

One morpheme, eight functions

Towards a unified analysis of *hawj* 'give' in Zhuang

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Introduction

Background

- The verbs of giving have been investigated cross-linguistically
 - East & Southeast Asian (Her 2006; Yap & Iwasaki 1998; Huang & Ahrens 1999; Thepkanjana & Uehara 2008; Jenny 2015)
 - African (Lord, Yap, & Iwasaki 2002)
 - Indo-European (Bouveret 2021)

Introduction

Background

- GIVE-corresponding morphemes are highly polysemous (e.g. Yap & Iwasaki 1998 for Malay, Thai, and Mandarin)
 - dative
 - benefactive
 - permissive-causative
 - manipulative-causative
 - co-lexicalized causative
 - reflexive-causative
 - passive
 - purposive

Introduction

Problems

- The syntactic category of GIVE remains unclear or GIVE has been vaguely treated as a coverb
- Previous studies cover mostly semantic change with little attention to structural differences
- There lacks a unified syntactic analysis to fully capture the prototypical transfer event denoted by GIVE

Introduction

Goals

- Empirically, to provide a descriptive account for GIVE (i.e. *hawj*) constructions in Zhuang
- Theoretically, to offer a new piece of evidence supporting a generalized ditransitive analysis (Lin & Huang 2015)

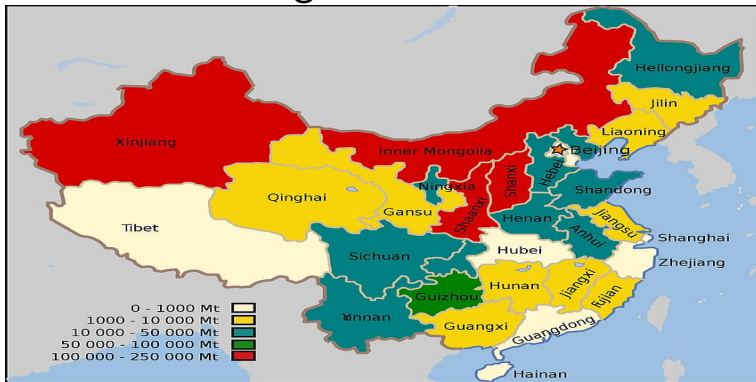
Roadmap

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Background on Zhuang
- 3 Semantic typology
- 4 Syntactic account
- 5 Conclusion

Background on Zhuang

Distribution

- mainly spoken in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, South China



(Map from <https://www.pxfuel.com/en/query?q=china+map>, accessed 26/09/2023)

Background on Zhuang

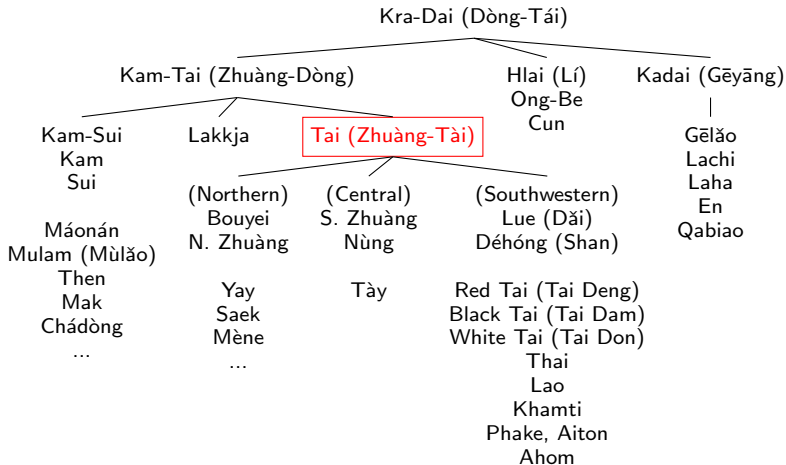
Population

- China's 7th Census in 2020
 - Zhuang: 19,568,546
 - → largest minority ethnic group
- (<http://www.stats.gov.cn/sj/ndsj/2021/indexch.htm>, accessed 26/09/2023)

Background on Zhuang

Genetic affiliation

- Tai branch of Tai-Kadai (Kra-Dai) language family (Luo 2019)



