8 Valency-changing derivations in Dulong/Rawang

RANDY J. LAPOLLA

1 Introduction

Dulong/Rawang is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken on both sides of the China/Myanmar (Burma) border just south and east of Tibet. In China, the people who speak this language for the most part live in Gongshan county of Yunnan province, and belong either to what is known as the 'Dulong' nationality (pop. 5,816 according to the 1990 census), 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). Another subgroup of the Nu people, those who live along the lower reaches of the Nu River (in China), speak a language called 'Anung' which seems to be the same as, or closely related to, the Kwinpang dialect spoken in Myanmar, so should also be considered a dialect of Dulong/Rawang.[1] Within Myanmar, the people who speak the Dulong/Rawang language (possibly up to 100,000 people) live in northern Kachin State, 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 subgroup of the Kachin (Jinghpaw). Among themselves they have had no general term for the entire group; they use their respective clan names to refer to themselves. This is true also of those who live in China, although these people have accepted the exonym 'Dulong' (or 'Taron', or 'Trung'), a name they were given because they mostly live in the valley of the Dulong (Taron/Trung) River.[2]

Recently, speakers of this language in Myanmar have begun a movement to use the name /rəwaŋ/ (spelled 'Rvwang' in the Rawang orthographies, but 'Rawang' for this chapter) to represent all of its speakers. This name is said to be an abbreviation for *rvmèwàng* 'middle river', as the Rawang people are said to have come down from the north along the middle river (the Mekong). The speakers in China, though, continue to use the name 'Dulong'. For this reason I refer to the language as Dulong/Rawang.[3] In this chapter, I will be using data of the Mvtwang (Mvt River) dialect, which is considered the most central of those dialects in Myanmar and so has become something of a standard for writing[4] and intergroup communication, though most of the phenomena we will be discussing are general to dialects in both China and Myanmar.[5] I will use the short form 'Rawang' in referring to this dialect.

2 Verb classes

In Rawang there are three classes of verb: intransitives, which can be used transitively only when they take valency-increasing morphological marking

[1] See Sun (1988) for a brief description of the Anung language. See Lo (1945), Sun (1982), Liu (1988), Dai *et al.* (1991) and LaPolla (1995b) for descriptions of Dulong dialects. Barnard (1934) is a description of the Wvdamkong dialect of Rawang, though it does not mark tones or glottal stops, and the structures presented there seem to have been influenced by the working language (Jinghpaw) used for the elicitation.

[2] The name 'Nung' ~ 'Anung' (< Rawang *Nòng*) seems to be related to one of the Rawang names for the Salween, *Tìnòng* 'Brown River', a place where the Rawang people are said to have settled for quite some time before moving further west. In the past, the Dulong River, particularly the upper stretches, was known in Chinese as the Qiu River, and the Dulong people were known as the Qiu, Qiuzi, Qiupa or Qiao.

[3] The actual number of dialects of Dulong/Rawang that exist and the relationships among them still need to be worked out, but it seems there are at least seven major dialects: Mvtwang, Wvdamkong, Longmi, Dvru (Ganung), Dulong, Tangsarr and Kwinpang (Anung). Within the Dulong dialect it is also possible to distinguish at least four subvarieties: First Township, Third Township, Fourth Township and Nujiang Dulong. The differences among these subvarieties are rather minor, and so all are mutually intelligible. The dialect picture is actually not neatly divided between Chinese and Myanmar dialects, as Third Township Dulong and Dvru (spoken in Myanmar) are both very conservative phonologically, while the First Township, Fourth Township and Nujiang varieties of Dulong share phonological innovations with other dialects in Myanmar.

[4] A system of writing using the Roman alphabet and a few other symbols was developed by the American missionary Robert H. Morse (see Morse 1963 for an analysis of Rawang phonology), and is in common use among the Rawang people. This system will be used in this chapter. 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 tone, *á*; mid tone, *ā*; low 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 non-basic long vowels.

[5] The data used for this chapter are from a number of different speakers, though mainly from James Khong Sar Ong and Meram Rawang, both native Mvtwang speakers from Kachin State, Myanmar. I would like to thank them for their assistance.

(e.g. *ngōē* 'to cry');[6] transitives, which can be used intransitively only when they take valency-reducing morphological marking (e.g. *riòē* 'to carry (something)'); ambitransitives (labile verbs), which can be used as transitives or intransitives without morphological derivation (*v̇mòē/v̄mē* 'to eat').[7] The citation form for verbs is the 3rd person non-past affirmative/declarative form; intransitives take the non-past affirmative/declarative particle (*ē*) alone, while transitives take the non-past 3rd person O marker (*ò*) plus the non-past affirmative/declarative particle (*ē*). A second difference between intransitive and transitive verbs is that in transitive clauses the agentive marker generally appears on the NP representing the A argument.[8] In past-tense clauses (with 3rd person O arguments), transitives can be distinguished from intransitives by the appearance of the transitive past-tense marker (*-à*) instead of the intransitive past-tense marker (*-i*). We will discuss derived transitives and intransitives below.[9]

Ambitransitive verbs are verbs that can be used either as transitives (and so take the 3rd person transitive tense markers) or as intransitives (and take the intransitive past-tense marker), without requiring any other morphological derivation. There are both S = O types and S = A types. With the S = O type, as in (1), below, 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 and a particular situation respectively. The choice is due partly to the nature of

[6] Some stative intransitive verbs can take an oblique argument marked by the locative/dative marker *svng*, e.g. *svrē* 'to be afraid', where the stimulus is marked as an oblique argument:

    ngà vgīsvng svrēngē
    ngà vgī-svng svrē-ng-ē
    1sg dog-LOC afraid-1sg-N.PAST
    I'm afraid of dogs

[7] I have found one case where there are two verbs with the same meaning, one transitive and the other intransitive. These are the verbs for 'arrive': *hōq (hoqòē)* is transitive, *tuq (tuqē)* is intransitive: *ngà tukngē* 'I arrived'; *ngài Yānggūng hōk yv̀ngà* 'I have been to Yangon'. This shows that transitivity is a salient grammatical category in this language, unlike in many other Sino-Tibetan languages (e.g. Chinese, Lahu; see Matisoff 1976: 413 on the non-salience of transitivity as a grammatical category in Lahu).

[8] Morse (1965: 348) analysed the appearance of the verbal suffix *-ò* as a necessary criterion for a clause to be transitive, and so argued that only clauses with 3rd person O arguments were transitive. I have chosen to analyse this suffix as marking a 3rd person O argument (from a comparison with other dialects, it seems this form comes from the 3rd person form of the verb 'to do'), and consider clauses that do not have 3rd person O arguments as transitive if the NP representing the A argument can take the agentive marker. To avoid confusion, I have generally used examples involving 3rd person O arguments in this chapter.

[9] The transitive verb marking can also be added to some nouns to make transitive cognate noun–verb combinations, e.g. *(àng)chēr chēròē* 'grow wings', *pvlū pvlūòē* 'lay out a mat'. (Neither the causative nor applicative markers are used to make verbs from nouns.)

the O, 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. Some examples are given in (2):

(1)   S = O type

(a)	gvyaqē	'be broken, destroyed'	gvyaqòē	'break, destroy'
(b)	gvyøpmē	'be crumpled'	gvyø:pmòē	'crumple'
(c)	dvtnē	'be broken, snapped (thread)'	da:tnòē	'break, snap' (vt)
(d)	bvløpmē	'be folded'	bvlø:pmòē	'fold' (vt)
(e)	dvchøpmē	'be capped'	dvchø:pmòē	'put cap on'

(f)   mèsògòm jaqē
        mèsògòm jaq-ē
        paper   have.holes-N.PAST
        The paper has holes in it

(g)   à:ngí mèsògòm jaq bóà
        àng-í   mèsògòm jaq   bó-à
        3sg-AGT paper   make.holes PFV-3+TR.PAST
        He made holes in the paper

(2)   S = A type

(a)   àng v̄mē
        àng v̄m-ē
        3sg eat-N.PAST
        He's eating / He eats

(a')   à:ngí yālòng v̇mpà á:mòē
        àng-í   yā-lòng v̇mpà v̇m-ò-ē
        3sg-AGT this-CL rice   eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
        He is eating this rice

(b)   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-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
        He is weaving a basket

Rawang seems to have only two lexical ditransitive (extended transitive) verbs: *zi* 'give' (3a) and *v̄l* 'tell' (3b). All other ditransitive verbs, such as another form of 'tell' (3c), *dvtānòē* 'show' (< *vtānē* 'be clearly visible'), *shvriòē* 'send' (< *ri* 'carry'), etc., are all derived using the causative construction (see (a) in §3.2.1). In both lexical and derived ditransitives, the Recipient

takes Dative/Goal (Locative) marking, while the Gift is unmarked. The Donor usually takes the agentive marker. It is not possible to use the causative prefix on *zí* 'give'; for a causative sense, the analytical causative construction must be used (see (b) in §3.2.1). There is also no construction analogous to English 'dative shift'. The order of the NPs may vary according to the information structure, but there is no change in the morphological marking.

