Middle Voice Marking in Tibeto-Burman

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1.0 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 intransitiveizer. In order to draw the attention of scholars to the existence and function of middle voice marking in Tibeto-Burman languages, the present paper discusses the form and function of middle marking in several of these languages. We will first discuss key facts about middle marking in general, then discuss the individual Tibeto-Burman examples.

The middle situation is semantically like the direct reflexive situation in that the referent performing the action and 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 direct 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 in (1) (from Kemmer 1994:203, citing Haiman 1983:796):

(1) a. On utomil sebj a
   he exhausted RM
   'He exhausted himself'

b. On utomil-sja
   he exhausted-MM
   'He grew weary'

In (1a) the use of the reflexive marker sebj a marks it as a reflexive event, emphasizing the conceptual distinction between the actor as initiator of the action and as endpoint of the action. Use of the middle marker, as in (1b), marks it as a spontaneous event, and involves no such clear distinction as in (1a).

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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1 Abbreviations used in the examples: AGT agitative marker, ASP aspect marker, DAT dative marker, INST instrumental marker, MM unique middle marker, PP past participle, RECIP reciprocal marker, RM unique reflexive marker, R/M reflexive-middle marker. Arabic numbers refer to person, with sg, dl, pl being singular, dual, and plural, respectively.
Even when the verb used to code a reflexive or middle situation is syntactically transitive, as the reflexive and middle situations are not prototypical transitive situations, the marking of the whole clause can sometimes reflect the lower degree of transitivity. For example, many languages do not allow agentive marking of actors in such clauses, though such marking might be obligatory in normal transitive clauses.

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). In other languages the marking of middle situations patterns with either prototypical reflexive situations, 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, the form of the reflexive prototype is used to mark middle situations, as in the French example in (2), 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 (3):²

(2) Elle se lave les mains.
3sg-fem R/M wash the-pl hands
‘She washes her hands.’

(3) 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 shên ‘body’ in example [4b] below), to a sentence which marks 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. [1a]); below are examples from English (ex. [4a]) and Chinese (ex. [4b]):

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

   b. tián gùnǐáng zhàn qǐ shěn lái fǔzhé ménkuàng
      Tian miss stand up body come holding doorframe

²In 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. (4a).
chuān xī yī huī 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. In some cases, this loss of uniquely reflexive meaning led to the development of a unique middle form being created through repartition or reinforcement of the reflexive form, as in Dutch, where the original reflexive marker zich came to be used for middle situations, and now must be reinforced by -zelf (i.e. zich-zelf) to express reflexive situations (Kemmer 1993:184ff.). That is, as the originally emphatic use of the reflexive to mark middle situations became obligatory, a new reinforced form for reflexives began to be used, and these forms then developed into a system with distinct reflexive and middle marking.3

Semantic situation types often marked by middle marking in languages that have it include grooming actions, changes in body posture, emotions, cognitive actions, perception, spontaneous events, indirect middles (e.g. Classical Greek ktā-sthai 'aquire [for oneself]', Latin apīscor 'get [for oneself]'), and naturally reciprocal events.4 Very often these situations types will be obligatorily marked with middle marking, so that verbs coding these situations will be listed in dictionaries with the middle marker. These verbs are often known as ‘deponents’ following the use of this term for Latin verbs of this type.

Commonly in languages with middle marking, we find that that marking can also be used for reciprocals and collectives. Below are examples of the reciprocal use of the reflexive/middle marker in French:

(5) a. Les deux hommes se regardent. b. Ils s'écrivent.
 the-pl two men R/M look-3pl 3pl R/M-write-3pl
 'The two men are looking at each other.' 'They write to each other.'

In looking for middle marking in Tibeto-Burman languages, we will be looking for a type of reflexive-like marking that is used for situations that in English and other non-middle marking languages would be marked with plain transitives or intransitives, but with middle marking in languages with unique middle marking. We will also be looking to see to what extent this marking also covers reciprocal and collective situations, or has a detransitivizing effect.

2.0 Dulong

The first example from a Tibeto-Burman language is that of Dulong/Rawang, a language spoken in southeast China and northeast Myanmar (Burma). The

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3 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.

