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# Manifestations of Jinghpaw influence among Rawang speakers

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Rawang and Jinghpaw, while both considered part of the larger Kachin ethnic group, are not seen to be closely related, though both retain proto-Tibeto-Burman forms relatively well. But as essentially all Rawang speakers speak Jinghpaw, there are a lot of loan words from Jinghpaw in Rawang, and there is also some commonality in the structures. This paper looks at the domains in which we find many loanwords and their paths into Rawang, and certain grammatical structures that seem to be either direct loans from Jinghpaw into Rawang, or could be calques on Jinghpaw structures. One such pattern is an adverbial phrase with a reduplicated adverb plus a light verb. There are also two nominalisation constructions that are relatively transparent loans from Jinghpaw.

**Keywords:** Rawang language, Tibeto-Burman languages, Language contact influence, Kachin languages, Sino-Tibetan languages

The people we call Rawang ([rə'wân]; written *Rv̀wàng* in their own orthography)<sup>1</sup> in northern Kachin State in Myanmar and Tarung ([tə'rûŋ] written 独龙 *Dúlóng* in Chinese and Trung in some English publications) in north-western Yunnan Province in China (not to be confused with the Turung variety of Singpho in

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1. In the Rawang writing system (R. Morse 1962, 1963), which is used in this paper, most letters represent the standard pronunciations of American English, except that *i*=[i], *v*=[ə], *a*=[ɑ], *ø*=[u], *q*=[ʔ], and *c*=[s] or [ts] (free variation; historically [ts] – this change is occurring in Jinghpaw as well, so in Rawang might also be due to Jinghpaw-Rawang bilingualism). Tones are marked as follows (using the letter *a* as a base): high tone: *á*, mid tone: *ā*, low tone: *à*. All syllables that end in a stop consonant (*-p*, *-t*, *-k*, *-q*) are in the high tone. Open syllables without a tone mark are unstressed. A colon marks non-basic long vowels. Four lines are used in the examples because of the many morphophonological changes that obscure the morpheme boundaries.

Northeast India, Morey 2010) consider themselves to be a single ethnic group, and the varieties they speak are largely mutually intelligible, though this differs between dialects, which are distributed more on a north-south pattern (that is, with the northern dialects of the two places being closer to each other and the southern dialects of the two places being more similar to each other). (See the References for work on different aspects of the language.)

The language is of the Tibeto-Burman family, but as it is quite conservative in terms of lexical forms, it has been hard to place in genetic trees established on the basis of shared phonological innovations (see LaPolla 1987; Low 2014; LaPolla & Sangdong 2015; the following table is from LaPolla 2017a:135; the Tarung forms are from the Dizhengdang (1st Township) dialect – from LaPolla’s fieldwork; the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) forms are from Matisoff 2003):

(1)	Gloss	PTB	Tarung	Gloss	PTB	Tarung
	‘snake’	*bəw	bù	‘sesame’	*s-nam	sənəm
	‘blow’	*s-mut	mwt	‘draw water’	*ka:p	kap
	‘roll’	*r-tul	təl	‘wear’	*gwa	guā
	‘dig’	*s/m-du	dù	‘silver’	*d-ŋul	ŋül
	‘warm’	*lum	lūm	‘stand’	*g-ryap	rēp

Because of this, some scholars have simply considered it a branch on its own, problematically called “Nungish”. It is really one language and culture, though, from the point of view of the speakers and mutual intelligibility.

Although they are a single language and culture, there are some important cultural and linguistic differences between the Rawang and the Tarung areas, so I will use Rawang for the language as it is spoken in Myanmar and Tarung for the language as it is spoken in China.

One major difference between the cultures and languages of the two places is the influence of the Jinghpaw language and culture on the Rawang language and culture, while that influence is not found in the Tarung area (cf. Kurabe 2018). The Rawang people are considered part of the Kachin ethnic group in Myanmar, and are under the control of the more dominant Jinghpaw Kachins (Kachin is a catch-all term for a number of different linguistic groups that live in Kachin State in northern Myanmar; see Kurabe 2021). There are many aspects of Rawang culture and language that are transparently due to Jinghpaw influence. While the Rawang and Jinghpaw people are both considered part of the larger Kachin ethnic group, the languages are not seen to be closely related, though both retain Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms relatively well and so their positions within Tibeto-Burman have been hotly contested. Jinghpaw is now seen to be part of the Jinghpaw-Luish (Asakian) branch of the larger Sal complex of Tibeto-Burman (Matisoff 2013),

while I have argued Rawang is part of a branch have called Rung, based on cognate morphological paradigms (LaPolla 2013, 2017b).

