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THE RECIPIENT CONSTRUCTION IN NAXI

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By

Jung-yao Lu

Thesis Committee:

Ying-che Li, Chairperson

William O'Grady

Yuko Otsuka

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To my parents,

Zheng-siong Lu and Bi-wu Guo,

for their never-ending love and support.

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My deepest debt of gratitude goes to my parents, Zheng-siong Lu and Bi-wu Guo. They have always loved me and encouraged me to follow my dreams. I have not accompanied them to play a son's proper role. I am forever in their debt.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on describing the recipient construction of Naxi, a minority language spoken in the Naxi autonomous county in the northwestern Yunnan province of China. The Naxi language belongs to the Yi language branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It has been a matter of great importance to document Naxi in its entirety because it is seriously endangered.

This thesis is very special for the following two reasons. First, unlike most of the other subfields of linguistics, studying the grammar of an undocumented language cannot be done in a comfortable research room or in a library; it must be done in the field. Most of the Naxi data provided in this thesis were gathered directly from native speakers in the field. Second, this thesis not only provides a basic grammatical description of the recipient construction in the Naxi language, but it also includes pioneering.

The basic grammar is introduced in Chapter 2 before discussing the recipient construction. In our analysis, Naxi is an ergative language involving an active case marking system. Furthermore, Naxi is traditionally classified as an SOV or APV/SV language; however, certain traits show that it could be considered a 'free word order' language. We also found that structural topicalization in Naxi only occurs in the triadic constructions, including the instrumental construction, the benefactive construction, and the recipient construction.

In this thesis, the recipient construction is defined as "the triadic construction which involves the thematic role—recipient". The recipient construction in Naxi consists of three different patterns: the ditransitive construction (or double object construction), the dative construction, and the GIVE serial verb construction. Each of them contains

three NPs: an agentive subject, a theme-object, and a recipient-object. We further discuss the verbs which occur in the recipient construction. We found that ditransitive verbs occur much less frequently in Naxi than do dative verbs or GIVE serial verbs. In addition, the semantic classifications among the ditransitive verbs, the dative verbs, and the GIVE serial verbs are different from one another. Those discussions are treated in Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5, respectively.

In this study, we also found an argument concerning the constituent 'verb-GIVE', mentioned in the last chapter. Some examples related to the syntactic property of the 'verb-GIVE' sequences in the ditransitive construction and the dative construction will be discussed briefly. It is doubtless that the 'verb-GIVE' sequence could be identified as either a serial verb pattern or a compound verb. However, a reasonable judgment will not be made in this thesis; this question is open to discussion.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Abl	ablative case
Abs	absolutive case
Acc	accusative case
Af	affix
Asp	aspect
Ben	benefactive case
Cl	classifier
Comp	complementizer
Dat	dative case
Decl	declarative
Det	determiner
Dir Obj	direct object
DOC	double object construction
Erg	ergative case
Exp	experiential aspect
Foc	focus marker
Fut	future tense
Gen	genitive case
Hon	honorific
Imp	imperative
Ind Obj	indirect object
Instr	instrumental case
Intr	intransitive
Loc	locative
Mod	modifier marker
N	noun
Neg	negative marker
Nf	non-final marker
Nom	nominative case
Nonpst	non-past tense
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	objective marker
Obj	object
Obl	oblique case
Pass	passive
Perf	perfective aspect
Pl	plural
Pcl	particle
Poss	possessor
PP	prepositional phrase

Prog	progressive aspect
Prs	present tense
Pst	past tense
Ques	question
Sg	singular
SUBJ	subjective marker
Subj	subject
SVC	serial verb construction
T/A	tense or aspect
Top	topic
Tr	transitive verb
V	verb

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Naxi[1] is a minority language spoken in the Naxi autonomous county in the northwestern Yunnan province of China which has a population of approximately 240,000 (He 1986). The Naxi language is generally classified as belonging to the Yi[2] language branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family. The Naxi language has been variously influenced in its phonology and syntactic structure by prolonged contact with Chinese (including Mandarin and other Chinese dialects), Tibetan (especially Kham Tibetan), and the Bai[3] languages.

1.1 Naxi

The Naxi, a minority people with a long history of living mainly in the Northwestern Yunnan province, created and developed a hieroglyphic writing system called Dongba pictographs in the 13th century. The Naxi Dongba Script, a sutra in 500 volumes used by the Naxi shamans (called Dongba) and written in Dongba pictographs, has been recognized by international academic and cultural circles as a most invaluable human heritage. At present, there are still a few aged shamans and linguists who can read and write the Dongba Script word for word. This unique writing system is alive, but not for long. Because it takes over 15 years to become proficient in the Dongba Script, few Naxi want to learn it.

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[1] Naxi is also spelled Nakhi, Naqxi, Nasi or Nahi.
[2] Yi (also called Lolo or Wu-man) is classified as Tibeto-Burman, with a population of 7 million distributed in the mountains of Southwest China.
[3] The Bai language is usually classified as Tibeto-Burman. Most Bai speakers, numbering approximately 1.4 million, are distributed across the northwestern Yunnan province of China.

The Naxi language is a tonal[4] Tibeto-Burman language of the Yi branch. It has been affected in various ways by contact with the larger populations of Han, Tibetan, and Bai speakers. In fact, many Naxi elders (over 60 years old) are bilingual with either Tibetan or Bai; in addition, most second-generation native speakers (between 18 and 59 years old) are bilingual with Mandarin. According to similarities and dissimilarities in phonology, vocabulary, and grammar, the Naxi language can be divided into two major dialect groups: the Western dialect and the Eastern dialect. The former is spoken by approximately 200,000 natives primarily living in the area extending north and west from Lijiang Town, one of the most beautiful ancient towns of China located in the shade of the Jade Dragon Mountain. The latter extends to the northeast of the Naxi autonomous county, with a population of approximately 40,000. According to He (1986) and Jiang's (1993) classification of Naxi dialects, the Western dialect is further divided into three accents, which are named based on their dialectal zones: 1) the Dayanzhen accent, 2) the Lijiang Plain accent, and 3) the Baoshanzhou accent. In addition, the Eastern dialect is also subcategorized into three accents: 1) the Yongning Plain accent[5], 2) the Beiqu Plain accent, and 3) the Guabie accent. Dialectal difference between the two main dialects affects general intelligibility[6]. For example, the Yongning Plain accent is apparently not understood by Dayanzhen speakers. Currently, only five percent of Naxi children can

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[4] Naxi has four tones: a 'high level' tone, represented as ˥; a 'mid-level' tone, represented as ˧; a 'low falling' tone, represented as ˩; and a 'low raising' tone, represented as ˨ (He 1986: 10).

[5] He (1986) poses that the Yongning Plain accent spoken by the Mosuo (or Moso) minority belongs to the Eastern dialect of Naxi. However, some linguists regard the Yongning Plain accent as a distinct language, named the "Mosuo" language. The Mosuo people are very famous for their special marriage system called "tisese"—"walking to and fro".

[6] Dialects are "subdivisions of languages (Crystal 2000: 114)." Generally, it is usually said that dialects are mutually intelligible; however, the 'dialects' of Naxi (Western dialect and Eastern dialect) are mutually unintelligible in their spoken form. We use the 'dialects of Naxi' because they share the same written form (Dongba pictographs).

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speak Naxi; the rest tend to speak Mandarin as their mother language[7]. The Naxi

language is thus endangered.

1.2   Fieldwork

Due to the shortage of data existing literature, I had to conduct fieldwork in the

Naxi autonomous county in order to collect first-hand data. The purpose of the fieldwork

was to find out which triadic verbs can occur in the recipient construction, including the

ditransitive construction, the dative construction, and the GIVE serial verb construction.

From January 10, 2004 to July 28, 2004, totaling 200 days, I stayed in Lijiang Town and

Kunming City in Yunnan province of China, investigating the Naxi language. Because

all of my informants live in Kunming City, I spent five months there collecting data from

them. The oldest informant was Jiren He (83 years old), the author of "Naxi Yu Jian

Zhi" (Naxi Grammar) and the most famous Naxi linguist in China. The only female

informant was Qinglian Zhao (34 years old); she works as a secretary for the Committee

of Yunnan Minority languages. The third informant was Wanchuan He (33 years old); he

is a lecturer teaching in the Department of Chinese Language and Literature in the

College of Yunnan Police Officer. All of them speak the Western dialect of the Naxi

language as a first language and Mandarin as a second language. This thesis does not

represent any data of the Eastern dialect of the Naxi language.

1.3   Scope of Study

This thesis focuses on describing the recipient construction of Naxi. In this study,

we define the recipient construction as "the triadic construction which involves the

thematic role—recipient". "Recipient" usually refers to the animate participant passively,

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[7] This statistic is based on my investigation in the Lijiang Primary School in May 2004.

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even unwillingly, implicated by the happening or state expressed by the "verbs of transfer", such as give, send, mail, and so on. It is typically associated with the grammatical relation of the indirect object (also called dative object), as in (1). In sentence (1), the dative object *Mary* takes the recipient role.

(1) Recipient as an indirect object in English
     John   mailed   the letter   to   **Mary.**
                           Direct object   Indirect object
                                                        Recipient

In some languages, such as English and Mandarin Chinese, the recipient can be the primary object in the ditransitive construction in which neither of the objects occurs with an adposition or a dative case marker, as in (2). In sentence (2), the primary object *Mary* takes the recipient role; the other object is referred to as the secondary object (O'Grady 2004: 45).

(2) Recipient as a primary object in English
     John   mailed   **Mary**   the letter.
                           Primary object   Secondary object
                           Recipient

Sometimes, the subject behaves as a recipient (Crystal 2000: 323), as in (3a). In (3a) the subject *John* takes the recipient role. In addition, some verbs, such as *get* and *receive*, must take a recipient subject, as in (3b). Note that such constructions involving the recipient subject will not be included or discussed in this study.

(3) a. Recipient as a subject in English (data from Crystal 2000: 323)
     John   has   seen   a   vision.
     Subject
     Recipient

     b. Recipient as a subject in English
     John   **received**   a   ticket   from   Mary.
     Subject
     Recipient

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In this thesis, we note that the recipient construction in Naxi consists of three different constructions: 1) the ditransitive construction (or double object construction); 2) the dative construction; and 3) the GIVE serial verb construction. The ditransitive construction contains three NPs: an agentive subject; a theme-object; and a recipient-object. The theme-object normally precedes the recipient-object, as in (4). Note that the ergative case –nɯ˧ is obligatorily used with the agentive subject[8].

(4) Ditransitive construction in Naxi

ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	ba˥ba˥	sɯ˧tsɯ˧	pu˥	se˩[9].
brother	Erg	flower	teacher	give	Perf
Subject		Sec. Obj.	Pri. Obj.		
Agent		Theme	Recipient		

'Elder brother gave the teacher flowers (as a present).'

The dative construction in Naxi also involves three NPs: an agentive subject; a theme-object; and a recipient-object. It has three types: in one, the recipient-object (or indirect object) marked by the dative case marker –to˥ precedes the theme-object (or direct object); the ergative case –nɯ˧ is overt, as in (5a). In the second type, the recipient-object also precedes the theme-object; but the ergative case –nɯ˧ is covert, as in (5b). In the third type, the theme-object precedes the dative-marked recipient-object, and the ergative case –nɯ˧ is marked for agentive subject obligatorily, as in (5c).

(5) a. Dative construction: recipient-object preceding theme-object

ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	sɯ˧tsɯ˧	to˥	tɕiə˥liə˧	dɯ˧xu˧	ʐə˥	se˩.
brother	Erg	teacher	Dat	money	some	give	Perf
Subject		Indir. Obj.		Dir. Obj.			
Agent		Recipient		Theme			

'Elder brother gave some money to the teacher.'

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[8] There is one exception that is still an unexplained puzzle—the ergative case –nɯ˧ cannot be employed when the agentive subject is first person singular ŋə˩ 'I'.

[9] He (1985) defined se˩ as a perfective aspect marker. It should be noted that Naxi does not have the past tense marker.

b. Dative construction: recipient-object preceding theme-object

əɬbv√	suɹ√tsuɹɬ	toˀ	tɕiəˀliəɬ	duɹɬxuɬ	ʐəˀ	seʌ.
brother	teacher	Dat	money	some	give	Perf
Subject	Indir. Obj.		Dir. Obj.			
Agent	Recipient		Theme			

'Elder brother gave some money to the teacher.'

c. Dative construction: theme-object preceding recipient-object

əɬbv√	nuɹɬ	tɕiəˀliəɬ	duɹɬxuɬ	suɹ√tsuɹɬ	toˀ	ʐəˀ	seʌ.
brother	Erg	money	some	teacher	Dat	give	Perf
Subject		Dir. Obj.		Indir. Obj.			
Agent		Theme		Recipient			

'Elder brother gave some money to the teacher.'

The GIVE serial verb construction involves three NPs (an agentive subject, a theme-object, and a recipient-object) and two verbs (a main verb and the verb *ʐəˀ* 'to give'). In the GIVE serial verb construction, the main verb precedes the verb *ʐəˀ* 'to give'; the recipient-object is placed between the main verb and *ʐəˀ* 'to give', as in (6). In sentence (6), the main verb is *ʐy√* 'to take'; the theme-object *niɬ* 'fish' always precedes the recipient-object *suɹ√tsuɹɬ* 'teacher'. Example (6) also shows that the GIVE serial verb construction has two types: in one, it does not involve the dative marker *–toˀ*, as in (6a); in the other, it involves the dative marker *–toˀ*, as in (6b).

(6) a. GIVE serial verb construction not involving dative marker *–toˀ*

əɬbv√	nuɹɬ	niɬ	duɹ	meɬ	ʐy√	suɹ√tsuɹɬ	ʐəˀ	seʌ.
brother	Erg	fish	one	Cl	take	teacher	give	Perf
Agent		Theme				Recipient		

'He took a fish (from someone) to the teacher.'

b. GIVE serial verb construction involving dative marker *–toˀ*

əɬbv√	nuɹɬ	niɬ	duɹɬ	meɬ	ʐy√	suɹ√tsuɹɬ	toˀ	ʐəˀ	seʌ.
brother	Erg	fish	one	Cl	take	teacher	Dat	give	Perf
Agent		Theme				Recipient			

'He took a fish (from someone) to the teacher.'

Before discussing the recipient construction, we will provide the basic grammar in Chapter 2, including case, word order, transitivity, intransitivity, and structural topicalization.

1.4   Structure of the Thesis

In this section, we outline the structure of the remainder of this thesis.

In Chapter 2, we will introduce the basic grammar of Naxi, including case, word order, transitivity, intransitivity, and structural topicalization in the triadic constructions and the recipient construction.

In Chapter 3, we will consider primarily the syntactic and semantic characteristics of one of Naxi's recipient constructions—the ditransitive construction. We will discuss the syntactic classification of ditransitive constructions. Some universal features of the ditransitive construction will be demonstrated. Also a discussion of Naxi's ditransitive construction concerning cross-linguistic comparison will be provided. Finally, we will discuss semantic classifications of Naxi's ditransitive verbs.

In Chapter 4, we will discuss some syntactic and semantic features in dative constructions. The definition of the dative construction will be clarified. Some characteristics of Naxi's dative construction will be demonstrated. Naxi's dative verbs and their semantic classifications will also be provided. Finally, we will compare Naxi's dative verbs and ditransitive verbs with regard to semantics.

In Chapter 5, we will give a comprehensive account of Naxi's GIVE serial constructions, including their syntactic and semantic nature; some defining features related to the GIVE serial construction will be included. We will also provide Naxi's GIVE serial verbs and their semantic classifications. The comparison between

ditransitive verbs and the main verbs of the GIVE serial verb construction will also be discussed.

Finally, in Chapter 6, we will summarize the findings about Naxi's recipient construction in Naxi. Some questions of Naxi's recipient construction useful for further study will be briefly discussed.

CHAPTER 2

BASIC GRAMMAR IN NAXI

In this chapter, we will introduce the basic grammar of Naxi—case, word order, transitivity, intransitivity, and structural topicalization in the triadic[10] constructions and the recipient construction—together with their notional and grammatical characteristics.

Case will be treated first in section 2.1, where we will show that Naxi is an ergative language involving an "active case marking system" (Dixon 1994)[11]. In addition, certain major cases, such as genitive, dative, locative, instrumental, benefactive, and focus will be demonstrated. In this chapter, we will also discuss the canonical word order APV/SV (Comrie 1978) and the non-canonical word order PAV/SV of Naxi in section 2.2. Also included in this chapter will be a discussion of transitivity and intransitivity in sections 2.3 and 2.4, respectively. Finally, in section 2.5, we will discuss some grammatical characteristics of the structural topicalization in Naxi's triadic constructions and the recipient construction.

2.1 Case

"Syntactic case" usually refers to a marking system which indicates NPs' grammatical relation in a sentence. In contrast, "semantic case" is used to encode NPs' thematic roles within the sentence. In this section we will focus on syntactic case. Naxi's case system will be demonstrated in section 2.1.1; other major cases will be discussed in section 2.1.2.

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[10] A predicate that takes three arguments is called triadic.
[11] We took William O'Grady's advice and analyzed Naxi as an ergative language involving an active case marking system.

2.1.1 Case System

In order to analyze the possible systems for case marking, it is very common for linguistic typologists to adopt the framework of three basic "semantico-syntactic roles", termed S, A, and P, where S refers to the subject of an intransitive verb, A refers to the subject of a transitive verb, and P refers to the direct object of a transitive verb (Comrie 1978). Given this distinction of S, A, and P, there are four systems for grouping case (Croft 2003: 355): I) the nominative/accusative system; II) the ergative/absolutive system; III) the "all distinction system"; and IV) the "no distinction" system[12]. It should be noted that Croft's classification is based on the logical possibility of the case system; therefore, it does not contain a few unusual case systems, such as active system and split ergativity[13].

In System I, S and A involve the same case marker, while a different marker is used for P. This system is usually referred to as a nominative/accusative system in which the case that marks both S and A can be termed the nominative case, while the case that marks P alone is called the accusative case. A language involving System I is defined as an accusative language. For example, in Japanese, both S and A referred to as nominative employ the same case marker *–ga*, while P referred to as accusative uses the case marker *–o*, as in (1).

(1) a. Transitive verb in Japanese (data from O'Grady 2004: 71)
       Yumiko-**ga**   sono   kodomo-**o**   sikat-ta.
       Yumiko-Nom   that   child-Acc   scold-Pst
       'Yumiko scolded that child.'

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[12] Comrie (1978: 331) points out that there are five logically possible case marking systems. One of these systems which involves the same marker for both A and P and a different marker for S, seems not to occur as an attested case marking system.

[13] A case system combining the ergative/absolutive and nominative/accusative case marking is called "split ergativity (O'Grady 2004:75)".

b. Intransitive verb in Japanese
Kodomo-**ga**   it-ta.
child-Nom   go-Pst
'The child went.'

In System II, S and P involve the same case marker, while a different marker is used for A. This system is known as an ergative/absolutive system in which the case that marks both S and P can be called the absolutive case, while the case that marks only A is called the ergative case. A language involving System II is defined as an ergative language. The following sentences provide examples: in Tongan, the subject (S) of an intransitive verb and the direct object (P) of a transitive verb referred to as absolutive use the same case marker *'a–*, while the subject (A) of a transitive verb is marked by the case marker *'e–*, as in (2).

(2) a. Transitive verb in Tongan (data from O'Grady 2004: 73)
      Na'e   ma'u   **'e**   Tevita   **'a**   e   me'a'ofa.
      Pst   receive Erg   David   Abs   the   gift
      'David received the gift.'

      b. Intransitive verb in Tongan
      Na'e   alu   **'a**   Tevita   ki   Fisi.
      Pst   go   Abs   David   to   Fiji
      'David went to Fiji.'

System III, with three different case markers for S, A, and P, respectively, is relatively rare among the languages of the world. This case marking system is referred to as a three-way (or tripartite)[14] system in which any case that marks S is the nominative case, any case that marks A is the ergative case, and any case that marks P is the accusative case (O'Grady 2004: 80). It is illustrated by the following examples. In

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[14] O'Grady (2004: 80) uses the term three-way, while Comrie(1978: 332) and Payne (1997: 153) use the term tripartite.

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Antekerrepenhe (an Arandic language in Central Australia), the ergative case *–le* marks

the subject (A) of a transitive verb; the accusative case *–nhe* marks the direct object (P) of

a transitive verb; and the case for the subject (S) of an intransitive verb is nominative,

which is morphologically unmarked, as in (3). Note that Dixon (1994) and O'Grady

(2004) classify the three-way system as a subcategory of the ergative/absolutive system

(System II).

(3) a. Transitive verb in Antekerrepenhe (data from O'Grady 2004: 80)
    Arengke-**le**   aye-**nhe**   ke-ke.
    dog-Erg   me-Acc   bite-Pst
    'The dog bit me.'

    b. Intransitive verb in Antekerrepenhe
    Arengke-**Ø**   nterre-ke.
    dog-Nom   run-Pst
    'The dog ran.'

In System IV, a single case marker (usually absence of case marking) is used for

all three semantico-syntactic roles, S, A, and P. This type can be illustrated by Mandarin.

There is no case marker that morphologically distinguish S, A, and P; none phrases are

unmarked whether S, A, or P, as in (4).

(4) a. Transitive verb in Mandarin
    Zhangsan   qin   le   Lisi.
    Name   kiss   Pst   Name
    'Zhangsan kissed Lisi.'

    b. Intransitive verb in Mandarin
    Zhangsan   lai   le.
    Name   come   Pst
    'Zhangsan came.'

Following Dixon's (1994) investigation of ergativity, we find that there are at

least four case marking systems applied in the ergative languages: the ergative/absolutive

system (System II), the three-way system (System III), the active system, and split

ergativity (see footnote 13 above). Naxi is classified as an ergative language involving

the active (or agentive) case system. In Naxi, the subject (A) of a transitive verb and the

subject of an unergative[15] verb take the same case marker –nɯ˧ called the ergative case,

as in (5a) and (5b), while the direct object (P) of a transitive verb and the subject of an

unaccusative[16] verb marked by a zero –Ø called the absolutive case, as in (5a) and (5c).

Note that both subjects in (5a) and (5b) have in common the fact that their referent is

agentive; the object in (5a) and the subject in (5c) are alike in that their referent is theme-

like.

(5) a. Transitive construction in Naxi
    ə˧bv˩   **nɯ˧**   the˧ɣɯ˧   Ø   so˩   ne˩   ʐə˧.
    brother   Erg   book   Abs   study   Prog   Pcl
    'Elder brother is reading a book.'

    b. Unergative intransitive in Naxi
    ə˧bv˩   **nɯ˧**   ʑi˥   ne˩   ʐə˧
    brother   Erg   sleep   Prog   Pcl
    'Elder brother is sleeping.'

    c. Unaccusative intransitive in Naxi
    Xɯ˩   Ø   gɯ˧   ne˩   ʐə˧.
    rain   Abs   rain(v)   Prog   Pcl
    'It is raining.'

Another example shows Naxi's case system illustrated in (6). In sentence (6), the

subject (A) of a transitive verb and the subject of an unergative verb take the same case

marker –nɯ˧, as in (6a) and (6b), while the direct object (P) of a transitive verb and the

subject of an unaccusative verb marked by a zero –Ø, as in (6a), (6c), and (6d). Note that

the sentence (6c) shows the example of the unaccusative sentence with an animate/human

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[15] Unergative is a term referring to intransitive verbs which have agent-like subjects.
[16] Unaccusative is a term referring to intransitive verbs which have theme-like subjects.

subject, while the sentence (6d) is the unaccusative sentence that involves an

inanimate/non-human subject.

(6) a. Transitive construction in Naxi (data from He 1986: 81)

Khɯ˥	nɯ˥	ɕi˥	Ø	tsha˥	kv˥.
dog	Erg	people	Abs	bite	can

'Dog can bite people.'

b. Unergative intransitive in Naxi

Khɯ˥	nɯ˥	lvˇ	neˇ	ʐə˥.
dog	Erg	bark	Prog	Pcl

'A dog is barking.'

c. Unaccusative intransitive with an animate/human subject

ə˥bvˇ	Ø	ndo˥	seˇ.
brother	Abs	fall	Perf

'Elder brother fell.'

d. Unaccusative intransitive with an inanimate/non-human subject

Lv˥pa˥	Ø	pi˥liˇ.
stone	Abs	fall

'A stone fall.'

As displayed in the following Table 2.1, Naxi involves an active system in which

the ergative case marker –nɯ˥ marks the subjects of unergative verbs and the subjects of

transitive verbs; the absolutive case marker –Ø marks the subjects of unaccusative verbs

and the direct object of transitive verbs.

Table 2.1. Case in Naxi

Grammatical Relation	Case Form
Subject of Transitive Verb	–nɯ˥ (Ergative)
Subject of Unergative Verb	–nɯ˥ (Ergative)
Subject of Unaccusative Verb	–Ø (Absolutive)
Direct Object of Transitive Verb	–Ø (Absolutive)

Table 2.2 summarizes the five types of case marking system we have illustrated in section 2.1.2, including the nominative/accusative system, the ergative/absolutive system, the three-way system, the no distinction system, and the active system.

Table 2.2. Five Types of Case Marking

Grammatical Relation	Nom/Acc	Erg/Abs	3-way	No dist.	Active
Subj. of Trans. Verb	X (Nom.)	X (Erg.)	X (Erg.)	X/Ø	X (Erg)
Subj. of Unerg. Verb	X (Nom.)	Y (Abs.)	Y (Nom.)	X/Ø	X (Erg)
Subj. of Unacc. Verb	X (Nom.)	Y (Abs.)	Y (Nom.)	X/Ø	Y (Abs)
Dir. Obj. of Trans. Verb	Y (Acc.)	Y (Abs.)	Z (Acc.)	X/Ø	Y (Abs)

2.1.2 Other Major Cases

In addition to the ergative and absolutive cases, there are some other case forms in Naxi. In this section, we will briefly consider the following cases: 1) genitive, 2) dative, 3) locative, 4) instrumental, 5) benefactive, and 6) focus.

