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Yilan Creole Case Marking

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Abstract

Yilan Creole is a Japanese-based creole language spoken in Taiwan. It has been used as a first language by indigenous Atayal and Seediq people living in Yilan County. This paper is a descriptive study that attempts to clarify the linguistic nature of Yilan Creole through an examination of its case-marking system. Both word order and postpositions are used for case marking in Yilan Creole. Basically, the subject and direct object are indicated by word order, while the indirect object and other arguments are marked by five postpositional case particles: *ni*, *de*, *to*, *no*, and *kara*. The case particles are derived from the lexifier language, Japanese. The paper concludes that, compared to the Japanese case particles, the case particle *ni* has undergone an extension of functions, and some other particles, on the contrary, saw a reduction of functions in Yilan Creole.*

Key words: Taiwan, Yilan Creole, Japanese, Atayal, case marking

1. Introduction

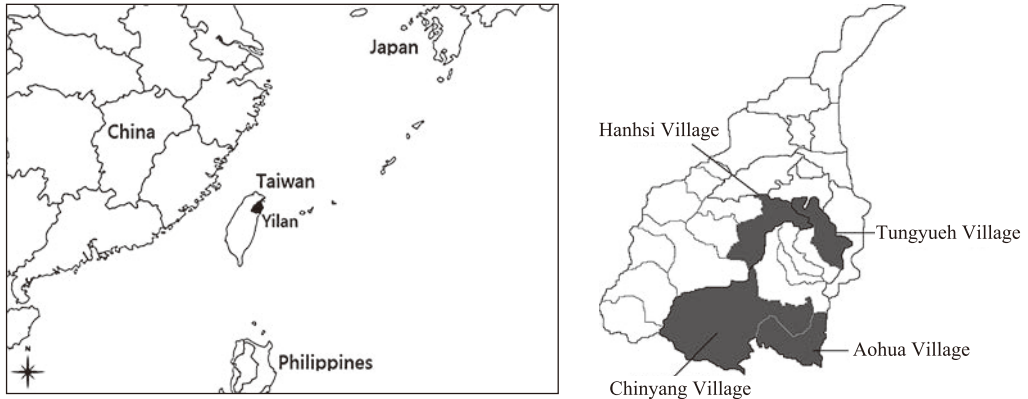
Taiwan was colonized by Japan from 1895 to 1945. During this period, the Japanese language was taught through school education and social education, following the colonial government's policy to make the Taiwanese use Japanese. Language contact between Japanese and the local languages—Austronesian languages, Southern Min, and Hakka—during the fifty years of colonial rule caused a number of linguistic phenomena, which can be categorized into three types:

- (i) the bilingual use of Taiwanese languages and Japanese;¹
- (ii) the borrowing of Japanese words into Taiwanese languages;
- (iii) the creation of a creole based on Japanese and Austronesian languages.

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¹ People educated during the Japanese colonial period are over seventy-five years old now; most of them are bilingual, speaking their own ethnic group language and Japanese fluently. Even today, among members of the older generations whose ethnic group languages are different (e.g., Austronesian languages, Southern Min, and Hakka), Japanese is used as a lingua franca for communication, as the older generations can speak Japanese more fluently than the present official language, Mandarin. The variety of Japanese they speak (which is not a creole) is becoming extinct as the older generations pass away. Based on data from naturally occurring conversations, Chien (e.g., 2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2011) has described this variety of Japanese's structure and processes of change by examining the usage of personal pronouns, negatives, potential expressions, modal expressions, style-shifting, and so forth. Chien's study drew on variation theory to clarify the variation in Japanese ability between informants and the speech style variation of each informant (speech styles were observed to differ when this Japanese variety was used as a lingua franca between Taiwanese in contrast to when it was used in interviews with Japanese researchers).

While phenomena (i) and (ii) can be observed widely throughout Taiwan, phenomenon (iii) can only be found in Yilan County in eastern Taiwan (Map 1), where a creole based on Japanese and two Austronesian languages, Atayal and Seediq,² is used.