(3) (a)   Vpūngí Vdǿsv̀ng lègābok zíǒē
        Vpūng-í   Vdǿ-sv̀ng lègā-bok zí-ò-ē
        Vpung-AGT Vdeu-LOC book-CL give-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
        Vpung is giving Vdeu the book

(b)   àngkaq ngà zòngsv̀ng dìám èā:lòé
        àng-kaq ngà zòng-sv̀ng dì-ám è-v̄l-ò-é
        3sg-LOC 1sg school-LOC go-DIR N.1-tell-3+TR.N.PAST-exc
        Tell him I went to school

(c)   àngkaq ngà zòngsv̀ng dìám wā dètáò
        àng-kaq ngà zòng-sv̀ng dì-ám wā   dv-è-tá-ò
        3sg-LOC 1sg school-LOC go-DIR COMP CAUS-N.1-hear-3+TR.N.PAST
        Tell him I went to school

There are also at least three verbs that may be considered extended intransitives: *mvyǿ* 'to want, to like', *vdá* 'to have, to own' and *wā* 'to say' ('see', 'look at', 'hear' and 'listen to' all pattern as normal transitives). They are always intransitive, in that they cannot take the transitive tense suffixes, and the NP representing the A argument does not take the agentive marker, but they generally take two arguments, the A argument and an O argument (a clause (propositional argument) in the case of *mvyǿ* and *wā*), neither of which takes any kind of role marking (though the initial NP can take topic marking). Examples are given in (4):[10]

(4) (a)   ngà kédān lún mvyǿngē
        ngà kédān lún mvyǿ-ng-ē
        1sg pen   have want-1sg-N.PAST
        I want to have a pen

[10] The verb *mvyǿ* 'to want' only takes a clausal argument. For wanting of an object rather than a propositional argument, usually the verb *shòng* 'to love, like' is used, e.g.:

        (nà) kāpà èshòngē
        (nà) kā-pà   è-shòng-ē
        (2sg) Q.PN-thing N.1-like/love-N.PAST
        What do you want?

The verb *vdá* can be used without the O argument, but then has the meaning 'to be rich'.

(b)   ngà pv̄ngdāngsv̀ng dī mvyǿngē
        ngà pv̄ngdāng-sv̀ng dī mvyǿ-ng-ē
        1sg below-LOC   go want-1sg-N.PAST
        I want to go downstairs/below

(c)   nōngmaq (nō) rǒmnv̄ng àngli tiqcégǿ vdáīē
        nōngmaq nō rǒmnv̄ng àngli tiq-cé-gǿ vdá-ì-ē
        1pl   TOP friend   old   one-ten-CL have-1pl-N.PAST
        We have ten old friends

(d)   ngà laq dī wāē
        ngà laq   dī wā-ē
        1sg should go say-N.PAST
        He says I should go

The locative postposition in (4b) is on an argument of the embedded clause, not the matrix clause. The matrix verb *mvyǿ* follows the verb of the embedded clause directly, and no directional or other post-verbal morphology can intervene. That is, there is no tense, nominalization or person marking on the embedded clause. The intransitive nature of the verb *wā* can be seen clearly when contrasted with the homophonous verb *wā* 'to do', which is transitive:[11]

(4) (e)   àng wàapmi
        àng wà-ap-i
        3sg say-TMdys-3+INTR.PAST
        He said something [< wāē]

(f)   à:ngí wàapmà
        àng-í   wà-ap-à
        3sg-AGT do-TMdys-3+TR.PAST
        He did something [< wāòē]

3   Argument-transferring derivations

There are a number of constructions for increasing or reducing the valency of verbs in Rawang, but there is no passive or antipassive construction.

[11] The verb *wā* 'to say' can also have the sense of a hearsay particle, as in the following two examples:

    (1)   nà èdì bǿi wāē
        nà è-dì bǿ-i   wā-ē
        2sg N.1-go PFV-3+INTR.PAST say-N.PAST
        I heard you went (just now)

    (2)   dāri dvgvp àngnōngnv̄m vshǒmpè ā:lē   wāē
        dāri dvgvp àngnōngnv̄m vshǒm-pè v̄l-ē   wā-ē
        past time brothers   three-M   exist-N.PAST say-N.PAST
        It is said that in the past there were three brothers

3.1   Valency-reducing derivations

There are two ways that transitive verbs can be intransitivized. One is by use of the intransitivizing prefix *v-*. The other is by using the reflexive/middle-marking suffix *-shì*.

3.1.1   The intransitivizing prefix

The main function of the prefix *v-* is intransitivization, as in (5a–b), but if the single direct argument of the derived intransitive is a plural animate argument, then the meaning is reciprocal, as in (5c–f):

(5) (a)   tá:lòē   >   vtv̄lē
           tv́l-ò-ē   v-tv́l-ē
           roll-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST   PREF-roll-N.PAST
           to roll (vt)   to roll (vi)

    (b)   ngaqòē   >   vngaqē
           ngaq-ò-ē   v-ngaq-ē
           push.over-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST   PREF-push.over-N.PAST
           push over   fall over

    (c)   àngmaq vshvtnē
           àng-maq v-shvt-ē
           3pl   PREF-hit/kill-N.PAST
           They are arguing/fighting

    (d)   àngmaq vyv̀ng kēē
           àng-maq v-yv̀ng-kē-ē
           3pl   PREF-see-RECIP-N.PAST
           They are looking at each other

    (e)   àngmaq shàv́m kēē
           àng-maq shv-v-v́m   kē-ē
           3pl   CAUS-PREF-eat RECIP-N.PAST
           They are feeding each other

    (f)   àngmaq tāsv̀ng tālē dà-zà-kē-ē
           àng-maq tā-sv̀ng tā-lē   dv̀-v-zà   kē-ē
           3pl   (to.each.other) CAUS-PREF-feel.ill/pain RECIP-N.PAST
           They are hurting each other

In (5c), the *v-* prefix is used alone for the reciprocal meaning. This is the normal pattern in Dulong/Rawang in general, but in the Mvtwang dialect, the verb *kē ~ ké* 'eat (meat), bite' has grammaticalized into an auxiliary reciprocal marker, and generally the two markers are used together. This usage is shown in (5d–f). In (5e–f) we have a combination of the causative prefix (both allomorphs; see §3.2.1(a)) and the reciprocal use of the intransitivizing

prefix. See that when two non-basic prefixes combine, in this case *shv- ~ dv-* and *v-*, the result is that the vowel becomes [a-], and it takes on a full tone. In (5f) we also have a 3rd marker of reciprocity, *tāsv̀ng tālē*, a phrase meaning 'to each other'.[12]

The *v-* prefix can function to intransitivize in order to create something like a noun incorporation structure or to mark an unexpected or unintentional action ('just happened to . . .'):[13]

(6)   rìòē   >   cv̀mré vrīv́mì
       rì-ò-ē   cv̀mré v-rī-v́m-ì
       carry-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST   child PREF-carry-DIR-3+INTR.PAST
       to carry   to have become pregnant

(7)   zòmòē   >   vzōmv́mì
       zòm-ò-ē   v-zōm-v́m-i
       hold-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST   PREF-hold-DIR-3+INTR.PAST
       to hold   to happen to grab (as when grabbing for
                                           something when slipping down a hill)

The *v-* prefix is also used in some cases to derive nouns from verbs, such as *vngó* 'someone who likes to cry a lot', from *ngōē* 'to cry'; *vkó* 'thief', from *kōē ~ kóòē* 'to steal'.[14] In these cases there is also a change to high tone on the derived noun.