One aspect of Jinghpaw influence on the Rawang is the religion, both modern and traditional. The Rawang people are currently Protestants, converted in the early 20th century by the missionary Robert Morse, who had worked with the Jinghpaw as well, and the Rawang quite often hold church services in the Jinghpaw language. Key religious terms such as the following are loans from Jinghpaw (Jinghpaw forms from Kurabe 2016):

(2) Rawang	gloss	Jinghpaw
mvrà	‘fault, guilt’	mərà
dōngmān	‘truth’	diŋman <sup>2</sup>
dvgy̆m	‘curse’	dəgám
noqgú	‘worship, church’	nó? kú?
shvmán	‘bless’	ɛəmán
Gvrày gvsv̀ng	‘God’	gə̀rày-gəsàŋ
d̀vmshà	‘shaman (nat priest)’	d̀umsa
paqzı́	‘wisdom, education’	phà?jı́

Morse created the orthography the Rawang now use for their language based on the one used by the Jinghpaw. It was mainly used for religious texts until restrictions on minority language publications were dropped in Myanmar when it briefly became democratic. The influence of the Christian religion on Rawang culture is apparent even in the traditional creation story (LaPolla & Poa 2001), as it differs from a version told in the Tarung area mainly in that it includes a story that seems based on the Tower of Babel story from the Bible, whereas the Tarung area version does not have that story. The majority of the Tarung are not Christians, and this is also reflected in their lifestyle differences and health situation: because of their religion the Rawang do not smoke or drink alcohol, unlike the Tarung, and possibly because of this they are often taller and healthier than the Tarung, who are known for being short (see Mya-Tu et al. 1967).

The traditional practices of the Rawang and the Tarung were originally similar, particularly the *Vzó* merit dance, the main traditional animistic gathering and religious festival, but the current Rawang version of the dance (practiced now as a non-religious cultural festival) is heavily influenced by a similar festival practiced by the Jinghpaw, the *Manau* dance. The Rawang speakers even often use the

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2. This word in Jinghpaw is a compound where the first syllable means ‘to be straight’ and the second syllable means ‘to be true’. This structure is transparent and analyzable in Jinghpaw but not in Rawang, which suggests its loan status in Rawang.

name *Mvnò* when referring to their own dance. The boards (*ròngdàng* or *Mvnò ròngdàng*) set up for the dance, called *Manau shadung* in Jinghpaw, are also quite similar, as in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Rawang *Vzò ròngdàng* (*Mvnò ròngdàng*)



Figure 2. Images from the *Vzò* festival in 2016

As essentially all Rawang speakers speak Jinghpaw, there is a large number of loanwords from Jinghpaw in Rawang, and there is also some commonality in certain grammatical structures. The loanwords are generally transparent and easily identifiable as loans by the Rawang people, so it seems the contact may not have been very long, unlike, for example, Old Norse loanwords in English, such as *skirt*, that few English speakers would consider loans. As Kurabe (2018) points out, Jinghpaw is also the conduit for loans from Pali, Burmese, and Shan into Rawang, often through a borrowing chain: Pali (IA) > Burmese (TB) > Shan (Tai) > Jinghpaw (TB) > Rawang (TB) (Matisoff 2013: 24). For example, Rawang *nvm-pūn* ‘manure, fertilizer’ and *nvm-mvín* ‘sesame oil’ are borrowed from Jinghpaw, but ultimately derive from Shan *nam*<sup>5</sup> ‘water’ + *phun*<sup>2</sup> ‘fertilizer’ and *nam*<sup>5</sup> ‘water’ + *man*<sup>4</sup> ‘be oily, greasy’ (Kurabe 2016: 562). We have given the ultimate source in the tables below.

