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## Data Article

## Data on the use of optional ergative case marking in Tujia, an endangered language of southwest China

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## ARTICLE INFO

## Article history:

Received 15 March 2019

Received in revised form 5 May 2019

Accepted 10 May 2019

Available online 26 June 2019

## ABSTRACT

Agents are optionally marked in Tujia, an endangered language spoken in southwest China. Sentences, discourse texts and conversations are presented in this dataset.

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## 1. Data

The data contained in this article are listed as below. The dataset consists of sentences with or without the ergative case marker. Sentences are classified according to degree of clausal transitivity and aspect. Other constructions illustrated include the imperative construction and the resultative construction. Secondly, excerpts from conversations are included in this data article. Finally, this data article contains data from some daily conversations by local natives (see [Tables 1–3](#)). Tables showing the statistical analysis of these datasets are also included. For interpretation and analysis of the data, see Man et al. [[1](#)].

DOI of original article: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2019.02.011>.

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<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dib.2019.104019>

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## Specifications table

Subject area	Linguistics
More specific subject area	Use of the optional ergative marker <i>ko</i> <sup>35</sup> in Tujia
Type of data	Tables, sentences, conversations
How data was acquired	Field work; audio recorded on Sony ICD-SX1000; video recorded on Sony HDR-CX680
Data format	Glossed with translations (raw)
Experimental factors	Random sample of sentences, texts, or self-narratives.
Experimental features	Illustration, translation, self-narrative
Data source location	Dianfang town, Baoge village, Longshan county Changsha, China
Data accessibility	All the data are included in this data article.
Related research article	Man Lu, Jeroen van de Weijer, Chris Sinha, Zhengguang Liu. 2019. Optional Ergative Marking in Tujia ( <i>Lingua</i> (223), 46–66).

**Value of the data**

- The dataset can serve as a reference for the use of the optional ergative marker in Tujia.
- The dataset can be used to investigate the semantics, morphology and grammar of the endangered Tujia language.
- The dataset can provide insight in the customs and culture of Tujia.
- The reference section can serve as a useful resource for researchers in these areas.

**Table 1**

Frequency of use and non-use of the ergative in Tujia narratives.

Clause type	Use of ergative	Percentages of use of ergative
Intransitive nominals	13	12%
Transitive nominals	142	37%
Ditransitive nominals	151	40%
Total	306	

**Table 2**

Frequencies of use and non-use of ergative across different age groups.

Age	Use of <i>ko</i> <sup>35</sup>	Non-use of <i>ko</i> <sup>35</sup>
over 70	1005(56%)	795
60–69	825(46%)	975
younger than 60	495(28%)	1305

**Table 3**

Frequency of use and non-use of the ergative in perfective.

Aspect	Use of ergative	Non-use of ergative
Perfective	61(61%)	39
Imperfective	9(9%)	91

## 2. Experimental design, materials and methods

The data were collected in four fieldwork trips during 2014–2018. The superscript values indicate tone contours.

## 2.1. Non-canonical word order<sup>1</sup>

- (1) zo<sup>35</sup> li<sup>35</sup> \*(ko<sup>35</sup>) ka<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
goat tiger KO eat PERF  
'The goat was eaten by a tiger.'
- (2) la<sup>21</sup> tse<sup>55</sup> tsi<sup>21</sup> \*(ko<sup>35</sup>) ia<sup>53</sup> si<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
road car KO squeeze break PERF  
'The road has been squeezed broken by cars.'
- (3) na<sup>53</sup> mi<sup>21</sup> ze<sup>35</sup> su<sup>53</sup> \*(ko<sup>35</sup>) ts<sup>h</sup>ui<sup>55</sup> ia<sup>53</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> tong<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
door wind KO blow PERF open PERF  
'The door was blown open.'
- (4) ko<sup>35</sup> mie<sup>35</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>21</sup> \*(ko<sup>35</sup>) sa<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
3SG thunder KO strike PERF  
'He was stricken by thunder.'
- (5) an<sup>53</sup> ŋai<sup>53</sup> no<sup>35</sup> ti<sup>53</sup> \*(ko<sup>35</sup>) xa<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
younger brother KO beat PERF  
'(My) younger brother was beaten by someone.'

