

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 (Burma) border just south and east of Tibet. In China, the people who speak this language for the most part live in Gongshan county of Yunnan province, and belong either to what is known as the 'Dulong' nationality (pop. 5,816 according to the 1990 census), or to one part (roughly 6,000 people) of the Nu nationality (those who live along the upper reaches of the Nu River – the part of the Salween within China). Another subgroup of the Nu people, those who live along the lower reaches of the Nu River (in China), speak a language called 'Anung' which seems to be the same as, or closely related to, the Kwinpang dialect spoken in Myanmar, so should also be considered a dialect of Dulong/Rawang.¹ Within Myanmar, the people who speak the Dulong/Rawang language (possibly up to 100,000 people) live in northern Kachin State, particularly along the Mae Hka ('Nmai Hka) and Maeli Hka (Mali Hka) River valleys. In the past they had been called 'Hkanung' or 'Nung', and have often been considered to be a subgroup of the Kachin (Jinghpaw). Among themselves they have had no general term for the entire group; they use their respective clan names to refer to themselves. This is true also of those who live in China, although these people have accepted the

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

exonym 'Dulong' (or 'Taron', or 'Trung'), a name they were given because they mostly live in the valley of the Dulong (Taron/Trung) River.²

Recently, speakers of this language in Myanmar have begun a movement to use the name /rəwɑŋ/ (spelled 'Rvwang' in the Rawang orthographies, but 'Rawang' for this chapter) to represent all of its speakers. This name is said to be an abbreviation for *rvmèwàng* 'middle river', as the Rawang people are said to have come down from the north along the middle river (the Mekong). The speakers in China, though, continue to use the name 'Dulong'. For this reason I refer to the language as Dulong/Rawang.³ In this chapter, I will be using data of the Mvtwang (Mvt River) dialect, which is considered the most central of those dialects in Myanmar and so has become something of a standard for writing⁴ and intergroup communication, though most of the phenomena we will be discussing are general to dialects in both China and Myanmar.⁵ I will use the short form 'Rawang' in referring to this dialect.

2 Verb classes

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

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

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

⁴ A system of writing using the Roman alphabet and a few other symbols was developed by the American missionary Robert H. Morse (see Morse 1963 for an analysis of Rawang phonology), and is in common use among the Rawang people. This system will be used in this chapter. Most letters represent the standard pronunciations of English, except that *i* = [i], *v* = [ə], *a* = [ɑ], *o* = [u], *q* = [ʔ] and *c* = [s] or [ts] (free variation; historically [ts]). Tones are marked as follows (using the letter *a* as a base): high tone, *á*; mid tone, *â*; low tone, *à*. All syllables that end in a stop consonant (-p, -t, -ʔ, -k) are in the high tone. Open syllables without a tone mark are unstressed. A colon marks non-basic long vowels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹ The transitive verb marking can also be added to some nouns to make transitive cognate noun-verb combinations, e.g. (*āng*)*chēr chērōē* 'grow wings', *pvli pvliōē* 'lay out a mat'. (Neither the causative nor applicative markers are used to make verbs from nouns.)

the O, and partly to the nature of general vs specific action. I.e. if the O is specific, then the transitive form must be used, but if the O is non-specific, it is not necessary to use the intransitive form. If no O is mentioned, then usually the intransitive form is used. Some examples are given in (2):

- (1) S = O type
- | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------------------------|------------|--------------------|
| (a) | gvyaqē | 'be broken, destroyed' | gvyaqōē | 'break, destroy' |
| (b) | gvvōpmē | 'be crumpled' | gvvō:pmōē | 'crumple' |
| (c) | dvtnē | 'be broken, snapped (thread)' | da:tnōē | 'break, snap' (vt) |
| (d) | bvlōpmē | 'be folded' | bvlō:pmōē | 'fold' (vt) |
| (e) | dvchōpmē | 'be capped' | dvchō:pmōē | 'put cap on' |
- (f) mēsōgōm jaqē
mēsōgōm jaq-ē
paper have.holes-N.PAST
The paper has holes in it
- (g) à:ngi mēsōgōm jaq bōà
àng-i mēsōgōm jaq bō-à
3sg-AGT paper make.holes PFV-3+TR.PAST
He made holes in the paper
- (2) S = A type
- (a) àng v̄mē
àng v̄m-ē
3sg eat-N.PAST
He's eating / He eats
- (a') à:ngi yālōng v̄mpà á:mōē
àng-i yā-lōng v̄mpà v̄m-ō-ē
3sg-AGT this-CL rice eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He is eating this rice
- (b) àng pé zvt̄nē
àng pé zvt-ē
3sg basket weave-N.PAST
He weaves baskets (general or habitual sense)
- (b') à:ngi pé tiqchv̄ng za:tnōē
àng-i pé tiq-chv̄ng zvt-ō-ē
3sg-AGT basket one-CL weave-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
He is weaving a basket

