神戸市外国語大学 学術情報リポジトリ

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メタデータ	
	言語: English
	出版者:
	公開日: 2013-03-01
	キーワード (Ja):
	キーワード (En):
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URL	https://kobe-cufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/1521

Existential Verbs in Youle Jino*

Norihiko HAYASHI

1 Introduction: The Jino language and the aim of this paper

The Jino language is a member of the Lolo-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family and is spoken in Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna) Autonomous State in Yunnan province, China (See Map 1). It has two main dialects, Youle and Buyuan, the former of which accounts for 90 percent of all Jino speakers (Gai 1986). According to the Chinese census of 2000, the total Jino population amounts to 20,899, although the number of fluent speakers might be only 70 or 80 percent of this amount.

This paper tries to analyze the features of four existential verbs in Youle Jino[1] and

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[1]Dai et al. (2007) report on the sociolinguistic situation of Youle Jino and conclude that it is not currently threatened by linguistic endangerment. However, considering the fact that every new Jino generation has less and less knowledge of the language, the present author finds it difficult to be optimistic about the future of Youle Jino.

The phonological inventory and typological features of Youle Jino are briefly summarized as follows.

[Phonological Inventory of Youle Jino]:

Consonants: /p, ph, t, th, k, kh; ts, tsh, tʃ, tʃh, tɕ, tɕh; m, m̥, n, n̥, ɳ, ɳ̊, ŋ, ŋ̊; l, l̥; f, v, s, z, ʃ, r, ç, j, x, ɣ, (w)/

Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, ø, œ, a, ə, ɔ, ɤ, o, ɯ, u/

clarifies their morphosyntactic and semantic differences using first-hand data.

We can identify some subdialects within Youle Jino, and these can be depicted as in Figure 1. Note that this paper mainly utilizes data from the Baka subdialect.

Map 1: The Jino villages, Yunnan, China[2]

Tonemes: /55, 44, 33, 35, 42/

Syllable Structure: (C1)(C2)V1(V2)(V3)(C3)/T <C2: -r- or -j-, C3: -n or -ŋ>

/m, m̥, n, n̥/ can be syllabic nasals. As for the Youle Jino phonology, see Hayashi (2006, 2007, 2009).

[Typological Features of Youle Jino]:

Basic Constituent Order: SOV, Noun–Adjective, Possessive–Head Noun, Relative Clause–Head Noun

Morphological Features: Agglutinative (Verbal Complex)

[2] This map is cited from Kato (2000) and revised by the present author. The shaded portion is Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna) autonomous state in Yunnan province, China.
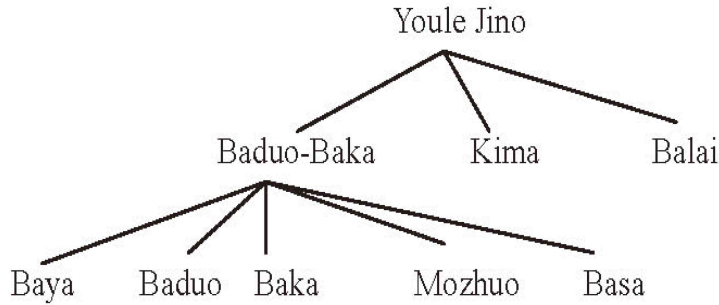
Figure 1: Subdialects of Youle Jino (tentative hypothesis)

2 Description

This section will try to describe the verbs relating to existential constructions in Youle Jino, namely *tʃa35*, *tʃə42*, *n55tɔ44*, and *çu42*. Each existential verb will be briefly described and illustrated in a separate subsection. In this section, natural conversation data will be mainly employed.

2.1 *tʃa35*

Sentences with *tʃa35* are generally constructed as in the following schema:

> i) [POSSESSOR] [PLACE] [POSSESSUM] *tʃa35*.
> ii) ([PLACE]) [EXISTENCE] *tʃa35*.

There are two types of construction seen in sentences using *tʃa35*. One is a possessive construction (i) and the other is an existential construction (ii).

In (i), the first element, namely the possessor noun, should take the possessive case. The possessor noun can also be omitted if it is clear from the context. In (ii), the existential noun does not take the oblique case and the word order of the place noun and the existential noun may change as a result of the information flow.[3]

The tone of this verb may alter due to tone–intonation interfaces, as for instance *tʃa35~tʃa33*. In this paper, *tʃa35* is viewed as the representative form. Below, (1) and (2)

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[3] A noun moves to the first place of the sentence when it is caused by thematization, while a noun is placed after the verbal complex when it is affected by afterthoughts.

exemplify constructions with *tʃa35*.

(1) a. *nɛ35*   *lø55*   *la33tʃu55*   **tʃa35-la42?**

2SG.POSS   there   candle   EXV-Q

'Do you have candles there?'

b. *ɳi55vɛ55*   *çi33-ko55*   **tʃa35-la42?**

2PL.POSS   this-CL   EXV-Q

'Do you (folks) have this (in your town)?'

