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# 'Give' Serial Verb Constructions in Zauzou : Beyond Benefactive and Malefactive

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## Background (1)

- Benefactive and malefactive constructions with 'give' serial verb are observed among several Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages (Bickel 2003, Peterson 2006, Subbarao, Hakacham & Sarju Devi 2007, So-Hartmann 2009, Peng & Chappell 2011, Konnerth 2014, Schackow 2015) .
- Researches about other usage beyond benefactive and malefactive with 'give' serial verb are very few.

## Background (2)

- Brief description of pi<sup>13</sup> (give) serial verb constructions as benefactive in Zauzou are introduced in Sun, Huang and Zhou (2002).
- No detailed description for pi<sup>13</sup> (give) serial verb constructions in general, which have rich usages including other usage beyond benefactive and malefactive.

## Objective

- Introducing three usages of pi<sup>13</sup> (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<sup>13</sup> (give) as a full verb
- pi<sup>13</sup> in serialization
- pi<sup>13</sup> 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) .



### Language Overview (2)

#### Phonological Inventory

Consonants: p, ph, t, th, k, kh, ʔ, ts, tsh, tɕ, tɕh,  
f, s, ɕ, x, h, v, z, ʒ, m, n, ŋ, ɲ, l

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

Tonemes: 55, 33, 53, 31, 35, 13

Syllable Structure: (C)VI(V2)(V3), CIC2

### Language Overview (3)

#### 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]

### Language Overview (4)

#### Case Markings (Miyagishi and Li 2017)

∅ : Nominative, Accusative, Locative, Goal

ʔɔ<sup>31</sup>: Dative, Accusative

xe<sup>31</sup>: Agentive, Ablative, Instrumental

te<sup>33</sup>: Goal (from ~to~)

the<sup>35</sup>: Comitative

tu<sup>33</sup> (tho53): Comparative

ze<sup>33</sup>: Genitive

(Genitive marker is often omitted and never used when it modifies a human noun.)

### pi<sup>13</sup> as a Full Verb

(1) ŋũ<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>55</sup> ʔɔ<sup>31</sup> ɕyi<sup>13</sup>li<sup>33</sup> nɛ<sup>53</sup> lɛ<sup>31</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.  
1SG 3SG DAT pear two CLS give ASP  
I have just given him/her two pears.

(2) ŋũ<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>55</sup> ʔɔ<sup>31</sup> xo<sup>31</sup> no<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> ʔu<sup>13</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.  
1SG 3SG DAT physical pain give ASP ASP  
I have given physical pain to him/her.

### pi<sup>13</sup> in Serialization

The first verb	The second verb
lexical verb (Main verb)	pi <sup>13</sup> (Auxiliary verb)

mõ<sup>35</sup> pi<sup>13</sup>  
teach give

pa<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup>  
beat give

### pi<sup>13</sup> as Benefactive (1)

#### Non Valency Increasing Type

(3) tu<sup>55</sup> sɿ<sup>33</sup>ŋã<sup>55</sup> za<sup>33</sup> ʔɔ<sup>31</sup> ŋɛ<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.  
3SG child CLS ACC see give ASP  
He/She is taking care of the child (for his or her sake).

(4) uã<sup>53</sup> lo<sup>31</sup>sɿ<sup>31</sup> ʔɔ<sup>31</sup> ɕiɔ<sup>35</sup>tsã<sup>31</sup> za<sup>33</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> piɔ<sup>31</sup>za<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> ʔu<sup>13</sup>zo<sup>31</sup>.  
Wang teacher ACC principal CLS AGT admire give ASP  
The principal has admired Mr/Ms Wang.

• Benefactive recipient (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)

(5) ŋu<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>55</sup> ʔɔ<sup>31</sup> ʔɔ<sup>53</sup> xo<sup>31</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> pi<sup>13</sup>.  
1SG 3SG DAT pig meat sell give  
I will sell him/her pork (for his/her sake).

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Benefactive (2)**

**Valency Increasing Type**

• Plain benefactive (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)

(6) tu<sup>55</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> ka<sup>33</sup> le<sup>33</sup> teia<sup>53</sup>tu<sup>13</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> η<sup>31</sup>mu<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> teiā<sup>55</sup>.  
3SG arrive place CLS others DAT work give MOD  
Wherever he goes, he works for others, you know?

