

EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES IN NOSU YI TEXTS*

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Existential clauses in Nosu Yi frequently serve to introduce a participant into the discourse. Syntactically, these clauses are composed of a noun phrase (the participant being introduced), a verb, and one or more optional adverbial phrases expressing location and/or time. Thirteen different verbs were used in existential clauses in our data. An examination of a corpus of twenty texts, both oral and written, sheds light on the lexical semantics of each verb, many of which specify the nature of the referent, the space in which it exists, and the posture or nature of the referent's existence.

Keywords: Nosu Yi, existential clauses, written texts, oral texts

1. INTRODUCTION

As early as 1984, Shi Jinbo (1984) compared and categorized ten kinds of existential verbs in Xixia, Yi and Qiang languages. Bai (1991: 39-45) lists many Hani existential verbs. He groups them by class according to what sorts of referents are asserted to exist. In 1994, LaPolla (1994: 75) wrote about multiple existential verbs being a widespread phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman languages. Li Fanwen (1999: 111) writes that only some of the languages of the Yi branch have this phenomenon of complex verbal semantics in existential verbs, with Nosu Yi¹ having the most. LaPolla (2003: 133ff) describes five existential verbs in Qiang whose use depends on the semantics of the referent or on the nature of its location. Nosu Yi has at least thirteen different verbs which can all share the gloss 'exist'. This study looks at existential clauses in search of patterns to account for the use of so many different verbs.

The data in this paper came from twenty texts (oral and written) of various genres including legends, short stories, dialogues, and a procedural text. On a few occasions an example not from this corpus of texts is used because it illustrates a point more clearly. Sources include well-established authors as well as people with little education.

Examples of existential clauses were grouped according to which verb was used: ◊ [dzɯ³³]², 𑄎 [ndzɔ³³], 𑄏 [dzo³³], 𑄐 [i⁵⁵], 𑄑 [nɿ³³], 𑄒 [dzɯ³³], 𑄓 [tcho³³], 𑄔 [ndi⁵⁵], 𑄕 [bu³³], 𑄖 [khu³³], 𑄗 [dzi²¹], 𑄘 [dzɿ²¹], and 𑄙 [hi⁵⁵]. The examples were studied to find the functions, semantic range, and collocations of each verb.

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¹ The Nosu language belongs to the Northern Ngwi sub-branch of Burmese-Ngwi. The examples in this paper are from the Shengzha dialect, the dialect chosen as the basis for the Table of Standard Yi Language Characters. The language is also called Northern Yi, Sichuan Yi, or Liangshan Yi after the geographical region where it is spoken.

² The underscore diacritic indicates tense vowel quality.

Section two briefly discusses the function of existential clauses. Section three describes their structure, which includes three parts: the NPs referring to the referent being located, the location, and the verb. The properties of thirteen different verbs are discussed with examples. Section four summarizes our findings.

2. THE FUNCTION OF EXISTENTIALS

Hannay (1985: 51) writes that existential clauses are those which speakers employ to introduce new referents into the discourse. These are sometimes called presentational sentences. Suñer (1982: 1) writes, “Presentational sentences are functionally defined as those which introduce the referent of the noun phrase into the universe of discourse. Their verb serves to assert this appearance.” This is one typical function of existential clauses.

This study considers clauses that affirm or deny the existence of something (sometimes at a particular location). Moreover, we found that the verb used to affirm or deny the existence of a referent often carried additional information. These clauses in Nosu often but not always introduce a participant (people or objects) into the discourse. They are, from a discourse point of view, supportive material rather than eventline material (Longacre 1996: 21). This would be true in all the monologue narratives in our corpus (i.e. not including the dialogues or procedural text).

This is confirmed by others who group many of these verbs together. Dai (1998: 69) lists nine verbs grouped as synonyms or close synonyms all with the gloss 有 ‘exist’. Next to each gloss, Dai lists which class of referents each verb is used with. The common element is existence, but each has other features as well. Fu (1997: 129-30) lists three of these existential verbs together under a section he called “Some Difficult Verbs”. Chen and Wu (1998: 148), in a section of special verbs, list three verbs used to express existence.

Hannay (1985: 18) writes, “It is not considered meaningful to assert the existence of something which is already known to exist.” While this sounds true, in reality it is not quite so black and white. A speaker in a discourse might choose to assert the existence of something already known to exist because its existence was just discovered or confirmed by a particular participant, or its existence at a new location is asserted. For example in (1), Zhyxkeaxlu found the stone just as he had been told he would. Or the story teller discovered Kepsse lying on his cape in despair (15).

Existential clauses are also very often used in conjunction with locating something in space. This is not unexpected and is seen in many languages, since the idea that something exists inherently suggests that it exists somewhere, or at some particular time. However, these clauses in Nosu are much more frequently used with location in space than with locations in time.

The only text in our corpus of data which had no instances of an existential construction was a procedural text.

3. THE STRUCTURE OF EXISTENTIALS IN NOSU YI

Existential clauses are intransitive, that is, the verb takes one argument. According to Gerner (2004: 109), Nosu has three aspectual categories: ongoing, resultative, and indeterminate. In our data, existential clauses did not occur in either the ongoing or resultative aspects.

Existential clauses in Nosu are made up of three parts—the NP referring to the referent, the location, and the verb.

- (1) ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ ʃ
 lu³³tɕɔ³³ a²¹mo²¹ a³³ʃɿ³³ ʃi²¹ ma³³ a³³di⁵⁵ dzu³³
 stone big yellow like.this CL there EXT
 There is a big yellow stone there. (Zhyxgeaxlu, p. 6)

Example (1) begins with the referent NP which is realized by a noun phrase ‘a big yellow stone’. This is followed by the location ‘there’. The clause finishes with the existential verb, ④ [dzɯ³³] ‘to exist’.

Existential clauses in Nosu sometimes do not include a spatial location, as in (2) below. Example (2) does have a location in time, ‘long ago’. In our corpus, there were no examples of existentials with neither location in space nor location in time. It is, however a grammatical possibility to have such a clause.

