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## Grammaticalization of Some Verbs in Serial Verb Constructions in Nung

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## CHAPTER 6

Grammaticalization of Some Verbs  
in Serial Verb Constructions in Nung<sup>1</sup>

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## [要旨/ABSTRACT]

ヌン語の動詞連続は「V1(+N1)+V2(+N2)」を基本構造とし、文法化を伴わない場合、ヌン語の動詞連続は事象の継起、事象の同時進行、動作とその目的、心的状態とその対象といった意味を表す。動詞連続を構成する動詞の一部が文法化している場合、これらの意味にとどまらない表現が可能になる。ヌン語の動詞連続にみられる文法化には、動作の方向性の表示や「与える」による使役表現のような東南アジアの諸言語やタイ諸語一般に広く観察される形式だけではなく、「行く」による命令表現のように言語系統が異なる中国語諸方言と共通する形式も存在する。ヌン語の動詞連続の文法化の一部は、周辺言語との言語接触によって生じた可能性がある。

## 1. Introduction

This paper is aimed at identifying the characteristics of serial verb constructions (SVCs) in the Nung language, as well as the grammaticalization of some verbs in SVCs. To the best of my knowledge, few studies examine SVCs in Nung and the grammaticalization of some verbs in SVCs. Saul and Wilson (1980) provide examples of SVCs in Nung containing motion verbs such as ‘fly’, ‘run’, ‘enter’, ‘go out’. However, they do not discuss grammaticalization. In Section 2, I discuss the characteristics of Nung verbs, and in Section 3, I present the basic format of Nung SVCs. I discuss the grammaticalization of certain verbs in Nung SVCs in Section 4.

Nung is spoken in the Northeast of Vietnam. It belongs to the Central Tai group of Tai languages (Li 1960). This paper analyzes the Nung language in the Trang Dinh district of Lang Son Province.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The syllable structure of Nung in the Trang Dinh district is C<sub>1</sub>(C<sub>2</sub>)V(C<sub>3</sub>)/T. The phonemes that can occur in each slot and their tones are as follows: C<sub>1</sub>: /p, t, k, ʔ, b, d, p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>, tɛ, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, f, s, h, v, z, l, l̥/; C<sub>2</sub>: /w, j/; V: /i, i, u, ũ, u, e, ə, ə, o, ε, ɔ, ä, a/; C<sub>3</sub>: /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, w, j, uɣ/; and T: 1: mid-level (ma<sup>1</sup>[ɿ]), 2: falling (ma<sup>2</sup>[ɿ]), 3: high rising (ma<sup>3</sup>[ɿ]), 4: low level (ma<sup>4</sup>[ɿ]), 5: low rising (ma<sup>5</sup>[ɿ]), 6: glottalized (ma<sup>6</sup>[ɿʔ]).

## 2. Verb characteristics in Nung

In Nung, verbs are defined as words that can follow a negation. In (1), *kĩn*<sup>1</sup> ‘eat’ follows the negation directly. In (2), *suu*<sup>4</sup> ‘to be right’ cannot be eliminated because nouns cannot follow the negation directly.<sup>3</sup>

- (1) *pa*<sup>1</sup> *mi*<sup>3</sup> *kĩn*<sup>1</sup>  
 father NEG eat  
 ‘The father doesn’t eat (it).’
- (2) *tu*<sup>1</sup> *nǎj*<sup>5</sup> *mi*<sup>3</sup> *suu*<sup>4</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *kǎj*<sup>3</sup>  
 CLF this NEG to be right CLF chicken  
 ‘This is not chicken.’

## 3. The basic structure of serial verb construction in Nung

An SVC is “a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort” (Aikhenvald 2006: 1). First, I will introduce the SVCs that have two non-grammaticalized verbs as their basic structure.

The basic word order of SVCs follows the chronological order of the events that are described by the verbs in the SVC, though two events sometimes occur simultaneously. In (3), *kĩn*<sup>1</sup> ‘eat’ occurs first; in contrast, in (4), *kĩn*<sup>1</sup> ‘eat’ occurs after *tu*<sup>6</sup> ‘buy’.

- (3) *lan*<sup>1</sup> *kĩn*<sup>1</sup> *nu*<sup>6</sup> *ʔim*<sup>3</sup>  
 grandchild eat meat full  
 ‘The grandchild ate meat and (he) was full./The grandchild ate meat to become full.’
- (4) *lan*<sup>1</sup> *tu*<sup>6</sup> *nu*<sup>6</sup> *kĩn*<sup>1</sup>  
 grandchild buy meat eat  
 ‘The grandchild bought meat and ate./The grandchild bought meat to eat.’

The basic structure of SVCs in Nung is shown in (5), in which V1 indicates the verb that occurs first and V2 indicates the verb that occurs second. Whether nouns N1 and N2 can occur depends on whether V1 and V2 are transitive or intransitive verbs, respectively.

- (5) V1 (+ N1) + V2 (+ N2)

<sup>3</sup> This paper shows loanwords from Vietnamese in quốc ngữ (the orthography of Vietnamese) in case they have the same meanings and sound as they do in Vietnamese. The data in this paper are from elicitations and folktales. The elicitation data are shown without marks. The folktale sources are indicated as follows: “The Orphan Brothers” (A), “The Five Brothers” (H), “Tam and Cam” (T).

Below are examples of every combination of transitive verbs (Vt) and intransitive verbs (Vi): (6) shows Vi + Vi; (7) shows Vi + Vt; (8a) and (8b) show Vt + Vi; and (9a), (9b), and (9c) show Vt + Vt.<sup>4</sup>

- (6) Vi + Vi [V1 + V2]  
*law<sup>6</sup> nǎŋ<sup>5</sup> lǎn<sup>2</sup> haj<sup>1</sup>*  
 man that tumble die  
 ‘That man tumbled and died.’
- (7) Vi + Vt [V1 + V2 + N, N = object of V2]  
*nɔŋ<sup>6</sup> nǎŋ<sup>4</sup> kǐn<sup>1</sup> pja<sup>1</sup>*  
 y.Sib sit eat fish  
 ‘The younger sibling sat down and ate fish./The younger sibling sat down to eat fish.’
- (8a) Vt + Vi [V1 + N + V2, N = object of V1]  
*lǔk<sup>4</sup> top<sup>3</sup> mu<sup>2</sup> hu<sup>1</sup>*  
 child clap hand smile  
 ‘The child clapped (their) hands and smiled.’
- (8b) Vt + Vi [V1 + N + V2, N = object of V1 = subject of V2]  
*pa<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>5</sup> tu<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> haj<sup>1</sup>*  
 father kill CLF cow die  
 ‘The father killed the cow, and (the cow) died.’
- (9a) Vt + Vt [V1 + N1 + V2, N1 = object of V1 = object of V2]  
*me<sup>1</sup> lu<sup>6</sup> nu<sup>6</sup> kǐn<sup>1</sup>*  
 mother buy meat eat  
 ‘The mother bought meat and ate./The mother bought meat to eat.’
- (9b) Vt + Vt [V1 + N1 + V2 + N2, N1 = object of V1, N2 = object of V2]  
*tse<sup>3</sup> tǐk<sup>3</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>1</sup> ʔǎw<sup>1</sup> tu<sup>1</sup> pja<sup>1</sup>*  
 e.Sis throw net take CLF fish  
 ‘The elder sister threw the net and caught fish./The elder sister threw the net to catch fish.’
- (9c) Vt + Vt [V1 + N1 + V2 + N2, N1 = object of V1 = subject of V2, N2 = object of V2]  
*me<sup>1</sup> ɲɔm<sup>4</sup> lǔk<sup>4</sup> kǐn<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ǎw<sup>5</sup>*  
 mother look child eat rice  
 ‘The mother looked at the child eating rice.’