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

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

- (3) (a) Vpūngí Vdós̀vng lègābok zìòē
 Vpūng-í Vdó-s̀vng lègā-bok zì-ò-ē
 Vpung-AGT Vdeu-LOC book-CL give-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 Vpung is giving Vdeu the book
- (b) àngkaq ngà zòngs̀vng diám èā:lòé
 àng-kaq ngà zòng-s̀vng di-ám è-ṽl-ò-é
 3sg-LOC 1sg school-LOC go-DIR N.1-tell-3+TR.N.PAST-EXC
 Tell him I went to school
- (c) àngkaq ngà zòngs̀vng diám wā dètáò
 àng-kaq ngà zòng-s̀vng di-ám wā dv-è-tá-ò
 3sg-LOC 1sg school-LOC go-DIR COMP CAUS-N.1-hear-3+TR.N.PAST
 Tell him I went to school

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

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

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

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

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

- (b) ngà p̀vngdāngs̀vng dī mvyóngē
 ngà p̀vngdāng-s̀vng dī mvyó-ng-ē
 1sg below-LOC go want-1sg-N.PAST
 I want to go downstairs/below
- (c) nōngmaq (nō) ròm̀nvng àngli tiq̀cégó vdáìē
 nōngmaq nō ròm̀nvng àngli tiq̀cè-gó vdá-i-ē
 1pl TOP friend old one-ten-CL have-1pl-N.PAST
 We have ten old friends
- (d) ngà laq dī wāē
 ngà laq dī wā-ē
 1sg should go say-N.PAST
 He says I should go

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

- (4) (e) àng wàapmi
 àng wà-ap-ì
 3sg say-TMDys-3+INTR.PAST
 He said something [*< wāē*]
- (f) à:ngí wàapmà
 àng-í wà-ap-à
 3sg-AGT do-TMDys-3+TR.PAST
 He did something [*< wāòē*]

3 Argument-transferring derivations

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

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

- (1) nà èdì bóì wāē
 nà è-dì bó-i wā-ē
 2sg N.1-go PFV-3+INTR.PAST say-N.PAST
 I heard you went (just now)
- (2) dāri dvgvp àngnōngnvm vshòmpè ā:lē wāē
 dāri dvgvp àngnōngnvm vshòmp-è ṽl-ē wā-ē
 past time brothers three-M exist-N.PAST say-N.PAST
 It is said that in the past there were three brothers

3.1 Valency-reducing derivations

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

3.1.1 The intransitivizing prefix

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

- | | | | |
|---------|---|---|--|
| (5) (a) | tá:lòē
tvl-ò-ē
roll-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
to roll (vt) | > | vtvlē
v-tvl-ē
PREF-roll-N.PAST
to roll (vi) |
| (b) | ngaqòē
ngaq-ò-ē
push.over-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
push over | > | vngaqē
v-ngaq-ē
PREF-push.OVER-N.PAST
fall over |
| (c) | àngmaq vshvtñē
àng-maq v-shvt-ē
3pl PREF-hit/kill-N.PAST
They are arguing/fighting | | |
| (d) | àngmaq vyvng kēē
àng-maq v-yvng-kē-ē
3pl PREF-see-RECIP-N.PAST
They are looking at each other | | |
| (e) | àngmaq shàvm kēē
àng-maq shv-v-vm kē-ē
3pl CAUS-PREF-eat RECIP-N.PAST
They are feeding each other | | |
| (f) | àngmaq tāsving tālē dà-zà-kē-ē
àng-maq tã-svng tã-lē dv-v-zà kē-ē
3pl (to.each.other) CAUS-PREF-feel.ill/pain RECIP-N.PAST
They are hurting each other | | |