(7) ηu<sup>33</sup> η<sup>31</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> ei<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> ʔa<sup>31</sup>teyu<sup>53</sup>.  
1SG 2SG DAT die give MOD  
I may die for you, don't worry.

• Benefactive recipient (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)

(8) pi<sup>31</sup> teia<sup>33</sup> ci<sup>31</sup> uā<sup>53</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> ηū<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> sou<sup>35</sup>te<sup>35</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> te<sup>33</sup>zo<sup>31</sup>.  
watch CLS little Wang AGT 1SG DAT repair give ASP  
Mr. Wang has repaired the wrist watch for me.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Benefactive (3)**

**Deputative Benefactive (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997)**

(9) ηu<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> pu<sup>13</sup>tei<sup>31</sup> z<sup>13</sup> ciu<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup>.  
1SG 3SG DAT Beijin go replace give  
I go to Beijin in place of him/her.

cf.

(10) ηu<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> pu<sup>13</sup>tei<sup>31</sup> z<sup>13</sup> pi<sup>13</sup>.  
1SG 3SG DAT Beijin go give  
I go to Beijin for him/her (with him/her)

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Benefactive (4)**

**Situational Benefactive (1)**

(11) na<sup>53</sup>nu<sup>53</sup> ku<sup>33</sup> to<sup>53</sup> ne<sup>33</sup> mu<sup>13</sup> le<sup>31</sup> ʔo<sup>33</sup> ku<sup>55</sup>  
Morning nine o'clock TOP sun CLS village in  
tsh<sup>31</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> te<sup>33</sup>zo<sup>31</sup>.  
light give ASP

At nine o'clock the sun has lit the village (for the villagers' sake).

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Benefactive (5)**

**Situational Benefactive (2)**

(12) ei<sup>31</sup> tse<sup>33</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> va<sup>53</sup> ne<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>55</sup> le<sup>31</sup> ta<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> te<sup>33</sup>zo<sup>31</sup>.  
peach tree this year TOP it fruit bear give ASP  
Peach trees have beard fruit this year (for our sake).

(13) ye<sup>33</sup>pu<sup>13</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> η<sup>31</sup>o<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>13</sup> tse<sup>53</sup> ʔe<sup>31</sup> teyu<sup>33</sup>tu<sup>31</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup>  
pond in fish PL usual too people DAT  
l<sup>31</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup> xe<sup>31</sup>.  
live give ASP

The fishes in the pond are living as usual for the people's sake.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Malefactive (1)**

(14) tu<sup>55</sup> la<sup>53</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> teyu<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>13</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> th<sup>33</sup>no<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.  
3SG stone INST person PL ACC beat give ASP  
He/She hit people with stones.

(15) tu<sup>55</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> ηū<sup>33</sup> tehia<sup>31</sup>pe<sup>33</sup> vu<sup>13</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> phia<sup>53</sup> teia<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.  
3SG AGT 1SG money PL ACC gamble lose give ASP  
He/She got my money by gambling.

(16) ηū<sup>33</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> tu<sup>55</sup> su<sup>33</sup>ηā<sup>55</sup> za<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> teye<sup>53</sup>ʔa<sup>35</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.  
1SG AGT 3SG child CLS ACC slip down give ASP  
I made his/her child slip down.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Malefactive (2)**

(17) vu<sup>53</sup> tu<sup>13</sup> l<sup>31</sup>pa<sup>53</sup> vu<sup>13</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> se<sup>31</sup> tsou<sup>31</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> teia<sup>53</sup>zo<sup>31</sup>.  
mouse PL sunflower PL ACC bite eat give ASP  
The mice has eaten up sunflower seeds.

(18) ta<sup>55</sup>u<sup>13</sup> ʔo<sup>33</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> nu<sup>31</sup> ko<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> tu<sup>31</sup>teia<sup>31</sup> pa<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> ʔu<sup>13</sup>.  
bee CLS AGT cow CLS ACC once sting give ASP  
The bee has stung the cow.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Malefactive (3)**

**Situational malefactive**

(19) ʔa<sup>31</sup> ɲo<sup>33</sup> ne<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> su<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>31</sup>ci<sup>13</sup>ci<sup>13</sup> mu<sup>31</sup>tchia<sup>53</sup>

Tonight TOP this like continuously lightning  
phu<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>55</sup>ʔu<sup>35</sup>.

struck give ASP

Lightning has been striking so continuously tonight.

