

EVIDENTIALITY IN YONGNING NA (MOSUO)

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Yongning Na (Mosuo) has a five-fold system of evidentiality: direct/visual evidence is formally unmarked, while grammaticalised particles indicate reported, quotative, inferential and common knowledge information sources. Evidentiality in the language is likely of fairly recent origin, and the lexical pre-cursors to most of the evidentials are still co-present in the language. Pragmatics plays a key role in both temporal interpretation and evidentiality. An epistemic value of a high degree of certitude is indicated with the epistemic marker *mæ33* and/or with an epistemic strategy from the copula *ni31*.

Person and verbal semantics intersect with evidentiality. YN Na distinguishes between self and other as conjunct/disjunct systems do; however, YN Na further distinguishes between speech act participants and non-speech act participants. Statements about self can always be made categorically, while statements about other are qualified. “Statements” about other with a speech act participant actor are formed as questions. Statements about other with a non-speech act participant actor are qualified with evidentials or other means, with the form of qualification precipitated by verbal semantics.

Keywords: evidentiality, pragmatics, Yongning Na, Mosuo, Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman, verbal semantics.

1. INTRODUCTION¹

1.1 About the language

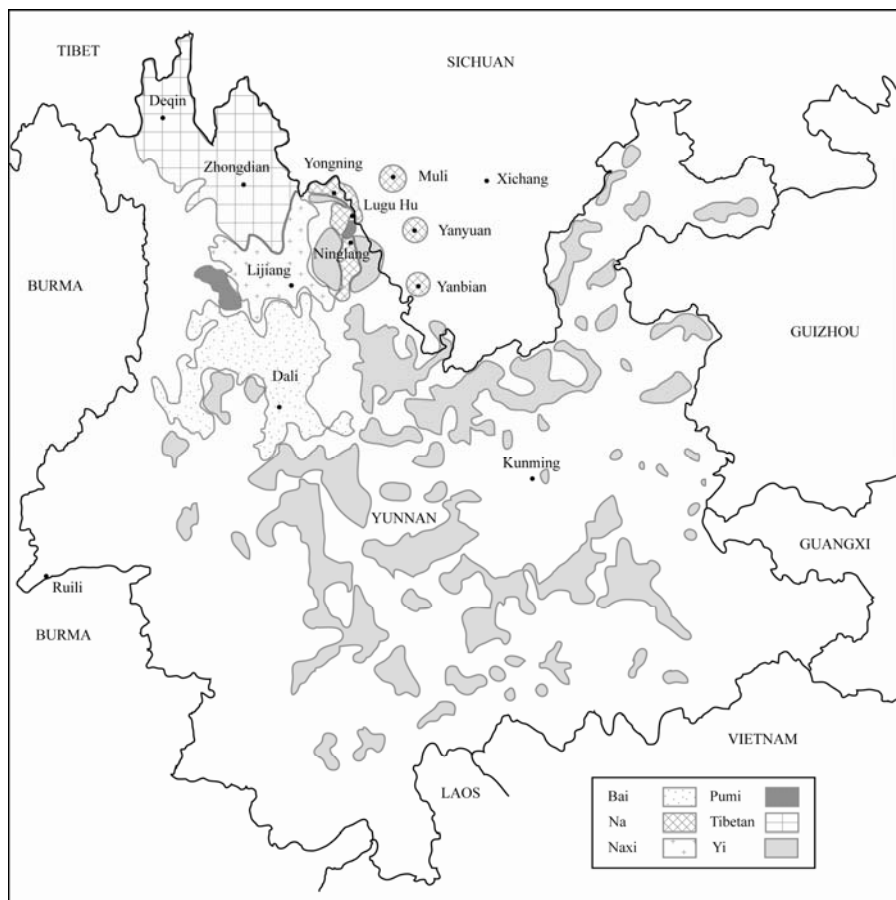
This work focuses on Yongning Na (hereafter, YN Na), as spoken in the Luoshui village in northern Yunnan Province in the People's Republic of China. Yunnan Province is in southwestern China, situated to the east of Myanmar (Burma), southeast of Tibet, and west of Sichuan Province (see Map below). YN Na is one of three Na (Mosuo) dialects; combined the three dialects have a speakership of approximately 40,000 (Yang Zhenhong, to appear). The Na dialects are classified as eastern dialects of Naxi (He and Jiang 1985). Naxi itself has defied precise subcategorisation within the Tibeto-Burman family—most linguists see Naxi as closely related to, but not necessarily a part of, Lolo-Burmese (Bradley 1975, Matisoff 1986, Michailovsky and Michaud 2006, Ramsey 1987).

1.2 Methodology

The data presented here on evidentials are extracted from audio- and video-recordings of folkloric, mythological, excursive and procedural narratives that I recorded in Luoshui, Yunnan and Hlirudzih (Lijiazui), Sichuan, over several fieldtrips from 2002–2006. This discourse-centered approach to language documentation (Sherzer 1987, Sherzer and Woodbury 1987, Urban and Sherzer 1988) captures natural speech patterns and linguistic features that are highly resistant to elicitation efforts, such as evidentials, as well as documenting aspects of the Na sociological and anthropological environment. Additionally, detailed

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questioning was conducted on the usage and possible readings of the evidentials in the texts to explicate the system.



Map of Yunnan. This map is based on National Minorities Commission (1983), with the addition of data on Na areas as described in Yang Zhenhong (to appear). Please note that this map is abbreviated for the sake of visual clarity: speakers of varieties of Chinese, primarily Xiguanhua and Yunnanese, are widespread throughout Yunnan Province, and numerous ethnolinguistic groups living in parts of Yunnan outside Na areas also are not pictured.

2. TYPOLOGICAL PROFILE

Typologically, YN Na is quite analytical, and pragmatics plays a very key role. Agreement is not marked by inflection; grammatical relations are shown mainly through word order, lexical choice and discourse context. Pronominal and lexical subjects and objects can be omitted if they can be determined pragmatically, although person (but not number) often can be extrapolated from the verb phrase through participant role projection, as in Tibetan (Agha 1993). In unmarked, non-idiomatic, pragmatically neutral constructions, subject-object-verb word order is most common.

3. PRAGMATICS

In YN Na, like many other languages of the Sinosphere, there is relatively little obligatory morphosyntax, and pragmatic context is important for interpretation. Pronominal referents often are simply understood from the larger discourse context, and temporal interpretation can be conveyed through numerous strategies. Mandarin Chinese employs a diverse toolset that includes aspect marking, aspectual viewpoint, adverbials, lexical information, situation type, deixis, anaphora and context to designate temporal interpretation (Smith and Erbaugh 2005), and YN Na utilises a similar toolset.

The importance of pragmatics extends to the evidential system. Evidentials once invoked are pragmatically available to following utterances in the narrative text². This tendency for evidentials to linger in the pragmatic space, rather than be required in each sentence, is likely due at least in part to the evidentials being particles rather than verbal inflection, as inflectional evidentials are often obligatory (Aikhenvald 2004). Furthermore, when a sentence within a narrative text has no evidential marker, the listener uses inference to determine whether direct/visual evidence is indicated by being formally unmarked, or whether the sentence is accessing an evidential in a recent previous sentence in an anaphora-like way. Pragmatics constrains the speaker's license to make unqualified statements about other, as the mindset of non-self subjects falls outside the context of the known in YN Na;

² As in Shipibo-Konibo (Aikhenvald 2004 following Valenzuela 2003).

evidentials are one of the ways of qualifying statements with non-self, non-speech act participant subjects, as will be seen in section 6.

4. EVIDENTIALS

Evidentiality is a linguistic system for the expression of information source where the system components form a closed class (Aikhenvald 2004). YN Na has a five-fold system of evidentiality with grammaticalised, not lexical, evidentials. The evidentials appear as particles, and indicate reported, quotative, inferential and common knowledge evidence; direct/visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked. No evidentials to mark non-visual sensory information sources, such as smell, taste or touch, were found. Evidential marking in YN Na is obligatory. If no marker is used and no evidential marker is pragmatically available from a recent previous sentence in a narrative text, the sentence will have the formally and functionally unmarked reading of having direct/visual evidence.

