Plenty of Post-verbal Particles in the Nuosu Yi Clause

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ABSTRACT

Nuosu Yi clauses place the verb at the end, following its arguments. The main verb is often followed by a string of other verbs (directional and modal verbs) as well as unidentified elements. This paper demonstrates the ordering of these post-verbal particles in Nuosu Yi and also explores the particles’ properties and functions, including some patterns in discourse.

There are over thirty different particles that occur following the main verb. They cannot stand alone, but constrain the meaning of the proposition. They perform grammatical functions such as $[ko^{33} \text{ su}^{34}]$ ‘habitual aspect’, $[ndzo^{21}]$ ‘experiential aspect’, $[dw^{21} \text{ lo}^{24}]$ ‘new information’, $[di^{24}]$ ‘reported speech’, and $[ha^{34}]$ ‘polite request’. Some of the particles express multiple meanings at the same time. For example, aspect particles can also carry meanings of intention. Future ideas often require particles showing the certainty or the source of the information. Dynamic perfect aspect marks main events in a discourse, while stative perfect marks backgrounded events in between the main events.

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1 I would like to thank Royce Flaming, Doris Payne, Keith Slater, Dennis Walters, and Melissa Woodrum for suggestions on previous drafts of this paper.
1 **INTRODUCTION**

The Nuosu people form a linguistic sub-group of China’s Yi nationality. The language is spoken by more than two million people living in the Liangshan Region of southern Sichuan and northern Yunnan provinces. These people call themselves Nuosu. Their language is referred to variously as Nuosu Yi (from Yiyu Pinyin), Nosu Yi (from Hanyu Pinyin), Northern Yi, Sichuan Yi, or Liangshan Yi.

The Nuosu 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. I am using these characters in this paper.

2 **HOW THIS STUDY WAS DONE**

This study was carried out as a result of my desire to better understand Nuosu. As I studied texts and encountered spoken language, I came across a number of unglossable words. I began making lists of these unexplained particles. The number of different particles was daunting. Then a thorough search was made through the literature written about Nuosu concerning each of these particles. This, in turn, turned up even more particles that I had not yet encountered. Finally, a study of each separate particle was made, comparing its use in texts and speech with the wisdom of previous literature and current speakers. The result is this paper.

3 **WHAT I MEAN BY PARTICLES**

I am using the term particle to refer to those Nuosu morphemes with abstract grammatical functions which do not stand alone in real speech, but which are considered to be separate words. They are listed as separate entries in their own right in Nuosu dictionaries. They have purely grammatical meanings and must appear in constructions with more semantically-rich words.

In general, these particles are not verbs; that is, they do not take negation and cannot be reduplicated to form a question. There is, however, a continuum of verb-likeness, with some of these particles behaving syntactically more verb-like, such as [ndzo²¹] ‘experiential aspect’ and [ko³³ stu³⁴] ‘habitual aspect’. I list them all here even with some different

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2 The year 2000 China census estimates 2.158 million Yi people in Sichuan province.
3 David Bradley proposes “Ngwi” as the most probable autonym of the ancestors of the speakers of Burmese-Ngwi languages (Bradley, David et al. 1999).
degrees of verb-likeness because they all occur in the same place (after the head verb) and seem to be one functional set of morphemes with grammatical functions.

4 POST-VERB CONSTITUENTS

In Nuosu a clause must have a VP, whereas NPs are optional. The core of the VP is a head verb. Nuosu verbs are syntactic words which denote an action, a process, a state or a quality. The verb in Nuosu can accept the negative $\Delta [a^{21}]$, reduplicate to form an interrogative, and be followed by aspect particles.

The verb is the semantic head upon which any following elements act. That is, if the head verb is $\Delta [dzu^{21}]$ ‘eat’, it may be followed by directionals, resultatives, modals or particles of various sorts, but they all modify, limit or specify the idea of ‘eating’, resulting in ‘has eaten’, ‘came to eat’, ‘is unable to eat’, etc. Dryer (2003:44) points out that placing auxiliary verbs after the main verb is a typical characteristic of the OV languages in the Tibeto-Burman family.

Some other TB languages, such as Lisu (Bradley 2003:231), have a complex system of pre- and post-head modals. Nuosu places its auxiliary verbs, particles, and modals after the head. Many of the particles have been grammaticalized from verbs. Some are in the process of being grammaticalized, losing their verbal properties one by one and moving farther right, away from the head verb.

The following scheme shows the different classes that may follow the head verb. All of them are optional, but the ordering is set. Directional verbs and resultatives are versatile verbs, that is, they occur both as main verbs and as secondary verbs following verb heads in uninterrupted strings. Modal verbs do not generally occur as main verbs since semantically they require another verb to act on. But all three classes, directionals, resultatives and modals, are inflected like verbs in Nuosu. They are full verbs.

Everything to the right of the modals is non-verbal or less verbal; it cannot accept the negative or be reduplicated to form a question.\(^4\) Hansson (2003:246) writes that the more abstract the verb, the farther from the head it will be. This might give reason for the particular ordering of these classes. There is also the factor that things farther right operate over a larger scope, namely the whole proposition, whereas things closer to the verb operate over a smaller scope, namely the VP alone.

\(^4\)See, for example, the description about the aspectual particle $\Delta [ndzo^{21}]$ which has some verbal properties.
This paper is primarily concerned with those elements which are not verbs. So while I will show the ordering of all the elements in the VP, verbal and non-verbal, I am primarily concerned with those which I call particles. I will not go into depth regarding the directional, resultative, or modal verbs.

