神戸市外国語大学 学術情報リポジトリ

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メタデータ	言語: eng
	出版者:
	公開日: 2010-03-25
	キーワード (Ja):
	キーワード (En):
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URL	https://kobe-cufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/980

A Brief Description of the Youle Jino Copula[*]

HAYASHI, Norihiko

1. Introduction

As is widely known, a copula is a kind of linguistic unit that behaves quite peculiarly in every language. Most linguists believe that copulas are meaningless (Hengeveld 1992, Pustet 2003, Stassen 2005), hence that seems to be why some languages have no copulas, like Tagalog (Schachter 1985).

Many Asian languages employ "copulaless" constructions to express the specificational/ predicational/ equative relationship between two noun phrases (hereafter, "NPs"). Even those languages that have "copulaless" constructions sometimes allow the copula(s) to occur in certain conditions, which might be referred to as "copularization". However, such conditions vary from language to language.

Youle Jino[1] (the Lolo-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, Xishuangbanna

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[1] The Jino language has two main dialects: Youle and Buyuan. Gai (1986) estimates that the ninety percent of the speakers speaks the Youle dialect and the remainder Buyuan. The total number of the Jino nationality amounts to 20,899 (2000 census). Dai et. al. (2007) reports the socio-linguistic situation of Youle Jino and concludes that Youle Jino is not currently threatened by linguistic endangerment. However, considering the fact that every new Jino generation has less and less knowledge of this language, the present author thinks that it is difficult to be optimistic about the future of Youle Jino.

Phonological inventory and typological features of Youle Jino are briefly summarized below.

[Phonological Inventory of Youle Jino]:

Consonants: /p, ph, t, th, k, kh; ts, tsh, tʃ, tʃh, tɕ, tɕh; m, m̥, n, n̥, ȵ, ȵ̥, ŋ, ŋ̥; l,l̥; f, v, s, z, ʃ, r, ç, j, x, ɣ, (w)/

Vowels: /i, e, ø, ɛ, œ, a, ə, ɔ, ɤ, o, ɯ, u/

Tonemes: /55, 44, 33, 35, 42/

Syllable Structure: (C1)(C2)V1(V2)(V3)(C3)/T <C2: -r- or -j-, C3: -n or -N>

/m,m̥, n,n̥/ can be syllabic nasals. As for the Youle Jino phonology, see Hayashi (2007, 2009).

[Typological Features of Youle Jino]:

Basic Constituent Order: SOV, Noun-Adjective, Possessive-Head Noun, Relative Clause-Head Noun

Jinghong [Yunnan, China]) has one copula, namely *ŋɯ55*. As in many other languages, *ŋɯ55* is also a verb but behaves in a rather different way from other "ordinary" verbs.

This paper aims to provide a brief description of the Youle Jino copula *ŋɯ55* and analyze what motivates copularization in this language using first-hand data[2].

2. Previous Works — Gai (1986)

According to a previous study of Youle Jino by Gai (1986), there are four allomorphs relating to the copula: *ŋə42*, *ŋə44*, *ŋə35*, and *ŋa55*. He says that each variant is employed in different semantic contexts, although his explanation is somewhat insufficient. Gai's examples and analyses are briefly summarized below.

■ [ŋə42→ŋə44]

If the copula occurs with a negative or an interrogative marker, its tone changes to 44 tone, as in (1).

(1) a. *ɕe33 ɤ33   nə42   pə42 se55 mɛ55 mɔ44 **ŋə44** a.*
    this PART 2SG.NOM hit   kill PART NEG COP
    "This is not what you hit to death." (Gai 1986: 54)

  b. *ɕe33 ɤ33   nə42   pə42 se55 mɛ55 **ŋə44** ɛ la42 ?*
    this PART 2SG.NOM hit   kill PART COP   Q
    "Is this what you hit to death?" (Gai 1986: 54)

Morphological Features: Agglutinative (Verbal Complex)

■ **[ŋə42→ŋə35]**

If the copula occurs in affirmative sentences, its tone changes to 35 tone, as in (2).

(2) *çe33 ʁ33 nə42   pə42 se55 mɛ55* **ŋə35** *a.*
     this PART 2SG.NOM   hit kill PART COP
     "This is what you hit to death." (Gai 1986: 54)

■ **[ŋə42→ŋa55]**

If the copula occurs in exclamative sentences, its form changes to *ŋa55*, as in (3).

(3) *tʃa42loe55 çe33 ʁ33 nə42   pə42 se55 mɛ55* **ŋa55** *.*
     Oh!   this PART 2SG.NOM   hit kill PART COP
     "Oh! This is what you hit to death." (Gai 1986: 54)

■ **[ŋə42]**

If the copula occurs in declarative sentences, its tone does not change, as in (4).

(4) *çe33 ʁ33 nə42   pə42 se55 mɛ55* **ŋə42** *a.*
     this PART 2SG.NOM   hit kill PART COP
     "This is what you hit to death." (Gai 1986: 55)

The above examples seem to highlight the differences in tone, which according to Gai may correspond to modality[3].

However, there are some problems in his analysis. According to my field notes, tonal alternation can usually occur irrespective of modality difference. It is difficult to predict, especially in the verbal complex. The present author is not investigating the relationship between the tonal alternation of the Youle Jino copula and modality difference. In addition, Gai describes only the morphophonological features of the Youle Jino copula, but does not explain its occurrence from morphosyntactic and semantic perspectives.

Hereafter this paper aims to describe the syntactic and semantic features of the Youle

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[3] In my field notes also, there are a certain number that are of examples of *ŋa55*, but at this point the present author considers that it is a kind of amalgamation— that is, *ŋɯ55* + *a*.

Jino copula and analyze what motivates its occurrence.

3. Formal Description

In this section, the characteristics of the Youle Jino copula ŋɯ55 [4] will be syntactically or formally described in two contexts: ŋɯ55 following NP and ŋɯ55 following non-NP.

3.1 ŋɯ55 following NP

The Youle Jino copula ŋɯ55 frequently occurs after NPs to denote specificational, predicational, and equative relationships between two NPs, as in (5).

