Clause Linking in Dulong-Rawang

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1. Introduction

- Dulong *(tɔ̌rɯ̀ŋ;* see LaPolla 2003) and Rawang *(rɔ̌wàŋ)* are closely related dialects of the Rung branch of Tibeto-Burman spoken just south and east of Tibet.

- The people who speak Dulong for the most part live in Gongshan county of Yunnan province in China, and belong to either what is known as the 'Dulong' *(tɔ̌rɯ̀ŋ* or 'Taron', or 'T'rung') nationality (pop. 5816 according to the 1990 census), a name they were given because they mostly live in the valley of the Dulong (Taron/Trung) River, or to one part (roughly 6,000 people) of the Nu nationality (those who live along the upper reaches of the Nu River—the part of the Salween within China).

- The people who speak Rawang (population unknown, although Ethnologue gives 100,000) live in northern Kachin State in Myanmar (Burma), particularly along the Mae Hka ('Nmai Hka) and Maeli Hka (Mali Hka) river valleys. In the past they had been called 'Hkanung' or 'Nung', and have often been considered to be a sub-group of the Kachin.

- Until government policies put a stop to the clearing of new land in 1994, they still practiced slash and burn farming on the mountainsides (they still do a bit, but only on already claimed land), in conjunction with planting paddy rice near the river.

- In this paper, I will mainly be using data of the Mvtwang (Mvt River) dialect of Rawang, which is considered the most central of those dialects in Myanmar and so has become something of a standard for writing and inter-group communication.[1]

2. Typological overview

- Verb-final, agglutinative, with both head marking and dependent marking. Large number of formative affixes, including the diminutive *-cè* and the augmentative *-mè.* Generally predication involves the use of verbs.

- No pivots in Rawang for cross-clause coreference (or other constructions).

- Three classes of verb and the copula (the citation form for verbs is the third person non-past affirmative/declarative form):

  - Intransitives take the non-past affirmative/declarative particle *(ē)* alone in the non-past (e.g. *ngø̄ē* 'to cry') and the intransitive past tense marker *(-ì)* in past forms (with third person argument); they can be used transitively only when they take valency-increasing morphological marking (causative, benefactive).

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[1] In the Rawang writing system (Morse 1962, 1963), which is used in this paper, most letters represent the standard pronunciations of English, except that *i* = [i], *v* = [ə], *a* = [ɑ], *ø* = [ɯ], *q* = [ʔ], and *c* = [s] or [ts] (free variation; historically [ts]). Tones are marked as follows (using the letter *a* as a base): high falling tone: *á,* mid tone: *ā,* low falling tone: *à.* All syllables that end in a stop consonant ([-p, -t, -ʔ, -k]) are in the high tone. Open syllables without a tone mark are unstressed. A colon marks a non-basic long vowel.

- Adjectives are a subclass of intransitive verbs, and so can be predicative without the copula. In citation they take the nominalizer *wē* (e.g. *tēwē* 'big'), but when used as predicates function the same as other intransitive verbs.
  - Transitives take the non-past third person object marker *(ò)* plus the non-past affirmative/declarative particle *(ē)* in non-past forms (e.g. *ríòē* 'to carry (something)') and the transitive past tense marker *(-à)* in past forms (with third person O arguments); they can be used intransitively only when they take valency-reducing morphological marking (intrasitivizing prefix, reflexive/middle marking suffix). In transitive clauses the agentive marker generally appears on the NP representing the A argument.
  - Ambitransitives can be used as transitives or intransitives without morphological derivation *(v́mòē / v̄mē* 'to eat'). There are both S=O types and S=A types. With the S=O type, adding an A argument creates a causative, without the need to use the causative prefix. With the S=A type, use of the intransitive vs. the transitive form marks a difference between a general or habitual situation, e.g. (1a), and a particular situation, e.g. (1b), respectively. The difference is due partly to the nature of the object, and partly to the nature of general vs. specific action. I.e. if the O is specific, then the transitive form must be used, but if the O is non-specific, it is not necessary to use the intransitive form. If no O is mentioned, then usually the intransitive form is used.

(1)   a.   *Àng pé zvtnē.*
            àng pé   zvt-ē
            3sg basket   weave-N.PAST
            'He weaves baskets.' (general or habitual sense)

        b.   *À:ngí pé tiqchv̀ng za:tnòē.*
            àng-í   [pé   tiq-chv̀ng] zvt-ò-ē
            3sg-AGT   basket one-CL   weave-TNP-N.PAST
            'He is weaving a basket.'

3. Clause types

- A main clause generally will end in a tensed verb, as in (1). In imperative clauses, as in (2), the usual non-past marker used in non-past clauses does not appear.

(2)   *Shǿngcit wēdø̄ Rvwangrìí v́m yv̀ngshàrì,*
            shǿngcit wē-dø̄   [Rvwang-rì-í   v́m yv̀ng-shà]-rì]
            sheungsit that-ADV   Rawang-pl-AGT   eat TMyrs-1plPAST-pl
            (Things) like sheungsit (that) we Rawangs used to eat,

        kādø̄ wà yà:ngà wē wērì gø̄ èshǿ:nò.   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133)
            [kā-dø̄   wà   yàng-à   wē] wē-rì   gø̄   è-shǿn-ò
            WH-ADV   make   TMyrs-T.PAST NOM that-pl   also   N.1-say-TNP
            also tell us about the making of those things.

