?) (C. Dulong, Li & Yang 2014: 96)

In Northern Dulong (Mei 1996: 162–165), *ɿ* is used post-verbally to mark perfect tense/aspect, as seen in the examples below:

(214) kʃim ɛdūl tē dūl .ɿ  
house flood Subj wash.away **Perf**

'The flood washed the house away.' (N. Dulong, Mei 1996: 163)

(215) ɛŋ tē tən xɿɛ? xɿā dzū mǔ-sō .ɿ  
3sg Subj now until basket weave NEG-can **Perf**

'Until now, he still can't (lit. doesn't know how to) weave baskets.' (N. Dulong, Mei 1996: 163)

(216) tɛŋpōŋ nìn àm .ɿ  
corn ripe Att **Perf**

'What? Woah! The corn is ripe.' (N. Dulong, Mei 1996: 164)

Here, it is unclear what the gloss 'Att' for *àm* means; however, comparing it with Mvtwang, it could be a grammaticalized form of *am* 'to eat', used here to show that the corn is in the edible category, or that it is ripe enough to eat. Alternatively, it

could be an emphatic particle marking attitude. It appears that *ǎ* is functioning here in both a perfective sense (the corn has reached a stage of ripeness) and a mirative sense, indicated in the Chinese free translation by *yí* 咦, a sentence-initial vocative expressing surprise.

- (217) *nà* *ɲjũ-xiũk* *ǎ* (*mù*)  
 2sg 2-thin **Perf** EMPH

'You are thin.' (i.e., you have become thin) (N. Dulong, Mei 1996: 165)

The free translation is translated from Chinese, where *le* 了 is used to show the current relevance of the situation, which leads to the inference that the addressee has become thin, and the speaker is just now noticing it. In any case, examples (216) and (217) find a parallel in the mirative sense of example (202) from the trickster story.

In Jerwang, *-ri* encodes past tense and is compatible with a description of surprise and discovery, as in (218).

- (218) *əŋ<sup>53</sup>* *di<sup>53</sup>-ri<sup>33</sup>* = *əkəi<sup>53</sup>* *tón* *ləŋ* *sa-ŋa*.  
 3sg walk-TMdys = but now moment know-1SG

'He came but I just found out about it.' (Jerwang, elic. from Jesse Yangmi)

Here, mirativity is encoded explicitly by the second clause, and perhaps implied by the use of *-ri*. If the event had happened more recently, a cislocative marker would have been used instead.

The post-verbal marker in Mvtwang that is analogous to *-rí* is *əp/ap* (the vowel changes to [a] when lengthened due to 3rd person marking), which LaPolla & Poa (2001:ix) gloss as 'TMdys' (2-3 days to up to a year ago), although the more recent past form *-dár/dár* 'TMhrs' (within the last 24 hours) also overlaps somewhat in the time represented. Yintvng Dø, a Mvtwang speaker provided an example of *-dár*; He placed a towel over the top of a cup on the table. Then he looked at it and asked,

- (219) *ká = pà* *í = e?*  
 what = thing be = NPST

'What is it?' (Mvtwang, Yintvng Dø)



Then he lifted off the towel and said,

- (220) o, gok nu í-dár-ì.  
 oh cup TOP be-TMhrs-INTR.PST  
 'Oh, it was a cup.' (Mvtwang, Yintvng Dø)

*dár/dár* in Mvtwang also seems to encode an element of surprise or finding out in the present about a past situation, and therefore using the past tense marker to comment on the situation. Thus, a mirative evidential function seems to be commonly associated with recent past tense markers (within the past two days) in Nungish, such as *-rí* in Rvmøl and *-dár/dár* in Mvtwang.

Based on the evidence shown above, it seems that *-rí* in Rvmøl may have once been a full verb like *ri* 'carry', and then become an auxiliary verb meaning 'have done/experienced something before' as in C. Dulong, and finally developed into a post-verbal tense/aspect marker meaning 'in the past day or more', with some element of surprise encoded into it. This element of surprise may have led to the sense in C. Dulong of something that happened during the previous night, since such things are normally discovered the following day. Parallel mirative senses can be seen with the recent past (hours ago) marker *-dár* in Mvtwang, although the strict time interpretation is still the basic one.

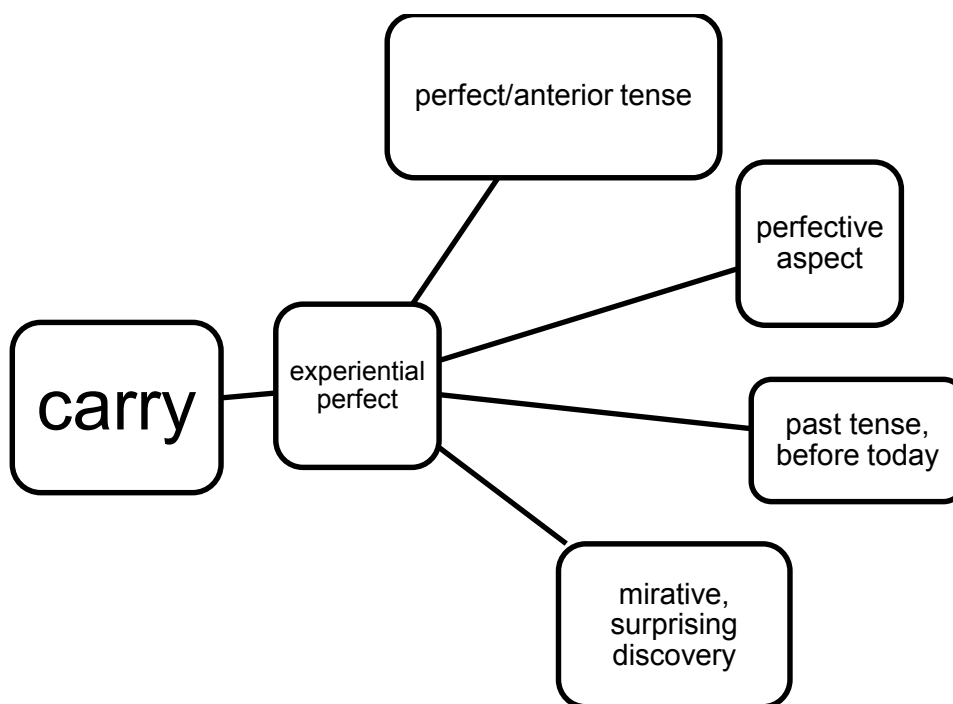


Figure 8 Possible grammaticalization pathways of *-ri* 'TMdys'

### 5.3 -yǎŋ 'TMyrs'

-yǎŋ is a past tense marker that shows something happened a year or more ago. Its use is illustrated in (221), from a personal narrative that took place decades before the time of speech.

(221) ɲà wa pərek, pərek aŋí,  
1sg only afraid:1 REDUP because

'Because I was so scared,

nəm gá: ta? ə=yoŋ mə-ip-yǎŋ.  
sun bright LOC this=manner NEG-sleep-TMyrs

I couldn't sleep until morning.

redio gu tɕí=ya? yóŋ kà sùn té wò-ŋ-yǎŋ.  
radio also one=night manner speech talk ADV do:3U-1SG-TMyrs

I made it so the radio would talk all night.' (i.e., left the radio on) (DH: 85-86)

-yǎŋ has an allomorph -yáŋ, which is normally used for 1st person plural or 3rd person, with the vowel quality change indicating a longer vowel and more stress. The 3rd person usage is seen in (222).

(222) àŋ nəmbrá chu-yá:ŋ.  
3sg field clear-TMyrs:3

'He cleared the field (long ago).' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvm)

A longer example, from Folktale 1, is seen in (223).

(223) yā səí gúŋ nu na? əŋ wà  
this bear CLF.animal TOP black like ADV

wà té gom-bu yoŋ,  
do ADV burnt-PFV manner

'(After the Trickster started the fire,) the bear was burned black,'

ya pətʉ? ga? pəyoŋ ga? tsəm tsəm  
this neck LOC neck LOC a.little a.little

and at the neck, at the throat, a little here and there,

mənēm-si ga? wā tsəm tsəm mòŋ a zən-yǎŋ.  
stripe-R/M place only a.little a.little white NMLZ contain-TMyrs

there were striped places, with only a little white.' (FT1: 18.2)

Here, *gom-bú* 'burnt-PFV' emphasizes the completed result of the single event of being burnt, and then *zàn-yáŋ* 'contain-TMyrs' emphasizes the state of having white stripes, which has presumably lasted from the time of the story until the time of telling, at least in the bear's descendants.

There are some genre differences in the way *-yáŋ* is distributed in different kinds of texts. It appears just nine times in the six folktales told by Rakwi Tang. In FT4, *-yáŋ* marks the beginning of a new scene (FT4: 6.2, shown in example (108)). In FT5, where there are two episodes, *-yáŋ* appears twice, once at the end of each episode (FT5: 12, 17.2). The other six occurrences are all at the end of stories, marking either the climactic event, its result, or the last act of the main participant (FT1: 18.2, 19; FT4: 10.2; FT6: 9.3, 10.2, 10.3).

Several more examples of *-yáŋ* at the end of Folktale 5 are given below.

(224) ...ya = ni gu yon ləm-yáŋ = e wà mäsíl al = e.  
 this = day also manner dance-TMyrs = DEC HS story tell = DEC

'(He proudly said, "Eh, you guys can never trick poor Mangkang Aya!") ...and he danced (his way home) that day; the story has (now) been told.' (FT4: 10.2)

(225) yon əbrán əŋ wa-yáŋ wá wà mäsíl al = e.  
 manner scatter like do-TMyrs HS HS story tell = DEC

'Thus they scattered and went home their own way; the story has (now) been told.' (FT5: 17.3)

Turning to the end of Folktale 6, we see the same pattern.

(226) ləŋdùm ka? nu səná = zà a i,  
 last ALL TOP nose = hurt(angry) NMLZ be

'At last, being so angry (with the crow),

kamaŋdɪŋtaŋ gúŋ = í nu, ya dətsit dón = í  
 night.bird CLF = AGT TOP this indigo tube = INST

the night bird took the tube of indigo

çór wá ə-duur wà,  
 OMP(pour) ADV INTR-pour HS

and poured it all over the crow,

a dəŋká ni na? əŋ wa-yəŋ wa wà.  
 this crow TOP black like do-TMyrs HS HS

and the crow became black, it is said.' (FT6: 8.2)

In the example above, *wa-yəŋ* 'do-TMyrs' shows a resulting durative state of being black, which ostensibly has lasted until the time of speaking, since crows are still black today. It is also nearly the end of the story, which is another reason for relating the time of the event to the time of speaking. After this sentence, the storyteller quotes a proverb:

(227) *ya dəkàŋ, əsəŋ kà sùn-lùŋ = í gu,*  
 this reason person word speak-UP = ADV also  
 'mò mi-dìgəŋ dé, dəŋká gu na?-luŋ wà = é," wa  
 yes NEG:N1-N1:rush EXCL crow also black-UP say = EXCL say  
 məsíl əl = e...  
 story tell = DEC

'Therefore the (old) people say, "Do not rush to do something; it is said that the crow became black because he wanted to become beautiful right away." The story has (now) been told...' (FT6: 9)

Here, *-luŋ* 'UP' is used to show that a proverb was coined from this event, as in, "because of this, people started to say...". In contrast to this use of *-luŋ*, in the next few sentences, *-yəŋ/yaŋ* is used two more times, recapitulating the final action and its resulting state:

(228) ...lámbro? yo? səná = zà a í  
 friend CLF.person nose = hurt(angry) NMLZ be/ADV  
 '...the friend, being angry,  
 ɸor wá ə-duur-yàŋ.  
 OMP(pour) ADV INTR-pour-TMyrs  
 poured (the indigo).

dəŋká gúŋ nu na? əŋ wa-yəŋ = é wà...  
 crow CLF TOP black like do-TMyrs = DEC HS

And the crow became black.

məsíl al = e. dəŋgte.  
 story tell = DEC (this)much

The story has (now) been told; just this much.' (FT6: 9)

In both *-yəŋ/yaŋ* is followed by "the story has been told". This signals that the story is over, and the only reason the storyteller continued after saying it the first time is

because he wanted to re-summarize the final action and resulting state again. Each time, he used *-yəŋ/yaŋ*.

In the Rakwi Tang Creation Story (FCS), a text of 734 lines, *-yəŋ* appears 18 times. One of these is at the beginning (FCS: 5), where it is established that at the beginning of time, the earth did not exist. The next two occurrences of *-yəŋ* are at the end of an episode explaining how death entered the world (FCS: 227-228). Other occurrences seem to follow this pattern as well – either setting a new scene in relation to our present world, or marking the end of an episode.

In Chgg. Dø's personal migration narrative (DI), a 43-line text, *-yəŋ* occurs 22 times. The occurrences are fairly evenly spaced throughout the text, as he tells about where his grandparents and parents used to live, and how he moved from place to place around Kachin State throughout his lifetime.

This represents a genre difference: *-yəŋ* is used more frequently in a story about the distant past experienced by oneself and one's family than in a traditional story that one is not personally connected to. This may also be an evidential signal: just as *wà* 'hearsay' is the genre marker for folktales, *-yəŋ* could be a genre marker for long-ago personal narratives.

A couple of examples from this migration history monologue (DI) may serve to illustrate. In (229), *-yəŋ* appears with a long *a* vowel due to the 1PL subject, and collocates with the stative verb *əl* 'live/exist'.

(229) pəŋ rəmè tɕì ta? à:l-ya:ŋ = í  
 down Rvme river LOC live:1PL-TMyrs:1PL = PS

'...(we, the Chømgunggang family) lived at the lower Rameti river... (until my grandfather's time).' (DI: 8)

In (230), it appears with an active verb, *lo?* 'return'.

(230) iŋ nu... budó ka? ló:ʔ-ya:ŋ-iŋ...  
 1pl TOP Putao ALL return:1PL-TMyrs:1PL-PL

'We... came back to Putao...' (DI: 19-21)

The act of returning has dynamicity (going somewhere), and it also has telicity, the ending-point being reaching Putao. If the event were more recent, the perfective/dislocative marker *-bu* would likely be used (or else the cislocative directionals *-ra* or *-rət*, if the destination were the deictic center), but *-yaŋ* is used here to show that the event occurred long ago.

In Chgg. Dø's hunting story (DH), a personal narrative of 94 lines, *-yáη* occurs 28 times. Example (221) from this story has already been seen. In order to better see the distribution of *-yáη* over the course of the text, however, a story outline is given in Table 21.

**Table 21** *-yáη* 'TMyrs' as a discourse marker in the Hunting Story

story segment	lines	description	occurrences of <i>-yáη</i>	function of <i>-yáη</i>
A	1-11	introduction	0	
B	12-23	background: my past migrations before the story starts	9	presenting long-ago background information
C	24-27	explanation of why I needed money, and why I had to go hunting	0	
D	28	lookback: 'like I told you before, this was the first time I had gone hunting'	1	lookback before starting the journey
E	29-38	going from place to place on the journey	0	
F	39	'again we went back to Kelagweq'	1	getting established in the place from which the action will start
G	40-52	lookback: how we had got supplies in Ngawa before going to Kelagweq	0	
H	53-61	the next day and night around the campsite; my father-in-law couldn't go on	7	setting the scene for the action and building anticipation
I	62-79	action: climbing the mountain alone and finding tiger tracks	0	
J	80-91	trying unsuccessfully to sleep that night; trying to climb again the next day; returning; summary of difficulties	11	resolution and summary
K	92-94	concluding statement (back in the present)		

In the Hunting Story, *-yáŋ* is generally used for setting the scene, and at the end for quickly summarizing the resolution. Every segment where *-yáŋ* does not occur is either present-tense introduction (Part A) or conclusion (Part K), relatively tenseless explanation (Parts C & G), or action (Parts E & I). Thus, the absence of *-yáŋ* in a personal narrative like this about long ago is a good indicator of the most exciting part of the story. Longacre (1996: 38) calls this the "zone of turbulence" or "the peak" of the story, where ordinary tense, aspect, and other grammatical features are "distorted or phased out" in order to highlight the climax of the action. The narrative peak (and the literal peak) of the Hunting Story occurs in Segment I (lines 62-79), where the narrator climbs up the mountain alone during a blizzard and sees tiger tracks. Everything else in the story is either slowly climbing up toward this peak, or quickly climbing down from it.

### 5.3.1 Cross-dialect comparison

Except for tone variation, *-yáŋ/yáŋ* takes the same form as *-yàŋ/yàŋ* in Mvtwang, which LaPolla glosses as TMyrs, a past tense marker for events or states more than a year ago (LaPolla & Poa 2001:ix; LaPolla 2015: 42).

A note on vowel shift: the vowel shift from *-yàŋ* to *-yáŋ* in Mvtwang is caused by vowel lengthening with 2nd person singular and 3rd person, related to the past suffixes *-ì* 'intransitive past' and *-à* 'transitive past' that follow. Vowel lengthening does not occur on *-yàŋ* with 1st person non-singular or 2nd person non-singular agreement in the past tense, as the onset of the non-singular suffix *-jà* blocks any vowel lengthening. Vowel length is never allowed with 1st person singular; historically, I believe this is caused by an underlying 1sg suffix *-ŋ*, which is only overtly expressed on open syllables, but which also serves to block potential vowel lengthening on other types of syllables. (Vowel length also occurs on *yàŋ* in non-past tense, especially with the 1st person plural non-past marker *-ì*, but it is rare to find *-yàŋ* in non-past sentences.)

