CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The term **"Rawang"**[1] is a general term which refers to a body of people who speak several (about 70) dialects (probably some could be closely related languages) and living in upper Kachin State, Myanmar (Burma). Formerly, the Rawangs were referred to as **Nung, Kanung, Hkenung,** or **Ganung** by other tribes. The problem of nomenclature was brought up by Robert H. Morse (1962:15,28) in his 'Hierarchical Levels of Rawang Phonology'. He finally arrived at the name 'Ganung-Rawang' for the people and 'Rawang' for the language. However, the term 'Rawang' is understood by the Rawangs as referring both to them and to their language, and it was officially adopted.

Robert and Betty Morse (1965:200) divided the Rawang people into five branches by general names which tend to differentiate the variations of culture and social structure: Ganung, Rawang, **Longmi**, **Nung** and **Tangsar.** Stephen A. Morse (1989:239) also made the same five branch distinction but with some changes in the branch names: **Daru** (Ganung **or Gɑnøng)**, **Mɑtwang** (Rawang), **Lungmi**, **Anung** (Nung), and Tangsar. This is only a general grouping and each major group comprises several subgroups. For instance, the Daru-Jerwang group comprises smaller subgroups such as **Maláng, Zewàng**

[1] Here, bold typeface are used to highlight the Rawang names which appear the first time in the text.

(Jerwàng), **Tashø**, **Dazøwàng**, **Taláwang**, **Taluq**, **Akøpáy**, **Anàmpáy**, **Tarùng (Drung/Dulong)**, etc. (Maniq 1992).

Robert and Betty Morse described the Rawang homeland in the following way:

> Their hereditary homeland includes all that combination of high mountains and low tropical jungle valleys just south of the Eastern Himalayas, which is bounded by the Kaolikung Range to the east and the Patkoi-Mishmi Range to the west (1965:195).

This area includes Putao, NogMung, Khawbude, Machanbaw, and Sumbrabum townships of Kachin State. Besides this area, many Rawangs are found also in Myitkyina, Kamaing, and Sawlaw townships of Kachin State.

In addition, Robert Morse (1965:38 footnotes) mentioned that the Rawangs are found also in the adjoining areas in the Nu (Salween) River Valley in Yunan, China. The Rawangs in China are identified as the Drung (also as Dulong or Trung), a sub-branch of Daru-Jerwang branch, and Nu (also as Anung or Anu) nationalities. It is reported that the Drungs are living in the Drung river valley in Gongshan County and the Nus are living in Gongshan, Fugong, Bijiang, Lanping and Weixi counties in the Nu River valley (Shen Che: 1989). Betty M. Morse (1975:33) reported that a Rawang dialect speaking people, (probably known only as Mishmis), are found in the adjoining areas of India. Theraphan (1985:6) listed the Rawang language under the minority languages of Thailand and mentioned that a few Rawangs are living in the Chiangmai and Chiangrai provinces of Thailand.

The total number of the Rawang population is not yet available due to the lack of a thorough census. Robert H. Morse (1962:12) estimated that the number did not exceed 60,000. This figure still seems to hold true for the population of Rawangs in Myanmar. According to a former township

government officer of Putao, the Rawang population in Myanmar is estimated to be 55,000 people. In China, the Drung population is estimated to be 4,680 people and the Nu population 23,000 (Shen Che:1989). Thus, the population of the entire tribe would be over 80,000 people.

Great snow-covered mountains, mountainous subtropical jungles, and dense rainfall have kept the Rawangs in almost total isolation, not only from other tribes, but even from their relatives in adjoining valleys (Morse;1962:21). Nowadays, irregular flights between Putao and Myitkyina, the capital of Kachin State, is the only means by which the Rawangs can reach the people outside their isolated terrain. The Rawangs are bounded on the east by the Lisu and Naxi, on the southeast by the Maru and Lashi, on the south by the Jinghpaw, on the southwest by the Khamti Shan, on the west by the Mishmi (known as Manloq by Rawangs), and on the north by the Tibetans (Stephen A. Morse;1989:238).

The Rawangs are gentle, peace-loving (Betty Morse;1975:28), and law-abiding people (Barnard;1934:117). They are traditionally swidden farmers. Many still use the slash and burn form of agriculture. The Rawangs in the low valleys cultivate on irrigated farms, which are relatively small. They grow rice as their main crop; citrus fruit, vegetables, and other crops are also grown.

Rawangs name their children according to the birth order, using different names for male and female. The terms and their pronunciations differ from clan to clan or from family to family. The following is an example of the names.

Birth Order	Male	Female
First	Pung	Nɑng
Second	Dø or Tin	Nen, Nyen, or Ney
Third	Ken, Kwen, or Jong	Chang, or Hko
Fourth	Søn, Ko, or Dó	Nøn, Tsin, or Ti
Fifth	Zeng, Min, or Nøn	Kùr
Sixth	Pi, or Guq	Gin, or Gong
Seventh	Yung, or Kaq	Tam
...	...	...
Last	Yin, or Tinaq	Yin or Tinaq

Table 1: Rawang Names According to Birth Order

The Rawang kinship system seems to originally be, in Schusky's term, the Iroquois system, a system in which cross cousins are referred to by the same term (Schusky: 1972). Though the northern Rawang groups have the Iroquois system, the middle and southern Rawang kinship systems exhibit some characteristics of the Omaha system. This might be a result of the influence of the Jinghpaws whose kinship system is the Omaha system and are located to the south of the Rawangs. The Rawang kinship relationship is based on the patrilineal descent. Their social structure units are family, clan, and the affinal kin groups. The Rawang marriage is exogamous. The giving of the bride goes in one direction only, i.e., if clan A takes brides from clan B, then clan B cannot take brides from clan A. Exchanging brides between two clans is prohibited. The Rawang people practice monogamy and marriages last throughout their lifetime.

