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HAYASHI Norihiko

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Norihiko HAYASHI

1 Introduction: The Jino language and the aim of this paper

The Jino language is a member of the Lolo (Ngwi/Yipho)-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family and is spoken in the Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna) Autonomous State in Yunnan province, China (See Map 1). The language consists of two main dialects, Youle and Buyuan, the latter of which amounts for 10 percent of all Jino speakers (Gai 1986). According to the Chinese census of 2010, the total Jino population is about 23,000, although the number of fluent speakers might amount to only 70 or 80 percent.

This paper aims to sketch the case-marking system in Buyuan Jino,[1] as well as

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[*]An earlier version of this paper was read at the 45th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, held at Nanyang Technological University of Singapore, in November 2012. Section 5.1 of this paper was also read at the 47th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, held at Yunnan Normal University (Kunming, China) in October 2014. I appreciate the insightful comments from both audiences. All errors and misunderstandings are, of course, my own.

This paper is based on data collected through linguistic fieldwork that was carried out from 2005 to 2014. The data was obtained from linguistic interviews with Mr. C (Born in 1978, male), Ms. Z (Born in 1980, female), Mr. Z (Born in 1964, male).

[1] The phonological inventory and typological features of Buyuan Jino are briefly summarized as follows:

[Phonological Inventory of Buyuan Jino]:

Consonants: /p, ph, t, th, k, kh; ts, tsh, tɕ, tɕh; m, n, ȵ, ŋ; l; f, s, ɕ, x; w, j/

Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, ɤ, o, u/

Tonemes: /55, 44, 31, 35, 53/

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

As for the Buyuan Jino phonology, see Hayashi (2013).

analyze its typological features and historical development.

There are two main subdialects of Buyuan Jino, and these are depicted in Figure 1. Note that this paper mainly utilizes data from the Bagang-Banan subdialect.

Map 1: The Jino villages, Yunnan, China[2]

[Typological Features of Buyuan Jino]:

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

Morphological Features: Agglutinative (Verbal Complex)

[2] This map is cited from Kato (2000) and revised by the author of this paper. The shaded portion is Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna), an autonomous state in Yunnan province, China.
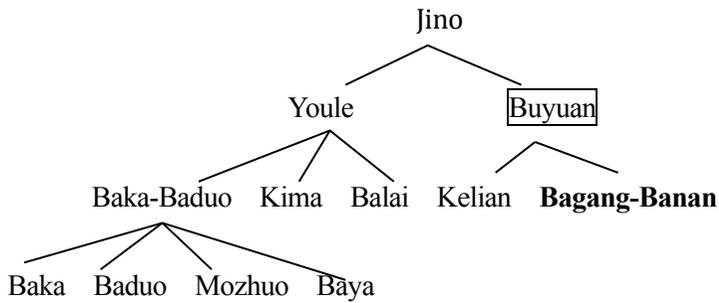
Figure 1: Subdialects of Jino (a tentative hypothesis)

Section 2 reviews the existing literature on Buyuan Jino case marking, namely Gai (1986). Section 3 briefly introduces the canonical nominal phrase structure of Buyuan Jino. Section 4 describes the case-marking system of this language. Section 5 mentions a typological account of case polysemy and contrasts the Buyuan Jino case-marking system with other Tibeto-Burman languages. Finally, section 6 summarizes this paper.

2 Previous Work

Even though it mainly describes the grammar of Youle Jino and mentions little on Buyuan Jino grammar, Gai (1986) should be invoked with respect to the grammatical structure of Buyuan Jino. Gai (1986) argues that Buyuan Jino utilizes tone alternation when marking the object as follows:

(1) ŋɔ^{33}tɯ^{13} pə^{11} 'to hit fish (with a rifle)'   (Gai 1986: 137)
    fish.OBJ   hit

According to Gai (1986)'s explanation, the citation form of the word for 'fish' is ŋɔ^{33}tɯ^{31} and the tone of the last syllable of this word alters into 13 when it is inflected. Gai (1986), however, does not provide explanations for any other case markers.

The tone alternation occurs when marking the object in my fieldnote, but the present author can describe more detailed case markers in the following sections.

3 Nominal Phrase Structure

This section will introduce the canonical nominal phrase structure of Buyuan Jino, which is schematized below in Table 1.

Table 1: Noun Phrase Structure of Buyuan Jino

Demonstrative	Noun	(Adjective)	Numeral-Classifier	=Postposition

Canonically, the demonstrative precedes nominal head, whereas the adjective and the numeral-classifier combination follow. Example 2 illustrates such an instance:

(2) jɤ^{44} phi^{31}thu^{55} a^{55}nɤ^{31}lɤ^{31} ɕɛ^{55}-tɕhɛ^{44}
   this   clothes   red   three-CLF
      'these three red clothes'

In natural conversation or narratives, however, the adjective and the numeral-classifier combination can often be placed before the nominal head as in (3)—(5).