(5) a.   çi44 ri33pen35 tshə33zɔ55 **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.
         this   Japan   people   COP-SFP
         "This is a Japanese people."

   b.   li33yun42 tshə33zɔ55   la55xɣ44 **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.
         Liyun (PSN) person   big   COP-SFP
         "Liyun is a big person."

   c.   pu55tɕhɛ55=jə44   ki55ŋo55   ma55tʃhə44 tɕɛ42-jɔ44   **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.
         Tai Lue people=and   Jino people friend   very-good   COP-SFP
         "Tai Lue people and Jino people are very good friends."

In (5), the copula ŋɯ55 with the sentence-final particle -nœ44 gives the sentence a predicate construction. In (5a), NP1 is çi44 and NP2 is ri33pen35 tshə33zɔ55. In (5b), NP1 is li33yun42 and NP2 is tshə33zɔ55 la55xɣ44. In addition, in (5c), NP1 is pu55tɕhɛ55=jə44   ki55ŋo55 and NP2 is ma55tʃhə44 tɕɛ42-jɔ44. The copula clearly expresses the relationship between the two NPs.

However, in the following example, if the relationship between the NPs can be construed from a semantic and a pragmatic viewpoint, the copula should be considered to occur optionally.

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[4] The tone of Youle Jino copula usually alters, such as ŋɯ33~ ŋɯ35~ŋɯ55~ ŋɯ42. This paper recognizes that the basic tone is 55 and there is no semantic difference in tonal variations of the copula.

(6) *çi44 ri33pen35 tshə33zɔ55.*
   this   Japan.OBL   people
   "This is a Japanese people."

  In (6), the relationship between NP1 and NP2 can be easily construed from the context, hence the copula is not necessary; however, this is not the case in negative sentences, as illustrated in (8) below.

  In (7), which is considered to be an example of a pseudo-cleft sentence, the NPs in the focus position (the <u>underlined</u> elements) can be followed by the copula *ŋɯ55*.

(7) a. *khɤ44 tɕɛ33xun35-mɤ55 <u>lao33ta35</u>   **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.*
     that   marry- NML   the oldest child   COP-SFP
     "That person who married is his/her oldest child."
  b. *a33ŋu55   çi55-lo44 khœ33-mɤ44 <u>çi55-lo44</u> **ŋɯ33**=ɛ44.*
     1PL.INCL.NOM this-like do-NML   this-like   COP=POSS
     "It is in this way that we do."
  c. *m44tʃi44 kɛ33-mɤ55 <u>mi33tha55 xo33-mɤ35</u>   **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.*
     ground   slide- NML rain (n.)   rain (v.)-PAST   COP-SFP
     "Why the land slid is because it rained."

  On the one hand, the relationship between NP1 and NP2 in affirmative sentences can be expressed by copulaless constructions (that is, with no overt copulas) as in (6), but on the other hand, the relationship in sentences with the tense/ aspect/ modality markers must be expressed by the copula.

  The following examples (8)-(11) are copulative sentences with the tense/ aspect/ modality markers.

[negative: mɔ-]

(8) a. *kan55tshao33phjen35   mɔ33-**ŋɯ55**-a44.*
     Gancaopian (drug name)   NEG-COP-PART
     "(That) is not a Gancaopian [medicine for a cough]."

b. *pa55tɔ44=a44* *mɔ33-ŋɯ55-a44.*
Baduo (PLN)=VA NEG-COP-PART
"(That) is not Baduo [PLN]."

c. *khɤ44 mɔ33-ŋɯ55-mɤ42, ŋa55vu44* *jin33nan33=ɛ55*
that NEG-COP-COND 1PL.EXCL.NOM Yunnan=POSS
ʃao35su35min33tsu33 phu33thoŋ33xua35 *mɔ55-pja42.*
minority   Putonghua (standard Chinese) NEG-speak
"Otherwise, we minorities of Yunnan do not speak Putonghua."

[past: -mɤ ~ -mɛ]

(9) a. *li33çɔ55* *ŋɯ33-mɛ35.*
   four hundred COP-PAST
  "(What he gave me) was four hundred yen."

  b. *kɔ33-ki55 li33-jen35* *ŋɯ33-mɛ35.*
   each-CL four-yen COP-PAST
  "It was four yen per five hundred grams."

  c. *ji55ʃi55* *mɔ55-pan33-vu44, ŋa55vu44* *thi55ma55* *ŋɯ33-mɛ35.*
  the former days NEG-move-RES 1PL.EXCL.NOM many COP-PAST
   "When I did not move (here), (the members of) our family amount to many."

[perfect: -xa]

(10) a. *ŋɔ33tshɤ55khjo33-mjɔ55 ŋɯ33-xɔ42,* *ŋɔ35=jə55* *thi33tʃhɔ55*
   fifty six-CL   COP-COND 1SG.OBL=and same
  ŋɯ33-xa44.
   COP-PFT
  "If (your father) is fifty-five years old, then he is as old as I!"

  b. *nɛ35* *ŋɯ33-mɛ55 ŋɯ33-xa55.*
   2SG.OBL COP-NML COP-PFT
  "(Those things) have become yours."

[experience: -tɔ]

(11) a. *zɔ55ku55 ʃɯ55-kɔ44-mɤ44 mi55ɲa44 **ŋɯ35**-<u>tɔ44</u>-a44.*
      child   take-PROG-NML   Mina (PSN)   COP-EXP-PART
      "The person who is taking a child is Mina (as is expected)."

     b. *a55ke55+kɔ55tø44=ɤ44 thi33tʃhɔ35 **ŋɯ35**-<u>tɔ44</u>-a44.*
      clothes+clothes=TOP   same   COP-EXP-PART
      "Clothes are the same as other minorities (as is expected)."

     c. *pra33-mjə42, tɕi35-ɔ44. li33-tsɯ55 **ŋɯ35**-<u>tɔ44</u>-a44.*
      chop-SEQ   slice-PART   4-CL   COP-EXP-PART
      "After (we) chop the tree, then we will slice it (with a sword). There are
      four (trees) left."

