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 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 northeastern Kachin State, particularly along the Mae Hka (‘Nmai Hka’) and Maeli Hka (Mali Hka) River valleys. In the past they had been called ‘Khanung’ 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

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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, Wdamkong, 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 Nuijiang 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 Nuijiang 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], u = [u], a = [a], e = [e], o = [o] and c = [ts] or [tk] (free variation; historically [ts]). Tones are marked as follows (using the letters as a base): high tone, d; mid tone, d; low tone, D. All syllables that end in a stop consonant (-p, -t, -k) are in the high tone. Open syllables without a tone mark are unmarked. A colon marks non-brief vowels.

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

I'd like to thank all those who gave me comments on the draft of this chapter presented at the International Workshop on Valency-changing Derivations (Canberra, 1997), and also the editors of this volume and Tasaku Tsunoda for comments on the written version.

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exonym 'Dulong' (or 'Taron', or 'Trung'), a name they were given because
they mostly live in the valley of the Dulong (Taron/Trung) River. 4

Recently, speakers of this language in Myanmar have begun a movement
to use the name 'Rawang' (spelled 'Rwang' in the Rawang orthographies, but 'Rawang' for this chapter) to represent all of its speakers. This name is said to be an abbreviation for 'rawmawng' '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. 5 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 6 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.

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(e.g. ngōē 'to cry'), transitive, which can be used intrasitively only when they take valency-reducing morphological marking (e.g. riōē 'to carry something'); ambitransitives (labile verbs), which can be used as transitive or intransitive without morphological derivation (imōēvīnē 'to eat'). 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 transitive take the non-past 3rd person O marker (ō) plus the non-past affirmative/declarative particle (ē). A second difference between intransitve and transitive verbs is that in transitive clauses the agentive marker generally appears on the NP representing the A argument. In past-tense clauses (with 3rd person O arguments), transitive can be distinguished from intransitives by the appearance of the transitive past-tense marker (-a) instead of the intransitive past-tense marker (-i). We will discuss derived transitives and intransitives below.6

Ambitransitive verbs are verbs that can be used either as transitive (and so take the 3rd person transitive tense markers) or as intransitive (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) gvaŋqē 'be broken, destroyed'
(b) gvaŋqē 'be crumpled'
(c) dvtōē 'be broken, snapped (threaded)'
(d) bvlōpōē 'be folded'
(e) dvcthōpōē 'be capped'
(f) mesōgōm jaqē

The paper has holes in it

(g) aŋqē mesōgōm jaqē 3sg-AGT paper make-holes-N.PAST

He made holes in the paper

(2) S = A type
(a) aŋqē 3sg-AGT

(b) aŋqē 3sg-AGT eat-N.PAST

He's eating / He eats

(c) aŋqē yaŋgəŋ vmōē aŋqē 3sg-AGT rice eat-N.PAST-N.PAST

He is eating this rice

(d) aŋqē pe 3sg-AGT

(e) aŋqē pe 3sg-AGT basket weave-N.PAST

He weaves baskets.

(f) aŋqē pe tiq-chung zatōē aŋqē 3sg-AGT basket one-CL weave-N.PAST-N.PAST

He is weaving a basket

Rawang seems to have only two lexical ditransitive (extended transitive) verbs: zl 'give' (3a) and il 'tell' (3b). All other ditransitive verbs, such as another form of 'tell' (3c), dvtōē 'show' (3e), shvōōē 'send' (3f), are all derived using the causative construction (see (a) in §3.2.1). In both lexical and derived ditransitives, the Recipient

6 Some native intransitive verbs can take an oblique argument marked by the locative/dative marker sVng, e.g. sVng to be afraid', where the stimulus is marked as an oblique argument.

