Reflexive and Middle Marking in Dulong-Rawang[*]

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0.   Introduction

Middle voice marking is very rarely recognized as such in the grammars written on Tibeto-Burman languages. It is often simply treated as a normal direct reflexive or as an intransitivizer. In order to draw the attention of Tibeto-Burman scholars to the existence and function of middle voice marking, the present paper discusses reflexive and middle marking in the Dulong-Rawang languages.

Dulong-Rawang is a group of Tibeto-Burman dialects spoken in China and Myanmar (Burma). In China, the people who speak what is known as the Dulong (T'rung) language for the most part live in Gongshan county of Yunnan province, and belong to either what is known as the Dulong nationality (pop. 5816 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). Another subgroup of the Nu people, those who live along the lower reaches of the Nu river, speak a language called Anung which seems to be the same as, or closely related to, the Kwinpang dialect of Rawang spoken in Myanmar, so should also be considered a dialect of Dulong-Rawang. Within Myanmar, the people who speak what is known there as the Rvwang (Rawang) language (roughly 100,000 people) live in northern Kachin State, particularly along the 'Nmai Hka and Mali Hka River valleys. In the past they had been given the exonym 'Hkanung' or 'Nung', and have often been considered to be a sub-group of the Kachin. Among themselves they have had no general term for themselves; they use their respective clan names to refer to themselves. This is true also of those who live in China, although these people have accepted the exonym 'Dulong' (or Taron, or Trung), a name they were given because they mostly live in the valley of the Dulong (Taron/Trung) River.[1] Recently, speakers of Rawang have begun a movement to use the name 'Rvwang' (derived from 'followers of the middle river', a reference to their migration down into Myanmar) to represent all of their people. The speakers in China, though, continue to use the name 'Dulong'.[2] In this paper, we will be using data of the 3rd Township dialect of Dulong spoken in Gongshan county, though the phenomenon we will be discussing is general to dialects in both China and Myanmar.[3]

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[1]In the past, the Dulong River, particularly the upper stretches, was known as the Qiu river, and the Dulong people were known as the Qiu, Qiuzi, Qiupa, or Qiao. These terms seem to derive from the Lisu term for the Dulong, [tɕhiuʔ pa].

[2]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 five major dialects: Mvtwang, Longmi, Dvru (Ganøng), Tangsarr, and Kwinpang/Anung (Morse & Morse 1966, S. Morse 1988). Dulong is considered by the Morses to be a sub-branch of Dvru. Within the Dulong area it is also possible to distinguish at least four subvarieties: 1st Township, 3rd Township, 4th Township and Nujiang Dulong. The differences among these subvarieties are rather minor, and so all are mutually intelligible. What confuses the dialect picture is that 3rd Township Dulong and Dvru are both very conservative phonologically, while the 1st Township, 4th Township and Nujiang varieties of Dulong share phonological innovations with other dialects in Myanmar.

[3]The data used for this paper are from Yang Jiangling, a native Dulong speaker from Kongmu Village, Gongshan County, Yunnan Province, and were corroborated by Li Zixing, also of Kongmu Village. The general situation as regards middle marking in Dulong-Rawang

The Dulong-Rawang verb complex can include marking for a number of syntactic categories, including person, number, voice, aspect, and direction. The focus of the present paper will be a syntactic category marked by the verbal suffix *-ɕǔɯ*.[4] The earliest discussion of this suffix was in Barnard 1934:17, writing on Rawang (in which this suffix is pronounced *-ɕǐ*),[5] where it is called a reflexive and intransitivizing particle. Uses that reflect its nature as a middle voice marker, such as the indirect middle, are said to be 'idiomatic'. The first paper on Dulong was Lo 1945. In this short paper Lo simply mentioned that this affix 'is mostly suffixed to intransitive verbs' (p. 347).[6] He did not say anything about its function. Sun Hongkai (1982) has a more lengthy description of the uses of this suffix, but does not mention its reflexive use. He says its function is to mark the fact that an action is not initiated by some external force, but is purely self-initiated (p. 99-100). Liu 1988 has a similar explanation. Consider the following examples:[7]

(1) a. àŋ   sat-ɕǔɯ
         3sg hit-R/M
         'He is hitting himself.'

     b. àŋ   mūguà -mī   kɔp-ɕǔɯ
         3sg raincoat-INST cover-R/M
         'He is covering himself with the raincoat.'

     c. àŋ   mɯ̆ɹɔ̀ʔ-ɕǔɯ
         3sg curse-R/M
         'He is cursing himself.'

     d. àŋ   ǎlɯp-ɕǔɯ
         3sg happy-R/M
         'He is happy.'