The genitive case signals some kind of dependent relationship, such as possession, between the head noun and another nominal category in the NP. Naxi's genitive case is marked by the possessive marker *–gəˈ*. It appears that the genitive-marked NP is most commonly associated with the thematic role possessor, as in (7a); furthermore there are other possible genitive-marked NPs, including theme, location, or time, as shown in (7b) to (7d), respectively. Note that Naxi's genitive case is also used to mark the modifier, as in (7e).

(7) a. Genitive case marking a possessor
      thɯˈ   gəˈ   kuˈmuˇ
      he   Gen   cap
      Poss
      'his cap'

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b. Genitive case marking a theme

xuɑ˩le˥   gə˥   ʂɯ˥
cat   Gen   death
Theme
'cat's death'

c. Genitive case marking a location

ʑi˥gv˥dy˥   gə˥   dʑi˥
Lijiang   Gen   house
Location
'Lijiang's house'

d. Genitive case marking a time

ə˥ni˥   gə˥   mbe˥
yesterday   Gen   snow
Time
'yesterday's snow'

e. Genitive case marking a modifier (data from He 1985: 94)

ka˥tsi˥   gə˥   bɑ˥lɑ˥   dɯ˥   lv˥
clean   Gen   clothes   one   Cl
Modifier
'a clean clothes'

The dative case typically expresses the grammatical relationship of indirect object. Naxi applies two different dative markers: one is *–to˥*; the other is *–tɕy˥*. For example, the dative case *–to˥* marks the indirect object (usually associated with the recipient) in the dative construction, as in (8a). However, dative case also marks the oblique (usually theme or goal) in the intransitive construction, as in (8b), (8c). In (8b), the oblique is associated with the theme; however in (8c), the oblique is associated with the goal. Notice that, the oblique in sentence (8d) is referred to as either the theme or the goal because the sentence has ambiguous meaning. When the translation is "Elder brother shot a rabbit", the oblique refers to the theme; if the sentence is translated as "Elder brother shot at a rabbit", the oblique refers to the goal.

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(8) a. Dative construction

ə⎺bv√	nɯ⎺	the⎺yɯ⎺	gu⎺me⎺	to⎺	ʐə⎺.
brother	Erg	book	sister	Dat	give
			Recipient		

'Elder brother gave a book to little sister.'

b. Intransitive construction

ə√mo⎺	nɯ⎺	thɯ⎺	to⎺	me⎺	dʑi⎺.
mother	Erg	he	Dat	teach	Exp
		Theme			

'Mother has taught him.'

c. Intransitive construction

Thɯ⎺	to⎺	ʂə⎺	na√
he	Dat	say	must
Goal			

'(You) must talk to him.'

d. Intransitive construction[17]

ə⎺bv√	nɯ⎺	tho⎺le⎺	to⎺	kha⎺[18].
brother	Erg	rabbit	Dat	shoot
		Theme/Goal		

'Elder brother shot a rabbit.'
'Elder brother shot at a rabbit.'

The other dative case –tɕy√ is used to mark the recipient or the goal, as in (9a) and (9b), respectively. Sentence (9b) is only translated as "Elder brother shot at a rabbit".

Note that the dative cases –to⎺ and –tɕy√ are not always interchangeable. The differences between the two will be discussed in section 4.2.

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[17] William O'Grady comments that sentence (8d) and (9b) could be antipassive constructions. Antipassivization is "an operation that applies to a transitive verb to downgrade the argument that would otherwise be the direct object by converting it into an oblique (O'Grady 2004: 124)". In this case, *tho⎺le⎺* 'rabbit' is referred to as an oblique rather than a theme or a goal.

[18] The verb *kha⎺* ' to shoot' also behaves as a transitive verb, as the follows. The sentence (i) involves an absolutive marker –Ø added to the theme *tho⎺le⎺* 'rabbit' with the transitive verb *kha⎺* 'shoot'.

(i) Transitive construction

ə⎺bv√	nɯ⎺	tho⎺le⎺	Ø	kha⎺.
brother	Erg	rabbit	Abs	shoot
		Theme		

'Elder brother shot a rabbit.'

(9) a. Locative/dative case marking a recipient

ə˩bv˧	nɯ˧	**gu˧me˧**	tɕy˧	tɕiə˥iə˧	dɯ˧xu˧	le˧tshy˥.
brother	Erg	sister	Dat	money	some	repay
		Recipient				

'Elder brother repaid some money to little sister.'

b. Intransitive construction

ə˩bv˧	nɯ˧	tho˧le˧	**tɕy˧**	kha˥.
brother	Erg	rabbit	Dat	shoot
		Goal		

*'Elder brother shot a rabbit.'[19]

'Elder brother shot at a rabbit.'

The locative case is "primarily concerned with the expression of location, destination, source, and path (O'Grady 2004: 85)". Naxi employs at least three locative case markers, *–nɯ˧,–tɕy˧*, and *–to˥*, which have to do with static location, directional movement, and source.

Like some ergative languages, Naxi's locative marker *–nɯ˧* is homophonic[20] with its ergative case marker. The locative marker *–nɯ˧* is used to mark the location, as in (10a), or the inanimate source, as in (10b). Note that the locative marker *–nɯ˧* cannot co-occur with the ergative case *–nɯ˧*, as in (10c).

(10) a. Locative case marking a location

ə˧bv˧	ʐə˧ko˧	**nɯ˧**	the˧ɣɯ˧	ly˧.
brother	home	Loc	book	see
Agent	Location		Theme	

'Big brother read a book at home.'

---

[19] When the asterisk appears before a translated sentence, it means Naxi cannot be interpreted into the demonstrated sentence.

[20] Homophonic is "a term used in semantic analysis to refer to words (i.e. lexemes) which have the same pronunciation, but differ in meaning (Crystal 2000: 185)".

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b. Locative case marking an inanimate source (data from He 1985: 81)

Thɯ˥ ʑi˥tʂhɯ˥ **nɯ˥** tshɯ√.
he Kunming Loc come
    Source

'He came from Kunming.'

c. Locative case –*nɯ˥* co-occurring with the ergative case –*nɯ˥*

*ə˥bv√ **nɯ˥** ʐə˥ko√ **nɯ˥** the˥ɣɯ˥ ly√.
  brother Erg home Loc book see
  'Big brother read a book at home.'

The second locative case suffix –*tɕy√* commonly marks the goal or the direction.

To my knowledge, most of the locative case markers in other languages do not occur with

an animate goal; however, there are a few cases where Naxi's locative –*tɕy√* does occur

with an animate goal. For example, the locative marker –*tɕy√* in (11a) is associated with

an inanimate goal *pə˥tɕi˥* 'Beijing', while (11b) involves an animate goal *gu˥me˥* 'little

sister' marked by –*tɕy√*.

(11) a. Locative case marking an inanimate goal

ə˥bv√ **pə˥tɕi˥** tɕy√ ndʑi˥.
brother Beijing Loc walk
        Goal

'Elder brother walked toward Beijing.'

b. Locative case marking an animate goal

ə˥bv√ nɯ˥ **gu˥me˥** tɕy√ dʐə√.
brother Erg sister Loc run
            Goal

'Elder brother ran toward little sister.'

The third locative case –*to˥* is used to mark the source, as in (12a) and (12b).

Note that the *to˥*-marked source is usually an animate participant.

(12) a. Locative case marking an animate source (data from He 1985: 82)

Thɯ˧	ŋə˩	to˥	the˧ɣɯ˧	so˩.
he	I	Loc	book	learn
		Source		

'He learned the knowledge from me.'

b. Locative case marking an animate source

ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	gu˧me˧	to˥	tɕi˩	dɯ˧	pha˩	ŋga˧.
brother	Erg	sister	Loc	chess	one	Cl	win
			Source				

? 'Elder brother won a game of chess from little sister.'[21]
*'Elder brother won a game of chess with little sister.'

The instrumental case marks a tool by which an agent accomplishes an action. By most accounts, the instrument must be non-human. As in some ergative languages, Naxi's instrument case *–nɯ˧* is marked by the homophonic case as its ergative. For example, in sentence (13a), the instrumental marker *–nɯ˧* marks the instrument *sɯ˥kv˧* 'sickle'. Notice that the instrumental marker *–nɯ˧* cannot co-occur with the ergative case *–nɯ˧*, as in (13b).

(13) a. Instrumental case

ə˧bv˩	sɯ˥kv˧	nɯ˧	dze˧	khv˧.
brother	sickle	Inst	wheat	cut
Agent	Instrument		Theme	

'Elder brother cut wheat with a sickle.'

b. Instrumental case *–nɯ˧* co-occurring with the ergative case *–nɯ˧*

*ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	sɯ˥kv˧	nɯ˧	dze˧	khv˧.
brother	Erg	sickle	Inst	wheat	cut

'Elder brother cut wheat with a sickle.'

The benefactive case is used to express the notion "on behalf of" or "for the benefit of" (Crystal 2000: 41). Naxi employs a benefactive case marker *–ndzɯ˧be˧* to

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[21] When the interrogation mark appears before a translated sentence, it means the translated sentence may be ungrammatical in English; but it does show the correct meaning in Naxi.

mark the benefactive, as in (14). The benefactive construction in Naxi has three types.

In the first type, the benefactive-object marked by the benefactive marker *–ndzɯ˥be˥*

precedes the theme-object; in addition, the ergative case *–nɯ˥* is overt, as in (14a). In the

second type, the benefactive-object also precedes the theme-object, but the ergative

case *–nɯ˥* is not employed. In the third type, the theme-object precedes the benefactive-

marked object, and the ergative case *–nɯ˥* is obligatorily used for agentive subject, as in

(14c).

(14) a. Benefactive construction

ə˥bv√	nɯ˥	gu˥me˥	ndzɯ˥be˥	the˥yɯ˥	dɯ˥	tsha˥	xa√.
brother	Erg	sister	Ben	book	one	Cl[22]	buy
		Benefactive		Theme			

'Elder brother bought a book for little sister.'

b. Benefactive construction

ə˥bv√		gu˥me˥	ndzɯ˥be˥	the˥yɯ˥	dɯ˥	tsha˥	xa√.
brother		sister	Ben	book	one	Cl	buy
		Benefactive		Theme			

'Elder brother bought a book for little sister.'

c. Benefactive construction

ə˥bv√	nɯ˥	the˥yɯ˥	dɯ˥	tsha˥	gu˥me˥	ndzɯ˥be˥	xa√.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	sister	Ben	buy
		Theme			Benefactive		

'Elder brother bought a book for little sister.'

The focus case *–nɯ˥* is used to mark an identificational[23] and contrastive[24] focus

in Naxi. According to the data we collected so far, the focus marker *–nɯ˥* occurs in

several constructions, including the unergative construction, as in (15a) and (15b); the

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[22] Naxi employs a classifier in NPs which involve numbers.

[23] Kiss (1998: 245) points out that "an identificational focus represents a subset of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds".

[24] Lambrecht (1994: 213) mentions that the contrastive focus can be elicited by yes/no questions. In general, the contrastive focus occurs in the strongly exhaustive answer sentence.

unaccusative construction, as in (15c); the locative construction, as in (15d); and the

instrumental construction, as in (15e). Note that the focus constructions in Naxi are

usually translated into the cleft sentences[25] in English.

(15) a. Focus case *–nɯ˧* in the unergative construction

ə˧bv̩˩	**nɯ˧**	za˩	ne˩	ʐə˧.
brother	Foc	laugh	Prog	Pcl
Focus				

'It's elder brother (as opposed to others) who is laughing.'

b. Focus case *–nɯ˧* in the unergative construction

Khɯ˧	**nɯ˧**	ʑi˥	se˩
dog	Foc	sleep	Perf
Focus			

'It's the dog (as opposed to others) that has slept.'

c. Focus case *–nɯ˧* in the unaccusative construction

ə˧bv̩˩	**nɯ˧**	ndo˥	se˩.
brother	Foc	fall	Perf
Focus			

'It's elder brother (as opposed to others) who fell.'

d. Focus case *–nɯ˧* in the locative construction

ə˧bv̩˩	**nɯ˧**	ʐə˧ko˩	the˧ɣɯ˧	ly˩.
brother	Foc	home	book	see
Focus				

'It's elder brother (as opposed to others) who read books at home.'

e. Focus case *–nɯ˧* in the instrumental construction

Sɯ˩tsɯ˧	**nɯ˧**	tɕha˧pi˦	tsɯ˩	pər˥.
teacher	Foc	pencil	word	write
Focus				

'It's the teacher (as opposed to others) who writes words with a pencil.'

It should be noted that inanimate subjects cannot be marked by the focus marker

–nɯ˧, as in (16).

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[25] Cleft sentence refers to "a construction where a single clause has been divided into two separate sections, each with its own verb (Crystal 2000: 63)".

(16) a. Focus case –*nɯ�... cannot mark the inanimate subject

　　　*Xər┤　　**nɯ┤**　　thv┤　　ne√　　ʐə┤.
　　　wind　　Foc　　blow　　Prog　　Pcl
　　　'It's wind which is blowing.'

b. Focus case –*nɯ┤* cannot mark the inanimate subject

　　　*Tha√　　**nɯ┤**　　khə˥　　se√
　　　bottle　　Foc　　break　　Perf
　　　'It's the bottle (as opposed to others) which was broken.'

2.2　Word Order

Traditionally, it has been very common to describe Naxi's word order using expressions such as "Naxi is an SOV language," where "S" represents "subject," "O" represents "object," and "V" represents "verb" (Greenberg 1963). Most of Greenberg's implicational universals tied to this constituent order are valid for Naxi. For example: Naxi's adposition (or case marker) tends to follow an NP, and a PP always precedes a verb, as in (17a). Furthermore, the possessor commonly precedes a noun, as in (17b). In addition, Naxi prefers to place a subordinating conjunction after the clause, as in (17c). In clause (17c), the subordinating conjunction is *tsɯ┤gɯ√nɯ┤* 'because'.

(17) a. NP-postposition & PP-verb
　　　Thɯ┤　　ʐi┤gv┤dy√　　tɕy√　　bɯ┤.
　　　he　　Lijiang　　Loc　　go
　　　　　　NP　　P　　V
　　　'He went to Lijiang.'

b. Possessor-noun
Thɯ┤　gə┤　kɯ┤mu√
he　　Gen　hat
Poss　　　N
'his hat'

c. Clause-subordinator (data from He 1985:98)
Tʂhɯ˧ni˧ xɯˬ gɯ˧ **tsɯ˧gɯˬnɯ˧**, ŋəˬ sa˧ pu˥ tshɯˬ mvˬ[26].
today rain down because I umbrella bring come Pcl
'Because it rains today, I bring an umbrella.'

Within a more recent framework of "semantico-syntactic roles (Comrie 1978)",

Naxi, like all other languages of the area, both Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan, is an

APV/SV language. The following examples, (18a) and (18b), illustrate the three-way

distinction among S, A, and P in two independent clause[27] types: transitive and

intransitive. It is probably safe to assume that Naxi is a language involving a fixed word

order, because when the theme *əˈllo˧* 'granddad' moves to a position to the left of the

agent *lvˈbvˈ* 'grandson', the intended meaning "grandson hit granddad" is unavailable, as

in (18c). A change in NPs' order in (18a) does affect interpretation, as in (18c). Notice

that, the ergative marker *–nɯˈ* is not employed in example (18).

(18) a. Transitive clause
lvˈbvˈ əˈlloˈ la˥.
grandson granddad hit
A P V
'Grandson hit granddad.'

b. Intransitive clause
əˈlloˈ zaˬ neˬ ʐə˧[28].
granddad laugh Prog Pcl
S V
'Granddad is laughing.'

---

[26] In his book of Naxi Yu Jian Zhi (Naxi Grammar), He (1985: 86) defined *mvˬ* as a sentence-final modal particle.
[27] To determine the basic constituent order of a language, most linguists would consider certain pragmatically neutral clauses rather than sentences.
[28] He (1985) defined *ʐə˧* as a sentence-final modal particle.

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c. Transitive clause

ə˩lo˥	lv̩˥bv̩˥	la˥.
granddad	grandson	hit
A	P	V

*'Grandson hit granddad.'
'Granddad hit grandson.'

The above examples in (18) suggest that Naxi seems to behave as an APV/SV language; however, it does not show all the possibilities of Naxi's word order. The fact that example (18) does not employ the case marker –*nuɯ*˩ may impose restrictions on scrambling[29]; therefore, we must consider the sentences in which their case marker –*nuɯ*˩ are overt. In fact, certain examples show that Naxi could be a language involving free word order, because its constituent orders are organized according to some principle, such as scrambling, other than grammatical relations, as in (19) and (20) below. Perhaps since "case provides a reliable way to distinguish between subjects and direct objects, there is no need to rely on word order to fulfill this function (O'Grady 2004: 71)", as in other languages that permit scrambling such as Japanese and Korean.

We found that Naxi is a free word order language in that it also allows the constituent order PAV/SV when the ergative marker –*nuɯ*˩ or the focus marker –*nuɯ*˩ is employed. When employing the ergative marker –*nuɯ*˩, the agent with the ergative marker can be scrambled. The clause (19a) exemplifies the canonical word order APV/SV, and the second clause (19b) exemplifies the non-canonical word order[30] PAV/SV. Clause (19b) is derived from clause (19a) by means of scrambling. Note that

---

[29] Scrambling is a term employed in the literature for a phenomenon called free word order (sometimes "flexible word order").
[30] Non-canonical word order, as we use the term here, is equivalent to the notion of a consequence referred to as clause-internal scrambling, excluding long-distance scrambling and VP-internal scrambling.

the existence of the ergative marker –nɯɬ is required due to scrambling, therefore,

without the overt ergative marker –nɯɬ, the scrambled sentence would be ungrammatical.

(19) a. Canonical word order APV/SV

lvɬbvɬ	nɯɬ	əʔloɬ	laʔ.
grandson	Erg	granddad	hit
A		P	V

'A grandson hit a granddad.'

b. Non-canonical word order PAV/SV

əʔloɬ	lvɬbvɬ	nɯɬ	laʔ.
granddad	grandson	Erg	hit
P	A		V

'A grandson hit a granddad.'

In addition, when employing the focus marker –nɯɬ, the agent with the focus

marker can be scrambled, as in (20). The first clause (20a) exemplifies the canonical

word order APV/SV, and the second clause (20b) exemplifies the non-canonical word

order PAV/SV, which involves successful clause-internal scrambling. The example

shows that when the subject of clause (20a) involves a focus marker –nɯɬ, the theme

pha√khɯɬ 'wolf' can scramble to a position preceding the agent əɬbv√ 'elder brother', as

in (20b).

(20) a. Canonical word order APV/SV

əɬbv√	nɯɬ	pha√khɯɬ	laʔ.
brother	Foc	wolf	hit
A		P	V

'It's elder brother (as opposed to others) who hit a wolf.'

b. Non-canonical word order PAV/SV

Pha√khɯɬ	əɬbv√	nɯɬ	laʔ.
wolf	brother	Foc	hit
P	A		V

'It's elder brother (as opposed to others) who hit a wolf.'

2.3 Transitivity

Syntactically, a transitive[31] verb in Naxi, as in all languages, refers to a verb

which can take a direct object (Crystal: 1997:397). Structurally, Naxi's transitive

constructions can be divided along the constituent order by means of the canonical and

non-canonical word orders. In the canonical word order (APV/SV constituent order), the

subject of the transitive verb has three types, as in (21). In pattern (21a), it does not

employ the ergative marker –nɯ˥ for the subject. In contrast, pattern (21b) employs the

ergative marker –nɯ˥ for the subject. Note that though pattern (21a) and pattern (21b)

differ from each other syntactically and structurally; they are identical in semantics. In

pattern (21c), the subject is a focus because it co-occurs with the focus marker –nɯ˥.

Note that pattern (21b) and pattern (21c) are different in semantics because the focus in

pattern (21c) must be identificational and contrastive[32].

(21) Transitive constructions in APV/SV order

    a. Ergative marker –nɯ˥ is not employed
    Subj.   Dir. Obj.   V
    Agent

    b. Ergative marker –nɯ˥ is employed
    Subj.   nɯ˥   Dir. Obj.   V
    Agent   Erg

    c. Focus marker –nɯ˥ is employed
    Subj.   nɯ˥   Dir. Obj.   V
    Focus   Foc

In the non-canonical word order (PAV/SV constituent order), the subject of the

transitive verb has two types, as in (22). Pattern (22a) employs an ergative marker

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[31] The term 'transitive verb' is equivalent to monotransitive verb, which excludes ditransitive verb.
[32] See more details about identificational and contrastive in footnote 23 and 24 above.

–nɯɟ. Pattern (22a) is derived from sentence (21b) by means of scrambling. In pattern

(22b), the subject is marked by an identificational and contrastive focus marker *–nɯɟ*.

Pattern (22b) is derived from pattern (21c) by means of scrambling.

(22) Transitive constructions in PAV/SV order

     a. Ergative marker *–nɯɟ* is employed and can be dropped

Dir. Obj.	Subj.	nɯɟ	V
	Agent	Erg	

     b. Ergative marker *–nɯɟ* is employed but cannot be dropped

Dir. Obj.	Subj.	nɯɟ	V
	Focus	Foc	

Semantically, the transitive event in Naxi involves a participant, the agent,

performing a deliberate action that brings about a direct change of state in the other

participant, the theme[33]. Both participants are associated with some aspect of the effect

with which the transitive event takes place (Hopper and Thompson 1980). In general,

transitive verbs are specified for an agent and a theme, as in (23). In sentence (23a), the

agent role is assigned to the human subject *ŋəɣ* 'I', and the theme to the direct object *niɟ*

'fish'. Sentence (23b) involves the non-human subject *ʐuaɟ* 'horse' which takes the agent

role, and the theme is assigned to the direct object *ɕiɟ* 'people'.

(23) a. Transitive construction in Naxi

ŋəɟ	nɯɟ	niɟ	dɯɟ	meɟ	ndzɯɟ	seɣ.
I	Erg	fish	one	Cl	eat	Perf
Subj.		Dir. Obj.				
Agent		Theme				

    'I have eaten a fish.'

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[33] O'Grady (2004) defines 'theme' as "the entity undergoing the effect of an action or change". Some linguists use 'patient' to mean 'affected theme", other linguists considers that 'patient' can define the subject of state verbs, the subject of process verbs (Chafe 1970), and the direct object of process-action verbs (Teng 1972) in the transitive constructions.

b. Transitive construction in Naxi

ʐuɑ˧	nɯ˧	ɕi˧	tshɯ˧	kv˩.
horse	Erg	people	kick	can
Subj.		Dir. Obj.		
Agent		Theme		

'Horse can kick people.'

Transitive verbs have been semantically categorized by many linguists. For example, Chafe (1970) classified three different sub-categories of transitive verbs: action verbs define activities, both physical and mental; state verbs define quality and condition, and process verbs define change of state. Tsao (1996) classified the typical Chinese transitive verbs into action, experiential, and capacity. In this thesis, we mainly follow Chu's (1998) classification; Naxi's transitive verbs can thus be classified into five semantic classes: i) state verb, ii) activity verb, iii) semelfactive verb, iv) achievement verb, and v) accomplishment verb. Note that this terminology is ultimately adopted from Vendler (1967).

(i) A state verb refers to "a state that simply exists over a duration of time with no change or result involved". For example: *dʑy˧* 'to have; to exist', *sɯ˧* 'to know', *sər˧* 'to like,'…and so on.

(ii) An activity verb refers to "an event that happens and lasts for some time" without any change or result. For example: *ly√* 'to look', *ʂə˥* 'to tell', *ndzɯ˧* 'to eat,'…and so on.

(iii) A semelfactive verb refers to "an event that happens but does not last for any discernible stretch of time" without any change or result. For example: *tshɯ˧* 'to kick', *tɕi˧* 'to put,'…and so on.

(iv) An achievement verb refers to "an event that happens but does not last for any discernible stretch of time," "The event itself involves some change or result". For example: *khə7* 'to break', *xər7* 'to cut,'...and so on.

(v) An accomplishment verb refers to "an event that happens and lasts for some time" with some change or result involved. For example: *tse7* 'to build', *tɕə7* 'to cook,'...and so on.

All the examples provided so far, including those in section 2.2, demonstrate the transitive constructions which involve two overt arguments: agent and theme. In the following data, we will demonstrate the transitive construction in which either the subject (agent) or the direct object (theme) is covert.

Example (24a) is a transitive construction that contains a null (invisible) subject, represented as [agent e]. Example (24b) is a transitive construction that involves a null direct object, represented as [theme e].

(24) a. Null subject (agent) in transitive construction
   [agent e]   ʐɯ˥   thɯ˪   se˪.
                 wine   drink   Perf
   '(Someone) drank wine.'

   b. Null direct object (theme) in transitive construction
   ŋə˪   **[theme e]**   sɯ˥   be˧˥[34]   ndzɯ˥   se˪.
   I   raw   Mod   eat   Perf
   'I ate (something) raw.'

2.4   Intransitivity

As defined by Hartmann and Stork (1970:108), an intransitive verb can make complete sense on its own without a direct object. As might be expected, Naxi's

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[34] He (1985) defined *–be˧* as a modifier marker.

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intransitive verb occurs in the constituent order type SV, where S is defined as "the only nominal argument of a monadic[35] clause," and "V" is referred to as a verb (Comrie 1978), as in (25). In sentence (25a), it employs an ergative marker –nɯɿ, while sentence (25b) does not employ any case. In sentence (25c), the focus marker –nɯɿ is marked to the subject. Note that Naxi does not employ a dummy[36] subject as the only argument in the intransitive construction, as in (25d). In addition, inanimate subjects cannot bear the ergative marker –nɯɿ or the focus marker –nɯɿ, as shown in (25e) and (25f), respectively.