As shown above in (8)-(11), the copula follows NP2 and expresses the relationship between NP1 (or nominalized element) and NP2, though in some cases NP1 is covert in the sentence (for instance, 8a, 9a, 10b, 11c, etc.). Underlined forms in each example, namely *mɔ-, -mɤ ~ -mɛ, -me, -xa, -tɔ*, are all tense/ aspect/ modality markers that cannot be directly attached to nominals. They are all verbal affixes, hence they require verbal roots when attached. Noun phrases can construct sentences by themselves in Youle Jino, but in order to express tense/ aspect/ modality, the copula *ŋɯ55* is obligatory.

3.2 *ŋɯ55* following non-NP

The copula is naturally more likely to occur after NPs, but it is important to note that in Youle Jino the copula can occur after non-NPs.

Firstly, it should be pointed out that there are examples where a noun phrase and a citation form of adjective can be linked by the copula, as in (12).

(12) a. *çi44+pɔ44 ʃɔ33khi55 a33krø55 **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.*
      this+around   foot   slippery   COP-SFP
      "It is slippery here."

b. *nɔ33to55 a55tshɤ55* **ŋɯ33**-*nœ44.*

    nose   stuffed up   COP-SFP

    "(My) nose is stuffed up."

c. *tjao35+ju44-mɤ44 ŋɔ55tɤ55 tə33mo33 a33ɲi55* **ŋɯ33**-*nœ44.*

    fish (v.)+take-REL fish (n.)   all   small   COP-SFP

    "The fish that (we) fished are all small."

Youle Jino adjectives consist of a nominalizing prefix (*a-*, *la-*, *jɔ-*) and a stative verbal root, hence they should be considered to belong to a subclass of verb. In (12), all three sentences allow the occurrence of *ŋɯ55* after the citation form of adjectives, which makes us view these examples as sentences with the copula following non-NPs. It may be true in a sense, but the citation form of adjectives behaves like a nominal since it is already nominalized; hence its occurrence with the copula should rather be likened to the case of the copula following NPs. In these cases, the copula *ŋɯ55* functions as predicator of the sentence.

Secondly, we should note that the Youle Jino copula can occur after the verbal complex. When expressing so-called "relative tense", Youle Jino makes the copula carry the past suffix -*mɤ* ~-*me*.

(13)   a. *lø55 pa55kha42 ʃɯ55+le42-me44* **ŋɯ33**-*mɛ35.*

        that   Baka (PLN)   take+go-FUT   COP-PAST

      "(If you did not go back from here), (we) would have taken you to the Baka village."

    b. *mi55tso55 ʃɯ55+tɕi35+le44-me44* **ŋɯ33**-*mɛ35.*

        firewood   take+slice+go-FUT   COP-PAST

      "(If he did not go to Mengyang early in the morning,) we would have taken him to go to slice firewood."

Both sentences in (13) express the expectation in the past, and in the end denote the counterfactual meaning. The copula *ŋɯ55* seemingly follows the non-NP ending with the future suffix -*me*, but it should be noted that both the past tense marker -*mɤ* ~-*mɛ*

and the future tense marker -*me* act as nominalizer[5] in Youle Jino morphosyntax. If we posit that the phrase ending with a nominalizer is a kind of NP, the phrase preceding the copula *ŋɯ55* in (13) should be considered as a NP, and therefore (13) should be described in **3.1** from a syntactic perspective.

Thirdly, we should mention that there are several examples where the copula can occur directly after the verbal complex, forming what appears to be a serial verb construction.

(14) a. *ja33jeŋ55 mao33*   *ŋɯ33=ɛ55-po42.*
       opium   swirl (head)   COP=POSS-RCF
       "(Their heads) may swirl (by smoking) opium."
    b. *a33pjo55 lə44-tɛ55-kɔ44*   *ŋɯ33=ɛ55*   *tɤ55-ɔ44,*
       book   all the way-look-PROG   COP=POSS   probably-PART
       mɔ33-ji55-a44.
       NEG-sleep-PART
       "(I assume that) you probably keep reading books without sleeping."

As is illustrated in (14), the copula *ŋɯ55* directly follows the verbal complex. In (14a), *mao33* "swirl (head)" is a verb, hence it might be assumed that the string *mao33 ŋɯ33* forms a verb serialization. Moreover, in (14b), *lə44-tɛ55-kɔ44* "all the way-look-PROG" is also a verbal complex, so that *lə44-tɛ55-kɔ44 ŋɯ33* could be considered to be a serial verb construction. However, this is not the case. In natural conversation in Youle Jino, as in (14), the copula *ŋɯ55* often occurs directly after the non-NP in order to express the speaker's modality or his/ her own ideas.

4.   Discussions and Analyses From Synchronic, Typological, and Areal Perspectives

In section **3**, the occurrence of the Youle Jino copula has been described formally, whereas in this section, it will be discussed and analyzed from much wider perspectives, namely, synchronic, typological, and areal ones.

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[5] -*mɤ ~-me* functions as nominalizer, complementizer, relativizer, and past tense marker. As for the polyfunctionality of -*mɤ ~-me*, see Hayashi (2006).

4.1 Morphosyntactic Motivation

In this subsection, copularization in Youle Jino will be analyzed from the point of view of syntactic motivation.

In Youle Jino, the tense/ aspect/ modality affixes can only be added to the verbal root. Therefore, for instance, if we wish to express the past state of the relationship between two NPs, we must employ a verb that is able to carry the past tense suffix, although this verb should not have a content meaning. Hence, it should be a copula. Examples (8)-(11) illustrate this phenomenon.

What is more, the tense suffixes, namely *-mɤ~ -mɛ* and *-me*, occupy the same slot in the verbal complex, hence if we use both suffixes at the same time in a sentence, we must set up a copula to carry either suffix, as was illustrated in (13).

From a typological perspective (Pustet 2003), copulas tend to follow or precede nouns, whereas they do not easily follow or precede verbs. On the one hand, the most frequent case in Youle Jino is the occurrence of *ŋɯ55* directly after NPs; *ŋɯ55* can also occur directly after the citation form of adjectives, which syntactically behaves in the same way as nouns.