4 See Kemmer 1993, Appendix A, for a full listing of the categories of semantic middles.
examples given here are from the Sanxiang (三鄉) Dulong dialect spoken in Gongshan county of Yunnan Province in China (see LaPolla 1995a). We will here only cite examples from this one dialect, though the phenomenon we will be talking about is general to dialects in both China and Myanmar.5

The Dulong middle voice is marked by the verbal suffix -cu31. Consider the following examples:6

(6) a. an53 sat55-cu31
   3sg hit-R/M
   'He is hitting himself.'

b. an53 mu55guo53-mi53 koŋ55-cu31
   3sg raincoat-INST cover-R/M
   'He is covering himself with the raincoat.'

c. an53 tu51-oŋ53-cu31
   3sg curse-R/M
   'He is cursing himself.'

d. an53 a31-lup55-cu31
   3sg happy-R/M
   'He is happy.'

e. an53 e55-wa53 miŋ55-cu31
   3sg this.way think-R/M
   'He is thinking this way.'

f. an53 et55-cu31
   3sg laugh-R/M
   'He is laughing.'

If we look at the examples in (6) in terms of the semantic situation types coded by this suffix, we can see that they are all self-directed: the referent involved is both the source of the action and the end point of the action. In (6a,b,c) we have clear examples of prototypical direct reflexive situations, while in (6d,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 grooming actions, changes in body posture, emotions, cognitive actions, perception, spontaneous events, indirect middles, and some collective events.

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. From Table 1, below, we can see that Dulong and French have deponent middle marked verbs in some of the same semantic categories.7

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5The data used for this section are from my own fieldwork in China and Myanmar, and first appeared in LaPolla 1995a. I would like to thank Yang Jiangling, of Kongmu Village, Gongshan County, Yunnan Province, China, and James Khong Sar Ong, of Putao, Kachin State, Myanmar, for their help with the data.

6The actual form that the suffix in question takes in the sentence can be affected by the person and number of the actor, though 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 this paper.

7Even 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 et55 'to laugh at (someone)', et55-cu31 'to laugh, smile'; tɔŋ55 'to throw', tɔŋ55-cu31 '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).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Dulong</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grooming</td>
<td>s’habiller</td>
<td>‘to wear’</td>
<td>gui55-cu31</td>
<td>‘to wear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-initiated action</td>
<td>se changer</td>
<td>‘to change’</td>
<td>po755-cu31</td>
<td>‘to change’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cognition middle</td>
<td>s’aviser (de)</td>
<td>‘to think up’</td>
<td>mit655-cu31</td>
<td>‘to think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emotion middle</td>
<td>se réjouir</td>
<td>‘to rejoice’</td>
<td>α63-lup55-cu31</td>
<td>‘to be happy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect middle</td>
<td>s’appeler</td>
<td>‘to be called’</td>
<td>ian55-cu31</td>
<td>‘to be called’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

In sentences where no undergoer aside from the actor appears, the appearance of -cu31 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 (6a-c). Following is another example:

(7) an53 ma55 jαn53-mi55 jαn53-cu31
    3sg    mirror-INST    look-R/M
    ‘S/he is looking at her/himself in the mirror.’

Were the verb in this sentence to not have the suffix -cu31, the sentence could only be used in a context where an undergoer distinct from the actor is understood from the context.

In sentences where an undergoer other than the actor appears in the sentence, and the verb is followed by -cu31, that undergoer is often a body part, as in the following examples:

(8) a. an53 niu55 tαt55-cu31
    3sg    fingernail    cut-R/M
    ‘S/he is cutting his/her fingernails.’

    b. an53 ma55 tεREAT55-cu31
    3sg    face    wash-R/M
    ‘S/he is washing his/her 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 xiǎo 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 or her own, and in (8b), that the face being washed is the actor’s 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 will be understood to be in contact with the body of the actor, as in (10a), whereas if the form in (10b) is used, the snow being brushed off is understood to not be on the actor’s body:

(10) a. \(\mbox{an}^{53} \mbox{tu}^{13} \mbox{wan}^{53} \mbox{ka}^{255} \mbox{cu}^{31}\)
\(3\mbox{sg} \mbox{snow} \mbox{shake-R/M}\)
‘S/he is shaking off the snow (from his/her body).’

b. \(\mbox{an}^{53} \mbox{tu}^{13} \mbox{wan}^{53} \mbox{ka}^{255} \mbox{ka}^{31}\)
\(3\mbox{sg} \mbox{snow} \mbox{shake-ASP}\)
‘S/he shook off the snow.’

