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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 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, ɣ, 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

ʔɔ³¹: Dative, Accusative

xe³¹: Agentive, Ablative, Instrumental

te³³: Goal (from ~to~)

the³⁵: Comitative

tu³³ (tho53): Comparative

ze³³: Genitive

(Genitive 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)

mõ³⁵ pi¹³
teach give

pa⁵³ pi¹³
beat give

pi¹³ as Benefactive (1)

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 ɕiɔ³⁵tsã³¹ za³³ xe³¹ piɔ³¹za⁵³ 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).

pi¹³ as Benefactive (2)

Valency Increasing Type

• Plain benefactive (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)

(6) tu⁵⁵ tu³¹ ka³³ le³³ teia⁵³tu¹³ ʔo³¹ η³¹mu³³ pi¹³ teiā⁵⁵.
3SG arrive place CLS others DAT work give MOD
Wherever he goes, he works for others, you know?

(7) η³¹tu³³ η³¹ʔo³¹ ei⁵⁵ pi¹³ ʔa³¹teyu⁵³.
1SG 2SG DAT die give MOD
I may die for you, don't worry.

• Benefactive recipient (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997)

(8) pi³¹ teia³³ ci³¹ uā⁵³ xe³¹ η³¹u³³ ʔo³¹ sou³⁵te³⁵ pi¹³ te³³zo³¹.
watch CLS little Wang AGT 1SG DAT repair give ASP
Mr. Wang has repaired the wrist watch for me.

pi¹³ as Benefactive (3)

Deputative Benefactive (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997)

(9) η³¹tu³³ tu⁵⁵ ʔo³¹ pu¹³tei³¹ z¹³ciu⁵³ pi¹³.
1SG 3SG DAT Beijin go replace give
I go to Beijin in place of him/her.

cf.

(10) η³¹tu³³ tu⁵⁵ ʔo³¹ pu¹³tei³¹ z¹³pi¹³.
1SG 3SG DAT Beijin go give
I go to Beijin for him/her (with him/her)

pi¹³ as Benefactive (4)

Situational Benefactive (1)

(11) na⁵³nu⁵³ ku³³ to⁵³ ne³³ mu¹³ le³¹ ʔo³³ ku⁵⁵
Morning nine o'clock TOP sun CLS village in
tsh³¹pi¹³ te³³zo³¹.
light give ASP

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

pi¹³ as Benefactive (5)

Situational Benefactive (2)

(12) ei³¹ tse³³ ʔa³³ va⁵³ ne³³ tu⁵⁵ le³¹ ta⁵³ pi¹³ te³³zo³¹.
peach tree this year TOP it fruit bear give ASP
Peach trees have beard fruit this year (for our sake).

(13) ye³³pu¹³ ku⁵⁵ η³¹o³³ tu¹³ tse⁵³ ʔe³¹ teyu³³tu³¹ ʔo³¹
pond in fish PL usual too people DAT
l³¹pi¹³ to⁵³ xe³¹.
live give ASP

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

pi¹³ as Malefactive (1)

(14) tu⁵⁵ la⁵³ xe³¹ teyu³³ tu¹³ ʔo³¹ th³³no³³ pi¹³ zo³¹.
3SG stone INST person PL ACC beat give ASP
He/She hit people with stones.

(15) tu⁵⁵ xe³¹ η³¹u³³ tehia³¹pe³³ vu¹³ ʔo³¹ phia⁵³ teia⁵³ pi¹³ zo³¹.
3SG AGT 1SG money PL ACC gamble lose give ASP
He/She got my money by gambling.

(16) η³¹u³³ xe³¹ tu⁵⁵ su³³ηā⁵⁵ za³³ ʔo³¹ teye⁵³ʔa³⁵ pi¹³ zo³¹.
1SG AGT 3SG child CLS ACC slip down give ASP
I made his/her child slip down.

pi¹³ as Malefactive (2)

(17) vu⁵³ tu¹³ l³¹pa⁵³ vu¹³ ʔo³¹ se³¹ tsou³¹ pi¹³ teia⁵³zo³¹.
mouse PL sunflower PL ACC bite eat give ASP
The mice has eaten up sunflower seeds.

(18) ta⁵⁵u¹³ ʔo³³ xe³¹ nu³¹ ko³³ ʔo³¹ tu³¹teia³¹ pa³³ pi¹³ ʔu¹³.
bee CLS AGT cow CLS ACC once sting give ASP
The bee has stung the cow.

pi¹³ as Malefactive (3)

Situational malefactive

(19) ʔa³¹ ɲo³³ ne³¹ ʔa³³ su³¹ ʔa³¹ci¹³ci¹³ mu³¹tchia⁵³

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 tei¹³ tu⁵⁵ za⁵³

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.

pi¹³ as Inactive (1)

Uncontrollability

(21) sɿ³³ ɲā⁵⁵ za³³ tu³¹ tei³¹ ʔe³¹ ʔa³¹ ɲā⁵³ me¹³ pi¹³ mo³¹.

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

cf. sɿ³³ ɲā⁵⁵ za³³ tu³¹ tei³¹ ʔe³¹ ʔa³¹ ɲā⁵³ me¹³ mo³¹.

