Effects of Animacy on Existential Sentences in nDrapa

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Abstract: The nDrapa language (Sichuan, China: Tibeto-Burman) has multiple types of existential sentences, which convey various readings. The reading of a sentence is determined by the existential verb stem, the suffix and/or auxiliary, the constituent order, and the animacy of the arguments. In this article, I describe existential sentences in nDrapa, paying special attention to the correlation between the animacy of arguments and the readings of the sentences. Among the six existential verb stems, the implications of the stem ¯nʌ, in particular, change depending on the animacy of the arguments. A ¯nʌ-existential sentence requires an animate argument either as the subject or the locative noun phrase (NP). If the subject is animate, the ¯nʌ-existential sentence conveys the reading of narrowly defined existence. On the other hand, if the locative NP is animate, the sentence conveys a specific "distributing/gaining" implication; that is, someone distributes the subject to the locative NP, or the locative NP gains the subject. Other existential verb stems generally form sentences that indicate possession if the locative NP is animate, except that the stem ˋɕi implies that the animate locative NP wears the subject if the subject is alienable.*

Key words: existential sentence, existential verb, animacy, nDrapa,
  Tibeto-Burman

1. Introduction

The nDrapa language (Sichuan, China: Tibeto-Burman) has as many as six existential verb stems, and sentences containing an existential stem have various readings, such as temporality and manner of existence on the one hand, and existence, location, possession, clothing, or gaining on the other. The reading of an existential sentence is determined by the existential verb stem, the suffix and/or auxiliary, the constituent order, and the animacy of the arguments. Among these factors, the issues pertaining to stems and suffixes have been investigated in previous studies, but the other factors have not been sufficiently explored. In this paper, I describe the characteristics of nDrapa existential sentences, and examine the correlation between the animacy of arguments and how existential sentences are interpreted.

  In this paper, the term "existential sentence" refers to a sentence that expresses
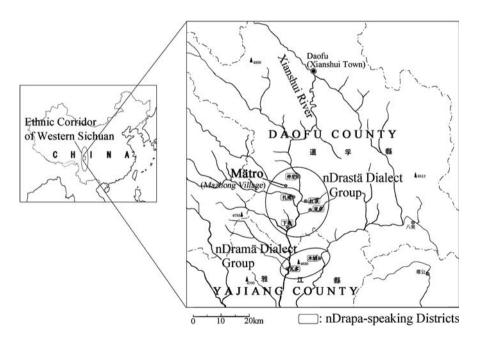
the subject's existence or location by using one of the existential verbs. In other words, this paper does not deal with sentences using verbs that mean "to hold," "to carry," etc., which may express that the subject possesses something. Posture verbs, such as "to sit" and "to stand", which are related or identical to existential verbs in some languages, are also distinct from the existential verbs in this language, at least synchronically.

This section introduces certain facts about nDrapa. Section 2 describes the structure of existential sentences in nDrapa, and deals with the issues pertaining to existential verb stems: the conjunct/disjunct pattern, tenses, constituent order, and previous studies. Section 3 discusses the correlation between animacy and existential sentences. Finally, section 4 summarizes the discussion.

1.1. Background of the nDrapa language

nDrapa (Zhaba: 扎壩，扎巴) is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Western Sichuan, China. The area is inhabited by a variety of Tibeto-Burman minorities, and is referred to as the Ethnic Corridor of Western Sichuan (川西民族走廊: Sun 1983), or the Tibeto-Lolo Corridor (藏彝走廊), as seen in Map 1.

Map 1: nDrapa-speaking Areas

The nDrapa language is categorized as a member of the Qiangic sub-branch of the Tibeto-Burman language group (Sun 2001: 160, 173, Matisoff 2003: 5, 696). This language is divided into two dialect groups: the nDrastä (upper nDrapa)

dialect group and the nDramä (lower nDrapa) dialect group,[1] and diverse dialects exist within each group based on the village where the dialect is spoken. The main consultant assisting with my field work is a woman who was born in 1945 in Mazhong Village (麻中村), Zhongni District (仲尼鄉), Zhaba Region (扎壩區), Daofu County (道孚縣). In this paper, her subdialect is termed the "Mätro" dialect,[2] and belongs to the nDrastä dialect group.

According to Huang (1991), the total number of speakers of nDrapa, including all dialects, was around 7,700. Gong (2007: 2–3), however, reports that the population of the nDrapa (Zhaba) area is 8,319.[3] As of 2005, the village of Mazhong (Mätro) consisted of 33 households and approximately 280 people.[4]

In the areas where nDrapa is spoken, other languages are also spoken. Stau (Daofu, 道孚) of the Qiangic sub-branch is spoken in the central region of Daofu County, Tibetan is the traditional lingua franca spoken throughout the area, and more recently, Chinese has become the dominant language. nDrapa is the least used language among them. In addition, many loanwords from Tibetan and Chinese are found in nDrapa, and loanwords from Chinese are becoming more and more common. While nDrapa is still maintained in the countryside, the younger generations who live in the city of Daofu are becoming less fluent in the language.

1.2. Phonology and the basic constituent order
The following are the phonemes of Mätro nDrapa: consonants /ph, th, ʈh, ch, kh; p, t, ʈ, c, k; b, d, ɖ, ɟ, g; tsh, tɕh; ts, tɕ; dz, dʑ; m, n, ɳ, ŋ; m̥, n̥, ɳ̊, ŋ̊; f, sh, ɕh; s, ɕ, x; v, z, ʐ, ɣ, w, j; l, r; l̥, r̥/; special mora phonemes /N, H, ʔ/;[5] and vowels /i, ɨ, ʉ, u,

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[1] The terms "upper" and "lower" do not imply any social position of the speakers, but indicate the upper and lower areas of the Xianshui River (鮮水河). The nDrastä (upper) dialect is spoken in the southern part of the Daofu County, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China; and the nDramä (lower) dialect is spoken in the northern part of the Yajiang County of Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

[2] The name of the dialect is derived from the village name where it is spoken. Here, the people pronounce the name of their village as ˈmɛʈo.

[3] Gong (2007) is based on statistics published in 1998 and 2000. These numbers include those who do not speak nDrapa, but those who speak Chinese or Tibetan instead. Gong (2007: 2) notes that the population of the area has increased since the period of 1998–2000, but he does not mention whether there is an increase in a particular language group. It may imply that the population of Chinese speakers is increasing in the nDrapa area.

[4] These population statistics were obtained from the village mayor of Mazhong (Mätro) in the summer of 2005.