(25)　a. Intransitive clause with an ergative case

əɿbvʋ	**nɯɿ**	tshɯʋ	siəɿ[37].
brother	Erg	come	Pcl
S		V	

'Elder brother came.'

b. Intransitive clause with no case

əɿbvʋ	tshɯʋ	siəɿ.
brother	come	Pcl
S	V	

'Elder brother came.'

c. Intransitive clause with a focus case

əɿbvʋ	**nɯɿ**	tshɯʋ	siəɿ.
brother	Foc	come	Pcl
S		V	

'It's elder brother (as opposed to others) who came.'

d. Intransitive clause

Xɯʋ	Ø	gɯɿ	neʋ	ʐəɿ.
rain	Abs	rain(v)	Prog	Pcl
S		V		

'It is raining.'

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[35] Sometimes the intransitive verb is called 'monadic' (or monovalent) because it takes just one argument.
[36] 'Dummy' is referred to an element which is semantically empty, for example: *there* in '*there were many people at the club*'; *it* in '*it is raining*' (Crystal 2000:127).
[37] He (1985) defined *siəɿ* as a sentence-final modal particle.

e. Inanimate subject with the ergative marker –nɯɬ

*Xɯɻ **nɯɬ** gɯɬ neɻ ʑəɬ.
rain Erg rain(v) Prog Pcl
'It is raining.'

f. Inanimate subject with the focus marker –nɯɬ

*Xɯɻ **nɯɬ** gɯɬ neɻ ʑəɬ.
rain Foc rain(v) Prog Pcl
'It's rain which is raining.'

An intransitive verb usually describes a property, state, or situation involving only one participant. There are two major types of intransitive verbs classified according to the semantic role of the subject: unergative verb (or agentive verb) and unaccusative verb (or patientive verb). The unergative type takes an agent-like subject, and it is characterized by an action involving the participant's volition, as in (26a), while the unaccusative type takes a theme-like subject, and it is characterized by the fact that the action is not caused by the participant (Kevelson[38] 1976:14), as in (26b).

(26) a. Unergative verb
ətbvɻ nɯɬ zaɻ neɻ ʑəɬ. (data from He 1985:97)
brother Erg laugh Prog Pcl
Subject
Agent-like
'Elder brother is laughing.'

b. Unaccusative verb
Xəɬ Ø thvɬ neɻ ʑəɬ.
wind Abs blow Prog Pcl
Subject
Theme-like
'Wind is blowing.'

An intransitive construction usually involves only one participant; however, it sometimes involves other optional participants called obliques. Obliques typically refer

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[38] Kevelson (1976) used the term 'ergative style' and 'intransitive style' to denote the unergative verb and the unaccusative verb, respectively.

to nominals that lack a grammatical relation and oblique phrases consist of several constituents that are neither subjects nor objects (O'Grady 2004: 45). Obliques are likely to express location, direction, setting, purpose, time, and manner. Some obliques in Naxi's intransitive constructions occur with adpositions (or case markers), as in (27). Sentence (27a) involves a dative marker *–to˥* and another participant, *thɯ˧* 'he', to form an oblique phrase; sentence (27b) involves a locative marker *–tɕy√* and a location, *pə˧tɕi˧* 'Beijing', to form the oblique phrase.

(27) a. Oblique in the intransitive construction

ŋə√	nɯ˧	**thɯ˧**	**to˥**	ʂə˥.
I	Erg	he	Dat	talk

'I talk to him.'

b. Oblique in the intransitive construction

ə˧bv√	nɯ˧	**pə˧tɕi˧**	**tɕy√**	ndʑi˧.
brother	Erg	Beijing	Loc	walk

'Elder brother walked to/toward Beijing.'

Recall from Kevelson's definition that the semantic difference between the unergative verbs and the unaccusative verbs lies in the semantic role of the subject—an agent-like role for unergative verbs and a theme-like role for unaccusative verbs. In the section that follows, we will further discuss the difference between the two types in terms of surface structure and grammatical relations. In general, the ergative marker *–nɯ˧* in the unergative construction is overt, as in (28a) and (28b). However, the unergative construction also allows the null ergative marker *–nɯ˧*, as in (28c) and (28d). In this case, we cannot deny if anyone argues that sentence (28c) and sentence (28d) involve the absolutive case *–Ø* (zero). Therefore, this argument is open to discussion.

(28) a. Unergative construction

ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	za˩	ne˩	ʐə˧.
brother	Erg	laugh	Prog	Pcl

'Elder brother is laughing.'

b. Unergative construction

Khɯ˧	nɯ˧	ʑi˥	se˩
dog	Erg	sleep	Perf

'A dog has slept.'

c. Unergative construction

ə˧bv˩	za˩	ne˩	ʐə˧.
brother	laugh	Prog	Pcl

'Elder brother is laughing.'

d. Unergative construction

Khɯ˧	ʑi˥	se˩
dog	sleep	Perf

'A dog has slept.'

In contrast, the unaccusative construction syntactically applies the absolutive

case $-\varnothing$ (zero) used for the subject, as in (29a) and (29b). Note that the unaccusative

construction does not allow the ergative marker $-nɯ˧$, as in (29c) and (29d).

(29) a. Unaccusative construction

Xər˧	Ø	thv˧	ne˩	ʐə˧.
wind	Abs	blow	Prog	Pcl

'Wind is blowing.'

b. Unaccusative construction

Tha˩	Ø	khə˥	se˩
bottle	Abs	break	Perf

'Bottle was broken.'

c. Unaccusative construction with the ergative marker $-nɯ˧$

*Xər˧	nɯ˧	mba˩	thv˧	ne˩	ʐə˧.
wind	Erg	Cl	blow	Prog	Pcl

'Wind is blowing.'

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d. Unaccusative construction with the ergative marker –nɯɬ

*Thaɬ nɯɬ lyɬ khə˥ seɬ.
bottle Erg   Cl   break   Perf
'Bottle was broken.'

2.5 Structural Topicalization[39]

There are two major types of structural topicalization. In one the topicalized

constituent must occur at the beginning of the sentence. The following examples are

from Mandarin and Lahu, as shown in (30a) and (30b), respectively.

(30) a. Mandarin (data from Li and Thompson 1975: 462)
  Nèi-chang huo[40] xìngkui xiaofang-dui lai   de   kuài.
  that-Cl   fire   fortunate fire-brigade   come Pcl[41] quick
  'That fire (topic), fortunately the fire-brigade came quickly.'

  b. Lahu (data from Li and Thompson 1975: 462)
  Hɛ   chi   tê   pê?   ɔ̄   dàʔ   jâ.
  field this   one Cl   rice   very   good
  'This field (topic), the rice is very good.'

In the other major type of structural topicalization, the topicalized constituent is

marked by a particular grammatical marker. Examples are from Korean and Lahu, as

shown in (31a) and (31b), respectively. In sentence (31a), the structural topic *siban* 'the

present time' is marked by the topic suffix *–in*, and in sentence (31b), the structural topic

hɔ 'elephant' is marked by the topic suffix *–ɔ̄*.

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[39] O'Grady (2004: 46) mentions that structural (or grammatical) topicalization is not absolute in contrast to semantic topicalization, because structural topics may also be semantic topics. Semantic topics can "refer simply to what the sentence is about". Structural topics "are grammatically linked in a way that distinguishes them from other grammatical relations—either by positioning or by a particular grammatical marker".

[40] The underlined constituent in each sentence is the syntactic topic.

[41] Li and Thompson (1975) defined *de* as an adverbial particle.

(31) a. Korean (data from Li and Thompson 1975: 462)
Siban-in hakkjo ga manso.
now-Top school Nom many
'The present time (topic), there are many schools.'

b. Lahu (data from Li and Thompson 1975: 462)
Hɔ   ɔ naqhɔ̂ yɨ̀ ve yô.
elephant Top nose long Pcl Decl
'Elephants' (topic), noses are long.'

Gundel (1988: 211) points out that the topic consists of both a pragmatic property,

such as 'definiteness', and a structural property, such as morphological marking. We find

that structural topicalization in Naxi consists of three primary characteristics: 1) moving a

topicalized constituent to the sentence-initial position (Li and Thompson 1975: 465); 2)

the topicalized constituent must be definite[42] (Chafe 1975: 39); and 3) structural

topicalization occurs in the triadic construction (including instrumental construction and

benefactive construction) and the recipient construction[43].

For example, Naxi's instrumental construction involves three arguments: an agent,

an instrument, and a theme, as in (32a). After structural topicalization, the definite

instrument *sɯ˥kv˦tʂhɯ˦tʂɯ√* 'this sickle' appears in sentence-initial position, as in (32b).

The instrumental *sɯ˥kv˦* 'sickle' is definite because it is modified by a demonstrative

pronoun, *tʂhɯ˦* 'this'. If the instrument is indefinite, it cannot be topicalized, as in (32c).

Notice that the theme in the instrumental construction cannot be topicalized whether or

not definite, as in (32d) and (32e).

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[42] Chafe (1975) defined 'definiteness' as a notion for the particular referent in which speakers have this referent in mind and speakers think listeners already know and can identify the referent. Some researchers, such as Li and Thompson (1976) and Fuller (1985), observed various languages and concluded that topics are necessarily definite.

[43] Syntactically, the GIVE serial verb construction is not the triadic construction, because the main verb of the GIVE serial verb pattern takes an argument as the direct object, and the serial verb 'GIVE' takes another argument as the direct object. There is no predicate that can take three arguments in the GIVE serial verb construction.

(32) a. Instrumental construction

ə√ba˧	nɯ˧	sɯˀlkv˧	dze˧	khv˧.
father	Erg	sickle	wheat	cut
Agent		Instrument	Theme	

'Father cut the wheat with a sickle.'

b. Definite instrument functioning as a topic

Sɯˀlkv˧	**tʂhɯ˧**	**tʂu√**	ə√ba˧	nɯ˧	dze˧	khv˧.
sickle	this	Cl	father	Erg	wheat	cut
Topic			Agent		Theme	

'Speaking of this sickle, father cut the wheat.'

c. Indefinite instrument cannot function as a topic

*__Sɯˀlkv˧__	__dɯ˧__	__tʂu√__	ə√ba˧	nɯ˧	dze˧	khv˧.
sickle	one	Cl	father	Erg	wheat	cut

'Speaking of a sickle, father cut the wheat.'

d. Definite theme cannot function as a topic

*__Dze˧__	__thɯ˧__	__uə˧__	ə√ba˧	nɯ˧	sɯˀlkv˧	khv˧.
wheat	that	Cl	father	Erg	sickle	cut

'Speaking of that pile of wheat, father cut with a sickle.'

e. Indefinite theme cannot function as a topic

*__Dze˧__	__dɯ˧__	__uə˧__	ə√ba˧	nɯ˧	sɯˀlkv˧	khv˧.
wheat	one	Cl	father	Erg	sickle	cut

'Speaking of a pile of wheat, father cut with a sickle.'

Structural topicalization is found in the benefactive construction as well. There are three arguments used in Naxi's benefactive construction: an agent, a benefactive, and a theme, as in (33a). After topicalization, the definite theme *the˧ɣɯˀltʂhuˀltshaˀl* 'this book' appears in sentence-initial position, as in (33b). If the theme is indefinite, it cannot be topicalized, as in (33c). Notice that the benefactive cannot be topicalized whether or not definite, as in (33d) and (33e).

(33) a. Benefactive construction

ə˧bv√	nɯ˧	gu˧me˧	ndzɯ˧be˧	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ʂu√.
brother	Erg	sister	Ben	book	one	Cl	seek
Agent		Benefactive		Theme			

'Elder brother sought a book for little sister.'

b. Definite theme functioning as a topic

The⊣ɣɯ⊣ tṣhɯ⊣ tsha⊣ ə⊣bv√ nɯ⊣ gu⊣me⊣ ndzɯ⊣be⊣ ṣu√.
book   this   Cl   brother Erg   sister   Ben   seek
Topic   Agent   Benefactive
'Speaking of this book, elder brother sought for little sister.'

c. Indefinite theme cannot function as a topic

*__The⊣ɣɯ⊣ dɯ⊣ tsha⊣__ ə⊣bv√ nɯ⊣ gu⊣me⊣ ndzɯ⊣be⊣ ṣu√.
book   one   Cl   brother Erg   sister   Ben   seek
'Speaking of a book, elder brother sought for little sister.'

d. Definite benefactive cannot function as a topic

*__Gu⊣me⊣ tṣhɯ⊣ kv˥__ ndzɯ⊣be⊣ ə⊣bv√ nɯ⊣ the⊣ɣɯ⊣ dɯ⊣ tsha⊣ ṣu√.
sister   this   Cl   Ben   brother Erg book   one Cl   seek
'Speaking of this little sister, elder brother sought a book for (her).'

e. Indefinite benefactive cannot function as a topic

*__Gu⊣me⊣ dɯ⊣ kv˥__ ndzɯ⊣be⊣ ə⊣bv√ nɯ⊣ the⊣ɣɯ⊣ dɯ⊣ tsha⊣ ṣu√.
sister   one   Cl   Ben   brother Erg book   one Cl   seek
'Speaking of a little sister, elder brother sought a book for (her).'

In addition to the instrumental and the benefactive construction, structural topicalization is also found in the recipient construction. Both the recipient and the definite theme can be topicalized in the recipient construction. In the following examples, sentences (34a) and (35a) show the original constituent word order in the ditransitive construction and the dative construction, respectively. Sentence (34b) is nearly equivalent to sentence (35b) in that both involve the structural topicalization in which the recipient *ə⊣bv√* 'elder brother' is moved to sentence-initial position. Notice that, the recipient is usually semantically definite; therefore, it does not necessarily employ the demonstrative pronoun *thɯ⊣* 'that', or *tṣhɯ⊣* 'this'. Sentences (34c) and (35c) show that the definite theme *the⊣ɣɯ⊣tṣhɯ⊣tsha⊣* 'this book' can be topicalized. However, if the theme is indefinite, it cannot be topicalized, as in (34d) and (35d).

(34) a. Ditransitive construction

ə√ba˧	nu˧	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ə˧bv√	ʑə˥.
father	Erg	book	one	Cl	brother	give
Agent		Theme			Recipient	

'Father gave elder brother a book.'

b. Apparent recipient functioning as a topic

ə˧bv√	ə√ba˧	nu˧	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ʑə˥.
brother	father	Erg	book	one	Cl	give
Topic	Agent		Theme			

'Speaking of elder brother, father gave (him) a book.'

c. Definite theme functioning as a topic

The˧ɣɯ˧	**tʂhu˧**	**tsha˧**	ə√ba˧	nu˧	ə˧bv√	ʑə˥.
book	this	Cl	father	Erg	brother	give
Topic			Agent		Recipient	

'Speaking of this book, father gave (it) to elder brother.'

d. Indefinite theme cannot function as a topic

*The˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ə√ba˧	nu˧	ə˧bv√	ʑə˥.
book	one	Cl	father	Erg	brother	give
Topic			Agent		Recipient	

'Speaking of a book, father gave (it) to elder brother.'

(35) a. Dative construction

ə√ba˧	nu˧	ə˧bv√	to˥	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ʑə˥.
father	Erg	brother	Dat	book	one	Cl	give
Agent		Recipient		Theme			

'Father gave a book to elder brother.'

b. Apparent recipient functioning as topic

ə˧bv√	to˥	ə√ba˧	nu˧	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ʑə˥.
brother	Dat	father	Erg	book	one	Cl	give
Topic		Agent		Theme			

'Speaking of elder brother, father gave (him) a book.'

c. Definite theme functioning as topic

The˧ɣɯ˧	**tʂhu˧**	**tsha˧**	ə√ba˧	nu˧	ə˧bv√	to˥	ʑə˥.
book	this	Cl	father	Erg	brother	Dat	give
Topic			Agent		Recipient		

'Speaking of this book, father gave (it) to elder brother.'

d. Indefinite theme cannot function as a topic

*The˥ɣɯ˥	dɯ˥	tsha˥	ə√ba˥	nɯ˥	ə˥bv√	to˥	ʐə˥.
book	one	Cl	father	Erg	brother	Dat	give
Topic			Agent		Recipient		

'Speaking of a book, father gave (it) to elder brother.'

In Naxi's GIVE serial verb construction, the recipient and the theme can be topicalized. Sentence (36a) shows the usual word order in the GIVE serial verb construction; the recipient-object *ə˥bv√* 'elder brother' is located between the main verb *ni˥* 'to lend' and the serial verb *ʐə˥* 'to give'. In sentence (36b), the topicalized-recipient *ə˥bv√* 'elder brother' has been moved to the sentence-initial position. Sentence (36c) shows that the definite theme *the˥ɣɯ˥tʂhɯ˥tsha˥* 'this book' can be topicalized. Note that if the theme is indefinite, it cannot be topicalized, as in (36d).

(36) a. GIVE serial construction

ə√ba˥	nɯ˥	the˥ɣɯ˥	dɯ˥	tsha˥	ni˥	ə˥bv√	ʐə˥.
father	Erg	book	one	Cl	lend	brother	give
Agent		Theme				Recipient	

'Father lent a book (from somewhere) to elder brother.'

b. Apparent recipient functioning as topic

ə˥bv√	ə√ba˥	nɯ˥	the˥ɣɯ˥	dɯ˥	tsha˥	ni˥	ʐə˥[44].
brother	father	Erg	book	one	Cl	lend	give
Topic	Agent		Theme				

'Speaking of elder brother, father lent a book (from somewhere to him).'

c. Definite theme functioning as topic

The˥ɣɯ˥	tʂhɯ˥	tsha˥	ə√ba˥	nɯ˥	ni˥	ə˥bv√	ʐə˥.
book	this	Cl	father	Erg	lend	brother	give
Topic			Agent		Recipient		

'Speaking of this book, father lent (from somewhere) to elder brother.'

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[44] The constituent *ni˥ʐə˥* 'lend give' refers to a serial verb in this example. It should be noted that the constituent *ni˥ʐə˥* may be referred to as a compound verb. This argument will be explicated in chapter 6.2.

d. Indefinite theme cannot function as a topic

*The˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ə√ba˧	nɯ˧	ni˧	ə˧bv√	ʐə˥.
book	one	Cl	father	Erg	lend	brother	give
Topic			Agent			Recipient	

'Speaking of a book, father lent (from somewhere) to elder brother.'

Observation of the above examples (32) to (36) reveals that Naxi's triadic constructions and the recipient construction employ structural topicalization in the following two ways: 1) the instrumental or the benefactive construction only allows one participant to be topicalized, specifically, instrument and theme, respectively; and 2) the recipient construction allows two participants to be topicalized, specifically, recipient and theme.

In the following discussion, we will demonstrate a topic-like construction used in Naxi. It was probably O'Grady (2004) who gave the apt name topic-like to a construction in casual spoken English such as the following:

(37) Topic-like construction
      Hawaii, it's a great place to live.

In sentence (37), 'Hawaii' is arguably functioning as a structural topic-like constituent. Such constructions are most natural when a pronoun, such as *it*, inside the sentence refers to the topicalized constituent (O'Grady 2004: 46). In Naxi, the topic-like construction applies a demonstrative pronoun *thɯ˧* 'that', or *tʂhɯ˧* 'this' referring to the topicalized constituent, usually an NP, as in (38), or a clause, as in (39). The boldfaced constituent in each sentence is the syntactic topic-like constituent.

(38) a. Topic-like construction

Thɯ˧	tʂhɯ˧/thɯ˧	ze√	(nɯ˧)	tshɯ√	le?
he	this/that	where	Loc	come	Ques

'He, where did this one come from?'

b. Topic-like construction
Thɯ˧ tʂhɯ˧/thɯ˧ ʑi˧gv˧dy˩ çi˧ ua˩.
he/she this/that Lijiang people be
'He/she, this person, is a Lijiang man/woman.'

(39) Topic-like construction
nv˩ **ba˧la˩** **mə˧** **mu˩** thɯ˧/tʂhɯ˧ tɕhi˥ mə˧ zər˧ la˥?
you clothes not wear that/this cold not fear Ques
'You are not wearing clothes, this fact, does it not make you fear cold?'

In this chapter, we introduce basic grammar of Naxi, including case, word order, transitivity, intransitivity, and structural topicalization in the instrumental construction, the benefactive construction, and the recipient construction. With sufficient background knowledge, we can further begin to discuss the recipient construction in Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION IN NAXI

In this chapter we will consider primarily the syntactic and semantic characteristics of ditransitive construction (or double object construction), one of the recipient constructions in Naxi. There is morphological variation from language to language in the ditransitive construction in terms of the case marker assigned to the objects and the affix on the verb. Therefore, we will discuss the syntactic classification of ditransitive constructions in section 3.1.1. Furthermore, some universal features of the ditransitive construction will be demonstrated in section 3.1.2.

Also included in this chapter is a discussion of Naxi's ditransitive construction concerning cross-linguistic comparison in section 3.2. The characteristics of Naxi's ditransitive construction will be provided; some constraints on Naxi's ditransitive construction will be discussed. In section 3.3, several semantic classifications of ditransitive verbs will be introduced. We will also classify Naxi's ditransitive verbs into seven semantic classes.

3.1 Types of Ditransitive Construction

Ditransitive construction requires two objects—one is usually associated with the recipient[45], and the other is associated with the theme. In addition, the subject of the ditransitive construction must be a volitional agent[46] (Goldberg 1995:143). According to the case assigned to the recipient and theme, ditransitive constructions can be divided into

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[45] We use "recipient" instead of "goal" because the recipient-object/goal-object must be an animate being in the ditransitive construction in Naxi. In such case, "recipient" is clearly more accurate than "goal".
[46] Yuko Otsuka comments that the subject of the ditransitive construction can be a non-volitional causer, as the following example:
   (i)   Heat gives me fatigue.

at least four categories. We will discuss the syntactic classification of ditransitive

construction in section 3.1.1. Some universal features of ditransitive construction will be

provided in section 3.1.2.

3.1.1 Classification

Ditransitive predicates permit "two NPs to have the characteristic form and/or

positioning of direct objects (O'Grady 2004: 61)". Ditransitive predicates in the

languages around the world can be found in four common syntactic environments: 1)

ditransitive construction involves two case markers for objects; 2) ditransitive

construction involves no morphological case for objects; 3) ditransitive construction

involves only one case marker for an object; and 4) ditransitive construction involves a

special affix on the verb.

The first type of ditransitive construction consists of two case-marked objects, a

recipient-object and a theme-object. Both objects receive a morphological accusative

case, as in (1a) and (1b). Example (1a) and (1b) are referred to as the "double accusative

construction". Sentence (1a) shows that Korean uses the accusative case marker *–ul* to

mark the recipient *haksayng* 'student' and the theme *chayk* 'book'. Sentence (1b) shows

that Modern Greek utilizes the accusative case for both recipient and theme.

(1) a. Ditransitive construction in Korean (data from O'Grady 2004: 61)
       Mary-ka   **haksayng**-tul-**ul**   **chayk-ul**   cwu-ess-ta
       Mary-Nom   student-Pl-Acc   book-Acc   give-Pst-Decl
       'Mary gave the student books.'

     b. Ditransitive construction in Modern Greek (Anagnostopoulou 2003: 10)
       Dhidhaksa   ta   **pedhia**   **ghramatiki**.
       taught-1Sg   the   children-Acc   grammar-Acc
       'I taught the children grammar.'

Anagnostopoulou (2003: 9-10) points out that Modern Greek presents three different ditransitive patterns. The first pattern, which involves the accusative case, marks both theme and goal (or recipient) as accusative; in addition, the sentence also introduces the preposition *s(e)* 'to'[47]. In the second pattern, the goal bears the genitive case, while the theme is marked by the accusative case. In the third pattern, both goal and theme surface with the accusative case. Notice that, in this thesis, we treat Anagnostopoulou's first pattern of ditransitive construction as dative construction in that it involves a preposition.

The second type of ditransitive construction assigns no morphological case for the recipient-object and the theme-object. Examples are from Mandarin, Danish, Thai, and Manam[48], as in (2). Sentence (2a), (2b), and (2c) shows that Mandarin, Danish, and Thai, respectively, involve two bare postverbal NPs, a recipient-object and a theme-object, in the ditransitive construction. In sentence (2d), the preverbal recipient-object and theme-object do not involve any morphological case. Note that the recipient precedes the theme in sentence (2a) and (2b), while the theme precedes the recipient in sentence (2c) and (2d).

(2) a. Ditransitive construction in Mandarin

Zhangsan	song	**Lisi**	yi	ben	**shu.**
Name	send	Name	one	Cl	book
		Recipient			Theme

'Zhangsan sent Lisi a book.'

---

[47] For example: (data from Anagnostopoulou 2003: 9)

(i) O	Gianis	estile	to	grama	s-tin	Maria.
The	John-Nom	sent-3Sg	the	letter-Acc	to-the	Mary-Acc

'John sent the letter to Mary.'

[48] The Manam language is a member of the Oceanic language branch of the Austronesian language family spoken in the north coast of Papua New Guinea.

b. Ditransitive construction in Danish (data from Herslund 1986: 125)

Han	sendte	sin	**sekretær**	**blomster.**
he	sent	his	secretary	flowers
			Recipient	Theme

'He sent his secretary flowers.'

c. Ditransitive construction in Thai

cɔɔn	hây	**traa**	**mæærîi.**
John	give	stamp	Mary
		Theme	Recipient

'John gave Mary a stamp.'

d. Ditransitive construction in Manam (Lichtenberk 1982: 264-265)

Tamóata	**nátu-ø**	**márau-ø**	i-tiʔín-di.
man	child-his	sister-his	3Sg-show-3Pl
	Theme	Recipient	

'The man showed his sister his children.'

The third type of ditransitive construction involves only one case marker for an object, usually the recipient-object. In Kham, a West Tibetan dialect, it uses an objective case marker –*lai*[49] to mark the recipient-object, while the theme-object is unmarked, as in (3a). Note that only two of the three arguments agree with the ditransitive verb of Kham Tibetan; the theme-object remains unmarked, while the subject and recipient-object are marked for agreement on the verb. In Khasi, a language belonging to the Mon-Khmer language branch spoken in Eastern India, the recipient-object bears the objective case prefix *ya*–[50], while the theme-object is unmarked, as in (3b).