(15)   a. *zɔ55ku55 a33ɲi55 {φ/ **ŋɯ33**-nœ44}*.
                child   small   {φ/ COP-SFP}
                "The child is small."
         b. *kɔ55tø44 a33ŋɤ55 {φ/ **ŋɯ33**-nœ44}*.
                clothes   red   {φ/ COP-SFP}
                "The clothes are red."

As in (15), the copula can occur after the citation form of adjectives, for example *a33ɲi55* and *a33ŋɤ55*, although in these examples the copulaless construction sounds more natural.

On the other hand, it is difficult for *ŋɯ55* to follow the verb phrases, although there are some examples in which it does, as in (14).

According to my field notes, there is a gradience of acceptability in the examples where *ŋɯ55* follows the verbs.

(16)　　a. *mi55ʃɔ55ŋ̊44 tɕiŋ33xoŋ44 le33-me35* **ŋɯ33**=*ε44.*

　　　　　 tomorrow　　 Jinghong　　 go-FUT　　 COP=POSS

　　　　 b. *mi55ʃɔ55ŋ̊44 tɕiŋ33xoŋ44 le33=ε55* **ŋɯ33**=*ε44.*

　　　　　 tomorrow　　 Jinghong　　 go=POSS　　 COP=POSS

　　　　 c. [?/OK] *mi55ʃɔ55ŋ̊44 tɕiŋ33xoŋ44 le33* **ŋɯ33**=*ε44.*

　　　　　　　 tomorrow　　 Jinghong　　 go　　 COP=POSS

　　　　 "He/She will probably go to Jinghong tomorrow."

(17)　　a. *ɕi44 a55ke55　mrε55+mrε35-a44.*

　　　　　 this　 dish　　 delicious+delicious.RDP-PART

　　　　 "This dish is very delicious."

　　　　 b. *ɕi44 a55ke55　mrε33-mɤ35-a44* **ŋɯ33**=*ε44.*

　　　　　 this　 dish　　 delicious-AUX-PART COP=POSS

　　　　 c. [?/OK] *ɕi44 a55ke55　mrε55+mrε35* **ŋɯ33**=*ε44.*

　　　　　　　 this　 dish　　 delicious+delicious.RDP　 COP=POSS

　　　　 "This dish is probably delicious."

In (16), (16a) is the most acceptable. (16b) sounds more natural than (16c), although the latter is not completely unacceptable. In (16a) and (16b), the elements before the copula end with the future suffix *-me* and the possessive marker =*ε44*, which syntactically function as a nominalizer. Hence, the copula can easily follow elements ending with these suffixes. On the other hand, in (16c), the element before the copula is a verb, making this sentence less acceptable than the two previous ones.

　　This holds true in (17). (17a) and (17b, c) have different readings respectively, although the latter two sentences can be semantically construed as the same. The former has fewer modality readings, whereas the latter two have high modality[6]. In (17b), the element before the copula ends with the particle *-a*, which generally marks the end of the nominal predicate, while in (17c), the element is a reduplicated verb, which syntactically precedes the copula with a lot of difficulty.

　　In summary, from a morphosyntactic perspective, since the tense/ aspect/ modality markers are verbal affixes, the Youle Jino copula is employed to carry them. And in

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[6] The fact that the Youle Jino copula can function as a high-modality marker will be discussed and analyzed in **4.2.1.**

addition, the Youle Jino copula can follow nouns and the citation form of adjectives much more easily than it can follow verbs.

4.2 Semantic and Pragmatic Motivation

In this subsection, we will investigate how the occurrence of the Youle Jino copula should be semantically and pragmatically motivated from three dimensions.

4.2.1 Characterizational/ Identificational or High Modality/ Low Modality
--- with reference to Thai linguistic studies ---

The occurrence of the Youle Jino copula shall be related not only to syntactic conditions, but also to semantic ones. In Southeast Asian languages, copulas are chosen by semantic conditions rather than by syntactic or formal ones.

Previous works (Kuno and Wongkhomthong 1981, Mikami 1985, Komolwanig and Sawada 1993, Takahashi and Shinzato 2003[7]) have been published on the two copulas of Standard Thai, namely *khɯɯɯ* and *pen*. In Standard Thai, a copula is inserted between the two NPs, that is, *[NP1--Copula--NP2]*. Kuno and Wongkhomthong and Mikami state that *pen* (coined as *C-Copula*) characterizes the features of NP1 as NP2, whereas *khɯɯɯ* (coined as *I-Copula*) identifies NP1 as NP2. Mikami investigates the notion that NP1 in the *khɯɯɯ* sentences should be either non-referential or referential, while NP1 in the *pen* sentences should be referential. Moreover, he argues that NP2 in the *pen* sentences should be non-referential. Komolwanig and Sawada point out that Mikami's analysis is somewhat problematic in that he did not define the concepts "referential" and "non-referential" clearly, and that the difference between *khɯɯɯ* and *pen* should be analyzed from a contextual viewpoint rather than the semantic one that he adopts. Komolwanig and Sawada claim that *pen* involves <HIGH MODALITY> and *khɯɯɯ* involves <LOW MODALITY>, given that *pen* co-occurs with modal elements,

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[7] Takahashi and Shinzato (2003) employs the cognitive psychological concepts (though actually they do not present any experimental data) to reveal their difference and concludes that *pen* relates to thought-like processing, whereas *khɯɯɯ* to sensation. Their idea may be plausible in the analysis of Standard Thai copulas, but this paper has not made psychological experiments on the usage of Youle Jino copula, hence this point of view will not be discussed any further here.

while *khɯɯ* does not.

These previous works on Standard Thai copulas may be useful for the semantic and pragmatic analysis of the Youle Jino copula, but it should be noted that Youle Jino has only one copula, *ŋɯ55*; we therefore need to investigate to what extent the presence and absence of *ŋɯ55* correspond to *pen* and *khɯɯ* in Standard Thai.

Firstly, Kuno and Wongkhomthong and Mikami mention the relationship between the specificity/ referentiality of the NPs and the choice of copula in the Thai language. Also, in other languages, Nishiyama (2003) discusses this relationship in Japanese semantics and pragmatics, and Mikkelsen (2005) investigates it from typological and theoretical perspectives. However, it is safe to say that the occurrence of the Youle Jino copula is not related to the specificity/ referentiality of the NPs, as will be shown in (18)-(20).

