Youle Jino adjectives and their semantic mapping

Youle Jino Adjectives and Their Semantic Mapping*

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1. Introduction

Adjectives can be considered as a marginal category between nouns and verbs and a somewhat difficult word class to analyze; hence, many linguists have discussed their morphosyntactic behaviors and semantic properties (Dixon 1982, 2004, 2010; Backhouse 1984; Croft 1991; Baker 2003; and many others). Adjectives of Indo-European languages conjugate like nouns when modifying, so that some of them, for example, Greek and Latin adjectives, had been viewed as members of the noun category (Robins 1967: 34). On the other hand, many Southeast Asian languages discriminate nouns from verbs, while they incorporate adjectives into the verbal category. This is because most "adjectives" in Southeast Asian languages share morphological and syntactic features with verbs.

Youle Jino,[1] a Tibeto-Burman language of Yunnan Province, China, has similar problems. Should we discriminate the adjectival category from nouns and verbs? Do adjectives in Youle Jino share any features with nouns or verbs? This paper will briefly describe the morphosyntactic features of Youle Jino adjectives to distinguish

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1　The phonological inventory and typological features of Youle Jino are briefly summarized as follows.

[Phonological Inventory of Youle Jino]:

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

Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, ø, 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 -ŋ>

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

[Typological Features of Youle Jino]:

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

Morphological Features: Agglutinative (Verbal Complex)

them from nouns and verbs by utilizing original field data[2] and discuss where they are located on the semantic map.

2. Previous Works on Youle Jino

There are three major descriptive works on Youle Jino grammar, namely, Gai (1986), Hayashi (2009), and Jiang (2010). Both Gai (1986) and Jiang (2010) classify parts-of-speech from semantic viewpoints. Yet, although semantic criteria for categorizing part-of-speech are easy for non-linguists to comprehend, they are somewhat ambiguous.

Gai (1986) defines the adjectival category as follows:

We view the category denoting characteristics, state of persons or affairs as adjective. The root of Jino adjectives is usually monosyllabic. And, they can denote grammatical categories, such as aspect and voice, using morphological devices similar to verbs, though their morphology is relatively simple. (Gai 1986: 59-60) [translated by the author]

Because Gai's (1986) categorization is based on semantics, we cannot draw a clear line between "adjectival class" and "verbal class." The same problem can be seen in Jiang (2010), though he does not mention categorical criteria for adjectives. He explains as follows:

Many adjectives in Jino are disyllabic, while few are monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Most disyllabic adjectives have *a*-prefix as the onset. (Jiang 2010: 137) [translated by the author]

The second sentence in the citation above is correct in my field notes. However, Jiang (2010) refers to "monosyllabic adjectives" and "polysyllabic adjectives," which is confusing. Using his transcription, "monosyllabic adjectives" such as na^{54} 'early' and

pjʌ⁴⁴ 'slowly', or "polysyllabic adjectives" such as *nɔ⁴⁴ɔ⁴⁴sɔ⁴⁴* 'sound good' and *nɛ⁴⁴ɔ⁴⁴sɔ⁴⁴* 'smell good' cannot reduplicate in the same fashion as disyllabic adjectives. This, in my analysis, is because they are not adjectives but verbs.

Gai (1986) and Jiang (2010) rely too heavily on meaning[3]; hence, their descriptions of adjectives make the categorical criteria fairly inconsistent. The criteria for syntactic categories or parts-of-speech should be made formally, a strategy adopted in Hayashi (2009) and this paper.

3. Morphosyntactic Features of Youle Jino Adjectives[4]

It is widely admitted that each syntactic category needs formal criteria to distinguish it from other categories. Youle Jino has the general criteria[5] shown in Table 1.

Table 1 briefly summarizes the criteria for discriminating major syntactic categories in Youle Jino. The roots of verbs and adjectives can be directly prefixed by the negative element, while nouns cannot. Besides, adjectives can be reduplicated productively, whereas nouns and verbs cannot.

Hereafter in this section, the morphosyntactic features of Youle Jino adjectives will be described in brief, utilizing my field data.

Table 1: General Criteria for Discriminating Nouns, Verbs, and Adjectives

	N	V	Adj
i) negative prefixation	−	+	+
ii) productive reduplication	−	−	+

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3   Dixon (1982: 8) assumes that the syntactic properties of a lexical item can largely be predicted from its semantic description and claims that semantics is thus prior to syntax, which he thinks should be supported by the idea of a mature speaker learning a new word. This is to some extent effective in the analyses of contrastive linguistics and linguistic typology, and of course, some words in every language behave irregularly or belong to different word classes. Yet, I consider that when we define a word class in the context of descriptive linguistics, we should use formal criteria rather than semantic ones. Otherwise, word class in every language would be the same, which in effect is not the case.