## 2.2. Transitive

### 2.2.1. Verbs in low transitivity

- (6) p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>21</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) na<sup>53</sup> mi<sup>21</sup> sa<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
grandfather KO door lock PERF  
'Grandfather locked the door.'
- (7) ŋa<sup>35</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>21</sup> ŋi<sup>21</sup> pai<sup>21</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
1SG yesterday card play PERF  
'I played cards yesterday.'
- (8) ŋa<sup>35</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>21</sup> ŋi<sup>21</sup> tian<sup>21</sup> in<sup>21</sup> pa<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
1SG yesterday movie see PERF  
'I saw a movie yesterday.'
- (9) ko<sup>35</sup> ian<sup>55</sup> nau<sup>53</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
3SG cigarette one.CL buy PERF  
'She bought a pack of cigarette.'
- (10) ko<sup>35</sup> ian<sup>55</sup> xo<sup>35</sup> lan<sup>21</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
3SG cigarette many buy PERF  
'She bought many packs of cigarette.'
- (11) ko<sup>35</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>21</sup> ŋi<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>53</sup> k<sup>h</sup>i<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> t<sup>ɕ</sup>i<sup>21</sup> la<sup>53</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
3SG yesterday tumble PERF leg break PERF  
'She tumbled and broke her leg.'
- (12) ŋa<sup>35</sup> nai<sup>35</sup> li<sup>35</sup> nau<sup>53</sup> i<sup>21</sup>.  
1SG today tiger one.CL see  
'I saw a tiger today.'
- (13) ŋa<sup>35</sup> ko<sup>35</sup> kan<sup>21</sup> ku<sup>53</sup> i<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
1SG 3SG mountain on see PERF  
'I saw him on the mountain.'
- (14) ŋa<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) lo<sup>35</sup> na<sup>55</sup> xu<sup>33</sup> i<sup>21</sup> po<sup>21</sup> la<sup>21</sup>.  
1SG KO person one CL see EXP  
'I once saw this person.'

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations and glosses: 1–3.SG-PL = Person.Number; CL = Classifier; DAT = Dative; DEM = Demonstrative; DIR = Direction; EXM = Exclamative marker; EXP = Experiencer; GEN = Genitive; GOL = Goal; LNK = linker; NEG = Negation; NMLZ = Nominalizer; PERF = Perfective; PL = Plural; PROG = Progressive; QM = Question marker.

