

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

Miyagishi, Tetsuya
Dept. of Japanese Language and Literature
Yasuda Women’s University
Hiroshima, Japan

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 pi¹³ (give) serial verb constructions as benefactive in Zauzou are introduced in Sun, Huang and Zhou (2002).
- No detailed description for pi¹³ (give) serial verb constructions in general, which have rich usages including other usage beyond benefactive and malefactive.

Objective

- Introducing three usages of pi¹³ (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
- pi¹³ (give) as a full verb
- pi¹³ in serialization
- pi¹³ 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): ĭ, ŭ, ũ, ĕ, ě, ǝ, ǻ, ǣ

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

Syllable Structure: (C)VI(V2)(V3), C1C2

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

ʔɔ³¹: Dative, Accusative

xe³¹: Agentive, Abblative, Instrumental

te³³: Goal (from ~to~)

the³⁵: Comitative

tu³³ (tho⁵³): Comparative

ze³³: Genetive

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

pi¹³ as a Full Verb

(1) ŋũ³³ tu⁵⁵ ʔɔ³¹ ɕyi¹³li³³ nɛ⁵³ lɛ³¹ pi¹³ zo³¹.
1SG 3SG DAT pear two CLS give ASP
I have just given him/her two pears.

(2) ŋũ³³ tu⁵⁵ ʔɔ³¹ xo³¹ no³³ pi¹³ ʔu¹³ zo³¹.
1SG 3SG DAT physical pain give ASP ASP
I have given physical pain to him/her.

pi¹³ in Serialization

The first verb	The second verb
lexical verb (Main verb)	pi ¹³ (Auxiliary verb)

mō³⁵ pi¹³
teach give

pa⁵³ pi¹³
beat give

pi¹³ as Benefactive (I)

Non Valency Increasing Type

(3) tu⁵⁵ sɿ³³ŋã⁵⁵ za³³ ʔɔ³¹ ŋɛ³³ pi¹³ to⁵³.
3SG child CLS ACC see give ASP
He/She is taking care of the child (for his or her sake).

(4) uã⁵³ lo³¹sɿ³¹ ʔɔ³¹ ɕio³⁵tsã³¹ za³³ xe³¹ pi³¹za⁵³ pi¹³ ʔu¹³zo³¹.
Wang teacher ACC principal CLS AGT admire give ASP
The principal has admired Mr/Ms Wang.

•Benefactive recipient (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)

(5) ŋu³³ tu⁵⁵ ʔɔ³¹ ʔɔ⁵³ xo³¹ ʔo³¹ pi¹³.
1SG 3SG DAT pig meat sell give
I will sell him/her pork (for his/her sake).

***pi*¹³ as Benefactive (2)**

Valency Increasing Type

• Plain benefactive (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)

- (6) *tu*⁵⁵ *tur*³¹ *ka*³³ *le*³³ *teia*⁵³ *tur*¹³ *ʔo*³¹ *ŋo*³¹ *mu*³³ *pi*¹³ *teia*⁵⁵.
3SG arrive place CLS others DAT work give MOD
Wherever he goes, he works for others, you know?

- (7) *ŋu*³³ *ŋo*³¹ *ʔo*³¹ *ei*⁵⁵ *pi*¹³ *ʔa*³¹ *teyu*⁵³.
1SG 2SG DAT die give MOD
I may die for you, don't worry.

• Benefactive recipient (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)

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

***pi*¹³ as Benefactive (3)**

Deputative Benefactive (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997)

- (9) *ŋu*³³ *tu*⁵⁵ *ʔo*³¹ *pu*¹³ *tei*³¹ *zɿ*³³ *ciu*⁵³ *pi*¹³.
1SG 3SG DAT Beijin go replace give
I go to Beijin in place of him/her.

cf.