(2) a. *nə42*   *ça33-mʁ55=a44*   *tjen35tʁŋ44*   *mɔ55-**tʃa35**-po42.*

2SG.NOM   stay-NML=VA   flash light   NEG-EXV-RCF

'At the place where you are staying, there is not a flashlight, is there?'

b. *ji55ʃi55*   *tʃhə44=lœ55*   *mɔ55-**tʃa33**-mɛ35.*

in the past   car=also   NEG-exist-PAST

'In the past there were not cars.'

c. *ji33tʃho55*   *tshi55+təu35=la55*   **tʃa35.**

water   wash+place=in other words   EXV

'There is a shower room.'

Above, (1) is an example of the possessive construction. The nouns in the first element in (1) are possessors, namely *nɛ35* '2SG.POSS' and *ɳi55vɛ55* '2PL.POSS'; thus, they take the possessive case. We see that (1a) has a place noun (*lø55* 'there'), while (1b) does not, because in this case it can be inferred from the context. The possessum nouns, which in (1) are *la33tʃu55* 'candle' and *çi33-ko55* 'this', do not take the oblique case.

Next, (2) is an example of the existential construction. In (2a), the first element, namely *nə42 ça33-mʁ55=a44* 'at the place where you are staying', is a place noun, and the existential noun *tjen35tʁŋ44* 'flashlight', follows it. In (2b) and (2c), there are no place nouns, since this information can be filled in from the context. The existential nouns in (2) do not take the oblique case.

2.2 *tʃə42*

Sentences with *tʃə42* are generally constructed as in the following schema:

> i) [POSSESSOR] [POSSESSUM] *tʃə42.*
> ii) [EXISTENCE] [PLACE] *tʃə42.*

One construction of the type described above has been identified. The tone of this verb may alter due to tone–intonation interfaces like *tʃə42~tʃə35~tʃə33.* In this paper, *tʃə42* is viewed as the representative form. This verb also has another meaning, 'to live'. Below, (3) and (4) exemplify the construction with *tʃə42.*

(3) a. *khɤ35   zɔ55ku55 n̩55-lai35   tʃə33-a44.*
   3SG.OBL   child   two-CL   EXV-SFP
   'He has two children.'

  b. *khɔ55phɔ55-m̩a55=ɛ55=lœ44   zɔ55ku55   tʃə35.*
   male-PL=POSS=also   children   EXV
   'The men also have children.'

  c. *ŋu55vɛ55   a33kru55lu55   ʃi33-mə55   tʃə33-a44.*
   1PL.EXCL.POSS   half size fowl   seven-CL   EXV-SFP
   'We have seven half-size fowl.'

(4) a. *a33ŋɛ55   a55mɔ44   çi35   tʃə33-tɔ44-a44.*
   self(3).OBL   mother   here   EXV-EXP-PART
   'Her/His mother is still here (in this village).'

  b. *a33n̩ɤ55lɤ55 ŋu55   tso33 tʃə33-mɤ55,   mɛ55phɔ42.*
   red   1PL.OBL   house EXV-PAST   male cat
   'The red (cat) was at our house, (that) male cat.[4]'

  c. *ji55sɤŋ55   taŋ55,   we55sɤŋ44so33=a44 tʃə42.*
   medical doctor   become   hospital=VA   EXV
   '(She/He) became a medical doctor, and is at the hospital.'

  d. *xo33tʃha55=ɤ44   mɔ55- tʃə33-xa55.*
   mouse=EMPH   NEG-EXV-PFT
   'The mouse has disappeared(, hence they do not exist).'

  e. *mɔŋ33jaŋ35=ɛ55   kɔ33-lai55 kɔ33-lai55   xə55tshø55*
   Mengyang (PSN)=POSS each-CL   each-CL   vegetable
   ko33+lɔ55-mɤ55   tʃə33-a44.
   sell+come-NML   EXV-PART

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[4] This example is cited from natural conversation data from the Luote subdialect.

'There are those who come to sell vegetables by themselves from Mengyang.'

Above, (3) is an example of the possessive construction. The nouns exemplified in the first element in (3) are the possessors: *khɤ35* '3SG.OBL', *khɔ55phɔ55-m̥a55=ɛ55* 'male-PL=POSS', and *ŋu55vɛ55* '1PL.EXCL.POSS'; each of these takes the possessive case. Further, (3a) contains a place noun *lø55* 'there', while (3b) does not, because here the place noun can be inferred from the context. The possessum nouns, *zɔ55ku55* 'child' and *a33kru55lu55* 'half-size cattle' in (3), have the unmarked forms.

Next, (4) is an example of the existential construction. In (4a), the first element, *a33ŋɛ55 a55mɔ44* 'her/his mother', is the existential noun, and the second one, *çi35* 'here', is the place noun. In (4b), the first element, *a33n̥ɤ55lɤ55* 'red', is also an existential noun, and the second one, *ŋu55 tso33* 'our house', is a place noun. Note that *a33n̥ɤ55lɤ55* is an adjective and should be connected with the last element, *mɛ55phɔ42* 'male cat'.