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[49] Watters (2002: 225) points out that the suffix -*lai* can be a dative case marker borrowed from Nepali, as shown in the following:

(i) Dative case -*lai* borrowed from Nepali

ŋa-lai	nə-məya	lagi-zya.
me-Dat	2S-love	feels-Cont.

'I feel love for you.'

[50] Rabel (1961: 76) mentioned that the prefix *ya*- is usually omitted. Only in the double object construction, one of the objects is always preceded by *ya*-.

(3) a. Ditransitive construction in Kham Tibetan (data from Watters 2002: 248)
No-e   ŋa-**lai**   o-bənduk   loi-na-ke-o.
he-Erg   me-OBJ   3Sg-gun   loan-me-Perf-3Sg
'He loaned me his gun.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Khasi (Rabel 1961: 77)
ʔun   hiikɑy   **yɑ-ŋɑ**   kɑ   ktien   phɑreŋ.
he   teach   Af-1Sg   the   language   English
'He teaches me English.'

The fourth type of ditransitive construction involves a special affix to the verb to indicate that it is a ditransitive predicate. Note that NPs are unmarked in this type crosslinguistically. Examples are from Indonesian and Tzotzil, a Mayan language of Mexico, as shown in (4a) and (4b), respectively. Sentence (4a) shows that Indonesian uses a benefactive suffix *–kan* in the ditransitive construction. In Tzotzil, the suffix *–be* requires a third argument bearing a variety of thematic roles, including recipient, benefactive, malefactive, addressee, and target (or goal). Without the suffix *–be*, the predicate takes at most two arguments (Aissen 1987: 106). Therefore, the suffix *–be* in sentence (4b) is used to indicate the third argument—recipient.

(4) a. Ditransitive construction in Indonesian (data from Dryer 1986: 811)
Saja   mem-bawa-**kan**   Ali   surat   itu.
I   Tr-bring-Ben   Ali   letter   the
'I brought Ali the letter.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Tzotzil (data from O'Grady 2004: 61)
ʔi-ø-h-čon-**be**   čitom   li   šune.
Asp-3Sg-1Sg-sell-Af   pig   the   Name
'I sold Xun (the) pigs.'

In general, a language only applies one of the ditransitive patterns as shown above; however, a few languages use another ditransitive pattern which is exclusive of the above four types. As mentioned before, Modern Greek applies more than one strategy in terms

of the case assigned to objects in the ditransitive construction. Some ditransitive verbs

take the double accusative case, as in (1b) above; other ditransitive verbs take a genitive

case for the recipient-object and an accusative case for the theme-object, as in (5). In

sentence (5), the recipient-object *Marias* 'Mary' is marked by the genitive case[51] and the

theme-object *grama* 'letter' by the accusative.

(5) Ditransitive construction in Modern Greek (data from Anagnostopoulou 2003: 9)

O	Gianis	estile	tis	**Marias**	to	**grama**.
the	John-Nom	sent-3Sg	the	Mary-Gen[52]	the	letter-Acc

'John sent Mary the letter.'

In addition to Modern Greek, Kham Tibetan also employs another ditransitive

pattern. In Kham Tibetan, the recipient-object of some ditransitive verbs[53] is commonly

marked by the objective marker *–lai*, as in (3a) above. With the other class of ditransitive

verbs[54], the recipient-object is also marked by *–lai*; moreover, the verb must take an

additional benefactive affix *–y*, as in (6a). The point to be made from (6a) and (6b) is that

the ditransitive verb *sətəĩ* 'to show' must employ the benefactive affix *–y*, as in (6a);

without *–y*, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (6b).

(6) a. Ditransitive construction in Kham Tibetan (Watters 2002: 248)

No-e	ŋa-**lai**	o-bənduk	sətəĩ-d-y-ãː-ke-o.
he-Erg	me-OBJ	3Sg-gun	show-Nf-Ben-1Sg-Perf-3Sg

'He showed me his gun.'

---

[51] Anagnostopoulou (2003) points out that Modern Greek has lost the morphological distinction between genitive and dative case marker, therefore, it has generalized the use of genitive case.

[52] Anagnostopoulou's (2003) data show that case in Modern Greek is marked on nominals; however, according to O'Grady's (2004: 87) example, case is marked on determiners, as follows:

  (i) Ditransitive construction in Modern Greek

eɣo	estila	**tu**	ju	mu	**to**	fakelo.
I	sent	the. Gen	son	my	the. Acc	envelope

    'I sent my son the envelope.'

[53] Watters (2002) defined these ditransitive verbs as "inherent ditransitive".

[54] Watters (2002) defined these ditransitive verbs as "derived ditransitive".

b. Without benefactive affix -y (data from Watters 2002: 248)

*No-e ŋa-**lai** o-bənduk sətəĭ-na-ke-o.

he-Erg me-OBJ 3Sg-gun show-me-Perf-3Sg

'He showed me his gun.'

3.1.2 Other Characteristics of Ditransitive Construction

In most languages, an animate object of a ditransitive construction bear the recipient role; however, in a few languages, such as Kham Tibetan, an animate object can be either the recipient or the source[55]. For example, sentence (7a) and (7b) involve the animate object which is associated with the recipient, while both sentence (8a) and (8b) involve the animate object which is associated with the source.

(7) a. Recipient-object in Kham Tibetan (data from Dryer 1986: 817)

No-e **ŋa-lai** bxhtangji ya-na-ke-o.

3Sg-Erg 1Sg-OBJ potato give-1Sg-Past-3Sg

       Recipient

'He gave me a potato.'

b. Recipient-object in Kham Tibetan (data from Watters 2002: 248)

Gaola-e **ge-lai** gukhi tubu tubu ya-si-ke-o.

shepherd-Erg us-OBJ guard-dog one one give-1Pl-Perf-3Sg

      Recipient

'The shepherd gave us each a watchdog.'

(8) a. Source-object in Kham Tibetan (data from Watters 2002: 248)

No-e **ŋa-lai** ŋa-sulpa nəĭ-na-ke-o.

he-Erg me-OBJ 1Sg-pipe snatch-1Sg-Perf-3Sg

      Source

'He snatched my pipe away from me.'

b. Source-object in Kham Tibetan (data from Watters 2002: 248)

No-e **ŋa-lai** ŋa-bənduk los-na-ke-o.

he-Erg me-OBJ 1Sg-gun borrow-1Sg-Perf-3Sg

      Source

'He borrowed my gun from me.'

---

[55] Goldberg (1995) points out that the animate object is either the recipient or the possessor, excluding the source. Ying-che Li also advocates that the central sense of the ditransitive construction should not include the source-object.

Another example is found in English. Goldberg (1989, 1992, and 1995) points out that the animate object in the English ditransitive construction usually corresponding to the recipient; however, there are a few exceptions. The verb *ask* is exceptional in expressions as follows: in sentence (9a) and (9b), the object *Sam* can be referred to as the source[56].

(9) a. Source-object in English
     Mary **asked Sam** his name.

     b. Source-object in English
     Mary **asked Sam** a favor.

Furthermore, within the Construction Grammar framework, Goldberg illustrates that the animate object can be the possessor in the ditransitive construction of English, as in (10a) and (10b).

(10) a. Possessor-object in English (data from Goldberg 1989: 81)
      She permitted **her students** one page of notes.

      b. Possessor-object in English (data from Goldberg 1989: 81)
      The doctor allowed **him** his voices.

Ditransitive construction generally has a "thematic paraphrase built around a transitive verb, with a single direct object and a dative or oblique NP[57]" (O'Grady 2004: 61), as in (11). Sentence (11b) involves a preposition *to* to indicate the recipient-object, while sentence (11a) does not.

(11) a. English ditransitive construction
      John mailed Mary the letter.

      b. English dative construction
      John mailed the letter **to** Mary.

---

[56] Notice that Goldberg only uses the term "source" for the subject but not for the object in the ditransitive construction. She advocates that the animate object in the ditransitive construction must be either the recipient or the possessor. The animate object *Sam* in sentence (9) refers to the possessor.
[57] This is not always so. For example, Kham Tibetan has ditransitive construction; however, we cannot find a comparable synonymous dative construction.

Traditionally, generative linguists have suggested that the ditransitive construction and the dative construction share an underlying form, and that the former construction is syntactically derived from the latter one by a movement transformation (Chomsky 1955, 1975; Larson 1988). This operation is called "dative shift" or "dative alternation". In this thesis, we do not use the term "dative shift" or "dative alternation" in that we do not want to support or reject their assumption that the ditransitive construction is syntactically derived from the dative construction.

It is probably safe to say that ditransitive constructions usually have a comparable synonymous dative construction, as shown in the following Korean examples:

(12) a. Ditransitive construction in Korean (repeat from (1a))
Mary-ka   haksayng-tul-**ul**   chayk-ul   cwu-ess-ta
Mary-Nom   student-Pl-Acc   book-Acc   give-Pst-Decl
'Mary gave the student books.'

b. Dative construction in Korean (data from O'Grady 2004: 62)
Mary-ka   haksayng-tul-**eykey**   chayk-ul   cwu-ess-ta
Mary-Nom   student-Pl-Dat   book-Acc   give-Pst-Decl
'Mary gave books to the student.'

Sentence (12a) is semantically equivalent to sentence (12b)—in both, "the agent gives the theme to the recipient". The difference between the two is that sentence (12a) employs an accusative marker *–ul* for the recipient, while sentence (12b) uses a dative marker *–eykey* to indicate the recipient. Among all of the examples[58] provided so far, Kham Tibetan is the only exception in that its ditransitive constructions do not have comparable synonymous dative constructions.

Cross-linguistically, it has been observed that ditransitive constructions are relatively rare in two senses. First, they occur in comparatively few languages. They

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[58] They are from eleven languages: Danish, English, Indonesian, Khasi, Kham Tibetan, Korean, Manam, Mandarin, Modern Greek, Thai, and Tzotzil.

occur "in English but not in French[59]; in Korean but not in Japanese; and in Indonesian but not in Hawaiian (O'Grady 2004:62)". Second, even in languages that permit ditransitive construction, only "relatively few verbs" can occur in the ditransitive construction (O'Grady 2004:62). For example, the verb *teach* in English can occur in the ditransitive construction, as in (13a); however, the verb *explain* cannot, as in (13b); the verb *explain* can only occur in the dative construction, as in (13c).

(13)   a. 'teach' in ditransitive construction of English
       I **taught** John Calculus.

       b. 'explain' in ditransitive construction of English
       *I **explained** John Calculus.

       c. 'explain' in dative construction of English
       I **explained** Calculus to John.

In Mandarin, the verb *song* 'to give as a present' can occur in the ditransitive construction, as in (14a), while the verb *ji* 'to send' cannot, as in (14b). The verb *ji* 'to send' only occurs in the dative construction, as in (14c).

(14)   a. *song* 'give as a present' in ditransitive construction of Mandarin
       Zhangsan   **song**   Lisi   yi   ben   shu.
       Name   give   Name   one   Cl   book
       'Zhangsan gave Lisi a book (as a present).'

       b. *ji* 'send' in ditransitive construction of Mandarin
       *Zhangsan   **ji**   Lisi   yi   ben   shu.
       Name   send   Name   one   Cl   book
       'Zhangsan sent Lisi a book.'

       c. *ji* 'send' in dative construction of Mandarin
       Zhangsan   **ji**   yi   ben   shu   gei   Lisi.
       Name   send   one   Cl   book   to   Name
       'Zhangsan sent a book to Lisi.'

---

[59] Johnson (1980) argues that a few French verbs occur in the ditransitive construction under varying discourse circumstances.

3.2 Ditransitive Construction in Naxi

According to the classifications provided in section 3.1.1, Naxi's ditransitive

construction, like that in Mandarin, Danish, Thai, and Manam, involves no morphological

case for objects[60], as in (15).

(15) Ditransitive construction in Naxi with no case marker
    So√çi┤   nɯ┤   ba˥ba┤   sɯ√tsɯ┤   sie√   se√.
    student   Erg   flower   teacher   present   Perf
    'The student gave the teacher flowers (as a present).'

Cross-linguistic comparison makes it clear that Naxi's ditransitive construction

exhibits three distinct features in the surface structure and grammatical case marking: 1)

the ergative case is used for agentive subject obligatorily; 2) two objects involve

nomorphological case; and 3) theme-object usually precedes recipient-object[61]. An

example is shown in (16a). In a few cases, the recipient-object can precede the theme-

object, as in (16b). In Naxi, a semantic constraint establishes a different between the

recipient and the theme in the ditransitive construction; that is, the recipient is always a

human-like argument, while the theme is usually non-human[62].

(16) a. The recipient-object follows the theme-object
    So√çi┤   nɯ┤   **ba˥ba┤**   **sɯ√tsɯ┤**   ʐə˥   se√.
    student   Erg   flower   teacher   give   Perf
    Agent   Theme   Recipient
    Subject   Secondary Obj. Primary Obj.
    'The student gave the teacher flowers.'

---

[60] Someone may suggest that Naxi's ditransitive construction is the double absolutive pattern in which both objects are marked by the absolutive case –Ø (zero).

[61] In a few cases, the recipient-object can precede the theme-object.

[62] In some languages, such as English, the theme can be a human-like object in the ditransitive construction, as in (i). Yuko Otsuka comments that the recipient can be a non-human object in English, as in (ii).
    (i)   John introduced my uncle **Mary**.
    (ii) Someone gave **the book** a title.

b. The recipient-object precedes the theme-object

So√çi┤	nɯ┤	**sɯ√tsɯ┤**	ba˥ba┤	ʐə˥	se√.
student	Erg	teacher	flower	give	Perf
Agent		Recipient	Theme		
Subject		Primary Obj.	Secondary Obj.		

'The student gave the teacher flowers.'

In Naxi's ditransitive construction either object—or both—can be omitted under certain discourse conditions. However, the agentive subject must remain overt. Consider the following examples: sentence (17a) illustrates a null theme-object, represented here as [theme e], while sentence (17b) contains a null recipient-object, represented as [recipient e]. In sentence (17c), both recipient-object and theme-object are omitted. The agentive subject cannot be omitted, as in (17d). Note that the null agentive subject is represented as [agent e].

(17) a. A null theme-object

ə┤bv√	nɯ┤	**[theme e]**	gu┤me┤	ʐə˥	se√.
brother	Erg		sister	give	Perf

'Elder brother gave little sister (something).'

b. A null recipient-object

ə┤bv√	nɯ┤	a√	dɯ┤	me┤	**[recipient e]**	ʐə˥	se√.
brother	Erg	chicken	one	Cl		give	Perf

'Elder brother gave (someone) a chicken.'

c. Both recipient-object and theme-object are null

ə┤bv√	nɯ┤	**[theme e]**	**[recipient e]**	ʐə˥	se√.
brother	Erg			give	Perf

'Elder brother gave (someone) (something).'

d. A null agentive subject

*[agent e]	a√	thɯ┤/dɯ┤	me┤	gu┤me┤	ʐə˥	se√.
	chicken	that/one	Cl	sister	give	Perf

'(Someone) gave little sister that/one chicken.'

As mentioned before, the word order of ditransitive construction in Naxi has two types: one involves two overt objects in which the theme-object precedes the recipient-

object, and the other involves two overt objects in which the recipient-object precedes the theme-object. The first type is shown in examples (18a) and (18b), where the theme *theꜜyɯꜜ* 'book' precedes the recipient *guꜜmeꜜ* 'little sister', or *əꜜbvˇ* 'elder brother'. All of Naxi's ditransitive verbs can occur in this word order type.

(18) a. Word order: agent-theme-recipient

əꜜbvˇ	nɯꜜ	**theꜜyɯꜜ**	dɯꜜ	tshaꜜ	**guꜜmeꜜ**	ʐəꜜ.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	sister	give
Agent		Theme			Recipient	

'Elder brother gave little sister a book.'

b. Word order: agent-theme-recipient

Sɯˇtsɯꜜ	nɯꜜ	**theꜜyɯꜜ**	dɯꜜ	tshaꜜ	əꜜbvˇ	niꜜ.
teacher	Erg	book	one	Cl	brother	lend

'The teacher lent elder brother a book.'

The second type occurs in two fixed syntactic conditions. In one condition, the recipient-object precedes the theme-object when the agentive subject is the first-person singular pronoun *ŋəˇ* 'I', as in (19a) and (19b). Note that it is still an unexplained puzzle why the ergative marker *–nɯꜜ* can be covert when the subject of the ditransitive construction is first person singular *ŋəˇ* 'I', as in (19c) and (19d).

(19) a. Word order: agent-recipient-theme

ŋəˇ	nɯꜜ	**soˇɕiꜜ**	**theꜜyɯꜜ**	dɯꜜ	tshaꜜ	puꜜ.
I	Erg	student	book	one	Cl	give
Agent		Recipient	Theme			

'I gave the student a book (as a present).'

b. Word order: agent-recipient-theme

ŋəˇ	nɯꜜ	əꜜbvˇ	**theꜜyɯꜜ**	dɯꜜ	tshaꜜ	niꜜ.
I	Erg	brother	book	one	Cl	lend
Agent		Recipient	Theme			

'I lent elder brother a book.'

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c. Word order: agent-recipient-theme

ŋəˍ	soˍɕiˍ	theˍɣɯˍ	dɯˍ	tshaˍ	puˀ.
I	student	book	one	Cl	give
Agent	Recipient	Theme			

'I gave the student a book (as a present).'

d. Word order: agent-recipient-theme

ŋəˍ	əˍbvˍ	theˍɣɯˍ	dɯˍ	tshaˍ	niˍ.
I	brother	book	one	Cl	lend
Agent	Recipient	Theme			

'I lent elder brother a book.'

In the other condition, the recipient-object is allowed to precede the theme-object when the predicate is ʐəˀ 'to give', as in (20a) and (20b). It should be noted that the verb ʐəˀ 'to give' also occurs in the first word order type in which the theme-object precedes the recipient-object, as in (20c).

(20) a. Word order: agent-recipient-theme

əˍbvˍ	nɯˍ	guˍmeˍ	theˍɣɯˍ	dɯˍ	tshaˍ	ʐəˀ.
brother	Erg	sister	book	one	Cl	give
Agent		Recipient	Theme			

'Elder brother gave little sister a book.'

b. Word order: agent-recipient-theme

əˍbvˍ	nɯˍ	ŋəˍ	niˍ	dɯˍ	meˍ	ʐəˀ.
brother	Erg	I	fish	one	Cl	give
Agent		Recipient	Theme			

'Elder brother gave me a fish.'

c. Word order: agent-theme-recipient (repeat from (18a))

əˍbvˍ	nɯˍ	theˍɣɯˍ	dɯˍ	tshaˍ	guˍmeˍ	ʐəˀ.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	sister	give
Agent		Theme			Recipient	

'Elder brother gave little sister a book.'

As already mentioned in Chapter 2, either the recipient or the definite theme can be topicalized in Naxi's ditransitive construction; see examples (32b) and (32c) in section

2.5. Notice that the theme-topicalized sentence occurs with certain discourse settings in that it needs to be definite when topicalized.

3.2.1 Constraints on Naxi's Ditransitive Construction

There are at least one impossible situation and two constraints on Naxi's ditransitive constructions. First, Naxi's ditransitive constructions cannot be passivized. Second, Naxi's ditransitive constructions do not allow a source-object. Third, Naxi's ditransitive constructions do not allow a benefactive-object.

Passivization is absent in Naxi; therefore, its ditransitive constructions cannot be passivized. Some languages, such as English, apply passivization in the ditransitive construction. For example, the passive sentence (21b) is derived from the ditransitive sentence (21a). In sentence (21b), it downgrades the agent *Harry* and upgrades the recipient *Sam*. Though passivization can be applied in the ditransitive constructions, it is seldom used.

(21) a. Ditransitive construction in English
      Harry sent **Sam** a note.

      b. Passivization in English
      Sam was sent a note by **Harry**.

As alluded to previously, ditransitive constructions in some languages, such as Kham Tibetan and English, permit the animate object to refer to either the source or the recipient. However, Naxi only allows a recipient-object, as in (22a); the source-object only occurs in the oblique construction in which it carries a locative marker *–to7* or *–tɕy√*[63] to indicate the source, as in (22b) and (22c), respectively.

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[63] As mentioned in section 2.1.2, Naxi applies two dative markers: *–to7* and *–tɕy√*, which also function as locative markers.

(22) a. Recipient-object in Naxi's ditransitive construction

ə˥bvˎ	nɯ˧	the˥ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	suˎtsɯ˧	ni˧.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	teacher	lend
					Recipient	

'Elder brother lent the teacher a book.'

b. Source-object in Naxi's oblique construction (data from He 1985: 82)

Thɯ˧	ŋəˎ	to˥	the˥ɣɯ˧	soˎ.
he	I	Loc	book	learn
	Source			

'He learned the knowledge from me.'

c. Source-object in Naxi's oblique construction

ə˥bvˎ	nɯ˧	suˎtsɯ˧	tɕyˎ	the˥ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ni˧.
brother	Erg	teacher	Loc	book	one	Cl	lend
		Source					

'Elder brother lent a book from the teacher.'

Finally, "benefactive double object construction (benefactive DOC)" (Levin 1993) involves the animate object corresponding to the benefactive. English, but not Naxi, does contain a number of verbs, such as *bake*, *build*, *buy*, and *sing*, which allow the benefactive DOC, as shown in (23a-d). In Naxi, it uses the marker *–ndzɯ˧be˧* for the benefactive, as in (24).

(23) Benefactive DOC in English
    a. Mary **baked** John a cake.
    b. Uncle Joe **built** his son a treehouse.
    c. My father **bought** me a toy.
    d. Mary **sang** us an aria.

(24) Benefactive construction in Naxi

ə˥bvˎ	nɯ˧	the˥ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	suˎtsɯ˧	**ndzɯ˧be˧**	xæˎ.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	teacher	Ben	buy

'Elder brother bought a book for the teacher.'

3.3 Ditransitive Verbs in Naxi

Several researchers have tried to list the major semantic verb classes allowing the

ditransitive construction and/or dative alternation in English (Gropen et al. 1989, Levin

1993, Goldberg 1995). According to Gropen's (1989: 213) analyses, ditransitive[64] verbs

which occur in children's speech can be classified into nine subcategories: 1) giving; 2)

type of communication; 3) creation; 4) obtaining; 5) directed accompanied motion; 6)

sending; 7) ballistic motion; 8) manner of accompanied motion; and 9) other benefactive.

Note that Gropen's data show that some subcategories do not contain ditransitive

examples because those ditransitive verbs do not emerge in children's speech.

Levin (1993) proposes that three-place predicates, including ditransitive, dative,

and benefactive predicates, in English can be classified into twenty-eight major semantic

classes, providing a semantic explanation for the differences between predicates

"allowing dative alternation", those "allowing only dative construction", and those

"allowing only double object constructions", as shown in Table 3.1. Levin's

classification of ditransitive verbs is based upon two assumptions: 1) ditransitive verbs

involve ditransitive predicates and benefactive predicates, and 2) some ditransitive verbs

permit dative alternation.

Table 3.1 Levin's Classification for Ditransitive, Dative, and Benefactive Predicates

a. Ditransitive predicates permitting dative alternation:
    Give verb: feed, give, lease, lend, pay, refund, repay, sell..., etc.
    Verb of future having: allot, offer, promise..., etc.
    Bring and take: bring, and take.
    Send verb: forward, mail, send..., etc.
    Slide verb: bounce, float, roll, and slide.

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[64] Gropen (1989) use the term "double-object dative construction" to refer the ditransitive construction.

Carry verb: carry, kick, pull, push..., etc.
Verb of throwing: hit, pass, pitch, throw..., etc.
Verb of transfer of a message: ask, cite, read, show, teach, tell..., etc.
Verb of instrument of communication: email, fax, sign, wire..., etc.

b. Dative predicates which do not permit dative alternation:
Primarily Latinate verb: recommend, reimburse, return, submit..., etc.
Say verb: report, reveal, say..., etc.
Verb of manner of speaking: call, hiss, moan, mutter, yell..., etc.
Verb of putting with a specified direction: drop, lift, lower, raise..., etc.
Verb of fulfilling: issue, provide, supply, trust..., etc.

c. Ditransitive predicates which do not permit dative alternation:
Bill verb: bill, charge, save, tax, tip..., etc.
Appoint verb: appoint, consider, crown, nominate, report, want..., etc.
Dub verb: baptize, call, crow, dub, name, pronounce..., etc.
Declare verb: believe, confess, find, prove..., etc.
Others: ask, cost, deny, forbid, forgive, wish, write..., etc.

d. Benefactive predicates permitting dative alternation:
Build verb: build, cut, develop, make, sew..., etc.
Create verb: design, dig, mint..., etc.
Prepare verb: bake, cook, toast, wash..., etc.
Verb of performance: dance, paint, sing..., etc.
Get verb: buy, catch, cash, choose, keep, order, vote, reserve, win..., etc.

e. Benefactive predicates which do not permit dative alternation:
Obtain verb: accept, borrow, select, obtain..., etc.
Verb of selection: designate, favor, indicate, prefer, select..., etc.
Create verb: create, invent, form..., etc.
Steal verb: capture, kidnap, steal..., etc.

Working within the Construction Grammar framework, Goldberg (1995) provides

a description of English ditransitive verbs and shows that ditransitive verbs can interact

with some systematic metaphors, including a central sense and five major classes of

extensions, as shown in Table 3.2. Her hypothesis is that English ditransitive

constructions can be viewed as a case of "constructional polysemy"; that is, the same

syntactic form, "Subj. Verb Obj1 Obj2", is paired with different but related semantic

senses.