Map 1 Yilan County, Taiwan

Little research on Yilan Creole had been carried out until recently. In the last few years, however, several studies have discussed how and why Yilan Creole evolved (Sanada & Chien 2007, 2008a, 2008b, Chien & Sanada 2010a, 2010b, among others) and the linguistic structure of Yilan Creole (Sanada & Chien 2007, 2008a, Abe et al. 2008, Otani & Huang 2009, Chien & Sanada 2011, Chien 2015). However, its structure has not yet been fully researched. In order to clarify the syntactic structure of Yilan Creole further, this paper describes its case-marking system.

Previous research on pidgin and creole languages shows three main types of case marking: no marking, adpositions, and serial verb constructions. As Haspelmath (2013a, 2013b) notes, there is no marking for the patient role and agent role in most *APiCS* languages.³ However, some creoles use adpositions—prepositions or postpositions—to mark cases (Verhaar 1995, Holm & Patrick 2002, Michaelis et al. 2013). Finally, according to Winford (2008: 21, following Bickerton 1981), one of the creole prototype features is “[t]he use of serial verb constructions in which serial verbs have a ‘case-marking’ function, introducing directional, benefactive, dative, and instrumental arguments.” Yilan Creole uses word order and case particles to mark cases. As its lexifier language, Japanese, has postpositional particles, and its substrate language, Atayal, has prepositional particles, it is particularly important to examine Yilan Creole’s case particle system to answer the following questions: How is Yilan Creole’s case-marking system influenced by Japanese and Atayal? What kind of language change brought about its case particle system?

This paper aims to clarify the case-marking system of Yilan Creole. We will describe the sociolinguistic background in Section 2 and present a brief description of the case-marking systems of Japanese and Atayal in Section 3. Next, Section 4 gives a brief account of the data collec-

² Atayal is also known as Tayal, and Seediq as Sediq.

³ “The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS) brings together the expertise of 88 language experts to provide a systematic comparison of key structural features of 76 creoles, pidgins, and mixed languages in the areas of syntax, semantics, morphology, lexicon, and phonology” (Michaelis et al. 2013: xxxi).

tion. Section 5 discusses Yilan Creole's word order, and Section 6 analyzes Yilan Creole's use of postpositions for case marking. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Sociolinguistic background

Yilan Creole is spoken by indigenous Atayal and Seediq people living in four villages of Yilan County. They are Hanhsi Village, Tungyueh Village, Chinyang Village, and Aohua Village, as illustrated in Map 1. It is used in daily life by all generations excluding some younger people.

It is not clear precisely how many speakers this creole has, but the population of the four villages is about 3,500.⁴ Excluding those living in areas where Yilan Creole is not used and the younger generations who have shifted to the dominant language, Mandarin Chinese, speakers of this creole likely number fewer than 3,000 people.

The language was named Yilan Creole for Yilan, where it is spoken, by Chien and Sanada (2010a). However, the speakers of the language do not use this term to refer to their own form of speech. Each village has a different name for it, for instance, *Tang-ow no ke*, *Tang-ow no hanasi*, *tifangyuyen* in Tungyueh Village; *Kinus no hanasi*, *Poailutehua* in Chinyang Village; *zibun no hanasi*, *jihpentubua* in Aohua Village; and *Kangke no ke*, *Kangke no hanasi*, *Hanhsi Atayal* in Hanhsi Village. The word *Nihongo* is also commonly used to refer to Yilan Creole in all four villages.

Given what we know about the development of creoles (Winford 2003, among others), it is reasonable to assume that in the 1910s, during the Japanese colonial period, a contact language (which we can consider a pidgin) was used as a lingua franca between Atayal and Seediq people. For some of them, it then developed into a native language, and it has been a first language for Atayal and Seediq people in this area since the 1930s. Nowadays, all generations use Yilan Creole in their daily life, but in Tungyueh Village, most of those born from the 1980s onward cannot speak it, while in Aohua Village we found young fluent speakers born in the 1990s. Although there is variation in the level of endangerment between the four villages, Yilan Creole is undoubtedly threatened by the dominant language, Mandarin.

3. The case-marking systems in Japanese and Atayal

Japanese is the 'lexifier language' for Yilan Creole, and Atayal is the 'substrate language.'⁵ Before going on to the main subject, we will take a brief look at the case-marking systems in Japanese and Atayal.