4   This section is a revised and translated version of Section 4.1 of Hayashi (2009).

5   There are other ways of discriminating word classes in Youle Jino. Nouns can be slotted in the noun phrase structure, which can be schematized as follows (Hayashi 2009: 34):

Demonstrative	Noun-(suf)	Num-Cl-(suf)	(=Post)

In general, adjectives and verbs are not slotted in the same slot as nouns of the noun phrase structure above. In addition, Youle Jino verbs have their own morphology, or VERBAL COMPLEX, as seen below: (prev)-(pref1)-(pref2)-(pref3)-[VERB ROOT]-(acp)-(B/R)-(T/A1)-(T/A2)-(caus)-(aux1)-(aux2) -(T/A3)-(still)-(T/A4).

3.1 Morphology and Phonology

First, we can clearly distinguish adjectives from nouns and verbs in Youle Jino by utilizing a morphological criterion, schematized as in Table 2.

Table 2: Citation Form of Youle Jino Adjectives

a- la- jɔ-	[Root]

A-, *la-*, and *jɔ-* are nominal markers.[6] (1) provides examples of the citation forms.

(1) a. [*a*-prefixed] $a^{33}tha^{55}$ 'sharp', $a^{55}kha^{42}$ 'hard', $a^{33}ŋr^{55}$ 'red', etc.

   b. [*la*-prefixed] $la^{55}ṃjɔ^{42}$ 'tall', $la^{55}xr^{44}$ 'big', etc.

   c. [*jɔ*-prefixed] $jɔ^{55}ʃɯ^{55}$ 'long', etc.

The default prefix for the adjectival root is *a-*. *La*-prefixed and *jɔ*-prefixed adjectives are rare. Note that the adjectival root is not a free morpheme but should always be prefixed. For example, the word for 'sharp' is $a^{33}tha^{55}$. Tha^{55} is unacceptable. On the other hand, verbs in general do not have an *a*-prefixed form. This is one way to clearly distinguish between adjectives and verbs in Youle Jino.

The adjective root has its own derivational morphology. The nominalizing prefixes can be replaced with a certain prefix, such as *ma-* ~ *mɔ-*[7] 'NEGATIVE' and *tʃr-* 'COMPARATIVE', *tɕɛ-* 'very', as shown in (2) and (3).

(2) a. $a^{33}-ŋa^{55}$ 'deep' → $ma^{33}-ŋa^{55}$ 'not deep'

      PREF- deep   NEG-deep

   b. $a^{55}-ṃɛ^{42}$ 'short (person)' → $ma^{55}-ṃɛ^{35}$ 'not short'

      PREF- short   NEG-short

(3) a. $a^{33}-ŋa^{55}$ 'deep' → $tʃr^{33}-ŋa^{42}$ 'deeper', $tɕɛ^{42}-ŋa^{42}$ 'very deep'

      PREF- deep   COMP-deep   very-deep

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6   There are also many a-prefixed nouns in Youle Jino, such as the following: $a^{44}su^{44}$ 'fruit', $a^{55}ʃi^{55}$ 'blood', $a^{33}na^{55}$ 'flesh', $a^{55}khri^{55}$ 'excrement', $a^{55}kho^{42}$ 'bark', etc.

   These nouns have morphological forms similar to adjectives, though they do not share grammatical features.

7   *Ma-* and *mɔ-* may be variations of Youle Jino subdialects. The language consultants in this research are speakers of the Baka subdialect, which prefers *mɔ-* as the negative.

b. a^{55}-$\eta\varepsilon^{42}$ 'short (person)' → $t\int\!r^{55}$-$\eta\varepsilon^{35}$ 'shorter', $t\varepsilon\varepsilon^{42}$- $\eta\varepsilon^{35}$ 'very short'
  PREF-short   COMP-short   very-short

The possibility of affixing the negative prefix to the root is shared with verbs but not with nouns.[8] Hence, it can be argued that adjectival roots in this language belong to the verb class.[9, 10]

 Reduplication is a productive morphological device that discriminates adjectives from nouns and verbs, as mentioned in Table 1. Each adjective has two types of reduplication, namely, total reduplication and partial reduplication, the latter of which can be coined "*l*-reduplication."[11]

(4) a. a^{55}-kha^{42} 'hard' → a^{55}-**kha^{42}+kha^{42}** 'highly hard'
   PREF-hard   PREF-hard-hard
 b. a^{33}-thu^{55} 'thick' → a^{33}-**thu^{55}+thu^{55}** 'highly thick'
   PREF-thick   PREF-thick-thick

(5) a. a^{55}-kha^{42}-la^{42} 'a little bit harder'
 b. a^{33}-$\eta\!r^{55}$-$l\!r^{55}$ 'a little bit redder'