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[4]There are two verbal suffixes with the form *-ɕǔɯ,* one being the one under discussion here, the other being a marker of 1st and 2nd person dual number. As these two functions are quite different and marking for both functions can appear in the same clause (see example (2b,e)), we consider them two homophonous entities and not one polysemous entity.

[5]According to James Khong Sar Ong, who speaks both the Mvtwang and Wvdamkong dialects, Barnard's paper is quite flawed, in that it professes to be a representation of the Wvdamkong dialect, yet does not represent a single dialect; it seems to be a mixture of dialects, and the structure of some of the sentences seems to have been influenced by the fact that Jinghpaw (Kachin) was used as the medium of elicitation. Barnard also does not mark tones or glottal stop finals.

[6]Lo's statement is somewhat misleading: while the addition of the reflexive/middle marker often does create an intransitive verb, the verb form that the suffix is added to is generally that of the transitive form of the verb (e.g. cf. *ătāl* 'roll (v.i.)', *tāl* 'roll (v.t.)', *tālɕǔɯ* 'roll oneself'). (Marks above the vowel represent level tone *(ā),* falling tone *(à),* or reduced syllable *(ǎ).* All syllables that end in a stop consonant final have a high level tone, so are unmarked.)

[7]Abbreviations used in the examples: AGT agentive marker, ASP aspect marker, CAUS causative marker, DAT dative marker, DEF definite article, DIR direction of action marker, INST instrumental marker, INTR intransitivizer, MM unique middle marker, PP past participle, RM unique reflexive marker, R/M reflexive-middle marker. Arabic numbers refer to person, with sg, dl, pl being singular, dual, and plural, respectively.

e. àŋ ɛ̄wà mit-çǔ
3sg this.way think-R/M
'He is thinking this way.'

f. àŋ ɛt-çǔ
3sg laugh-R/M
'He is laughing.'

In Sun 1982 and Liu 1988, this marker was referred to as a marker of "self-initiated" action distinct from reflexives, which were said to be marked by reflexive pronouns. No clear line was drawn between the "self-initiated" type and unmarked transitives and intransitives. We will see that self-initiated action is only one of a number of semantic situation types that can be marked with -çǔ, and show that the core meaning associated with the use of this suffix is self-directed action.[8]

The actual form that this suffix takes in the sentence can be affected by the person and number of the actor:

(2)   a.   ŋà sat-çīŋ
          1sg hit-R/M.1sg
          'I hit myself.'

      b.   ànɛ̄ sat-çī-çǔ
          1dl hit-R/M-dl
          'The two of us hit ourselves.'

      c.   īŋ sat-çī:
          1pl hit-R/M:pl
          'We hit ourselves.'

      d.   nà nǔ-sat-çǔ
          2sg 2-hit-R/M
          'You hit yourself.'

      e.   nǔnɛ̄ nǔ-sat-çī-çǔ
          2dl 2-hit-R/M-dl
          'The two of you hit yourselves.'

      f.   nǔnīŋ nǔ-sat-çīn
          2pl 2-hit-R/M:2pl
          'You hit yourselves.'

      g.   àŋ (āŋnɛ̄, āŋnīŋ) sat-çǔ
          3sg 3dl 3pl hit-R/M
          'S/he (they-dual, they) hit himself/herself/themselves.'

As the differences in person do not affect the function of the suffix in question, third-person singular forms will be used for all the examples in the rest of this paper.

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[8]The forms discussed as 'reflexive pronouns' by Sun (1982:81-82) are actually emphatic pronouns which are not used with reflexive meaning. That is, they reinforce or emphasize the agent of the action, as in (i):

(i)   àŋ ǎdù lɔʔ
      3sg self return
      'S/he went back by himself/herself (without anyone assisting).'