3.1.2   The reflexive/middle marker

The verbal suffix *-shì* in Rawang functions in a similar way to the reflexive construction in French, in that it marks true reflexives, as in (8a–b), and also middles, as in (8c–d):

(8) (a)   àng (nō àng) vdipshìē
           àng nō àng vdip-shì-ē
           3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST
           He is hitting himself

---

[12] I am unclear on the meaning of *tā*, as it only appears in this expression; *sv̀ng* is the locative/allative/dative marker in Rawang, and *lē* is possibly cognate with the allative/dative marker *le³¹* found in some of the Dulong dialects.

[13] As is common in Tibeto-Burman languages, the directional particles are often used to mark a change of state, e.g. *tē-ē* 'big', *té-lù:ng-i* 'big-up-3+INTR.PAST' ('became big; grew up'); *dō* 'dark', *dō-daq-i* 'dark-down-3+INTR.PAST' ('became dark (of the sky)'); *cv́m-ē* 'small', *á:m-i* 'small-away-3+INTR.PAST' (or *cv́m daq-i*) ('became small'). It may be that in these examples what the directional particles are doing is marking a change of state, e.g. that in (6) and (7) the meanings are closer to 'come to be baby-carrying' and 'come to be holding' respectively.

[14] As 'to steal' is an ambitransitive verb, it may be that the noun is derived from the intransitive form of that verb, and so the rule of *v-* derivation would be that when the *v-* prefix is added to a transitive verb it forms a derived intransitive, and when added to an intransitive forms a derived noun.

(b)   àng mūgwài kupshìē
        àng mūgwà-í   kup-shì-ē
        3sg plastic.raincoat-INST cover-R/M-N.PAST
        He is covering himself with a plastic raincoat

(c)   àng léshì bə̀i
        àng lé-shì   bə̀-ì
        3sg cross-R/M PFV-3.INTR.PAST
        He went out.

(d)   àng vhə̄shìē
        àng vhə̄-shì-ē
        3sg laugh/smile-R/M-N.PAST
        He is laughing (or smiling)

In most reflexives it is possible to add a pronoun representing the O argument, which will be understood as coreferential with the clause-initial NP, as in (8a). The pronoun used for this is a normal pronoun; there are no special reflexive pronouns, only special emphatic pronouns, e.g. *vdè* 'oneself' (in the sense of 'do something oneself', not 'to oneself').

The direct reflexive and the middle are semantically similar in that one and the same referent is performing and being affected by the action, but in the case of middles these two semantic aspects of the referent or the action are not as clearly distinct as for direct reflexives. Kemmer (1993) characterizes middles as involving a 'low elaboration of participants in an event' (ch. 3), or, more generally, a 'low elaboration of events' (ch. 6) relative to direct reflexives. There is a formal difference in that for middle verbs the marking is often obligatory for a certain meaning. That is, having or not having the marker on the verb will involve a change in the meaning of the verb, e.g. *lē* 'to cross' and *cv̀n* 'to follow' vs *léshì* 'to go out' and *cv̄nshì* 'to learn', while with direct reflexives the addition of the marker only changes the relationship between the two participants in the action. In Dulong/Rawang the semantic types of situations that are coded with the reflexive/middle marker include those that are marked with middle-voice marking in languages that have unique middle-voice marking, e.g. Old Norse, Russian and Dutch. These types include changes in body posture, emotions, cognitive actions, grooming actions and spontaneous events.[15]

The reflexive/middle marking is generally added only to transitive verbs, and makes them intransitive, in that the A argument can no longer take the

[15] See Kemmer (1993) for an in-depth discussion of middles and the categories often marked by middle marking. For more on the use of the reflexive/middle marker in Dulong/Rawang using data from the Third Township Dulong dialect, see LaPolla (1995b), and for more on middle marking in other Tibeto-Burman languages, see LaPolla (1996).

agentive suffix and the verb cannot take the transitive tense markers. Though the resulting verb is intransitive, it contrasts with intransitives formed by the intransitivizing prefix (*v-*) in that the verbs with the intransitive prefix express an action that is unintentional, while those marked with the reflexive/middle marker express an action that is intentional. Compare the examples in (9a–c) with the derived intransitives in (5a–c).

(9) (a)   tv́lshìē
          tv́l-shì-ē
          roll-R/M-N.PAST
          to roll oneself (on purpose; intransitive, but with intentionality)

    (b)   ngaqshìē
          ngaq-shì-ē
          push.over-R/M-N.PAST
          fall over (on purpose)

    (c)   yv̄ngshìē
          yv̄ng-shì-ē
          see/look.at-R/M-N.PAST
          look at oneself/make oneself visible, manifest oneself (such as a spirit)[16]

While clauses with reflexive/middle-marked verbs are formally intransitive, an unmarked NP (representing an O argument) may appear in the clause, as in (10a–b):

(10) (a) àng nə̄l tutshìē
          àng nə̄l   tut-shì-ē
          3sg fingernail cut-R/M-N.PAST
          He is cutting his fingernails

     (b) àng mv́r zv́lshìē
          àng mv́r zv́l-shì-ē
          3sg face wash-R/M-N.PAST
          He is washing his face

These examples represent situations that seem to be transitive events, and in languages, such as English and Chinese, that do not have middle marking and represent some middle situations with prototypical transitive forms, these examples would be coded as transitives. The possessive relationship between the A argument and the bodypart must be overtly coded in English with a

[16] In the Dulong dialects there is a formal difference between the two meanings given for this example (which generally only holds for perception verbs): for the meaning 'look at oneself', only the reflexive/middle marker is used, i.e. $\int a\eta^{55}$-cu^{31}, while for the more stativized meaning 'be visible, manifest oneself', the intransitivizing prefix is also added to the verb, i.e. ∂-$\int a\eta^{55}$-cu^{31}. If a perceiver must be mentioned in the clause, it is marked with the locative/dative postposition (le^{31} in the Third Township Dulong dialect, *sv̀ng* in the Mvtwang dialect).

genitive construction, as in the free translations given above. In Chinese, the relationship between the possessor and possessed bodypart is not overtly coded at all, and so must be inferred, as in the following example:

(11)   wǒ yào xǐ   liǎn
       1sg want wash face
       I want to wash (my) face

In Rawang, the possessor–possessed relationship must be marked by the reflexive/middle marker.

Where the O argument represented by the unmarked NP is not a bodypart, the referent will be understood as something that has some sort of strong connection with the referent of the A argument. Consider the examples in (12) to (14):

(12) (a) àng tvwv̀n vchaqòē
          àng tvwv̀n vchaq-ò-ē
          3sg snow brush-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          He is brushing the snow off (something)

     (b) àng tvwv̀n vchaqshiē
          àng tvwv̀n vchaq-shi-ē
          3sg snow brush-R/M-N.PAST
          He is brushing the snow off (himself)

(13) (a) à:ngí shvmǿ sha:tnòē
          àng-í   shvmǿ   shvt-ò-ē
          3sg-AGT mosquito kill-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          He is killing a mosquito

     (b) àng shvmǿ shvtshiē
          àng shvmǿ   shvt-shi-ē
          3sg mosquito kill-R/M-N.PAST
          He is killing a mosquito (on him)

(14) (a) àng laqtūn wv̄nòē
          àng laqtūn wv̄n-ò-ē
          3sg clothing buy-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          He is buying clothing

     (b) àng laqtūn wv̄nshiē
          àng laqtūn   wv̄n-shi-ē
          3sg clothing buy-R/M-N.PAST
          He is buying himself clothing

In these cases, the sense of the reflexive/middle is more like a benefactive, doing something FOR oneself rather than TO oneself. There is still an overlapping of roles on one referent, but instead of the two roles being A and O, they are A and Benefactive.

In some cases there is a difference of tone on the verb in a direct reflexive situation as opposed 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 (15–16):

(15) (a) àng nō àng vdǿrshiē
          àng nō àng vdǿr-shì-ē
          3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST
          He's hitting himself

     (b) àng nō àng vdǒrshiē
          àng nō àng vdǒr-shì-ē
          3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST
          He is hitting his own (child, etc.)