The same type of vowel shift and vowel lengthening often appears in Rvmøl, both on verb stems and on orientation suffixes such as *-yáŋ*, producing *-yáŋ*. According to Chgg. Chang, such vowel length can indicate that there is emphasis on the event happening right now (obviously not an issue with remote-past tense), or when there are a lot of people involved in the event, which does help to explain its occurrence with 1st person plural as in Chgg. Dø's family migration narrative (DI).

In Sinwal Waqdamkong, the form corresponding to *-yáŋ* is *-yàŋ* 'FAR.REMOTE', which has a free variant form *-yáŋ*. According to Sarep (1996: 136), *-yàŋ* and *-yáŋ* both mark "a time which is within a year to more than a year distant from the present time" (Sarep 1996: 136).

(171) àŋ dī-yàŋ-ì / àŋ dī-yáŋ-ì  
 3sg go-FAR.REMOTE-PFV / 3sg go-FAR.REMOTE-PFV  
 3sg walk-TMyrs-INTR.PST / 3sg walk-TMyrs-INTR.PST

'He went (years ago).'

 (Sinwal Waqdamkong, Sarep 1996: 136)

In C. Dulong, Yang (2004) describes three different markers for action that happened long ago: *-jəŋ*<sup>31</sup> for action that took place long ago, and which the speaker has only indirect knowledge of; *-bu*<sup>31</sup> for action that took place long ago, but further in the past than *-jəŋ*<sup>31</sup>; and *-tɕi*<sup>31</sup> for either distant past (used especially in traditional stories), personal experience on the part of the speaker, or a general custom of the people.

In N. Dulong, *gjaŋ* is used for past tense more than two days ago, and *tɕi* is used for long-ago past (Mei 2002: 19). The latter is combined with the hearsay particle *wǎ* to form *tɕiwǎ* in traditional stories, which LaPolla (2003a: 679) treats as a single particle *tɕiwǎ* 'HEARSAY'.

C. Dulong *-jəŋ*<sup>31</sup> and N. Dulong *gjaŋ* are at least very similar phonetically to *-yáŋ*, and do serve to mark past tense, but functionally, *-yáŋ* appears closer to C. Dulong *-tɕi*<sup>31</sup> and N. Dulong *tɕi*, since it is used more frequently in personal narratives but also occasionally in traditional stories, marking both distant past and personal experience. Thus, all of these Nungish varieties (Mvtwang, Sinwal Waqdamkong, C. Dulong, and N. Dulong) have at least one past tense marker for distant past, and all of them have a marker phonetically similar to *-yáŋ* 'TMyrs', although it is not the most remote past marker in Dulong as it is in Mvtwang and Rvmø.<sup>44</sup>

## 5.4 Inceptive aspect

The directional markers *-zək* 'DOWN', and *-luŋ* 'UP' both have secondary senses encoding inceptive aspect. This involves either the beginning of an action or a

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<sup>44</sup> An examination of Barnard's (1934) account of Waqdamkong reveals no mention of a distant past form equivalent to *-yáŋ*. The only past tense markers used are the dislocative/perfective markers *-bu* and *-am*, plus the hearsay marker *wa*, used in traditional stories. In some places, no tense marking is used at all, in which case time reference is accomplished through time phrases like "in that year" instead.



change of state. In general, it seems that *-zək* is the most common marker in conversation regarding inviting someone to do something. In the Rvmøl corpus, *-zək* seems to collocate with a sudden, possibly unexpected, definite change of state or beginning of action, as in (231).

(231) ...lám **-zək** wà ya pè.  
 dance **-DOWN** HS this GMm

'...and he began to dance, this guy.' (FT4: 10.1)

In this context, dancing was unexpected, especially to the audience, since Mangkang Aya was supposed to be dead. There is also the prototypical element of a change of activity, from not dancing to dancing.

In contrast to *-zək* 'DOWN', *-luŋ* 'UP' seems to collocate with gradual change of state, or the beginning and continuation of an event. In the Rvmøl corpus, *-luŋ* tends to appear in adverbial clauses expressing times or conditions, as in (232).

(232) mənkaŋ\_əyá məsíl məsíl nu i-sùm-lùŋ i nu  
 Mangkang\_Aya story story TOP N1-speak-UP be TOP

gāywá āl=e.  
 many exist=DEC

'(If it) is (the case that you will start to) tell Mangkang Aya stories, there are many.'  
 (FT3: 1)

Here, the first clause is set up as a hypothetical condition by the copula *i* and the topic marker *nu*. *-luŋ* 'UP' appears on the verb *sùm* 'speak' in this conditional clause. Depending on the context, a clause like this with *-luŋ* could be construed either as "(if) you're going to tell stories", "(if) you begin telling stories", or "(if) you've begun telling stories (and are continuing to tell them)". In any case, *-luŋ* here collocates with and is congruent with the hypothetical conditional subordinate clause construction.

Another example of *-luŋ*, this time very much realis since it deals with the past, but still inceptive, is seen in (233).

(233) yā gəmù pè nu, tçi? nī nu gaywā, àŋ mit yàŋ-lùŋ.  
 this God GMm TOP one day TOP very.much 3sg mind look-UP

'This Gameu (God), one day, his mind looked up very much (i.e., he got an idea).'  
 (FCS: 8)

Here, *mit + yàŋ* 'mind + look' appears to be an idiom for having an idea. Adding *-lūŋ* may suggest that he started looking at this idea or having this idea for the first time, that the idea really "took off" or "rose up" in his mind.

When a stative verb is followed by *-luŋ*, the construal appears to be primarily perfective, in that the state has been entered, but also durative, in the sense that the state is continuing to exist. For instance, in the Creation Story, there is an episode where a girl is explaining to her employer how her mother makes rice wine:

(234) o... ə-mè=í            nu    émpà    kwt    əŋ    yoŋ  
oh    1-mother=AGT    TOP    rice    cook    LNK    manner

'Oh, my mother cooks rice like this,

məwə̀n      kùŋ    taʔ    ʦot      əŋ    dəɸi=í      yoŋ      prūm      əŋ,  
winnowing    dish    LOC    spread    LNK    yeast=INST    manner    sprinkle    LNK

and spreads it in a winnowing dish, and sprinkles it with yeast,

sə̀ləp=í,      səlat    əŋ=í  
leaf=INST    cover    LNK=PS

and covers it with leaves.

yā=mé      buɸ-lūŋ      kám            tí      kwt    əŋ  
this=CLF    ferment-UP    time.when    water    boil    LNK

When it gets fermented, (they) boil water,

yā    sər    əŋ    aʔ      aʔ=ì.  
this    mix    LNK    drink    drink=PS

and drink it,

yā=mé      ŋám-lūŋ      kám            ə̀ròŋ    ā      ì      ó  
this=CLF    be.drunk-UP    time.when    talk    NMLZ    be    VOC

and when it makes them drunk, that's why they make such noise.' (FCS: 324-333)

This example shows *-luŋ* at work in adverbialized clauses where a change of state is involved. The adverbializer *kám* 'time when' is used twice, amidst a list of events where event Y happens after state X has been reached. In both cases, the stative verb that reaches fulfillment is followed by *-luŋ*.

Later on in the story, the woman who received the girl's instructions tried to make wine, and the story says that when the wine was fermented, she and her family drank it, and the result was predictable:

(235) aḡnɯŋ gu kũ = yon əhak-si-luŋ wà.  
 3pl also that = manner be.noisy-R/M-UP HS

'They too became noisy like that.' (FCS: 341)

Here, *-luŋ* appears in a simple, unchained sentence, and can easily be translated "became". We have now seen the directional marker *-luŋ* helping to indicate a change of state in both dependent clauses and independent clauses. Semantically, there may be an element of perfectivity (resultative aspect) in the new state having been reached, and also an element of imperfectivity in that the new state is still continuing. Which part of the viewpoint is emphasized seems to depend on the context.

#### 5.4.1 Cross-dialect comparison

In Mvtwang, the direction markers *-luŋ* 'UP', *-daʔ* 'DOWN', and *-əm* 'AWAY' sometimes encode a change of state as well (LaPolla & Poa 2001:viii). LaPolla (2000: 289) offers the following examples, with past tense marking:

(236) tsəmɾé ə-rĩ-əm-ì  
 child INTR-carry-AWAY-3.INTR.PST

'to have become pregnant'

(237) ə-zūm-əm-ì  
 INTR-hold-AWAY-3.INTR.PST

'to happen to grab (as when grabbing for something when slipping down a hill)'

(238) té-lú:ŋ-ì  
 big-UP-3.INTR.PST

'became big; grew up'

(239) dū-daʔ-ì  
 dark-DOWN-3.INTR.PST

'became dark (of the sky)'

(240) tsóm-ám-ì  
 small-AWAY-3.INTR.PST

'became small'

- (241) tsóm -daʔ-ì  
 small -DOWN-3.INTR.PST  
 'became small'

Certain verbs collocate with certain markers, and sometimes when either marker could be used, there is a nuanced meaning distinction. The following Mvtwang forms were elicited from Jaseng Sinsar, Yintvng Dø, Joseph Sinwal, and Dvngshing Nvng. They all feature non-past marking:

- (242) wà-lúŋ-ò = e  
 do-UP-3U = NPST  
 'going to do'

- (243) óm-daʔ-ò = e  
 eat-DOWN-3U = NPST  
 'going to eat'

- (244) \*əm-lúŋ-ò = e  
 eat-UP-3U = NPST  
 Intended: 'going to eat'

- (245) fǎ-lúŋ-ò = e  
 know-UP-3U = NPST  
 'have to know'

- (246) fǎ-daʔ-ò = e  
 know-DOWN-3U = NPST  
 'going to know' (used more frequently than *fa lúŋðe*.)

- (247) fǎt-daʔ-o = e  
 kill-DOWN-3U = NPST  
 'going to kill'

- (248) \*fǎt-lúŋ-ò = e  
 kill-UP-3U = NPST  
 Intended: 'going to kill' (Probably the reason this is not allowed is that killing is a sudden occurrence, whereas -*lúŋ* implies a state that gradually arises.)

- (249) ədip-**daʔ**-ò = e  
hit-DOWN-3U = NPST  
'going to hit'

In C. Dulong, the cislocative marker *-jai*<sup>53</sup> can encode inceptive aspect, as in the following examples from Sun (1982: 114).

- (250) nǎm<sup>53</sup> dzaʔ<sup>55</sup>-**ǎi**<sup>53</sup>.  
rain fall-CIS  
'It's starting to rain!' (C. Dulong, Sun 1982: 114)

- (251) nǎm<sup>53</sup> a<sup>31</sup>lai<sup>55</sup>-**ǎi**<sup>53</sup>.  
sun rise-CIS  
'The sun is (just) starting to rise.' (C. Dulong, Sun 1982: 114)

- (252) tɕǎm<sup>55</sup>ia<sup>31</sup> ŋui<sup>53</sup>-**ǎi**<sup>53</sup>.  
child cry-CIS  
'The baby is starting to cry.' (C. Dulong, Sun 1982: 114)

- (253) ǎŋ<sup>55</sup>niŋ<sup>55</sup> wǎi<sup>53</sup>-**ǎi**<sup>53</sup>.  
3pl do-CIS  
'They are (just now) starting to do (work).'
- (C. Dulong, Sun 1982: 114)

Across dialects, the upward and downward markers can express inceptive aspect in both Rvmøl and Mvtwang, with certain verbs favoring one marker or the other. In general, in Mvtwang, the downward marker indicates more certainty about the change. Both past, present, and future times can be referenced using inceptive aspect, but future time reference is one of the most iconic uses of inceptive aspect in Mvtwang. In Rvmøl, *-luŋ* 'UP' is used in a hypothetical future construction (V + *-luŋ* + *i* + *nu*), but the use of *-luŋ* in Rvmøl for a definite future construction has not been observed. Mvtwang also uses the dislocative marker *-ám* for a diminutive or adversative kind of inception, e.g. becoming small, but this has not been observed in Rvmøl, either. In C. Dulong, a cislocative marker is used for inceptive aspect, focusing on the present moment of entering an activity or state. With the upward marker, though, the point of becoming is often construed as having already taken place, in C. Dulong especially (see Section 4.1.1). Such an occurrence is interpreted as perfective aspect and recent past in C. Dulong; the same type of perfective construal can take place with the upward marker in Rvmøl, but it seems to be just one usage of inceptive aspect, not an independent phenomenon.

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with time reference in the Rvmøɭ post-verbal orientation slot. Three metrical past tense markers were discussed: *-bu* 'PFV', which also functions as the dislocative direction marker, encodes recent past perfect in conversation, especially when it appears with a falling tone. It also encodes a general perfective aspect and past tense, of indeterminate time depth, and has a special past perfect/anterior function in adverbial clauses, marking transition points in sequences of events, i.e., after X had been done, Y happened. *-bu* appears to have grammaticalized from a proto-verb *\*bu* 'to go', which is interesting because the current verbs of movement in Rvmøɭ are *dzi* 'walk' and *lo?* 'return', but both of these require a post-verbal direction marker if the direction is to be specified; both can mean either 'come' or 'go' with the right context or direction marker.

The second past tense marker, *-ri* 'TMdys', is not very common in the corpus, but it usually marks an event as having happened before the day of speaking, up to many weeks before. *-ri* is often associated with a surprising discovery about some event that had occurred the night before or some time before. It can also feature in a subjunctive clause about the future, such as "if you will have done something wrong..." It may have grammaticalized from the verb *ri* 'to carry', and/or the C. Dulong auxiliary verb *ri* 'experience', which encodes experiential perfect tense-aspect.

The final past tense marker, *-yáŋ* 'TMyrs', marks events as occurring a year or more ago. In traditional stories, it occurs only at the beginning or end of stories or episodes, to mark transitions and link a state or event in the story to the present day. In personal narratives about the distant past, however, *-yáŋ* features quite prominently, as a marker of background information. During the peak of a personal story, *-yáŋ* disappears.

The other part of this chapter dealt with inceptive aspect, otherwise known as inchoative or ingressive aspect, or change of state. Both *-zək* 'DOWN' and *-luŋ* 'UP' can express inceptive aspect, which is sometimes used for future time reference as well. *-zək* is concerned with an action that suddenly begins, or a future event that is certain to happen, whereas *-luŋ* is concerned more with gradual changes of state or uncertain future events. Like *-bu* 'DIS/PFV', *-luŋ* has a role to play not only in simple sentences, but also in adverbial time clauses. The difference between the two markers in this function in Rvmøɭ is that *-bu* puts more emphasis on an event having

occurred, after which other events take place, whereas *-luŋ* emphasizes that a state has been achieved and now exists, during which other events take place.

Looking at the orientation slot as a whole, from Chapters 4 and 5 we see that direction and tense-aspect are both encoded by the same slot, and often by the same markers. The nuances of usage for each marker range from spatial direction to complex mood, person, and transitivity orientations in the case of the cislocative markers *-ra*, *-re*, and *-rət*. Some of these markers are important for marking transitions or background information in a story, and the presence of certain markers can help identify the genre as conversation, folktale, or personal narrative. Historically, it has been shown that the directionals, and possibly two of the three tense markers, were likely grammaticalized from verbs of motion. And the fact that spatial and temporal-aspectual senses for these markers coexist shows the creativity of language users and the power of metaphor, as well as some clue to the historical development from motion verbs to auxiliaries to directionals to tense and aspect markers.

## 5.6 Excursus: Tense markers across dialects

In the interest of getting the big picture of how different levels of metrical tense are marked in Nungish, the following chart gives the post-verbal tense markers for a number of dialects: Mvtwang, Waqdamkong (Sinwal clan), 3rd Township Dulong, Anong, Rvmøl (Chvngdvng clan), and Dvru (Malong clan).

The degrees of time remoteness are interpreted from published descriptions where these are available, and also from personal fieldwork in the case of Mvtwang, Waqdamkong, Rvmøl, and Dvru. The number of time distinctions varies from three or four in Sinwal to as many as six in Dulong.

Sources are as follows: Mvtwang: LaPolla & Poa (2001), Andrew Mana, Joseph Sinwal, and Dvngshing Nvng (p.c.); Sinwal Waqdamkong: Sarep (1996) and Joseph Sinwal (p.c.); N. Dulong and Anong: Mei (2002); C. Dulong: Yang (2004); Rvmøl: Chvngdvng Sønrvn and Chømgunggang Dø (p.c.); Dvru: Malong Pung and Konglang Zineng (p.c.).

Table 22 Tense markers across Nungish<sup>45</sup>

	just now	hours ago	last night	yesterday	days ago	weeks or months ago	long ago
Mvtwang	-bú/bū	-dár/dár		-ap			-yəŋ
Waqdamkong	-bū	-zu, -əp	-əp				-yəŋ
N. Dulong	-lŋ, -g(j)i	-luŋ, -mui	-g(j)ip	-ri	-gjaŋ		-tɕi
C. Dulong	-di <sup>31</sup> , -luŋ <sup>31</sup> , -dʒin <sup>31</sup>		-i <sup>31</sup> , -ip <sup>31</sup>	-mu <sup>31</sup>			-jəŋ <sup>31</sup> , -bu <sup>31</sup> , -tɕi
Anong	-dʒi e?	-dʒi	-dʒi a		-mĩ	-jĩ	
Dvru	-bù/búy	-rí, -zày/zày					-yəŋ
Rvmøl (Chd.)	-bù	-bù, -rí					-yəŋ
Rvmøl (Chgg.)	-bù	-bū	-bū, -rī				-yəŋ

Notes on the chart:

1. "Long ago" in Mvtwang is thought of as being anywhere from a year or more in the past, all the way up to ancient and mythical times. In Waqdamkong (Sarep 1996), it includes time from more than two months ago to the distant past.
2. According to Sarep (1996), *-zu* in Sinwal Waqdamkong has the same meaning as *-bū* but encodes an element of surprise, as the speaker discovers something he or she didn't notice before. In Dvru, *-zày* also has a mirative function in Dvru, as in (254).