Aside from the religion-related loans mentioned above, many of the loanwords are for concepts related to the army, the government, or modernity, such as the following (Rawang forms from LaPolla & Sangdong 2015; Jinghpaw forms from Kurabe 2016):

(3)	Rawang	gloss	Jinghpaw	Ultimate source
	vsúyaq	‘government’	ʔəsúyàʔ	Burmese
	bōē	‘explode’	kəpò	Jinghpaw
	shvnglut	‘independence’	ɛàŋlòt	Jinghpaw
	mvzà̀n	‘war’	məjàn	Jinghpaw
	gōnjoq	‘central’	gìnjò	Jinghpaw
	gìnwāng	‘region, district’	gìnwāŋ	Jinghpaw
	jēré	‘clerk’	cəre	Burmese
	chøpdòn	‘shoes’	khyèpdin	Shan
	zūng	‘umbrella’	joŋ	Shan
	lìng	‘cart’	lèŋ ‘wheel, cart’	Shan
	(pin)dap	‘army’	phyendàp	Jinghpaw-Burmese compound
	j̀vmnā	‘mirror, glass’	j̀àmna	Shan
	krvt	‘issue permit or order’	khràt	Jinghpaw
	lègā	‘book, literature, letter’	làyka	Shan-Jinghpaw compound
	wut	‘brick’	wùt	Pali
	lvgap	‘pincers, tongs’	ləkáp	Jinghpaw
	kíng	‘thousand’	khyiŋ	Shan
	ǹvmpūn	‘fertilizer’	ǹàmphun	Shan
	mèsò	‘paper’	màysàw	Shan
	gok	‘cup’	kók	Shan

There is also a number of food items and animal and plant names that are loans from Jinghpaw (see Kurabe 2016, 2018 for many more loans):

(4)	Rawang	gloss	Jinghpaw	Ultimate source
	bàngdāy	‘rabbit’	pràntáy	Shan
	kābit	‘duck’	khaypyék	Shan
	shvtngā	‘deer’	ɛàtŋa	Jinghpaw
	kukdōn	‘cuckoo’	kúkduŋ	Jinghpaw
	kōdó	‘dove’	khrùdù	Jinghpaw
	ǹvmmv́n	‘sesame oil’	ǹàmmán	Shan
	bvnò	‘salted fish paste’	bənàw	Shan
	paq	‘porridge’	phàʔ	Jinghpaw

mvlángshí <sup>3</sup>	‘jackfruit’	màklang	Shan
lvmúng	‘mango’	ləmuj	Shan
jùmdòy	‘sugar’	jùmdùy	‘salt-sweet’ in JP
mvwónshí	‘coconut’	məʔúnsì	Shan-Burmese compound
ózāshí	‘custard apple’	ʔóza	Burmese
mvgwì	‘elephant’	məguy	Jinghpaw

In terms of grammatical structures, the male gender marker *lá* in Rawang seems to be a loan of Jinghpaw *là*, which derives from Jinghpaw *la* ‘man, male’ and can be related to PTB \**la* MALE,<sup>4</sup> as it is not found in Tarung (see Perlin 2019: 97 for the Tarung forms), e.g. Rawang *gilá* ‘male dog’ and *waqlá* ‘boar’, Jinghpaw *gùy-là* ‘male dog’, *wàʔ-là* ‘boar’.

There is also a common construction where a reduplicated form is understood as a cognate noun-verb construction, e.g. Rawang *dōn dōn-ò-ē* [wall put.up-TNP-N.PAST] ‘put up a wall’, which is also frequent in Jinghpaw (see Kurabe 2016: 135ff.). It is also found in some other Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1996), but this construction is not found in Tarung, as far as we can tell from our own fieldwork and a published grammar (Perlin 2019), and so might be a feature of Rawang because of Jinghpaw influence.

There are also some nominalization constructions and an adverbial construction that seem to be borrowed from Jinghpaw, discussed below.