The following shows the different elements which may follow a head verb in the order in which they appear. Table 1 briefly explains each category.

$$V_{HEAD} V_{DIR1} V_{DIR2} V_{RES} V_{MOD} \text{ Aspect CRS Validational} \text{s Evidential} \text{s Speech act (CL) Conj}$$

As mentioned above, directionals, resultatives and modals can all reduplicate to form an interrogative. Things farther to the right of the head verb cannot. Also, the negative can be placed before directionals, resultatives and modals, but generally not before anything farther to the right.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directional</td>
<td>vs that involve motion and directionality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative</td>
<td>vs that carry the event of the head verb to an end-point or their goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modal</td>
<td>vs that add ideas of intention, potentiality, or volition to the meaning of the head verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>particles that express the time internal working of the verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently Relevant (CRS)</td>
<td>a single particle expressing that a state of affairs is relevant to the present situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Validational</td>
<td>particles that express (un)certainty of the information in the clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential</td>
<td>particles that express the source of information of the clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech act</td>
<td>particles that express things such as the attitude of the speaker, or his wish for response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause connector</td>
<td>conjunctions used between clauses to mark things such as ‘because’ ‘then’, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 5 ORDERING OF POST-VERB CONSTITUENTS

In the following examples, I will show the ordering of the constituents in the verb phrase. Each example is only intended to show the order of the two rightmost constituents, that is, the
examples are intended to build on each other, with earlier examples showing the ordering of fewer elements and later examples moving out farther to the right.

In this ordering, any of the classes of verbs and particles can be left out. That is, the previously-coming ones are not necessary before a later-coming one. But if present, they occur in this order. A main verb, of course, is necessary. Nothing else is required.

Here is a simple sentence, made up of NPs followed by a VP which consists only of a single verb with no particles following:

**NP V**

(1) shows a simple clause with an agent, a patient, and one main verb.

\[ \text{ŋa}³³ \text{dza}³³³³ \text{dz}³³³³ \]
1S rice eat

‘I eat (rice).’

**V DIR**

In (2) a directional verb is added to the right of the main verb.

\[ \text{ŋa}⁵⁵ \text{tci}³³³³ \text{bu}³³³³ \text{ni}³³³³ \text{la}³³³³ \]
1SPOSS side sit come

‘Come sit near me.’

**V DIR DIR**

(3) shows a main verb followed by two directional verbs. The ordering of the directional verbs is not flexible. The whole paradigm of directionals are discussed by Gerner (2002:29ff), which he breaks into two categories (Cardinal and Additional Directionals).

\[ \text{a}³³³³ \text{ma}³³³³ \text{dzu}³³³³ \text{ŋga}³³³³ \text{la}³³³³ \]
child a crawl cross come

‘A child crawls over here.’

7Abbreviations used in this paper can be found in the Appendix.
V DIR DIR Resultative

(4) shows a directional verb (after the main verb) followed by a resultative verb.

(4) 

\[ \text{tsho}^{33} \text{pho}^{55} \text{z³³}^{33} \text{sa}^{55} \text{o}^{34} \]

person run go finish CRS

NP V DIR RES CRS

‘They finished going./‘They all left.’

V DIR DIR Resultative MOD

(5) shows a resultative verb preceding a modal verb. (There is a negative in between them.) This is the rightmost edge of the verbs. Things that occur to the right of this are particles, which function differently from verbs. Particles are not reduplicated to form interrogatives or preceded by the negative ꞌ\[ a²¹\].

(5) 

\[ \text{dz³³}^{33} \text{sa}^{55} \text{a}²¹^{21} \text{hi}^{55} \]

eat finish NEG able

V RES NEG MOD

‘not able to finish eating’

This ꞌ\[ sa^{55} a²¹^{21} hi^{55}\] ‘finish-not-able’ is very common. It is used to mean ‘there is no limit’, i.e. ‘many’.

V DIR DIR Resultative MOD Aspect

In (6) we see that aspect particles follow modal verbs.

(6) 

\[ \text{ŋa}^{33} \text{z³³}^{33} \text{de}²¹^{21} \text{du}^{55} \text{zi}²¹^{21} \text{ŋ³³} \]

1S go must still

NP V MOD ASP

‘I still have to go.’

V DIR DIR Resultative MOD Aspect CRS

(7) shows the CRS particle following an aspect particle.

(7) 

\[ \text{di}²¹^{34} \text{bo}^{33} \text{ma}²¹^{22} \text{ha}^{33} \text{dzi}²¹^{21} \text{la}^{33} \text{mi}²¹^{42} \text{ta}^{33} \text{o}^{34} \]

moreover rain fall come near-PROS CRS

NP V DIR ASP CRS

‘Moreover it was about to rain.’
(8) shows a valdiational particle following the CRS particle.

(9) shows an evidential particle following a valdiational particle.

(10) shows a speech act particle following an evidential particle.

I repeat that not all the classes of particles are necessary in every utterance. Neither do the right-most ones demand the ones preceding them. They are all optional, but when they occur, it is in this order. In (11) we see a valdiational particle followed by a speech act particle without an evidential particle in between. If there were an evidential, it would occur in between these two particles.

Having shown the ordering of the various kinds of particles, I now consider each class in turn, starting from the left most.
6 ASPECT PARTICLES

Thompson (1965:209) writes of Vietnamese, “A sentence refers to the basic time of the context—that is the time which has been made clear in the context up to that point.” The same could be said for Nuosu. When more detail or certainty is wanted, time adverbs such as ‘tomorrow’ can be used to indicate tense, or aspect particles are added.

Not every clause in Nuosu is marked for aspect. When the speaker wishes to mark it, particles are placed after the verb. By far the most common particles are $\text{o}^{34}$ and $\text{ta}^{33}$. The particle $\text{ta}^{33}$ probably comes from a verb $\text{ta}^{33}$ meaning ‘place, put’.