In (9c), *lǔk<sup>4</sup> kǐn<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ǎw<sup>5</sup>* ‘the child eats rice’ is seemingly a complement clause. However, (9c) cannot be interpreted as a biclausal sentence because *lǔk<sup>4</sup> kǐn<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ǎw<sup>5</sup>*

<sup>4</sup> In this paper, “subject” refers to a single argument of a Vi and an agent argument of a Vt. “Object” refers to the object argument of a Vt.

‘the child eats rice’ in (9c) cannot be separated, as shown in (10). Complement clauses can be separated from the main clause by a pause, as shown in (11). Thus, *lūk<sup>4</sup> kīn<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ǎw<sup>5</sup>* ‘the child eats rice’ in (9c) is not a complement clause. In the following examples, ‘^’ represents a pause.

- (10) \**me<sup>1</sup>*            *ɲɔm<sup>4</sup>* ^        *lūk<sup>4</sup>*   *kīn<sup>1</sup>*   *k<sup>h</sup>ǎw<sup>5</sup>*  
          mother        look            child eat    rice
- (11) *ko<sup>3</sup>*    *nīj<sup>5</sup>*    *nǎm<sup>5</sup>* ^        *nǎj<sup>5</sup>*   *la<sup>2</sup>*    *lən<sup>2</sup>*    *law<sup>6</sup>*   *ke<sup>3</sup>*  
          e.Bro that think            this COP house man old  
          ‘That elder brother thought this was the old man’s house.’

In comparing (10) with (11), one can discern that (9c) employs an SVC as a complementation strategy (Aikhenvald 2006, Dixon 2006). Complementation strategies are phenomena in which verbs (one from the restricted set of verbs that take complements and the other from the unrestricted set of verbs that can occur in a complement clause) are linked to each other through some grammatical construction other than complementation (Dixon 2006: 33). Such grammatical constructions include SVCs, relative clauses, nominalizations, and clauses linked together within a sentence (Dixon 2006: 34–40). Numerous examples of SVCs as complementation strategies can be found in the languages of Southeast Asia and Oceania (Aikhenvald 2006: 49).

### 3.1. The relationship between two verbs

Takahashi (2009) classifies SVCs in Thai according to two indexes: (a) a temporal relation between two sub-events represented by the two verb phrases (i.e., consecutive vs. simultaneous events) and (b) the existential status of each of the two sub-events, (i.e., factual [assertive] vs. non-factual [non-assertive] events).<sup>5</sup> Referring to Takahashi (2009), this paper classifies Nung SVCs according to two indexes: [±consecutive] and [±coordinate]. For the [±consecutive] index, the verbs or verb phrases show whether the two sub-events in an SVC occur consecutively, and for the [±coordinate] index, the verbs or verb phrases show whether the two sub-events are factual events. V1 always represents a factual event, but V2 represents a factual event in some instances and represents a non-factual event in others. The relationship between a V1 factual event and a V2 factual event is [+coordinate], and the relationship between a V1 factual event and a V2 nonfactual event is [−coordinate]. Concretely, V2 is regarded as [−coordinate] when it represents the purpose or the object of V1. Nung SVCs can be classified as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Semantic classification of SVCs

	[+coordinate]	[−coordinate]
[+consecutive]	1: Consecutiveness of two events	3: Activity and its purpose
[−consecutive]	2: Simultaneousness of two events	4: Mental activity and its object

<sup>5</sup> Takahashi (2009) calls index (b) Complex Figure vs. Figure-Ground.

The first type, consecutiveness of two events, indicates SVCs in which the relationship between V1 and V2 is [+consecutive] and [+coordinate]. V1 *lǎn*<sup>2</sup> ‘tumble’ occurs before V2 *haj*<sup>1</sup> ‘die’ in (12), making them [+consecutive], and *lǎn*<sup>2</sup> ‘tumble’ and *haj*<sup>1</sup> ‘die’ represent factual events, making them [+coordinate] as well.

- (12) *law*<sup>6</sup> *nǐŋ*<sup>5</sup> *lǎn*<sup>2</sup> *haj*<sup>1</sup>  
 man that tumble die  
 ‘That man tumbled and died.’

The next SVC type is simultaneousness of two events. V1 and V2 in these SVCs have a [–consecutive] and [+coordinate] relationship. The events represented by *hǎj*<sup>5</sup> ‘cry’ and *haj*<sup>2</sup> ‘scream’ occur simultaneously in (13), making them [–consecutive], and both *hǎj*<sup>5</sup> ‘cry’ and *haj*<sup>2</sup> ‘scream’ represent factual events, making them also [+coordinate].

- (13) *lūk*<sup>4</sup> *dǐk*<sup>3</sup> *hǎj*<sup>5</sup> *haj*<sup>2</sup>  
 child infant cry scream  
 ‘The little child cried and screamed.’

The next type is activity and its purpose. V1 and V2 in these SVCs have a [+consecutive] and [–coordinate] relationship. In (14), the action *pǎj*<sup>1</sup> ‘go’ is carried out to perform the action *len*<sup>4</sup> ‘run’. In other words, *pǎj*<sup>1</sup> ‘go’ occurs first and *len*<sup>4</sup> ‘run’ occurs after it, making them [+consecutive]. Because *len*<sup>4</sup> ‘run’ represents the purpose, not a factual event, they are [–coordinate].

- (14) *me*<sup>1</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup> *len*<sup>4</sup>  
 mother go run  
 ‘The mother goes to run.’

The final type is mental activity and its object. V1 and V2 in these SVCs have a [–consecutive] and [–coordinate] relationship. V1 is a mental verb<sup>6</sup> such as *teǎk*<sup>3</sup> ‘know’ and *nǎt*<sup>3</sup> ‘like’. V2 indicates the action that is the object of V1. In other words, V2 is an argument of V1. In (15), *lɔj*<sup>2</sup> ‘swim’ is an argument of *teǎk*<sup>3</sup> ‘know’ and (15) cannot be interpreted in such a way that *teǎk*<sup>3</sup> ‘know’ occurs first followed by *lɔj*<sup>2</sup> ‘swim’, making them [–consecutive]. Furthermore, *lɔj*<sup>2</sup> ‘swim’ represents the object, not a factual event, making them also [–coordinate].

- (15) *ko*<sup>3</sup> *teǎk*<sup>3</sup> *lɔj*<sup>2</sup>  
 e.Bro know swim  
 ‘The elder brother knows swimming. (The elder brother knows how to swim.)’

Contexts can determine whether an SVC is [+coordinate] or [–coordinate]. Below, (16) is an ambiguous example. In (16), it is difficult to interpret that ‘buy’ and ‘eat’ occur simultaneously; they are [+consecutive]. However, the context

<sup>6</sup> “Mental verbs denote psychological states or processes, typically emotion, cognition and perception” (Croft 2001: 155).

determines [+coordinate] or [−coordinate], that is, whether the event *kĩn<sup>1</sup>* ‘eat’ already occurred. Therefore, (16) is either ‘consecutiveness of two events’ if it is [+coordinate] or ‘activity and its purpose’ if it is [−coordinate].

- (16) *me<sup>1</sup>                      hu<sup>6</sup>   nu<sup>6</sup>   kĩn<sup>1</sup>*  
 mother                      buy   meat   eat  
 ‘The mother bought meat and ate./The mother bought meat to eat.’