Compare also the following examples:

(11) a. \(\mbox{an}^{53} \mbox{mu}^{55} \mbox{gua}^{53} \mbox{mi}^{55} \mbox{su}^{31} \mbox{ja}^{53} \mbox{kop}^{55} \mbox{cu}^{31}\)
\(3\mbox{sg} \mbox{raincoat} \mbox{INST} \mbox{luggage} \mbox{cover-R/M}\)
‘S/he is covering the luggage with the raincoat.’

b. \(\mbox{an}^{53} \mbox{mu}^{55} \mbox{gua}^{53} \mbox{mi}^{55} \mbox{su}^{31} \mbox{ja}^{53} \mbox{kop}^{55}\)
\(3\mbox{sg} \mbox{raincoat} \mbox{INST} \mbox{luggage} \mbox{cover}\)
‘S/he is covering the luggage with the raincoat.’

In (11a), with the verb marked for the reflexive/middle category, the luggage being covered must be hanging on the shoulder or some other body part of the actor. In (11b), the luggage would not be in contact with the actor.

The following examples show that the object in contact with the actor’s body does not even need to be possessed by the actor:

(12) a. \(\mbox{an}^{53} \mbox{a}^{31} \mbox{dzul}^{53} \mbox{a}^{31} \mbox{be}^{255} \mbox{cu}^{31}\)
\(3\mbox{sg} \mbox{mosquito} \mbox{hit-R/M}\)
‘S/he is hitting the mosquito (on her/his body).’

b. \(\mbox{an}^{53} \mbox{a}^{31} \mbox{dzul}^{53} \mbox{a}^{31} \mbox{be}^{255}\)
\(3\mbox{sg} \mbox{mosquito} \mbox{hit}\)
‘S/he is hitting the mosquito.’

The referent of ‘mosquito’ in (12a) must be a mosquito that landed on the actor’s body, while that in (12b) must be one on the wall or some other place not in contact with the actor. Possession, then, is not the relevant factor involved in the use or non-use of the reflexive/middle suffix.

There is another use of the suffix -\(\mbox{cu}^{31}\) which we have yet to discuss. This is shown in (13) and (14):

(13) a. \(\mbox{an}^{53} \mbox{cam}^{53} \mbox{pai}^{55} \mbox{cu}^{31}\)
\(3\mbox{sg} \mbox{knife} \mbox{hang.on.hip-R/M}\)
‘S/he has a knife on.’

b. \(\mbox{an}^{53} \mbox{cam}^{53} \mbox{pai}^{55}\)
\(3\mbox{sg} \mbox{knife} \mbox{hang.on.hip}\)
‘S/he is putting on a knife.’

(14) a. \(\mbox{an}^{53} \mbox{ju}^{255} \mbox{put}^{31} \mbox{ sai}^{55} \mbox{ti}^{55} \mbox{tap}^{55} \mbox{gua}^{55} \mbox{cu}^{31}\)
\(3\mbox{sg} \mbox{clothing red} \mbox{one piece} \mbox{put.on/wear-R/M}\)
‘S/he is wearing a piece of red clothing.’
b. \text{an}^{31} \text{jio}^{55} \text{pu}^{31} \text{soi}^{55} \text{ti}^{55} \text{tap}^{55} \text{guo}^{55} \\
3\text{sg clothing red one piece put.on/\text{wear}} \\
'S/he is putting on a piece of red clothing.'

In examples (13a) and (14a), the situation involved is presented as an existing state, while in (13b) and (14b) the situation is presented as an activity. What is involved in these examples is that use of -\text{cu}^{31} emphasizes the stative nature of the result of the action, while non-use of -\text{cu}^{31} expresses a simple transitive action.\footnote{As can be seen from the translations of the sentences in (13) and (14), English uses different verbs to express this difference in meaning.} Based on our understanding of the development of the use of -\text{cu}^{31} (see LaPolla 1995b), it seems that once -\text{cu}^{31} 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 (1a), and (4a,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 1995b).

