8 Valency-changing derivations in Dulong/Rawang

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1 Introduction

Dulong/Rawang is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken on both sides of the China/Myanmar border just south and east of Tibet. In China, the people who speak this language for the most part live in Hongshan 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. In 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 Maeb Hka (Mali Hka) River valleys. In the past they had been called 'Hkanung' or 'Nung', and have often been considered to be a subgroup, though the name 'Nung' - 'Anung' (< Rawang Nung) seems to be related to one of the Rawang names for the Salween, Tinhwa 'Brown River', a place where the Rawang people are said to have settled for quite some time before moving further west. In fact, 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.

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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 through 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 and intergroup communication, though most of the phenomena we will be discussing are general to dialects in both China and Myanmar. I will use the short form 'Rawang' in referring to this dialect.

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The actual number of dialects of Dulong/Rawang that exist and the relationships among them still need to be worked out, but it seems that there are at least seven major dialects: Mvtwang, Wvdamkong, Longmu, Dvor (Ganung), Dulong, Tungari 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 Dvor (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.

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], e = [e], a = [a], o = [u], q = [j] and c = [ts] (free variation; historically [ts]). Tones are marked as follows (using the letter a as a base): high tone, ḍ, mid tone, ḍ, low tone, d. All syllables that end in a stop consonant (p, t, ḍ, k) are in the high tone. Open syllables without a tone mark are unstressed. A colon marks non-basic long vowels.

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.
Ambitransitives 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 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’
gvyaqē ‘break, destroy’
(b) gvyepnē ‘be crumpled’
gvyepnē ‘crumple’
(c) dvē ‘be broken, snapped (thread)’
dvē ‘break, snap’ (vt)
(d) bvēpē ‘be folded’
bvēpē ‘fold’ (vt)
(e) dvēpē ‘be capped’
dvēpē ‘put cap on’

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4 Some stative intransitive verbs can take an oblique argument marked by the locative/dative marker -ng, e.g. svē ‘to be afraid’ where the stimulus is marked as an oblique argument:
- ngā yūn-sung svēngē
- ngā vgl-sung svēngē
1sg dog-loc afraid-1sg-N.PAST
I'm afraid of dogs

5 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’: hāng (transitive) is transitive, hāng (intransitive); ngā tuk-n ‘I arrived’, ngā yūn-sung hāng ‘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 Matsui 1976: 413 on the non-salience of transitivity as a grammatical category in Lahu).

6 Morse (1965: 348) analysed the appearance of the verbal suffix -ē 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 intransitive 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.

7 The transitive verb marking can also be added to some nouns to make transitive cognate noun-verb combinations, e.g. dgon-chēr khē-ri ‘grow wings’, pūlā pūlā ‘lay out a mat’. (Neither the causative nor applicative markers are used to make verbs from nouns.)
taker 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 zi '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) Vpungi Vdsvng legäbok ziöö
   Vpung-AGT Vdeu-LOC book-CL give-3+TR,N,PAST-N,PAST
   Vpung is giving Vdeu the book

(b) ängkaq nga zongsving diäm cä-loö
   äng-kaq nga zöng-svŋg di-äm e-vă-o-ö
   3sg-LOC 1sg school-LOC go-DIR N.1-tell-3+TR,N,PAST-exc
   Tell him I went to school

(c) ängkaq nga zongsving diäm wä dētäö
   äng-kaq nga zöng-svŋg di-äm wä dv-ě-tä-ö
   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: mwyö 'to want, to like', lido 'to have, to own' and wä '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 mwyö and wä), neither of which takes any kind of role marking (though the initial NP can take topic marking). Examples are given in (4).11

(4) (a) nga këdän lün mwyöngë
   nga këdän lün mwyö-ŋë
   1sg pen have want-1sg-N,PAST
   I want to have a pen

The locative postposition in (4b) is on an argument of the embedded clause, not the matrix clause. The matrix verb mwyö 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 wä can be seen clearly when contrasted with the homophonous verb wä 'to do', which is transitive:

(4) (e) äng wāapmi
   ang wā-ap-i
   3sg say-TMDYS-3+INTR,PAST
   He said something [< wäê]

(f) ängi wāapmä
   ang-i wā-ap-ä
   3sg AGT do-TMDYS-3+TR,PAST
   He did something [< wāö]

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 wä 'to say' can also have the sense of a hearsay particle, as in the following two examples:

(1) nā ëdë bië wäê
   nā  ė-dë bā-i
   2sg N.1-go PTV-3+INTR,PAST SAY-N,PAST
   I heard you went (just now)

(2) däri dvgvp ängböngnëm vesåmpë ël-ë
   däri dvgvp ängbön nam veså-ØN.1-like/OVE-N,PAST
   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 \(-shi\).