In this section, I confirmed the basic types of SVCs and their meanings by examining SVCs that consist of two verbs that maintain their lexical meanings. Verbs in Nung SVCs are sometimes grammaticalized by “desemanticization” (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 2), so SVCs can represent various meanings in addition to ‘consecutiveness of two events’, ‘simultaneousness of two events’, ‘activity and its purpose’, and ‘mental activity and its object’. I discuss such grammaticalizations in the next section.

#### 4. Grammaticalizations in serial verb construction

SVCs are major means of expressing grammatical meanings in many languages, especially in isolating languages (Aikhenvald 2018: 192). Grammaticalization in this paper refers to “the partial effacement of a morpheme’s semantic features, the stripping away of some of its precise content so it can be used in an abstracter, grammatical-hardware-like way” (Matisoff 1991: 384). In this section, I will explain which verbs can be grammaticalized and what kind of meanings they can convey.

Grammaticalization in Nung SVCs can be categorized as directional, valency increasing, clause introducing, benefactive passive, ability, imperative, or emphatic reflexive expression markers. In this paper, grammaticalization in SVCs indicates that SVCs maintain the basic structure of ‘V1 (+ N1) + V2 (+ N2)’ even though a verb in the SVC has a partially bleached lexical meaning.

##### 4.1. Directional

Hereinafter, *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘go/come’ are generically called deictic verbs, and *k<sup>h</sup>ĩn<sup>5</sup>/lũŋ<sup>2</sup>/k<sup>h</sup>ǎw<sup>5</sup>/ʔɔk<sup>3</sup>/kwa<sup>3</sup>* ‘ascend/descend/enter/exit/pass’ are generically called directional verbs. Grammaticalized deictic verbs and directional verbs function as directional markers.

Typical Southeast Asian grammaticalizations comprise the directional forms of deictic verbs (Matisoff 1991, Diller 2001: 145–146). Diller (2001) indicates that the structure ‘V1 (a verb describing motion) + V2 (a directional verb) + V3 (a deictic verb)’ is a highly specific ordering principle and appears to be constant throughout the Tai languages (p. 150).

##### 4.1.1. Deictic verbs as directional markers

The word *pǎj<sup>1</sup>* ‘go’ represents the locomotion from the speaker’s location to another location, and *ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘come’ represents the locomotion from another location to the speaker’s location (Hirano 2019). When *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘go/come’ occur after other verbs, *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘go/come’ indicate the direction of motion. In (17) and (18), *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>*

‘go/come’ represent opposite directions of motion, whereas (19) does not include *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘go/come’. In (17) and (18), *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘go/come’ represent the direction of motion getting closer to or farther away from the speaker’s position, whereas (19) does not indicate such a direction of motion. With no particular context, it is natural to interpret (19) as a sentence in which the speaker refers to their own motion.<sup>7</sup>

- (17) *lǔk<sup>4</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ǐw<sup>3</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup> mǎŋ<sup>1</sup> nǎm<sup>6</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup>*  
 child jump pass ditch water go  
 ‘The child jumped over the watery ditch (and moved away from the speaker).’
- (18) *lǔk<sup>4</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ǐw<sup>3</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup> mǎŋ<sup>1</sup> nǎm<sup>6</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>*  
 child jump pass ditch water come  
 ‘The child jumped over the watery ditch (and moved closer to the speaker).’
- (19) *lǔk<sup>4</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ǐw<sup>3</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup> mǎŋ<sup>1</sup> nǎm<sup>6</sup>*  
 child jump pass ditch water  
 ‘I (the child) jumped over the watery ditch.’

In SVCs, *ʔǎw<sup>1</sup>* ‘take’ as V1 requires *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘go/come’ as V2 when V3 exists. Below, (20) is example of *pǎj<sup>1</sup>* ‘go’, and (21) is example of *ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘come’. In (20) and (21), *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘go/come’ cannot be eliminated. In this context, the ‘*ʔǎw<sup>1</sup>* + *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* + V3’ structure seems to be idiomized. In this structure, the semantic intensity of *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘go/come’ differs from each other. Example (20) means that the agent moved after taking the fruit and then ate it, whereas (21) does not represent the agent’s locomotion after taking the fruit until he eats it. Thus, it is difficult to say whether *pǎj<sup>1</sup>* ‘go’ in (20) is grammaticalized. In contrast, the meaning of *ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘come’ in (21) is bleached and grammaticalized to connect two verbs.

- (20) *lǔk<sup>4</sup> ʔǎw<sup>1</sup> ŋe<sup>3</sup> mak<sup>3</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup> kǐn<sup>1</sup>*  
 child take CLF fruit go eat  
 ‘The child took fruit and went and ate (it)./The child took fruit and went to eat it.’
- (21) *lǔk<sup>4</sup> ʔǎw<sup>1</sup> ŋe<sup>3</sup> mak<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> kǐn<sup>1</sup>*  
 child take CLF fruit come eat  
 ‘The child took fruit and ate (it)./ The child took fruit to eat.’

In (21), *kǐn<sup>1</sup>* ‘eat’ must be isolated as shown in (22) to represent the agent’s locomotion after taking the fruit but before eating it.

- (22) *lǔk<sup>4</sup> ʔǎw<sup>1</sup> ŋe<sup>3</sup> mak<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> za<sup>3</sup> tɛŋ<sup>3</sup> kǐn<sup>1</sup>*  
 child take CLF fruit come PRF then eat  
 ‘The child took fruit and came, and then ate (it).’

<sup>7</sup> In Nung, kinship terms function as first-person or a second-person pronouns depending on their context. The structure ‘kinship term + demonstrative’ functions as a third-person pronoun.

## 4.1.2. Directional verbs as directional markers

Directional verbs can occur as main verbs in V1, as shown in (23)–(27). The deictic verbs *pǎj<sup>1</sup>/ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘go/come’ usually co-occur after directional verbs to represent the direction of motion.

- (23) *ko<sup>3</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>4</sup> ni<sup>4</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ĩn<sup>5</sup> dũŋ<sup>1</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup>, ti<sup>3</sup> ti<sup>2</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ew<sup>1</sup> lǎt<sup>4</sup> lǎt<sup>4</sup>*  
 e.Bro ORD secondascend forest go four season blue bright  
 ‘The second brother went up to the forest, which is bright green year-round.’  
 (H)

- (24) *lũk<sup>4</sup> lũŋ<sup>2</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>4</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup>*  
 child descend river go  
 ‘The child went down to the river.’

- (25) *lũk<sup>4</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ǎw<sup>5</sup> łən<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>*  
 child enter house come  
 ‘The child entered the house (and moved closer to the speaker).’

- (26) *nɔŋ<sup>6</sup> ʔɔk<sup>3</sup> bo<sup>3</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup>*  
 y.Sib exit well go  
 ‘The younger sibling went out to the well.’

- (27) *vǎn<sup>2</sup> nuŋ<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> me<sup>4</sup> k<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>1</sup> nǎm<sup>6</sup> kwa<sup>3</sup> nĩŋ<sup>5</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup>,*  
 day one have woman sell water pass that go  
*hǎn<sup>1</sup> ŋe<sup>3</sup> mak<sup>3</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>6</sup> lũk<sup>3</sup>,*  
 find CLF fruit persimmon ripe  
*me<sup>4</sup> nǎj<sup>5</sup> k<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>1</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>4</sup> ʔɔk<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>6</sup>*  
 woman this open satchel exit come say  
 ‘One day, when a woman selling water passed there, (she) found a ripe persimmon; this woman opened (her) satchel and said.’ (T)

By bleaching words’ original lexical meanings, directional verbs represent the direction of motion when they occur as V2. As directional markers, *k<sup>h</sup>ĩn<sup>5</sup>* ‘ascend’ represents an upward direction, *lũŋ<sup>2</sup>* ‘descend’ represents a downward direction, *k<sup>h</sup>ǎw<sup>5</sup>* ‘enter’ represents an entering direction, *ʔɔk<sup>3</sup>* ‘exit’ represents an exiting direction, and *kwa<sup>3</sup>* ‘pass’ represents a passing direction. SVCs containing directional verbs have slightly different structures based on whether V1 is Vi or Vt. Examples (28)–(32) show that V1 is Vi and V2 is a directional verb. All of them have the structure ‘Vi + directional verb + arrival/passing point + deictic verb’.