(254) ó... ɲà mera gli?-zày nəyà!  
oh 1sg glasses break-PFV.mirative EXCL

'Oh, my glasses are broken!' (said on discovering the fact) (Dvru, Konglang Zineng)<sup>46</sup>

3. In Dvru, *di-búy* '(he) went already' corresponds to Mvtwang *di-bú-ì* 'walk-PFV-INTR.PST', so the *-ì* suffix may be coalesced into *-y*, in keeping with the

<sup>45</sup> Hyphens have been added before the forms, even if they did not appear thus in the original publication.

<sup>46</sup> Konglang Zineng gave the form as *-zày* in citation, so there must be a vowel lengthening process that produces *-zày*. The form I recorded from Malong Pung was *-zày*. Zineng identified *mera* 'glasses' as an English loanword (< mirror), and *gli?* 'break' as a loanword from Burmese.



Dvru preference for diphthongs. In *dúŋ-bù* 'say-PFV' '(he) said', the *y* is missing, which gives further evidence that it is a separate morpheme.

4. Dvru *-rí* corresponds to Mvtwang *-dár* 'TMhrs', but *di-rí* is described as "(he) went (1 hour to half a day ago)". Dvru *-zày* corresponds to Mvtwang *ap* 'TMdys', but *di-zày* is described as "(he) went (a few hours ago)." This leaves a gap in the days, weeks, and months category. I suspect that both *-rí* and *zày* can be pressed into service for "days ago" in a manner similar to Rvmø1 *-bu* and *-rí* or Waqdamkong *-zu* and *-əp*.
5. In Rvmø1, *-bù* and *-rí* can both express perfect tense, being recent enough to be currently relevant, but *-rí* is for something further in the past than *-bù*, if two events were compared. Chgg. Chang and Chd. Sønrvm differed slightly in their descriptions of the time depths of *-bu* and *-ri*, so I have included both of their accounts in the chart. Also, it is normal in Rvmø1 to use zero marking for past tense, and simply express the time situation with an adverb.
6. Mei (2002: 19) places northern Dulong *-gip* 'last night' and *-ri* 'yesterday' into a category labeled "within last two days", so that it matches with Anong.

## Chapter 6

### Future time reference

In keeping with the theme of time and direction, this chapter will give an overview of strategies used to talk about the future in Rvmøɭ. Within the Rvmøɭ verb predicate, past time reference is primarily marked in the post-verbal orientation slot. In contrast, future time reference is achieved by means of a wide variety of structures. Semantically, future marking is mostly bound up with either inceptive aspect (Section 5.4), or various irrealis modalities. Structurally, future time reference is accomplished through nominalization, verb concatenation, pre-verbal marking, sentence-final marking, and certain members of the post-verbal orientation slot.

There are four different strategies for expressing the future that will be discussed here: the marked verb-copula construction ([V + X + *í/wa*]), modal verbs, the pre-verbal marker *ya=*, and the suffix *-ì*. Each of these strategies and markers carries different semantic content, with different levels of certainty about the prediction of a future situation, just as, in English, "might", "plan to", "possibly will", "probably will", "will", and "be going to" all point to future situations with different levels of certainty. For many of these markers, future tense is only one of several senses related to modality, purpose, aspect, or direction; these will be discussed briefly as well.

(In order to limit the scope of this chapter, speaker-oriented modality such as the optative marker *la?* = 'let V happen', and question markers and negation, and non-predictive modal verbs such as *rà* 'need to', *da?* 'can', and *lón* 'can' will not be discussed.)

#### 6.1 Nominalization

Before analyzing particular nominalizations which carry modal meanings, I must introduce the constructions where they appear, starting with the verb-copula construction ([V + *í/wa*]) and moving to the marked verb-copula construction ([V + X + *í/wa*]).

### 6.1.1 The verb-copula construction ([V + *í*])

When a bare verb is followed by the copula *í*, the event is nominalized, and viewed as something that has taken place just before the time of speaking, i.e. recent past or perfect tense:

(255) àŋ sùn í.  
3sg speak be

'He just spoke (something).' (elic. from Chd. Sønrvn)

### 6.1.2 The marked verb-copula construction ([V + X + *í/wa*])

More common than the verb-copula ([V + *í*]) construction is one where the bare verb is followed by a nominalizer or marker of some sort. The main verb of the sentence is either the copula *í* 'be' or the verb *wa* 'do' (*wa* is only found to co-occur with the purposive nominalizer *lám*). See, for example, the nominalization below with the general nominalizer *a*:

(256) ...ti-sa? = *í* ya dəhòŋ [blət]<sub>v</sub> a *í* = e.  
one-breath = INST this basket weave NMLZ be = DEC

'...(it is the case that) I'm quickly (lit. with one breath) weaving this basket.' (FT3: 5)

The choice of nominalizer determines other semantic information: *a* and *ya* (proximal demonstratives) denote a general fact or a present situation; *lám* denotes purpose or future action; *na* denotes present (uncertain) possibility or a future situation; *kà* denotes commitment and obligation to a future action. I will focus here on the latter three markers, as they are all used to talk about the future.<sup>47</sup>

### 6.1.3 *lám* constructions

The marker *lám* has three different uses: purpose marking, future marking, and forming instrumental, locative, or abstract nouns. Generalizing from these three uses, *lám* is used with infinitive verbs related to intentions or purposes.

Morphologically, *lám* is an independent form, but it often cliticizes to the end of the verb that it nominalizes.

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<sup>47</sup> These three nominalizers are also found in Waqdamkong (Barnard 1934: 19–21) and Mvtwang (LaPolla 2006a; 2008a; 2008b).

### 6.1.3.1 The purposive *lám* construction

As a purposive nominal, one place where a verb plus *lám* can appear is before a head noun as a nominal modifier or as a kind of background information:

- (257) apu məkón = **lám**, məkón nu, lè = e.  
Apu sing = **PUR** song TOP good = DEC

'The song that Apu is going to sing is good.' (DGZ: 115)

This sentence can be interpreted as a nominalized clause modifying a topicalized head noun, followed by a comment predicate ("The-Apu-will-sing song is good" or "Apu(s) for-singing song is good"). In any case, the entire first part (*apu...məkón*) is marked out as one giant nominal by the topic marker *nu*.

The purpose marker *lám* marks out Apu's future singing as the purpose of the song; the modifying nominalized clause also picks out this particular song from all the other possible songs in view. Also, although it is translated "that Apu will sing", a relative clause in English, this type of structure is actually a nominal + nominal construction, where the first nominal (Apu-going-to-sing) modifies the second (the song) (LaPolla 2008a: 807).

If *lám* were removed or replaced by *a*, different meanings would result (the following examples are hypothetical):

- (258) apu məkón\_məkón **nu** lè = e.  
Apu sing.song **TOP** good = DEC

'Apu's singing is good.'

- (259) apu məkón = **a** məkón nu lè = e.  
Apu sing = **NMLZ** song TOP good = DEC

'The song Apu sings/sang is good.'

- (260) apu məkón-**bú** = **a** məkón nu lè = e.  
Apu sing-PFV = **NMLZ** song TOP good = DEC

'The song Apu has already sung is good.'

In addition to one-time future events, *lám* can also appear in sentences where the event can be interpreted as a general purpose, corresponding to "for V-ing" in English:

(261) ya, tsəwà pən [wá ləm] i, mà?  
 this what kind do PUR be Q

'What does one do with it?' (lit. what kind of thing is this for doing?) (DPT: 23)

(262) ...ti? mè ləpət ti? mé ti? mé mægòr ta?  
 one GMf for one CLF one CLF basket LOC

sə-róŋ a nu sərí [zəŋ ləm]...  
 CAUS-sit NMLZ TOP thread put PUR

'...one basket for each (sister) to sit at and put thread in...' (FCS: 105)

In both of the above examples, *ləm* appears after a verb (as *wá ləm* 'for doing, to do', *zəŋ ləm* 'for putting, to put') where the action is a general purpose, not a particular future action.

### 6.1.3.2 Future event marker

As a marker of future events, *ləm* can appear with either *í* 'be' or *wa* 'do' as the matrix verb. With first-person actors, the verb *wa* 'do' is used when the intended action is more imminent (or possibly more active); otherwise *í* 'be' would be used. With 2nd or 3rd person, only *wa* is used.<sup>48</sup>

(263) a, de=nwŋ nū nəmbrá, məçòŋ nəmbrá [tçù ləm] í=e.  
 ah this=year TOP field combine field clear PUR be=DEC

'Ah, this year (we) will clear a (big) combined field (to be divided among ourselves).'

 (FT4: 4)

(264) səŋŋí àŋ dzí ləm wa  
 tomorrow 3sg walk PUR do

'Tomorrow he will go.' (elic. from Chd. Sənrvm)

When *ləm* co-occurs with the final verb *wa* 'do', *wa* can be inflected for person agreement:

<sup>48</sup> In Mvtwang, *wa=e* is used with *ləm* for imminent 1st-person action, and for all non-1st person action, whereas *í=e* is used for 1st-person non-imminent action (LaPolla 2006a: 1070–1071).

(265) *ɲà ya = dóm zəŋ-si əŋ, lú siŋtùŋ mənʉ? ta?*  
 1sg this = CLF put-R/M LNK that(high) tree top LOC  
*tɕóŋ lóm wá-ŋ-si-ŋ = e.*  
 hang PUR do-1SG-R/M-1SG = DEC

'I am going to enter this (basket) and hang at the top of the tree.' (lit. I do-for-myself in-order-to enter... and hang...) (FT3: 4.2)

Here, the Trickster is explaining why he is weaving a basket. He plans to get in and hang from the treetop. With the linker *əŋ* after the first clause, both *zəŋ-si* 'enter' and *tɕóŋ* 'hang' nominalized as purposes and given a future time orientation by the *lóm + wa* construction. Looking more closely at the verb *wa* 'do/make' + *-si* 'reflexive/middle', however, we see that *wa-ŋ-si-ŋ = e* 'I do/make for myself' is a full semantic verb in terms of making the basket for himself, and not just a part of the construction. It is also possible to use *lóm + í* for first person with no person-marking:

(266) *ɲa gu yoŋ wa lóm i.*  
 1sg also (that)way do PUR be

'I will do like (what you did), too.' (lit. (it) is (my) purpose (that) I also do (that) way) (FT5: 14.2)

*lóm* is also used with non-animate actors, such as the world:

(267) *muŋgàŋ ma? lóm wà dəkàŋ ɲà nu pərek dəkàŋ*  
 world break PUR do reason 1sg TOP afraid:1sg reason

'Because I am afraid because the world is going to break,'

*ti-sa? = í ya dəhòŋ blət a í = e.*  
 one-breath = INST this basket weave NMLZ be = DEC

'(it is the case that) I'm quickly (lit. with one breath) weaving this basket.' (FT3: 5)

Here, in a "Chicken Little" type story, the Trickster declares that the world is going to break. The future event of breaking marked by the nominalizer *lóm* contrasts with the present activity of weaving marked by the nominalizer *a*. On a side note, *dəkàŋ* (used twice here) is an adverbial subordinator, marking the entire preceding clause as the reason for the action that comes next.

### 6.1.3.3 Instrumental, locative, or abstract noun formation

As an instrumental or locative nominalizer (Comrie & Thompson 1985: 353–355), *lám* can turn verbs into nouns referring to items or places used for that action, as *ip = lám = dám* 'sleeping area', from *ip* 'sleep' + *lám* 'PUR' + *dám* 'flat place' (C436). This is a strategy for coining new words; when I pointed to a tube of smelling-salts and asked what it was called, Chgg. Chang said:

- (268) *swp = lám í.*  
 sniff = PUR be  
 'It's (a thing) for smelling.'

A verb plus *lám* can also form a noun referring to an abstract entity, such as *pəre? = lám* 'fear' or 'frightening (thing)' or *mit dəsà lám* 'discouragement' or 'discouraging (thing)':

- (269) *ya = yoŋ [pəre? = lám], [mit dəsà lám]*  
 this = manner afraid = PUR mind be.poor PUR  
 ə-húŋ-yəŋ = a, tərà = rì, əl-yəŋ = é:...  
 INTR-meet-TMyrs = NMLZ road = PL exist-TMyrs = DEC  
 'In this manner, there were roads (situations) where (I) met fear (and) discouragement...' (DH: 91)

### 6.1.3.4 Possible etymology of *lám*

Reflexes of *lám*, and similar constructions, are found in other Nungish varieties. In Mvtwang, *lám* functions just the same as in Rvmø1 as a marker of purposes, subordinate clauses, and infinitives (LaPolla 2006a: 1070–1071; 2008b: 56–58; LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 212). For Waqdamkong, *lam* is attested as a definite, emphatic future marker in combination with the copula *ie* (Barnard 1934: 21). In Dvru, *lám* is also used, as in (270).

- (270) *àŋ aŋkíŋ budó yəŋ di lám wà.*  
 3sg really Putao LOC walk PUR do  
 'He will definitely go to Putao.' (Dvru, elic. from Malong Pung)

In S. Dulong, the cognate is *dam*<sup>55</sup> 'will' + *wa*<sup>53</sup> 'do', as in (271) and (272).

- (271) *nu*<sup>31</sup>*niŋ*<sup>55</sup> *lam*<sup>55</sup> = **dam**<sup>55</sup> *ma*<sup>55</sup> = *nu*<sup>31</sup>-*wa*-*n*<sup>53</sup>*na*<sup>31</sup>?  
 2pl dance = **will** Q = N1-do-2PL

'Will you (pl) dance?'/ 'Do you (pl) want to dance?' (S. Dulong, Liu 1988a: 184)

- (272) *dzi*<sup>31</sup>*je*<sup>55</sup> *don*<sup>53/55</sup> **dam**<sup>55</sup> = *wa*-*ŋ*<sup>53/55</sup>  
 book read **will** = do-1SG

'I will (soon) read a book.' (S. Dulong, Liu 1988a: 186)

*dam*<sup>55</sup> seems clearly related to Rvmøl and Mvtwang *lám*. Alternations between *d* and *l* are common in Rawang, e.g. Rvmøl *lapət* 'for' vs. Mvtwang *dapət* 'for', and the phenomenon is common throughout Tibeto-Burman as well (Matisoff 2013b). Jerwang speakers have also informed me that *dám* is their equivalent of Mvtwang *lám*, which makes sense because Jerwang and S. Dulong are geographically contiguous (the Dulong river is called the Jerwang river after it flows into Myanmar at Mvkømgang village).

In C. Dulong, prospective aspect, describing something about to happen, is represented by *pəŋ*<sup>55</sup> = *wa*<sup>53</sup> after the verb, as in (273) and (274).

- (273) *ŋ*<sup>55</sup> *nu*<sup>31</sup>*uŋ*<sup>55</sup> *le*<sup>31</sup> *ciŋ*<sup>55</sup> *wa*<sup>53</sup> = **pəŋ**<sup>55</sup> = *wa*-*i*<sup>53</sup>.  
 1pl mountain LOC firewood do/cut = **will** = do-1pl

'We will go onto the mountain to cut firewood.' (C. Dulong, Sun 1982: 97)

- (274) *ə*<sup>31</sup>*ne*<sup>55</sup> *ceŋ*<sup>55</sup> *le*<sup>31</sup> *di*<sup>55</sup> = **pəŋ**<sup>31</sup> = *wa*<sup>53</sup>-*cu*<sup>31</sup>.  
 1dl county LOC walk = **will** = do-DL

'We two will go to the county seat.' (C. Dulong, Yang 2002: 136)

In N. Dulong, "[i]nchoatives take the particle *pəŋ* after the verb" (LaPolla 2003a: 679). In running text, this is shortened to *pə* = *wā* (will = do), as in (275).

- (275) ...*ətsəŋ* *əŋzā* *kəi-kəi* **pəwā** *mənəŋ*...  
 human food eat-REDUP **just.about.to** follow

'...just as they (humans) were about to eat their food...' (N. Dulong, LaPolla 2001: 27)

Although the C./N. Dulong marker *pəŋ* appears in the same V + X + *wa* construction with *lám* and *dam*<sup>55</sup>, it is phonetically too different to be cognate. *pəŋ* is probably cognate to Mvtwang *pəŋ* 'begin' and possibly also *pəŋ* 'down, below' (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 321-322).



Etymologically, *lám* and *dám*<sup>55</sup> could be derived from PTB \**lam* ROAD (STEDT #1017, Benedict 1972: 32#87), which is attested in C. Dulong *lam*<sup>55</sup> 'messenger, path, route' (Trung Dictionary Committee et al. 2015: 98), and Jingpho *lam*<sup>33</sup>, Written Tibetan *lam*, Written Burmese *lam*<sup>3</sup>, and Yangon Burmese *lā*<sup>55</sup> 'road' (Huang & Dai 1992: 13). This connection was also suggested by LaPolla (2008b: 62).

Rvmøl words with similar forms include: *lám* 'side (of a river or house)/time (of day)', *əgí lám* 'evening' (night + time), *lám* 'dry something by laying it in the sun', *lám~lám~lùm* 'dance', *əlám* '(bamboo) strip', *əlám* 'lull someone to sleep', and *lambro?~lámbro?* 'friend'. Of these, *lám* 'side/time' is most similar in meaning to 'road' and to purpose, intent, and future tense, as it has elements of both location and time.