(16) (a) nà nō nà èwáshì bǿì
          nà nō nà è-wá-shì   bǿ-ì
          2sg TOP 2sg N.1-do-R/M PFV-3+INTR.PAST
          You did it *to* yourself

     (b) nà nō nà èwāshì bǿì
          nà nō nà è-wā-shì   bǿ-ì
          2sg TOP 2sg N.1-do-R/M PFV-3+INTR.PAST
          You did it *for* yourself

In (15b) 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 (16a–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 (17).

(17)   Vpūng (nō) Vdǿsv̀ng lègābok zīshiē
       Vpūng nō   Vdǿ-sv̀ng lègā-bok zī-shi-ē
       Vpung TOP Vdeu-LOC book-CL give-R/M-N.PAST
       Vpung gave his (own) book to Vdeu

In the case of some auxiliary verbs, the reflexive/middle marker is used on the auxiliary simply to intransitivize it to match the matrix verb in terms of transitivity. Compare the two sentences in (18).

(18) (a) à:ngí shóng rímā:nòē
          àng-í   shóng   rí-mv̄n-ò-ē
          3sg-AGT tree/wood carry-continue-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          He is continuing to carry the wood

(b)   àng yøpmv̄nshìē
       àng yøp-mv̄n-shì-ē
       3sg sleep-continue-R/M-N.PAST
       He is continuing to sleep

In (18a), the main verb, *rìòē* 'carry', is transitive, and so the auxiliary verb, *mv̄nòē* 'continue', is also transitive, but in (18b), the main verb, *yøpmē* 'sleep', is intransitive, and so *mv̄nòē* takes the reflexive/middle marker to make it intransitive. A number of other auxiliary verbs, such as *dv́nòē* 'be about to', *mūnòē* 'be used to', *dv́ngòē* 'be finished', *pv́ngòē* 'begin to' and *nēòē* 'be willing to', also follow this pattern. These verbs follow this pattern even with the different forms of the ambitransitive verbs, that is, when the ambitransitive main verb is used as an intransitive, the auxiliary verb takes *-shi*, but if the ambitransitive main verb is used as a transitive verb, then *-shi* is not used. Compare (19a–b), for example:

(19) (a)   àng v́mdv́ngshì bøì
            àng v́m-dv́ng-shì bø-ì
            3sg eat-finish-R/M PFV-3+INTR.PAST
            He finished eating [intransitive v́mē 'eat']

     (b)   à:ngí v́mpàlòng v́mdv́ng bøà
            àng-í v́mpà-lòng v́m-dv́ng bø-à
            3sg-INST food-CL eat-finish PFV-3+TR.PAST
            He has finished eating the food [transitive v́mòē 'eat']

The pattern is also followed when the main verb is nominalized, as in (20):

(20)   vngaqlv́m dv́nshìē
       v-ngaq-lv́m dv́n-shì-ē
       PREF-push-INF about.to-R/M-N.PAST
       It seems like it is about to fall down

The reflexive/middle marker can also be used when one wants to stress that some expression represents a general situation or existing state rather than a specific event. Compare (21a) and (21b) below:

(21) (a)   à:ngí àngsv̀ng shvngōòē
            àng-í àng-sv̀ng shvngō-ò-ē
            3sg-AGT 3sg-LOC hate-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
            He hates him

     (b)   àng nø̄ shvngōshìē
            àng nø̄ shvngō-shì-ē
            3sg TOP hate-R/M-N.PAST
            He's hateful

Example (21a) expresses the idea that the referent feels hate towards a specific individual, while (21b) expresses the idea that he is hateful in general, not that he hates any one person in particular.[17] Compare now (22a) and (22b).

(22) (a)   àng shv̀m pēshìē
            àng shv̀m pē-shì-ē
            3sg sword hang.on.shoulder-R/M-N.PAST
            He is wearing a sword

     (b)   à:ngí shv̀m péòē
            àng-í shv̀m pé-ò-ē
            3sg-INST sword hang.on.shoulder-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
            He is putting on or wearing a sword

In (22a), the situation is expressed as an on-going state rather than an action or event, while in (22b) the action is a transitive event which could involve either the putting on or the wearing of the sword (notice in English we use two different verbs for these two meanings). There is a privative opposition between the two forms, in that the transitive form can be used for either meaning, while the reflexive/middle-marked verb has only the state-like meaning. To express the meaning 'put on' without ambiguity, it is possible to use the causative prefix (see §3.2.1(a) below) together with the reflexive/middle marker, as in (22c):

(22) (c)   àng shv̀m dvpēshìē
            àng shv̀m dv-pē-shì-ē
            3sg sword CAUS-hang.on.shoulder-R/M-N.PAST
            He is putting on a sword

As discussed in LaPolla (1995a), it seems that the reflexive/middle marker may have at first been used only for direct reflexives, then came to be used more and more to express middle situations, i.e. came more and more to be associated with situations where there is a 'low elaboration of events', and then, when used on transitive verbs, came to have a function similar to that of a 'stativizer': diminishing the conceptual separation of the events and participants involved, making the overall event more like a state.

3.2   Valency-increasing derivations

There are six different ways that the valency of a clause can be increased in Rawang. There are two types of causative construction, an applicative

---

[17] Because this is also the reflexive form of the verb, it is ambiguous between the general meaning and the reflexive meaning, so for the reflexive meaning a second pronoun is often added after the topic marker: *àng nø̄ àng shvngōshìē* 'He hates himself'.

benefactive, a -*t* suffix, non-use of the reflexive/middle marker on 'deponent' verbs, and the use of the verb *kéòē* 'eat (meat), bite' as an adversative marking auxiliary verb. We will discuss each construction in turn.

3.2.1   Causative constructions

There are two unrelated types of causative marking: a verbal prefix (*shv-* ~ *dv-*) and an analytical (periphrastic) causative construction involving the verb *dvzv̀r* 'send'.

(a) The causative prefix   The main morphological means for deriving causative verbs is adding the causative prefix (*shv-* ~ *dv-*).[18] The verb in a causative involving the causative prefix can represent a state, a process or an action, and can be intransitive or transitive, but not ditransitive. A causative formed by the verbal prefix can generally be either a direct causative (actually bringing about a change of state or directly causing or helping a causee perform an action) or an indirect causative (having someone do something, but without the causer being physically involved as in the direct causative). There is no difference whether the causee is willing to perform the action or not, whether the action was accidental or not, or whether the causee is in control or not. The causative of an intransitive verb becomes a transitive verb, taking on the transitive tense marking, and the NP representing the A argument can take the agentive marking. In some cases a locative-marked argument in the intransitive takes the instrument marker in the causativized form (see (28a–b) for example). With the causative of a transitive verb, the NP representing the causer can take the agentive marker, the NP representing the A argument (the causee) often takes the dative/locative marker, and the NP representing the O argument is unmarked. The causative prefix is not used for applicatives or to derive verbs from nouns, and it is not used on ditransitives (though it is used to create ditransitives). The analytical causative

---

[18] In the Dulong dialects of Dulong/Rawang, there is clear phonetic conditioning on the two forms of the causative prefix (*tu³¹-* and *su³¹-*): the form *tu³¹-* is used before voiceless fricative initials, while *su³¹-* is used before all other initials. I have not found any such phonetic conditioning in the Rawang dialects. I have also not found Morse's (1965: 348) statement that *dv-* is used mainly on intransitives to be correct. One factor that may be involved is that some verbs can take both prefixes, but then only *shv-* has a causative meaning, while *dv-* has the sense of 'able to [Verb]', e.g. *léē* 'to cross (a stream, etc.)', *dv-léē* 'to be able to cross', *shv-léòē* 'make (him) cross' (it can be seen from these examples that when *dv-* has this meaning it does not transitivize the verb). The causative prefix clearly derives from the Proto-Sino-Tibetan causativizing/transitivizing **s-* prefix (see for example Benedict 1972: 105–6; Mei 1989), but the origin of this prefix in Sino-Tibetan is not clear. The analytical causative is a relatively late development, and paralleled in many other Sino-Tibetan languages (see LaPolla 1994).

construction must be used for causatives of ditransitives. There is generally no way for the verb to remain intransitive and yet have an A argument represented, e.g. as a peripherally marked NP. The only exception to this is the possible addition of an experiencer/perceiver argument using the locative/dative postposition to certain derived intransitives of perception (see note 16). I have not found any particular syntactic or discourse functions associated with use of the causative aside from the semantic function of adding an A argument. Following are some examples:

(23)   nǿē   >   shvnǿòē
       nǿ-ē   shv-nǿ-ò-ē
       be.tame-N.PAST   CAUS-tame-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
       be tame   to tame (an animal) (vt)

(24)   vm̄v̄ngngē   >   shvmá:ngòē
       vm̄v̄ng-ē   shv-vm̄v̄ng-ò-ē
       be.lost-N.PAST   CAUS-be.lost-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
       be lost   to lose (something)

(25)   lǿmmē   >   shvlǿ:mòē
       lǿm-ē   shv-lǿm-ò-ē
       be.warm-N.PAST   CAUS-be.warm-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
       be warm   to warm (something)

(26)   vshatnē   >   dvshatnòē
       vshat-ē   dv-vshat-ò-ē
       wake.up-N.PAST   CAUS-wake.up-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
       wake up   wake (someone) up

(27)   vhǿmmē   >   dvhǿmòē
       vhǿm-ē   dv-vhǿm-ò-ē
       meet-N.PAST   CAUS-meet-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
       meet   gather, get together

(28) (a)   shvrì tiqgō tvwátaq wá apì
           shvrì tiq-gō tvwá-taq   wá   ap-ì
           deer one-CL trap(n.)-LOC be.trapped TMdys-3+INTR.PAST
           A deer was caught in a trap

     (b)   shvrì tiqgō tvwái shvwá apà
           shvrì tiq-gō tvwá-í   shv-wá   ap-à
           deer one-CL trap(n.)-INST CAUS-be.trapped TMdys-3+INTR.PAST
           (He) caught a deer in/with a trap

In the causative forms in (24), (26) and (27), even though there is a combination of *shv-* ~ *dv-* and *v-*, the resulting vowel is still [ə], and not [a-], as

the *v-* here is inherent to the root form and not a derivational prefix. Only a combination of two derivational prefixes causes the vowel change. In the intransitive (28a) ('to be caught in a trap'), the NP *tvwá* 'trap(n.)' takes locative marking, while in the causativized version in (28b) ('cause to be trapped') the same NP has instrumental marking. This example also shows that cognate verbs function morphosyntactically the same as verbs formed in other ways (see note 9). Examples (29a–c) are causatives of transitive verbs, and (29d) is an example of an intransitive verb that becomes ditransitive after causativization (the only example of this I have):

(29) (a)   . . . mvshv̄ngshícèní svng dvkéòē, wā
  mvshv̄ng-shí-cè-ní-svng dv-ké-ò-ē   wā
  human-seed-son-du-LOC CAUS-eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST say
  . . . (and it is said he) fed the original people (the child's flesh)

  (b)   à:ngí Vpūng svng laqtūn dvgwāòē
  àng-í   Vpūng-svng laqtūn   dv-gwā-ò-ē
  3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC clothing CAUS-put.on/wear-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
  He made (or helped) Vpung put his clothes on

  (c)   à:ngí (àng svng) shvrī mā:nòē
  àng-í   àng-svng shv-rī   mv̄n-ò-ē
  3sg-AGT 3sg-LOC CAUS-carry continue-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
  He makes (him) continue carrying (not 'send' here, but 'help carry')

  (d)   à:ngí ngà svng Yangon dètān yv̀ngà
  àng-í   ngà-svng Yangon də-è-vtān   yv̀ng-à
  3sg-AGT 1sg-LOC Yangon CAUS-N.1-visible TMyrs+1sg-3+TR.PAST
  He showed me Yangon (Rangoon)

As mentioned above, generally the derived causative can be direct or indirect, but if the causation is very indirect, such as in a situation where, for example, one might be said to have 'killed' someone by not saving that person when s/he was drowning, then the word for 'cause to die' (see (30a)) would not be used directly, but would be used in a paraphrastic construction meaning 'it was as if I killed him', as in (30b):

(30) (a)   dvshóng bóngà
  dv-shí-ng   bó-ng-à
  CAUS-die-1sg PFV-1sg-3+TR.PAST
  I caused him to die (Direct action)

  (b)   ngài dvshíò dō iá:mì
  ngà-í   dv-shí-ò   dō í-ám-ì
  1sg-AGT CAUS-die-3+TR.N.PAST ADV be-DIR-3+INTR.PAST
  It is like I caused him to die

(b) The analytical causative/permissive   The analytical (phrasal) causative construction involves the use of the verb *dvzv́r* 'send' after the main verb. This construction only has an indirect causative sense, without direct involvement of the causer, of having or letting someone do something, and the causing/letting must be purposeful, not accidental, with the causee in control, but the causee may be willing or unwilling.[19] The verb involved can be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive, and generally represents an action or process that requires some effort rather than a state, for which the causative prefix is more generally used. The analytical causative can also be used together with the direct causative to express a double causative or permissive and causative. Examples of the three causative possibilities are given in (31) for intransitives and (32a–c) for transitives. The marking of noun phrases is the same as that with the causative prefix: the causer (optionally) takes agentive marking, and the causee takes the locative/allative marker (but see discussion of reflexive causatives below); (32d–e) are examples with NPs to show their marking.

(31) (a)   dí dvzá:ròē
  dí dvzv́r-ò-ē
  go send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
  to let/make (him) go

  (b)   dvdìòē
  dv-dì-ò-ē
  CAUS-go-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
  to make (him) go/walk

  (c)   dvdí dèzá:rò
  dv-dí   è-dv̀zv́r-ò
  CAUS-go N.1-send-3+TR.N.PAST
  You let him make him go

[19] There is another way to express one type of having or letting someone do something, by use of the prefix *laq-*. This construction is formally a subtype of the imperative, and so functions differently from the analytical causative. Compare the two sentences below:

(1)   Vpū:ngí bó laqdé:rò
  Vpūng-í   bó laq-dér-ò
  Vpung-AGT rice INDTV-pound-3+TR.N.PAST
  Let Vpung pound the rice [imperative]

(2)   Vpū:ngí bó dór dèzá:ròē
  Vpūng-í   bó dór è-dvzv́r-ò-ē
  Vpung-AGT rice pound N.1-send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
  You let Vpung pound the rice [non-imperative]

(32) (a) v́m dèzá:rò
    v́m è-dvzv́r-ò
    eat N.1-send-3+TR.N.PAST
    Let him eat

(b) shvá:mòē
    shv-v́m-ò-ē
    CAUS-eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
    He feeds him

(c) shvv́m dvzá:rò
    shv-v́m dvzv́r-ò
    CAUS-eat send-3+TR.N.PAST
    Let him feed him

(d) à:ngí Vpūng sv̀ng mūgwài dvrèrì wṽm dvzá:ròē
    àng-í   Vpūng-sv̀ng mūgwà-í   dvrè-rì   wṽm
    3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC raincoat-INST luggage-pl cover
    dvzv́r-ò-ē
    CAUS-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
    He is making Vpung cover the luggage with the raincoat

(e) à:ngí àng sv̀ng shv̀m lv́ng dvza:ròē
    àng-í   àng-sv̀ng shv̀m lv́ng dvzv́r-ò-ē
    3sg-AGT 3sg-LOC knife hold CAUS-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
    He is making him hold the knife

(c) The interaction between causatives and reflexives We have looked at reflexives, and we have looked at causatives, and have seen one example ((22c)) of how they can be used together. In this section we discuss a few more examples to see how the two derivations interact. Compare the three examples in (33):

(33) (a) à:ngí laqtūn dvshúòē
    àng-í   laqtūn dv-shū-ò-ē
    3sg-INST clothing CAUS-be.dry-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
    He is drying clothes

(b) àng dvshúshìē
    àng dv-shū-shì-ē
    3sg CAUS-be.dry-R/M-N.PAST
    He is drying himself

(c) àng laqtūn dvshūshìē
    àng laqtūn dv-shū-shì-ē
    3sg clothing CAUS-be.dry-R/M-N.PAST
    He is drying his clothes

In (33a) we have a causative based on the intransitive verb *shūē* 'be dry', with distinct A and O arguments, and it means simply that the person is drying clothes on a line or somewhere else. In (33b) we have a causative-reflexive with no other O argument and a high tone, so the meaning is that the person is drying him or herself, for example by standing next to a fire. In (33c) an O argument is mentioned, and the verb is followed by the reflexive/middle marker and has a mid tone rather than a high tone, so what is being dried is the clothing, and not the person (in a sense FOR the person), but the drying of the clothes must be while the person is wearing them.

