

Grammaticalization of the take-verb *si*²¹ in Nuosu in Sichuan, China

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The present study investigates the development of the Nuosu full verb *si*²¹ ‘take, hold’ to the abstract meaning of ‘bringing about a resultative state’.

1. The Nuosu data

1.1. The verb meanings of *si*²¹ are ‘take, hold, seize’ and ‘use (as an instrument)’

- 1). *ts*^h*ɿ*³³ *ɕi*⁵⁵ *n*_i³³ *a*²¹=*si*²¹
3SG what also not=take
‘He did not take anything.’

- 2). *nu*³³ *dzu*³³*mo*²¹ *si*²¹ *pɿ*³³ *la*³³
SG money take return come
‘You take the money back.’

- 3). *ŋa*³³ *lo*⁵⁵ *si*²¹ *dzi*²¹ *ts*^h*ɿ*³³ *ts*^h*ɔ*²¹*lɔ*³³ *ti*⁵⁵
1SG hand use touch him a.little attach
‘I touched him with (my) hand.’

- 4). *dza*³³ *si*³⁴₁ *ŋa*⁵⁵ *ta*³³ *mu*³⁴ *mo*³³
rice use/hold trick DUR field plow
‘(Someone) tricked (the dog) with the rice to plow the field.’ or ‘(Someone) held the rice to trick the dog to plow the field.’

1.2. Paths of grammaticalization

i). TAKE > Instrument

- 5). *bɿ*³³*ma*³³ *i*²¹*n*_i²¹ *zo*³³ *gu*³⁴-*su*³³ *si*²¹ *do*²¹*ma*³³ *n*_i²¹ *ko*³³ *dje*³³
character today learn CLF:PL-DET use speech two CLF make
‘Make two sentences with the characters learnt today.’

ii). TAKE > Resultative, i.e. from holding a concrete object (manipulating)→holding any object (resultative)

The ‘take, seize, hold’ meaning of *si*²¹ has been bleached. Compare the following two sentences:

¹ *si*³⁴ is the sandhi form of *si*²¹.

- 6). *la²¹bu³³* *ts^hɿ³³* ***si²¹*** *si⁵⁵* *dzɯ³³=o³⁴*
 bull 3SG TAKE kill eat=PFV
 i). 'He/she held the bull, killed it, and ate it.'
 ii). '(On his/her behalf, someone else) killed the bull and ate it.'

- 7). *la²¹bu³³* *ts^hɿ³³* ***si²¹=si³⁴*** *si⁵⁵* *dzɯ³³=o³⁴*
 bull 3SG TAKE=PURP kill eat=PFV
 'He/she held the bull, killed it, and ate it.'

In Nuosu, the purposive clitic *si³⁴* is attached to the main verb in a clause to introduce the purpose of the action, such as:

- 8). *ts^hɿ³³* *vɿ³³=si³⁴* *bo³³=o³⁴*.
 3SG buy=PURP go=PFV
 'He/she bought (it) and left.'

If the purposive clitic is used in sentence (7), the 'take' meaning of *si²¹* becomes prominent. The agent must take the bull first by himself or herself and then deal with it. However, without the purposive clitic, the 'take' meaning of *si²¹* is not necessary and can be completely abstract. In sentence (6), the bull can be killed just on his or her behalf. The agent does not need to take the bull in person. Another minimal pair is as follows:

- 9). *mu³³ka⁵⁵* *mu³³nɔ⁵⁵* ***si²¹*** *ndu²¹=o³⁴*
 name name TAKE beat=PFV
 'Munyot beat Mugat (may not hold the patient).'
- 10). *mu³³ka⁵⁵* *mu³³nɔ⁵⁵* ***si²¹=si³⁴*** *ndu²¹=o³⁴*
 name name TAKE=PURP beat=PFV
 'Munyot took or held Mugat and beat him.'