(2) ɿ²¹ si³³ a³³ ɿur³⁴ mo²¹ li³³ ɿ³⁴ ɿ³³ kha³³ dzo³³
 long.ago animals all EXT

ɿ³³ ɿ³³ ɿ³³ ku⁵⁵ bu³³ dzɿ⁵⁵ ku⁵⁵
 REL all speak able

‘Long ago..., (when) all the animals that existed could speak,’ (Wise and Foolish Water, p. 480)

Existential clauses can include adverbials such as ‘long ago’ in (2), ɿ³³ [ɿi³³] ‘also’ and ɿ³⁴ ɿ³³ [a³⁴ ti³³] ‘only’. See (18).

There is a strong tendency to have the referent NP first, with the location following (1). However, exceptions do occur. This could be due to a topic-comment structure with the order of the elements depending on which is more topical. In (3a) below the location is initial with the referent NP following it.

(3a) ɿ³⁴ ɿ³³ ɿ³³ a²¹ dzu³³ ;
 bo³⁴ o³³ sɿ³³ a²¹ dzu³³
 mountain tree NEG EXT

‘There are no trees on the mountain.’ (The Flood, p. 29)

(3a) comes from poetic language, condensed and beautiful. The clause could also be said like this:

(3b) ɿ³⁴ ɿ³³ ko³³ sɿ³³ ko³³ a²¹ dzu³³ ;
 bo³⁴ o³³ ko³³ sɿ³³ ko³³ a²¹ dzu³³
 mountain LOC tree LOC NEG EXT

‘There are no trees on the mountain.’

In (3b) while the full location NP occurs initially, there is another location pronoun inserted after the referent NP. This is further discussed in section 3.2.

Dryer (to appear: 14) pointed out that clauses with locative predicates, as a type of clause, frequently overlap with existential clauses. Consider the three examples in (4).

(4a) ɿ²¹ ɿ³⁴ ɿ³⁴ ɿ³³ ɿ³³ ɿ³³ 。
 tshɿ²¹ a³⁴mo³³ i³⁴ ko³³ dzo³³
 3SG.POSS mother house LOC EXT

‘His mother is at the house.’

- (4b) བླ་མོ་ ལོག་ འགྲོ་ རྒྱུ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་
 ba²¹ka³³ ko³³ khu³³ ndzɿ³³ dzɿ³³ ndzɿ³⁴ ma³³ dzo³³
 village LOC dog fierce very fierce CL EXT
 ‘There is a very fierce dog in the village.’

In (4b) above, the location precedes the referent NP. Putting the referent NP first is also an acceptable sentence.

- (4c) འགྲོ་ལོག་ལོག་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་
 a³³he⁵⁵mo²¹ tʂɿ³⁴ku³³a³⁴lu³³ ŋu³³di³⁴ ʈi²¹ ma³³ dzo³³
 long.ago Zhyxgeaxlu called like.this CL EXT
 ‘Once there was a man called Zhyxgeaxlu.’

All three examples in (4) use the verb ལྷོ་ [dzo³³] ‘be at, exist’. Example (4a) involves a locative expression ‘at the house’. The verb ལྷོ་ [dzo³³] links that location with the referent NP ‘his mother.’ Example (4b) is similar with the verb ལྷོ་ [dzo³³] linking a referent NP, the dog, to a location. Example (4b) can also, however, be viewed as stating the existence of something (a very fierce dog), and can therefore be equally well described as existential. Example (4c) does not involve a spatial location, but merely asserts the existence of a certain man. So we can say that (4a) and (4b) are predicate locative clauses. And (4b) and (4c) are existential clauses, making (4b) both a predicate locative clause and an existential one. An existential verb acting as a locative copula (the link between the location and the referent NP) is not unusual (Dryer to appear: 14).

3.1 The referent NP

The referent NP may be a common noun (3) and even on occasion a proper noun (15). These may be concrete (16) or abstract (13). The form this noun phrase takes makes no difference in the construction. Often the referent NP is followed by the expression ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ [ʈi²¹ ma³³] ‘one like this’ (12) or ལྷོ་ [ʈi²¹] ‘like this’ (8a). The referent NP may be modified with expressions like ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ [ŋi²¹ ku³⁴] ‘a little’ (17) and ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ [a³⁴ ŋi³³] ‘many’ (28). Sometimes the referent NP itself is omitted, but understood from context as in (5).

- (5) ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་
 tshɿ³³ tshɿ²¹ ba³³ ʈɔ²¹ a³⁴ti³³ ndo³³ ko³³nu³³
 3SG one mouthful only drink then

ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་ ལྷོ་
 ko³³ a²¹ i⁵⁵ zɿ³³ lo³⁴
 LOC NEG EXT will CONJ

‘He only drank one sip and there was almost no more (water)...’ (Wise and Foolish Water, p. 481)

In (5) above, the referent NP omitted is ‘water’. It can be understood because of previous mention in the story.

3.2 The location

Location and existence are intricately linked.

Existentials follow the pattern described by Gerner (2004: 128): “Left dislocation or fronting of a construction is the placement of a noninitial NP into initial position by leaving a resumptive pronoun in the original slot.” In existential constructions the pronoun used is the location pronoun 𐄂 [ko³³] ‘there’ (6).

- (6) 𐄂 𐄃 𐄄 𐄅 𐄆 𐄇 𐄈 𐄉。
 khu³³tɕo³⁴ ʒi⁵⁵ tɕi³³ a³⁴ti³³ ko³³ i⁵⁵
 inside needle CL only LOC EXT
 ‘There is only a needle inside.’ (A Needle, p. 239)

The verb 𐄆 [dzo³³] is the prototypical existential verb and can be used without a location. Excepting that verb, all the verbs show an overwhelming tendency to require a location NP or the resumptive pronoun immediately before the verb, only allowing the intervention of the negative 𐄊 [a²¹].

If there is not an overt location mentioned, then the location pronoun 𐄂 [ko³³] ‘there’ must be used. Note that its tone changes from 33 to 34 whenever the verb is a 33.

The pronoun 𐄂 [ko³³] ‘there’ stands in for an understood or previously mentioned location. If none has been mentioned, then it refers to the location of the speaker (9).