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) tålôë > vtêlë
roll-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
v-śl-lê
v-roll-N.PAST

(b) ngaqôë > vngaqê
push-over-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
v-ngaq-e

(c) ângmaq vâhvnê
âng-maq v-shvnt-ë
3pl PRED-hit/kill-N.PAST
They are arguing/fighting

(d) ângmaq výyng kêê
âng-maq v-výyng-kêê-ë
3pl PRED-see-RECIP-N.PAST
They are looking at each other

(e) ângmaq shâvvn kêê
âng-maq shv-v-cm kêê-ë
3pl CAUS-PRED-eat RECIP-N.PAST
They are feeding each other

(f) ângmaq vâsvng têlë dâ-zâ-kêê-ë
âng-maq tâ-svng têlë dâ-v-zâ kêê-ë
3pl (to.each.other) CAUS-PRED-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 \( kêê \)– \( kêê \) ‘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 \( shv \)- 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, \( tâsvng \) \( tâlë \), a phrase meaning ‘to each other’.

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 . . .’).

(6) riôë
ri-ô-ë
child PRED-carry-DIR-3+INTR.PAST
to carry
carry-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
to have become pregnant

(7) zômôë
zm-ô-ë
hold-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
to hold
v-zöm-vë
v-zâm-vm-i
v-zâm-vm-i
v-extend

The \( v \)- prefix is also used in some cases to derive nouns from verbs, such as \( ngåq âng \) ‘someone who likes to cry a lot’, from \( ngåq \) ‘to cry’; \( vkô \) ‘thief’, from \( kêê \)– \( kôôë \) ‘to steal’. 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 \(-shi\) 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) âng (nâ âng) vdpshë
âng nû âng vdp-shi-ë
3sg TOP 3sg hit-HIT-N.PAST
He is hitting himself

(8) (b) ngöe
ng-ö-ë
hit-RMT-N.PAST
from

(8) (c) vtêmôë
vtêmô-ë
hit-RMT-N.PAST
from

(8) (d) v-gaë
v-ga-e
hit-RMT-N.PAST
from
agentic 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).

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):

\[(9) \quad (a) \quad \text{tvlshie} \quad \text{tvl-shi-č} \\
\quad \text{roll-R/M-N.PAST} \quad \text{to roll oneself (on purpose; intransitive, but with intentionality)}
\]

\[(b) \quad \text{ngaqshie} \quad \text{ngaq-shi-č} \\
\quad \text{push.over-R/M-N.PAST} \quad \text{fall over (on purpose)}
\]

\[(c) \quad \text{yvngshie} \quad \text{yvng-shi-č} \\
\quad \text{look/at-R/M-N.PAST} \quad \text{look at oneself/make oneself visible, manifest oneself (such as a spirit)}^{14}
\]

\[(10)\quad (a) \quad \text{ng%-l tutshie} \quad \text{ng%-l tut-shi-č} \\
\quad \text{3sg fingernail cut-R/M-N.PAST} \quad \text{He is cutting his fingernails}
\]

\[(b) \quad \text{ng%-v zvlsshie} \quad \text{ng%-v zvl-shi-č} \\
\quad \text{3sg face wash-R/M-N.PAST} \quad \text{He is washing his face}
\]

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 body part must be overtly coded in English with a

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14 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. \( f\text{nv}^{-1}\text{-cm} \), while for the more stabilized meaning 'be visible, manifest oneself', the intransitivizing prefix is also added to the verb, i.e. \( f\text{nv}^{-1}\text{-cm} \). If a perceiver must be mentioned in the clause, it is marked with the locative/dative postposition \( \text{le}^{-1} \) in the Third Township Dulong dialect, \( \text{zng} \) in the Mvtwang dialect.