- (15) a. ta<sup>21</sup>nie<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ci<sup>55</sup>pa<sup>55</sup> za<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
mother KO clothes wash PERF  
'My mother washed clothes.'
- b. a<sup>21</sup>k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> tian<sup>35</sup> in<sup>53</sup> pa<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
older brother movie see PERF  
'My older brother saw a movie.'
- (16) ŋa<sup>35</sup> lai<sup>55</sup> san<sup>21</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>53</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
1SG today teach class PERF  
'I taught classes today.'
- (17) tian<sup>21</sup> tci<sup>53</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> pa<sup>53</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
person name book read PERF  
'Tian ji read (a) book.'
- (18) tian<sup>21</sup> tci<sup>53</sup> ai<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup> pu<sup>21</sup> pa<sup>53</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
person name DEM book one CL read PERF  
'Tian tci read that book.'
- (19) tian<sup>21</sup> tci<sup>53</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ai<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup>pu<sup>21</sup> pa<sup>53</sup> tci<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
person name KO DEM book one.CL read finish PERF  
'Tian tci finished reading that book.'
- (20) a. a<sup>55</sup>ŋai<sup>55</sup> zi<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
younger brother cry PERF  
'My younger brother cried.'
- b. a<sup>55</sup>ŋai<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) xa<sup>21</sup>wa<sup>55</sup> zi<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
younger brother KO loudly cry PERF  
'Younger brother cried loudly.'
- (21) a<sup>55</sup>ŋai<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) na<sup>53</sup>mi<sup>21</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
younger KO door knock PERF  
'(My) younger brother knocked on the door.'
- (22) a. a<sup>21</sup>se<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) na<sup>53</sup>mi<sup>21</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> la<sup>55</sup>?  
who KO door knock PROG  
'Who is knocking on the door lightly?'
- b. a<sup>55</sup>ŋai<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ka<sup>35</sup>ki<sup>53</sup>li<sup>53</sup>li<sup>53</sup> mo<sup>21</sup> na<sup>53</sup>mi<sup>21</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> la<sup>55</sup>.  
younger KO lightly ADV door knock PROG  
'(My) younger brother is knocking on the door.'
- (23) kai<sup>35</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> āŋa<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) nie<sup>35</sup> tci<sup>53</sup> pa<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
DEM book 1SG KO two time read PERF  
'I read this book twice.'
- (24) cian<sup>35</sup> p<sup>h</sup>o<sup>35</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) an<sup>35</sup> nie<sup>55</sup> pan<sup>55</sup>tsu<sup>55</sup>zen<sup>21</sup> t<sup>h</sup>au<sup>35</sup>.  
family name teacher KO 1PL tutor NEG.PERF  
'Teacher Qian is not our tutor any longer.'
- (25) a. ŋa<sup>35</sup> nie<sup>35</sup> ci<sup>21</sup>pa<sup>53</sup> za<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> ma<sup>21</sup>?  
My GEN clothes wash PERF QM  
'Have my clothes been washed?'
- b. a<sup>35</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ci<sup>21</sup>pa<sup>53</sup> za<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
sister KO clothes wash PERF  
'(My) sister had washed the clothes.'
- (26) ŋa<sup>35</sup> le<sup>55</sup> a<sup>55</sup>se<sup>21</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ŋi<sup>35</sup> kan<sup>55</sup> ya<sup>21</sup> !  
1SG except who KO 2SG dare marry  
'Who except me dare to marry you?'

- (27) A.  $\eta_i^{35}$   $nai^{35}$   $xou^{35}$   $la^{55}$   $tci^{53}$   $\dot{c}i^{21}$   $ka^{35}$   $liau^{21}$ ?<sup>2</sup>  
 2SG this morning what eat PERF  
 'What did you eat this morning?'  
 B.  $\eta_a^{35}$   $pao^{33}$   $ku^{33}$   $ka^{35}$   $liau^{21}$ .  
 1SG corn eat PERF  
 'I ate corn.'
- (28) A.  $ki^{21}$   $tse^{53}$   $\eta_i^{21}$   $\eta ie^{53}$   $a^{21}$   $ko^{35}$ ?  
 where 2SG GEN brother  
 'Where is your brother?'  
 B.  $\eta_a^{35}$   $a^{21}$   $\eta ie^{53}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $ts^h e^{35}$   $xa^{21}$   $lu^{21}$ .  
 my mother KO vegetable pick PERF.DIR  
 'My mother has gone to pick vegetables.'
- (29) A.  $\eta_i^{35}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $kai^{35}$   $no^{35}$   $xau^{55}$   $\dot{c}i^{55}$   $xo^{21}$   $t^h ai^{21}$ ?  
 2SG KO DEM person know or NEG  
 'Do you know this person or not?'  
 B.  $\eta_a^{35}$   $ko^{35}$   $zen^{35}$   $tai^{55}$   $\dot{c}i^{21}$ .  
 1SG 3SG know NMLZ  
 'I know him.'
- (30) A.  $ko^{35}$   $an^{35}$   $\eta ie^{55}$   $\dot{c}iau^{35}$   $t^h a\eta^{21}$   $\eta ie^{21}$   $en^{21}$   $tsi^{21}$   $\eta ie^{21}$   $\dot{c}iau^{53}$   $p^h o^{35}$   $ka^{21}$ .  
 3SG 1PL school GEN come REL family name teacher  
 'He is teacher Xiang who has just come to our school.'  
 B.  $ko^{35}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $\dot{c}iau^{35}$   $t^h a\eta^{21}$   $\eta ie^{55}$   $lie^{21}$   $ka^{55}$   $\eta ie^{55}$   $liau^{21}$ .  
 3SG KO school arrived PERF Several days PERF  
 'He arrived at our school several days ago.'
- (31) A.  $\dot{c}iau^{35}$   $p^h o^{35}$   $ka^{55}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $an^{35}$   $\eta ie^{55}$   $\dot{c}iu^{35}$   $t\dot{c}iau^{21}$   $t\dot{c}iau^{55}$   $la^{55}$   $ma^{35}$ ?  
 Family name teacher KO 1PL math teacher teach PROG QM  
 'Is teacher Xiang teaching us math?'  
 B.  $\dot{c}iau^{35}$   $p^h o^{35}$   $ka^{55}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $an^{35}$   $\eta ie^{55}$   $\dot{c}iu^{35}$   $\dot{c}iau^{21}$   $t\dot{c}iau^{55}$   $la^{55}$ .  
 family name teacher KO 1PL math teach PROG  
 'Teacher Xiang teaches us math.'
- (32)  $Wang^{35}$   $p^h o^{35}$   $ka^{55}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $an^{35}$   $\eta ie^{55}$   $\dot{c}iu^{35}$   $\dot{c}iau^{21}$   $t\dot{c}iau^{55}$   $liau^{21}$ .  
 family name teacher KO 1PL math teach PERF  
 'Teacher Xiang will not teach us math any longer.'
- (33)  $\eta_i^{35}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $\eta_a^{35}$   $a^{21}$   $pa^{53}$   $\dot{y}i^{21}$   $liau^{21}$   $ma^{35}$ ?  
 2SG KO 1SG father see PERF QM  
 'Have you seen my father?'

