‘Give’ Serial Verb Constructions in Zauzou: Beyond Benefactive and Malefactive

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Background (1)
- Researches about other usage beyond benefactive and malefactive with 'give' serial verb are very few.

Background (2)
- Brief description of pi\(^{13}\) (give) serial verb constructions as benefactive in Zauzou are introduced in Sun, Huang and Zhou (2002).
- No detailed description for pi\(^{13}\) (give) serial verb constructions in general, which have rich usages including other usage beyond benefactive and malefactive.

Objective
- Introducing three usages of pi\(^{13}\) (give) serial verb constructions in Zauzou, namely benefactive, malefactive, and especially inactive, which is proposed to newly add to the general usage of give serial verb constructions.
- Semantic and syntactic analyze of the three usages in comparison.

Roadmap
- Brief overview of Zauzou language
- pi\(^{13}\) (give) as a full verb
- pi\(^{13}\) in serialization
- pi\(^{13}\) as benefactive / malefactive / inactive
- Dative subject in inactive constructions
- Comparison among benefactive, malefactive and inactive
- Future tasks

Language Overview (1)
- Zauzou is a Loloish language, which has about 3000 native speakers in Lanping County and Lushui County, Yunnan, China (Lanpingxian Nuzu xuehui 2015).
Phonological Inventory

Consonants: p, ph, t, th, k, kh, ?, ts, tsh, tc, tch, f, s, c, x, h, v, z, zh, m, n, ñ, ñ, l

Vowels (Non Nasal): i, ɿ, u, ɯ, e, ɛ, o, ɔ, a
(Nasal): ĩ, ũ, ɯ, ẽ, ɛ̃, õ, ɔ̃, ã

T onemes: 55, 33, 53, 31, 35, 13

Syllable Structure: (C1)V1(V2)(V3), C1C2

Syntactic Features

Basic Word Order: SOV

Noun Phrase Slots (Miyagishi and Li 2018):
[Relative Clause]+[Demonstrative/Possessive Noun]+[Adjective]+[Noun]+[Adjective]+[Demonstrative/Interrogative]+[Numeral]+[Classifier]+[Case / Topic Marker]

Case Markings (Miyagishi and Li 2017)

φ: Nominative, Accusative, Locative, Goal
ʔɔ 31: Dative, Accusative
xe 31: Agentive, Ablative, Instrumental
te 33: Goal (from -to-)
the 35: Comitative
tu 33 (tho53): Comparative
xe 33: Genetive

(1) ŋũ 33 tu 55 ʔɔ 31 ɕyi 13 li 33 nɛ 53 lɛ 31 pi 13 zo 53.

I have just given him/her two pears.

(2) ŋũ 33 tu 55 ʔɔ 31 xo 31 no 33 pi 13 ʔu 13 zo 31.

I have given physical pain to him/her.

(3) tu 55 ɕi̯ 33 nɛ̃ 31 ʔɔ 31 ɕiɔ 35 ʦã 31 ʑa 33 xe 31 pi 31 ʑa 53 pi 13 ʔu 13 zo 53.

(4) uã 53 lo 31 ɕi̯ 31 ʔɔ 31 ɕiɔ 35 ʦã 31 ʑa 33 xe 31 pi 31 za 33 pi 31 ʔu 53 zo 13.

(5) pi 13 as a Full Verb

(1) ŋũ 33 tu 55 ʔɔ 31 ɕyi 13 li 33 pi 13 zo 53.

I have just given him/her two pears.

(2) ŋũ 33 tu 55 ʔɔ 31 xo 31 no 33 pi 13 ʔu 13 zo 31.

I have given physical pain to him/her.

(3) tu 55 ɕi̯ 33 nɛ̃ 31 ʔɔ 31 ɕiɔ 35 ʦã 31 ʑa 33 xe 31 pi 31 ʑa 53 pi 13 ʔu 53 zo 13.

The principal has admired Mr/Ms Wang.

(4) uã 53 lo 31 ɕi̯ 31 ʔɔ 31 ɕiɔ 35 ʦã 31 ʑa 33 xe 31 pi 31 za 33 pi 31 ʔu 53 zo 13.

Wang teacher ACC principal CLS AGT admire give ASP

The principal has admired Mr/Ms Wang.

(5) pi 13 as Benefactive (1)

(1) ŋũ 33 tu 55 ʔɔ 31 ɕyi 13 li 33 pi 13 zo 53.

I have just given him/her two pears.

(2) ŋũ 33 tu 55 ʔɔ 31 xo 31 no 33 pi 13 ʔu 13 zo 31.

I have given physical pain to him/her.

