A Sketch of the Buyuan Jino Case-Marking System

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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, ɳ, ŋ; l; f, s, ɕ, x; w, j/

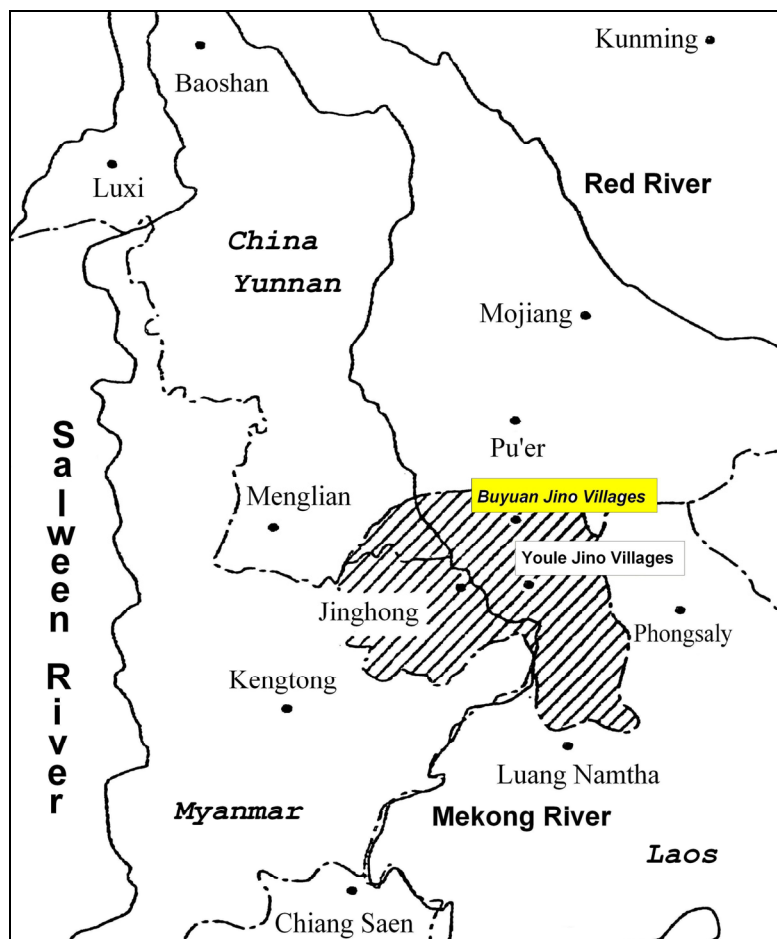Vowels: /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, ɤ, o, u/

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.
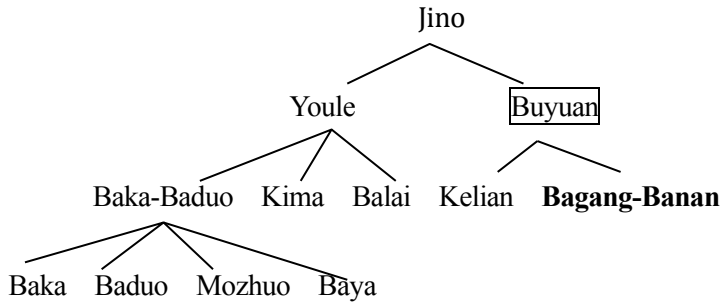
Figure 1: Subdialects of Jino (a tentative hypothesis)

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. $ŋi^{31}vu^{44}$ tu^{31} $lɤ^{31}$ $tsɔ^{53}$.

    sun   go out   come   PFT

    'The sun came out.'

  b. $wu^{55}ta^{55}$ $nɔ^{31}$ $ɕao^{53}$.

    head   hurt   PFT

    '(I) have a headache.'

  c. $ji^{31}mje^{55}$ $fu^{31}tsha^{55}$ $tɕhi^{55}$ la^{44}.

    cat   mouse   bit   PART

    'A cat bit a mouse.'

In (6), $ŋi^{31}vu^{44}$ 'sun', '$wu^{55}ta^{55}$'head' and $ji^{31}mje^{55}$ 'cat' are all subjects in their respective sentences and unmarked for case. (6c) is a transitive sentence, and the object $fu^{31}tsha,^{55}$ 'mouse,' is also unmarked for case.

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

(7) a. $a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɤ^{31}$ $mi^{55}ŋi^{44}$ <u>$pje^{31}lɤ^{55}$</u> li^{55} $pɤ^{44}$ la^{53}?