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8   The nominal predicate requires the copula ηu^{55} when negated (Hayashi 2010). It is impossible to directly negate a noun phrase.
(i) $kan^{55}tshao^{33}phjen^{35}$ $m\mathfrak{o}^{33}$-**ηu^{55}**-a^{44}.
  Gancaopian (drug name)   NEG-COP-PART
  '(That) is not a Gancaopian [medicine for a cough].'
9   The shared feature of adjectival roots and verbal roots can be attested in the examples with the direct causative prefix *m*-.
(i) $\eta\mathfrak{o}^{42}$ ςi^{44} $a^{55}ke^{55}$ <u>m^{33}</u>-**phi^{35}**-$n\mathit{\alpha}^{44}$.   'I made this dish spicy.'
  1SG.NOM this dish   CAUS-spicy-SFP
(ii) $\int\!ao^{33}li^{33}$ $\eta a^{33}z\mathfrak{o}^{55}$ <u>m^{33}</u>-**$pr\varepsilon^{35}$**+ja^{42}-$m\!r^{35}$.   'Mr. Li made a bird fly away.'
  Mr. Li   bird   CAUS-fly+go-PAST
  The direct causative prefix *m*- occurs in both (i) and (ii). *Phi* 'spicy' in (i) is an adjectival root, and its citation form is $a^{33}phi^{55}$. *Prɛ* 'fly' in (ii) is a verbal root.
10   The adjectival root can occur in the serial verb constructions, as in the example below.
(i) $\int\!i^{35}$+ja^{55}-me^{55} $a^{55}kj\mathfrak{o}^{55}$-$a^{44}$,   <u>$\int\!u^{55}$+**$x\!r^{35}$**</u>-$m\!r^{35}$=$\varepsilon^{44}$ $kj\mathfrak{o}^{44}$-a^{44}.
  die+go-FUT   between-PART   pull+big-NML=POSS   think-SFP
  'Before (I) die away, (I) wish (my children would) grow up.'
  The underlined part is a kind of verb serialization. Its second element, *xɾ* 'big', is an adjectival root whose citation form is $la^{55}x\!r^{44}$.
11   This *l*-reduplication is also attested in Sangkong [Loloish, Lolo (Yipho)-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman; Sipsongpanna, Yunnan, China] (Li 2002: 138-139). Li (2002) analyzes *l*-reduplication as a suffixed form.
[Sᴀɴɢᴋᴏɴɢ] 'red' ne^{55} (monosyllabic form); $a\eta^{33}ne^{55}$ (prefix form); $ne^{55}le^{55}$ (suffixed form)
     'high' $mo\eta^{33}$ (monosyllabic form); $a\eta^{33}mo\eta^{33}$ (prefix form); $mo\eta^{33}lo\eta^{33}$ (suffixed form)
He also mentions the combination of prefixed and suffixed forms, as in $a\eta^{33}mo\eta^{33}lo\eta^{33}$ 'high.'

(4) is an example of total reduplication. To strengthen the degree of adjectival meaning, the root is iconically reduplicated once. (5), on the other hand, is an example of *l*-reduplication, which copies the rhyme and tone of the root and places *l*- as the onset. *L*-reduplication appears in some nouns,[12] but verbs do not have it.

Additionally, there are a small number of reduplicated adjectives with vowel alternation, as exemplified in (6).

(6) *a³³pu⁵⁵a³³pa⁵⁵* 'dirty', *a⁵⁵xɔ⁴² a⁵⁵xa³⁵* 'cheerful', *a⁵⁵ja⁴⁴a³³je³⁵* 'troublesome', *a⁵⁵vu⁵⁵a⁵⁵va⁴⁴* 'dizzy'

The adjectives in (6) all have the morphological structure [a- + root$_1$][a- + root$_2$]; they can never appear as [a- +root$_1$] or [a- +root$_2$]. Then, it is more important to note that the nominalizing prefix *a-* can be replaced with other prefixes in the same fashion as (2) and (3). See (7).

(7) a. ***a³³*-*pu⁵⁵*   ***a³³*-*pa⁵⁵***   'dirty'
        PREF-dirty PREF-dirty
    b. ***mɔ³³*-*pu⁵⁵*   ***mɔ³³*-*pa⁵⁵***   'not dirty'
        NEG-dirty NEG-dirty
    c. ***thi⁵⁵*-*pu⁵⁵*-*pa⁴²***   'a little bit dirty'
        a little-dirty-dirty
    d. ***ʃɔ³³*-*pu⁵⁵*   (***ʃɔ³³***)-*pa⁴²***   'very dirty'
        very-dirty very-dirty

A³³-*pu⁵⁵* *a³³*-*pa⁵⁵* 'dirty' in (7a) has derived forms such as *mɔ³³*-*pu⁵⁵* *mɔ³³*-*pa⁵⁵* 'not dirty' in (7b) and *ʃɔ³³*-*pu⁵⁵* (*ʃɔ³³*)-*pa⁴²* 'very dirty' in (7d), which can have the same account as in (2) and (3). *Thi⁵⁵*-*pu⁵⁵*-*pa⁴²* 'a little bit dirty' in (7c) is a tricky example where only the first root is replaced with *thi-* 'a little'.