(3) tu 55 ɕi̯ 33 nɛ̃ 31 ʔɔ 31 ɕiɔ 35 ʦã 31 ʑa 33 xe 31 pi 31 za 33 pi 31 ʔu 53 zo 13.

He/She is taking care of the child (for his or her sake).

(4) uã 53 lo 31 ɕi̯ 31 ʔɔ 31 ɕiɔ 35 ʦã 31 ʑa 33 xe 31 pi 31 za 33 pi 31 ʔu 53 zo 13.

Wang teacher ACC principal CLS AGT admire give ASP

The principal has admired Mr/Ms Wang.

Benefactive recipient (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)
Valency Increasing Type
• Plain benefactive (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)
  (6) tu33 tu33 ka33 le33 tɕi33tu33z33ŋu33mu33pi33 tɕi33. 1SG arrive place CLS others DAT work give MOD
Wherever he goes, he works for others, you know?
(7) gu33 tɕ33 z33 ci53 pi53 z33 tɕyu33.
  1SG 3SG DAT die give MOD
I may die for you, don’t worry.

• Benefactive recipient (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)
  (8) pi33 tɕia33 ci53 u53 x33 pi53 tɕia33te33z33. watch CLS little Wang AGT 1SG DAT repair give ASP
Mr. Wang has repaired the wrist watch for me.

Deputative Benefactive (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997)
(9) gu33 tu33 z33 pi13 te33 z33 ci53 pi13.
  1SG 3SG DAT Beijing go replace give
I go to Beijing in place of him/her.

Situational Benefactive (1)
(11) na53 ku53 tu53 ni53 mu13 le33 ʔo33 ku53. Morning nine o’clock TOP sun CLS village in
  tɕia53 pi53 te33z33. light give ASP
At nine o’clock the sun has lit the village (for the villagers’ sake).

Situational Benefactive (2)
(12) ci33 ne53 ʔa53 ne53 tu65 le33 ta53 pi13 te33z33. peach tree this year TOP it fruit bear give ASP
Peach trees have beard fruit this year (for our sake).
(13) x33 tɕia13 ku53 ʔa53 x33 tɕia13 ci53 x33 tɕia13te33 z33 pi33. pond in fish PL usual too people DAT
  is53 pi13 to53 x33. live give ASP
The fishes in the pond are living as usual for the people’s sake.

Situational Benefactive (1)
(14) tu53 lu53 x33 tɕyu53 tu13 z33 tɕia53 su53 pi13 ʔo33 z33. stone INST person PL ACC beat give ASP
He/She hit people with stones.
(15) tu53 x33 ʔu53 tɕia53 pi53 x33 ʔa53 phia53 tɕia53 pi13 z33. 3SG AGT 1SG money PL ACC gamble lose give ASP
He/She got my money by gambling.
(16) ʔu53 x33 tu53 su53ʔu53 z33 z33 ʔu53 tɕyu53 x33 pi13 z33. 1SG AGT 3SG child CLS ACC slip down give ASP
I made his/her child slip down.

Situational Benefactive (2)
(17) vu53 tu53 lu53 pa53 vu13 ʔa53 x33 ʔu53 su53 pi13 tɕia53 z33. mouse PL sunflower PL ACC bite eat give ASP
The mice has eaten up sunflower seeds.
(18) tu33 n33 x33 ni53 ku53 ko53 ʔa53 tu65 tɕia53 pi53 z33. bee CLS AGT cow CLS ACC once sting give ASP
The bee has stung the cow.
Situational malefactive

(19) ʔa³³ ʑa³³ mɯ³³ ʔa³³ su³¹ ʔa³¹ ɕɿ³¹ ɕi³³ mɯ³³ tɕhia³³
Tonight TOP this like continuously lightning
phat³¹ pi³³ to³³ tɕa³³.

struck give ASP
Lightning has been striking so continuously tonight.

(20) mɯ³³ xe³³ ye³³ xe³³ zou³¹ mɯ³³ tɕie³³ tur³³ ʑa³³
rain fall INST wheat PL all it sprout
thu³³ pi³³ to³³,
shot out give ASP
Due to the rain fall, all the wheat seeds have shotten out sprouts.

Happenstansiality

(23) ɕi³³ kɯ³³ ʔa³³ phn³³ tɕia³³ pi³³ to³³ ʑo³³,
watermelon this CLS be rotten give ASP
This watermelon has been rotten.

(24) ʑa³³ tɕi³³ ɕi³³ xe³³ su³¹ tʰa³³ tu³³ pi³³ to³³?
rope new CLS why be out give ASP
Why was the new rope cut?