In YN Na, evidentiality is expressed through two subsystems: an A system that distinguishes between common knowledge and everything else, and a C3 system that distinguishes among direct/visual evidence, inferential evidence, reported evidence and quotative evidence. The A system is unusual in that such a system is not attested in the cross-linguistic typology presented in Aikhenvald (2004). The common knowledge marker in YN Na is an outlier, as it occurs in non-final clauses, and cannot appear in final clauses as the rest of the evidential markers can; this suggests that the common knowledge marker belongs to a separate grammatical category from the other evidentials, and motivates an analysis of two subsystems.

In YN Na textual data across a fairly wide range of narrative genres, there is little co-occurrence of evidentials and aspect markers. This is simply because most temporal distinctions are not morphosyntactically obligatory, but rather, are given once and then understood from context. Nonetheless, no salient distinction in co-occurrence of evidentials and temporal reference arises.

All evidentials and indicators of epistemic value occur following the verb. The common knowledge marker must appear in a non-final clause.

The order of the markers is as follows, where the reported and inferential evidentials share one slot and can appear in either order:

Verb + =a31 dzɔ33 ...
 =CMKN

or

Verb +	ku13/xɔ33	+	pi33	+	ni31	+	
	FUT		QUOT		CERT.STR		
					{		
					tsi13	+	mæ33
					REP		CERT.M
					p ^h æ33 di33		
					INFR		

Direct/visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked.

Most likely, the YN Na evidential system is not of great time depth, as the evidentials have not undergone phonological change during grammaticalisation, and the lexical pre-cursors to most of the evidentials are still co-present in the language. This is consistent with other analyses of evidentiality in Tibeto-Burman as developing independently in different languages and being of little time depth (LaPolla 2003a).

4.1 Direct/visual evidence

Direct/visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked in the evidential system. It is clear that unmarked utterances in YN Na are understood to have a direct/visual evidential basis: native speaker intuition states that if no other evidential marker is used, the listener should presume that the speaker directly witnessed what they describe. Thus, if one omitted the reported evidential in example (1), the Na listener receives the non-sensical reading that the narrator had personally witnessed the time of creation.

- (1) ɕi13 tʰæ33-kuɔ33 dzɔ33 kʰɔ33 pʰɿ33 di33 pʰæ13
 lake under-LOC EXIST.G grassland one CLS
 ‘It is said that underneath where the lake now is that
 (ɕinami ‘lake’ 2)³

di33 ta13 dzɔ33 my33 di33 ni31 tsi13.
 all EXIST.G land COP REP
 everything was a field of grass, earth.’

Aikhenvald (2004) observes that direct/visual evidence is cross-linguistically the most preferred source of information; thus, it is convenient and not at all surprising that direct/visual evidence is unmarked in YN Na. LaPolla (2003b) reports that a seldom-used direct/visual evidence marker is found in Qiang. Although no marker has been found within the collected body of narrative texts, it is conceivable that a very seldomly used direct/visual evidence marker may still be found in YN Na.

4.2 Reported

The evidential that indicates oral transmission as information source is *tsi13*. This evidential has been grammaticalised from the verb *tsi13* meaning ‘say’. The verb has not undergone any phonological reduction during grammaticalisation.

The lexical verb usage of *tsi13* is given in example (2).

³ Please note that examples taken from narrative texts can be identified by the identification string that appears in parentheses below the first word in the sentence translation, with the utterance number within that text also listed; elicited examples can be identified by the lack of such an identification string. As different evidentials tend to appear in different narrative genres, it was not possible to use examples from just one text. Nevertheless, a text excerpt containing a number of the examples is appended; examples in the article with an identification string of (Tsodeluyizo 106) through (Tsodeluyizo 131) can be found *in situ* in the appended text.

- (2) t^hi33 t^hi33 ni13 tsi13.
 3SG.PRO this way say
 ‘S/he says it’s like this.’

The reported evidential *tsi13* is used when speaking about events that one could not personally have observed, and thus occurs very frequently in narratives that pass on Na traditional knowledge. It generally appears sentence-finally, taking scope over the entire sentence, as only the inference marker, with which the reported marker shares a slot, or the epistemic marker *mæ33*, which occupies the following slot, are licensed to appear after the reported evidential. *tsi13* often appears once, and then remains pragmatically available for several sentences. The common knowledge marker also tends to remain pragmatically available, but the quotative and inference markers tend to have much more restricted scope. Thus, in narrative text, the reported evidential is somewhat optional—an individual sentence that has reported evidence can be deemed grammatical without the reported marker if a reported marker from a nearby previous utterance is pragmatically available in an anaphora-like way in the discourse.

Example (1), discussed above, shows *tsi13* as the reported evidential. Example (3) also shows *tsi13* as the reported evidential; example (3) is from the very beginning of a mythological narrative, and the reported evidential establishes to the audience that the narrative’s provenance is oral tradition, as it is a marker for this genre.

- (3) t^hi33 a31 yi33 ʃe33 dʒo33 z̥i31 mu33 ku33 la33
 3SG.PRO long ago EXIST.G Zhimuku and
 ‘It is said that a long time ago, he and Zhimuku
 (Tsodeluyizo 2)

di33 z̥i33 ni31 tsi13.
 one family COP REP
 were of the same family.’

Example (4) is extracted from a text in which the protagonist, Tsodeluyizo, has received instructions from the god Apato. According

to Apato, Tsodeluyizo should hide in a spring, where he can meet the woman who will become his wife, as she frequently goes to the spring for water. Note that the reported marker takes scope over the future clause⁴, which is typologically somewhat rare (Aikhenvald 2004).

- (4) dʒi33 qy33 tʰi33 di33 li33 tʰi33- di33 ku13 tsi13.
 spring this one CLS DUR- EXIST.P FUT REP
 ‘It is said that there would be a spring there.’
 (Tsodeluyizo 107)

In example (5), the speaker describes the Na tradition that women place pieces of their female ancestors’ hair in their headdresses. This example illustrates the use of the reported marker in common, everyday discourse about Na customs outside the genre of historical and mythological narratives.

The first clause in example (5) uses the quotative evidential, while the second clause takes the reported evidential. Thus, ‘that putting a bit of elders’ (hair inside one’s headdress) is good’ and ‘these elders can help you live long and peacefully’ have two separate information sources.

- (5) “xĩ33 mɔ33 bu33 tʰi33- kʰi13 dʒɔ33 di33 pi13 dʒə13
 elders POSS DUR- place PROG some good
 “‘Putting a bit of elders’ (hair inside one’s headdress)
 (saozi ‘sister-in-law’ 7)

ku13” pi33 ni31, pa13 dʒə13 kʰi13 sɔ33 xuə31
 FUT QUOT CERT.STR maybe good place after
 will be good,” they say;

⁴ The reported evidential here operates in very much the way that the reported evidential does in Ngiyambaa (example 2.30 in Aikhenvald 2004: 35, 257). However, in the Ngiyambaa example, the reported evidential gives an epistemic reading that the statement is not fully certain, while in this example the reported evidential gives no such epistemic extension—the speech of the gods receives a high degree of certitude.

gə31 xī33 mɔ33 tʰi33 ni13 dʒɔ33 zi33 ʃæ33 xa31
 these elders this way EXIST.G long life
 it is said these elders will help you live long

yə33 xə33 ku13 ni31 tsi13.
 peace go FUT CERT.STR REP
 and peacefully.'

In example (6), the reported marker *tsi13* takes scope over *tʰi33 lu31 dʒɔ33* 'there was a bark'.

- (6) tʰi33- lu31 dʒɔ33 tsi13.
 DUR- bark EXIST.G REP
 'It is said that there was a bark.'
 (Mupha Daba 21)

4.3 Quotative

The evidential that indicates quoted speech in YN Na, *pi33*, has been grammaticalised from a verb that means 'to say', 'to be called'. Both the lexical usage and the evidential usage appear in present-day spoken YN Na. Distinguishing between the lexical verb *pi33* and the evidential *pi33* can be slightly tricky as *pi33* has not undergone phonological change during grammaticalisation. When *pi33* is acting as a lexical verb it does not indicate an information source, it **solely** designates an action. Lexical verb *pi33* can be seen in examples (7) 'to say' and (8) 'to be called'.