(3) a.   a^{31}jɛ^{55} **a^{55}nɤ^{31}lɤ^{31}**   b. **a^{55}nɤ^{31}lɤ^{31}**   a^{31}jɛ^{55}
      flower   red   red   flower
      'a red flower'

(4) a.   phi^{31}thu^{55} **a^{55}nɤ^{31}lɤ^{31}**   ɕɛ^{55}-tɕhɛ^{44}
      clothes   red   three-CLF
   b.   phi^{31}thu^{55} ɕɛ^{55}-tɕhɛ^{44} **a^{55}nɤ^{31}lɤ^{31}**
      clothes   three-CLF   red
      'three red clothes'

(5) a.   phi^{31}thu^{55} **ɕɛ^{55}-tɕhɛ^{55}**   b. **ɕɛ^{55}-tɕhɛ^{55}**   phi^{31}thu^{55}
      clothes   three-CLF   three-CLF   clothes
      'three pieces of clothes'

The adjective and/or numeral-classifier normally follows the head noun, as in (3a), (4a), and (5a). However, the scrambling orders can be found in natural speech. (3b) illustrates the adjective preceding the head noun, (4b) exemplifies the switching order of the adjective and numeral-classifier, and (5b) shows the numeral-classifier preceding the head noun.[3] All of these examples are acceptable.

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[3] The preceding order of modifiers like (3b, 5b) is influenced by Chinese word order.

4. The Case-Marking System of Buyuan Jino

This section describes the case-marking system of Buyuan Jino, utilizing the author's own data.

4.1 Zero and Case Alternation

Buyuan Jino canonically carries SOV word order. If a given sentence follows this word order, the subject and object noun are generally unmarked (6):

(6) a. ŋi³¹vu⁴⁴   tu³¹   lɤ³¹   tsɔ⁵³.
      sun   go out   come   PFT
      'The sun came out.'

  b. wu⁵⁵ta⁵⁵   nɔ³¹   ɕao⁵³.
      head   hurt   PFT
      '(I) have a headache.'

  c. ji³¹mje⁵⁵   fu³¹tsha⁵⁵   tɕhi⁵⁵   la⁴⁴.
      cat   mouse   bit   PART
      'A cat bit a mouse.'

In (6), *ŋi³¹vu⁴⁴* 'sun', '*wu⁵⁵ta⁵⁵* 'head' and *ji³¹mje⁵⁵* 'cat' are all subjects in their respective sentences and unmarked for case. (6c) is a transitive sentence, and the object *fu³¹tsha,⁵⁵* 'mouse,' is also unmarked for case.

    There is another type of zero marking for locational nouns, as seen in (7) below.

(7) a. a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ³¹   mi⁵⁵ŋi⁴⁴   <u>pje³¹lɤ⁵⁵</u>   li⁵⁵   pɤ⁴⁴   la⁵³?
      3SG.NOM   tomorrow   Kunming(PLN)   go   IRREAL   Q
      'Will he/she go to Kunming?'

  b. a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ³¹   <u>i⁵⁵tshɤ⁵⁵</u>   ta⁵⁵   ji³¹   tsɔ⁵³.
      3SG.NOM   mountain   ascend   go   PFT
      'He/She climbed up the mountain.'

  c. a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɛ³¹   <u>ɕue³¹ɕao⁵⁵</u>   tsu³⁵.
      3SG.NOM   school   exist
      'He/She is at school.'

The underlined locational nouns in (7), *pje³¹lɤ⁵⁵* 'Kunming (PLN)', *i⁵⁵tshɤ⁵⁵* 'mountain' and *ɕue³¹ɕao⁵⁵* 'school', are each oblique nominal phrases in each sentence and

unmarked for case, as well.

There are many examples of nouns that express case through tone alternation (8):

(8) a. <u>ŋɔ³¹</u>   **tsu³⁵**   ji³¹   tsa⁵³   pɤ⁴⁴.
    1SG.NOM   house.OBL   go   PFT   IRREAL
    'I have to go back home.'
    b. <u>a³¹pu⁵⁵   ɛ⁵⁵</u>   **ŋɔ³⁵**   khɔ³⁵.
    father   NOM   1SG.OBL   call
    'Father called me.'
    c. <u>nɤ³¹</u>   ji⁵⁵   pɤ⁵⁵   la⁵³,   mɔ⁵⁵   ji⁵⁵ pɤ⁵⁵   la⁵³?
    2SG.NOM   go   IRREAL   Q   NEG   go   IRREAL Q
    'Are you going or not?'
    d. <u>lɔ³¹si⁵⁵   ɛ⁵⁵</u>   **nɤ³⁵**   khɔ³⁵.
    teacher   NOM   2SG.OBL   call
    'The teacher called you.'

In (8), the underlined phrase is the subject, while the bold-faced phrase is the object or oblique noun. Note that the first-singular pronoun in (8a) is *ŋɔ³¹*, whereas in (8b) it is *ŋɔ³⁵*. The tonal difference between the two pronouns is the result of syntax. The former is slated as the subject, while the latter is the object. The same tonal alternation pattern can be found in (8c) and (8d). The tonemes of the second-singular pronouns in (8c) and (8d) are different for the same reason.

In some cases, oblique noun marking occurs by altering the tone to that in 35, like *tsu³⁵* 'house'⁴ in (8a).

