

Aspect, Evidentiality, Modality in Shuhi (Xumi, Shixing)

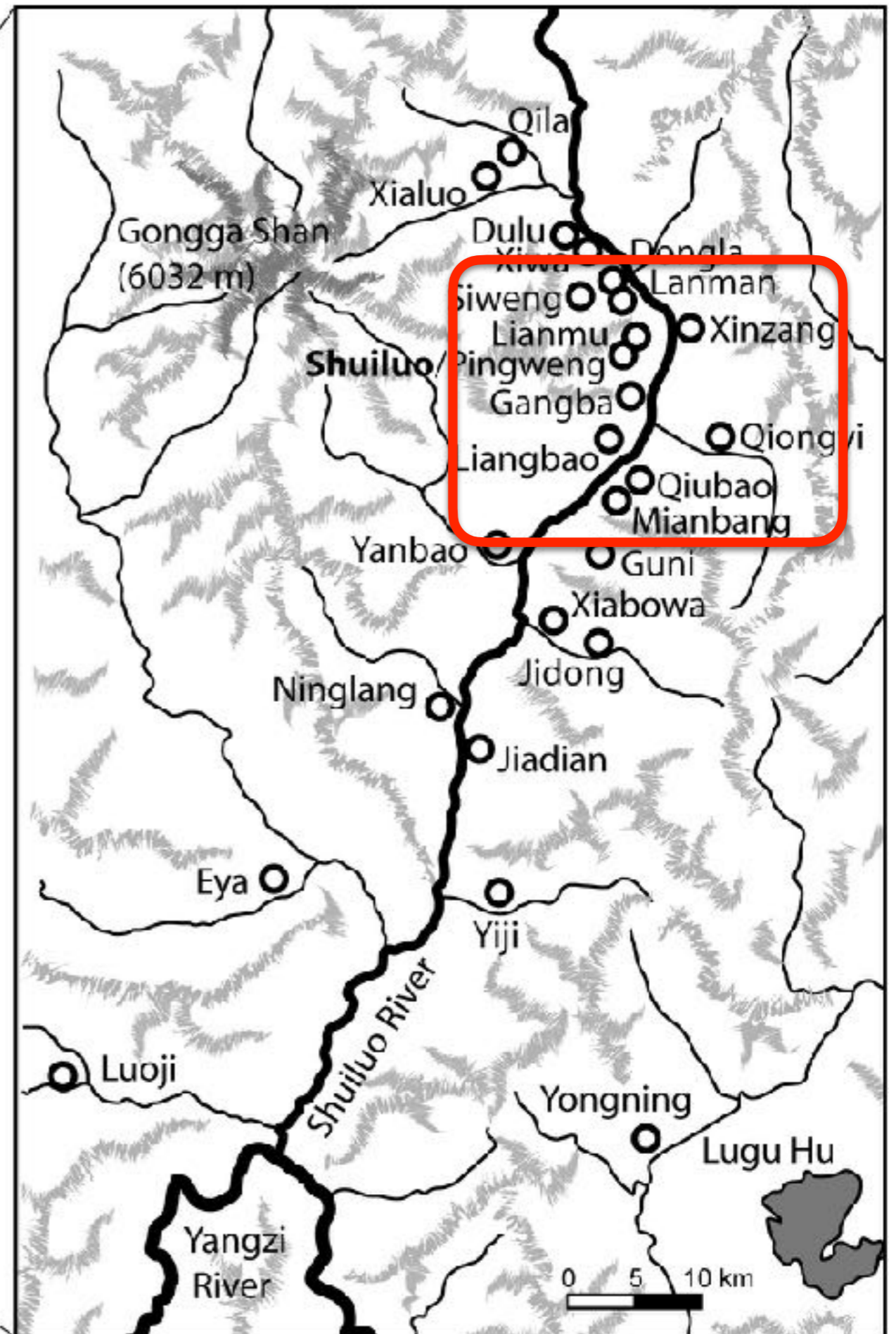
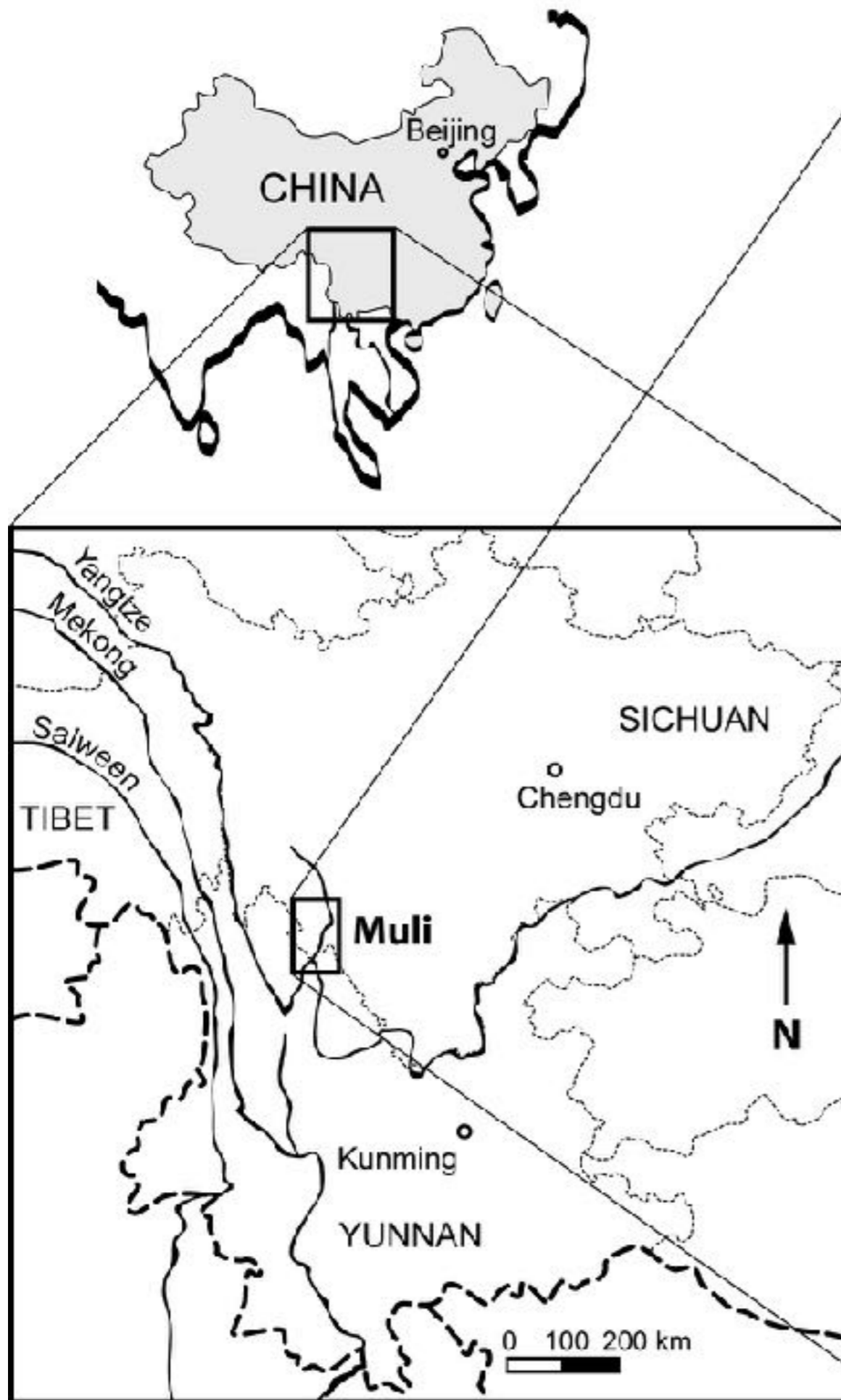