In the last three sentences in (4), either the existential noun or the place noun does not occur. For instance, (4c) does not have an existential noun, while (4d) and (4e) do not have a place noun, because in each case the missing element may be construed from the context. It should be noted that *xə55tshø55 ko33+lɔ55-mɤ55* 'those who come (here) to sell vegetables' is a nominalized phrase and should be viewed as an existential noun.

2.3 *n55tɔ44*

Sentences with *n55tɔ44* are generally constructed as in the following schema:

[EXISTENCE] [PLACE] ***n55tɔ44.***

This existential verb features tonal alternation as follows: *n55tɔ44~n33tɔ44~n35tɔ44~n33tɔ55~n55tɔ55*; this is due to the tone–intonation interface, though generally the meaning must not be affected. In this paper, *n55tɔ44* is viewed as the representative form. It seems likely that this verb originated from */n55/* 'stay' + */tɔ44/* 'experiential verbal suffix', but at present, it functions as one word.

Sentences using *n55tɔ44* are exemplified below.

(5) a. *nə42*   *çi35*   ***n33tɔ55-a55-la42=ɛ44***   *m̥33-mɤ35.*

    2SG.NOM   here   EXV-PART-Q=POSS   speak-PAST

    '(She) asked if you were here.'

b. *la33tʃu33   a55na44+tu44=a44   **n33tɔ55-vu44**.*
   candle   dark+place=VA   EXV-because
   'Because there are candles in the dark place.'

(6) a. *ji33tʃho55   **n55tɔ44-ka42**?*
    water   EXV-RCF
    'Do you (still) have water (in your glass)?'

b. *a55tʃen44=lœ44   mɔ33-**n55tɔ55-a44**.*
   Azhen (PSN)=also   NEG-EXV-PFT
   'Azhen was not there, either.'

Both sentences in (5) have an existential noun as the first element (*nə42, la33tʃu33*) and a place noun (*çi35, a55na44+tu44=a44*) as the second, whereas in (6) the place noun does not appear because it can be easily derived from the context. The existential nouns do not take the oblique case in this construction, either.

2.4 *çu42*

Sentences with *çu42* are generally constructed as follows:

([PLACE]) [EXISTENCE] ***çu42.***

The tone of this verb may alter due to the tone–intonation interface, as in *çu42 ~ çu55~ çu35*, though generally its meaning must not be affected. In this paper, *çu42* is viewed as the representative form. Examples with *çu42* are shown below, in (7).

(7) a. *tshə55khə42   mɔ44-**çu55-a44**.*
    salt   NEG-EXV-PART
    'There is no salt (in this dish).'

b. *mjen35pao44   khɤ33-ku55-ju55   ʃo55tɔ55   **çu33-mɤ44**   a33tʃhi55-la42?*
   bread   that-CL-like   sugar   EXV-NML   sweet-Q
   'Is bread the food that contains sugar inside and is sweet like that? (or more idiomatically, 'Is there (something) sweet like sugar inside bread'?)'

(8) a. *ji55m̥e55   nə42   **çu55-mɛ55-la42**   jo33m̥a55=the44?*
    last night   2SG.NOM   EXV-PAST-Q   3PL.NOM=with
    'Were you there with them yesterday evening?'

b. *pa55ja44-m̥a55, sɛ55tsɤ44=ɛ55   tʃhaŋ55seŋ55-m̥a55   khɤ35=ɛ55*
   Baya-(PLN)-PL Seze-(PSN)=POSS   Zhangsheng-(PSN)-PL 3SG.OBL=POSS

    ȵu33zɔ55-ɲa55   **çu55-a44.**

    younger sibling-PL   EXV-PART

    '(They) are people of the Baya village; there are Zhangsheng and his younger sisters, of the Seze family.'

  c. çi35   koŋ33ʃɤ35=ɛ44=lœ44   **çu55-a44.**

    here   a nickname of the Jino village=POSS=also   EXV-PART

    'There are also people here from this village.'

As seen above, (7) and (8) are both existential sentences and (8b) and (8c) have a place noun as the first element, while the locations relevant to the other sentences can be inferred from the context. Note that the existential nouns in (7) are inanimate, whereas those in (8) are animate.

3 Analysis: Synchronic features

This section attempts to analyze the synchronic features of existential verbs in Youle Jino and to illustrate their differences. First, we will review some previous literature on this topic and point out differences between previous authors and the problems that arise; then we will proceed to conduct an analysis from the semantic viewpoint. One of the present author's goals is to provide each existential verb with semantic parameters.

3.1 Previous work and continuing issues

There are some previous descriptive studies relating to this topic, such as Gai (1981, 1986), Hayashi (2006, 2007, 2009), Jiang (2010), and others. Table 1 summarizes the correspondences between existential verbs as described in Gai (1986), Jiang (2010), and the present paper. Note that both Gai (1986) and Jiang (2010) employ data from the Baduo subdialect, while this paper uses Baka data.