Moreover, there is a phonological feature that can be found in Youle Jino adjectives, namely, tonal alternation patterns. Youle Jino adjectives have five tonal alterna-

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12   Examples of *l*-reduplicated nouns are as follows;
  phɔ⁵⁵thɛ⁴⁴ ~ phɔ⁵⁵thɛ⁴⁴lɛ⁴⁴ 'frog', *tə⁵⁵kɔ⁵⁵ ~tə⁵⁵kɔ⁵⁵lɔ⁵⁵* 'Jino traditional skirt', *tshə⁵⁵khə⁴² ~ tshə⁵⁵khə⁴²lə⁴²* 'salt', etc.
    L-reduplication has only a euphonic effect in nouns; hence, the meaning of *l*-reduplicated nouns is not different from that of nouns without *l*-reduplication. Also, note that most nouns cannot be *l*-reduplicated.

tion patterns, summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Tonal Alternation Patterns of Youle Jino Adjectives[13]

	citation form	negative form	comparative form	'a little bit …'	'very …'
a1	$a^{33}[R]^{55}$	$ma^{33}[R]^{42}$	$t\int r^{33}[R]^{42}$	$a^{33}thi^{55}[R]^{42}$	$t\varepsilon\varepsilon^{42}[R]^{42}$
a2				$a^{33}thi^{55}[R]^{35}$	$t\varepsilon\varepsilon^{42}[R]^{35}$
b	$a^{55}[R]^{55}$	$ma^{55}[R]^{55}$	$t\int r^{55}[R]^{55}$	$a^{33}thi^{55}[R]^{44}$	$t\varepsilon\varepsilon^{42}[R]^{44}$
c	$a^{55}[R]^{42}$	$ma^{55}[R]^{35}$	$t\int r^{55}[R]^{35}$	$a^{33}thi^{55}[R]^{35}$	$t\varepsilon\varepsilon^{42}[R]^{35}$
d	$a^{33}[R]^{44}$	$ma^{55}[R]^{44}$	$t\int r^{55}[R]^{44}$	$a^{33}thi^{55}[R]^{44}$	$t\varepsilon\varepsilon^{42}[R]^{44}$

Note that the citation forms with $\{a^{33}[R]^{55}\}$ should be divided into two groups, <a1> and <a2>, based on the formal difference in the forms *$a^{33}thi^{55}$* 'a little bit' and *$t\varepsilon\varepsilon^{42}$* 'very'. In the former group, the root tone is tone 42, while in the latter group, it is tone 35. This shall be exemplified in Table 4.

The Appendix sorts tonal alternation patterns of Youle Jino adjectives, which follow the rule of Table 3.

Both morphological and phonological criteria make the adjectival class in Youle Jino exclusive. These rigorous criteria make Youle Jino adjectives a closed set, though nouns and verbs are open classes.

3.2 Syntax

As cross-linguistically attested, Youle Jino adjectives have two major functions in syntax. One is modification, and the other is predication. This subsection exemplifies each function.

3.2.1 Modification

The function of adjectives is prototypically modification (Croft 1991). Youle Jino adjectives can modify nouns and verbs. Firstly, the modification of nouns will be briefly described. As in (8), the adjective generally follows the noun when modifying.[14]

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13   [R] in Table 3 represents the adjectival root. The prefix /a-/ of the citation form can be replaced with /la-/ or /jɔ-/, and the negative prefix /ma-/ in the negative form can be also replaced with /mɔ-/.

