

神戸市外国語大学 学術情報リポジトリ

Existential verbs in Youle Jino

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2013-03-01 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 林, 範彦, Hayashi, Norihiko メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://kobe-cufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/1521

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 International License.



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 Jino¹ and

*An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 16th Himalayan Languages Symposium, held at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, in September 2010; part of it was also presented at the Department of Linguistics of Payap University in Chiang Mai, Thailand, in March 2012. I thank Dr. Nathan Hill, Dr. Christian Huber, Dr. George Bedell, Dr. Larin Adams, and many colleagues at Payap University for their insightful comments. All errors and misunderstandings are, of course, my own.

The data employed in this paper were collected in my linguistic fieldwork since 2000. I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my language consultant, Ms. Wang Azhen, who is a fluent speaker of the Jino language and kindly taught it to me. In addition, I would like to thank Yunnan Nationalities Museum, which supported my linguistic fieldwork in Yunnan.

The present study has been supported by several Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Nos. 05J10264, 20720111, and 23720209). This paper is mainly based on data collected from 2005 to 2011.

¹Dai 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, ɱ, n, ɲ, ɳ, ɳ̥, ɳ̥̥; l, ʎ; f, v, s, z, ʃ, r, ʒ, j, x, ɣ, (w)/

Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, ø, œ, a, ə, ɔ, ɤ, o, u, 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, China²

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

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

/m, n, ŋ/ 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.

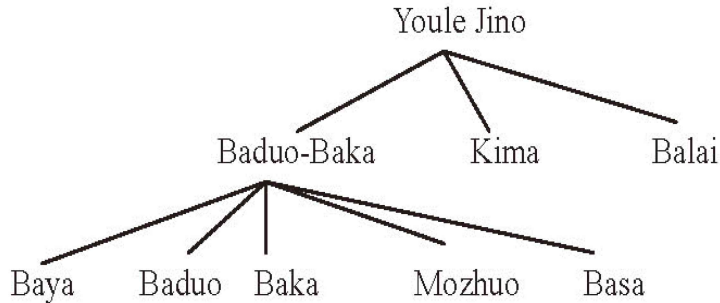


Figure 1: Subdialects of Youle Jino (tentative hypothesis)

2 Description

This section will try to describe the verbs relating to existential constructions in Youle Jino, namely *tfa35*, *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 *tfa35*

Sentences with *tfa35* are generally constructed as in the following schema:

- i) [POSSESSOR] [PLACE] [POSSESSUM] *tfa35*.
 ii) ([PLACE]) [EXISTENCE] *tfa35*.

There are two types of construction seen in sentences using *tfa35*. 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 *tfa35~tfa33*. In this paper, *tfa35* is viewed as the representative form. Below, (1) and (2)

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 *tfa35*.

- (1) a. *ne35* *lø55* *la33tʃu55* *tfa35-la42?*
 2SG.POSS there candle EXV-Q
 ‘Do you have candles there?’
- b. *ŋi55ve55* *çi33-ko55* *tfa35-la42?*
 2PL.POSS this-CL EXV-Q
 ‘Do you (folks) have this (in your town)?’
- (2) a. *nə42* *ça33-mɾ55=a44* *tjen35tɾŋ44* *mɔ55-tfa35-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. *ji55/i55* *tʃhə44=lə55* *mɔ55-tfa33-mɛ35.*
 in the past car=also NEG-exist-PAST
 ‘In the past there were not cars.’
- c. *ji33tʃho55* *tʃhi55+təu35=la55* *tfa35.*
 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 *ne35* ‘2SG.POSS’ and *ŋi55ve55* ‘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-mɾ55=a44* ‘at the place where you are staying’, is a place noun, and the existential noun *tjen35tɾŋ44* ‘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. *khɿ35 zə55ku55 ŋ55-lai35 tʃə33-a44*.
 3SG.OBL child two-CL EXV-SFP
 ‘He has two children.’
- b. *khə55phə55-ŋə55=ɛ55=lə44 zə55ku55 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 a55mə44 ʃi35 tʃə33-tə44-a44*.
 self(3).OBL mother here EXV-EXP-PART
 ‘Her/His mother is still here (in this village).’
- b. *a33ŋɿ55lɿ55 ŋu55 tso33 tʃə33-mɿ55, mə55phə42*.
 red 1PL.OBL house EXV-PAST male cat
 ‘The red (cat) was at our house, (that) male cat.’⁴
- c. *ʃi55sɿŋ55 taŋ55, wɛ55sɿŋ44so33=a44 tʃə42*.
 medical doctor become hospital=VA EXV
 ‘(She/He) became a medical doctor, and is at the hospital.’
- d. *xo33tʃhə55=ɿ44 mə55- tʃə33-xə55*.
 mouse=EMPH NEG-EXV-PFT
 ‘The mouse has disappeared(, hence they do not exist).’
- e. *moŋ33jaŋ35=ɛ55 kə33-lai55 kə33-lai55 xə55tshə55*
 Mengyang (PSN)=POSS each-CL each-CL vegetable
ko33+lə55-mɿ55 tʃə33-a44.
 sell+come-NML EXV-PART