This paper, as seen in the table and discussed in Section 2 above, treats tʃə42, tʃa35, n55tɔ44, and çu42 as existential verbs, whereas Gai (1986) and Jiang (2010) identify different existential verbs.

Gai (1986) claims that animate existence can be expressed by tʃə42 and n42tɔ44, which can be translated into yǒu (有) 'have' and zài (在) 'be at', respectively, in Mandarin Chinese. He also says that inanimate existence can be expressed by tʃa42 and khɹɔ33, which can also respectively be translated into yǒu (有) and zài (在).

Table 1: Correspondences between existential verbs among current and previous studies

Hayashi (this paper)	Gai (1986)	Jiang (2010)
tʃə42	*tʃə35*	*tʃʌ31*
tʃa35	*tʃa35*	*tʃa31*
n̩55tɔ44	*n̩42tɔ44*	*ŋji31*
çu42	----------	----------
----------	*khɹɔ33*	*khlɔ33*
----------	----------	many verbs may express existence

Gai (1986)'s explanation seems clear, but it also has some problems. First, he provides each existential verb with a Chinese translation. This may seem superficially useful for Chinese speakers who are trying to clarify the characteristics of these verbs; but in fact, the system of Youle Jino existential verbs is totally different from that of Chinese ones. In Chinese, *yǒu* and *zài* relate to the definiteness of existence, while in this paper's interpretation, the existential verbs of Youle Jino do not. Second, Gai considers *khɹɔ33* to be an existential verb, but this paper claims the opposite. Although the present author also finds this verb in his field notes, he interprets the data as showing that it mainly expresses the meaning 'to put (something somewhere)'.

Jiang (2010: 244–250) demonstrates more examples and explains them in more detail than Gai (1986). He classifies existential sentences into several types from the semantic viewpoint. He first divides existential sentences into possessive and non-possessive, and then divides each of these into animate existences and inanimate existences. Moreover, he divides non-possessive inanimate existences into two types, namely natural existences and existences forced by an external power.

Jiang (2010) says that *tʃʌ31* (在，有) and *tʃa31* (在，有) occur in both possessive and non-possessive sentences, and that *tʃʌ31* expresses animate and *tʃa31* inanimate existence. According to his analysis, *tʃa31* also expresses natural existence. Finally, he also contends that *ŋji31* occurs to indicate existence that is contained within a certain space. He states that *ŋji31* is unspecified with respect to animacy.

Jiang (2010) classifies sentences involving existence forced by an external power as existential sentences. The existences expressed in those sentences, he says, relate to situations where a certain thing has been caused by an (animate) agent to exist in a

certain place. There is no fixed verb in this type of sentence, he says, listing many verbs that may appear, such as *ko31ta31* 'take (some item) and go up (to some place)', *ʃɤ33khlɔ33* 'pull (some item out of or away from something or someone) and put (it on or in some place)', and others. Additionally, Jiang provides many examples where various types of behavioral verbs are interpreted as expressing existences, such as *zo44* 'walk', *lo31* 'bear', and so on.

Like those of Gai (1986), Jiang's (2010) analyses also have some problems. First, his analysis of existential verbs is made from the viewpoint of sentential meaning. However, we should be aware that this is a deductive approach, while the description of these verbs should instead be done inductively.

Second, the existential verbs presented in Jiang (2010) seem to belong to an open class. He lists too many "existential" verbs in "existential sentences" featuring existence forced by an external power. Additionally, he also exemplifies too many behavioral verbs as existential. The present author considers the category of existential verbs should be a closed class. His analysis on the category of existential sentences is considerably inappropriate.

Both Gai (1986) and Jiang (2010) analyze the characteristics of existential verbs from the sentential viewpoint; in the present study, I focus instead on the verbs themselves and contrast minimal pairs to clarify their features.

3.2 Semantic parameters of existential verbs

In this subsection, an analysis of Youle Jino existential verbs will be completed, based mainly on data elicited by the present author. We will see that each existential verb in Youle Jino is assigned semantic parameters such as containability, temporality, and animacy, and will investigate each parameter.

3.2.1 The parameter of containability

Among the four existential verbs mentioned above, *çu42* has most peculiar lexical semantics. As seen below, sentences where *çu42* occurs imply that the existence indicated is contained in a certain group or thing. The following sets of examples will illustrate the semantic difference between *çu42* and other existential verbs.

(9) a. *kjao33tsi55   khjo55lo55   va55ʃɔ44   **çu42**-la42?*
      jiaozi   inside   pork   EXV-Q
      'Do these *jiaozi* contain pork (that was put there by someone) inside?'

b. *kjao33tsi55   khjo55lo55   va55ʃɔ44   **tʃa35-la42**?*
    jiaozi   inside   pork   EXV-Q
    'Is there any pork inside these *jiaozi*?'