In terms of its grammaticalization, a physical object can be affected:

- 11). "*ni⁵⁵* *k^hɯ³³* *ts^hɿ³⁴* *ma³³* ***si²¹*** *i³⁴* *hu³³* *la³⁴* *sɿ³³* *di³⁴*
 2SG dog this CLF TAKE me lend come again QUOT
 "You lend this dog to me again".'

si²¹ 'take, hold' contributes the meaning of handling but no concrete object has to be physically taken or held.

- 12). *di³³xo³⁴* *ts^hɿ³³* ***si²¹*** *bu⁵⁵vɛ³³* *tsɿ³³* *ta³³* *sa⁵⁵*
 flat.area 3SG TAKE flower plant DUR all
 'He planted the entire area with flowers.'

- 13). *ts^hɿ²¹* *mɿ³³* *ts^hɿ³³* ***si²¹*** *sɿ³³bo³³* *ko³³* *ti⁵⁵* *ta³³*
 his name 3SG TAKE tree LOC attach DUR

‘He carved his name on the tree.’

- 14). $so^{55}h^{33}$ ηa^{33} **si^{21}** zo^{33} $dzi^{33}=o^{34}$
math 1SG TAKE learn understand=PFV
‘I have understood the math.’

Moreover, it can be as abstract as a causative.

- 15). $a^{34}mo^{33}$ $ts^{h\gamma^{33}}$ **si^{21}** $dzi^{34}to^{33}$ $s\gamma^{33}$ $ta^{33}t\epsilon^{h\gamma^{34}}$ o^{34}
mother 3SG TAKE exhausted die almost PFV
‘He made (his) mother almost exhausted to death.’

1.3. si^{21} is still a verb; the grammaticalization has not changed it into a preposition.

Firstly, si^{21} and the verb ndu^{21} ‘beat, hit’ occupy the same position in the following sentences:

- 16). $ts^{h\gamma^{33}}$ **si^{21}** $s\gamma^{33}bo^{33}$ ko^{33} ti^{55} ta^{33}
3SG TAKE tree LOC attach DUR
‘He carved (his name) on the tree.’

- 17). $mu^{33}ka^{55}$ **ndu^{21}** $ts^{h\gamma^{33}}$ $i^{33}t\epsilon^{h\gamma^{33}}$ ti^{55}
mugat beat 3SG head attach
‘Mugat hit him on the head.’

Then, si^{21} can take aspect marker:

- 18). $a^{34}zi^{33}$ $a^{34}mo^{33}$ **si^{21}** ta^{33} $t\epsilon\gamma^{55}=o^{34}$
child mother TAKE DUR whip=PFV
‘The mother beat the child by seizing or taking him/her.’

Therefore, decategorization does not occur (cf. preposition *de* in Akan, west African language, formerly meaning ‘take’, from Lord 1982: 281). According to Hopper and Traugott (1993) and Delancy (1995), categorical change happens when the grammaticalization is at a late stage, close to completion.

Compare the following two sentences. Since the window is fixed on the frame, it is impossible to be taken or held. Sentence with si^{21} is not acceptable due to the meaning of ‘take, hold’, even though it has been bleached.

- 19). $si^{34}n\omega^{33}$ $p^{hu^{33}}$ ta^{33}
window open DUR
‘Open the window.’

- 20). $*si^{34}n\omega^{33}$ **si^{21}** $p^{hu^{33}}$ ta^{33}

window TAKE open DUR

1.4. Therefore, the structure with si^{21} is a complex one (cf. simplex structure if decategorization into an adposition happens), and the change is only semantic. It often uses a topic-comment articulation. The comment clause is in serial verb construction. It conveys a resultative meaning. Thus the take-verb si^{21} is a resultative verb.

NP1	+	NP2 + si^{21} + VP (as result)
Topic		Comment

Topic enclitics can be attached to NP1.

- 21). $dzu^{33}mo^{21}=li^{33}$ $ts^{h}\gamma^{33}$ si^{21} $ndz\gamma^{33}$ $v\gamma^{33}=o^{34}$
money=TOP 3SG hold/use wine buy=PFV
i). 'As for the money, he took it to buy the wine.'
ii). 'As for the money, he bought the wine with it.'

