
Transitivity in the Puxi Variety of Qiang

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1.0. Introduction

- The Puxi variety of Qiang is spoken in Puxi Township, Li County, Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China.
- It has about 2,000 speakers.
- The Puxi variety of Qiang belongs to the Daqishan subdialect of the Southern dialect of Qiang.
- It is mutually intelligible with other varieties within the Daqishan subdialect, but mutually unintelligible with other subdialects in the Southern dialect or the Northern dialect.
- Qiang belongs to Qiangic subgroup, Tibeto-Burman family, Sino-Tibetan stock.
- The Puxi variety of Qiang is verb final, with most common order with two arguments being AOV.
- The Puxi variety of Qiang is agglutinative (prefixing and suffixing), and has both head marking (direction marking, person marking, tense marking, aspect marking, negative marking, and causative marking) and dependent marking (case marking, definite marking, gender marking, and number marking).
- Nouns have diminutive marking, definite marking, number marking, and gender marking (feminine and masculine, but only in a few of nouns).
- Verbs have direction marking, person marking, tense marking, aspect marking, negative marking, and causative marking.
- Puxi Qiang has a highly developed pronoun system with singular, dual, and plural in first, second, and third person.
 - Third person, in fact, stems from a demonstrative pronoun.
 - There is no distinction between animate and inanimate in third person.
 - There is an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person non-singular.
- Nouns function as the head of NPs and NPs function as the core arguments of the verbs. An NP can occur as the complement of a copula clause.
 - Nouns may take nouns, pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numeral-classifier phrases and relative clauses as their modifiers.
 - They may modify other nouns directly.
 - Genitive and demonstratives precede the Noun.
 - Adjectives and numeral-classifier phrases follow the head of the NP.
 - Relative clauses either precede or follow the nouns to which they refer.
- Verbs function as the head of VPs. In general, they are clearly transitive or intransitive. There are also some ambitransitive (S=A or S=O) and ditransitive. Verbs can modify nouns in NPs, though they must take a nominalizing suffix to form a pre-head relative clause. Reduplication of transitive verbs may result in an intransitive reciprocal predicate.
- When auxiliaries modify the main verbs, they appear after the main verb.
- Adjectives (a class of intransitive state verbs) may be distinguished from the other

intransitive and transitive verbs by the semantics of words for (DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, COLOR, AGE, SHAPE, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, VALUE, DIFFICULTY, QUALIFICATION, AND QUANTIFICATION) and their morphosyntactic behavior (see also LaPolla & Huang 2002, Huang 1994).

- Adjectives can be predicates and take the same person marking (agreement) form, orientation / direction marking, causative marking, evidential marking, and some aspects and negation marking as non-stative verbs, but unlike non-stative verbs, they may be nominalized using the definite marking to function as an argument. Adjectives can be reduplicated to express intensification.
- Adverbs appear before the head of a VP to modify the VPs.
- Standard in a comparative construction is placed before the item being compared.
- Subordinating clause conjunction markers always occur at the end of subordinating clause to mark the subordinating clauses.

2.0. Verb Classes

Transitivity is a category used in the grammatical analysis which refers to the verb's relationship to dependent elements of structure (Crystal 1997). The main distinction is between transitive, where the verb has two directly dependent arguments, and intransitive, where the verb has only one directly dependent argument. Many verbs can be used as both transitive and intransitive cross-linguistically. A third type is ditransitive verbs, which take three directly dependent arguments.

The verb in Qiang can be defined as an element that can take the directional prefixes, the negative prefix, and /or the causative suffix (LaPolla 1996, to appear). I divide the verbs into seven types: intransitive vs. transitive verbs (transitivity), intransitive state predicate verbs (Adjectives), existential/ locative verbs, the copulas, and auxiliary verbs. There are three copulas which are used in different contexts, and auxiliary verbs occur in sentence final position to express mood and modality.

In the Puxi variety both intransitive and transitive verbs have at least one argument. All adjectives can occur as predicates, I call them state predicate verbs. There are three different types of morphology for deriving transitives from intransitives and causative from transitives.

