Tone Change for Grammatical Purposes in the Rawang Language of Kachin State

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Abstract: The Rawang language of Kachin State (Tibeto-Burman/Rung) has a three tone system, high, mid, and low. Verbs that are not already in the high tone frequently change to high tone when they appear in non-final position (before another verb), before certain suffixes, such as the reflexive and middle voice suffix and the 3rd person transitive suffix, and in some contexts where the verb is used as a nominal. The hypothesis presented in this paper is that the nominal use of the high-tone form is what unites these different conditions, so we will argue, using a large corpus of natural texts, that the verb in non-final position is a nominalized complement. and This will imply that the suffixes have verbal origins, and so the high tone used before these suffixes is a historical relic of a complement-verb structure that later was reanalyzed as a verb-suffix structure.

Keywords: Rawang language, Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, tone languages, grammatical tone

1. Introduction
- Tibeto-Burman language; far north of Kachin State, Myanmar (Burma).
- Closely related to Dulong in China (see LaPolla 2001, 2003 on Dulong).
- Data from the Mvtwang (Mvt River) dialect of Rawang.
- Verb-final, agglutinative, both head marking and dependent marking.
- No pivots for cross-clause coreference or other constructions.
- Nouns: bare forms in citation; take classifiers, number, and sometimes gender marking.
- Nominals: derived forms that take the morphology of nouns and/or have the function of a noun phrase in a clause (these two criteria are independent of each other).
- Verbs: take hierarchical person marking, aspect marking, directional marking (which also marks aspect in some cases), and tense marking.
- Word classes and transitivity are clearly differentiated.
- The Rawang orthography (Morse 1962, 1963) is used in this paper. Most letters represent the pronunciations of English, except *i* = [i], *v* = [ə], *a* = [ɑ], *ø* = [ɯ], *q* = [ʔ], and *c* = [s]. Tones: high or high-falling *á*, low or low falling *à*, and mid level *ā*. Syllables ending in a stop consonant *(-p, -t, -q, -k)* are in the high tone. Open syllables with no tone mark are unstressed. A colon marks non-basic long vowels.

Examples of the tone contrasts:

(1)	*kā*	'chicken'	*ká*	'bitter'	*kà*	'word'
	rī	'bundle, bunch'	*rí*	'carry'	*rì*	'plural marker'
	rū	'to write'	*rú*	'to be struck'	*rù*	'poisoned'
	ngā	'fish'	*ngá*	'borrow'	*ngà*	'1sg'
	gár	'CL(drop)'	*gār*	'protect'	*gàr*	'large'

2. Verb classes
Morphology in citation identifies form class (third person non-past affirmative/declarative):
- Intransitives: non-past affirmative/declarative particle *(ē)* alone in the non past (e.g. *ngøē* 'to cry') and the intransitive past tense marker *(-ì)* in past forms (with third person argument).
- Adjectives: a subclass of intransitive verbs; take nominalizer *wē* in citation (e.g. *tēwē* 'big'), but when used as predicates function the same as other intransitive verbs.
- Transitives: non-past third person object marker *(ò)* plus non-past affirmative/declarative particle *(ē)* in non-past forms (e.g. *ríòē* 'to carry (something)') and transitive past tense marker *(-à)* in past forms (with third person P arguments). In transitive clauses the agentive marker generally appears on the NP representing the A argument.

- Ambitransitives (labile verbs): used as transitives or intransitives *(v́mòē / v̄mē* 'to eat'). Both S=P type and S=A types. With S=P type, (e.g. *gvyaqē* 'be broken, destroyed' ~ *gvyaqòē* 'break, destroy'), adding A argument creates causative, without causative prefix. With S=A type, use of the intransitive vs. the transitive form marks a difference between a general or habitual situation and a particular situation respectively.

3. Tone Change for Grammatical Purposes
3.1. Deverbal nominals (less often, or not, used for whole clauses)
- Tone change with nominalizing suffixes:
  - Locative nominalizer *-rà: lv́mrà* 'dancing place' (< *lv̀mē* 'dance'), < *shvrà* 'place', *rúngrà* 'sitting place' (< *rūngē* 'sit').
  - Agentive nominalizer *-shú: lv́mshú* 'dancer'; *rúngshú* 'one who sits (a retired person)'.
  - Classifier used as nominalizaer: *rúnggø̃* [sit+CL(people)] 'the one sitting'.
- No tone change with nominalizing prefix *àng-* (= 3sg pronoun and 3rd person possessive prefix): *àngwv̄m* 'lid' (< *wv̄mòē* 'to cover').
- But tone change with intransitivizing prefix *v-* (see LaPolla 2000): *vngø̃* 'one who cries easily' (< *ngø̄ē* 'to cry') and *vkǿ* 'thief' (< *kø̄ē / kǿòē* 'to steal'), *vnón* 'cooked' *< nònē* 'to ripen'.
- Tone change alone: *dvshī* 'a spirit who can make you die' (< *dvshí* 'cause to die'), and *vyá* 'lier' (< *vyàē* 'to lie').
- Tone change in *v-V-shaq* nominals:

(2) wēlòng gø̄ **vyv́ngshaq** íwē í rvt nø̀ (Text 03-52). <*yv̀ng* 'look'
     wē lòng   gø̄ **v-yv̀ng-shaq**   í   wē í   rvt   nø̀
     that CLF(general) also **INTR-see/look-PERF** COP NOM COP because PS
     'that has been checked out already for that..,'

- Tone change in V-*dv̀ng(wā)* nominals:

(3) pvlasdik rìí **yúl dv̀ngwā** ídár (Text 03-164).
     pvlasdik rì-í   **yùl   dv̀ng-wā**   í-dv́r
     plastic   PL-INST easy just-only/just COP-TMhrs
     'nowadays (you can stop the water) easily with the plastics.'

(4) tun tadv̀ng wekvt nø **yv́ngdv̀ng** íám (Text 03-83).
     tun ta   dv̀ng we kvt   nø   **yv̀ng   dv̀ng** í-v́m
     basket place just that CLF(time) TOP **see/look just** COP-DIR
     'you place a basket (another part of the trap) it is finished and (you) can just watch.'

- Tone change when adjectives are used as nominals or to modify a noun:

(5) Shǿngsvp rì **mvshǿngē**.   vs. Shǿngsvp **mvshǿng**.
     shǿng-svp rì **mvshǿng-ē**   shǿng-svp **mvshǿng**
     wood-leaf PL be.green-N.PAST   wood-leaf red
     'The leaves are green.'   'The green leaf.'

(6)   tiqmóngmóng shorkéò nø **mvshé** dv̀ngwa wvtne (Text 15-7).
        tiq-móng-móng   shór-ke-ò   nø **mvshè**   dv̀ng   wa   wvt-e
        one-region-region bright-BEN-TNP   TOP red.color just   only blossom-N.PAST
        '(The flowers) shine with red colour and bloom across the whole area.'

3.2. Inflected verbs
• Tone change with suffixes (PART)-ì 'I.PAST', (PART)-à 'T.PAST', and -ò 'TNP'
[PART is the particles -vm, bø, long, ra, dar (these particles also change to high tone), yàng, vp, vt and daq]

   o **The -ì suffix**
      tébǿ-ì   < te 'to be big'   #change of tone mid > high
      bébǿ-ì   < be 'to finish/used up'
      rúngbǿ-ì   < rung 'to sit'
      v́mbǿ-ì   < vm 'to eat'

(7)   shǿnggùng **vtúngdaqì** kvt (Text 09-32).
        shǿng   gùng   **vtung   daq-ì**   kvt
        tree/wood CLF(tree)   **collapse DIR(down)-I.PAST** CLF(time)
        'When the tree falls down..,'

But with some verbs there is no change, or a change to low tone:

      zebǿ-ì   < ze 'cripple'   #no change of tone
      døbǿ-ì   < dø 'dark'
      lobǿ-ì   < lo 'return home'
      vpobǿ-ì   < vpo 'turn into'
      vlebǿ-ì   < vle 'pass by'
      dømbǿ-ì   < døm 'block up'
      debǿ-ì   < de 'break' (débǿ̀ì 'did something foolishly)

      v̀lbǿ-ì   < vl 'stay'   #mid > low tone
      dìdǿ-ì   < di 'go'
      wàbǿ-ì   < wa 'say'
      zàbǿ-ì   < za 'sick'

(8)   wervp wervp katvm nø **v̀l yàngì** (Text 02-50).
        we rvp   we rvp   kvt-v́m   nø **vl   yv̀ng-ì**
        that CLF(family)that CLF(family) plant-DIR TOP **exist TMyrs-I.PAST**
        'Each family cooked separately.'

   o **The -à suffix**
      babǿ-à   < ba 'astride'   = babø̄e
      chubǿ-à   < chu 'to plough'   = chubø̄e
      sabǿ-à   < sa 'to wait'   = sabø̄e
      debǿ-à   < de 'to break'   = debø̄e
      jubǿ-à   < ju 'to bark'   = jubø̄e
      kwebǿ-à   < kwe 'to lend, to hook'   = kwebø̄e
      tabǿ-à   < ta 'to receive'   = tabø̄e