If my guess is correct, and *lam* 'road' has grammaticalized to 'purpose' and then found its place in a future time reference construction, this might illustrate a combination of three metaphors. The first metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, views purposes as destinations, and actions as roads traveled to reach those purposes. The second metaphor, TIMES ARE LOCATIONS, extended to create a third metaphor, THE PASSING OF TIME IS FORWARD MOTION, views intended actions in the future as roads ahead that one will choose to walk down (cf. Lakoff 1993).

To rationalize a potential semantic shift of *lam* from 'road' to 'side' to 'time', we can think of a road as a long stretch of space like a riverbank, which is appropriate since a road is sometimes found along a river. Now, if there is a road along both sides of the river, the two roads and two sides of the river are the same. Rivers flowing north to south divide the land into east and west sides. East and west can also be viewed as directions like roads going in different directions. This gives us a grammaticalization pathway from 'road' to 'side'. Finally, just as the land is divided into two sides by a river, a day is divided into times (or sides) like morning and evening by the sun, which also rises on the east side and sets on the west side. This supplies the pathway for the shift from 'side' to 'time'.

#### 6.1.4 *kà* 'word' (commissive)

If *lám* represents a future path to be walked down, the nominalizer *kà* 'word' represents a spoken word to be relied upon, which in semantic terms would be called deontic commissive modality or a strong intention. *kà* presents a state of affairs regarding the future, where someone must do something and will definitely do it, because they have committed by a promise or agreement. A weaker

formulation sometimes used is that the event probably will and must happen, because it seems like what should be done. The future tense marked by *kà* is a relative tense, because the action agreed upon will take place after the moment of agreeing, and after the time in focus of "this being the case". Sometimes the *V + kà + í* construction is used when the speaker is making a promise, as in (276).

- (276) mə-rà,    iŋ    nu    sədiʔ-si            əŋ    ip    **ka**    i = e.  
 NEG-need   1pl   TOP   be.careful-R/M   LNK   sleep   **word**   be = DEC  
 'Okay, we'll sleep carefully (without causing trouble).' (lit. not-need, (it) is (our)  
 word (that) we (will be) careful and sleep.) (FT5: 6.3)

In the sentence above, a group of travelers is promising their host that they will sleep carefully without causing trouble if he lets them stay at his house. *sədiʔ* by itself means 'promise' in Mvtwang and Jingpho, and there may be a connotation of this here as well. The first verb, *sədiʔ-si* 'be careful', seems to describe the manner of the second verb, *ip* 'sleep', which is nominalized by *ka*. The sentence is a speech act in that the speakers are actually making the promise when they state what the future will be like.

In example (277) below, the the speech act is not so much a promise, but a plan that is forming in the speaker's mind. The context is one in which Chgg. Dø was asked what he would do if he received a million dollars. His reply was long and drawn out, with many things he wanted to do, but first, he said, he would plan to set aside something for God.

- (277) ...[gəray [əŋ ləpət]]<sub>NP</sub>, [[ŋà = a,    mit-tsel]<sub>NP</sub> kaʔ aŋ = í],  
 God        3sg   for/portion   1sg   = POSS   mind-DIM   ALL   ALL-ADV  
 [[[əlu    zəŋ]<sub>CL</sub>    ləm]<sub>N</sub>    dəkaŋ]<sub>N</sub>    [dədəm        **kà**]<sub>N</sub>    í.  
 donation   put.in   PUR    reason    plan/think(v.)   **word**   be  
 '...for God's portion, to my mind (for the future), I plan to give a donation.' (DM: 7-9)

This sentence is rather complex, both because it is about future certainties and uncertainties, and because the speaker is thinking on his feet. Another possible translation of the sentence might be "In my mind, it is a must that I plan to put in a donation (in the offering box) for God's part." In any case, the *kà* nominalization helps to convey a sense of obligation and also of firm conviction and planning.

The next example, (278), concerns a plan that is much less noble.

(278) [tón nəmbrá rən-lùŋ kám]<sub>TIME</sub> [ya dóm]<sub>LOC</sub>  
 later field burn-UP when this place  
 [wór lóm dəpət]<sub>PURPOSE</sub> paʔzí wò kà í = a.  
 burn PUR for wisdom do:3U **word** be = NMLZ

'Now when the field starts to burn at this place, (it is the case that) (they have agreed to) make wisdom (plans, a method) in order to burn (the Trickster).' (FT4: 6.1)

This example is from a story where all the Trickster's neighbors got tired of his trickery and decided on a plan to kill him. They divided up all their fields in a big area and gave the Trickster the portion in the middle, and then made plans to all burn their fields together while the Trickster was in the middle field, so they could get rid of him. The nominalizer *kà* is used because the plotters had agreed together on this plan.

An additional nominalizer, *a*, appears at the end of the sentence after the copula. Since there is no verb after the nominalizer, this is called a non-embedded nominalization, and it seems to create a lingering ending to the sentence (Matisoff 1972: 246). *í = a* is also repeated at the beginning of the next sentence, when it tells what the Trickster does in response. This repetition creates a contrast between two sets of characters and their actions. (Sentence-initial *í = a* is often translated "but".)

The use of nominalizers in running speech to express modality can get quite complicated, as in (279), a quote from Chgg. Dø's Hunting Story:

(279) ə = yon      ŋaŋ-bú-ŋ = í      nu,      ɕiŋgo?      nəŋ  
 this = manner    climb-DIS = PS    TOP    walking.stick    with  
 ŋaŋ    kà = í      mədùŋ\_məda?    paŋ    tɕi = túm      kù = í.  
 climb    **word** = be    mandatorily      next    one = CLF.end    **way** = be

'Thus, having climbed away, with a walking stick, (I thought) maybe I had to try one last time.' (Lit. (it) is (my) word (to) climb, (it) is mandatorily one-last-time way.) (DH: 65)

In this example, *kà* 'word' gives the idea that the speaker had to climb the mountain because he had set in his mind that he would, despite the fact that it was snowing, and he was alone, and he kept slipping back down. Another nominalizer used here is *kù* 'way'. It seems to carry the idea of "I suppose", an uncertain egophoric modality. Combining the two nominalizers together in this sentence might portray a conflict in the narrator's mind between committed intention and uncertainty.

### 6.1.5 *na* 'NCERT'

Similar to *kù* 'way', the nominalizer *na* encodes the epistemic modality of uncertainty about either a present or a future situation. Regarding the present, when appearing after the copula *í*, *na* is used for statements that are probably true, but of which the speaker isn't quite sure.

(280) aŋ = nəm      tsən<sup>49</sup> ra              í    **na**              í.    í    ma?  
          3sg = sibling    child    CLF.group    be    **NCERT**    be    be    Q

'(They) are probably his brothers. Are (they)?' (API: 86-87)

Here, the speaker is watching the Pear Story video, and sees a group of boys walking toward another boy; he guesses that they are the boy's brothers, and asks for confirmation.

When *na* follows a verb besides *í* 'be', it indicates that the event will possibly or probably happen. (When predicting the actions of a third person, there is a natural degree of uncertainty.)

(281) apu nu,    məkón    məkón    əŋ = í;  
          Apu    TOP    song        sing        LNK = ADV  
          adu    nu,    ləm        **na**        í = e.  
          Adø    TOP    dance    **NCERT**    be = DEC

'Apu will sing and Adø will dance.' (DGZ: 115)<sup>50</sup>

When combined with other modal elements, *na* 'NCERT' seems to provide both a softening effect of present uncertainty and a focus on the future, as will be seen in Section 6.1.5.1.

#### 6.1.5.1 *rà* 'must' + *na* 'NCERT': "should"

The following example has the auxiliary verb *rà* 'must' followed by the nominalizer *na* 'NCERT', with a combined meaning of 'should'.

<sup>49</sup> *tsən* is a Dvru-influenced variant of *tsəl* 'child, son or daughter'.

<sup>50</sup> Compare Mvtwang:

apu    məkún    məkún    nu,    adu    nu    ləm-**da?**=e.  
 Apu    song    sing    PS    Adø    TOP    dance-**DOWN**=NPST  
 'Apu (will) sing and Adø will dance.' (or "will begin to dance") (elic. from Dvlvnggøng David)

(282) yā gəmùr=pè nū, ti?=ni nu gaywa,  
 this God = GMm TOP one = day TOP very.much

əŋ = mit yàŋ-lúŋ. "ga? gu əl rá na í,  
 3sg = mind see-UP earth also exist must NCERT be

mu?làŋ gu ól rá na í" wa.  
 sky also exist must NCERT Be say

'This Gameu (God) one day had an idea (his mind began to imagine a lot) that 'there should be an earth, and there should also be a sky' (he thought).' (FCS: 8-10)

Here, the sentence forces an irrealis modality on *əl* 'exist', due to the auxiliary verb *rà* 'must, need' (the tone appears to be changed to high because it is a non-final verb). The nominalizer *na*, which elsewhere is translated 'probably', might be functioning here to soften the urgency of 'must' and shift the focus to the future state of affairs that is imagined to be needed.

### 6.1.5.2 *mə-da?* 'impossible' + *na* 'NCERT': "seems impossible"

Another auxiliary or complement-taking verb that can be combined with *na* is *mə-da?* 'impossible', as in (283).

(283) "a! ya dòn təwa nu ya=dónŋte əkek í nu  
 EXCL this tube bamboo TOP this=much important be TOP

mà-puq nu mə-da? na í" wa  
 NEG:INTR-open TOP NEG-possible NCERT be say

"Oh, if these bamboo tubes are so important, it (seems it would be) impossible that they (should) not be opened (i.e. we should open them)," (they thought).' (FCS: 124-125)

In the above sentence, from a "Pandora's box" type story, the two speakers have been given two bamboo tubes by God, and were told not to open the tubes until they reach their destination. Here, they are considering opening them before the appointed time. Nominalization with *na* softens the force of *mə-da?* 'impossible'.

As for its origins, *na* 'NCERT' may be a loanword from Jingpho *na*, a verb linker related to future or hypothetical meanings (Matisoff 1974: 191; Kurabe 2012: 130).

## 6.2 Modal verbs

In Rvmøɭ, future actions can be encoded with nominalized structures using *lám* 'PUR', *kà* 'word', and *na* 'NCERT'. Another strategy is to express future actions through concatenation with modal verbs.

### 6.2.1 *pədù* 'want to, might'

Future intentions can be marked by the modal verb *pədù*, which has a primary sense of 'want to V' and a secondary sense of 'might V'.<sup>51</sup>

(284) əŋ nu, tsət óm **pədù** = e  
3sg TOP rice eat **want.to** = DEC

'He wanted/wants to eat the rice.' (DGM: 44)

This sentence could be cast in either past or present tense in English, as it was elicited via Burmese and the exact time situation was not specified. In the Burmese sentences, *tɛ* 'realis, non-future' was the sentence-final marker, and the informant chose to translate *tɛ* with = *e* 'DEC', equivalent to the non-past marker = *e* in Mvtwang, even though it is optional in spoken Rvmøɭ.

(285) ku = mè nu, tsət óm **pədù** = e.  
that = GMf TOP rice eat **want.to** = DEC

'That woman wants to eat rice / might eat rice.' (DGM: 50)

The fact that "want to" and "might" are both translated with *pədù* suggests that desire and future possibility are closely related in Rvmøɭ. Further concatenation is possible with the causative verb *dətsù* 'cause, send':

(286) əŋ = í nu, əŋ-tsəl = pè = ka? = əŋ = í,  
3sg = AGT TOP 3-child = GMm = ALL = ALL = ADV  
tsət óm, **pədù** dətsù = e.  
rice eat **want.to** cause = DEC

'He wanted/wants his son to eat the rice.' (lit. "He wants (and) causes his son to eat the rice") (DGM: 46)

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<sup>51</sup> In terms of dialects, *pədù* is the Dvru equivalent of the Mvtwang and Rvmøɭ modal verb *məyú* 'want to' (Malong Pung, p.c.). However, these sentences were elicited from Chgg. Dø using Burmese, and so the forms he chose have been kept. Interspeaker lexical variation is quite common, especially with so many dialectal resources to choose from. As another example, Rakwi Tang and Chgg. Chang used the verb *zì* 'give', while Chgg. Dø preferred to use the cognate form *bí* 'give'.

The uncertainty of *pədù* 'wants to, might' in (285) is contrasted with the moderate certainty of *na*, which in (287) is translated "will", but which is elsewhere translated "possibly" or "probably". (The purposive nominalizer *lám* 'PUR, will' is even more certain.)

(287) ku=mè      nu,    tsət    ém=ná      í=e.  
           that=GMf   TOP   rice   eat=NCERT   be=DEC

'She will eat the rice.' (DGM: 51)

When *pədù* is combined with *na*, a meaning of "probably" results:

(288) àŋ    dali    myu? = ka? = aŋ = í,      dzí    pədù    í  
           3sg   Dali   city = ALL = ALL = ADV   go   want.to   be

          də-dzí = na                      i.  
           CONJEC-walk = NCERT   be

'(If it) is (the case that) he wants to go to Dali, he will probably go.' (DGZ: 62)<sup>52</sup>

The same word is found in Dulong, with a more habitual meaning: S. Dulong *pu<sup>31</sup>du<sup>53</sup>* 'like (to eat)' (Huang & Dai 1992: 376); C. Dulong *pədu* 'like to'.

(289) ŋa    tər-ɕu    tətəi    pədu-ŋ.  
           1sg   run-R/M   very   like-1SG

'I like jogging.' (C. Dulong, Li & Yang 2014: 70)

There is thus an affinity between 'like', 'want', and 'will' in the verb *pədù* across dialects. For a parallel to this, consider *súŋ* 'like/want something' in Rvmø̀l, or "I like to" (habitual enjoyment) vs. "I would like to" (present willingness, request, possible future action) in English.

<sup>52</sup> All the Rvmø̀l examples of *pədù* listed here were translated orally from Burmese into Rvmø̀l by Chgg. Dø. With this particular example, the *-i* 'ADV' is barely audible, with both clauses (*dzi...na i*) said in the same breath. It might be that the second clause is an afterthought or correction of the first, or that the whole sentence should be translated something like "(If) he wants to go, he will go." Compare the following Dvru sentences elicited from Malong Pung:

- a. àŋ    aŋkíŋ    budó    yəŋ    di    lóm    wà  
       3sg   really   Putao   LOC   go   PUR   do  
       'He will **definitely** go to Putao.'
- b. àŋ    budó    yəŋ    di-lùŋ    má  
       3sg   Putao   LOC   walk-UP   Q  
       'He will **go or not go** to Putao(?)'
- c. àŋ    di    pədù  
       3sg   go   want.to  
       'He **wants** to go.'
- d. àŋ    di    pədù    nəí      di    na      i  
       3sg   go   want   TOP:if   go   NCERT   be  
       '**If** he **wants** to go, (it is the case that) he **will** go.'

## 6.2.2 Other modal verbs

There are other modal verbs related to future situations, such as *nè* 'be willing to', *rà* 'must, need to', and *ədù* 'should, be proper to'. However, these are concerned with desiderative, necessitive, and obligative deontic modality, i.e. what is desired or needed to or ought to happen. These modal verbs do not predict what will (possibly, probably, or certainly) happen, so I will not elaborate on them here.

## 6.3 Pre-verbal marking: *ya* = 'future'

Along with nominalization and verb concatenation, future time reference can be achieved with the pre-verbal marker *ya* = 'FUT'. It is used for something definitely expected to happen in the near future. Since *ya* = is always a full syllable like the question marker *má* = 'Q', rather than a presyllable with a reduced vowel like the negation marker *mə-* 'NEG', I have chosen to treat *ya* = as a proclitic rather than a prefix. However, it is still an integral part of the verb complex. Its usage is seen in (290).

- (290) əsəŋ          səránŋ,          dú:rət = í,          ya = yoʔ = kaʔ = í,  
 tomorrow    morning    happen-CIS-ADV    this = CLF(person) = ALL-ADV  
 ŋà = í,          ya = yəŋ.  
 1sg = AGT    FUT = see

'Tomorrow morning (it will come to pass that) I will see this person.' (DGZ: 34)

- (291) nà    i-tsən-sì          nú,    ya = i-so.  
 2sg    N1-study-R/M    TOP    FUT = N1-know:3U

'If you (want to) learn, you will know (that).' (Abør Yosep)<sup>53</sup>

There seems to be a morphological transitivity distinction between a future tense sentence marked with *ya* = and an unmarked future tense sentence:

- (292) nà = í          i-so.  
 2sg = AGT    N1-know:3U

'You know.'/'You will know.'

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<sup>53</sup> This is equivalent to the Mvtwang proverb,  
 è-tsən-fì          ni=nuu    è-ʃá-lú:ŋ-o=e  
 N1-study-R/M    if=TOP    N1-know:3-UP:3-3U=NPST  
 'If you study, you will know.' (from the cover of *Ponggan News* magazine from Yangon, Dec. 2015 edition) The Mvtwang version uses inceptive aspect (change of state) with the non-past sentence-final marker =e to encode future time reference, whereas Rvmøl uses *ya* = 'FUT' for the same purpose.



(293) *nà ya = i-so.*  
 2sg FUT = N1-know:3U

'You will know.'

(294) *àŋ = í so.*  
 3sg = AGT know:3U

'He knows.' / 'He will know.'