14   There can be recently found a few examples with reversed order like (i).

(i) *ŋɔ⁴²   ja⁵⁵n̥i⁴⁴   a³³ŋɤ⁵⁵-mɤ⁴⁴   kɔ⁵⁵tø⁴⁴   tø⁴⁴-nœ⁴⁴*.
   1SG.NOM today   red-REL   clothes   wear-SFP   ↗

Table 4: Examples of Tonal Alternation Patterns of Youle Jino Adjectives

	citation form	negative form	comparative form	'a little bit …'	'very …'
a1	$a^{33}tso^{55}$ 'short'	$ma^{33}tso^{42}$ 'not short'	$tʃʀ^{33}tso^{42}$ 'shorter'	$a^{33}thi^{55}tso^{42}$ 'a little bit short'	$tɛɛ^{42}tso^{42}$ 'very short'
a2	$a^{33}thu^{55}$ 'thick'	$ma^{33}thu^{42}$ 'not thick'	$tʃʀ^{33}thu^{42}$ 'thicker'	$a^{33}thi^{55}thu^{35}$ 'a little bit thick'	$tɛɛ^{42}thu^{35}$ 'very thick'
b	$a^{55}pɔ^{55}$ 'thin'	$ma^{55}pɔ^{55}$ 'not thin'	$tʃʀ^{55}pɔ^{55}$ 'thinner'	$a^{33}thi^{55}pɔ^{44}$ 'a little bit thin'	$tɛɛ^{42}pɔ^{44}$ 'very thin'
c	$a^{55}pra^{42}$ 'sparse'	$ma^{55}pra^{35}$ 'not sparse'	$tʃʀ^{55}pra^{35}$ 'more sparse'	$a^{33}thi^{55}pra^{35}$ 'a little bit sparse'	$tɛɛ^{42}pra^{35}$ 'very sparse'
d	$a^{55}kho^{44}$ 'curved'	$ma^{55}kho^{44}$ 'not curved'	$tʃʀ^{55}kho^{44}$ 'more curved'	$a^{33}thi^{55}kho^{44}$ 'a little bit curved'	$tɛɛ^{42}kho^{44}$ 'very curved'

(8) a. $kɔ^{55}tø^{44}$ **$a^{33}ņʀ^{55}$**   'red clothes'

   clothes   red

   b. $zɔ^{55}ku^{55}$ **$a^{33}ņi^{55}$**   'a small child'

   child   small

In general, adjectives modify nouns and adverbs modify verbs. Hence, when Youle Jino adjectives modify verbs, they become "adverbials."

(9) a. nə^{42} ņi^{55}jə^{44} thi^{33}-ço^{55} **$a^{33}ʃu^{55}a^{55}kja^{42}$** ņi^{33}tɔ^{55}+le^{44}-nœ^{44}.

   2SG.NOM self(2) 1-CL   quiet   stay+go-SFP

   'You are staying quietly by yourself only (, aren't you).'

   b. khø^{33}mjə^{55} **$a^{33}la^{42}$** tɛe^{33}phɯ^{55} tə^{55}-mjə^{42}.

   then   late   liquor   drink-SBD

   'And then, you drank liquor late (at night).'

As in (9), the adjectives in bold face, $a^{33}ʃu^{55}a^{55}kja^{42}$ 'quiet' and $a^{33}la^{42}$ 'late', modify verbs, ņi^{33}tɔ^{55} 'stay' and tə^{55} 'drink', respectively. These adjectives syntactically behave like adverbials.

↘'I wear red clothes today.'

 The example like (i) may be affected by Chinese grammar, though it is still considered by many speakers to be ill-formed. The relativizer -$mʀ^{44}$ generally follows verbal elements, though in this case, it may be translated from the relativizer 的 de in Chinese.

  Gai (1986) mentions the word order of "Adjective-Noun," though he does not mention which is the canon.

3.2.2 Predication

Youle Jino adjectives can be predicates like verbs. The basic constituent order of this language is SV or SOV; hence, adjectives are placed after nominal elements.

(10) a. $a^{55}m\partial^{55}$ $a^{33}\underline{l}o^{55}\underline{l}o^{55}$.
　　　 body　　hot.RDP
　　　 '(My) body is hot.'

　 b. $çi^{44}$ $k\supset^{55}t\emptyset^{44}$ $a^{55}\underline{l}ai^{55}$, $ma^{33}\text{-}mr\partial^{42}$.
　　　 this clothes torn　　NEG-beautiful
　　　 'These clothes are torn and not beautiful.'

The word order of adjective predication is the same as modification of the citation form of adjective, which can be modeled as [Noun-Adjective]. Therefore, it seems there is a structural ambiguity between them. Analyzing whether it is predication or modification, however, is of course easy for native speakers. The adjective as a modifier generally occurs as subject, object, or adverbial in a sentence, while as in (10a), the sentence usually ends with the adjective when in adjectival predication.

When the negated adjectives occur in the predicate and modifier slots, the difference between them can be more easily figured out. See (11).