[5] The phonemes /N, H, ʔ/ are abstract phonemes because they never occur independently of a following consonant. /N/ is a nasal stop, /H/ is a fricative and /ʔ/ is a voiceless stop. They may appear only as the first component of a consonant cluster, and the place of articulation is identical with the following consonant. In addition, /H/ can be realized as preaspiration of a following obstruent in word-initial position. /N/ and /H/ also show voicing/devoicing assimilation to the following consonant.

e, ɵ, o, ɛ, ə, ʌ, a; ei/.[6] Furthermore, nDrapa has a "word tone" system consisting of three tonemes: /ˊ/ (high-falling), /ˉ/ (high-level), and /ˋ/ (low-rising).[7]

SOV is the basic constituent order, but the order of arguments is not strictly fixed. For example, topic comes to the initial position of a sentence regardless of its grammatical category. In principle, modifiers are placed after the head noun (N A); however, demonstratives precede nouns (Dem N). Grammatical relationships are marked with postpositions, but are not obligatory.[8] Subjects take the absolutive case, i.e. have no explicit postposition, as do the subjects of existential sentences.

2. Existential Sentences in nDrapa

This section briefly describes the existential sentences of nDrapa. It includes an account of the various implications of each existential verb stem, the conjunct/disjunct pattern, formation of the past, the basic constituent order, and a comparison to other dialects described in previous studies.

2.1 Existential verbs and their implications
2.1.1. Existential verb stems

There are at least six existential verb stems in Mätro nDrapa: ˊpo, ˉnʌ, ˋɕɨ, ˊtɕa, ˊtɕʌ and ˋtɕʉ. Discussion of the implication of each stem except for ˉnʌ[9] is found in Shirai (2006). Their basic implications are summarized in Table 1.[10]

Table 1.   Existential verb stems

	stem	animacy	temporality	manner
1.	ˊpo	animate/inanimate	constant	settled
2.	ˉnʌ	animate/inanimate	constant/temporal	(§3.2)
3.	ˋɕɨ	inanimate	constant/temporal	immobile
4.	ˊtɕa	inanimate	temporal	not wrapped
5.	ˊtɕʌ	inanimate	temporal	within something
6.	ˋtɕʉ	animate	temporal	

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[6] Even though some nasal vowels are found, these are observed only in new loanwords, and are not native phonemes in Mätro.

[7] In this paper, the tones are labeled at the initial position of the tone bearing unit (phonological word). This paper uses an "equal to" sign (=) to indicate the formation of a phonological word. A dot within a phonological word indicates that the following syllable(s) are atonal.

[8] Case markers can be omitted if the grammatical relationship is clear from the semantics. For example, the locative marker is not added to location nouns such as place names.

[9] Shirai (2006) does not discuss the existential verb stem ˉnʌ because of a shortage of data.

[10] Although the table is originally from Shirai (2006: 157), I have changed the phonological representation to reflect the system used in this paper. I have also made some changes in the table for the sake of convenience, based on the discussion in this paper.

Here I briefly describe the temporal and animacy implications of each stem. In the glosses of examples, the existential verbs will have a subscript which indicates which stem they correspond to in Table 1.[11]

First I will discuss the three stems of temporal existence. These stems, ʹtɕa, ʹtɕʌ, and ˋtɕʉ, differ in animacy of the subject and manner of existence. The stems ʹtɕa and ʹtɕʌ co-occur with inanimate subjects in principle, but the stem ˋtɕʉ requires an animate subject, as seen in example (1). In cases where the subject is inanimate, as in (2) and (3), ʹtɕʌ is used if the subject is within something and ʹtɕa is used otherwise.

(1) ʹŋa   ḷɛʜgo   ˋtɕʉ.
     1SG   PN   exist$_6$
     "I am in Lhagang (now)."

(2) ʹno=rʌ   ʹɴkho   ʹŋa=rə   ˉpaopao-kə   ʹtɕʌ.
     2SG=GEN   key   1SG=GEN   bag-inside   exist$_5$
     "Your key is in my bag."

(3) ʹno=rʌ   ʹɴkho   ʹŋa-ʈo   ʹtɕa.
     2SG=GEN   key   1SG-place   exist$_4$
     "Your key is (put without being covered) at my place."

The subject of the fourth existential verb ˋɕi is naturally inanimate, because the existential verb ˋɕi implies that the subject is immobile or is a part of something or someone. See example (4).

(4) ˉŋorɛ=rə   ˉje-kə   ʹʈoɴkho   ˋʜnɛ=ji   ˋɕj-ɛ.
     3PL=GEN   house-inside   room   seven=NC   exist$_3$-DISJ
     "Their house has seven rooms."

The other two existential verb stems, ʹpo and ˉnʌ, do not specify or imply animacy of the subject. In this respect, these two stems are so similar that they are interchangeable in many examples, as seen in (5) and (6).

(5) a. ˉŋoro   ˉje-kə   ʹpɛpɛ   ʹpw-ɛ.
        that   house-inside   a.lot   exist$_1$-DISJ
        "That family has many members." (*lit.* There are many ones in that house.)

     b. ˉŋoro   ˉje-kə   ʹpɛpɛ   ˉn-ɛ.
        that   house-inside   a.lot   exist$_2$-DISJ
        "That family has many members." (*lit.* There are many ones in that house.)

(6) a. ʹanʌ   ʹno=la   ʹma-pw-ɛ.   ʹsomuɳi   ʹpo=ʈ-ɛ.
        today   2SG=LOC   NEG-exist$_1$-DISJ   tomorrow   exist$_1$=IPF-DISJ
        (Distributing food) "There is nothing for you today. There will be something tomorrow."

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[11] Although the addition of suffixes sometimes causes morphophonemic alternations, this is beyond the scope of my paper, and will not be discussed further.

b. ´anʌ   ´no=wu   ´ma-n-ɛ.   ´somuɳi   ‾nʌ=ʈ-ɛ.
    today   2sg=loc   neg-exist₂-disj   tomorrow   exist₂=ipf-disj
    (Distributing food) "There is nothing for you today. There will be something tomorrow."

Further discussion of the distinction between ´po and ‾nʌ is found in section 3.

2.1.2. A conjunct/disjunct pattern and the implications

The correlation between the implication of an existential sentence and its conjunct/disjunct pattern is also discussed in Shirai (2006: 162–169). I will summarize this discussion below.

In Mätro nDrapa, the conjunct form of an existential verb consists of the bare stem and the disjunct form involves the suffix -ɛ or the particle rɛ. Therefore, the suffix -ɛ is added to an existential verb stem to shift it from a conjunct to a disjunct pattern. In the case of the stem ´t¢a, the particle rɛ is added instead of the suffix -ɛ.

The conjunct pattern of an existential sentence typically implies that the existence is inside the speaker's familiar domain or under the speaker's control. Examples (1)–(3) above are examples of the conjunct pattern, and so is example (7) below.

(7) ´ŋa=rə   ´chɛnbo-kə   ´ʈhat¢o   ‾nɛ=t¢ʉ   ´t¢ʌ.
     1sg=gen   bag-inside   cup   two=nc   exist₅
     "There are two cups in my bag."