As well as those two very commonly used particles, there are others which I list in Table 2 with a brief explanation as to their particular meaning. Following the table, I expand on the meaning and usage of each aspect particle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTICLE</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>ASPECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{o}^{34}$</td>
<td>$\text{o}^{34}$</td>
<td>dynamic perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{vur}^{34}$</td>
<td>$\text{vur}^{34}$</td>
<td>the literary form of $\text{o}^{34}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ta}^{33}$</td>
<td>$\text{ta}^{33}$</td>
<td>stative perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ta}^{33} \text{o}^{34}$</td>
<td>$\text{ta}^{33} \text{o}^{34}$</td>
<td>stative perfect completed(^8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ndzo}^{21}$</td>
<td>$\text{ndzo}^{21}$</td>
<td>experiential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ko}^{33} \text{sur}^{34}$</td>
<td>$\text{ko}^{33} \text{sur}^{34}$</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ndi}^{35}$</td>
<td>$\text{ndi}^{35}$</td>
<td>periodical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ndzo}^{33}$</td>
<td>$\text{ndzo}^{33}$</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{ku}^{33}$</td>
<td>$\text{ku}^{33}$</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{mi}^{34}$</td>
<td>$\text{mi}^{34}$</td>
<td>prospective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{mo}^{33}$</td>
<td>$\text{mo}^{33}$</td>
<td>prospective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{mo}^{33} \text{di}^{34}$</td>
<td>$\text{mo}^{33} \text{di}^{34}$</td>
<td>prospective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{mi}^{34} \text{ta}^{33}$</td>
<td>$\text{mi}^{34} \text{ta}^{33}$</td>
<td>near prospective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\text{o}^{34}\)

Fu (1997:125) writes that $\text{o}^{34}$ points to a near past or to its continuation to the present time. Chen and Wu (1998:136) call it simply the perfect aspect (已行体). Gerner (2002a:352) more specifically differentiates it as the dynamic perfect particle.

\(\text{o}^{34}\)

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\(^8\)This may be CRS.

\(^9\)Possibly from the verb ‘to move around’.
The particle $\text{vi} \, [o^3]$ is used very heavily in conversation and in written texts. In a narrative text $\text{vi} \, [o^3]$ marks the main events. A story will often end with $\text{vi} \, [o^3]$, as in (13).

\begin{align*}
\text{ci}^{34} & \quad \text{tsa}^{33} \quad \text{ni}^{33} \quad a^{21} \quad \text{vu}^{21} \quad \text{mu}^{33} \quad a^{55} \text{ko}^{21} \text{ko}^{21} \quad \text{mu}^{33} \quad \text{bo}^{33} \quad o^{34} \\
\text{what} & \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{also} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{get} \quad \text{ADVZ} \quad \text{empty} \quad \text{ADVZ} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{PRF} \\
\text{Not getting anything, emptily, he left.}
\end{align*}

I checked seven narrative texts. All of them end with $\text{vi} \, [o^3]$ as the final particle in the final clause with the exception of one, “The arrival of the day of his appointed death”. It is the story of a cruel slave master. At the end of that text following two clauses which both end in $\text{vi} \, [o^3]$, there is the final statement which ends in $\text{d} \, [\text{du}^{21} \text{lo}^{34}]$, marking the information as the evaluation of the narrator, his explanation of the title of this whole story. The last three clauses are as follows:

1. ‘and the nine by nine big house was completely smashed by this jointless ridgepole.’ ($\text{vi} \, [o^3]$)
2. ‘Shuogopsysse too was crushed to death.’ ($\text{vi} \, [o^3]$)
3. ‘And so the appointed day of Shuogopsysse’s death arrived.’ ($\text{d} \, [\text{du}^{21} \text{lo}^{34}]$)

\begin{align*}
\text{Shuogopsysse} & \quad \text{die} \quad \text{appoint} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{day} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{EVI} \\
\text{And so the appointed day of Shuogopsysse’s death arrived.}
\end{align*}

Not every genre would be expected to end in the particle $\text{vi} \, [o^3]$. A prescriptive text I studied about how to make buckwheat cakes ends with a head verb followed by no particles. It does not end with the perfect aspect particle.

\[\text{[ta]}^{33}\]

Gerner (2002a:352) calls this the ‘stative perfect’ particle as contrasted with $\text{vi} \, [o^3]$ the dynamic perfect’ particle.\(^{10}\) The particle $\text{[ta]}^{33}$ marks events or actions that have already begun. It indicates their duration or the result of the action. It emphasizes a state resulting from an action or event. It might be glossed ‘entered into a state of X’, or ‘having done X’.\(^{10}\)

\(^{10}\)See further Gerner (2002) ‘Perfect in the Yi group’ for a detailed discussion of these two particles.
In narrative discourse $[ta^{33}]$ ‘stative perfect’ is used to mark events or states that lead up to the main event which is marked by $[o^{34}]$ ‘dynamic perfect’. The particle $[ta^{33}]$ sets the stage for the main event. Consider a word-for-word translation of the following sentence from a folktale text, in which $[ta^{33}]$ and $[o^{34}]$ are used with these functions:

1. he first mouthful water drink $[ta^{33}]$ then
2. prepare toad drink come when
3. toad suddenly ‘plop’ QUO
4. he jump water bottom enter go $[o^{34}]$

‘He (crow) first took a drink then when he was preparing to devour the toad, toad “Plop!” suddenly jumped deep into the water and got away.’

In the story of the Lazy Minister, the very first sentence containing background information begins like this:

(16) $a^{21}he^{55}mo^{21} pho^{55}vo^{55}vu^{33} nuw^{33} lu^{33}bo^{21} xo^{21} ta^{33} i^{55}$
    Long ago Popsuvotvu TOP rock.stack build PRF live
    ‘Long ago, Popsuvotvu lived in a rock stack he built.’

The next clause in the narrative begins the story line with the introductory time phrase ‘one day.’ So the first sentence is clearly background information to the narrative.