The pronoun 𐄂 [ko³³] often follows a noun phrase, marking it as a location. See (4a), (4b), (8b), and (12). When it is attached to the NP in this way, it does not undergo tone change.

The pronoun 𐄂 [ko³³] is also used as the resumptive pronoun for the third person patient argument (15).

It also functions as a conjunction of time, connecting two clauses. This comes from the word 𐄋 𐄂 [thu³³ ko³³] ‘when’ where the first syllable is sometimes omitted, reducing the expression to 𐄂 [ko³³] ‘when’. See (33). This perhaps is historically the same locative pronoun since time is an abstract type of location.

3.3 Existential verbs

Thirteen different verbs are used in existential clauses. Some of the existential verbs are used only with animate referents, others only with inanimates. Some verbs can take both animate and inanimate referents.

Like dynamic verbs, these verbs can be negated with the negative 𐄊 [a²¹] (9b), followed by the perfect particle 𐄌 [o³⁴] (18), and reduplicated to form an interrogative (9a). Unlike dynamic verbs, they cannot occur with adverbs like ‘slowly’. In the existential construction these verbs are stative, that is, they are not dynamic and are temporally unbounded (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 92).

Van Valin and LaPolla point out that it is necessary to distinguish the lexical meaning of the verb from the meaning it has in the particular clause in which it occurs (1997: 92). This is true for Nosu. The posture verbs ‘sit’, ‘stand’ and ‘lie’, as well as 𐄍 [ndzo³³] (a motion verb – see 3.3.9), can be dynamic in other contexts, accepting adverbs such as ‘slowly’.

The existential verbs are similar to the category of words we might call ‘adjectives’ in that they are both intransitive, stative verbs. But the existential ones cannot take the adverb 𐄎 [dzɿ³³] ‘very’ and the adjectives easily do.

In some clauses one existential verb can be replaced by another. That is, different existential verbs may be grammatically acceptable in the same clause. But because of the rich verbal semantics, the meaning of the sentence is altered. Consider (7) and (8).

- (7a) ㄩ ㄅ ㄅ ㄉ ㄩ ㄉ ㄩ 。
- s₁³³ bo³³ bo³³ a³³ di⁵⁵ dzu³³
- tree CL there EXT
- ‘There is a tree there. (It is standing erect.)’
- (7b) ㄩ ㄅ ㄅ ㄉ ㄩ ㄩ 。
- s₁³³ bo³³ bo³³ a³³ di⁵⁵ dzu³³
- tree CL there EXT
- ‘There is a tree there. (It is lying flat.)’
- (8a) ㄱ ㄉ ㄉ ㄩ ㄱ ㄱ , ㄉ ㄩ ㄱ ㄱ 。
- i³⁴ ko³³ dzu³³so²¹mo²¹ tsh⁵⁵su²¹ ɕi²¹ dzo³³
- house LOC parched.flour mutton like.this EXT
- ‘There is parched flour, mutton, etc. in the house.’ (The Bimo and the Two Sisters, p. 194)
- (8b) ㄱ ㄉ ㄉ ㄩ ㄱ ㄱ , ㄉ ㄩ ㄱ ㄱ 。
- ku⁵⁵ ko³³ dzu³³so²¹mo²¹ tsh⁵⁵su²¹ ɕi²¹ i⁵⁵
- cabinet LOC parched.flour mutton like.this EXT
- ‘There is parched flour, mutton, etc. in the cabinet.’

Examples (7a) and (7b) are identical except for the existential verb used. That difference alone identifies the implied position of the tree. Example (8a) merely states that there is this food at the house. However, if the location of the food or its orientation is to be more fully specified, other verbs are used. The verb ㄱ [i⁵⁵] must be used when the food is contained, such as in a cabinet or bag (8b).

LaPolla (2003: 133) described the verbal semantics for Qiang existentials which are marked for animacy, containment, immovability, and connection to a larger entity. All four of these features, as well as others, are also relevant to the semantics of the existential verbs in Nosu Yi.

In Nosu Yi the speaker’s choice of the verb is conditioned by the following three factors:

- the nature of the object in existence (animate, inanimate, abstract, small, growing, immobile)
- the nature of the space in which the object exists (large, contained, open)
- the posture of the referent (moving, standing, sitting, hanging, connected, erect)

In the twenty texts that we looked at, there were 223 instances of existential clauses. Table 1 lists Nosu existential verbs in order of their frequency of occurrence in the twenty texts we studied.

VERB	IPA	Number of instances
𑄀	dzo ³³	71
𑄁	i ⁵⁵	28
𑄂	dzɯ ³³	23
𑄃	ni ³³	23
𑄄 ³	dzi ²¹	22
𑄅	dzɯ ³³	14
𑄆	ndi ⁵⁵	14
𑄇	tɕho ³³	10
𑄈	ndzɔ ³³	8
𑄉	dzɿ ²¹	5
𑄊	hi ⁵⁵	3
𑄋	khu ³³	1
𑄌	bu ³³	1
TOTAL		223

Table 1. Existential verbs in order of frequency

Several of the existential verbs listed above have a causative form, differing only in the voicing of the initial. This is a common phenomenon in Nosu and other Tibeto-Burman languages. Chen and Wu (1998: 118ff) list some of these correspondences for Nosu verbs. Since the corresponding forms to the existential verbs are not existential in meaning, they will not be discussed in this paper.

The following subsections describe the use and semantics of each existential verb beginning with the most frequently occurring one.

3.3.1 The verb 𑄀 [dzo³³]

The verb 𑄀 [dzo³³] has a wide range of uses. It is used to express location, possession, and existence. Because it can link a referent NP to a nonverbal predicate consisting of a locative expression, this verb can be called the locative copula (Dryer to appear: 14). Examples (9a-b) show typical uses of 𑄀 [dzo³³]. Reduplication of the verb is a regular pattern for forming interrogatives.