The disjunct form is used when the speaker describes a fact that is objectively true or is out of his/her domain, as seen in (4) and (5) above, and (8) below.

(8) ‾¢ʌrʌ-kə   ‾¢ʌrʌ‾khoɴtshwi   ´pɛpɛ   ´t¢j-ɛ.
     bone-inside   bone.marrow   a.lot   exist₅-disj
     "There is much marrow in the bone." (When looking at the bone.)

Moreover, in the disjunct version of an existential sentence, the verb stem may be followed by an imperfective auxiliary (ipf), as indicated in (6) above, and (9). When a temporal existential stem (´t¢a, ´t¢ʌ or `t¢ʉ) takes this form, a special implication arises: the implication that the information is common knowledge. Note the difference between (8) and (9).

(9) ‾¢ʌrʌ-kə   ‾¢ʌrʌ‾khoɴtshwi   ´t¢ʌ=ʈ-ɛ.
     bone-inside   marrow   exist₅=ipf-disj
     "There is marrow in bones." (As common knowledge)

The conjunct and disjunct forms of each stem are illustrated in Table 2. The form in column I is the conjunct form, and forms in II and III are disjunct. Form III also has the implication of common knowledge. For details of the conjunct/disjunct pattern in existential sentences of nDrapa, see Shirai (2006: 158–169).

Table 2. Conjunct/disjunct pattern of existential verbs

	I	II	III
	conjunct	**disjunct**	
1.	´po	´pw-ɛ	´po=ʈ-ɛ
2.	⁻nʌ	´n-ɛ	´nʌ=ʈ-ɛ
3.	\`çɨ	\`çj-ɛ	⁻çɨ=ʈ-ɛ
4.	´tɕa	´tɕa=rɛ	´tɕa=ʈ-ɛ
5.	´tɕʌ	´tɕj-ɛ	´tɕʌ=ʈ-ɛ
6.	\`tɕʉ	\`tɕw-ɛ	⁻tɕu=ʈ-ɛ

2.1.3. Existence in the past

The past form[12] of an existential verb involves the addition of the directional prefix tʌ-.[13] In most cases, the perfective disjunct suffix -a is also added to the existential verb stem, as seen in (10), when forming the past tense.[14] However, the past tense of an existential verb in the conjunct form does not require the suffix -a, as seen in (11).

(10) ⁻ŋoro=la ⁻Nda ´taja ´pɛpɛ ⁻to-po-a ´rɛ.
 3SG=LOC fomerly money a.lot DIR-exist₁-DISJ SFP
 "He had much money formerly."

(11) ⁻ŋa ⁻Nda ⁻gʌzja ⁻nɛ=tɕʉ ⁻to-po,
 1SG=LOC fomerly comb two=NC DIR-exist₁
 ´xɛ ⁻tɛ=tɕʉ=jaNtɕhi ´ma-po.
 now one=NC=only NEG-exist₁
 "I had two combs formerly, now I have only one (comb)."

If the past existential verb occurs in sentence-final position, the particle ´rɛ is added in most cases. This morphology is parallel with that of general verbs, but the past forms of existential verbs are mostly found in folk tales [FT], and thus are seldom heard in daily conversation. Example (12), (13), and (14) are all from folk tales. ⁻tʌ-nʌ-a (the past form of ⁻nʌ) is the most frequently found as the beginning

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[12] Morphological markers indicating past tense are not obligatory; tense can be implied by the context, as seen in the example below.
 ⁻Nda ⁻ŋjɛ=la ⁻lɛmɛ=ji ´po, ´xɛ ´ma-po.
 fomerly 1PL=LOC monk=NC exist₁ now NEG-exist₁
"There used to be a monk in our house (We had an in-house monk), but there isn't now."
[13] The vowel of the prefix tʌ- shows rounding assimilation with the vowel of the verb stem.
[14] According to Gong (2007: 93), nDramä existential verbs have a "past/experiential" form corresponding to this (tʌ-[stem]-a) pattern.

sentence of folk tales, and is seen in (12).[15] Examples of other existential verbs in this context are found in (13) and (14).

(12) ¯Nda   ¯seimuNnei   ¯tʌ-nʌ-a   ´rɛ.
      fomerly   three.sibling DIR-exist$_2$-DISJ   SFP
      "Once upon a time, there were three siblings." [FT][16]

(13) ´tʌpo   ´Hdʐʉsɛpe   ¯to-tɕʉ-a   ´rɛ.
      riverside   fish.killer   DIR-exist$_6$-DISJ   SFP
      "There was a fisherman at the riverside." [FT]

(14) ´pu   ¯ŋʌ-ʔtshi-a   ´rɛ. ´pikɛkə=ji   ¯tʌ-tɕʌ-a   ´rɛ.
      knee   DIR-cut.through-DISJ SFP frog=NC   DIR-exist$_5$-DISJ SFP
      "(The old woman) cut through her (aching) knee. There was a frog inside."
      [FT]

2.2. Constituent order and implication

As I mentioned earlier, nDrapa is a verb-final language. Both orders illustrated in (15) are allowed with an existential sentence, but they lead to different implications. If the locative NP, marked as Y,[17] is in sentence-initial position and the subject follows it, the sentence is normally interpreted as a narrowly defined existential sentence that focuses on the existence of something. In contrast, if the subject is in sentence-initial position and a locative NP follows it, the sentence is generally interpreted as a location sentence that focuses on the place where X, the subject, exists. In this paper, however, I categorize both of these sentences as existential sentences, since both have the same structure: a subject and a locative NP as the arguments of an existential verb.

(15) a. ([Y: LOC]) [X: ABS] [EXISTENTIAL VERB]
          "There is X at Y." (existence)
      b. [X: ABS] [Y: LOC] [EXISTENTIAL VERB]
          "X is at Y." (location)

Examples of each pattern are shown below. (16) and (17) exemplify the narrowly defined existential pattern and (18) and (19) the locative pattern, although the existential verbs in (18) and (19) are the same as in (16) and (17), respectively.

(16) ´ŋa=rə   ´cheNbo-kə   ´ʈhatɕo   ¯nɛ=tɕʉ   ´tɕʌ.
      1SG=GEN   bag-inside   cup   two=NC   exist$_5$
      "There are two cups in my bag." [existence] = (7)

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[15] Huang (1990, 1991) describes the verb $ta^{33}na^{55}$ in Zhatuo nDrapa, which corresponds to the verb ¯tʌ-nʌ-a I have found in Mätro nDrapa, as the (exclusive) past existential verb. However, her description of the verb $ta^{33}na^{55}$ of Zhatuo nDrapa does not apply to the verb ¯tʌ-nʌ-a of Mätro nDrapa.

[16] Examples from folk tales are indicated as FT.

[17] In nDrapa, a locative NP is either a noun with a locative marker (LOC) or a location noun, that is, a locative marker is not required for a location noun. A location noun may be formed by addition of a location suffix such as -ʈo "place" and -kə "inside."