Rawangs were animists but almost all the Rawangs in Myanmar today are Christians. In Rawang mythology, there are several **Pángs** (spirits).

Above these is **Gamøpè**, the Creator. Barnard (1934:114) wrote that there is no account of hell or heaven, but there is a flood story and a pair of humans being saved. But according to my language helper, Rawangs traditionally believed that when a person dies, he goes, according to the creator's will, either to a place where the evil spirits can torture him or to the creator's place where he can have peace. All people who die accidentally are believed to be tortured by the evil spirits. When a young child dies, the Rawangs believe that the creator has taken the child back to his residence. The creator propitiation ceremony includes a traditional dance called Azølàm, in which many people may participate. The shaman and his assistants lead the dance and the host family, their clan members, their relatives, and other guests follow accordingly, dancing around the altar poles. Later, a bovine which is tied to the poles is speared.

Being animists, the Rawangs handed down their myths as well as tribal history and migration accounts through a very strict oral literature, called **Mɑngròng**, a kind of chant or ballad (Robert and Betty Morse 1965:202-203). Such speech forms, whether shaman chants or ballads, contain a more accurate chronology of tribal history and migration than the usual history and genealogies handed down by ordinary speech forms. The contents are set in rigid and unchangeable sequence, exact correctness being of utmost importance, so that later generations cannot change the facts. Otherwise disaster might result from the spirits losing the way. Extracted from such accounts, Rawang history starts with stories and legends of creation and a flood. The patriarchs of the Rawangs descended from the high mountain **Sɑngbɑn-kwinzu Sòng** 'people migrating projection peak' . The places where they settled were chronologically as follows: **Tongzøng Adám** 'alkali flats', **Shazèng Adám** 'animal multiplying plain', **Sɑngzèng Adám** 'people multiplying plain', **Sɑngwál Adám** 'race dividing

plain', **Móngkøm-wayàng** 'united ingathering plain' **Anɑm Adám** 'sun flats', and **Showá Adám** 'in-common flat'. From this point on there seemed to be a few differences in the accounts of the different branches. But there follows an account which tells of a salt source where the salt is taken up as coarse sand.

A tentative identification of these locations are given by Betty Morse (1975):

> ... it does seem that certain areas of northern Tibet and inner Asia fit the description of places mentioned in the chants. We find alkali licks and watered marshy areas on maps of this area. There are vast animal grazing grasslands ... and it is now known that the centres of ancient peoples ... are located in Northeast Tibet and Northwest China.

Her hypothesis suggests that the origin of the Rawangs might be from Western Tibet. This still needs confirmation, however.

Then accounts of three rivers are found. They are **Timashewang** 'Red water river' (Salween), **Tinaqwang** 'Black water river' (Mekong), and **Timongwang** 'White water river' (Yangtze). Rawangs claim that they are the middle river migrants. Two of these rivers were passed but not the third, Yangtze. Then through the high mountain passes, they migrated into the uninhabited land in northern Myanmar. The names of the mountain passes and the villages, in which Rawang pronunciations are partially retained, are some evidences of their migration (see Robert and Betty Morse;1965:204).

Among the migrants, according to my language helpers, were the ancestors of the **Wadɑmkong** clan, one of the Matwang branch. They settled down on **Hol Adám**, on **Tøngzøng Adám** 'All-settled flat', and then on **Zilon Adam** 'Zilon's flat'. It was from the Zilon Adam that this clan called

itself Wadɑmkong. Then they migrated on and settled on **Yoraqgang**, **Zaki Adám**, and **Cholo Adám**, which are in the Mekong and Salween valleys. Then some of them passed the **Punggagap** pass and settled down on **WaqdɑmTung** in **N'Mai** (called **Rɑmeti** by Rawangs) valley in Myanmar. From there many of them migrated in different directions, and some reached the Putao plain (also called **Gømdì** by Rawangs), but most of them returned back to the east later. It is said that one family (**Wadamhkong Pung's** family), however, migrated into **Bongnøn** land (probably North Assam of India) in the west. From the WaqdamTung, several subclans of the Wadamhkong clan began to adopt their own subclan's names. The **Sinwal** clan, the clan of this author's language helpers, is one of them.

2. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS AFFILIATION

The dialect which this paper studies is the dialect that most of the Sinwal clan people speak. It is the writer's mother tongue dialect. This dialect is known as the Wadamhkong dialect by the Rawangs, but, according to the writer's language helper, it is slightly different from the pure Wadamhkong dialect. Thus the term Sinwal is temporarily assigned to refer to this dialect. The Sinwal dialect belongs to the Matwang branch and is very close to the **Ráwàng** dialect, the lingua franca dialect of the Rawangs.