(11) a. $a^{33}ts\underline{w}^{55}$ $ma^{33}\text{-}\underline{m}jo^{55}$　　　　　　'The tree is not high.'
　　　 tree　　NEG-high

　 b. $ma^{33}\text{-}\underline{m}jo^{55}\text{-}mr^{55}$ a^{33}ts$\underline{w}^{55}$　　'the tree which is not high'
　　　 NEG-high-REL　 tree

(11a) is an example of adjectival predication, while (11b) is one of modification. Both examples have a negative adjective 'not high'. In (11a), the adjective follows the noun phrase, which keeps the word order of adjectival predication. On the other hand, in (11b), the negative adjective precedes the head noun because the negative adjective can be considered the same as the negative verb and it should be relativized when modifying a noun. The relative clause in Youle Jino canonically precedes the head noun; therefore, the word order of negative adjectives in modification and predication is reversed.

Moreover, there is another way of distinguishing predication and modification of the citation form of adjectives. The citation form of Youle Jino adjectives behaves

like a noun. Hence, it can be copularized when in predication (Hayashi 2010: 7).

(12) a. *çi⁴⁴+pɔ⁴⁴*   *ʃɔ³³khi⁵⁵*   ***a³³krø⁵⁵***   *<u>ŋu³³</u>-nœ⁴⁴*.
     this+around foot   slippery   COP-SFP
     'It is slippery here.'

  b. *nɔ³³to⁵⁵*   ***a⁵⁵tshɤ⁵⁵***   *<u>ŋu³³</u>-nœ⁴⁴*.
     nose   stuffed.up   COP-SFP
     '(My) nose is stuffed up.'

  c. *tjao³⁵+ju⁴⁴-mɤ⁴⁴*   *ŋɔ⁵⁵tɤ⁵⁵*   *tə³³mo³³*   ***a³³ŋi⁵⁵***   *<u>ŋu³³</u>-nœ⁴⁴*.
     fish (v.)+take-REL   fish (n.)   all   small   COP-SFP
     'The fish that (we) fished are all small.'

The adjectives in (12) are all citation forms, so that they can behave like nouns syntactically. In principle, they need not be copularized. However, they can be more easily construed as predicates if copularized.

    This section has given a basic description of the Youle Jino adjective. Section 4 will provide its semantic map by virtue of Dixon (2004, 2010).

4. Semantic Map of Youle Jino Adjectives and Beyond

    R.M.W. Dixon has argued the various aspects of adjectives (Dixon 1982, 2004, 2010, etc.) and proposed that there can be a semantic tendency for adjectives from typological perspectives. He considers that there are four core semantic types, namely, DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, and COLOUR, with both large and small adjective classes (SET A), and three semantic types, that is, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY, and SPEED, are typically associated with medium-sized and large adjective classes (SET B) (Dixon 2010: 73). Additionally, he lists the SET C group members, namely, DIFFICULTY, SIMILARITY, QUALIFICATION, QUANTIFICATION, POSITION, and CARDINAL NUMBERS, which are associated with large adjective classes in some languages.

    If we sort Youle Jino adjectives and related word classes into the semantic types proposed by Dixon (2004, 2010), they can be summarized as shown in Table 5.

    Table 5 illustrates the dispersed distribution of Youle Jino adjectives in various semantic types. In other words, Youle Jino adjectives refer to DIMENSION, AGE, COLOUR, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, DIFFICULTY, QUANTIFICATION, and POSITION. VALUE, HUMAN PROPENSITY,[15] SPEED, and SIMILARITY are expressed in verbs, whereas QUALIFICATION

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15   Dixon (1982: 47) writes that HUMAN PROPENSITY is more often coded by nouns than verbs in ↗

and Q<small>UANTIFICATION</small> are coded in different word classes, such as nouns, adverbs, and verbs.[16] C<small>ARDINAL</small> N<small>UMBERS</small> comprise the independent set as N<small>UMERALS</small>, which can be slotted in a specific place in the noun phrase structure.[17]

It is interesting to note that a few loanwords from Tai Lue [Tai-Kadai; Sipsong-panna (Xishuangbanna) of China, Northern Laos and Thailand],[18] such as $a^{55}ja^{44}$ 'dif-