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9 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. lè 'to cross' and c/n 'to follow' vs lèshi 'to go out' and cvnshi '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.¹³

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

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¹³ 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).
genitive construction, as in the free translations given above. In Chinese, the relationship between the possessor and possessed body part is not overtly coded at all, and so must be inferred, as in the following example:

\[(11) \quad \text{wò yào xi lián} \]
\[1\text{sg want wash face} \]
\[I \text{ want to wash (my) face} \]

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 body part, 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):

\[(12) \quad (a) \quad \text{áng twwín vhaq öd} \]
\[3\text{sg snow brush-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST} \]
\[He \text{ is brushing the snow off (something)} \]

\[(b) \quad \text{áng twwín vhaqshi öd} \]
\[3\text{sg snow brush-middle-3+TR.N.PAST} \]
\[He \text{ is brushing the snow off (him self)} \]

\[(13) \quad (a) \quad \text{áng shvmó sha tönö} \]
\[3\text{sg AGT mosquito kill-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST} \]
\[He \text{ is killing a mosquito} \]

\[(b) \quad \text{áng shvmó shvshi öd} \]
\[3\text{sg mosquito kill-middle-3+TR.N.PAST} \]
\[He \text{ is killing a mosquito (on him)} \]

\[(14) \quad (a) \quad \text{áng laqtün wönö} \]
\[3\text{sg clothing buy-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST} \]
\[He \text{ is buying clothing} \]

\[(b) \quad \text{áng laqtün wönshi öd} \]
\[3\text{sg clothing buy-middle-3+TR.N.PAST} \]
\[He \text{ is buying himself clothing} \]

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):

\[(15) \quad (a) \quad \text{áng ná áng vđörshi öd} \]
\[3\text{sg TOP 3\text{sg hit-R/M-N.PAST} \}
\[He\text{'s hitting himself} \]

\[(b) \quad \text{áng ná áng vđörshi öd} \]
\[3\text{sg TOP 3\text{sg hit-R/M-N.PAST} \}
\[He\text{'s hitting his own (child, etc.)} \]

\[(16) \quad (a) \quad \text{ná ná ná éwáshi bő-i} \]
\[2\text{sg TOP 2\text{sg N.1-do-R/M PFV-3+INTR.PAST} \}
\[You\text{ did it to yourself} \]

\[(b) \quad \text{ná ná ná éwáshi bő-i} \]
\[2\text{sg TOP 2\text{sg N.1-do-R/M PFV-3+INTR.PAST} \}
\[You\text{ did it for yourself} \]

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).

\[(17) \quad \text{Vpung (ná) Vđešvng lēgábok zhiši öd} \]
\[Vpung gave his (own) book to Vđeu \]

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).

\[(18) \quad (a) \quad \text{áng shòng rımínö} \]
\[3\text{sg AGT tree/wood carry-continue-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST} \]
\[He\text{'s continuing to carry the wood} \]
(b) ə̄ŋ yop-mín-shi ə̄ŋ yep-mín-shi-ə̄ 3sg sleep-continue-RiM-N,PAST
He is continuing to sleep

In (18a), the main verb, riōd ‘carry’, is transitive, and so the auxiliary verb, mímнё ‘continue’, is also transitive, but in (18b), the main verb, yopmē ‘sleep’, is intransitive, and so mímнё takes the reflexive/middle marker to make it intransitive. A number of other auxiliary verbs, such as dínнё ‘be about to’, mínнё ‘be used to’, díngōё ‘be finished’, píngōё ‘begin to’ and něё ‘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 -slii, but if the ambitransitive main verb is used as a transitive verb, then -slii is not used. Compare (19a–b), for example:

(19) (a) ə̄ŋ ympalōng ympahə̄n bō-ə̄ ə̄ŋ ympalōng ympahə̄n pe-shi-ə̄ 3sg food-cl eat-finish 3sg-INST food-cl eat-finish-Pfv-3+TR.N,PAST-N.PAST
He has finished eating the food

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

(20) vngaqvlīm dunshię̄ v-ngaq-līm dūn-shi-ə̄ Pfv-push-INF about-to-RiM-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) ə̄ŋ qvngvng shvngōё ə̄ŋ qvngvng shvngō-ə̄ 3sg AGT 3sg LOC hate-3+TR.N,PAST-N,PAST
He hates him

(b) ə̄ŋ nō shvngōshiə̄ ə̄ŋ nō shvngō-shi-ə̄ 3sg TOP hate-RiM-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) ə̄ŋ shvnm pēshiə̄ ə̄ŋ shvnm pē-shi-ə̄ 3sg sword hang.on.shoulder-RiM-N,PAST
He is wearing a sword