3.1 The case-marking system in Japanese

Japanese is basically a verb-final language and has case particles occurring after the noun or noun

⁴ The population data are from the homepage of the Yilan County Government (<http://www.e-land.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=53265&CtNode=888&cmp=4>, accessed 7/12/15/).

⁵ The linguistic system of Yilan Creole reflects a heavy influence from Japanese and Atayal, but little influence from Seediq. It may be inferred that the Seediq were fewer than the Atayal in the population. According to Utsushikawa et al. (1935), in 1931, 85.4% of indigenous people living in Yilan County were Atayal, while 14.3% were Seediq, and some Seediq people had shifted their language to Atayal. Nowadays, almost all people in this area are registered to the Atayal group instead of the Seediq group. (Utsushikawa et al. 1935 was a study conducted by the faculty of the Institute of Ethnology, Taihoku Imperial University; it is sometimes also cited as Taihoku Imperial University 1935).

phrase. The particles are postpositions and function as morphosyntactic devices to designate the case roles and grammatical functions of noun phrases in sentences, as illustrated in (1a) and (1b).

- (1) Japanese
- a. *neko ga naku*
 cat NOM cry
 ‘A cat meows.’/‘A cat will meow.’
- b. *watashi ga neko o daku*
 1sg NOM cat ACC hug
 ‘I hug a cat.’/‘I will hug a cat.’

In (1a), the agent *neko* ‘cat’ is marked as the subject with the nominative marker *ga*, while in (1b), the patient *neko* ‘cat’ is marked as the object with the accusative marker *o*.

Japanese has nine case particles: nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, locative, lative, ablative, comitative, and genitive. They are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Case particles in Japanese (data from Shibatani et al. 1982)

Case	NOM	ACC	DAT	INS	LOC	LAT	ABL	COM	GEN
Particle	<i>ga</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>no</i>
					<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>			

In daily Japanese conversation, *ga*, *o*, and *e* are sometimes omitted (Takahashi 2005). In some functions, *ni* can be omitted in spoken Japanese. For example, when *ni* marks the goal role or stative locative role, it can be omitted in spoken Japanese (Maeda 1998).

3.2 The case-marking system in Atayal

Atayal is basically a verb-initial language. The case relationship in Atayal is indicated by pre-nominal markers. Examples appear in (2a) and (2b).

- (2) Atayal (Squliq dialect used in Wulai)
- a. *m-iru’-saku’ na’ enpit qani*
 AF-write-1sg.BN INS pen this
 ‘I write with this pen.’ (Huang 1995: 274)
- b. *musa’-ku’ m-tzyaw sa’ ulay*
 ASP-1sg.BN AF-work LOC Wulai
 ‘I will work in Wulai.’ (Huang 1995: 274)

As (2a) shows, the instrument *enpit qani* ‘this pen’ is marked with the instrumental case marker *na’*. And in (2b), the marker *sa’* precedes the noun *ulay* ‘Wulai’, indicating its locative role.

Atayal has two major dialects, Squliq and C’uli’. The substrate language of Yilan Creole includes both dialects. For reference, their case markers are shown in Tables 2 and 3. As can be seen in the tables, the Atayal Squliq dialect makes a distinction between common nouns and proper nouns (Table 2), while the Atayal C’uli’ dialect does not make such a distinction (Table 3). However, as Huang (1995, 2008) have pointed out, these case markers are seldom used in daily conversation, especially in the younger generations’ speech. Meanwhile, Seediq has only

Table 2 Case markers in Atayal Squiliq dialect (Huang 2006, 2008)

Noun \ Case	Case							
	NOM	ACC	DAT	LOC	GEN	BEN	INS	COM
Proper	'i'	—	—	ki'	ni'	ni'	—	ki'
Common	qu'	—	—	i'	na'	nqu'	na'	—
				sa'	nqu'			
				te				
				squ'				

Table 3 Case markers in Atayal C'uli' dialect (Huang 2008)

Case	NOM	ACC	DAT	LOC	GEN	BEN	INS	COM
	ku'	—	—	sku'	na'	—	—	—

the nominative case marker *ka* and the genitive case marker *na*, and does not make a distinction between common nouns and proper nouns (Chang 2000).