In Dulong/Rawang the reflexive/middle form is not used for reciprocals (which are formed by adding the prefix \text{a}^{31}- to the verb), though it can be used for some collectives, such as \text{twi}^{31}-\text{xium}^{55}-\text{cu}^{31} ‘to get together (of a group of people)’.}

3.0 Padam-Mishing

Based on the lexical items and example sentences given for Padam-Mishing (Eastern Tani) in Lorrain 1907, it seems this language also has a verbal suffix, \text{shu}, that marks a category which includes middle semantics. This suffix is defined by Lorrain (1907:199) as meaning 'self or selves (also a reflexive particle following verbs) = myself; yourself, himself, ourselves, etc., etc.' The semantic range covered
by this marking includes reflexives, middles, collectives, emphatics, and possibly reciprocals. Following are some examples:

(15) a. ngo mo-bi-shu-to
    1sg make-ben-R/M-PF
    I built it for you myself.

    (emphatic)

(16) Ayé o dat-shu kang
    ‘The fruit has fallen and burst or split.’

    (spontaneous action middle)

(17) do dår-shu toka
    ‘Eat your fill (lit. = eat and fill yourself).’

    (benefactive middle)

(18) buu o-dôk-shu-to
    3sg fall-graze-R/M-PF
    He has fallen and grazed himself.

    (reflexive)

(19) a. no-k kentu shuk-shu-toka
    2sg-GEN ear.ornament take out-M/R-IMP
    ‘Take out your ear-ornament (from your own ear).’

    (grooming middle)

    (cf.: b. Nok kâk kâp dem shuk to-sho ‘Let me take off your finger ring.’)

(20) no dum-muit dem aipe shum-shu mang
    ‘You have not done up your hair nicely (i.e. not tied it in a nice knot).’

    (grooming middle)

(21) ur-shu-toka
    wash-MD-IMP
    Bathe yourself!

    (grooming middle)

(22) dotke do laje lak-shuk-shu-toka
    food eat HORT hand-wash-MD-IMP
    ‘Let’s eat (food), and wash your hands.’

    (grooming middle)

(23) go-k-shum-shu toka
    ‘Call (them) together.’

    (collective)

(24) Jo dum-shu bo i ka/to i ka
    ‘Help me lift (it).’

    (collective?)

(25) ngo pa-shu-to
    1sg cut-R/M-PF
    ‘I have cut myself (with a dao).’

    (reflexive)

Following are some other verbs listed with the suffix in the dictionary. In the first two items muin is added before the reflexive/middle suffix to form the reciprocal.
(26) la muin shu ‘to wrestle’ (reciprocal/collective?)
gé-muin-shu ‘to quarrel’ (reciprocal/collective?)
gé-pêm-shu ‘to be stuck together’ (reciprocal/collective?)
id ... it shu ‘to try (to do, etc) by one’s own efforts or w/o assistance’
ir-shu ‘to learn’ (cf. ir ‘to teach’)  
ân-pâ-shu ‘to feel’  
kîn-shu ‘to feel, to experience, to know, to recollect’
ge-mo-shu ‘to get one’s self ready’
kêp bom-shu ‘to carry on the hip or under the arm’
kâ rik-shu ‘to meet; to see (with the idea of meeting)’
ked-ge-shu ‘to lean back’

We find the reflexive/middle suffix, and the two-morpheme reciprocal form, in related dialects as well. Following are examples of verbs listed with the reflexive/middle suffix or reciprocal form:

(27) Padam (Tayeng 1983)
ngîl-yum su langka ‘Smile!’
lak-suk su lang-ka ‘Wash hand!’
gi’mé su-to ‘to be lost’
ngô-m lupo su lang-ka ‘Talk to me’
mîk-mû ‘pel-ri’k su lang-ka ‘turn face to face’
ken-kai su nam ‘to learn’
mî te’-su-nam ‘to be proud’
pesu-nam ‘to promise’
lumî’nsu-nam ‘to quarrel’
poyan-sutoka ‘to answer’

(28) Nishi (Dafla) (DasGupta 1969):
bing-ming-su ‘to speak or chat (among ourselves)’
lak la(k)-su-to ‘wash hand’
ngo ang-karr-su-ta-ri-ne ‘I shall stroll about the house’
ngo-kam no-kam do-pa-su-la ‘Let us sit together’
I too you too sit hortative

Das Gupta (1969:29) mentions that in Nishi, ‘Some roots add -s for diminutive’, though it seems this may simply be a reduced form of the reflexive/middle marker, as ‘smile’ is a verb that commonly takes middle marking, and ‘whisper’ could mean ‘talk to oneself’. (Cf. Padam ngîl-lang-ka ‘laugh!’, ngîl-yum su langka ‘smile!’.)