    3SG.NOM   tomorrow   Kunming(PLN)   go   IRREAL   Q

    'Will he/she go to Kunming?'

  b. $a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɤ^{31}$ <u>$i^{55}tshɤ^{55}$</u> ta^{55} ji^{31} $tsɔ^{53}$.

    3SG.NOM   mountain   ascend   go   PFT

    'He/She climbed up the mountain.'

  c. $a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɛ^{31}$ <u>$ɕue^{31}ɕao^{55}$</u> tsu^{35}.

    3SG.NOM   school   exist

    'He/She is at school.'

The underlined locational nouns in (7), $pje^{31}lɤ^{55}$ 'Kunming (PLN)', $i^{55}tshɤ^{55}$ 'mountain' and $ɕue^{31}ɕao^{55}$ '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. ŋɔ³¹   **tsu³⁵**   ji³¹ tsa⁵³ pɣ⁴⁴.
    1SG.NOM   house.OBL   go PFT IRREAL
    'I have to go back home.'

  b. a³¹pu⁵⁵ ɛ⁵⁵   **ŋɔ³⁵**   khɔ³⁵.
    father   NOM   1SG.OBL   call
    'Father called me.'

  c. nɣ³¹   ji⁵⁵ pɣ⁵⁵   la⁵³, mɔ⁵⁵ ji⁵⁵ pɣ⁵⁵   la⁵³?
    2SG.NOM   go IRREAL Q   NEG go IRREAL Q
    'Are you going or not?'

  d. lɔ³¹si⁵⁵   ɛ⁵⁵   **nɣ³⁵**   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. mi⁵⁵ŋi⁴⁴   **ɛ⁴⁴**   a⁵⁵mjao³¹   a³¹si⁵⁵ thɣ⁵⁵ 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   **ɛ³¹**</u>   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   **ɛ⁴⁴**</u>   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 =ε 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 =ε is prototypically a nominative case marker. The same holds true in (9c) and (9d).

The nominative marker =ε often merges with the subject pronoun and causes a fusion like *jɤ⁴⁴* 'this' + =ε '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. <u>jɛ³¹</u>   a⁵⁵lan³⁵   pi⁵⁵   tɔ³⁵   ŋɛ³¹.

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

   'This is what I gave to Alan.'

f. <u>a⁵⁵jɛ⁴⁴</u>   xɔ⁵⁵mʁ⁴⁴   a⁴⁴   a³¹tshu⁵⁵   ɛ⁴⁴?

   that.NOM   who   POSS   stuff   PART

   'Whose thing is that?'

In comparing the subjects in (10a) and (10b), the subject in (10a) is *ŋuɛ⁵⁵,* whereas the subject in the first clause of (10b) is *ŋɔ³¹*. Each means '1SG.NOM,' but the former is the fused form created through such a process as *ŋɔ³¹* + =ɛ → *ŋuɛ⁵⁵*. The other fusion samples from (10b) to (10f) underwent the same morphophonological process as in (11).

(11) a. nʁ³¹ '2SG.NOM' + =ɛ → ŋɛ³¹ '2SG.NOM'

    b. a⁵⁵jʁ⁴⁴mʁ⁴⁴ '3SG.NOM' + =ɛ → a⁵⁵jʁ⁴⁴mɛ³¹'3SG.NOM'

    c. ŋa⁵⁵su³¹ '1PL.NOM' + =ɛ→ ŋa⁵⁵suɛ³¹ '1PL.NOM'

    d. jʁ⁴⁴ 'this' + =ɛ →jɛ³¹ 'this.NOM'

    e. a⁵⁵jʁ⁴⁴ 'that' + =ɛ → a⁵⁵jɛ⁴⁴ '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. thʁ⁵⁵na⁴⁴ɕiŋ³¹tɕhi³⁵ **ɛ⁴⁴**   mʁ³¹tha⁵⁵   a³¹lu⁵⁵ta⁴⁴

      last week   TADVZ   rain   many

      fu³¹   ɔ⁴⁴.

      rain(v.)   PART

      'Last week it rained heavily.'

    b. khɔ⁵⁵mɔ⁴⁴   tɕi⁵⁵   la⁵³   a⁵⁵jʁ⁴⁴ ŋi³¹   **ɛ³¹**

      woman   marry   REL   that day   TADVZ

      khɔ⁵⁵phjɔ⁵⁵   ɛ⁴⁴   khɔ⁵⁵mjao⁵⁵   m³¹pɔ⁵⁵   si⁵⁵   ji³¹   tsɔ⁵⁵.

      man   NOM   woman   house   take   go   PFT

      'On the wedding day the bridegroom went to the bride's house to

      take her.'

c. a⁵⁵fu⁵⁵   ε⁴⁴   tshɤ³¹jɔ⁵⁵ ŋɔ³¹ lje⁵⁵

 previously TADVZ person five CLF

 ja³⁵ pɤ⁴⁴ n³¹la⁵³,

 take IRREAL PART

 i⁵⁵mi⁵⁵ **ε⁴⁴**   ɕε³¹ lje⁵⁵ lɔ⁴⁴ jɔ³⁵.

 now TADVZ three CLF only need

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

  person.'

d. ŋɔ³¹   ja⁵⁵ŋɛ⁴⁴   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 *=ε* for marking the instrumental case.