1.0   Reflexives and middles

If we look at the examples in (1) in terms of the semantic situation types coded by this suffix, we can see that all the examples express actions that are self-initiated. That is, they do not depend on any external force. At the same time they are all self-directed: the referent involved is both the source of the action and the end point of the action. In (1a,b,c) we have clear examples of prototypical direct reflexive situations, while in (1d,e,f) we have examples of situations that show the same marking, but are not prototypical direct reflexive situations; they are the type of situations that are marked with middle voice marking in languages that have distinctive middle voice marking, such as Old Norse, Russian, Dutch, and Turkish. These situation types include grooming actions, changes in body posture, emotions, cognitive actions, perception, spontaneous events, and indirect middles.[9]

The middle situation is like the direct reflexive in that the referent performing the action and the one affected by the action are the same referent, that is, both involve self-directed action, but the middle voice situation differs from the prototypical direct reflexive situation in that the nature of that referent as initiator of the action and the nature of that referent as end point of the action are not as distinct as in the reflexive situation. There is what Kemmer (1993) refers to as a "low elaboration of participants in an event" (Ch. 3), or, on a more general level, a "low elaboration of events" (Ch. 6), as the subparts of the complex action involved in a middle situation are not as distinguishable as in a reflexive situation. This can be seen in comparing the Russian examples below (Kemmer 1994:203, citing Haiman 1983:796):

(3)   a. On utomil   sebja
           he exhausted RM
           'He exhausted himself' (reflexive event)

       b. On utomil-sja
           he exhausted-MM
           'He grew weary' (spontaneous event)

In (3a) the use of the reflexive marker *sebja* emphasizes the conceptual distinction between the actor as initiator of the action and as endpoint of the action. Use of the middle marker, as in (3b), involves no such clear distinction.

Just as the reflexive can be seen as an intermediate semantic type between the two poles transitive and intransitive (Hopper & Thompson 1980:277), the middle can be seen as intermediate semantically between the reflexive and intransitive situations on the total transitive-reflexive-intransitive cline represented in Figure 1 (Kemmer 1993:73):
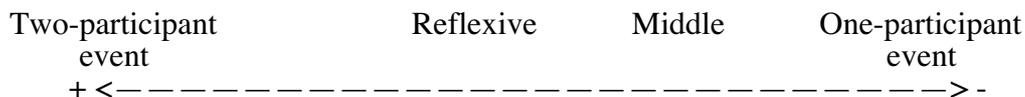
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Two-participant                 Reflexive      Middle     One-participant
   event                                                     event
   + < — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —> -
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Figure 1: Degree of distinguishability of participants/events

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[9]See Kemmer 1993, Appendix A, for a full listing of the categories of semantic middles. In many languages with middle marking, that marking can also be used for reciprocals and collectives. In Dulong-Rawang, the reflexive/middle marking can be used for some collectives, such as *tŭ-xɹūm-ɕŭ* 'to get together (of a group of people)', though it is not used for reciprocals, which are formed by adding the intransitivizing prefix *ă-* to a verb with a plural subject, as in (i).

(i)   àŋnɛ̄ ă-ɹàŋ
        3pl   INTR-look
        'They are looking at each other.'

There is no consistency in the marking of this category cross-linguistically. Only a minority of languages in the world have distinct marking for middle situations (e.g. Russian, Old Norse, Hungarian, Turkish). [10] In other languages the marking of middle situations patterns with either prototypical reflexive situations, as we saw in Dulong, and as in, for example, French, German, and Quechua, or with prototypical transitive and intransitive situations, as in English, and Chinese (see examples below). In languages of both the French type and those of the English type (i.e. the two types of language that do not have distinct middle marking) there are three types of marking for the categories on this cline: transitive, intransitive, and reflexive. What is different between the two types of language is what semantic categories are covered by each type of marking. In languages of the French type (including Dulong-Rawang), the form of the reflexive prototype is used to mark middle situations, as in the French example in (4):

(4)   Elle   se   lave les   mains.
        3sg:fem R/M wash DEF:pl hands
        'She washes her hands.'