(29) nyîr-to ‘laugh’
(coi coi) nyîr-s-to ‘smile’  
bing-to ‘speak’
bing-s-to ‘whisper’

4.0 rGyalrong
Several dialects of rGyalrong (Nagano 1984:55, Jin et al. 1958:81) have a verbal prefix na- which functions as a marker of indirect reflexives and middles,
and as an emphasiser of intransitiveness. This marker does not mark reciprocals, as this is marked by reduplication of the verb. Jin et al. (1958:81-82) give examples of four types of usage of the prefix na-:

(i) indirect reflexive (‘expresses one’s doing an action to something owned by oneself’), e.g.: ka-rzok ‘to cut’ > ka-na-rzok ‘to cut something of one’s own’.
(ii) spontaneous action (‘expresses oneself undergoing an action’), e.g.: ka-hgri ‘to collapse’ > ka-na-hgri ‘to collapse (by itself/of itself)’
(iii) to do something of one’s own volition, e.g.: ka-kfut ‘to go out’ > ka-na-kfut ‘to go out of one’s own volition’; ka-rjap ‘to stand up’ > ka-na-rjap ‘to stand up of one’s own volition’.
(iv) an event that happens to oneself, but is caused by something else, e.g.: ka-3dar ‘to be afraid’ > ka-na-3dar ‘oneself to be afraid (of something)’.

From the list of lexical items in Lin 1993, we can see that it too is lexicalized in verbs with middle semantics, such as emotion middles, body movement middles, etc. E.g.: ka-na-rga ‘like’, ka-na-na ‘rest’, ka-na-jongse ‘stroll’.

In the Caodeng dialect of rGyalrong we seem to have a situation similar to that in Dutch. In this dialect the na- prefix seems to have lost much of its reflexive force, and so is supplemented or replaced by a direct reflexive marking prefix, gji-. The meaning of the na- prefix then is limited to expressing or emphasizing the responsibility of the actor for the action involved, often with a judgemental sense that the person brought the result on himself/herself. One interesting difference between sentences with only the na- prefix and not the gji- prefix is that clauses where the verb is marked with gji- involve an actor that takes agentive marking, while those where the verb is only marked with na- and not gji- cannot take agentive marking. The marked nature of these transitive clauses can be seen from the inverse direction marking that is required in reflexive clauses. Following are examples of the use of these suffixes in Caodeng rGyalrong. Exx. (30) and (31b) have na- alone; (32a,b) contrast the use of gji- with and without na-; (33) has an inanimate ‘actor’:

(30) ogji? ō-ŋge te-naŋge?-kjo
3sg 3sg-clothes PF-MM-put on-EVID
He put on his clothes by himself (without help).

(31) a. ogji? ma-ta-ŋdzan?-nā? seko? ō-ta ne-nter-kjo
3sg inadvertently tree 3sg-top PF-fall-EVID
He inadvertently fell down from the tree (objective statement).

b. ogji? ma-ta-ŋdzan?-nā? seko? ō-ta ne-ŋa-nter-kjo
3sg inadvertently tree 3sg-top PF-MM-fall-EVID
He carelessly fell down from the tree (through his own fault).

The data on the Caodeng dialect are from fieldwork by Jackson T.-S. Sun. I would like to thank him for making this data available to me, and for bringing the Padam-Mishing data to my attention.
In the Suomo dialect, there is a separate verb prefix for marking direct reflexives, *wuja* - *wija*, possibly cognate with the Caodeng form. From the examples given by Jin et al. (1958:86-87) it seems this prefix is not used together with the *na*-prefix. The question then is, does the Suomo dialect reflect a more advanced stage where the functions of *na* and *wuja* have become more clearly differentiated, or does the Caodeng dialect reflect the more advanced stage of a change where *na* is spreading to new uses? It is hoped that further fieldwork on Gyalrong dialects will be able to answer this question.