- (7) wu31 dze33 di33 wɔ33 dʒɔ33
 bird one type EXIST.G
 'There was a type of bird that says,
 (Tsodeluyizo 81)

“tɕ^hi p^huəɤ tɕ^hi p^huəɤ tɕ^hi p^huəɤ tɕ^hi p^huəɤ” pi33.
 (sound) say
 “cheeper cheeper cheeper cheeper.””

- (8) ‘mɔ33 si33’ pi33 di33 wɔ33 dʒɔ33 ku13 kuæ31.
 (type of tree) call one type EXIST.G FUT INTERJ
 ‘There will be a type of tree called ‘mosi’, ah!’
 (Tsodeluyizo 62)

When *pi33* is acting as an evidential, it **solely** indicates information source. Quotative evidential *pi33* appears in examples (9) through (12).

Example (9) is extracted from a section of narrative text in which the protagonist receives instructions from the god Apato on how to magically create a wife by burying a particular type of log in the ground for nine years. *pi33* here solely indicates information source, and thus is evidential *pi33*.

- (9) “gu33 k^hu13 ku33 mə33- ni31
 nine year EXIST.T NEG- COP
 “‘If nine years haven’t passed,
 (Tsodeluyizo 53)

lə33- ba33 t^ha33- xɔ33” pi33.
 ACCOMP- open NEG- go.IMP QUOT
 you shouldn’t open it.””

The designation “quotative” only applies when there is specific indication of who the information source is (Aikhenvald 2004). In YN Na, indication of who provided the information frequently is outside the sentence upon which the evidential operates, although it generally is obtainable from the larger discourse context. In example (10), the quotative evidential is used, and the information source is not given within the sentence—the speaker does not appear as either a lexical noun or as a pronoun, nor does YN Na have agreement marking on the verb. The Na traditional Daba religion has strong animist elements, and example (10) is extracted from a narrative explaining the story of a

nearby goddess mountain. In this sentence, a god’s mother prohibits him from courting the mortal girl Gemu. After being left by the god at his mother’s behest, Gemu links herself to the mountain, transforming into Gemu goddess mountain. Through the pragmatic context, it is clear that the god’s mother is the information source as the speaker says *nɔ13 zɔ33* ‘my son’, and the mother is the only one in the narrative who has a son.

- (10) “*nɔ13 zɔ33 lə33- zɿ33 ze33 di33-kuɔ33 bu33*
 REFL son ACCOMP- take CSM earth-LOC POSS
 “It is not possible for my son to court
 (Gemu 26)

mu33 zɔ33 ga33 se33 se33 tsə31 mə33- yĩ33” pi33.
 young woman with court okay NEG- can QUOT
 a regular girl.”

Example (11) is doubly-marked for information source (what Aikhenvald terms “information ... acquired by the author of the statement from different but interconnected sources” (Aikhenvald 2004: 90))⁵. In example (11), the quotative and reported evidentials appear together. The use of the two evidentials together indicate that the information source is more distant still. However, the sequence *pi33 tsi13* is codified as an expression, and native speaker intuitions indicate that the addition of the quotative does not change the evidential semantics significantly. YN Na does not allow the reverse sequence *tsi13 pi33*—this is judged ungrammatical.

⁵ Sun finds a somewhat similar structure in Amdo Tibetan which he terms the duplex quotative construction (Sun 1993). However, in the Amdo Tibetan duplex quotative construction, both evidentials are quotatives, rather than having one quotative and one reported evidential as in YN Na. Thus, in the Amdo Tibetan duplex quotative construction one gets the reading ‘B said that A said that...’, a much more direct path of information source in comparison with YN Na where one gets the reading ‘It is said that A said...’

- (11) t^hi33 k^huə33 dʒɔ33 lu33 mə33- xī33 pi33 tsi13.
 this CLS EXIST.G till NEG- okay QUOT REP
 ‘It is said this strip of land was untillable.’
 (Tsodeluyizo 17)

Example (12) is an excerpt from a daba’s response to my question asking him to describe the basic tenets of Dabaism; this sentence is another example where information source is doubly-marked. This example differs from example (11) in that the double-marking is not a set expression. In this example, the reported evidential takes wider scope and indicates that the information source is oral tradition, while the quotative evidential is used because there is a specific source referenced—the Daba scriptures⁶. Since the Daba scriptures are purely oral, it might seem odd that both the quotative and reported evidentials would appear here, particularly given that the speaker is a daba and thus has direct access to the Daba oral tradition. However, native speakers contend that the quotative has an epistemic extension of increased certainty that the reported evidential does not have. This is because the quotative must cite a specific referent, while the reported simply cites general oral tradition. Although reported and quotative evidentials usually imply a degree of unreliability (e.g. Ngiyambaa [Aikhenvald 2004: 35] and Estonian [Aikhenvald 2004: 180]), there are other languages where this is not the case (e.g. Nganasan [Aikhenvald 2004: 180]). The daba uses the quotative because the Daba scriptures are the specific information source, and he also uses *ni31*, an epistemic strategy to indicate certainty. However, the speaker must acknowledge that the information source is oral tradition because the Daba scriptures are transmitted orally, and thus he also employs the reported evidential *tsi13*.

⁶ The copula following the quotative marker and preceding the reported marker is an epistemic strategy to indicate certainty (see section 5.2 with regard to epistemic strategy).

- (12) da33 pə33 bu33 sixiang⁷ dʒə33
 Daba POSS thought (loan) EXIST.G
 ‘It is said that in Dabaism,
 (Yong Zhutser 6)

xĩ33 gə33 dʒə33 xĩ33 ɕi31 yĩ33 xĩ33
 people ill EXIST.G people cure do people
 if a person is ill, perform a cure for the person,

lə33- k^huə33 xə33, gə31 mɿ33 ɕi31 yĩ33,
 ACCOMP- cure go above sky cure do
 (if the sky above is ill), perform a cure for the sky,

di33 ku33 -di33 ɕi31 yĩ33, da33 pə33 q^huə33
 land -NOM_{Loc} cure do Daba scriptures
 (if the land is ill), perform a cure for the land, the Daba scriptures

-kuə33 dʒə33 mɿ33 di33 diqiu gə33 ku13
 -LOC EXIST.G land world (loan) ill can
 say that the land, the world, can also

pi33	ni31	tsi13.
QUOT	CERT. STR	REP

become ill.’

4.4 Inference

The evidential to indicate inference in YN Na is *p^hæ33 di33*. The inference marker is used to designate knowledge that one cannot quite be sure of, as one did not see or directly experience the situation, nor does one have hearsay evidence, and yet one feels fairly sure that it must be this way, through inference based on either observable result or assumption. Unlike the reported and quotative evidentials, *p^hæ33 di33* is not attested as a verb. It is likely formed from *p^hæ33* ‘face’ and the existential verb used for objects on a perpendicular plane, *di33*.

⁷ Chinese words borrowed into Na tend not to retain the tones from Chinese.

In example (13) (elicited following LaPolla 2003), the inference marker is used to indicate that one does not have visual or direct evidence that it is raining; instead, this sentence gives the reading in YN Na that one has inferred that it is raining—for instance, from evidence such as the sound of the rain hitting the ground or someone entering the room soaking wet.

- (13) ɕi33 gi13 zɛ33 p^hæ33 di33.
 rain CSM INFR
 ‘(It seems) it’s raining.’

Example (14) is taken from a section of narrative that describes how a couple meets, has a child, and then much later the mother’s family holds the child’s coming-of-age ceremony. The family waits to have the coming-of-age ceremony because, they fear that the father, Tsodeluyizo, will steal the child back to the mortal world. Thus, the statement ‘they wouldn’t do this type of thing (invite Tsodeluyizo to the coming-of-age ceremony) casually’ takes the inference marker because one can infer this from the fact that the family has waited so long to hold the coming-of-age ceremony.