Table 3.2 Goldberg's Classification for Ditransitive Predicates

a. Central Sense: Subj. (successfully) causes Obj1 to receive Obj2
   Subject: agent, causer, source
   Object1: recipient (prototypically willing)
   Object2: theme
   Example: Joe **gave** Bill an apple.
           Joe **handed** Bill a slip.
           Joe **took** Bill a package.
   Sample verbs: feed, award, issue, pay, serve, loan, bring, leave, sell..., etc

b. Metaphor 1: Subj. intends to cause Obj1 to receive Obj2
   Subject: agent, causer, source
   Object1: potential (willing) recipient
   Object2: potential theme
   Example: Joe **baked** Sam a cake.
           Joe **knitted** Sam a sweater.
           Joe **got** Sam flowers.
   Sample verbs: draw, paint, save, grab..., etc.

c. Metaphor 2: satisfaction condition implied: Subj. causes Obj1 to receive Obj2
   Subject: agent, causer
   Object1: potential (willing) recipient
   Object2: potential theme
   Example: Pat **promised** Chris a car.
           Pat **guaranteed** Chris the prize.
           Pat **ordered** Chris a sandwich.
   Sample verbs: promise, guarantee, order, owe, wish..., etc.

d. Metaphor 3: Subj. enables Obj1 to receive Obj2
   Subject: agent, enabler
   Object1: potential (willing) recipient
   Object2: potential theme
   Example: She **permitted** Billy one candy bar.
           He **allowed** his daughter a Popsicle.
           He **offered** her an apple.
   Sample verbs: permit, allow, offer..., etc.

e. Metaphor 4: Subj. enables Obj1 to have Obj2
   Subject: agent, enabler
   Object1: willing possessor

Object2: possessed entity
Example: She **permitted** her students one page of notes.
   The doctor **allowed** him his voices.
Sample verbs: permit, allow..., etc.

f. Metaphor 5 : Subject causes Obj1 not to receive Obj2
   Subject: agent, causer
   Object1: potential (willing) recipient
   Object2: potential theme
   Example: Harry **refused** Bob a raise in salary.
      His mother **denied** Billy a birthday cake.
   Sample verbs: refuse, deny..., etc.

Some Chinese scholars, such as Ma (1992) and Tsao (1996), classified

ditransitive verbs in Mandarin. Tsao's classification consists of three major categories: 1)

verb of transaction, 2) verb of communication, and 3) idiomatic expression. The category

of "verb of transaction" can be divided into three subcategories: "give verb", "take verb",

and "bi-directional verb", as shown in Table 3.3. Tsao's assumption does not distinguish

between ditransitive construction and dative construction. According to Tsao's definition,

the triadic construction involving the preposition *gei* 'to' is also referred to as the

ditransitive construction.

Table 3.3 Tsao's Classification for Mandarin Ditransitives

a. Verb of transaction:
(i)   Give verb: *song* 'give as a present', *gongji* 'provide', *gei* 'give', *huan*
      'return'..., etc.
   Example:

Wo	**song**	ni	yi-ben	shu.
I	give	you	one-Cl	book

   'I gave you a book (as a present).'

(ii)   Take verb: *pian* 'cheat', *qiang* 'rob', *tou* 'steal', *fa* 'fine'..., etc.
   Example:

Ta	**qiang**-le	ni	hen	duo	qian.
he	rob-Pst	you	very	much	money

'He robbed you of a lot of money.'

(iii) Bi-directional verb: *zu* 'rent', *jie* 'borrow/lend', *fen* 'share'..., etc.
Example:

Ta	**zu**	wo	fangzi.
he	rent	I	house

'He rented me a house.' or 'He rented a house from me.'

b. Verb of communication: *jiao* 'teach', *wen* 'ask', *gaosu* 'tell', *tongzhi* 'notify', *jinggao* 'warn', *tixing* 'remind', *jiao* 'call', *chenghu* 'call'..., etc.
Example:

Ta	**jiao**	wo	Riwen.
he	teach	I	Japanese

'He teaches me Japanese.'

c. Idiomatic expression: *bang...mang* 'help', *kai...wanxiao* 'play joke with', *fang...yima* 'let someone off'..., etc.
Example:

Wo	**bang**-le	ta	hen	duo	**mang**.
I	help-Pst	he	very	much	trouble

'I helped him a great deal.'

Naxi has 41 ditransitive verbs, as shown in Table 3.4. Among these verbs, 11 are borrowed from modern Mandarin: *bo⊣* 'to appropriate funds for'; *fa⊣* 'to hand out'; *po⊣* 'to wrap up'; *pa ʔkaʔ* 'to report'; *pv⊣* 'to change money'; *sie√* 'to present to higher level'; *thueʔ* 'to turn back; return'; *tɕa⊣* 'to pay; to hand in'; *tho⊣tʂuɨ* 'to inform; to notify'; *thue⊣tɕy√* 'to recommend'; and *ʐua√* 'to count; to measure' (Nos. 31-41).

Table 3.4 Ditransitive verbs in Naxi

No.	Ditransitive verbs	English glossary	Mandarin glossary
01	kua⊣	to cheat; to lie	pian√
02	ku⊣	to hand over	jiaoʔ
03	ku√	to deliver	chuanʔdi√
04	kua√	to slander	gao√zhuang√
05	ku⊣ku√	to bribe	hui√lu√

06	kɑ˥	to rent out	zu˥
07	kɑ˥kɑ˧	to conceal	man˦
08	ko˧	to spoon up liquid	yao[65]
09	khu˧duɯ˩	to praise	cheng˥zan˩
10	le˧ku˩	to return	huan˦
11	le˧tshy˥	to repay a debt	huan˦zai˩
12	mby˩	to allot	fen˥; fen˥pei˩
13	me˥	to teach	jiao˥
14	mi˥do˧	to ask	wen˩
15	ni˧	to lend	jie˩
16	ni˥	to wire money	dian˩hui˩
17	o˥	to pour liquid	dao˩
18	pu˥	to give as a gift	song˩
19	phi˥	to lose (a game)	shu˥
20	pɑ˧pɑ˩	to carry on the shoulder	bei˥
21	ʂə˥	to tell; to answer	gao˩su˩
22	ʂu˩	to seek	zhao
23	sæ˧	to bestow (money)	shang (qian˦)
24	tsy˥	to save (money); to keep	liu˦
25	tshy˥	to repay (money)	pei˦
26	tshɯ˧	to kick (a ball)	ti˥
27	tɕhi˧	to sell	mai˩
28	æ˧	to owe	qian˩
29	ŋgu˧	to buy/sell on credit	she˥
30	ʐə˥	to give	gei
31	bo˩	to appropriate funds for	bo˥ (kuan)
32	fɑ˩	to hand out	fa˥
33	po˧	to wrap up	bao˥
34	pɑ˥kɑ˥	to report	bao˩gao˩
35	pv˧	to give change	bu (ling˦)
36	sie˩	to present to higher level	xian˩gei
37	thue˥	to turn back; return	tui˩
38	tɕɑ˧	to hand in; to pay	jiao
39	tho˧tʂɯ˧	to inform; to notify	tong˥zhi˥
40	thue˧tɕy˩	to recommend	tui˥ju; tui˥jian˩
41	ʐuɑ˩	to count; to measure	suan˩

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[65] The pitch of the unmarked tone in Mandarin is 324.

We found that the four different approaches provided above are unsuitable for classifying Naxi's ditransitives. For example, Gropen's classification only focuses on children's speech; Levin's classification contains benefactive-object; Goldberg's classification includes possessor-object; and Tsao's classification has no distinction between ditransitive construction and dative construction. In this case, we only select suitable ideas from them; most terms are adopted from Levin, but the term 'take verbs' is from Tsao. Naxi's ditransitive verbs are thus classified as the following eight semantic classes: 1) give verbs; 2) take verbs[66]; 3) verbs of future having; 4) verbs of transfer of a message; 5) say verbs; 6) carry verbs; 7) prepare verbs, and 8) other verbs, as shown in Table 3.5. Note that the following semantic definition in each class is based mainly on Anagnostopoulou (2003:12).

Table 3.5 Classification of Naxi's Ditransitive Verbs

1. Give verbs: "verbs that inherently signify acts of giving"; 'outward' motion
   bo˧ 'to appropriate funds for'; *ku˧* 'to hand over'; *ʐə˥* 'to give';
   ku˧ku˅ 'to bribe'; *ka˥* 'to rent out'; *le˧ku˅* 'to return'; *pu˥* 'to give as a gift';
   le˧tshy˥ 'to repay a debt'; *ni˧* 'to lend'; *ni˥* 'to wire money';
   pv˧ 'to give change'; *sie˅* 'to present to higher level'; *tɕhi˧* 'to sell';
   sæ˧ 'to bestow (money)'; *thue˥* 'to turn back; return'; *tshy˥* 'to repay (money)';
   tɕa˧ 'to hand in; to pay'; *ŋgu˧* 'to buy/sell on credit'; *phi˥* 'to lose (a game);'

2. Take verbs: verbs of causation of accompanied motion in an 'inward' direction"
   kua˧ 'to cheat; to lie'; *ka˥ka˧* 'to conceal'; *æ˧* 'to owe'; *mi˥do˧* 'to ask';
   tsy˥ 'to save (money); to keep';

3. Verbs of future having: "verbs denoting a commitment that a person will have something at some later point"
   fa˧ 'to hand out'; *mby˅* 'to allot';

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[66] Though take verbs occur in Naxi's ditransitive construction syntactically; the take verbs, in fact, cannot involve the recipient role semantically. If we continue this research, we will define a semantic field to filter them out.

4. Verbs of transfer of a message: "verbs of communicated message"
me˩ 'to teach'; *thue˦tɕy√* 'to recommend'; *tho˦tʂuɯ˦* 'to inform; to notify';

5. Say verbs: "verbs of communication of propositions and propositional attitudes"
kua√ 'to slander'; *khu˦duɯ√* 'to praise'; *pa˩ka˩* 'to report';
ʂə˩ 'to tell; to answer';

6. Carry verbs: verbs of delivery
pa˦pa√ 'to carry on the shoulder'; *ku√* 'to deliver';

7. Prepare verbs: verbs of cooking and meal
ko˦ 'to spoon up liquid'; *o˩* 'to pour liquid'; *po˦* 'to wrap up';

8. Other verbs: verbs from various classes
ʂu√ 'to seek'; *tshuɯ˦* 'to kick (a ball)'; *ʐua√* 'to count; to measure';

CHAPTER 4

DATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN NAXI

In this chapter we will discuss some syntactic and semantic features in dative constructions. Section 4.1 proposes a definition of the dative construction. Syntactically, the dative construction involves a dative marker or adposition (the latter consists of a preposition or a postposition) to mark the indirect object.

Section 4.2 is devoted to the dative construction in Naxi. The characteristics of Naxi's dative construction will be demonstrated. Section 4.3 provides Naxi's dative verbs and their semantic classifications.

Finally, section 4.4 briefly introduces formalist approaches and functionalist approaches to the relation between ditransitive constructions and their comparable synonymous dative constructions. According to this relation, some of Naxi's triadics can be categorized into three groups. The comparison between dative verbs and ditransitive verbs will also be provided in this section.

4.1   Definition of Dative Construction

Dative construction involves a dative marker or adposition to mark the indirect object. The dative marker or adposition used in the dative construction usually denotes the meaning 'direction toward'. For example, the preposition *to* in sentence (1) fulfills this function in English (O'Grady 2004: 44).

(1)   Dative construction in English (data from O'Grady 2004: 44)
      Harvey   mailed   the   letter   to   Mary.
      Subject   Direct object   Indirect object

Some languages use dative markers to mark the indirect objects in the dative

constructions, as in (2). Examples (2a-c) are from Turkish, Warlbiri[67] (or Warlpiri), and

Chamorro[68], respectively. Turkish uses a dative marker –*a*; Warlbiri uses –*ku*; and

Chamorro uses –*ni*.

(2) a. Dative construction in Turkish (data from Comrie 1981: 169)
    Müdür   Hasan-**a**   mektub-u   göster-di.
    director.Nom   Hasan-Dat   letter-Acc   show-Pst
    'The director showed the letter to Hasan.'

    b. Dative construction in Warlbiri (data from Hale 1973: 333)
    Ngajulu-rlu   ka-rna-ngku   karli-ø   yi-nyi   nyuntu-**ku**.
    1Sg-Erg   Prs-1Sg.Nom-2Sg.Acc boomerang-Abs give-Nonpst you-Dat
    'I am giving you a boomerang.'

    c. Dative construction in Chamorro (data from Topping 1973: 241)
    Ha   na'i   i   patgon   **ni**   leche.
    3Sg.Erg   give   Abs   child   Dat   milk
    'He gave the milk to the child.'

Other languages use adpositions to mark the indirect objects in the dative

constructions, as in (3). The following examples (3a-c) involving prepositions for the

indirect object are from French, Taiwanese[69], and Pero[70], respectively. French uses a

preposition *à*; Taiwanese uses *ho*; and Pero uses *tí*.

(3) a. Dative construction in French (data from Dryer 1986: 811)
    Jean   a   donné   le   livre   **à**   Marie.
    John   Perf give   the book   to   Mary
    'John gave the book to Mary.'

    b. Dative construction in Taiwanese
    Papa   saŋ   chit   pun   aŋ-a   chhe   **ho**   siomue.
    father give   one   Cl   picture book   to   sister
    'The father gave a comic book to little sister (as a present).'

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[67] Warlbiri is an indigenous language spoken in Australia's Northern Territory.

[68] Chamorro is an Austronesian language of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch spoken in Guam.

[69] Taiwanese is classified as one of the Chinese dialects spoken in Taiwan.

[70] Pero belongs to the West Chadic language branch of the Chadic language family spoken in Nigeria.

c. Dative construction in Pero (data from Frajzyngier 1989: 167)
Músà   mún-kò   júrà   **tí**   Díllà.
Musa   give-Comp   peanut   to   Dilla
'Musa gave peanuts to Dilla.'

Notice that, in some languages, such as Latin, and German, which use morphological case systems, indirect objects are marked by case inflections in the dative constructions, as in (4a) and (4b). In these cases, the inflectional dative markers do not have independent meanings, such as 'to', 'toward'..., and so on.

(4)   a. Dative construction in Latin (data from O'Grady 2004: 44)
Pater   **fili-ae**   pecūni-am   da-t.
father.Nom   daughter-Dat   money-Acc   give-Prs.3Sg
'The father gives money to his daughter.'

b. Dative construction in German
Mein   Freund   zeigte   **mir**   sein   Fahrrad.
My.Nom   friend   show.Pst   me.Dat   his.Acc   bicycle
'My friend showed me his bicycle.'

Some constructions that involve a dative marker are not limited to use in dative constructions. As already mentioned in section 2.4, the dative marker (or adposition) can occur with an oblique[71], as in (5). The following examples (5a-b) are from Tamang[72] and Yagua[73], respectively.

(5)   a. Oblique construction in Tamang (data from Taylor 1973)
Mam-se   kol-kat-**ta**   paŋ-pa.
Grandma-Erg   child-Pl-Dat   scold-Imp
'Grandma is scolding the children.'

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[71] Dative-marked oblique also occurs in the passive construction, for example:
(i)   Dative marking the oblique agent in Japanese (O'Grady 2002: 114)
Taroo-ga   **keisatu-ni**   taihos-are-ta.
Taroo-Nom   police-Dat   arrest-Pass-Pst
'Taroo was arrested by the police.'
(ii)   Dative marking the oblique agent in Korean (O'Grady 2002: 114)
Chelswu-ka   **kay-eykey**   mwul-li-ess-ta.
Chelswu-Nom   dog-Dat   bite-Pass-Pst-Decl
'Chelswu was bitten by a dog.'
[72] Tamang is one of the Bodish languages spoken in central Nepal belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family.
[73] Yagua is an indigenous language spoken in the northeastern Amazon River region.

b. Oblique construction in Yagua (data from Payne 1997: 101)
Sa-dííy   nurutí-**iva**.
3Sg-see   alligator-Dat
'He saw an alligator.' (or 'His vision rested on an alligator.')

The dative-marked oblique also expresses several types of roles, such as a destination, a source, and a possessor, as in (6a), (6b), and (6c), respectively. Note that, in our treatment, these examples, including (5) and (6), are not dative constructions in that they do not involve indirect objects.

(6) a. Dative marking a destination in Japanese (O'Grady 2002: 81)
        John-ga   Tokyo-**ni**   it-ta.
        John-Nom   Tokyo-Dat   go-Pst
        'John went to Tokyo.'

     b. Dative marking a source in Japanese (O'Grady 2002: 81)
        Watashi-wa   Tanaka-san-**ni**   jisho-o   kari-ta.
        I-Top   Tanaka-Mr.-Dat   dictionary-Acc   borrow-Pst
        'I borrowed a dictionary from Mr. Tanaka.'

     c. Dative marking a possessor in Japanese (O'Grady 2002: 81)
        John-**ni**   kodomo-ga   i-ru   koto.
        John-Dat   children-Nom   exist-Pst   fact
        'the fact that John has children'

Moreover, the dative marker also signals subjects in some languages; the dative-marked subject usually corresponds to the experiencer, as in (7). The verb that takes the dative-experiencer is usually the predicate of feeling or experience. The following examples (7a-b) are from Nepali and Hindi. Note that these examples are also not defined as dative constructions in this thesis.

(7) a. Dative marking an experiencer in Nepali (data from Bandhu 1973)
        Mə-**lai**   bhok   lag-io.
        me-Dat   hunger   attach-Perf.
        'I am hungry.'

b. Dative marking an experiencer in Hindi (data from Woolford 1997:193)

Siitaa-**ko**	larke	Pasand	the.
Sita-Dat	boy.Nom.Pl	like	be.Pst.Pl

'Sita likes the boys.'

4.2 Dative Construction in Naxi

According to the discussion provided in section 4.1, Naxi's dative construction involves a dative marker –*to˥* for the indirect object, as in (8).

(8) a. Triadic-dative construction in Naxi

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˧	sɯ˩tsɯ˧	**to˥**	tɕiə˥liə˧	dɯ˧xu˧	ʐə˥	se˩.
brother	Erg	teacher	Dat	money	some	give	Perf

'Elder brother gave some money to the teacher.'

Naxi's dative construction exhibits three distinct features: 1) the indirect object is marked by a dative marker; 2) the subject is located in the sentence-initial position; and 3) the direct object can either precede or follow the indirect object. Note that the direct object usually refers to a non-human entity corresponding to the theme, while the indirect object usually refers to a human entity, which usually corresponds to the recipient.

The word order of dative constructions in Naxi is of two types[74]—one involves two overt objects in which the indirect object precedes the direct object, and the other involves two overt objects in which the direct object precedes the indirect object. When the indirect object precedes the direct object, the ergative case –*nɯ˧* can be overt, as in (9a) and (9b); also the ergative case –*nɯ˧* can be covert, as in (9c) and (9d).

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[74] The "two constituent order type" is usual in some Tibeto-Burman languages. Givón (1979) provides the following examples from Sherpa, one of the Bodish languages spoken in Nepal. The word orders of two objects in the examples are reversed.

(i)

Tiki	**kitabi**	coxts-i-kha-la	zax-sung.
he-Erg	book	table-Gen-on-Dat	put-Aux

'He put the book on the table.'

(ii)

Tiki	coxts-i-kha-la	**kitabi**	zax-sung.
he-Erg	table-Gen-on-Dat	book	put-Aux

'He put the book on the table.'

(9) a. Word order: subject—indirect object—direct object

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	sɯ˩tsɯ˥	to˥	the˥ɣɯ˥	dɯ˥	fv˩	khɯ˥.
brother	Erg	teacher	Dat	letter	one	Cl	send
Subj.		Indir. Obj.		Dir. Obj.			

'Elder brother sent a letter to the teacher.'

b. Word order: subject—indirect object—direct object

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	sɯ˩tsɯ˥	to˥	tɕiə˥liə˥	dɯ˥xu˥	tshy˥.
brother	Erg	teacher	Dat	money	some	repay

'Elder brother repaid some money to the teacher.'

c. Word order: subject—indirect object—direct object

ə˥bv˩	sɯ˩tsɯ˥	to˥	the˥ɣɯ˥	dɯ˥	fv˩	khɯ˥.
brother	teacher	Dat	letter	one	Cl	send

'Elder brother sent a letter to the teacher.'

d. Word order: subject—indirect object—direct object

ə˥bv˩	sɯ˩tsɯ˥	to˥	tɕiə˥liə˥	dɯ˥xu˥	tshy˥.
brother	teacher	Dat	money	some	repay

'Elder brother repaid some money to the teacher.'

When the direct object precedes the indirect object, the ergative case marker –nɯ˥

must remain overt, as in (10a) and (10b).

(10) a. Word order: subject—direct object—indirect object

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	the˥ɣɯ˥	dɯ˥	fv˩	sɯ˩tsɯ˥	to˥	khɯ˥.
he	Erg	letter	one	Cl	teacher	Dat	send
		Dir. Obj.			Indir. Obj.		

'Elder brother sent a letter to the teacher.'

b. Word order: subject—direct object—indirect object

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	tɕiə˥liə˥	dɯ˥xu˥	sɯ˩tsɯ˥	to˥	tshy˥.
brother	Erg	money	some	teacher	Dat	repay

'Elder brother repaid some money to the teacher.'

Naxi's dative construction allows for the omission of either subject or direct

object, or even both, in specialized discourse settings. Note that the indirect object must

remain overt. Consider the following examples: sentence (11a) shows that there is a null

direct object, represented here as [theme e], while sentence (11b) contains a null subject,

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represented as [agent e]. In sentence (11c), both the direct object and the subject are omitted.

(11) a. A null direct object

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	gu˥me˥	to˥	[theme e]	ʐə˥	se˩.
brother	Erg	sister	Dat		give	Pst

'Elder brother gave (something) to little sister.'

b. A null subject

[agent e]	ə˥bv˩	to˥	a˩	dɯ˥	me˥	ʐə˥	se˩.
	brother	Dat	chicken	one	Cl	give	Pst

'(Someone) gave elder brother a chicken.'

c. Both direct object and subject are null

[agent e]	ə˥bv˩	to˥	[theme e]	ʐə˥	se˩.
	brother	Dat		give	Pst

'(Someone) gave elder brother (something).'

The dative case marker in Naxi's dative construction has two types. All of the dative constructions allow the dative marker –to˥, as in (12a). In some dative constructions, they also allow the other dative marker –tɕy˩. Sentence (12b) shows that the dative verb tshy˥ 'to repay' allows either –tɕy˩ or –to˥ to mark the indirect object; however, in sentence (12a), the dative verb ʐə˥ 'to give' only allows –to˥.

(12) a. Dative construction in Naxi

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	sɯ˩tsɯ˥	to˥/*tɕy˩	tɕiə˥liə˥	dɯ˥xu˥	ʐə˥	se˩.
brother	Erg	teacher	Dat	money	some	give	Perf

'Elder brother gave some money to the teacher.'

b. Dative construction in Naxi

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	sɯ˩tsɯ˥	tɕy˩/to˥	tɕiə˥liə˥	dɯ˥xu˥	tshy˥	se˩.
brother	Erg	teacher	Dat	money	some	repay	Perf

'Elder brother repaid some money to the teacher.'

Unlike the dative marker –to˥, the use of the other dative marker –tɕy˩ is relatively limited. For example, –to˥ is permitted when the dative verb is tɕhi˥ 'to sell',

as in (13a); however, –*tɕyʌ* is prohibited in this regard, as in (13b). Further examples are shown in (13c) and (13d). Sentence (13c) involving a dative verb *tshɯ˧* 'to kick' allows the dative marker –*to˥*, while sentence (13d) involving the same verb does not allow the dative marker –*tɕyʌ*.

(13) a. *to˥* is permitted in dative construction

Thɯ˧	nɯ˧	the˥yɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ŋə˧	to˥	tɕhi˧.
he	erg	book	one	Cl	I	Dat	sell

'He sold a book to me.'

  b. *tɕhyʌ* is prohibited in dative construction

*Thɯ˧	nɯ˧	the˥yɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	ŋə˧	tɕhyʌ	tɕhi˧.
he	erg	book	one	Cl	I	Dat	sell

'He sold a book to me.'

  c. *to˥* is permitted in dative construction

Thɯ˧	nɯ˧	phi√tɕhyʌ	dɯ˧	ly˧	ŋə˧	to˥	tshɯ˧.
he	erg	ball	one	Cl	I	Dat	kick

'He kicked a ball to me.'

  d. *tɕhyʌ* is prohibited in dative construction

*Thɯ˧	nɯ˧	phi√tɕhyʌ	dɯ˧	ly˧	ŋə˧	tɕhyʌ	tshɯ˧.
he	erg	ball	one	Cl	I	Dat	kick

'He kicked a ball to me.'

It should be noticed that there is a generation distinction in the dative markers.

Though Naxi's second generation (between 18 and 59 years old) tends to use –*to˥* in all of the dative constructions, elder native speakers (over 60 years old) do not allow –*to˥* in a few dative constructions, as in (14). Example (14) shows that when the dative verb is *kuʌ* 'to pay', the elder generation prohibits using –*to˥*, as in (14a), but permits using –*tɕhyʌ*, as in (14b).

(14) a. *to˥* is prohibited in the elder generation

*ə˦bv˩ (nɯ˦) sɯ˩tsɯ˦ **to˥** tɕiə˥liə˦ dɯ˦xu˦ **ku˩**.
brother Erg teacher Dat money some pay
'Elder brother paid some money to the teacher.'

b. *tɕhy˩* is permitted in the elder generation

ə˦bv˩ (nɯ˦) sɯ˩tsɯ˦ **tɕhy˩** tɕiə˥liə˦ dɯ˦xu˦ **ku˩**.
brother Erg teacher Dat money some pay
'Elder brother paid some money to the teacher.'

There is at least one constraint that occurs in the dative construction. Naxi's dative construction does not allow an inanimate indirect object, as in (15a). Some languages do not have this constraint; the sentence "He sent a letter to Beijing." is grammatical in English. In order to express the meaning of "he sent a letter to Beijing", Naxi's younger generation creates a particularly puzzling and intriguing use of *–tɕhy˩* as illustrated in (15b), which involves a locative case *–tɕhy˩* to mark the location *pə˩tɕi˦* 'Beijing'. The elder generation does not allow the sentence like (15b). Note that in normal situations, Naxi's case markers tend to follow an NP, as in (15c).