On the basis of the syntactic behavior, the verbs in the Puxi variety can be classified into intransitive verbs and transitive verbs in terms of the number of verbal arguments. Some verbs have the same form for both intransitive and transitive usage, and only differ with respect to whether an undergoer occurs in the sentence. Transitive verbs can be formed from intransitive verbs by using the causative construction. e.g. /tɕ^he/ 'drink' is either an intransitive or a transitive, its causative is /sɛ-tɕ^he-zə/ 'cause to drink', /p^hu/ 'run' is an intransitive, and /sɛ-p^hu-zə/ 'cause to run' is its causative, /tsi/ 'read' is a transitive, and /sɛ-tsi-zə/ 'cause to read' is its causative form, etc. In this paper I use S as the single argument of an intransitive, A for the actor of a transitive, and P for the undergoer of a transitive verb.

2.1. Intransitives

Intransitive verbs take one core arguments. In English, in some circumstances, it may be zero argument semantically, though the structure requires one argument, and so a dummy subject, 'it', will appear in the clause, as in (1) and (2):

- (1) It is raining.

(2) It is sunny.

In the Puxi variety of Qiang, however, there is always one argument semantically and syntactically, as in (3)-(6):

(3) *mesə* *χa-lue-i*.
sun [S] DIR-come-CSM
'The sun rises.'

(4) *t^hala* *bzə* *zɔ̌zə*.
3sg eye [S] ache
'He has a pain in his eyes.' (Lit. 'His eyes are aching.'

(5) *kebzə* *ʒe-za-i*.
kid [S] DIR-cry-CSM
'The kid is crying.'

(6) *no* *χa-p^hu-ts^hə-so*.
2sg:NOM [S] DIR-escape-again-2sg:PERF
'You escaped again.'

In (3) *mesə* 'sun' functions as the subject of the intransitive directional verb *χa-lue-i* 'come out'. In (4) the NP *t^hala bzə* 'her eye' is used as the subject of the intransitive state verb *zɔ̌zə* 'ache'. In (5) *kebzə* 'kid' appears in the subject position of the intransitive verb *ʒe-za-i* 'to be crying', and in (6) the nominative case *no* 'you' of the second person singular functions as the subject of intransitive active verb *χa-p^hu-ts^hə-so* 'escaped'.

Intransitive state predicate verbs form a separate class of 'adjectives' distinct from intransitive and transitive verbs, though they are not as noun-like as English adjectives. They can be predicates without the use of copulas:

(7) *p^ho* *bzi*.
tree [S] big
'(The) tree is big.'

(8) *p^ho* *χa-bzi-qe-i*.
tree [S] DIR-big-PERF-CSM
'The trees become big.'

(9) *p^hu* *te-betʂ^hi-(qe)-i*.
clothes [S] DIR-thin-(PERF)-CSM
'These clothes become tight.'

(10) *tsue* *te-betʂ^hi-i*.
water [S] DIR-thing-CSM
'A (The) river becomes small.'

In (7) and (8) both of *p^ho* 'tree' are the single arguments (S) of state intransitive verb *bzi*

'big', in (9) *p^hu* 'clothes' and in (10) *tsue* 'water' are the arguments (S) of state intransitive verb *bets^hi* 'thin'.

Adjectives are like verbs in that they can take the same person marking forms as intransitive verbs when they function as predicates, as in (11), (12), (13), and (14):

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|----------------|--|----|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (11)a. | <i>ŋa</i> | <i>bzi-ə!</i> | | b. | <i>ŋa</i> | <i>χa-bzi-si.</i> |
| | 1sg | big-1sg:IMPERF | | | 1sg | DIR-big-1sg:PERF |
| | 'I am old.' | | | | 'I grew up.' | |
| (12)a. | <i>no</i> | <i>bzi-n.</i> | | b. | <i>no</i> | <i>χa-bzi-so.</i> |
| | 2sg | big-2sg:IMPERF | | | 2sg | DIR-big-2sg:PERF |
| | 'You are old.' | | | | 'You grew up.' | |
| (13)a. | <i>kuela</i> | <i>bzi-n.</i> | | b. | <i>kuela</i> | <i>χa-bzi-son.</i> |
| | 2pl | big-2pl:IMPERF | | | 2pl | DIR-big-2pl:PERF |
| | 'You are old.' | | | | 'You grew up.' | |
| (14)a. | <i>t^hala</i> | <i>bzi.</i> | | b. | <i>t^hala</i> | <i>χa-bzi-i.</i> |
| | 3sg | big:Ø | | | 3sg | DIR-big-PERF:Ø |
| | 'He is old.' | | | | 'He grew up.' | |