(9a) 𑄀 𑄁 𑄂 𑄀 𑄀 ?
 vu⁵⁵no²¹ ko³⁴ dzo³³ dzo³³
 Vytnyop LOC EXT exist-redup
 ‘Is Vutnyop here?’ (What are you doing? p. 70)

(9b) 𑄂 𑄃 𑄀
 ko³³ a²¹ dzo³³
 LOC NEG EXT
 ‘(She) is not here.’ (What are you doing? p. 70)

³ In our sample, the number of instances of 𑄄 [dzi²¹] used in existential clauses is particularly high. One of the texts studied was a dialog on location taken from a book for teaching the Nosu language. The dialogue is artificially high in questions and answers of where places are located since that is the language function it is intending to illustrate.

Not surprisingly, the verb 𐄀 [dzo³³] is also used to express possession. Nosu has another verb, 𐄁 [bo²¹], used specifically for possessing wealth or property, but 𐄀 [dzo³³] is the most widely used verb of possession. Payne (1997: 126ff) writes that many languages employ existential and/or locational structures to express the notion of possession.

- (10) 𐄀 𐄁 𐄂 𐄃 𐄄 𐄅 𐄆 𐄇 𐄈
 tsh³³ nɔ³³su³³ vɛ⁵⁵ga³³ ndzu³³ ɕi²¹ dz³³gu²¹ dzo³³
 3SG Nosu clothes pretty like.this CL EXT
 ‘She has a set of pretty Nosu clothes.’

In existential clauses, the verb 𐄀 [dzo³³] occurred more than twice as often as any other existential verb in our corpus. It carries less semantic information than the other existential verbs. It is the prototypical existential verb. The verb 𐄀 [dzo³³] says nothing about the location or posture of the referent (compare this with 𐄉 [dzu³³] ‘standing erect’ in (7a) and 𐄊 [dzu³³] ‘lying flat’ in (7b)). The verb 𐄀 [dzo³³] is one of only three existential verbs that ever occurred without a location in our corpus. (The other two were 𐄋 [dzi²¹], and 𐄌 [tcho³³]⁴.) Also, 𐄀 [dzo³³] and 𐄌 [tcho³³] are the only existential verbs which do not require the location to be stated immediately before the verb.

The verb 𐄀 [dzo³³] can collocate with animate—people (11) or animals (12)—inanimate, or abstract referents (13). When used with inanimate referents, the verb 𐄀 [dzo³³] often means ‘to have’: 𐄍 𐄎 𐄏 𐄐 [ɲa³³ thu²¹z³³ dzo³³] ‘1SG book EXT’. This perhaps can be understood as ‘There is a book to me.’

- (11) 𐄑 𐄒 𐄓 𐄔 𐄕 , 𐄖 𐄗 𐄘 𐄙 𐄚 𐄛 𐄜 𐄝
 i²¹ si³³ mo³⁴ a³³ tu³³ s³³ zu³³ si³⁴ zu³³ zu³⁴ thu³³ ko³³
 a.long.time.ago supernatural.being born CONJ: when

𐄁 𐄂 𐄃 𐄄 𐄅 𐄆 𐄇 𐄈 𐄉 𐄊 𐄋 𐄌
 nɔ³³ su³³ s³³ zu³³ ts³⁴ ku³³ a³⁴ lu³³
 Nosu supernatural.being Zhyxgeaxlu

𐄍 𐄎 𐄏 𐄐 𐄑 𐄒 𐄓 𐄔
 ɲu³³ di³⁴ ɕi²¹ ma³³ dzo³³
 IND SPEECH like.this CL EXT

‘Long ago in the days of supernatural men, there was a Nosu immortal called Zhyxgeaxlu.’
 (Zhyxgeaxlu, p. 1)

- (12) 𐄕 𐄖 𐄗 𐄘 𐄙 𐄚 𐄛 𐄜
 ɲo²¹ tɕɛ⁵⁵ ba²¹ka³³ ko³³ khu³³ ma⁵⁵he³³
 1PL house village LOC dog Maxhie

𐄝 𐄞 𐄟 𐄠 𐄡 𐄢 ,
 mi³³ ɕi²¹ ma³³ dzo³³ su³³ɲo³⁴
 called like.this CL EXT because

‘Because there was this dog called Maxhie in our village.’ (A Child’s Lie)

⁴ 𐄌 [tcho³³] always specifies the group to which the referent belongs. This could be understood as being the referent’s location.

- (13) $\begin{matrix} \text{ḡ} & \text{ʰ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} \\ \text{vi}^{34} & \text{khu}^{33} & \text{mu}^{33} & \text{vu}^{55} & \text{li}^{34} & \text{tḡi}^{33} & \text{a}^{21} \\ \text{case} & & \text{heaven} & & \text{go} & \text{CL} & \text{NEG} \end{matrix}$
- $\begin{matrix} \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} \\ \text{dzo}^{33} & \text{su}^{33} & \text{he}^{33} & \text{ma}^{55} & \text{tha}^{55} & \text{tḡh}^{55} \\ \text{EXT} & \text{REL} & \text{heart} & & \text{NEG.IMP} & \text{worry} \end{matrix}$
- ‘There is not a case that can be taken up to heaven, don’t worry.’ (Mother’s Daughter, p. 27-28)

As we have mentioned, the remaining verbs to be discussed in this section all require that a location be overtly expressed.

3.3.2 The verb ḡ[i⁵⁵]

Dryer (to appear: 13) writes that some languages use as locative copulas a set of words which vary along spatial dimensions, such as those meaning ‘sit’, ‘stand’, and ‘lie’. Noonan and Grunwo-Hårsta (p. 15) write that in a language of Nepal, Magar, these posture verbs can indicate location. In Nosu Yi these three verbs, ḡ [i⁵⁵] ‘lie’, ḡ [ḡi³³] ‘sit’ and ḡ [hi⁵⁵] ‘stand’, can indicate location and existence. All three verbs are used with animate referents to assert existence in a particular posture, that is, ‘lying’, ‘sitting’ or ‘standing’. Nosu does not distinguish syntactically between expressions that denote an active involvement on the part of the subject in assuming or maintaining a particular posture and those which simply express a particular orientation. These posture verbs in Nosu also do not distinguish between the subject’s assuming and maintaining a certain posture.