4. Data

The data employed for this paper were collected in Tungyueh Village on several short visits between June 2012 and October 2013, and during a supplementary investigation in July 2015. The informants were eight native speakers of Yilan Creole born between 1943 and 1974.⁶ All were born and brought up in Tungyueh Village. Their first language is Yilan Creole, and they are bilingual speakers of Yilan Creole and Mandarin.

The data come from fieldwork conducted by a team from Dong Hwa University, Taiwan, consisting of myself and two of my students, and Professor Shinji Sanada of Nara University, Japan. The student team members are Habaw Watan and Yabung Wilang, who are native speakers of Yilan Creole. The data our team has been collecting consist of two types: elicitations from informants and recordings of naturally occurring conversations. The questionnaire used for the elicitations in this study consisted of sentences in Mandarin, which the informants were asked to translate. The sentences are based on sentences in Suzuki's (1978) and Takahashi's (2005) Japanese grammars.

Yilan Creole does not possess its own literary tradition. Its speakers can speak it but cannot write it. In this paper, Yilan Creole as well as Atayal examples are presented in the Atayal writing system promulgated by the Council of Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan on December 15, 2005, and Japanese examples are presented in the Hepburn system. Glottal stop is marked by an apostrophe. For instance, /laʔi/ is written *la'i*.

5. Word order for case marking

The basic word order in Yilan Creole is SOV (Subject-Object-Verb), as shown in (3a–b).

⁶ The eight informants include a female born in 1943, a female born in 1947, a male born in 1951, a female born in 1955, a male born in 1964, a female born in 1966, a female born in 1968, and a female born in 1974. We also interviewed other speakers, both older and younger. The data in example (4) come from one of these other interviewees.

(3) Yilan Creole

- a. wasi uwow nomu
 1sg liquor drink
 ‘I will drink liquor.’
- b. ina yasay kiru
 daughter-in-law vegetable cut
 ‘The daughter-in-law will cut vegetables.’

As can be seen in (3a–b), both the subjects (i.e., *wasi* ‘I’ and *ina* ‘daughter-in-law’) and the objects (i.e., *uwow* ‘liquor’ and *yasay* ‘vegetable’) precede the verbs. This SOV word order is considered to come from the word order of the lexifier language, Japanese (see Section 3.1).

The three basic sentence types—declaratives, yes/no interrogatives, imperatives—all have SOV ordering. In Yilan Creole, interrogatives tend to have no particle, but in some contexts, they allow the sentence-final particle *ga*. In either case, interrogatives employ rising intonation. The particle *ga* is considered to be derived from the substrate language, Atayal.

We have also observed some SVO word order sentences in Yilan Creole, especially in younger generations’ speech, as in (4).

(4) Yilan Creole

- wasi no mama tapuy-toru gohang
 1sg GEN mother cook-ASP rice/meal
 ‘My mother is cooking rice/a meal now.’

The speaker who gave example (4) is a female born in 1984. She is a Mandarin-dominant bilingual. The use of SVO can be considered a result of her internal bilingual ability in Yilan Creole and Mandarin. In contrast, the other, older informants indicated that the use of SVO word order, as in (4), is not correct or not natural. In any case, SOV is the dominant pattern in Yilan Creole.

The agent and patient arguments of a typical transitive sentence in Yilan Creole are distinguished by word order, as in (5a–d).

(5) Yilan Creole

- a. Hayong gohang tapuy-suru
 Hayong rice/meal cook
 ‘Hayong will cook rice/a meal.’
- b. are biyak yasina-ta
 3sg pig breed-PAST
 ‘She/He bred a pig.’
- c. wasi hong yomu
 1sg book read
 ‘I will read the book.’
- d. hoying⁷ mizyu nomu
 dog water drink
 ‘The dog will drink water.’

⁷ *Hoying* ‘dog’ has a variant, *hoyung*.