- A non-main clause will generally be nominalized, and this is done by adding a noun such as *dvgvp* 'when', or *kvt* 'time' to the end of the clause, forming a relative clause with this

word as the head (which is often followed by the adverbial marking clitic -*í),* as in lines 3 and 4 of (3), or it can be nominalized with the general nominalizer *wē,* which derives from *wē* 'that', and optionally followed by a locative clitic, as in lines 2 and 6 of (3) (this form is also used for complement clauses, as in (2) and in line 11 of (3)), or with the infinitive marker *lv́m,* which also appears in the same position, as in (4), where it is used for a purpose clause. Aside from this, the non-main clause does not differ from a main clause in terms of person, number, tense/aspect/modality from a main clause. It will not have the illocutionary force of a main clause, so the mood will be different.

- A non-main clause generally precedes the main clause it is dependent on.
- Arguments shared between two clauses which are recoverable from context need not appear overtly in the second clause, e.g the barking deer in lines 4 and 5 of (3).

1 (3) *Vnv̀m gø̀m nv̀mbàng nø̃*
 [[vnv̀m gø̀m nv̀m-bàng] nø̃
  sun flat sun-beam TOP
 (When) the beams of the sun

2 *nv̀mløp shìgùng taqvzv̀ng sv̄r daqà wē sv̀ng*
 [nv̀mløp shìgùng] taq vzv̀ng sv̄r daq-à **wē**] s**v̀ng**
 west mountain LOC first shine down-T.PAST **NOM LOC**
 first shined down on the western mountain,

3 *shvrìgō í ngv̄r wā yv̀ng bǿà kvt*
 [shvrì-gō-í ngv̄r wā yv̀ng bǿ-à **kvt**]
  barking.deer-CL-AGT notice ADV see PFV-T.PAST **time**
 when the barking deer noticed (noticingly saw) it,

4 *dvbù nø̃ chóngshì lú:ngì kvt*
 [dvbù **nø̃** chóng-shì lúng-ì **kvt**]
  happy **PS** jump-R/M up-I.PAST **time**
 when (the barking deer) was happy and jumped up (with joy),

5 *dv̀ngdè nō dvbøp hv́m gø̃ zeq lv̄m bǿà, wā.*
 [dv̀ngdè nō dv-bøp hv́m] **gø̃** zeq lv̄m bǿ-à wā
  soy.bean bean CAUS-rot basket **also** press.down step.on PFV-T.PAST HS
 (s/he) also stepped on the basket with fermented soy beans, it was said.

6 *"Nv̄m wv̄nzà mè-doq wē nàí vzv̀ng èyà:ngòē,*
 [nv̀m-wv̄n-zà mv-è-doq **wē**] nà-í vzv̀ng è-yv̀ng-ò-ē
  sun-buy-gold NEG-N.1-give/put.in **NOM** 2sg-AGT first N.1-see-TNP-N.PAST
 "You did not contribute to buy the sun, (yet) you saw (the sun) first,

7 *vnō dvbøp hv́m gø̃ èlv̄māòē," wā,*
 [vnō dv-bøp hv́m] **gø̃** è-lv̄m-ā-ò-ē wā
  bean CAUS-rot basket **also** N.1-step.on-BEN-TNP-N.PAST say
 (and) also stepped on the basket full of fermented beans."

8 *ngv̄nké yà:ngà, wā.*

ngv̄n-ké	yàng-à	wā
scold-AVS	TMyrs-T.PAST	HS

they scolded him, it is said.

9 *Wērvt shvrìhí nø̄vnō dvbøp shø̄ng vngà nø̀,*

wē-rvt	shvrì-hí	nø̄	vnō	dv-bøp	shø̄ng	vngà	**nø̀**
that-because	deer-leg	TOP	bean	CAUS-rot	smell	smells	**PS**

Because of this, the legs of the barking deer smell like (fermented) beans and

10 *vgīí tō pvnv́m bǿòē, wā.*

vgī-í	tō	pvnv́m	bǿ-ò-ē	wā
dog-AGT	short.time(quickly)	smell	PFV-TNP-N.PAST	HS

(can) easily traced by the dog, it was said.

11 *Shvrì mv́r mvcøt yàng wē gø̄ wērvt íē, wā.*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 33-34)

[shvrì	mv́r	mvcøt	yàng	**wē**]	**gø̄**	**wē-rvt**	í-ē	wā
barking.deer	face	have.wrinkles	TMyrs	**NOM**	**also**	**that-because**	be-N.PAST	HS

And also because of this, the face of the barking deer became wrinkled (out of shame), it is said.

(4) *"Vnv̀m wv̄nlv́m vnv̀mwv̄nzà doqì," wā,*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 26)

[vnv̀m	wv̄n-**lv́m**]	vnv̀m-wv̄n-zà	doq-ì	wā
sun	buy-**INF**	sun-buy-gold	match.in.price-1plHORT	HS

"Let's collect the amount to buy the sun," (they) said.

- A non-main clause, possibly already nominalized or with the infinitive marker, can also take linkers such as *rvt* 'because, in order to', as in (5), *kèní(nø̄)* 'from, if, after' or *nì(nø̄)* 'if, when, as' (see examples below).

(5) *Vmø̀ vdv́m kèní tvnè vdv́m taq v̀l lv́mrvt vcíl yà:ngà,*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 21)

[vmø̀	vdv́m	kèní	tvnè	vdv́m	taq	v̀l-lv́m]-**rvt**	vcíl	yàng-à
Ameu	plain	from	human	plain	LOC	live-INF-**in.order.to**	move	TMyrs-T.PAST

They were moved from *Ameu-adam* in order to live in *Tane-adam*.

4. The semantics of linking

A. Addition

- Addition can simply be expressed by apposition, but the clause-final predicate sequencing particle *nø̀* is often used. It appears on the lead-up clause, as in lines 4 and 9 of (3), and in (6). The adverb *gø̄* 'also, still', also helps convey the sense of addition, as in lines 5, 7, and 11 of (3), with or without *nø̀*. The adverb *gø̄* 'also, still' can appear in both the lead-up and focus clause, as in (7). (In English, when the addition is of two negatives, *or/nor* is used, not *and* (e.g. *I don't drink nor do I smoke*), whereas Rawang would use a simple addition construction with *gø̄* 'also, still' (e.g. 'I don't drink and I also don't smoke').)