nā 3sg vīgnēg sVngē

I'm afraid of dogs

7 I have found one case where there are no verbs with the same meaning, one transitive and the other intransitive. These are the verbs for 'arrive': hiq (hōiq) is transitive, tuq (tuqē) is intransitive; nā tūqē 'I arrived'; nātīng tūqē 'I have been to Yangon'. This shows that transitivity is a salient grammatical category in this language, unlike many other Sino-Tibetan languages (e.g. Chinese, Lahu; see Matsuyoshi 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 -ā as a necessary criterion for a clause to be transitive, and argued that only clauses with 3rd person O arguments are transitive. I have chosen to analyse this suffix as marking a 3rd person O argument (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. √ang-čeh čhōōē 'grow wings', √ulu pōōē 'lay out a mat'. (Neither the causative nor applicative markers are used to make verbs from nouns.)
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 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) Vpung Vdeu-lgag-bok zi-6-C
Vpung-vAGT Vdeu-LOC book-CL give-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
Vpung is giving Vdeu the book

(b) āŋkaq ngā zōngs-vg diām ē-iōé
āŋ-kq ngā zōng-svng dl-ām ē- śl-ōé
3sg-LOC 1sg school-LOC go-DIR N.1-tell-3+TR.N.PAST-exc
Tell him I went to school

(c) āŋkaq ngā zōngs-vg diām wā détāo
āŋ-kq ngā zōng-svng diām wā dv-ē-šū-ō
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: mvyō 'to want, to like', vdō 'to have, to own' and wa '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 mvyō and wa), 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) ngā kēūn lūn mvyōngē
ngā kēūn lūn mvyō-ng-ē
1sg pen have want-1sg-N.PAST
I want to have a pen

(b) ngā pūngdāngsvng di mvyōngē
ngā pūngdāngsvng di mvyō-ng-ē
1sg below-LOC go want-1sg-N.PAST
I want to go downstairs/below

(c) mōngmaq (nū) rōmōng angō tiq-pē vdiāe
mōngmaq nū rōmōng angō tiq-ē-gō vdiā-i-ē
1pl top friend old one-ten-CL have-1pl-N.PAST
We have ten old friends

(d) ngā lūg di wāē
ngā lūg di 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 mvyō 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

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.

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

(nū) kā-pā ē-shōng-ē
(kā-pā ē-shōng-ē
2sg q.PN-thing N.1-like/love-N.PAST
What do you want?

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

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

(1) nā ēdi bōt wāē
nā ē-di bō-i wā-ē
2sg N.1-go PTV-3+INTR.PAST say-N.PAST
I heard you went (just now)

(2) dāri dvgvp āngāng-ngāng vshānmpē 3l-ē wāē
dāri dvgvp āngāng-ngāng vshānmpē 3l-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 -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):

(5a) tšlōē > vīlē
tšlō-ē
roll-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
PREF-roll-N.PAST
to roll (vi)

(5b) ngaqōē > vngaqē
ngaq-ō-ē
push.over-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
PREF-push.VERP-N.PAST
push over

(5c) āngmaq valvīmē
āngmaq v-shv-t-ē
3pl 'PREF-hit/kill-N.PAST
They are arguing/fighting

(5d) āngmaq v-yngkē
āngmaq v-yng-kē-ē
3pl 'PREF-see.RECIP-N.PAST
They are looking at each other

(5e) āngmaq sāvēm kē-ē
āngmaq šv-v-ēm kē-ē
3pl 'Caus-PREF-feel.ill/pain.RECIP-N.PAST
They are hurting each other

(5f) āngmaq tāvīng tādā-zā-kē-ē
āngmaq tāv-īng tā-ē-ē
3pl (to each other) 'PREF-see.RECIP-N.PAST
They are feeding 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-ē '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- v- 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, tāvīng tādā, 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) riōē > cvmā vřvēmē
ri-ō-ē
child 'PREF-carry-3+INTR.PAST
PREF-roll-N.PAST
to carry