o **The -ò suffix**

kee	kebøe	ké-ò e	kébǿ-ò e	kébǿ-à	'bite'
døe	døbøe	dǿ-ò e	dǿbǿ-ò e	dǿbǿ-à	'wear'
lae	labøe	lá-ò e	lábǿ-ò e	lábǿ-à	'search'
rie	ribøe	rí-ò e	ríbǿ-ò e	ríbǿ-à	'carry'
tae	tabøe	tá-ò e	tábǿ-ò e	tábǿ-à	'listen'
shae	shabøe	shá-ò e	shábǿ-ò e	shábǿ-à	'know'
runge	rungbøe	rúng-ò e	rúngbǿ-ò e	rúngbǿ-à	'sit'
vhǿme	vhǿmbøe	vhǿm-ò e	vhǿmbǿ-ò e	vhǿmbǿ-à	'meet'
vme	vmbøe	v́m-ò e	v́mbǿ-ò e	v́mbǿ(ng)-à	'eat'
zvnge	zvngbøe	zv́ng-ò e	zv́ngbǿ-ò e	zv́ngbǿ(ng)-à	'put it'

- Tone change with reflexive/middle marking suffix

When a verb takes the reflexive/middle marking suffix *-shì,* the verb often changes to high tone:

(9) paqzv̀ng vyá, vyà yv́ng kèní wēdø̄ vsv̀ng shí **pv́ngshì** yàngì   (Text 26-14).
paqzv̀ng vyà   vyà   yv́ng   kèní
lizard   lie   lie   place/at   from
wē dø̄   vsv̀ng   shì **pv̀ng-shì**   yv̀ng-ì
that manner human.being die start/begin-R/M TMyrs-I.PAST
'The dead of human begins because the liar bird/Pazang lied.'

In some cases there is a difference of tone on the verb in a direct reflexive situation relative to an indirect reflexive. In these cases a high tone marks a direct reflexive, while a mid tone marks an indirect reflexive. This can be seen by comparing the (a) and (b) examples in (10)-(11):

(10) a. àng nø̄ àng vdǿrshìē   'He's hitting himself.'
         àng nø̄ àng vdǿr-shì-ē
         3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST

     b. àng nø̄ àng vdø̄rshìē   'He is hitting his own (child, etc.).'
         àng nø̄ àng vdø̄r-shì-ē
         3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST

(11) a. nà nø̄ nà èwáshì bǿì   'You did it *to* yourself.'
         nà nø̄ nà è-wá-shì   bǿ-ì
         2sg TOP 2sg N.1-do-R/M PFV-IPast

     b. nà nø̄ nà èwāshì bǿì   'You did it *for* yourself.'
         nà nø̄ nà è-wā-shì   bǿ-ì
         2sg TOP 2sg N.1-do-R/M PFV-IPast

In (10b) the form is that of a direct reflexive except for the tone on the verb, which marks the action as NOT a direct reflexive, so the object hit must be something other than the actor, but something closely related to the actor. In (11a-b) again the forms differ only in terms of the

tone, but this makes the difference between the actor as O and the actor as Benefactive (with possibly some other assumed O).

A subtype of this indirect reflexive is when the reflexive/middle marker is used to show an alienable possessive relationship between the A and O arguments, as in (12).

(12)   Vpūng (nø) Vdǿsv̀ng lègābok zīshìē
        Vpūng nø Vdǿ-sv̀ng lègā-bok zī-shì-ē
        Vpung TOP Vdeu-LOC book-CL   give-R/M-N.PAST
        'Vpung gave his (own) book to Vdeu.'

Following is a list of the same verb as transitive, indirect intransitive, and direct intransitive:

ámòe	āmshìe	ámshìe
dvhømòe	dvhø̄mshìe	dvhǿmshìe
dvkumòe	dvkūmshìe	dvkúmshìe
dvnv̀ngòe	dvnv̄ngshìe	dvnv́ngshìe
dvtìnòe	dvtīnshìe	dvtínshìe
làngòe	x	lángshìe
láòe	lāshìe	láshìe
lùòe	lūshìe	lúshìe
púlòe	pūlshìe	púlshìe
pv̀ngòe	pv̄ngshìe	pv́ngshìe
ríòe	rīshìe	ríshìe
rǿmòe	rø̄mshìe	rǿmshìe
shàlòe	shālshìe	shálshìe.
shòngòe	shōngshìe	shóngshìe
shø̀nòe	shø̄nshìe	shǿnshìe
tvrìòe	tvrīshìe	tvríshìe
vdø̀ròe	vdø̄rshìe	vdǿrshìe
vrèòe	x	vréshìe
vwùòe	vwūshìe	vwúshìe
vyàòe	vyāshìe	vyáshìe
wàòe	wāshìe	wáshìe
yàngòe	yāngshìe	yángshìe
zíòe	zīshìe	zíshìe

3.3. [V₁ V₂] structure, with V₁ in high tone.

V₂ is auxiliary or same verb in reduplication pattern function.

