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A Sketch of Buyuan Jino Tones and Their Development*

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Keywords: Jino (Jinuo), Buyuan Jino, Youle Jino, Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna), China, Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman, Tonal development, Word tonalization

1 Introduction: The Buyuan dialect of Jino and the goal of this paper

Figure 1: The Jino villages, Yunnan

The Buyuan dialect of the Jino language (henceforth "Buyuan Jino") is a Lolo-Burmese (henceforth "LB") language of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic family spoken in the northeastern part of Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna) autonomous state in Yunnan province, China (See Figure 1[1]).

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[1] This map is cited from Kato (2000) and revised by the present author. The shaded portion is Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna) autonomous state in Yunnan province, China.

The total Jino population in China amounts to 20,899 (2000 census), but the present author estimates that only 70 to 80 percent are fluent speakers of the Jino language. Ten percent of these speakers can be considered to speak Buyuan Jino, and the remainder Youle Jino (As for the genetic affiliation, see Figure 2).

Buyuan Jino has two main subdialects, namely Bagang-Banan and Kelian; these are mutually intelligible, though many differences can be found even in basic lexicons. In this paper, Bagang-Banan data drawn from my field research in 2004–2011 will be employed.[2]

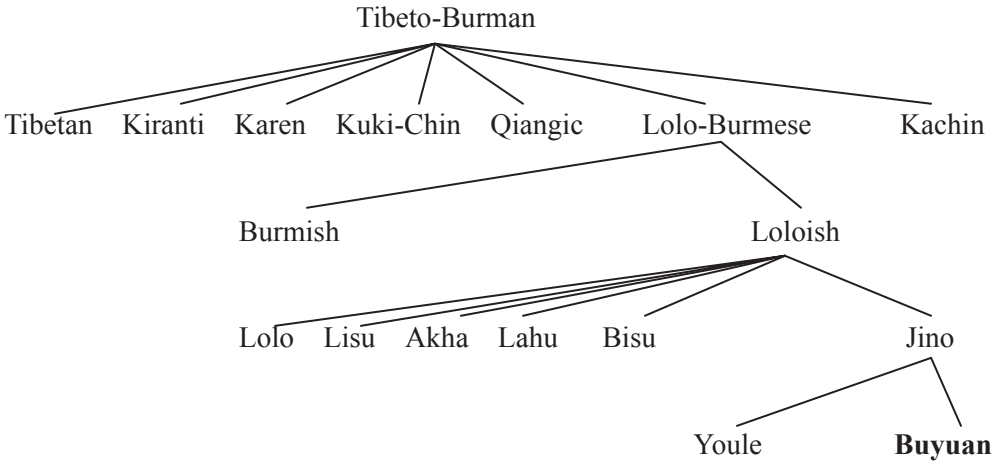

Figure 2: The genetic affiliation of Buyuan Jino (a simplified model of Matisoff [2003])

This paper aims to describe the tonemes and tonal patterns (or tonal alternation) of Buyuan Jino, and attempts to undertake a tentative analysis of their historical development through comparison between Buyuan Jino and neighboring LB languages.

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2 Previous Work: Gai (1986)

Gai (1986) is the only previous published work on Buyuan Jino, and states that there are eight tonemes in the language (See Table 1). Some tonemes have the function of distinguishing lexical meanings, and others, grammatical meanings.

Table 1: Gai's (1986: 125–126) tonemes and examples

	Tone value	Example	Gloss
[1]	55; high level	vu55tsɔ35vu55nə44	'diarrhea'
[2]	44; second high level	vu44	'hatch'
[3]	33; mid level	vu33	'sell'
[4]	42; mid falling	vu42mɔ44	'belly'
[5]	31; low falling	vu31	'buy'
[6]	13; low rising	vu13	'cap (v.)'
[7]	11; low level	a31vu11	'startle'
[8]	53; high falling	vu53	'(the sound of a horn)'

Gai also describes the tonal correspondences between Youle Jino and Buyuan Jino, and remarks that the tones (and even the tone values) of these two dialects basically correspond. He gives two corresponding sets, as seen below (Gai 1986: 130–131).

(1) a. Mid falling tone 42 in Youle corresponds to high level tone 55 in Buyuan.