As (5a–d) show, Yilan Creole marks neither agent noun phrases nor patient noun phrases. The noun phrase that appears in the initial position of the sentence is the subject/agent, and the following noun phrase is the object/patient. When we tested sentences such as *Hayong ga gohang o tapuysuru*, which is the sentence in (5a) with Japanese subject and object markers added, the informants responded that they were not grammatical.

As discussed in Section 3.1, the lexifier, Japanese, has an overt nominative case particle *ga* for marking subject/agent and an overt accusative case particle *o* for marking object/patient noun phrases. However, both nominative and accusative case markers are often omitted in conversation in Japanese (Maeda 1998, Takahashi 2005). Yilan Creole’s absence of overt subject and object markers may reflect the influence of colloquial Japanese. However, the situation in Yilan Creole, where speakers never use a subject or object marker, is very different from that in Japanese, where speakers can choose to use the subject marker *ga* and the object marker *o* (for example, in a formal situation, case markers do tend to be used in Japanese).

In fact, most creoles use word order instead of marking the subject and object noun phrases overtly. For example, Berbice Dutch, a Dutch-lexicon creole in Guyana, “does not employ morphological case marking of subjects and objects or agreement marking on the verb form: word order carries the full functional load of the differentiation of arguments” (Kouwenberg 1994: 234).

6. Postpositions for case marking

As Section 5 shows, it is Yilan Creole’s word order that marks the agent and patient arguments of typical transitive sentences as subject and object. In contrast, other case relationships in Yilan Creole are manifested by case particles following nouns. In other words, in addition to word order, Yilan Creole also uses postpositions to mark some cases.

Using postpositions as case markers is also done in Japanese, but not in Atayal, where markers precede nouns. Moreover, as in Japanese, case markers in Yilan Creole can follow either proper nouns or common nouns. There are five case particles in Yilan Creole: *ni*, *de*, *to*, *no*, and *kara*. These particles are derived from the lexifier language, Japanese (see Table 1). The following subsections discuss Yilan Creole’s case particles in detail.

6.1 Case particle *ni*

The dative case particle *ni* in Yilan Creole has various functions. It marks a recipient participant and a theme participant. It is also used to mark a theme participant for some stative predicates. In addition, it marks a theme participant in a causative sentence. It also marks a patient participant in a passive-like sentence. It is used to mark a locative role and a goal role. Finally, the dative case particle can be used as a temporal marker.

6.1.1 Marking the recipient role

One of the most common uses of the dative particle *ni* is to mark the recipient role of a named participant, as shown in (6a–c).

(6) Yilan Creole

- a. wasi la’i ni pila ageru
 1sg child DAT money give
 ‘I will give money to my child.’

- b. are ngasang titi ni ageranay
 3sg house younger. brother DAT give-NEG
 ‘She/He does not give her/his younger brother the house.’
- c. kono mono wasi are ni pulasangsuru
 DET thing 1sg 3sg DAT send
 ‘I will send her/him the thing.’

In (6a–c), *ni* is added to the nouns *la’i* ‘child’, *titi* ‘younger brother’, and *are* ‘her/him’, designating the recipient participants. Note that the nouns must be animate nouns. The use of *ni* seems to be obligatory in this context.⁸

6.1.2 Marking the theme role of action verbs

Another common use of the dative particle *ni* is to mark the theme role of an action verb, as shown in (7a–c).

- (7) Yilan Creole
- a. wasi nta ni yu-ta
 1sg 2sg DAT tell-PAST
 ‘I told you.’
- b. wasi are ni sinyo-suru
 1sg 3sg DAT trust
 ‘I will trust her/him.’
- c. wasi sony songcyo ni mi-ta
 1sg just village.headman DAT see-PAST
 ‘I just saw the village headman.’

In (7a–c), *ni* is added to the nouns *nta* ‘you’, *are* ‘her/him’, and *songcyo* ‘village headman’, designating the theme participants. Note that, as in (7a–c), the nouns preceding *ni* must be animate nouns; in particular, *ni* is used with nouns referring to persons. The use of *ni* seems to be obligatory in these contexts. Other action verbs like *tanomu* ‘ask for’ and *saynaysuru* ‘spoil’ also use *ni* to mark the theme role. On a side note, the verb in (7c), *mita* ‘saw’, is a Japanese-derived word, which expanded its meaning in Yilan Creole, where it also can mean ‘met’, at least for younger informants. In Japanese, the noun preceding this verb takes the accusative marker *o*. (7c) shows that even Japanese-derived action verbs use *ni* to mark the preceding noun in Yilan Creole.