(20) mu<sup>31</sup> ye<sup>53</sup> ye<sup>53</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> zou<sup>33</sup> mu<sup>53</sup> tei<sup>13</sup> tu<sup>55</sup> za<sup>53</sup>

rain fall INST wheat PL all it sprout

thu<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.

shot out give ASP

Due to the rain fall, all the wheat seeds have shotten out sprouts.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Inactive (1)**

**Uncontrollability**

(21) sɿ<sup>33</sup> ɲā<sup>55</sup> za<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> tei<sup>31</sup> ʔe<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>31</sup> ɲā<sup>53</sup> me<sup>13</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> mo<sup>31</sup>.

child CLS a little even not sleep give MOD  
The child cannot sleep at all. (uncontrollably)

cf. sɿ<sup>33</sup> ɲā<sup>55</sup> za<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> tei<sup>31</sup> ʔe<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>31</sup> ɲā<sup>53</sup> me<sup>13</sup> mo<sup>31</sup>.

child CLS a little even not sleep MOD  
The child does not sleep at all. (intentionally)

(22) cia<sup>33</sup> xo<sup>33</sup> ʔa<sup>31</sup> phe<sup>53</sup> za<sup>13</sup> phe<sup>55</sup> ciu<sup>35</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> ze<sup>13</sup>.

long time not shoot CONJ shoot miss give MOD

I had not shot arrays for long, so I missed the target.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Inactive (2)**

**Happenstantiality**

(23) eɿ<sup>31</sup> kua<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> phu<sup>35</sup> phie<sup>31</sup> teia<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.

watermelon this CLS be rotten give ASP

This watermelon has been rotten.

(24) za<sup>35</sup> teie<sup>31</sup> teiu<sup>55</sup> xo<sup>55</sup> su<sup>31</sup> tha<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>?

rope new CLS why be cut give ASP

Why was the new rope cut?

(25) nu<sup>31</sup> kō<sup>33</sup> tehi<sup>33</sup> pho<sup>53</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> su<sup>31</sup> uo<sup>31</sup> tchiu<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.

cow CLS leg CLS this like swell up give ASP

The cow's leg swell up this much.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Inactive (3)**

**Fatality**

(26) tsa<sup>33</sup> kɰ<sup>35</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> za<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> tshɛ<sup>53</sup> tshɛ<sup>53</sup> teie<sup>13</sup>

old man this CLS lifetime

ʔo<sup>31</sup> tō<sup>31</sup> to<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> ɲi<sup>33</sup> khu<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.

mountain cave in live crouch give ASP

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

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Inactive (4)**

**Luckiness**

(27) xe<sup>13</sup> za<sup>33</sup> lo<sup>53</sup> pho<sup>53</sup> ɲū<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> tei<sup>31</sup> te<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> ʔu<sup>31</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.

Han race hand CLS 1SG once clasp give ASP

It was fortunate for me to shake hands with a Han person once.

(28) mu<sup>31</sup> ze<sup>33</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>31</sup> pe<sup>33</sup> mā<sup>33</sup> teia<sup>55</sup> xo<sup>53</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> teia<sup>55</sup>

god INST 1PL troops fight REL this CLS

pa<sup>53</sup> ʔu<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.

win give ASP

Thanks to god, our troops won this battle.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Inactive (5)**

**Dative Subject (1) : Experiencer (unfortunate)**

(29) ʔa<sup>31</sup> ne<sup>13</sup> ɲu<sup>33</sup> sɿ<sup>33</sup> ɲā<sup>55</sup> za<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> zū<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>55</sup> ʔu<sup>35</sup>.

today 1SG child CLS DAT yawn give ASP

My child couldn't stop yawning today.

