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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). $ts^{b\gamma 33} si^{i 55} ni^{i 33} a^{21}=si^{21}$
   3SG what also not=take
   ‘He did not take anything.’

2). $nu^{33} dz_w^{33 mo^{21}} si^{21} pu^{33} la^{33}$
   SG money take return come
   ‘You take the money back.’

3). $\eta a^{33} lo^{55} si^{21} dz_i^{21} ts^{b\gamma 33} ts^{b\gamma 21} l_o^{33} ti^{55}$
   1SG hand use touch him a.little attach
   ‘I touched him with (my) hand.’

4). $dz a^{33} si^{341} \eta a^{55} ta^{33} mu^{34} mo^{33}$
   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). $by^{33} ma^{33} i^{21} ni^{21} zo^{33} gw^{34-su^{33}} si^{21} do^{21} ma^{33} ni^{i 21} ko^{33} dje^{33}$
   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). \(la^{21}bu^{33} \quad ts^{b}\eta^{33} \quad si^{21} \quad si^{55} \quad dzu^{33}=o^{34}\)
   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). \(la^{21}bu^{33} \quad ts^{b}\eta^{33} \quad si^{21}=si^{34} \quad si^{55} \quad dzu^{33}=o^{34}\)
   bull 3SG TAKE=PURP kill eat=PFV
   ‘He/she held the bull, killed it, and ate it.’

In Nuosu, the purposive clitic \(si^{34}\) is attached to the main verb in a clause to introduce the purpose of the action, such as:

8). \(ts^{b}\eta^{33} \quad v^{33}=si^{34} \quad bo^{33}=o^{34}\).
   3SG buy=PURP go=PFV
   ‘He/she bought (it) and left.’

If the purposive clitic is used in sentence (7), the ‘take’ meaning of \(si^{21}\) 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 \(si^{21}\) 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). \(mu^{33}ka^{55} \quad mu^{33}no^{55} \quad si^{21} \quad ndu^{21}=o^{34}\)
   name name TAKE beat=PFV
   ‘Munyot beat Mugat (may not hold the patient).’

10). \(mu^{33}ka^{55} \quad mu^{33}no^{55} \quad si^{21}=si^{34} \quad ndu^{21}=o^{34}\)
    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). \(ni^{55} \quad k^{h}w^{33} \quad ts^{b}\eta^{34} \quad ma^{33} \quad si^{21} \quad i^{34} \quad hu^{33} \quad la^{34} \quad si^{33} \quad di^{34}\)
    2SG dog this CLF TAKE me lend come again QUOT
    “You lend this dog to me again”.

\(si^{21}\) ‘take, hold’ contributes the meaning of handling but no concrete object has to be physically taken or held.

12). \(di^{33}xo^{34} \quad ts^{b}\eta^{33} \quad si^{21} \quad bu^{55}ve^{33} \quad ts^{r}\eta^{33} \quad ta^{33} \quad sa^{55}\)
    flat.area 3SG TAKE flower plant DUR all
    ‘He planted the entire area with flowers.’

13). \(ts^{b}\eta^{21} \quad m^{i}\eta^{33} \quad ts^{b}\eta^{33} \quad si^{21} \quad si^{33}bo^{33} \quad ko^{33} \quad ti^{55} \quad ta^{33}\)
    his name 3SG TAKE tree LOC attach DUR
'He carved his name on the tree.'

14). \( s\alpha^{55} \eta \sigma^{33} \ s\iota^{21} \ z\sigma^{33} \ d\zeta^{33} = o^{34} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{math} & \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{TAKEN} \quad \text{learn} \quad \text{understand} = \text{PFV} \\
\text{I have understood the math.}'
\end{align*}

Moreover, it can be as abstract as a causative.