(6) *Vpūngí Vdǿsv̀ng vdip bǿà nǿ ngǿa:pmì*
    [Vpūng-í   Vdǿ-sv̀ng vdip bǿ-à]   **nǿ**   ngǿ-ap-ì
    Apung-AGT   Adeu-LOC   hit   PFV-T.PAST **PS** cry-TMdys-I.PAST
    Apung hit Adeu and X cried.

(7) *Chēr gǿ vdáē, wā, nīgūng gǿ yōē, wā.*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 49)
    [chēr gǿ vdá-ē]   wā   [nīgūng   gǿ   yō-ē]   wā
    wings also have-N.PAST HS   tail   also   grow-N.PAST HS
    (The son) had wings (and he) also grew a tail, it is said.

- In some cases, as in line 2 of (8), the linking marked by *nǿ* is not as tight as would be assumed for the use of *and* in English, and it is clear that *nǿ* is not a conjunction. It also can appear at the end of an utterance.

1   (8) *Vlāng Pū:ngí nǿ sv́ngzàwàngcèrì taqkèní*
        [vlāng pūng-í   nǿ   sv́ngzàwàngcè-rì   taq-kèní
        Vlang Pung-AGT TOP   human.beings-pl   LOC-from
        Alang Pung, from the humans,

2   *sv̀ng vnvprì sv̀ng tv̀m vbūn baq kéò nǿ,*
    sv̀ng   vnvp-rì   sv̀ng   tv̀m   vbūn baq ké-ò]   **nǿ**
    person   beautiful-pl   LOC   quickly lift   carry eat-TNP **PS**
    picked up the beautiful ones and quickly carried them away to eat,

3   *lónggápā lóngshvgà tiqrv́m sv̀ng yv̀n kéò nǿ,*
    [lóngá-pā lóng-shvgà tiq-rv́m   sv̀ng   yv̀n   ké-ò]   **nǿ**
    cliff-side   rock-cave   one-CL(hole) LOC   transfer eat-TNP **PS**
    (he) took them to a cave which was at the side of a cliff to eat (them),

4   *dvbé ké lú:ngà, wā.*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 50-51)
    [dv-bé   ké   lúng-à]   wā
    CAUS-be.gone AVS DIR(begin)-T.PAST HS
    (and so) there were less people than before, it is said.

- There are also structures that could either be said to be a single clause with multiple predicates or two clauses in a special conjoined relation, as in (9), where there are clearly two actions, but there is only one non-past final particle:

(9) *Mvmē shvwár mā:nò tór mā:nòē.*
    mvmē   shv-wár mv̄n-ò   tór   mv̄n-ò-ē
    pretty.much CAUS-hot continue-TNP beat continue-TNP-N.PAST
    He continued heating it and continued beating it (of someone making a sword).

Ao. Alternation (or disjunction)

- Alternation generally involves two alternative clauses in apposition, although one of the two clauses may be reduced, as in (10)-(11). Example (10) seems to be open disjunction, but in (11)-(13) it seems there are only two choices.

(10) *Shǿngtǿng má? Vwàtǿng?*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 178)
       shǿng-tǿng   má   vwà-tǿng
       wood-plant   Q   bamboo-plant
       Is it a tree? (Or is it) bamboo?

(11) *(3) Tìmùng, mǿ-ínī, Tìnǿng rvmè*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 87)
       tì-mùng   **mv-í-nī**   tì-nǿng   rvmè
       water-white   **NEG-be-if**   water-brown   river
       (3) Timungwang, (or) if not, Tineung River (the White River or the Brown River – the Salween)

(12) *Ngà nǿ paqká mǿ-í nìnǿ, wāy aqlvm íē.*
       ngà nǿ   paqká   **mv-í   nī-nǿ,** wāy aq-lvm   í-ē
       1sg TOP   tea   **NEG-be if-TOP** wine drink-INF   be-N.PAST
       'I either drink tea or wine.' (Lit: 'As for me, if it is not tea, then I will drink wine')

(13) *Vmgvmmē wā kèní wēdǿ pàdǿrá mv-shǿ:nò,*
       vm-gvm-ē   wā   kèní   wē-dǿ   pà-dǿ-rá   mv-shǿn-ò
       eat-tasty-N.PAST say   from   that-ADV   thing-ADV-GRP   NEG-say-TNP
       There is no other way to say that sort of thing aside from "gam",

       gvmmē wá dvng mvlǿmmē.   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 195)
       [[gvm-ē]]   wá   dvng   [mvlǿm-ē]]
         tasty-N.PAST   say   only   tasty-N.PAST
       (we) just say "it is gam" or "it is maleum".

- In the second line of (14) the adverb *gǿ* 'also, still' is used in both clauses to help highlight the two alternates.

(14) *Rvwàng kū kèní nǿ, svng gvbà mà-gvbà wēdǿ gwaq nǿ,*
       Rvwàng kū   kèní   nǿ   [svng   gvbà]   [mv-gvbà]   wē-dǿ   gwaq   nǿ
       Rawang that   from   TOP   person   big   NEG-big   that-ADV   wide   PS
       From (the point of view of) the Rawang people, whether a person is big or is not big (doesn't matter), (we only make) one size,

raqò kèní nǿ yà:ngò, gǿ té gǿ mv-tē, wēmō wà yà:ngà wē.   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 224)
raq-ò   kèní nǿ yvng-ò   [gǿ   té   gǿ   mv-tē] wē-mō   wà   yàng-à   wē
weave-TNP   from TOP see-TNP   **also** big **also** NEG-big that-size make TMyrs-T.PAST NOM
to see it from (the point of view) of weaving , (it doesn't matter) whether a person is big or is not big, (only) one size is made.