### 2.2.2. Verbs in high transitivity

- (34) A.  $a^{21}$   $pa^{55}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $a^{21}$   $ko^{21}$   $xa^{21}$   $liau^{21}$ ?  
 father KO older brother beat PERF  
 'Did father beat older brother?'  
 B.  $ko^{35}$   $xa^{21}$   $ta^{35}$ .  
 3SG beat NEG  
 'He did not beat (him).'
- (35)  $ko^{35}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $\eta_a^{35}$   $ts^h a^{53}$   $liau^{21}$ .  
 3SG KO 1SG cheat PERF  
 'He cheated me.'
- (36)  $a^{21}$   $pa^{55}$  (  $ko^{35}$  )  $ka^{21}$   $tsi^{21}$   $xo^{21}$   $lie^{21}$   $u^{53}$   $xa^{21}$   $se^{21}$   $liau^{21}$ .  
 father KO stick INSTR snake beat die PERF  
 'My father killed the snake with a stick.'

<sup>2</sup> Capital A and B are used to indicate participants in a conversation.

- (37) p<sup>h</sup>o<sup>35</sup> ka<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ŋa<sup>35</sup> lo<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 teacher KO 1SG criticize PERF  
 'The teacher criticized me.'
- (38) a<sup>21</sup>pa<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ka<sup>21</sup> u<sup>53</sup> lu<sup>21</sup>.  
 father KO wood cut DIR  
 'My father has gone to cut wood.'
- (39) ŋa<sup>35</sup> xi<sup>53</sup> po<sup>55</sup> la<sup>55</sup> ŋi<sup>35</sup> li<sup>35</sup> lau<sup>53</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> se<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 1SG hear PERF 2SG tiger one.CL beat die PERF  
 'I heard that you beat a tiger to die.'
- (40) kei<sup>55</sup> tse<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) lo<sup>53</sup> tie<sup>35</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> la<sup>21</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> mo<sup>21</sup> su<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> tci<sup>35</sup> lu<sup>21</sup>.  
 3PL KO enemy bad chase DIR  
 'They had expelled the enemy.'