While in languages of the English type it is the form of the intransitive prototype or the transitive prototype, and not the reflexive prototype that is used to mark middle situations, as in the examples in (5):[11]

(5)   a. I rose from the chair.
        b. I washed my face.

In languages with unique marking for the reflexive (i.e. those with middle forms distinct from reflexive forms, such as Russian, and those without middle marking, such as English), it is usually possible to use a reflexive form, or a pronoun or noun interpreted as having reflexive meaning (such as *shēn* 'body' in example (6b) below), to a sentence which expresses middle semantics in order to emphasize the dual semantic nature of the participant of the action. We saw the Russian example of this above (ex. (3a)); below are examples from English (ex. (6a)) and Chinese (ex. (6b), from Jin 1993:174):

(6)   a. I got myself up (and walked out the door).

        b. tián gūniáng zhàn qǐ shēn lái   fúzhe   mén-kuàng
            Tian miss   stand up body come holding door-frame
            chuǎnxī yīhuì fāng   zǒu
            panting a.while only.then go
            'Miss Tian stood herself up and, holding on to the doorframe,
                rested a while before leaving.'

In many of those languages where we know middle marking developed out of reflexive marking, as in French, this extended emphatic use of the reflexive simply became more consistent, lost its emphatic sense, and eventually became obligatory.

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[10] In many languages with unique reflexive and middle markers, there is an etymological relationship between the two forms, as in Russian, though this is not always the case. For example the Latin mediopassive (middle) marker *-r* and the reflexive *se* have no etymological relationship.

[11] In English it is also possible to use the '*get* passive' or a reflexive pronoun to express some middle semantic situations, e.g. *get dressed*, *enjoy oneself* (Kemmer 1993:184). See also ex. (6a).

2.0 Middles in Dulong

The use of the reflexive/middle marker in Dulong is very similar to that of the reflexive pronouns in French, which also mark both reflexive and middle situations. The Dulong form, though, is not a pronoun, and is invariant for person.[12] From the following chart, we can see that Dulong uses reflexive/middle marking for verbs in the same semantic categories as the French deponent verbs.[13]

Category	French	Gloss	Dulong	Gloss
grooming	s'habiller	'to wear'	guā-çǔɯ	'to wear'
self-initiated action	se changer	'to change'	pɔʔ-çǔɯ	'to change'
cognition middle	s'aviser (de)	'to think up'	mit-çǔɯ	'to think'
emotion middle	se réjouir	'to rejoice'	ălɯɯp-çǔɯ	'to be happy'
indirect middle	s'appeler	'to be called'	lān-çǔɯ	'to be called'

Table 1: Comparison of French and Dulong middle categories with deponents

In sentences where no undergoer aside from the actor appears, the appearance of -çǔɯ on the verb marks the fact that the actor is also the undergoer, that is, it is a direct reflexive. We saw this in examples (1a-c). Following are two other examples:[14]

(7) a. àŋ māɹɹāŋ-mī ɹāŋ-çǔɯ
        3sg mirror-INST look-R/M
        'He is looking at himself in the mirror.'

     b. àŋ tāl-çǔɯ-dǐ
        3sg roll-R/M-DIR
        'He rolled himself down (the hill).'

Were the verbs in these sentences to not have the suffix *-çǔɯ,* the sentences could only be used in contexts where an undergoer distinct from the actor is understood from the context (i.e., the actor is looking at someone else in the mirror or rolling some earlier-mentioned or situationally accessible item down the hill).

A transitive verb with the reflexive/middle marker is less than fully transitive, and this is reflected in the fact that the NP in a reflexive/middle sentence representing the actor of the verb cannot be followed by the agent marking postposition *-mī.* Yet the reflexive/middle form of the verb also contrasts with the fully intransitivized form of the verb formed by adding the intransitivizing prefix *ă-* to form an intransitive verb, e.g. *tāl* 'roll (vt.)' > *ătāl* 'roll

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[12]Actually, as we saw in (2), there are changes in the form in some contexts for different persons, but this is due to the suffixation of person marking segments, and not due to suppletion, as in French.