15). \( a^{24} m\sigma^{33} \ t\sigma^{33} \ s\iota^{21} \ d\zeta^{34} t\sigma^{33} s\sigma^{33} t\alpha^{23} t\omega^{34} o^{34} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{mother} & \quad \text{3SG} \quad \text{TAKEN} \quad \text{exhausted} \quad \text{die} \quad \text{almost} \quad \text{PFV} \\
\text{He made (his) mother almost exhausted to death.}'
\end{align*}

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

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

16). \( t\sigma^{33} s\iota^{21} s\sigma^{33} b\omega^{33} k\sigma^{33} t\iota^{55} t\alpha^{33} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{3SG} & \quad \text{TAKEN} \quad \text{tree} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{attach} \quad \text{DUR} \\
\text{He carved (his) name on the tree.}'
\end{align*}

17). \( m\mu^{23} k\alpha^{55} n\sigma^{33} t\sigma^{33} i^{33} t\iota^{55} t\alpha^{33} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{mugat} & \quad \text{3SG} \quad \text{beat} \quad \text{head} \quad \text{attach} \\
\text{‘Mugat hit him on the head.’}
\end{align*}

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

18). \( a^{34} z\iota^{33} a^{34} m\sigma^{33} s\iota^{21} t\alpha^{33} t\iota^{55} = o^{34} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{child} & \quad \text{mother} \quad \text{TAKEN} \quad \text{DUR} \quad \text{whip} = \text{PFV} \\
\text{The mother beat the child by seizing or taking him/her.}'
\end{align*}

Therefore, decategorization does not occur (cf. preposition \textit{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 \textit{si}^{21} \textit{is not acceptable due to the meaning of ‘take, hold’, even though it has been bleached.}

19). \( s\sigma^{34} \eta \omega^{33} \ p\iota^{33} t\alpha^{33} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{window} & \quad \text{mother} \quad \text{open} \quad \text{DUR} \\
\text{‘Open the window.’}
\end{align*}

20). \( *s\sigma^{34} \eta \omega^{33} s\iota^{21} p\iota^{33} t\alpha^{33} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{window} & \quad \text{mother} \quad \text{open} \quad \text{DUR} \\
\text{‘Open the window.’}
\end{align*}
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). $dzu^{33}mo^{21}=li^{33}$  $ts^{33}$  $si^{21}$  $ndz^{33}$  $vd^{33}=o^{34}$
   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). $la^{21}bu^{33}$  $ts^{33}$  $zu^{33}=si^{34}$  $si^{55}$  $dzu^{33}=o^{34}$
   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
   'Munyot beat Mugat.'

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

If switched, an anaphora is required:

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

26). $mu^{33}ka^{55}$  $th^{33}z^{33}$  $ts^{33}$  $si^{21}$  $vu^{21}=o^{34}$
   name  book  3SG  TAKE  sell=PFV
   'Mugat sold the book.'
But it is fine to say with pronoun:

27). $ts^{33} \ t^3w^{21}\ z^{33} \ si^{21} \ vu^{21}=o^{34}$
   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). $t^3w^{21}\ z^{33} \ mu^{33} ka^{55} \ si^{21} \ vu^{21}=o^{34}$
    book name TAKE sell=PFV
    'Mugat sold the book.'

29). $t^3w^{21}\ z^{33} \ mu^{33} ka^{55} \ ku^{21} \ si^{21} \ vu^{21}=o^{34}$
    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). $t^3w^{21}\ z^{33} \ mu^{33} ka^{55} \ ku^{21} \ si^{21}=si^{34} \ vu^{21}=o^{34}$
    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). $\eta a^{33} \ tsh^{33} \ si^{21} \ zi^{55} \ ni^{33} mu^{33} ta^{33}$
    1SG 3SG TAKE treat DUR
    'He/she is treating me.'

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

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

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

\[ 2 \] $ni^{33} mu^{33} ta^{33}$ 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 bo³³ is an auxiliary:

33). a⁵⁵ ka³³ a⁴⁴ ta³³ sɪ²¹ bo³³=o³⁴
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 sɪ²¹bo³³ and the only verb sɪ²¹ 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 sɪ²¹ is added, the meaning of manipulating Atga can be clear.

34). a⁵⁵ ka³³ a⁴⁴ ta³³ sɪ²¹ sɪ²¹bo³³=o³⁴
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). a⁵⁵ ka³³ a⁴⁴ ta³³ kɯ²¹ sɪ²¹bo³³=o³⁴ (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 sɪ²¹ 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 sɪ²¹ is still clear. Therefore, the take-verb sɪ²¹ in Nuosu is less grammaticalized than Mandarin.