(295) *àŋ(=í) ya = so.*  
 3sg(= AGT) FUT = know:3U

'He will know.'

The sentences above without *ya =* could refer to either future or present tense, whereas the forms with *ya =* would only mean future. According to Abør Yosep, there is an element of "intention" encoded in *àŋ(=í) ya = so*.

The two indicators of a basic transitive clause in Rvmø1 are the agentive marker =*í* on the noun phrase, and the vowel change from *a* to *o* on verb stems or from *a* or *i* to *o* on verb suffixes, marking a 3rd person undergoer (*sa* 'know' → *so* 'know something'). Since =*í* 'AGT' is obligatory without *ya =* 'FUT' and optional with *ya =*, this indicates that perhaps the transitivity is decreased with *ya =*, or at least that the focus is shifted to the actor's future intentions, and away from the relationship between the agent and the (unstated) undergoer, even while the *o* vowel still indicates a 3rd person undergoer (the thing to be known).<sup>54</sup>

### 6.3.1 Cross-dialect comparison

In Dvru, *ya =* is used the same way as in Rvmø1:

(296) *ya = di-ŋ-rət*  
 FUT = walk-1SG-CIS

'I will come.' (Dvru, elic. from Malong Pung)

In Jerwang, it is found in the lyrics of a song in (297).

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<sup>54</sup> The same enclitic =*i* is used for both agent, instrument, and background information, indicating that noun phrases marked by =*i* are peripheral, whereas unmarked noun phrases are core arguments, although the canonical transitive clause has the undergoer marked with the allative marker *ka?*. Andrew Mana prefers to translate =*i* in Mvtwang with "by", e.g. "the house is being made by me", strengthening the peripherality idea. On the other hand, Liu (1988a) says that in S. Dulong, the agentive marking is optional and marks emphasis, which makes the agentive noun phrase more important than my analysis would suggest.

(297) tón ti? = zàn kəy loy = wá ya = dú-ŋa-bú-ŋ = è.  
 later one = day LOC suddenly = ADV FUT = arrive-1SG-DIS-1SG = DEC

'One day, suddenly, I will arrive (in heaven).' (Jerwang song, *Gvmø mong zvng* by Zg. Ongsvr & Wc. Kangsvr.)<sup>55</sup>

In C. Dulong, the normal way of talking about the future is with the prospective aspect construction  $V + pəŋ^{31} + wa^{53}$  'will soon begin to V' (see Section 6.1.3.4).

However, *ya* can also be used as a future marker:

(298) fuwuyuen mi ya bɿa? nanet.<sup>56</sup>  
 porter(Ch.) AGT FUT take N1:help

'Don't worry. A porter will take your luggage to your room.' (lit. Porter will help you take (your luggage).) (Li & Yang 2014: 130)

There is some ambiguity here, as *ya* also means 'this' (possibly referring to the luggage), but the Chinese interlinear gloss for *ya* here is 会 *huì* 'will, can', so the future marker interpretation has a good basis. Interestingly, *ya* appears before both *nanet* (*nə-ənet*) 'help you' and its complement *bɿa?* 'take', attaching to the whole verb phrase, not just the inflected matrix verb.

Historically, *ya* = 'FUT' may be related to a pair of words in Jingpho: *yát* 'soon' (an adverb) and *yá?* 'now' (a noun), written thus by Kurabe (2015: 502, 511). An older description of Jingpho includes the form *ya* 'now, immediately' (glottal stop not transcribed), as in *Ya sa hpi yang gaw nang lu na nhten* 'I think you will get it if you ask for it now' (Hertz 1902: 21).

#### 6.4 Post-verbal marking: -ì 'intent'

In addition to nominalization, verb concatenation, and pre-verbal marking, future action can also be marked post-verbally, after the orientation slot. The verb suffix -ì 'INTENT' expresses intended action in the immediate future by either the speaker or someone else; it often pragmatically encodes a tentative request for permission. In (299) and (300), -ì is followed by the suffix -ŋ '1SG', indicating that the speaker is either the agent or the patient.

<sup>55</sup> Music video online at [http://www.56.com/u90/v\\_Njk3NzU2MzE.html](http://www.56.com/u90/v_Njk3NzU2MzE.html).

<sup>56</sup> *nanet* is composed of *nə-* 'N1' + *ənet* 'help'.

(299)  $\eta\grave{a} = \acute{ı}$        $s\grave{a}t\text{-}\grave{ı}\text{-}\eta$   
 1sg = AGT    kill-INTENT-1SG  
 'I will kill (you).' (elic. from Abør Yosep)

(300)  $n\grave{a} = \acute{ı}$        $m\acute{a}$      $i\text{-}s\grave{a}t\text{-}\grave{ı}\text{-}\eta?$   
 2sg = AGT    Q    N1-kill-INTENT-1SG  
 'Will you kill me?' (elic. from Abør Yosep)

In the following two story introductions ((301) and (302)),

(301)  $m\grave{a}\eta k\grave{a}\eta\text{-}\acute{a}y\acute{a}$      $\acute{a}y\acute{a}$      $m\acute{a}s\acute{ı}l$      $t\check{c}i = m\acute{e}$      $\eta\grave{a} = \acute{ı}$      $ts\grave{a}m\text{ts}\grave{a}l$   
 Rakwi Tang uses  $-\grave{ı}$  in combination with the orientation marker  $-r\grave{a}t$ . If we accept the premise that the orientation slot can contain only one marker at a time, this usage demonstrates that  $-\grave{ı}$  does not belong to the orientation slot, since it comes after an orientation marker. However, since  $-\grave{ı}$  can be followed by the 1SG suffix, it should still be considered a suffix rather than a sentence-final enclitic like the declarative marker  $=e$  (see the position class chart in Section 0).

(301)  $m\grave{a}\eta k\grave{a}\eta\text{-}\acute{a}y\acute{a}$      $\acute{a}y\acute{a}$      $m\acute{a}s\acute{ı}l$      $t\check{c}i = m\acute{e}$      $\eta\grave{a} = \acute{ı}$      $ts\grave{a}m\text{ts}\grave{a}l$   
 Mangkang.Aya    liar    story    one = CLF    1sg = AGT    a.little  
 $s\grave{u}n\text{-}r\grave{a}t\text{-}[n]\grave{ı}\text{-}\eta$ ,       $l\grave{e}$      $t\acute{e}$      $i\text{-}t\acute{a}$        $-r\acute{a}\text{-}\eta$ .  
 tell-CIS-INTENT-1SG    well    ADV    N1-listen    CIS-PL

'I'm going to tell you a little story about Mangkang Aya; listen carefully.' (FT1: 1)

(302)  $tsa\text{-}r\acute{e}m\grave{a}\eta$ ,     $kama\eta\text{-}d\eta\eta ta\eta$      $\acute{o}$      $d\grave{a}\eta k\acute{a}$      $m\acute{a}s\acute{ı}l$      $ts\grave{a}m$   
 long.ago    night.bird      and    crow    story    a.little  
 $s\grave{u}n\text{-}r\grave{a}t\text{-}[n]\grave{ı}\text{-}\eta$ .  
 tell-CIS-INTENT-1SG

'Long ago — I'm going to tell you a little story about the crow and the night bird.'  
 (FT6: 1)

Although  $-r\grave{a}t$  'CIS' could be construed as encoding inceptive aspect here, i.e., 'begin to tell', it seems more likely that  $-r\grave{a}t$  is directing the action of speaking toward the addressee, i.e., 'tell to you', since the intensive suffix  $-\grave{ı}$  already marks the future. This is further confirmed in the first story introduction above, where  $-r\acute{a}$  'CIS' is used for the action toward the speaker which is being requested: 'listen to me' (see Section 4.3).

One other thing to notice, besides the morphological position of  $-\grave{ı}$ , is how Rakwi Tang pronounced the form as  $[n\grave{ı}]$  when it followed  $-r\grave{a}t$ . The transcriber, Rakwi

Tang's son, Rakwi Pung, originally transcribed the form as *-iŋ* in the two examples above, despite the presence of [n] in the recording. This suggests that the [n] is either the result of nasal release of the *t* coda, a common morphophonemic process in Rawang. All other dialects for which data is available have a coronal onset for the intentive suffix (*ni, nu, di, du*). Rvmø1 does have a tendency to drop coronal onsets out of suffixes and enclitics, as in *-niŋ* '2PL' (Dvru) > *-iŋ* 'PL', *nəŋ* 'purposive non-final verb marker' (Mvtwang) > *əŋ* 'LNK', and *dəŋ = wa* 'like + do' (Mvtwang) > *əŋ = wa* 'be like'. So it could be that Rakwi Tang was using the Mvtwang or Dvru form *-ni*, but I suspect that the [n] in Rakwi Tang's pronunciation is a result of nasal release, rather than code-mixing.

#### 6.4.1 Other uses of the intentive suffix

The intentive suffix *-i* is also used in questions and prohibitions, in conjunction with other elements. There are no doubt many other uses as well, as Morse has isolated the following moods in Mvtwang featuring *-ni*: assumptive optative (*də-V-ni*), concessive (*lə-V-ni* or *lə-V-ni nu*), prohibitive (*mè-V-ni*), and optative interrogative (*V-ni má?*) (Morse 1965: 364).

##### 6.4.1.1 In questions (*əté lə-V...-i* or *V-ni má*)

When combined with a question marker such as *lə-*, *-i* can be used to form content questions about future actions:

(303) *gay! əté lə-wa-iŋ-i?*  
 wow how Q-do-pl-INTENT

'Wow! What (how) shall we do?' (FCS: 273)

Similarly, yes/no questions about future actions are formed in Mvtwang using *-ni* and the question marker *má* (examples of this construction have not yet been found in Rvmø1). Since I have limited data for the intentive suffix with different person-marking in Rvmø1, I will present examples with 1sg person plural, 2nd person plural, and 2nd person singular below for Mvtwang:

(304) *ə-se-i-(ni) má?*  
 INTR-visit-1pl-(INTENT) Q

'Will we visit?' (Mvtwang, Dvngshing Nvng)

- (305) na-se-rá-nwŋ-ni má?  
N1:INTR-visit-CIS-2pl-INTENT Q

'Will you guys come and visit?' (Mvtwang, Dvngshing Nvng)

- (306) gumzi? è-əm-ni má?  
orange N1-eat-INTENT Q

'Do you want to eat an orange (right now)?' (said when offering an orange)  
(Mvtwang, Joseph Sinwal)

#### 6.4.1.2 In prohibitions (*mi-V-ì*)

The suffix *-ì* is also used as one means of prohibitive admonition, combined with the negative prefix *mə-* 'NEG' and the non-first-person prefix *i-* 'N1', as seen (307), elicited from Chgg. Dø based on Mvtwang examples from Morse (1965).

- (307) **mi-dzi-za?-ì** / **mi-dzi:-za?-iŋ-ì**  
NEG:N1-walk-DOWN/CIS-ADMON / NEG:N1-walk-DOWN/CIS-PL-ADMON

'Don't come.' / 'Don't you (pl) come.' (DM65; cf. Morse 1965: 342)

In elicitation, Abør Yosep used [-nì] instead for the prohibitive sentence. The use of [-nì] instead of *-ì* may be due to code-mixing with Dvru or Mvtwang, or it may be due to morphophonemic nasal release of the stop coda *-t*, or it may simply reflect free variation within the dialect.

- (308) **mi-sət-[n]ì**  
NEG:N1-kill-ADMON

'Do not kill.' (elic. from Abør Yosep)

Despite its use in prohibitions (negative admonitions), *-ì* is not attested for any dialects in positive admonitions except for indirectly as a question or as an implication of the intensive mood in the 1st person, i.e. "I intend to V", implying "let me V".

## 6.4.2 Cross-dialect comparison

In C. Dulong, the intentive or optative suffix takes the forms *-nu<sup>31</sup>/ni<sup>31</sup>/n* (Trung Dictionary Committee et al. 2015). It is used for requests ("let me V"), suggestions, and tentative statements regarding one's future plans<sup>57</sup>:

- (309) əyaʔ<sub>di</sub>, na ləi mɔʔ mən tɕuʔ  
 so 2sg ALL catch.a.cold medicine a.little  
 bi-ŋ-ni-ŋ.  
 give-1SG-INTENT-1SG

'So, I'm going to give you a little cold medicine (i.e., a prescription for your fever).'

(C. Dulong, Li & Yang 2014: 97)

The 1sg suffix *-ŋ* added to both *bi* 'give' and *-ni* 'INTENT' makes it clear that *-ni* is a suffix, rather than an auxiliary, since with a lexical verb followed by an auxiliary, only the auxiliary would normally take person-marking.

In Mvtwang, *-ni* is used for "intentive" sentences, with the allomorph *-nu* appearing when combined with *-ŋ* '1sg':

- (310) lèga ru-ì-ni. / lèga ru-ŋ-ò-nu-ŋ.  
 book read-1pl-INTENT book read-1SG-3U-INTENT-1SG

'Let's read books.' / 'Let (me) read books.' (Morse 1965: 364)

In Waqdamkong and Sinwal, the cognate form is *-di*, with the 1sg allomorph *-ni-ŋ* (Barnard 1934: 21; *-nu-ŋ* in Sarep 1996: 148-149). According to Barnard, *-di* marks "the ordinary future" or "future imperfect" tense, and denotes a "mere futurity", whereas the future tense marked by the nominalizers *ka*, *lam*, and *na* is more "definite and emphatic". In Sinwal, *-di* is called an optative sentence-final marker. In 1st person, it marks "the speaker's willingness" to do something; in 2nd person, it asks about the addressee's willingness (often co-occurring with the question particle *má*); in 3rd person, it "makes a conjecture about a third person's action" (often co-occurring with *dánŋ* 'conjecture' or *ta* 'emphatic') (Sarep 1996: 148-149).

<sup>57</sup> A detailed account is given in Chinese in Sun 1982: 108-110, where it is called requestive mood. The inflected forms are *-niŋ<sup>31</sup>* (1SG), *-ein<sup>31</sup>* (1DL), and *-nu<sup>31</sup>* (1PL). When making a request or suggestion regarding a third person, *la<sup>55</sup>~lǎŋ<sup>55</sup>* is used. In S. Dulong, *-nu<sup>31</sup>* is the basic form for first person requests, except for *-niŋ<sup>31</sup>* '1SG' (Liu 1988a: 184-185).

There is even a possible cognate in Lolo (Tibeto-Burman, Lolo-Burmese): <sup>1</sup>*mi*, a particle expressing "futurity combined with the idea of intention", e.g. <sup>2</sup>*ŋa* <sup>2</sup>*ko* <sup>1</sup>*e* <sup>1</sup>*mi*. 'I shall go to bed.' (Fu 1997: 126).

For the prohibitive sense, *mə-* 'NEG' is combined with *-ni* in Mvtwang and *-di* in Waqdamkong:

- (311) *lèga mèt-ruu-ni.* / *nàmaʔ=í mèt-ruu-nùŋ-ni.*  
 book NEG:N1-read-ADMON / 2pl=AGT NEG:N1-read-2pl-ADMON  
 'Don't read books.' / 'Don't you (pl) read books.' (Mvtwang, Morse 1965: 364)

- (312) *me-di-di* / *me-di-niŋ-di*  
 NEG:N1-walk-ADMON / NEG:N1-walk-2pl-ADMON  
 'Don't go.' / 'Don't you (plural) go.' (Waqdamkong, Barnard 1934: 24)

Even with all this comparative data, the origin of the intentive suffix *-(n)ì* is not clear. From looking at lexical words, we see that it may be related to the complement-taking verb *nè* 'want, like, willing to', as in:

- (313) ...*gaywà əsəŋ rì guw ip lə-nè-sì* yoŋ...  
 many person PL also sleep AUG-willing-R/M manner  
 '...many people also might want to sleep (there) like that...' (i.e., the house was attractive for guests) (FT5: 3)

The same word appears in Mvtwang:

- (314) *ʃún ne-ʃì=e*  
 talk like.to-R/M=NPST  
 'Like to talk' (Mvtwang, LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 272)

The semantic difference between *ne* and *-ni* is that *ne* can mean 'to enjoy or be willing to V', whereas *-ni* is more immediate, as in 'want to V right now'.

There is also a cognate in Dulong: C. Dulong *ŋi<sup>55</sup>çi<sup>31</sup>*, Nujiang Dulong *ni<sup>55</sup>çi<sup>31</sup>* 'to love (a child)' (Sun 1982: 236; LaPolla 1987: 35). Its use is seen in the exchange in (315), where it is used synonymously with *çuw-çi* 'to love'; both words use *-çi* 'R/M' to intensify the activity (like > love).

(315) na ni-çi əsəŋ ma əl a?  
 2sg like-R/M person Q exist Q

'Are you seeing (dating) someone now?' (lit. does a person you love exist?)

ŋa ɕuŋ-çi-ŋ pəma ti=jo? əl.  
 1sg like-R/M-1SG woman one=CLF.person exist

'I'm going out with a girl.' (lit. a woman I love exists) (Li & Yang 2014: 76)

If we look at functional words, we see that Rvmø1 -i and its Mvtwang cognate -ni are similar to the Mvtwang clausal conjunction *ni~ni* 'then, if, if that [is] the case' and the non-final particle *ni* 'surely' (LaPolla & Sangdong 2015: 273). In rapid speech in the Rakwi Tang stories, *i nuu* (be TOP) "and then" sometimes coalesces into *ni*. If this can be extrapolated historically, the Mvtwang phrase *i=ni=nuu* (be = if/but = TOP) "if that is the case" may have originally been *i [i nuu > nuu] nuu*, with the same elements being added around the initial cluster as it coalesced together.

