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Kyoto University
‘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, s, tsh, tch, f, s, c, x, h, v, z, ʔ, ʦ, ʦh, ʨ, ʨh, m, n, ŋ, l
Vowels (Non Nasal): i, ɿ, u, ɯ, e, ɛ, o, ɔ, a
(Nasal): ĩ, ũ, ɯ̄, ẽ, ɛ̃, ŵ, ɔ̄, ɑ
Tonemes: 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] + [Head Noun] + [Adjective] +
[Demonstrative/Interrogative] + [Numeral] + [Classifier] +
[Case / Topic Marker]

Case Markings (Miyagishi and Li 2017)
φ: Nominative, Accusative, Locative, Goal
ʔɔ: Dative, Accusative
xe: Agentive, Abblative, Instrumental
te: Goal (from -to-)
the: Comitative
tu: (tho53): Comparative
xe: Genitive
(Genitive marker is often omitted and never used when it modifies a human noun.)

pi as a Full Verb
(1) ŋũ 33 tu 55 ʔɔ 31 ɕyi 13 li 33 nɛ 53 lɛ 31 pi 13 zo 31.
3SG DAT pear two CLS give ASP
I have just given him/her two pears.
(2) ŋũ 33 tu 55 ʔɔ 31 xo 31 no 33 pi 13 ŭu 13 zo 31.
3SG DAT physical pain give ASP ASP
I have given physical pain to him/her.

pi in Serialization
The first verb The second verb
lexical verb (Main verb) pi (Auxiliary verb)
mũ pi teach give
pa pi beat give

pi as Benefactive (1)
Non Valency Increasing Type
(3) tu 55 ɕi31 ɿã 33 ʔɔ 31 nɛ31 pi 13 to 53.
3SG child CLS ACC see give ASP
He/She is taking care of the child (for his or her sake).
(4) uã 53 lo 31 ʔɔ 31 ɕiɔ 35 ʦã 31 ʑa 33 xe 31 pi 31 ʔu 31 pi 13 ʔu 31 zo 31.
Wang teacher ACC principal CLS AGT admire give ASP
The principal has admired Mr/Ms Wang.
Benefactive recipient (van Valin and LaPolla 1997)
(5) ŋũ 33 tu 55 ʔɔ 31 xo 31 ʔo 11 pi 13.
1SG 3SG DAT pig meat sell give
I will sell him/her pork (for his/her sake).
**piu2 as Benefactive (2)**

Valency Increasing Type

- Plain benefactive (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)
  - (6) tu\textsuperscript{35} tu\textsuperscript{33} ka\textsuperscript{33} le\textsuperscript{33} tɕi\textsuperscript{36}tu\textsuperscript{31}zæ\textsuperscript{31} nɔ\textsuperscript{33}mu\textsuperscript{33}pi\textsuperscript{11} tɕi\textsuperscript{35},
  - 3SG arrive place CLS others DAT work give MOD
  - Wherever he goes, he works for others, you know?

- Benefactive recipient (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)
  - (8) pi\textsuperscript{31} tɕi\textsuperscript{31} ci\textsuperscript{31} uæ\textsuperscript{31} xɛ\textsuperscript{31} nû\textsuperscript{33} zæ\textsuperscript{31} sʊn\textsuperscript{33}tɕi\textsuperscript{36}pi\textsuperscript{11} tɕi\textsuperscript{35}zɔ\textsuperscript{31},
  - watch CLS little Wang AGT 1SG DAT repair give ASP
  - Mr. Wang has repaired the wrist watch for me.

---

**piu2 as Benefactive (3)**

Deputative Benefactive (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997)

- (9) gu\textsuperscript{33} tu\textsuperscript{35} zæ\textsuperscript{31} pu\textsuperscript{11}tɕi\textsuperscript{31} zæ\textsuperscript{31} ci\textsuperscript{35} pi\textsuperscript{11}.
  - 1SG 3SG DAT Beijin go replace give
  - I go to Beijin in place of him/her.

- (10) gu\textsuperscript{33} tu\textsuperscript{35} zæ\textsuperscript{31} pu\textsuperscript{11}tɕi\textsuperscript{31} zæ\textsuperscript{31} pi\textsuperscript{11}.
  - 1SG 3SG DAT Beijin go give
  - I go to Beijin for him/her (with him/her)

---

**piu2 as Benefactive (4)**

Situational Benefactive (1)

- (11) na\textsuperscript{36} nə\textsuperscript{33} kʊ\textsuperscript{33} tu\textsuperscript{33} nə\textsuperscript{33} mʊ\textsuperscript{33} le\textsuperscript{33} ɔ\textsuperscript{33} kʊ\textsuperscript{36}
  - Morning nine o'clock TOP sun CLS village in tʃa\textsuperscript{31}pi\textsuperscript{31} tɕi\textsuperscript{35}zɔ\textsuperscript{31},
  - light give ASP
  - At nine o'clock the sun has lit the village (for the villagers’ sake).