[13]Even in languages where the reflexive and middle markers have the same form, as in French and Dulong, there is a difference in the use of the two: middle marking is obligatory to achieve a particular meaning with certain verbs (e.g. Dulong *ēt* 'to laugh at (someone)', *ēt-çǔɯ* 'to laugh, smile'; *tɔ̄ɹ* 'to throw', *tɔ̄ɹ-çǔɯ* 'to run'), whereas reflexive marking does not change the meaning of the verb, only the relationship between the participants. Cross-linguistically there is variation as to which particular verbs will take middle marking, though there is great consistency as to which semantic categories of verbs will be marked with middle marking (Kemmer 1993).

[14](7a) is a good example of the morphophonemic tone change found in Dulong: the verb *ɹàŋ* has a falling tone, but when it is nominalized, as in *māɹɹāŋ* 'mirror' (literally 'face' + 'see'), and when the reflexive/middle marker *-çǔɯ* is added to the verb, as in *ɹāŋ-çǔɯ,* it has a level tone.

(vi.)': the verb with the intransitive prefix expresses an action that is unintentional (e.g. 'John rolled down the hill unintentionally'), while the verb with reflexive/middle marking expresses an intentional action (e.g. 'John rolled himself down the hill (intentionally)').

In sentences where an undergoer other than the actor appears in the sentence, and the verb is followed by *-ɕǔɹ,* that undergoer is often a body part, as in the following examples:

(8)   a. àŋ ɲɯ̄l   tɔt-ɕǔɹ   b. àŋ mā̄ɹ tɕiʔ-ɕǔɹ
             3sg fingernail cut-R/M   3sg face wash-R/M
             'He is cutting his fingernails.'   'He is washing his face.'

In these examples there seem to be prototypical transitive events, and in languages such as English and Chinese, in which some middle situations are marked the same as prototypical transitives, the marking does not differ from normal transitive marking, and the relationship between the agent and the body part affected has to be inferred (as in Chinese) or overtly marked with a genitive construction (as in English). Compare the Chinese sentence below with its English translation:

(9)   Wǒ yào xǐ   liǎn.
      1sg want wash face
      'I want to wash my face.'

The form of the Chinese sentence is that of a normal transitive sentence, and the fact that the face to be washed is the speaker's own face must be inferred. The English translation also is in the form of a normal transitive, though here the fact that the face to be washed is the speaker's own is overtly marked by a genitive construction modifying the noun. In Dulong, on the other hand, the addition of the reflexive/middle marker on the verb overtly specifies, for example in (8a), that the fingernails the actor is cutting are his own, and in (8b), that the face being washed is the actor's own. Without the addition of *-ɕǔɹ,* the sentences in (8) would not be complete. Unlike Chinese, it is not possible to rely on inference. If for example the face being washed is not that of the actor, this must be explicitly marked on the noun, and the verb cannot take the *-ɕǔɹ* suffix:

(10)   àŋ àŋ-tɕàl   mā̄ɹ tɕiʔ
         3sg 3-child   face wash
         'He is washing his child's face.'

In some languages, such as Chinese, the meaning of certain verbs can be ambiguous between self directed action and non-self directed action. See for example the following sentence:

(11)   Wo qù jiǎn tóufa.
        1sg go cut hair.
       'I am going to cut (someone's) hair'/'I'm going to get my hair cut.'

In Dulong, these two meanings must have different representations:

(12)   a. àŋ ū   ɕɯ̄l-ɕǔɹ   lě   dī dǐ
             3sg head cut(hair)-R/M DAT go ASP
             'He went to cut his hair.'

        b. àŋ ū   ɕ̀ɯl   lě   dī dǐ
             3sg head cut(hair) DAT go ASP
             'He went to cut (someone's) hair.'

Example (12a) is ambiguous as to whether the actor represented in the sentence will do the cutting or whether the cutting will be done by someone else, but the hair being cut will

definitely be that of the actor. In (12b), on the other hand, the actor is definitely doing the cutting, and the hair being cut is definitely not his own.