The particle $[ta^{33}]$ is commonly used to mark the location or manner of a subsequent action, as in (17).

(17) $nu^{33} tho^{55}ko^{33} ni^{33} ta^{33} ndo^{33} ko^{33}$
    2s Here sit PRF eat if
    ‘If you sit here to eat me,’
In (18) it marks a location indicated with a NP rather than a clause. (See the first \( [\text{ta}^{33}] \).)

(18) \( pa^{33} \text{ko}^{33} \text{ta}^{33} \text{du}^{33} \text{ndo}^{33} \text{zi}^{33} \text{gu}^{33} \)

\( 1S \text{House PRF food some} \)

\( to^{21} \text{ice}^{55} \text{si}^{33} \text{ta}^{33} \text{tshu}^{34} \text{tsi}^{33} \text{ni}^{33} \text{bo}^{33} \)

\( \text{prepare take PRF car sit go} \)

‘Having prepared some food at home to take, I got on a bus to go.’

\( [\text{ta}^{33}] \) is also a conjunction used to link a cause to a result, as in (19). Here \( [\text{ta}^{33}] \) occurs in the same slot in the verb phrase, that is, following the verb.

(19) \( zi^{33} \text{A}^{34} \text{mu}^{33} \text{tshu}^{33} \text{ta}^{33} \text{py}^{34} \text{dzq}^{33} \text{se}^{34} \text{ze}^{33} \)

\( \text{building many build because noisy} \)

‘It was terribly noisy because there is a lot of building going on.’

When in a clause without a specified agent or with the second person as agent, it often sounds like an imperative.

\( [\text{ta}^{33} \text{o}^{34}] \)

The particle \( [\text{ta}^{33}] \) frequently occurs in conjunction with the CRS marker \( \text{dzq}^{33} [\text{o}^{34}] \). It occurs frequently in text material. Gerner (2002a:351) points out that it “often occurs in commands or suggestions”. He further writes that “A Nuosu would tell you that the semantic difference between a simple \( [\text{ta}^{33}] \) and the complex \( [\text{ta}^{33} \text{o}^{34}] \) is that of stress. [The former] urges more bluntly the hearer to comply.”

But this is not its only meaning. It is also used to express the idea that one ‘has already done something’. I think the \( [\text{ta}^{33}] \) part carries the state having come about and the \( [\text{dzq}^{33} [\text{o}^{34}] \) carries the fact that we have passed into something new, a CRS. We would translate these \( [\text{ta}^{33} \text{o}^{34}] \) with English ‘already.’

(20) \( pa^{33} \text{du}^{33} \text{ta}^{33} \text{o}^{34} \)

\( 1S \text{eat PRF CRS} \)

‘I have already eaten.’

In contrast, (21) shows this meaning of \( [\text{ta}^{33}] \) with a negative. Note that there is no \( [\text{dzq}^{33} [\text{o}^{34}] \). This may be because it is not a new Currently Relevant State, since the state did not come about. Therefore, no \( [\text{dzq}^{33} [\text{o}^{34}] \) is used.
 Plenty of Post-verbal Particles in the Nuosu Yi Clause

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(21) Plen  N  C  P  NA

\begin{verbatim}
 dzu\textsuperscript{33} a\textsuperscript{21} ta\textsuperscript{33} z\textsuperscript{21/3}\textsuperscript{33}
 eat NEG PRF yet
 ‘I haven’t eaten yet.’
\end{verbatim}

[\textit{\textcircled{\textit{ndzo}}\textsuperscript{21}}]

This aspect particle is sometimes called an ‘experiential’ particle. It is similar to Mandarin \textit{\textcircled{\textit{guo}}}. It is used to mark events that have occurred at least once. Fu (1997:125) points out that its reference to time is in the indefinite if not remote past.

(22) Plen  N  C  P  NA

\begin{verbatim}
 ga\textsuperscript{33} tw\textsuperscript{33} z\textsuperscript{21} bo\textsuperscript{33} ndz\textsuperscript{21}
 1s Zhaojue go EXP
 ‘I have been to Zhaojue.’
\end{verbatim}

Gerner (2003:1336) points out that this particle can only be used of events that are not necessary events. That is, one could use it to say ‘I have drunk wine,’ but not ‘I have drunk water,’ since drinking water is necessary to human experience. He also points out that it is not used of events that have only one possible occurrence such as ‘be born’ or ‘die’.

It is interesting that [\textit{\textcircled{\textit{ndzo}}\textsuperscript{21}}] has some verbal properties that the other aspect markers do not share. For example the NEG can precede it. And it (rather than the head verb) is what is reduplicated to form interrogatives.

(23) Plen  N  C  P  NA

\begin{verbatim}
 dza\textsuperscript{34} dzu\textsuperscript{32} dw\textsuperscript{33} a\textsuperscript{33} dz\textsuperscript{34} ma\textsuperscript{33} nu\textsuperscript{33} ko\textsuperscript{33} li\textsuperscript{33} ndz\textsuperscript{34} ndzo\textsuperscript{21}
 restaurant that CL 2s LOC\textsuperscript{11} go EXP REDUP.INT
‘Have you ever been to that restaurant?’
\end{verbatim}

The answer to the above question could simply be [\textit{\textcircled{\textit{ndzo}}\textsuperscript{21}}] ‘experiential’. This is another way in which it is very verb-like, able to stand as a whole clause all by itself.

[\textit{\textcircled{\textit{ko}}\textsuperscript{33} sur\textsuperscript{34}}]

This aspect particle marks recurrent frequency of events. It is sometimes called a ‘habitual’ particle. Gerner (2003:1337) points out that this is again not for ‘necessary’ events. He suggests the best approximation available in English is ‘from time to time’.” It often co-occurs in clauses with [\textit{\textcircled{\textit{dzi}}\textsuperscript{21} a\textsuperscript{21} dzi\textsuperscript{34}}] ‘every (used in temporal phrases).’