(10) a. *çi44   pa55pa55   khjo55lo55   tho55lin44   **çu42-a44**.*
        this   rice cake   inside   peanuts   EXV-PART
      'This rice cake contains peanuts (that was put there by someone) inside.'

    b. *çi44   pa55pa55   khjo55lo55   tho55lin44   **tʃa35**.*
        this   rice cake   inside   peanuts   EXV
      'There are peanuts inside this rice cake.'

(11) a. *ji33ɱe55   nə42   khɤ35   tso33   a55mɛ55*
        last night   2SG.NOM   3SG.OBL   house   meal
       *tso55+le44,   a55san44   **çu42-a44-la42**?*
       eat+go   Asan (PSN)   EXV-PART-Q
      'When you went to his house to eat dinner last night, was Asan (with you) there?'

    b. *ji33ɱe55   nə42   khɤ35   tso33   a55mɛ55*
        last night   2SG.NOM   3SG.OBL   house   meal
       *tso55+le44,   a55san44   **tʃə42-a44-la42**?*
       eat+go   Asan(PSN)   EXV-PART-Q
      'When you went to his house to eat dinner last night, was Asan there?'

(9) and (10) show the semantic difference between *çu42* and *tʃa35*, and (11) between *çu42* and *tʃə42*.

Either *çu42* or *tʃa35* is acceptable in (9) and (10), which have similar constructions, though (9) is an interrogative example and (10) is declarative. Thus, (9a) and (10a) have different readings from (9b) and (10b) respectively: (9a) implies that someone has put pork into the *jiaozi* (a type of dumpling eaten by many East Asian peoples), but (9b) only denotes the existence of pork inside the *jiaozi*. This logic holds true in (10a) and (10b) as well: (10a) implies that someone has put peanuts into the rice cake, while (10b) does not—it only denotes the existence of peanuts inside the rice cake.

Additionally, in (11), both *çu42* and *tʃə42* are acceptable, though they cause the sentences to have different readings: (11a) lays emphasis on whether the subject of the main clause, 'Asan', was with the interlocutor or not, whereas (11b) does not—it simply asks about the existence of 'Asan' at the previous day's dinner site.

In summary, *çu42* has a special feature different from the three other existential

verbs: it implies that something or someone is contained in a certain group or object, a feature that can be described as 'containability' from the viewpoint of semantic parameter setting.

3.2.2 The parameter of animacy

Gai (1986) claims that *tʃa35* occurs in sentences featuring inanimate existence and *tʃə42*, in sentences featuring animate existence. He also says that *n55tɔ44* occurs only in sentences with animate existence. However, according to the field notes of the present author, *n55tɔ44* can occur in sentences mentioning either animate or inanimate existences.[5] In this subsection, we will look at some examples in order to clarify the characteristics of existential verbs from the viewpoint of animacy.

(12) a. *çi44   pa55pa55   khjo55lo55   tho55lin44*
        this   rice cake   inside   peanuts
        {tʃa35/ *tʃə35/ *n55tɔ35-a44/ çu42-a44}.
        EXV(-PART)
        'In this rice cake, there are some peanuts.'

   b. *kjao33tsi55   khjo55lo55   va55ʃɔ44   {tʃa35/ *tʃə35/ *n33tɔ55/ çu42}-la42?*
      jiaozi   inside   pork   EXV-Q
      'In (these) *jiaozi*, is there any pork?'

(13) a. *çi35   ji33tʃho55   {tʃa35/ *tʃə35/ n35tɔ44/ *çu42}.*
        here   wate   EXV
        'There is the water here.'

   b. *nə35   phø33khø55   phru33   {tʃa35/ *tʃə35/ n35tɔ44/ *çu35}-la42?*
      2SG.OBL   pocket   money   EXV-Q
      'Do you have money in your pocket?'

In (12), *tʃa35* and *çu42* are acceptable, while *tʃə42* and *n55tɔ44* are not, and in (13), *tʃa35* and *n55tɔ44* are acceptable, while *tʃə42* and *çu42* are not. In both (12) and (13), the existence is inanimate. These two examples show that *tʃa35* can require inanimate existence, while *tʃə42* cannot. Table 2 summarizes the acceptability of inanimate existences.

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[5]   As cited above in Section 3.1, Jiang (2010) also points out that *ŋji31* (corresponding to *n55tɔ44* in this paper) is irrelevant to animacy.

Table 2: Acceptability of inanimate existences

Examples	*tʃa35*	*tʃə42*	*n55tɔ44*	*çu42*
(12)	OK	NO	NO	OK
(13)	OK	NO	OK	NO

The next two examples both contain animate existences. Note the acceptability of each existential verb.

(14) a. *ji33ɲe55*   *nə42*   *khɤ35*   *tso33*   *a55mɛ55*

      last night   2SG.NOM   3SG.OBL   house   meal

      tsɔ55+le44,   *a55san44*   {***tʃa35-la42/ tʃə35-la42/ n33tɔ55-la42/ çu42-a44-la42***}?

      eat+go   Asan (PSN)   EXV-(PART)-Q

      'When you went to his house to eat dinner yesterday evening, was Asan there?'