From these examples, we can see that there is distinct between in (11a), (12a), (13a), (14a) and (11b), (12b), (13b), (14b). The examples in (11a), (12a), (13a), and (14a) are all marked by the imperfective-person marker, while all examples in (11b), (12b), (13b), and (14b) are all marked by perfective-person marker.

The reduplicated adjectives (state verbs) which take the definite marker /*lei*/ can occur in the undergoer position (can be used as an argument), as in (15)-(17):

- (15) *ŋa dzj-lala-lei ma-ua, no miamia-lei kue-ma.*
 1sg long-REDUP-DEF want-FUT:1sg 2sg short-REDUP-DEF IMP-want
 'I'll take the long one, and you take the short one.'
- (16) *t^hala xɔɔyɔɔy-lei tɕ^ha-bie, no dzədɔɔ-lei kue-bie.*
 3sg light-REDUP-DEF PUT-carry 2sg weigh-REDUP-DEF IMP-carry
 'He carries the light one on the back, and you carry the weigh one.'
- (17)a. *no la-yan-lele-lei ma-ua-n me,*
 2sg best-round-REDUP-DEF demand-FUT-2sg QUES
(la)-piepie-lei ma-ua-n?
 (SUPER)-flat-REDUP-DEF demand-FUT-2sg
 'Do you demand the roundest one or the flattest one?'
- b. *ŋa la-yan-lele-lei ma-ua.*
 1sg (SUPER)-round-REDUP-DEF demand
 'I need the roundest one.'

As above examples shown, *dzi-lala-lei* ‘the long one’ and *miamia-lei* ‘the short one’ in (15), *ɣɔzyɣzy-lei* ‘the light one’ and *dzədzə-lei* ‘the weigh one’ in (16), and *la-yan-lele-lei* ‘the round one’ and *(la)-piepie-lei* ‘the flattest one’ are all functioned as P arguments of each of their predicates. In these examples, in fact, all of their core arguments which are co-ordinate with the definite NPs are omitted. We can add their core arguments, and do not change the meanings, as in (18)-(20)

- (18) *ŋa p^hu dzi-lala-lei ma-ua,*
 1sg clothing long-REDUP-DEF want-FUT:1sg
no (p^hu) miamia-lei kue-ma.
 2sg clothing short-REDUP-DEF IMP-want
 'I'll take the long clothing, and you take the short one.'

- (19) *t^hala (paⁿi) ɣɔzyɣzy-lei tɕ^ha-bie,*
 3sg thing light-REDUP-DEF HORT-carry
no (paⁿi) dzədzə-lei kue-bie.
 2sg thing weigh-REDUP-DEF IMP-carry
 'He carries the light thing on the back, and you carry the weigh one.'

- (20)a. *no (p^hits^hu) (la)-yan-lei-lei ma-ua-n me,*
 2sg ball SUPER-round-REDUP-DEF demand-FUT-2sg QUES
(p^hits^hu) (la)-piepie-lei ma-ua-n?
 ball (SUPER)-flat-REDUP-DEF demand-FUT-2sg
 'Do you demand the roundest ball or the flattest one?'
- b. *ŋa (p^hits^hu) la-yan-lele-lei ma-ua.*
 1sg ball (SUPER)-round-REDUP-DEF demand
 'I need the roundest one.'

2.2. Transitives

Transitive verbs take two core arguments. The prototypical transitive verb semantically require an actor who carries out an action which in turn causes something to happen to an undergoer, and syntactically requires the explicit presence of at least two noun arguments without implying anything about the semantic roles for subject or object. They do not need to be agent or patient.