It has been known that sentence with si^{21} can have no reading of the concrete take-action, such as sentence (6). If the concrete action of 'take, hold' must be rendered, other verb should be used.

- 22). $la^{21}bu^{33}$ $ts^{h}\gamma^{33}$ $zu^{33}=si^{34}$ si^{55} $dzu^{33}=o^{34}$
bull 3SG grab=PURP kill eat=PFV
'He/she grabbed the bull and (himself/herself) killed it and ate it.'

1.5. Even if the agent-patient relation is clear, NP1 and NP2 cannot be switched EXCEPT pronouns.

- 23). $mu^{33}ka^{55}$ $mu^{33}no^{55}$ si^{21} $ndu^{21}=o^{34}$
name name TAKE beat=PFV
'Munyt beat Mugat.'

- 24). $mu^{33}no^{55}$ $mu^{33}ka^{55}$ si^{21} $ndu^{21}=o^{34}$
name name TAKE beat=PFV
'Mugat beat Munyt.'

If switched, an anaphora is required:

- 25). $thw^{21}z\gamma^{33}$ $mu^{33}ka^{55}$ si^{21} $vu^{21}=o^{34}$
book name TAKE sell=PFV
'Mugat sold the book.'

- 26). $mu^{33}ka^{55}$ $thw^{21}z\gamma^{33}$ $ts^{h}\gamma^{33}$ si^{21} $vu^{21}=o^{34}$
name book 3SG TAKE sell=PFV
'Mugat sold the book.'

But it is fine to say with pronoun:

- 27). $ts^{h\gamma^{33}}$ $th^{u^{21}}z^{i^{33}}$ **si^{21}** $vu^{21}=o^{34}$
 3SG book TAKE sell=PFV
 'He/she sold the book.'

1.6. Due to this resultative constructional meaning, the present study also argues against the treatment of si^{21} as passive marker (e.g. Hu 2005). As is also indicated by Gerner (2013), si^{21} contributes the meaning of manipulating NP1 in a physical way. Therefore, si^{21} is not a passive marker. The Nuosu passive marker is ku^{21} .

Compare the following sentences. It is unlikely for two passive markers, if si^{21} is also one, to appear repeatedly in one sentence, such as sentence (29).

- 28). $th^{u^{21}}z^{i^{33}}$ $mu^{33}ka^{55}$ **si^{21}** $vu^{21}=o^{34}$
 book name TAKE sell=PFV
 'Mugat sold the book.'

- 29). $th^{u^{21}}z^{i^{33}}$ $mu^{33}ka^{55}$ **ku^{21}** **si^{21}** $vu^{21}=o^{34}$
 book name PASS TAKE sell=PFV
 'The book was sold by Mugat.'

Additionally, sentence (29) is acceptable with the purposive clitic, which make the 'take' meaning prominent from si^{21} .

- 30). $th^{u^{21}}z^{i^{33}}$ $mu^{33}ka^{55}$ **ku^{21}** **$si^{21}=si^{34}$** $vu^{21}=o^{34}$
 book name PASS TAKE=PURP sell=PFV
 'The book was taken and sold by Mugat.'

Therefore, the following sentences, considered as passive in Hu (2005: 118), are not in Nuosu:

- 31). ηa^{33} $tsh^{i^{33}}$ **si^{21}** zi^{55} $ni^{33}mu^{33}ta^{33}$ ²
 1SG 3SG TAKE treat DUR
 'He/she is treating me.'

In Hu (2005: 118), the following sentence is ambiguous.

If $ʂ^{21}$ and bo^{33} form a transitive compound:

- 32). $a^{55}ka^{33}$ $a^{34}ta^{33}$ $ʂ^{21}bo^{33}=o^{34}$

² $ni^{33}mu^{33}ta^{33}$ can only be used in subordinate clause in Niesu, which is a dialect of Nuosu, meaning 'when...be doing, ...' (see Niesu aspect marking in Ding and Lama (under preparation)).

name father escort.and.go=PFV
 'Father saw Atga off.'

If bo^{33} is an auxiliary:

33). $a^{55}ka^{33}$ $a^{34}ta^{33}$ $\xi\gamma^{21}$ $bo^{33}=o^{34}$
 name father escort go=PFV
 'Atga went to see her father off.'