B. Contrast

- Contrast often invloves the same word we saw above glossed as 'also', but rather than appearing in the adverbial preverbal position, it appears at the end of the lead-up clause, either alone, as in line 1 of (15), or with *nì* 'if/when', as in line 3 of (15).

1 (15) *Kà gø̄ shíng shø̀n yàng gø̄,*

    [kà   gø̄   shíng   shø̀n   yàng]   **gø̄**

    word also different say TMyrs **also(although)**

    Although the words were said differently,

2 *tá mū:nò vsà:ngí nø̄ tásháshì yàng.*

    [[tá   mūn-ò   vsv̀ng]-í   nø̄   tá-shá-shì   yàng]

    hear used.to-TNP person-AGT TOP hear-know-R/M TMyrs

    a person who got used to it could understand it.

3 *Dvmø̀ dv̀mshà gø̄, dvgá tiqcáng sv̀ng dv̀mshàò nìgø̄,*

    [dvmø̀ dv̀mshà gø̄ dvgá tiq-cáng sv̀ng dv̀mshà-ò] **nì-gø̄**

    Dameu damsha also another one-spirit LOC do.damsha-TNP **if-also**

    Although the Dameu damsha speech can be made/addressed to other spirits too,

4 *wēdāng wēdāng íwē, mvshø̄l tiqyv̀ng sv̀ng tvnùng yà:ngà.*

    [[wē-dāng wē-dāng í-wē mvshø̄l tiq-yv̀ng] sv̀ng tvnùng yàng-à]

    that-way that-way be-NOM story one-essay/part LOC follow TMyrs-T.PAST

    one story of how things are is followed (by all the damshas).   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 16)

- Another possibility is to simply have a phrase similar to English *Be that as it may* at the beginning of the second clause to show a contrast, as in line 4 of (16):

1 (16) *"Vnv̄ng" wā bø̀ng gø̄*

    [vnv̄ng wā bø̀ng] gø̄

    Anang say name also

    The name Anang also,

2 *nv̀mlat gǿ taq rv̄mshì nv̄ngshì daqì gǿ írvt,*

    [nv̀mlat gǿ taq rv̄m-shì nv̄ng-shì daq-ì gǿ]_{CC} í-**rvt**

    the.first CL LOC add-R/M accompany-R/M DIR-I.PAST CL be-**because**

    because (she) is one added to the first born as company,

3 *"Vnv̄ng" wā bø̀ng dènī dèyaq gø̄ wēdø̄nī lá:ngiē.*

    [vnv̄ng wā bø̀ng] dènī dèyaq gø̄ wē-dø̄nī lv́ng-ì-ē

    Anang say name today tonight also that-just.like use-1pl-N.PAST

    the name Anang, in like manner we still use to the present day.

4   *Iwē lvngà vlat svmā vlat yāgǿní sv̀ng nø̄*

   í-wē   [lvngà   vlat   svmā   vlat   yā-gǿ-ní]   sv̀ng   nø̄

   be-that boy   first.born girl   first.born   this-CL-dl   LOC   TOP

   However, these first born boy and first born girl,

5   *puqnø̄nzā sórí gv̀l daqà rvt*

   [[puqnø̄n-zā]   **sórí**   [gv̀l   daq-à]]   **rvt**

     womb-sickness   **while**   give.birth DIR-T.PAST   **because**

   because they were born out of womb pain while giving birth,

6   *"Sv́ngzà Pūng" nv̀ng "Sv́ngzà Nv̄ng" wā, tǿ yà:ngà.*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 41)

   [[sv́ng-zà   pūng   **nv̀ng**   sv́ng-zà   nv̄ng]   wā]   [tǿ   yàng-à]

     people-sick first.male **COM**   people-sick first.female say   name TMyrs-T.PAST

   (They were) called Sangza Pung (human pain first born male) and Sangza Nang (human pain first born female).

- Often the contrast is simply marked by the post-nominal particle *mv̀ng* in the focus clause, as in (17). This particle can also mean 'instead', and the lead-up clause can be nominalized to emphasize the contrast, as in (18).

(17)   *Yāpè nø̄ mà-shvlā, kūpè mv̀ng shvlāē.*

      [yā-pè   nø̄   mv̀-shvlā] [kū-pè   mv̀ng   shvlā-ē]

       this-MALE TOP NEG-good   that-MALE CONTRAST   good-N.PAST

      This guy is not nice, but that guy is nice.

(18)   *Coffee wv̄nlv́m wv̀ng bǿngà wē, paqlvp mv̀ng wv̄n bǿngà.*

      [coffee wv̄n-lv́m wà-ng bǿ-ng-à   wē] [paqlvp   mv̀ng   wv̄n bǿ-ng-à]

       coffee buy-INF   do-1sg PFV-1sg-T.PAST NOM tealeaves CONTRAST buy   PFV-1sg-T.PAST

      I was going to buy coffee, but bought tea instead.

- A different sort of narrow focus structure can be used in single clauses, or when the topic marker is added at the end of the clause, it can form the lead-up clause of a bi-clausal contrastive structure, as in (19):

(19)   *Vdǿ dīwē dvíē nø̄, Vpūng nø̄ mv-dī.*

      [Vdǿ   dī-wē   dv-í-ē]   nø̄   [Vpūng nø̄   mv-dī]

       PN   go-NOM   CFP-be-N.PAST TOP   PN   TOP   NEG-go

      Vdeu went, not Vpung.