---

**piu2 as Benefactive (5)**

Situational Benefactive (2)

- (12) ci\textsuperscript{31}  nɛ\textsuperscript{33}  zæ\textsuperscript{31} vɑ\textsuperscript{33} nɛ\textsuperscript{33} tu\textsuperscript{35} lɛ\textsuperscript{31} tɕi\textsuperscript{35} tɕi\textsuperscript{35}zo\textsuperscript{31},
  - peach tree this year TOP it fruit bear give ASP
  - Peach trees have beard fruit this year (for our sake).

- (13) ɣɛ\textsuperscript{33} pu\textsuperscript{11} tʊ\textsuperscript{33} ʃi\textsuperscript{33} tɕi\textsuperscript{35} zæ\textsuperscript{31} ʃɪ\textsuperscript{36} tɕi\textsuperscript{35}tʊ\textsuperscript{35} zæ\textsuperscript{31}
  - pond in fish PL usual too people DAT ʃɪ\textsuperscript{33}pi\textsuperscript{11} tʊ\textsuperscript{33} xɛ\textsuperscript{31},
  - live give ASP
  - The fishes in the pond are living as usual for the people’s sake.

---

**piu2 as Malefactive (1)**

- (14) tu\textsuperscript{36} la\textsuperscript{33} xɛ\textsuperscript{31} tɕy\textsuperscript{31} tu\textsuperscript{31} ɔ\textsuperscript{31} tʰa\textsuperscript{31}nu\textsuperscript{33}pi\textsuperscript{11} zɔ\textsuperscript{31},
  - 3SG stone INST person PL ACC beat give ASP He/She hit people with stones.

- (15) tu\textsuperscript{36} xɛ\textsuperscript{31} nû\textsuperscript{33} tɕi\textsuperscript{36}pu\textsuperscript{31}vʊ\textsuperscript{33} zæ\textsuperscript{31} phɪ\textsuperscript{35} tɕi\textsuperscript{36}pi\textsuperscript{11} zɔ\textsuperscript{31},
  - 3SG AGT 1SG money PL ACC gamble lose give ASP He/She got my money by gambling.

- (16) nû\textsuperscript{33} xɛ\textsuperscript{31} tu\textsuperscript{36} su\textsuperscript{33}nɔ\textsuperscript{33} zæ\textsuperscript{31} tɕye\textsuperscript{36}zæ\textsuperscript{31} pi\textsuperscript{11} zɔ\textsuperscript{31},
  - 1SG AGT 3SG child CLS ACC slip down give ASP
  - I made his/her child slip down.

---

**piu2 as Malefactive (2)**

- (17) vu\textsuperscript{35} tu\textsuperscript{31} lɪ\textsuperscript{33}pæ\textsuperscript{33} vʊ\textsuperscript{33} ɔ\textsuperscript{31} tɕʊ\textsuperscript{31}pi\textsuperscript{11} tɕi\textsuperscript{36}zo\textsuperscript{31},
  - mouse PL sunflower PL ACC bite eat give ASP
  - The mice has eaten up sunflower seeds.

- (18) tɔ\textsuperscript{36}nɔ\textsuperscript{33} xɛ\textsuperscript{31} nʊ\textsuperscript{33} kʊ\textsuperscript{33} tʊ\textsuperscript{35}tɕi\textsuperscript{36}pi\textsuperscript{11} tɕi\textsuperscript{36} ʃʊ\textsuperscript{33} pi\textsuperscript{11},
  - bee CLS AGT cow CLS ACC once sting give ASP
  - The bee has stung the cow.
**pi³ as Malefactive (3)**

Situational malefactive
(19) ʔa³¹ k₃³³ ma₃³ ʔa₃¹ su₃¹ ʔa³¹cl₃¹cl₃¹ mu₃¹ch₃₃
Tonight TOP this like continuously lightning
ph₃¹ pl₃¹ to₃¹th₃³.

Uncontrollability
(21) sy₃¹g₃³ za₃¹ tc₃¹la₃¹ ʔa₃¹ ʔa₃¹ n₃³₅me₃¹ pl₃¹ m₃₃.
child CLS a little even not sleep give MOD
The child cannot sleep at all. ( uncontrollably)

cf. sy₃¹g₃³ za₃¹ tc₃¹la₃¹ ʔa₃¹ ʔa₃¹ n₃³₅me₃¹ m₃₃.
child CLS a little even not sleep MOD
The child does not sleep at all. (intentionally)

**pi³ as Inactive (1)**

Fatality
(26) ts₃¹k₅₁ʔa₃¹ za₃¹ tc₃¹la₃¹ k₅₁k₅₁cl₃¹
old man this CLS lifetime
ʔa₃¹t₃¹ to₃¹ k₅₁pl₃¹ k₅₁ pl₃¹ to₃¹
mountain cave in live crouch give ASP
This old man is forced to live crouched in a mountain cave for a lifetime.