(b) ə̄ŋ-i shvnm pē-ō-ə̄ ə̄ŋ-i shvnm pē-ō-ə̄ 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) ə̄ŋ shvnm dpēshiə̄ ə̄ŋ shvnm dpē-shi-ə̄ 3sg sword CAUS-hang.on.shoulder-RiM-N,PAST
He is putting on a sword

As discussed in LaPolia (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: ə̄ŋ nō ə̄ŋ shvngōshiə̄ ‘He hates himself’.
benefactive, a -t suffix, non-use of the reflexive/middle marker on 'deponent' verbs, and the use of the verb kēdē '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 dvēr 'send'.

(a) The causative prefix

The main morphological means for deriving causative verbs is adding the causative prefix (shv- ~ dv-). 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 causee 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 causee 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 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) nōe > shvnōe
dvēr be tame-N.PAST
shv-nō-e to tame (an animal) (vt)

(24) vimēngē > shvnēngē
dvēr be lost-N.PAST
shv-vimēng-e to lose (something)

(25) lāmmē > shvlēmē
shv-lēm-e be warm-N.PAST
to warm (something)

(26) vsatnē > dvvsatnē
shv-vshat-e wake up
shv-vshat-e wake (someone) up

(27) vhēmnē > dvvhēmē
shv-vhēm-e meet
shv-vhēm-e meet (someone) or get together

(28a) shvri tūgō tviwātāq wā ap-l
shvri tūgō tviwā-tāq wā ap-l
deer one-cl trap(n.)-LOC be.trapped TMDYS-3+INTR.PAST

A deer was caught in a trap

(b) shvri tūgō tvālā shvā apā
shvri tūgō tvālā shvā apā
deer one-cl trap(n.)-INST causer 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 [a], and not [ə], 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 rowā '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) ... mvshvngshiceni svng dvkēbo, wā
   mvshvng-shicē-ni-svng dvkē-ō-ē
   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) āngi Vpün-gūlaqtün dv-gwāōē
   āng-i Vpün-svng laqtün dv-gwā-ō-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) āngi (āng svng) shvrt mānōē
   āng-i āng-svng shv-ri mān-ō-ē
   3sg-AGT 3sg-LOC clothing continue-3+TR.N,PAST
   He makes (him) continue carrying (not 'send' here, but 'help carry')

(d) āngi nga svng Yangon dētān yvngā
   āng-i nga-svng Yangon dē-ē-vātā yvng-ā
   3sg-AGT 1sg-LOC Yangon CAUS-N.1-visible MYRS+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) dvshimg bimga
dv-shi-ng bē-ng-ā
CAUS-die-1sg PFV-1sg-3+TR.PAST
I caused him to die (Direct action)

(b) ngāi dvshhō dō lāmi
ngā-i dv-shi-ō dō i-ām-i
1sg-AGT CAUS-die-3+TR.N,PAST ADV be-DIR-3+INTR.PAST
It is like I caused him to die

(31) (a) di dvzārōē
di dvzā-ō-ē
go send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He told (or made) go (him) go

(b) dvdiōē
dv-di-ō-ē
CAUS-go-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He made (him) go/walk

(c) dvdi dēzārō
dv-dī ē-dvzāt-ō
CAUS-go N.1-send-3+TR.N,PAST
You let him make him go

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) Vpūngi bō laqde:ro
Vpūng-i bō laq-de:ro
Vpung-gt rice INDIV-pound-3+TR.N,PAST
Let Vpung pound the rice [imperative]

(2) Vpūngi bō dé de:zārōē
Vpūng-i bō dé dē-dvzāt-ō-ē
Vpung-gt rice pound N.1-send-3+TR.N,PAST-N.PAST
You let Vpung pound the rice [non-imperative]

(b) The analytical causative/permissive The analytical (phrasal) causative construction involves the use of the verb dvzār ‘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 causer 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.