The Rawang language is a Tibeto-Burman language. Grierson and Konow, who classified the Tibeto-Burman languages first, were unaware of the Rawang language. Barnard (1934:x) suggested that the Nung (Rawang) language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family and placed it under the Hsifan group. He also recognized the existence of many dialects of Nung and referred to 'Rawang' as a dialect of them. Shafer (1955) lists Rawang as a language of

the Nungish section of the Burmic division of Tibeto-Burman family. Nishida (1970) grouped 'Nung' under Kachin alongside Chinghpaw. Benedict (1972) listed 'Nung' as a Nungish language under Burmese-Lolo. Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) differentiated between the Nung and Rawang, and listed them under Kachin of Bodo-Naga-Kachin subgroup of Tibeto-Burman (Hale:1982). Thurgood (1984), as quoted by Stephen Morse (1989:238), suggested "Rung" as a major new Tibeto-Burman subgroup, including the Nungish languages (Trung, Rawang and Taruang) alongside the Gyarung languages and Qiang languages. A similar classification to that of Thurgood is made also by Delancey (1987). This last classification, in regard to the Rawang language, is an intriguing one, but scholars have not yet made a final decision where to place the Rawang language in the classification of the Tibeto-Burman languages.

Although Rawangs are referred to as a single tribe with five branches, they actually comprise many small groups each with their own dialects. There are even dialects which are mutually unintelligible. Although the writer is a native Rawang speaker who speaks several dialects, there are still many dialects which are unintelligible to him. When Rawangs talk together, usually the individual speaker uses his own dialect and he switches to another dialect only when the listener does not understand. Rawang dialects vary according to geographical location and clan. For example, **Razà** is a regional dialect, and **Sarep** is a clan dialect. According to Robert Morse (1962:25), a partial count exceeds 70 dialects, suggesting up to a hundred dialects in total. According to the writer's counting, the level of lexical cognates between some dialects ranges from 55% to 90%. Levels of lexical cognates for some other Tibeto-Burman

languages are: 12.50% for Tsangla[2] , 16.82% for Jinghpaw, and 14.47% for Colloquial Burmese.

Up until the British rule, the Rawangs ordinarily lived in small villages, and large villages were rare (Barnard;1934:117). At the present time, however, larger villages are emerging, with the result that speakers of individual dialects have more exposure to other dialects or languages. Due to the influence of the Burmese language as the official language and the medium of education, the promotion of the Ráwàng dialect as lingua franca among the Rawangs, and great intercourse between different dialects and also with other languages such as Dureng (Jinghpaw) and Lisu, many language changes are occurring rapidly among the Rawangs. Some dialects are facing the danger of becoming extinct due to merging, assimilation, absorbtion, etc. For example, the young generation today no longer speak the **Gongrø (Gonglu)** dialect. In some places, new dialects are emerging due to dialect merging. For example, young people in NamKham village of Machanbaw Township, a village with over ten dialects spoken, have begun to speak a distinct dialect in which most of the dialects spoken in the village are mixed.

The present orthography of Rawang, which uses the Roman script, was established by Robert Morse who was a Christian missionary to the Lisu and Rawang peoples. He initiated the translation of the Bible into the Ráwàng dialect of Matwang branch.

[2] This is based on the Tsangla wordlist by Erik Andvik (1992).

3. OBJECTIVES AND SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

In order to accomplish an appropriate amount of research in a certain period of time, the research objectives and scope are set as follows.

The objectives of this research are:

a) to describe the structures of verbs and nouns,

b) to examine the functions of morphemes within morphological structures,

c) to examine the allomorphs,

d) to describe the morphophonemic rules, and

e) to relate the findings to translation.

The scope of this study is restricted as follows.

a) This research studies only the Sinwal dialect of the Rawang language.

b) Though the Rawangs do not have a written form of speech, they do have a form of speech used in traditional chants. The speech form used in these chants is excluded from this study, because this speech uses ancient words which are complicated and difficult to understand. Thus the speech studied is of the current spoken form.

c) Since this study is a morphological study, only word formations are studied. In cases where word formations are relevant to the syntactic level, the relevant features are studied if they are directly relevant to morpheme contrasts or to the functions of a morpheme.

d) When studying word structures, word formation processes, morphemes, morpheme variants, morphophonemic changes, and

the functions and meanings of the morphemes are examined.

e) Though there are several word classes which undergo word formation processes, only verbs and nouns are studied because of their complications and the writer's limited time.

4. SOURCE OF DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Since the writer speaks the Sinwal dialect, much of the data comes from the writer himself. For checking whether the data is common or not, two language helpers, one man and one woman, were chosen for this study. They speak the Sinwal dialect as their mother tongues, and they contributed valuable data to this study.

Generally, the theoretical stance of this analysis is a eclectic one. Sometimes, though, a modified form of the tagmemic model is applied in certain places. For example, the descriptions will use some tagmemic terminology such as tagmeme, slot, filler, etc.

This study assumes that a unit of language is composed of different constituent parts which occur in a certain order. In other words, a structure of a language unit consists of several slots filled by certain smaller units, i.e., slot fillers. In the structure certain slots may be obligatory and other slots, optional. Thus, a structure may have a minimal possible form and a maximal form. The difference in the occurrence of slot fillers results from different co-occurrence restrictions on the slots or on the slot-fillers within or outside the structure.

Since morphology is the study of the structure of words, a comment on the definition of a 'word' is relevant. Though there is no non-arbitrary way of defining a 'word' in Rawang, this research assumes that

some definitions given by scholars such as Healey (1988), Pike & Pike (1982), and Matthews (1974) are plausible. However, "a minimum free form", a definition given by Bloomfield (1933:178), is considered as the basic idea of what is 'a word'. In most cases, this research assumes that a word is the smallest unit of language which can convey an idea, which can stand alone, which can be assigned to a specific word class and which may have a number of grammatical functions. In other words, the working element is, in Matthew's sense, a grammatical word (See Matthews 1974:32f).