### Nominalization by *-pà* and *nā*

The noun *pà* ‘thing, what, anything’ also functions as a classifier and a suffix-like instrumental/objective nominalizer.<sup>5</sup> As the latter it creates nominals that refer to the undergoer of the action (sometimes appearing with the purposive nominalizer *lvm*) or the instrument used for the action. Examples of the undergoer use include *úmpà* ‘rice’ (< *v̄mòē* ‘eat’), also *úmlvmpà* [eat+PUR+NMLZ] ‘food’ and *nvppà* ‘cooked vegetables (that go along with rice)’ (< *nvpòē* ‘to go along with’). Examples of its use for the instrument of the action include *ngūngòpà* (or *ngūnglvmpà* or *ngūngpà*) ‘steelyard, scale’ (< *ngūngòē* ‘weigh’), *toqtip lvmmpà*

3. *shí* in these forms is the word for ‘fruit’, which is added to the Jinghpaw form.

4. Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus Etymon #1624-- <https://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt/cgi/rootcanal.pl/etymon/1624>

5. Jinghpaw *pha* ‘what’ can also be used as a nominalizer, as in *éá-pha* (eat-what) ‘food’ and *yon-pha* (sad-what) ‘sad thing’, though it is not usually used for clausal nominalization as in (5) and (6).

[speak+*speak* PUR+NMLZ] ‘telephone’, and *kàzvngpà* [word+record+NMLZ] or *kàtvppà* [word+catch+NMLZ] ‘tape recorder’.

Aside from the use of the word *pà* to create referring expressions, it can also be used to nominalize tensed clauses, and the resulting nominal then is used as the complement of the copula to express the sense of ‘I guess ...’:<sup>6,7</sup>

- (5) *àng dì àmì pà íē.*  
 [àng dì àm-ì                    pà]    í-ē  
 3SG go DIR-INTR.PAST NMLZ COP-N.PAST  
 ‘I guess he left.’
- (6) *à:ngí dǎng a:pmà pà íē.*  
 [àng-í dǎng ap-à                    pà]    í-ē  
 3SG-AGT finish DIR-TR.PAST NMLZ COP-N.PAST  
 ‘I guess he finished it.’

There is also almost the same construction with the nominalizer *nā*, which nominalizes a clause that then acts as the complement of the copula, much like the construction we saw that involved the nominalizer *pà*, but *nā* (and possibly the whole construction) is a loan from Jinghpaw, and marks even greater uncertainty than *pà*, expressing ‘probably ...’, ‘maybe ...’, or ‘might have ...’. Kurabe (2016: 217, 292–3) analyses *na* as an irrealis marker that also functions as a nominalizer in Jinghpaw, and can have a volitive sense in the 1st person.<sup>8</sup> Compare the Rawang example in (7) with the Jinghpaw example in (8).

- (7) *àng tuqám nā íē.*  
 [àng tuq-ám    nā]    í-ē  
 3SG arrive-DIR NMLZ COP-N.PAST  
 ‘He might have arrived (there) (already).’
- (8) [ɛi yáʔ n̄tâ=kóʔ    n̄à=na]                    rē  
 3SG now house=LOC exist=NMLZ.IRR COP  
 ‘He would be in his house now.’ (Jinghpaw, Kurabe 2016: 292)

Although the word *pà* is found in Tarung, and has the lexical uses mentioned above in both varieties, the *pà* clausal nominalization construction is not found in Tarung, so it may be that Rawang speakers not only borrowed the *nā* nominaliza-

6. That the nominalized clause functions as a single constituent (i.e. the arguments of that nominalized verb are not arguments of the copula but of the nominalized verb) can be seen from the fact that even if a first or second person referent is involved in the nominalized clause, the copula does not take person marking.

7. See the end of the paper for a list of abbreviations used.

8. See Coupe 2013 on the development of irrealis markers from nominalizers in South Asia.



tion construction, they may have created the *pà* clausal nominalization construction as a calque of the Jinghpaw pattern.

### Nominalization by *ká* and *kū*

We find a very similar situation and very similar constructions but with the nominalizers *ká* and *kū*, which convey a suggestion or a probability.

The nominalizer *ká* seen in line 3 of (9) derives from a relative clause structure with the native word *kà* ‘word, speech’,<sup>9</sup> as the head, but has developed into a general clausal nominalizer that conveys the sense of suggestion or probability.