It is problematic for Hu to claim that the so-called passiveness is a result of whether the verb can take an object or not. In fact, both the transitive compound $\xi\gamma^{21}bo^{33}$ and the only verb $\xi\gamma^{21}$ can take the object. Thus it is not a matter of passiveness. It is whether the focus rests on NP1 or not, namely "what happens to NP1". If si^{21} is added, the meaning of manipulating *Atga* can be clear.

34). $a^{55}ka^{33}$ $a^{34}ta^{33}$ **si^{21}** $\xi\gamma^{21}bo^{33}=o^{34}$
 name father TAKE escort.and.go=PFV
 'Father saw Atga off.' (implied meaning: *Atga* may be unwilling to leave, but enforced by her father to go)

35). $a^{55}ka^{33}$ $a^{34}ta^{33}$ **ku^{21}** $\xi\gamma^{21}bo^{33}=o^{34}$ (cf. sentence (32))
 name father PASS escort.and.go=PFV
 'Atga was seen off by her father.'

1.7. Compared with *Ba*-construction in Mandarin

The similar process is found in the grammaticalization of *Ba*-construction in Chinese languages (e.g., Sun 1996, Ding 2007, Zhao, K. 2012). The Nuosu take-verb si^{21} has many similarities with *ba* in Mandarin Chinese, such as being grammaticalized as a resultative verb (Ding 1993, 2007). But it differs from Mandarin in that:

i). The semantic change is less abstract than Mandarin *ba*. The verb meaning of 'take, hold' of Nuosu si^{21} is still clear. Therefore, the take-verb si^{21} in Nuosu is less grammaticalized than Mandarin.

36). $*t\bar{a}$ *shénme dōu méi* *bǎ* (Mandarin Chinese³)
 3SG what all not RsV
 Intended meaning: 'he did not take anything'.

37). $ts^{h\gamma}33$ ϵi^{55} n_i^{33} $a^{21}=si^{21}$ (Nuosu)
 3SG what also not=take
 'He did not take anything.'

Since the verb meaning of 'take, hold' of Nuosu si^{21} is still clear, the following sentence implies that the tongue is alienable from the possessor.

³ Mandarin Pinyin is used to present the Chinese data.

38). *ha*³³*nɛ*³³ *tʂʰɿ*³³ *si*²¹ *tʂʰɿ*²¹*lo*⁵⁵ *dzu*²¹=*o*³⁴
 tongue 3SG TAKE a.little stretch=PFV
 'He (held the tongue) and stuck it out quickly.'

However, this implication can only exist in Chinese under highly marked contexts.

39). *wǒ* *bǎ* *shétóu* *shēn=le* *yīxià*
 1SG RsV tongue stick=PFV a.little
 'I stuck the tongue out very quickly (the tongue is not alienable from the body).'

ii). The grammaticalization is less resultative than Mandarin *ba*. The Nuosu sentence is still acceptable if the resultative meaning is reduced, but not Mandarin.

40). *a*³⁴*zi*³³ *a*³⁴*mo*³³ *si*²¹ *tɕʰ*⁵⁵=*o*³⁴ (Nuosu)
 child mother TAKE whip=PFV
 'The mother beat her child.'

41). *a*³⁴*zi*³³ *a*³⁴*mo*³³ *si*²¹ *tɕʰ*⁵⁵ (Nuosu)
 child mother TAKE whip
 'The mother is beating her child.'

42). *māmā* *bǎ* *háizi* *dǎ=le* (Mandarin Chinese)
 mother RsV child beat=PFV
 'The mother beat the child.'

The perfective marker *le* is needed to signify the completion of the action or the resultative state.

43). **māmā* *bǎ* *háizi* *dǎ* (Mandarin Chinese)
 mother RsV child beat

iii). The instrumental sense of Nuosu *si*²¹ is clear and is still a verb which can go with aspect marker. The instrumental meaning cannot be inferred in some Mandarin cases.