A morpheme is the smallest meaningful part of language. A word may be composed of a single morpheme or several morphemes. In poly-morphemic words, the boundaries between morphemes can be clear-cut or obscure. In Rawang words, the morpheme boundaries are mostly clear-cut.

A morpheme in a poly-morphemic word may be realized as one of several variants, or allomorphs, according to the conditioning factors. The conditioning factors can be morphological, phonological, both morphological and phonological, or grammatical.

Kinds of morphemes can be distinguished according to several different criteria. Distribution is a criterion which distinguishes morphemes as bound and free morphemes, roots and non-root morphemes, stems and affixes, nucleus and periphery morphemes, mutually exclusive morphemes and mutually obligatory morphemes, obligatory morphemes and optional morphemes, closing morphemes and non-closing morphemes, core morphemes, etc. Affixes can be further categorized as prefixes, suffixes, infixes, suprafixes and simulfixes. Other kinds of morphemes are zero morphemes, portmanteau morphs and discontinuous morphemes.

Morphological processes can be roughly divided into addition, replacement, subtraction, and suppletion (Nida:1949, Elson and Pickett: 1976). Addition can be further divided into affixation, reduplication, and compounding. Affixation can be either inflectional or derivational. In

reduplication, partial reduplication and whole reduplication are sub-categories. Reduplication is not observed in Rawang verb and noun morphology, but is a significant process of adverbialization in Rawang. Compounding can be of various combinations of cores of the same or different word or lexical classes.

When two morphemes come together, phonological changes may occur. The most common changes are changes such as assimilation, dissimilation, weakening, palatalization, nasalization, tone perturbation, reduction, addition, vowel lengthening, fusion, and metathesis.

In this research, a couple of texts were elicited first. Then verbs and nouns found in the texts were sorted separately and their structures were studied. The morphological analysis of this paper includes the following steps:

a) identifying morphemes

b) identifying word structures: deciding slots and their fillers

c) eliciting more words to find more possible slot fillers

d) repeating the previous steps until it gives a satisfactory result

d) studying the morphological processes

e) studying allomorphs and their conditioning factors

f) studying constraints on morpheme co-occurrences, and

g) writing the analysis.

The prominent morphological processes in Rawang verb formation are compounding, derivation, and inflection. Noun formation processes are compounding and derivation. Thus, discussion of word formations is organized along those lines. Allomorphs and their conditioning factors are also discussed when they occur. Since subtraction, replacement, and suppletion processes are not observed, the discussion of them is considered irrelevant in this paper.

5. PHONOLOGY SUMMARY

5.1. The Phonology of the Sinwal Dialect of Rawang

The Sinwal dialect is a dialect somewhat closely related to the Matwang dialect, of which Robert Morse (1962) made a phonology study. The phonology of the Sinwal dialect, according to the writer's analysis thus far, exhibits several differences from that of the Matwang dialect. The phonology of the Sinwal dialect is summarized below.

		bilb	**alv**	**alv-pltl**	**velar**	**glottal**
stops	**asp**	p^h	t^h		k^h	
	unasp	b	d		g	ʔ
affrct	**asp**		ts^h	$tʃ^h$		
	unasp			dz		
frictv	**asp**		s	ʃ		h
	unasp		z			
nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
lateral			l			
vibrant			ɹ			
apprxmnt		w		j		

Table 2: Consonant Phonemes of the Sinwal Dialect

Robert H. Morse (1962) listed twenty consonants as exhibiting phonemic contrast in the Matwang dialect. Stephen A. Morse (1989) listed twenty-two consonants as phoneme consonants of some Rawang dialects (Jerwang, **Mvbøq**, **Tsangnai**, **Koduq**, and Mɑ̈twang dialects) he had studied.

The Sinwal dialect also has the same twenty-two phoneme consonants. These are shown above.

Of these consonants, /ts/ and /ɲ/ were not listed by Robert Morse because they do not occur in the Matwang dialect. Of the stops, he wrote,

> The stops /p,t,k/ exhibit voiceless released aspirate and voiceless unreleased allophones which are in complimentary distribution. The voiceless aspirate allophones [p^h,t^h,k^h] occur only initially, and the voiceless unreleased allophones [p,t,k] occur syllable finally. Glottal stop occurs finally with only a fortis unreleased stop allophone. (Robert Morse 1962:76)

In the Sinwal dialect, the nasal plus glottal stop clusters [mʔ,nʔ,nʔ] at syllable final position also are considered as allophones of /p^h,t^h,k^h/. Rawang language distinguishes the difference between aspirated and unaspirated stops, but not between voiced and voiceless stops.

Both Robert H. Morse (1962) and Stephen A. Morse (1989) listed seven vowels as Rawang vowel phonemes. Contrary to the seven vowels they listed, the Sinwal dialect has eight vowels: two front vowels, four central vowels, and two back vowels. They are presented below:

	front unrounded	central unrounded	back rounded
high	i	ɨ	u
mid high		ə	
mid low	ɛ	ɐ	ɔ
low		a	

Table 3: Vowel Phonemes of the Sinwal Dialect

The fact that the Sinwal dialect has four central vowel phonemes raises a question concerning the symmetry of the phonemic inventory. Though minimal pairs which demonstrate the phonemic contrasts of the four central vowels are found, the writer simply admits that a more detailed study is needed to affirm this. An example where the contrasts among all the central vowels are demonstrated is shown below:

(1) dɨ̀ng = large, big
(2) də̀ng = last (v)
(3) dɛ̀ng = nest
(4) dà̀ng = put (smth) against (smth)

The central mid open vowel /ɐ/, (for which Robert Morse used the symbol /ə/) and the central mid close vowel /ə/ (which Robert Morse considered as an allophone of /ɨ/) contrast only when they occur before final consonants. The vowel /ɐ/ is relatively shorter than the other vowels. The front mid open vowel /ɛ/ and the back mid open vowel /ɔ/ occur only as the nucleus of open syllables. The front mid close vowel /e/, an allophone of /ɛ/, and the back mid close vowel /o/, an allophone of /ɔ/, occur before the syllable-final consonants except before the glottal stop /ʔ/.