4.2 =ɛ

This subsection introduces =ɛ, which principally marks the subject in Buyuan Jino (9): The tone of =ɛ varies from 44 to 31 in a certain condition.

(9) a. <u>mi⁵⁵ŋi⁴⁴   ɛ⁴⁴</u>   a⁵⁵mjao³¹   a³¹si⁵⁵   thɤ⁵⁵   ŋi⁴⁴   mɔ³⁵.
    tomorrow   NOM   year   new   one   day   NML
    'Tomorrow is the first day of the new year.'

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⁴ The citation form of 'house' is *tsu³¹*.

b. ju⁵⁵tsi³¹   a⁴⁴   a³¹mɔ⁵⁵   **ɛ⁴⁴**   tsaŋ³¹xoŋ³¹   khɔ³⁵,

husband POSS   mother   NOM   Zhanghong (PSN)   call

i⁵⁵mjɛ³¹   ɕi⁵⁵tshɤ³¹   mjao³¹   n³¹   tsɔ⁵³.

now   eighty   year   exist   PFT

'My husband's mother is called Zhanghong, and is now eighty years old.'

c. <u>ŋa⁵⁵su³¹</u>   **ɛ³¹**   a³¹pjɤ⁵⁵lɤ⁵⁵xɤ⁵⁵   pan⁵⁵   la⁵⁵   la³¹

1PL.NOM   NOM   the hill side   move up   come   REL

ɕi⁵⁵   mjao³¹   n³¹   tsa⁵⁵   tao³¹.

eight   year   exist   PFT   PART

'We have moved here from the hill side for eight years.'

d. a³¹mɤ³⁵,   <u>a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴ɕu⁴⁴lu³¹</u>   **ɛ⁴⁴**   ŋɔ³⁵   ji⁵⁵   ɔ⁵⁵.

Hey   3PL.NOM   NOM   1SG.OBL   scold   PART

'Hey, they scolded me!'

(9a) is an intransitive sentence, and (9b) is transitive. Both sentences employ =ɛ for marking the subject, while the object in (9b), *tsaŋ³¹xoŋ³¹* 'Zhanghong,' is unmarked. This leads us to conclude that Buyuan Jino is a nominative-accusative language and that =ɛ is prototypically a nominative case marker. The same holds true in (9c) and (9d).

The nominative marker =ɛ often merges with the subject pronoun and causes a fusion like *jɤ⁴⁴* 'this' + =ɛ 'nominative' →*jɛ³¹* 'this.NOM', which is exemplified in (10) below.

(10) a. <u>ŋuɛ⁵⁵</u>   tɕhɛ⁵⁵   la⁵³   ɕɛ⁵⁵   mjao³¹   n³¹   tsa⁵⁵

1SG.NOM   build   REL   three   year   exist   PFT

tao⁴⁴.

PART

'I have build (it) for three years.'

b. ŋɔ³¹   ɔ⁵⁵ŋɤ⁵⁵mɔ⁴⁴,   <u>ŋɛ³¹</u>   mɤ⁵⁵xɔ³¹mɔ⁴⁴.

1SG.NOM   Jino people   2SG.NOM   Han Chinese

'I am a Jino people, and you are a Han Chinese.'

c. <u>a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɛ³¹</u>   ɔ³¹mɔ³¹   pa⁵⁵   ju⁵³.

3SG.NOM   plow   raise up   walk

'He/She took a plow away.'

d. <u>ŋa⁵⁵suɛ³¹</u>   kɔ⁵⁵ŋen⁴⁴tɕhɛ³¹mjɛ⁵³   ja³¹   ɕɛ⁵⁵   tsɔ⁴⁴.

1PL.NOM   new year period   chicken   kill   eat

'We kill and eat chicken in the new year period.'

e. $\underline{je^{31}}$ $a^{55}lan^{35}$ pi^{55} $tɔ^{35}$ $ŋɛ^{31}$.

   this.NOM   Alan (PSN).OBL   give   ASP   PART

   'This is what I gave to Alan.'

f. $\underline{a^{55}jɛ^{44}}$ $xɔ^{55}mʏ^{44}$ a^{44} $a^{31}tshu^{55}$ $ɛ^{44}$?

   that.NOM   who   POSS   stuff   PART

   'Whose thing is that?'

In comparing the subjects in (10a) and (10b), the subject in (10a) is $ŋuɛ^{55}$, whereas the subject in the first clause of (10b) is $ŋɔ^{31}$. Each means '1SG.NOM,' but the former is the fused form created through such a process as $ŋɔ^{31} + =ɛ \rightarrow ŋuɛ^{55}$. The other fusion samples from (10b) to (10f) underwent the same morphophonological process as in (11).