- (10) *ŋu*³³ *tu*⁵⁵ *ʔo*³¹ *pu*¹³ *tei*³¹ *zɿ*³³ *pi*¹³.
1SG 3SG DAT Beijin go give
I go to Beijin for him/her (with him/her)

***pi*¹³ as Benefactive (4)**

Situational Benefactive (1)

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

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

***pi*¹³ as Benefactive (5)**

Situational Benefactive (2)

- (12) *ei*³¹ *tse*³³ *ʔa*³³ *va*⁵³ *ne*³³ *tur*⁵⁵ *le*³¹ *ta*⁵³ *pi*¹³ *te*³³ *zo*³¹.
peach tree this year TOP it fruit bear give ASP
Peach trees have beared fruit this year (for our sake).
- (13) *ye*³³ *pu*¹³ *ku*⁵⁵ *ŋo*³³ *tur*¹³ *tse*⁵³ *ʔe*³¹ *teyu*³³ *tur*³¹ *ʔo*³¹
pond in fish PL usual too people DAT
*lo*¹³ *pi*¹³ *to*⁵³ *xe*³¹.
live give ASP
The fishes in the pond are living as usual for the people's sake.

***pi*¹³ as Malefactive (1)**

- (14) *tu*⁵⁵ *la*⁵³ *xe*³¹ *teyu*³³ *tur*¹³ *ʔo*³¹ *tho*³³ *no*³³ *pi*¹³ *zo*³¹.
3SG stone INST person PL ACC beat give ASP
He/She hit people with stones.
- (15) *tu*⁵⁵ *xe*³¹ *ŋū*³³ *tehia*³¹ *pe*³³ *vu*¹³ *ʔo*³¹ *phia*⁵³ *teia*⁵³ *pi*¹³ *zo*³¹.
3SG AGT 1SG money PL ACC gamble lose give ASP
He/She got my money by gambling.
- (16) *ŋū*³³ *xe*³¹ *tu*⁵⁵ *su*³³ *ŋā*⁵⁵ *za*³³ *ʔo*³¹ *teye*⁵³ *ʔa*³⁵ *pi*¹³ *zo*³¹.
1SG AGT 3SG child CLS ACC slip down give ASP
I made his/her child slip down.

***pi*¹³ as Malefactive (2)**

- (17) *vu*⁵³ *tur*¹³ *lo*¹³ *pa*⁵³ *vu*¹³ *ʔo*³¹ *se*³¹ *tsou*³¹ *pi*¹³ *teia*⁵³ *zo*³¹.
mouse PL sunflower PL ACC bite eat give ASP
The mice has eaten up sunflower seeds.
- (18) *ta*⁵⁵ *u*¹³ *ʔo*³³ *xe*³¹ *nu*³¹ *ko*³³ *ʔo*³¹ *tur*³¹ *teia*³¹ *pa*³³ *pi*¹³ *ʔu*¹³.
bee CLS AGT cow CLS ACC once sting give ASP
The bee has stung the cow.

***pi*¹³ as Malefactive (3)**

Situational malefactive

(19) ʔa³¹ ɲɔ³³ nɛ³¹ ʔa³³ su³¹ ʔa³¹ciɔ¹³ciɔ¹³ mu³¹tehia⁵³
 Tonight TOP this like continuously lightning
 phu⁵³ pi¹³ to⁵⁵ʔu³⁵.
 struck give ASP
 Lightning has been striking so continuously tonight.

(20) mu³¹ ye⁵³ ye⁵³ xe³¹ zou³³ mu⁵³ teiɛ¹³ tu⁵⁵za⁵³
 rain fall INST wheat PL all it sprout
 thu⁵³ pi¹³ to⁵³.
 shot out give ASP
 Due to the rain fall, all the wheat seeds have shotten
 out sprouts.

***pi*¹³ as Inactive (1)**

Uncontrollability

(21) sɿ³³ ɲã⁵⁵ za³³ tu³¹teiã³¹ ʔe³¹ ʔa³¹ ɲã⁵³me¹³ pi¹³ mɔ³¹.
 child CLS a little even not sleep give MOD
 The child cannot sleep at all. (uncontrollably)

cf. sɿ³³ ɲã⁵⁵ za³³ tu³¹teiã³¹ ʔe³¹ ʔa³¹ ɲã⁵³me¹³ mɔ³¹.
 child CLS a little even not sleep MOD
 The child does not sleep at all. (intentionally)

(22) cia³³ xɔ³³ ʔa³¹ phɛ⁵³ za¹³ phɛ⁵⁵ ciu³⁵ pi¹³ zɛ¹³.
 long time not shoot CONJ shoot miss give MOD
 I had not shot arrays for long, so I missed the target.