Concerning vowel length, Robert Morse rejected both an analysis which includes pairs of long and short vowel phonemes and an analysis in which phonetically long vowels are treated as clusters of identical short vowels. Instead he proposed an analysis that includes short vowels and an additional phoneme of length, written as /:/. He said that this phoneme occurs in combination with all seven vowels preceding the syllable-final consonants except for /w/ and /j/. The length is also predictable with the vowel of a closed syllable preceding a final /i/ (Robert H. Morse 1962:79-80). In addition, the vowel length seems to occur also with the vowel of a

closed syllable preceding a final /o/ and /a/. In the Sinwal dialect, the lengthening of the vowel /ɐ/ does not occur; instead the lengthening shifts to the next element, the syllable-final element.

In Rawang, a syllable often occurs as a minimal word unit and as a component element in polysyllabic words. The minimal syllable exhibits as its component a nucleus plus a toneme. The maximal syllable exhibits a toneme plus an onset, a nucleus, and a coda. Only vowels occur in the nucleus. If there is a sequence of vowels, in which each vowel has a different tone, then each vowel-tone combination is interpreted as a syllable (Robert Morse 1962:62). The second component of a sequence of two vowels, or diphthongs are interpreted as consonants, when no obligatory toneme occurs on it. For example, [i] or [u] as in [ai, au, oi], are interpreted as [j] and [w] since there is no tone on the second vowel. Similar to what Robert Morse observed in the Matwang dialect, no syllabic consonants occur in the syllable nucleus in the Sinwal dialect. In syllable initial and final positions, consonant clusters with mostly two components can occur. In the syllable initial position, consonant clusters /k^hr, br, hw, k^hw/ and /nw/ are observed. /k^hr/, and /br/ are observed mostly in loan words. /n/ and /j/ are observed as the first components of syllable-final consonant clusters.

At morpheme boundaries, all syllable final unreleased stops are released as nasals at the same point of articulation when they are followed by vowels.

Robert Morse (1962:71) presented four tonemes of the Matwang dialect, involving three pitch-registers. The Sinwal dialect also has four tonemes, but they are different from that of the Matwang dialect. If the highest pitch level in the tones is marked with the tone number [5], the middle level pitch with [3], and the lowest level pitch with [1], the Sinwal dialect tonemes can be illustrated as follows.

tone 1. [55] high level tone
tone 2. [33] mid level tone
tone 3. [41] high-low sharp falling tone
tone 4. [00] neutral, non-contrastive tone

Out of the four tonemes, tone 3, the high-low sharp falling contour tone, is different from the corresponding tone of the Matwang dialect, the low tone. In fact, low level tone occurs as an allophone of the tone 3 (falling tone) in free variation.

Tone 4 occurs in syllables with a stop coda and in open syllables with the phoneme /ɐ/. Usually, tone 4 is represented by mid level tone, but occasionally it can be represented by either high tone or low tone.

5.2. The Orthography

This paper does not use the IPA characters as its orthography. For typing convenience, some phonemic representations are written differently from their phonemic forms. For example, /p^h, t^h, k^h/ are written as /p,t,k/ in this paper. Thus, the orthography of this paper is shown in table 4 below.

The tones are represented on the vowels as follows:

tone 1. [55] high level register tone = /◌́/ as in /á/
tone 2. [33] mid level register tone = /◌̄/ as in /ā/
tone 3. [41] high-low falling contour = /◌̀/ as in /à/
tone 4. [00] neutral tone is not indicated in the orthography

The vowel length is marked by the colon /:/.

phonemic representation		orthography transcription	phonemic representation		orthography transcription
/p^h/	=	p	/ɲ/	=	ny
/t^h/	=	t	/ŋ/	=	ng
/k^h/	=	k	/l/	=	l
/b/	=	b	/ɹ/	=	r
/d/	=	d	/w/	=	w
/g/	=	g	/j/	=	y
/ʔ/	=	q	/i/	=	i
/ts^h/	=	ts	/ɛ/	=	e
/$tʃ^h$/	=	ch	/ɨ/	=	ø
/dz/	=	j	/ə/	=	ə
/s/	=	s	/ɐ/	=	ɑ
/ʃ/	=	sh	/a/	=	a
/z/	=	z	/u/	=	u
/m/	=	m	/ɔ/	=	o
/n/	=	n			

Table 4: Orthography Representation

6. A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE SYNTAX OF RAWANG

6.1. Sentence

The Rawang language is an SOV language. A sentence can be categorized according to these parameters: simple, compound, or complex; complete or incomplete. A typical (compound and complete) sentence structure is comprised of an optional concomitant slot (CON:) filled by any number ($n \geq 0$) of dependent clauses (D-Cl) with obligatory clausal conjunctives (ClConj), followed by an obligatory nucleus (NUC:) filled by an independent clause (I-Cl) and sentence final intonation (INT). (See diagram 1). A minimal sentence corresponds to an independent clause when it has only one independent clause.