6.1.3 Marking the theme role of stative predicates

The case particle *ni* can also mark direct objects of stative predicates like *suki* ‘like’, *sukanay* ‘dislike’, and *sehun* ‘hate’ as a theme participant, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) Yilan Creole
- wasi are ni suki
 1sg 3sg DAT like
 ‘I like her/him.’

In Japanese, (8) would be as in (9).

⁸ Because the case marker *ni* is obligatory, the word order in sentences in which it occurs becomes free. For example, (6a) could alternatively be expressed as *wasi pila ageru la’i ni*. This is also the case in spoken Japanese.

- (9) Japanese
 watashi wa kare ga suki-da
 1sg TOP 3sg NOM like-COP
 ‘I like him.’

The predicate *suki* ‘like’ is a nominal adjective of emotion. In Japanese, it requires the noun phrase indicating its object to be marked by *ga* as an argument. As Shibatani et al. (1982) point out, Japanese structures like (9) are very rare cross-linguistically.

Comparing (8) and (9), we find that Japanese uses the nominative case particle *ga* to mark the theme *kare* ‘him,’ while Yilan Creole uses the dative case particle *ni* to mark the theme *are* ‘her/him.’ For speakers of Yilan Creole, *wasi are ga suki* is ungrammatical. This is expected because Yilan Creole has no nominative case particle *ga*; the dative case particle *ni* expands its function to include that of *ga* as used in Japanese.

In Yilan Creole, it seems that the nouns that precede *ni* must be animate nouns. When person nouns precede *ni*, the use of *ni* is obligatory. When the noun preceding *ni* is not a person noun but an animate noun, as in (10a), some informants use *ni* while other informants do not allow *ni* in this context. For example, the informant born in 1947 told us that *ni* can be used only when the noun is a person noun (including pronouns). In (10b), the noun preceding *ni* is inanimate, and *ni* is not allowed.

- (10) Yilan Creole
- a. wasi kono hoying ni/∅ suki
 1sg DEM dog DAT/NULL like
 ‘I like this dog.’
- b. wasi kono kabang *ni/∅ suki
 1sg DEM bag *DAT/NULL like
 ‘I like this bag.’

6.1.4 Marking the theme role in a causative sentence

The case particle *ni* may also mark the theme role in causative sentences, as illustrated in (11a–c).

- (11) Yilan Creole
- a. wasi la’i ni gohang takarasyeta
 1sg child DAT rice/meal cook-CAUS-PAST
 ‘I made my child cook rice/a meal.’
- b. mama Yukan ni tayhoku ikarasyeru
 mother Yukan DAT Taipei go-CAUS
 ‘Mother makes Yukan go to Taipei.’
- c. wasi are ni naku-ra-sang
 1sg 3sg DAT cry-CAUS-NEG
 ‘I will not make her/him cry.’

In these examples, the case particle *ni* follows the nouns *la’i* ‘child,’ *Yukan* (personal name), and *are* ‘her/him,’ denoting the theme role of the named participant. The usage of the case particle *ni* in (11a) is the same as in Japanese. However, in an intransitive sentence equivalent to (11b), Japanese could use either the accusative case particle *o* or the dative case particle *ni* to mark the

causee,⁹ while in Yilan Creole the causee can only be indicated by *ni*.

Furthermore, as (11c) shows, an undergoer of an uncontrollable event (e.g., *naku* ‘cry,’ *warau* ‘laugh’) is also marked by *ni* in Yilan Creole. In Japanese, it can be marked only by *o*, because *ni* indicates higher volition. As Iwasaki (2002: 145) points out, in Japanese *o* is the unmarked particle to mark the causee noun phrase in an intransitive-based causative, but when the causee’s volition and/or ability to respond to the causer’s intention becomes an issue, the higher degree of causee volition/ability may be indicated by the choice of *ni*.