(11) a. $nʏ^{31}$ '2SG.NOM' $+ =ɛ \rightarrow ŋɛ^{31}$ '2SG.NOM'

  b. $a^{55}jʏ^{44}mʏ^{44}$ '3SG.NOM' $+ =ɛ \rightarrow a^{55}jʏ^{44}mɛ^{31}$ '3SG.NOM'

  c. $ŋa^{55}su^{31}$ '1PL.NOM' $+ =ɛ \rightarrow ŋa^{55}suɛ^{31}$ '1PL.NOM'

  d. $jʏ^{44}$ 'this' $+ =ɛ \rightarrow je^{31}$ 'this.NOM'

  e. $a^{55}jʏ^{44}$ 'that' $+ =ɛ \rightarrow a^{55}jɛ^{44}$ 'that.NOM'

There are some cases with $=ɛ$ that do not mark the subject. One illustration of this is marking time adverbials, some examples of which merge $=ɛ$ in its last syllable like (11). See (12).

(12) a. $thʏ^{55}na^{44}ɕiŋ^{31}tɕhi^{35}$ $\boldsymbol{ɛ^{44}}$ $mʏ^{31}tha^{55}$ $a^{31}lu^{55}ta^{44}$

     last week   TADVZ   rain   many

     fu^{31} $ɔ^{44}$.

     rain(v.)   PART

     'Last week it rained heavily.'

  b. $khɔ^{55}mɔ^{44}$ $tɕi^{55}$ la^{53} $a^{55}jʏ^{44}$ $ŋi^{31}$ $\boldsymbol{ɛ^{31}}$

     woman   marry   REL   that day   TADVZ

     $khɔ^{55}phjɔ^{55}$ $ɛ^{44}$ $khɔ^{55}mjao^{55}$ $m^{31}pɔ^{55}$ si^{55} ji^{31} $tsɔ^{55}$.

     man   NOM   woman   house   take   go   PFT

     'On the wedding day the bridegroom went to the bride's house to
     take her.'

c. a⁵⁵fu⁵⁵   ɛ⁴⁴   tshɤ³¹jɔ⁵⁵   ŋɔ³¹   lje⁵⁵

previously   TADVZ   person   five   CLF

ja³⁵   pɤ⁴⁴   n³¹la⁵³,

take   IRREAL   PART

i⁵⁵mi⁵⁵ **ɛ⁴⁴**   ɕɛ³¹   lje⁵⁵   lɔ⁴⁴   jɔ³⁵.

now   TADVZ   three   CLF   only   need

'Formerly (we) needed five person, but now (we) need only three

   person.'

d. ŋɔ³¹   ja⁵⁵ŋɛ**⁴⁴**   mɔ⁵⁵   lɔ³⁵   nɤ⁴⁴.

1SG.NOM   today.TADVZ   NEG   come   PART

'I will not come today.'

Another type can be found in examples like (13), which use =ɛ for marking the instrumental case.

(13) a. pe³¹tsi³¹ **ɛ⁴⁴**   i³¹tshu⁵⁵   tɕhɛ³¹   b. la⁵⁵pu⁴⁴ **ɛ⁴⁴**   pa⁵⁵

   glass   INSTR   water   ladle   hand   INSTR   carry

   'to ladle water with a glass'   'to carry (things) by hand'

4.3 =mɤ

Section 4.1 explains that the object is generally unmarked in Buyuan Jino. However, =mɤ is used if the patient should be overtly marked.

   Buyuan Jino has a 'passive-like' construction, as in (14). This construction can arguably be made by relocating the object of the 'active' voice before the subject and adding the 'patient' marker =mɤ. However, 'agent' is still marked by =ɛ.

(14) a. a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ³⁵ **mɤ⁴⁴** <u>tɕha⁵⁵mɤ⁵⁵   ɛ⁴⁴</u>   tɕha⁵⁵   jɔ³⁵   mɔ⁴⁴.

   3SG.OBL   PAT   thief   NOM   steal   PART   PART

   'He/ She was stolen by a thief.'

  b. je⁵⁵kɤ⁵⁵   **mɤ⁴⁴**   <u>i³¹tshu⁵⁵   ɛ⁴⁴</u>   pa⁵⁵   ju³¹   mɔ³⁵.

   child   PAT   water   NOM   flow   walk   PART

   'A child was flowed away in the water.'

=mɤ is found more in the data like (14). On the other hand, it can sometimes occur in the data like (15), where it also marks the patient noun.

(15) a. $ŋuɛ^{31}$ mi^{55} (**$mɤ^{44}$**) m^{31} mi^{55} u^{31}.

      1SG.NOM   fire   PAT   CAUS   extinguished   PART

      'I extinguished fire.'

  b. na^{44} $a^{31}mɔ^{55}$ (**$mɤ^{44}$**) kha^{31} la^{55}.

      2SG.POSS   mother   PAT   call   come

      'Call your mother!'

The predicate of (15a) contains a causative prefix *m-*, which transitivizes the verb mi^{55} 'extinguished,' and the object mi^{55}, 'fire,' can be construed as patient. (15b) is an imperative sentence, and the patient noun phrase is na^{44} $a^{31}mɔ^{55}$ 'your mother.' Both patient nouns can be marked by *=mɤ*, though marking in this case is not obligatory.

    On the grounds that *=mɤ* can occur in (15), the sentences in (14) are not really passive, and the patient nouns with *=mɤ* are shifted to the top of the sentences. *=mɤ* in (14) disambiguates the patient from the agent.