(15) a. Inanimate indirect object

*Thɯ˦ nɯ˦ **pə˩tɕi˦** **to˥/tɕhy˩** the˦ɣɯ˦ dɯ˦ fv˩ khɯ˥.
he Erg Beijing Dat letter one Cl send
'He sent a letter to Beijing.'

b. Locative case prefix *tɕhy˩*

Thɯ˦ nɯ˦ the˦ɣɯ˦ dɯ˦ fv˩ **tɕhy˩** **pə˩tɕi˦** khɯ˥.
he Erg letter one Cl Loc Beijing send
'He sent a letter to Beijing.'

c. Locative case marking an inanimate destination

ə˦bv˩ **pə˩tɕi˦** **tɕy˩** ndʑi˦.
brother Beijing Loc walk
'Elder brother walked toward Beijing.'

4.3 Dative Verbs in Naxi

Dative verbs are predicates which occur in dative constructions. According to the data I gathered in the field, Naxi contains at least 65 dative verbs, as shown in Table 4.1. There are a number of modern Mandarin loan words used as dative verbs in Naxi. As can be seen in Table 4.1, we find 17 verbs (No. 27-43) borrowed from modern Mandarin: *bo/* 'to appropriate funds for'; *fa/* 'to hand out'; *kua√* 'to make a complaint'; *po⊦* 'to wrap up'; *pa˥ka˥* 'to report'; *pv⊦* 'to change money'; *sie√* 'to present to higher level'; *thue˥* 'to turn back; return'; *tɕa⊦* 'to pay; to hand in'; *tho⊦tʂu⊦* 'to inform; to notify'; *thue⊦tɕy√* 'to recommend'; *fa/* 'to punish'; *fœ⊦tue˥* 'to disagree'; *phi⊦phi√* 'to criticize'; *tɕhər⊦* 'to pluck (flowers)'; *tʐa⊦xu⊦* 'to take care of; to treat'; *tho/* 'to entrust'; and *tsø⊦* 'to throw'.

Table 4.1 Dative Verbs in Naxi

No.	Ditransitive verbs	English glossary	Mandarin glossary
01	kua⊦	to cheat; to lie	pian√
02	ku⊦	to hand over	jiao˥
03	ku√	to deliver	chuan˥di√
04	kua√	to slander	gao√zhuang√
05	ka˥	to rent out	zu˥
06	ka˥ka⊦	to conceal	man˥
07	ko⊦	to spoon up liquid	yao[75]
08	khu⊦dɯ√	to praise	cheng˥zan√
09	le⊦ku√	to return	huan˥
10	le⊦tshy˥	to repay a debt	huan˥zai√
11	mby√	to allot	fen˥; fen˥pei√
12	mi˥do⊦	to ask	wen√
13	ni⊦	to lend	jie√
14	ni˥	to wire money	dian√hui√

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[75] The pitch of the unmarked tone in Mandarin is 324.

15	o˥	to pour liquid	dao˩
16	phi˥	to lose	shu˥
17	pɑ˧pɑ˩	to carry on the shoulder	bei˥
18	ʂə˥	to tell; to answer	gao˩su˩
19	ʂu˩	to seek	zhao
20	sæ˧	to bestow (money)	shang (qian˥)
21	tshy˥	to repay (money)	peiˊ
22	tshɯ˧	to kick (a ball)	ti˥
23	tɕhi˧	to sell	mai˩
24	æ˧	to owe	qian˩
25	ŋgu˧	to buy/sell on credit	she˥
26	ʐə˥	to give	gei
27	bo˩	to appropriate funds for	bo˥ (kuan)
28	fɑ˩	to hand out	fa˥
29	po˧	to wrap up	bao˥
30	pɑ˥kɑ˥	to report	bao˩gao˩
31	pv˧	to give change	bu (ling˥)
32	sie˩	to present to higher level	xian˩gei
33	thue˥	to turn back; return	tui˩
34	tɕɑ˧	to hand in; to pay	jiao
35	tho˧tʂɯ˧	to inform; to notify	tong˥zhi˥
36	thue˧tɕy˩	to recommend	tui˥ju; tui˥jian˩
37	fɑ˩	to punish	faˊ
38	fæ˧tue˥	to oppose	fandui˩
39	phi˧phi˩	to criticize	pi˥pingˊ
40	tɕhər˧	to pluck (flowers)	zhai˥
41	tzɑ˧xu˧	to take care of	zhao˥hu˥; zhao˥dai˩
42	tho˩	to entrust	tuo˥
43	tsø˧	to throw	touˊ
44	bə˧	to feed	wei˩
45	khæ˩	to make change	huan˩ (qian˥)
46	khɯ˥	to send (a letter)	ji˩
47	khɯ˥	to fill (rice in a bowl)	chengˊ
48	kuɑ˩	to invite	yao˥qing
49	lɑ˥	to nail	ding˥
50	le˧khɯ˥	to reply (to a letter)	huiˊ
51	lər˩	to call	jiao˩
52	mɯ˥	to cure with smoke	xun˥

53	pər˥	to paint; to write	xie
54	pha˧bei˧	to flatter	feng˩cheng˧
55	so˩	to learn	xue˧
56	ʂu˩	to request	yao˥qiu˧
57	tsɯ˩	to give an amount	suan˩
58	tɕy˩	to cheat	qi˥pian˩
59	tshər˥	to make a dress	cai˧
60	tse˧tse˧	to cut (meat)	duo˩
61	tʂhu˧	to cook (food)	chao
62	u˩	to scoop (water)	yao
63	xæ˩	to buy	mai
64	zy˩	to take	na˧
65	ŋga˧	to win	ying˧

Naxi's dative verbs can be classified into the following twelve semantic classes: 1) give verbs; 2) take verbs[76]; 3) verbs of future having; 4) verbs of transfer of a message; 5) say verbs; 6) prepare verbs; 7) carry verbs; 8) verbs of throwing; 9) build/create verbs; 10) send verbs; 11) verbs of fulfilling; and 12) other verbs, as shown in Table 4.2. Note that the following semantic definition in each class (if applicable) is based mainly on Anagnostopoulou (2003:12).

Table 4.2 Classification of Naxi's dative verbs

1. Give verbs: "verbs that inherently signify acts of giving"; 'outward' motion
   bo˩ 'to appropriate funds for'; *ku˧* 'to hand over'; *ŋgu˧* 'to buy/sell on credit'
   ka˥ 'to rent out'; *le˧ku˩* 'to return'; *bə˧* 'to feed'; *ʐə˥* 'to give'
   le˧tshy˥ 'to repay a debt'; *ni˧* 'to lend'; *ni˥* 'to wire money'; *phi˥* 'to lose';
   pv˧ 'to give change'; *sie˩* 'to present to higher level'; *tɕhi˧* 'to sell';
   sæ˧ 'to bestow (money)'; *thue˥* 'to turn back; return'; *tshy˥* 'to repay (money)';
   tɕa˧ 'to hand in; to pay';

2. Take verbs: verbs of causation of accompanied motion in an inward

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[76] As mentioned in footnote 66, take verbs cannot involve the recipient role semantically. We cannot deny if anyone argues that take verbs do not belong to the recipient construction.

direction

kua⌐ 'to cheat; to lie'; *ka⌐ka⌐* 'to conceal'; *æ⌐* 'to owe'; *mi⌐do⌐* 'to ask'
fa⌐ 'to punish'; *ʂu√* 'to request'; *tɕy√* 'to cheat'; *xæ√* 'to buy';
ʐy√ 'to take'; *ŋga⌐* 'to win'; *so√* 'to learn';

3. Verbs of future having: "verbs denoting a commitment that a person will have something at some later point"
   fa⌐ 'to hand out'; *mby√* 'to allot';

4. Verbs of transfer of a message: "verbs of communicated message"
   thue⌐tɕy√ 'to recommend'; *tho⌐tʂu⌐* 'to inform; to notify';

5. Say verbs: "verbs of communication of propositions and propositional attitudes"
   kua√ 'to slander'; *khu⌐du√* 'to praise'; *pa⌐ka⌐* 'to report'; *phi⌐phi√* 'to criticize';
   ʂə⌐ 'to tell; to answer'; *lər√* 'to call'; *pha⌐bei⌐* 'to flatter';

6. Prepare verbs: verbs of cooking and meal
   ko⌐ 'to spoon up (liquid)'; *o⌐* 'to pour (liquid)'; *po⌐* 'to wrap up';
   khu⌐ 'to fill (rice in a bowl)'; *mu⌐* 'to cure with smoke'; *tse⌐tse⌐* 'to cut (meat)';
   tʂhu⌐ 'to cook (food)'; *u√* 'to scoop (water)';

7. Carry verbs: verbs of delivery
   pa⌐pa√ 'to carry on the shoulder'; *ku√* 'to deliver';

8. Verbs of throwing: "verbs instantaneously causing ballistic motion"
   tshu⌐ 'to kick (a ball)'; *tsø⌐* 'to throw';

9. Build/Create verbs: verbs of creation and building
   la⌐ 'to nail'; *pər⌐* 'to paint; to write'; *tɕhər⌐* 'to cut (cloth)';

10. Send verbs: "verbs of sending"
    khu⌐ 'to send (a letter)'; *le⌐khu⌐* 'to reply (to a letter)';

11. Verbs of fulfilling:
    tʐa⌐xu⌐ 'to take care of'; *kua√* 'to invite';

12. Other verbs: verbs from various classes
    fœ⌐tue⌐ 'to oppose'; *khæ√* 'to make change'; *tsu√* 'to give an amount';
    tho⌐ 'to entrust'; *tɕhər⌐* 'to pluck (flowers); *ʂu√* 'to seek'

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4.4   Comparison between Dative and Ditransitive

As already pointed out in section 3.1.2, ditransitive constructions occur in

comparatively few languages. Cross-linguistically, many languages do not exhibit the

ditransitive construction, but instead employ a dative construction. Japanese and French

are two such languages, as in (16a) and (16b). Japanese uses a dative case –*ni* to mark

the indirect object; and French uses a preposition *à*. Note that Johnson (1980) argues that

a few French verbs occur in the ditransitive construction under varying discourse

circumstances.

(16) a. Dative construction in Japanese (data from O'Grady 2004: 81)
      John-ga   Mary-**ni**   hon-o   age-ta.
      John-Nom Mary-Dat book-Acc   gave-Pst
      'John gave the book to Mary.'

     b. Dative construction in French (Dryer 1986: 811)
      Jean   a   donné   le   livre   **à**   Marie.
      John   Perf give   the book   to   Mary
      'John gave the book to Mary.'

As already alluded to, most ditransitive constructions have respective

synonymous dative constructions. The formalists (Chomsky 1955, 1975; Larson 1988)

define the relation between the ditransitive construction and its comparable synonymous

dative construction as "dative shift"—the ditransitive construction is syntactically derived

from the dative construction. The functionalists (Givón 1979, 1990; Erteschik-Shir 1979)

suggest that the relation between the two is best accounted for not in syntax but in terms

of discourse function. Givón (1979: 161) mentions that the most common function

between the two constructions is changing the "relative topicality" of the two objects.

This concerns the universal word order principle and the rule of topicalization—the left-

most constituent is the more topical one. Givón provides the following English examples, (17) and (18), to support his assumption:

(17) a. When he found it, John gave the book to Mary.

b. ?When he found it, John gave Mary the book.[77]

(18) a. When he found her, John gave Mary the book.

b. ?When he found her, John gave the book to Mary.

Givón also examines data from a variety of languages; he proposes two distinctions between the ditransitive construction and its comparable synonymous dative construction. First, the indirect object in the latter involves a dative marker or an adposition. Second, the constituent orders of the two objects in the two constructions are reversed.

Givón's analysis is reasonable at least in both AVP/SV languages and PAV/SV languages[78]. The following are sentences selected from AVP/SV languages, specifically Danish, Taiwanese, and Indonesian. Examples (19a), (20a), and (21a) involve prepositions for their indirect objects (recipients) which follow the direct objects (themes). On the contrary, the recipient-object is followed by the theme-object in the ditransitive construction, as in (19b), (20b), and (21b). These examples appear to support Givón's assumption.

(19) a. Dative construction in Danish (data from Herslund 1986: 125)
Han   sendte   blomster   **til**   sin   sekretær.
he   sent   flowers   to   his   secretary
'He sent flowers to his secretary.'

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[77] When the interrogation mark appears before a translated sentence, it means the translated sentence may be ungrammatical in English.
[78] We do not provide examples from VAP/VS languages in this thesis.

b. Ditransitive construction in Danish (data from Herslund 1986: 125)

Han	sendte	sin	sekretær	blomster.
he	sent	his	secretary	flowers

'He sent his secretary flowers.'

(20) a. Dative construction in Taiwanese

Papa	saŋ	chit	pun	aŋ-a	chhe	**ho**	siomue.
father	give	one	Cl	picture	book	to	sister

'The father gave a comic book to little sister (as a present).'

b. Ditransitive construction in Taiwanese

Papa	saŋ	siomue	chit	bun	aŋ-a	chhe.
father	give	sister	one	Cl	picture	book

'The father gave little sister a comic book (as a present)'

(21) a. Dative construction in Indonesian (data from Dryer 1986: 811)

Saja	mem-bawa	surat	itu	**kepada**	Ali.
I	Tr-bring	letter	the	to	Ali

'I brought the letter to Ali.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Indonesian (data from Dryer 1986: 811)

Saja	mem-bawa-kan	Ali	surat	itu.
I	Tr-bring-Ben	Ali	letter	the

'I brought Ali the letter.'

The following are from the APV/SV languages, Korean and Naxi. In Korean, sentence (22a) involves a dative case marker for the indirect object (recipient) which precedes the direct object (theme). In sentence (22b), the theme-object precedes the recipient-object in the ditransitive construction. Notice that both dative construction and ditransitive construction in Korean involve two word order types, therefore, we also find another pair, as in (23). The direct object precedes the indirect object, as in (23a); while the recipient-object precedes the theme-object, as in (23b).

(22) a. Dative construction in Korean (data from O'Grady 2004: 62)

Mary-ka	**haksayng**-tul-**eykey**	**chayk-ul**	cwu-ess-ta
Mary-Nom	student-Pl-Dat	book-Acc	give-Pst-Decl
	Recipient	Theme	

'Mary gave books to the student.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Korean

Mary-ka	**chayk-ul**	**haksayng**-tul-**ul**	cwu-ess-ta
Mary-Nom	book-Acc	student-Pl-Acc	give-Pst-Decl
	Theme	Recipient	

'Mary gave the student books.'

(23) a. Dative construction in Korean

Mary-ka	**chayk-ul**	**haksayng**-tul-eykey	cwu-ess-ta
Mary-Nom	book-Acc	student-Pl-Dat	give-Pst-Decl
	Theme	Recipient	

'Mary gave books to the student.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Korean (data from O'Grady 2004: 61)

Mary-ka	**haksayng**-tul-**ul**	**chayk-ul**	cwu-ess-ta
Mary-Nom	student-Pl-Acc	book-Acc	give-Pst-Decl
	Recipient	Theme	

'Mary gave the student books.'

In Naxi, the indirect object precedes the direct object in the dative construction, as in (24a); while the theme-object precedes the recipient-object in the ditransitive construction, as in (24b). Note that Naxi's dative construction involves another word order type in which the direct object precedes the indirect object, as in (24c). Both Korean and Naxi's examples support Givón's analyses.

(24) a. Dative construction in Naxi

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	**gu˥me˥**	to˥	the˥ɣɯ˥	dɯ˥	tsha˥	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	sister	Dat	book	one	Cl	give
		Recipient		Theme			

'Elder brother gave a book to little sister.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	**the˥ɣɯ˥**	dɯ˥	tsha˥	**gu˥me˥**	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	sister	give
		Theme			Recipient	

'Elder brother gave little sister a book.'

c. Dative construction in Naxi

ə˥bv˩	nɯ˥	**the˥ɣɯ˥**	dɯ˥	tsha˥	**gu˥me˥**	to˥	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	sister	Dat	give
		Theme			Recipient		

'Elder brother gave a book to little sister.'

4.4.1 Datives vs. Ditransitives in Naxi

Naxi has no semantic difference between the dative construction and the ditransitive construction. However, in some languages, such as English, the two constructions differ from each other semantically. Green (1974) points out that the ditransitive construction usually involves a semantic sense of "completion"; in contrast, the dative construction may lack this sense. For example, Sentence (25a) suggests that Mary really learned French. However, sentence (25b) suggests that Mary might not learn French.

(25) a. Ditransitive construction in English
John taught Mary French.

b. Dative construction in English
John taught French to Mary

In Naxi, the dative verb and the ditransitive verb differ from each other syntactically and lexically. Comparing Table 3.4 (ditransitive verbs in Naxi) and Table 4.1 (dative verbs in Naxi), we find that Naxi verbs that occur in the dative construction and the ditransitive construction can be classified into three categories: 1) verbs occurring in both ditransitive constructions and dative constructions; 2) verbs occurring only in ditransitive constructions; and 3) verbs occurring only in dative constructions.

In the first category, the verbs can occur in both the dative construction and the ditransitive construction, as in (26) and (27). Examples (26) and (27) show that the verbs *mi˥do˧* 'to ask' and *thue˧tɕy˦* 'to recommend' occur not only in the dative construction but also in the ditransitive construction.

(26) a. Dative construction in Naxi

əˉbvˇ	nuuˉ	guˉmeˉ	to˥	thiˇ	duuˉ	thiˇ	**mi˥doˉ**.
brother	Erg	sister	Dat	question	one	Cl	ask

'Elder brother asked little sister a question.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

əˉbvˇ	nuuˉ	thiˇ	duuˉ	thiˇ	guˉmeˉ	**mi˥doˉ**.
brother	Erg	question	one	Cl	sister	ask

'Elder brother asked little sister a question.'

(27) a. Dative construction in Naxi

Suuˇtsuuˉ	nuuˉ	guˉmeˉ	to˥	theˉɣuuˉ	tʂhuuˉ	tshaˉ	**thueˉtɕyˇ**.
teacher	Erg	sister	Dat	book	this	Cl	recommend

'The teacher recommended this book to little sister.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

Suuˇtsuuˉ	nuuˉ	theˉɣuuˉ	tʂhuuˉ	tshaˉ	guˉmeˉ	**thueˉtɕyˇ**.
teacher	Erg	book	this	Cl	sister	recommend

'The teacher recommended little sister this book.'

We find 36 verbs belonging to the first category as follows: *boˉ* 'to appropriate funds for'; *kuˉ* 'to hand over'; *kuˇ* 'to deliver'; *ka˥* 'to rent out'; *leˉkuˇ* 'to return'; *leˉtshy˥* 'to repay a debt'; *niˉ* 'to lend'; *ni˥* 'to wire money'; *phi˥* 'to lose'; *pvˉ* 'to give change'; *sieˇ* 'to present to higher level'; *tɕhiˉ* 'to sell'; *sæˉ* 'to bestow (money)'; *thue˥* 'to turn back; return'; *tshy˥* 'to repay (money)'; *tɕaˉ* 'to hand in; to pay'; *ŋguˉ* 'to buy/sell on credit'; *ʐə˥* 'to give'; *kuaˉ* 'to cheat; to lie'; *ka˥kaˉ* 'to conceal'; *æˉ* 'to owe'; *faˉ* 'to hand out'; *mbyˇ* 'to allot'; *mi˥doˉ* 'to ask'; *thueˉtɕyˇ* 'to recommend'; *kuaˇ* 'to slander'; *khuˉduuˇ* 'to praise'; *pa˥ka˥* 'to report'; *ʂə˥* 'to tell; to answer'; *thoˉtʂuuˉ* 'to inform; to notify'; *koˉ* 'to spoon up (liquid)'; *o˥* 'to pour liquid'; *poˉ* 'to wrap up'; *paˉpaˇ* 'to carry on the shoulder'; *ʂuˇ* 'to seek'; and *tshuuˉ* 'to kick (a ball)'.

The verbs in the second category occur only in the ditransitive construction, as in (28) and (29). Examples (28) and (29) show that the verbs *tsy˥* 'to save (money); to keep' and *me˥* 'to teach' can be used in the ditransitive construction; however, they are not used in the dative construction.

(28) a. Dative construction in Naxi

    *ə˥bv√   nɯ˧   gu˧me˧   to˥   tɕiə˥liə˧   dɯ˧xu˧   **tsy˥**.
    brother Erg   sister   Dat   money   some   save
    'Elder brother saved some money to little sister.'
    *'Elder brother saved some money for little sister.'

    b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

    ə˥bv√   nɯ˧   tɕiə˥liə˧   dɯ˧xu˧   gu˧me˧   **tsy˥**.
    brother   Erg   money   some   sister   save
    'Elder brother saved some money to little sister.'
    *'Elder brother saved some money for little sister.

(29) a. Dative construction in Naxi

    *Sɯ√tsɯ˧   nɯ˧   gu˧me˧   to˥   xɑ˧pɑ√ kɯ˧tʂɯ√   **me˥**.
    teacher   Erg   sister   Dat   Han language   teach
    'The teacher taught little sister the Han language (Chinese).'

    b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

    Sɯ√tsɯ˧   nɯ˧   xɑ˧pɑ√ kɯ˧tʂɯ√   gu˧me˧   **me˥**.
    teacher   Erg   Han language   sister   teach
    'The teacher taught little sister the Han language (Chinese).'

We only find five verbs so far that behave this way: *kɯ˧kɯ√* 'to bribe', *me˥* 'to teach', *pu˥* 'to give as a present', *tsy˥* 'to save (money); to keep', and *ʐuɑ√* 'to count; to measure'.

The verbs belonging to the third category occur only in the dative construction, as in (30) and (31). The verbs *khɯ˥* 'to send' and *ŋgɑ˧* 'to win' can occur in the dative construction, as in (30a) and (31a); however, they cannot occur in the ditransitive construction, as in (30b) and (31b).

(30) a. Dative construction in Naxi

ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	gu˧me˧	to˥	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	fv˩	**khɯ˥.**
brother	Erg	sister	Dat	letter	one	Cl	send

'Elder brother sent a letter to little sister.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

*ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	fv˩	gu˧me˧	**khɯ˥.**
brother	Erg	letter	one	Cl	sister	send

'Elder brother sent little sister a letter.'

(31) a. Dative construction in Naxi

ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	gu˧me˧	to˥	tɕi˩	dɯ˧	pha˩	**ŋga˧.**
brother	Erg	sister	Dat	chess	one	Cl	win

'Elder brother won a game of chess with little sister.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

*ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	tɕi˩	dɯ˧	pha˩	gu˧me˧	**ŋga˧.**
brother	Erg	chess	one	Cl	sister	win

'Elder brother won a game of chess with little sister.'

There are at least 28 verbs that occur in the third category as follows: *fa˧* 'to punish'; *fæ˧tue˥* 'to oppose'; *phi˧phi˩* 'to criticize'; *tɕhər˧* 'to pluck (flowers)'; *tʐa˧xu˧* 'to take care of'; *tho˧* 'to entrust'; *tsø˧* 'to throw'; *bə˧* 'to feed'; *khæ˩* 'to make change'; *khɯ˥* 'to send (a letter)'; *khɯ˥* 'to fill (rice in a bowl)'; *kua˩* 'to invite'; *la˥* 'to nail'; *le˧khɯ˥* 'to reply (to a letter)'; *lər˩* 'to call'; *mu˥* 'to cure with smoke'; *pər˥* 'to paint; to write'; *pha˧bei˧* 'to flatter'; *ʂu˩* 'to request'; *tsɯ˩* 'to give an amount'; *tɕy˩* 'to cheat'; *tshər˥* 'to make a dress'; *tse˧tse˧* 'to cut (meat)'; *tʂhu˧* 'to cook (food)'; *u˩* 'to scoop (water)'; *xæ˩* 'to buy'; *ʐy˩* 'to take'; and *ŋga˧* 'to win'.

Comparing Table 3.5 (classification of Naxi's ditransitive verbs) and Table 4.2 (classification of Naxi's dative verbs), we find that there are more dative verb classes

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than ditransitive verb classes; there are some verb classes that allow the ditransitive construction, and others that do not.

The comparison also shows that dative verbs and ditransitive verbs share seven verb classes (excluding 'other verbs'): 1) give verbs; 2) take verbs; 3) verbs of future having; 4) verbs of transfer of a message; 5) say verbs; 6) carry verbs; and 7) prepare verbs. Moreover, there are four verb classes that permit the dative construction but do not permit the ditransitive construction, as follows: 1) verbs of throwing; 2) build/create verbs; 3) send verbs; and 4) verbs of fulfilling.

CHAPTER 5

GIVE SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION IN NAXI

A serial verb construction (SVC) consists of "two or more verb roots that are neither compounded nor members of separate clauses" (Payne 1997: 307). Semantically, each verb in the serial verb construction denotes "various facets of a single complex event" (Payne 1997: 307). The serial verb construction can be classified into at least five different categories: 1) TAKE serial verb construction; 2) GIVE serial verb construction; 3) SURPASS serial verb construction; 4) SAY serial verb construction; and 5) GO/COME serial verb construction (Seuren 2001: 438). In this study, we only investigate the GIVE serial verb construction because it involves the semantic role of the recipient.

In this chapter, we will give a comprehensive account of Naxi's GIVE serial verb constructions, including their nature, syntax, and semantics. In section 5.1, we will discuss examples of the various types of GIVE serial verb constructions; some defining features related to the GIVE serial verb construction are also included in this section. Section 5.2 is intended to demonstrate the details of the syntax and semantics of Naxi's GIVE serial verb construction. In section 5.3, we will list Naxi's GIVE serial verbs and provide the semantic classifications of the main verbs in the GIVE serial verb construction. Finally, the comparison between ditransitive verbs and the main verbs of the GIVE serial verb construction will be discussed in section 5.4.

5.1 Types of GIVE Serial Verb Construction

The GIVE serial verb construction is widespread in serializing languages. GIVE

SVC usually involves two verb roots:[79] one is defined as the serial verb, which is transparently related to the verb meaning "to give"; the other is the main verb, which typically occurs before the serial verb "to give". In the following discussion, we will use "GIVE" to indicate the serial verb 'to give', and use "MAIN verb" to indicate the main verb in the GIVE serial verb construction.