(7) zāmōē > vzvēmē
zām-ō-ē
hold-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
PREF-hold-DIR-3+INTR.PAST
to hold

eating a noun. The v- prefix is also used in some cases to derive nouns from verbs, such as vngō ‘someone who likes to cry a lot’, from ngōē ‘to cry’; vōē ‘thief’, from kēē kōē ‘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):

(8a) āng (nā āng) vdipshē
āng nā āng vdip-sh-ē
3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST
He is hitting himself

12 I am unclear on the meaning of tō, as it only appears in this expression; vřv is the locative/allative/dative marker in Rawang, and leē is possibly cognate with the allative/dative marker leē 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. kēkē ‘big’, tēlē-tēq-i ‘big-up-3+INTR.PAST’ (‘became big; grew up’), dā ‘dark’, dā-dag-i ‘dark-down-3+INTR.PAST’ (‘became dark (of the sky)’); cimē ‘small’, cim-dam-i ‘small-away-3+INTR.PAST’ (or cim dag-i) ‘became small’). It may be that in these examples the directional particles are doing 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.
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. vé '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. lé 'to cross' and cīn 'to follow' vs léši 'to go out' and cīnši '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 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).

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):

The 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

15 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. san'gou-cwaI; while for the more stativized meaning 'be visible, manifest oneself', the intransitivizing prefix is also added to the verb, i.e. z-son'gou-cwaI. If a perceiver must be mentioned in the clause, it is marked with the locative/dative postposition (le' in the Third Township Dulong dialect, xing in the Mvtwang dialect).
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) wǒ yào xi lǐn
1sg want wash face
1 want to wash (my) face

In Rawang, the possessor-possessed relationship must be marked by the reflexive/middle marker. Where the 0 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) (a) ăng tvwín vchaqœ
ăng tvwín vchaqši-ê
3sg snow brush-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He is brushing the snow off (something)
(b) ăng tvwín vchaqšiê
ăng tvwín vchaq-shi-ê
3sg snow brush-R/M-N.PAST
He is brushing the snow off (himself)

(13) (a) ăngi shvma sha:-møë
ăngi shvma shvi-ô-ê
3sg:AGT mosquito kill-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He is killing a mosquito
(b) ăng shvma shvshøë
ăng shvøë shvšt-shi-ê
3sg mosquito kill-R/M-N.PAST
He is killing a mosquito (on him)

(14) (a) ăng laqeq wënôë
ăng laqeq wën-ô-ê
3sg clothing buy-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He is buying clothing
(b) ăng laqeq wënhøë
ăng laqeq wën-shi-ê
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) ăng nà ăng vdørshiê
ăng nà ăng vdør-ši-ê
3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST
He’s hitting himself
(b) ăng nà ăng vdoəšiê
ăng nà ăng vdør-ši-ê
3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST
He is hitting his own (child, etc.)

(16) (a) nà nà nà ē-wa-shí bø-i
nà nà nà ē-wa-shí bø-i
2sg TOP 2sg N.1-do-R/M FFV-3+INTR.PAST
You did it to yourself
(b) nà nà nà ē-wa-shí bø-i
nà nà nà ē-wa-shí bø-i
2sg TOP 2sg N.1-do-R/M FFV-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) Vpung (nø) Vdøṣwng lêgabok zîšiê
Vpung nø Vdø-ṣwng lêgá-bok zî-ši-ê
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) ăngi shøng rim-ëmøë
ăngi shøng ri-mën-ô-ê
3sg:AGT tree/wood carry-continue-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He is continuing to carry the wood
In (18a), the main verb, riOi! 'carry', is transitive, and so the auxiliary verb, mVnOe 'continue', is also transitive, but in (18b), the main verb, yopme 'sleep', is intransitive, and so mVnOe takes the reflexive/middle marker to make it intransitive. A number of other auxiliary verbs, such as d\mOi! 'be about to', dVngOi! 'be finished', pl:ngOi! 'begin to' and nOe '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) ang vmdvngshi boi
ang v-md-vng-shi bo-i
3sg eat-finish-RfM-N.PAST
He finished eating [intransitive VmC 'eat']