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

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

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

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|--|
| (6) | riòē
rí-ò-ē
carry-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
to carry | > | cvmré vtřvmi
cvmré v-rř-vm-i
child PREF-carry-DIR-3+INTR.PAST
to have become pregnant |
| (7) | zòmòē
zòm-ò-ē
hold-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
to hold | > | vzōmvmi
v-zōm-vm-i
PREF-hold-DIR-3+INTR.PAST
to happen to grab (as when grabbing for something when slipping down a hill) |

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

3.1.2 The reflexive/middle marker

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

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

¹² I am unclear on the meaning of *tã*, as it only appears in this expression; *svng* is the locative/allative/dative marker in Rawang, and *lē* is possibly cognate with the allative/dative marker *le'* found in some of the Dulong dialects.

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

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

- (b) àng mūgwài kupshīē
 àng mūgwà-i kup-shi-ē
 3sg plastic.raincoat-INST cover-R/M-N.PAST
 He is covering himself with a plastic raincoat
- (c) àng léshì bōi
 àng lé-shi bō-i
 3sg CROSS-R/M PFV-3.INTR.PAST
 He went out.
- (d) àng v̄hōshīē
 àng v̄hō-shi-ē
 3sg laugh/smile-R/M-N.PAST
 He is laughing (or smiling)

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

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

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

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

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

- (9) (a) t̄v̄lshīē
 t̄v̄l-shi-ē
 roll-R/M-N.PAST
 to roll oneself (on purpose; intransitive, but with intentionality)
- (b) ngaqshīē
 ngaq-shi-ē
 push.over-R/M-N.PAST
 fall over (on purpose)
- (c) ȳv̄ngshīē
 ȳv̄ng-shi-ē
 see/look.at-R/M-N.PAST
 look at oneself/make oneself visible, manifest oneself (such as a spirit)¹⁶

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

- (10) (a) àng nōl tutshīē
 àng nōl tut-shi-ē
 3sg fingernail cut-R/M-N.PAST
 He is cutting his fingernails
- (b) àng m̄v̄t z̄v̄lshīē
 àng m̄v̄t z̄v̄l-shi-ē
 3sg face wash-R/M-N.PAST
 He is washing his face

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

¹⁶ In the Dulong dialects there is a formal difference between the two meanings given for this example (which generally only holds for perception verbs): for the meaning 'look at oneself', only the reflexive/middle marker is used, i.e. *f̄əŋ⁵⁵-cu³¹*, while for the more stativized meaning 'be visible, manifest oneself', the intransitivizing prefix is also added to the verb, i.e. *ə-f̄əŋ⁵⁵-cu³¹*. If a perceiver must be mentioned in the clause, it is marked with the locative/dative postposition (*le³¹* in the Third Township Dulong dialect, *s̄v̄ng* in the Mvtwang dialect).

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

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

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

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

- (12) (a) àng tvwv̄n vchaqòē
 àng tvwv̄n vchaq-ò-ē
 3sg snow brush-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is brushing the snow off (something)
- (b) àng tvwv̄n vchaqshiē
 àng tvwv̄n vchaq-shi-ē
 3sg snow brush-R/M-N.PAST
 He is brushing the snow off (himself)
- (13) (a) à:ngí shvmó sha:tnòē
 àng-í shvmó shvt-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT mosquito kill-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is killing a mosquito
- (b) àng shvmó shvtshiē
 àng shvmó shvt-shi-ē
 3sg mosquito kill-R/M-N.PAST
 He is killing a mosquito (on him)
- (14) (a) àng laqtūn wv̄nòē
 àng laqtūn wv̄n-ò-ē
 3sg clothing buy-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is buying clothing
- (b) àng laqtūn wv̄nshiē
 àng laqtūn wv̄n-shi-ē
 3sg clothing buy-R/M-N.PAST
 He is buying himself clothing