In sentences with an undergoer other than the actor, and where the undergoer NP is not a body part, the referent of that NP can be an object in contact with the body of the actor. For example:

(13)   a.   àŋ   tŭwàn kɹɑʔ-çŭ
            3sg snow shake-R/M
            'He is shaking off the snow (from his body).'

If the snow being brushed off is not on the actor's body, then the form in (13b) would be used:

      b.   àŋ   tŭwàn kɹɑʔ
            3sg snow   shake
            'He is shaking off the snow.'

In other cases the object may not be in contact with the actor's body. For example, consider the examples in (14).

(14)   a.   àŋ ădʐùl   ăbeʔ-çŭ   b.   àŋ ădʐùl   ăbeʔ
            3sg mosquito hit-R/M   3sg mosquito hit
            'He is hitting a mosquito.'   'He is hitting a mosquito.'

      c.   àŋ ɟɔʔ-tī-tap   wān-çŭ   d.   àŋ kuā-tī-ɹùm sū-çŭ
            3sg cloth-one-CL buy-R/M   3sg bee-one-nest raise-R/M
            'He is buying (himself) clothing.'   'He is raising bees (for himself).'

In (14a), the mosquito in question may not be in contact with the actor's body (though of course it may be), but it must be one that is bothering the actor. In this case it might be translated as 'He is hitting a mosquito (for himself/herself)'. In (14b) there is no implication that the mosquito has been bothering the actor. In (14c, d) the idea of doing something *for* oneself rather than *to* oneself is even clearer. Here the dual roles played by the participant are not actor and undergoer, but actor and recipient or actor and beneficiary. This is then what is commonly known as an 'indirect reflexive'.

We can see from the above cases that possession of the undergoer is not the most relevant factor involved in the use or non-use of the reflexive/middle suffix, but there must be a strong connection between the undergoer and the actor.

Another use of the suffix *-çŭ* is for stativization. Compare the two examples in each set below:

(15)   a.   àŋ çàm   pɑī-çŭ
            3sg sword hang.on.shoulder-R/M
            'He has a knife on.'

      b.   àŋ çàm   pɑī
            3sg sword hang.on.shoulder
            'He is putting on a knife.' or 'He has a knife on.'

(16)   a.   àŋ ɟɔʔ-pŭusɑī-tī-tap   guā-çŭ
            3sg cloth-red-one-CL   put.on/wear-R/M
            'He is wearing a piece of red clothing.'

      b.   àŋ ɟɔʔ-pŭusɑī-tī-tap   guā
            3sg cloth-red-one-CL   put.on/wear
            'He is putting on/wearing a piece of red clothing.'

In examples (15a) and (16a), the situation involved is presented as an existing state, while in (15b) and (16b) the situation is presented as an activity. What is involved in these examples is that the use of *-ɕŭ* emphasizes the stative nature of the result of the action, while non-use of *-ɕŭ* expresses a simple transitive action.[15] There is actually a privative opposition between the two forms: the unmarked form can be used for either meaning, while the marked form is used for the stative meaning.

There are some verbs in Dulong, particularly the perception verbs, such as *tā* 'listen/hear', *ɟàŋ* 'look at/see', that have a special stativized form. This is formed by adding the intransitivizing prefix to the reflexive/middle form of the verb. The result is an intransitive attributive predication. Compare (17a) and (17b):

(17)   a. àŋ ɕàm ɟàŋ
           3sg sword see
           'He is looking at the sword.'

       b. ɕàm (àŋ-lě)   a-ɟāŋ-ɕŭ
           sword 3sg-DAT INTR-see-R/M
           'The sword is visible (to him).'

(17a) is a normal transitive clause, while (17b), with the reflexive/middle marker and the intransitivizing prefix, is an intransitive attributive predication. Generally no actor is represented in the sentence, but if there is one, it must be marked as an indirect argument with the postposition *-lě*, as shown in the parentheses in (17b). This construction differs from the unmarked transitive construction in terms of the implication of responsibility for the visibility of the sword: in the transitive, the actor is responsible and the sword has no responsibility for its being seen; in the intransitive attributive form, the sword is in a sense seen to be somewhat responsible for its visibility, while the actor is not seen to be responsible for it.