- (14) tɕ^huæ33 tɕ^huæ33 dzɔ33 dzæ13 t^hi33 yĩ33
 fast fast ADVB often this make
 ‘It seems that they wouldn’t do this
 (Tsodeluyizo 117)

mə33- ku13 p^hæ33 di33.
 NEG- FUT INFR
 type of thing casually.’

Native speaker intuitions indicate that statements such as example (14) would not be grammatical without the evidential. The requirement of the evidential is a grammatical requirement, not a pragmatic requirement. In linguistic elicitation of verb paradigms, third person forms of internal state verbs (please see section 6.2 for a discussion of internal state verbs) necessarily take the inference marker *p^hæ33 di33*.

Thus, although ascertaining whether a modal expression is merely a lexical means to express the speaker's epistemic stance on the information source or in fact indicating an information source (particularly when both would appear lexically in a language as analytical as YN Na) can be nebulous (Aikhenvald 2004), the fact that *p^hæ33 di33* appears paradigmatically with internal state verbs, along with native speaker intuitions that *p^hæ33 di33* is indicating an inference based on physical or situational clues, supports analysing *p^hæ33 di33* as an evidential marking inference.

4.5 Common knowledge

In YN Na, there is a common knowledge evidential, which is used to indicate that the information source is general knowledge. The common knowledge evidential is akin to the assumed evidential described in Aikhenvald (2004), which indicates either common knowledge or assumption as information source. However, the common knowledge evidential found in YN Na only indicates an information source of general knowledge, not assumption. The common knowledge evidential receives epistemic readings of a good degree of certainty, as it indicates that something is generally accepted as being true. The common knowledge evidential is derived from the question marker =*a31* followed by *dʒɔ33*, which is an existential/locative verb and also the progressive marker⁸; this fits nicely with cross-linguistically observed patterns of existential and locative verbs being common sources for assumed evidentials (Aikhenvald 2004). The common knowledge evidential appears in the first clause of multi-clause sentences, rather than sentence-finally like the reported, quotative and inference evidentials⁹. It remains pragmatically available for several sentences. The common knowledge evidential appears in example (15), where a

⁸ When a referent is animate or high in prominence, *dʒɔ33* receives an existential reading, but when the theme is a location or lower in prominence, *dʒɔ33* receives a locative reading, as in examples (1) and (18). This existential/locative verb grammaticalised to become the progressive marker; the grammaticalisation of a locative verb to progressive marker is well-attested cross linguistically (Bybee et al. 1994). *dʒɔ33* also can act as an adverbialiser, as in example (14).

⁹ My consultant noted that some speakers are using this evidential incorrectly; this suggests that language shift may already be underway in the region.

translation that explicitly renders the evidential would read, ‘In Na families, more important than anything, as everyone knows, is the hearth room.’

(15) na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zɿ33 tu33 -kuɔ33 di31 ta13
 Na POSS Na POSS family -LOC all
 ‘In Na families,
 (fangzi ‘house’ 1)

tɔ31 tsɑ33 =ɑ31 dzɔ33 zɿ33 mi33
 COMP important, busy =CMKN hearth room
 more important than anything

tʰi33 li33 ni31.
 this CLS COP
 is the hearth room.’

The following examples are extracted from a procedural text describing the building of a new house, which is a very common occurrence in present-day Luoshui due to the tourist economy and new policies from the central government that allow bank loans to individuals. A conservative estimate would be that more than forty new homes and guesthouses have been built in the last five years in Luoshui, a village with five hundred residents. Thus, as the characteristics of a Na home are well-known to the Na, the common knowledge evidential appears frequently in this procedural text.

Example (16) describes how Na hearth rooms are built. The hearth is of central importance to Na life, both because the hearth is the source of warmth in the high altitude, alpine Na regions and because the hearth symbolises one’s relationship with one’s ancestors¹⁰.

¹⁰ Two traditions particularly vividly illustrate the connection between the hearth and ancestors in Na life: (a) The *chudu* blessing, a symbolic giving of food and drink to one’s ancestors, is conducted at the hearth each time one is about to begin eating a meal or drinking alcohol in the hearth room, and (b) when an elder is about to pass away, his/her relatives will sit him/her in the position of respect to the left of the hearth, in the same position as his/her ancestors sat when they passed away; this symbolises one’s connection with one’s ancestors.

- (16) yi ban gə33 zɿ33 mi33 tʰi33 li33
 usually (loan) this hearth room this CLS
 ‘Usually, when building
 (fangzi ‘house’ 6)

tsʰi13 =ɑ31 dzɔ33 di33 kuə33 zɿ33 mi33 bu33
 build =CMKN one CLS hearth room POSS
 the hearth room, ordinary peoples’ hearth rooms

si33 kuə33 baixing tsʰe33 gu33
 wood CLS the people (loan) ten nine
 are nineteen logs (in height),

kuə33 si33 pʰi33 =æ31 ni33 tsʰe33 di33 kuə33
 CLS king =PL two ten one CLS
 while the king and nobles use twenty-one logs;

kuə33 lɔ33 tɔ31 mi13 di33 dzi33 tɔ31 mi13
 inside pillar one CLS pillar
 inside the hearth room, a pair of pillars

tʰi33 dzi33 dzɔ33 si33 dzi33 di33 dzi33 da13
 this CLS EXIST.G tree one CLS cut down
 are made from the wood of one tree that has been cut down

lə33- pɔ31 yɔ33 ni33 tæ13 lə33- pu33 pu33
 ACCOMP- take come two section ACCOMP- divide
 and taken and divided into two sections,

tɔ31 mi13 di33 dzi33 yĩ33.
 pillar one CLS make
 to make a pair of pillars.’

Example (17) describes patterns of Na daily life and religious rites. As such information is well within the realm of everyday knowledge, the evidential marking common knowledge is employed.

- (17) t^hi13 t_ɕ^ha33 si33 ɲa13 ɲa13 æ13 la33
 so every morning very early
 ‘Very early every morning
 (fangzi ‘house’ 60)

gə31 te33 = a31 dʒə33 sə33 qæ13 sə33 t^ha33 -kuə33
 get up =CMKN incense burn chorten -LOC
 when one gets up, one first burns

sə33 si31 lə33- qæ13.
 incense first ACCOMP- burn
 incense in the chorten.’

Example (18) is extracted from a creation story rather than a procedural text. Here, the common knowledge evidential is used because the information source for the fact that at dusk everyone would be busy feeding their pigs is knowledge of Na daily life.

- (18) t^hi13 t^hi33 dzæ33 -kuə33 dʒə33 mɿ33 k^hu13
 so this CLS -LOC EXIST.G afternoon
 ‘So at this time, when it was just getting
 (ɕinami ‘lake’ 49)

ʃe33 ʃe33 dʒə33 wə33 -kuə33 = a31 dʒə33
 a little bit EXIST.G village -LOC =CMKN
 dark, in the village,

dɿ33 ta13 bə13 xa33 ki33 dʒə33.
 all pig food give PROG
 everyone was feeding the pigs.’

4.6 Co-occurrence of evidentials

Many evidentials can co-occur; the strongest limitation on which evidentials can occur is that they must not violate the order of markers given in section 4, and provided again here for ease of reference:

The common knowledge marker and the reported marker can co-occur as long as the common knowledge marker appears in a non-final clause, and the order of evidentials is not violated, as can be seen in example (23).

- (23) na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zɿ33 tu33 -kuɔ33
 Na POSS Na POSS family -LOC
 ‘It is said, in Na families,
 (elicited based on fangzi ‘house’ 1)

di31 ta13 tɔ31 tsa33 =a31 dzɔ33
 all COMP important, busy =CMKN
 everyone knows that more important than anything

zɿ33 mi33 tʰi33 li33 ni31 tsɿ13.
 hearth room this CLS COP REP
 is the hearth room.’

The common knowledge marker and the inference marker can co-occur as long as the common knowledge marker appears in a non-final clause, and the order of evidentials is not violated, as can be seen in example (24):

- (24) na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zɿ33 tu33 -kuɔ33
 Na POSS Na POSS family -LOC
 ‘It seems that in Na families,
 (elicited based on fangzi ‘house’ 1)

di31 ta13 tɔ31 tsa33 =a31 dzɔ33
 all COMP important, busy =CMKN
 everyone knows that more important than anything

zɿ33 mi33 tʰi33 li33 ni31 pʰæ33 di33.
 hearth room this CLS COP INFR
 is the hearth room.’