- (21) *ŋa/n_a t^hala se'.*
 1sg [A] he [P] beat:1sg
 'I beat him.'
- (22) *t^hala zedə tsi.*
 3sg [A] book [P] look at:Ø

'S/He reads a book.'

In (21) the first person singular *ŋa/ŋa* 'I' functions as A of transitive verb *ʒe'* 'beat', and the third person singular *t^hala* 'he' functions as P of the transitive verb *ʒe'* 'beat'. In (22) the third person singular *t^hala* 'he' functions as A of transitive verb *tsi* 'look at', and *zedə* 'book' functions as P of the transitive verb *tsi*.

In some specific contexts, the one of arguments of transitive verbs may be unstated, as in (23), (24) and (25):

(23)a. *ŋa* *ts^hu* *dze-ɑ'*
1sg [A] meal [P] eat-1sg
'I am eating a meal.'

b. *ŋa* (*ts^hu*) *dze-ɑ'*
1sg [A] meal [P/∅] eat-1sg
'I am eating.'

(24) *ts^he* *te-po-si*.
salt [P] DIR-buy-1sg:PERF
'Salt has been bought.'

(25) *ts^hɑ* *ə'-p^ho-t^hɑ-si*.
tea [P] DIR-soak-AUX-1sg:PERF

'Tea has been made.' [These translations make them seem passive, but they aren't. The meaning, and translation, is still 'I bought salt' and 'I made tea']

In (23a) the first person singular *ŋa* 'I' is used as A of the transitive verb *dze* 'eat', and *ts^hu* 'meal' functions as P of the transitive verb *dze*, but in (23b) the P *ts^hu* 'meal' of the transitive verb may be omitted. In (24) and (25) the actor, the first person singular *ŋa* 'I' is omitted. The examples in (24) and (25) can be interpreted as two different syntactic structures, as in (26) and (27):

(26)a. (*ŋa*) *ts^he* *te-po-si*.
1sg [A] salt [P] DIR-buy-1sg:PERF
'I bought salt.'

b. *ts^he* (*ŋa*) *te-po-si*.
salt [TOPIC] 1sg DIR-buy-1sg:PERF
'Salt, I have bought.'

(27)a. (*ŋa*) *ts^hɑ* *ə'-p^ho-t^hɑ-si*.
1sg [A] tea [P] DIR-soak-AUX-1sg:PERF
'I have been made tea.'

b. *ts^hɑ* (*ŋa*) *ə'-p^ho-t^hɑ-si*.
tea [TOPIC] 1sg DIR-soak-AUX-1sg:PERF
'Tea, I have been made.'

In (26a) and (27a) both of them are actor-undergoer structures which omitted the actor the first person singular *ŋa* 'I'. In (26b) and (27b), both of them are also deleted the actor the

first person singular *ŋa* 'I', however, they promote the undergoer, such as *ts^he* 'salt' in (26b) and *ts^hɑ* 'tea' in (27b) to move to the sentential initial positions to form the topic-comment constructions, but they did not change the number of arguments.

The interesting thing is that existential verbs have two arguments, one is core argument which is unmarked, and the other is oblique argument which is always marked by locative marker. Oblique arguments usually occur in sentence-initial positions, and followed by core arguments as in Mandarin Chinese (Huang 2002). There are four existential / locative verbs, the use of which depends on the semantics of the referent being located or shown to exist, or on the nature of its location: *zə* for animate referents, *la* for a referent located in a container, *wə* for immovable referents or referents inalienably connected to a larger entity, *ŋa* for inanimate referents or possession, and *tsua* for possession.

(28) *tsue-ko* *ʋe* *la*. (inanimate-inside vessel)
 river-LOC fish exist
 'There are fish in the river.'

(29) *χsu-ki* *p^ho* *wa*. (inanimate-immovable)
 mountain-LOC tree exist
 'There are trees on the mountain.'

(30) *zuepe-ta* *χi* *a-dzi* *ŋa*. (inanimate/possession)
 earth-LOC needle one-CL exist
 'There is a needle on the earth.'

(31) *tse* *qe'χa* *tsəstu* *χsi-la* *zə-i*. (animate)
 this before brother three-CL exist-INFER
 'Long long ago, there were three brothers.'