"
In (33a) we have a causative based on the intransitive verb shüë '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) aŋgi Vpung sVng laqtün dvshuoe
aŋ-i Vpüng-svng laqrun dv-shü.-o-e
3Sg-AGT Vpung-LOC clothing CAus-be.dry-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) gwä-ö-e ‘to put on’ or ‘to wear’
(b) gwä-shi-ê ‘to wear’
(c) dv-gwä-ö-e ‘to get oneself dressed’ or ‘to cause/make someone else get dressed’
(d) dv-gwä-shi-ê

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) aŋg3 Jœ7 su5-gwa5-cu5
3sg cloth CAus-put.on-RM
He (causes himself to) put his clothes on
(b) aŋg3 aŋg5-meî5-le7V su5-gwa5-cu5
3sg 3sg-mother-LOC cloth CAus-put.on-RM
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) pung-loc pung-loc cloth caus-dry-r/m cause
He made Pung dry his clothes

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) pung-loc 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 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 doing something to the causee, the analytical causative must be used, as in (38b):

(38) (a) laqtün dv-gwá-shiē
He’s putting his clothes on

(b) nō ang-mèi laqtün dv-gwá dvzvr-shiē
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 causee having the causee doing something to the causee, 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 analytic 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) Vpung-loc book caus-hold-r/m-n.past
He is making Vpung hold his book (causer’s book. not Vpung’s)

(b) Vpung-loc book caus-hold-r/m-n.past
He is making Vpung hold his (Vpung’s) book

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) 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). For example (41), below, the reflexive/middle marker indicates the fact that the book that Vpung is letting/making Vdeu hold belongs to Vpung.

(41) Vpung-loc book caus-hold-r/m-n.past
He is making Vpung hold his book (Vpung’s book)

Vpung is letting Vdeu hold his book.
Applicative benefactive

The only applicative construction in Rawang is the benefactive construction marked by the verbal suffix -ö. This form cannot be used for causative or other functions, such as for making an instrumental or locative phrase a direct argument. It also cannot be used for comitatives. 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) or the locative/dative postposition säng (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) kvlang-i mödo-chvng döv dín-sängöe
kvlang-i mödo-chvng döv dín-sängöe
hay-inst truck-cl fullness cause-full-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
I fill the truck with hay

(2) mödo-chvngtaq kvlang döv sängöe
mödo-chvngtaq kvlang döv sängöe
truck-cl-loc hay fullness put-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
I put hay onto the truck

21 For comitatives, the comitative postposition näng 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) nga angvng röingöe
nga angvng röingöe
1sg 3sg-comit sit-n past
I am sitting with him

(2) nga näng ang tiq-dä röingshi
nga näng ang tiq-dä röingshi
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:

yäköng säng nö vshöngöe dvpvt luqöe
yäköng säng nö vshöngöe dvpvt luqöe
this-cl rice top three-cl for be enough-N.PAST
This bowl of rice is enough for three people

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 nö ‘because’ of:

(42a) nga (angvng/dvpvt) säng sängöe
nga (angvng/dvpvt) säng sängöe
1sg 3sg-loc/for 1sg 3sg-löngöe
I'm carrying wood for him

(42b) ang dvpvt rmsäng sängöe
ang dvpvt rmsäng sängöe
3sg for field-field be-good-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
The fields are good for him

(42c) angtaq yädöön bëlaq mño klö teöe
angtaq yädöön bëlaq mño klö teöe
3sg-loc this-ct upper.garment too be.bжить-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
This shirt is too big for him

If there is an auxiliary verb, such as mñoö ‘to continue’ or dvgöö ‘to finish’, then the benefactive suffix appears after the auxiliary verb, as in (42d):

(42d) ängi rınıänöe
ängi rınıänöe
3sg-agt carry-continue-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 nö ‘exchange’.

(43) (Vpung tvlë) ängvng ngöö ngöö
Vpung tvlë ängvng ngöö ngöö
Vpung exchange 3sg-loc mourn-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
I'm mourning him (instead of Vpung mourning him)

Although the suffix -ö 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):

(44) (a) nga (angvng/dvpvt) säng sängöe
nga (angvng/dvpvt) säng sängöe
1sg 3sg-loc/for 1sg 3sg-löngöe
I'm carrying wood for him

(44b) ang dvpvt rmsäng sängöe
ang dvpvt rmsäng sängöe
3sg for field-field be-good-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
The fields are good for him

(44c) angtaq yädöön bëlaq mño klö teöe
angtaq yädöön bëlaq mño klö teöe
3sg-loc this-ct upper.garment too be.bжить-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
This shirt is too big for him

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 nö ‘because’ of:

gmüö nö nöö nöö
gmüö nö nöö nöö
money for work do-1sg-N.PAST
I work for money
(44) (a) shvngbēi vgō vshvpmā yā-ngā rvt vpū vgō vdvmē, wāē
shvngbē-i vgō vshvpm-ā yāng-ā rvt vpū vgō
all-AGT head rub-BEN TMYTS-3+TR.PAST because owl head
vdvmē-wāē 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 dvbep hvm gō ēlvmitesē
vnō dvbep hvm gō ē-lvm-ā-ōē
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 légā kā-gō 1-āōē
yā-bok légā kā-gō 1-ā-ōē
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 construction
cannot take the benefactive postposition (dvpt).