The common knowledge marker and the quotative marker can co-occur as long as the common knowledge marker appears in a non-final clause, and the order of evidentials is not violated, as can be seen in example (25):

- (25) “na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zɿ33 tu33 -kuɔ33
 Na POSS Na POSS family -LOC
 “‘In Na families,
 (elicited based on fangzi ‘house’ 1)

di31 ta13 tɔ31 tsa33 = a31 dzɔ33
 all COMP important, busy =CMKN
 everyone knows that more important than anything

zɿ33 mi33 tʰi33 li33 ni31” pi33.
 hearth room this CLS COP QUOT
 is the hearth room.””

The inferential marker and the reported marker can co-occur. These two evidentials occupy the same word order slot, so that either order is acceptable, and examples (26) and (27) are both judged to be grammatical. Example (26) gives a reading of a high degree of uncertainty, while example (27) gives a reading that the speaker did not hear what was said clearly, and is thus qualifying their statement.

- (26) ɕi33 gi13 ze33 pʰæ33 di33 tsi13.
 rain CSM INFR REP
 ‘It is said that it seems it’s raining.’

- (27) ɕi33 gi13 ze33 tsi13 pʰæ33 di33.
 rain CSM REP INFR
 ‘It seems that it is said that it’s raining.’

The quotative marker and the inference marker can co-occur as long as the order of evidentials is not violated, as can be seen in example (28):

- (28) “ $\text{ci}33$ $\text{gi}13$ $\text{ze}33$ ” $\text{pi}33$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{æ}33$ $\text{di}33$.
 rain CSM QUOT INFR
 ‘It seems that s/he says, “It’s raining.”’

Example (29) is judged to be ungrammatical, as the order of evidentials is violated:

- (29) *“($\text{ci}33$ $\text{gi}13$ $\text{ze}33$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{æ}33$ $\text{di}33$)” $\text{pi}33$.
 rain CSM INFR QUOT
 ‘S/he says, “It seems it’s raining.”’

4.7 Evidentials and new media

In 1997, the Na of Luoshui began to have access to television. Information obtained from television follows the same pattern of evidential use as information obtained by more traditional methods. If one sees something on television, this is considered to be a case of direct/visual evidence, and when passing this information on to others, one does not use an evidential because direct/visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked. If one hears the information on television, this is considered to be a case of reported speech, and so one uses the reported evidential when passing this information on to others. LaPolla reports for Qiang, which has a seldom-used visual evidential, that one would use either the unmarked form or the hearsay marker to report what one witnesses on television, but never the visual evidential (LaPolla 2003). Thus, YN Na seems to make a stronger distinction between visual and reported/hearsay evidence than Qiang.

5. EPISTEMIC VALUE

Epistemic indicators mark the speaker’s confidence in a statement (Aikhenvald 2004). YN Na does not have a complicated system to denote varying degrees of probability, but there are two methods that a speaker can employ to indicate epistemic value: an epistemic marker and an epistemic strategy. Epistemic indicators are separate from evidentials—epistemic indicators do not mark information source, but rather convey the speaker’s certainty in the statement. Evidentials in some languages can begin to take on epistemic extensions, as some

information sources are implicitly more direct and unequivocal than others: i.e. visual evidence versus inference, and as evidentials in some languages derive from future markers and markers of epistemic modality (Aikhenvald 2004). However, in YN Na, there seems to be a categorical distinction between epistemic value and evidential source (de Haan 1999), with one system to mark information source and a separate system to mark epistemic value.

5.1 Epistemic marker

The epistemic marker *mæ33* gives a strong reading of certainty that what the speaker is stating is in fact so. In example (30), the evidential *tsi13* gives the information source as reported, while the epistemic marker gives an epistemic value of strong certitude.

- (30) gu33 ɲi33 gu33 xa33 pi33 gi33 dʒɔ33
 nine day nine night snow fall PROG
 ‘When it is snowing for nine days and nine nights,
 (Tsodeluyizo 168)

la33 tʰi33 dʒɔ33 la33 qʷ33 -kuɔ33 tʰi33- ki31
 tiger 3SG.PRO EXIST.G tiger den -LOC DUR- hide
 it is said that the tiger will hide

ku13	tsi13	mæ33.
FUT	REP	CERT.M

in its den.’

5.2 Epistemic strategy

In addition to the epistemic marker *mæ33*, YN Na also has an epistemic strategy. Mirroring the distinction between evidential marker and evidential strategy that Aikhenvald makes (Aikhenvald 2004), in YN Na one can distinguish between an epistemic marker and an epistemic strategy. Just as an evidential is a marker that directly indicates information source, while an evidential extension is a marker that primarily does some other grammatical duty but undergoes semantic extension to make an assessment of information source, an epistemic

marker directly marks epistemic value, while an epistemic strategy primarily does some other grammatical duty, but undergoes semantic extension to assess epistemic value.

The copula *ni31* figures in an epistemic strategy in YN Na that marks a high degree of certitude. Its primary grammatical duty is as a copula; however, by semantic extension it can also indicate certainty. From a discourse perspective, *ni31* often appears as an epistemic strategy in narrative stories because the narrator is omniscient and thus can make categorical statements. In example (31), we can see *ni31* acting as an epistemic strategy, asserting that the preceding statement is in fact so.

- (31) lə33- dzi33 xə33 t^hi13 na33 na33 ze33
 ACCOMP- eat go so stealthily stealthily CRS
 ‘After eating, it is said that they secretly
 (Tsodeluyizo 115)

zə33 mu33 lə33- zə33 ni31 tsi13.
 child ACCOMP- give birth to CERT.STR REP
 had children.’

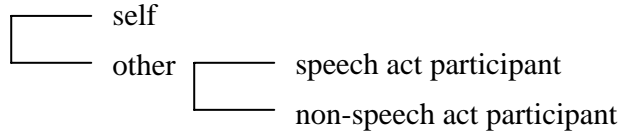
Example (32) is extracted from a section of a mythological narrative in which two dogs fight over bones from a banquet that have been thrown under a table. This sentence explains that it is the Na custom to toss left-over bones under the table, and both the epistemic strategy *ni31* and the epistemic marker *mæ33* are used together to indicate a very high degree of certainty that the bones would be tossed under the table.

- (32) zhuozi t^hæ33 -kuə33 kuə13 ni31 mæ33.
 table (loan) under -LOC toss CERT.STR CERT.M
 ‘We toss them under the table.’
 (Tsodeluyizo 125)

6. PERSON, EVIDENCE AND VERBAL SEMANTICS

Person and verbal semantics intersect with the evidential system in YN Na. Conjunct/disjunct systems allow one to distinguish between self

and other as information source, rather than indicating a specific information source in the way that evidentials do (Aikhenvald 2004; Bickel 2000; DeLancey 1992; Hale 1980). The YN Na system is similar to a conjunct/disjunct system in that it distinguishes between self and other as information source; however, YN Na then further distinguishes between speech act participant and non-speech act participant.



The distinction between self and other in YN Na can be seen in the way that first person statements, regardless of verbal semantics, can be made categorically, as one has direct knowledge of one's own mind, while non-self statements cannot be made categorically, as one does not have direct knowledge of others' minds.

Statements about other (second and third persons) are then further distinguished in YN Na. Any statement about other must be qualified; the form of the qualification depends on whether the actor is a speech act participant or non-speech act participant. If the actor is both other and a speech act participant (second person), any "statement", regardless of verbal semantics, must appear as a question. If the actor is both other and a non-speech act participant (third person), the form of the qualification depends on verbal semantics, with internal state verbs taking the inferential evidential and verbs denoting observable states taking formally and functionally unmarked direct/visual evidence.

Furthermore, YN Na has both exclusive and inclusive forms of the first person plural pronoun. Regardless of verbal semantics, the first person plural exclusive follows the pattern for the first person singular, while the first person plural inclusive follows the pattern for the second person¹¹.