(32) *qeχa'* *me* *a-qa* *zə-i-u*. (animate)
 before people one-CL (S) exist-PERF:3sg-HERS
 'Long long ago, there was one family.'

The existential verbs may be used to express possessive meanings. When they used as possessive construction, they take two core arguments, one is possessor, and the other is possessed. They can also take person marking which mark the possessor's person.

(33) *ŋa* *tutsu* *a-la* *zə-ə'*. (possessive)-two core arguments
 1sg [A] brother [P] one-CL have-1sg
 'I have a brother.'

(34) *no* *kebzi* *zə-n* *me?* (possessive)-two core arguments
 2sg [A] kids [P] have-2sg QUES
 'Do you have kids?'

(35) *qa-ə'* *ɕepəi* *zɔɔe* *la*. (Possessive)-two core arguments
 1sg-GEN body [A] disease [P] have
 'I am sick.' (Lit. My body has disease.)

- (36) *ŋa jatsu ŋa-əʔ* (Possessive)-two core arguments
 1sg [A] ring [P] have-1sg
 'I have a ring.'
- (37) *ŋa sudzi-zo jɪtʂan ŋa-əʔ* (Possessive)-two core arguments
 1sg [A] teacher-DAT opinion [P] have-1sg
 'I have complaints about my teacher.'
- (38) *tʰala ɕtʂindzi tʂua/ŋa* (Possessive)-two core arguments
 3sg [A] money [P] have
 'She/He has money.'

2.3. Ditransitives

In Mandarin the ditransitive verb takes three arguments, and all of arguments are unmarked, as in (39), and in English, all of three argument can be either unmarked, as in (40a) or marked, as in (40b) in terms of word order.

- (39) *wo gei-le ta yi-ben shu*.
 1sg give-PERF he one-CL book
 'I gave him a book.'

- (40)a. I bought him a book.
 b. I bought a book for him.'

Unlike Mandarin and English, in the Puxi variety of Qiang the indirect arguments of the ditransitive verbs are always marked by the dative marker or locative marker, as in (41)-(43).

- (41)a. *ŋa tʰala-zo pʰu a-la da-zda-si*.
 1sg he-DAT clothing one-CL DIR-give-1sg:PERF
 'I gave him a piece of clothing / I gave a piece of clothing to him.'
- b. *tʰala ŋa-i pʰu a-la da-zda-si*.
 3sg 1sg-AGT clothes one-CL DIR-give-1sg:PERF
 'He was given a piece of clothing by me.'
- c. *pʰu a-la ŋa-i tʰala-zo da-zda-si*.
 clothes one-CL 1sg-AGT 3sg-DAT DIR-give-1sg:PERF
 'A piece of clothing was given to him by me.'
- (42)a. *tʰala qo-zo tʂotsu al ze-zio-i*.
 3sg 1sg-ACC knife once DIR-proke-3sg:PERF
 'He stabbed me with the knife.'
- b. *ŋa tʰala-i tʂotsu al ze-zio-i*.
 1sg:NOM 3sg-AGT knife once DIR-proke-3sg:PERF
 'I was stabbed by him with the knife.'

c. *tʰoʈsu tʰala-i qo-zo al ze-zio-i.*
 knife 3sg-AGT 1sg:ACC-DAT once DIR-Proke-3sg:PERF
 'He stabbed me with the knife.'

(43)a. *tʰala qo-zo kue-zo paŋi ze-χʰtsuə-zə-i.*
 3sg 1sg:ACC-DAT 2sg:ACC-DAT things DIR-send-CAUS-3sg:PERF
 'She lets me give you the thing / She lets me give the thing to you.'

b. *ŋa tʰala-i paŋi kue-zo ze-χʰtsuə-zə-i.*
 1sg:NOM3sg-AGT thing 2sg:ACC-DAT DIR-send-CAUS-3sg:PERF
 'I was let to give you the thing by him.'

c. *no tʰala-i paŋi qo-zo ze-χʰtsuə-zə-i.*
 2sg:NOM3sg-AGT thing 1sg:ACC-DAT DIR-send-CAUS-3sg:PERF
 'You were let to give the thing to me by him.'

d. *paŋi tʰala-i qo-zo kue-zo ze-χʰtsuə-zə-i.*
 thing 3sg-AGT 1sg:ACC-DAT 2sg:ACC-DAT DIR-send-CAUS-3sg:PERF
 'The thing was let me to give you by him.'