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

In some cases there is a difference of tone on the verb in a direct reflexive situation as opposed to an indirect reflexive. In these cases a high tone marks a direct reflexive, while a mid tone marks an indirect reflexive. This can be seen by comparing the (a) and (b) examples in (15–16):

- (15) (a) àng nō àng vdórshiē
 àng nō àng vdór-shi-ē
 3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST
 He's hitting himself
- (b) àng nō àng vdórshiē
 àng nō àng vdór-shi-ē
 3sg TOP 3sg hit-R/M-N.PAST
 He is hitting his own (child, etc.)
- (16) (a) nà nō nà èwáshi bói
 nà nō nà è-wá-shi bó-i
 2sg TOP 2sg N.I-do-R/M PFV-3+INTR.PAST
 You did it *to* yourself
- (b) nà nō nà èwáshi bói
 nà nō nà è-wā-shi bó-i
 2sg TOP 2sg N.I-do-R/M PFV-3+INTR.PAST
 You did it *for* yourself

In (15b) the form is that of a direct reflexive except for the tone on the verb, which marks the action as NOT a direct reflexive, so the object hit must be something other than the actor, but something closely related to the actor. In (16a–b) again the forms differ only in terms of the tone, but this makes the difference between the actor as O and the actor as Benefactive (with possibly some other assumed O).

A subtype of this indirect reflexive is when the reflexive/middle marker is used to show an alienable possessive relationship between the A and O arguments, as in (17).

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

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

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

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

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

- (19) (a) àng v̄mdv̄ngshi b̄oi
 àng v̄m-dv̄ng-shi b̄o-i
 3sg eat-finish-R/M PFV-3+INTR.PAST
 He finished eating [intransitive v̄mē 'eat']
- (b) à:ngi v̄mpàlòng v̄mdv̄ng b̄oà
 àng-i v̄mpà-lòng v̄m-dv̄ng b̄o-à
 3sg-INST food-CL eat-finish PFV-3+TR.PAST
 He has finished eating the food [transitive v̄mòē 'eat']

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

- (20) v̄ngaq̄lv̄m d̄vnshiē
 v̄ngaq̄-lv̄m d̄vn-shi-ē
 PREF-push-INF about.to-R/M-N.PAST
 It seems like it is about to fall down

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

- (21) (a) à:ngi àngsv̄ng shv̄ngòòē
 àng-i àng-sv̄ng shv̄ngò-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT 3sg-LOC hate-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He hates him
- (b) àng n̄ò shv̄ngòshiē
 àng n̄ò shv̄ngò-shi-ē
 3sg TOP hate-R/M-N.PAST
 He's hateful

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

- (22) (a) àng sh̄vm p̄eshiē
 àng sh̄vm p̄ē-shi-ē
 3sg sword hang.on.shoulder-R/M-N.PAST
 He is wearing a sword
- (b) à:ngi sh̄vm péòē
 àng-i sh̄vm pé-ò-ē
 3sg-INST sword hang.on.shoulder-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is putting on or wearing a sword

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

- (22) (c) àng sh̄vm dvp̄eshiē
 àng sh̄vm dv̄-p̄ē-shi-ē
 3sg sword CAUS-hang.on.shoulder-R/M-N.PAST
 He is putting on a sword

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

3.2 Valency-increasing derivations

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

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

benefactive, a *-t* suffix, non-use of the reflexive/middle marker on 'deponent' verbs, and the use of the verb *kèòē* '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 *dvzír* 'send'.