5.0 Mizo and other Chin languages

In Mizo (Lushai; Chhangte 1993, Lorrain & Savidge 1898) there is a verb prefix in- which marks reflexive, reciprocal, and middle semantics. As in Dulong, verbs taking the reflexive/middle marker are somewhat detransitivized, and so the ergative marker cannot be used in a clause where the verb has the in- prefix. Following are examples of reflexive and middle uses (from Chhangte 1993:93):

   3PRO and 3PRO 3s-R/M-shave
   ‘He is shaving himself.’

b. kéy-ma? le? kéy-ma? kâ-in-bia
   1PRO-EMP and 1PRO-EMP 1s-R/M-speak.to
   ‘I’m talking to myself.’

(35) a. kâ-laphiar â-in-thiât
   1Poss-knitting 3s-R/m-undo
   ‘My knitting got undone (by itself).’ (spontaneous action middle)

b. kôn kââ â-in-hôn
   door 3sg-R/M-open
   ‘The door is open (who knows who opened it).’

Reciprocals and reflexives/middles differ only in terms of the subject agreement marker, which is plural for reciprocals and singular for reflexives/middles.
Compare, for example, the reflexives in (34) and the reciprocals in (36), from Chhangte 1993:93.10

(36) a. bōn le? keel án-in-sii
cow and goat 3s.pl-R/M-butt
'A cow and goat are butting (each other).'

b. kéy-ma? le? náñ-ma? kán-in-bia
1PRO-EMP and 2PRO-EMP 1s.pl-R/M-speak.to
'We are talking to each other.'

It seems there is a class of deponents in Mizo, judging from the list of lexical items in Lorrain & Savidge’s dictionary, that include the prefix in-, such as the following, all of which involve middle semantics:

(37) in-bual ‘to bathe, to wallow’
in-chhīr ‘to regret, to repent’
in-lār ‘to appear, to show oneself (as a spirit)’
in-shon ‘to move’

In other Chin languages there is a prefix ki- or ng-’ (depending on the dialect), the semantics of which covers reflexive, reciprocal, stative, intransitivizer, indirect benefactive, reflexive and passive meanings, all meanings commonly associated with middle marking. Henderson (Henderson 1965:99) in fact compares this marking to the reflexive/middle marking in French. Again many of the examples given of lexicalized forms are those commonly marked with middle marking in languages with unique middle voice marking. For example:

(38) Tiddim Chin (Henderson 1965:99):
a-ki-cihi ‘it is called’
kīsa ‘to feel’

(39) Southern Chin (Jordan 1969:43-44):
ger’tēi ‘to learn’
ger’sī ‘to ask a question’

6.0 The Kiranti languages

In the Kiranti languages (Ebert 1994:52-54) there is a verbal suffix (Limbu sīj, Bantawa (na) ci, Thulong sīt, Chamling ncī-si, Khaling si) that clearly covers both reflexive and middle semantics, and is often lexicalized in deponents. Examples:

(40) Thulong
lii-sīt ‘pretend’

10The examples given by Lorrain & Savidge (1898:12) seem to have a simpler structure than those given by Chhangte. I am not sure if this is a dialect difference or simply a difference in explicitness of transcription, e.g.

(i) ko in-vēl
1sg R/M-hit
'I hit myself.'
The parallels here with Dulong/Rawang (and Padam, Dhimal, and the Kiranti languages) are quite striking. What the actual connection among these systems is (if there is any) will be the subject of future research.
the author does not give many examples, he mentions the similarity between the uses of this form and the Sanskrit middle voice.

The other language is Dhimal. In Dhimal there is what King (1994) calls a 'reciprocal/reflexive' verb suffix that, much as in the Tani languages, has the form -su. King states confidently that this morpheme is cognate with the Limbu -sing and Bahing -si reflexive/middle markers, though does not give examples of its use.

9.0 Final comments

I hope that the discussion of middle voice marking in these Tibeto-Burman languages will stimulate interest in this phenomenon and lead to greater discussion of the middle voice and other verbal categories, thereby improving our understanding of the morphosyntax of the Tibeto-Burman languages.

References

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