4.4 =a

This subsection introduces the third case marker, *=a*, in Buyuan Jino, which marks the possessive noun. In this language, the possessive noun precedes the possessee. See (16).

(16) a. $a^{55}po^{31}$ **a^{44}** $ŋi^{31}jɔ^{55}$ $ɛ^{44}$

      Abo (PSN)   POSS   younger brother   NOM

      $xɔ^{55}mɤ^{44}$ $ɛ^{44}$?

      what   PART

      'Who is Abo's younger brother?'

  b. $xɔ^{55}mɤ^{31}$ **a^{44}** $a^{31}mɔ^{55}$

      who   POSS   mother

      'Whose mother?'

  c. $a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɤ^{31}$ **a^{44}** phi^{31} thu^{55} $ɛ^{31}$ $jɤ^{44}$ mja^{53}?

      3SG.NOM   POSS   clothes   NOM   this   Q

      'Is his/her clothes this?

    As observed in (17), *=a* often occurs after the locational nouns and functions like 'linker.'

(17) a. a^{55}fu^{55}tha^{55}thγ^{31} **a^{44}**   a^{55}jγ^{44}mϵ^{31} lo^{31}si^{55} a^{55} je^{55}kγ^{55}.

the front line   POSS   3SG.NOM   teacher POSS child

'That person at the front line is our teacher's child.'

b. tso^{55}tsi^{44} khu^{31} **a^{44}**   a^{55}jϵ^{44} a^{31}tso^{55} xϵ^{31}?

desk   inside POSS that.NOM what   Q

'What is inside the desk?'

The next examples (18) demonstrate that the possessive marker =*a* merges with the possessive noun in a similar way to the nominative marker =*ɛ*, as explained in (11). It is interesting to note that some ordinary nouns cause this type of fusion, as in (18d).

(18) a. n**a^{31}**   a^{31}pu^{55}+a^{31}mo^{55} tsγ^{31} jo^{31} mγ^{55} la^{31}?

2SG.POSS father + mother   exist good good Q

'Are your parents well?'

b. a^{55}jγ^{44}m**a^{44}** a^{55}mγ^{44} mγ^{55} ljao^{53}.

3SG.POSS body   good   PART

'His/Her body is very well.'

c. ŋa^{55}su**a^{44}**   tso^{31}phu^{31} a^{44} a^{55}mjao^{31} tsi^{55} xγ^{44}

1PL.POSS   village   POSS   year   more   big

a^{44} ŋϵ^{31} ŋi^{55}lja^{31}lje^{55},

PART   PART   the second child

a^{55}jγ^{44}mγ^{44} si^{55}tshγ^{31} mjao^{31} n^{31} tso^{53}.

3SG.NOM seventy   year   exist PFT

'The oldest person in our village is Laoer (the second child). He/She

is seventy years old.'

d. tsu**a^{44}**   a^{55}jγ^{44}tsu^{31} ja^{31} ja^{31} li^{31}.

house.POSS those   take take go

'Take away those things of the house!'

The fusion forms found in (18) are constructed in the same way as example (19). In (19a) and (19b), the possessive noun undergoes vowel reduction, while in (19c) and (19d), the last syllable of the possessive nouns causes diphthongization.

(19) a. nγ^{31} '2SG.NOM' + =a → n**a^{31}** '2SG.POSS'

b. a^{55}jγ^{44}mγ^{44} '3SG.NOM' + =a → a^{55}jγ^{44}m**a^{44}** '3SG.POSS'

c. ŋa⁵⁵su³¹ '1PL.NOM' + =a→ ŋa⁵⁵su**a⁴⁴** '1PL.POSS'

d. tsu³¹ 'house' + =a →tsu**a⁴⁴** 'house.POSS'

As in other Asian languages, the possessee noun can often be omitted if it can be framed by the context, as seen in (20).

(20) jɛ³¹   ŋɔ**a**⁵⁵   (ŋɔ³⁵).

   this.NOM   1SG.POSS   COP

   'This is mine.'

4.5 =xɤ

This subsection describes that =xɤ⁵ covers wide-ranging usages. =xɤ can be used for marking juxtaposition, the comitative, the ablative and the comparative. Each usage is shown in examples (21)—(24), respectively.

[juxtaposition]

(21) a. nɤ³¹   **xɤ⁴⁴**   a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ⁴⁴   a³¹la⁵⁵

      2SG.NOM   and   3SG.NOM   what

    tshɤ³¹jɔ⁵⁵   kuan³¹ɕi⁴⁴?

    human beings   relationships

     'What relationships is it between you and him/her?'

  b. a⁵⁵su⁵⁵   **xɤ⁴⁴**   ŋi³¹jɔ⁵⁵

    elder brother   and   younger brother

    'elder brother and younger brother'

=xɤ can be found in many cases for marking juxtaposition denoting 'A and B.' In (21a), =xɤ connects two nouns, nɤ³¹ '2SG.NOM' and a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ⁴⁴ '3SG.NOM'. The same holds true in (21b).