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: *khɿ35* ‘3SG.OBL’, *khɔ55phɔ55-ŋa55=ɛ55* ‘male-PL=POSS’, and *ŋu55vɛ55* ‘1PL.EXCL.POSS’; each of these takes the possessive case. Further, (3a) contains a place noun *lɔ55* ‘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, *a33ŋɿ55lɿ55* ‘red’, is also an existential noun, and the second one, *ŋu55 tso33* ‘our house’, is a place noun. Note that *a33ŋɿ55lɿ55* 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 *xɔ55tshɔ55 ko33+lɔ55-mɿ55* ‘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. *nɔ42* *çi35* *n33tɔ55-a55-la42=ɛ44* *ŋɿ33-mɿ35*.
 2SG.NOM here EXV-PART-Q=POSS speak-PAST
 ‘(She) asked if you were here.’

b. *la33tʃu33 a55na44+tu44=a44 n33tə55-vu44.*
 candle dark+place=VA EXV-because
 ‘Because there are candles in the dark place.’

(6) a. *ji33tʃho55 n55tə44-ka42?*
 water EXV-RCF

‘Do you (still) have water (in your glass)?’

b. *a55tʃen44=lə44 mət33- n55tə55-a44.*
 Azhen (PSN)=also NEG-EXV-PFT
 ‘Azhen was not there, either.’

Both sentences in (5) have an existential noun as the first element (*nət42*, *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] <i>çu42</i> .

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. *tʃhət55khət42 mət44-çu55-a44.*
 salt NEG-EXV-PART

‘There is no salt (in this dish).’

b. *mjen35pao44 khɿ33-ku55-ju55 ʃo55tət55 çu33-mɿ44 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. *ji55me55 nət42 çu55-me55-la42 jo33mə55=the44?*
 last night 2SG.NOM EXV-PAST-Q 3PL.NOM=with

‘Were you there with them yesterday evening?’

b. *pa55ja44-mə55, se55tsɿ44=ε55 tʃhəŋ55seŋ55-mə55 khɿ35=ε55*
 Baya-(PLN)-PL Seze-(PSN)=POSS Zhangsheng-(PSN)-PL 3SG.OBL=POSS

ŋu33zɔ55-ŋa55 ɕu55-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 koŋ33fɿ35=ɛ44=læ44*

ɕu55-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 *ɕu42* 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 *khɿɔ33*, 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)
<i>tʃə42</i>	<i>tʃə35</i>	<i>tʃʌ31</i>
<i>tʃa35</i>	<i>tʃa35</i>	<i>tʃa31</i>
<i>n55tɔ44</i>	<i>ŋ42tɔ44</i>	<i>ŋji31</i>
<i>ʒu42</i>	-----	-----
-----	<i>khɔ33</i>	<i>khɔ33</i>
-----	-----	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 *khɔ33* 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, *tʃʌ31* 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)’, *fr33khlɔ33* ‘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, *ɕu42* has most peculiar lexical semantics. As seen below, sentences where *ɕu42* 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 *ɕu42* and other existential verbs.