¹¹ The latter pattern, that the first person plural inclusive follows the second person, is not surprising, as first person plural inclusive is composed of both first person and second person. The semantic motivation for the former pattern, the first person plural exclusive following the first person singular, is more difficult to explicate. Since the first person plural exclusive is composed of the first person and the third

Verbs in YN Na can be categorised into three major subsets according to verbal semantics: **volitional verbs** (as per Aikhenvald 2004, Hale 1980 [Hale uses the term “true instigator”], and Sun 1993), **internal state verbs** (as per Aikhenvald 2004), and **verbs denoting an observable state** (as per Sun 1993). Volitional verbs are those which describe an action which the subject must actively initiate; examples of such verbs are ‘go’ and ‘say’. Internal state verbs are those which describe the subject’s inner world, such as ‘be happy’, ‘be tired’, ‘know’, ‘like’. Verbs denoting an observable state form the third category. Such verbs include ‘be sick/hurt’. ‘Be sick/hurt’ is certainly not a volitional verb; some might argue that ‘be sick/hurt’ should be an internal state verb, as being sick has an experiencer theta-role, and thus might be an internal state. However, in YN Na, the verb used to indicate being sick is a semantic extension—it literally means ‘be hurt’ (in a physical sense), and physical injuries are generally externally observable.

Note that the relevant distinctions in verbal semantics are a little bit different from those observed for other Tibeto-Burman languages. YN Na distinguishes among volitional verbs, internal state verbs and verbs denoting an observable state. In comparison, Sun finds that Amdo Tibetan distinguishes among volitionality, consciousness and observability (Sun 1993), while Hale finds that Newari distinguishes between volitional verbs and impersonal verbs (Hale 1980). More generally, Aikhenvald finds cross-linguistically salient distinctions between volitional verbs, internal state verbs, verbs of perception and inherent aspect (Aikhenvald 2004).

6.1 Volitional verbs

Statements about self always can be made categorically regardless of verbal semantics, as one has direct knowledge of one’s mind; example (33) shows an example for a volitional verb. Statements about other must be qualified, because the other has a more direct information source than the speaker. Second person “statements” always appear in question form regardless of verbal semantics. This is because the second

person, it is not clear why it follows the first person singular pattern rather than the third person pattern.

person, as an other, has a more direct information source than the speaker, and as a speech act participant, is directly addressed, necessitating as qualified a form as possible. Examples (33b) and (33f) show second person forms for a volitional verb. The third person is both other and a non-speech act participant, and verbal semantics come into play. As the third person is not a speech act participant, a question is not used: (a) there is no one to direct the question to, and (b) the fact that the third person is not a speech act participant allows the speaker the liberty to posit a statement, albeit a qualified one. For volitional verbs, third person statements are qualified by using the future marker *xɔ33*, which makes the statement less definite, as in (33c) and (33g). The first person plural exclusive follows the first person singular pattern, as in (33d), while the first person plural inclusive follows the second person pattern, as in (33e).

An example of a volitional verb, *bi33* ‘go’, is given in (33).

(33)

- (a) *ɲɑ33* *lu33 ʃu31* *bi33*.
 1SG.PRO Luoshui go
 ‘I go to Luoshui.’
- (b) *nɔ33* *lu33 ʃu31* =*æ31* *bi33?*
 2SG.PRO Luoshui =QM go
 ‘You go to Luoshui?’
- (c) *tʰi33* *lu33 ʃu31* *bi33* *xɔ33*.¹²
 3SG.PRO Luoshui go FUT
 ‘S/he will go to Luoshui.’

¹² There are four future markers in YN Na: *bi33*, which indicates an immediate future; *xɔ33*, which indicates a remote future; *ku13*, which is grammaticalised from a verb of ability into a future marker; and *xɔ33*, which is grammaticalised from a verb of desire into a future marker. It is not uncommon to retain two future markers with the same usages if the non-grammaticalised forms remain in the language (Bybee et al. 1994), as in YN Na.

- (d) ɲa33 sə33 ku31 lu33 ʃu31 bi33.
 1EXC.PRO Luoshui go
 ‘We (exclusive) go to Luoshui.’
- (e) ʃi33 sə33 ku31 lu33 ʃu31 =æ31 bi33?
 1INC.PRO Luoshui =QM go
 ‘We (inclusive) go to Luoshui?’
- (f) nɔ33 sə33 ku31 lu33 ʃu31 =æ31 bi33?
 2PL.PRO Luoshui =QM go
 ‘You (pl.) go to Luoshui?’
- (g) tʰi33 sə33 ku31 lu33 ʃu31 bi33 xɔ33.
 3PL.PRO Luoshui go FUT
 ‘They will go to Luoshui.’

6.2 Internal state verbs

Statements about self always can be made categorically regardless of verbal semantics as one has direct knowledge of one’s mind; example (34) shows an example for an internal state verb. Statements about other must be qualified, because the other has a more direct information source than the speaker. Second person “statements” always appear in question form regardless of verbal semantics. This is because the second person, as an other, has a more direct information source than the speaker, and as a speech act participant, is directly addressed, necessitating as qualified a form as possible. Examples (34b) and (34f) show second person forms for an internal state verb. The third person is both other and a non-speech act participant, and verbal semantics come into play. As the third person is not a speech act participant, a question is not used: (a) there is no one to direct the question to, and (b) the fact that the third person is not a speech act participant allows the speaker the liberty to posit a statement, albeit a qualified one. For internal state verbs, the speaker uses the inferential evidential to indicate the information source as inferred. This is because an internal state can be tentatively intuited from outward clues, but the statement must then be

qualified as based on inference. This can be seen in examples (34c) and (34g). Again, the first person plural exclusive follows the first person singular pattern, as in (34d), while the first person plural inclusive follows the second person pattern, as in (34e).

An example of an internal state verb, *fu33*, is given in (34).

(34)

- (a) *ɲɑ33 fu33 zuæ13.*¹³
 1SG.PRO happy very
 ‘I’m very happy.’
- (b) *nɔ33 =æ31 fu33?*
 2SG.PRO =QM happy
 ‘Are you happy?’
- (c) *tʰi33 fu33 zuæ13 p^hæ33 di33.*
 3SG.PRO happy very INFR
 ‘He seems happy.’
- (d) *ɲɑ33 sə33 ku31 fu33 zuæ13.*
 1EXC.PRO happy very
 ‘We (exclusive) are very happy.’
- (e) *ʃi3 sə33 ku31 =æ31 fu33?*
 1INC.PRO =QM happy
 ‘Are we (inclusive) happy?’
- (f) *nɔ33 sə33 ku31 =æ31 fu33?*
 2PL.PRO =QM happy
 ‘Are you (pl.) happy?’

¹³ *zuæ13* is required due to morphophonological constraints.

- (g) t^hɿ33 sə33 ku31 fu33 zuæ13 p^hæ33 di33.¹⁴
 3PL.PRO happy very INFR
 ‘They seem happy.’

6.3 Verbs denoting observable states

Statements about self always can be made categorically regardless of verbal semantics, as one has direct knowledge of one’s mind; example (35) shows an example for a verb denoting an observable state. Statements about other must be qualified, because the other has a more direct information source than the speaker. Second person “statements” always appear in question form regardless of verbal semantics. This is because the second person, as an other, has a more direct information source than the speaker, and as a speech act participant, is directly addressed, necessitating as qualified a form as possible. Examples (35b) and (35f) show second person forms for a verb denoting an observable state. The third person is both other and a non-speech act participant, and verbal semantics come into play. As the third person is not a speech act participant, a question is not used: (a) there is no one to direct the question to, and (b) the fact that the third person is not a speech act participant allows the speaker the liberty to posit a statement, albeit a qualified one. For verbs denoting an observable state, no evidential appears because direct/visual evidence is unmarked in YN Na, so the listener knows that statements about the third person other have visual evidence as the information source; this can be seen in examples (35c) and (35g). Again, the first person plural exclusive follows the first person singular pattern, as in (35d), while the first person plural inclusive follows the second person pattern, as in (35e).