± CON:	+ NUC:
+ D-Cl + ClConj	+ I-Cl + INT

Diagram 1: Sentence Structure

Complete, independent sentences are rare in actual speech exchanges. This is well explained by Morse:

> One of the first impressions one gets when considering the syntax of Tibeto-Burman languages is their seemingly endless rambling. The predication of all native speakers is to make sentences paragraph-size, stringing along clause after clause with no intention of full stop in grammar or intonation, until the complete thought has been expressed. (Morse 1965:339)

6.2. Clause

The typical clause structure is summarized in the following diagram.

± T	± SL	± S	± DL	± BP	± IA	± O	± Av	+ P
								V
								VP

Diagram 2: Clause Structure[3]

The above structure would be read as: a typical independent clause consists of an obligatory predicate (P) filled by a verb or a verb phrase, and optional tagmemes such as time (T), stative locative (SL), subject (S), directional locative (DL), benefactive purpose, instrument-association

[3] From this diagram onward fillers of some slots will not be specified.

(IA), object (O), and adverbial (Av) (Morse:1965). The order of these clausal tagmemes can generally be said to be arbitrary. Generally, phrase-final particles (case markers) prevent the possible ambiguities among the clause tagmemes. It is common, though, that time and stative locative tagmemes precede the subject. A rule of focus may occur, in which the emphasized tagmeme is located near to the predicate verb. Different types of focus or emphasis are signaled also by particles such as /nø/ and /gø/ occurring post-positionally after the emphasized tagmeme. Thus, the focussed item can occur at any place in the sentence structure.

Native speakers are not limited, however, to the typical structures. Although the predicate verb in a typical clause occurs at the end of the clause, native speakers often put other tagmemes after the predicate verb.

Clause types can be divided into transitive, intransitive, quotative, stative and equational.

(1) *àng mø̄ tsɑt kʰī:tnòē* (transitive)
he AG rice cook
'He cooks the rice.'

(2) *ngà nø̄ zòng kaq dø̄ngē* (intransitive)
I EMPH school to go
'I go to school.'

(3) *àng nø zàngē wāē* (quotative)
he EMPH ill quote
'He said "I am ill."'

(4) *àng nø̄ ɑdáē* (stative)
he EMPH rich
'He is rich.'

(5) *ngà nə̄ zòng sɑrā́ ə́ngē* (equational)
I EMPH school teacher be
'I am a teacher.'

6.3. Phrases

A phrase is a cluster of words, composed of two or more words, belonging together but not a complete statement. It does not have its own subject and predicate as a clause does. A phrase normally functions as a component of a clause. Rawang phrases can be categorized as noun phrases, numeral phrases, verb phrases, adverbial phrases, and relator-axis (post-positional) phrases. These are summarized below.

6.3.1. Noun Phrases

Noun phrases can be categorized as modified noun phrases, genitive phrases, apposition phrases, co-ordinate noun phrases and serial noun phrases. A modified noun phrase consists of an obligatory head noun, and optional elements such as modifier, number, and classifier.

± modifier	+ Head	± number	± classifier
relative clause NP	Noun NP	quantifier numeral	

Diagram 3: Modified Noun Phrase 1

For example,

(6) *móng dàng wā ā kə̀m ɑní də̀*
white by do RLT house two clss
'Two white houses'

There is another kind of modified noun phrase in which the head noun is plural; i.e., it has the plural marker clitic, and follows the modifier slot. In this kind of noun phrase, the number and classifier cannot occur after the head noun.

+ modifier	+ head	+ clitic
Relative clause NP	noun	-rì

Diagram 4: Modified Noun Phrase 2

For example:

(7) *kũ marèng asàngrì*
that village people
'The people of that village'

If the head noun is obvious or understood, the head noun stem and the relativizer in the modifier slot can be omitted. Only the plural marker occurs in the head slot (See section 4). Then the number and classifier can occur following the head. For example:

+ modifier	+ head	± number	± classifier
relativization Noun phrase	rì	quantifier numeral	

Diagram 5: Modified Noun Phrase 3

For example:

(8) *kũ marèng rì pangà yoq*
that village plural five Clss
'Five people of that village'

Another noun phrase is of genitive construction, composed of a possessor slot filled by a noun or pronoun, and a possessed slot filled by a noun or noun phrase, which follows the possessor slot.

+ possessor	+ possessed
noun	noun
pronoun	noun phrase

Diagram 6: Possessive Noun Phrase

For example:

(9) *ngānēng kòm*
we house
'Our house'

Appositional noun phrases also occur in Rawang. In this kind of phrase, two nouns or noun phrases occur in juxtaposition, of which one clarifies or extends the other. In some phrases the semantic relationship is specific-generic.

+ Head 1	+ Head 2
NP	NP

Diagram 7: Apposition Noun Phrase

For example:

(10) *zòngkòm kòm āngsár*
school house new
'a new school building'

A typical co-ordinate noun phrase consists of at least two noun heads, a co-ordinate conjunction occurring before the last noun head and an optional plural marker at the end.

+ (Head 1)^{n}	+ Co-ordinate	+ Head 2	± Number
NP	nɑ̀ng	NP	-rì

Diagram 8: Co-ordinate Noun Phrase 1

For example:

(11) *kaq waq nɑ̀ng nɑngwà -rì*
hen pig and cattle pl
'Hens, pigs, and cattle'

Another kind of co-ordinate noun is also observed in which a free co-ordinate particle follows each head noun. The combination of head-coordinate can occur any 'n' ($n \geq 1$) times.