- (9) a. *kjao33tsi55 khjo55lo55 va55fɔ44 ɕu42-la42?*
jiaozi inside pork EXV-Q

‘Do these *jiaozi* contain pork (that was put there by someone) inside?’

- b. *kjao33tsi55 khjo55lo55 va55fə44 tfa35-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 tfa35.*
 this rice cake inside peanuts EXV
 ‘There are peanuts inside this rice cake.’
- (11) a. *ji33me55 nə42 khx35 tso33 a55me55*
 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. *ji33me55 nə42 khx35 tso33 a55me55*
 last night 2SG.NOM 3SG.OBL house meal
tso55+le44, a55san44 tfə42-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 *tfa35*, and (11) between *çu42* and *tfə42*.

Either *çu42* or *tfa35* 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 *tfə42* 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 *tfa35* occurs in sentences featuring inanimate existence and *tfə42*, in sentences featuring animate existence. He also says that *n55tə44* occurs only in sentences with animate existence. However, according to the field notes of the present author, *n55tə44* 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
 {*tfa35/*tfə35/*n55tə35-a44/çu42-a44*}.
 EXV(-PART)

‘In this rice cake, there are some peanuts.’

- b. *kjao33tsi55 khjo55lo55 va55fə44 {tfa35/*tfə35/*n33tə55/çu42}-la42?*
jiaozi inside pork EXV-Q
 ‘In (these) *jiaozi*, is there any pork?’

- (13) a. *çi35 ji33tʃho55 {tfa35/*tfə35/n35tə44/*çu42}*.
 here wate EXV
 ‘There is the water here.’

- b. *nə35 phə33khə55 phru33 {tfa35/*tfə35/n35tə44/*çu35}-la42?*
 2SG.OBL pocket money EXV-Q
 ‘Do you have money in your pocket?’

In (12), *tfa35* and *çu42* are acceptable, while *tfə42* and *n55tə44* are not, and in (13), *tfa35* and *n55tə44* are acceptable, while *tfə42* and *çu42* are not. In both (12) and (13), the existence is inanimate. These two examples show that *tfa35* can require inanimate existence, while *tfə42* cannot. Table 2 summarizes the acceptability of inanimate existences.

⁵ As cited above in Section 3.1, Jiang (2010) also points out that *ŋji31* (corresponding to *n55tə44* in this paper) is irrelevant to animacy.

Table 2: Acceptability of inanimate existences

Examples	<i>tʃa35</i>	<i>tʃə42</i>	<i>n55tɔ44</i>	<i>çu42</i>
(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. *ji33me55* *nə42* *khɿ35* *tso33* *a55me55*
 last night 2SG.NOM 3SG.OBL house meal
tso55+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. *ni55ju44* *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	<i>tʃa35</i>	<i>tʃə42</i>	<i>n55tɔ44</i>	<i>çu42</i>
(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]
<i>tʃə42</i>	[+animate]
<i>tʃa35</i>	[−animate]
<i>n55tə44, ʒu42</i>	[±animate]

3.2.3 The parameter of temporality

This subsection will focus on the temporality of existential verbs. *tʃə42*, *tʃa35*, and *n55tə44* 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 *n55tə44* and *tʃə42*.

- (16) a. *a55san44* *ji55ji55* *ʒi35* ***n33tə44-mɛ35***, *ʒi55u44* *ʒi35*
 Asan (PSN) formerly here EXV-PAST now here
mə33-n33tə44-xa44.
 NEG-EXV-PFT

‘Asan has just been here, but he is not here now.’