**pi³ as Inactive (2)**

Happenstanciality
(23) c₃¹k₅₁ʔa₃¹ ph₃³ph₃¹cl₃¹pl₃¹ pl₃¹ k₅₁k₅₁
watermelon this CLS be rotten give ASP
This watermelon has been rotten.

**pi³ as Inactive (3)**

Fatality
(26) ts₃¹k₅₁ʔa₃¹ za₃¹ tc₃¹la₃¹ k₅₁k₅₁cl₃¹
old man this CLS lifetime
ʔa₃¹t₃¹ to₃¹ k₅₁pl₃¹ k₅₁ pl₃¹ to₃¹
mountain cave in live crouch give ASP
This old man is forced to live crouched in a mountain cave for a lifetime.

**pi³ as Inactive (4)**

Luckiness
(27) xe₃¹ la₃¹ lo₃³ ph₃³ pl₃¹ g₃³ ma₃³ tc₃¹la₃¹ xe₃¹ pl₃¹ th₃³ za₃¹
Han race hand CLS 1SG once clap give ASP
It was fortunate for me to shake hands with a Han person once.

**pi³ as Inactive (5)**

Dative Subject (1) : Experiencer (unfortunate)
(29) ʔ₃¹cl₃¹mu₃³ sy₃¹g₃³ za₃¹ ʔ₃¹z₃¹z₃¹pl₃¹ to₃¹th₃³.
today 1SG child CLS DAT yawn give ASP
My child couldn’t stop yawning today.

(30) la₃³ xe₃¹ tu₃³ th₃³₅la₃¹pl₃¹ za₃¹zo₃¹.
stone CLS INST 3SG DAT stumble give ASP
He/She stumbled over a stone.
Comparison between Benefactive and Malefactive

(34) ph33 tu31 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 kw33 pɛ33 ʔa31 -le31 to33. 
bird one QLS 1PL house in fly enter give ASP
- benefactive: A bird has flown in our house (fortunately).
- malefactive: A bird has flown in our house (unfortunately).

(35) ph35 tu31 ʔa35 kw33 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 kw33 pɛ33 ʔa31 -le31 to33. 
bird one QLS 1PL DAT house in fly enter give ASP
- benefactive: A bird has flown in our house for our sake.
- malefactive: A bird has flown in our house.

(36) ʔa31 cxe33 ʔɔ31 ph33 ʔa31 kw33 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 kw33 not good MOD bird one QLS 1PL house in pɛ33 ʔa31 -le31 to33.
fly enter give ASP
- malefactive: Oh, no! A bird has flown in our house.

Comparison between Benefactive and Malefactive

(37) na33 khɔ33 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 kw33 pɛ33 ʔa31 -le31 to33.
old man this QLS lifetime ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 kw33 pɛ33 ʔa31 -le31 to33.
mountain cave in give ASP
- inactive (unfortunate): This old man is forced to live in a mountain cave for a lifetime.
- inactive (fortunate): This old man is fortunate to live in a mountain cave for a lifetime.

(38) na33 khɔ33 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 kw33 pɛ33 ʔa31 -le31 to33.
old man this QLS lifetime family DAT ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 kw33 pɛ33 ʔa31 -le31 to33.
mountain cave in give ASP
- benefactive: This old man live in a mountain cave for a lifetime for the sake of his family.

Comparison between Benefactive and Malefactive

Dative Subject (2): Experiencer (fortunate)

(31) nu33 ʔa33 nu33 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 ph33 ʔa31.
1SG DAT money one QLS pick up give ASP
It was fortunate for me to pick up one yuan coin.

(32) mu33 ʔa33 xe31 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 ph33 ʔa31.
heaven INST General QLS clothes big QLS 1SG DAT tu31 ʔa33 xe31 ʔa31 -le31 ʔa31.
Thanks to Heaven, I was able to wear the general’s clothes.

Dative Subject (3): Patient

(33) pi33 ʔa33 pi33 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 μu33 ʔa31 ph33 ʔa31.
earthquake because ancient house QLS DAT ʔa33 tu31 ʔa33 pi33 ʔa31.
collapse give ASP
An old house collapsed by the earthquake.

Conclusion

Future Tasks (1)

Areal and genealogical distribution of inactive constructions using ‘give’ serial verb

Yakha: a Kiranti language spoken in Nepal.
AFFECTED-PARTICIPANT USE OF ‘GIVE’ (Schackow 2015)

(39) wasik n-da-ya-n, ʔa na ʔa has afforded the rain to rain.

(40) kə təg-a-by-a-q=na.
1SG get.i1I-PST-give-PST—1SG—NMLZ. SG
I got ill.

Are there any similar examples in other TB languages?
Future Tasks (2)

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?

Future Tasks (3)

Dative subject constructions in TB languages

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?

Abbreviation

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>ACC:</td>
<td>accusative marker</td>
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<td>AGT:</td>
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<td>3SG:</td>
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Miyagishi, Tetsuya and Li, Shào ēn (2018). Noun Phrase Constructions in Zauzou. The journal of the Graduate School, Yasuda Women's University No.23. 17-33


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References (3)


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