\textsuperscript{11}This is a resumptive pronoun referring to the location ‘restaurant’.
One interesting thing about /uniA1EC/uniA3B7 [ko³³/uni0282/uni026F³/uni2074] is that it is slightly verbal, taking one of the two prototypical inflections that verbs take. That is, it does not take the negator /uniA00B [a²¹], but like the other aspect particles the /uniA00B [a²¹] will precede the verb. However for forming interrogatives it is the particle /uniA1EC/uniA3B7 [ko³³/uni0282/uni026F³/uni2074] that is reduplicated, not the verb, as in (25 and (26).

But forming interrogatives, the final syllable of /uniA1EC/uniA3B7 [ko³³/uni0282/uni026F³/uni2074] is reduplicated. This is just what a verb would do for making a question.

Gerner (2003:1339) calls this a ‘periodical’ aspect particle. He writes, “This aspect particle… [filters a clause] in terms of ordinary and extraordinary (or newsworthy versus not newsworthy).” It is used for a recurring event that is extraordinary.
\[ \text{[ndzö³³]} \]

This aspectual particle is used for an action or event which is in progress. Possibly it is from the homophonous verb ‘hover’. This is also the word used for the existence of animate things moving about.

Its grammaticalization into an aspect particle is understandable from these semantics: \( \text{V- ‘move about’ } \rightarrow \text{V ing.} \) Perhaps it is still or recently grammaticalizing. It appears less frequently in written material than in spoken usage. There were only three examples of this aspect particle in all the texts I searched. (28) is the first clause in a chapter of stories about the Nuosu legendary hero, Zhyxgeaxlu.

(28) \[ \ldots \text{bo³lo³tn/uni0255o³/uni2074 Mu³l/uni027F³³di²¹a³³ nd/uni0291/uni0254³³} \]

mountain slope encircle far and near ADVZ play CONT

‘…all over the mountain slope playing.’

Here, Zhyxgeaxlu is presented as riding four steeds bearing four bows and four magical arrows. And he is playing on the mountain slope. This is clearly background information, showing where he is and what he is up to as the narrative is about to begin. Here the aspect particle \[ \text{[ndzö³³]} \] might still be understood as having to do with movement, coming as it does after the verb ‘play’.

Note the elicited example (29) below where it is used after the verb ‘think’, which is not inherently a verb associated with movement.

(29) \[ \text{a³tsh/uni027F³/uni2074t/uni0282a³³tsh/uni025B²¹/uni0291/uni025B/uni2075/uni2075 ŋo²¹ nd/uni0291/uni0254³³} \]

child this CL thing think CONT

‘This child is thinking about something.’

\[ \text{[kwö³³]} \]

This particle indicates a state or action in progress. It can be situated in the future, present, or past; it is not limited to the time of the utterance. Chen and Wu (1998:134) call this the ‘progressive aspect’ (进行体), as in (30).\(^{13}\)

\(^{12}\)Neither Fu (1997), Munai (1999), nor Chen and Wu (1998) mention this aspect particle.

\(^{13}\)They also include \( \text{[ta³³]} \) and \( \text{[kwö³³ ta³³]} \) in the same aspect, that is, marking progressive aspect.
ma³³ ha³³ dz[i³³ kuru³³
rain fall PROG
'It is raining.'

However, this particle did not come up in the texts studied.

The particle [mi³³] is used to express the intention to carry out a particular action. Chen and Wu (1998:132) call this the ‘prospective aspect’ (将行体). They explain that this aspect is future and includes a period of time before the action or event begins.

With this aspect, subjects must be animate. It will often be translated into English as a future. This connection between intent and future is not surprising since in the real world if we express something about our future actions, it implies intent.

Gu³³li³³gu³³t/uni0255hu³³ d/uni0291i²¹ ma³³ tshu/uni0331³³
9x9 exist CL build PROS

‘Once, Shuogopsyzze said/decided, “I will build a house of nine spans in width and nine boards in height.’

This intended action need not only be in the future. This particle can be used when narrating a past intention.

The aspect particle [mi³³] is only used for firsthand knowledge. That is, it is only used in questions or in first person statements, as in the following example:
Plenty of Post-verbal Particles in the Nuosu Yi Clause

Susan Walters

(33) ŋa³³ i²¹mo²¹ mi³³ thu³³ko³³ zi³³ni²¹ dzu³³ mi³³
Is stomach hungry when only eat PROS
‘I’ll only eat when I’m hungry.’ (That is, I won’t eat now, but later when I feel hungry I will.)

If the subject of the above sentence were not first person, something must be added at the end of the clause. One can add [di³³] ‘reported speech’ or exchange the aspect particle [mi³³] for a true verb of intention such as [mo³³ ŋgu³³] ‘want’.

Clauses in prospective aspect must be marked for source or certainty of information. In the first person, the source is considered one’s own intention. Otherwise, a source must be given. If source is not identified, the certainty of the proposition is mitigated with a validational particle.

Neither [mi³³], nor [mo³³], nor [mo³³ di³³] can be preceded by the negative [a²¹]. One cannot negate a prospective state, only one’s own intentions. To say, ‘I will not see Mugat tomorrow,’ one must use the verb ‘go’ and negate that verb as in (34).

(34) ŋa³³ mu²¹/uni0282/uni027F³³t/uni026F³/uni2074
mu³³ka/uni2075/uni2075 h/uni026F²¹ a²¹ bo³³
Is tomorrow Mugat see NEG go
‘I will not go to see Mugat tomorrow.’

It is also common to use a modal like ‘intend to’ or ‘plan’ and simply negate the modal verb.

It is also possible not to mark the prospective aspect and simply negate the main verb. If it has a time word like ‘tomorrow’ it obviously carries the idea of intent.