(18)　　a. *ʃen35tʃhɤŋ44*　　　　*tɕiŋ33xoŋ44*　　　*{φ/ **ŋɯ33**-nœ44}*.
　　　　　center of the prefecture　Jinghong (PLN)　{φ/ COP-SFP}
　　　　　"The center of the prefecture is Jinghong."

　　　　b. *ŋɔ35*　　*lɔ33si55*　*tʃə55pə44*　　*{φ/ **ŋɯ33**-nœ44}*.
　　　　　1SG.OBL　teacher　Zhebai (PSN)　{φ/ COP-SFP}
　　　　　"My teacher is Zhebai."

(19)　　a. *khɤ33pɔ44 xe55-tɔ44-mɤ44　a55san44*　　*{φ/ **ŋɯ33**-nœ44}*.
　　　　　over there　stand-EXP-REL　　Asan (PSN)　{φ/ COP-SFP}
　　　　　"The person standing over there is Asan."

　　　　b. *khɤ33pɔ44 kha33+lɔ55-kɔ44-mɤ44　tʃə55pə44*　　*{φ/ **ŋɯ33**-nœ44}*.
　　　　　over there　pass+come-PROG-REL　　Zhebai (PSN)　{φ/ COP-SFP}
　　　　　"The person coming from there is Asan."

(20)　　a. *tʃə55pə44*　　*khɔ55phɔ55*　*{φ/ **ŋɯ33**-nœ44}*.
　　　　　Zhebai (PSN)　adult man　{φ/ COP-SFP}
　　　　　"Zhebai is an adult man."

　　　　b. *ɕi55u44　khɤ42　lɔ33si55*　*{φ/ **ŋɯ33**-nœ44}*.
　　　　　now　　he/she　teacher　{φ/ COP-SFP}
　　　　　"Now he/she is a teacher."

In (18)-(20), both the copulative and copulaless constructions are grammatical and acceptable, although the former sound slightly more natural. Using Mikami's terms, in (18), NP1 is "non-referential" and NP2 is "referential". In (19), both NP1 and NP2 are "referential". In (20), NP1 is "referential" and NP2 is "non-referential". According to Mikami's analysis, in Standard Thai (also in Lao and Cambodian), I-Copula (*khɯɯɯ* in Standard Thai) should be employed in (18) and (19)[8], while C-Copula (*pen* in Standard Thai) is preferred in (20)[9]. However, as seen in (18)-(20), the referentiality of the NPs is not related to the occurrence of the Youle Jino copula. Therefore, Mikami's analysis may not be applicable here.

Secondly, we will investigate whether the analysis of Thai copulas by Komolwanig and Sawada is applicable to the analysis of the Youle Jino copula. As mentioned above, Komolwanig and Sawada conclude that *pen* involves <HIGH MODALITY> and *khɯɯɯ* <LOW MODALITY>, on the grounds that *pen* co-occurs with modal elements, while *khɯɯɯ* does not. If we refer to their analysis, the presence of the Youle Jino copula may involve <HIGH MODALITY>, and its absence <LOW MODALITY>. As modal elements of Youle Jino can only be affixed to the verbal roots, and the Youle Jino copula *ŋɯ55* is a member of the verb category, the Youle Jino copula must involve

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[8] In Standard Thai, if NP2 is <referential>, I-Copula (*khɯɯɯ*) should be employed (Mikami 1985). Following examples are glossed and transliterated by the present author.

    i)   *mɯaŋ lǔaŋ khɔɔŋ yîipun* <u>*khɯɯɯ*</u> *tookiaw* [Standard Thai]
        capital   of   Japan COP Tokyo
        "The capital of Japan is Tokyo."

    ii)   *khon   thîi   yɯɯn   yùu   thîi   nân* <u>*khɯɯɯ*</u> *khun A* [Standard Thai]
         person REL stand stay PART there COP Mr./Ms. A
        "The person standing over there is Mr./ Ms. A"

On the one hand, in (i), NP1 is <non-referential>, while NP2 is <referential>. On the other hand, in (ii), both NP1 and NP2 are <referential>. Hence, *khɯɯɯ* is employed in both examples.

[9] In Standard Thai, if NP1 is <referential> and NP2 is <non-referential>, C-Copula (*pen*) should be employed (Mikami 1985). The following example is glossed and transliterated by the present author.

    i)   *khon nán* <u>*pen*</u>   *khrɯɯ* [Standard Thai]
        person that   COP   teacher
        "That person is a teacher."

In (i), NP1 is <referential> and NP2 is <non-referential>, hence *pen* is employed here.

<HIGH MODALITY>[10], not only from semantic and pragmatic perspectives, but also from morphosyntactic ones.

(21)   a. *kan55tshao33phjen35*   *mɔ33-ŋɯ55-a44.*   (=8a)
            Gancaopian (drug name)   NEG-COP-PART
            "(That) is not a Gancaopian [medicine for a cough]."
        b. **kan55tshao33phjen35*   *mɔ33* [11].

Since the negative prefix is a verbal affix, (21a), in which it is affixed to the copula, is grammatical; however, (21b), in which it is not, is ungrammatical. Hence, in general, the Youle Jino copula involves <HIGH MODALITY>, and copulaless constructions <LOW MODALITY>. The tense and aspect markers basically behave in the same way as modality markers in this language, therefore cases with tense and aspect markers can be included in <HIGH MODALITY>.

  In natural conversation data, there are many examples where the copula co-occurs with the possessive marker *=ɛ44* to express the speaker's viewpoint or modality, as is briefly mentioned at the end of **4.1**.

(22)   a. *ki55ŋo55=ɛ55*   *ŋɯ55=ɛ55*   *tʃhɤ33-a44.*
            Jino people=POSS   COP=POSS   similar-PART
         "(She) seems to be a Jino people."
        b. *ŋa55vɛ55*   *mɔ35-a44.*   *jo33m̥a55=ɛ55*   *ŋɯ33=ɛ55*   *tʃhɤ33-a44.*
            1PL.EXCL.OBL   NEG.COP-PART   3PL.NOM=POSS   COP=POSS   simiar-PART
         "It is not at our house (that the telephone is ringing). Maybe it is at their house."