***pi*¹³ as Inactive (2)**

Happenstantiality

(23) ɕɿ³¹ kua³¹ ʔa³³ phu³⁵ phie³¹ teia⁵³ pi¹³ to⁵³zo³¹.
 watermelon this CLS be rotten give ASP
 This watermelon has been rotten.

(24) za³⁵ teiɛ³¹ teiu⁵⁵ xo⁵⁵su³¹ tha³³tu⁵³ pi¹³ to⁵³?
 rope new CLS why be cut give ASP
 Why was the new rope cut?

(25) nu³¹ kō³³ tchi³³ pho⁵³ ʔa³³ su³¹ uɔ³¹ tchiu⁵⁵ pi¹³ to⁵³.
 cow CLS leg CLS this like swell up give ASP
 The cow's leg swell up this much.

***pi*¹³ as Inactive (3)**

Fatality

(26) tsa³³khɔ³⁵ ʔa³³ za³³ tu³¹tshɛ⁵³tshɛ⁵³teia¹³
 old man this CLS lifetime
 ʔɔ³¹ tō³¹ to³¹ ku⁵⁵ ɲi³³ khu⁵⁵ pi¹³ to⁵³.
 mountain cave in live crouch give ASP

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

***pi*¹³ as Inactive (4)**

Luckiness

(27) xe¹³ za³³ lo⁵³ pho⁵³ ɲū³³ tu³¹teiã³¹ tce³³ pi¹³ ʔu³¹zo³¹.
 Han race hand CLS 1SG once clasp give ASP
 It was fortunate for me to shake hands with a Han person
 once.

(28) mu³¹zɛ³³ xe³¹ ʔa³¹pe³³ mǎ³³ teia⁵⁵ xɔ⁵³ ʔa³³ teia⁵⁵
 god INST 1PL troops fight REL this CLS
 pa⁵³ʔu⁵³ pi¹³ to⁵³.
 win give ASP
 Thanks to god, our troops won this battle.

***pi*¹³ as Inactive (5)**

Dative Subject (1) : Experiencer (unfortunate)

(29) ʔa³¹nɛ¹³ ɲu³³ sɿ³³ ɲã⁵⁵ za³³ ʔɔ³¹ ʔa³³zũ³³ pi¹³ to⁵⁵ʔu³⁵.
 today 1SG child CLS DAT yawn give ASP
 My child couldn't stop yawning today.

(30) la⁵³ lɛ³¹ xe³¹ tu⁵⁵ ʔɔ³¹ thyi³¹ʔa³⁵ pi¹³ ʔu¹³zo³¹.
 stone CLS INST 3SG DAT stumble give ASP
 He/She stumbled over a stone.

pi¹³ as Inactive (6)

Dative Subject (2): Experiencer (fortunate)

(31) $\eta u^{33} \gamma_0^{31} nuyi^{33} tu^{31} le^{31} me^{55} pi^{13} \gamma_u^{13}$.
1SG DAT money one CLS pick up give ASP
It was fortunate for me to pick up one yuan coin.

(32) $mu^{31} le^{31} xe^{31} tshi\ddot{a}^{31} tshyi^{31} za^{33} mi^{33} z\gamma^{31} ku^{33} \eta u^{33} \gamma_0^{31}$
heaven INST General CLS clothes big CLS 1SG DAT
 $tu^{31} tshi\ddot{a}^{31} va^{53} pi^{13} -\gamma_u^{13} zo^{31}$.
once wear give ASP
Thanks to Heaven, I was able to wear the general's clothes.

pi¹³ as Inactive (7)

Dative Subject (3): Patient

(33) $pe^{13} zu^{31} pu^{13} te^{31} \gamma_a^{31} ne^{13} kh\ddot{a}^{31} ze^{33} le^{33} \gamma_0^{31}$
earthquake because ancient house CLS DAT
 $teiu^{53} \gamma_a^{33} pi^{13} zo^{31}$.
collapse give ASP
An old house collapsed by the earthquake.

Comparison between Benefactive and Malefactive

(34) $\eta_0^{33} tu^{31} \gamma_0^{33} \eta u^{33} mu^{35} ze^{31} ku^{55} pi_0^{33} \gamma_0^{33} pi^{13} -le^{13} to^{53}$.
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) $\eta_0^{33} tu^{31} \gamma_0^{33} \eta u^{33} mu^{35} \gamma_0^{31} ze^{31} ku^{55} pi_0^{33} \gamma_0^{33} pi^{13} le^{13} to^{53}$.
bird one CLS 1PL DAT house in fly enter give ASP
= benefactive: A bird has fled in our house for our sake.