C. Consequence

- The most common form of consequence marking is the particle *rvt* 'because, in order to', which appears at the end of the lead-up clause (whether it is nominalized or not), as in (5), where it appears on a clause nominalized by the infinitive marker to mark a purpose clause, and in lines 2 and 5 of (16), and in (20), where it appears alone to mark causation. The infinitive marker alone, without *rvt* following it, can also have the same purposive

meaning, but it is clearer with *rvt*. The predicate sequencer *nø̀* can also be added after *rvt* or *... lv́mrvt* without any change in meaning.

(20)   ... *dv̀mshà mø̀-ǿngà rvt mv-gøp mv-rà:lò,*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 5)
        [dv̀mshà mø̀-í-ng-à]   **rvt**   [mv-gøp   mv-ràl-ò]
        damsha NEG-be-1sg-T.PAST   **because**   NEG-cover   NEG-think.of-TNP
        ... since I am not a damsha, I cannot recall all.

- It is common for a preceding discourse segment to be anaphorically referred to with *wē* 'that', and then followed by *rvt* 'because, in order to' to introduce the result of the preceding action, as in lines 9 and 11 of (3).
- We also saw in line 4 of (8) that there can be a causative meaning without any overt marker aside from the general clause linker *nø̀*.
- The comititive *nv̀ng*, which appears in line 6 of (16) conjoining two noun phrases, appears at the end of the lead-up clause to mark the purpose of the focus clause, as in (21). It can optionally be followed by the locative/allative marker *sv̀ng*. The meanings of *... lv́mrvt* and *... nv̀ng(sv̀ng)* seem to be the same.

(21)   *"Ló, vnv̀m gō nv̀ng èdī," ā:lò nø̀,*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 29)
        [[ló   vnv̀m   gō]   **nv̀ng**   è-dī]   v̄l-ò   nø̀
        well(let's) sun   call   **PURPOSE** N.1-go say-TNP PS
        "Let's go to call the sun", they said, and ...

- Another common structure for expressing a cause-effect relationship (the reason for what is expressed in the focus clause) is one where the lead-up clause is nominalized by *wē* and generally followed by the topic marker, as in (22). The sense of (22) is that since he is going, there is no need for me to go.

(22)   *àng dīwē nø̄, ngà mv-døng.*
        [àng   dī-wē]   nø̄   [ngà mv-dī-ng]
        3sg   go-NOM TOP   1sg NEG-go-1sg
        He's going, (so) I'm not going.

- The type of clause with 'the more ... the more' is also a type of consequence clause. In Rawang the clause juncture marker is *nìnø̄* 'when, if', and the contrastive sense is shown by the repeated adverb, as in (23):

(23)   *Té nàhø̄shì nìnø̄, té èshiqshànē.*
        té   è-vhø̄-shì   nì-nø̄   té   è-shiqshàn-ē
        big   N.1-laugh.at-R/M if-TOP big   N.1-healthy-N.PAST
        The more you laugh the healthier you will be.

- Consequence (causation) can also be shown by nominalizing and embedding a clause and making it the agent of the result clause, as in (24):

(24) *Nv̀mbǿng wà rá ì wē í shǿnggùng ngaq ráà.*

 [[nv̀mbǿng wà rá-ì wē]-í shǿnggùng ngaq   rá-à]

  wind   do DIR-I.PAST NOM-AGT tree   knock.over DIR-T.PAST

 The blowing of the wind knocked the tree over.

Cp. Possible consequences

- Possible consequence involves a positive or negative clause of what might happen, and an imperative. This is the only clause combination I have found in which the order of clauses is fully reversable.

(25) *Mèwā nī lā dèlāsh ì rāē!*

 [mv-è-wā nī] [lā è-dvlā-shì   rā-ē]

  NEG-N.1-do POL might N.1-have.accident-R/M DIR-N.PAST

 Don't do that, you might have an accident!

(26) *Vshǿ zaqdaq má mà-shá, vzūng èlúng atnò.*

 [vshǿ zaq-daq má mà-shá] [vzūng è-lv́ng at-ò]

  rain(n.) rain(v.)-DIR Q NEG-know umbrella N.1-hold DIR-TNP

 We don't know if it might rain, take an umbrella.

D. Temporal

- The most common way to mark the sense of 'when' an action happened is to nominalize the temporal clause by making it a relative clause with a noun such as *dvgvp* 'period', *rvtǿ* 'time', or *kvt ~ kē* 'moment, time' as the head noun (which is often followed by the adverbial marking clitic *-í*), as in lines 3 and 4 of (3), and also in line 1 of (27) below.
- Another way of expressing a general sense of 'when' or 'as ... (same time)' is to add *nìnǿ* to the end of the temporal clause, as in line 2 of (27) (this marker is also used for 'if', and derives from *nī ~ nì* 'if' plus the topic marker--see (23)).

(27) *Dvtuq daqà kvt,*

 dv-tuq   daq-à   **kvt**

 CAUS-arrive (bring) down-T.PAST **time**

 When (the water) was brought down,

dv̀ngchè í vzv̀ng aq pà:ngò n ìnǿ, vrǿng vniq-á:mì, wā.   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 36)

dv̀ngchè-í vzv̀ng aq pv̀ng-ò **nī-nǿ** vrǿng vniq-v́m-ì   wā

goat-AGT first drink start-TNP **if-TOP** horn twisted-DIR-I.PAST HS

when the goat first drank it, it's horn became twisted, it was said.