36). *tā shénme dōu méi bǎ (Mandarin Chinese³)
3SG what all not RsV
Intended meaning: ‘he did not take anything’.

37). tsʰ³³ sɪ⁵⁵ n₁³³ a²¹=sɪ²¹ (Nuosu)
3SG what also not=take
‘He did not take anything.’

Since the verb meaning of ‘take, hold’ of Nuosu sɪ²¹ 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). $h\text{a}^{33}n\text{e}^{33}$  $ts^{h}\text{e}^{33}$  $si^{21}$  $ts^{h}\text{e}^{21}lo^{55}$  $dzu^{21}=o^{34}$
  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). $w\text{o}^{34}  b\text{a}^{34}  sh\text{e}^{33}t\text{o}^{u^{34}}  sh\text{e}^{33}=le^{34}  y\text{i}^{55}x\text{i}^{34}$
  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). $a^{34}zi^{33}$  $a^{34}mo^{33}$  $si^{21}$  $t\text{e}^{55}=o^{34}$  (Nuosu)
  child  mother  TAKE  whip=PFV
  'The mother beat her child.'

41). $a^{34}zi^{33}$  $a^{34}mo^{33}$  $si^{21}$  $t\text{e}^{55}$  (Nuosu)
  child  mother  TAKE  whip
  'The mother is beating her child.'

42). $m\text{a}^{34}m\text{a}^{34}$  $b\text{a}^{34}$  $h\text{a}^{55}i^{34}z\text{i}^{34}$  $d\text{a}=le^{34}$  (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). $*m\text{a}^{34}m\text{a}^{34}$  $b\text{a}^{34}$  $h\text{a}^{55}i^{34}z\text{i}^{34}$  $d\text{a}$  (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). $\eta^{33}$  $lo^{55}$  $si^{21}$  $dzi^{21}$  $ts^{h}\text{e}^{33}$  $ts^{h}\text{e}^{21}lo^{33}$  $ti^{55}$  (Nuosu)
  1SG  hand  use  touch  him  a.little  attach
  'I touched him with (my) hand.'

45). $t\text{sh}\text{e}^{33}$  $t\text{chu}^{33}$  $si^{21}ta^{33}$  $lo^{55}pi^{33}$  $dje^{33}$  (Nuosu)
  3SG  silver  use  DUR  ring  make
  'He/she made the ring with silver.'

46). $*t\text{a}^{34}$  $b\text{a}^{34}$  $sh\text{o}^{u}u^{34}$  $p\text{ai}=le^{34}$  $t\text{a}^{34}$  $y\text{i}^{34}x\text{i}^{a}$  (Mandarin)
  3SG  use  hand  touch=PFV  3SG  a.little
47). tā yòng shǒu pāi=le tā yīxià (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. ka³³ and dje³³.

Moreover, the present study will compare the take-verb si²¹ with another two take-verbs of Nuosu, i.e., ka³³ and dje³³, which overlaps with si²¹ in usage. ka³³ and dje³³ do not have instrumental meaning.

2.1. Be more grammaticalized than si²¹.

Because of the take-meaning of si²¹, it implies some intentional behavior. But such intention is not found in sentence with ka³³.

48). ŋa³³ tsh³³ si²¹ dz³³to³³ si³³ ta³³tchi³⁴ o³⁴
 1SG 3SG TAKE exhausted die almost PFV
 'He/she made me almost exhausted to death (intentionally).'

49). ŋa³³ tsh³³ ka³³/*dje³³ dz³³to³³ si³³ ta³³tchi³⁴ o³⁴
 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 si²¹ is too strong to be used, ka³³/dje³³ can be used.

50). si³⁴nɔ³³ pʰu³³ ta³³
 window open DUR
 'Open the window.'

51) *si³⁴nɔ³³ si²¹ pʰu³³ ta³³
 window TAKE open DUR

52). si³⁴nɔ³³ ka³³/dje³³ pʰu³³ ta³³
 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, ka³³/dje³³ are often used when the concrete meaning of the verb serialization can be conveyed by the second verb.