44). *ŋa*³³ *lo*⁵⁵ *si*²¹ *dzi*²¹ *tʂʰɿ*³³ *tʂʰɿ*²¹*lo*³³ *ti*⁵⁵ (Nuosu)
 1SG hand use touch him a.little attach
 'I touched him with (my) hand.'

45). *tʂʰɿ*³³ *tɕhu*³³ *si*²¹ *ta*³³ *lo*⁵⁵*pi*³³ *dʒɛ*³³ (Nuosu)
 3SG silver use DUR ring make
 'He/she made the ring with silver.'

46). **tā* *bǎ* *shǒu* *pāi=le* *tā* *yī xià* (Mandarin)
 3SG use hand touch=PFV 3SG a.little

47). *tā yòng shǒu pāi=le tā yī xià* (Mandarin)
 3SG use hand touch=PFV 3SG a.little
 'He/she gave her/him a strike with the hand.'

2. The other two take-verbs in Nuosu, i.e. *ka*³³ and *dje*³³.

Moreover, the present study will compare the take-verb *si*²¹ with another two take-verbs of Nuosu, i.e., *ka*³³ and *dje*³³, which overlaps with *si*²¹ in usage. *ka*³³ and *dje*³³ do not have instrumental meaning.

2.1. Be more grammaticalized than *si*²¹.

Because of the take-meaning of *si*²¹, it implies some intentional behavior. But such intention is not found in sentence with *ka*³³.

48). *ŋa*³³ *tshɿ*³³ *si*²¹ *dzi*³⁴*to*³³ *sɿ*³³ *ta*³³*tchi*³⁴ *o*³⁴
 1SG 3SG TAKE exhausted die almost PFV
 'He/she made me almost exhausted to death (intentionally).'

49). *ŋa*³³ *tshɿ*³³ *ka*³³/**dje*³³ *dzi*³⁴*to*³³ *sɿ*³³ *ta*³³*tchi*³⁴ *o*³⁴
 1SG 3SG TAKE exhausted die almost PFV
 'He/she made me almost exhausted to death.'

The reading of 'take, hold' is vague in the following sentences. Thus when the meaning of 'take' by *si*²¹ is too strong to be used, *ka*³³/*dje*³³ can be used.

50). *si*³⁴*ŋɔ*³³ *pʰu*³³ *ta*³³
 window open DUR
 'Open the window.'

51). **si*³⁴*ŋɔ*³³ *si*²¹ *pʰu*³³ *ta*³³
 window TAKE open DUR

52). *si*³⁴*ŋɔ*³³ *ka*³³/*dje*³³ *pʰu*³³ *ta*³³
 window TAKE open DUR
 'Open the window.'

If a more abstract meaning of 'take, hold' is used, sentence (52) is acceptable with a focus on "what happens to the window".

Moreover, *ka*³³/*dje*³³ are often used when the concrete meaning of the verb serialization can be conveyed by the second verb.

53). *tshɿ*³³ *thu*²¹*zɿ*³³ *po*²¹ *ka*³³/*dje*³³ *ŋa*³³ *hu*³³=*o*³⁴
 3SG book CLF TAKE 1SG lend=PFV
 'He lent the book to me.'

cf.

- 54). $tsh\gamma^{33}$ $thu^{21}z\gamma^{33}$ po^{21} si^{21} ηa^{33} $hu^{33}=o^{34}$
3SG book CLF TAKE 1SG lend=PFV
'He lent the book to me (it may involve the action of 'taking').'

2.2. ka^{33} and dje^{33} occupy the V_1 position in the serial verb construction: Agent + Theme + V_1 + Recipient + V_2 .

- 55). $tsh\gamma^{33}$ lu^{33} $t\epsilon i^{33}$ ka^{33}/dje^{33} ηa^{33} $b\gamma^{34}=o^{34}$
3SG cow CLF TAKE 1SG give=PFV
'He gave me a cow.'