- Inclusion can be marked by placing the word *sórí* or *chàng* between the two clauses, both of which mean 'while' or 'as' (in the sense of 'as he did this, he did that'), as we saw in line 5 of (16), and also in (28)-(29):

(28) *ChV̀ngzòngpè nø̄, cV̄nshì sórí dvzø̄m bV̀nlì taq,*

chV̀ngzòng-pè	nø̄	cV̄n-shì	**sórí**	dvzø̄m	bV̀nlì	taq
changzong-MALE	TOP	follow-R/M	**while/as**	serve	work	LOC

Changzong was the first one who learned while

dvzø̄mshì wē tiqpè í yàng. (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 2-3)

dvzø̄m-shì	wē	tiq-pè	í-yàng
serve-R/M	NOM	one-MALE	be-TMyrs

giving his service (to the changwa).

(29) *À:ngí kokrámsV̀ng gòngráì chàng*

àng-í	kok-rV́m-sV̀ng	gòng-rá-ì	**chàng**
3sg-AGT	room-inside-LOC	enter-come-I.PAST	**while/as**

dvrèrì pV̄ngtø̀m-sV̀ng bV̀ng shīnòē.

dvrè-rì	pV̄ngtø̀m-sV̀ng	bV̀ng	shīn-ò-ē
thing-pl	ground-LOC	(sound)	disperse-TNP-N.PAST

'As he entered the room he was throwing things.'

- To achieve the sense of 'just as (someone did something they did something else)', the lead-up clause could be nominalized with *wē* and take the comitative marker -*ó*. (e.g. *gòngráì wēó* 'Just as he entered . . .').
- One action happening 'after' another is often expressed by adding the ablative marker *kèní* after the temporal clause, as in (30) (and in line 1 of (36)).

(30) *ādāng kèní cācè dī bø̄ kèní, ādø̄ vpvt nø̀, . . .* (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 275)

ā-dāng	kèní	cā-cè	dī	bø̄	**kèní**	ā-dø̄	vpvt	nø̀
this-side	from	bird-DIM	walk	PFV	**from**	this-ADV	snap	PS

After the bird walks in from this side, it snaps (shut) like this, . . .

- *kèní* can also appear with the sense of 'before' in the phrase *dvgvp kèní nī* 'even before (some time)':

(31) *Nà (gø̄) shīnī mè-shø̀q dvgvp kèní nī*

[nà	gø̄	shīnī	mv-è-shø̀q	**dvgvp]**	**kèní**	**nī**
2sg	still	yet	NEG-N.1-be.born	**time**	**from**	**even**

Vdǿ nø̄ kolik cV̄nshì yàngì.

[Vdǿ	nø̄	kolik	cV̄n-shì	yàng-ì]
Adeu	TOP	college	follow-R/M	TMyrs-I.PAST

You were not yet even born when Vdeu went to college.'

- Another way of expressing the sense of one action happening after another is to mark the one that is completed with the verb *dV́ngòē* 'finish' and mark that clause (the lead-up clause) with the adverbial marker:

(32) . . . *zūdá:ngí, kāpàshī wáràē?*   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 204)

    [zū-d**v̄ng**]-**í**   [kā-pà-shī   wá-rà-ē]

    plant-**after-ADV** WH-thing-yet   do-must-N.PAST

    . . . after planting, what else do you still have to do?

- Similarly, if one action happened 'as' another action happened, then the verb *m̄vnòē* 'continue (something)' can be added to the temporal clause (in the case of these auxiliary verbs, there is a rule of transitivity harmony, so the transitive verb *m̄vnòē* is intransitivized by the reflexive/middle marker to match the transitivity of 'big (grow)'--see LaPolla 2000 for discussion and examples of this phenomenon):

(33) *Kūdø̄ kūdø̄ té m̄vnshì lú:ngì nìnø̄,*

    [kū-dø̄   kūdø̄   té   **m̄vn**-shì   lúng-ì]   **nì-nø̄**

    that-ADV that-ADV big(grow)   **continue**-R/M DIR-I.PAST **if-TOP**

    As he was growing up (continued to grow up more and more),

hí wūr nø̄l gø̄ sùr lú:ngì, wā.   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 50)

[hí   wūr   nø̄l   gø̄   sùr   lúng-ì]   wā

legs   hands   nail   also   grow   DIR(begin)-I.PAST HS

his finger nails and toe nails began to grow long and pointy, it is said.

- Yet another way of showing one action having been finished before another started is by reduplicating the verb of the lead-up clause (with nasalization of the final consonant of the verb, if there is one), as in (34). The meaning of this structure is roughly synonymous with the structure mentioned above which involves the use of the verb 'finish'. Both structures are often used in procedural texts in a set of clauses such as "Having done this, and having done this, you do this."

(34) *Vpūngí Vdø̄sv̀ng vdimvdipò vhø̄shìē.*

    [Vpūng-í   Vdø̄-sv̀ng vdim-vdipò] [vhø̄-shì-ē]

    Apung-AGT   Adeu-LOC   REDUP-hit   laugh-R/M-I.PAST

    After Apung had hit Adeu he laughed.

- An abbreviated clause, such as *Inì(nø̄)*, or lexical means, such as *mèpv̄ng* 'after', both exemplified in line 1 of (35), can be used to show temporal relations as well.

(35) *Inì bøpbø̄ mèpv̄ng nø̄, wēlòng rá, nàmaqí nø̄*

    í-nì   bøp-bø̄   **mèpv̄ng** nø̄   wē-lòng   rá   nà-maq-í   nø̄

    be-if   rot-PFV   **after**   TOP   that-CL   again   2sg-pl-AGT TOP

    Then after they have fermented, again that thing, you

dèhø̀m nø̀ng nø̀, è, àngchv̀ng èyē nø̀ng ká nø̄, . . .   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 141)

dv-è-vhø̀m   nø̀ng nø̀ è   àng-chv̀ng   è-yē   nø̀ng ká   nø̄

CAUS-N.1-meet   2pl   PS eh   NFP-CL   N.1-flatten   2pl   NOM   TOP

gather them, and flatten them, . . .