In (41a) it is a basic word order of ditransitive verb in the Puxi variety of Qiang which is an unmarked construction. The first person singular *ŋa* 'I' occur in the initial position which functions as actor, and the third person singular *tʰala* 'he' is marked by the use of dative marker which is recipient, while the NP phrase *pʰu a-la* 'one piece of clothes' used as direct argument which is goal semantically. In (41b) and (41c) there are both marked by changing word order and using agentive marker to form topicalization, but there is a little bit of difference between them. In (41b) the indirect argument *tʰala* 'he' is promoted to the initial position to be used as the topic, and the actor is marked by agentive marker *-i*, in (41c), however, the direct argument *pʰu a-la* 'one piece of clothes' is moved to the sentential initial position to function as topic, and the actor is also marked by agentive marker. The sentence in (42a) is unmarked, for instance, the third person singular *tʰala* 'he' functions as its actor, the accusative form of the first person singular *qo* 'me' is the experiencer which is marked by using dative marker, and the instrumental *tʰoʈsu* 'knife' is unmarked. In (42b) the experiencer *qo* which is accusative case of the first person singular is promoted to the sentential initial position to be used as the topic, which becomes nominative case *ŋa* 'I' from accusative case *qo* 'me', and in (42c) the instrumental *tʰoʈsu* 'knife' is moved to the initial position to function as the topic, and the other elements did not change their original position. Examples in (43) are much more complicated than in (41) and (42), which of them are matrix construction which form hortative structures. Each of examples in (43) all has four arguments, among which of them there are two direct arguments and two indirect arguments. In (43a) the third person singular *tʰala* functions as actor, both accusative cases *qo* 'I' and *kue* 'you' are indirect arguments which are marked by dative marker *-zo*, and *paŋi* 'thing' is used as undergoer. In (43b) the indirect argument *qo* is promoted to the initial position to be used as the topic, which changes from accusative case to nominative case *ŋa*, and the actor *tʰala* is marked by the agentive marker *-i*. In (43c) the indirect argument *kue* 'you' is moved to

vuɑ	'come loose'	ʂe-vuɑ	'cause to come loose'
p ^h a	'fall over'	ʂe-p ^h a	'cause to fall over'
χpe	'explode'	ʂe-χpe	'cause to explode'

The sentence in (46a) is an unmarked intransitive, while the sentence in (46b) is a causativized intransitive, and the causer is marked by using the agentive marker-*i*.

- (46)a. *zapi ʂe-p^hzj-pe-i*.
 leather DIR-wear-out-become-CSM
 'The leather is worn-out.'
- b. *ŋa-i zapi ʂe-p^hzj-si*.
 1sg-AGT leather DIR-wear-out-1sg:CSM
 'I made the leather worn-out.'

The interesting thing is that one type of non-productive causative marking is an /*s-/ prefix similar to that found in many other Sino-Tibetan languages, for example, *ne* 'sleep' vs. *ʂni* 'cause to sleep', as in (47).

- (47)a. *t^hala ne-i*.
 3sg sleep-CSM
 'He sleeps.'
- b. *q^hua-dzua tutsu a-gu mu kata ə^l-ʂni-i*.
 ghost-DEF brother one-CL himself beside DIR-cause to sleep-CSM
 'The ghost had one younger brother sleep beside himself.'

In general, the suffix *-zə* is added after intransitive, transitive, and state predicate verbs to form causatives.