(17) ˉʜpo=wu ˊpopi ˊʙɛpɛ ˋtɕw-ɛ.
meadow=LOC insect many exist$_6$-DISJ
"There are many insects in the meadow." [existence]

(18) ˊno=rʌ ˊɴkho ˊŋa=rə ˉpaopao-kə ˊtɕʌ.
2SG=GEN key 1SG=GEN bag-inside exist$_5$
"Your key is in my bag." [location] = (2)

(19) ˉŋoro ˉɴdu ˋtɕw-ɛ.
3SG PN exist$_6$-DISJ
"He is in Dartsemdo (ˉɴ*du*)." [location]

Distinction of these implications derives from the consituent order: an existential sentence is interpreted as a location sentence if the location (Y in (15b)) is new/focused information, but is interpreted as a narrowly defined existential sentence if the subject (X) is new/focused information. Put another way, the subject of a location sentence is usually identifiable and the subject of a strict existential sentence is usually unidentifiable. As Dryer (2007: 240–244) points out, this is often the case in other languages as well.

Thus, in nDrapa, a verb-final language, the order of NPs is not strictly fixed, and the constituent order reveals that new information naturally follows old information.

2.3. Previous studies and correspondence

A few previous studies have been conducted on dialects of the nDrapa language. Gong (2007) describes a dialect which belongs to the nDramä (lower nDrapa) dialect group. Huang (1990, 1991, and editor-in-chief 1992) deals with the Zhatuo dialect that is spoken in the Zhatuo District (扎拖乡) of Daofu County, and this is another dialect that belongs to the nDrastä (upper nDrapa) dialect group, just as the Mätro dialect does.

Huang (1990, 1991) provides general information on the Zhatuo dialect. Existentials in the Zhatuo dialect shown in Huang (1991: 89–90) correspond to the existential verbs of the Mätro dialect in this paper, as seen in Table 3[18]:

Table 3.　Correspondence between two nDrastä dialects

Zhatuo	tɕø^{55}	tɕa^{33}zɛ̠^{55}	tɕʌ^{13}	ɕɛ^{55}	pʊ^{13}	nʄjø^{55}	tɕɛ^{13}	ʃi^{55}	tə^{33}na^{55}
Mätro	ˋtɕw-ɛ	ˊtɕa=rɛ	ˊtɕʌ	ˋɕj-ɛ	ˊpo	—	ˊtɕj-ɛ	ˋɕɨ	ˉtʌ-nʌ-a

Gong (2007: 93–95) reports the existence of eight existential verb stems of nDramä. Their correspondence to the Mätro dialect of nDrastä is shown in Table 4.

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[18] Huang (1990, 1991) regards existential verb complexes including affix or particle as existential verbs (存在动词). She also introduces the first person form of *tɕø*^{55} and *ɕɛ*^{55}: *tɕy*^{55} and *ɕi*^{55} respectively (Huang 1991: 90). "The first person" and "the third person" in her studies correspond to conjunct and disjunct in this paper, respectively.

Table 4.   Correspondence between dialect groups

nDramä	nə⁵⁵	pʊ³⁵	tɕyi⁵⁵	ɕi⁵⁵	tɕə¹³	tɕa⁵⁵	ndzʊ⁵⁵	ndzʐ̩⁵⁵
Mätro (nDrastä)	ˉnʌ	´po	`tɕʉ	`ɕɨ	´tɕʌ	´tɕa	—	—

In these previous studies, however, the description of the existential verbs is abridged. For example, the implication of the stems corresponding to *´po* and *ˉnʌ* is only described as follows: Zhatuo *pʊ¹³* implies "possession or abstract existence (领有的事物或抽象事物的存在)" (Huang 1991: 89); nDramä *pʊ³⁵* and *nə⁵⁵* imply "possession (拥有)" and "existence (存在)," respectively (Gong 2007: 93). See Table 5.

Table 5.   *´po* and *ˉnʌ*

Mätro (nDrastä)	´po	(§3.1.1)	ˉnʌ	(§3.2)
Zhatuo (nDrastä)	pʊ¹³	possession or abstract existence	(tə³³na⁵⁵)	(past existence)
nDramä	pʊ³⁵	possession	nə⁵⁵	existence

In this paper, a more detailed description of *´po* and *ˉnʌ* is given in terms of the correlation between argument animacy and the existential verbs.

3. Animacy Effects on Existential Sentences

In this section I consider how animacy of the arguments affects the implications of an existential sentence. Here "argument" refers to the subject and the locative NP, that is, X and Y in (15), respectively.

As for *´tɕa*, *´tɕʌ*, *`tɕʉ* and *`ɕi*, the animacy of the subject (X) is normally fixed. On the other hand, the subject of *´po* and *ˉnʌ* can be either animate or inanimate. The animacy value of the locative NP (Y) is not fixed with any existential verb stems.

3.1. Animacy of the locative NP
3.1.1. The existential stem *´po* and implication of possession

An existential sentence can also describe possession, in the case where the locative NP is animate and the subject is inanimate. The existential verb *´po* is used to express possession, and the use of the clitic *la*, which marks the possessor, is preferred.

In this paper, I regard sentences that imply possession in nDrapa as forms of existential sentences, owing to the fact that both include existential verbs, and in both cases, the possessive implication depends on the animacy of the NPs. I also regard *la* as one of the locative markers.[19]

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[19] It is considered, however, that the main function of *la* is to mark the possessor. In the fieldwork I have conducted so far, *la* has been found only in clauses with the existential verb stem *´po*, and in many cases, *la* can be interpreted as the possessor marker. Dryer

There are two patterns of constituent order, as shown in (20a) and (20b); however, the former pattern in which the possessor comes first is preferred over the latter.

(20) a. [Y: loc (ANIMATE)] [X: ABS] [EXISTENTIAL VERB]
          "Y has X." (possession)
      b. [X: ABS] [Y: loc (ANIMATE)] [EXISTENTIAL VERB]
          "Y has X." (possession, X = topic)

An example of each pattern is provided below. (21) represents the pattern where the locative Y comes first, and in (22), the subject X comes first.

(21) ˉtshoɴba=la   ́tɕhuʈi   ́nɛ=ji   ́pw-ɛ.
      storekeeper=LOC   car   two=NC   exist$_1$-DISJ
      "The storekeeper has two cars." [possession]
(22) ́no=rʌ   ́ɴkho   ́ŋa=la   ́po.
      2SG=GEN   key   1SG=LOC   exist$_1$
      "I have your key." [possession] or "Your key is at my place (as usual)." [location]

If Y is not animate, the sentence that has the same constituent order and the same existential verb stem as (21) becomes a narrowly defined existential sentence, as shown in (23) and (24).