(15) a. *ŋi55ju44*   *tso33*   *a55phi55*   {***tʃa35/ tʃə35/ n35tɔ44/ *çu35***}-*la42*?

      2PL.OBL   house   grandmother   EXV-Q

      'Is your grandmother at your house?'

   b. *a55san44*   {***tʃa35/ tʃə35/ n35tɔ55/ *çu35***}-*la42*?

      Asan (PSN)   EXV-Q

      'Is Asan there?'

In (14), *tʃə42*, *n55tɔ44*, and *çu42* are acceptable, while *tʃa35* is not, and in (15), *tʃə42* and *n55tɔ44* are acceptable, while *tʃa35* and *çu42* are not. In both (14) and (15), the existences are animate. These two examples show that *tʃə42* can require animate existences, while *tʃa35* cannot. Table 3 summarizes the acceptability of animate existences.

Table 3: Acceptability of animate existence

Examples	*tʃa35*	*tʃə42*	*n55tɔ44*	*çu42*
(14)	NO	OK	OK	OK
(15)	NO	OK	OK	NO

Table 2 and 3 illustrate that *tʃa35* and *tʃə42* relate to the animacy of existence, but *n55tɔ44* and *çu42* do not. In short, we can provide parameters of animacy for these four

verbs as in Table 4.

Table 4: Parameter settings for animacy

existential verb	[parameter]
tʃə42	[＋animate]
tʃa35	[－animate]
n55tɔ44, çu42	[±animate]

3.2.3 The parameter of temporality

This subsection will focus on the temporality of existential verbs. *tʃə42*, *tʃa35*, and *n55tɔ44* should be relevant in terms of this issue. Neither Gai (1986) nor Jiang (2010) refer to this parameter. First, we will look at two examples, (16) and (17), to illustrate the difference between *n55tɔ44* and *tʃə42*.

(16) a. *a55san44*   *ji55ʃi55*   *çi35*   **n33tɔ44-mɛ35,**   *çi55u44*   *çi35*
     Asan (PSN)   formerly   here   EXV-PAST   now   here
     *mɔ33-**n33tɔ44**-xa44.*
     NEG-EXV-PFT
     'Asan has just been here, but he is not here now.'

   b. *a55san44*   *ji55ʃi55*   *çi35*   **tʃə33-mɛ35,**   *çi55u44*   *çi35*
     Asan (PSN)   formerly   here   EXV-PAST   now   here
     *mɔ33-**tʃə33**-xa44.*
     NEG-EXV-PFT
     'Asan had lived here, but he is not here now (he has already moved to another place)'

(17) a. *ŋi55vɛ55*   *tso33*   *khɔ55m̩ə44-ço42*   **n33tɔ44-a44?**
     2PL.POSS   house   how many-CL   EXV-PART
     'How many people are there at your house right now?'

   b. *ŋi55vɛ55*   *tso33*   *khɔ55m̩ə44-ço42*   **tʃə35-a44?**
     2PL.POSS   house   how many-CL   EXV-PART
     'How many people do you have in your family?'

Above, (16) clearly shows the difference between *n55tɔ44* and *tʃə42*. In (16a), it is implied that Asan is only temporarily not at the speaker's site and will come back to

that place before long. On the other hand, (16b) expresses that Asan lived there for a certain period and does not plan to come back.

Example (17) also clarifies the characteristics of *n55tɔ44* and *tʃə42*. First, (17a) asks about the present number of family members at the hearer's house; then, (17b) asks about the overall number of the hearer's family.

Based on the analysis of (16) and (17), we can see that *n55tɔ44* has temporal implications, while *tʃə42* does not. We can add some further examples to support this analysis. See the next two examples, (18) and (19).

(18) a. *khɤ42*   *çi35*   *thi33-m̥jɔ55-tsɛ55*   ***tʃə33-ɔ55-nœ44***.
　　　3SG.NOM   here   one-CL-about   EXV-PART-SFP

　　b. *khɤ42*   *çi35*   *thi33-m̥jɔ55-tsɛ55*   ***n33tɔ44-ɔ55-nœ44***.
　　　3SG.NOM   here   one-CL-about   EXV-PART-SFP

　　'She/He has been here for one year.'

Both (18a) and (18b) have a time-adverbial phrase *thi33-m̥jɔ55-tsɛ55* 'one year', and are grammatically acceptable. According to the native speaker's intuition, these two sentences have the same meaning.