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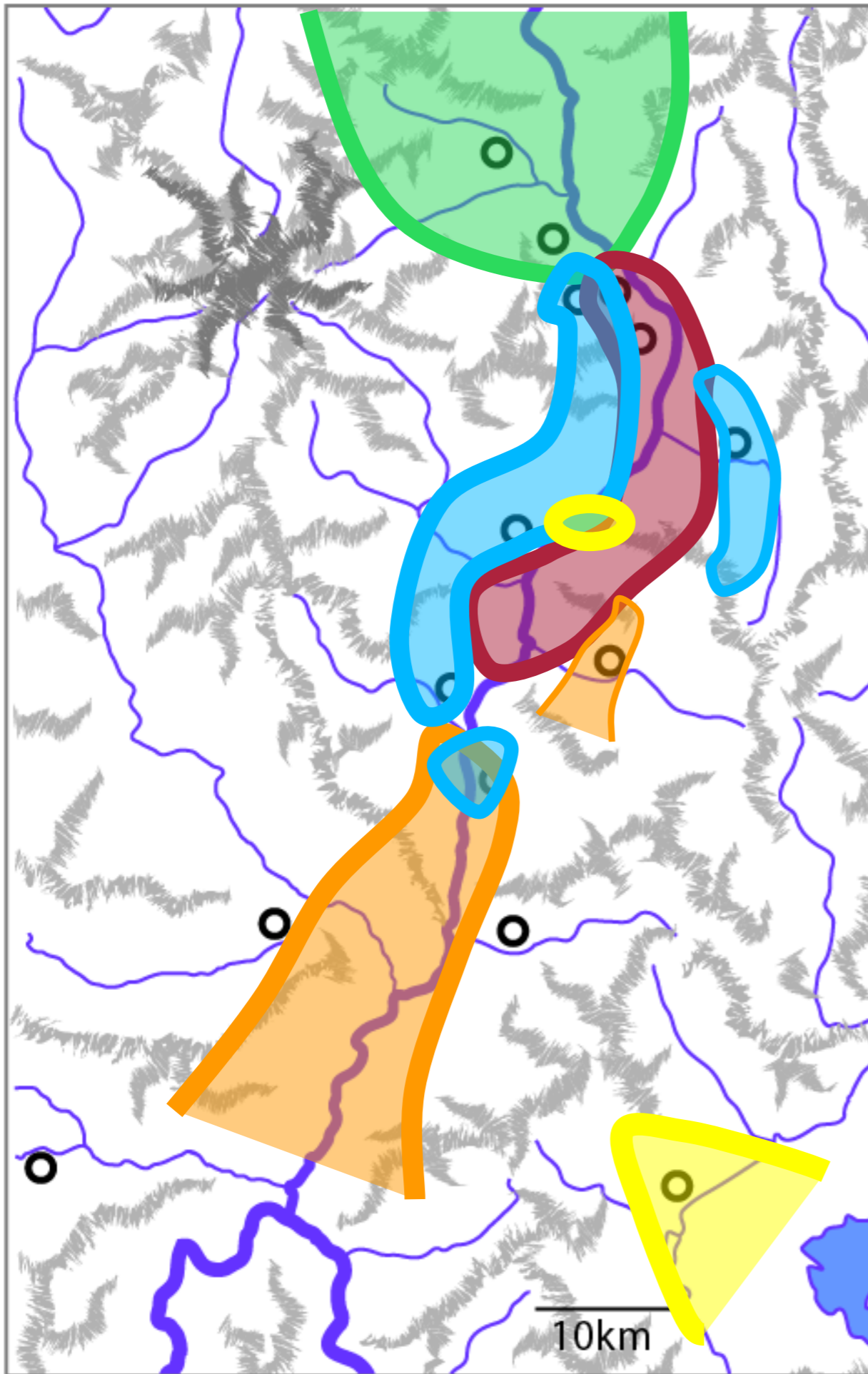
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■ Kami Tibetans