- (9) *Wēdō wēdō gō mè-ŵl daqshà kèní nō kàòng zýngāng lóngò má wǵng nò vrá  
vnángò ká lè.*  
[wē-dō wē-dō gō mv-è-ŵl daq-shà] kèní nō kà-òng  
that-ADV that-ADV also NEG-N.1-say DIR-1PL.PAST from TOP word-CL  
zýng-ā-ng lóng-ò má [wǵ-ng] nò vrá [vnáng-ò  
put.on.record-BEN-1SG DIR-TNP Q do:1st.person-1SG PS again forget-TNP  
ká lè]  
NMLZ REM  
‘If (you) don’t also say this and that to me (if you don’t remind me), what  
words I should put on record (for you), in doing it, again, I will forget words  
(what to say).’ (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133)

The nominalizer *kū* [khū] is a loan of Jinghpaw *khu*, which Kurabe (2016: 209) analyses as a perlocative postposition derived from *khu* ‘hole’, the main function of which is to mark the path of a referent’s movement, but has more abstract uses as well with the sense of the means for doing something, the media used for speaking, and the sense of ‘according to’. It can also be used in a construction with a nominalized clause acting as the complement of the copula, where Kurabe glosses it as ‘like’:

- (10) [gà-ɕəgá-ńsén=pyi ń-búŋ=?ay]=**khu** rê.  
word-speak-voice=even NEG-resemble=NMLZ=**like** COP  
‘It’s like/It’s the case that (every village) has a different language that people  
speak.’ Jinghpaw (Kurabe 2019 <https://dx.doi.org/10.26278/5fa2c7675baa8>)
- (11) [nàm=kóʔ=gò ɕəro gràŋ ɲà=?ay]=**khu** rê.  
jungle=LOC=TOP tiger very exist=NMLZ=**like** COP  
‘It’s like/It’s the case that there are many tigers in that jungle.’  
Jinghpaw (Kurabe 2017 <https://dx.doi.org/10.4225/72/598b36d2d648e>)

9. Rawang words used grammatically often change to high tone (LaPolla & Sangdong 2014).

The Rawang nominalizer *kū* appears in the same construction as discussed above for *ká*, and the resulting construction has roughly the same sense of suggestion or probability as the construction with *ká*, as in (12–15). Here the structure is not exactly the same as the Jinghpaw construction, as *kū* acts as the nominalizer itself rather than follows the nominalizer, and in Jinghpaw it does not directly follow verbs, but there seems to be a clear relationship between the two constructions, and Rawang speakers are aware that this is a loan from Jinghpaw.

- (12) *Shv̄ngòmré shv̄ngbē nō dvzaqshì kū iēó?*  
 shv̄ngòmré shv̄ngbē nō dv-zaq-shì=kū í-ē-ó  
 church all TOP CAUS-hard-R/M=NMLZ COP-N.PAST-Q  
 ‘All the churches are supposedly working so hard, right?’
- (13) *Paqzí lá ràkū iē.*  
 paqzí lá rà=kū í-ē  
 wisdom find need=NMLZ COP-N.PAST  
 ‘I suppose we need to find a way.’
- (14) *Kāyíng màyíng v̄l l̄m kū íe, Dōngjí rvgaq gō lè!*  
 kā-yíng mà-yíng v̄l l̄m=kū í-ē, Dōngjí rvgaq gō lè  
 what-place any-place live PURP=NMLZ COP-N.PAST Taunggyi area also EMPH  
 ‘(We) will live anywhere, even in Taunggyi!’
- (15) *Nōngmaqí nōnggùn zí ràkū iē.*  
 nōngmaq-í nōnggùn zí rà=kū í-ē.  
 1PLINCL-AGT strength give need=NMLZ COP-N.PAST  
 ‘We will have to encourage them.’

### The locative nominalizer *-rà*

The locative nominalizer *-rà*, as in *l̄mrà* ‘dancing place’ (< *l̄mē* ‘dance’), derives from the noun *shvrà* ‘place’, itself a loan from Jinghpaw. The full form can also be used for the nominalizing function, as in *l̄m shvrà* ‘dancing place’. Other examples are *yōprà* ‘(one’s usual) sleeping place’ (this word has a less specific meaning than *yōpgù* ‘bed’ (< JP *ʔyúpku* ‘bed’ [JP sleep + Shan *ku*<sup>2</sup> ‘bed’])); there is also a form *yōprá* ‘inn, temporary sleeping place’ with a changed tone *-rà* > *-rá*), *rúng-rà* ‘sitting place’ (< *rūngē* ‘sit’; note the tone change), and *laqtūn zvlrà* ‘place for washing clothes.’ The resulting nominalization can in some instances also be used adnominally (in a nominal + nominal / modifier-modified structure), e.g. *góng-rà hwáng* [enter+place hole] ‘threshold’. As the form *-rà* is also used as a locative nominalizer in Jinghpaw, e.g. *ʔyùp-rà* ‘sleeping place’, *nàw-rà* (dance-place) ‘danc-