(b) :l:ng VmpitlOng VmdVng boa
itng-i Vmpit-!Ong Vm-dVng bO-it
3sg-INST food-CL eat-finish
He has finished eating the food [transitive VmOc 'eat']

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

(20) vngaqlVm dVnshiC
v-ngaq-IVm dVn-shi-C
l'REF-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) ang shVm peshie
ang shVrn pe-shi-e
3sg sword hang.on.shoulder-RfM-N.PAST
He is wearing a sword

(b) :l:ng shVrn peoe
ang-i shVrn pe-o-e
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) (a) ang shVm peshie
ang shVrn pe-shi-e
3sg sword hang.on.shoulder-RfM-N.PAST
He is wearing a sword

(22) (b) ang shVm peoe
ang-i shVrn pe-o-e
3sg-INST sword hang.on.shoulder-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He is putting on or wearing a sword

(22) (c) ang shVm dvpeshie
ang shVrn dV-pC-shJ-e
3sg sword CAUS-hang.on.shoulder-RfM-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 'stativeizer': 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
benefactive, a -t suffix, non-use of the reflexive/middle marker on 'deponent' verbs, and the use of the verb kēbē '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 dvẓr '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 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 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 experimenter/receiver 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) | nōē | > shv-nōē |
|      | nō-ē | shv-nō-ō-ē |
|      | be tame-N.PAST | CAUS-tame-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST |
|      | be tame | to tame an animal (vt) |

| (24) | vmṿngōē | > shv-mṿngōē |
|      | vmṿng-ō | shv-vmṿng-ō-ē |
|      | be lost-N.PAST | CAUS-be.lost-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST |
|      | be lost | to lose (something) |

| (25) | lōm南 | > shvlōm-ōē |
|      | lōm-ē | shvlōm-ō-ē |
|      | be warm-N.PAST | CAUS-be.warm-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST |
|      | be warm | to warm (something) |

| (26) | vshatnē | > dvshatnōē |
|      | vshat-ē | dv-vshat-ō-ē |
|      | wake up-N.PAST | CAUS-wake up-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST |
|      | wake up | wake (someone) up |

| (27) | vhōmē | > dvvhōm-ōē |
|      | vhōm-ē | dv-vhōm-ō-ē |
|      | meet-N.PAST | CAUS-meet-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST |
|      | meet | gather, get together |

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 [ō], and not [a-], as

18 In the Dulong dialects of Dulong/Rawang, there is clear phonetic conditioning on the two forms of the causative prefix (mu- and su̯-): the form mu- is used before voiceless fricative initials, while su̯- is used before all other initials. I have found no such phonetic conditioning in the Rawang dialects. I have also not found Morse's (1965: 340) 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. lee 'to cross (a stream, etc.); dv-lee 'to be able to cross', shv-lee 'make him cross' (it can be seen from these examples that when dv- has this meaning it does not transitive the verb). The causative prefix clearly derives from the Proto-Sino-Tibetan causativizing/transitivizing *-mōēa (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).
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 \( \text{rowa} \) '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) ... \( \text{mvshVngHshiC} \text{c} \text{sh} \text{vng} \text{dvk} \text{COe} \text{wa} \text{mvshVngHshi-d-ni-sVng dv-k} \text{C-0-C} \text{wa} \text{human-seed-son-du-LOC CAUS-eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST say} \ldots \text{and it is said he} \text{fed the original people} \text{the child's flesh) }

(b) \( \text{ang} \text{i Vpung-sVng laq} \text{tun dvgw} \text{aoe} \text{3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC clothing CAUS-pat on wear-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST} \text{He made or helped Vpung put his clothes on)