[comitative]

(22) a. a³¹la⁵⁵mu³¹khu³¹   tsa³¹   kɤ⁴⁴   a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴ɕu⁴⁴lu³¹   **xɤ⁴⁴**   sa³¹tsha³¹.

       whatever   exist   if   3PL   with   talk

      'Whatever you may have something to discuss, talk with them!'

    b. a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ⁴⁴   a³¹pu⁵⁵   a³¹mɔ⁵⁵   mja³¹thjɛ⁵⁵   tsa⁵⁵   xɛ⁴⁴,

       3SG.NOM   father   mother   die   PFT   after

---
⁵ =xɤ can often be articulated as [xei], which has no influence over semantic difference.

a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɤ^{44} *xɤ^{44}*   a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɤ^{44} ɕɛ^{31} lja^{53} lje^{55} **xɤ^{44}**

3SG.NOM   and   3SG.NOM   the third   child   with

thɤ^{55}jɔ^{44} tsɤ^{35} ɔ^{44}.

together   exist   PART

'After his/her parents died, he/she lived together with his/her third

child.'

=*xɤ* can mark comitative, as observed in example (22). The comitative usage is similar to juxtaposition, though =*xɤ* is not followed by nouns in the comitative usage.

(22b) is an interesting example in that there are two =*xɤ* in this sentence and the second =*xɤ* (in **bold** face) marks the comitative. The first =*xɤ* indicated in *italics* in (22b) may be redundant in this construction, but it can also serve as a juxtaposition marker.

(23) illustrates =*xɤ* as the ablative marker.

[ablative]

(23) a. a^{31}pu^{55} tshɤ^{55}li^{44} **xɤ^{44}**   lɔ^{31} la^{55}.

father   Jinghong (PLN)   from   come   PART

'My father came from Jinghong.'

b. ŋɔ^{31} ji^{55}ɲi^{44} khun^{55}miŋ^{31} **xɤ^{44}**   lɤ^{55} la^{55}.

1SG.NOM yesterday   Kunming (PLN)   from   come   PART

'I came from Kunming yesterday.'

If =*xɤ* occurs after the locational nouns, it usually expresses the ablative. In example (23), it precedes two place names, *tshɤ^{55}li^{44}* 'Jinghong' and *khun^{55}miŋ^{31}* 'Kunming,' and has the meaning 'from.'

[comparative]

(24) a. a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɤ^{44} ŋɔa^{44} **xɤ^{44}**   ɕi^{55} mjao^{31} tsi^{31} mju^{53},

3SG.NOM   1SG.POSS   than   eight   year   more   young

tshɤ^{55}na^{55}mjao^{31} ɕɛ^{55}tshɤ^{31}tɕa^{55} mjao^{31}.

this year   thirty-nine   year

'He/She is eight years younger than I, and is thirty-nine years old this

year.'

b. ŋɛ^{31} ŋɔ^{55} **xɤ^{44}** a^{31}ŋɔ^{44} tsi^{55} ŋɔ^{44}.

2SG.NOM 1SG.NOM than tall more tall

'You are taller than I.'

c. jɤ^{44} thɤ^{55} li^{55} ɛ^{44} a^{55}jɤ^{44} thɤ^{55} li^{55} **xɤ^{44}** tsi^{55} pju^{55}

this one CLF NOM that one CLF than more write

jɔ^{31} mɔ^{55}.

good PART

'This pen is better for writing than that one.'

In this language, the comparative construction is schematized as: [the comparee NP] + [the standard NP]=**xɤ** + *tsi* 'more' + PREDICATE. (24) illustrates examples of the comparative construction, marking the comparee NP, underlined by a wavy line and the standard NP underlined by a straight line.

5. Typological and Diachronic Remarks

5.1 The Typological Account of Case Polysemy

There are a number of languages whose case markings are involved in polysemy. Malchukov and Narrog (2009) outline a typological account of case polysemy in world languages and sketch a general semantic map of (major) thematic roles. Their idea provides an easy understanding of the semantic network of major thematic roles and the categorization patterns of case-marking in each language. Figure 2 utilizes the notation of Malchukov and Narrog (2009) to depict a tentative map of the semantic network and the case system of Buyuan Jino.