53). tsh³³ thu²¹zv³³ po²¹ ka³³/dje³³ ŋa³³ huu³³=³⁴
 3SG book CLF TAKE 1SG lend=PFV
 'He lent the book to me.'
2.2. \textit{ka}^{33} and \textit{dje}^{33} occupy the \textit{V}_1 position in the serial verb construction: \textit{Agent} + \textit{Theme} + \textit{V}_1 + \textit{Recipient} + \textit{V}_2.

55). \textit{tsh}^{33} \textit{lu}^{33} \textit{tci}^{33} \textit{ka}^{33/\textit{dje}}^{33} \eta^{33} \beta^{34} = o^{34}  \\
\text{3SG cow CLF TAKE 1SG give=PFV}  \\
\text{‘He gave me a cow.’}

56). \textit{tsh}^{33} \textit{bu}^{33} \text{\textit{ma}}^{33} \textit{si}^{21.\textit{lu}}^{33} \textit{kh}^{21\textit{ni}}^{34} \textit{ka}^{33/\textit{dje}}^{33} \eta^{33} \eta^{55} = o^{34}  \\
\text{3SG characters know-NMLZ many TAKE 1SG teach=PFV}  \\
\text{‘He/she taught me a lot of knowledge about writing characters.’}

The obligatory presence of \textit{V}_1 is confirmed by Hu (2010: 24). The imperative sentence will not be acceptable without \textit{V}_1.

57). \textit{ka}^{33/\textit{dje}}^{33} \eta^{33} \beta^{34}  \\
\text{TAKE 1SG give}  \\
\text{‘Give (it) to me!’}

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

58). \textit{*i}^{34}\textit{zi}^{33} \textit{bo}^{21.\textit{lu}}^{33} \textit{tsa}^{33} \textit{a}^{21} = \textit{ka}^{33} / \textit{dje}^{33}  \\
\text{younger.brother possess-NMLZ CLF not=TAKE}  \\
\text{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). \textit{i}^{34}\textit{zi}^{33} \textit{bo}^{21.\textit{lu}}^{33} \textit{tsa}^{33} \textit{a}^{21} = \textit{si}^{21}  \\
\text{younger.brother possess-NMLZ CLF not=TAKE}  \\
\text{‘The younger brother did not take anything’}

3. Dialectal differences

The Shynra \textit{si}^{21} is pronounced as \textit{ci}^{21} in Suondi and Adur. There is no \textit{ka}^{33} in Suondi, but only \textit{tje}^{33}. It also differs from Shynra in that the Suondi \textit{tje}^{33} has a voiceless initial while the Shynra one is voiced. The take-\textit{dje}^{33} and the verb \textit{dje}^{33} ‘repair’ are homophones in Shynra. However, in Suondi, \textit{dje}^{33} means ‘repair’ and \textit{tje}^{33} is the take
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). $\eta^{33}$ tsh$^{33}$ ci$^{21}$ go$^{33}tci^{33}$ s$^{33}$ ta$^{33}tci^{44}$ (Suondi)  
1SG 3SG TAKE exhausted die almost  
‘He/she made me almost exhausted to death.’

61). $di^{21}vi^{21}$ $ka^{33}$ t$^{hu^{33}=i^{44}}$ tw$^{33}$ (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). $pa^{55}$ $ka^{44}$ $na^{55}$ x$^{33}tv^{35}$ n$^{34}$ tsv$^{21}$ se$^{44}$ tce$^{44}$ tsi$^{21}$ x$^{55}$  
3PL RsV 1PL home GEN shovel CLF borrow go PRT  
‘They borrowed the shovel from us.’

64). $pa^{33}$ $ka^{44}$ go$^{44}tw^{55}$ tw$^{21}$ kv$^{44}$ na$^{35}$ l$^{42}$  
3SG RsV chair CLF sit broken PRT  
‘He sat on the chair and broke it.’