- (28) Vi + *k<sup>h</sup>ĩn<sup>5</sup>* ‘ascend’  
*tu<sup>1</sup> lĩŋ<sup>2</sup> men<sup>3</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ĩn<sup>5</sup> mǎj<sup>6</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup>*  
 CLF monkey climb ascend tree go  
 ‘The monkey climbed a tree (and moved away from the speaker).’

- (29) Vi + *lǔŋ*<sup>2</sup> ‘descend’  
*pa*<sup>1</sup> *dǎm*<sup>1</sup> *lǔŋ*<sup>2</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>4</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 father dive descend river go  
 ‘The father dived into the river (and moved away from the speaker).’
- (30) Vi + *k<sup>h</sup>ǎw*<sup>5</sup> ‘enter’  
*tu*<sup>1</sup> *nǔk*<sup>4</sup> *bǐn*<sup>1</sup> *k<sup>h</sup>ǎw*<sup>5</sup> *tən*<sup>2</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>  
 CLF bird fly enter house come  
 ‘The bird flew into the house (and moved closer to the speaker).’
- (31) Vi + *ʔək*<sup>3</sup> ‘exit’  
*tu*<sup>1</sup> *nǔk*<sup>4</sup> *bǐn*<sup>1</sup> *ʔək*<sup>3</sup> *nək*<sup>4</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 CLF bird fly exit outside go  
 ‘The bird flew away outside (and moved away from the speaker).’
- (32) Vi + *kwa*<sup>3</sup> ‘pass’  
*lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>ǐw*<sup>3</sup> *kwa*<sup>3</sup> *mən*<sup>1</sup> *nǎm*<sup>6</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 child jump pass ditch water go  
 ‘The child jumped over the watery ditch (and moved away from the speaker).’

Directional verbs cannot be eliminated in (28)–(32). Thus, sentences (33)–(37), in which the directional verbs used in (28)–(32) are eliminated, are unacceptable. It therefore seems that the nouns of place in (33)–(37) require the directional verbs.

- (33) \**tu*<sup>1</sup> *lǔŋ*<sup>2</sup> *mən*<sup>3</sup> *mǎj*<sup>6</sup> *paj*<sup>1</sup>  
 CLF monkey climb tree go
- (34) \**pa*<sup>1</sup> *dǎm*<sup>1</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>4</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 father dive river go
- (35) \**tu*<sup>1</sup> *nǔk*<sup>4</sup> *bǐn*<sup>1</sup> *tən*<sup>2</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>  
 CLF bird fly house come
- (36) \**tu*<sup>1</sup> *nǔk*<sup>4</sup> *bǐn*<sup>1</sup> *nək*<sup>4</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 CLF bird fly outside go
- (37) \**lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>ǐw*<sup>3</sup> *mən*<sup>1</sup> *nǎm*<sup>6</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 child jump ditch water go

Examples (38)–(42) show V1 is Vt and V2 is a directional verb. All of them have the structure ‘Vt + object + directional verb + arrival/passing point + deictic verb’.

- (38) Vt + *k<sup>h</sup>ǐn*<sup>5</sup> ‘ascend’  
*lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *pjuŋ*<sup>3</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *nǔk*<sup>4</sup> *k<sup>h</sup>ǐn*<sup>5</sup> *dǔŋ*<sup>1</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 child releaseCLF bird ascend forest go

‘The child released the bird into the forest.’

- (39) Vt + *lǔŋ*<sup>2</sup> ‘descend’  
*lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *pjuŋ*<sup>3</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *pja*<sup>1</sup> *lǔŋ*<sup>2</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>4</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 child releaseCLF fish descend river go  
 ‘The child released the fish into the river.’
- (40) Vt + *k<sup>h</sup>ǎw*<sup>5</sup> ‘enter’  
*pa*<sup>1</sup> *tɛŋŋ*<sup>1</sup> *lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *k<sup>h</sup>ǎw*<sup>5</sup> *tən*<sup>2</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>  
 father lead child enter house come  
 ‘The father led the child and entered the house.’
- (41) Vt + *ʔɔk*<sup>3</sup> ‘exit’  
*me*<sup>1</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>ɛp*<sup>4</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *ma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔɔk*<sup>3</sup> *nɔk*<sup>4</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 mother drive out CLF dog exit outside go  
 ‘The mother drove the dog outside.’
- (42) Vt + *kwa*<sup>3</sup> ‘pass’  
*pa*<sup>1</sup> *tɛŋŋ*<sup>1</sup> *lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *kwa*<sup>3</sup> *kǐw*<sup>2</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 father lead child pass bridge go  
 ‘The father led the child (together) past the bridge.’

The directional verbs cannot be eliminated in (38)–(42). As a result, sentences (43)–(47), in which the directional verbs used in (38)–(42) are eliminated, are unacceptable. It is therefore assumed that (43)–(47) are unacceptable because the object noun and the noun of place adjoin each other.

- (43) \**lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *pjuŋ*<sup>3</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *nǔk*<sup>4</sup> *dǔŋ*<sup>1</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 child releaseCLF bird forest go
- (44) \**lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *pjuŋ*<sup>3</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *pja*<sup>1</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>4</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 child releaseCLF fish river go
- (45) \**pa*<sup>1</sup> *tɛŋŋ*<sup>1</sup> *lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *tən*<sup>2</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>  
 father lead child house come
- (46) \**me*<sup>1</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>ɛp*<sup>4</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *ma*<sup>1</sup> *nɔk*<sup>4</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 mother drive out CLF dog outside go
- (47) \**pa*<sup>1</sup> *tɛŋŋ*<sup>1</sup> *lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *kǐw*<sup>2</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 father lead child bridge go

The acceptability of eliminating the noun of place differs in each sentence. Sentence (48), in which the noun of place used in (39) is eliminated, is unacceptable. On the other hand, (49), which has the same ‘V + N + *lǔŋ*<sup>2</sup> + *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>’ structure as (48), is acceptable.

- (48) \**lũk*<sup>4</sup> *pjuŋ*<sup>3</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *pja*<sup>1</sup> *lũŋ*<sup>2</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 child releaseCLF fish descend go
- (49) *lũk*<sup>4</sup> *tʰep*<sup>4</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *pja*<sup>1</sup> *lũŋ*<sup>2</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>  
 child drive out CLF fish descend go  
 ‘The child drove the fish out.’

The directional verb has a closer connection to the noun of place in (39) than in (49) because (48) is unacceptable. The directional verb in (39) has the preposition-like function of introducing the noun. Directional verbs are bleached of their original lexical meanings and function as directional markers. With further grammaticalization, directional verbs can function as prepositions to introduce nouns of place. The degree of grammaticalization of directional verbs seems to depend on V1.<sup>8</sup>

In (19), I showed that a sentence containing a directional verb as the main verb but not containing a deictic verb represents the speaker’s locomotion. In the structure ‘V + directional verb + deictic verb’, the deictic verb cannot be eliminated if a sentence does not represent the speaker’s motion, and the elimination acceptability of deictic verb is low even if it represents the speaker’s motion. Examples (50) and (51) are unacceptable, and the acceptability of (52) and (53) is low (cf. [28]). Specifically, (50) and (52) are examples containing a noun of place, whereas (51) and (53) are examples that do not contain such a noun. Thus, the combination of directional and deictic verbs in the structure ‘V + directional verb + deictic verb’ appears to be idiomized.