An example of a verb denoting an observable state, gɔ33, is given in (35).

¹⁴ Note that for third person forms of the internal state verbs, the inferential evidential p^hæ33 di33 is not necessary **if** the speaker can observe evidence of an internal state. Without this information, however, the inferential evidential p^hæ33 di33 is required.

(35)

- (a) ɲa^{33} gɔ^{33} zuæ^{13} .
 1SG.PRO sick very
 ‘I am very sick.’
- (b) nɔ^{33} = æ^{31} gɔ^{33} ?
 2SG.PRO =QM sick
 ‘Are you sick?’
- (c) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{33}$ gɔ^{33} zuæ^{13} .
 3SG.PRO sick very
 ‘He is very sick.’
- (d) ɲa^{33} sə^{33} ku^{31} gɔ^{33} zuæ^{13} .
 1EXC.PRO sick very
 ‘We (exclusive) are very sick.’
- (e) ʃ^{13} sə^{33} ku^{31} = æ^{31} gɔ^{33} ?¹⁵
 1INC.PRO =QM sick
 ‘We (inclusive) are sick?’
- (f) nɔ^{33} sə^{33} ku^{31} = æ^{31} gɔ^{33} ?
 2PL.PRO =QM sick
 ‘Are you (pl.) sick?’
- (g) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{33}$ sə^{33} ku^{31} gɔ^{33} zuæ^{13} .
 3PL.PRO sick very
 ‘They are very sick.’

¹⁵ Note that although native speakers feel this sentence is grammatically acceptable, it gets the reading of being semantically weird, because the first person plural inclusive pronoun includes the first person, who should know whether or not they are sick.

7. CONCLUSION

YN Na, a typologically analytical language, marks information source through evidential particles to indicate reported, quotative, inferential and common knowledge evidence; direct/visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked, and there are no evidentials to mark non-visual sensory information sources. The evidentials can be analysed into two subsystems: an A system that distinguishes between common knowledge and everything else, and a C3 system that distinguishes among direct/visual evidence, inferential evidence, reported evidence and quotative evidence. The common knowledge marker can only appear in non-final clauses, unlike the rest of the evidential markers, which suggests that it belongs to a separate grammatical category, and motivates an analysis of two subsystems. Evidentiality is likely fairly recent to the language, as the evidential markers have not undergone phonological reduction during grammaticalisation, and both the evidentials and their lexical sources co-exist in the language. This is in accord with analyses of evidentiality in other Tibeto-Burman languages as having developed independently and not being reconstructable at the proto-language level. Epistemic value in YN Na is indicated by the epistemic marker *mæ33* and the epistemic strategy *ni31*, which both indicate a high degree of certitude.

Person and verbal semantics intersect with the evidential system. The YN Na system is similar to a conjunct/disjunct system in that it distinguishes between self and other as information source—statements about self can be made categorically while statements about other must be qualified. However, YN Na is unusual in that it then further distinguishes between speech act participant and non-speech act participant. Statements about an other speech act participant are always framed as questions. Statements about an other non-speech act participant will be qualified in different ways, depending on verbal semantic class (volitional, internal state or denoting an observable state). Volitional verbs are qualified with the future marker *xə33*, while internal state verbs are qualified with the inferential evidential, and verbs denoting an observable state have formally unmarked direct/visual evidence.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1SG.PRO	1st person singular pronoun
1PL.PRO	1st person plural pronoun
1INC.PRO	1st person plural inclusive pronoun
1EXC.PRO	1st person plural exclusive pronoun
2SG.PRO	2nd person singular pronoun
2PL.PRO	2nd person plural pronoun
3SG.PRO	3rd person singular pronoun
3PL.PRO	3rd person plural pronoun
DL	Dual
ACCOMP	Accomplished
ADVB	Adverbialiser
CERT.M	Certainty: epistemic marker
CERT.STR	Certainty: epistemic strategy
CLS	Classifier
CMKN	Common knowledge/assumed evidential
COMP	Comparative
COP	Copula
CSM	Change of state marker
CRS	Currently relevant state marker
DAT	Dative
DUR	Durative
EMPH	Emphatic
EXIST.G	Existential: generic
EXIST.P	Existential: used with items perpendicular to a plane
EXIST.T	Existential: used with past existence of time
EXPER	Experiential aspect
FUT	Future
IMP	Imperative
INFR	Inferential evidential
INTERJ	Interjection
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominaliser
NOM _{Agt}	Agentive nominaliser
NOM _{Loc}	Locative nominaliser
NOM _{Purp}	Purposive nominaliser

PERF	Perfective aspect
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive aspect
REFL	Reflexive pronoun
REP	Reported/hearsay evidential
QM	Question marker
QUOT	Quotative evidential

TEXT EXCERPT

So he went to look for a wife. It is said that there would be a spring there. He went to hide in this spring. It was a long way from his home. The girl and Tsodeluyizo lived very far apart. It is said that this woman often would come there to fill her water barrel. Long, long ago, one would take a water barrel to a spring to fill and carry it home on one's back. And so it was here that they met. After they met, she would take a ball of food and hide him [Tsodeluyizo] in the spring to eat the ball of food. After eating, it is said that they secretly had children. It is said that long, long ago, after giving birth to a child, not until the child was almost ready for a coming-of-age ceremony [at 13 years of age] would the family invite guests as we do. It seems that they wouldn't do this type of thing casually. And so she went to the heavens and said, "Your daughter is about to have her skirt-wearing ceremony, your son is about to have his pants-wearing ceremony." "Your son and daughter will have their skirt- and pants-wearing ceremonies today." Today, in the heavens they were inviting guests to drink wine and eat food. They were inviting guests. He would hide under a wooden barrel. The type of barrel we used when we made pickled vegetables long, long ago, a wooden barrel, a very large barrel, (he) carried it home, and hid under the barrel. So, when having guests over, left-over bones and such, we toss them under the table. We toss them under the table. And so, the dogs started biting each other, two dogs started biting each other. The two dogs fought over the bones and started biting each other. They knocked over the wooden barrel with one kick. This time it was by her mother that he was spotted. The vertical-eyed woman's daughter will wear a skirt today, her son

will wear pants today, and you didn't bring any gifts, you hid yourself under a wooden barrel. Bring out the rope.

t ^h i13	zu33	mi33	ɕi33	xə33	ni31.	dzi33	qɣ33
so	wife		look for	go	CERT.STR	spring	
'So he went to look for a wife.'						'It is said that	
(Tsodeluyizo 106)						(Tsodeluyizo 107)	

t ^h i33	di33	li33	t ^h i33-	di33	ku13	tsi13.
this	one	CLS	DUR-	EXIST.P	FUT	REP
there would be a spring there.'						

dzi33	qɣ33	t ^h i33	li33	-kuɔ33	t ^h i33-	næ33	xə33	ni31.
spring		this	CLS	-LOC	DUR-	hide	go	CERT.STR
'He went to hide in this spring.'								
(Tsodeluyizo 108)								

a33	wɔ33	la33	dzə13	k ^h uə33	di33	ze33.	my13	la33
home		and	very long		EXIST.P	CRS	girl	and
'It was a long way from his home.'							'The girl and	
(Tsodeluyizo 109)							(Tsodeluyizo 110)	

ts ^h ɔ31	di33	lu33	yi33	zɔ33	dzə13	k ^h uə33	di33.
Tsodeluyizo					very long		EXIST.P
Tsodeluyizo lived very far apart.'							

t ^h i33	mi31	zi13	t ^h i33	wu33	dzɔ33	t ^h æ33	ni33
this	woman		this	CLS	EXIST.G	often	EMPH ¹⁶
'It is said that this woman often would come there to fill							
(Tsodeluyizo 111)							

dzi33	pu13	pə33	lu31	ku13	tsi13.
water barrel		carry on	one's back	FUT	REP
her water barrel.'					