(35) mu²¹/uni0282/uni027F³³t/uni026F³/uni2074
ŋa³³ vo³³šur³³ a²¹ dzu³³
Is tomorrow Mugat see NEG eat
‘I will not eat pork tomorrow.’

[mo³³]

[mo³³] is another particle that expresses the intention to carry out a particular action. Perhaps this one has shortened from either or both auxiliaries [mo³³ ŋgu³³] ‘want’ and [mo³³ di³³] ‘plan’. The particle [mo³³] may not have inanimate subjects. Fu (1997:126) writes that this particle also includes the idea of ‘certainty’.
In the above example it is somehow clear that it means they will go together. If `/mo` is left off, it sounds like someone giving a polite good-bye, ‘go slowly’.

**/mo**

Whereas the particle `/mo` does not have verbal properties of inflection, the auxiliary `/mo` seems to be in the process of grammaticalization. It has some properties of a verb and some properties of an aspect particle. So that one can say either (37) or (38):

(37) `tshla mo di o`.

3s come intend REDUP. INT NEG know PER

‘(I) don’t know if s/he will come.’

In (37), `/mo` is reduplicated, as one would expect for a modal verb following the main verb in order to form an interrogative.

(38) `tshlamo mo di o`.

3s come REDUP. INT PROS NEG know PER

‘(I) don’t know if s/he will come.’

In (38), the dynamic verb `/la` ‘come’ is reduplicated to form the interrogative and `/mo` has become an aspect particle which follows the main verb expressing prospective aspect.

**/mi**

The particle `/mi` is more immediate than `/mi`, that is, the beginning of the event is perceived as being very near. Its subject may or may not be animate. In English we might translate it as ‘about to’. It is often followed by `/o` ‘CRS’.

---

14 Sometimes the variant `/mo tix` is used.
Plenty of Post-verbal Particles in the Nuosu Yi Clause

Susan Walters

(39) vo³³ dzi²¹ mi³³ta³³ o³⁴
   snow fall PROS CRS

'It’s about to snow.'

Chen and Wu (1998:132) call this the ‘immediate future’ (将起始体).

7 THE CRS PARTICLE

In addition to marking the dynamic perfect aspect, there is a second slot where the particle /o³⁴/ appears. This is directly after the aspect particles.

Chen and Wu (1998:179) describe a sentence-final use of /o³⁴/ as a speech act particle expressing ‘frankness’ (直陈). But I am not convinced that this expresses speaker attitude. This use of /o³⁴/ looks very similar to what Li and Thompson (1981:240) call Currently Relevant State (CRS). It is interesting to note that the Nuosu /o³⁴/ is similar to the Mandarin 了 that Li and Thompson describe in many ways: it can co-occur with other particles, it appears in a great variety of speech situations, it is also the perfective aspect particle of the language, and it is often used to show a change of state.

In (40) this CRS is used, showing not that the act of existence was completed, but rather that a new state has come about, from bodies to merely bones.

(40) vu²¹du³³ tsh/uni027F²¹ kho²¹ a³⁴ti³³ ko³⁴ dz/uni0290u³³ o³⁴
   bone one pile only LOC EXT CRS

‘There was only a pile of bones left.’

Since, in Nuosu the CRS position is so close to that of aspect particles, it is not always easy to distinguish the particle’s function as perfective aspect from that of marking a Currently Relevant State.

(41) tsho³³ la³³ sa⁵⁵ sa⁵⁵ o³⁴
    person come all REDUP.INT CRS/PRF

‘Has everyone come?’

Sometimes the context clarifies it as in (41), which expresses a hypothetical event that might or might not happen in the future. This example is from a story in which the toad, who was caught by the crow, is trying to arrange his escape. He wants to persuade the crow to move to a different place to eat him, a place near the water where the toad can get away. So he tells
the crow not to eat him right here on the rock. Someone might come by here. But over by the water side ‘no one will come.’

(42)  
\[ \text{tsho}^{33} \text{ ni}^{21} \text{ ko}^{33} \text{ la}^{33} \text{ o}^{34} \]
\[
\text{person two LOC NEG come} \text{ CRS}
\]
‘No one [not even two] will come.’

The CRS particle \( o^{34} \) is also used in conjunction with other aspect markers that indicate the beginning of an action or event. This is reasonable since any beginning, by definition, has brought about a change of state.

(43)  
\[ \text{di}^{34} \text{ ma}^{33} \text{ ha}^{33} \text{ dz}^{21} \text{ mi}^{34} \text{ ta}^{33} \text{ o}^{34} \]
\[
\text{moreover rain fall come NEAR-PROS CRS}
\]
‘Moreover it was about to rain.’

8 ValidationalParticles

These particles have to do with how certain the information in the proposition is. These particles, together with the evidentials, operate over the whole proposition, and not merely over the VP, as did the aspect particles discussed above.

Particularly when speaking of the prospective aspect there is a requirement that either a validational or an evidential (such as reported speech) be used if the proposition is something outside of one’s own control. This is natural, because the validity of a proposition is closely connected to whether or not there is any evidence for it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YI</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Simple Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ꙷឱឱ</td>
<td>\text{\textit{tw}^{34} \textit{mu}^{32} \textit{di}^{34}}</td>
<td>apparently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꙷើឱ</td>
<td>\text{\textit{tw}^{34} \textit{bu}^{33}}</td>
<td>it seems that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꙷើឱ</td>
<td>\text{\textit{tw}^{34} \textit{dei}^{21}}</td>
<td>probably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꙷើឱ</td>
<td>\text{\textit{nd}^{35} \textit{ki}^{55}}</td>
<td>possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꙷើឱ</td>
<td>\text{\textit{ko}^{33} \textit{de}^{33}}</td>
<td>maybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꙷើឱ</td>
<td>\text{\textit{ki}^{55}}</td>
<td>maybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꙷើឱ</td>
<td>\text{\textit{yur}^{33} \textit{zi}^{33}}</td>
<td>maybe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This particle can only be used if there is some evidence for the proposition. In (44), I see from your expression that you look sad, so I say:

(44) $\text{nu}^{33} \text{he}^{33}\text{ma}^{55} \text{a}^{21} \text{kha}^{55} \text{tco}^{34}\text{mu}^{33}\text{dzi}^{21}$

you heart NEG happy apparently

‘You must be sad.’