(+ Head	+ Coordinate)^{n}
NP	gø

Diagram 9: Co-ordinate Noun Phrase 2

For example:

(12) *nà gø̄ ɑ̀ng gø̄ ngà gø̄*
you also he also I also
'You, he, and me, too.'

Serial noun phrases also occur in Rawang. An optional number slot can occur at the end. The head noun may occur any 'n' (n ≥ 1) times.

(+ Head)^n	± Number
NP	-rì

Diagram 10: Serial Noun Phrase

(13) *kaq waq nɑngwà -rì*
hen pig cattle pl
'Hens, pigs, and cattle'

6.3.2. Numeral Phrase

Numeral phrases are made up of various combinations of obligatory digit tagmemes and unit tagmemes, and the combinations can be joined by optional links. Each digit is followed by a unit tagmeme, and the larger units are followed by smaller units. Thus, the numeral phrases have the following structure.

(+ digit	+ unit)^n	± link	+ digit
		nàng	

Diagram 11: Numeral Phrase

For example:

(14) *tiq kíng ɑní yá pɑngà sál tɑruq*
one thousand two hundred five ten six
'One thousand two hundred and fifty six'

6.3.3. Verb Phrases

In a typical clause, the predicate occurs at the end of the clause. The predicate can be filled by either a single verb or a verb phrase. In a verb phrase, verbs which fill different slots take different suffixes. The inflections of the final verb of a verb phrase are the same as that of a single verb predicate. These inflections are discussed in chapter 2. Different kinds of verb phrases are briefly discussed below.

In a modified verb phrase, the modifier adverbials usually precede the verb heads and the verb heads can be followed by an optional auxiliary verb. The verb heads can be filled with verbs with different non-final verb markers or verbs with the same non-final verb markers. The verb heads can occur 'n' times ($n \geq 1$). The auxiliary verbs are final verbs. The structure is presented below.

± Particle	+ modifier	(+ Head)^n	± particle	± auxiliary
	adverbials	verb		

Diagram 12: Modified Verb Phrase 1

For example:

(15) *nāmnāmwā ēdishi*
unhurriedly go
'Go unhurriedly.'

(16) *díláám rónglám tálám mazēngshīlám mit gē mawàngò*
go sit listen memorize think also not do
'I did not think to go, to sit, to listen and to memorize.'

(17) *tiqngantsal salaplam wàòna ie*
a little bit to teach may do to be
'(He) might plan to teach (him) a little bit.'

In fact, the above structure summarizes several different types of verb phrases. Thorough discussion of each of them is not the aim of this chapter and therefore is excluded. However, some specific types are mentioned below.

There is a verb phrase which has an adverb. The adverb's co-occurring distribution is limited to one or two verbs (Morse:1965). The adverb precedes the verb head and the gloss of the adverb is difficult. For example:

(18) *chān* *ɑnánbéngà*
(suddenly) was frightened
'I was frightened (suddenly).'

Another kind of verb phrase is observed, in which the head verb is followed by the particle /mɑbɑt/ which marks recurring action is observed. For example:

± clitic	± modifier1	(+ Head	+ modifier2)^{n}	+ Auxiliary
	adverbials	verb	mɑbɑt	

Diagram 13: Modified Verb Phrase 2

(20) *mɑmē* *sɑwár* *mɑbɑt* *tór* *mɑbɑt* *mānòe*
quite heat recr beat recr continue
'(He) is continuing heating (it) quite a while and beating (it) again.'

6.3.4. Adverbial Phrases

In Rawang, adverbials exhibit complicated patterns. The following are some patterns analyzed as exhibiting these complications at phrase level:

A common pattern of adverbialization is reduplication of verbs or adverbs. For example:

(21) *tαlē tαlē*
replace replace
'in turn'

There is another kind of adverb phrase which is similar to a relator-axis (postpositional) phrase. In this phrase, the head (or axis) can be a noun or a noun phrase, a verb or a verb phrase, or a clause, and the relator particle can be either {yung} 'like/resemble', {αng} 'by', or {e} 'by'. For example:

(22) *shiq yūng*
louse like
'Like louse = thoroughly'

These do not exhaust the structures of the adverbials but are common.

6.3.5. Relator-Axis Phrases (Post-positional Phrases)

In Rawang phrases, particles usually occur post-positionally. Thus, in a relator-axis phrase the axis tagmeme is followed by the relator. Included in the relator-axis phrases are case marked noun phrases, locational phrases, and temporal phrases.

Agentive, instrumental, and dative cases are expressed by postpositional particles. For example:

(23) *àng mɵ̄ ā pè kaq shɵ́ngtot mɵ̄ ɑdepbá*
he Ag this clss to stick Ag beat
'He beat this man with a stick.'

In locational phrases, the relator is filled with several optional sub-slots: locational determiners, locative particle, and directional particles.

+ Axis	+ relator		
Noun/ NP	± locational determiners	± locative particle	± directional particle

Diagram 14: Relator-axis Phrase

For example:

(24) *kɵ̀m mɑdɵ̀m maq kaq*
house upper at to
'Onto the house.'

(25) *zòng à*
school at
'At the school.'

A temporal phrase has /dɑgɑp/ (= while) as the relator. The axis slot may be filled with temporal demonstratives or a clause. For example:

(26) *tɵ̄ dɑgɑp*
(a) moment (past) while
'A moment ago.'