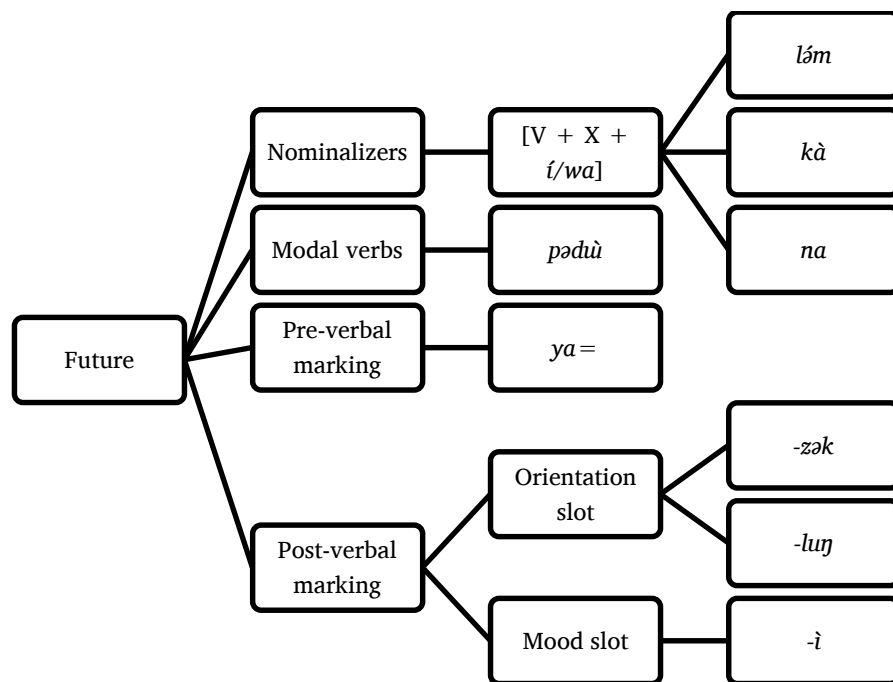
The strongest possibility for the origin of the intentive suffix, though, is *ne/ni* 'love, like to, willing to' > -*ni* 'willing to, will' > -*i* 'willing to, will' (Rvmø1).

The semantic content and phonetic form of *ne/ni* are both so similar to -(*n*)*i* 'INTENT' that it seems more than coincidental. Just as *di* 'go' has found its way into the Dulong verb complex as a dislocative/perfective verb suffix while still remaining a full verb in other constructions (Liu 1988b; LaPolla 2003: 679), so *ne* 'be willing to' remains a full verb in Mvtwang while its possible derivative -*ni* (and Rvmø1 cognate -*i*) expresses a similar meaning as a sentence-final verb suffix.

## 6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have looked at four strategies for talking about future events in Rvmø1: nominalization, modal verbs, pre-verbal marking, and post-verbal marking. To these we should add inceptive aspect (change of state), marked on the post-verbal orientation slot, another strategy for talking about the future, as described in Section 5.4. These markers and their surface forms are diagrammed in Figure 9.

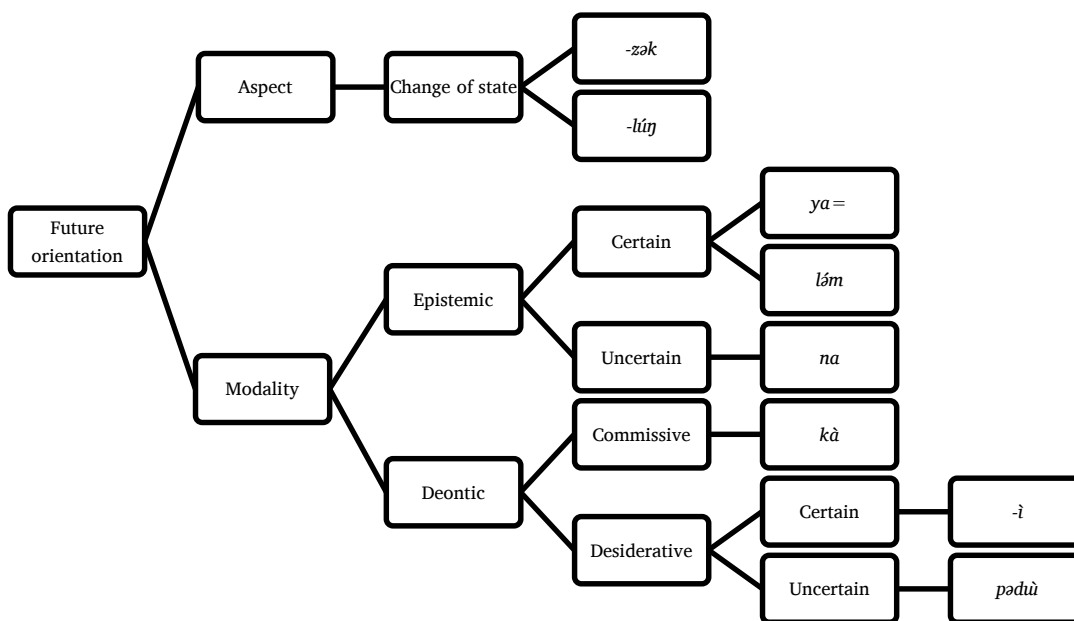




**Figure 9 Surface form taxonomy of future time reference**

Semantically, future orientation can be divided into aspectual and modal categories (Figure 10). The aspectual future marking is limited to inceptive aspect (change of state), and includes *-zək* and *-luŋ*. Modal future marking is divided into epistemic (what someone knows will happen) and deontic (what is desired to happen, or should happen). Epistemic modal marking includes what is certain to happen (*ya =* and *lám*) and what is not certain, but probable (*na*). Deontic modal marking is divided into commissive (what must happen because of a promise) (*kà*), and desiderative (what someone desires to happen). Desiderative is divided into what is certain, i.e. definitely intended to do (*-ì*), and what is not certain, i.e. desired and possibly intended to do (*pədù*).

There are other types of modality in Rvmøɭ, but here I have focused only on "predictive" modality, that is, those markers which in certain contexts pick up senses equivalent to "will", "shall", or "might" in English. These future-oriented irrealis senses have grammaticalized out of a number of different constructions. It is safe to assume that the original meanings of individual markers in these constructions, such as the possible *lám* 'road' > 'purpose' > 'will' or *kà* 'word' > 'promise' > 'must', are constantly in play with the future meanings, giving each marker its own flavor and set of contexts for use.



**Figure 10 Semantic taxonomy of future time reference**

## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

This thesis attempts to answer three research questions: 1) What are the markers and structures for direction and time reference in Rvmøl? 2) How do they function in discourse? and 3) What is the connection between direction and time reference in Rvmøl? Here, I will attempt to summarize the answers to those questions, based on the findings already presented.

#### 7.1 What are the markers and structures for direction and time reference?

The results for the first question can be divided into three topics: direction, time reference proper, and aspect.

##### 7.1.1 Direction

On the clause periphery, we have seen that direction can be referenced via locative phrases (Section 3.6) and other noun phrases with allative and ablative postpositions (Section 3.4). Within the predicate, direction is marked by verb suffixes: *-bu* 'away', *-ra/re/ræt* 'toward', *-luŋ* 'up' and *-zək/za?* 'down' (Chapter 4). The cislocative markers *-ra*, *-re*, and *-ræt* are distinguished in that *-ra* occurs with commands and wishes, regarding movement toward the speaker directly, whereas *-re* is indicative, and *-ræt* is primarily associated with movement toward another person besides the speaker, or with transitive cislocation motion, such as bringing an object. The downward marker *-zək/za?* is also frequently used for cislocative direction, especially in commands.

##### 7.1.2 Time reference

Time reference is accomplished by time phrases on the clause periphery (Section 3.6), and to some extent by anaphoric demonstratives (Section 3.2.4). In the predicate, past tense is marked by verb suffixes (Chapter 5). There are three levels of past tense: recent past *-bu* 'PFV', before today *-ri* 'TMdys', and years ago *-yáŋ* 'TMyrs'.

Present time reference is usually unmarked, but may be indicated by the declarative sentence-final marker =*e*, although this can mark other times besides the present.

Future time reference is accomplished by a variety of means. Morphological means of indicating future time include the future/irrealis marker *ya* = 'FUT' (Section 6.3) and the intentive suffix -*ì* (Section 6.4). In addition, a hypothetical/conditional future construction is formed with the direction suffix -*luŋ* 'UP' plus *i* 'be/if' and *nu* 'TOP', as an extension of of inceptive aspect (Section 5.4). *Mvtwang* also uses -*luŋ* 'UP' or -*da?* 'DOWN' plus =*e* 'NPAST' as a future tense construction, but this has not been observed in *Rvmøl*, probably because *ya* = 'FUT' fills that function.

More complex constructions for future time reference include nominalizations with the purposive marker *lám*, the commissive marker *kà* (<'word'), or the uncertainty marker *na*, plus a copula (Section 6.1). Certain modal verbs such as *pə̀dù* 'want to' can be construed as indicating possible future action as well (Section 6.2).

### 7.1.3 Aspect

In terms of aspect, perfect (anterior) tense and perfective aspect are both encoded by -*bu* 'PFV' (Section 5.1). Completive aspect is indicated by the phasal verb *daŋ* 'finish' (Section 3.7.1.2). Completive aspect (successful action) is also associated with the downward direction suffix -*zək/za?* (Section 4.2.2). Non-final clauses in a sequence of events indicate a kind of perfective aspect, as well: by verb reduplication, the non-final marker =*əŋ* 'LNK', and/or the adverbial/predicate sequence marker =*í* (Section 3.10).

Imperfective aspect is often unmarked, but can be encoded by the phasal verb *mən* 'continue' (Section 3.7.1.3). Another way to mark durative aspect within a period of activity followed by another activity, is with a combination of verb reduplication and the prefix *ə-* (Section 3.8.1.2.2).

Inceptive aspect, marking the beginning of an event or state, is marked by the direction suffixes, primarily -*luŋ* 'up' and -*zək/za?* 'down' (Section 5.4). The first is associated with gradual changes and the second is associated with sudden changes. The phasal verb *pə̀ŋ* 'start' also encodes inceptive aspect (Section 3.7.1.1).

## 7.2 What are their discourse functions?

It would be difficult to summarize the discourse functions of all the markers and structures mentioned above, but a few comments can be made regarding the past

tense markers at least (see Chapter 5). *-bu* 'PFV' is used in dialogue to indicate that something has already happened and has present relevance. In narrative sequences, *-bu* is used for look-back, to show that X had happened before Y (in adverbial clauses), and especially to mark the result of a climactic event, or a change of scene.

Evidence for the usage of *-ri* 'TMdys' is still scanty, but in general it is used in dialogue for things that were experienced and then discovered or pointed out later.

*-yáŋ* 'TMyrs' has a special function in narrative discourse. In traditional narratives, it appears only at the beginning or end of an episode or story, in order to relate the situation in the story to the time of speaking. In personal narratives about long ago events, it is used for background information, and disappears during the main action, especially at the peak. These kinds of discourse functions are quite interesting, and similar functions have also been found in Burmese (Ozerov 2015).

### 7.3 What is the connection between direction and time reference?

It appears that cislocative (*-ra/re/rət*), upward (*-luŋ*), and downward (*-zək/zaʔ*) direction markers in Rvmøɭ have developed senses encoding inceptive aspect (change of state), which in turn has led to future time reference. Dislocative direction (*-bu*), on the other hand, has developed senses encoding perfect and recent past tense, and perfective aspect.

It has been shown that the direction markers themselves probably developed from verbs of motion: *\*ra* 'come' > *-ra* 'CIS(imperative)', *\*bu* 'go' > *-bu* 'DIS', *\*luŋ* 'ascend' > *-luŋ* 'UP', and *\*zak* 'descend' > *-zək/zaʔ* 'DOWN'. The origins of the other cislocative markers were investigated as well; *-re* 'CIS(indicative)' may have come from *\*ra* plus the copula *í*, and *-rət* 'CIS(transitive)' may be from *\*ra* 'come' plus the PTB transitivizing suffix *\*-t*, forming *\*rat* 'bring'.

It is not clear how the time markers for 'before today' (*-ri* 'TMdys') and 'years ago' (*-yáŋ* 'TMyrs') originated, but the first one appears to be related to the experiential auxiliary verb *ri* in C. Dulong, and possibly also the verb *ri* 'carry'. If so, this is further evidence for the grammaticalization path Verb > Auxiliary > Suffix (DeLancey 1985).

Another grammaticalization link between time and space, although not directly related to direction, is the possible origin of the purposive/irrealis/future

nominalizer *lám* 'PUR' in the proto-word *\*lam* 'road'. If this is confirmed, it connects the image of a physical road ahead with actions planned in the future.

## 7.4 The evolution of this project

When I began this thesis, I was told tense and aspect was one of the more difficult areas of grammatical research, and yet one of the most important for translation and literary studies. Having chosen this semantic area to work on, I looked for the most prominent structures for expressing the past tense, by conversing with Rvmø1 speakers and analyzing Rvmø1 texts and sentences.

I decided to focus mainly on the predicate, in order to narrow the scope, since adverbials and time phrases marking time reference could simply be listed in a dictionary. The most iconic tense-aspect structures, and also the most slippery, fell under three categories: post-verbal markers, verb concatenation, and nominalization.

I started by analyzing the post-verbal tense markers *-ri* 'days ago' and *-yan* 'years ago', and the perfective aspect marker *-bu*, and separating out their different functions in discourse. From there, I was plunged into a study of directionals, since *-bu* also functions as a dislocative (away from the center) marker. Along the way, I confirmed that the up and down directionals can also encode inceptive aspect, just as in Dulong (Sun 1982) and Mvtwang (LaPolla 2000).

The detailed analysis of tense, aspect, and direction suffixes and their origins took a lot of space, but I decided to also add a chapter on future time reference, so as to capture ways of marking what in other languages would be called future tense. This afforded the opportunity to touch on verb concatenation and nominalization as well as the intensitive suffix *-i*.

One lesson learned from this is that certain categories, such as past time reference, may be morphologized into just one morphological slot, whereas other categories, such as future time reference, may be expressed by a wide array of possible strategies, and intertwined with modality, direction, and aspect. Each language, it seems, has certain grammatical categories that it focuses on with particular morphosyntactic strategies, and others are left to develop as secondary senses of constructions originally expressing other categories.

## 7.5 Future directions

For future research, it may be fruitful to investigate the structures presented here with more quantitative and discourse-related analysis, to find out how nominalization, verb concatenation, and clause chaining compare to simple clauses in their discourse functions and in their expression of direction and time reference.

It would also be useful to compare the structures presented here with Mvtwang in more detail, and try to find the origin of the tense-aspect markers in Mvtwang which do not occur in Rvmøl, and vice versa.

While not every topic in Rvmøl grammar has been covered here, and not even every topic in direction and time reference, it is hoped that this research provides a basic introduction to the Rvmøl dialect and how Rvmøl speakers use their linguistic resources to talk about direction, tense, and aspect.

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## APPENDIX A

### HISTORICAL NAMES FOR RAWANG GROUPS

source	M	D	A	T	L
Barnard (1925)	Nung	Daru	Hopa/ Kwinpang (< Nung)	Tangsir (< Nung)	(Nung)
Enriquez (1933: 47–48)	Nung (incl. Rawang, Matwang, Htiselwang, Surwang, Sirhta, Wahke, Agu, Hpungzi)	Daru (incl. Mayit, Sangne, Tadzuwang, Kirhpai, Anamhpai, Htalang, Talong)	Kwin-hpang	Tangsir	(Cis N'Mai Nung)
Morse (1963)	Mutwàng (< Rǎwàng)	Gǎnung, Daru	Nung (Kwinp'ang, Kuhpang, Kwinsang, Fuch'ye)	(Rǎwàng)	Lùngmi
Morse (1965: 338)	Mvtwàng (< Rvwàng)	Gvnøng (or Khunong, Khenung, Hkanung, Nung)	Nung/ Kwinsvng/ Kupang	Tàngsàrr	Lùngmī
Morse & Morse (1966: 199)	Rǎwang	Gǎnøng	Nung/Nu	Tangsarr/ T'agc'ay	Lòngmì
Morse (1989)	Mvtwang	Daru, Daru-Jerwang	Anung	Tangsar	Longmi
Mani (1997)	Mvtwàng (or Rvmèti > Rvxóm <sup>58</sup> > Matwang)	Gvnøng > Tvrùng, Nu/Lutze, Zerwàng/ Jerwàng, Dvrù (or Gvnøng > Zerwàng)	Vnùng (or Anong/Nung)	Dvngsàrr/ Tvngsar	Lùngmi/ Lungmi
Bradley (1997: 34–35)	Mvtwang (< Rvwang/ Rawang) (incl. Dvmang)	Gvnøng > Zørwang/ Jerwang/ Tvluq, Dvrù/Daru, Dulong/Trung	Anung	Dvngsar/ Tangsarr (< Rvwang/ Rawang)	Lungmi/ Longmi
LaPolla (2000: 283)	Mvtwang, Wvdamkong	Dvrù (Ganung)	Kwinpang (Anung)	Tangsarr	Longmi

<sup>58</sup> Mani uses a variant of the Rawang orthography, where <x> is used for /f/ instead of <sh>.