- 56). $tsh\gamma^{33}$ $bu^{33}ma^{33}$ $s\gamma^{21}-lu^{33}$ $kh\omega^{21}n\epsilon i^{34}$ ka^{33}/dje^{33} ηa^{33} $\eta a^{55}=o^{34}$
3SG characters know-NMLZ many TAKE 1SG teach=PFV
'He/she taught me a lot of knowledge about writing characters.'

The obligatory presence of V_1 is confirmed by Hu (2010: 24). The imperative sentence will not be acceptable without V_1 .

- 57). ka^{33}/dje^{33} ηa^{33} $b\gamma^{34}$
TAKE 1SG give
'Give (it) to me!'

2.3. ka^{33} and dje^{33} are not full verbs and cannot be used as the only predicate in the sentence. But their etymology is unclear.

- 58). $*i^{34}z\epsilon i^{33}$ $bo^{21}-lu^{33}$ $t\epsilon a^{33}$ $a^{21}=ka^{33} / dje^{33}$
younger.brother possess-NMLZ CLF not=TAKE
Intended meaning: 'the younger brother did not take anything'.

It must be replaced by a full verb or should always co-occur with another verb in serial verb construction.

- 59). $i^{34}z\epsilon i^{33}$ $bo^{21}-lu^{33}$ $t\epsilon a^{33}$ $a^{21}=si^{21}$
younger.brother possess-NMLZ CLF not=TAKE
'The younger brother did not take anything.'

3. Dialectal differences

The Shynra si^{21} is pronounced as ϵi^{21} in Suondi and Adur. There is no ka^{33} in Suondi, but only tje^{33} . It also differs from Shynra in that the Suondi tje^{33} has a voiceless initial while the Shynra one is voiced. The take- dje^{33} and the verb dje^{33} 'repair' are homophones in Shynra. However, in Suondi, dje^{33} means 'repair' and tje^{33} is the take

verb. There is no *dje*³³/*tje*³³ in Adur, but only *ka*³³. Their functions are similar with those in Shynra, as far as I know, such as being causative:

60). *ŋa*³³ *tʃhɿ*³³ *ɕi*²¹ *go*³³ *tɕi*³³ *sɿ*³³ *ta*³³ *tɕhi*⁴⁴ (Suondi)
 1SG 3SG TAKE exhausted die almost
 'He/she made me almost exhausted to death.'

61). *di*²¹ *vi*²¹ *ka*³³ *tʰu*³³ *nɿ*⁴⁴ *tu*³³ (Adur)
 guest TAKE LOC=sit DUR
 'Make /let the guest sit down'

62). *ma*³³ *ko*²¹ *dje*³³ *ko*³³ *to*⁵⁵ *ta*³³ (Suondi)
 torch TAKE LOC burn DUR
 'Make the torch burn (the torch was not on previously).'

4. Typological data from other TB languages

Finally, the present study will look into the take-verb of other areal Tibeto-Burman languages for comparison.

4.1. Bai: *ka*⁴⁴ TAKE > RESULTATIVE

The following data are taken from Zhao, Y. (2012). The take-verb in Bai has not developed any instrumental meaning, but only resultative. The instrumental marker in Bai is *nv*³³ 'use' (Zhao, Y. 2012).

A concrete object is affected:

63). *pa*⁵⁵ *ka*⁴⁴ *ŋa*⁵⁵ *xɔ*³³ *tv*³⁵ *nɔ*⁴⁴ *tsv*²¹ *se*⁴⁴ *tɕɛ*⁴⁴ *tsi*²¹ *xɔ*⁵⁵
 3PL RsV 1PL home GEN shovel CLF borrow go PRT
 'They borrowed the shovel from us.'

64). *pɔ*³³ *ka*⁴⁴ *pa*⁴⁴ *tu*⁵⁵ *tu*²¹ *kv*⁴⁴ *na*³⁵ *lɔ*⁴²
 3SG RsV chair CLF sit broken PRT
 'He sat on the chair and broke it.'

An abstract object is being manipulated:

65). *pɔ*³³ *ka*⁴⁴ *si*⁴⁴ *vv*³³ *pu*³³ *tʰe*⁵⁵ *pʰɛ*⁴⁴ *mɔ*³⁵ *lɔ*⁴²
 3SG RsV matter that CLF forget PRT
 'They forgot that matter.'