Dc. Conditional
- The conditional is most often marked by adding *nìnø̄* to the end of the lead-up clause, the condition, as in line 1 of (36).
- A different sort of conditional, an 'only when …' type of conditional, formed by adding *wā* 'only' after the predicate sequencer *nø̀*, is shown in lines 3-4 of (36).

1 (36) *Nvngwà shòng nìnø̄, nvngwà zí-ò kèní mv-shá cáng gø̄ lō nø̀,*

[nvngwà	shòng]	**nì**-**nø̄**	[nvngwà	zí-ò]	kèní	[mv-shá-cáng	gǿ	lō]	nø̀
cow	like	**if-TOP**	cow	give-TNP	from	NEG-know-spirit	CL	return	PS

If (the spirit) preferred a cow, after a cow is offered, (then) the unknown spirit would leave,

2 *zāgǿ bānlv́m íwē.*

[[zā-gǿ	bān-lv́m]	í-wē]
sick-CL	get.well-INF	be-NOM

and the sick person would get well.

3 *Shvmè yv́ngshì nø̀ wā,*

shvmè	yv́ng-shì	**nø̀**	**wā**
shame.leaf	look.at-R/M	**PS**	**only**

Only when the leaves had manifested the information (only when the leaves had been looked at),

4 vsv̀ng wēgǿ svng nú:ngā kǿā yà:ngà.   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 9)

vsv̀ng	wē-gǿ	svng	nòng-ā	kø̀-ā	yàng-à
person	that-CL	LOC	offer-BEN	sacrifice-BEN	TMyrs-T.PAST

would sacrifices be offered for that person.

- The ablative marker *kèní* ('from') can also mark conditionals:

(37) *Wēdø̄ wēdø̄ gø̄ mè-v̄l daqshà kèní nø̄*

[wē-dø̄	wē-dø̄	gø̄	mv-è-vl	daq-shà]	**kèní**	**nø̄**
that-ADV	that-ADV	also	NEG-N.1-say	DIR-1plpast	**from**	**TOP**

If (you) don't also say this and that to me (if you don't remind me),

kàòng zv́ngāng lóngò má

kà-òng	zv́ng-ā-ng	lóng-ò	má
word-CL	put.on.record-BEN-1sg	DIR-TNP	Q

what words I should put on record (for you),

wv̄ng nø̀ vrá vnángò ká lè.   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 133)

[wv̄-ng]	nø̀	vrá	[vnáng-ò	ká	lè]
do(1st.person)-1sg	PS	again	forget-TNP	NOM	REM

in doing it, again, I will forget words (what to say).

- There is also a type of conditional where the lead-up clause simply takes the topic marker, but both clauses are negative, so the sense is 'Don't do X until you have done Y':

(38) *Mà-v́m nø̄ mè-dīnī.*
mv-v́m **nø̄** mv-è-dī-nī
NEG-eat **TOP** NEG-N.1-go-POL
Don't go without eating. (Don't go unless you have eaten.)

5. Other functions of clause linking markers
- We saw above in line 6 of (16) that the comititive marker *nv̀ng* and can be used for linking two noun phrases as well as for linking clauses.
- Several other markers that are mainly post-nominal relational markers, such as the topic marker, the locative markers, as well as the adverbial marker, all mark clauses as well.
- We also saw that the nominalizer *wē* is also used for creating clausal constituents.
- The infinitive marker can be used to simply make simple deverbal nouns, such as the references to clothes, things draped on the body, and earings in (39):

(39) *Dv̀mshà chv̀ngwàpè nø̄ gwálv́m, pélv́m, bv́nlv́m*
dv̀mshà chv̀ngwà-pè nø̄ [gwá-lv́m pé-lv́m bv́n-lv́m
damsha chief-MALE TOP **wear-INF** **put.on-INF** **wear(on.ear)-INF**

pv̀nrìí, dvgø̄ dvcøpshì dá:ngí,
pv̀n-rì]-í dvgø̄ dvcøp-shì **dv́ng-í**
kind-pl-INST prepare adorn-R/M **finish-ADV**
After the damsha had prepared and adorned himself by putting on various clothes and earrings.

jv̀ngtùng lá:ngò nø̄, àng vdè vyā dāng vzv̀ng shø̄nshì yàng.   (LaPolla & Poa 2001: 11)
jv̀ng-tùng lv́ng-ò nø̄ àng vdè vyā dāng vzv̀ng shø̄n-shì yàng
jang-bundle[2] hold-TNP PS 3sg self rank about first tell-R/M TMyrs
he would grab a *jang*-bundle and would first identify or introduce his damsha rank.

- In (40), what looks like a clause linking construction *(wēyv́ng kèní)* is used instead for linking noun phrases (cf. Taiwan Mandarin *(ránhòu* 'after that' > 'and'):

(40) *Ngàí wvp yv̀ngà wē kāgø̀rì,*
[ngà-í wvp yv̀ng-à wē]CS kāgø̀-rì
I-AGT shoot TMyrs(1stperson)-T.PAST NOM gibbon-pl
I shot gibbons,

rvshàrì wēyv́ng kèní waqshv̀ng waqshv̀ng,
rvshà-rì **wē-yv́ng kèní** waqshv̀ng waqshv̀ng
monkey-pl **that-LOC** **from** boar boar
monkeys, and also boars,

---

[2]This is a bundle of a special kind of leaf for performing a shaman ritual.

vzuq vzuq nø kādø ā:lòē?

vzuq	vzuq	nø	kā-dø	v̄l-ò-ē
goat	goat	TOP	WH-ADV	call-TNP-N.PAST

goats, how do you call (that)?