## APPENDIX B

### WORDLIST

This wordlist (C436) was elicited from Chømngunggang Chang by the researcher, based on transcribed forms elicited from Ticewang Pong by David Sangdong. The original wordlist (SIL's Mainland South-East Asia 436-item wordlist) has been slightly rearranged to better reflect the semantic domains, and the items have been renumbered to include multiple forms for certain items, so if a gloss field is blank, it should be interpreted as the same as the word above it. For phonemic transcription conventions, see Chapter 2. The orthographic transcription is merely preliminary, as official standards have not been set for writing this dialect.

		phonemic	orthographic
	<b>Nature</b>		
1	sky	muʔ	muq
2	sun	nəm	nəm
3	moon	səla	svla
4	star	gumit	gumit
5	cloud	rəmʉt	rvmøt
6	mist	səmú	svmø
7	rain	su	sø
8	rainbow	məsíŋmɛjɪn	mvsíngmenyin
9	lightning	tsəŋbànləp	cvngbànlvp
10	thunder	muʔgùm	muqgòm
11	shadow	kamaŋ	kamang
	<b>Time</b>		
12	night	əgí	vgí
13	day	məyáŋ	mvyáng
14	morning	seráŋ	seráng

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
15	noon	məyáŋ	mvyáng
16	yesterday	tsəgáni	cvgáni
17	tomorrow	əsəŋŋi	vsvngnyi
18	year	ɲiŋ	nyíng
	<b>Directions</b>		
19	east	nəmsər	nvmsvr
20	west	nəmnwɔp	nvmnøp
21	"	nəmlwɔp	nvmlop
22	north	tɕikú	chikó
23	south	tɕimi	chimi
24	right side	əbrəŋ daŋ	vbrvng dang
25	left side	əgwí daŋ	vgwí dang
	<b>Natural resources</b>		
26	water	tɕi	chì
27	river	rəmè	rvmè
28	stream	tɕi	chì
29	(small) stream	tɕi wàŋ (tsəl)	chì wàng (cvl)
30	earth, soil	gaʔ	gaq
31	mud	tsikòŋ	cikòng
32	dust	wənpùŋ	wvnpòn
33	stone	lúŋ	lúng
34	sand	tsaŋpi	cangpi
35	lime (for betel chew)	luŋtún	lungtún
36	gold	dzà	jà
37	silver	kəmpùŋ	kvmpòng
38	iron	səm	svm
39	mountain	rəzi	rvzi

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
40	cave	luŋdòŋ	lungdòng
	<b>Plants and food</b>		
41	forest	siŋsa	singsa
42	"	siŋya	síngya
43	tree	siŋ	síng
44	"	siŋtùŋ	síngtòng
45	branch	siŋdəbaŋ	singdvbang
46	tree bark	siŋtseʔ	síngceq
47	"	siŋpeʔ	síngpeq
48	thorn	paŋhú	panghó
49	root	siŋru	síngrø
50	leaf	siŋləp	sínglvp
51	flower	nəmbən	nvmavn
52	"	siŋwət	singwvt
53	fruit	siŋsí	singsí
54	seed	(aŋ) eʔ	ang-eq
55	grass	sin	sin
57	bamboo	təwa	tvwa
58	bamboo shoot	metsú	mecó
59	mushroom	bəʔtəlu	bøqtvlu
60	cane/rattan	təri	tvri
61	sugarcane	matçi	machi
62	betelnut	sazí	sazí
63	opium	gani	gani
64	liquor	nù	nø
65	banana (fruit)	klunmu	klungmu
66	papaya	saŋposi	sangposi

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
67	eggplant (fruit)	zəba	zvba
68	ginger	luŋzɪn	lungzɪn
69	garlic	gəromòŋ	gvromòng
70	corn	nəmbòŋ	nvmbòng
71	red pepper	məzaŋ	mvzang
72	paddy rice	əm	vm
73	cooked rice	zá	zá
	"	tsət	cvt
74	pounded rice	əmtsér	vmcér
75	medicine	zì	zì
76	"	ətsì	vcì
	<b>Animal kingdom</b>		
77	animal	səlaʔ	svlaq
78	"	bənnà	bvnnà
79	tiger	kàŋ	kàng
80	bear	səʔí	svqí
81	monkey	əgwè	vgwè
82	gibbon	kagùr	kagò
83	porcupine	tsəbrù	cvbrù
84	pangolin	zəklè	zvklè
85	rat	dwt	døt
86	dog	dəgi	dvgi
87	to bark	grùŋ	grùng
88	to bite	kèe	kèe
89	cat	mí	mí
90	pig	waʔ	waq
91	cow	nuŋwà	nungwà

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
92	milk	nuŋwà nuŋ	nungwà nung
93	buffalo	əlò	vlò
94	horn (of buffalo)	dərùŋ	dvròŋg
95	tail	migoŋ	migong
96	elephant	məgù	mvgø
97	elephant tusk	dəgòŋ	dvgòŋg
98	bird	pətsiʔ	pvcìq
99	bird's nest	pətsidəŋ	pvcidvŋg
100	wing	tçer	cher
101	feather	muul	møl
102	to fly	bèr	bèr
103	egg	lùm	lòm
104	chicken	kaʔ	kaq
105	fish	ŋa	nga
106	snake	bù	bø
107	turtle	tsəkop	cvkop
108	frog	nagreŋ	nagreng
109	spider	kwinpè	kwinpè
110	spider web	səráŋ	svráŋ
111	louse	siʔ	siq
112	termite	səgùŋ	svgøn
113	cockroach	tsoŋmil	congmil
114	"	tsoŋbin	congbin
115	land snail	naku tsiŋ	naku cigong
116	edible water snail (Burmese)	kuyuʔ	kuyuq
117	mosquito	zigròŋ	zigròŋg
118	bee	kwá	kwá

		phonemic	orthographic
119	fly	pasí	pasí
120	butterfly	koŋpùr	kongpòr
121	scorpion	muʔhè	muqhè
122	land leech	mapət	mapvt
123	earthworm	bwdəl	bødvl
	"	bwdən	bødvn
124	<b>The body</b>		
125	head	əgoʔ	vgoq
126	face	már	mvr
127	mind	mit	mit
128	brain	ənɯʔ	vnøq
129	hair	əɲi	vnyi
130	"	ɯɲi	unyi
131	forehead	mərgaŋ	mvrgang
132	eyebrow	mezùm	mezòm
133	eye	meʔ	meq
134	eyelid	mepɯn	mepøn
135	nose	səná	svná
136	cheek	səbí	svbí
137	ear	ənà	vnà
138	mouth	ɲinoʔ	nyinoq
139	tongue	pələ	pvlè
140	saliva	tɕil	chil
141	tooth	sà	sà
142	gums	satsúɫ	sacól
143	chin	məká	mvká
144	beard	dúŋbùr	dúngbòr



		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
145	to shave (beard)	súlsì	sólsì
146	shoulders/upper back	raʔ	raq
147	lower back	tsəŋyàn	cvngyàn
148	belly	powá	powá
149	navel	porì	porì
150	heart	rəmoʔ	rvmoq
151	lungs	rəsú	rvsó
152	liver	pəsin	pvsin
153	intestines	pəyɯ	pvyø
154	hand	ur	ur
155	elbow	kaŋinpuʔ	kanyinpuq
156	"	kaŋintsù	kanyincù
157	"	urpot	urpot
158	armpit	karíkenpaŋ	karíkenpang
159	palm	urben	urben
160	finger	urhèm	urhèm
161	finger nail	ɲin	nyin
162	buttocks	nəpí	nv pí
163	leg	hí	hí
164	thigh	mətsì	mv cì
165	knee	paŋpwt	pangpøt
166	calf	məboʔ	mvboq
167	shin	higòŋ	higòng
168	"	hitan	hitan
169	foot	hiben	hiben
170	heel	hizú	hizó
171	bone	ɕaru	sharø

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
172	"	ça rəgaʔ	sha rvgaq
173	rib	pəràm (çarw)	pvràm (sharø)
174	flesh	ça	sha
175	fat	sú	sú
176	skin	pʷn	pøn
177	blood	sù	sø
178	sweat	gəlù	gvlø
179	pus	dəbyù	dvbyø
180	excrement	ɲi	nyi
181	"	ɲiʔ	nyiq
182	urine	tsi	ci
	<b>Humans and kinship terms</b>		
183	man	nəŋlatsəl	nvnglàc̀vl
184	woman	pəmətsəl	pvmac̀vl
185	person	əsəŋ	vs̀vng
186	father	əpè	vpè
187	mother	əmè	vmè
188	child (young person)	dətsəm̀rá	dvc̀m̀rá
189	soninlaw	əŋsəŋ (pè)	angsv̀ng (pè)
190	"	əsəŋ (pè)	vs̀vng (pè)
191	husband	tçùmpè	chòmpè
192	wife	tçùmmè	chòmmè
193	widow	memà	memà
194	"	nʷmdaʔrá	nømdaqrá
195	brother (elder)	wì ə́rəm	wì vr̀m
196	sibling (younger)	pəŋ ə́rəm	pvng vr̀m
197	friend	lambroʔ	lambroq

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
198	name	miŋ	ming
	<b>Places and houses</b>		
199	village	mərèŋ	mvrèng
200	road, path	tərà	tvrà
201	wet rice field	koná	koná
202	boat	sù	sò
203	house	tɕùm	chòm
204	door	pəŋkà	pvngkà
205	window	pəŋkátsi	pvngkáci
206	roof	tsip	cip
207	area under house	pəŋdòŋ	p'vngdòng
208	wall of house	dədun	dvdøn
209	sleeping area	ip lóm dóm	ip l'vm d'vm
210	"	ip rà	ip rà
	<b>Household items and activities</b>		
211	mat	pəlu	pvlv
212	pillow	məkum	mvkòm
213	blanket	yoʔ	yoq
214	clothing	bəlunɟ sərùm	bvlung svròm
215	sarong	sərùm	svròm
216	trousers	námbe	n'vmbe
217	to weave (clothing)	(yoʔ) raʔ(e)	(yoq) raq(e)
218	to dye (cloth)	tsóe	cóe
219	to sew (Rvmøl)	dətseʔ	dvceq
220	to sew (Dvrui)	dəpeʔ	dvpeq
221	needle	səmàn	svmàn
222	comb	əsí	vsí

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
223	pot (cooking-)	taʔ	taq
224	mortar	dəŋto	dvngto
225	pestle	dúr	dúr
226	"	dəŋto dúr	dvngto dúr
227	spoon	kílaʔ	kílaq
228	plate	ban	ban
229	firewood	kam	kam
230	fire	təmi	tvmi
231	ashes	kaʔpú	kaqpú
232	smoke	məʔw	mvqø
233	gong	mətsèŋ	mvcèng
234	bow, crossbow	taná	taná
235	arrow	təamá	tvamá
236	spear	məŋgruŋ	mvnggrøng
237	knife	səm	svm
	<b>Actions</b>		
238	to hear	tóŋ	tóng
239	to smell (sth.)	pənəm	pvnvm
240	to see	yèŋ	yvng
241	to wink	meʔ əpraŋsi	meq vpraŋsi
242	to weep	ŋù	ngø
243	to eat	ə̀m	v̀m
244	to taste with the tongue	laʔ	laq
245	to swallow	mlak	mlak
246	to be hungry	pə́rísì	pvrísì
247	to be full	ə̀grà	vgrà
248	to be thirsty	tçìrà̀n	chìrà̀n

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
249	"	saʔbán	saqbán
250	to drink	aʔ	aq
251	to be drunk	nùí ɲám	nǝí ngám
252	to vomit	duʔ	duq
253	to spit	tɕil pəyasi	chil pvyasi
254	to cough	əhòr	vhòr
255	to yawn	məhwám əhwàm	mvhwám vhwàm
256	to breathe	saʔ ɲànsi	saq ngànsi
257	to whistle	hwihwì wa	hwìhwì wa
258	to suck	tsúp	cóp
259	to lick	lak	lak
260	to smile	ètsi	ètsi
261	to laugh	ètsi	ètsi
262	to speak	kà sùn	kà sòn
263	to tell	sùn	sòn
264	to shout	goʔ	goq
265	to answer	ətónsi	vtónsi
266	to lie, fib	əyàe	vyàe
267	"	lèn	lèn
268	to sing	məkón	mvkón
269	to think	dəduʔ	dvðøq
270	to know	só	só
271	to forget	əmətsi	vmvtsi
272	to choose	rətsàŋ	rvcàng
273	to love	súnɣsi	súngsi
274	to hate	məsúnɣsi	mvsúngsi
275	to wait	ətsùŋ	vcùng

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
276	to count	rətú	rvtó
277	to be afraid	pəreʔ	pvreq
278	to be angry	sənásé	svnásé
279	to sleep	ip	ip
280	to snore	ŋoʔ	ngoq
281	to dream	ip mlánj mlánj	ip mláng mláng
282	to hurt	zà	zà
283	to drink medicine	zi aʔ	zi aq
284	to itch	pəsaʔ	pvsaq
285	to scratch	ruʔsi	røqsi
286	to shiver	ədən	vdvn
287	to die	sì	sì
288	to sit	ròŋ	ròng
289	to stand	rep	rep
290	to kneel	paŋpwt dət̚saʔsi	pangpøt dvcaqsi
291	"	paŋpwt dət̚súnjì ròŋ	pangpøt dvcúngì ròng
292	to walk	tərà d̚zì	tvrà jì
293	to crawl	òm	òm
294	to come	d̚zìré	jìré
295	to enter	záŋsìré	zángsìré
296	to return	lòkré	lòkré
297	to push	rəbá:k	rvbá:k
298	"	dəpat	dvpat
299	to pull	gəròt	gvròt
300	"	gərùn	gvròn
301	to kick	híi dəpá:t	híi dvpá:t

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
302	to throw	dədzáŋ	dvjáŋg
303	to fall	əglà	vglà
304	to swim	tɕì làŋ	chì làng
305	to float	tɕìí ɲón	chìí ngón
306	to sink	əlɯp	vlɔp
307	to flow	əyù	vyò
308	to give	zí	zí
309	to tie	(səmrí) práŋ	(svmrí) práŋ
310	to wipe	sùk	sòk
311	to rub, scrub	hot	hot
312	to wash	zál	z'íl
313	to launder	zál	z'íl
314	to bathe	tɕì zólì	chì z'ólì
315	to hit (with object)	sət	svt
316	to hit (with hand)	ur dəpu?	ur dvpuq
317	to split	ɲé	ngé
318	to cut (hair)	əɲi súlsì	vnyì s'òlsì
319	to grind (corn)	(nəmbɔŋ) rún	(nvmbong) r'ón
320	to plant	kət	kvt
321	to dig	dù	dù
322	to bury (a corpse)	lɯp	lɔp
323	to winnow (rice)	pó:p	pó:p
324	to dry (sth.)	lám	lám
325	to pound (rice)	dúr	dúr
326	"	dùŋ dùŋ wa dúr	dùng dùng wa dúr
327	to cook (rice)	kút	k'ót

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
328	"	(tsət) kú:t	(cvt) kó:t
329	to burn	təmi wár	tvmi wár
330	to extinguish (fire)	təmi mak	tvmi mak
331	"	təmi səmit	tvmi svmit
332	to work	bənlì wa	bvnlì wa
333	to play	gəlá	gvlá
334	to dance	lùm	lòm
335	to shoot	wəp	wvp
336	to hunt	ça kwàn	sha kwàn
337	"	ça wàn	sha wàn
338	to hunt (with fire for light at night)	təmií wán	tvmií wán
339	to kill	sət	svt
340	to fight	əsət	vsvt
341	to buy (things)	(gərè) wá:n	(gvrè) wá:n
342	"	(gərè) wən	(gvrè) wèn
343	to sell	nám	nám
344	to exchange	təle	tvle
345	to pay	təpú zi	tvpó zi
346	to steal	kù	kø
347	to take	lámɓu	lámgbø
348	to disappear	əmaɓbù	vmangbø
349	to split w/a knife	tot	tot
350	to bend	ú?	óq
351	to bend (1sg) (I bend)	úk	ók
352	to lift	əbon	vbon
353	to do/make	wò	wò
354	don't do it	ya mé miwaé	ya mé miwaé



		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
	<b>Numerals</b>		
355	one (person)	tɕi yoʔ	chi yoq
356	two (persons)	əɲi yoʔ	vnyí yoq
357	three (persons)	əsùm yoʔ	vsòm yoq
358	four (persons)	əbli yoʔ	vblì yoq
359	five (persons)	puŋwà yoʔ	pungwà yoq
360	six (persons)	təruʔ yoʔ	tvruq yoq
361	seven (persons)	ɕuŋit yoʔ	shøngit yoq
362	eight (persons)	ɕət yoʔ	shvt yoq
363	nine (persons)	dəgù yoʔ	dvǵø yoq
364	ten (persons)	tɕisəl yoʔ	chisvíl yoq
365	hundred (persons)	tɕiyá	chiyá
366	thousand (persons)	tɕikíŋ	chikíng
	<b>Other quantifiers</b>		
367	to be many	(əsəŋ) gəmè í	(vsvng) gvmè í
368	all	bè taʔ	bè taq
369	some	tɕiwal	chiwal
370	to be few	səmtsəl	svmcvl
371	half a unit	tɕitot	chitot
372	half a quantity	tɕiwál	chiwál
	<b>Descriptive words</b>		
373	to be big	tèe	tèe
374	to be small	tsəm	cvm
375	to be long	yəŋ	yvng
376	short (length)	əŋtot	angtot
377	to be tall	əháŋ	vháng
378	to be short (height)	əném	vném