However, a behavioral difference between *tʃə42* and *n55tɔ44* can arise, as seen in (19):

(19) a. *a55san44*   *ji33tjen35to44*   *çi35*   *{**tʃə33**/**n33tɔ44**}-mɛ35,*
　　　Asan (PSN)   about one o'clock   here   EXV-PAST

　　　ljaŋ33tjen35   *çi35*   *mɔ33-{**tʃə33**/**n55tɔ44**}-xa44.*
　　　two o'clock   here   NEG-EXV-PFT
　　　'Asan was here at about one o'clock, but he was out at two o'clock.'

　　b. *a55san44*   *ɤ33jɛ35fen35*   *çi35*   *{**tʃə33**/ ˀ**n33tɔ44** }-mɛ35,*
　　　Asan (PSN)   February   here   EXV-PAST

　　　san55jɛ44fen35   *çi35*   *mɔ33-{**tʃə33**/ ˀ**n55tɔ44**}-xa44.*
　　　March   here   NEG-EXV-PFT
　　　'Asan was here in February, but he was out in March.'

　　c. *a55san44*   *ji33m̥jɔ55*   *çi35*   *{**tʃə33**/ *****n33tɔ44**}-mɛ35,*
　　　Asan (PSN)   last year   here   EXV-PAST

　　　tshɤ55m̥jɔ55   *çi35*   *mɔ33-{**tʃə33**/ *****n55tɔ44**}-xa44.*
　　　this year   here   NEG-EXV-PFT

'Asan was here last year, but he was out this year.'

Example (19a) contains two time adverbials, namely *ji33tjen35to44* 'about one o'clock' and *ljaŋ33tjen35* 'two o'clock'. Both *tʃə42* and *n55tɔ44* can be acceptable in this sentence, and do not make any semantic difference.

On the other hand, *tʃə42* and *n55tɔ44* contrast in (19b) and (19c). As seen above, (19b) has two time adverbials, *ɤ33jɛ35fen35* 'February' and *san55jɛ44fen35* 'March', which stretch over a larger time period than the time adverbials in (19a). In this case, *tʃə42* is perfectly acceptable, while *n55tɔ44* sounds quite unnatural. Similarly, in (19c), there are two time adverbials, *ji33m̩jɔ55* 'last year' and *tshɤ55m̩jɔ55* 'this year', which have much longer time spans. In this sentence, *tʃə42* is acceptable, whereas *n55tɔ44* is not.

It can be arguable that the behavioral difference between *tʃə42* and *n55tɔ44* is affected by the setting of the temporality parameter for each verb. *tʃə42* is [±temporal], and hence it can occur in every sentence in (19). However, *n55tɔ44* is [+temporal], and therefore it is not acceptable in (19c).

From (16) to (19), we have seen examples that clarify the difference between *tʃə42* and *n55tɔ44*. What is more, we can also provide a pair of examples that illustrate the difference between *tʃa35* and *n55tɔ44*, as in (20).

(20) a. *nə35*   *phø33khø55*   *phru33*   **tʃa35-la42?**
      2SG.OBL   pocket   money   EXV-Q
      'Do you have money in your pocket?'

   b. *nə35*   *phø33khø55*   *phru33*   **n35tɔ44-la42?**
      2SG.OBL   pocket   money   EXV-Q
      'Does any money still remain in your pocket?'

Here, (20a) asks if the hearer has money in his/her pocket, irrespective of the time point, whereas (20b) focuses on how much money the hearer has in his/her pocket at the time of utterance as compared to an earlier time. In other words, *n55tɔ44* in (20b) sheds light on the temporal state of the amount of money in his/her pocket.

To sum up, we have provided evidence for a semantic parameter of temporality demonstrated by the three existential verbs *tʃa35*, *tʃə42*, and *n55tɔ44*, as illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5: Parameter settings for temporality

existential verb	[parameter]
tʃə42, tʃa35	[±temporal]
n55tɔ44	[+temporal]

4 Areal and Diachronic Viewpoints

It is widely recognized that many languages have two or more existential verbs in their grammars, with semantic and/or syntactic distinctions between them. For instance, Mandarin Chinese and Standard Thai both have SVO basic constituent order and two verbs relating to existential sentences: Chinese *zài* (在) / *yǒu* (有) and Thai *yùu/ mii*, respectively. *zài* and *yùu* basically denote existence, while *yǒu* and *mii* relate to existence and possession. Mikami (2002), which is an introduction to Thai, says that *yùu* **presupposes** existence, whereas *mii* **sheds light on** existence. It may also be possible to apply this distinction to analyze the difference between *zài* and *yǒu* in Mandarin Chinese, but probably not to the existential verbs of Youle Jino and other Tibeto-Burman languages.

It is arguable whether most Tibeto-Burman languages have the animacy distinction in their existential verbs.[6] Bai (1991) sketches the existential verbs of the Lüchun dialect of Hani, a Loloish language spoken in Yunnan, China, and exemplifies ten verbs corresponding to Mandarin *yǒu*. Walters and Ndaxit (2006) describe thirteen existential verbs of Nosu Yi, a Loloish language spoken in Sichuan, China. Both these studies contain many posture verbs like 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', and so on, but many existential verbs of these languages can be linked to the animacy distinction.