(13) a. pe³¹tsi³¹ **ε⁴⁴**   i³¹tshu⁵⁵ tɕhε³¹ b. la⁵⁵pu⁴⁴ **ε⁴⁴** 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 *=ε*.

(14) a. a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ³⁵ **mɤ⁴⁴** <u>tɕha⁵⁵mɤ⁵⁵ ε⁴⁴</u> tɕha⁵⁵ jɔ³⁵ mɔ⁴⁴.

 3SG.OBL PAT thief   NOM steal PART PART

 'He/ She was stolen by a thief.'

b. je⁵⁵kɤ⁵⁵ **mɤ⁴⁴** <u>i³¹tshu⁵⁵ ε⁴⁴</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. ŋuɛ³¹   mi⁵⁵ (mɤ⁴⁴) m³¹   mi⁵⁵   u³¹.
    1SG.NOM fire   PAT   CAUS extinguished PART
    'I extinguished fire.'
  b. na⁴⁴   a³¹mɔ⁵⁵ (mɤ⁴⁴) kha³¹ la⁵⁵.
    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. a⁵⁵po³¹   **a⁴⁴**   ŋi³¹jɔ⁵⁵   ɛ⁴⁴
    Abo (PSN) POSS younger brother   NOM
    xɔ⁵⁵mɤ⁴⁴ ɛ⁴⁴?
    what   PART
    'Who is Abo's younger brother?'
  b. xɔ⁵⁵mɤ³¹ **a⁴⁴**   a³¹mɔ⁵⁵
    who   POSS mother
    'Whose mother?'
  c. a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ³¹ **a⁴⁴**   phi³¹ thu⁵⁵ ɛ³¹   jɤ⁴⁴ mja⁵³?
    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. a⁵⁵fu⁵⁵tha⁵⁵thɤ³¹ **a⁴⁴**   a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɛ³¹   lɔ³¹si⁵⁵ a⁵⁵   je⁵⁵kɤ⁵⁵.
    the front line   POSS   3SG.NOM   teacher POSS child
    'That person at the front line is our teacher's child.'

    b. tsɔ⁵⁵tsi⁴⁴ khu³¹ **a⁴⁴**   a⁵⁵jɛ⁴⁴   a³¹tsɔ⁵⁵ xɛ³¹?
    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**a³¹**   a³¹pu⁵⁵+a³¹mɔ⁵⁵   tsɤ³¹   jɔ³¹   mɤ⁵⁵   la³¹?
    2SG.POSS   father + mother   exist good   good   Q
    'Are your parents well?'

    b. a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴m**a⁴⁴** a⁵⁵mɤ⁴⁴ mɤ⁵⁵   ljao⁵³.
    3SG.POSS   body   good   PART
    'His/Her body is very well.'

    c. ŋa⁵⁵su**a⁴⁴**   tsɔ³¹phu³¹ a⁴⁴   a⁵⁵mjao³¹ tsi⁵⁵   xɤ⁴⁴
    1PL.POSS   village   POSS   year   more   big
    a⁴⁴   ŋɛ³¹   ŋi⁵⁵lja³¹lje⁵⁵,
    PART   PART   the second child
    a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ⁴⁴ si⁵⁵tshɤ³¹   mjao³¹ n³¹   tsɔ⁵³.
    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**a⁴⁴**   a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴tsu³¹ ja³¹   ja³¹   li³¹.
    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. nɤ³¹ '2SG.NOM' + =a → n**a³¹** '2SG.POSS'
    b. a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴mɤ⁴⁴ '3SG.NOM' + =a → a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴m**a⁴⁴**'3SG.POSS'

c. ŋa^{55}su^{31} '1PL.NOM' + =a→ ŋa^{55}su**a^{44}** '1PL.POSS'

d. tsu^{31} 'house' + =a →tsu**a^{44}** '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) jɛ^{31} ŋɔ**a**^{55} (ŋɔ^{35}).

this.NOM   1SG.POSS   COP

'This is mine.'