4.2. Lahu: TAKE > INSTRUMENT, 'TAKE' > CAUSATIVE

Two paths of development have been found in Lahu. The take-verb *yù* is an instrumental postposition in the following examples (Matisoff 1991:434-435).

66). *yɔ̌ á-cu-ka yù lɛ gɔ̌-cá cá ve.*

3SG chopstick use PRT cabbage eat PRT
 'He eats cabbage with chopsticks.' (lit.: 'He, taking chopsticks, eats cabbage')

67). $y\hat{\sigma}$ á- $t^h\sigma$ $y\grave{u}$ $l\epsilon$ $l\grave{a}^2-n\sigma$ $t\hat{\sigma}^?$ ve
 3SG knife use PRT finger cut PRT
 'He cut his finger with a knife.'

There are several verbs to express causation in Lahu, including $y\grave{u}$ 'take', te 'do', $p\hat{i}$ 'give', and ci 'send on an errand' (Matisoff 1976, 2017).

68). $y\grave{u}$ $kh\acute{a}$
 TAKE blocked.up
 'make blocked up'

But in Lahu, except the causative reading, the other resultative readings are not found with the take-verb $y\grave{u}$.

4.3. nDrapa: TAKE > INSTRUMENT

Take-verb in nDrapa has been grammaticalized towards an instrumental postposition (Huang & Garang in press). But the path of being resultative is not found with take-verb in this language. According to Huang & Garang (in press), the typical way to mark verb serialization in nDrapa is to suffix the first verb with n_i^{33} to mark the sequence of the actions. However, the suffix n_i^{33} is not found with take-verb as instrumental marker in the following example:

69).
 $\acute{t}\sigma^{33}pt\acute{s}a^{55}p\acute{\sigma}^{33}d\acute{z}\sigma^{55}-z\epsilon^{33}$ $\acute{t}m\sigma^{33}p\acute{i}^{53}$ $\sigma^{55}-zu^{33}$ $ji^{55}mdz\gamma^{33}$ $z\sigma^{24}-t\acute{s}\sigma^{33}-z\epsilon^{33}$
 student-PL Brush.pen DIR-take character write-DUR-EMPH
 ηa^{55} $nbo^{33}z\gamma^{55}$ $\sigma^{55}-zu^{33}$ $t^h\gamma^{24}$ $t^h\epsilon^{33}t^h\epsilon^{33}-t\acute{s}\sigma^{33}$
 1SG knife DIR-take meat cut-DUR
 'The students is writing with the brush pen, and I am cutting the meat with the knife.'

$\sigma^{55}zu^{33}$ is used similarly with a more productive instrumental suffix in nDrapa $k\sigma^{55}t\sigma^{33}$. $k\sigma^{55}t\sigma^{33}$ is grammaticalized from the verb meaning 'beat, hit' (Huang & Garang in press). There is no suffix n_i^{33} after this instrumental marker.

70).
 nu^{55} $\epsilon h\sigma^{55}l\sigma^{55}mu^{33}$ ηa^{55} $z\sigma^{33}$ $ta^{55}ja^{33}-k\sigma^{55}t\sigma^{33}$ $mt\acute{s}^h\sigma^{24}$
 2SG quickly 1SG GEN money-INST wine
 $t\epsilon^{55}-pei^{55}$ $f\epsilon i^{24}$ $t\sigma^{55}-zu^{33}!$
 one-CL buy DIR-go.IMP
 'Quickly, you go to buy a bottle of wine with my money.'

5. Interim conclusion

According to the data in the present study, the grammaticalization of ‘TAKE > Resultative’ and ‘TAKE > Instrument’ in Nuosu may be a simultaneous process of internal grammatical change and contact-induced grammaticalization.

On the one hand, ‘TAKE > Instrument’ and ‘TAKE > Resultative’ (some ‘TAKE > Causative’ only) are also found in unrelated languages, such as Zhuang and Tai.