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’: įm(ō)ē ‘to eat (rice, vegetables)’, ke(ō)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 (įm) 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) āng kwā tiqyūm rōng kēē
āng kwā tiq-yūm rōng kēē
3sg bee one-hive put.in.hole cat-N.PAST
He is raising bees for himself
(b) āng waq nākēē
āng waq nā-kēē
3sg pig feed-eat-N.PAST
He feeds the pigs for himself25
(c) āng ngā mit kēē
āng ngā mit kēē
3sg fish catch eat-N.PAST
He catches fish for himself
(d) āng lávnmē
āng lá-vm-ē
3sg cut down eat-N.PAST
He cuts down (banana trees) to get the fruit for himself
(e) ti kwpvmē 4mē
ti kwp-vm ām-iē
water get.eat DIR-1PL-N.PAST
We go get water for ourselves
(f) ngāmaq yūng kvtmāmi
ngāmaq yūng kvt-vm-ī
1pl vegetables grow-eat-3
We grow vegetables for ourselves
(g) āng ūmpā wēvnmē
āng ūmpā wē-vnm-ē
3sg rice/food buy-eat-N.PAST
He is buying himself rice/food26

24 The larvae of the bees are eaten, so kēē and not ūmē is used; the verb rōng ‘put in a hole’ is
used because bees are raised in a hole in a tree.
25 Compare this example with (45b):
āngi waq nākēē
āng-ī waq nā-kē-ōē
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:
ngā laytūn wēm-hāngē
ngā laytūn wēn-shi-ng-ē
1sg clothing buy-R/M-1sg-N.PAST
I am buying myself clothes
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In terms of the benefactive sense, there is then a four-way contrast:

(a) kvtnšiē 'to grow something (not eaten) for oneself' (reflexive)
(b) kvtnvēmē 'to grow something (eaten) for oneself' (food-benefactive)
(c) kvtnāē 'to grow something for someone else' (benefactive)
(d) kvtnā kēē 'to grow something for one another' (reciprocal-benefactive)

3.2.3 Transitivization by addition of final -I

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) ngō-ē 'to cry' > ngot-ō-ē 'to cry over/mourn someone'

(b) ngāi āng ngotnēē
ngāi āng ngō-t-ō-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, vhāsiē '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 hōdoē 'laugh at someone' (e.g. āngi āngsving hōdoē '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 kēō '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) āng dv-goq kē-ō-ē
āng dv-goq kē-d-ō-ē
3sg CAUS-hiccup eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He is hiccuping (uncontrollably) (normally āng goqē)

(b) (pōyaq) chapgā (gā) ēvēmrē shvnggā kēō
pōyaq chapgā gā ēvēmrē shv-ngō kē-d-ō-ē
all night morning bright child CAUS-eat-3-TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
The children are / have been crying (all night) until morning (light)

(c) āng vlēi mvdōng kēō
āng vlē-ī mvdōng kē-d-ō-ē
3sg vlé-INsT stuck eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He has vlē stuck in his throat (vlē is a kind of rough food)

This usage is actually a subtype of a more general usage of the verb kē – 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) āng(svng) vpēi ngvēn kēō
āng svng v-pē-i ngvēn kē-ō-ē
3sg-LOC 1-father-AGT scold eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He is being scolded by my father

(b) āng svmv āng kēō
āng svm-ī āng kē-ō-ē
3sg fire-INsT hot eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He's hot from the fire

(c) āngi pāgō mā-shv-bōn kēō
āng-ī pā-gō mā-shv-bōn kē-ō
3sg-AGT thing-also NEG-CAUS-be.possible eat-3+TR.N.PAST
He’s incapable of doing anything

(d) āngsvng tvp kē bō-ā
āngsvng tvp kē bō-ā
3sg-LOC be.arrested eat PFV-3+TR.PAST
He was arrested
3 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