¹⁶ Note that the emphatic marker is somewhat semantically bleached in speakers from Yongning proper.

a31 yi33 ʃe33 dʒi33 pu13 pɔ13 ze33 dʒi33 qɿ33 -kuɔ33
 long, long ago water barrel take CRS spring -LOC
 ‘Long, long ago, one would take a water barrel to a spring
 (Tsodeluyizo 112)

dʒi33 pə33 pə33 xə33. tʰi13 tʰi33 -kuɔ33 ni33
 water carry on one’s back go so this -LOC EMPH
 to fill and carry it home on one’s back.’ ‘And so it was here
 (Tsodeluyizo 113)

lə33- si33 si33. tʰi33 ni33 lə33- si33 si33
 ACCOMP- meet meet 3SG.PRO EMPH ACCOMP- meet meet
 that they met.’ ‘After they met,
 (Tsodeluyizo 114)

se13 tʰi33 ni33 xɑ33 ʃu31 di33 ʃu31 pɔ13 tsʰi33
 finish 3SG.PRO EMPH ball of food one CLS take come
 she would take a ball of food and

ze33 dʒi33 qɿ33 -kuɔ33 tʰi33- næ33 xə33 ze33 xɑ33 ʃu31
 CSM spring -LOC DUR- hide go CSM food ball
 hide him in the spring to eat

lə33- dʒi33 xə33. lə33- dʒi33 xə33 tʰi13
 ACCOMP- eat go ACCOMP- eat go so
 the ball of food.’ ‘After eating,
 (Tsodeluyizo 115)

na33 na33 ze33 zɔ33 mu33 lə33- zə33
 stealthily stealthily CRS child ACCOMP- give birth to
 it is said that they secretly had children.’

ni31 tsi13. zɔ33 mu33 lə33- zə33 dʒɔ33
 CERT.STR REP child ACCOMP- give birth to PROG
 ‘It is said that long, long ago, having given birth
 (Tsodeluyizo 116)

æ31 yi33 ʃe33 dzɔ33 zɔ33 mu33 tʰæ33 ki13
 long, long ago EXIST.G child skirt-wearing ceremony
 to a child, not until the child was almost ready for a coming-of-age

ʃi33 ki13 xɔ33 ni33 nɔ33 xĩ33 qʰɿ33 ze33.
 pants-wearing ceremony FUT EMPH then invite guests CSM
 ceremony [at 13 years of age] would the family invite guests as we do.'

tʃʰuæ33 tʃʰuæ33 dzɔ33 dzæ13 tʰi33 yĩ33 mə- ku13
 fast fast ADVB often this make NEG- FUT
 'It seems that they wouldn't do this type of thing casually.'
 (Tsodeluyizo 117)

pʰæ33 di33. tʰi13 mɔ33 wɔ33 xɔ33 tsʰi33 ɲi33 dzɔ33
 INFR so heavens go today EXIST.G
 'And so she went to the heavens and said,
 (Tsodeluyizo 118)

tʰi13 nu31 mi33 tʰæ33 ki13 xɔ33
 so girl skirt-wearing ceremony FUT
 "Your daughter is about to have her skirt-wearing ceremony,

nɔ33 zɔ33 ʃi33 ki13 xɔ33 pi33.
 2SG.PRO son pants-wearing ceremony FUT QUOT
 your son is about to have his pants-wearing ceremony."

zɔ33 la33 my13 tsʰi33 ɲi33 tʰæ33 ki13
 son and daughter today skirt-wearing ceremony
 "Your son and daughter will have their skirt- and pants-wearing
 (Tsodeluyizo 119)

ʃi33 ki13 xɔ33 pi33. tsʰi33 ɲi33 xĩ33 qʰɿ33
 pants-wearing ceremony FUT QUOT today person invite
 ceremonies today."
 'Today, in the heavens
 (Tsodeluyizo 120)

xæ31 mɔ33 wɔ33 zɿ33 tʰi31 xa33 dzi33.
 INTERJ heavens wine drink food eat
 they were inviting guests to drink wine and eat food.’

xĩ33 wæ33 xæ31 dʒɔ33. tsɔ33 mi33 tʰæ33 -kuɔ33
 person ask INTERJ PROG wooden barrel under -LOC
 ‘They were inviting guests.’ ‘He would hide under
 (Tsodeluyizo 121) (Tsodeluyizo 122)

gɑ31 ni31 xɔ33. ʃi3 sə33 ku31 a31 yi33 ʃe33
 cover COP FUT 1INC.PRO long, long ago
 a wooden barrel.’ ‘The type of barrel we used
 (Tsodeluyizo 123)

tɕiæ33 = æ31 ku31 -di33 tsɔ33 mi33 si33
 pickled vegetable=PL make -NOM wooden barrel wood
 when we made pickled vegetables long, long ago, a wooden barrel,

tsɔ33 mi33 qʰɑ33 di33 di33 li33 -kuɔ33 lə33- ʃu33
 wooden barrel very big one CLS -LOC ACCOMP- carry
 a very large barrel, carried it home,

lə33- pɔ13 xə33 tsɔ33 mi33 tʰæ33 -kuɔ33 gɑ31
 ACCOMP- take go wooden barrel under -LOC cover
 and hid under the barrel.’

xæ31. tʰi13 xĩ33 wæ33 dʒɔ33 xĩ33 lə33- dzi33
 INTERJ so person ask PROG person ACCOMP- eat
 ‘So, when having guests over, left-over
 (Tsodeluyizo 124)

se13 ʃæ31 ʃi3 la33 tʰæ13 dʒɔ33 ʃi3 sə33 ku31
 finish bone etc. such EXIST.G 1INC.PRO
 bones and such, we

lə33- zɨ33 quæ33 tʰǣ33 -kuɔ33 kuə13. zhuozi
 ACCOMP- take table under -LOC toss table (loan)
 toss them under the table.’
 ‘We toss them
 (Tsodeluyizo 125)

tʰǣ33 -kuɔ33 kuə13 ni31 mæ33. tʰi13 kʰu33 mi33
 under -LOC toss CERT.STR CERT.M so dog
 under the table.’
 ‘And so, the dogs
 (Tsodeluyizo 126)

tʰæ13 tʰæ13 lə33- pɔ13 tsʰi33 kʰu33 mi33 ni33 yə13
 bite bite ACCOMP- take come dog two CLS
 started biting each other, two dogs started

ni33 tʰæ13 tʰæ13 lə33- pɔ13 tsʰi33. kʰu33 mi33
 EMPH bite bite ACCOMP- take come dog
 biting each other.’
 ‘The two dogs
 (Tsodeluyizo 127)

ni33 yə13 ni33 ʂə31 ʂ33 tʂæ13 tʂæ13 ze33 tʰæ13 tʰæ13
 two CLS EMPH bone grab grab CRS bite bite
 fought over the bones and started biting

lə33- pɔ13 tsʰi33. tsɔ33 mi33 tʰi33 li33 di33 tsɔ13
 ACCOMP- take come wooden barrel this CLS one kick
 each other.’
 ‘They knocked over the wooden barrel
 (Tsodeluyizo 128)

tʰi33- dzə31 xə33. tʰi33 ʂə33 dzɔ33 tʰi13 tʰi33
 DUR- overturn go this time EXIST.G SO 3SG.PRO
 with one kick.’
 ‘This time it was by her
 (Tsodeluyizo 129)

æ33 mi33 ni33 lə33- tɔ33. nu31 mi33
 mother EMPH ACCOMP- see girl
 mother that he was spotted.’
 ‘The vertical-eyed woman’s
 (Tsodeluyizo 130)

næ13 tsu33 mi33 ts^hi33 ji33 mu33 zɔ33
 vertical-eyed woman today young woman
 daughter will wear

t^hæ33 ki13 xɔ33 zɔ33 xɔ33 ɬi33 ki13
 skirt-wearing ceremony FUT little boy pants-wearing ceremony
 a skirt today, her son will wear pants today,

xɔ33 di33 sɔ33 pɔ13 mə33- ts^hi33 nɔ33
 FUT one same take NEG- come 2SG.PRO
 and you didn't bring any gifts, you

tsɔ33 mi33 t^hæ33 -kuɔ33 næ33. bæ33 pɔ13 yɔ33.
 wooden barrel under -LOC hide rope take come
 hid yourself under a wooden barrel.' 'Bring out the rope.'
 (Tsodeluyizo 131)

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