<i>jaŋ²</i>	<i>kam¹</i>	<i>au¹</i>	<i>i³</i>	<i>k^hau³</i>	<i>ne:u³</i>	<i>hɔ:i³</i>	<i>t^hei¹</i>
additionally	fetch	take	CLF	rice	3SG	give	take
<i>pai¹</i>	<i>lun²</i>	<i>pai¹</i>	<i>t^he:m¹</i>				
go	home	go	again				

'Additionally, (someone) took some rice and gave him to take back home.'

(Jingxi Zhuang, Deng 1996: 292)

<i>xun²la:u³ʔo¹</i>	<i>ku¹</i>	<i>xou⁴</i>	<i>ʔau¹</i>	<i>fau²</i>	<i>mi³</i>	<i>ʔau¹</i>	<i>tau⁶</i>
Laos	eat	rice	use	hand	not	use	bamboo.stick

'The Laos eat rice with their hands, not with the chopsticks.'

(Wuming Zhuang, Huang and Kwok 2013: 516)

<i>taŋ²</i>	<i>lai¹</i>	<i>tso²</i>	<i>kan¹</i>	<i>ʔau¹</i>	<i>nam⁴</i>	<i>ma²</i>	<i>sa^{ʔ8}soi⁶</i>	<i>nam⁴</i>
everyone	then	agree	each.other	use	water	come	wash	water
<i>ʔo⁵</i>	<i>nam⁴</i>	<i>nau⁶</i>						
stinky	water	rotten						

'Everyone then agreed that they should use fresh water to clean the stinky water.'

(Tai, Luo 2008: 116)

<i>p^hot⁹</i>	<i>ʔau¹</i>	<i>kun²</i>	<i>ʔɔk⁹</i>	<i>nam⁴</i>	<i>ma²</i>
save	take	person	exit	water	come

'Save the person from (drowning in) the water.'

(Tai, Luo 2008: 116)

According to Huang and Kwok (2013), the grammaticalization of take-verb in Tai-Kadai languages within Guangxi, a province in southern China, follows the path of ‘TAKE > Manner preposition > Manner marker’. They indicate that the manner marker helps to realize the completion and result of the events. This is in support of the resultative constructional meaning in the present study. However, the present study differs from theirs in the proposed paths of grammaticalization, namely two independent developmental paths of ‘TAKE > Instrument’ and ‘TAKE > Resultative’, instead of the linear process.

Regarding the Tibeto-Burman data, both paths exist in some languages, such as Nuosu. In other Tibeto-Burman languages, take-verb may only take one developmental path, either instrumental (e.g. nDrapa) or resultative (e.g. Bai). The take-verb *ka*⁴⁴ in Bai does not have an intermediate stage of being instrumental. It

has another instrumental marker *nv*³³ ‘use’ (Zhao, Y. 2012). This shows that being instrumental is not a necessary stage towards being resultative, or a manner marker as in Huang and Kwok (2013). Although the ‘TAKE > Instrument’ path is found in nDrapa, as well as other genetically unrelated languages (e.g. Dagbane *zang* ‘take’, Efik *dá* ‘take’, see Lord 1989 and Heine and Kuteva 2002), ‘TAKE > Resultative’ or ‘TAKE > Causative’ only is not found in nDrapa and other Qiangic languages (e.g. Qiang and Prinmi). Therefore, the Tibeto-Burman data also suggest that the instrumental meaning can be the end of the developmental process in some languages.

Since ‘TAKE > Instrument’ and ‘TAKE > Resultative’ (some ‘TAKE > Causative’ only) are a cross-linguistically attested phenomenon, such as in Zhuang, Tai, Nupe (*la* ‘take’ > instrument, ‘take’ > causative, see Lord 1989 and Heine and Kuteva 2002), it suggests that the take-verb grammaticalization in Nuosu is an internal process. However, given different languages, the extent of grammaticalization can be different. It is the extent which may be contact-induced. Since the contact language, i.e. Southwest Mandarin, has a higher degree of grammaticalization in its take-verb, the direction of transfer is from Southwest Mandarin to Nuosu (see Heine and Nomachi 2013).

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