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[10] Zhang (2005) also, using the data of Sino-Tibetan languages spoken in China, claims that the copulative construction involves speaker's viewpoint or modality, though the way of analysis is rather different from Komolwanig and Sawada (1993).

[11] In the natural conversation of Youle Jino, the form *mɔ35-a44* is frequently employed and the former element *mɔ35* can be analyzed as a fusion form of negative *mɔ-* and the copula *ŋɯ55*, which is deserved to be noticed.

(23)   a. *khø33mjə55 thi33-phu44* **ŋɯ33**=*ɛ55   tʏ55-ɔ44.*

          then   1-CL   COP=POSS   surely-PART

          "Then, (they) surely (live in) the same village (as ours)."

      b. *kha55kʏi44   a55khʏ55=la55   ŋa55vu44=a44   thi33pju35*

      Hani people   Ake people=in other words   1PL.EXCL.NOM=VA together

      ŋɯ33=*ɛ55   tʏ55-ɔ44.*

      COP=POSS   surely-PART

       "The Hani people and the Ake people maybe enjoy (the new year festival)

        the same way as we (Jino people)."

(24)   a. *jɛ55me44-ma55   ʃao33xoŋ33   jo33ma55   thi55ma55*

        Yanmei (PSN)-PL   Xiaohong (PSN)   3PL.NOM   many

       *ku33-***ŋɯ55**=*ɛ44.*

       again-COP=POSS

       "There surely go again a lot of Yanmei and Xiaohong's friends."

      b. *a55ŋə55   m33-mɯ35-mɛ55   **ŋɯ33**=*ɛ44.*

      self(3)   CAUS-ring-PAST   COP=POSS

      "I am sure that he/she rang it by himself/ herself."

      c. *tɕao55+tu35   mɔ35-a44,   a33ʃɯ55 **ŋɯ33**=*ɛ44.*

      water (v.)+go out   NEG.COP-PART   yellow   COP=POSS

      "If you do not water (the gray wax gourds), they will grow yellow."

In (22), the speaker's guess is expressed by the phrase *ŋɯ55/ ŋɯ33=ɛ55 tʃhʏ33-a44*, while in (23), his/her strong assumption is expressed by the phrase *ŋɯ33=ɛ55 tʏ55-ɔ44*. Each example contains the other phrases (*tʃhʏ33-a44, tʏ55-ɔ44*), which express the strength of the speaker's assumption; however, even if the phrases following the copula do not occur, the speaker's assumption or guess can be expressed, as in (24).

Example (25) below illustrates that the phrase *ŋɯ33=ɛ44* can express the speaker's question.

(25)   a. *a55la42*! *khao42*=*ɛ44 pa42-mɛ44* **ŋɯ33**=*ɛ44, kro33*?

      Oh   what=POSS   hold-PAST   COP=POSS   gun

     "Oh my god! Why did (he) bring a gun?"

b. *su55ʃao33ɤ35=ɛ55 zɔ55ku55 **ŋɯ33**=ɛ44 ?*

   Suxiaoe (PSN)=POSS   child   COP=POSS

  "Is (he) Suxiaoe's child?"

    Both sentences in (25) can be considered as a kind of interrogative sentence, although the construction is the same as (24). This reinforces the idea that the copula can mark the speaker's modality, but the context may play a part in determining what kind of modality is expressed by the copula.

    In addition, the fact that the Youle Jino copula can be employed to reply to the previous utterance supports the notion of its involvement in <HIGH MODALITY>.

(26)   a. *ɔ42, **ŋɯ33**-a44-te42.*

        Oh   COP-PART-PART

        "Oh, that's right!"

    b. ***ŋɯ33**-a44-te42. ŋɔ42   ʃi35+ja55-xɔ42, mɔ55-kuan33+la55=ɛ44.*

        COP-PART-PART   1SG.NOM die+go-COND   NEG-care+come=POSS

        "That's right. If I pass away, (I) cannot care about (her anymore)."

(27)   a. *mɔ33-**ŋɯ55**-a44. çi55-lo44 ʃi35-mɛ55 ŋɯ55-ɔ44.*

        NEG-COP-PART   this-like   die-PAST   COP-PART

        "That is not true. It is when (you) die like this."

    b. *mɔ33-**ŋɯ55**-xɔ42, vai35 mɔ33-khju55-a44.*

        NEG-COP-COND   quick   NEG-AUX-PART

        "(If you live in the village, you will be able to speak Jino.) If not, (you) will not be able to (master it so) quickly."

    Both (26) and (27) are replies to the previous utterance. In (26), the speaker employs the copula to agree with the previous speaker. In (27), the speaker uses the negative prefixed copula to deny the proposition of the previous utterance. Each case illustrates that the copula expresses the speaker's viewpoint or modality.

    As seen in **3.2**, in the natural conversation data, there are numerous examples where the copula follows the verbal elements to express the speaker's viewpoint or modality, although the modality markers in Youle Jino can be directly affixed to the verbal root.

To summarize, the Youle Jino copula can generally be employed to mark the speaker's modality.

4.2.2 Temporal/ Permanent Dichotomy

In many languages with more than one copula, the function of copulas differs in temporal/ permanent dichotomy. Some argue that such dichotomy can be paraphrased as changeable/ stable. In the literature of some European languages, such dichotomy is applicable, for example, *ser/ estar* in Spanish and *is/ tá* in Irish, both of which date back to two Latin copulas, *esse/ stāre*. The next two examples, (28, 29), will illustrate that temporality may relate to the occurrence of the Youle Jino copula.

(28)   a. *waŋ35lɔ33si55*   *khɔ55phɔ55.*
       Mr. Wang (teacher)   man

      b. *waŋ35lɔ33si55*   *khɔ55phɔ55* **ŋɯ33**-*nœ44.*
       Mr. Wang (teacher)   man   COP-SFP
       "Mr. Wang (teacher) is a(n adult) man."

(29)   a. *waŋ35lɔ33si55*   *jo33kha33.*
       Mr. Wang (teacher)   old

      b. *waŋ35lɔ33si55*   *jo33kha33* **ŋɯ33**-*nœ44.*
       Mr. Wang (teacher)   old   COP-SFP
       "Mr. Wang (teacher) is old."