Youle Jino ɑ44ɕɛ42; Buyuan Jino ɑ31ɕᴇ55 'near'

Youle Jino tʃo31jɑ42; Buyuan Jino tsɔ31jɑ55 'sparrow'

b. Mid level tone 33 in Youle corresponds to low falling tone 31 in Buyuan.

Youle Jino mɑ33tʃhə33; Buyuan Jino mɑ33tshɤ31 'friend'

Youle Jino khɛ33khø33; Buyuan Jino tɕhɛ31khu31 'garden'

Gai's (1986) phonological analysis and my own[3] are totally different; therefore, the data presented by Gai is irrelevant to the discussion in the present paper; and in addition, Gai does not discuss tonal development from Proto-Lolo-Burmese to Buyuan Jino. These are the main differences between Gai (1986) and the current paper.

3 Synchrony of Buyuan Jino tones

Based on my field data, I argue that there are at present five tones in Buyuan Jino, which can be exemplified as follows (Hayashi forthcoming).

(2) a. **55 (High level tone)** : high and level. It tends to exhibit vowels that are phonetically shortened.
/ja55/ 'weave', /fu55thu55/ 'trousers', /wu55/ 'sell', /a31ɳ̊a55/ 'sticky', /ŋɔ55tɤ31/ 'fish'

b. **44 (Mid level tone)** : lower than 55, though still high.
/ja44/ 'sweep', /fu44/ 'roll/ maggot', /ŋɔ44/ 'five'

c. **31 (Low falling tone)** : low.
/ja31/ 'take', /fu31/ 'deceive', /wu31/ 'buy', /ŋɔ31/ 'I (1p singular)'

d. **35 (Rising tone)** : rising. Found in relatively few words.
/a31fu31fu35/ 'very hot', /ɳ̊a35/ 'cry', /ŋɔ35/ 'genuine, true'

e. **53 (High falling tone)**: falling from the top level.
/tsɔ53/ [t͡sɔ53] '(perfect marker)', /mi31ɕao53/ [mi31ɕʁɔ53] 'beautiful', /xɔ55tɔ44mjɛ53/ [xɔ55tɔ44mjɛ53] 'how'

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[3] **Phonological Inventory of Buyuan Jino (Except Tonemes)** by the present author (Hayashi forthcoming):

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

Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, ɤ, o, u/

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

[53] is a tone value which should be considered to place at the special position; in fact, it is difficult to tell whether this is a distinctive toneme or not. Following are some examples of the [53] tone. Note that the examples in (3) are illustrated on the phonetic level.

(3) a. [t͡sɔ**53**] '(perfect)', [k^{h}ɤ31t͡sɔ**53**] '(have) arrived', [mɔ55kɔ55t͡sɔ**53**] '(I am) defeated', etc.

b. [mi31ɕɐɔ**53**] 'beautiful', [mɤŋ55ɕɐɔ**53**] 'depressed', etc.

c. [xɔ55tɔ44mjɛ**53**] 'how', [m31kɔ**53**] 'complete', [sɐ44mɔ55lɐ**53**] 'tell', etc.

As demonstrated in (3), the tone value [53] occurs at the end of a 'morphological word'. It seems to be found in grammatical morphemes (*tsɔ53* functions as an aspectual marker, *ɕao53* as an ending for stative verbs, etc.). In addition, the tonal patterns of disyllabic words reveal that there have not yet been found words beginning with [53], as seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Tonal patterns of Buyuan Jino disyllabic words

		Second Syllable (S2)				
		55	44	31	35	53
First Syllable (S1)	55	○	○	○	△	△
	44	△	○	×	×	×
	31	○	○	○	△	△
	35	△	△	△	△	△
	53	×	×	×	×	×

(○: frequently found, △: seldom found, ×: not found so far)

The tonal patterns of disyllabic words are limited, probably because the morphophonology of this language has also been affected by disyllabization and word tonalization. Hence, it seems that the 53 tone can be better analyzed as being

influenced by positional constraints, with a relatively low functional load in the phonology of Buyuan Jino, though at present it should still be marked (/53/), because it cannot be analyzed as an allotone of any other toneme.