### 3. Dative construction

- (41) p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>21</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ŋa<sup>35</sup> po<sup>53</sup> sa<sup>21</sup> lie<sup>35</sup> pu<sup>21</sup> li<sup>55</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 grandfather KO 1SG DAT story tell PERF  
 'My grandfather told me a story.'
- (42) a<sup>21</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ŋa<sup>35</sup> po<sup>53</sup> gi<sup>55</sup> pa<sup>55</sup> lie<sup>35</sup> p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 old sister KO 1SG DAT clothes one CL buy PERF  
 '(My) older sister bought a piece of clothes for me.'
- (43) ŋa<sup>35</sup> xa<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> po<sup>55</sup> se<sup>21</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>35</sup>.  
 1SG vegetable DAT fertilizer put  
 'I put the fertilizer on the vegetables.'
- (44) ŋa<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) a<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> la<sup>35</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>53</sup> lie<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 1SG KO brother book one.CL send PERF  
 'I sent a book to my brother.'
- (45) a<sup>21</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) ŋa<sup>35</sup> po<sup>35</sup> ku<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>21</sup> nau<sup>53</sup> ze<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 older sister KO 1SG DAT flower one.CL give PERF  
 'My older sister gave me a flower.'
- (46) uang<sup>35</sup> p<sup>h</sup>o<sup>35</sup> ka<sup>21</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) a<sup>35</sup> ta<sup>53</sup> tshu<sup>35</sup> po<sup>21</sup> shi<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 family name teacher ERG old sister home GOAL sent PERF  
 'Teacher Wang sent my old sister home.'

### 4. Inanimate argument

- (47) ts<sup>h</sup>ao<sup>21</sup> io<sup>53</sup> \* (ko<sup>35</sup>) ko<sup>35</sup> ŋi<sup>53</sup> pin<sup>53</sup> tsa<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 herb KO 3SG GEN disease cure PERF  
 'Herbs cured his disease.'
- (48) xu<sup>21</sup> p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>21</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ie<sup>21</sup> \*(ko<sup>35</sup>) a<sup>55</sup> ŋi<sup>53</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>21</sup> ka<sup>53</sup> ian<sup>55</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 river water KO 1PL field drown PERF  
 'River water had drowned our field.'

### 5. Intransitive

- (49) pu<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>21</sup> tsau<sup>21</sup>.  
 guest leave  
 'The guest has left.'
- (50) kei<sup>55</sup> tse<sup>55</sup> nie<sup>53</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>.  
 3PL laugh PERF  
 'They laughed.'

- (51) kai<sup>35</sup> xa<sup>21</sup>lie<sup>21</sup> ko<sup>35</sup> se<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> .  
DEM dog \*KO /3SG die PERG  
'That dog died.'
- (52) a<sup>21</sup>nie<sup>55</sup> loŋ<sup>55</sup> a<sup>55</sup>lie<sup>55</sup> na<sup>35</sup> loŋ<sup>55</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> .  
mother cough after one year PERF  
'My mother has been coughing for one year.'
- (53) a. p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>21</sup> s e<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> .  
grandfather die PERF  
'(My grandfather) died.'
- b. p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>21</sup> ko<sup>35</sup> s e<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> .  
grandfather \*KO/3SG die PERF  
'(My grandfather) died.'

## 6. Telic events

### 6.1. Telic events

- (54) ni<sup>35</sup> ( ko<sup>35</sup> ) ŋa<sup>35</sup> nie<sup>21</sup> a<sup>21</sup>pa<sup>53</sup> pa<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> ma?  
2SG KO 1SG GEN father see PERF SFP  
'Did you see my father?'