Based on our understanding of the development of the use of *-ɕŭ* (see LaPolla 1995), it seems that once *-ɕŭ* came to be used more and more to express middle situations, it came more and more to be associated with situations where there is a 'low elaboration of events.' Addition of this marker to a transitive verb then 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.

Above we mentioned that, in languages without middle marking and languages with unique middle marking, the reflexive can sometimes be used to emphasize the dual semantic nature of the participant as initiator and endpoint of the action. Here we have just said that the reflexive/middle marker in Dulong can be used to reduce the conceptual separation of the two events and participants involved in the situation. These two statements seem to be contradictory, but in fact they are simply two aspects of the same phenomenon. Looking back at Figure 1, we can see that using reflexive marking in a single participant situation such as in examples (3a), and (6a,b) moves the perspective of the situation towards the left side of the cline, while using reflexive/middle marking in a two participant situation moves the perspective of the situation towards the right side of the cline. The marking then in both cases is moving the perspective towards the same area in semantic space.

The isomorphy of the reflexive, middle, and 'stativizing' markers in Dulong is most likely the result of a marker originally having only a reflexive use being extended to cover middle situations, and then, because of the nature of middles, being further extended to the use as a 'stativizer' (LaPolla 1995).

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[15]As can be seen from the translations of the sentences in (15) and (16), English uses different verbs to express this difference in meaning.

3.0   Causative reflexives in Dulong

In Dulong there are two ways to mark a causative meaning: by adding the prefix *sŭ-* or *tŭ-* to the verb,[16] or by adding the auxiliary verb *dʑūɹ* 'to cause, allow' after the verb. The first type is an inflectional causative; the second type is an analytic causative. We will discuss each type, and their interaction with the reflexive, below.

3.1   Inflectional causative reflexive/middles

The causative prefix can be added to both transitive and intransitive verbs, though when these forms are made reflexive, the meanings differ slightly.

When an intransitive verb takes the causative prefix, it then acts syntactically and semantically like an unmarked transitive verb.

(18)   àŋ ɹɔʔ   sŭ-kām
        3sg clothing CAUS-dry
        'He is drying clothes.'

Example (18) is a causative verb based on the intransitive stative verb *kām* 'dry'. It takes an undergoer as an unmarked transitive does, and it is the undergoer, not the actor that is affected by the action. We can then make this verb reflexive, as in (19):

(19)   àŋ sŭ-kām-ɕŭ
        3sg CAUS-dry-R/M
        'He is drying himself.'

Here there is only one NP in the sentence, and the suffix *-ɕŭ* tells us that the referent being dried is the same as the one doing the drying. It is also possible for a second NP to appear in the sentence, as in (20):

(20)   àŋ ɹɔʔ   sŭ-kām-ɕŭ
        3sg clothing CAUS-dry-R/M
        'He is drying (his) clothes.'

In this case, as the verb is followed by *-ɕŭ*, the clothes being dried by the fire must be those worn by the actor at the time of the action. Following are two similar examples:

(21)   a. àŋ mɛʔ sŭ-bɔʔ-ɕŭ
            3sg eye CAUS-blind-R/M
            'He blinded himself.'

        b. àŋ   māɹ sŭ-nɑʔ-ɕŭ
            3sg face CAUS-black-R/M
            'He blackened (made dirty) his own face.'

Again here the eyes and the face being talked about must be those of the respective actors.
Adding the causative prefix to a transitive verb creates an indirect causative, where the causer causes another person (the causee) to do some action, as in (22):

(22)   àŋ pūŋ-lĕ   ɹɔʔ   sŭ-guā
        3sg Pung(pers.name)-DAT   clothing CAUS-put.on
        'He made Pung put his clothes on.'

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[16]These two forms are allomorphs of the causative prefix. The form *tŭ-* is used before voiceless fricative initials, while *sŭ-* is used before all other initials.

Here the causer has the causee perform an action that is not directed at the causer.