Malchukov and Narrog (2009: 532—533) break down the case system of Eskimo [West Greenlandic; Fortescue 1984] and Imbabura Quechua [Quechuan; Cole 1982] by depicting semantic maps of case polysemy. In Eskimo, the agent and possessive are marked in the same form (-*up*), whereas instrumental, material/means, and theme are in the same form (-*mik*). However, Imbabura Quechua marks the possessive and the beneficiary in the same fashion (-*pay*), while it unmarks the agent (-*ɸ*). Imbabura Quechua marks the comitative, instrumental and material/means in the same way (-*wan*).
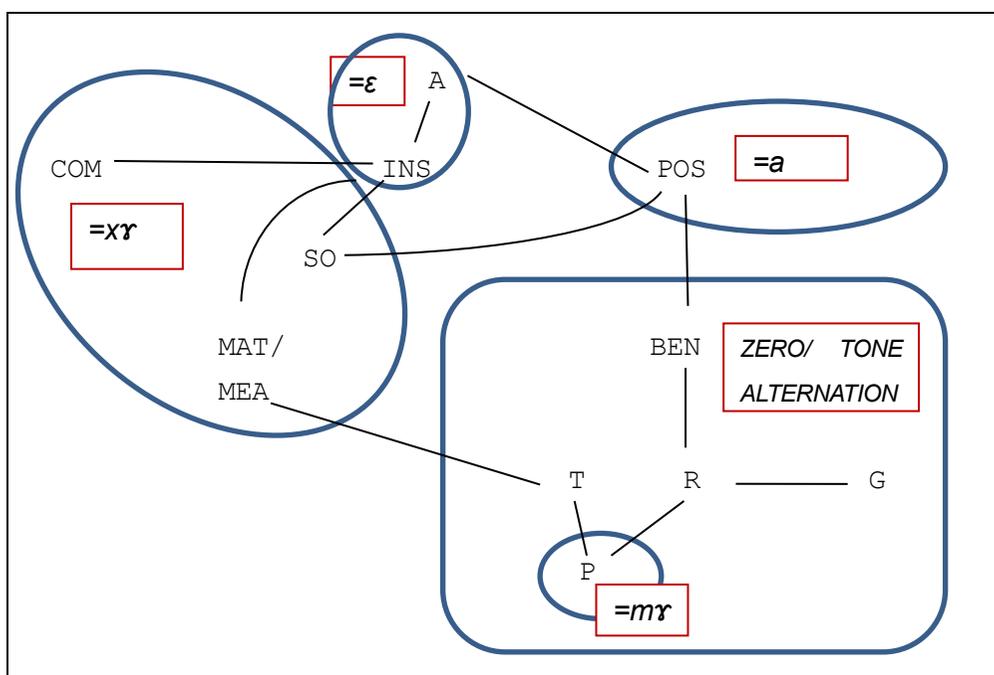
Figure 2: The Tentative Case System of Buyuan Jino   (Adapted from Malchukov and Narrog 2009: 531)

Compared to these two languages, Buyuan Jino has an interesting pattern. The comitative and instrumental are marked in a different manner, but the comitative, material/means, and source are marked in the same way. This leads us to distort the original semantic map of Malchukov and Narrog (2009), even though the case-polysemy pattern attested in Buyuan Jino is common in Tibeto-Burman languages, an observation that will be briefly explained in the next subsection, along with diachronic remarks.

5.2 Diachronic Remarks in the Tibeto-Burman Context

There are a couple of Tibeto-Burman linguists who argue that case markers in Tibeto-Burman languages are so various that they were probably caused by secondary innovations (Benedict 1972, Dai 1989, LaPolla 1992, Hu 2002, LaPolla 2004, etc.). Benedict (1972) argues that,

"It is a striking fact, however, that relating morphemes of the type in question seem to be of relatively recent origin in the several TB groups, strongly indicating that in the parent language these elements were largely lacking." (Benedict 1972: 95—96)

The data of case markers in Tibeto-Burman languages reveals, in fact, that the historical claims from previous studies are true. Table 2 lists case markers in some Tibeto-Burman languages, indicating that even the closely related languages, such as Buyuan Jino and Youle Jino, do not have cognates for core cases.

Table 2: A Sample of Case Markers in Tibeto-Burman Languages[6]

	subject	object	genitive	instrumental
Buyuan Jino	=ɛ	--- / =mɤ	=a	=ɛ
Youle Jino	---	=va^{55} [animate], =a^{55}	=ɛ^{44}	=la^{55}
Hani	---	jɔ^{55}	ɤ^{33}	ne^{33}
Yi (Nuosu)	---	---	vi^{33}	si^{31}
Achang	---	te^{53}	a^{31}	---
Written Burmese	(ka)	(ko)	ray	nay.
Written Tibetan	---	la	i, gi	gi, gis

LaPolla (2004) surveyed the case marking systems of 170 Tibeto-Burman languages and discovered interesting results. As for the ablative and genitive markings, 163 languages have the ablative marking and 122 languages have the genitive. These two markings seem to be easier to reconstruct at the proto-stage than the agentive marking, even though their proto-forms should be placed at the lower level branch, such as the Proto-Karen, Proto-Tani, Proto-Tamangic, and so on.

LaPolla (2004) reported that six languages out of 170 Tibeto-Burman languages have the same case markings for the comitative and the ablative, which Buyuan Jino and Youle Jino share. This leads us to conclude that the Jino languages are relatively uncommon in the comitative/ablative marking. Table 3 illustrates the ablative, comitative, and comparative markings in some Lolo-Burmese languages, such as Buyuan Jino, Youle Jino, Lhaovo [Burmish; Kachin State of Burma/ Myanmar], and Colloquial Burmese. This table leads us to speculate that the ablative, comitative, and

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[6] The data sources in Table 2 are: Buyuan Jino and Youle Jino [my fieldnote], Hani, Yi, Achang, Written Burmese and Written Tibetan [Dai 1989].

comparative markings in Buyuan Jino and Youle Jino have developed in the same fashion, although the present-day forms differ from each other.