4 Development of Buyuan Jino tones

In historical LB linguistics, the tonal correspondences with Written Burmese (henceforth "WB") forms can be considered most useful to the scholar. The proto-tones of Proto-Lolo-Burmese (henceforth "PLB") established by Bradley (1979) and Matisoff (2003) basically correspond to Written Burmese tones.[4] Proto-Tone 1 of PLB corresponds to WB tone 1 (corresponding to the level tone[5] in Colloquial Burmese), Proto-Tone 2 of PLB to WB tone 2 (corresponding to the heavy tone in Colloquial Burmese), and Proto-Tone 3 of PLB to WB tone 3 (corresponding to the creaky tone in Colloquial Burmese).

Hereafter, we will demonstrate the tonal correspondence between LB languages and WB and discuss the development of Buyuan Jino tones. Tonal sets corresponding to the unchecked WB syllables will be examined in 4.1 and to the checked syllables in 4.2.

4.1 Sets corresponding to unchecked WB syllables

First, we will investigate the tonal correspondence of Buyuan Jino and LB languages to unchecked WB syllables. The following tables (Tables 3 to 5) show tonal sets corresponding to WB tones 1, 2 and 3.

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[4] It would be useful to utilize the Old Burmese (OB) forms for comparison of Lolo-Burmese tones if this were possible, but as we lack tonal information for this language, we employ WB forms in place of OB ones.

[5] The terminology for colloquial Burmese tones is adopted from Okell (1969).

4.1.1 Tonal sets corresponding to WB tone 1

Table 3 illustrates the tonal correspondence between Buyuan Jino (hereafter "BJ") tones and those in other LB languages.

Table 3: Tonal sets corresponding to WB tone 1

Gloss	BJ	YJ	H	ACH	ZW	WB
'die'	a55si31	ʃi42	si55	ʂŋ55	ʃi51	sei-
'enter'	u31	o42	(thø33)	ɔŋ55	vaŋ51	wang-
'come'	lɔ31	lɔ42	la55	(zə̰35)	le55	laa-
'look for'	xɔ31li55	ʃɔ42	(tɕho33mo55)	tuai55xɔ31-zṵa35	mjaŋ51xo31	hra-
'rain (v.)'	fu31	xo42	ɔ31ze55-ze55	zɔ̰55	vo51	ywaa-
'iron'	ɕɛ31xɔ55	ʃɛ42	sɔ55	ʂam55	ʃam51to̲ʔ55	samꜜ
'1SG. NOM'	ŋɔ31	ŋɔ42	ŋa55	ŋɔ55	ŋo51	ngaa
'ten'	tshɤ31	tshɤ42	tshe55	tɕhe55	tshe51	chay
'thick'	a55tha31-la31	a33thu55	thu55	(kaŋ31)	thu51	thuu-
'name'	a55mi31	a33mə̰e55	tsho55mjɔ55	a31n̥iŋ55	mjiŋ51	maw̌
'guts'	a55vu31	a33vu55	u55	a31u55	u51	uu
'bear (animal)'	a55jɤ31	a33ø55	xɔ31ɔ55	ɔm55	vam51	waꜜm
'water'	i31tshu55	ji33tʃho55	u55tɕu31	(ti55)	vui51	rei
'nose'	nɔ31pje31	nɔ33to55	na55me55	n̥ɔŋ55	no51	hnaa-khɔng:
'mosquito'	~si31tɕɤ31	ço33kjə55	ja55go31	(phɔp55)	(kjaŋ51)	yang
'long'	ɕu44mju31-lu31	jɔ55ʃɯ55	(mo55)	səŋ55	xiŋ51	hraw̌-
'sweet'	a55tshi31	a33tʃhi55	tɕhu55	(uai31)	tʃhui31	khyo-

‘foot’	a55tɕhi31	ʃɔ55khi55	a31khɯ55	tɕhi55	khji51	khrei
‘fly’	pje35	prɛ42	bjɔ55	tʂam55	taŋ21	pyaṃ-
‘painful’	nɔ35	nɔ42	(ko31)	(xə31)	no51	naa-
‘pointed’	a31tɕhi55	a33tɕhø55	tɕhe33	(liam31)	tʃhun51	khyon-
‘white’	a31pja55	a33phru55	phju55	phzo̱55	phju51	phruu-
‘red’	a55nɤ44	a33ŋ̊ɤ55	n̥i55	na55	ne51	nii-/ a-nii
‘green’	a55n̥i44	a33n̥u55	n̥u55	n̥au55	ŋjui51	ňo-