In Nosu, the posture verbs ḡ [i⁵⁵] ‘lie’ and ḡ [ḡi³³] ‘sit’ can also express existence for inanimate objects. The posture verb ḡ [hi⁵⁵] ‘stand’ is not used this way. It is not used to indicate location of inanimate referents analogous to English expressions such as ‘The monument stands on the corner’.

The verb ḡ [i⁵⁵] will be further discussed in this section. The two other posture verbs will be discussed in more detail in sections 3.3.4 (ḡ [ḡi³³] ‘sit’), and 3.3.11 (ḡ [hi⁵⁵] ‘stand’), according to their frequency of use.

ḡ [i⁵⁵] used with animate referents has, together with the meaning of existence, the meaning of staying in that position either ‘sleeping’, ‘dwelling’ or ‘laying down’.

- (14) $\begin{matrix} \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} \\ \text{ḡo}^{21} & \text{tsh}^{55} & \text{ḡo}^{21} & \text{vi}^{33} & \text{li}^{33} & \text{a}^{33} & \text{ko}^{33} & \text{ko}^{55} & \text{pu}^{33} & \text{le}^{55} & \text{tho}^{33} \\ \text{our.family.clan} & & & & \text{TOP} & \text{over.there} & & \text{Gotbuliettuo} & & & \end{matrix}$

$\begin{matrix} \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} \\ \text{di}^{34} & \text{ḡi}^{21} & \text{ga}^{55} & \text{i}^{55} & \text{sa}^{55} \\ \text{called} & \text{like.this} & \text{place} & \text{EXT} & \text{all} \end{matrix}$

‘Our relatives are all at this far place called Gotbuliettuo.’ (Sister-in-law, p. 20)

- (15) $\begin{matrix} \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} & \text{ḡ} \\ \text{khu}^{21} & \text{zu}^{33} & \text{ma}^{34} & \text{su}^{33} & \text{va}^{21} & \text{la}^{33} & \text{pḡ}^{21} & \text{dzḡ}^{33} & \text{a}^{21} & \text{ḡi}^{33} & \text{de}^{33} \\ \text{Kepsse} & & \text{CL} & \text{DEF} & \text{cape} & & \text{no.fringe} & \text{Aphmi} & & \text{make} & \end{matrix}$

𐄎	𐄎	𐄎	𐄎 𐄎	𐄎	𐄎	𐄎	𐄎
ko ³³	ka ⁵⁵	ta ³³	tʂa ³⁴ su ³³	ʃi ³³	si ³⁴	o ³³	khu ²¹
PRO	wear	STVP	DEF	roll	CONJ	head	under

𐄎	𐄎 𐄎 𐄎	𐄎 𐄎	𐄎 𐄎	𐄎	𐄎	𐄎
ta ³³	pu ³³ mu ⁵⁵ tʂo ²¹	he ³³ ma ⁵⁵	tʂa ³³ dzi ³³	no ⁵⁵	ko ³³	i ⁵⁵
STVP	prone	heart	dirt	press	LOC	EXT

‘There was Kepsse, prostrate on the dirt with his head on the tattered cape that Aphmi had made for him to wear.’ (Sister-in-law, p. 37)

(16) 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎
 khu³⁴ ma³³ a³³ di⁵⁵ i⁵⁵
 dog CL there EXT

‘There is a dog there. (And he is lying down.)’

The verb 𐄎 [i⁵⁵], used with inanimate referents, implies that the referent exists in a particular sort of space. The referent is contained, covered, or buried. The space has edges, borders, or limits. The referents are inanimate, stationary, and relatively small such as wax in my ear; dust in my eye; a needle in a box; or liquid in a container.

(17) 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎
 xu³⁴dʒɿ³³ ko³³ ʒɿ³³ i³⁴ni³³ ni²¹ku³⁴ i⁵⁵ ʒi²¹sɿ³³
 pot LOC soup little a.little EXT still
 ‘There is still a little soup in the pot.’

3.3.3 The verb 𐄎 [dʒu³³]

This verb is mostly used with inanimate referents such as bones, stones, silver, plows, and corpses. It asserts or denies that a particular referent is in a particular location. It can imply disorder or haphazardness. For example, if the verb 𐄎 [dʒu³³] replaced the existential verb 𐄎 [i⁵⁵] in (15), it would imply that Kepsse were drunk or in some kind of disorderly state.

(18) 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎
 vu²¹ du³³ tʂɿ²¹ kho²¹ a³⁴ ti³³ ko³⁴ dʒu³³ o³⁴
 bone one pile only LOC EXT PP
 ‘There was only a pile of bones left.’ (Zhyxgeaxlu, p. 9)

(19) 𐄎 𐄎 𐄎
 ʒe³⁴ sɿ³³ kha⁵⁵ dʒu³³
 broom INT: loc EXT

‘Where is there a broom?’ (Classroom, p. 108)

This verb is occasionally used with animate referents pejoratively or in anger, demoting the person to an inanimate state, as in (20).

- (20) 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃
 khu²¹ zu³³ ma³⁴ su³³ zo³³ xo³³ ko³³ dzu³³ bo³³ du²¹
 Kepsse CL DEF sheep.pen LOC EXT go or

𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 ?
 sɿ³³ kha⁵⁵ dzu³³ bo³³ dzi³⁴ dzi³³
 die where EXT go know-REDUP

‘Did Kepsse go to be at the sheep pen again or is he dead somewhere or other?’ (Sister-in-law, p. 20)

The verb 𑏃 [dzu³³] has also taken on other functions related to its existential meaning—static and immobile. It can be used following certain verbs to indicate the continuance of the state caused by the action.

- (21) 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃
 ŋa⁵⁵ a²¹ mi³³ ma³⁴ su³³ tɕɛ⁵⁵ sɿ³³ de³³
 3SG.POSS sister-in-law CL DEF cape use

𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 ,
 kha³³ ŋo³³ xa⁵⁵ ta³³ ko³³ i⁵⁵ dzu³³
 face cover STVP LOC lay EXT

‘My sister-in-law is laying there covering her face with her cape.’ (Sister-in-law, p. 31)

3.3.4 The verb 𑏃 [ŋi³³]

The posture verb 𑏃 [ŋi³³] ‘sit’ can be used in existential clauses. When the referents are animate, the verb is marked for posture. That is, the verb suggests the manner in which the referent is situated in space. The referents must be able to take a sitting posture. This verb could not be used with a fish even though it is animate.