(23) ˉn̠jɛ-rə   ˉʈoɴba-kə   ́ʜbiʜgɛ   ́nɛ=ji   ́po.
      1PL-GEN   village-inside mute   two=NC   exist$_1$
      "There are two mutes in our village."
(24) ́satsa   ́ɴbɛle-kə   ́zoɴkha   ́pɛpɛ   ́po=ʈ-ɛ.
      land   all-inside   country   many   exist$_1$=IPF-DISJ
      "There are many countries in the world."

In my past fieldwork, I was unable to find an example that had an inanimate locative NP and that had the same constituent order and existential stem as (22). Example (25) has the same structure in (22) but the existential stem is different. It conveys the reading of temporal location of the subject (cf. §2.2). Thus, the property of the existential stem ́po is important in the pattern of (20b).

(25) ́no=rʌ   ́ɴkho   ́ŋa-ʈo   ́tɕa.
      2SG=GEN   key   1SG-place   exist$_4$
      "Your key is (put without being covered) at my place." [location] = (3)

The existential verb stem ́po implies settled existence or affiliation (Shirai 2006: 151–152). It cannot be used if the subject is not attributed to anyone/anywhere, and its existence is not fixed, as in (26a). The stem ˉnʌ is acceptable in this case, as in (26b).

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(2007: 245) points out that "in many languages, …predicate possession clauses resemble existential clauses but the possessor is treated differently." The usage of *la* in nDrapa appears to conform to this generalization.

(26) a. *´ɴdaɴkhɛrə ´vi ´pɛpɛ ´po ʈhe.
　　　formerly jackal a.lot exist₁ PST.HABIT
　　　"There used to be many jackals."
　　b. ´ɴdaɴkhɛrə ´vi ´pɛpɛ ‾nʌ ʈhe.
　　　fomerly jackal a.lot exist₂ PST.HABIT
　　　"There used to be many jackals."

Animacy also plays a role in the behavior of the locative marker *la* in *´po*-existential sentences.

When the possessor (Y) is in the first person and is in sentence-initial position, the locative marker can be omitted, as seen in example (27).[20] The locative marker *la* usually cannot be omitted if Y is not in first person or if Y follows the subject. In (28), the possessor Y is in third person, and *la* is required. In (29), the possessor Y follows the subject, and *la* is required.

(27) ‾ŋa ´wotshɨ `sei=ji ´po.
　　　1SG hat three=NC exist₁
　　　"I have three hats."
(28) ‾ŋoro=la ´kjɛmʌ ´ʜgwiʜgwi=ji ´pw-ɛ
　　　3SG=LOC clothes good=NC exist₁-DISJ
　　　"He has nice clothes."
(29) ´no=rʌ ´ɴkho ´ŋa=la ´po.
　　　2SG=GEN key 1SG=LOC exist₁
　　　"I have your key." = (22)

However, just in case the subject (X) is animate, the omission of the locative marker *la* does not occur, even when the possessor Y is in sentence-initial position, and is in first person. In this pattern, the presence of *la* serves to avoid ambiguity.

(30) ‾ɴda ‾ɲjɛ=la ´khʌ `lɛzɨzɨ=tɕʉ ´po ʈhe.
　　　fomerly 1PL=LOC dog small=NC exist₁ PST.HABIT
　　　"We used to have a small dog."

In addition to *´po*, there are also examples of other existential verb stems implying possession. Examples are seen in (31) and (32), and they show the pattern where the locative NP comes first.

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[20] This fact suggests that the first-person possessor in the initial position has high topicality. Moreover, the acceptability of the omission of the locative particle *la* depends on the topicality if the locative NP is not the first person.
　a.　´anʌ ´no=la ´ma-pw-ɛ.
　　　today 2SG=LOC NEG-exist₁-DISJ
　　　(Distributing food) "There is nothing for you today."
　b.　‾no ´ɕimu ´ma-pw-ɛ.
　　　2SG strength NEG-exist₁-DISJ
　　　"You don't have much strength."

(31) ´rʌta=wu   ´vwoli   ´nɛ=.ji   ´tɕʌ=ʈ-ɛ.
      animal=LOC   kidney   two=NC   exist₅=IPF-DISJ
      "An animal has two kidneys (inside the body)."

(32) ⁻ŋoro=wu   ´ja   ⁻phapi   ´jaɴtɕhi   ´ma-ɕj-ɛ.
      3SG=LOC   hand   half   only   NEG-exist₃-DISJ
      "He has only one hand."

3.1.2. The existential stem `ɕi and a "clothing" interpretation

The existential verb stem `ɕi implies that the subject (X) exists in a manner such that the speaker cannot move it.[21] For example, X itself is immobile as shown in (33), or it exists as a part of the locative noun (Y), as shown in (34). Thus, as I mentioned earlier, X is normally inanimate.

(33) ⁻khwikha=ni   ´pɛpɛ   ⁻ɕɨ=ʈ-ɛ.
      valley=TOP   a.lot   exist₃=IPF-DISJ
      "There are so many valleys." [FT]

(34) ⁻ŋoro   ⁻ʜnɛmipʌlʌ=wu   ´natsa   `ɕj-ɛ.
      3SG   heart=LOC   disease   exist₃-DISJ
      "He has a heart disease." (*lit.* He has a disease on his heart.)

In contrast, the locative noun (Y) can be animate. In this case, the subject (X) is divided into two categories: alienable and inalienable. If X is an inalienable part of Y, the interpretation is that Y and X are in a whole-part relationship. If X is alienable, it is interpreted that X is a part of Y's clothing (Shirai 2006: 153), that is, Y wears X. This point is illustrated below in (35).

(35) a. [Y: LOC (ANIMATE)] [X: ABS (INALIENABLE)] [`ɕi]
          "Y has X." (possession/part)
      b. [Y: LOC (ANIMATE)] [X: ABS (ALIENABLE)] [`ɕi]
          "Y wears X."

(36) and (37) are examples of the pattern evident in (35a) and in (35b), respectively. The particle *wu* marks the whole-part relationship between ´vi "jackal" and `tɕhi "tooth", as shown in (36). And in (37), since X is alienable, the particle *wu* is not present.[22]

(36) ´vi=wu   `tɕhɨ   ´riɾi   ⁻ɕɨ=ʈ̥-ɛ.
      jackal=LOC tooth   long   exist₃=IPF-DISJ
      "Jackals have big fangs."

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[21] Here, I cautiously limit the specification to the first person in order to make it consistent with the "clothing" reading; that is, the speaker may recognize that although he/she can hardly remove somebody else's clothing, the clothing can be removed easily by the one who wears it. This specification might be extended to the speech act participant, although further discussion is not our present concern.

[22] The omission of the locative particle in (37) is considered to reflect the high topicality of the locative NP (⁻ŋoro). Please refer to Note 20.

(37) ⁻ŋoro ´n̠ətsʌlʌ ´nɛ=the `çj-ɛ.
　　3SG　necklace　two=NC　exist₃-DISJ
　　"She wears two necklaces."