The particle can also be used to refer to the past. For example, if I saw you yesterday on the road and I noticed a gloomy expression, today I could say:

(45) $\text{nu}^{33} \text{a}^{21}\text{ndi}^{21}\text{hi}^{55} \text{he}^{33}\text{ma}^{55} \text{a}^{21} \text{kha}^{55} \text{tco}^{34}\text{mu}^{33}\text{dzi}^{21}$

you yesterday heart NEG happy apparently

‘You must have been sad yesterday.’ (‘It looked like you were sad yesterday.’)

This particle is used in both the past and present. It is used for knowledge that is inferred, that is, this particle is only used when the speaker has some evidence in order to make the proposition. The evidence may be visual or aural.

(46) $\text{nu}^{33} \text{i}^{21}\text{mo}^{21} \text{mi}^{55} \text{tco}^{34}\text{bu}^{33}$

you stomach hungry PER apparently

‘You must be hungry.’

(45), which is similar to (49) with $\text{dzi}^{21}$, would be said if I noticed that you ate many bowls of rice. I might infer from that, that you are hungry.

For example, I note that his door is locked and so I say:

(47) $\text{tshy}^{33} \text{a}^{21}\text{ni}^{21}\text{ya}^{33} \text{ko}^{33} \text{a}^{21} \text{la}^{33} \text{tco}^{34}\text{bu}^{33}$

3s recently here NEG come apparently

‘He hasn’t been here recently.’

I see the ground is wet and so I say:

(48) $\text{a}^{21}\text{ndo}^{21}\text{ho}^{55} \text{ma}^{33}\text{ha}^{33} \text{dzi}^{21} \text{tco}^{34}\text{bu}^{33}$

last night rain fall apparently

‘It must have rained last night.’
This particle is used to indicate that the proposition is a guess or estimate. It is used only in the present or future, not the past.

(49) μυ³³ δζ³³

mu²¹ ni²¹ ma³³ ha³³ dzì²¹ la³³ tco³⁴ dzì²¹

tomorrow rain fall come probably

‘It might rain tomorrow.’

(50) would be used if someone had just arrived at another person’s house (in the mountains). A good host would expect that the travel made the traveller hungry and he would want to eat. But there was no particular evidence given for the statement.

(50) μυ³³ δζ³³

mu³³ i²¹ mo³³ mi³³ o³³ tco³⁴ dzì²¹

you stomach hungry PER probably

‘You must be hungry.’

This particle marks the information in the clause as uncertain. It is the speaker’s guess or prediction.

(51) ός 3ς 3ς 3ς 3ς 3ς

tsh³³ s³³ mu³³ a²¹ to²¹ ndzi³³

3s business do NEG able maybe

‘S/he maybe can’t do anything.’ / ‘I guess that he isn’t very capable.’

This particle was not found in any of the texts (mostly narrative) that were studied. However, speakers agree that it is used to indicate uncertainty.

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9  EVIDENTIAL PARTICLES

Evidentials are used to mark the source of the information. Aikhenvald (2004:1) writes that “in about a quarter of the world’s languages, every statement must specify the type of source on which it is based—for example, whether the speaker saw it, or heard it, or inferred it from indirect evidence, or learned it from someone else. This grammatical category, whose primary meaning is information source, is called ‘evidentiality.’”

Nuosu requires evidentiality to be marked if the source is reported speech. It also requires it for a certain statement made in the future which is not in the first person. That is, if the statement is prospective aspect, either some evidence for it must be given (such as using an evidential marking as something you heard from someone), or it must be marked as uncertain.

LaPolla writes (2003:65) that in Qiang “In general, an unmarked clause is assumed to represent knowledge that the speaker is sure of, most probably, but not necessarily, from having seen the situation or event first-hand.” The same could be said of Nuosu.

Evidentials in Nuosu cannot be negated. However the evidential /di³/ can be formed into an interrogative.\(^\text{15}\)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\underline{\text{tsh}} & \underline{\text{dza}} & \underline{\text{dzur}} & \underline{\text{o}} & \underline{\text{di}} & \underline{\text{di}} & \underline{\text{o}} & ? \\
\text{3s} & \text{food} & \text{eat} & \text{PER} & \text{REP} & \text{REDUP.INT} & \text{CRS}
\end{array}
\]

‘Did he say he had eaten?’

Table 4: Evidential Particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YI</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[di\³]</td>
<td>reported speech(^\text{16})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[di\³ [di\³]</td>
<td>[du\²[lo\³]</td>
<td>new information, narrator evaluation, things you hope come about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[du\²[lo\³]</td>
<td>[ngu\³³</td>
<td>speaker’s own opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[di\³\]

The particle \[di\³\] is extremely common in both spoken language and texts. It must be used when reporting someone’s speech. It is also found at the end of propositions that were

\(^{15}\)Perhaps this is not truly the evidential particle, but the verb /ddip/ ‘say’ whose tone changed, conditioned by the environment. In any case it is obvious that this particle arose from the verb /ddip/ ‘say’.