V vdū; appropriate to V.

 wēdø̄ shv̄ngbēí sháò dø **wá màdū** (Text 10-109) <wà 'do/make'
 wē dø shv̄ngbē-í shá-ò dø **wà**   **mv-vdū**
 that manner all-AGT know-TNP manner **do/make** **NEG-suitable**
 'It is not appropraite for him to do in the manner that it will be known to all people.'

In this structure, V₁ does not take person marking:

 ngà dø̄ngē vs. ngà dí vdūngē
 ngà dī-ng-ē   ngà dí vdū-ng-ē
 1sg go-1sg-N.PAST   1sg go suitable-1sg-N.PAST
 'I go'   'I should go'

But some mid-tone verbs don't change:

 lō vdū 'should return home'; wv̄n vdū 'should buy'

#V daq; capable of V.

 zaqlè **góng daqē** <gòng 'enter'
 zaqlè **gòng daq-ē**
 visitor **enter can-N.PAST**
 'The visitor can enter.'

V mvn (shì); continue to V.

 dvdv̄mò dvgvpmí **shø̀n mv̄n** ràē (Text 30-193). <shø̀n 'speak'
 dvdvm-ò   dvgvp-í **shø̀n mvn**   rà-e
 think-TNP era/time-ADV **say continue** need-N.PAST
 'That manner, you should continue to speak about it when it is still in your mind.'

#V shá; being use to V, know how to V.

 yapèí nø kà **shø̀n sháòe** (Text 13-30) <shø̀n 'speak'
 ya pè-í   nø kà **shø̀n shá**-ò-e
 this/here CLF(male)-AGT TOP word **say know**-TNP-N.PAST
 'This man know how to speak.'

#V rà; necessity to V.

 ādø̄ **gv́l ràē** (Text03-53). <gv̀l 'keep'
 ā-dø̄   **gv̀l rà**-ē
 DEM-manner **keep need**-N.PAST
 'It has to be kept this manner.'

[**V₁ V₂**] **nə̄** structure; reduplication, used to mark non-final clause in procedural text with sense of 'having done V . . .'.

Kōbūdè sv̀ng wā **dídī nə̄** àng shvnvtlòngí shā wvp dvzárò (Text 14-803).
Kōbūdè   sv̀ng   wā   **dí-dī   nə̄**   àng   shvnvt lòng   -í
Khobude LOC just **go-go TOP** 3SG gunʲ   CLF(general)   INST
sha   wvp   dvzvr   -ò
meat   shoot   order   TNP
'Having gone to the Khobude and (he) let/orders other shoot animals using his gun.'

Waqshv̀ngí dvgùng yv̄ng maqí dv́ng **dú dùò nø** chə̀m wāshìē (Text 20-9).
waqshv̀ng-í   dvgùng   yv̄ng   maq-í   dv́ng   **dú   dù-ò   nø**
wild.boar-AGT tusk   long   PL-INST even   **dig dig-TNP TOP**
chə̀m   wà-shì-ē
house   do/make-R/M-N.PAST
'The wild boar even with its long tusk, having dug the mud made its shelter.'

Dvpǿ **lúlūshì nə̀** pà mví rì shə̀ːnò (Text 13-25).
dv-pǿ   **lù   lù-shì   nə̀**   pà   mv-í   rì   shə̀n-ò
CAUS-expensive   **take take-R/M   PS**   what NEG-COP PL   say-TNP
'Having took the valuable objects, (he) talked nonsense.'

3.4. Tone change before the directional purpose clause marker nv̀ng

Vbā **dú-nv̀ng** dīē
vbā   **dù-nv̀ng**   dī-ē
dirt   dig-DIR.PUR   go-N.PAST
'(He) is going to dig dirt.'

ūkaq sv̀ng dì yàngì wāē, vníshvlá zùng **lóngnv̀ng** (Text 14-753).
ū-kaq   sv̀ng   dī   yv̀ng-ì   wā-ē
that-AL LOC   go   TMyrs-I.PAST   say-N.PAST
vní   shvlá   zùng   **lòng   nv̀ng**
two   CLF(month)   school **study DIR.PUR**
'Some said that (he) went to that side (China) to attend a two-month school.' (after-thought)

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Prefix	Head	Bene-factive	Modality		Agreement	Transitive	Cl. final particle
è-/nv- dv-/shv- mv-	VH (-shì)	ā kē/ké v̄m/v́m	daq dv́ng dvshà dvzaq dvzv́r dőm gv̄m jāng jờm jòr vløt lún lvwvn mūn mv̄n mvyǿ	nē ngut nv̀m/nàm pv́n pv̀ng rà(ng) shā(ng) shvlā vdu|àng yvk yùl rvzaq (v)løt vnvp vlé	-ng|-ì -shì/-shờng -nờng	-ò	-e
					past tense particle		
					-à -ì		