We saw above that adding the causative prefix to a transitive verb can create an indirect causative where the causer causes (or helps) the causee perform an action that is not directed at the causer, as in (34).

(34) à:ngí Vpūng sv̀ng laqtūn dvgwàòē
    àng-í   Vpūng-sv̀ng laqtūn dv-gwā-ò-ē
    3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC clothing CAUS-put.on/wear-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
    He made (or helped) Vpung put his clothes on

Considering only the use of the causative prefix and the reflexive/middle marker, there is then a four-way contrast:

(a) gwá-ò-ē   'to put on' or 'to wear'
(b) gwā-shì-ē   'to wear'
(c) dv-gwā-ò-ē   'to dress someone'
(d) dv-gwā-shì-ē   'to get oneself dressed' or 'to cause/make someone else get dressed'

The causative form, as in (34), can also be made reflexive/middle, but different dialects of Dulong/Rawang vary somewhat in what they allow. In the Third Township Dulong dialect, if the reflexive/middle-marking suffix is also added to the verb in this construction, there are two possible outcomes, depending on whether another animate referent is mentioned or assumed in the clause. Compare (35a) and (35b) (from LaPolla 1995b):

(35) (a) aŋ^{53} ʃɔʔ sɯ^{31}-gua^{55}-çɯ^{31}
    3sg cloth CAUS-put.on-R/M
    He (causes himself to) put his clothes on

(b) aŋ^{53} aŋ^{53}-mei^{53}-le^{31} ʃɔʔ sɯ^{31}-gua^{55}-çɯ^{31}
    3sg 3sg-mother-LOC cloth CAUS-put.on-R/M
    He had his mother put his clothes on him

In (35a), as no other causee is mentioned or assumed, then the interpretation is that the causer causes himself or herself to perform the action, in this case,

put clothes on. In (35b), which could be said of a small child, an animate causee is mentioned, and the reflexive/middle marker limits the interpretation of the situation to one where the action performed by the causee (which has been caused by the causer) is directed at or in some way affects the causer, not necessarily the causee.

It is also possible to add the reflexive/middle marking to a periphrastic causative construction, with the effect that the causer causes the causee to do something to him or herself, as in (36), where it is Pung's face that is to be washed:

(36)   aŋ⁵³-mi⁵⁵ puŋ⁵⁵-(le³¹) məɹ⁵⁵ tɕiʔ-ɕɯ³¹ dʑuːɹ⁵⁵
        3sg-AGT Pung-LOC face wash-R/M cause
        He made Pung wash his face

A second causative can also be added to a construction such as that in (36) if the verb involved is a basic intransitive, as in (37):

(37)   aŋ⁵³-mi⁵⁵ puŋ⁵⁵-(le³¹) ɹɔʔ⁵⁵ sɯ³¹-kam⁵⁵-ɕɯ³¹ dʑuːɹ⁵⁵
        3sg-AGT Pung-LOC cloth CAUS-dry-R/M cause
        He made Pung dry his clothes (with Pung wearing them)

Here Pung is made to dry the clothes that he is wearing; the analytic causative expresses the idea that Pung is made to do something, while the inflectional causative expresses the idea that Pung causes the clothes to become dry, and the reflexive marker expresses the idea that the clothes being dried are the ones being worn by Pung at the time of the action.

In the Mvtwang (Rawang) dialect, the equivalent of (35a) is possible (see (38a)), but for the meaning where the causer has the causee do something to the causer, the analytical causative must be used, as in (38b).

(38) (a) àng laqtūn dvgwāshiē
          àng laqtūn dv-gwā-shì-ē
          3sg clothing CAUS-wear-R/M-N.PAST
          He's putting his clothes on

     (b) àng nō àngmèi laqtūn dvgwā dvzv́rshiē
          àng nō àng-mè-i   laqtūn dv-gwā   dvzv́r-shì-ē
          3sg TOP 3sg-mother-AGT clothing CAUS-wear send-R/M-N.PAST
          He had his mother put his clothes on him

An interesting difference between the two dialects is that, while both dialects can express the difference between the causer having the causee doing something to the causee and the causer having the causee doing something to the

causer, the way they express these two differs. In the Dulong dialect the difference between the two types of causative is in the use of the analytical causative with the reflexive/middle marker on the main verb to express the former meaning (see (36)), and the causative prefix and the reflexive/middle marker on a transitive verb for the latter meaning (see (35b)), while in the Mvtwang dialect both meanings are expressed using the analytical causative construction, with the difference being expressed by whether the reflexive/middle marker appears on the main verb or on the causative auxiliary verb. Compare (39a) (and also (38b)) with (39b):

(39) (a) àng nō Vpūngí mv́r zv́l dvzv́rshiē
          àng nō Vpūng-í   mv́r zv́l dvzv́r-shì-ē
          3sg TOP Vpung-AGT face wash send-R/M-N.PAST
          He is making Vpung wash his face (causer's face, not Vpung's)

     (b) à:ngí Vpūngsv̀ng mv́r zv́lshì dvzá:ròē
          àng-í Vpūng-sv̀ng mv́r zv́l-shì   dvzv́r-ò-ē
          3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC face wash-R/M send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          He is making Vpung wash his (Vpung's) face

The marking of the NPs in the clause differs according to the placement of the reflexive/middle marker. The NP representing the A argument of whichever verb is not marked by the reflexive/middle marker can take the agentive marker, while the NP representing the A argument of a reflexive/middle-marked verb cannot take the agentive marker, but may take the locative/dative marker (and may take the topic marker if it is in initial position).

The equivalent of (37) in the Mvtwang dialect is (40):

(40)   à:ngí Vpūngsv̀ng laqtūng dvshūshì dvzá:ròē
        àng-í Vpūng-sv̀ng laqtūng dv-shū-shì   dvzv́r-ò-ē
        3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC clothing CAUS-dry-R/M send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
        He is making Vpung dry his clothes (while Vpung is wearing them)

The causative can also be used with the reflexive in situations where the reflexive/middle marker indicates a possessive relation between the A and the O (see (17) above). In example (41), below, the reflexive/middle marker indicates the fact that the book that Vpung is letting/making Vdeu hold belongs to Vpung.

(41)   Vpūng (nō) Vdóí lègābok shvlv̆ngshiē
        Vpūng (nō) Vdó-i   lègā-bok shv-lv̆ng-shì-ē
        Vpung TOP Vdeu-AGT book-CL CAUS-hold-R/M-N.PAST
        Vpung is letting Vdeu hold his book

3.2.2   Applicative benefactive

The only applicative construction in Rawang is the benefactive construction marked by the verbal suffix *-ā*. This form cannot be used for causative or other functions, such as for making an instrumental or locative phrase a direct argument.[20] It also cannot be used for comitatives.[21] The benefactive can apply to both transitives and intransitives. As adding the benefactive argument increases the transitivity of the verb, intransitive verbs become formally transitive, though the original S does not take agentive marking. With transitives the old O stays unmarked, and the new argument (the benefactive) is marked with the benefactive postposition (*dvpvt*)[22] or the locative/dative postposition *svng* (as with the other arguments, it may not be expressed as a noun phrase if it is recoverable from the context or person marking). Examples are given in (42a–c):

[20] Nouns representing instruments are marked with the agentive–instrumental–adverbial suffix (*-i*), and those representing locatives with one of the locative postpositions. For alternations of the 'spray/load' type, different verbs would be used in Rawang:

(1)   kvlángí mōdōchv̀ng dv̀n dvzǿngòē
       kvláng-í mōdō-chv̀ng dv̀n   dv-zǿng-ò-ē
       hay-INST truck-CL   fullness CAUS-full-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
       I fill the truck with hay

(2)   mōdōchv̀ngtaq kvláng dv̀n zv́ngòē
       mōdō-chv̀ng-taq kvláng dv̀n   zv́ng-ò-ē
       truck-CL-LOC   hay   fullness put-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
       I put hay onto the truck

[21] For comitatives, the comitative postposition *nv̀ng* is used. How it is used, together with the person marking on the verb, determine whether the added referent is treated as part of a single direct argument of the verb or as a separate oblique argument:

(1)   ngà àngnv̀ng rūngē
       ngà àng-nv̀ng rūng-ē
       1sg 3sg-COMIT sit-N.PAST
       I am sitting with him

(2)   ngà nv̀ng àng tiqdō rúngshìē
       ngà nv̀ng àng tiq-dō   rúng-shì-ē
       1sg COMIT 3sg one-ADV sit-du-N.PAST
       He and I are sitting together

In (1), the comitative postposition appears after the second NP, and the verb agreement is singular, while in (2) the comitative postposition comes between the two NPs and the verb agreement is dual.