An abstract object is being manipulated:

65). $pa^{33}$ $ka^{44}$ si$^{44}tv^{33}$ pw$^{53}$ t$^{he^{55}}$ p$^{he^{44}m^{35}}$ l$^{42}$  
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). $yù$ á-cu-ka yù le gš-cá cá ve.
3SG chopstick use PRT cabbage eat PRT
‘He eats cabbage with chopsticks.’ (lit.: ‘He, taking chopsticks, eats cabbage’)

67). yɔ̀ á-tʰɔ̀ yù le làⁿ-ŋo tɔ̀³ 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 yù ‘take’, te ‘do’, pî ‘give’, and cɨ ‘send on an errand’ (Matisoff 1976, 2017).

68). yù khá
TAKE blocked.up
‘make blocked up’

But in Lahu, except the causative reading, the other resultative readings are not found with the take-verb yù.

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 nì³³ to mark the sequence of the actions. However, the suffix nì³³ is not found with take-verb as instrumental marker in the following example:

69),
lo³³ptša⁵⁵pø³³dzø³³-ze³³ ̣mo³³pi⁵³ ø⁵⁵-žu³³ ji⁵⁵mdzì³³ ø³²⁴-tša³²-ze³³
student-PL Brush.pen DIR-take character write-DUR-EMPH
ŋo⁵⁵ ̣nbo³³zì⁵⁵ ø⁵⁵-žu³³ th₂⁴ ̣th₉⁵⁵th₉³³-tša³³
1SG knife  DIR-take meat cut-DUR
‘The students is writing with the brush pen, and I am cutting the meat with the knife.’

ø⁵⁵-žu³³ is used similarly with a more productive instrumental suffix in nDrapa kø⁵⁵tø³³. kø⁵⁵tø³³ is grammaticalized from the verb meaning ‘beat, hit’ (Huang $ Garang in press). There is no suffix nì³³ after this instrumental marker.

70),
uo⁵⁵ ɕhø⁵⁵lo⁵⁵mu³³ ̣ŋo⁵⁵ ø³³ ta⁵⁵ja³³-kø⁵⁵tø³³ mtì⁵ʰø²⁴
2SG quickly 1SG GEN money-INST wine
tz⁵⁵-pei⁵³ ̣fɕi²⁴ tø⁵⁵-žu³³!
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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jaŋ}^2 & \quad \text{kam}^1 \quad \text{au}^1 \quad i^3 \quad k^t\text{au}^3 \quad ne\text{:}u^3 \quad h_o;i^3 \quad t^h\text{ei}^1 \\
\text{additional} & \quad \text{fetch} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{CLF} \quad \text{rice} \quad 3SG \quad \text{give} \quad \text{take} \\
\text{pai}^1 & \quad \text{lun}^2 \quad \text{pai}^i \quad t^h\text{e}\text{:}m^i \\
\text{go} & \quad \text{home} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{again} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

(Jingxi Zhuang, Deng 1996: 292)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xun}^2\text{la}:u^2?\text{o}^1 & \quad \text{kw}^1 \quad \text{xou}^4 \quad \text{?au}^1 \quad \text{fau}^2 \quad m_i^2 \quad \text{?au}^1 \quad \text{taw}^6 \\
\text{Laos} & \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{rice} \quad \text{use} \quad \text{hand} \quad \text{not} \quad \text{use} \quad \text{bamboo}\.\text{stick} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

(Wuming Zhuang, Huang and Kwok 2013: 516)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tan}^2 & \quad \text{lai}^1 \quad \text{ts}^o^2 \quad \text{kan}^1 \quad \text{?au}^1 \quad \text{nam}^4 \quad \text{ma}^2 \quad sa^\text{g}^\text{so}^i^6 \quad \text{nam}^4 \\
\text{everyone} & \quad \text{then} \quad \text{agree} \quad \text{each}\.\text{other} \quad \text{use} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{wash} \quad \text{water} \\
?\text{o}^5 & \quad \text{nam}^4 \quad \text{nau}^6 \\
\text{stinky} & \quad \text{water} \quad \text{rotten} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

(Tai, Luo 2008: 116)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{po}^\text{to}^9 & \quad \text{?au}^1 \quad \text{kun}^2 \quad ?\text{k}^9 \quad \text{nam}^4 \quad \text{ma}^2 \\
\text{save} & \quad \text{take} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{exit} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{come} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'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\text{44} in Bai does not have an intermediate stage of being instrumental. It
has another instrumental marker \(nv^{52}\) ‘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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