ing place', *khriŋ-rà* (rest-place) 'resting place', some of the forms may be full loans from Jinghpaw or calque+loan forms.

### Adverbial phrase with light verb

In Jinghpaw there is a pattern where an adverbial form, often reduplicated, is followed by a light verb to modify the action of the predicate, as in (16–18) (from Dai 2012: 94):

- (16) ʃi<sup>33</sup> khzai<sup>33</sup>ʃa<sup>31</sup> kǎ<sup>31</sup>le<sup>55</sup> kǎ<sup>31</sup>lau<sup>31</sup> ʒai<sup>31</sup> jup<sup>55</sup> tɔ<sup>33</sup> ŋa<sup>31</sup> ai<sup>33</sup>  
 3SG self back.and.forth LV sleep DUR PROG 3SG.STATIVE  
 'He is sleeping turning back and forth on his own.'
- (17) a<sup>31</sup>khjep<sup>55</sup>a<sup>31</sup>khap<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>33</sup> a<sup>31</sup>ʃep<sup>31</sup> kau<sup>55</sup> se<sup>55</sup> ai<sup>33</sup>  
 in.small.bits LV shave utterly 1>3SG STATIVE  
 'I already shaved it into small bits'
- (18) an<sup>55</sup>the<sup>33</sup> jon<sup>31</sup> phe<sup>55</sup> a<sup>31</sup>ʒoi<sup>55</sup> a<sup>31</sup>ʒip<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>33</sup> sat<sup>31</sup> mji<sup>31</sup> ai<sup>33</sup>  
 1PL all PAT trample LV kill 3>1PL STATIVE  
 'He did his best to trample us.'

The light verbs (LV) here can be used in constructions to mean 'do, make, take, change, feel, become', and other meanings; *ʒai*<sup>31</sup> derives from a copula verb and *ti*<sup>33</sup> derives from a lexical verb meaning 'to do'.

This pattern is also found in Rawang, even though adverbs normally don't usually require a light verb to modify the predicate.<sup>10</sup> In (19) we have two examples of the native adverbial pattern, with no light verb.

- (19) Àngdvtvng àngdvtvng nài èshò:nòrì shvngbē tɔpnì tɔprāng, cvmrèrì svng nài shèngø:tò bünzàn írà íè.  
 [àng-dvtvng àng-dvtvng nà-í è-shòn-ò-rì] [shvngbē tɔpnì tɔprāng  
 PREF-step PREF-step 2SG-AGT N.1-say-TNP-PL all detail complete  
 cvmrè-rì-svng nài è-shvngøt-ò bünzàn]<sub>CC</sub> í-rà í-è  
 child-PL-LOC 2SG-AGT N.1-teach-TNP pattern/method COP-must COP-N.PAST  
 What you say step by step must all be in detail and complete, in the pattern of  
 you teaching children. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 134)

Following is the pattern with the light verb. In (21) even the adverb used, *rò* 'together' is a loan of Jinghpaw *ràw*.

10. In the Tarung varieties the reduplicated adverbials also do not take a light verb, though if a noun is used as an adverbial, e.g. 'walk like a monkey', a light verb (*wā*) is used.