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

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

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

- | | | | |
|----------|--|---|---|
| (23) | nóē
nó-ē
be.tame-N.PAST
be tame | > | shvnóōē
shv-nó-ò-ē
CAUS-tame-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
to tame (an animal) (vt) |
| (24) | vmvngngē
vmvng-ē
be.lost-N.PAST
be lost | > | shvmá:ngòē
shv-vmvng-ò-ē
CAUS-be.lost-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
to lose (something) |
| (25) | lòm-mē
lòm-ē
be.warm-N.PAST
be warm | > | shvlò:mòē
shv-lòm-ò-ē
CAUS-be.warm-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
to warm (something) |
| (26) | vshatnē
vshat-ē
wake.up-N.PAST
wake up | > | dvshatnòē
dv-vshat-ò-ē
CAUS-wake.up-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
wake (someone) up |
| (27) | vhòmmē
vhòm-ē
meet-N.PAST
meet | > | dvhòmmòē
dv-vhòm-ò-ē
CAUS-meet-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
gather, get together |
| (28) (a) | shvrì tiqgō tvwátaq wá api
shvrì tiq-gō tvwá-taq wá ap-i
deer one-CL trap(n.)-LOC be.trapped TMDys-3+INTR.PAST
A deer was caught in a trap | | |
| (b) | shvrì tiqgō tvwái shvwá apà
shvrì tiq-gō tvwá-í shv-wá ap-à
deer one-CL trap(n.)-INST CAUS-be.trapped TMDys-3+INTR.PAST
(He) caught a deer in/with a trap | | |

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

the *v-* here is inherent to the root form and not a derivational prefix. Only a combination of two derivational prefixes causes the vowel change. In the intransitive (28a) ('to be caught in a trap'), the NP *lvwá* '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) ... *mvshvngshicéni svng dvkéòè, wā*
mvshvng-shí-cè-ní-svng dv-ké-ò-è wā
 human-seed-son-du-LOC CAUS-eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST say
 ... (and it is said he) fed the original people (the child's flesh)
- (b) *àngí Vpūng svng laqtūn dvgwāòè*
àng-í Vpūng-svng laqtūn dv-gwā-ò-è
 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) *àngí (àng svng) shvrī mā:nòè*
àng-í àng-svng shv-rī mṽn-ò-è
 3sg-AGT 3sg-LOC CAUS-carry continue-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He makes (him) continue carrying (not 'send' here, but 'help carry')
- (d) *àngí ngà svng Yangon dètān yvngà*
àng-í ngà-svng Yangon dè-è-vtān yvng-à
 3sg-AGT 1sg-LOC Yangon CAUS-N.1-visible TMYTS+1sg-3+TR.PAST
 He showed me Yangon (Rangoon)

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

- (30) (a) *dvshóng bóngà*
dv-shí-ng bó-ng-à
 CAUS-die-1sg PFV-1sg-3+TR.PAST
 I caused him to die (Direct action)
- (b) *ngài dvshíò dō íá:mi*
ngà-í dv-shí-ò dō í-ám-i
 1sg-AGT CAUS-die-3+TR.N.PAST ADV be-DIR-3+INTR.PAST
 It is like I caused him to die

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

- (31) (a) *dí dvzá:ròè*
dí dvzvr-ò-è
 go send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 to let/make (him) go
- (b) *dvdìòè*
dv-dì-ò-è
 CAUS-go-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 to make (him) go/walk
- (c) *dvdí dèzá:rò*
dv-dí è-dvzvr-ò
 CAUS-go N.1-send-3+TR.N.PAST
 You let him make him go

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

- (1) *Vpū:ngí bó laqdé:rò*
Vpūng-í bó laq-dér-ò
 Vpung-AGT rice INDIV-pound-3+TR.N.PAST
 Let Vpung pound the rice [imperative]
- (2) *Vpū:ngí bó dór dèzá:ròè*
Vpūng-í bó dór è-dvzvr-ò-è
 Vpung-AGT rice pound N.1-send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 You let Vpung pound the rice [non-imperative]

- (32) (a) *ým dèzá:rò*
ým è-dvzýr-ò
 eat N.1-send-3+TR.N.PAST
 Let him eat
- (b) *shvá:mòē*
shv-ým-ò-ē
 CAUS-eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He feeds him
- (c) *shvým dvzá:rò*
shv-ým dvzýr-ò
 CAUS-eat send-3+TR.N.PAST
 Let him feed him
- (d) *àngí Vpūng svng mūgwài dvrèri wým dvzá:ròē*
àng-í Vpūng-svng mūgwà-í dvrè-ri wým
 3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC raincoat-INST luggage-pl cover
dvzýr-ò-ē
 CAUS-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is making Vpung cover the luggage with the raincoat
- (e) *àngí àng svng shým lǐng dvza:ròē*
àng-í àng-svng shým lǐng dvzýr-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT 3sg-LOC knife hold CAUS-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is making him hold the knife