The first section of this table (from ‘die’ to ‘ten’) show that Buyuan Jino 31 tone corresponds to Youle Jino (YJ) tone 42, Hani (H [Loloish: spoken in China, Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam]) 55, Achang (ACH [Burmish: China, Myanmar]) 55, Zaiwa (ZW [Burmish: China, Myanmar]) 51 or 55, and WB tone 1. The second section (from ‘thick’ to ‘foot’) shows essentially the same correspondences as the first section, though YJ in the second section has a 55 tone, likely caused by (morphological) disyllabization.[6]

However, as can also be seen in Table 3, there are some irregularities in tonal correspondences. In the words for ‘fly’ and ‘painful’, BJ has a 35 tone, not 31. Further, the last two columns show two BJ tones (namely, 55 and 44) corresponding to WB tone 1. These cases demand further analysis.

[6] For a more detailed discussion of the influence of disyllabization on tonal alternation in YJ, see Hayashi (2009b).

4.1.2 Tonal sets corresponding to WB tone 2

Table 4 illustrates the tonal correspondences between LB languages and WB tone 2.

Table 4: Tonal sets corresponding to WB tone 2

Gloss	BJ	YJ	H	ACH	ZW	WB
'walk'	ju55	zo55	zu31	so31	so21	swaa:-
'eat'	tsɔ55	tsɔ55	dza31	tɕɔ31	tso21	caa:-
'steal'	tɕha55ja31	khju55	xø31	xau31	khau21	kho:-
'hear'	tɕɔ55	kjɔ55	ga31	kz̥ua31	vo55kjo21	kraa:-
'give'	pi55	pi55	bi31	tsi31	pji21	pei:-
'expensive'	phja55	phu55	phø31	(kɔ55)	phau21	a-pho: ['price']
'horse'	mju55	mjo55	mo31	m̥z̥aŋ31	mjaŋ21	mrang:
'fire'	mi55	mi55	mi31dza31	(poi31)	mji21	mii:
'bitter'	a55khɔ55	a55khɔ55	xa31	xɔ31	kho21	khaa:-
'feces'	a55tɕhi55	a55khri55	ɕi31	tɕhi31	khji21	khyei:
'salt'	tshɤ55lɤ44	tshə55khə42	tsha31dx̱31	tɕhɔ31	tsho55	chaa:
'bee'	pji55ji55	pjə55jə55	bja31si55	tʂua31ɕaŋ31	pjŏ21jaŋ21	pyaa:
'fruit'	a55si55	a55sɯ55	a55si31	ʂə31	ʃi21	a-sii:
'liver'	a55tshi55	a33tshɯ55	tshɔ31	a31ʂəŋ31	siŋ21	a-saň:
'dog'	khɤ55nɔ55	khɯ33n̥i55	a31khɯ31	xui31	khui21	khwei:
'slippery'	a31ka55la55	a33krø55	dz̥u55lɯ55ne33	ne$^{?}$35	tʃu̱t55	khyɔ:-
'five'	ŋɔ44	ŋɔ55	ŋa31	ŋɔ31	ŋo21	ngaa:
'nine'	tɕa44	kju55	ɣø31	kau31	kau21	ko:
'wash'	ja55tshi44	tshi55	tshi31	(phɔp55)	chi21	chei:-

The examples in the first section of Table 4 (from 'walk' to 'slippery') show that Buyuan Jino 55 tone corresponds to YJ 55, H 31, ACH 31, ZW 21/55 and WB tone 2, a corresponding set that should be the most stable in this paper. The ones in the

second section (‘five’ and ‘nine’) seem to have a different correspondence from those in the first section, which might relate to the fact that these two words are numerals.[7] The word for ‘wash’ also has a 44 tone, like the words in the second column. This could be as a result of the influence of word tonalization or tone sandhi, though this is an issue that still needs further analysis.

4.1.3 Tonal sets corresponding to WB tone 3

Table 5 illustrates the tonal correspondences between LB languages and WB tone 3.