- (20) *Rvgaq dým̄yēang pá:nò nò, vs̀vng ǹvng nìnà v̀lá:mì nìgēō, vǹm mv-s̀vr, ẁmẁm w̄ í-rvt,*  
 rvgaq dým-yāng pán-ò nò vs̀vng ǹvng nìnà  
 the.earth plain-big(place) create-TNP PS human and animal  
 v̀l-ám-ì nìgēō vǹm mv-s̀vr ẁm-ẁm w̄ í-rvt  
 exist-DIR-INTR.PAST although sun NEG-shine dim-dim LV COP-because  
 The big earth was created, although there were already humans and animals,  
 because the sun didn't shine brightly, ... (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 25)
- (21) *Mvsh̀vngshí gòmgoy shícèní lōngshì rái ỳngō, dv̀gò ǹm sv̀rrái kv̄t, gòmgōy shúu títvǹm zòr wē tí nō, ròrò w̄ bvt daq̄i, w̄.*  
 mvsh̀vng-shí gòmgoy shí-cè-ní lōng-shì rá-ì ỳng-ō dv̀gò ǹm  
 human-seed plague seed-son-DL stay-R/M DIR-INTR.PAST LOC-LOC nine suns  
 sv̀r-rá-ì kv̄t gòmgōy shí-ù títvǹm zòr  
 shine-DIR-INTR.PAST time plague death-epidemic flood.water(n.) flood(v.)  
 wē tí nō rò-rò w̄ bvt daq̄-ì w̄  
 NMLZ water TOP all.together-REDUP LV recede DIR-INTR.PAST say  
 At the place where the two humans (who survived the plague) were, when  
 nine suns appeared (i.e. began to shine down), the water of the flood that  
 caused the destruction, the water started to recede, it is said.  
 (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 61)
- (22) *Dvt̀vng dvt̀vng vc̄lshì nò ỳmb̀v̀n b̀v̀n ỳàng-ì wē tv̀rà wē tv̀rà àngciq̄ àngciq̄ w̄ dvt̀ān l̀m iē*  
 dvt̀vng dvt̀vng vc̄l-shì nò ỳmb̀v̀n b̀v̀n ỳàng-ì wē tv̀rà  
 (step by step) move-R/M PS migration migrate TMyrs-INTR.PAST NMLZ path  
 àng-cīq̄ àng-cīq̄ w̄ dv- vt̀ān l̀m i-ē  
 PREF-key.facts PREF-key.facts LV CAUS-be.visible INF COP-N.PAST  
 This is showing in detail the step by step migration path of the humans.  
 (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 73)

In Rawang the light verb used for this construction is *w̄*, which could be the verb for 'to say' or the verb for 'to do'. The former is intransitive, while the latter is transitive (see (23a–b) below, where the only difference is the intransitive vs. transitive past tense marker), but this may just be a difference of usage, as there are ambi-transitive verbs in Rawang that can be used either way. Also, in this context, where there is no morphology, there is no way to tell. Speakers say they are the same word.

- (23) a. *Àng ẁapmì* (intransitive, < *w̄ē*)  
 àng ẁap-ì  
 3SG say-TMdays-INTR.PAST  
 'He said something.'

- b. *À:ngí wàapmà* (transitive, < *wāē*)  
 àng-í wà-ap-à  
 3SG-AGT do-TMdays-TR.PAST  
 ‘He did something.’

The usage as adverbial phrase seems to be the intransitive use, as it is also possible to take many verbs and duplicate the verb root, add the intransitive *wāē*, and use it as a descriptive predicate, as in the following examples:

- (24) *vlapmē* ‘open’ / *vlapshîē* ‘blinking, flashing’ > *lap lap wāē* ‘sparkling’  
*shórē* ‘bright’ > *shórshór wāē* ‘brightly’  
*chatnē* ‘slippery’ > *chat chat wāē* ‘slippery, muddy’
- (25) *Shōzaqapmì rvt tvrà chatchat wāē*.  
*shō-zaq-ap-ì rvt tvrà chatchat wa-ē*  
 rain-fall-TMdays-INTR.PAST because road slippery LV-N.PAST  
 ‘Because it rained, the road is slippery.’

Another type of Rawang adverbial expression influenced by Jinghpaw is to use a construction made up of the Jinghpaw loan *shut* ‘do something wrong’ as a preverbal adverb and the verb *vlé* ‘to make a mistake’ as a preclausal modifier to mean ‘do the action represented in the following clause by mistake’:

- (26) *Shut vléngò nò vmpàkøtdóng gòng vma*  
*shut vlé-ng-ò nò vmpàkøtdóng gòng v-m-à*  
 mistake make.mistake-1SG-TNP PS kitchen enter TMhrs-TR.PAST  
 ‘I entered the kitchen by mistake.’