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

- (33) (a) *àngí laqtūn dvshúōē*
àng-í laqtūn dv-shū-ò-ē
 3sg-INST clothing CAUS-be.dry-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is drying clothes
- (b) *àng dvshúshìē*
àng dv-shū-shì-ē
 3sg CAUS-be.dry-R/M-N.PAST
 He is drying himself
- (c) *àng laqtūn dvshúshìē*
àng laqtūn dv-shū-shì-ē
 3sg clothing CAUS-be.dry-R/M-N.PAST
 He is drying his clothes

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

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

- (34) *àngí Vpūng svng laqtūn dvgwāōē*
àng-í Vpūng-svng laqtūn dv-gwā-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC clothing CAUS-put.on/wear-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He made (or helped) Vpung put his clothes on

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

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| (a) <i>gwá-ò-ē</i> | 'to put on' or 'to wear' |
| (b) <i>gwā-shì-ē</i> | 'to wear' |
| (c) <i>dv-gwā-ò-ē</i> | 'to dress someone' |
| (d) <i>dv-gwā-shì-ē</i> | '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) *aq⁵³ ʃɔʔ su³¹-gua⁵⁵-ɕu³¹*
 3sg cloth CAUS-put.on-R/M
 He (causes himself to) put his clothes on
- (b) *aq⁵³ aq⁵³-mei⁵³-le³¹ ʃɔʔ su³¹-gua⁵⁵-ɕu³¹*
 3sg 3sg-mother-LOC cloth CAUS-put.on-R/M
 He had his mother put his clothes on him

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

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

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

- (36) aŋ⁵³-mi⁵⁵ puŋ⁵⁵-(le³¹) məɹ⁵⁵ tciʔ-ɕu³¹ dzu:ɹ⁵⁵
 3sg-AGT Pung-LOC face wash-R/M cause
 He made Pung wash his face

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

- (37) aŋ⁵³-mi⁵⁵ puŋ⁵⁵-(le³¹) ʒɔʔ⁵⁵ su³¹-kam⁵⁵-ɕu³¹ dzu:ɹ⁵⁵
 3sg-AGT Pung-LOC cloth CAUS-dry-R/M cause
 He made Pung dry his clothes (with Pung wearing them)

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

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

- (38) (a) àŋ laqtūn dvgwāshīē
 àŋ laqtūn dv-gwā-shi-ē
 3sg clothing CAUS-wear-R/M-N.PAST
 He's putting his clothes on
- (b) àŋ nō àŋmèi laqtūn dvgwā dvzvrshīē
 àŋ nō àŋ-mè-i laqtūn dv-gwā dvzvr-shi-ē
 3sg TOP 3sg-mother-AGT clothing CAUS-wear send-R/M-N.PAST
 He had his mother put his clothes on him

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

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

- (39) (a) àŋ nō Vpūngi mvr zvl dvzvrshīē
 àŋ nō Vpūng-i mvr zvl dvzvr-shi-ē
 3sg TOP Vpung-AGT face wash send-R/M-N.PAST
 He is making Vpung wash his face (causer's face, not Vpung's)
- (b) à:ngi Vpūngsvng mvr zvlshi dvzvr:rōē
 àŋ-i Vpūng-svng mvr zvl-shi dvzvr-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC face wash-R/M send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is making Vpung wash his (Vpung's) face

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

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

- (40) à:ngi Vpūngsvng laqtūng dvshūshī dvzvr:rōē
 àŋ-i Vpūng-svng laqtūng dv-shū-shi dvzvr-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT Vpung-LOC clothing CAUS-dry-R/M send-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is making Vpung dry his clothes (while Vpung is wearing them)

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

- (41) Vpūng (nō) Vdói lègābok shvlvngshīē
 Vpūng (nō) Vdó-i lègā-bok shv-lvng-shi-ē
 Vpung TOP Vdeu-AGT book-CL CAUS-hold-R/M-N.PAST
 Vpung is letting Vdeu hold his book