- (48) *p^hu te-zj-i*. (Intransitive—one argument)
 clothing DIR-dry-CSM
 'The clothing is dry.'
- (49) *t^hala-i p^hu te-zj-i*. (Causativized intransitive)
 3sg-AGT clothing DIR-dry-CAUS-CSM
 'He brought the clothing dry.'
- (50) *ŋa ts^holo te-po-si*. (Transitive—two argument)
 1sg salt DIR-buy-PERF:1sg
 'I bought salt.'
- (51) *ts^holo ŋa-i te-po-(zə)-si*. (causativized transitive)
 salt 1sg-AGT DIR-buy-(CAUS)-PERF:1sg
 'I was to cause to buy salt.'
- (52) *ŋa t^hala-zo p^hu a-la da-zda-ua*. (Ditransitive)
 1sg 3sg-REC clothing one-CL DIR-send-FUT:1sg
 'I will send him a piece of clothing.'

- (53) *t^hala qo-zo kue-zo p^hu a-la da-zda-zə-i.*
 3sg 1sg-REC 2sg-REC clothing one-CL DIR-send-CAUS-PERF
 'He let me send you a piece of clothing.' (Causativized ditransitive)

As examples above shown, we can see that the sentence of (48) is intransitive clause, and the sentence of (49) is causativized intransitive clause. The sentence of (50) is transitive clause, and the sentence of (51) is causativized transitive. The sentence of (52) is ditransitive clause, and the sentence of (53) is causativized ditransitive clause. In causative constructions, whether the clause uses causative marker *-zə* or not, it depends on the marked or unmarked actor. When the actor is marked by the agentive maker, the causative marker occurs optionally (i.e. may be deleted), as in (49) and (51), while the actor is unmarked, the causative marker appear obligatorily (i.e. cannot be omitted), as in (53).

3.2. Valency decreasing devices

The intransitive verb can be formed by reduplicating the verb to make a reciprocal with one less argument, for example:

<i>ma</i>	'love'	>	<i>mama</i>	'love each other'
<i>ŋe</i>	'lick'	>	<i>ŋeŋe</i>	'lick each other'
<i>tʂ^hə</i>	'change'	>	<i>tʂ^hətʂ^hə</i>	'exchange'
<i>di</i>	'beat'	>	<i>didi</i>	'beat each other'
<i>zde</i>	'connect'	>	<i>zdezde</i>	'mutually connect'

The verbs, such as *ma* 'love' and *χti* 'bite' of (54) and (56) are transitives which take two arguments, but the verbs of (55) and (57) are intransitives which take only one arguments by using the reduplication of the transitive verb to reduce the valency.

- (54) *ŋa t^hala ma.* (transitive)
 1sg:NOM 3sg love
 'I love her.'
- (55) *qala mama-pa.* (reciprocal-intransitive)
 1pl love:each other-do
 'We love each other.'
- (56) *k^hue bzi k^hue tsy χtsi.* (transitive)
 dog big dog small bite
 'The big dog bites the small one.'
- (57) *k^hue ne-zi χtiχtsi-pa.* (reciprocal-intransitive)

dog two-CL bite:each other-do

'The two dogs bite each other.'

This is how reciprocal are marked, and it changes transitive into intransitive. There are also some verbs with an inherently reciprocal meaning. There is no marking of reflexives on the verb as in Rawang (a Tibeto-Burman language) and in French (LaPolla, 2002), and there are no verbs with an inherently reflexive sense. The reflexive pronouns are used to express reflexive meaning and function as an argument in the clause, and so reflexive clauses have the same valency as non-reflexive form. There is no passive construction as in English.

4.0. Conclusion

Verbs in the Puxi variety of Qiang are generally clearly transitive or intransitive. There are also some ambitransitive verbs (S=A, or S=O). There are only two productive devices for changing valency of verb: One is to increase the valency by use of the causative suffix. The other is to decrease the valency of verb by reduplication of the transitive verb. There is no passive construction to reduce the valency of the verb. There is also no applicative construction which has the function of adding an undergoer argument.

Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative	HERS	Hersay
AGT	Agentive	IMP	Imperative
AUX	Auxiliary	IMPERF	Imperfective
CAUS	Causative	INFER	Inferential
CL	Classifier	LOC	Locative
CSM	Change of States	NEG	Negative
DAT	Dative	NOM	Nominative
DEF	Definite	PERF	Perfective
DIR	Directional	QUES	Question
FUT	Future	REC	Recipient
GEN	Genitive	REDUP	Reduplication
HORT	Hortative	SUPER	Superlative

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