- (22) 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 ?
 ŋa⁵⁵ ma²¹ tsɿ⁵⁵ mu³⁴ zu³³ bo³⁴ o³³ ŋi³³ mo³⁴ mo³³
 1SG.POSS brother mountain EXT see-REDUP

‘Have (you) seen if my brothers are (sitting) on the mountain?’ (Sister-in-law, p. 25)

It is used to express existence of wild winged creatures. In (23), the verb 𑏃 [ŋi³³] invokes an image of the bird sitting, not in motion, but having lighted on the tree.

- (23) 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 𑏃 .
 sɿ³³ bo³³ ko³³ he³³ tsɿ³³ tsa³³ ko³⁴ ŋi³³
 tree LOC bird CL LOC EXT

‘There is a bird in the tree.’

This verb is also used for something that is a component part, like water content in fruit. In this meaning, the overt location in front of the verb is not used.

- (24) 𐄎 𐄏 𐄑 𐄒 𐄓 𐄔 𐄕
 sɿ²¹nda⁵⁵ tshɿ³⁴ ma³³ ʒɿ³³ a²¹ ɲi³³
 pear this CL water NEG EXT
- 𐄖 𐄗 𐄘。
 ta³³ a²¹ mbo³³
 because NEG tasty
- ‘This pear doesn’t taste good because there isn’t any water in it. (I.e. It’s not juicy.)’

The verb 𐄕 [ɲi³³] is used with a number of abstract referents to form compound words. These words function as attributives. Here are some examples: 𐄎 𐄕 [ɣu³³ɲi³³] ‘energetic’ (𐄎 [ɣu³³] ‘strength’); 𐄒 𐄕 [ʂo⁵⁵ɲi³³] ‘honest, having integrity and a sense of honor’ (𐄒 [ʂo⁵⁵] ‘shame’); and 𐄙 𐄎 𐄕 [mbo²¹ʂɿ³³ɲi³³] ‘benevolent, kind’ (𐄙 𐄎 [mbo²¹ʂɿ³³] ‘good’). The whole expression can be reduplicated with ‘very’ in between to increase the intensity. The expression can also be split with a negative. Structurally, in (25) below, 𐄏 [tsho³³] ‘person’, is the location where the referent is found. In this example the measure word 𐄑 [tɕi³³] is used instead of the more common 𐄒 [ma³³]. This implies a pejorative meaning.

- (25) 𐄏 𐄑 𐄒 𐄓 𐄔 𐄕 𐄑。
 tsho³³ tshɿ³⁴ tɕi³³ ʂo⁵⁵ a²¹ ɲi³³ tɕi³³
 person this CL shame NEG EXT CL
- ‘This person is shameless. (There isn’t any sense of shame in this person.)’

3.3.5 The verb 𐄗 [dzi²¹]

This verb is for fixed physical features. Its referents are inanimate, immobile things. Natural features or landmarks such as lakes and mountains, or man-made structures such as buildings and bridges, require the verb 𐄗 [dzi²¹].

- (26) 𐄘 𐄙 𐄚 𐄛 𐄜 𐄝 𐄞 𐄟 𐄠 𐄡。
 ɲo²¹ ʒi³³ le³⁴ ɡo³³ bo³³ a³⁴ ʒɿ³³ ʂi²¹ ma³³ dzi²¹
 1PL house above mountain big like.this CL EXT
- ‘There is a big mountain above our house.’

In (26), above, the location occurs in initial position, with the referent NP following. This fronting is probably motivated by discourse factors. The example (26) would naturally be used when introducing the surroundings of one’s environment. We cannot at present explain the fact that there is no resumptive pronoun used before the verb in (26). The sentence is also grammatically acceptable with the pronoun.

We also found this verb used in our corpus introducing two referents which at first glance did not match the others: a scar (as shown in (27)), and a reflection in the water. However, a scar cannot be moved—one of the features marked by the verb 𐄗 [dzi²¹]. And a reflection is a natural phenomenon. That is, it occurs naturally by virtue of something being in a certain position. In that way, it is similar to a mountain or a stream.

- (27) 𠵼 𠵿 𠵾 𠵽 𠵾 𠵿。
 𠵼⁵⁵ lo⁵⁵ dzu²¹ dzi²¹ zi²¹si³³
 1SG.POSS arm scar EXT still
 ‘There is still a scar on my arm.’ (Shepherd Kids)

3.3.6 The verb 𠵾 [dzu³³]

The verb 𠵾 [dzu³³] is used for erect things sticking up out of the ground. This is normally growing things such as trees and grass.

- (28) 𠵿 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾
 si³³ bo³³ tsh²¹ dzu³³ mu³³ a³⁴ ni³³
 tree one row ADVL many

 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾。
 ci²¹ gu³⁴ ko³⁴ dzu³³
 like.this some LOC EXT
 ‘There is a row of many trees (at that place).’ (Magpie Nest)

It is also used of people with a meaning similar to that of 𠵾 [i⁵⁵]. The verb 𠵾 [dzu³³], however, expresses a longer time of dwelling, a well-established existence, or the establishment of a house or family of greatness. For example, the immortal and his family are in the heavens (29).

- (29) 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾
 i²¹si³³mo³⁴a³³tu³⁴ si²¹ mu³³ni³³ha⁵⁵ nu³³
 long.ago heaven TOP

 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾 𠵾
 ni³³thi⁵⁵ku³³ndzi³³ dzu³³
 Ngetitgunzy EXT
 ‘Long ago in heaven, Ngetitgunzy (a god) lived.’ (The Flood, p. 23)

Example (29) could possibly use the verb 𠵾 [i⁵⁵] instead of 𠵾 [dzu³³]. But 𠵾 [i⁵⁵] can also be used of a person being, living or staying at a place for a short period of time such as one night, whereas 𠵾 [dzu³³] cannot.