(36) $\gamma_a^{31} te^{33} zao^{33}, \eta_0^{33} tu^{31} \gamma_0^{33} \eta u^{55} mu^{35} ze^{31} ku^{55}$
not good MOD bird one CLS 1PL house in
 $pi_0^{33} \gamma_0^{33} pi^{13} le^{13} to^{53}$.
fly enter give ASP
= malefactive: Oh, no! A bird has fled in our house.

Comparison between Benefactive and Inactive

(37) $tsa^{33} kh_0^{35} \gamma_a^{33} za^{33} tu^{31} tsh_0^{53} tsh_0^{53} te^{13}$
old man this CLS lifetime
 $\gamma_0^{31} to^{31} to^{31} ku^{55} \eta^{33} pi^{13} to^{53}$.
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) $tsa^{33} kh_0^{35} \gamma_a^{33} za^{33} tu^{31} tsh_0^{53} tsh_0^{53} te^{13} tu^{31} ze^{33} \gamma_0^{31}$
old man this CLS lifetime family DAT
 $\gamma_0^{31} to^{31} to^{31} ku^{55} \eta^{33} pi^{13} to^{53}$.
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) $wasik\ n-da-ya-n,$ $nnakha\ ghak\ her-a-by-a=ho\eta$.
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) $ka\ tug-a-by-a-\eta=na$.
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 lanuages 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: purual marker
PST: past	REL: relative clause marker
SEQ: sequential	SG: singular
TOP: topic maker	IPL: first-person purual
1SG: first-person singular	2SG: secomd-person singular
3SG: third-person singular	

References (1)

- Bickel, Balthasar (2003). Belhare. In Graham Thurgood C Randy J. LaPolla (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan languages*, 546-570. London: Routledge.
- Konnerth, Linda Anna (2014). *A Grammar of Karbi*. Department of Linguistics and the Graduate School of University of Oregon dissertation.
- Lanpingxian Nuzu xuehui (2015). *Zoujin Nuzuzhixi Ruorouren*. ([Approach to Zauzou people: a Nu tribe branch] in Chinese)
- Miyagishi, Tetsuya and Li, Shào ěn (2017). Case Marking System of Jiangmo Zauzou. *The journal of the Graduate School, Yasuda Women's University* No.22. 37-55
- Miyagishi, Tetsuya and Li, Shào ěn (2018). Noun Phrase Constructions in Zauzou. *The journal of the Graduate School, Yasuda Women's University* No.23. 17-33
- Peng, Guozhen & Chappell, Hilary (2011). Ya33 'Give' as a Valency Increaser in Jinghpo Nuclear Serialization. *Studies in language* 35:1, 128-167.

References (2)

- Peterson, D. A. (2006). High and Low Applicatives - Evidence from Lai. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 30, 353 - 364.
- Schackow, Diana (2015). *A Grammar of Yakkha* (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 7). Berlin: Language Science Press.
- So-Hartmann, Helga (2009). *A Descriptive Grammar of Daai Chin*. (STEDT Monograph 7). Berkeley: Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus Project.
- Subbarao, K. V., Hakacham, U. R. & Sarju Devi, T. (2007). Case-marked PRO: Evidence from Rabha, Manipuri, Hindi-Urdu and Telugu. In Roland Bielmeier & Felix Haller (eds.), *Linguistics of the Himalayas and Beyond*. 291-321. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sun, Hongkai Huang, Chenglong and Zhou, Maocao (2002). *Rouruoyuyanjiu, Beijing: Zhongyangminzudaxue chubanshe*. ([A Study on the Zauzou language] in Chinese)
- Van Valin, R. D., Jr. & LaPolla, R. (1997). *Syntax: Structure, Meaning, and Function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

References (3)

- Zeisler, Bettina (2004). *Relative Tense and Aspectual Values in Tibetan Languages: A Comparative Study*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Zúñiga, F.& Kittilä, S.(2010). *Benefactives and Malefactives Typological Perspectives and Case Studies*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Acknowledgment

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 16K02651.

I would like to express my special thanks to Prof. Li Shào ěn, who kindly helped my research by providing ample Zauzou data with IPA description.