Table 3: Ablative, Comitative, and Comparative in some Lolo-Burmese languages

	ablative	comitative	comparative
Buyuan Jino	=xɤ		
Youle Jino	=jə⁴⁴		
Lhaovo	-meŋH	-ɦeʔH	-thoʔH
Colloquial Burmese	=kâ	=nɛ̂	=tʰɛʔ

(Date Resources: Buyuan Jino and Youle Jino from Hayashi's fieldnote, Lhaovo from Sawada (2010b), Colloquial Burmese from Okano (2010))

Hideo Sawada of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies edited a book on the Tibeto-Burman case-marking system in 2010 (Sawada 2010c), and summarized that there are two patterns of isomorphism in the instrumental marking, one for instrumental and agentive isomorphism, and the other for the instrumental and comitative isomorphism. If we call the former Pattern (A) and the latter Pattern (B), the sample languages referred in Sawada (2010a: 12) can be classified in (25).

(25) [Two patterns of instrumental isomorphism]
  <Pattern (A)>
   Mu-nya, Amdo Tibetan, Lhasa Tibetan, Kinnauri, Seke, Lhaovo[7]
  <Pattern (B)>
   Colloquial Burmese, Meche, Pwo Karen, Lhaovo[4]

This paper reveals that Buyuan Jino instrumental isomorphism falls into Pattern (A), which differs from Youle Jino having =ϕ (zero) as agentive, =la⁵⁵ as instrumental, and =the⁴⁴/ =jə⁴⁴ as comitative. Languages in Pattern (A) are mostly ergative languages, which might tempt us to think that Buyuan Jino is also an ergative language. However, the subject of transitive sentences can normally have the same marking as that of the intransitive (=ε, See the example (9)), and therefore Buyuan Jino is genuinely an accusative language.

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[7] Sawada (2010a) stated that Lhaovo employs instrumental for agentive when marking the subject of transitive sentences, which are exceptional because Lhaovo is an accusative language.

To sum up, the Buyuan Jino case-marking system should have developed independently after its divergence from the Youle Jino language, since their case markers and isomorphism do not resemble each other.

6. Conclusion

To conclude this paper, the descriptive and typological features of the Buyuan Jino case marking system can be summarized in (26):

(26) a. Buyuan Jino has four overt case markers, namely =ε, =mɤ, =a, and =xɤ.

    b. Buyuan Jino is an accusative language, though the agentive noun is overtly marked (=ε) rather than the patient (=mɤ or zero/ tone alternation).

    c. In terms of instrumental isomorphism, Buyuan Jino is similar to some ergative languages of Tibeto Burman, such as Mu-nya, Amdo Tibetan, Lhasa Tibetan, Seke, etc., rather than to Youle Jino.

The findings in the diachronic context are illustrated in (27).

(27) a. The morphological difference of case-marking between Buyuan Jino and Youle Jino basically supports the claim of Benedict (1972) or LaPolla (2004) that the case morphology is of relatively recent origin.

    b. The case-marking system of Buyuan Jino has developed independently after divergence from Youle Jino.

This paper mainly used elicitation and data from interviews. Future research shall demand more extensive data from narratives and texts.

Abbreviations

- for affixal and particle boundaries, = for clitic boundaries and + for root boundaries.

ACC: accusative, ACH: Achang, ADVZ: adverbializer, ASP: aspect, AUX: auxiliary, BJ: Buyuan Jino, CLF: classifier, H: Hani, INSTR: instrumental, IRREAL: irrealis, L: Lolo, NEG: negative, NML: nominalizer, NOM: nominative, OBJ: object, OBL: oblique, PART: particle, PAT: patient, PFT: perfective, PL: plural, PLN: place name, POSS: possessive, PSN: person name, Q: question, REL: relative marker, SG: singular, TADVZ: time adverbializer, WB: Written Burmese, WT: Written Tibetan, YJ: Youle Jino.

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Acknowledgements

チノ語補遠方言の格標示体系の素描

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要旨

　本稿は筆者の現地調査で得た資料に基づき、チノ語補遠方言[チベット・ビルマ語派ロロ・ビルマ語支; 中国雲南省]の格標示体系の素描を行った。本言語の格標示については蓋 (1986) に若干の言及があるものの、全体像については全く不明のままであった。本稿により本言語の格標示体系とその歴史的発展について記述・分析を進めた。

　本言語では無標 $(=\phi)$ あるいは名詞句の最終音節の声調交替によって主格・対格を表すことがある一方で、明示的な格標識として $=\varepsilon$（主格、道具格）, $=m\gamma$（被動者）, $=a$（属格）, $=x\varepsilon$（並列、共同格、奪格、比格）の 4 種の形式を認めることができる。

　以上の格標識はもっとも系統的に近いチノ語悠楽方言とも大きく異なる。その理由は両者が歴史的に分岐してから、格標識およびその体系が独自に発展してきたことによると推定される。

Keywords:　チノ語補遠方言　ロロ・ビルマ諸語　格標示体系　格の多義性
　　　　　　同一形態素