In addition, according to Shirai (2008), the nDrapa language, a Qiangic language spoken in Western Sichuan, China, has animacy and temporality distinctions in its existential verbs. The Mätro dialect of nDrapa has six existential verbs, namely *ˊpo, ˉnʌ, ˋɕi, ˊtɕa, ˊtɕɛʌ,* and *ˋtɕɐ.* The former two verbs do not relate to animacy, but *ˋɕi, ˊtɕa* and *ˋtɕɛʌ* do imply inanimate existence and *ˋtɕɐ* animate existence. Additionally, *ˊtɕa, ˊtɕɛʌ,* and *ˋtɕɐ* relate to temporal change, and *ˊpo* refers to temporal constancy (i.e., non-temporality), and *ˉnʌ* and *ˋɕi* can have both implications.

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[6] As is widely known, animacy relates to existential verbs in many languages. For instance, existential verbs in Japanese also have this distinction—an example being *iru* for animate existence and *aru* for inanimate existence in the existential construction.

Tibeto-Burman existential verbs have been investigated from the diachronic and areal linguistic perspectives by linguists like Shi (1984), LaPolla (1994), Yu (2011), and others. LaPolla (1994) has pointed out that animacy is a case of parallel innovation across Tibeto-Burman languages. Below, in Table 6, Tibeto-Burman data from the languages mentioned above will be compared with that from Youle Jino.

Table 6: Correspondence of existential verbs in Youle Jino, Hani, Nosu Yi and nDrapa

	Youle Jino	Hani	Nosu Yi	nDrapa
(A) animate	*tʃə42*	*dzo55*	*dzo33*	*ˋtɕɥ*
(B) inanimate	*tʃa35*	*dza̱33*	*dʑi21*	*ˊtɕʌ*
(C) 'n-'	*n55tɔ44*	-----	*ŋ̩i33*	*ˉnʌ*
(D) 'containability'	*çu42*	*kɤ31, tshɔ31*	*i55*	*ˊtɕʌ*

Table 6 illustrates clear correspondences between Youle Jino and the other languages considered in (A) and (B); it is arguable that the forms in (A) and (B) can be reconstructible to common proto-forms. The forms beginning with *n-* shown in (C) can also probably be dated back to a certain proto-form, though this may not be true for the ones in (D).

Comparison between Youle Jino and nDrapa yields an interesting point. On the one hand, *tʃə42* and *tʃa35* in Youle Jino relate to both temporal and non-temporal situations, but *n55tɔ44* to temporal situations only. In nDrapa, on the other hand, *ˋtɕɥ* and *ˊtɕʌ* are temporal, whereas *ˉnʌ* is both temporal and non-temporal. Therefore, the temporal settings for those forms in Youle Jino and nDrapa are reversed. This lends support to the speculation that temporal settings in Tibeto-Burman languages were specified after the divergence of these languages.

5 Concluding Remarks

This paper investigated various aspects of Youle Jino existential verbs, which can be summarized as in Table 7.

As for construction types, *tʃə42* and *tʃa35* have both possessive and existential constructions, while *n55tɔ44* and *çu42* have existential constructions only; further, *tʃə42* and *tʃa35* relate to animacy, but *n55tɔ44* and *çu42* do not. A final finding to be noted is

Table 7: The characteristics of existential verbs in Youle Jino

Existential Verbs	Possessive (P)/ Existential (E)	Animate (A)/ Inanimate (I)	Temporality (T)/ Non-Temporality (N)
tʃə42	P/E	A	T/N
tʃa35	P/E	I	T/N
n55tɔ44	E	A/I	T
çu42	E	A/I	----

(NB: *çu42* relates to containability)

that *n55tɔ44* involves temporality.

There are, of course, issues open for further investigation. What is the syntactic relation between possessive and existential constructions in *tʃə42* and *tʃa35* sentences? Is evidentiality involved in the use of these existential verbs?

Possessive constructions using *tʃə42* and *tʃa35* feature a possessor noun with a possessive or oblique case. Naturally, the possessor is assigned a possessum noun, and we may be tempted to think that these together construct a larger nominal phrase. However, there are some examples, like (1a), where a place noun can be inserted between the possessor and possessum. It is clear that the case assignment system and syntactic structure of Youle Jino need further analysis in relation to this situation.

Additionally, this paper hardly mentioned evidentiality, though from a semantic viewpoint it can be arguable that *tʃə42* and *tʃa35* sentences are used to indicate non-visible existence from the point of view of the speaker, and hence that these existential verbs relate to information structure and/or evidentiality. This will also demand future investigation.

Abbreviations

* for ungrammatical sentences, ? for sentences which sound unnatural, - for affixal and particle boundaries, = for clitic boundaries and + for root boundaries. "n.a." means "not applicable."

AUX: auxiliary, CL: classifier, EMPH: emphatic, EXP: experience, EXV: existential verb, NEG: negative, NML: nominalizer, NOM: nominative, OBL: oblique, PART: particle, PAST: past, PFT: perfective, PL: plural, PLN: place name, POSS: possessive, PSN: person name, Q: question, RCF: reconfirmative, SFP: sentence-final particle, SG:

singular, VA: postposition marking locative, dative, and accusative.

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