(25) nu³³ kɔ³³ tɕhi³³ pho³³ ʔa³³ su³¹ ɡa³³ tɕi³³ ɕi³³ pi³³ to³³,
cow CLS leg CLS this like swell up give ASP
The cow’s leg swell up this much.

Uncontrollability

(21) kya³³ ɡa³³ ẓa³³ ɕi³³ tɕi³³ ɕi³³ ʔa³³ ɡa³³ me³³ pi³³ mɔ³³.
child CLS a little even not sleep give MOD
The child cannot sleep at all. (uncontrollably)

cf. kya³³ ɡa³³ ẓa³³ ɕi³³ tɕi³³ ɕi³³ ʔa³³ ɡa³³ me³³ mɔ³³.
child CLS a little even not sleep MOD
The child does not sleep at all. (intentionally)

(22) cia³³ ქa³³ ʔa³³ ph³³ ẓa³³ ph³³ ɕi³³ pi³³ ze³³.
lion time not shoot CONJ shoot miss give MOD
I had not shot arrays for long, so I missed the target.

Fatality

(26) tsa³³ ɡa³³ ẓa³³ ʔa³³ tʰa³³ ɕhɕ³³ ɕhɕ³³ tɕi³³
old man this CLS lifetime
ʔa³³ tʰo³³ to³³ ku³³ pi³³ kɯ³³ pi³³ to³³,
mountain cave in live crouch give ASP

This old man is forced to live crouched in a mountain cave for a lifetime.

Luckiness

(27) xe³³ ʐa³³ lo³³ pho³³ ɡo³³ tʰu³³ tɕi³³ ɕi³³ pi³³ ʔa³³ ʐa³³.
Han race hand CLS 1SG once carge give ASP
It was fortunate for me to shake hands with a Han person once.

(28) mɯ³³ xe³³ xe³³ ʔa³³ ɡa³³ mɔ³³ ɕi³³ xe³³ ʔa³³ tɕi³³
god INST CLS troops fight REL this CLS
pa³³ ʐu³³ ɕi³³ pi³³ to³³,
win give ASP
Thanks to god, our troops won this battle.

Dative Subject (1) : Experiencer (unfortunate)

(29) kya³³ nu³³ kya³³ ɡa³³ ẓa³³ ʔa³³ ɡa³³ ẓa³³ ɕi³³ ɡa³³ pi³³ to³³ ʑa³³.
today 1SG child CLS DAT yawn give ASP
My child couldn’t stop yawning today.

(30) la³³ le³³ xe³³ tu³³ ɕh³³ ʔa³³ tʰa³³ 2a³³ pi³³ ʔa³³ zɔ³³.
stone CLS INST 3SG DAT stumble give ASP
He/She stumbled over a stone.
Comparison between Benefactive and Malefactive

(34) ʔa tu33 ʔo34 mu35 mu36 ʔo37 ʔa38 ku39 pi34 pi13 le35 to36.
bird one QLS 1PL house in fly enter give ASP
- benefactive: A bird has fled in our house (fortunately).
- malefactive: A bird has fled in our house (unfortunately).

(35) ʔa tu33 ʔo34 mu35 mu36 ʔo37 ʔa38 ku39 pi34 pi13 le35 to36.
bird one QLS 1PL DAT house in fly enter give ASP
- benefactive: A bird has fled in our house for our sake.

(36) ʔa tu33 ʔo34 mu35 mu36 ʔo37 ʔa38 ku39 pi34 pi13 le35 to36.
not good MOD bird one QLS 1PL house in pi34 pi13 le35 to36.
fly enter give ASP
- malefactive: Oh, no! A bird has fled in our house.

Conclusion

Areal and genealogical distribution of inactive constructions using 'give' serial verb

Yakkha: a Kiranti language spoken in Nepal. Affected-participant usage of 'give' (Schackow 2015)

Future Tasks (1)

Are there any similar examples in other TB languages?
Comparison of inactive constructions using 'give' serial verb among different TB languages

Similarities between Zauzou and Yakkha volitional agent and an intentional action were not implied.

Differences between Zauzou and Yakkha Yakkha’s inactive constructions seem to be applicable only to express undesirable events.

Is it possible to develop the typological study of 'give' serial verb?

Some western TB languages have dative subject constructions influenced by the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages (Zeisler 2004, Subbarao, Hakacham & Sarju Devi 2007)

Are there any other languages which have dative subject constructions than Zauzou in the eastern group of TB languages?

What is the difference between dative subject constructions in western TB languages and those of Zauzou?

References (1)
Miyagishi, Tetsuya and Li, Shao en (2018). Noun Phrase Constructions in Zauzou. The journal of the Graduate School, Yasuda Women's University No.23. 17-33

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