■ Shuhi

■ Pumi

■ Naxi

■ Mosuo

Previous Studies

- Sun Hongkai 孙宏开 (1983)
- Huang Bufan 黄布凡 & Renzeng Wangmu 仁增旺姆 (1991)
- Xu Dan 徐丹 (2009)
- Sun Hongkai et al. 孙宏开 (2014) *Shixingyu Yanjiu* 《史兴语研究》 [A Grammar of Shixing]
- Chirkova (2009, 2017) A grammar sketch

Previous analysis AME

Category	Sun (1983)	LX	Huang & Renzeng (1991)	UX
Prospective	1/2: we ⁵⁵ 3: we ⁵⁵ dzɿ ³⁵ rẽ ⁵⁵		g ₃ / ji ³³ 3: V g ₃ + p ₃ ⁵³ = ji ³³ speak=PRS	
Progressive	ji ⁵⁵		ji ³³	
Perfective	1/2: tɕɛ ⁵³ sɿ ³³ , sɿ ³³ 3: tɕyɛ ⁵³		sɿ ^{33/55}	
Terminative	ts ^h a ⁵⁵ = ha ³⁵ = sɿ ³³		ts ^h a ³³ = wu ⁵⁵ = sɿ ^{33/55}	
Experiential	dzɛ ⁵³		dzɜ ⁵³	
Direct/indirect	hɛ ⁵⁵ dzɑŋ ³¹ , dzɑŋ ³¹ , ɕɑŋ ³¹		dzã ³¹	Durative

Irrealis

ɤɔ/ɤõ

Differences in previous analyses

(i) differences in data sets used for analysis:

- greater use of elicitation in Sun (1983), Sun et al. (2014), Huang & Renzeng (1991)
- greater reliance on spontaneous discourse in Chirkova (2009, 2017)