- b. *a55san44* *ji55ji55* *ʒi35* ***tʃə33-mɛ35***, *ʒi55u44* *ʒi35*
 Asan (PSN) formerly here EXV-PAST now here
mə33-tʃə33-xa44.
 NEG-EXV-PFT

‘Asan had lived here, but he is not here now (he has already moved to another place)’

- (17) a. *ŋi55ve55* *tso33* *khə55ŋə44-ʒo42* ***n33tə44-a44?***
 2PL.POSS house how many-CL EXV-PART
 ‘How many people are there at your house right now?’

- b. *ŋi55ve55* *tso33* *khə55ŋə44-ʒo42* ***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 *n55tə44* 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. *khɿ42* *çi35* *thi33-ŋjɔ55-tse55* *tʃə33-ɔ55-nœ44*.
 3SGNOM here one-CL-about EXV-PART-SFP
- b. *khɿ42* *çi35* *thi33-ŋjɔ55-tse55* *n33tɔ44-ɔ55-nœ44*.
 3SGNOM 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-ŋjɔ55-tse55* ‘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* *ji33tjen35tɔ44* *çi35* *{tʃə33/n33tɔ44}-mɛ35*,
 Asan (PSN) about one o’clock here EXV-PAST
 ljan33tjen35 *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* *ɿ33je35fen35* *çi35* *{tʃə33/ ?n33tɔ44}-mɛ35*,
 Asan (PSN) February here EXV-PAST
 san55je44fen35 *çi35* *mɔ33-~~{tʃə33/ ?n55tɔ44}~~-xa44*.
 March here NEG-EXV-PFT
 ‘Asan was here in February, but he was out in March.’
- c. *a55san44* *ji33mjɔ55* *çi35* *{tʃə33/ *n33tɔ44}-mɛ35*,
 Asan (PSN) last year here EXV-PAST
 tshɿ55mjɔ55 *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 *ljan33tjen35* ‘two o’clock’. Both *tʃə42* and *n55to44* can be acceptable in this sentence, and do not make any semantic difference.

On the other hand, *tʃə42* and *n55to44* contrast in (19b) and (19c). As seen above, (19b) has two time adverbials, *r33je35fen35* ‘February’ and *san55je44fen35* ‘March’, which stretch over a larger time period than the time adverbials in (19a). In this case, *tʃə42* is perfectly acceptable, while *n55to44* sounds quite unnatural. Similarly, in (19c), there are two time adverbials, *ji33mjə55* ‘last year’ and *tshɾ55mjə55* ‘this year’, which have much longer time spans. In this sentence, *tʃə42* is acceptable, whereas *n55to44* is not.

It can be arguable that the behavioral difference between *tʃə42* and *n55to44* is affected by the setting of the temporality parameter for each verb. *tʃə42* is [\pm temporal], and hence it can occur in every sentence in (19). However, *n55to44* 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 *n55to44*. What is more, we can also provide a pair of examples that illustrate the difference between *tʃa35* and *n55to44*, as in (20).

- (20) a. *nə35* *phə33khə55* *phru33* *tʃa35-la42?*
 2SG.OBL pocket money EXV-Q
 ‘Do you have money in your pocket?’
- b. *nə35* *phə33khə55* *phru33* *n35to44-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, *n55to44* 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 *n55to44*, as illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5: Parameter settings for temporality

existential verb	[parameter]
<i>tʃə42, tʃa35</i>	[±temporal]
<i>n55tɔ44</i>	[+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 *ʃpo*, *ṅnɛ*, *ʔei*, *ʔeɛ*, *ʔeɛ*, and *ʔeɛ*. The former two verbs do not relate to animacy, but *ʔei*, *ʔeɛ* and *ʔeɛ* do imply inanimate existence and *ʔeɛ* animate existence. Additionally, *ʔeɛ*, *ʔeɛ*, and *ʔeɛ* relate to temporal change, and *ʃpo* refers to temporal constancy (i.e., non-temporality), and *ṅnɛ* and *ʔei* can have both implications.