\(^{16}\)Wu and Wang (2003:329) says this can be used not only to report what someone else said, but also to ask someone to report my speech! \[\text{ask the two of them to come quickly.}\]
learned by someone reporting the information. For example, ‘Did Vutgop bring a hat? No, she didn’t. She does not have one’ \( \hat{\text{\textit{di}}}^{34} \). I think \( \hat{\text{\textit{di}}}^{34} \) is used here because Vutgop telling someone that she doesn’t have a hat is probably the most natural way that someone would know that information. (Other than the unlikely event that one would rummage through all her things to find out what she owns.)

This particle is also used when asking for one’s own speech to be reported (Wuniu Wuqie and Wang Xiuying 2003:330).

Interestingly, it occurs in a text after the sound of a frog jumping into a pond, something like “‘plop’ \( \hat{\text{\textit{di}}}^{34} \).” This indicates that not only is it used for reported speech but for reporting things that come to your attention through your ears, any sounds. The \( \hat{\text{\textit{di}}}^{34} \) here merely marks that sound as having come to your ears.

### \( \text{\textit{fgu}}^{33} \)

This particle is used to indicate that the proposition is one’s own idea, with no outside information source.

\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{mu}}^{27} & \text{\textit{su}}^{33} \text{\textit{bo}}^{33} \text{\textit{ko}}^{33} \text{\textit{n}}^{21} \text{\textit{su}}^{33} \text{\textit{mu}}^{33} \text{\textit{di}}^{34} \text{\textit{sg}}^{55} \\
\text{soon} & \text{return} \text{\textit{Nuosu}} \text{\textit{land} work do go} \text{NOM} \\
\text{\textit{ngu}}^{55} & \text{\textit{tc}}^{23} \text{\textit{dz}}^{23} \text{\textit{ngu}}^{33} \\
\text{advantage} & \text{have might my opinion} \\
\text{‘In the near future when I return to Yi areas to work, I think it will be an advantage [to have learned Yi characters].’}
\end{align*}

In the example above, there is a proposition followed by the validational \( \text{\textit{tc}}^{23} \text{\textit{dz}}^{23} \) which is then followed by the evidential particle \( \text{\textit{fgu}}^{33} \) marking the whole thing to the left as having come from my own head and nowhere else.

### \( \text{\textit{dvu}}^{21} \text{\textit{lo}}^{34} \)

This particle is used for a number of situations.\(^{17}\) One is to show that the information in the proposition is new, recently discovered. Another use is for narrator evaluation inserted into a narrative discourse. Example (54) shows an example of the particle \( \text{\textit{dvu}}^{21} \text{\textit{lo}}^{34} \) marking newly discovered information. The clause’s basic proposition is that the toad is not

\(^{17}\)One meaning that seems unrelated is its use for something one wishes will happen. That is, to someone who is sick: ‘You quickly get well, \( \text{\textit{dvu}}^{21} \text{\textit{lo}}^{34} \) ‘I hope you get well soon.’
trustworthy. By adding  |
\[du²¹lo³\] this proposition is understood to be an evaluation
based on new understanding, just recently discovered. This sentence is uttered by the crow
right after he has been tricked by the toad and the toad got away.

\[(54)\]  |
\[a³³ku³³\] CL  |
\[pa³³\] CL  |
\[tsh\] COP  |
\[ma³³\] CL  |
\[ŋ\] COP  |
\[d\] CL  |
\[lo³\] CL
Augh! toad this not.trustworthy CL COP new info
‘Augh, come to find out this toad is not trustworthy.’

10 SPEECH ACT PARTICLES

The following is a list of speech act particles with a provisional gloss. Thorough
exploration of their semantics is left to another paper.

**Table 5: Speech Act Particles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Tentative Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>꧆</td>
<td>(b²¹)</td>
<td>[asserts the speaker’s opinion]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧇</td>
<td>(o²¹)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧉</td>
<td>(ma²¹)</td>
<td>[urges or makes a positive suggestion]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧊</td>
<td>(mu³³ma²¹)</td>
<td>[politely reports the speaker’s intentions]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧋</td>
<td>(a²¹ma²¹)</td>
<td>[adds emphasis to clarify a remark expressing evaluation]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧌</td>
<td>(zi²³pa)</td>
<td>how about? [softens a command to a suggestion]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧊</td>
<td>(zi²³li)</td>
<td>[points out new or unexpected information]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧊</td>
<td>(ha³⁴)</td>
<td>[expresses assent or commitment]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧊</td>
<td>(o³⁴li²¹)</td>
<td>[expresses a polite request]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧊</td>
<td>(zi²³tʃur²¹)</td>
<td>[concedes a point]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧌</td>
<td>(ha³⁴zi²¹)</td>
<td>[asks for permission]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꧊</td>
<td>(pa)</td>
<td>[solicits agreement]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (55) is an example of the speech act particle ꧊ ꧊ \(o³⁴li²¹\), indicating the
speaker’s surprise at his coming.

\[(55)\]  |
\[tʃur³³\] |
\[la³³\] |
\(o³⁴li²¹\) |
3s come NEW-INFO
'He came!' (What a surprise.)
Example (56) shows the use of the speech act particle 
[zi²¹ tshaw²¹], indicating the speaker’s willingness to agree to the hearer’s wishes, even though the speaker wants the hearer to come.

(56) 

nu³³ i²¹ ni²¹ a²¹ la³³ tshaw⁵ zi²¹ tshaw²¹

2s today NEG COME ALSO OK (CONCESSION) 

'Well, if you don't come I guess that will be OK too.'

**APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>first person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>second person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>third person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVZ</td>
<td>adverbializer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRS</td>
<td>Currently Relevant State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVI</td>
<td>evidential</td>
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<td>EXP</td>
<td>experiential</td>
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<td>HAB</td>
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<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
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<td>MOD</td>
<td>modals</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PER</td>
<td>periodical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>perfect aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROS</td>
<td>prospective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUO</td>
<td>quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP</td>
<td>reported speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>resultative</td>
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</tbody>
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REFERENCES