(27) *àng tsɑt ɑ̃m dɑgɑp*
he rice eat while
'While he eats rice.'

Some adverb phrases also have relator-axis phrase structure when they have the particle {yung}. (See adverbial phrases above). Other clause level fillers such as accompaniment and benefactor phrases are relator-axis phrases, too. (cf Pike 1982:215). For example:

(28) *àng nàng*
he and
'With him.'

(29) *ngà dɑpɑt*
I for
'For me.'

In addition to the constituents of phrases mentioned above, there is a particle which occurs post-positionally as an optional constituent. It is the particle /nø/, which marks topic or emphasis of previous tagmeme. It occurs after clause level constituents except after the predicate. For example:

(30) *àng nø̄ rōngē*
he emph sit
'He sits.'

(31) *ngø̄ yūng nø̄ māsɑ́m*
weep like emph not seem
'(He does) not seem to weep.'

In verb phrases, this particle may occur after the head verbs or after verb modifiers. For example:

(32) *dí nə̄ mɑdī*
go emph not go
'(He) does not go.'

(33) *loqlɑ́m nə̄ mɑwā*
to go back emph not do
'(He) does not do (plan) to go back = (He) is not going back.'

6.4. Clitics

Clitics attach like affixes but move around and function more like words in phrases and clauses (Healey: 1988). Clitics in Rawang are found as noun clitics and verb clitics.

Noun clitics are all enclitics and are number markers. They are 1) /-rì/ general plural, 2) /-rá/ small group, 3) /-ní/ dual, and 4) /-nøng/ general group. Each clitic has its own syntactic features. An incomplete description of these clitics follows.

Generally, /-rì/ and /-rá/ occur after any constituent of a noun phrase except for constituents which are personal pronouns, classifiers, and proper nouns. For example:

(34) *kū kòm ɑsàng -rì > kū kòm ɑsàngrì*
rmt house people pl
'The people of that house'

(35) *kū -rì dɑgī > kūrì dɑgī*
rmt pl dog
'Those dogs'

(36) *ā pè -rá > ā pèrá*
this Clss (man) group
'These men'

/-ní/ and /-nøng/ occur after personal pronouns and proper nouns but not after demonstratives. For example:

(37) *nà -ní > nāní*
you dl
'You two'

(38) *pūngsár -nøng > pūngsárnøng*
Pungsar group
'Pungsar and group'

(39) *kū pè -nøng > kū pènøng*
rmt Clss (man) group
'That man and group'

The verb clitic /dáng-/ is a proclitic and occurs before final verbs or non-final verbs. It denotes the speaker's conjecture or concern. For example:

(40) *loqlám dáng- wā -dī > loqlám dángwādī*
to go back cnj do opt
'He might plan to go back.'

(41) *dáng- loqlám wā -dī > dángloqlám wādī*
cnj to go back do opt
'He might plan to go back.'

6.5. Relativization and Adjectives

While part-of-speech systems of all languages distinguish two open lexical classes, nouns and verbs, some languages do not have a distinct open class of adjectives. These languages can be divided into 1) those which have adjective classes which are closed rather than open and 2) those

which lack a distinct adjective class altogether. The latter use nouns or verbs to express the adjectival meanings. Thus, a distinction is made between 1) adjectival-verb languages, languages which express adjectival meanings primarily by verbs, e.g. Cantonese Chinese, and 2) adjectival-noun languages, languages which express adjectival meanings primarily by nouns, e.g. Quechua (Schachter:1985). Such Tibeto-Burman languages as Lahu (Matisoff:1982), Jinghpaw, Burmese and Rawang are of the adjectival-verb type. In Rawang adjectives and verbs inflect the same in the predicate tagmeme. For example:

(42) *nānī nø̄ ē- té -shì -ē*
you(two) emph 2 big dl impf
'You (two) are big.'

(43) *nānī nø̄ ē- dì -shì -e*
you (two) Emph 2 go dl impf
'You two are going.'

In modifying a noun, relativization is used to express the equivalent of a modifying adjective. For example:

(44) *ɑnɑp ā nāmbān > ɑnɑpmā nāmbān*
beautiful relativizer flower
'Beautiful flower.'

(45) *ngø̄ -ā dɑtsámrá*
cry relativizer child
'Crying child.'

The relativization above adds a relativizer suffix {-ā} to the verb or to the adjectival-verb. When a noun phrase has a classifier, the

occurrence of relativizer is optional. When a noun phrase is represented by a classifier, the relativizer does not occur. For example:

(46) *sánbóy ōngāpmì (ā) zòngmàng pè > sanbóy ōngāpmì zōngmàng pè*
exam passed RLT student Clss
'The student who passed the exam.'

(47) *zà pè*
hurt (sick) clss
'The man who is sick.'

The above examples support the hypothesis that the verbs and adjectives are the same in class. But, there is also a closed class of words that convey adjectival meanings such as upper, lower, etc. These are demonstrative adjectives and they cannot be inflected. When they occur before nouns, they function like adjectives. When they follow nouns they encode comparison. If they are followed by locative particles, they act like a relator. (See relator-axis phrases above). For example:

(48) *madàm kèm*
upper house
'The upper house.'

(49) *kèm madàm*
house upper
'On the house, or more than the house'

(50) *kèm madàm maq*
house upper at
'On the house.'

Except for the case mentioned above, verbs and adjectives are morphologically indistinguishable.