[22] The benefactive postposition can sometimes be used without adding the benefactive suffix to the verb, as in the following example:

       yākōng v́mpà nō̌ vshǿmgǿ dvpvt luqē
       yā-kōng v́mpà nō̌ vshǿm-gǿ dvpvt luq-ē
       this-CL rice TOP three-CL for be.enough-N.PAST
       This bowl of rice is enough for three people

(42) (a)   ngàí (àng-sv̀ng/dvpvt) shǿng rǿngāngòē
           ngà-í   àng-sv̀ng/dvpvt shǿng rí-ng-ā-ng-ò-ē
           1sg-AGT 3sg-LOC/for[23]   wood carry-1sg-BEN-1sg-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
           I'm carrying wood for him

     (b)   àng dvpvt rvmáhv́ng shvláāòē
           àng dvpvt rvmá-hv́ng shvlá-ā-ò-ē
           3sg for   field-field be.good-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
           The fields are good for him

     (c)   àngtaq yādùng bèlaq mvnøklá téāòē
           àng-taq yā-dùng bèlaq   mvnøklá té-ā-ò-ē
           3sg-LOC this-CL upper.garment too   be.big-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
           This shirt is too big for him

If there is an auxiliary verb, such as *mv̄nòē* 'to continue' or *dv́ngòē* 'to finish', then the benefactive suffix appears after the auxiliary verb, as in (42d):

(42) (d)   à:ngí rimv̄nāòē
           àng-í   rí-mv̄n-ā-ò-ē
           3sg-AGT carry-continue-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
           He continues carrying for someone else

In some cases the benefactive suffix has the meaning 'instead of', as in (43). If the name of the person in whose place the action is performed needs to be mentioned, then it is followed by either the benefactive postposition (*dvpvt*) or by *tvlē* 'exchange'.

(43)   (Vpūng tvlē) àngsv̀ng ngōtnāngòē
           Vpūng tvlē   àng-sv̀ng ngǿt-ā-ng-ò-ē
           Vpung exchange 3sg-LOC mourn-BEN-1sg-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
           I mourn him (instead of Vpung mourning him)

Although the suffix *-ā* generally has the function of adding a benefactive argument, in two cases from the Rawang Creation Story and one elicited example the use of the suffix does not seem to have the meaning of doing the action 'for someone', but more the sense of possession. These are given in (44):

[23] This postposition is only used for the benefactive sense of English *for*; the purposive sense of *for* in, for example, 'I work for money' is expressed by *rvt* 'because' of:

       gv̀msùng rvt bv̀nlì wv̄ngē
       gv̀msùng rvt bv̀nlì wā-ng-ē
       money   for work do-1sg-N.PAST
       I work for money

(44) (a)   shv̄ngbēí vgō vshvpmā yà:ngà rvt vpú vgō vdv̄mē, wāē
           shv̄ngbē-í vgō vshvp-ā yàng-à   rvt   vpú vgō
           all-AGT   head rub-BEN TMyrs-3+TR.PAST because owl head
           vdv̄m-ē   wā-ē
           flat-N.PAST say-N.PAST
           It is said that because everyone rubbed his head (rubbed him on the head
           after he said something wise), the owl's head is (now) flat

(b)   vnō dvbøp hv́m gø̃ èlv̄māòē
      vnō dvbøp hv́m gø̃ è-lv̄m-ā-ò-ē
      bean rotten basket also N.1-step.on-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
      You stepped on (someone's) basket of fermented beans

(c)   yābok lègā kāgǿ íāòē
      yā-bok lègā kā-gǿ   í-ā-ò-ē
      this-CL book Q.PN-CL be-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
      Who does this book belong to?

In (44a), *vshvp* 'rub' could have been used without the *-ā* suffix and have
basically the same meaning. It seems that the benefactive suffix is used here
because the actual direct argument (which could be marked by the locative/
dative marker *svng*) is *vgō* 'head', but the person/animal to whom the head
belongs is affected as well. In (44b), the benefactive is used to emphasize that
the deer stepped on someone else's beans. In (44c) the benefactive suffix
makes the copula transitive, giving it the sense of 'this belongs to' rather than
'this is'.

Aside from the applicative benefactive, there are other ways that a
benefactive sense is accomplished. We saw above that the reflexive/middle
marker in some cases has a benefactive sense, though it is unlike the applicative
benefactive in that it is transitivity-reducing and limited to cases where the
benefactive and the A are the same referent. The benefactive in that construc-
tion cannot take the benefactive postposition (*dvpvt*).

A third type of benefactive that is also a type of indirect reflexive developed
from the grammaticalization into auxiliary verbs of the two words for 'to
eat': *v̄m(ò)ē* 'to eat (rice, vegetables)', *kē(ò)ē* 'to eat (meat), bite'. These verbs
are used after the main verb for an indirect reflexive sense when the action
expressed by the main verb relates to doing something to or with a domestic
animal (*kē*) or non-animal food (*v̄m*) that is eaten. The auxiliary verbs follow
the pattern of transitive for specific actions and intransitive for general or
regular, continuing actions (such as actions done for one's livelihood; see §2,
and noted in (b) below). This is also a type of benefactive, but not applicative,
as it does not increase the transitivity of the clause. Following are examples
of this usage with different types of activities.

(45) (a)   àng kwá tiqyøm róng kēē
           àng kwá tiq-yøm róng   kē-ē
           3sg bee one-hive put.in.hole eat-N.PAST[24]
           He is raising bees for himself

(b)   àng waq nākēē
      àng waq nā-kē-ē
      3sg pig feed-eat-N.PAST
      He feeds the pigs for himself[25]

(c)   àng ngā mit kē-ē
      àng ngā mit kē-ē
      3sg fish catch eat-N.PAST
      He catches fish for himself

(d)   àng láv̄mē
      àng lá-v̄m-ē
      3sg cut.down-eat-N.PAST
      He cuts down (banana trees) to get the fruit for himself

(e)   ti kvpmv́m á:mìē
      ti   kvp-v́m ám-i-ē
      water get-eat DIR-1pl-N.PAST
      We go get water for ourselves

(f)   ngàmaq yúng kvtná:mì
      ngàmaq yúng   kvt-v̄m-ì
      1pl   vegetables grow-eat-1pl
      We grow vegetables for ourselves

(g)   àng v́mpà wv̄nv̄mē
      àng v́mpà   wv̄n-v̄m-ē
      3sg rice/food buy-eat-N.PAST
      He is buying himself rice/food[26]

---

[24] The larvae of the bees are eaten, so *kēē* and not *v̄mē* is used; the verb *róng* 'put in a hole' is
used because bees are raised in a hole in a tree.

[25] Compare this example with (45b):

   à:ngí waq nākēòē
   àng-í   waq nā-kē-ò-ē
   3sg-AGT pig feed-eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
   He is feeding the pigs (right now)

   Here, as the main verb is used transitively (due to the fact that it is a specific action/event
   rather than a general one), the auxiliary is also transitive.

[26] Contrast this with the use of the reflexive/middle marker for the same situation, but involving
non-edible objects:

   ngà laqtūn wv̄nshòngē
   ngà laqtūn wv̄n-shi-ng-ē
   1sg clothing buy-R/M-1sg-N.PAST
   I am buying myself clothes

(h)   àng nở wā̄v̄mē
        àng nở   wā-v̄m-ē
        3sg wine make/do-eat-N.PAST
        He is making wine for himself

In terms of the benefactive sense, there is then a four-way contrast:

    (a)   kvtshìē   'to grow something (not eaten) for oneself' (reflexive)
    (b)   kvtnv̄mē   'to grow something (eaten) for oneself' (food-benefactive)
    (c)   kvtnāòē   'to grow something for someone else' (benefactive)
    (d)   vkvtnā kēē   'to grow something for one another' (reciprocal-
                         benefactive)

3.2.3   Transitivization by addition of final -*t*

A second form of transitivization is not productive. This is transitivization by
the addition of a final -*t* to an intransitive form. I have only one example of
this type, though I believe there should be other examples, as this form of
transitivization is found in closely related languages, such as Jinghpaw, and
is an old Sino-Tibetan trait (see Dai and Xu 1992; Benedict 1972: 98–102;
Michailovsky 1985; van Driem 1988).