Table 5: Tonal sets corresponding to WB tone 3

Gloss	BJ	YJ	H	ACH	ZW	WB
‘ripe’	mju44	m̥jɤ44	mjɔ33	ŋ̊eŋ35	mjiŋ55-	hmaň.-
‘full’	pju44	a55prɯ44	bjɔ33	pz̥ə̥ŋ35	pjiŋ55	praň.-
‘moon’	pja55xɔ44	pu55l̥ɔ44	la33si31	pau51l̥ɔ35	lŏ55mo55	la.
‘day’	a31n̥i44	n̥55	nɔ33	n̥en31	ŋ̊ji55	nei.
‘seed’	a31tsi44	a33tsɯ55	a55zø31	(a31n̥au31)	(a21mji21)	a-cei.
‘open’	phu55tɕi55	phɔ55	phɔ33	phɔŋ35	phoŋ55	phwang.-
‘know’	si55tɕha53	sɯ55	xɤ̲33	sɑ35	se55	si.-
‘fall (v.)’	kɔ31	krø44	ja33	kz̥ua35	kjo55	kya.-

There are considerably fewer examples of sets corresponding to WB tone 3 than of those to tones 1 and 2. The examples in the first column of Table 5 (from ‘ripe’ to ‘seed’) show that the 44 tone in Buyuan Jino basically corresponds to YJ 44, H 33, ACH 35/31, ZW 55, and WB tone 3, which constitutes a regular correspondence with the exception of the word for ‘seed’.

There are, of course, different set of tonal correspondences from the one shown in

[7] The cardinal numbers in Youle Jino (especially from one to nine) also have irregular correspondences with PLB, in the sense that one would expect their tones to have been leveled to 55.

the first column. As for the words for ‘open’ and ‘know’, BJ 55 corresponds to YJ 55, H 33, ACH 35, ZW 55, and WB tone 3, and in ‘fall’, BJ 31 corresponds to YJ 44, H 33, ACH 35, ZW 55, and WB tone 3. Considering the stability of tonal correspondences among H, ACH, and ZW, it is clear that the tones of these three examples from BJ developed independently after divergence from YJ.

4.2 Sets corresponding to Written Burmese checked syllables

Secondly, we will investigate the tonal correspondence of Buyuan Jino and LB languages to WB checked syllables. Table 6 shows tonal sets corresponding to WB checked syllables.

Matisoff (1972) divided the tonal sets of checked syllables in LB into two types—a HIGH group and a LOW group—which Bradley (1979) utilized for the reconstruction of PLB. The former group has higher tone values than the latter in most modern LB languages, though in some languages there can be found tonal flips. According to the reconstruction performed by Matisoff (1972) and Bradley (1979), Group A in Table 6 exemplifies the tonal sets corresponding to the LOW group (PLB *L) and Group B to the HIGH group (PLB *H).[8]

In Group A, BJ 55 corresponds to YJ 55, H 31, ACH 55, and ZW 21 or 55, whereas in Group B, BJ 55 or 44 or 31 corresponds to YJ 42 (or 33), H 33, ACH 55, and ZW 21 or 55, which might lead us to conclude that Group A has much more stable correspondences than Group B.

At this moment, it is not possible to state with a large degree of confidence which BJ tone in Group B participates in regular correspondence, but it is arguable that the BJ tonal sets in Group B are in the process of merging into tone 55, though of course it should be noted that the words for ‘ascend’, ‘bird’, and ‘eye’ are disyllabic words

[8] As can be seen in Table 6, Zaiwa tones do not correspond straightforwardly to PLB checked syllables. Nishi (1999) puts the tonal correspondences of Burmish checked syllables in order, based on tone values of the Maruic languages.

and may not be affected by this process.