Table 5: Semantic Types of Youle Jino Adjectives and Related Word Classes

	Semantic Type	Word Class	Examples
SET A	**DIMENSION**	**A**	$la^{55}x\gamma^{44}$ 'big', $a^{33}\eta i^{55}$ 'small', $j\mathfrak{o}^{55}\mathfrak{f}u^{55}$ 'long', $a^{55}kr\mathfrak{o}^{55}$ 'wide'
	AGE	**A**	$a^{33}\mathfrak{f}i^{55}$ 'new', $a^{33}\mathfrak{l}i^{55}$ 'old', $j\mathfrak{o}^{33}kha^{33}$ 'old (human)'
	VALUE	V	$j\mathfrak{o}^{55}$ 'good', ηa^{55} 'lovely', phu^{55} 'expensive'
	COLOUR	**A**	$a^{33}\eta\gamma^{55}$ 'red', $a^{33}\mathfrak{f}u^{55}$ 'yellow', $a^{55}na^{42}$ 'black', $a^{33}phru^{55}$ 'white'
SET B	**PHYSICAL PROPERTY**	**A**	$a^{55}kha^{42}$ 'hard', $a^{33}pr\mathfrak{o}^{55}$ 'soft', $a^{33}\mathfrak{l}i^{55}$ 'heavy', $a^{33}\mathfrak{l}o^{55}$ 'hot'
	HUMAN PROPENSITY	V	$\mathfrak{f}a^{42}$ 'ashamed', $\eta\gamma i^{55}$ 'happy', $wen^{55}ro^{33}$ 'kind'
	SPEED	V	vai^{55} 'fast, quick', $pj\mathfrak{o}^{55}$ 'slow'
SET C	**DIFFICULTY**	**A**	$a^{55}ja^{44}$ 'difficult', $a^{55}\eta ai^{44}$ 'easy'
	SIMILARITY	V	$t\mathfrak{f}h\gamma^{42}$ 'resemble'
	QUALIFICATION	N/ V	$a^{33}\eta\mathfrak{o}^{35}$ 'true' (N), $x\mathfrak{o}^{42}$ 'right' (V)
	QUANTIFICATION	ADV/ **A**/ V	$t\mathfrak{o}^{33}mo^{33}$ 'all' (ADV), $a^{33}t\varepsilon i^{55}$ 'few'(A), lo^{55} 'enough' (V)
	POSITION	**A**	$j\mathfrak{o}^{55}\eta j\mathfrak{o}^{42}$ 'high', $a^{55}\eta\varepsilon^{42}$ 'low', $a^{55}\mathfrak{f}\varepsilon^{42}$ 'near', $a^{55}x\gamma^{55}$ 'far'
	CARDINAL NUMBERS	NUM	thi^{55} 'one', η^{55} 'two', $s\mathfrak{o}^{55}$ 'three', $tsh\gamma^{42}$ 'ten'

↘languages with a small closed adjectival class. Youle Jino has more than 40 adjectives; although it may not be a language with a small adjective class, the adjective class is closed. Note that, like Alam-blak [Sepik; Papua New Guinea], Youle Jino expresses H<small>UMAN</small> P<small>ROPENSITY</small> by verbs, not nouns.

16 Kiryu (2011) provides a detailed functional account of adjectives in Newar, which is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal, and he also utilizes Dixon's (2004) criteria for his description. Concepts that are coded as adjectives in Newar are D<small>IMENSION</small>, A<small>GE</small>, C<small>OLOUR</small>, H<small>UMAN</small> P<small>ROPENSITY</small>, and D<small>IFFICULTY</small>, whereas V<small>ALUE</small>, P<small>HYSICAL</small> P<small>ROPENSITY</small>, and Q<small>UALIFICATION</small> include quite a few verbs as well as adjectives (Kiryu 2011: 120). Based on his analysis, adjectives in Newar are divided into four subclasses: "verb-like adjectives," "non-verb-like adjectives," "non-predicative adjectives," and "adjectival verbs."

17 Numerals are slotted along with classifiers after the head noun slot. Also see Footnote 5.

18 Tai Lue words in this paper are cited from Hanna (2012).

ficult', *a⁵⁵ŋai⁴⁴* 'easy', and *a⁵⁵la⁴²* 'late', belong to the adjectival class. These words originally have no *a*-prefix in the donor language: for example, *jaak⁵* ᨣᩣᨠ 'difficult', *ŋaaj⁵* ᨦᩣᨿ 'easy', and *laa³* ᩃᩣ 'late'. The other loanwords from Tai Lue that have a cross-linguistically "adjectival meaning," such as *vai⁵⁵* 'fast' (< TL. *waj⁴* ᩅᩱ; verb) and *tə³³mo³³* 'all' (< TL. *taŋ⁴mon⁴* ᨲ᩠ᨦᩛᨾᩫᩁ; adverb), are not affiliated with adjectives. Recently, the number of loanwords from Chinese with adjectival meanings has been increasing, and they also are not affiliated with adjectives but basically with verbs. For instance, *wen⁵⁵ro³³* 'kind' in the table is from Chinese *wēnróu* 温柔 and is incorporated into the verbal class. These data should lead us to conclude that the loanwords from Tai Lue with an *a*-prefix were borrowed into Youle Jino at quite an early period, when the words with adjectival meanings were by default prefixed by *a*-, whereas those without it were recently borrowed or conceptualized differently.

5. Conclusion

This paper is a brief description of Youle Jino adjectives and their semantic map.