(30) la<sup>53</sup> le<sup>31</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> tu<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> thyi<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>35</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> ʔu<sup>13</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.

stone CLS INST 3SG DAT stumble give ASP

He/She stumbled over a stone.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Inactive (6)**

Dative Subject (2): Experiencer (fortunate)

- (31) ηu<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> nuɣi<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> lɛ<sup>31</sup> ue<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> ʔu<sup>13</sup>.  
 1SG DAT money one CLS pick up give ASP  
 It was fortunate for me to pick up one yuan coin.
- (32) mu<sup>31</sup> lɛ<sup>31</sup> xe<sup>31</sup> tshiā<sup>31</sup> tshyi<sup>31</sup> za<sup>33</sup> mi<sup>33</sup> zɿ<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>33</sup> ηu<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup>  
 heaven INST General CLS clothes big CLS 1SG DAT  
 tu<sup>31</sup> tshiā<sup>31</sup> va<sup>53</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> -ʔu<sup>13</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.  
 once wear give ASP  
 Thanks to Heaven, I was able to wear the general's clothes.

**pi<sup>13</sup> as Inactive (7)**

Dative Subject (3): Patient

- (33) pɛ<sup>13</sup> zu<sup>31</sup> pu<sup>13</sup> tɛ<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>31</sup> nɛ<sup>13</sup> khā<sup>31</sup> zɛ<sup>33</sup> lɛ<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup>  
 earthquake because ancient house CLS DAT  
 tɛu<sup>53</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> zo<sup>31</sup>.  
 collapse give ASP  
 An old house collapsed by the earthquake.

**Comparison between Benefactive and Malefactive**

- (34) ηo<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> ʔo<sup>33</sup> ηu<sup>33</sup> mu<sup>35</sup> zɛ<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> -lɛ<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.  
 bird one CLS 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) ηo<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> ʔo<sup>33</sup> ηu<sup>33</sup> mu<sup>35</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup> zɛ<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> lɛ<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.  
 bird one CLS 1PL DAT house in fly enter give ASP  
 = benefactive: A bird has fled in our house for our sake.
- (36) ʔa<sup>31</sup> tɛ<sup>33</sup> zao<sup>33</sup>, ηo<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> ʔo<sup>33</sup> ηu<sup>55</sup> mu<sup>35</sup> zɛ<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>55</sup>  
 not good MOD bird one CLS 1PL house in  
 pi<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> lɛ<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.  
 fly enter give ASP  
 = malefactive: Oh, no! A bird has fled in our house.

**Comparison between Benefactive and Inactive**

- (37) tsa<sup>33</sup> khɔ<sup>35</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> za<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> tshɛ<sup>53</sup> tshɛ<sup>53</sup> tɛi<sup>13</sup>  
 old man this CLS lifetime  
 ʔo<sup>31</sup> tɔ<sup>31</sup> to<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> ηi<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.  
 mountain cave in live 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) tsa<sup>33</sup> khɔ<sup>35</sup> ʔa<sup>33</sup> za<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> tshɛ<sup>53</sup> tshɛ<sup>53</sup> tɛi<sup>13</sup> tu<sup>31</sup> zɛ<sup>33</sup> ʔo<sup>31</sup>  
 old man this CLS lifetime family DAT  
 ʔo<sup>31</sup> tɔ<sup>31</sup> to<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> ηi<sup>33</sup> pi<sup>13</sup> to<sup>53</sup>.  
 mountain cave in live give ASP  
 =Benefactive: This old man live in a mountain cave for a lifetime for the sake of his family.

**Conclusion**

	Subject		Valency increasing
	Semantic Roles	Case Markings	
Benefactive	Benefactor	nominative / agentive	possible
Malefactive	Malefactor	nominative / agentive	impossible
Inactive	Experiencer / Patient	nominative / dative-accusative	impossible

**Future Tasks (1)**

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)

- (39) wasik n-da-ya-n, nnakha ghak her-a-by-a=hoŋ.  
 rain not-come-PST-not that all dry-PST-give-PST=SEQ  
 It did not rain, (and) after all that (i.e., their crops) dried up.  
 (Schackow 2015:299)
- (40) ka tug-a-by-a-ŋ=na.  
 1SG get\_ill-PST-give-PST-1SG=NMLZ. SG  
 I got ill. (Schackow 2015:299)

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 (Zeislerv 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

ACC: acusative marker	AGT: agentive marker
ASP: aspect marker	CLS: classifier
CONJ: conjunction	DAT: dative marker
INST: instrumental marker	MOD: modality marker
NMLZ: nominalizer	PL: plural marker
PST: past	REL: relative clause marker
SEQ: sequential	SG: singular
TOP: topic maker	IPL: first-person plural
1SG: first-person singular	2SG: second-person singular
3SG: third-person singular	

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