- (50) \**tu*<sup>1</sup> *lũŋ*<sup>2</sup> *mɛn*<sup>3</sup> *kʰĩn*<sup>5</sup> *mǎj*<sup>6</sup>  
 CLF monkey climb ascend tree
- (51) \**tu*<sup>1</sup> *lũŋ*<sup>2</sup> *mɛn*<sup>3</sup> *kʰĩn*<sup>5</sup>  
 CLF monkey climb ascend
- (52) *?nɔŋ*<sup>6</sup> *mɛn*<sup>3</sup> *kʰĩn*<sup>5</sup> *mǎj*<sup>6</sup>  
 y.Sib climb ascend tree  
 (I [younger sibling] climbed the tree.)
- (53) *?nɔŋ*<sup>6</sup> *mɛn*<sup>3</sup> *kʰĩn*<sup>5</sup>  
 y.Sib climb ascend  
 (I [younger sibling] climbed.)

The structure of SVCs in which V2 is a directional verb is shown in Table 2.

<sup>8</sup> Eliminating the noun of place is usually acceptable when V1 is a Vi. In (28)–(32), the nouns of place can be eliminated.

Table 2: The structure of SVCs in which V2 is a directional verb

V1	N1	V2 (directional verb)	N2	V3 (deictic verb)
V <sub>i</sub>		<i>k<sup>h</sup>ĩn<sup>5</sup></i> ‘ascend’ <i>lũŋ<sup>2</sup></i> ‘descend’	arrival/passing point	<i>pǎj<sup>1</sup></i> ‘go’ <i>ma<sup>2</sup></i> ‘come’
V <sub>t</sub>	object of V1	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ǎw<sup>5</sup></i> ‘enter’ <i>ʔɔk<sup>3</sup></i> ‘exit’ <i>kwa<sup>3</sup></i> ‘pass’		

#### 4.1.3. Directional markers indicating change

The deictic verbs and directional verbs above indicate the direction of motion and somewhat seem to maintain their lexical meaning of locomotion even though they function as grammatical markers. However, they sometimes indicate a change of state, but not physical locomotion. Below, (54) is an example of ‘V + directional verb’, (56) is an example ‘V + deictic verb’, and (55) is an example of ‘V + directional verb + deictic verb’. The structures in (54)–(56) do not represent physical locomotion.

- (54) *lúc* *lũk<sup>4</sup>* *kaj<sup>5</sup>* *k<sup>h</sup>ĩn<sup>5</sup>*, *vǎn<sup>2</sup>* *nun<sup>1</sup>* *law<sup>6</sup>* *ke<sup>3</sup>* *zaw<sup>5</sup>* *ha<sup>5</sup>*  
 when child big ascend day one man old tell five  
*p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>4</sup>* *nɔŋ<sup>6</sup>* *ma<sup>2</sup>* *ka<sup>6</sup>*  
 e.Sib y.Sib come say  
 ‘One day, when the children (of old man) had grown up, the old man told (his) five children (about this).’ (H)

- (55) *me<sup>1</sup>* *nɔŋ<sup>6</sup>* *ke<sup>3</sup>* *pǎj<sup>1</sup>*  
 mother y.Sib be.old go  
 ‘The younger sibling’s mother got older.’

- (56) *me<sup>1</sup>* *nɔŋ<sup>6</sup>* *ʔɔn<sup>3</sup>* *ʔɔk<sup>3</sup>* *ma<sup>2</sup>*  
 mother y.Sib be.young exit come  
 ‘The younger sibling’s mother got younger.’

When comparing (55) to (56), they represent opposing changes in direction with ‘get older’ and ‘get younger’ though their structures differ. Further studies are needed to explain the reason for this asymmetry between the meaning and structure.

## 4.2. Valency changing

Aikhenvald (2006) indicates that SVCs are often used as valency-increasing mechanisms “to mark causatives, benefactives, instrumentals, and comitatives or sociatives” (p. 25). In Nung, causatives, benefactives, and instrumentals are found. Causatives are represented by grammaticalized *het<sup>3</sup>* ‘make’, *hu<sup>5</sup>* ‘give’, and *te<sup>1</sup>* ‘put’. Benefactives are represented by grammaticalized *hu<sup>5</sup>* ‘give’. Instrumentals are represented by grammaticalized *ʔǎw<sup>1</sup>* ‘take’.

### 4.2.1. Causative

Nung includes three types of causative expressions, using *het<sup>3</sup>* ‘make’, *hu<sup>5</sup>*

‘give’, and *te*<sup>1</sup> ‘put’. The ‘*het*<sup>3</sup>/*hu*<sup>5</sup>/*te*<sup>1</sup> + causee + V’ structure represents the concept ‘make causee V’. The three types of causative are used according to the degree of the affectedness<sup>9</sup> of causee and the intensity of the causer’s control.

#### 4.2.1.1. Causative *het*<sup>3</sup> ‘make’

The original lexical meaning of *het*<sup>3</sup> is ‘make’, as shown in the underlined part of (57).

- (57) *ko*<sup>3</sup> *lǎw*<sup>2</sup> *təŋ*<sup>5</sup> *kʰǎw*<sup>5</sup> *dǔŋ*<sup>1</sup> *pǎj*<sup>1</sup>, *het*<sup>3</sup> *ŋe*<sup>3</sup> *lan*<sup>3</sup> *nuŋ*<sup>1</sup>  
 e.Bro we want enter forest go make CL hut one  
 ‘Our brother wanted to enter the forest, (so he) made a hut.’ (H)

Causatives using *het*<sup>3</sup> ‘make’ indicate that the causer actively controls the causee and that the causee changes its property, as shown in (58).

- (58) *me*<sup>1</sup> *het*<sup>3</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *kǎj*<sup>3</sup> *haj*<sup>1</sup>  
 mother make CLF chicken die  
 ‘The mother made the chicken die.’

Causatives using *het*<sup>3</sup> ‘make’ can do so only when the causee changes its property, such as *haj*<sup>1</sup> ‘die’, *phək*<sup>3</sup> ‘break’. Because of this fact, (59) is unacceptable.

- (59) \**me*<sup>1</sup> *het*<sup>3</sup> *lǔk*<sup>4</sup> *kǐn*<sup>1</sup> *pʰjǎk*<sup>3</sup>  
 mother make child eat vegetable

Causatives using *het*<sup>3</sup> ‘make’ can co-occur with *hu*<sup>5</sup> ‘give’, as shown in (60), though (58) is usually preferred over (60). The causer in (60) controls the causee more than it does in (58).

- (60) *me*<sup>1</sup> *het*<sup>3</sup> *hu*<sup>5</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *kǎj*<sup>3</sup> *haj*<sup>1</sup>  
 mother make give CLF chicken die  
 ‘Mother made the chicken die.’

Among Southeast Asian languages, causatives using ‘make’ are found in the Thai, Lao, Vietnamese, and Khmer languages. Thai and Lao belong to the Southwestern Tai group and Vietnamese and Khmer are the Austroasiatic languages. Below, (61)–(64) are examples from each language.