Adding the reflexive/middle suffix to the causativized transitive verb can have two different results. If there is no other causee referent involved, then it will be understood that the causer causes himself to do something, as in the examples in (23):

(23)   a. àŋ ɟɔʔ sǔ-guā-ɕǔ
           3sg cloth CAUS-put on-R/M
           'He (causes himself to) put his clothes on.'

       b. àŋ ɕàm sǔ-pɑī-ɕǔ
           3sg knife CAUS-hang.on.shoulder-R/M
           'He (causes himself to) put on a knife.'

If another animate referent is mentioned in the sentence as causee, then the reflexive/middle marking will express the idea that the action performed by the causee (caused by the causer) will be directed at or in some way affect the causer, as in the following examples:

(24)   a. àŋ àŋ-meì   ɟɔʔ sǔ-guā-ɕǔ
           3sg 3sg-mother cloth CAUS-put on-R/M
           'He had his mother put his clothes on him.'

       b àŋ mānbà-lě mān   sǔ-ɟap-ɕǔ
           3sg doctor-DAT medicine CAUS-inject-R/M
           'He had the doctor give him an injection.'

In (24a), the causer is a small child who wants his mother to put his clothes on for him, so the action is directed at the causer, not the causee. In (24b) the causer has the causee (the doctor) give him a shot. In this case, given the nature of the verb and the situations involved, the causee can be inferred, and so can be omitted from the sentence.

(25)   àŋ mān   sǔ-ɟap-ɕǔ
        3sg medicine CAUS-inject-R/M
        'He had (the doctor or someone) give him an injection.'

The resulting form is similar to the first type of causativized transitive with reflexive/middle marking we discussed above (e.g. the examples in (23)), yet in one case (23) the participant mentioned is doing something to himself, while in the other (25) the participant is getting someone else to do some action directed towards the participant himself. The proper interpretation then is a matter of contextual and semantic assumptions, e.g. that we don't normally give ourselves shots.

3.2   Analytic causative reflexive/middles

The auxiliary verb used to form the analytic causative can only be added to transitive verbs. It forms a simple indirect causative:[17]

(26)   àŋ-(mī) pūŋ-lě   mūguà-mī   sǔɹà   kɔp dʑūːɹ
        3sg-(AGT) Pung-DAT raincoat-INST   luggage cover cause
        'He is making Pung cover the luggage with the raincoat.'

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[17]Above we mentioned that the agentive marker cannot be used in reflexive/middle constructions, yet here it is possible to use the agentive marker, as the NP taking that marker represents an argument of the verb *dʑūɹ,* not of the reflexive/middle marked verb. In order to clarify the relationship between the two participants in the sentence, either agentive marking on the causer or dative marking on the causee can be used.

If the verb that takes the analytic causative auxiliary is a reflexive verb, then the action performed by the causee is not directed at and does not affect the causer, but is directed at or affects the causee. For example, in (27), below, it is the face of Pung that is washed, not that of the causer.

(27)   àŋ-mī   pūŋ-(lě)   māɹ tɕiʔ-ɕǔ   dẕūːɹ
      3sg-ERG Pung-DAT face wash-R/M cause
      'He made Pung wash his face.'

It is also possible to have a doubly causative and reflexive verb complex, as in (28):

(28)   àŋ-mī   pūŋ-(lě)   ɻɔʔ sǔ-kām-ɕǔ   dẕūːɹ
      3sg-ERG Pung-DAT 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. Another example:

(29)   àŋ-mī   pūŋ (mānbà-lě)   mān   sǔ-ɻap-ɕǔ   dẕūːɹ
      3sg-ERG Pung doctor-DAT medicine CAUS-inject-R/M cause
      'He had Pung go get an injection.'

In this sentence, the causer causes Pung to go see a doctor to have Pung have the doctor give him (Pung) a shot.

4.0   Final comments

We hope that by explicating the functions of the reflexive/middle marker in Dulong-Rawang interest in the phenomenon of middle marking in Tibeto-Burman languages will be stimulated and lead to greater discussion of this phenomenon, thereby improving our understanding of the morphosyntax of the Tibeto-Burman languages.[18]

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[18]See LaPolla 1996 for a discussion of possible middle voice systems in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

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