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

(22) cia³³ xo³³ ʔa³¹ phe⁵³ za¹³ phe⁵⁵ ciu³⁵ pi¹³ ze¹³.

long time not shoot CONJ shoot miss give MOD

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

pi¹³ as Inactive (2)

Happenstantiality

(23) eɿ³¹ kua³¹ ʔa³³ phu³⁵ phie³¹ teia⁵³ pi¹³ to⁵³ zo³¹.

watermelon this CLS be rotten give ASP

This watermelon has been rotten.

(24) za³⁵ teie³¹ teiu⁵⁵ xo⁵⁵ su³¹ tha³³ tu⁵³ pi¹³ to⁵³?

rope new CLS why be cut give ASP

Why was the new rope cut?

(25) nu³¹ kō³³ tehi³³ pho⁵³ ʔa³³ su³¹ uo³¹ tchiu⁵⁵ pi¹³ to⁵³.

cow CLS leg CLS this like swell up give ASP

The cow's leg swell up this much.

pi¹³ as Inactive (3)

Fatality

(26) tsa³³ kɥo³⁵ ʔa³³ za³³ tu³¹ tshɛ⁵³ tshɛ⁵³ teie¹³

old man this CLS lifetime

ʔo³¹ 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.

pi¹³ as Inactive (4)

Luckiness

(27) xe¹³ za³³ lo⁵³ pho⁵³ ɲū³³ tu³¹ tei³¹ te³³ pi¹³ ʔu³¹ zo³¹.

Han race hand CLS 1SG once clasp give ASP

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

(28) mu³¹ ze³³ xe³¹ ʔa³¹ pe³³ mā³³ teia⁵⁵ xo⁵³ ʔa³³ teia⁵⁵

god INST 1PL troops fight REL this CLS

pa⁵³ ʔu⁵³ pi¹³ to⁵³.

win give ASP

Thanks to god, our troops won this battle.

pi¹³ as Inactive (5)

Dative Subject (1) : Experiencer (unfortunate)

(29) ʔa³¹ ne¹³ ɲu³³ sɿ³³ ɲā⁵⁵ za³³ ʔo³¹ ʔa³³ zū³³ pi¹³ to⁵⁵ ʔu³⁵.

today 1SG child CLS DAT yawn give ASP

My child couldn't stop yawning today.

(30) la⁵³ le³¹ xe³¹ tu⁵⁵ ʔo³¹ thyi³¹ ʔa³⁵ pi¹³ ʔu¹³ zo³¹.

stone CLS INST 3SG DAT stumble give ASP

He/She stumbled over a stone.

pi¹³ as Inactive (6)

Dative Subject (2): Experiencer (fortunate)

- (31) ηu³³ ʔo³¹ nuɣi³³ tu³¹ lɛ³¹ ue⁵⁵ pi¹³ ʔu¹³.
 1SG DAT money one CLS pick up give ASP
 It was fortunate for me to pick up one yuan coin.
- (32) mu³¹ lɛ³¹ xe³¹ tshā³¹ tshyi³¹ za³³ mi³³ zɿ³¹ ku³³ ηu³³ ʔo³¹
 heaven INST General CLS clothes big CLS 1SG DAT
 tu³¹ tshā³¹ va⁵³ pi¹³ -ʔu¹³ zo³¹.
 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) pɛ¹³ zu³¹ pu¹³ tɛ³¹ ʔa³¹ nɛ¹³ khā³¹ zɛ³³ lɛ³³ ʔo³¹
 earthquake because ancient house CLS DAT
 tɛu⁵³ ʔa³³ pi¹³ zo³¹.
 collapse give ASP
 An old house collapsed by the earthquake.

Comparison between Benefactive and Malefactive

- (34) ηo³³ tu³¹ ʔo³³ ηu³³ mu³⁵ zɛ³¹ ku⁵⁵ pi³³ ʔo³³ pi¹³ -lɛ¹³ to⁵³.
 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) ηo³³ tu³¹ ʔo³³ ηu³³ mu³⁵ ʔo³¹ zɛ³¹ ku⁵⁵ pi³³ ʔo³³ pi¹³ lɛ¹³ to⁵³.
 bird one CLS 1PL DAT house in fly enter give ASP
 = benefactive: A bird has fled in our house for our sake.
- (36) ʔa³¹ tɛ³³ zao³³, ηo³³ tu³¹ ʔo³³ ηu⁵⁵ mu³⁵ zɛ³¹ ku⁵⁵
 not good MOD bird one CLS 1PL house in
 pi³³ ʔo³³ pi¹³ lɛ¹³ to⁵³.
 fly enter give ASP
 = malefactive: Oh, no! A bird has fled in our house.

Comparison between Benefactive and Inactive

- (37) tsa³³ khɔ³⁵ ʔa³³ za³³ tu³¹ tshɛ⁵³ tshɛ⁵³ tɛiɛ¹³
 old man this CLS lifetime
 ʔo³¹ tɔ³¹ to³¹ ku⁵⁵ ηi³³ pi¹³ to⁵³.
 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) tsa³³ khɔ³⁵ ʔa³³ za³³ tu³¹ tshɛ⁵³ tshɛ⁵³ tɛiɛ¹³ tu³¹ zɛ³³ ʔo³¹
 old man this CLS lifetime family DAT
 ʔo³¹ tɔ³¹ to³¹ ku⁵⁵ ηi³³ pi¹³ to⁵³.
 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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