- (61) *Sǎakhǎa* *tham* *kràcòk* *tǎèk*.  
 Th Saka make mirror break  
 ‘Saka caused the mirror to break.’ (Vichit-Vadakan 1976: 2)

<sup>9</sup> Dixon (2000) defines the affectedness as “whether the causee is only partially affected or completely affected” (p. 67). In this paper, the affectedness is a parameter that indicates whether the causee changes its property irreversibly.

(62) *man*<sup>2</sup> *hêt*<sup>1</sup> *còòk*<sup>5</sup> *tèèk*<sup>5</sup>  
 La 3 make cup break  
 ‘He broke the cup.’ (Enfield 2007: 424)

(63) *Taro làm Hanako đau khổ.*  
 Vi Taro make Hanako suffer  
 ‘Taro made Hanako suffer.’ (Nguyen Thi Ai Tien 2014: 112)

(64) *knom tvəə vaentaa vaek*  
 Kh 1SG make glasses break  
 ‘I broke the glasses.’ (Mikami 1981: 108)<sup>10</sup>

#### 4.2.1.2. Causative *hu*<sup>5</sup> ‘give’

The original lexical meaning of *hu*<sup>5</sup> is ‘give’, as shown in (65). Example (66) shows the causative using *hu*<sup>5</sup> ‘give’.

(65) *lúc tən*<sup>1</sup> *xong, me*<sup>3</sup> *ke*<sup>3</sup> *hu*<sup>5</sup> *ko*<sup>3</sup> *lăw*<sup>2</sup> *mọi*  
 when study finish grandmother old give e.Bro we all  
*t<sup>h</sup>iŋ*<sup>2</sup> *đò* *nghe*  
 kind thing occupation  
 ‘When (he) finished studying, the old woman gave our brother all of the working tools.’ (H)

(66) *me*<sup>1</sup> *hu*<sup>5</sup> *lũk*<sup>4</sup> *kĩn*<sup>1</sup> *p<sup>h</sup>jăk*<sup>3</sup>  
 mother give child eat vegetable  
 ‘The mother made the child eat the vegetable.’

Causatives using *het*<sup>3</sup> ‘make’ cannot replace causatives using *hu*<sup>5</sup> ‘give’. Example (67) is the same as (58) but replaces *het*<sup>3</sup> ‘make’ with *hu*<sup>5</sup> ‘give’, which is unacceptable.

(67) \**me*<sup>1</sup> *hu*<sup>5</sup> *tu*<sup>1</sup> *kăj*<sup>3</sup> *haj*<sup>1</sup>  
 mother give CLF chicken die

Causatives using *hu*<sup>5</sup> ‘give’ can co-occur with *het*<sup>3</sup> ‘make’, as shown in (68). The causer of the *het*<sup>3</sup> *hu*<sup>5</sup> causative controls the causee more than the causer of the *het*<sup>3</sup> causative does in (68). This fact differs from the case of the causative of *het*<sup>3</sup> ‘make’ in 4.2.1.1.

(68) *me*<sup>1</sup> (*het*<sup>3</sup>) *hu*<sup>5</sup> *lũk*<sup>4</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>ăŋ*<sup>5</sup> *hăŋ*<sup>1</sup> *laj*<sup>1</sup>  
 mother make give child wait long much  
 ‘The mother made the child wait a very long time.’

Causatives using ‘give’ are also common in Southeast Asian languages.

<sup>10</sup> Examples (64), (72), (75), and (76) are cited from Mikami (1981) and are glossed by the author.

Examples (69)–(72) are from the Thai, Lao, Vietnamese, and Khmer languages.

(69) *Săakhăa hây dèk wîŋ*

Th Saka give child run

‘Saka had the child run.’ (Vichit-Vadakan 1976: 2)

(70) *man<sup>2</sup> haj<sup>5</sup> nòòj<sup>4</sup> paj<sup>3</sup> talaat<sup>5</sup>*

La 3 give Noi go market

‘He had Noi go to the market./He let Noi go to the market./He made Noi go to the market./He got Noi go to the market.’ (Enfield 2007: 423)

(71) *Taro cho Hanako giăt áo quần.*

Vi Taro give Hanako do laundry clothes

‘Taro made Hanako wash clothes.’ (Nguyen Thi Ai Tien 2014: 112)

(72) *knom ʔaoj koon knom riən phèəsaə ʔəŋklèh*

Kh 1SG give child 1SG study language English

‘I made the child study English.’ (Mikami 1981: 108)

The combination of ‘make’ and ‘give’ is also found in these languages. Examples (73)–(76) are from each language.

(73) *Săakhăa tham hây kâwʔi lóm*

Th Saka make give chair fall

‘Saka caused the chair to fall.’ (Vichit-Vadakan 1976: 2)

(74) *man<sup>2</sup> hêt<sup>1</sup> haj<sup>5</sup> còòk<sup>5</sup> tèk<sup>5</sup>*

La 3 make give cup break

‘He caused the cup to break.’ (Enfield 2007: 424)

(75) *Tôi làm cho kính vỡ.*

Vi 1SG make give glasses break

‘I broke the glasses.’ (Mikami 1981: 109)

(76) *kəət tvəə ʔaoj ʔəwpòk pruj*

Kh 3 make give father worry

‘He makes his father worry.’ (Mikami 1981: 109)

#### 4.2.1.3. Causative *te<sup>1</sup>* ‘put’

The original lexical meaning of *te<sup>1</sup>* is ‘put’, as shown in (77).

(77) *me<sup>1</sup> te<sup>1</sup> ŋe<sup>3</sup> mak<sup>3</sup>*

mother put CLF fruit

‘The mother put (out) the fruit.’

The causer of the causative using *te<sup>1</sup>* ‘put’ controls the causee less than it does in the other causatives. Example (78) is (66) but *hu<sup>5</sup>* ‘give’ is replaced with *te<sup>1</sup>*. In

(78), the mother pressures the child into eating vegetables (e.g., by serving vegetables, telling the child to eat vegetables). On the other hand, (78) represents that the child is willing to eat vegetables and the mother lets him.

- (78) *me<sup>1</sup>            le<sup>1</sup>    lŭk<sup>4</sup>   kŭn<sup>1</sup>   p<sup>h</sup>jăk<sup>3</sup>*  
 mother          put    child eat    vegetable  
 ‘The mother let the child eat the vegetable.’

The causatives using *het<sup>3</sup>* ‘make’ in 4.2.1.1 can be replaced by those using *le<sup>1</sup>* ‘put’. Example (79) is (58) but *het<sup>3</sup>* ‘make’ is replaced with *le<sup>1</sup>* ‘put’, meaning that the mother leaves a dying chicken to die, thus, causatives using *het<sup>3</sup>* ‘make’ and *le<sup>1</sup>* ‘put’ have different meanings.

- (79) *me<sup>1</sup>            le<sup>1</sup>    tu<sup>1</sup>    kăj<sup>3</sup>          haj<sup>1</sup>*  
 mother          put    CLF   chicken    die  
 ‘The mother let the chicken die.’

Similar to Nung, Vietnamese also contains causatives that use ‘put’ as shown in (80).

- (80) *Taro đẽ Hanako giăt áo quần.*  
 Vi Taro put Hanako do laundry clothes  
 ‘Taro made Hanako wash clothes.’ (Nguyen Thi Ai Tien 2014: 112)

#### 4.2.2. Benefactive

The pattern ‘V + *hu<sup>5</sup>* + N’ means ‘do (V) for N’. Example (81) includes *hu<sup>5</sup>* ‘give’ even though nothing moves physically: *hu<sup>5</sup>* ‘give’ has bleached lexical meaning and functions as a benefactive marker.