Wēyv́ng kèní waqshv̀ng, vzuq, svrì,

wē-yv́ng	**kèní**	waqshv̀ng	vzuq	svrì
that-LOC	**from**	boar	goat	deer

And then boar, goat, deer,

wēyv́ng kèní wēdv́ngtē wā íē.

wē-yv́ng	**kèní**	wē-dv́ngtē	wā	í-ē
that-LOC	**from**	that-much	only	be-N.PAST

and then that's all.

6. Negation

There is only one negator in the language, the verbal prefix *mv-* (with several allomorphs), and it can be used in either the lead-up and/or focus clause of any of the structures we've discussed. There is only one structure, exemplified in (38), where both clauses must be negated.

7. Summary

See tables 1 and 2 on the coloured sheet.

Abbreviations

1pl.PAST	1st person plural past marker	N.PAST	non-past marker
A	actor of a prototypical transitive clause	P	patient of a prototypical transitive clause
AGT	agentive marker	PERF	perfect nominalizer
AVS	adversative marker	PFV	perfective marker
BEN	benefactive suffix	pl	plural
CAUS	causative prefix	PN	proper name
CC	copula complement	POL	polite imperative marker
CL	classifier	PROB	marker of probability
CFP	contrastive prefix	PS	predicate sequence marker
CS	S of a copula clause	Q	question marker
DIR	direction marker	REDUP	reduplicated verb
dl	dual	REM	reminder particle
GRP	marker of a group	R/M	reflexive/middle marker
HS	hearsay marker	S	single direct argument of an intransitive verb
INF	infinitive marker	TMyrs	marker of remote past
I.PAST	3rd person intransitive past marker	TOP	topic marker
LOC	locative marker (also used for dative, purpose)	TNP	3rd person transitive non-past marker
N.1	non-1st person actor (in a clause with a speech act participant)	T.PAST	transitive past marker
NFP	noun forming prefix	WH	interrogative pronoun
NOM	nominalizer		

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Semantic type	Markers	Position	Examples
A Addition	apposition		(3), (9)
	nờ (predicate sequencer)	Ml final	(3), (6), (8)
	gȫ ('also, still')	Mf preverbal & possibly Ml preverbal also	(3), (7)
Ao Alternative	apposition		(10), (13)
	mờ-í-nī-(nȫ) (NEG-be-if)	Ml final	(11), (12)
	gȫ ('also, still')	L&F preverbal	(14)
B Contrast	*nȫ* (topic marker)	Ml final	(19)
	wē (NOM)	Ml final	(3)
	(nì)gȫ ('also, still')	Ml final	(15)
	mʋ̀ng (contrast marker)	Mf postnominal	(17), (18)
	í-wē (be-NOM)	Mf initial	(16)
C Consequence	*lʋ́m(rvt)* (infinitive)	Ml final	(4), (5)
	rvt ('because, in order to')	Ml final	(3), (16), (20)
	nờ (predicate sequencer)	Ml final	(8)
	nʋ̀ng (comititive)	Ml final	(21)
	wē-(nȫ) (NOM-TOP)	Ml final	(22)
	nì(nȫ) (with repeated adverb)	Ml final	(23)
	-í (AGT; on nominalized and embedded clause)	Ml final	(24)
Cp Possible Consequence	apposition (with non-real L clause)		(25), (26)
D Temporal	*nờ* (predicate sequencer)	Ml final	(6)
	kèní (ablative marker)	Ml final	(30), (31), (36)
	nì(nȫ)	Ml final	(27), (33)
	kvt ~ kē / dvgvp / rvtờ (-í)	Ml final	(3), (27)
	sórí ('while/as')	Ml final	(16), (28)
	chàng ('while/as')	Ml final	(29)
	wē-(sʋ̀ng) (NOM-LOC)	Ml final	(3)
	wē-(ó) (NOM-COM)	Ml final	(p. 11)
	dʋ́ng-í (finish-ADV)	Ml final	(32), (39)
	reduplication of verb	Ml	(34)
	í nī-(nȫ) (be-if-TOP)	Mf initial	(35)
Dc Conditional	*nȫ* (topic marker)	Ml final	(38)
	kèní (ablative marker)	Ml final	(37)
	nì(nȫ)	Ml final	(36)
	nờ-wā (PS-ADV; 'only when')	Ml final	(36)

Table 1: Summary by semantic type

Marker/Structure	Semantic type	Examples
apposition	Addition	(3), (9)
	Alternative	(10), (13)
	Possible Consequence	(25), (26)
nə̄ (topic marker)	Contrast	(19)
	Conditional	(38)
	topic of clause	e.g. (17)
n̠ə̀ (predicate sequencer)	Addition	(3), (6), (8)
	Temporal	(6)
	Conditional	(36)
	Consequence	(8)
kèní (ablative marker)	Temporal	(30), (31), (36)
	Conditional	(37)
wē (general nominalizer)	Contrast	(3), (16)
	Consequence	(22)
	Temporal	(3)
lǐm (infinitive)	Purpose	(4), (5)
	create deverbal nouns	(40)
nì(nə̄)	Conditional	(36)
	Temporal	(27), (33)
	Consequence	(23)
rvt	Consequence	(3), (16), (20)
	(following INF) Purpose	(4)
(nì)gə̄	Contrast	(15)
	Addition	(3), (7)
	Alternation	(14)
mə̀-í-nī-(nə̄) (NEG-be-if)	Alternation	(11), (12)
í nī-(nə̄) (be-if-TOP)	Temporal	(35)
reduplication of verb	Temporal	(34)
nv̀ng	Consequence	(21)
	comititive marker	(16)
-í (AGT, ADV, INST)	Consequence	(24)
	Temporal (after dv́ng)	(32), (39)
	argument of clause	e.g. (1), (2), (39)

Table 2: Summary by marker