(c) \( \text{ang} \text{i ng} \text{a} \text{vng Yangon d} \text{etn vng} \text{a} \text{ang} \text{i ng-a} \text{ng Yangon da-é-vt} \text{än v} \text{ng-3} \text{3sg-AGT 1sg-LOC CAUS-carry continue-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST} \text{He makes (him) continue carrying (not 'send' here, but 'help carry')}

(d) \( \text{ang} \text{i ng-a} \text{vng Yangon d} \text{etn vng} \text{a} \text{ang} \text{i ng-a} \text{ng Yangon da-é-vt} \text{än v} \text{ng-3} \text{3sg-AGT 1sg-LOC CAUS-carry continue-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST} \text{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) \( \text{dvsh} \text{ng} \text{bong} \text{a} \text{dv-shi-ng 3e-ng-å} \text{CAUS-die-1sg PFV-1sg-3+TR.PAST} \text{I caused him to die (Direct action)}

(b) \( \text{ng} \text{a} \text{dvsh} \text{li d} \text{å i:ml} \text{ng-a} \text{dv-shi-ò d} \text{å 1-dm-1} \text{1sg-AGT CAUS-die-3+TR.N.PAST ADV be-DIR-3+INTR.PAST} \text{It is like I caused him to die}

(b) The analytical causative/permissive The analytical (phrasal) causative construction involves the use of the verb \( \text{dv} \text{zVr} \) '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. 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) \( \text{di dv} \text{zVr} \text{ò-e} \text{di dvzVr-ò-e} \text{go send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST} \text{to let/make (him) go)

(b) \( \text{dv} \text{O} \text{d} \text{o} \text{e} \text{dv-dl-ò-e} \text{CAUS-go-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST} \text{to make (him) go/walk}

(c) \( \text{dv} \text{d} \text{i d} \text{éz} \text{k} \text{r} \text{ò} \text{dv-dl-ò-e} \text{CAUS-go N.1-send-3+TR.N.PAST} \text{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 \( \text{laq} \). This construction is formally a subtype of the imperative, and so functions differently from the analytical causative. Compare the two sentences below:

(1) \( \text{Vpung} \text{g} \text{b} \text{o l} \text{aq} \text{d} \text{er-ò} \text{Vpung-1 bò laq-dør-ò Vpung-AGT rice INDIV-pound-3+TR.N.PAST Let Vpung pound the rice [imperative]}

(2) \( \text{Vpung} \text{g} \text{b} \text{o d} \text{ér d} \text{z} \text{d} \text{r} \text{ò} \text{Vpung-1 bò dør é-dvzVr-ò-e Vpung-AGT rice pound N.1-send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST You let Vpung pound the rice [non-imperative]
(32) (a) *vm dézə:rō
   *vm e-dvzır-ō
   eat x,1-send-3+TR.N.PAST
   Let him eat
(b) shvá:műč
   shv-vm-ō-č
   CAUS-eat-3+TR,N,PAST-N,PAST
   He feeds him
(c) shvím dvzə:rō
   shv-vm- dvzör-ō
   CAUS-eat send-3+TR.N.PAST
   Let him feed him
(d) ångi Vpung sùng mügwáli dvrēři *vm dvz:rō
   ång-i Vpung-sùng mügwá-li dvrē-ni *vm
   3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC raincoat-inst luggage-pl cover
dvzơr-ō-č
   CAUS-3+TR.N,PAST-N.PAST
   He is making Vpung cover the luggage with the raincoat
(e) ångi ång sùng shm lóng dvzə:rō
   ång-i ång-sùng shm lóng dvzør-ō-č
   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) ångi laqtūn dvshūdē
   ång-i laqtūn dv-shū-ō-č
   3sg-INST clothing CAUS-be.dry-3+TR.N,PAST-N,PAST
   He is drying clothes
(b) ång dvshūšiē
   ång dv-shū-shi-č
   3sg CAUS-be.dry-R/M-N,PAST
   He is drying himself
(c) ång laqtūn dvshūsūdē
   ång laqtūn dv-shū-shi-č
   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 shūdē '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 row 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) ångi Vpungi sùng laqtūn dvgwādē
   ång-i Vpungi-sùng laqtūn dv-gwā-dē
   3sg AGT Vpungi-LOC clothing CAUS-put.on/wear-3+TR.N,PAST-N,PAST
   He made (or helped) Vpungi 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) gwā-ō-č 'to put on' or 'to wear'
(b) gwā-shi-č 'to wear'
(c) dv-gwā-ō-č 'to dress someone'
(d) dv-gwā-shi-č '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) *q'1 Jō? swi1-gwā*1-sū11
   3sg cloth CAUS-put.on-R/M
   He (causes himself to) put his clothes on
(b) *q'2 q'1-me15-le11 Jō? swi1-gwā*1-sū11
   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 causee, not necessarily the causer.