### 6.2. Resultative construction

- (55) ŋa<sup>35</sup> lo<sup>21</sup> ka<sup>21</sup>ni<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) si<sup>35</sup>thiə<sup>35</sup> ma<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> so<sup>35</sup>so<sup>35</sup>li<sup>21</sup>li<sup>21</sup> .  
my wife KO desk clear PERF clean clean  
'My wife cleaned the desk very clean.'
- (56) loŋ<sup>21</sup>kui<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) zo<sup>35</sup> tsia<sup>55</sup> lie<sup>55</sup> la<sup>21</sup> lu<sup>21</sup> .  
person name KO goat chase PERF walk PERF.DIR  
'Longgui chased the goat away.'
- (57) pa<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) sa<sup>55</sup> lau<sup>55</sup> piə<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>21</sup>  
eagle KO duck one.CL seize PERF.DIR  
'One eagle seized a duck and took it away.'
- (58) sa<sup>55</sup> wo<sup>21</sup> nu<sup>21</sup>, ŋa<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) sa<sup>33</sup> nu<sup>55</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> se<sup>21</sup> . liau<sup>21</sup>  
duck five CL 1SG KO three CL beat die PERF  
'Five ducks, I beat three of them to death.'
- (59) ni<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) u<sup>53</sup> xa<sup>21</sup> se<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> .  
2SG KO snake beat die PERF  
'You have beat the snake to death.'
- (60) ŋa<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) p<sup>h</sup>in<sup>53</sup>ko<sup>21</sup> no<sup>35</sup>tei<sup>53</sup> tso<sup>21</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> .  
1SG KO apple bag put PERF  
'I put the apples in the bag.'
- (61) a<sup>55</sup>ma<sup>55</sup> ɣe<sup>35</sup> liə<sup>53</sup> lou<sup>21</sup>xo<sup>21</sup> liau<sup>21</sup>  
grandma walk LNK tired PERF  
'My grandma became tired from walking.'
- (62) a<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) si<sup>35</sup>t<sup>h</sup>iə<sup>35</sup> ma<sup>35</sup> liau<sup>21</sup> so<sup>35</sup>so<sup>35</sup>li<sup>21</sup>li<sup>21</sup> .  
sister KO desk clean PERF clean clean  
'My sister had cleaned the desk very clean.'
- (63) siə<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) si<sup>55</sup>ni<sup>21</sup>t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>21</sup>ka<sup>21</sup> wu<sup>35</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>53</sup> o<sup>35</sup>t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> si<sup>35</sup>lie<sup>55</sup>pie<sup>21</sup>!  
2PL KO matchmaker cow stable into shut  
'You shut the match-maker into the cow stable!' (Yao 2013: 129)
- (64) ni<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) kai<sup>35</sup> io<sup>35</sup> ze<sup>35</sup> le<sup>21</sup>!  
2SG KO his pill swallow SFP  
'You swallow this pill!'

- (65) ni<sup>35</sup> nia<sup>53</sup> xu<sup>21</sup> koj<sup>53</sup>se<sup>35</sup> xuei<sup>35</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>53</sup>  
 2SG two CL commune hall conference attend  
 'You two go to the commune hall to attend the conference.'
- (66) ko<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) t<sup>h</sup>in<sup>53</sup>mo<sup>21</sup> no<sup>53</sup> tsu<sup>55</sup> oŋ<sup>21</sup> tie<sup>35</sup> kuā<sup>35</sup> o<sup>55</sup> a<sup>21</sup>jie<sup>53</sup>?  
 3SG KO how people home live used to EXC mother  
 'How can she get used to living in (other) people's home, mother?'  
 ŋa<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) t<sup>h</sup>in<sup>53</sup>mo<sup>21</sup> no<sup>53</sup> tsu<sup>55</sup> ũ-i<sup>35</sup> o<sup>55</sup> a<sup>21</sup>jie<sup>53</sup>?  
 1SG KO how people home stay-FUT EXC mother  
 'How could I stay in a stranger's home, mother?'  
 ŋa<sup>35</sup> (ko<sup>35</sup>) t<sup>h</sup>in<sup>53</sup>mo<sup>21</sup> nie<sup>53</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a-i<sup>35</sup> o<sup>55</sup> a<sup>21</sup>jie<sup>53</sup>?  
 1SG KO how live life-FUT EXM mother  
 'How could I live my life, mother?' (From a song of *Crying Marriage*)

## Acknowledgments

Our great thanks go to our informants: Liu, Yingguang; Peng, Chun e; Xiang ping; Peng, Chun xiu; Xiang Degui, and those who have helped us with the data in the village of Baoge, Pojiao, and Dianfang in Hunan Province.

The research was sponsored by *Hunan sheng Shaoshu Minzu yuyan diaocha* [Research on Ethnic languages in Hunan Province] from Hunan University, and Philosophy & Social Science research fund from Hunan Province (17YBA093). Our sincere thanks also go to these two funds.

## Conflict of interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

## Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dib.2019.104019>.

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