4.5 =xɤ

This subsection describes that =xɤ^{5} 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. nɤ^{31} **xɤ^{44}**   a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɤ^{44} a^{31}la^{55}

     2SG.NOM   and   3SG.NOM   what

     tshɤ^{31}jɔ^{55} kuan^{31}ɕi^{44}?

     human beings   relationships

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

   b. a^{55}su^{55} **xɤ^{44}**   ŋi^{31}jɔ^{55}

     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, *nɤ^{31}* '2SG.NOM' and *a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɤ^{44}* '3SG.NOM'. The same holds true in (21b).

[comitative]

(22) a. a^{31}la^{55}mu^{31}khu^{31} tsa^{31} kɤ^{44} a^{55}jɤ^{44}ɕu^{44}lu^{31} **xɤ^{44}**   sa^{31}tsha^{31}.

       whatever   exist   if   3PL   with   talk

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

     b. a^{55}jɤ^{44}mɤ^{44} a^{31}pu^{55} a^{31}mɔ^{55} mja^{31}thjɛ^{55} tsa^{55} xɛ^{44},

       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. ŋɛ³¹   ŋɔ⁵⁵   **xɤ⁴⁴** a³¹ŋɔ⁴⁴   tsi⁵⁵ ŋɔ⁴⁴.

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

  'You are taller than I.'

c. jɤ⁴⁴ thɤ⁵⁵ li⁵⁵ ɛ⁴⁴   a⁵⁵jɤ⁴⁴ thɤ⁵⁵ li⁵⁵   **xɤ⁴⁴** tsi⁵⁵ pju⁵⁵

  this one CLF NOM that   one CLF than more write

  jɔ³¹   mɔ⁵⁵.

  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 (-*ϕ*). Imbabura Quechua marks the comitative, instrumental and material/means in the same way (-*wan*).
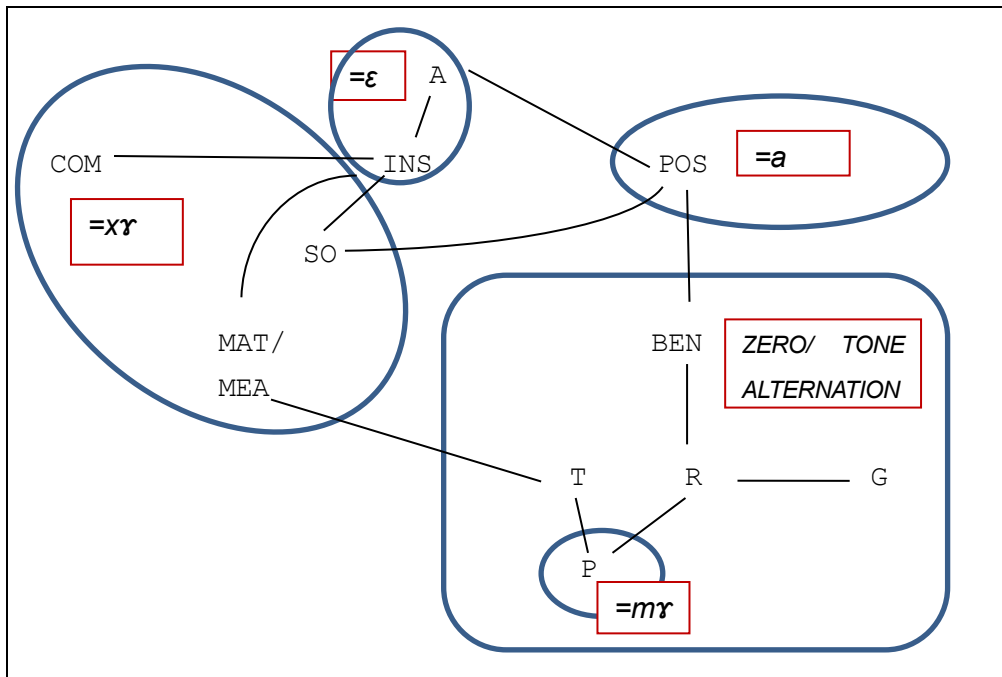
Figure 2: The Tentative Case System of Buyuan Jino (Adapted from Malchukov and Narrog 2009: 531)

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 =ɸ (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 (=ɛ, 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 $=\varepsilon$, $=mʏ$, $=a$, and $=xʏ$.

    b. Buyuan Jino is an accusative language, though the agentive noun is overtly marked ($=\varepsilon$) rather than the patient ($=mʏ$ 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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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。