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) \[\text{ang} \, \text{nO} \, \text{Vpungi} \, \text{mīr} \, \text{zīl} \, \text{džvā:shtē} \]
\[\text{He is making Vpung wash his face}\]

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) \[\text{ang} \, \text{nO} \, \text{Vpungi} \, \text{mīr} \, \text{zīl} \, \text{džvā:shtē} \]
\[\text{He made Pung dry his clothes (with Pung wearing them)}\]

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 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 causee, the analytical causative must be used, as in (38b):

(38) (a) \[\text{āng} \, \text{nO} \, \text{Vpungi} \, \text{mīr} \, \text{zīl} \, \text{džvā:shtē} \]
\[\text{He is making Vpung wash his face (causer's face, not Vpung's)}\]

(b) \[\text{āng} \, \text{nO} \, \text{āngmē} \, \text{lāqtēn} \, \text{dvgu:shti} \]
\[\text{He had his mother put his clothes on}\]

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) \[\text{āng} \, \text{nO} \, \text{Vpungi} \, \text{mīr} \, \text{zīl} \, \text{džvā:shtē} \]
\[\text{He is making Vpung wash his face (causer's face, not Vpung's)}\]

(b) \[\text{āng} \, \text{nO} \, \text{āngmē} \, \text{lāqtēn} \, \text{dvgu:shti} \]
\[\text{He is making Vpung wash his (Vpung's) face}\]

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) \[\text{āng} \, \text{Vpung-xe:n} \, \text{laqtēn} \, \text{dvgu:shti} \]
\[\text{He is making Vpung dry his clothes (while Vpung is wearing them)}\]

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) \[\text{Vpung} \, \text{nO} \, \text{Vdeu} \, \text{lēg:bo:k} \, \text{shvī:nshī} \]
\[\text{Vpung is letting Vdeu hold his book}\]
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. 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 sving (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 (-), 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) kvlángh módéch'ing dvn dylvngōč
kvłāng-i módé-ch'ing dvn dylvng-ō-č
hay-VPL truck-CL fullness put-full-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
I fill the truck with hay

(2) módéch'ing-taq kvłāng dvn svingōč
módé-ch'ing-taq kvłáng dvn svng-ō-č
truck-CL-VPL 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 áng'yi näng
nga áng'yi näng-ē
1sg 3sg-COMIT sit-N.PAST
I am sitting with him

(2) nga näng áng tiqālā rúngśhiē
nga näng áng tiq-dō rúng-shi-ē
1sg COMIT 3sg one-ADV sit-3+TR.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.