3.2.2 Applicative benefactive

The only applicative construction in Rawang is the benefactive construction marked by the verbal suffix *-ã*. This form cannot be used for causative or other functions, such as for making an instrumental or locative phrase a direct argument.²⁰ It also cannot be used for comitatives.²¹ The benefactive can apply to both transitives and intransitives. As adding the benefactive argument increases the transitivity of the verb, intransitive verbs become formally transitive, though the original S does not take agentive marking. With transitives the old O stays unmarked, and the new argument (the benefactive) is marked with the benefactive postposition (*dvptv*)²² or the locative/dative postposition *s̀vng* (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) kvlángi mōdōch̀vng d̀vn dvzəngōē
 kvláng-i mōdō-ch̀vng d̀vn dv-zəng-ò-ē
 hay-INST truck-CL fullness CAUS-full-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 I fill the truck with hay
- (2) mōdōch̀vngtaq kvláng d̀vn z̀vngōē
 mōdō-ch̀vng-taq kvláng d̀vn z̀vng-ò-ē
 truck-CL-LOC hay fullness put-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 I put hay onto the truck

²¹ For comitatives, the comitative postposition *ǹvng* 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) ngá àngǹvng r̀ungē
 ngá àng-ǹvng r̀ung-ē
 Isg 3sg-COMIT sit-N.PAST
 I am sitting with him
- (2) ngá ǹvng àng tiqđō r̀ungshīē
 ngá ǹvng àng tiq-đō r̀ung-shī-ē
 Isg COMIT 3sg one-ADV sit-du-N.PAST
 He and I are sitting together

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

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

yākōng vmpà nō vshəmgó dvptv luqē
 yā-kōng vmpà nō vshəm-gó dvptv luq-ē
 this-CL rice TOP three-CL for be.enough-N.PAST
 This bowl of rice is enough for three people

- (42) (a) ngái (àng-s̀vng/dvptv) shóng róngāngōē
 ngá-i àng-s̀vng/dvptv shóng rí-ng-ā-ng-ò-ē
 Isg-AGT 3sg-LOC/for²³ wood carry-1sg-BEN-1sg-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 I'm carrying wood for him
- (b) àng dvptv rvmáhvng shvláāōē
 àng dvptv rvmá-h̀vng shvlá-ā-ò-ē
 3sg for field-field be.good-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 The fields are good for him
- (c) àngtaq yād̀vng bèlaq m̀vnoklá téāōē
 àng-taq yā-d̀vng bèlaq m̀vnoklá té-ā-ò-ē
 3sg-LOC this-CL upper.garment too be.big-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 This shirt is too big for him

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

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

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

- (43) (Vp̀vng tvlē) àngs̀vng ngōtnāngōē
 Vp̀vng tvlē àng-s̀vng ngōt-ā-ng-ò-ē
 Vpung exchange 3sg-LOC mourn-BEN-1sg-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 I mourn him (instead of Vpung mourning him)

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

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

g̀vms̀vng rvt b̀vnli ẁvngē
 g̀vms̀vng rvt b̀vnli wā-ng-ē
 money for work do-1sg-N.PAST
 I work for money

- (44) (a) shvngbēi vgō vshvp mā yà:ngà rvt vpú vgō vdvmē, wāē
 shvngbē-i vgō vshvp-ā yàng-à rvt vpú vgō
 all-AGT head rub-BEN TMYRS-3+TR.PAST because owl head
 vdvm-ē wā-ē
 flat-N.PAST say-N.PAST
 It is said that because everyone rubbed his head (rubbed him on the head
 after he said something wise), the owl's head is (now) flat
- (b) vnō dvbøp hvm gō èlv māōē
 vnō dvbøp hvm gō è-lvm-ā-ò-ē
 bean rotten basket also N.1-step.on-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 You stepped on (someone's) basket of fermented beans
- (c) yābok lēgā kāgō iāōē
 yā-bok lēgā kā-gō í-ā-ò-ē
 this-CL book Q.PN-CL be-BEN-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 Who does this book belong to?

