

## GIVE constructions in Zhuang and Maonan: A comparative study

The multifunctionality of the verbs for GIVE has been the subject of investigation across various languages over the past decades. This study examines both the polysemous status and syntactic derivation of GIVE constructions in two understudied Tai-Kadai language varieties spoken within southern China, namely, Zhuang and Maonan. The GIVE-corresponding morphemes in Zhuang and Maonan are *hawj* and *ʔna:k<sup>7</sup>* respectively.

The aims of the study are two-fold: (i) empirically, to provide a descriptive account of *hawj* and *ʔna:k<sup>7</sup>* in both pre-verbal and post-verbal domains, and identify their convergent and divergent uses; (ii) theoretically, to postulate a unified and consistent syntactic analysis for *hawj* and *ʔna:k<sup>7</sup>* constructions.

I show that *hawj* and *ʔna:k<sup>7</sup>* can assume a rich array of uses as attested in other Southeast Asian languages. The similarities in usage between *hawj* and *ʔna:k<sup>7</sup>* include (1) the ditransitive use, (2) the goal use, (3) the causative use, (4) the permissive use, (5) the benefactive use, and (6) the purposive use, while their differences lie in (1) the malefactive use (in Zhuang), and (2) the passive use (in Maonan).

Syntactically, I argue, following Lin & Huang (2010), that *hawj* and *ʔna:k<sup>7</sup>* remain a lexical verb throughout and their multiple uses can be derived from a generalized ditransitive structure and the sense of a transferring event despite different syntactic positions. Lin & Huang's (2010) proposal for GIVE constructions is adopted in this study with minor modification.

### Examples<sup>1</sup>

#### Zhuang

#### Maonan

#### [1] ditransitive

- a. De *hawj* *gou* *song* *bonj* *saw*.      c. *fi<sup>2</sup>* *ʔna:k<sup>7</sup>* *man<sup>2</sup>* *pən<sup>3</sup>* *le<sup>1</sup>* *ʔdeu<sup>2</sup>*  
3SG give 1SG two CL book      1SG give 3SG CL book one  
'S/he gave me two books.'      'I gave him/her a book.'
- b. *Daxmeh* *hawj* *nganz* *gou*.  
mother give money 1SG  
'Mother gave me money.'

#### [2] goal

- a. De *cawx* *dauq* *buh* *ndeuhawj* *gou*.      b. *te<sup>1</sup>* *ji:ŋ<sup>1</sup>* *pən<sup>3</sup>* *le<sup>1</sup>* *ʔdeu<sup>2</sup>* *ʔna:k<sup>7</sup>* *fi<sup>2</sup>*  
3SG buy CL clothes one give 1SG      3PL lend CL book one give 1SG  
'S/he bought me a piece of clothing.'      'They lent a book to me.'

<sup>1</sup> I adopt the official writing system of Zhuang here. The data are collected from grammatical reference books supplemented with the intuition of native speakers.

### [3] causative

- a. Mwnɡz hawj bohme h causim lai loh.      b. ɲ<sup>2</sup> gə<sup>5</sup> ʔna:k<sup>7</sup> wa<sup>5</sup> ʔwa<sup>5</sup> seʊ<sup>5</sup> pa:i<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG give parents worry much PART      2SG always give trousers dirty completely PART  
 ‘You make your parents worried too much.’      ‘You always make your trousers dirty all over.’

### [4] permissive

- a. Daxmeh hawj gou bae haw.      b. man<sup>2</sup> ʔna:k<sup>7</sup> fie<sup>2</sup> pa:i<sup>1</sup> ja:n<sup>1</sup> man<sup>2</sup>  
 mother give 1SG go market      3SG give 1SG go house 3SG  
 ‘Mother let me go to the market.’      ‘S/he let me go to her/his house.’

### [5] benefactive

- a. De guh hong hawj dicuj.      b. de<sup>2</sup> ʔna:k<sup>7</sup> la:k<sup>8</sup> ve<sup>4</sup> ja:n<sup>1</sup>  
 3SG do work give landlord      father give offspring make house  
 ‘S/he worked for the landlord.’      ‘The father was building a house for his child.’

### [6] purposive

- a. Gyongde gap giup hawj vunz byaij.      b. man<sup>2</sup> ve<sup>4</sup> kəŋ<sup>1</sup> ʔna:k<sup>7</sup> k<sup>h</sup>je<sup>1</sup> ju:n<sup>3</sup> ʔgai<sup>1</sup> man<sup>2</sup>  
 3PL set.up bridge give people walk      3SG do work give other all like 3SG  
 ‘They built a bridge for people to walk through.’      ‘S/he worked so (well) that the others all like him/her.’

### [7] malefactive

- Dik hawj mbat ga ndeu!      \*  
 kick give CL foot one  
 ‘Give you a kick!’

### [8] passive

- \*      mu<sup>5</sup> ʔna:k<sup>7</sup> man<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>3</sup> li:u<sup>5</sup>  
 pig give 3SG kill PART  
 ‘The pig was killed by him.’

### Selected References

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