3.2. Animacy and the stem ⁻nʌ

The characteristics of the verb stem ⁻nʌ in Mätro nDrapa have not been investigated in the previous studies. Its behavior is closely related to the animacy of the arguments. For example, I have not found any examples in which both arguments (the subject and the locative NP) are inanimate.[23]

3.2.1. Two readings of the ⁻nʌ-existential sentences

In this section, I will discuss the two readings of the ⁻nʌ-existential sentences. The fist one is existence of the animate subject. The second one is distributing or gaining.

The stem ⁻nʌ is interchangeable with ´po just in case the subject, *five people*, is animate and the locative NP, *inside house*, is not animate, as indicated in the examples in (38) below.

(38) a. ⁻Nda　　⁻n̠jɛ　　⁻je-kə　　　⁻ŋθ=zja　⁻tʌ-nʌ-a　　　´rɛ.
　　　　fomerly　1PL　house-inside　five=NC　DIR-exist₂-DISJ　SFP
　　　　´xɛ　　⁻sei=zja　´aNtɕhi　´ma-nʌ.
　　　　now　three=NC　only　　NEG-exist₂
　　　　"Formerly, our family had five people. Now there are only three people."
　　b. ⁻Nda　　⁻n̠jɛ　　⁻je-kə　　　⁻ŋθ=zja　⁻to-po-a　　　´rɛ.
　　　　fomerly　1PL　house-inside　five=NC　DIR-exist₁-DISJ　SFP
　　　　´xɛ　⁻sei=zja　´aNtɕhi　´ma-po.
　　　　now　three=NC　only　　NEG-exist₁
　　　　"Formerly, our family had five people. Now there are only three people."

Below are additional examples that show that the existential verb with the stem ⁻nʌ takes an animate subject. This pattern forms narrowly defined existential sentences. (39) is a sentence that is cited from a narrative and expresses existence in the past, and the existence of the *servants* as a fact. In (40), the existence of many rabbits is presented as common knowledge (cf. §2.1.2). The locative NP is omitted in these examples, but is inanimate: from the context, the location of each example, "the rich home" and "the world," respectively, is implied, and therefore does not need to be stated.

(39) `joHpu　⁻seiriNba　⁻tʌ-nʌ-a　　　´rɛ.
　　servant　three.ranks　DIR-exist₂-DISJ　SFP
　　"There were three ranks of servants (in the rich home)." [FT]

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[23] However, there are examples with an inanimate subject and no explicit locative noun, as seen in (41) and (42).

(40) ˊɴʈhʌli-pe   ˊŋa ˊma-rɛ.   ˊseipʌнda ˊpɛpɛ ‾nʌ=ʈ-ɛ.
      tell.a.lie-NMLZ   1SG NEG-COP   rabbit   a.lot   exist$_2$=IPF-DISJ
      (A rabbit says,) "The liar (rabbit) is not me. There are many rabbits (in the world)." [FT]

The stem ‾nʌ can also take an inanimate subject. We can find some idiomatic phrases with ‾nʌ and an inanimate subject, as shown in (41) and (42) below.

(41) ‾xo-нgwi   ˊma-n-ɛ.
      more-good   NEG-exist$_2$-DISJ
      "I am satisfied." (*lit.* There could not be a better one.)

(42) ˊtөɴda   ˊma-n-ɛ.
      matter   NEG-exist$_2$-DISJ
      "None of your business." (*lit.* There's no problem.)

Again, in (41) and (42) the locative NP does not appear, but in these examples, it is considered to be animate: (41) implies that there could not be any better one **for the speaker(s)**, so the speaker is satisfied; (42) implies that there's no problem **for the speaker(s)**, so the hearer does not need to be concerned. In each case, the omitted locative Y is considered to be in first person.

It appears that the stem ‾nʌ has almost the same implication as ˊpo in the following examples in (43), which contain an inanimate subject. Thus, they can be interchanged in this context.

(43) a. ‾tɛ=zja   ‾tɛ=zja=wu   ˋlɛ   ˊnɛ=.ji   ˊnɛ=.ji   ‾nʌ=ʈ-ɛ.
          one=NC   one=NC=LOC   Baozi   two=NC   two=NC   exist$_2$=IPF-DISJ
          "There are two Baozis (steamed buns with filling) for each person." or
          "Each person can take two Baozis."
      b. ‾tɛ=zja   ‾tɛ=zja=la   ˋlɛ   ˊnɛ=.ji   ˊnɛ=.ji   ˊpo=ʈ-ɛ.
          one=NC   one=NC=LOC   Baozi   two=NC   two=NC   exist$_1$=IPF-DISJ
          "There are two Baozis for each person." or "Each person has two Baozis."

However, in the examples in (44) and (45), which are examples of the possessive pattern, ‾nʌ is unacceptable and it cannot replace ˊpo.[24]

(44) a. ‾ŋoro=la   ‾ɴda   ˊtaja   ˊpɛpɛ   ‾to-po-a   ˊrɛ.
          3SG=LOC   fomerly money   a.lot   DIR-exist$_1$-DISJ   SFP
          "He had much money formerly."
      b. *‾ŋoro=la   ‾ɴda   ˊtaja   ˊpɛpɛ   ‾tʌ-nʌ-a   ˊrɛ.
          3SG=LOC   fomerly money   a.lot   DIR-exist$_2$-DISJ   SFP

(45) a. ‾shonɛ   ‾ŋoro=la ˋje   ‾seнpe=ji   ˊpo=ʈ-ɛ.
          next.year 3SG=LOC house   new=NC   exist$_2$=IPF-DISJ
          "He will have a new house next year."

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[24] Here we can ignore the difference between locative markers (*la* and *wu*). (44b) and (45b) are unacceptable regardless of which locative marker is used.

b. *⁻shonɛ   ⁻ŋoro=la   ʹje   ⁻sеНpe=ji   ⁻nʌ=ʈ-ɛ.
    next.year   3sG=LOC   house   new=NC   exist₂=IPF-DISJ

This is because, in contrast to ʹpo, the existential sentence with the stem ⁻nʌ does not imply possession, even though the locative NP (Y) is animate. Just in case the subject is inanimate, the sentence with ⁻nʌ implies an active meaning: someone distributes X to Y or Y gains X. For example, sentence (46), with the verb ⁻nʌ, may be uttered when the speaker is distributing money to several people and found that there was not enough money. (46) implies that the hearer cannot get money because there is a lack of money. On the other hand, sentence (47), using the verb ʹpo, simply implies that the hearer does not have, or possess, money.

(46)   ⁻no=wu   ˋtɕuu   ʹtaja   ʹma-n-ɛ.
      2sG=LOC   now   money   NEG-exist₂-DISJ
      "There is no money for you to take now."