5.1.1 Classification

The GIVE serial verb construction (GIVE SVC) can be used to express a variety of semantic relations, including recipient, benefactive, and goal. According to the thematic role co-occurring with GIVE, the GIVE SVC can be divided into at least three categories: 1) the GIVE accompanying a recipient; 2) the GIVE accompanying a benefactive; and 3) the GIVE accompanying a goal. In our treatment, only the first type belongs to the recipient construction.

The first type of the GIVE SVC involves a recipient role co-occurring with the GIVE, as in (1). The following examples are from Sranan[80], Saramaccan[81], and Thai. Each of the GIVEs in example (1) is a full verb followed by the recipient role.

(1) a. GIVE SVC in Sranan (data from Sebba 1987: 50)

Kownu	seni	wan	**boskopu**	qi	**Tigri.**
King	send	a	message	give	Tiger
					Recipient

'King sent a message to Tiger.'

---

[79] In some languages, the GIVE serial construction involves the third verb root, as in the following example:

  (i) Three-verb GIVE serial construction in Sranan (sited by Sebba 1987: 51)

Ala	dey	mi	be	e	**tyari**	nyanyan	**go**	**gi**	den.
all	day	I	T/A	T/A	carry	food	go	give	them

    'Every day I brought food to them.'

[80] Sranan is a Creole language spoken in Suriname.

[81] Saramaccan is an English-based creole language spoken in Suriname.

b. GIVE SVC in Saramaccan (Byrne 1987:189)

Magdá	kóndá	dí	ótó	dá	dí	**bási.**
Magda	tell	the	story	give	the	boss
						Recipient

'Magda told the story to the boss.'

c. GIVE SVC in Thai (cited by O'Grady 2004:202)

Dèk	khɨɨn	nansɨɨ	hây	**krhuu.**
boy	return	book	give	teacher
				Recipient

'The boy returned the book to the teacher.'

The second type of the GIVE SVC involves a benefactive role co-occurring with GIVE, as in (2). The following examples are from Korean, Mandarin, and Saramaccan. Example (2a) can be described as having a benefactive which is the addresser, the first-person singular pronoun 'I'. Note that the GIVE in examples (2a) and (2b) behaves very much like *for*, the benefactive preposition in English. Historically, the GIVE can be a source for adpositions if it undergoes grammaticalization[82]. O'Grady (2004: 203) points out that the Korean morpheme –*cwu* 'to give' in example (2a) "can become grammaticalized—that is, it can lose its literal meaning and come to function as a grammatical marker". Tsao (1988: 167) even advocates that the serial verb *gei* 'to give' in example (2b) functions as a benefactive marker; it can be used interchangeably with other benefactive markers, such as *wei* or *ti*. In this case, we cannot deny if someone defines (2a) and (2b) as benefactive constructions. However, the GIVE in (2c) is unambiguous because the serial verb *dá* 'to give' does not undergo grammaticalization.

(2)   a. GIVE SVC in Korean (data from O'Grady 2004:203)

Mwun-ul	tat-a-**cwu**-sey-yo
door-Ac	close-Af-give-Hon-Level

'Please close the door for me.'

---

[82] Hopper and Traugott (1993: xv) define "grammaticalization" as "the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions."

b. GIVE SVC in Mandarin (Li & Thompson 1974:271)

Wo	**gei**	**ni**	zuo	cha	fan.
I	give	you	make	fried	rice
		Benefactive			

'I'll make fried rice for you.'

c. GIVE SVC in Saramaccan (Byrne 1987:180)

Kófı	báy	sóni	**dá**	dı	**mujée**.
Kofi	buy	something	give	the	woman
					Benefactive

'Kofi bought something for the woman.'

The third type of the GIVE SVC involves a goal co-occurring with the GIVE, as in (3). Note that Sebba (1987) defines *en* 'him' in sentence (3) as a location, while we define it as a goal. Note, too, that in Sebba's analyses *qi* 'to give' in the different types of serial verb constructions can be translated by a variety of prepositions in English. In fact, Sebba does not consider the possibility of grammaticalization of the serial verb *qi* 'to give'.

(3) GIVE SVC in Sranan (cited by Sebba 1987: 51)

Dagu	piri	en	tifi	**qi**	**en**.
dog	peel	his	teeth	give	him
					Goal

'Dog bared his teeth at him.'

In the following discussion, we will demonstrate some criteria for the GIVE SVC which are also proposed by several linguists (Welmers 1973; Sebba 1987; and O'Grady 2004) to define the "serial verb construction". The GIVE SVC has the following defining features (O'Grady 2004: 202):

First of all, the GIVE SVC contains no markers of coordination or subordination; on the other hand, there is "no conjunction or complementizer" in the GIVE SVC.

Secondly, the GIVE SVC contains "at least one shared argument"—either the theme or the agent. For example, *boskopu* 'message' in (1a) is the theme argument of

both *seni* 'to send' and *qi* 'to give', while *Kófi* 'Kofi' in (2c) is the agent argument of

both *báy* 'to buy' and *dá* 'to give'.

Thirdly, the verbs in the GIVE SVC share "the same tense and aspect, which is

usually expressed on only one of the verbs". For example, the aspect and/or tense

markers (or inflectional affixes) in Ijo[83] and Akan[84] are carried by the GIVE, as in (4a)

and (4b), respectively.

(4)   a. GIVE SVC in Ijo (cited by Seuren 2001: 451)
Erí   opúru-mo   àki   toboú   **pìri-mi.**
he   crayfish   take   boy   give-Pst
'He took a crayfish to the boy.'

b. GIVE SVC in Akan (cited by Sebba 1987: 174)
ɔde   sekaŋ   no   **mãã**   me.
he-take   knife   the   give-Pst   me
'He gave me the knife'

Some languages, such as Mandarin and Sranan, express the aspect and/or tense

markers on the MAIN verbs, as in (5a) and (5b).

(5)   a. GIVE SVC in Mandarin
Zhangsan   **ti-le**   yi-ge   qiu   gei   Lisi.
Name   kick-Perf   one-Cl   ball   give   Name
'Zhangsan kicked a ball to Lisi,'

b. GIVE SVC in Sranan (data from Sebba 1987: 50)
Mi   e   **prani**   a   karu   gi   yu.
I   T/A   plant   the   corn   give   you
'I am planting the corn for you.'

However, some languages, such as Akan, express the aspect and/or tense markers

(or inflectional affixes) on both verbs, as in (6). Notice that the shared agent *me* 'I'

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[83] Ijo belongs to the Kwa languages spoken in parts of West Africa.
[84] Akan is a creole language belonging to the Twi languages spoken in Ghana.

occurs twice in sentence (6) [85].

(6) GIVE SVC in Akan (data from Schachter 1974: 260)
Me **yéè** adwuma **me** **máà** Amma.
I do-Pst work I give-Pst Amma
'I worked for Amma.'

Finally, the negative marker (if applicable) is usually assigned to the MAIN verb,

as in (7a). However, a few languages, such as Akan, express the negation marker on both

verbs, as in (7b).

(7) a. GIVE SVC in Sranan (data from Sebba 1987: 51)
Fu gowtu **no** **fadon** gi gron.
for gold Neg fall give ground
'so that the gold would not fall to the ground.'

b. GIVE SVC in Akan (data from Schachter 1974: 266)
Kofi **n-ye** adwuma **m-ma** Amma.
Kofi Neg-do work Neg-give Amma
'Kofi does not work for Amma.'

5.2 GIVE Serial Verb Construction in Naxi

According to the classifications provided in section 5.1.1, Naxi's GIVE serial

verb construction involves a recipient co-occurring with the GIVE, as in (8). Notice that

the serial verb ʐə˥ 'to give' seems not to co-occur with the benefactive[86] or goal (or

direction) because we cannot find any convincing example of these so far.

(8) GIVE SVC in Naxi
ə˩bv̩˩ nɯ˩ tsho˥kv̩˥ dɯ˩ pɑ˩ ʂu˩ **thɯ˩** to˥ **ʐə˥**.
brother Erg hoe one Cl seek he Dat give
Recipient
'Elder brother sought a hoe (to give it) to him.'

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[85] In (i), both aspect-marked verbs in the TAKE serial construction share a subject which occur once.
(i) TAKE serial construction in Akan (cited in O'Grady 2004: 202)
Mi a fa sekan e twa.
I Perf take knife Perf cut
'I have cut with a knife.'
[86] Benefactive also does not occur in the ditransitive construction and the dative construction.

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The traditional analysis shows that the GIVE SVC can be derived from two or more underlying sentences (Lord 1973, and Bamgbose 1974). For example, the GIVE SVC (8a) above is derived from the following two sentences (9a) and (9b). This hypothesis explains why Naxi's GIVE SVC involves a dative marker –to˥.

(9) a. Transitive construction in Naxi

ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	tsho˧kv˥	dɯ˧	pɑ˧	ʂu˩.
brother	Erg	hoe	one	Cl	seek

'Elder brother sought a hoe.'

b. Dative construction involving a null subject

Thɯ˧	to˥	tsho˧kv˥	dɯ˧	pɑ˧	ʐə˥.
he	Dat	hoe	one	Cl	give

'(Someone) gave him a hoe.'

Cross-linguistic comparison shows that Naxi's GIVE SVC exhibits the following properties: 1) it contains two verb roots without any conjunction or complementizer; 2) it contains a shared theme argument of both verbs; 3) the recipient-object occurs between the MAIN verb and the GIVE; the MAIN verb precedes the GIVE, and 4) the dative marker –to˥ in the GIVE SVC is seldom employed. The example can be demonstrated as in (10). In sentence (10), tsho˧kv˥ 'hoe' is the theme argument of both ʂu˩ 'to seek' and ʐə˥ 'to give'. The recipient-object thɯ˧ 'he' is located between ʂu˩ 'to seek' and ʐə˥ 'to give'. Comparing sentence (10) with sentence (8) above, the dative marker –to˥ is not employed in the former, while in the latter it remains overt. It should be noted that Naxi speakers prefer to not employ the dative marker –to˥ associated with the GIVE SVC.

(10) GIVE SVC in Naxi

ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	**tsho˧kv˥**	dɯ˧	pɑ˧	ʂu˩	**thɯ˧**	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	hoe	one	Cl	seek	he	give
						Recipient	

'Elder brother sought a hoe (to give it) to him.'

In addition, two additional syntactic features in the GIVE SVC must be considered. First, the aspect and/or tense marker (if applicable) is assigned to the GIVE, as in (11a); however, if the aspect and/or tense marker is assigned to the MAIN verb, the result is ungrammatical, as in (11b). Second, the negative marker *mə⁺–* (if applicable) is assigned to the MAIN verb, as in (12a); however, the negative marker cannot mark the GIVE, as in (12b).

(11) a. GIVE SVC in Naxi

ə⁺bv˅	nɯ⁺	the⁺ɣɯ⁺	dɯ⁺	tsha⁺	ʂu˅	ŋə˅	ʐə˥	se˅.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	seek	I	give	Perf

'Elder brother sought a book (to give it) to me.'

b. GIVE SVC in Naxi

*ə⁺bv˅	nɯ⁺	the⁺ɣɯ⁺	dɯ⁺	tsha⁺	ʂu˅	se˅	ŋə˅	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	seek	Perf	I	give

'Elder brother sought a book (to give it) to me.'

(12) a. GIVE SVC in Naxi

ə˅ba⁺	nɯ⁺	the⁺ɣɯ⁺	tʂhɯ⁺	tsha⁺	mə⁺	xa˅	gu⁺me⁺	ʐə˥.
father	Erg	book	this	Cl	Neg	buy	sister	give

'Father did not buy this book (to give it) to little sister.'

b. GIVE SVC in Naxi

*ə˅ba⁺	nɯ⁺	the⁺ɣɯ⁺	tʂhɯ⁺	tsha⁺	xa˅	gu⁺me⁺	mə⁺	ʐə˥.
father	Erg	book	this	Cl	buy	sister	Neg	give

'Father did not buy this book (to give it) to little sister.'

Naxi's GIVE SVC must involve either of two semantic properties. The first is that the recipient must have possession of the theme after the action is completed. In other words, when receiving the theme from the agent, the recipient becomes not only a receiver but also a possessor of the theme, as in (13a-d).

(13) a. GIVE SVC in Naxi

ə˅ba⁺	nɯ⁺	tɕiə˥liə⁺	dɯ⁺xu⁺	ʐy˅	thɯ⁺	ʐə˥.
father	Erg	money	some	take	he	give

'Father took some money (to give it) to him.'

b. GIVE SVC in Naxi

ə˧bv˩	nɯ˧	tsho˧kv˩	dɯ˧	pɑ˧	ʂu˩	sɯ˩tsɯ˧	ʐə˩.
brother	Erg	hoe	one	Cl	seek	teacher	give

'Elder brother sought a hoe (to give it) to the teacher.'

c. GIVE SVC in Naxi

ə˩mo˧	nɯ˧	ʐa˩ʐu˩	dɯ˧	tər˩	ze˧	thɯ˧	ʐə˩.
mother	Erg	potato	one	Cl	peel	he	give

'Mother peeled a potato (to give it) to him.'

d. GIVE SVC in Naxi

ə˩mo˧	nɯ˧	tɕə˩tɕiə˩	dɯ˧	khuɑ˩	xɑ˧	thɯ˧	ʐə˩.
mother	Erg	gruel	one	Cl	cook	he	give

'Mother cooked a bowl of gruel (to give it) to him.'

However, some verbs, such as *ka˩* 'to rent out' and *mi˩do˧* 'to ask', cannot fulfill

this property in terms of possession transfer because the recipient does not possess the

theme after all, as in (14a) and (14b).

(14) a. Violation of possession transfer

*ə˩bv˩	nɯ˧	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	kɑ˩	thɯ˧	ʐə˩.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	rent	he	give

'Elder brother rent a book (to give it) to him.'

b. Violation of possession transfer

*ə˩bv˩	nɯ˧	thi˩	dɯ˧	thi˩	mi˩do˧	gu˧me˧	ʐə˩.
brother	Erg	question	one	Cl	ask	sister	give

'Elder brother ask a question (to give it) to little sisteer.'

The other property is that the theme in the GIVE SVC must come from an

unknown source (usually a person). In other words, the theme cannot transfer from the

agent or the recipient of the construction, as in (15a-c).

(15) a. GIVE SVC in Naxi

ŋə˧	nɯ˧	bɑ˩bɑ˧	dɯ˧	ndzər˩	mby˧	thɯ˧	ʐə˩.
I	Erg	flower	one	Cl	allot	he	give

'I allotted a flower (from someone) to him.'

b. GIVE SVC in Naxi

ə˩bv˩	nɯ˩	khɯ˩	dɯ˩	me˩	**bu˩**	thɯ˩	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	dog	one	Cl	carry	he	give

'Elder brother carried a dog (from someone) to him.'

c. GIVE SVC in Naxi

ŋə˩	nɯ˩	tɕiə˥liə˩	dɯ˩xu˩	**khæ˩**	thɯ˩	ʐə˥.
I	Erg	money	some	exchange	he	give

'I made some change (from someone) to him.'

Some verbs, such as *ŋgu˩* 'to buy/sell on credit' and *tɕhi˩* 'to sell', cannot occur

in the GIVE SVC, because when using these verbs, the theme is exactly from the agent,

as in (16a) and (16b).

(16) a. The theme from the agent

*Thɯ˩	nɯ˩	ʐə˩phv˩	**ŋgu˩**	ə˩bv˩	ʐə˥.
he	Erg	cigarette	sell on credit	brother	give

'He sold cigarettes (from himself) to elder brother on credit.'

b. The theme from the agent

*Thɯ˩	nɯ˩	ku˩ŋgɯ˩	**tɕhi˩**	ə˩bv˩	ʐə˥.
he	Erg	pillow	sell	brother	give

'He sold a pillow (from himself) to elder brother'

Note that the MAIN verb *xa˩* 'to buy' is the only exception which involves both

semantic properties, as in (17). In sentence (17), the recipient *gu˩me˩* 'little sister' does

possess the theme *the˩ɣɯ˩* 'book', which is bought from the unknown source.

(17) GIVE SVC in Naxi

ə˩bɑ˩	nɯ˩	**the˩ɣɯ˩**	tʂhɯ˩	tsha˩	**xa˩**	gu˩me˩	ʐə˥.
father	Erg	book	this	Cl	buy	sister	give

'Father bought this book (from someone) (to give it) to little sister.'

Sometimes, a verb cannot occur in the GIVE SVC because it brings about

violation of both semantic properties—that is, the recipient cannot possess the theme, and

the theme does not come from the unknown source. Example is demonstrated in (18).

The verb *me˥* 'to teach' in sentence (18) involves the theme *xa˧pa√kɯ˥tʂuɯ√* 'Han

language' which comes from the agent *suɯ√tsuɯ˥* 'teacher', and the abstract theme cannot

be possessed by the recipient *thuɯ˥* 'he'.

(18) Violation of both possession transfer and unknown source of theme
      *Sɯɯ√tsɯɯ˥   nɯɯ˥   xa˥pa√   kɯ˥tʂɯɯ√   me˥   thuɯ˥   ʐə˥.
      teacher   Erg   Han language   teach   he   give
      'Teacher taught him Han language (Chinese).'

5.3   GIVE Serial Verbs in Naxi

Naxi's GIVE serial verb consists of two verb roots: the MAIN verb and the GIVE.

In this study, we find 47 GIVE serial verb patterns; their MAIN verbs are shown in Table

5.1. Among these verbs, three are borrowed from modern Mandarin: *bo√* 'to appropriate

funds for'; *po˥* 'to wrap up'; and *da˥* 'to gather (firewood)'.

Table 5.1   Main Verbs of Naxi's GIVE Serial Verb Construction

No.	Main verbs in GIVE serial	English glossary	Mandarin glossary
01	bo√	to appropriate funds for	bo˥
02	ko˥	to spoon up liquid	yao[87]
03	mby√	to allot	fen˥
04	po˥	to wrap up	bao˥
05	pɑ˥pɑ√	to carry on the shoulder	bei˥
06	ʂu√	to seek	zhao
07	ʐuɑ√	to count; to measure	suan√; liang˥
08	bə˥	to feed	wei√
09	khæ√	to make change	huan√ (qian˥)
10	khɯ˥	to fill (rice in a bowl)	cheng˥
11	ʂv˥	to receive	ling
12	tɕy√	to cheat	pian√
13	tɕhər˥	to pluck (flowers)	zhai˥

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[87] The pitch of the unmarked tone in Mandarin is 324.

14	tshər˥	to make a dress	cai˦
15	tse˧tse˧	to cut (meat)	duo˩
16	tʂhu˧	to cook (food)	chao
17	u˩	to scoop (water)	yao
18	xæ˩	to buy	mai
19	ʐy˩	to take	na˦
20	bu˩	to carry on the shoulder	kang˦
21	bi˩	to rub	chuo˥
22	dv˧	to dig out	wa˥
23	dzʐ̩˩	to grab	zhua˥
24	dɑ˥	to gather (firewood)	da (chai˦)
25	dɑ˩	to weave	zhi˥
26	dzər˩	to rob	qiang
27	fv˧	to cut with a saw	ju˩
28	go˩	to boil for a long time	ao˦
29	kɯ˩	to measure (with a scale)	cheng˩
30	khv˧	to steal	tou˥
31	lv˩	to hold (a plate)	duan˥
32	pe˥	to angle (fish)	diao˩
33	pər˩	to uproot	ba˦
34	phiə˩	to knit	bian˥
35	piə˥	to move; to carry	ban˥
36	sɯ˩	to haul	tuo˥
37	sɯ˥	to pick up	jian
38	sɯ˧sɯ˩	to select	tiao˥xuan
39	tɕiə˥	to cook	zhu
40	xər˥	to cut (food)	qie˥
41	ze˧	to peel	xiao˥
42	ɣə˩	to net (fish)	lao˥
43	ŋgæ˩	to clip (food)	jia˦
44	ʂə˩	to tear off	si˥
45	ʂu˧	to keep	shou˥
46	ʂu˩	to earn money	zhuan˩
47	ʐ̩ɯ˩	to sew	feng˦

Naxi's main verbs appearing with ʐə˥ 'to give' can be classified into the

following seven semantic classes: 1) give verbs; 2) take verbs; 3) verbs of future having;

4) prepare verbs; 5) carry verbs; 6) build/create verbs; and 7) other verbs, as shown in

Table 5.2. Note that the following semantic definition in each class (if applicable) is

based mainly on Anagnostopoulou (2003:12).

Table 5.2 Classification of Main Verbs of Naxi's GIVE Serial Verb Construction

1. Give verbs: "verbs that inherently signify acts of giving"
   bo˧ 'to appropriate funds for'; bə˧ 'to feed';

2. Take verbs: verbs of causation of accompanied motion in an 'inward' direction
   ʂv˧ 'to receive'; tɕy√ 'to cheat'; xæ√ 'to buy'; ʐy√ 'to take'; ʂu˧ 'to keep'
   bi√ 'to rub'; dʐə√ 'to grab'; da˥ 'to gather (firewood)'; dzər√ 'to rob';
   khv˧ 'to steal'; pe˥ 'to angle (fish)'; su˥ 'to pick up'; yə√ 'to net (fish)';
   ʂu√ 'to earn money'; su˧su√ 'to select'

3. Verbs of future having: "verbs denoting a commitment that a person will have something at some later point"
   mby√ 'to allot';

4. Prepare verbs: verbs of cooking and meal
   ko˧ 'to spoon up (liquid)'; po˧ 'to wrap up'; khu˥ 'to fill (rice in a bowl)';
   tse˧tse˧ 'to cut (meat)'; tʂhu˧ 'to stir-fry'; u√ 'to scoop (water)';
   go√ 'to boil for a long time'; lv√ 'to hold (a plate)'; tɕiə˥ 'to cook';
   ze˧ 'to peel'; ŋgæ√ 'to clip (food)'; xər˥ 'to cut (food);

5. Carry verbs: verbs of delivery
   pa˧pa√ 'to carry on the shoulder'; bu√ 'to carry on the shoulder';
   piə˥ 'to move, to carry'; su√ 'to haul';

6. Build/Create verbs: verbs of creation and building
   tɕhər˧ 'to cut (cloth)'; dv˧ 'to dig out'; da√ 'to weave'; fv˧ 'to cut with a saw';
   phiə√ 'to knit'; ʐu√ 'to sew';

7. Other verbs: verbs from various classes
   tsuɯ√ 'to give an amount'; *khæ√* 'to make change'; *tɕhərɬ* 'to pluck (flowers);
   kuɯ√ 'to measure (with a scale)'; *pər√* 'to uproot, to pull'; *ʂuɯ√* 'to seek'
   ʂə√ 'to tear off';

5.4 Comparison between Main Verbs in GIVE Serial Verb Construction and Ditransitives

As already alluded to, Naxi's GIVE serial verbs must involve at least one

semantic property—either the recipient possessing the theme or the theme transferring

from a unknown source. These two properties make the semantic difference between the

GIVE serial verbs and the ditransitive verbs. The following examples demonstrate the

reasons.

In some cases, the ditransitive verb takes a recipient referring to a receiver but not

a possessor, as in (19a). The recipient *thuɯɬ* 'he' in sentence (19a) does not have to be the

possessor. However, the GIVE serial verb takes a recipient referring to a receiver and

also to a possessor, as in (19b).

(19) a. The recipient referring to a receiver:

əɬbv√	nuɯɬ	tshoɬkv˥	duɯɬ	paɬ	thuɯɬ	ʂuɯ.
brother	Erg	hoe	one	Cl	he	seek

'Elder brother sought a hoe to him.'
*'Elder brother sought a hoe for him.'

b. The recipient referring to a receiver and a possessor

əɬbv√	nuɯɬ	tshoɬkv˥	duɯɬ	paɬ	ʂuɯ	thuɯɬ	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	hoe	one	Cl	seek	he	give

'Elder brother sought a hoe (to give it) to him.'

In other cases, the ditransitive verb takes a theme, which comes from the agent, as

in (20a). However, the GIVE serial verb takes a theme, which comes from an unknown

source, as in (20b).

(20) a. The theme from the agent

ə˩bv˥	nɯ˧	bɑ˥bɑ˧	dɯ˧	ndzər˥	thɯ˧	mby˧.
brother	Erg	flower	one	Cl	he	allot

'Elder brother allotted a flower to him.'

b. The theme from an unknown source

ə˩bv˥	nɯ˧	bɑ˥bɑ˧	dɯ˧	ndzər˥	mby˧	thɯ˧	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	flower	one	Cl	allot	he	give

'Elder brother allotted a flower (from someone) to him.'

As mentioned in section 5.2, some verbs that violate these semantic properties cannot occur in the GIVE serial verb construction. However, some of those verbs are permitted in the ditransitive construction. For example, the MAIN verb *ka˥* 'to rent out' in (21a) violates the possession transfer requirement, while *ka˥* 'to rent out' in ditransitive construction (21b) is grammatical.

(21) a. Violation of possession transfer (repeat from (14a))

*ə˩bv˥	nɯ˧	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	kɑ˥	thɯ˧	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	rent	he	give

'Elder brother rented a book (to give it) to him.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

ə˩bv˥	nɯ˧	the˧ɣɯ˧	dɯ˧	tsha˧	thɯ˧	kɑ˥.
brother	Erg	book	one	Cl	he	rent

'Elder brother rented him a book.'

Furthermore, the MAIN verb *ŋgu˥* 'to buy/sell on credit' is not permitted in the GIVE SVC, as in (22a); however, the ditransitive verb *ŋgu˥* 'to buy/sell on credit' does occur in the ditransitive construction, as in (22b).

(22) a. Violation of unknown source of theme (repeat from (16a))

*ə˩bv˥	nɯ˧	ʐə˧phy̱˧	ŋgu˥	thɯ˧	ʐə˥.
brother	Erg	cigarette	sell on credit	he	give

'Elder brother sold cigarettes (from someone) to him on credit.'

b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

ɔ˧bv˧˩	nɯ˧	ʐə˧phy̠˧	ŋgu˧˩	thɯ˧	ŋgu˧˩.
brother	Erg	cigarette	sell on credit	he	sell on credit

'Elder brother sold cigarettes to him on credit.'