Background on Zhuang

Typological features

- AVO/SV, with modifiers following the modified items (cf. Thai)
- serial verb constructions
- pro-drop
- isolating and analytic, tonal, and lacking inflectional morphology

(Luo 2015, 2008)

Background on Zhuang

Data

- textbook
- native speakers

Semantic typology of *hawj* constructions

Fine-grained classification

Syntactic positions	Semantic functions
Double object constructions	[1] ditransitive
Preverbal domains	[2] causative [3] permissive [4] passive
Postverbal domains	[5] goal [6] benefactive [7] malefactive [8] purposive

Semantic typology of *hawj* constructions

Double object constructions

- Ditransitive use with two word orders
 - Agent > Recipient > Theme
 - (1) De hawj gou song bonj saw.
3SG give 1SG two CL book
'S/he gave me two books.'
 - Agent > Theme > Recipient (*focus*)
 - (2) Daxmeh hawj nganz gou.
mother give money 1SG
'Mother gave me money.'

Semantic typology of *hawj* constructions

Preverbal domains

- Causative readings in a continuum:
causative > permissive > passive
 - Strong causative/Manipulative-causative
- (3) Mwngz hawj boh-meh causim
2SG give father-mother worry
lai loh.
much PART
'You make your parents worried too much.'

Semantic typology of *hawj* constructions

Preverbal domains

- Medium causative/Permissive-causative

(4) Daxmeh hawj gou bae haw.
mother give 1SG go market

‘Mother let me go to the market.’

Semantic typology of *hawj* constructions

Preverbal domains

- Weak causative → Passive
 - weakened/lost agency of the subject of the matrix clause
- (5) [Gij bingh de] hawj de rox loh.
CL illness 3SG give 3SG know ASP
'His illness has got known by her.'

Semantic typology of *hawj* constructions

Postverbal domains

- Goal use

- (6) De cawx dauq buh ndeu hawj gou.
3SG buy CL clothes one give 1SG
'S/he bought me a piece of clothing.'

Semantic typology of *hawj* constructions

Postverbal domains

- Benefactive use

- (7) De guh hong hawj dicuj.
3SG do work give landlord
'S/he worked for the landlord.'

Semantic typology of *hawj* constructions

Postverbal domains

- Malefactive use

- (8) Dik hawj (mwng) mbat ga ndeu!
kick give 2SG CL foot one
'I'll give you a kick!'

Semantic typology of *hawj* constructions

Postverbal domains

- Purposive use

- (9) Gou ciengq go hawj de * (dingq).
1SG sing song give 3SG listen
'I sang a song for him to listen to.'

Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

What is the syntactic category of *hawj*?

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- *Hawj* is subject to semantic bleaching, thus functioning as a coverb (Li & Thompson 1981; Bisang 1996)

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- *Hawj* is a verb throughout (following Lin & Huang 2015)
 - evidenced by morpho-syntactic tests

Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Justifying the verbal status of *hawj*

- *Hawj* can take aspectual markers and verbal particles

(10) De cawx mak hawj **liux** gou.
3SG buy fruit give PERF 1SG
'S/he has bought fruits to give to me.'

Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Justifying the verbal status of *hawj*

- *Hawj* can be modified by the negation marker *mbouj* 'not' or *mbouj yawz* 'have not' (Chao 1968)

- (11) De guh hong **mbouj** hawj mwngz, hawj dicuj.
3SG do work NEG give 2SG give landlord
'S/he worked for the landlord rather than you.'
- (12) [Gij bingh de] **mbouj yawz** hawj de rox..
CL illness 3SG NEG give 3SG know
'His illness hasn't got known by her.'

Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Justifying the verbal status of *hawj*

- *Hawj* fails to head a PP that is moveable

(13) * *Hawj gou, de cawx mak .*
give 1SG 3SG buy fruit

Intended: 'For me, s/he bought
some fruits.'

Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Justifying the verbal status of *hawj*

- Dative alternation test (Her 2006; Pan 2009)

- (14) a. *De soengq gou song bonj saw.
3SG send 1SG two CL book
Intended: 'S/he sent me two books.'
- b. *De soengq song bonj saw gou.
3SG send two CL book 1SG
Intended: 'S/he sent me two books.'
- c. De soengq song bonj saw hawj gou.
3SG send two CL book give 1SG
'S/he sent two books to give to me.'

Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Towards an analysis

- The verbal status of *hawj* allows for a **generalized ditransitive analysis** of GIVE (Lin & Huang 2015)

Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Proposal

A generalized ditransitive analysis (Lin & Huang 2015)

Various uses of GIVE can be derived from a Larsonian structure where GIVE is a ditransitive verb taking two internal arguments

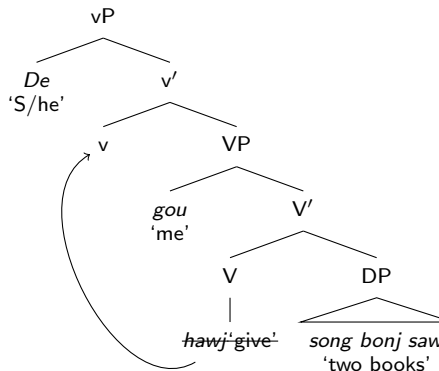
Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Ditransitive

S-IO-DO

- *hawj* projects a VP
- recipient: SPEC of VP
- theme: NP complement
- *hawj* undergoes head movement to v

- (15) De hawj gou song bonj saw.
3SG give 1SG two CL book
'S/he gave me two books.'



Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Ditransitive

S-DO-IO

How to deal with this inverted order?

I follow Simpson's (2001) predicate raising

- de-focus the VP by moving it away from the sentence-final position
- the sentence-final element would then receive a focused interpretation as opposed to other presupposed elements

- (16) Daxmeh hawj nganz gou.
mother give money 1SG
'Mother gave me money.'

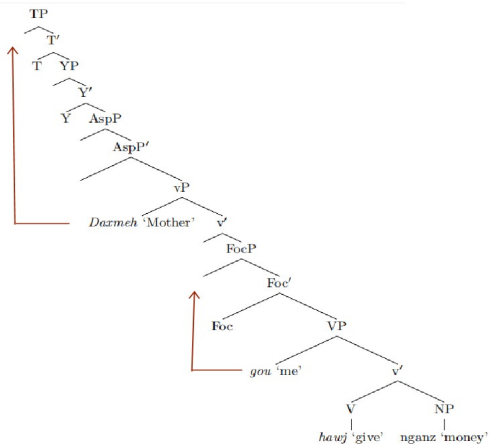
Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Ditransitive

S-DO-IO

- Raising of the NP complement of the VP predicate → EPP

(17) Daxmeh hawj nganz gou.
mother give money 1SG
'Mother gave me money.'



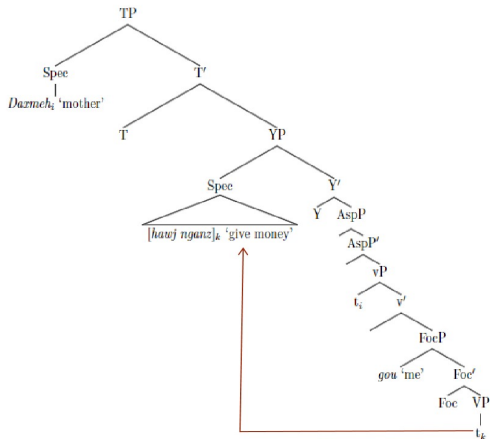
Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Ditransitive

S-DO-IO

- Remnant movement of the predicate VP

- (18) Daxmeh hawj nganz gou.
mother give money 1SG
'Mother gave me money.'



Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Causative-Permissive

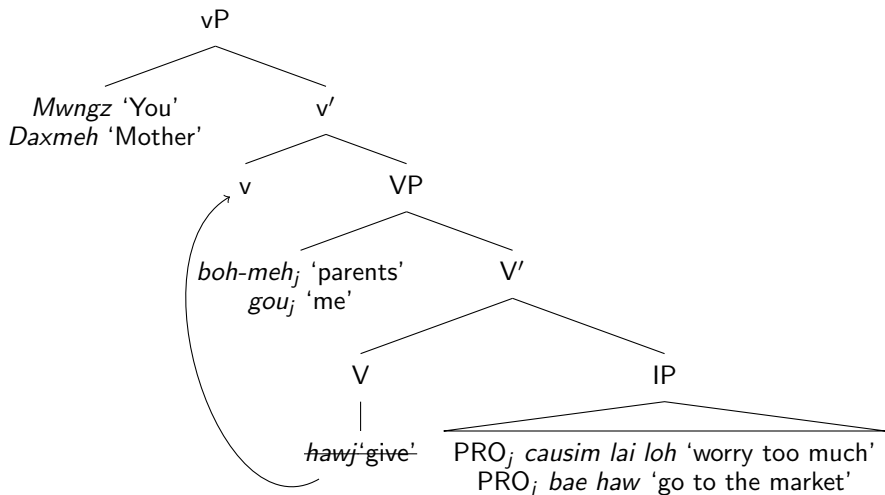
- *hawj* takes an IP complement encoding the caused event
- the event denoted by the IP is less controllable by the subject → permissive

(19) Mwngez hawj boh-meh causim lai loh.
2SG give father-mother worry much PART
'You make your parents worried too much.'

(20) Daxmeh hawj gou bae haw.
mother give 1SG go market
'Mother let me go to the market.'

Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Causative-Permissive

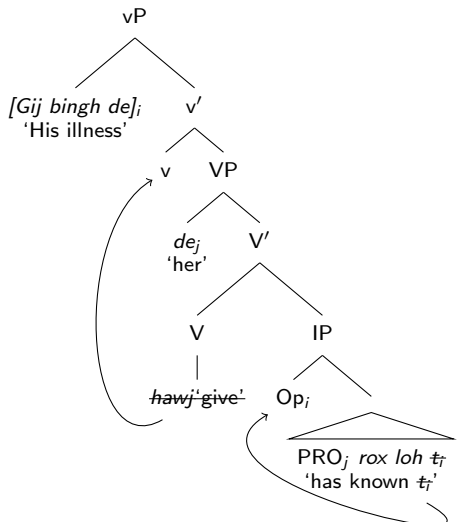


Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Passive

- IP-complement
- the matrix subject becomes the undergoer of an embedded causative event
- A null operator in the complement IP (Huang 1999)

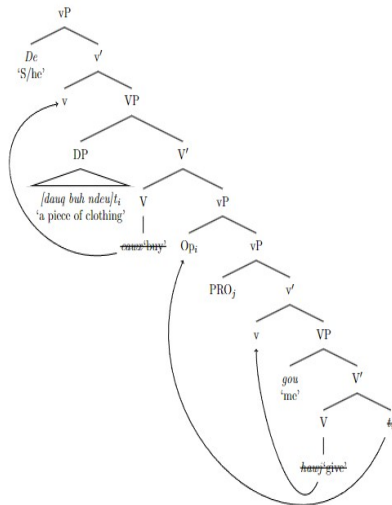
- (21) [Gij bingh de] hawj de rox loh.
CL illness 3SG give 3SG know ASP
'His illness has got known by her.'



Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Goal

- vP=*hawj*-phrase, and the specifier of v is PRO, controlled by the matrix subject *de* 'S/he'
- The VP that *hawj* projects is the complement of v, which takes the recipient *gou* 'me' as its specifier and an empty operator Op as its complement.
- Then *hawj* moves to v, and Op adjoins to vP



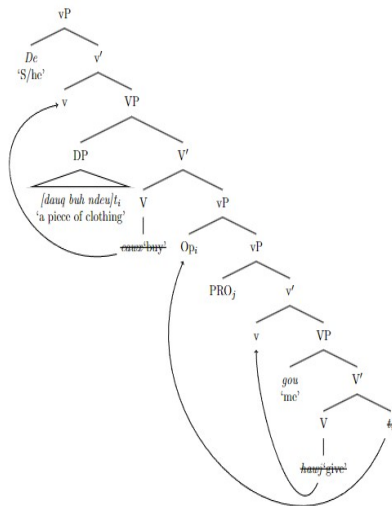
- (22) De cawx dauq buh ndeu hawj gou.
3SG buy CL clothes one give 1SG
'S/he bought me a piece of clothing.'

Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Goal

- Op is adjoined to the SPEC of the vP complement
- → *hawj* phrase can be predicated the matrix object *dauq bouh ndeu* 'a piece of clothing'
- → *dauq bouh ndeu* 'a piece of clothing' not a possible controller for PRO
- → *de* 's/he' has to be the controller

(23) De cawx dauq buh ndeu hawj gou.
3SG buy CL clothes one give 1SG
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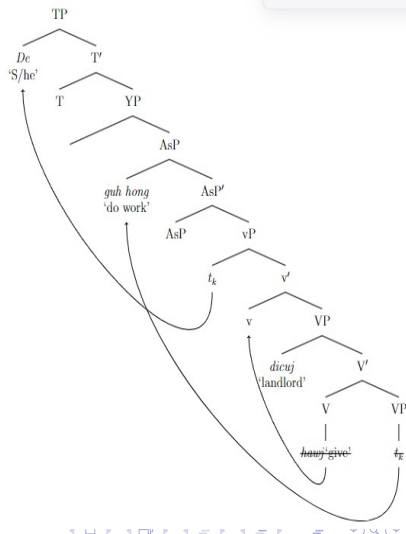


Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Benefactive

- *hawj* is the main verb taking another VP as its complement
- predicate raising (Simpson 2001)

(24) De guh hong hawj dicuj.
3SG do work give landlord
'S/he worked for the landlord.'

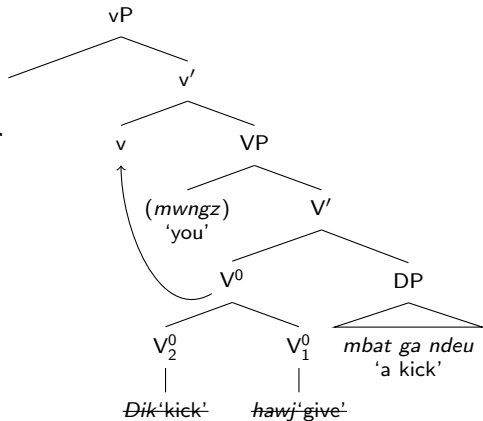


Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Malefactive

- *hawj* as the head of a verbal compound

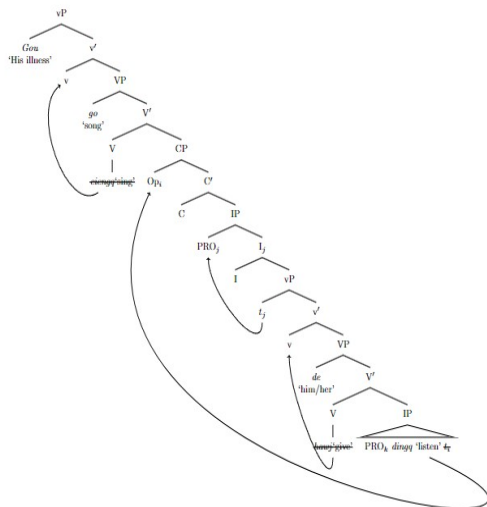
- (25) Dik hawj (mwngz) mbat ga ndeu!
kick give 2SG CL foot one
'I'll give you a kick!'



Syntactic account for *hawj* constructions

Purposive

- purposive *hawj* = permissive-causative *hawj* embedded in a purposive clause
- purposive clause = adjunct CP with a null operator



- (26) Gou ciengq go hawj de dingq.
1SG sing song give 3SG listen
'I sang a song for him to listen to.'

Conclusion

Table: Summary of the analysis

Double object constructions	ditransitive	as a main verb in the VP-shell
Preverbal domains	causative permissive passive	IP-taking
Postverbal domains	goal benefactive malefactive purposive	NP-taking VP-taking head of verbal compounds IP-taking

Conclusion

- *Hawj* in Zhuang can assume multiple uses as attested in other Southeast Asian languages, which offers new empirical insights into areal linguistics.
- A generalized ditransitive analysis (Lin Huang 2015) can be extended effectively to *hawj* constructions in Zhuang. This study provides additional justification for their analysis.

Selected references

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Thank you!
Questions or comments?