- (81) *pa<sup>1</sup>    t<sup>h</sup>ɔk<sup>4</sup>    tu<sup>1</sup>            hu<sup>5</sup>    lŭk<sup>4</sup>*  
 father read character give child  
 ‘The father read the character for the child.’

#### 4.2.3. Instrumental

The original lexical meaning of *ɔăw<sup>1</sup>* is ‘take’, as shown in (82). The word *ɔăw<sup>1</sup>* ‘take’ co-occurs with *ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘come’. The structure ‘*ɔăw<sup>1</sup>* + N + *ma<sup>2</sup>* + V’ means ‘do (V) with N’, as shown in the underlined part of (83).

- (82) *nɔŋ<sup>6</sup>    ɔăw<sup>1</sup>    ŋe<sup>3</sup>    mak<sup>3</sup>*  
 y.Sib take CLF fruit  
 ‘The younger sibling took fruit.’

- (83) *tă<sup>3</sup>    mɛn<sup>3</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>in<sup>5</sup>    păj<sup>1</sup>,    me<sup>4</sup>    năj<sup>5</sup>    teŋ<sup>3</sup>    ɔăw<sup>1</sup>    pja<sup>6</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>  
 Tam climb ascend go woman this then take knife come  
hă<sup>5</sup>    kŭk<sup>3</sup>  
 cut tree trunk  
 ‘Tam climbed up, and then this woman took a knife and cut the tree trunk.’*

(Tam climbed up, and then this woman cut the tree trunk with a knife.)' (T)

In (83),  $ma^2$  'come' cannot be eliminated, as shown in (84). It is assumed that ' $\text{?aw}^1 + N + ma^2 + V$ ' is the idiomized structure. The underlined part of (83) does not represent any locomotion. Thus,  $ma^2$  'come' in ' $\text{?aw}^1 + N + ma^2 + V$ ' is bleached of its lexical meaning and has become a grammatical element to connect two verbs.

- (84) \* $me^4$              $n\check{a}j^5$      $\text{?aw}^1$      $pja^6$      $h\check{a}m^5$      $k\check{u}k^3$   
          woman        this    take    knife    cut       tree trunk

The Lao language also has an instrumental structure similar to that of ' $\text{?aw}^1 + N + ma^2 + V$ ' in Nung. Example (85) is cited from Enfield (2008).

- (85)  $qaw^3$      $n\grave{e}\grave{e}w^2$ - $visaa^2$      $maj^1$      $ma^0$                              $kh\grave{e}ng^1$   $khan^3$   $kap^2$   
 La    take    manner-plan    new    DIR.PTCL (come)    compete        with  
        $haw^2$      $na^0$   
       1SG    PTCL  
       'They will fight us with a new strategy, you know.' (Enfield 2008: 127)

#### 4.3. Introducing clause

Two types of grammaticalization introduce a clause:  $te^1$  'put', which introduces a clause of purpose, and  $ka^6$  'say', which functions as a complementizer that reveals the content of cognition and perception.

##### 4.3.1. Purpose

As discussed in 4.2.1.3, the original lexical meaning of  $te^1$  is 'put'. The structure ' $te^1 + V$ ' means 'for the purpose of V,' as shown in the underlined part of (86).

- (86)  $v\check{a}n^2$      $nuy^1$      $kwan^1$      $k^h\check{a}j^1$      $h\grave{o}i$ ,     $me^4$              $l\check{u}k^4$      $kam^3$      $f\check{a}ŋ^2$   
       day    one    king    open    festival    woman    child    Cam    excite  
        $k^h\check{i}n^5$      $p\check{a}j^1$      $tu^6$      $tu^5$      $k^hwa^3$      $d\check{a}j^1$      $te^1$      $p\check{a}j^1$      $h\grave{o}i$   
       ascend go    buy    clothes    trousers    good    put    go    festival  
       'One day the king held a festival; Cam and her mother were excited and went to buy good clothes to go to the festival.' (T)

As noted in Section 3.1, context determines whether an SVC is [+coordinate] or [-coordinate], and without context, it is difficult to determine whether Example (16) is 'consecutiveness of two events' or 'activity and its purpose'. The structure ' $te^1 + V$ ' can help avoid this ambiguity; for example, (87) is (16) with  $te^1$  'put' added. Example (87) is interpreted as [-coordinate], 'activity and its purpose'.

- (87)  $me^1$              $tu^6$      $nu^6$      $te^1$      $k\check{i}n^1$   
       mother        buy    meat    put    eat  
       'The mother bought meat to eat.'

Purpose expressions using ‘put’ are also found in Vietnamese, as shown in (88).

- (88) *Có đủ điều kiện để làm việc.*  
 Vi have enough condition put do job  
 ‘Their condition is sufficient to work.’

#### 4.3.2. Complementizer

The original lexical meaning of *ka*<sup>6</sup> is ‘say’, as shown in (89). In ‘V + *ka*<sup>6</sup>’, *ka*<sup>6</sup> ‘say’ acts as a complementizer that shows the content of cognition and perception represented by V. In (90), the content of V1, *năm*<sup>5</sup> ‘think’, is indicated by *ka*<sup>6</sup> ‘say’. One can see that *ka*<sup>6</sup> ‘say’ in (90) is bleached of its lexical meaning and grammaticalized because (90) includes no activity of utterance.

- (89) *t<sup>h</sup>ǎŋ<sup>1</sup> vaj<sup>3</sup> paj<sup>2</sup>, kam<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>6</sup> tse<sup>3</sup>*  
 arrive evening Cam say e.Sis  
 ‘Evening has come, (then) Cam said to (her) elder sister.’ (T)
- (90) *ko<sup>3</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>4</sup> lam<sup>1</sup> năm<sup>5</sup> ka<sup>6</sup> nǎj<sup>5</sup> la<sup>2</sup> nghề đặc biệt*  
 e.Bro ORD three think say this COP occupation special  
 ‘The third brother thought this was a special occupation.’ (H)

Matisoff (1991) indicates that the Thai and Khmer languages also use ‘say’ as a complementizer. Example (91) is from Thai and (92) is an example of Khmer cited from Matisoff (1991).

- (91) *phôm kô jaŋ mâj nêe-cajwâa, cə pay dâj rÿy mâj*  
 Th 1SG CONJ still NEG sure say PTCL go able or not  
 ‘I’m still not sure whether I’ll be able to go or not.’ (Matisoff 1991: 398)
- (92) *knom kit thaa look qayuq prəhael məphiy- pram*  
 Kh 1SG think say 2SG age about twenty five  
 ‘I think that you’re about 25 years old.’ (Matisoff 1991: 399)

#### 4.4. Benefactive passive

The original lexical meaning of *dǎj*<sup>5</sup> is ‘get’, as shown in (93). The structure ‘*dǎj*<sup>5</sup> + N + V’ is a benefactive passive construction in which N is the agent, as shown in (94).

- (93) *ko<sup>3</sup> nǎj<sup>5</sup> dǎj<sup>5</sup> tɛn<sup>2</sup>*  
 e.Bro that get money  
 ‘That elder brother got money.’
- (94) *nǎj<sup>2</sup> kam<sup>3</sup> dǎj<sup>5</sup> me<sup>1</sup> dip<sup>3</sup> hơn*  
 on the other hand Cam get motherlove more  
 ‘On the other hand, Cam is loved by (her) mother more.’ (T)

The adversative passive is represented by ‘ $\eta aj^2 + N + V$ ’, as shown in (95). The term  $\eta aj^2$  is not a verb but an adversative passive marker because it cannot occur after negation alone. As for the adversative passive marker  $nga:i^2$  in the Zhuang language, whose southern dialect belongs to Central Tai like Nung does, Hashimoto (1988) indicates the possibility that it is cognate with  $ha:i^1$  ‘give’ in Sui, which belongs to the Kam-Sui languages (a branch of the Tai-Kadai) or  $(ng)ai^2$  ‘suffer/by’ in Chinese (p. 345). In Nung,  $\eta aj^2$  is probably also cognate with one of these.