(46) (a) ngō̄-ē 'to cry' > ngøt-ò-ē 'to cry over/mourn someone'

    (b)   ngàí àng ngøtnòē
           ngà-í   àng ngø-t-ò-ē
           1sg-AGT 3sg cry-transitivizer-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
           I am crying over (mourning) him

3.2.4   Other ways of increasing transitivity

There are two other ways that the transitivity of a verb can be increased. One
is by NOT using the reflexive/middle marker on a verb for which the reflexive/
middle form is the statistically unmarked form. This has the same effect as
the applicative in some other languages. For example, *vhōshìē* 'laugh' has the
middle as its statistically unmarked form, even though it has the intransitivizing
prefix and the reflexive/middle-marking suffix, while the formally unmarked
(but statistically marked) form *hōòē* 'laugh at someone' (e.g. *à:ngí àngsv̀ng
hōòē* 'He is laughing at him') is statistically and semantically more marked.

In situations where there is an adversative sense of something happening to
someone that is beyond their control, the verb *kéòē* 'eat (meat), bite' can be
used, often with the causative prefix as well, and this can make the sentence
partly transitive, as in (47a–c). It is only partly transitive because there is no
A argument that can take the agentive marker (though in some cases there is
an instrumental argument, as in (47c)), as the cause of the action is generally

unknown. Semantically then, it is like a passive in emphasizing affectedness
and lack of control, but syntactically it is not valency-reducing, the way
passives are.

(47) (a) àng dvgøq kéòē
          àng dv-gøq   ké-ò-ē
          3sg CAUS-hiccup eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          He's hiccuping (uncontrollably) (normally àng gøqē)

    (b)   (pòyaq) chapgá (gá) cv̀mré shvngố kéòē
          pòyaq chapgá gá   cv̀mré shv-ngố ké-ò-ē
          all.night morning bright child   CAUS-cry eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          The children are / have been crying (all night) until morning (light)

    (c)   àng vléí mvdờng kéòē
          àng vlé-í   mvdờng ké-ò-ē
          3sg vlé-INST stuck   eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          He has vlé stuck in his throat (vlé is a kind of rough food)

This usage is actually a subtype of a more general usage of the verb *ké ~ kē*
'eat (meat), bite' for an adversative sense shown in (48). It can be used for
any situation where the speaker has a negative attitude towards the referent
involved in the action/situation or the action/situation itself. This can be used
to show empathy with someone suffering a negative situation, and so is said
to be more polite in some instances, such as (48d), and also has something of
a passive sense, emphasizing affectedness (e.g. (48a), where the word order
marks the receiver of the scolding as the topic). In these cases the form of the
verb is always transitive.

(48) (a) àng(sv̀ng) vpèí ngv̄n kéòē
          àng-sv̀ng v-pè-í   ngv̄n ké-ò-ē
          3sg-LOC 1-father-AGT scold eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          He is being scolded by my father

    (b)   àng svmīí gáng kéòē
          àng svmī-í   gáng ké-ò-ē
          3sg fire-INST hot   eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
          He's hot from the fire

    (c)   à:ngí pàgō mà-shvbờn kéò
          àng-í   pà-gō   mà-shv-bờn   ké-ò
          3sg-AGT thing-also NEG-CAUS-be.possible eat-3+TR.N.PAST
          He's incapable of doing anything

    (d)   àngsv̀ng tvp ké bốà
          àng-sv̀ng tvp   ké bố-à
          3sg-LOC be.arrested eat PFV-3+TR.PAST
          He was arrested

(e)   àng nə̄ nə̀ mvnəklá aq dári rvt (nə̀i) vrù kéòē

     àng nə̄ nə̀   mvnəklá aq   dár-i   rvt   nə̀-í

     3sg TOP wine too   drink TMhrs-3+INTR.PAST because wine-INST

     vrù ké-ò-ē

     drunk eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST

     He drank too much and so is/got drunk (from the wine)

4   Conclusions

We have seen that in Rawang, unlike in many other Sino-Tibetan languages,
the coding of transitivity and the use of transitive vs intransitive constructions
to convey different meanings are important aspects of the grammar. Aside
from the different uses of the two forms of ambitransitive verbs, there are two
morphological means for decreasing the valency of clauses, and six means
for increasing their valency. We have also seen that a speaker may employ
several different valency-increasing and valency-decreasing morphemes in
the same clause to achieve different meanings through their interaction.

References

Barnard, J.T.O. 1934. *A handbook of the Rawang dialect of the Nung language.*
    Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery.

Benedict, P.K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus* (J.A. Matisoff, contributing ed.).
    New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dai Qingxia, Huang Bufan, Fu Ailan, Renzengwangmu and Liu Juhuang. 1991. *Zàng-*
    Miǎnyǔ shiwǔ zhǒng (Fifteen Tibeto-Burman languages). Beijing: Yanshan
    Chubanshe.

Dai Qingxia and Xu Xijian. 1992. *Jǐngpōyǔ yǔfǎ (The grammar of the Chinghpaw*
    language). Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan Chubanshe.

Driem, G. van. 1988. 'Reflexes of the Tibeto-burman *-t directive suffix in Dumi
    Rai', pp. 157–67 of *Prosodic analysis and Asian linguistics: to honour R.K.*
    Sprigg, ed. D. Bradley, E.J.A. Henderson and M. Mazaudon, Pacific Linguistics
    C 104. Canberra: Australian National University.

Kemmer, S. 1993. *The middle voice,* Typological studies in language 23. Amsterdam
    and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

LaPolla, R.J. 1994. 'Parallel grammaticalizations in Tibeto-Burman: evidence of Sapir's
    "drift"', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 17.61–80.

    1995a. 'On the utility of the concepts of markedness and prototypes in understanding
    the development of morphological systems', *Bulletin of the Institute of History*
    and Philology (Academia Sinica) 66.1149–85.

    1995b. 'Reflexive and middle marking in Dulong/Rawang.' Paper presented to the
    28th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics.

    Charlottesville, Va., 6–9 October. To appear in *Himalayan linguistics,* ed. G. van
    Driem. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

    1996. 'Middle voice marking in Tibeto-Burman languages.' *Pan-Asian linguistics:*
    proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics.
    Vol. V. Thailand: Mahidol University.

Liu Juhuang. 1988. 'Dúlóngyǔ dòngcí yánjiū (Studies on the Dulong verb)'. *Yǔyán*
    yánjiū 1988.1.176–91.

Lo Ch'ang-p'ei. 1945. 'A preliminary study of the Trung language of Kung Shan',
    Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 8:343–8.

Matisoff, J.A. 1976. 'Lahu causative constructions: case hierarchies and the morpho-
    logy/syntax cycle in a Tibeto-Burman perspective', pp. 413–42 of *The syntax of*
    causative constructions, ed. M. Shibatani. New York: Academic Press.

Mei Tsu-lin. 1989. 'The causative and denominative functions of the *s- prefix in Old
    Chinese.' *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology.* Taipei:
    Academia Sinica.

Michailovsky, B. 1985. 'Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes: evidence from Limbu
    (Nepal)', pp. 334–43 of *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan area: the state of the art.*
    Papers presented to Paul K. Benedict for his 71st birthday, ed. G. Thurgood,
    J.A. Matisoff and D. Bradley, Pacific Linguistics C 87. Canberra: Australian
    National University.

Morse, R.H. 1963. 'Phonology of Rawang', *Anthropological Linguistics* 5.17–41.
    1965. 'Syntactic frames for the Rvwang (Rawang) verb', *Lingua* 15.338–69.

Sun Hongkai. 1982. *Dúlóngyǔ jiǎnzhì (A sketch of the Dulong language).* Beijing:
    Minzu Chubanshe.

    1988. 'Notes on a new language: Anong', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*
    11.27–63.