(47)   ⁻no=la   ˋtɕuu   ʹtaja   ʹma-pw-ɛ   ʹmo.
      2sG=LOC   now   money   NEG-exist₁-DISJ   CFM
      "You don't have money now, do you?"

What has been stated regarding the existential verb stem ⁻nʌ is tentatively summarized in (48). In most instances of "distributing/gaining" ⁻nʌ, Y in (48b) is marked with the particle *wu*.[25]

(48)   a.   ([Y: LOC (INANIMATE)]) [X: ABS (ANIMATE)] [⁻nʌ]
          "There is X at Y." (existence)
      b.   ([Y: LOC (ANIMATE)]) [X: ABS (INANIMATE)] [⁻nʌ]
          "X is gained (by Y)./Y can take X." (distributing/gaining)

The following are additional examples of the "distributing/gaining" property of the existential verb stem ⁻nʌ.

(49)   ⁻ŋoro=wu=ji   ⁻Ntshɛ   ⁻nʌ=ʈ-ɛ.
      3sG=LOC=also   Chinese.dishes   exist₂=IPF-DISJ
      "There are dishes for him to take, too."

(50)[26]ʹluНto   ⁻thʉ   ⁻nʌ.
      idea   LOG   exist₂
      "I know how to do it." (*lit.* I can get an idea) [FT]

Here a problem remains. Which animacy value is more significant in (48), animacy of the subject or of the locative NP? It should be noted that the reading of

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[25] One of the functions of *wu* is to mark the recipient, which is the implication here.
   ʹsomuɳi   ⁻ɲjɛ   ⁻tsheri=wu   ʹtaja   ʹkhe=ʈʌ.
   tomorrow   1PL   PN=DAT   money   give=IPF
"We are going to give Tseri money tomorrow."

[26] The subject is found in sentence-initial position as the topic in this example. The locative marking on the logophoric pronoun ⁻thʉ is omitted, because the grammatical relation is clear from both the conjunct form and the context.

possession is determined only by the animacy of the locative NP, that is, Y in (20), as repeated below.

(20) a. [Y: LOC (ANIMATE)] [X: ABS] [EXISTENTIAL VERB]
          "Y has X." (possession)
      b. [X: ABS] [Y: LOC (ANIMATE)] [EXISTENTIAL VERB]
          "Y has X." (possession, X = topic)

Moreover, whether the subject is animate does not affect the meaning of the other existential verb stems. Therefore, it seems redundant to specify the animacy of both arguments, X (subject) and Y (locative NP), in (48). I will consider this point in the next section.

3.2.2. The animacy which matters

I will start the discussion in this section by contrasting the subject of ‾nʌ-existential sentences with that of `tɕʉ-existential sentences, and then clarify the animacy effects on the ‾nʌ-existential sentences.

   The stem `tɕʉ requires an animate subject in principle (§2.1.1). On the other hand, the subject of ‾nʌ needs to be animate if the intended implication is narrowly defined existence, as indicated in (48) in the preceding section. Thus, these two stems, `tɕʉ and ‾nʌ, are interchangeable in most cases. See examples in (51) and (52).

(51) a. ´Ndaɴkherə ´vi   ´pɛpɛ   ‾nʌ   ʈhe.
          fomerly   jackal   a.lot   exist₂   PST.HABIT
          "There used to be many jackals." = (26a)
      b. ´Ndaɴkherə ´vi   ´pɛpɛ   ‾tɕʉ   ʈhe.
          fomerly   jackal   a.lot   exist₆   PST.HABIT
          "There used to be many jackals."
(52) a. ‾Nda   ‾Htɛwu=nʌ   ‾Hpei=ji   ‾tʌ-nʌ-a   ´rɛ.
          fomerly   PN=COM   lord=NC   DIR-exist₂-DISJ   SFP
          "Once upon a time, there was a lord in Stau."
      b. ‾Nda   ‾Htɛwu=nʌ   ‾Hpei=ji   ‾to-tɕʉ-a   ´rɛ.
          fomerly   PN=COM   lord=NC   DIR-exist₅-DISJ   SFP
          "Once upon a time, a lord stayed in Stau."

   However, as Shirai (2006: 156) points out, the stem `tɕʉ appears to cooccur with an inanimate subject in some examples. These deviations can be divided into two groups. First, the subject can be inanimate if it is interpreted as something that can move autonomously, which is typically a natural phenomenon. See example (53).

(53)[27] ‾Nkhuta ´Htei   ´pɛpɛ   `tɕw-ɛ.
          sky   cloud   a.lot   exist₆-DISJ
          "There are many clouds in the sky."

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[27] This sentence can be paraphrased with the stem `ɕi. Sentences with the stem `ɕi imply that the speaker cannot move the subject.

Second, if the subject is a place that can have inhabitants, the subject can be inanimate, as seen in the example in (54).

(54)[28]   ˊ{oɴba   ˉtɕitɕi=ji   ˉtɕɵ={-ɛ.
            village   big=NC   exist$_6$=IPF-DISJ
            "There is a big village and people live there." (*lit.* There is a big village [and it has life].)

If we replace the existential verb stem with ˉnʌ, the first pattern seen in (53) is not acceptable, as indicated in (55).

(55) *ˉɴkhuta   ˊʜtei   ˊpɛpɛ   ˉn-ɛ.
        sky   cloud   a.lot   exist$_2$-DISJ

The next example appears to be parallel to example (53), except that it implies "gaining."[29] That is, we can assume the first person plural as the implicit locative NP in this sentence, as well as in (41) and (42).

(56) ˊanʌ   ˉli   ˉtsɨkapɛ   ˊn-ɛ.
        today   light.wind   a.little   exist$_2$-DISJ
        "There is light breeze today." or "We've got light breeze today."

In contrast to this example, (55) does not allow the "gaining" interpretation, because it includes the inanimate locative NP, that is, the location noun ˉɴkhuta "sky."[30] As illustrated in (48b), the implication of "gaining" is derived when the subject is inanimate and the locative NP is animate.

The contrast between (53) and (55) suggests that the "animacy" that the stem ˋtɕɵ requires from its subject and the "animacy" which affects the reading of the ˉnʌ-existential sentence are not consistent; that is, the former is more extended than the latter. In (53), the natural phenomenon ˊʜtei "cloud" meets the requirement of animacy for the existential verb stem ˋtɕɵ, because the range of animacy is extended to something that moves autonomously. On the other hand, ˊʜtei "cloud" does not license the "existence" reading to the ˉnʌ-existential sentence, because it is not animate in the strict sense.

As for the second pattern found in (54), we can find a similar example, as evidenced in (57). The existential verb stem ˉnʌ in (57) can be replaced by ˋtɕɵ.

ˉɴkuta   ˊʜteiɴbozɨ   ˋɕj-ɛ.
sky   cloud   exist$_3$-DISJ
"There are clouds in the sky."

[28] This sentence also can be paraphrased with the stem ˋɕɨ.