(ii) differences between the sub-varieties of Shuhi, possibly reflecting contact influence from different languages:

- Sun (1983) and Sun et al. (2014): the sub-varieties of the lower and middle reaches of Shuiluo River
- Huang & Renzeng (1991) and Chirkova (2009, 2017): the sub-variety of the upper reaches of Shuiluo River

Present study

- an audio and video corpus of 73 hours (of which over 18 hours are annotated)
- various genres (including basic vocabulary elicitation, phonetic experiments, personal and traditional narratives, to ritual speech events, songs, and proverbs)
- over twenty speakers from the three main sub-varieties of the language of the upper, middle, and lower reaches of Shuiluo River

Goals

- An improved description of the AME system
- Reasons for differences in previous analyses
- Strategies that could be most adapted for fieldwork on underdescribed languages with complex systems of evidentiality and modality

Outline of the talk

- Verb template
 - Past events and situations
 - Non-past events and situations
- Conclusion

Verb template

Directional prefix /
Perfective prefix

Delimitative prefix
dʒi- ‘one’

Verb stem

Aspect /
Egophoricity
Evidentiality
Epistemicity

Reported evidential
*pe*⁵³ ‘speak’ +
aspect marker

*zã*³³ = *dʒi*⁵⁵
son=one

ɿə TOP *sə*³³ *ɿɛ*⁵⁵ = *la*
table=LOC

*mje*³³-*zũ*⁵⁵
downward-sit

*se*⁵⁵
CONJ

*q^hə*⁵⁵ *yɛ*⁵⁵ = *uei*⁵⁵
spoon=INSTR

*q^ho*⁵⁵ = *nɔ*
bowl=inside

*ku*⁵⁵ *ɿə*⁵⁵
stir

*se*⁵⁵
CONJ

*ha*⁵⁵
cooked.rice

*dze*³³ = *i*⁵⁵
eat= PROG

‘A man is sitting at the table, stirring with a spoon in a bowl and eating.’

Verbal Prefixes

Prefix	Meaning	Example
dʒi-	upward	/dʒi ³³ -tɕ ^h ɛ ³³ / 'lift up'
mjæ-	downward	/mjæ ³³ -ʒɐ ⁵³ / 'put down'
k ^h u-	inward	/k ^h u ⁵⁵ -lɐ ⁵⁵ / 'come in'
bə-	outward	/bə ⁵⁵ -lɐ ⁵⁵ / 'come out'
lɐ-	PFV	/lɐ ³³ -ʁo ³⁵ / 'have broken'

$x\epsilon^{33}-z\epsilon^{33} = h\tilde{i}^{55}$

$k^h u^{33}-l\epsilon^{33} = \epsilon\tilde{\nu}^{55}$

this-side?=NMLZ

inward-come.N-PST=IRR

‘(Come) this way, please.’

$h\tilde{i}^{55}$

$l\epsilon^{33}-d\zeta i^{33}-su^{55}$

$d\epsilon^{33} = \epsilon\tilde{\nu}^{55}$

person

PRF-ONE-count

do=IRR

‘Please count the number of people [in a meeting].’

$x\epsilon^{33} = no^{55}$

$b\epsilon^{33}-d\zeta i^{33}-ts^h \tilde{\nu}^{55}$

$d\epsilon^{33} = \epsilon\tilde{\nu}^{55}$

$p\epsilon^{55} = gj\epsilon^{53}$

this=inside

outward-one-dance

do=IRR

speak=PROG.Q

‘Would you agree to dance?’

Egophoricity, evidentiality, epistemicity

- egophoricity: whether one has privileged or non-privileged access to the knowledge that is conveyed in a proposition (e.g. Widmer & Zúñiga 2017)
- evidentiality: the linguistic encoding of the source of information
- epistemicity: the degree of confidence speakers have in their statements

Past events and situations

(1) sə; (2) tɕɜ⁵³/tɕɐ⁵³; (3) tɕyɜ⁵³/tɕye⁵³; (4) dzɔ̃³³/dzã³³/dzã³³

- 3rd (tɕye⁵³) vs non-3rd person marking (tɕɛ⁵³ sɿ³³, sɿ³³)
- dzã³³/dzɔ̃³³: direct/indirect/durative



zã³⁵ dzĩ tje⁵⁵ k^hu⁵⁵-lje⁵⁵ se se³³ɿɛ⁵⁵ la mje³³-zũ⁵⁵ tɕye
son one there inward-come CONJ chair LOC downward-sit VS