Example (29), like example (3a), has the feeling of old, poetic language. Perhaps this is why the resumptive pronoun is not used even though the location is not found immediately before the verb.

3.3.7 The verb 𠵾 [ndi⁵⁵]

The verb 𠵾 [ndi⁵⁵] is used for things on, attached to, or hanging from bigger things, such as a button on a shirt, an earlobe on an ear, a callus on a hand, or a mark on a wall. It is used for many things including the following:

- writing, painting... on paper
- mud or paint... sticking to a surface

- growing things such as vegetables, flowers, horns
- objects... hanging from surfaces
- something as part of a larger whole (There are two legs on that man.)

(30) 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 。

i²¹ ni²¹ mu³³ tsha³³ ti³³ a²¹ ndi⁵⁵

today clear.day cloud NEG EXT

‘Today is a clear day; there are no clouds.’ (Sister-in-law, p. 34)

(31) 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏

a³³ma⁵⁵ ma³⁴ su³³ i³³tchi³³ ko³³

old.lady CL DEF head LOC

𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 ,

pho³⁴ ma³³ ko³³ ndi⁵⁵ lo³⁴

mole CL LOC EXT CONJ

‘There is a mole on this old lady’s head.’ (The Bimo and the Two Sisters, p. 204)

It is interesting to note that different verbs are used to express the existence of a mole (31) and a scar (27), two similar referents. A pertinent difference which causes the distinction is the referent’s understood posture. A mole is seen as being on the outside, attached in some way to a larger body. A scar is seen as unmoving and irremovable.

3.3.8 The verb 𐑏 [tcho³³]

For expressing that a referent exists within a larger whole, or within a larger group, 𐑏 [tcho³³] is used. This verb does not specify animacy, location or posture of existence. It stands apart from the other existential verbs in this way.

(32) 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 。

dza³³ ko³³ lu³³ma⁵⁵ tcho³³

rice LOC stone EXT

‘There are stones in the rice.’

3.3.9 The verb 𐑏 [ndzo³³]

The verb 𐑏 [ndzo³³] is only used for animate things that can move (people and animals). It indicates motion as well as expressing existence. Often grammatically 𐑏 [dzo³³] and 𐑏 [ndzo³³] are both acceptable, but they carry slightly different meanings, that is, 𐑏 [dzo³³] does not imply movement.

(33) 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏

khu⁵⁵ mo²¹ tsho³³ dzu³³ tchu²¹ dza³³ tchu³⁴ su³³

night person guarding.flocks.and.crops REL

𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏 𐑏

a²¹ mi³³ tchi³³ fu²¹ gu²¹ lu²¹ ndzo³³ ko³³

Aphmi cremation nearby EXT CONJ: when

‘When there are guards passing the place of Aphmi’s cremation site,’ (Sister-in-law, p. 38)

In (33), there are guards at that place, but they are clearly just passing through. The verb 𑄁 [dzo³³], while grammatically correct, would not be used because everyone knows you don't stay at a place where someone is buried.

3.3.10 The verb 𑄁 [dzɿ²¹]

The verb 𑄁 [dzɿ²¹] is used of something attached to something else. Its referent is always in physical contact with the location, stuck to it in some way. This verb is very similar to 𑄂 [ndi⁵⁵] (see section 3.3.7 above). The two verbs are very often interchangeable. The verb 𑄁 [dzɿ²¹] however, seems to imply an even tighter attachment of the referent to its location. In some instances, a collocation is made more frequently with one verb or the other and just sounds more natural.

- (34) $\text{𑄃} \text{𑄄}$ $\text{𑄅} \text{𑄆}$ 𑄇 𑄈 𑄉 𑄊
 xur³⁴ dzɿ³³ phu²¹ mi⁵⁵ gu³⁴ su³³ phu³³ tshɿ²¹
 pot ashes some DEF turn 3SG
- $\text{𑄋} \text{𑄌}$ 𑄍 𑄎 𑄏 𑄐 ,
 ko²¹ po³³ ko³³ dzɿ²¹ sa⁵⁵ ta³³
 body LOC EXT all STVP

‘Since there were ashes from the pot all over her body,’ (The Flood, p. 42)

The verb 𑄁 [dzɿ²¹] can be used in conjunction with other words preceding the referent such as 𑄑 [sɿ³³] ‘grab’ which express a tight joining of the referent to its location.

- (35) $\text{𑄒} \text{𑄓}$ 𑄔 𑄕 𑄖 $\text{𑄗} \text{𑄘}$ 𑄙 𑄚
 ʂa³⁴ dzɿ³³ ma³³ sɿ³³ ŋa⁵⁵ ɔ³³ nɛ³³ ko³³ dzɿ²¹
 candy CL grab 1SG.POSS hair LOC EXT
- 𑄛 𑄜 𑄝 𑄞 。
 tʂho³³ a²¹ hi⁵⁵ o³⁴
 pick NEG able PP

‘There is a candy stuck in my hair. I can't get it out.’

3.3.11 The verb 𑄟 [hi⁵⁵]

The posture verb 𑄟 [hi⁵⁵] ‘stand’ can also be used existentially. It is only used with animate referents that are able to assume a standing posture. A snake, for example, would not qualify.

- (36) $\text{𑄠} \text{𑄡}$ 𑄢 𑄣 𑄤 $\text{𑄥} \text{𑄦}$,
 khu⁵⁵ mo²¹ tshɿ³³ tu²¹ la³³ ko³³ nu³³
 night 3SG rise up CONJ: when
- 𑄧 𑄨 𑄩 $\text{𑄪} \text{𑄫}$ 𑄬 𑄭 $\text{𑄮} \text{𑄯}$ 。
 tsho³⁴ ma³³ tsho²¹ ka³³ dzɿ³⁴ hi⁵⁵ dzu³³ du²¹ lo³⁴
 person CL 3PL.POSS room EXT AUX unexpected

‘At night, when he got up, there was a person (standing) in their room (unexpectedly).’