ˊ{oɴba   ˉtɕitɕi=ji   ˉɕɨ={-ɛ.
village   big=nc   exist$_3$=ipf-disj
"There is a big village."

[29] According to my consultant, the noun ˉli is preferable to ˉluthe (big wind), because it blows apart the chaff after threshing highland barley.

[30] ˉɴkhuta "sky" is the compound location noun consisting of ˉɴkhu "sky" and ˉt(h)a "upside."

(57) ⁻n̠jɛ   ˊʈoɴba   ˊnɛ=.ji   ⁻nʌ=ʈ-ɛ.
      1PL   village   two=NC   exist₂=IPF-DISJ
      "We (Our battalion) consist of two villages."

However, the issue is still open to discussion, because this example may be considered to imply the dividing of villages into battalions. Here the battalion is mentioned as the first person plural, because it is regarded as a group of people including the speaker. In other words, the locative noun in (57) is animate, so it is considered to license the "gaining" reading.

It may look as if (58) is problematic, because it appears to include two animate arguments.

(58) ⁻tɛ=zja   ⁻tɛ=zja=wu   ˊɴɖo   ⁻atɕʉ   ˊɴdʑʌ-zɛ   ⁻n-ɛ.
      one=NC   one=NC=LOC   horse   single   ride-NMLZ   exist₂-DISJ
      (Going for a trip) "Everyone can take a horse to ride."

In (58), both the subject (ˊɴɖo ⁻atɕʉ ˊɴdʑʌ-zɛ "a horse to ride") and the locative NP (⁻tɛ=zja ⁻tɛ=zja "each person") appear to be animate. However, ˊɴɖo ⁻atɕʉ "a horse" can be interpreted as a vehicle rather than an animate thing in this example, because it is appositional with the inanimate noun (nominalized verb) ˊɴdʑʌ-zɛ "vehicle; something to be ridden." While on the other hand, the locative NP is animate in the strict sense, because the classifier *zja* indicates a person.

All the instances of the ⁻nʌ-existential sentences we have observed so far involve a proper animate NP as an argument.[31] Thus, I conclude that a ⁻nʌ-existential sentence requires an animate argument ***either as the subject or the locative NP***, irrespective of whether it is explicitly mentioned or not. Moreover, it is the animate argument that licenses either reading (existential or distributing/gaining) of the sentence. The extent of the argument's animacy is limited, and excludes inanimate objects capable of moving autonomously. So, (48) should be revised as (59) below:

(59) a. ([Y: LOC]) [X: ABS (ANIMATE)] [⁻nʌ]
           "There is X at Y." (existence)
      b. ([Y: LOC (ANIMATE)]) [X: ABS] [⁻nʌ]
           "X is gained (by Y)./Y can take X." (distributing/gaining)

4. Conclusion

nDrapa has multiple existential sentences with multiple readings. This paper has presented an overview of the existential sentences of the Mätro dialect of the

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[31] As I mentioned earlier, I have not found any acceptable example in which both arguments are inanimate. For example, the sentence below is judged to be very odd, and the possible interpretation is not "there are three Tibetan breads (distributed) on each plate," but "Someone provides three breads on each plate *so as to give them to some people*." That is, an implicit animate recipient is required for the (forced) interpretation.

  ??ˊɴdiнpa   ˋtɛ=ji   ˋtɛ=ji-kə   ˊɴdɛɕi   ˋsei=ji   ˋsei=ji ⁻n-ɛ.
  plate   one=NC   one=NC-inside   Tibetan.bread   three=NC   three=NC exist₂-DISJ

nDrapa language and it has discussed its correlation with the animacy of the arguments.

The subject and a locative NP are arguments of an existential sentence in nDrapa. nDrapa is a head-final language, and the information structure may determine the order of the arguments. An existential sentence has a narrowly defined existential reading if the locative NP precedes the subject. However, if the subject precedes the locative NP, the sentence has a locative reading. This is due to the information structure, and the same holds true for other languages as well.

The animacy of an argument licenses certain readings of the existential sentence, and this phenomenon indicates several significant characteristics of nDrapa. The correlation between the animacy of arguments and the readings of existential sentences is summarized in Table 6.

Table 6.　Animacy of arguments and the readings of existential sentences

Stem	Subject	Locative NP	Reading
⁻nʌ	**animate**		**existence** of the animate subject
		animate	**distributing/gaining**
other		**animate**	**possession** (ʹpo is most preferred)
			exception: [stem = `ɕi; subject = alienable] > clothing

The animacy of the locative NP often leads to the reading of possession, particularly with the stem ʹpo. In the case that the existential sentence involves the stem `ɕi, which normally implies immobile existence, an animate locative NP and an alienable subject causes the "clothing" reading; that is, the locative NP wears the subject.

Readings of existential sentences with the stem ⁻nʌ have not been investigated sufficiently in previous studies. A ⁻nʌ-existential sentence requires a proper animate argument either as the subject or the locative NP, and it implies either a narrowly defined existence or "distributing/gaining." The reading of a ⁻nʌ-existential sentence alters depending on the animacy of the arguments. If the subject is animate, the ⁻nʌ-existential sentence conveys the reading of narrowly defined existence. On the other hand, if the locative NP is animate, the sentence conveys a "distributing/gaining" reading; that is, someone distributes the subject to the locative NP, or the locative NP gains the subject. Thus, there are important correlations between animacy of arguments and existential verbs in nDrapa.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person	3	third person
ADM	admirative	CFM	confirmative	COM	comitative
COP	copula	DAT	dative	DIR	directional prefix
DISJ	disjunct suffix	FT	folk tale	GEN	genitive
HABIT	habitual	IPF	imperfective	LOC	locative
LOG	logophoric pronoun	NC	noun classifier	NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer	PL	plural	PN	proper name
PST	past	SFP	sentence-final particle	SG	singular
TOP	topic marker	=	formation of a phonological word		

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【要　旨】

ダパ語の存在文における有生性

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　ダパ語（中国四川省，チベット＝ビルマ語派）には多様な存在文があり，さまざまな意味の違いに応じて使い分けられる。存在文の意味を決定する要素としては，存在動詞語幹の選択，接辞や助動詞の付加，構成素順，項の有生性がある。本論文では，特に，項の有生性がどのように存在文の意味に影響を及ぼすかに着目し，ダパ語の存在文に関する記述的研究をおこなった。

　6つあるダパ語の存在動詞語幹のうち，⁻nʌ は，主語もしくは位格 NP に有生物を要求し，主語が有生物の場合は存在文に，位格 NP が有生物の場合は分配・獲得を表す特異な存在文になる。その他の存在動詞語幹については，一般に，位格 NP が有生物の場合に所有文を形成する。ただし，存在動詞語幹 `ɕɨ については，位格 NP が有生で主語が分離可能である場合に，位格 NP が主語を身に付けた状態を表すという現象が見られた。