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

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

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

- (45) (a) àng kwá tiqyòm róng kēē
 àng kwá tiq-yòm róng kē-ē
 3sg bee one-hive put.in.hole eat-N.PAST²⁴
 He is raising bees for himself
- (b) àng waq nākēē
 àng waq nā-kē-ē
 3sg pig feed-eat-N.PAST
 He feeds the pigs for himself²⁵
- (c) àng ngā mit kē-ē
 àng ngā mit kē-ē
 3sg fish catch eat-N.PAST
 He catches fish for himself
- (d) àng lávmē
 àng lá-vm-ē
 3sg cut.down-eat-N.PAST
 He cuts down (banana trees) to get the fruit for himself
- (e) ti kvpmvm á:miē
 ti kvp-vm ám-i-ē
 water get-eat DIR-1pl-N.PAST
 We go get water for ourselves
- (f) ngāmaq yúng kvtná:mi
 ngāmaq yúng kvtn-vm-i
 1pl vegetables grow-eat-1pl
 We grow vegetables for ourselves
- (g) àng vmpà wv̄nvmē
 àng vmpà wv̄n-vm-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 *vmē* is used; the verb *róng* 'put in a hole' is used because bees are raised in a hole in a tree.

²⁵ Compare this example with (45b):

àngi waq nākēōē
 àng-i waq nā-kē-ò-ē
 3sg-AGT pig feed-eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is feeding the pigs (right now)

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

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

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

- (h) àng nõ wāvmē
 àng nõ wā-vm-ē
 3sg wine make/do-eat-N.PAST
 He is making wine for himself

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

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

3.2.3 Transitivity by addition of final -t

A second form of transitivity is not productive. This is transitivity 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 transitivity 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) ngā-ē 'to cry' > ngōt-ō-ē 'to cry over/mourn someone'
 (b) ngái àng ngōtnōē
 ngái-í àng ngōt-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, *vhōshīē* '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 *hāōē* 'laugh at someone' (e.g. *à:ngi àngsvng hāōē* '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 *kéōē* 'eat (meat), bite' can be used, often with the causative prefix as well, and this can make the sentence partly transitive, as in (47a–c). It is only partly transitive because there is no A argument that can take the agentive marker (though in some cases there is an instrumental argument, as in (47c)), as the cause of the action is generally

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

- (47) (a) àng dvgoq kéōē
 àng dv-goq ké-ō-ē
 3sg CAUS-hiccup eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He's hiccuping (uncontrollably) (normally àng goqē)
 (b) (pòyaq) chaggá (gá) cvmré shvngó kéōē
 pòyaq chaggá gá cvmré shv-ngó ké-ō-ē
 all.night morning bright child CAUS-cry eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 The children are / have been crying (all night) until morning (light)
 (c) àng vléi mvdōng kéōē
 àng vlé-í mvdōng ké-ō-ē
 3sg vlé-INST stuck eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He has vlé stuck in his throat (vlé is a kind of rough food)

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

- (48) (a) àng(svng) vpèi ngvñ kéōē
 àng-svng v-pè-í ngvñ ké-ō-ē
 3sg-LOC 1-father-AGT scold eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He is being scolded by my father
 (b) àng svmíi gáng kéōē
 àng svmí-í gáng ké-ō-ē
 3sg fire-INST hot eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He's hot from the fire
 (c) à:ngi pàgō mà-shvbón kéō
 àng-í pà-gō mà-shv-bón ké-ō
 3sg-AGT thing-also NEG-CAUS-be.possible eat-3+TR.N.PAST
 He's incapable of doing anything
 (d) àngsvng tvp ké bóà
 àng-svng tvp ké bó-à
 3sg-LOC be.arrested eat PFV-3+TR.PAST
 He was arrested

- (e) àng nē nē mvnəklá aq dári rvt (nòì) vrù kéòē
 àng nē nē mvnəklá aq dár-ì rvt nē-ì
 3sg TOP wine too drink TMhrs-3+INTR.PAST because wine-INST
 vrù ké-ò-ē
 drunk eat-3+TR.N.PAST-N.PAST
 He drank too much and so is/got drunk (from the wine)

4 Conclusions

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

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