### Comparative construction with *mvzínē*

The usual comparative construction in Rawang is of the type exemplified in (27) (LaPolla 2004: 5), where the predicate is the parameter being compared.

- (27) *Vdó nō Vpūng mvdv̄m vni lémaq yv̄ngē*.  
 [Vdó nō] [Vpūng mvdv̄m] [[vni lémaq] yv̄ng-ē]  
 PN TOP PN above two inch(<B) tall-N.PAST  
 ‘Adeu is two inches taller than Apung.’

There is another comparative construction, though, using the verb *mvzínē* ‘surpass, be more than’ as the predicate. This word is a loan of Jinghpaw *ján* ‘to be in excess, surpass; more than’. In (28) we see the use of the construction with *ján* in Jinghpaw, and in (29) we see the parallel use of the construction in Rawang. The parameter of comparison here is ‘two inches’ (a Burmese loan), but it could be

other measurements, e.g. *vnícé mvt* ‘twenty marks (on a test)’. The Jinghpaw locative marker *thàʔ* has its origin in the locative noun *lathàʔ* ‘above’.

(28) [ŋay=gò] [naŋ=thàʔ] [[lètmàʔ ləkhôŋ] ján=?ay].  
 1SG=TOP 2SG=LOC inch two surpass=DECL  
 ‘I’m two inches taller than you.’

(29) *Vdó nō Vpūng mvd̀vm vni lémaq mvz̀vnē.*  
 [Vdó nō] [Vpūng mvd̀vm] [[vni lémaq] mvz̀vn-ē]  
 Adeu TOP Apung above two inch surpass-N.PAST  
 ‘Adeu is two inches taller/more than Apung.’

The word *mvz̀vn* has also come to be used as an adverb of extent in comparatives instead of *té* ‘big’ by some people.

The adverb *gr̀vy* ‘extremely’ is also from Jinghpaw (*gr̀ay*).

### Benefactive applicative

There is a benefactive applicative suffix *-ā* in Rawang that increases the valency of a clause by making what would otherwise be an oblique argument into a direct argument (LaPolla 2000). It can be used with intransitive and transitive verbs. We saw an example of this in the second line of (8) above. There is also a benefactive applicative auxiliary, *ya*, in Jinghpaw, which Kurabe (2016: 279) argues derives from an older word for ‘give’ in Jinghpaw. These look similar, but I have argued separately (LaPolla & Yang 2007) that the Rawang form seems to be cognate with a similar construction in Tarung in which the relevant form is transparently the word *wā* ‘do’.

### Short summary

We have seen above that there has been considerable influence of the Jinghpaw culture, language, and religion on the Rawang people. This is natural given the demographic, political, military, and cultural dominance of the Jinghpaw people in Kachin State. The influence is still quite transparent, though, e.g. most Rawang speakers can easily point out which words and structures are Jinghpaw words and structures, and so we can assume that the Rawang speakers moved into contact with the Jinghpaw people not that long ago. This to some extent tallies with what we know from the Rawang traditional migration story (B. Morse 1975), which details them moving south and west from “the land of the four rivers” down and across into Burma. There are still obvious place names to the east of the current

locations that point to the Rawang-Tarung speakers having lived in those areas earlier.

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## Abbreviations used


ADV	adverbial
AGT	agentive
BEN	benefactive applicative
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
COP	copula
DECL	declarative
DIR	direction marker (also has aspectual functions)
DL	dual
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INTR.PAST	3rd person intransitive past
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative (also used for dative, animate P)
LV	light verb
N.1	non-1st person actor (in a clause with a speech act participant)
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
N.PAST	non-past
PAT	patient
PL	plural
PN	proper name
PREF	noun-forming prefix
PROG	progressive
PS	predicate sequencer (marks a non-final clause)

PURP	purposive
Q	question
REDUP	reduplicant
REM	reminder
R/M	reflexive/middle
S	single direct argument of an intransitive verb
SG	singular
TMdays	marker of relatively recent past event
TMhrs	marker of recent past (within a few hours)
TMyrs	marker of remote past (several years at least)
TNP	3rd person transitive non-past
TOP	topic
TR.PAST	transitive past

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