From a grammatical viewpoint, all of the sentences in (28) and (29) are correct. However, from semantic and pragmatic perspectives, (28a) is preferable to (28b), whereas (29b) is preferable to (29a). This may be because human beings do not change their gender, whereas age is changeable or has a temporal feature.

Naturally, there are some "challenging" examples.

(30)   a. *çi44 tso33 a33ʃi55.*
       this house new

b. *çi44 tso33   a33ʃi55   **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.*
   this   house   new   COP-SFP
   "This house is new."

Both sentences in (30) are syntactically correct. Everything gets older as time goes by, hence these sentences can be considered to have a temporal context, so that (30b) would sound more natural. However, in fact, (30a) sounds slightly more natural than (30b). This is because the citation form of adjectives is usually placed at the predicate position without any elements. The reason why (30a) is more natural has nothing to do with temporality.

The next example (31) should relate to temporality, although it is very similar to (30).

(31)   a. *çi44   tso33   çi55u44   a33ʃi55. sø33-m̥jɔ55   ŋɯ33-xɔ42, a33l̥i55.*
          this   house   now   new   three-CL   COP-COND   old
       b.*çi44   tso33   çi55u44   a33ʃi55 **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.*
          this   house   now   new   COP-SFP
          sø33-m̥jɔ55 ŋɯ33-xɔ42,   a33l̥i55.
          three-CL   COP-COND   old
          "Now, this house is new. (But) in three years, (it will) be old."

According to my linguistic consultant's intuition, (31b) sounds more natural than (31a). This example contains a temporal expression, namely *çi55u44* "now", and the first sentence is contrasted with the second one. It should be pointed out that the clarification of temporality should cause the Youle Jino copula to occur naturally in (31b).

This logic holds true in (32) and (33).

(32)   a. *çi44   a55san35=ɛ55.*
          this   Asan.OBL(PSN)=POSS
       b. *çi44   a55san35=ɛ55   **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.*
          this   Asan.OBL(PSN)=POSS   COP-SFP
          "This is Asan's (stuff)."

(33)　　a. *çi55u44　çi44　a55san35=ε55.*

　　　　　　Now　　　this　　Asan.OBL(PSN)=POSS

　　　　b. *çi55u44　çi44　a55san35=ε55　　　**ŋɯ33**-*nœ44.***

　　　　　　Now　　　this　　Asan.OBL(PSN)=POSS　COP-SFP

　　　　　　"This is Asan's (stuff) now."

All four sentences in (32) and (33) are grammatical, but (32a) is preferable to (32b), while (33b) is preferable to (33a). On the one hand, in general, the affiliation of "stuff" cannot be changed; hence, as in (32a), the copula does not occur. The absence of the copula denotes permanence. On the other hand, in (33), which contains a temporal adverb *çi55u44* "now", the presence of the copula, which denotes temporality, is preferable to its absence[12].

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[12] The presence of the copula is almost always preferable to its absence when expressing temporality, but in a contrastive sentence this is not always so.

i)　　　*çi55u44 çi44 a55san44=ε55.　　　　nε33mjɔ55 khɤ35=ε55　　　zɔ55ku55=ε55.*

　　　　now　　this　Asan (PSN)=POSS　next year　3SG.OBL=POSS　child=POSS

ii)　　　*çi55u44 çi44 a55san44=ε55　　　**ŋɯ33**-*nœ44.　　nε33mjɔ55　khɤ35=ε55***

　　　　now　　this　Asan (PSN)=POSS　COP-SFP　　　next year　3SG.OBL=POSS

　　　　*zɔ55ku55=ε55 **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.*

　　　　child=POSS COP-SFP

　　　　"This is Asan's (stuff) now, but it will be his/her child's next year."

According to my consultant's intuition, (i) may be preferable to (ii), which might contradict the discussion above. It can be arguable that the contrastive sentences expressing the affiliation of a stuff are exceptions to temporality analysis of Youle Jino copula.

On the other hand, we can add one more example of the contrastive sentence here.

iii)　　　*çi44 sɯ55kho55, tho55kho55　mɔ33-**ŋɯ55**-a44.*

　　　　this　cucumber　　wax gourd　NEG-COP-PART

iv)　　　*çi44 sɯ55kho55 **ŋɯ33**-nœ44, tho55kho55　mɔ33-**ŋɯ55**-a44.*

　　　　this　cucumber　COP-SFP　wax gourd　NEG-COP-PART

　　　　　"This is a cucumber, not a wax gourd."

Both (iii) and (iv) are contrastive sentences, and the former is preferable to the latter. In this case, NPs have the permanent feature, hence the absence of the copula in (iii) should be plausible in the temporality analysis. However, if we look at (i) and (iii) from the viewpoint of contrastive constructions, the absence of the copula may be affected by the same motivation.

Pustet (2002) argues that Sgaw Karen (Karenic, Tibeto-Burman) copulas, *mewæ:* and *kæʔ*, relate to autonomy vs. dependency dichotomy, and points out that *kæʔ* has contrastive reading when employed. The contrastive reading might involve the absence of Youle Jino copula, although it demands further research.

In summary, use of the Youle Jino copula *ŋɯ55* is preferred when expressing temporality, but the copula is generally omitted when expressing permanence.

4.2.3   Focus/ Non-Focus Dichotomy

Many Sino-Tibetan languages employ copula(s) to mark focus elements (Li and Thompson 1981, Zhang 2005, etc.). In Mandarin Chinese, the elements between the copula *shì* and the particle *de* can be construed as the focus in the sentence (Li and Thompson 1981, Chu 1987, etc.).

In Youle Jino, the copula generally occurs to clarify the focus elements in the sentence, as in (34, 35).

(34)   a. *ji55ŋ̍44   pa55kha42   le44-mɤ44 a55san44.*
              yesterday   Baka (PLN)   go-NML   Asan (PSN)
        b. *ji55ŋ̍44   pa55kha42   le44-mɤ44 a55san44   **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.*
              yesterday   Baka (PLN)   go-NML   Asan (PSN)   COP-SFP
           "It was Asan that went to the Baka village yesterday."