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
379	to be thick	tət	tv̄t
380	to be thin	bà	bà
381	to be fat	dəbɯʔ	dv̄bøq
382	to be skinny	dəhèŋ	dv̄hèng
383	to be wide, broad	gàŋ	gàng
384	to be narrow	dətçèm	dv̄chèm
385	to be deep	nuʔ	nuq
386	to be shallow	bà	bà
387	to be round	aŋkùn	angkùn
388	to be full	semwá i	semwá i
389	to be straight	pədúŋ	pv̄dúng
390	to be far	əlé	v̄lé
391	to be near	tərəŋ	tv̄réng
392	to be dirty	ɲím mətsət i	nyím mv̄cv̄t i
393	to be new	əŋsər i	v̄ngs̄vr̄ i
394	to be old	əŋtseʔ i	v̄ngceq i
395	to be dark	dù	dø
396	very dark	dɯ zəŋ wà	dø z̄v̄ng wà
397	to be bright	gá	gá
398	to be the same	tará i	tará i
399	to be different	mará	mará
400	to be sweet	zù	zø
401	sour	mətsət	mv̄cat
402	"	pətsət	pv̄cat
403	to be bitter	kà	kà
404	spicy, hot	sé(e)	sé(e)
405	to be ripe	mìn	mìn

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
406	rotten	pù(è)	pù(è)
407	swell	góŋ(è)	gýng(è)
408	to be dry	kán	kán
409	to be wet	saʔ	saq
410	to be hot (for things or people or weather)	əkatsì	vkatsì
411	to be hot (for a situation in general)	əkát	vkát
412	to be cold	tçít	chít
413	to be sharp	ətsúúr	vcór
414	to be blunt	túúm	tóm
415	to be heavy	əlì	vì
416	to be hard	krèŋ	krèng
417	to be smooth	laŋlaŋwà	langlangwà
418	to have endurance (intended: to be fast)	dzòr(è)	jòr(è)
419	to be slow	əmùr (əmùr)	vmø (vmø)
420	energetic	kráŋ	kráng
421	strong	in'gùn	in'gùn
422	strong	n'gùn	n'gùn
423	strong, hard	záʔ	záq
424	strong	in'gùn zaʔ	in'gùn zaq
425	"	n'gùn zaʔ	n'gùn zaq
426	slow, lacking energy	məkráŋ	mvkráng
427	to be weak	n'gùn m'ən	n'gùn m'vn
428	"	in'gùn mə-əl	in'gùn mv-vì
429	to be tired	mədžòr	mvjòr
430	to be blind	meʔboʔ	meqboq
431	to be deaf	nəđú i	nvdó i

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
432	bald	əgoʔ gəl	vgoq gəl
433	naked	gúnj aŋtsér	gúng angcér
434	disgusting	ɲúm	nyóm
435	warm	lùm(è)	lòm(è)
436	difficult	rəzaʔ	rvzaq
437	easy	yòl	yòl
438	loose	dəçòŋ	dvshòng
439	"	çóŋçóŋwà	shóngshóngwà
440	to be good	lè(è)	lè(è)
441	to be bad	məlè(è)	mvlè(è)
442	"it's bad?"	məlèé	mvlèé
443	to be correct	dzò(è)	jò(è)
444	to be	íe	íe
445	to be wrong	mə-íe	mv-íe
	<b>Demonstratives</b>		
446	this	ya mé	ya mé
447	that	ku mé	ku mé
	<b>Colors</b>		
448	black	naʔ	naq
449	"	nàʔ	nàq
450	white	mòŋ	mòng
451	red	tçàŋ	chàng
452	green (more freq.)	sìŋ	sìng
453	green (less freq.)	nəsìŋ	nvsìng
	<b>Question words</b>		
454	when	ədəŋí	vdvngí
455	where	əra kaʔ	vra kaq

		<b>phonemic</b>	<b>orthographic</b>
456	who	əra yoʔ	vra yoq
457	what	tsəwà	cvwà
458	how many (persons)	ədəŋ yoʔ	vdʒng yoq
	<b>Pronouns</b>		
459	I (1sg)	ŋà	ngà
460	thou (2sg)	nà	nà
461	he/she/it (3sg)	àŋ	àng
462	we (1pl)	iŋ	ing
463	you (2pl)	nəŋiŋ	nvnying
464	they (3pl)	aŋŋiŋ	angnying

## APPENDIX C

### TEXT: THE TRICKSTER AND THE BEAR (FT1)

This story was told by Rakwi Tang and recorded by Randy LaPolla on January 25, 1996. The initial transcription and translation was done by Rakwi Pung, and later modified by the researcher with help from several Rawang speakers in Chiang Mai. Each numbered sentence represents a new paragraph-level prosodic unit, segmented by pausing, intonation (low, creaky voice at the end of sentences), and the occurrence of the hearsay particle *wà*. The top line of the transcription is left in Rawang orthography for the benefit of native speakers.

1 Mvngkang Vyá mvsíl t̄imé ngàì cvmcv̄l s̄onrv̄t̄ing  
m̄əŋkəŋ\_əyá m̄əsíl t̄i = mé ɲà = í tsəm = tsəl s̄um-rət-i-ŋ,  
Mangkang.Aya story one = CLF 1sg = AGT small = DIM speak-CIS-INTENT-1SG

lè té itá ráing.

lè = té i-tá -rá-iŋ.  
good = ADV N1-listen -CIS<sup>59</sup>-PL

'I'm going to tell you a little story about Mangkang Aya; listen carefully to me.'

2 Cā rvmàng Mvngkāng Vyá n̄ r̄ongdāng dù ā vdòng vchi.  
tsā\_rəmàŋ m̄əŋk̄əŋ\_əyá nu ruŋdāŋ dù ā ədòŋ\_ət̄i.  
long.ago Mangkang.Aya TOP edible.root dig NMLZ taro.root

'Long ago, Mangkang Aya (the trickster or firstborn son liar, tried) to dig taro root.'

3.1 Vdòng vchi dudùì gaq dungkòr taq zvng z̄vngsì i  
ədòŋ\_ət̄i du = dù = í ga? duŋkùr ta? zəŋ = zəŋ-sì = i  
taro.root dig = dig = PS earth hole LOC put = put-R/M = PS

'So he dug (to get this) taro root, and (made a hole and) got into the hole,

yong dú m̄ān wà.

yoŋ dú m̄ān wà  
manner dig continue HS

'and continued to dig like that.'

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<sup>59</sup> The tone marked here is likely due to intonation. It is unclear whether *-ra* 'CIS' or *rà* 'must' is intended here; the first would mean 'carefully come and listen', and the second would mean 'you must listen carefully'. I believe the former interpretation is most correct.

3.2 Mvme tè té dù wà.

məme            tè    té    dù    wà.  
very/much    big    ADV    dig    HS

'(He) dug the hole much bigger.'

4 Yā kám sví tiq gúng ngám wā jìrvtwà.

yā    kám            səí    tɕi    gúŋ            ŋám            wā    dzì-rət = wà.  
this    CLF.time    bear    one    CLF.animal    suddenly.appear    ADV    walk-CIS = HS

'Then, a bear suddenly appeared and came toward (him).'

5 "A jà pā pvn iwò lvie?" āl wà.

"a    dzà    pā    pèn            i-wò            lə-í = e?"            āl    wà.  
VOC    friend    what    kind/thing    N1-do:3U    Q-be = DEC/Q/EXCL    tell    HS

'"Hey, friend, what are you doing (there)?" (the bear) said.'

6 "A muqlàng gweq lóm wà muq vglá lóm wà dvkàng

"a    mu?lànŋ    gwe?    lóm    wà    mu?    əglá    lóm    wà    dəkànŋ  
ah    sky            break    PUR    do    sky    fall    PUR    do    reason

'"Oh, the sky is going to break, the sky is going to fall down, that's why'

mási lvm dùng ā ie" āl wà.

má-si    ləm    dù-ŋ    ā    i = e"    āl    wà.  
hide-R/M    PUR    dig-1SG    NMLZ    be = DEC    tell    HS

'"I'm digging this hole to hide here (in order not to get hurt)." (Mangkang Aya) said.'

7.1 "Jàé ngà gø máng sīngíngó," wā wà.

"dzà = é            ŋà    gu    má-ŋ-sí-ŋ-í-ŋ = ó,"            wā    wà.  
friend = VOC    1sg    also    hide-1SG-R/M-INTENT-1SG = REQ    say    HS

'"Oh, my friend, then, let me hide there too," (the bear) said.'

7.2 "A mvdaq é nà nø, mási mvdaq,

a    mə-da? = é            nà    nu,    má-si    mə-da?,  
ah    NEG-can = EXCL    2sg    TOP    hide-R/M    neg-can

'"No, no, no, it's not possible, you can't hide (here),"'

ngà dvpvt íé" āl wà.

ŋà    dəpət    í = é"            āl    wà.  
1sg    for    be = DEC/EXCL    tell    HS

'"it's only for me," (Mangkang Aya) said.'

8 "Mví é, ngā gø nvn izvng ó te mā wá" wā wà  
 mə-í=é,            ɲā    gw    nón    i-zóŋ=ó            (ə)te\_mā\_wá"    wā    wà  
 NEG-be=EXCL    1sg    also    also    N1-put=REQ    please            say    HS

"Oh, no, no, please keep me in (that hole), too," (the bear) said.'

dvǵvng wà i nø i  
 dəgəŋ    wà    i    nu    i  
 rush        say    be    TOP    be

'(The bear) kept pressuring (Mangkana Aya), talking like that, and so,'

9.1 "Lo- i nø izvngsì" āl wà.  
 "lo    i    nu    i-zóŋ-sì"            āl    wà.  
 okay    be    TOP    N1-put-R/M    tell    HS

"Ok then, get in," (Mangkang Aya) said.'

9.2 Yā gaqdung vdung taq sví gùng zvng vng,  
 yā    ga? = duŋ    ədùŋ    ta?    səí    gùŋ            zóŋ    əŋ,  
 this    earth = hole    inside    LOC    bear    CLF.animal    put    LNK

'(Mangkang Aya got out of the hole and) put the bear in the hole,'

yā mvdv̄m taq singtot mvr̄om v̄ng,  
 yā    məd̄əm    ta?    siŋ = tot            məruum    əŋ,  
 this    above    LOC    wood = piece    pile            LNK

'and (Mangkang Aya started to) pile sticks on top (of the bear and the hole),'

svlv̄p rì í pvl̄u v̄ng,  
 sələp = rì = í            pəlu    əŋ,  
 leaf = PL = INST    cover    LNK

'(and) cover (it) with leaves,'

sop wā kuyong mvsop rì sóng wà kuyong  
 sop = wā            ku = yoŋ            məsop = rì    sóŋ = wà    ku = yoŋ  
 carefully = ADV    that = manner    trash = PL    dry = ADV    that = manner

dvkóm mvbvt m̄an m̄an i let m̄an wà.  
 dəkúum    məbət    m̄an    m̄an    i    let    m̄an    wà.  
 gather    continue    continue    continue    PS    cover    continue    HS

(and then he) carefully gathered (all the) dry leaves/trash (he could find), (and) kept on piling it on and covering (the bear and the hole).'



10 "Má- tǎn gø má lè bǒ é" āl wà.  
 má- tǎn gw má lè-bú = é" āl wà.  
 Q now also Q good-PFV = Q/EXCL tell HS  
 '(Then he asked the bear,) "Is it enough?/Are you okay now?"'

11 "Tǎn gø mǎbǒme" āl, kuyong "mǎsol í" wà  
 "tǎn gw mǎ-bùm = e" āl, ku = yon "mǎsol = í" wà  
 now also NEG-be.enough = DEC tell that = manner trash = INST HS  
 (The bear answered and said,) "I'm not fully covered yet," "(more) trash/leaves,"

"singtot singsóng" wa i kuyong "ø mān" wà.  
 "siŋ = tot siŋ = sóŋ" wa i ku = yon "u mān" wà.  
 wood = piece wood = dry HS PS that = manner cover continue HS  
 "(more) sticks and wood, (please)," "to keep on covering me (well)" (the bear) said.<sup>60</sup>

12 "Tǎn nǒ má lè bǒ" āl wà.  
 "tǎn nu má = lè-bú" āl wà.  
 now TOP Q = good-PFV tell HS  
 "Now is it good?" (Mangkang Aya) said.'

13 "Tǎn gø rà e" wā wà kuyong  
 "tǎn gw rà = e" wā wà ku = yon  
 now also need = DEC" say HS that = manner  
 "(It) still needs (more)," (the bear) said, and so on.'

14 dǒng dǒngwā singtot singmóm mǎsol rì  
 duŋ = duŋ = wā siŋ = tot siŋ = múm mǎsol rì  
 OMP.firmly = OMP.firmly = ADV wood = piece wood = rotten trash PL

let mān kù i nǒ  
 let mān kù i nu  
 cover continue manner be TOP

'With a "deung, dueng" sound (firmly), (Mangkang Aya) continued piling up broken sticks and rotten wood like that to cover (the bear).'

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<sup>60</sup> The part of this sentence after *al* seems like an afterthought after the quote, and it is unclear whether it should be considered a continuation of the quote, or a commentary on the quote and the action that followed.

15 let let- "Tʻvn nø má í bø?" āl wā, "í bø" wā wà.  
 let = let "tón nu má = í-bu?" āl wā, "í-bu" wā wà.  
 cover = cover now TOP Q = be-PFV tell HS be-PFV say HS  
 '(after) covering, (he asked again,) "Is (it enough) now?" "It's (about enough)," (the bear) said.'

16 Yā mé wʻr lʻm dʻpvt  
 yā mé wʻr lʻm dʻpət  
 this CLF burn PUR for  
 '(Then) in order to burn this (pile),'

cā maq kek kek wā dʻklk i nø,  
 tsā\_ma? kek kek wā dʻklək i nu,  
 flint&steel OMP OMP say/ADV strike be TOP  
 '(Mangkang Aya) struck flint and steel with a sound like "akek kek",'

"A kek kek wà ā cvwà pʻn lví ā?" āl wà.  
 "a kek kek wà ā tsəwà pʻn lə-í ā?" āl wà.  
 ah OMP OMP do/say NMLZ what kind/thing Q-be NMLZ/Q tell HS  
 '(and the bear) said, "That kek kek sound, what could it be?"'

17 "Yā muq gweq lʻm wāé,  
 "yā mu? gwe? lʻm wā = é,  
 this sky break PUR do = DEC/EXCL  
 '(Mangkang Aya said,) "The sky is going to break (i.e., it's the sound of the sky falling down),"

hāng wá imásié, kà misòn dé" āl wà.  
 hāŋ wá i-má-si = é, kà m-i-sùn = dé" āl wà.  
 quiet ADV N1-hide-R/M = EXCL speech NEG-N1-speak = EXCL tell HS  
 "'Hide (there) quietly, don't talk!" (Mangkang Aya) said.'

18.1 Yākām cāmaq dʻklaq v̄ng dʻngkør dʻng wà wár.  
 yā = kām tsāma? dʻkla? əŋ dʻŋkùr dʻng wà wár.  
 this = time flint&steel strike LNK hole OMP ADV burn  
 'Then (he) struck the flint and steel, and with a whoosh (he) burned the hole (i.e., set the hole on fire). (lit. a "dung" sound, like a large object falling down).'

18.2 Yā sví gúng nø naq v̄ng wà wà té gom bø  
 yā sví gúŋ nu na? əŋ wà wà té gom-bu  
 this bear CLF.animal TOP black like ADV do ADV burnt-PFV  
 'This bear's body was burned black'

yong, yā pvtøq gaq pvyong gaq cvm cvm mvnēmsi  
 yoŋ, yā pətʉʔ gaʔ pəyoŋ gaʔ tsəm tsəm mənēm-si  
 manner this neck LOC neck LOC a.little a.little stripe-R/M  
 'and at the neck, at the throat, a little here and there were striped'

gaq wā cvm cvm mòng ā zèn yǐng.  
 gaʔ wā tsəm tsəm mòng ā zèn- yǐŋ.  
 LOC only a.little a.little white NMLZ contain-TMyrs  
 'places, with only a little white.'

18.3 Cā rvmàng nø sví nø móng vng wá wà pèn i.

tsā\_rəmàŋ nu sǎi nu mój èŋ = wá wà pèn i.  
 long.ago TOP bear TOP white like = ADV only kind be

'Long ago, the bear was only the white kind.'

19 Yong Mvngkāng Vyá røngdāng dù dǐm

yoŋ məŋkǎŋ\_əyá = í ruŋdǎŋ dù dǐm  
 manner Mangkana.Aya = AGT edible.root dig LOC

tvmi taq wàr yāng m̀ng yong  
 tǎmi taʔ wàr-yǎŋ m̀ŋ yoŋ  
 fire LOC burn-TMyrs but/since manner

'But since Mangkang Aya burned (him) in the fire at the root-digging place like that,'

naʔ èŋ = wá té sǎi nu i = e wá  
 black like = ADV ADV bear TOP be = DEC HS

'(he) is a blackened bear.'

mvsíl- ya ku Mvngkāng Vyá mvsíl sǝne.

məsíl ya ku məŋkǎŋ\_əyá məsíl sùn = e.  
 story this way Mangkang.Aya story speak = DEC

'The story -- the story of Mangkang Aya is told this way.'

20 Yā dǐng te laq í, chime nø.

yā dǐŋte laʔ = í, tɕi = me nu.  
 this much OPT = be one = CLF TOP

'Let it be just this much, for this one.'

## **RESUME**

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