3.3.12 The verb ʼ[khu³³]

ʼ[khu³³] ‘nest’ is a noun used as a verb. This existential verb is used for the home (place, nest, etc.) of non-domestic animals ranging from ants and bees to birds and tigers.

- (37) ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ
 s₁³³ ndzi²¹ ko³³ bu⁵⁵ vu²¹ khu³³ ko³⁴ khu³³
 tree.branch LOC ant nest LOC EXT
 ‘There is an ants’ nest on the branch.’

3.3.13 The verb ʼ[bu³³]

The verb ʼ[bu³³] is used for holes, footprints, wrinkles, water ditches, and roads—but not very large ones. It gives the idea of small. If one wants to express the idea of big things, other verbs will be chosen. For example to say there is a small road or path—perhaps newly made—the verb ʼ[bu³³] can be used, while a large, well established road requires the verb ʼ[dzi²¹] (section 3.3.5).

- (38) ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ
 tsho³³ tsh₁³⁴ ma³³ ʼi⁵⁵ ga³³ bu³³ o³⁴
 person this CL wrinkles EXT PP
 ‘There are wrinkles on this person.’

In (38) there is no location immediately before the verb. Perhaps this is because the very word for wrinkles includes the word ʼ[ʼi⁵⁵] ‘forehead’ so that the location is known by default.

3.4 Negation, interrogatives, and particles

The verb of the existential clause patterns regularly like other clauses in Nosu Yi. The clause can be negated the same way as other clauses by using the negative ʼ[a²¹] (2). The verb ʼ[dzo³³] can also be negated by placing ʼ[ʼ a²¹ ndzo²¹] ‘never before’ after the verb as seen in (39).

- (39) ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ ʼ
 tsh₁³³ mo²¹ ʼi²¹ dzo³³ a²¹ ndzo²¹
 before like.this EXT NEG EXP
 ‘There has never been such a (thing).’

An existential can appear in interrogative form either by verb reduplication or use of an interrogative pronoun (19). It can be followed by various particles such as ʼ[du²¹ lo³⁴] ‘new information, sometimes contrary to expectation’, indicating the speaker’s surprise at the existence or lack of existence as in (36).

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The structure of existential clauses in Nosu parallels other basic clauses in Nosu. Existential clauses are used to affirm or deny the existence of something (sometimes at a particular location). Nosu Yi has thirteen different existential verbs. The verbal element contains additional information as to the nature of the referent in existence, the nature of the space in which the referent exists, and the posture of that existence. Table 2 summarizes the semantics of the verbs outlined in section 3.

Verb	IPA	Referent	Location	Posture	Other
ꞑ	dzo ³³	animate, abstract			
ꞑ	i ⁵⁵	animate		lying	
		inanimate	container		
ꞑ	dzu ³³	inanimate (animate) ⁵		(lying)	
ꞑ	ni ³³	animate		sitting	component part
		inanimate			
ꞑ	dzi ²¹	immobile, natural landmarks, manmade constructions			
ꞑ	dzu ³³	animate		erect, rooted	
		inanimate		hanging, sticking	a connected part of a bigger whole
ꞑ	ndi ⁵⁵	inanimate			a member of a group
ꞑ	tcho ³³				
ꞑ	ndzo ³³	animate		moving	
ꞑ	dzi ²¹	inanimate		hanging, sticking	
ꞑ	hi ⁵⁵	animate		standing	
ꞑ	khu ³³	home of wild animals			
ꞑ	bu ³³	holes, cracks, wrinkles; small			

Table 2. Verbs used in existential clauses

⁵ Only used with animates in an unusual, pejorative sense.

A regrouping of the existential verbs according to their phonetic shape allows some conjecture into their possible origins.

Verb	IPA	
𑄀	dzo ³³	HAVE
𑄁	dzi ²¹	
𑄂	dʒɿ ²¹	
𑄃	dzu ³³	
𑄄	dʒu ³³	
𑄅	ndzo ³³	
𑄆	tcho ³³	
𑄇	hi ⁵⁵	STAND
𑄈	ni ³³	SIT
𑄉	i ⁵⁵	LIE
𑄊	ndi ⁵⁵	
𑄋	bu ³³	rare
𑄌	khu ³³	rare

Table 3. *Existential verbs by phonetic shape*

The verb 𑄀 [dzo³³] ‘have’ is the default existential. From that one verb, other verbs may have derived, classifying the referents. Note that including 𑄀 [dzo³³], there are six phonetically similar verbs all with voiced initials, and one, 𑄆 [tcho³³], which differs from 𑄀 [dzo³³] only in devoicing of the initial.⁶

The three posture verbs, ‘stand’, ‘sit’ and ‘lie’, may have at some time extended their use so that they now can specify location and existence.

That leaves one frequently used existential, 𑄊 [ndi⁵⁵], unconnected and unexplained. Aside from that, there are only the two rarest existentials. One is 𑄌 [khu³³], being derived from the noun ‘nest’, used to describe the location of an animal’s home. The other is 𑄋 [bu³³].

⁶ The causative prefix *s—of which Matisoff writes (1982: 243)—might have been involved in devoicing the initial consonant. This observation was made by Jamin Pelkey, who describes a similar alternation in a related language, Phowa: [dzo³³] ‘exist’, and [tʃho³⁴] ‘to cause to exist (to birth)’ (Pelkey 2004: 151). However the meaning of ‘causation’ is not present in the current meaning of Nosu 𑄆 [tcho³³] ‘to exist as the member of a group’.

ABBREVIATIONS⁷

ADVL	adverbializer	LOC	locative pronoun
AUX	auxiliary	NEG	negative
CL	classifier	PL	plural
CONJ	conjunction	POSS	possessive
DEF	definite	PP	perfect particle
EXP	experiential particle	PRO	pronoun for 3 person patient
EXT	existential	REDUP	reduplication
IMP	imperative	REL	relativizer
IND SPEECH	indirect speech	SG	singular
INT: loc	interrogative pronoun: location	STVP	stative perfect particle
		TOP	topic marker

LANGUAGE DATA SOURCES

Fictional Written Narrative

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⁷ For some of these glosses I am relying on Gerner (2004)

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