(35)   a. *ji55ŋ̍44   ŋa55vu44   ko33+la33-mɤ44 lɔ55po44.*
              yesterday   1SG.EXCL.NOM   take+come-NML   tea (leaf)
        b. *ji55ŋ̍44   ŋa55vu44   ko33+la33-mɤ44 lɔ55po44 **ŋɯ33**-nœ44.*
              yesterday   1SG.EXCL.NOM   take+come-NML   tea (leaf)   COP-SFP
           "It was tea leaf that we brought here yesterday."

Both (34) and (35) are pseudo-cleft sentences and prefer the occurrence of the copula (34b, 35b) to its absence (34a, 35a). *a55san44* "Asan" in (34) and *lɔ55po44* "tea leaf" in (35) are construed as the focus, which can be analyzed as new information in the discourse. In Youle Jino, the focus element can be considered to be preferably followed by the copula.

However, it should be noted that in some cases the temporal/ permanent dichotomy defeats the focus/ non-focus one, as in (36) below.

(36)   a.[Question]   *çi44   khɔ55tɕɯ44-a44?*
                              this   what-Q
                              "What is this?"

      b. [Answer 1]   *çi44 ŋa33sɯ55.*

                    this   banana

                    "This is a banana."

    c. [Answer 2] [?/OK] *çi44 ŋa33sɯ55* **ŋɯ33**-*nœ44.*

                     this   banana   COP-SFP

                     "This is a banana."

Example (36) contains a question and two possible replies. The speaker in (36a) asks, "What is this?", and each speaker in (36b) and (36c) answers, "This is a banana". Therefore, the underlined NP in (36b, c), namely *ŋa33sɯ55*, should be construed as the focus. If the focus/ non-focus account could be adopted in this case, (36c) would sound more natural than (36b). However, (36b) actually sounds more natural than (36c). This leads us to conclude that the temporal/ permanent account plays a more important role in determining whether the copula occurs or not.

    To summarize, use of the Youle Jino copula is also preferred to clarify the focus element in a sentence, although this is not always the case when the NP that is considered to have the permanent feature precedes it.

5. Conclusions

    As discussed above, this paper focuses on briefly describing the Youle Jino copula, and concludes that the occurrence of the copula can be related to the factors exemplified in (37) and (38).

[Morphosyntactic Factor]

(37)   Verbal affixing

[Semantic/ Pragmatic Factors]

(38)   a. High modality (<High modal context>)

          b. Temporality (<Temporal NP>)

          c. Focus (<Focus NP>)

High modality, temporality, and focus belong to different dimensions; hence, in the present paper, unlike in other previous works on East and Southeast Asian languages, it

might be better not to conclude to which semantic/ pragmatic factor the occurrence of the Youle Jino copula is most related. However, it is arguable that the specificity or referentiality of NPs is not a determining factor for the occurrence of the Youle Jino copula, and that greater importance should be attached to temporality (that is, a permanent NP) rather than focus in establishing whether the copula occurs or not.

This paper without doubt has residual issues. From a synchronic viewpoint, we should determine whether there is an internal hierarchy between high modality, temporality, and focus relating to the occurrence of the Youle Jino copula[13]. In addition, from a diachronic perspective, the Youle Jino copula may relate to the Burmese copula *hut*, Hani *ŋɯ55* (Dai 1995), and Zaozou *ŋɛ53* (Sun et al. 2002), but it is very difficult to link it genetically to the Tibetan copulas *yin*/ *red*, Sgaw Karen *mewæː*/ *kæ̂* (Pustet 2002) and so on[14]. Thurgood (1982) reconstructed *wəy for the Proto-Sino-Tibetan copula, which is compatible with the Proto-Loloish form *wəy³ reconstructed by Bradley (1979); however, his reconstructed form might be related to the Youle Jino possessive marker =*ɛ44*, which can occur at the sentence-final position as a modality marker[15]. It may be speculated that the Proto-Lolo-Burmese form of the copula can be reconstructed as *ŋut[16], but this obviously requires further investigation.

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[13] There exists another synchronic problem. Clark (1996) argues that Vietnamese *thì* can function as an emphatic copula, along with the unmarked copula *là*. According to her analysis, Vietnamese *thì* can be normally considered a conjunction, translatable like "be then", but it is often employed for characterizing NPs.

Youle Jino has an enclitic that is very similar to Vietnamese *thì*, namely =*la55*, though its synchronic relationship and interface with the copula *ŋɯ55* would benefit from future research.

[14] Lowes (2006) illustrates the geographical distribution of Tibeto-Burman copulas to investigate their phonological reconstruction, though her analysis is a still ongoing process.

[15] On the morphosyntactic function and diachronic analysis of Youle Jino "possessive" marker =*ɛ44*, see Hayashi (in print).

[16] This proto-form can be attested in many Lolo-Burmese languages, such as Burmese *hut*, Achang *ŋe²55*, Bola *ŋɔt55*, Zaiwa *ŋut55*, Yi (Nuosu) *ŋɯ33*, Lisu *ŋa33*, Hani *ŋɯ55*, and Jino *ŋɯ55*. The data of Achang, Bola, Zaiwa, Yi (Nuosu), Lisu, and Hani are from Huang (1992: 543). Matisoff (2003) recontructed *s-rut for the PTB copula, which seems incompatible with the Youle Jino *ŋɯ55*.

Abbreviations

(*) marks an ungrammatical sentence, (-) an affix or particle boundary, (=) a clific boundary,and (+) a root boundary.

AUX : auxiliary, CL : classifier, COND : condition, EXCL : exclusive, EXP : experience, FUT : future, INCL : inclusive, NEG : negative, NML : nominalizer, NOM : nominative, NP: noun phrase, OBL : oblique, PART : particle, PAST : past, PFT : perfective, PL : plural, PLN : place name, POSS : possessive, PROG : progressive, PSN : person name, Q : question, RCF : reconfirmative, RDP : reduplication, REL : relative marker, RES : reason, SEQ : sequence, SFP : sentence final particle, SG : singular, TOP : topic, VA : =va55 (accusative, dative, locative)

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