The citation form of Youle Jino adjectives is [a-/ la-/ jɔ- + ROOT], which makes the adjective class a closed set. Youle Jino adjectival roots can be negated directly by the negative prefix, like verbal roots, and are reduplicated productively. In addition, adjectives have their own tonal alternation patterns. These features distinguish adjectives from nouns and verbs.

The syntactic functions of Youle Jino adjectives are modification and predication. When acting as modifiers, adjectives follow the head noun, whereas verbs precede it along with a relativizer. Adjectives, in general, can be predicated without any element, though the citation form often co-occurs with the copula *ŋu⁵⁵*, similar to the noun predicate.

Using Dixon's (2004, 2010) semantic types, DIMENSION, AGE, COLOUR, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, DIFFICULTY, QUANTIFICATION, and POSITION, are coded by adjectives. VALUE, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, and SIMILARITY are expressed in verbs, whereas QUALIFICATION and QUANTIFICATION are coded in different word classes.

This paper has, of course, some residual issues. Are there any morphosyntactic features shared by Youle Jino adjectives and the words with adjectival meanings that belong to the other parts-of-speech? How does each semantic type of Youle Jino adjective behave morphologically and syntactically? These problems are to be solved in later studies.

Appendix: Youle Jino Adjectives and Their Tonal Alternation Patterns

[Pattern a1]

$a^{33}ŋa^{55}$ 'deep', $a^{33}ŋø^{55}$ 'empty', $a^{33}tɕi^{55}$ 'little (few)', $a^{33}jə^{55}$ 'to be astringent', $a^{33}lu^{55}$ 'blue', $a^{33}tɕe^{55}$ 'wet', $a^{33}krø^{55}$ 'slippery', $a^{33}kri^{55}$ 'clean', $a^{33}mə^{55}$ 'broken', $a^{33}ʃi^{55}$ 'new', $a^{33}tʃhi^{55}$ 'sweet', $a^{33}phi^{55}$ 'spicy', $a^{33}tchø^{55}$ 'sharp'

[Pattern a2]

$a^{33}ŋɤ^{55}$ 'red', $a^{33}ʃu^{55}$ 'yellow', $a^{33}ŋ̊u^{55}$ 'green', $a^{33}phru^{55}$ 'white', $a^{33}l̩i^{55}$ 'old', $a^{33}tɕe^{55}$ 'wet', $a^{33}thu^{55}$ 'thick', $a^{33}nɛ^{55}$ 'smelly'

[Pattern b]

$a^{55}xɤ^{55}$ 'far', $a^{55}pɔ^{55}$ 'thin', $a^{55}phre^{55}$ 'flat', $a^{55}thə^{55}$ 'even', $a^{55}prɔ^{55}$ 'bright', $a^{55}l̩i^{55}$ 'heavy', $a^{55}prɔ^{55}$ 'thin (soup)', $a^{55}prø^{55}$ 'soft', $a^{55}tɕɛ^{55}$ 'rare', $a^{55}khɔ^{55}$ 'bitter'

[Pattern c]

$a^{55}m̩ɛ^{42}$ 'low', $a^{55}ʃɛ^{42}$ 'near', $a^{55}tɕhɛ^{42}$ 'narrow', (la^{55}) $thə^{4219}$ 'many', $a^{55}tʃhi^{42}$ 'clear', $a^{55}na^{42}$ 'dark', $a^{55}tu^{42}$ 'thick (soup)', $a^{55}pra^{42}$ 'sparse', $a^{55}kha^{42}$ 'hard', $a^{55}la^{42}$ 'late', $a^{55}mjə^{42}$ 'salty', $a^{55}kja^{42}$ 'quiet', $a^{55}m̩ɛ^{42}$ 'short (height)', $a^{55}pru^{42}$ 'foolish'

[Pattern d]

$a^{55}pru^{44}$ 'full', $a^{55}lə^{44}$ 'round', $a^{55}pro^{44}$ 'straight', $a^{55}kho^{44}$ 'bent', $a^{55}ku^{44}$ 'dry', $a^{55}ja^{44}$ 'difficult', $a^{55}ŋai^{44}$ 'easy'

Abbreviations

A: adjective, acp: accomplishment, Adv: adverb, aux: auxiliary, B/R: benefactive/ reciprocal, CAUS: causative, CL: classifier, COMP: comparative, COP: copula, N: noun, NEG: negative, NOM; nominative, Num: numeral, PAST: past, PREF: prefix, prev: preverb, RDP: reduplication, Rel: relativizer, SBD: subordinator, SFP: sentence final particle, SG: singular, T/A: tense/ aspect, TL: Tai Lue, V: verb

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19   Generally speaking, Youle Jino adjectival roots cannot occur independently, but the word for 'many', $la^{55}thə^{42}$, can appear without the la-prefix, as $thə^{42}$.

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