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	<i>tʃə42</i>	<i>dzo55</i>	<i>dzo33</i>	<i>ʔɛɬ</i>
(B) inanimate	<i>tʃa35</i>	<i>dza33</i>	<i>dzi21</i>	<i>ʔɛɬ</i>
(C) ‘n-’	<i>n55tɔ44</i>	-----	<i>ŋi33</i>	<i>̄nɬ</i>
(D) ‘containability’	<i>ɕu42</i>	<i>kɿ31, tshɔ31</i>	<i>i55</i>	<i>ʔɛɬ</i>

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, *ʔɛɬ* and *ʔɛɬ* are temporal, whereas *̄nɬ* 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 *ɕu42* have existential constructions only; further, *tʃə42* and *tʃa35* relate to animacy, but *n55tɔ44* and *ɕu42* 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)
<i>tʃə42</i>	P/E	A	T/N
<i>tʃa35</i>	P/E	I	T/N
<i>n55tɔ44</i>	E	A/I	T
<i>çu42</i>	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.

References

- Bai Bibo (白碧波) 1991. Haniyu cunzai dongci chutan. *Minzu Yuwen*. 5: 39–45. [First Findings on Hani Existential Verbs (in Chinese).]
- Dai Qingxia, et al. (eds.) 2007. *Jinuozu yuyan shiyong xianzhuangji qi yanbian*. Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan. [*Present State of Language Use and Change in the Jino Language* (in Chinese).]
- Gai Xingzhi (盖兴之) 1981. Jinuoyu gaikuang. *Minzuyuwen*. 1: 65–79. [Overview of the Jino Language (in Chinese).]
- 1986. *Jinuoyu jianzhi*. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe. [*Outline of Jino Grammar* (in Chinese).]
- Hayashi, Norihiko (林範彦) 2006. Tino-go yuuraku-hougen. In Toshihide Nakayama and Fuyuki Ebata (eds.), *Bunpou wo egaku 1: Fiirudowaak ni motoduku syogengo no bunpou suketti*. pp. 243–270. Fuchu: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. [Youle Jino (in Japanese).]
- 2007. *Tino-go Yuuraku-hougen no kizyututeki-kenkyuu*. PhD dissertation (Kyoto University, Japan) [*A Descriptive Study on the Youle Dialect of Jino* (in Japanese).]
- 2009. *Tino-go bunpou (Yuuraku-hougen) no kizyutu-kenkyuu*. Monograph Series in Foreign Studies No. 43. Kobe: Research Institute of Foreign Studies, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies. [*A Descriptive Study on the Grammar of the Jino Language (Youle Dialect)* (in Japanese).]
- Jiang Guangyou (蒋光友) 2010. *Jinuoyu cankao yufa*. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe. [*A Reference Grammar of the Jino Language* (in Chinese).]
- Kato, Kumiko (加藤久美子) 2000. *Bonti sekai no kokka-ron*. Kyoto: Kyoto University Press. [*Kingdoms in the Basins* (in Japanese)].
- LaPolla, Randy. 1994. Parallel Grammaticalizations in Tibeto-Burman: Evidence of Sapir's 'Drift'. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*. 17.1: 61–80.
- Mikami, Naomitsu (三上直光) 2002. *Tai-go no kiso*. Tokyo: Hakusuisya. [*An Introduction to the Thai Language* (in Japanese).]
- Shi Jinbo (史金波) 1984. Xixiayu de cunzai dongci. *Yuyan Yanjiu*. 2: 215–228. [Existential Verbs in Xixia (Tangut) Language (in Chinese).]
- Shirai, Satoko (白井聡子) 2008. Effects of Animacy on Existential Sentences in nDrapa. *Gengo Kenkyu* 134: 1–22.

- Walters, Susan and Ndaxit Atqi 2006. Existential Clauses in Nosu Yi Texts. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*. 29.1: 127–147.
- Yu Chenglin (余成林) 2011. Zangmianyu “you/zai” lei cunzai dongci yanjiu. *Minzuyuwen*. 3: 39–44. [A Study of Tibeto-Burman Existential Verbs like Mandarin Chinese “you/zai” (in Chinese).]