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

yákging yingh nā vishāngō dpvt lāngē
yákgih yingh nā vishām-pā dpvt lāngē
this-CL rice TOP three-CL for be-enough-N.PAST
This bowl of rice is enough for three people

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

(42) (a) ngāl (áng-svng/dvpvt) shēng róng'gōč
ngāl-ä áng-svng/dvpvt shōng rī-ng-ā-ng-ō-č
1sg-ACT 3sg-LOC/for woood carry-1sg-BEN-1sg-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
I'm carrying wood for him

(b) áng dvpvt rmôngvnhng shvlādōč
áng dvpvt rmā-hvnhng shvl-ā-ō-č
3sg for field-field be-good-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
The fields are good for him

(c) ángtaq yáḏng bēlaq mnvoklā t ōōč
áng-taq yá-ḏng bēlaq m̱voklā tē-ō-č
3sg-LOC this-CL upper garment too be.big-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
This shirt is too big for 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 (43):

(42) (d) ángi rmvānlōč
áng-ē rǐ-mvē-ō-č
3sg-ACT 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 tvl 'exchange'.

(43) (Vpung tvt) ángsvng ngvmngōč
Vpung tvt áng-svng ngōt-ā-ng-ō-č
Vpung exchange 3sg-LOC mourm-BEN-1sg-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
I mourn him (instead of Vpung mourning 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 tvl 'because' of:

Cśnsvng tvt bōniš wōngē
gvwng tvt bōniš wā-ō-č
money for work do-1sg-N.PAST
I work for money
In (44a), *vshvp* 'rub' could have been used without the -ii 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 *vgo* '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': *vmp* 'to eat (rice, vegetables)', *ke* '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 (*ke*) or non-animal food (*vmp*) 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) ăng kwá tiqyém rông kê
ăng kwá tiq-yém rông
3sg bee one-hive put-in-hole eat-N.PAST
He is raising bees for himself

(b) ăng waq nákê
ăng waq nák-ê
3sg pig feed-eat-N.PAST
He feeds the pigs for himself

(c) ăng nga mit kê
ăng nga mit kê
3sg fish catch-eat-N.PAST
He catches fish for himself

(d) ăng lâvnlé
ăng lâ-vnlé
3sg cut-down-eat-N.PAST
He cuts down (banana trees) to get the fruit for himself

(e) ti kypvéân ámié
ti kyp-vm ámi-ê
water get-eat
We go get water for ourselves

(f) ngámuq yung kýnà mi
ngámuq yung kýnà i-ê
1pl vegetables grow-eat
We grow vegetables for ourselves

(g) ăng vmpá wënvlé
ăng vmpá wën-vnlé
3sg rice/food buy-eat-N.PAST
He is buying himself rice/food

26 The larvae of the bees are eaten, so kê and not vnlé is used; the verb rông 'put in a hole' is used because bees are raised in a hole in a tree.

25 Compare this example with (45b):

(44) (a) shinglyg vgo vshvpmá yángó rví rví vdo-mé, wáê
shinglyg rví vshvp-á yáng-á rví rví vgo
all-AGT head rub-BEN TMYT-3+TR.PAST because owl head
vdóm-ê wá-ê
flat-N.PAST sh-vs-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) vnó dbép hvm gó hVmMóê
vnó dbép hvm gó ã-vVm-ô-ê
bean rotten basket also N.I-STEP.ON-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
You stepped on (someone's) basket of fermented beans

(c) yâbok légá kâgô lâôê
yâbok légá kâ-gô lâô-ê
this-CL book Q.PN-CL be-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
Who does this book belong to?

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

(a) kvتسيد ~ 'to grow something (not eaten) for oneself' (reflexive)
(b) kvتنم ~ 'to grow something (eaten) for oneself' (food-benefactive)
(c) kvتنئ ~ 'to grow something for someone else' (benefactive)
(d) kvتنئ ک ~ '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) نگー 'to cry' > نگوت-ب-ب 'to cry over/mourn someone'
(b) نگئی نگنوئ نگئی نگن-ب-ب

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, نکسن '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 نکسن 'laugh at someone' (e.g. نکسن نگس 'laugh at someone' 'He is laughing at him') is statistically and semantically more marked.

In situations where there is an adverative sense of something happening to someone that is beyond their control, the verb نک '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 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 a valency-reducing, the way passives are.

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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.

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.

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