- (95)  $n\omega\eta^6 \quad \eta aj^2 \quad ma^1 \quad k^h\omega p^3$   
 y.Sib PASS dog bite  
 ‘The younger sibling was bit by a dog.’

#### 4.5. Ability

The term  $d\check{a}j^5$  ‘get’ can represent ability as shown in the underlined part of (96). The benefactive passive and ability have a common semantic feature in that the patient (benefactive passive) and agent (ability) have a benefit or opportunity. Representing ability using ‘get’ is common in many languages in Southeast Asia (Diller 2001: 145, Enfield 2003). The term  $d\check{a}j^5$  ‘get’ can occur before a verb, as in (96), or after a verb, as in (97).

- (96)  $me^4 \quad n\check{a}j^5 \quad \check{z}\check{a}w^1 \quad k^h\check{a}w^5 kak^3 \quad d\check{i}\eta^3 \quad s\check{a}m^1 \quad k^h\check{a}w^5 t\check{o}m^6,$   
 woman this take chaff pour mix rice  
 $\acute{e}p \quad t\check{a}m^3 \quad \check{z}\check{i}p^3 \quad x\check{o}ng \quad t\check{e}\check{i}\eta^3 \quad \underline{d\check{a}j^5} \quad \underline{p\check{a}j^1} \quad \underline{l\check{i}w^4}$   
 force Tam pick up finish then get go play  
 ‘This woman poured chaff into the rice and mixed them; (she) forced Tam to pick (them) up and then (Tam) could go play. (This woman poured chaff into the rice and mixed them; she forced Tam to pick them up, and when she finished that, she would be able to go out.)’ (T)

- (97)  $n\acute{e}u \quad k\check{a}n^2 \quad n\check{a}u^2 \quad \underline{\check{z}\check{a}w^1} \quad \underline{d\check{a}j^5} \quad z\check{o}^4 \quad fa^3 t\check{e}aj^2 \quad hon \quad thin^1 \quad za^4$   
 if person who take get TOP rich more the public  
 ‘If someone can get (it), (he) will be richer than the public.’ (A)

However, the meaning varies according to where  $d\check{a}j^5$  ‘get’ occurs. In (98),  $d\check{a}j^5$  occurs before  $n\omega n^2$  ‘sleep’, and the words are reversed in (99). Example (98) means the mother could not sleep because of an external factor (e.g., a crying child), whereas (99) means the mother lay down but could not sleep because of an internal factor.<sup>11</sup>

- (98)  $me^1 \quad mi^3 \quad d\check{a}j^5 \quad n\omega n^2$   
 motherNEG get sleep  
 ‘The mother could not sleep (because of an external factor).’

<sup>11</sup> With SVCs in Nung, the negation usually occurs before V1. Enfield (2003) indicates that in the Lao language, “negation almost always appears on  $day^4$  ‘can’ rather than on the verb it marks” (p. 106), and in Vietnamese, “initial negation is strongly preferred” (p. 212).

- (99) *me<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> nɔn<sup>2</sup> dǎj<sup>5</sup>*  
 motherNEG sleep get  
 ‘The mother could not sleep (because of an internal factor).’

#### 4.6. Imperative

The term *pǎj<sup>1</sup>* ‘go’ represents an imperative when it occurs after a verb. Without context, the function of ‘*pǎj<sup>1</sup>*’ (go) cannot be judged as an imperative marker or as representing locomotion.

- (100) *lǔk<sup>4</sup> kǐn<sup>1</sup> p<sup>h</sup>jǎk<sup>3</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup>*  
 child eat vegetable go  
 ‘(Say to a child) Eat the vegetable./The child ate the vegetable and went.’

Huang and Wu (2018) indicate a tendency toward the grammaticalization of ‘go’ in Chinese dialects and in the northern dialect of the Zhuang language of Guangxi, in which ‘go’ becomes a sentence-final particle of certainty and exaggeration via the intermediate stage of an imperative marker (p. 125). Moreover, the imperative ‘go’ is also seen in Vietnamese, as shown in (101). These facts might suggest that the imperative ‘go’ is a grammatical feature common from Guangxi to Vietnam due to language contact.

- (101) *Con ǎn rau đĩ.*  
 Vi child eat vegetable go  
 ‘(Say to a child) Eat the vegetable.’

#### 4.7. Emphatic reflexive expression

The original lexical meaning of *taŋ<sup>3</sup>* is ‘be different,’ as shown in (102).

- (102) *tǎm<sup>3</sup> sǎw<sup>3</sup> kam<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup> tɔŋ<sup>1</sup> p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>4</sup> nɔŋ<sup>6</sup>, pa<sup>1</sup> dɛw<sup>1</sup> to<sup>6</sup>*  
 Tam with Cam COP two e.Sib y.Sib father only but  
*taŋ<sup>3</sup> me<sup>1</sup>*  
 be.different mother  
 ‘Tam and Cam are two sisters; (they have) one father but different mothers.’  
 (T)

The word *taŋ<sup>3</sup>* ‘different’ can represent an emphatic reflexive. The structure ‘*taŋ<sup>3</sup>* + V’ means ‘do (V) by myself (not by anyone else)’, as shown in the underlined part of (103).

- (103) *ko<sup>3</sup> lǎw<sup>2</sup> men<sup>3</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ǐn<sup>5</sup> pjaj<sup>1</sup> mǎj<sup>6</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup> za<sup>3</sup>, taŋ<sup>3</sup>*  
 e.Bro we climb ascend top tree go PRF be.different  
*p<sup>h</sup>ũk<sup>3</sup> lǎw<sup>2</sup> khǎw<sup>5</sup> kaŋ<sup>3</sup> mǎj<sup>6</sup> pǎj<sup>1</sup> tɛ<sup>1</sup> nɔn<sup>2</sup> zu<sup>3</sup> tɛaŋ<sup>1</sup>*  
 tie oneself enter branch tree go put sleep be.at inside  
*dũŋ<sup>1</sup> kwan<sup>5</sup> kaj<sup>5</sup>*  
 forest wide be.big  
 ‘Our brother climbed up to the top of a tree, then tied himself to a branch to sleep in the wide and big forest.’ (H)

## 5. Conclusion

The basic SVC structure in Nung is ‘V1 (+ N1) + V2 (+ N2)’. Semantically, SVCs without grammaticalization represent the categories ‘consecutiveness of two events’, ‘simultaneousness of two events’, ‘activity and its purpose’, or ‘mental activity and its object’.

Verbs in SVCs are sometimes grammaticalized into directional, valency increasing, clause introducing, benefactive passive, ability, imperative, or emphatic reflexive expression markers. Many of them are seen in languages in Southeast Asia and the Tai languages. The imperative form resembles that of Sinitic languages in southern China, which shows the possibility that a part of the grammaticalization of Nung SVCs was formed due to language contact with surrounding languages.

## Abbreviations

1: 1st person, 2: 2nd person, 3: 3rd person, Bro: brother, CLF: classifier, COMP: complementizer, CONJ: conjunction, COP: copula, DIR: directional, e: elder, Kh: Khmer, La: Lao, NEG: negation, ORD: ordinal indicator, PASS: passive, PRF: perfect, PTCL: particle, SG: singular, Sib: sibling, Sis: sister, Th: Thai, TOP: topic marker, Vi: Vietnamese, y: younger

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