Table 6: Tonal sets corresponding to Written Burmese checked syllables

Group	Gloss	BJ	YJ	H	ACH	ZW	WB
A	‘kill’	ɕɛ55	se55	se̲31	sat55	sat21	sat-
	‘pig’	wa55	va55	a31ɣa̲31	oˀ55	vaˀ21	wak
	‘sew’	tɕa55	kju55	gu̲31	xz̥op55	khjup55	khyup-
	‘lick’	mje55	mrə55	mje31	liap55	joˀ21	lyak-
	‘sleep’	i55thi55	ji55	ju̲31	e31	jup55	ip-
	‘two’	n̥i55	n̥̊55	n̥i31	(sək55)	i55	hnac
	‘six’	tɕhu55	khjo55	ku31	xz̥oˀ55	khjuˀ55	khrɔk
	‘deep’	a31na55la55	a33n̥̊a55	na̲31	(lək55)	nik21	nak-
	‘new’	a31si55	a33ʃi55	sɻ31	sək55	a21sik55	sac-
	‘hand’	la55pu44	la55pu44	a31la̲31	lɔˀ55	loˀ21	lak
	‘be bent’	tɔ31khu55	a55kho44	ɣu̲31	kok55	koi55	kɔk-
	‘eight’	ɕi44	xɛ55	ɕe31	ɕet55	ʃit55	hrac
B	‘chicken’	ja55	ja42	a31xa33	kz̥uaˀ55	voˀ21	krak
	‘sharp’	tha55	tha42	ta̲33	thɔˀ55	thoˀ55	thak-
	‘black’	a55na55	a55na42	na̲33	(lɔk55)	noˀ21	nak-
	‘fear’	tɕhi55lɔ55	khø44	gu̲33	z̥oˀ55	kjuˀ21	krɔk-
	‘pick up’	ku44	ko42	(u31)	kuˀ55	kui51	kɔk-
	‘wrap’	thɛ44	thø42	to̲33	tshet55	(kjeˀ21)	thup-
	‘ascend’	ta31ji31	ta42	da̲33	tɔˀ55	toˀ21	tak-
	‘bird’	ŋa31jɔ55	ŋa33zɔ55	(a55dzi55)	məˀ55	ŋoˀ55	hngak
	‘eye’	mja31tsi44	mja33tsi55	mja̲33	n̥ɔˀ55tsiˀ55	mjoˀ21tʃi55	myak-cei

5 Concluding Remarks

As shown in the discussion above, BJ has four distinctive tonemes and one positional tone (/53/); the tonal correspondences between BJ and LB languages can be summarized as in Table 7.[9]

Table 7: Summary of tonal correspondences between BJ and LB languages

PLB		BJ	YJ	H	ACH	ZW
Unchecked Syllables	*1	**31**/35/55/44	**42**/33/55	55	55	51/21
	*2	**55**/44	**55**/33	31	31	21/55
	*3	**44**/55/31	**44**/55/42	33	35/31	55
Checked Syllables	*L	55	55	31	55	21/55
	*H	**55**/44/31	**42**/33	33	55	21/55

The toneme written in boldface in each column should be understood to indicate the regular correspondence in the relevant language. The tones 31 and 44 in BJ may be derived from PLB tones *1 and *3 respectively, while 55 in BJ may be traceable to PLB tones *2, *L, and *H. Tone 35 in BJ may be traceable back to PLB tone *1, which would indicate that PLB tone *1 had split up into 31 and 35 in BJ after the divergence from YJ.

From the viewpoint of tone values, BJ seems to be very similar to YJ in unchecked syllables but not in checked syllables. This may imply that the tones in the unchecked syllables of BJ and YJ developed in the same way, whereas those in checked syllables developed independently after the split into two dialects.

As is widely attested in many Asian languages of several language families, the historical development of tones may relate to onset and/or rhyme groups. However, the tonal development of BJ apparently has nothing to do with those groups at the PLB stage, where the proto-tone system is inherently assigned. There is a relatively

[9] WB tones were replaced with PLB tones in Table 7.

clear correspondence between BJ tones and PLB tones. The irregularities in the corresponding rules may thus be affiliated with morphophonological layers than with phonological ones in narrow sense, a possibility that demands further analysis.

Data Resources

Achang: Dai and Cui (1985), Huang (1992); Buyuan Jino: my fieldnotes; Written Burmese: Harada and Ohno (1979), Ohno (1995), Hani: Li and Wang (1986), Huang (1992), Dai and Duan (1995); Youle Jino: my fieldnotes (Hayashi 2007, 2009a, 2009b), Zaiwa: Huang (1992).

Abbreviation

"*" marks a proto-form. Parenthesized forms in the tables cannot be considered to be cognate.

ACH: Achang, BJ: Buyuan Jino, H: Hani, PLB: Proto-Lolo-Burmese, WB: Written Burmese, YJ: Youle Jino, ZW: Zaiwa

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