Moreover, the MAIN verb *me˥* 'to teach' which violates 'possession transfer' and 'unknown source of the theme' is prohibited in the GIVE SVC, as in (23a); however, the ditransitive verb *me˥* 'to teach' is allowed in the ditransitive construction, as in (23b).

(23) a. Violation of 'possession transfer' and 'unknown source' (repeat from (18a))

*Sɯ˧˩tsɯ˧	nɯ˧	xɑ˧pɑ˧˩	kɯ˧tʂɯ˧˩	me˥	thɯ˧	ʐə˥.
teacher	Erg	Han language		teach	he	give

'The teacher taught him the Han language (Chinese).'

b. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

Sɯ˧˩tsɯ˧	nɯ˧	xɑ˧pɑ˧˩	kɯ˧tʂɯ˧˩	thɯ˧	me˥.
teacher	Erg	Han language		he	teach

'The teacher taught him the Han language (Chinese).'

Comparing Table 3.4 (ditransitive verbs in Naxi) and Table 5.1 (main verbs of Naxi's GIVE serial verb construction), we find that only seven verbs occur in both the ditransitive construction and the GIVE serial verb construction, as follows: *bo˧˩* 'to appropriate funds for'; *ko˥* 'to spoon up liquid'; *mby˧˩* 'to allot'; *po˥* 'to wrap up'; *pa˥pa˧˩* 'to carry on the shoulder'; *ʂu˧˩* 'to seek'; and *ʐuɑ˧˩* 'to count; to measure'.

Comparing Table 3.5 (classification of Naxi's ditransitive verbs) and Table 5.2 (classification of main Verbs of Naxi's GIVE serial verb construction), we find that the ditransitive verbs and the MAIN verbs share five verb classes (excluding 'other verbs'): 1) give verbs; 2) take verbs; 3) verbs of future having; 4) carry verbs; and 5) prepare verbs. Note that these five verb classes consist of only seven verbs, as listed in the preceding paragraph.

There are some differences between the two verb classes. The ditransitive verbs include verb of transfer of a message and say verbs, while the MAIN verbs do not. In addition, the MAIN verbs include build/create verbs, while the ditransitive verbs do not.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

In this thesis, we note that the recipient construction in Naxi consists of three different sub-constructions: 1) the ditransitive construction (or double object construction); 2) the dative construction; and 3) the GIVE serial verb construction. In this chapter, we will summarize the findings about Naxi's recipient construction in section 6.1. Some questions of Naxi's recipient construction useful for further study will be provided in section 6.2.

6.1   Findings about Recipient Construction in Naxi

Section 6.1 summarizes findings pertaining to the ditransitive construction, the dative constructions, and the GIVE serial verb constructions.

6.1.1   Findings about Ditransitive Construction in Naxi

(i) Cross-linguistic comparison makes it clear that Naxi's ditransitive construction exhibits three distinct features in the surface structure and grammatical case marking: 1) the ergative case is used for agentive subject obligatorily; 2) two objects involve no morphological case; and 3) theme-object usually precedes recipient-object. In Naxi, a semantic constraint establishes a different between the recipient and the theme in the ditransitive construction; that is, the recipient is always a human-like argument, while the theme is always non-human.

(ii) In Naxi's ditransitive construction either object—or both—can be omitted under certain discourse conditions. However, the agentive subject must remain overt.

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(iii) The word order of ditransitive construction in Naxi has two types: one involves two overt objects in which the theme-object precedes the recipient-object, and the other involves two overt objects in which the recipient-object precedes the theme-object. All of Naxi's ditransitive verbs can occur in the first word order type. In contrast, the second type occurs in two fixed syntactic conditions. In one condition, the recipient-object precedes the theme-object when the agentive subject is the first-person singular pronoun ŋəɣ 'I'. In the other condition, the recipient-object is allowed to precede the theme-object when the predicate is ʑəɣ 'to give'.

(iv) There are at least one impossible situation and two constraints on Naxi's ditransitive constructions. First, Naxi's ditransitive constructions cannot be passivized because passivization is absent in Naxi. Second, Naxi's ditransitive constructions do not allow a source-object. Third, Naxi's ditransitive constructions do not allow a benefactive-object.

(v) In Naxi's ditransitive construction, either the recipient or the definite theme can be topicalized. Notice that the theme-topicalized sentence occurs with certain discourse settings in that the theme needs to be definite when topicalized.

6.1.2 Findings about Dative Construction in Naxi

(i) Naxi's dative construction exhibits three distinct features: 1) the indirect object is marked by a dative marker; 2) the subject is located in the sentence-initial position; and 3) the direct object can either precede or follow the indirect object. Note that the direct object usually refers to a non-human entity corresponding to the theme, while the indirect object usually refers to a human entity, which often corresponds to the recipient.

(ii) The word order of dative constructions in Naxi is of two types—one involves two overt objects in which the indirect object precedes the direct object, and the other involves two overt objects in which the direct object precedes the indirect object. When the indirect object precedes the direct object, the ergative case *–nuɪ* can be employed or not be employed. When the direct object precedes the indirect object, the ergative case marker *–nuɪ* must remain overt.

(iii) Naxi's dative construction allows for the omission of either subject or direct object, or even both, in specialized discourse settings. Note that the indirect object must remain overt. In addition, in Naxi's dative construction, either the recipient or the definite theme can be topicalized.

(iv) The dative case marker in Naxi's dative construction has two types. All of the dative constructions allow the dative marker *–toɪ*. Some dative constructions also allow the other dative marker *–tɕy√*. Unlike the dative marker *–toɪ*, the use of the other dative marker *–tɕy√* is relatively limited. For example, *–toɪ* is permitted when the dative verb is *tɕhiɪ* 'to sell'; however, *–tɕy√* is prohibited in this regard.

(v) There is a generation distinction in the use of dative markers. Though Naxi's second generation (between 18 and 59 years old) tends to use *–toɪ* in all of the dative constructions, elder native speakers (over 60 years old) do not allow *–toɪ* in a few dative constructions. For example, when the dative verb is *ku√* 'to pay', the elder generation prohibits using *–toɪ*, but permits using *–tɕhy√*.

(vi) There is at least one constraint that occurs in the dative construction—that is Naxi's dative construction does not allow an inanimate indirect object.

6.1.3 Findings about GIVE Serial Verb Construction in Naxi

(i) Naxi's GIVE serial verb construction involves a recipient co-occurring with the GIVE. The serial verb *ʐəʔ* 'to give' seems not to co-occur with the benefactive or goal because we cannot find any convincing example of these so far.

(ii) The traditional analysis shows that the GIVE SVC can be derived from two or more underlying sentences. This hypothesis explains why Naxi's GIVE SVC involves a dative marker *–toʔ*.

(iii) Cross-linguistic comparison shows that Naxi's GIVE SVC exhibits the following properties: 1) it contains two verb roots without any conjunction or complementizer; 2) it contains a shared theme argument of both verbs; 3) the recipient-object occurs between the MAIN verb and the GIVE; the MAIN verb precedes the GIVE, and 4) the dative marker *–toʔ* in the GIVE SVC is seldom employed.

(iv) Two additional syntactic features in the GIVE SVC must be considered. First, the aspect and/or tense marker (if applicable) is assigned to the GIVE. Second, the negative marker *məʔ–* (if applicable) is assigned to the MAIN verb.

(v) Naxi's GIVE SVC involves either of two semantic properties. The first is that the recipient must have possession of the theme after the action is completed. In other words, when receiving the theme from the agent, the recipient becomes not only a receiver but also a possessor of the theme. The other property is that the theme in the GIVE SVC must come from an unknown source (usually a person). In other words, the

theme cannot transfer from the agent or the recipient of the construction. Note that the

MAIN verb *xa√* 'to buy' is the only exception which involves both semantic properties.

(vi) Naxi's GIVE serial verb construction allows either the recipient or the

definite theme to be topicalized.

Ditransitive verbs in Naxi occur much less frequently than do dative verbs or

GIVE serial verbs. Naxi has 41 ditransitive verbs, at least 65 dative verbs, and at least 47

GIVE serial verbs, as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Ditransitive Verbs, Dative Verbs, and the Main Verbs of the GIVE Serial Verb Construction

No.	Naxi Verb	Glossary	Ditransitive	Dative	MAIN Verb
01	bo⟋	to appropriate funds for	√[88]	√	√
02	fa⟋	to hand out	√	√	
03	kua√	to slander	√	√	
04	kua˧	to cheat; to lie	√	√	
05	ku˧	to hand over	√	√	
06	ku√	to deliver	√	√	
07	ku˧ku√	to bribe	√		
08	ka˥	to rent out	√	√	
09	ka˥ka˧	to conceal	√	√	
10	ko˧	to spoon up liquid	√	√	√
11	khu˧dɯ√	to praise	√	√	
12	le˧ku√	to return	√	√	
13	le˧tshy˥	to repay a debt	√	√	
14	mby√	to allot	√	√	√
15	me˥	to teach	√		
16	mi˥do˧	to ask	√	√	
17	ni˧	to lend	√	√	
18	ni˥	to wire money	√	√	
19	o˥	to pour liquid	√	√	
20	pu˥	to give as a gift	√		

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[88] When the sign "√" marks here, it means the verb *bo⟋* 'to appropriate funds for' can occur in the dtransitive construction.

21	po˧	to wrap up	v	v	v
22	phi˥	to lose	v	v	
23	pv˧	to give change	v	v	
24	pɑ˥kɑ˥	to report	v	v	
25	pɑ˧pɑ˩	to carry on the shoulder	v	v	v
26	ʂə˥	to tell; to answer	v	v	
27	ʂu˩	to seek	v	v	v
28	sie˩	to present to higher level	v	v	
29	sæ˧	to bestow (money)	v	v	
30	tsy˥	to save (money); to keep	v		
31	thue˥	to turn back; return	v	v	
32	tshy˥	to repay (money)	v	v	
33	tshɯ˧	to kick (a ball)	v	v	
34	tɕhi˧	to sell	v	v	
35	tɕɑ˧	to hand in; to pay	v	v	
36	tho˧tʂɯ˧	to inform; to notify	v	v	
37	thue˧tɕy˩	to recommend	v	v	
38	ʐua˩	to count; to measure	v		v
39	æ˧	to owe	v	v	
40	ŋgu˧	to buy/sell on credit	v	v	
41	ʑə˥	to give	v	v	
42	bə˧	to feed		v	v
43	fɑ˩	to fine (money)		v	
44	fæ˧tue˥	to oppose		v	
45	khæ˩	to make change		v	v
46	khɯ˥	to send (a letter)		v	
47	khɯ˥	to fill (rice in a bowl)		v	v
48	kua˩	to invite		v	
49	lɑ˥	to nail		v	
50	le˧khɯ˥	to reply (a letter)		v	
51	lər˩	to call (one's name)		v	
52	mɯ˥	to cure with smoke		v	
53	pər˥	to paint; to write		v	
54	phi˧phi˩	to criticize		v	
55	phɑ˧bei˧	to flatter		v	
56	ʂu˩	to request		v	
57	tsɯ˩	to give an amount		v	
58	tɕy˩	to cheat		v	v

59	tɕhər˧	to pluck (flowers)	v	v
60	tshər˥	to make a dress	v	v
61	tzɑ˧xu˧	to take care of	v	
62	tse˧tse˧	to cut (meat)	v	v
63	tho˩	to entrust	v	
64	tsø˧	to throw	v	
65	tʂhu˧	to cook (food)	v	v
66	u˩	to scoop (water)	v	v
67	xæ˩	to buy	v	v
68	zy˩	to take	v	v
69	ŋgɑ˧	to win	v	
70	ʂv˧	to receive		v
71	bu˩	to carry on the shoulder		v
72	bi˩	to rub		v
73	dv˧	to dig out		v
74	dʐə˩	to grab		v
75	dɑ˥	to gather (firewood)		v
76	dɑ˩	to weave		v
77	dzər˩	to rob		v
78	fv˧	to cut with a saw		v
79	go˩	to boil for a long time		v
80	kɯ˩	to measure (with a scale)		v
81	khv˧	to steal		v
82	lv˩	to hold (a plate)		v
83	pe˥	to angle (fish)		v
84	pər˩	to uproot; to pull		v
85	phiə˩	to knit		v
86	piə˥	to move; to carry		v
87	sɯ˩	to haul		v
88	sɯ˥	to pick up		v
89	sɯ˧sɯ˩	to select		v
90	tɕiə˥	to cook		v
91	xər˥	to cut		v
92	ze˧	to peel		v
93	ɣə˩	to net (fish)		v
94	ŋgæ˩	to clip (food)		v
95	ʂə˩	to tear off		v
96	ʂu˧	to keep		v

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| 97 | ʂuˇ | to earn money | v |
| 98 | ʐ̩uˇ | to sew | v |

The verb classes among the ditransitive construction, the dative construction, and the GIVE serial verb construction differ from one another. Naxi's ditransitive verbs are classified into the following eight semantic classes: 1) give verbs; 2) take verbs; 3) verbs of future having; 4) verbs of transfer of a message; 5) say verbs; 6) carry verbs; 7) prepare verbs, and 8) other verbs.

We find that dative verbs and ditransitive verbs share seven verb classes (excluding 'other verbs'): 1) give verbs; 2) take verbs; 3) verbs of future having; 4) verbs of transfer of a message; 5) say verbs; and 6) carry verbs, and 7) prepare verbs. However, there are four verb classes that permit the dative construction but do not permit the ditransitive construction, as follows: 1) verbs of throwing; 2) build/create verbs; 3) send verbs; and 4) verbs of fulfilling.

We also find that ditransitive verbs and MAIN verbs share five verb classes (excluding 'other verbs'): 1) give verbs; 2) take verbs; 3) verbs of future having; 4) carry verbs, and 5) prepare verbs. However, ditransitive verbs include verb of transfer of a message and say verbs, while MAIN verbs do not; MAIN verbs include build/create verbs, while ditransitive verbs do not.

6.2   Questions and Possibilities for Further Study

An important question in Naxi's recipient construction is concerned with the dispute about "verb-ʐə̆ sequences" in the ditransitive and dative constructions. It is generally agreed that the verb-ʐə̆ sequence involves a 'compound verb'. The

'compound verb' in the verb-*ʐəˀ* sequence consists of two free morphemes, a verb and

ʐəˀ 'to give', in which the *ʐəˀ* 'to give' functions as a verbal affix. For example, sentence

(1a) shows a ditransitive construction involving a predicate *thueˀ* 'to refund', while

sentence (1b) is a ditransitive construction in which the verb-*ʐəˀ* sequence *thueˀ-ʐəˀ*

'refund-give' is referred to as a compound verb.

(1)   a. Ditransitive construction in Naxi

Suɯˬtsɯˉ	nɯˉ	tɕiəˉliəˉ	dɯˉxuˉ	gɯˉzɯˉ	**thueˀ**	seˬ.
teacher	Erg	money	some	brother	refund	Perf

'The teacher refunded little brother some money.'

b. Ditransitive Verb-*ʐəˀ* sequence in Naxi

Suɯˬtsɯˉ	nɯˉ	tɕiəˉliəˉ	dɯˉxuˉ	gɯˉzɯˉ	**thueˀ**	ʐəˀ.
teacher	Erg	money	some	brother	refund	give

'The teacher refunded little brother some money.'

The predicate *thueˀ* 'to refund' also occurs in the dative construction, as in (2a).

In sentence (2b), the verb-*ʐəˀ* sequence *thueˀ-ʐəˀ* 'refund-give' is referred to as a

compound verb in the dative construction.

(2)   a. Dative construction in Naxi

Suɯˬtsɯˉ	nɯˉ	gɯˉzɯˉ	toˀ	tɕiəˉliəˉ	dɯˉxuˉ	**thueˀ.**
teacher	Erg	brother	Dat	money	some	refund

'The teacher refunded some money to little brother.'

b. Dative Verb-*ʐəˀ* sequence in Naxi

Suɯˬtsɯˉ	nɯˉ	gɯˉzɯˉ	toˀ	tɕiəˉliəˉ	dɯˉxuˉ	**thueˀ**	ʐəˀ.
teacher	Erg	brother	Dat	money	some	refund	give

'The teacher refunded some money to little brother.'

Note that the predicate *thueˀ* 'to refund' cannot occur in the GIVE serial verb

construction behaving as the MAIN verb due to violation of unknown source, as in (3).

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(3) GIVE SVC in Naxi

    *Su�…�√tsɯ˧   nɯ˧   tɕiə˥liə˧   dɯ˧xu˧   **thue˥**   gɯ˧zɯ˧   (to˥)   ʐə˥.
    teacher   Erg   money   some   refund   brother   Dat   give
    'The teacher refunded some money to little brother.'

Those who argue that the verb-ʐə˥ sequence is a compound verb do so for the following reasons: first, the verb-ʐə˥ sequence and the GIVE serial verb differ from each other in semantics. For example, sentence (4a) and (4b) involve the verb-ʐə˥ sequence *mby˧-ʐə˥* 'allot-give'; in addition, the theme *ba˥ba˧* 'flower' comes from the agent *gɯ˧zɯ˧* 'little brother'. However, in the GIVE serial verb construction (4c), the theme *ba˥ba˧* 'flower' is from an unknown source.

(4)   a. Ditransitive Verb-ʐə˥ sequence in Naxi

    Gɯ˧zɯ˧   nɯ˧   ba˥ba˧   dɯ˧   ndzər√   gu˧me˧   **mby˧**   ʐə˥.
    brother   Erg   flower   one   Cl   sister   allot   give
    'Little brother allotted little sister a flower.'

    b. Dative Verb-ʐə˥ sequence in Naxi

    Gɯ˧zɯ˧   nɯ˧   gu˧me˧   to˥   ba˥ba˧   dɯ˧   ndzər√   **mby˧**   ʐə˥.
    brother   Erg   sister   Dat   flower   one   Cl   allot   give
    'Little brother allotted a flower to little sister.'

    c. GIVE SVC in Naxi

    Gɯ˧zɯ˧   nɯ˧   ba˥ba˧   dɯ˧   ndzər√   **mby˧**   gu˧me˧   ʐə˥.
    brother   Erg   flower   one   Cl   allot   sister   give
    'Little brother allotted a flower (from someone) to little sister.'

Secondly, no constituent can intervene in the verb-ʐə˥ sequence (Huang and Ahrens 1999: 7). Example (5a) demonstrates that the aspect suffix *–se√* takes verb-ʐə˥ sequence as an entire unit, while example (5b) does not allow the aspect marker *–se√* to intervene between *tɕhi˧* 'to sell' and *ʐə˥* 'to give'. This fact shows that the postverbal *ʐə˥*

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'to give' is a verbal affix that exhibits the property of lexical integrity in the verb-ʐə˥

sequence.

(5) a. Aspect marker following the verb-ʐə˥ sequence

Gɯ˥zɯ˥	nɯ˥	kha˩dze˥	ne˩	çi˩	thɯ˥	**tɕhi˥**	**ʐə˥**	se˩.
brother	Erg	corn	and	rice	he	sell	give	Perf

'Little brother has sold him corn and rice.'

b. Aspect marker intervene into the verb-ʐə˥ sequence

*Gɯ˥zɯ˥	nɯ˥	kha˩dze˥	ne˩	çi˩	thɯ˥	**tɕhi˥**	**se˩**	**ʐə˥**.
brother	Erg	corn	and	rice	he	sell	Perf	give

'Little brother has sold him corn and rice.'

Finally, the postverbal ʐə˥ 'to give' involves the typical affix property selecting

the grammatical category of its host (Huang and Ahrens 1999: 6). For example, sentence

(6a) shows that the postverbal ʐə˥ 'to give' can occur with the transitive verb (including

the ditransitive verb). However, the postverbal ʐə˥ cannot attach to the intransitive verb,

as in (6b).

(6) a. ʐə˥ occurring with the transitive verb

ŋə˥	nɯ˥	the˥ɣɯ˥	tʂhɯ˩	tsha˥	le˥ku˩	**ʐə˥**	se˩.
I	Erg	book	this	Cl	return	give	Perf

'I have returned this book.'

b. ʐə˥ occurring with the intransitive verb

*ŋə˥	nɯ˥	ni˥	kho˥	**ndʐi˥**	**ʐə˥**
I	Erg	day	half	walk	give

'I walked half a day.'

However, one might also assume that the verb-ʐə˥ sequence is a type of GIVE

serial verb constructions. According to this hypothesis, the GIVE serial verb construction

in Naxi would involve two types. The first type involves the verb-ʐə˥ sequence, as in

(1b), (2b), (4a), and (4b) above. The second type involves the verb-recipient-ʐə˥

sequence, as in (4c) above. All examples of the GIVE serial verb construction provided in Chapter 5 belong to the second type.

The verb-ʑə˥ sequence type can be divided into two subcategories. The first one involves the dative marker to˥, while the second does not. The two categories of the verb-ʑə˥ sequences in Naxi are provided in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Verb-GIVE Sequence in Naxi's Recipient Construction

No.	Verb-ʑə˥ sequence	Glossary	*to˥* involved	*to˥* not involved
01	boɬʑə˥	to appropriate funds for	√[89]	√[90]
02	faɬʑə˥	to hand out	√	√
03	ku˥ʑə˥	to hand over	√	√
04	ku˩ʑə˥	to deliver	√	√
05	kɑ˥ʑə˥	to rent out	√	√
06	le˦ku˩ʑə˥	to return	√	√
07	le˦tshy˥ʑə˥	to repay a debt	√	√
08	mby˩ʑə˥	to allot	√	√
09	me˥ʑə˥	to teach	√	√
10	ni˦ʑə˥	to lend	√	√
11	ni˥ʑə˥	to wire money	√	√
12	pv˦ʑə˥	to give change	√	√
13	ʂə˥ʑə˥	to tell; to answer	√	√
14	sie˩ʑə˥	to present to higher level	√	√
15	sæ˦ʑə˥	to bestow (money)	√	√
16	tsy˥ʑə˥	to save (money); to keep	√	√
17	thue˥ʑə˥	to turn back; return	√	√
18	tshy˥ʑə˥	to repay (money)	√	√
19	tɕhi˦ʑə˥	to sell	√	√
20	tho˦tʂɯ˦ʑə˥	to inform; to notify	√	√
21	thue˦tɕy˩ʑə˥	to recommend	√	√

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[89] When the sign "√" marks here, it means the verb-ʑə˥ sequence boɬʑə˥ 'to appropriate funds for' can occur in the construction which involves the dative marker to˥.

[90] When the sign "√" marks here, it means the verb-ʑə˥ sequence boɬʑə˥ 'to appropriate funds for' can occur in the construction which does not involve the dative marker to˥.

22	ŋgu˧ʑə˥	to buy/sell on credit	v	v
23	tsɯ˩ʑə˥	to give an amount	v	v
24	tho˩ʑə˥	to entrust	v	v
25	da˥ʑə˥	to gather (firewood)	v	v
26	go˩ʑə˥	to boil for a long time	v	v
27	khæ˧khæ˩ʑə˥	to exchange	v	v
28	pa˥ka˥ʑə˥	to report		v
29	ʂv˧ʑə˥	to receive		v
30	ka˥ka˧ʑə˥	to conceal	v	
31	ko˧ʑə˥	to spoon up liquid	v	
32	khu˧dɯ˩ʑə˥	to praise	v	
33	o˥ʑə˥	to pour liquid	v	
34	pu˥ʑə˥	to give as a gift	v	
35	po˧ʑə˥	to wrap up	v	
36	phi˥ʑə˥	to lose	v	
37	ʂu˩ʑə˥	to seek	v	
38	tɕa˧ʑə˥	to hand in; to pay	v	
39	ʐua˩ʑə˥	to count; to measure	v	
40	æ˧ʑə˥	to owe	v	
41	bə˧ʑə˥	to feed	v	
42	fæ˧tue˥ʑə˥	to oppose	v	
43	khæ˩ʑə˥	to make change	v	
44	khɯ˥ʑə˥	to send (a letter)	v	
45	khɯ˥ʑə˥	to fill (rice in a bowl);	v	
46	la˥ʑə˥	to nail	v	
47	mɯ˥ʑə˥	to cure with smoke	v	
48	pər˥ʑə˥	to paint; to write	v	
49	ʂu˩ʑə˥	to request	v	
50	tɕy˩ʑə˥	to cheat	v	
51	tɕhər˧ʑə˥	to pluck (flowers)	v	
52	tshər˥ʑə˥	to cut (cloth)	v	
53	tʐɑ˧xu˧ʑə˥	to take care of; to treat	v	
54	tse˧tse˧ʑə˥	to cut (meat)	v	
55	tʂhu˧ʑə˥	to cook (food)	v	
56	u˩ʑə˥	to scoop (water)	v	
57	xæ˩ʑə˥	to buy	v	
58	zy˩ʑə˥	to take	v	
59	bu˩ʑə˥	to carry on the shoulder	v	

60	bi√ʐə˥	to rub	V
61	dɑ√ʐə˥	to weave	V
62	kɯ√ʐə˥	to measure (with a scale)	V
63	pe˥ʐə˥	to angle (fish)	V
64	pər√ʐə˥	to uproot; to pull	V
65	sɯ˧sɯ√ʐə˥	to select	V
66	tɕiə˥ʐə˥	to cook	V
67	xər˥ʐə˥	to cut (food)	V
68	ze˧ʐə˥	to peel	V
69	ɣə√ʐə˥	to net (fish)	V
70	ŋgæ√ʐə˥	to clip (food)	V
71	ʂə√ʐə˥	to tear off	V
72	pu˥ʐə˥	to bring	V
73	pho˥ʐə˥	to make a cup of tea	V
74	bɑ√khɯ˥	to embroider	V
75	kho˧thv˥	to promise	V

It is doubtless that the verb-ʐə˥ sequence could be identified as either a serial verb pattern or a compound verb. No matter which one it turns out to be the truth, the verb-ʐə˥ sequence must occur in the recipient construction.

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[91] Hanyu Pinyin is used for the articles or books written in Mandarin.

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