[The speaker watches a video clip describing what she sees:] ‘A man has come in and sat on the chair.’ (Staged events, 079ET_chairsit)

Past events

Controllable verbs, e.g. $dʒuɐ^{35}$ 'hit, beat, strike'

	1st	2nd	3rd
$sə$			
$tɕyɐ$			
$tɕɐ$			
$dʒã$			

= $sə$: perfect egophoric

= $tɕyɐ$: direct visual

= $tɕɐ$ = : completive

= $dʒã$: indirect visual

$tɕɐ^{53}$ 'put, place'

$dʒã^{35}$ 'exist, possess'

Non-controllable verbs, e.g. $l\epsilon^{33}k\omicron^{35}$ ‘break (intr.)’, $\lambda\epsilon^{33}b\upmu^{55}$ ‘laugh’, $l\epsilon^{55}y\upmu^{55}$ ‘rejoice’

$q^h u^{55}$ $l\epsilon^{33}-k\omicron^{35} = x\epsilon^{33} = s\epsilon^{53}$

bowl PFV-break=go.PST=PRF

‘The bowl broke.’

$x\epsilon$ ‘go (past stem, non-egophoric)’

wu ‘go (non-egophoric)’

$\eta\epsilon^{55} / t^h i^{55}$ $\lambda\epsilon^{33}b\upmu^{55} = x\epsilon = s\epsilon$

1SG / 3SG laugh=go.PST=PRF

‘I / he laughed.’

$t^h i^{55}-\lambda\epsilon^{31}$ $l\epsilon^{55}-y\upmu^{55} = x\epsilon = d\zeta\tilde{a}$

that-P PFV-be.happy=go.PST=exist

‘They were happy.’

$p\epsilon^{55} = i = d\zeta\tilde{a}$

speak=PROG=exist

Non-past events and situations

	1st	non-1st
i	progressive	dʒue ³³ i ⁵⁵
gaŋ	certainty, volition	dʒue ³³ gaŋ ⁵⁵
ku	'be able' --	dʒue ³³ ku ⁵⁵
ɬẽ ³⁵	possibility	huẽ ⁵⁵ [hĩ ⁵⁵ uẽ ³³ = i ⁵³]
gwei	permission	dʒue ³³ gwei ⁵⁵
ko	irrealis	ko

ts^hẽ⁵⁵ pẽ⁵⁵ tje⁵⁵ lje⁵⁵ = i⁵⁵ pje⁵⁵ = i⁵⁵
 rich.person here come=PROG speak=PROG

'The king is coming.'

Irrealis

- events and states that remain within the realm of thought and imagination
- the range of contexts in which irrealis constructions are employed: counterfactual conditionals, optative, hortative modalities

$\eta\epsilon^{55}$ $\text{ku}^{33}\text{-la}^{55}$ $\text{h}\tilde{\text{o}}^{55}$ $\text{d}\tilde{\text{z}}\tilde{\text{a}}^{35}$ ko zy $\text{d}\tilde{\text{z}}\tilde{\text{a}}^{33}\text{h}\tilde{\text{o}}^{55}$ $\text{d}\tilde{\text{z}}\tilde{\text{i}}$ $\text{j}\epsilon^{55} = \text{i}\tilde{\epsilon}^{33} = \text{h}\tilde{\text{i}}^{55}$
1SG on-LOC silver have IRR COND house one buy=PRSP=NMLZ.AGT

$\text{u}\tilde{\epsilon}^{33} = \text{i}^{55}$

COP=NMLZ

‘If I had money, I would be able to buy a house.’

$\text{m}\text{j}\epsilon^{33}\text{-z}\text{u}^{33} = \text{ko}^{55}$

downward-sit=IRR

‘Please sit down.’

Conclusion

- Previous studies have not provided a complete analysis of the complex systems of aspect, egophoricity, evidentiality, epistemicity in this language
- Fieldwork data: Obligatory combination of elicited and non-elicited data, non-verbal stimuli being of particular importance when long stay in the area where the language is spoken is not possible
- An intricate combination of aspect, egophoricity, evidentiality, and epistemicity
- The system is quite unlike that in the neighboring languages, creatively combining some recurrent patterns (e.g. egophoric/non-egophoric distinction, direct/indirect evidentials), using transparent (recent) grammaticalizations, the category of irrealis

Thank you for your attention!

Sound files available at:

<http://elararchive.org>

<https://pangloss.cnrs.fr>

<https://cocoon.huma-num.fr>