It seems that in Yilan Creole, *ni* is used to indicate the theme in an accusative sentence, whatever the degree of the causee’s volition or ability. Yilan Creole uses *ni* to mark the causee in either transitive-based causatives or intransitive-based causatives. Note that, again, the nouns preceding *ni* must be animate nouns, and the use of *ni* is obligatory.

6.1.5 Marking the patient role in a passive-like sentence

The marker *ni* following a noun (phrase) can also designate the noun in the patient role as the object in a passive-like sentence.

(12) Yilan Creole

- a. *hoying wasi ni kan-da*
 dog 1sg DAT bite-PAST
 ‘A dog bit me.’ = ‘I was bitten by a dog.’
- b. *are no papa are ni pelung-ta*
 3sg GEN father 3sg DAT beat-PAST
 ‘Her/His father beat her/him.’ = ‘She/He was beaten by her/his father.’

The two examples in (12) are transitive sentences. The patients *wasi* ‘1sg’ and *are* ‘3sg’ in (12a) and (12b) are marked as objects by the dative case marker *ni*. In Japanese, they would be marked by the accusative case marker *o*.

In fact, as the English translations show, (12a) and (12b) can be interpreted as either active or passive. Authentic passive constructions do not exist in Yilan Creole. Speakers use active constructions instead, but the active construction in Yilan Creole is different from that in Japanese.

In the following Japanese examples, (13a) is active and (13b) is passive.

(13) Japanese

- a. *inu ga watashi o kan-da*
 dog NOM 1sg ACC bite-PAST
 ‘The dog bit me.’
- b. *watashi ga inu ni kam-are-ta*
 1sg NOM dog DAT bite-PASS-PAST
 ‘I was bitten by the dog.’

In (13b), a Japanese passive sentence, the patient *watashi* ‘1sg’ is marked as the subject by *ga*, and the agent *inu* ‘dog’ is marked by a *ni* phrase. The suffix *-are-* attached to the verb converts the active voice to the passive voice.

⁹ In Japanese, *mama wa Hanako o Tayboku ni ikaseru* is interpretable as either a permissive or a coercive causative, while *mama wa Hanako ni Tayboku ni ikaseru* can only be interpreted as a permissive causative. That is, *ni* highlights higher volition on the part of the causee (Iwasaki 2002: 145).

Unlike Japanese, Yilan Creole does not employ this kind of passive sentence structure. Again, passive in Yilan Creole is expressed by active sentences, as shown in (12a–b). And as in the other uses of *ni* discussed thus far, the preceding noun must be animate, and *ni* cannot be omitted.

6.1.6 Marking the locative role

In Yilan Creole, *ni* may indicate a locative role, including stative location and active location.

Co-occurring with the stative verbs *oru* ‘be’ and *aru* ‘exist,’ *ni* can express the stative locative role, as in (14a–b).

(14) Yilan Creole

- a. wasi Tangow ni/∅ oru
 1sg Tangow DAT/NULL be
 ‘I am in Tungyueh village now.’/‘I live in Tungyueh village.’
- b. soto ni/∅ hoying aru
 outside DAT/NULL dog exist
 ‘There is a dog outside.’

In (14a–b), *Tangow* (place name) and *soto* ‘outside’ take the dative case particle *ni*, indicating that they are stative locations. In this context, *ni* tends to be omitted and zero-marking is used.

In addition, *ni* marks the location of an action. For example, in (15a–b), *ni* marks the location of the activities of *asondoru* ‘playing’ and *cukutoru* ‘making.’

(15) Yilan Creole

- a. are gako ni/∅ ason-doru
 3sg school DAT/NULL play-ASP
 ‘She/He is playing in school.’
- b. okasang lapo ni/∅ lukus cuku-toru
 mother room DAT/NULL clothes make-ASP
 ‘Mother is making clothes in the room.’

The place nouns, *gako* ‘school’ and *lapo* ‘room,’ are marked by *ni* as the locations where the action of the verb takes place¹⁰. In Japanese, this kind of active location is marked by the locative case particle *de*, not by *ni*.

In other words, in Japanese, stative location is marked by *ni* and active location is marked by *de*, but this distinction seems to have disappeared in Yilan Creole, where *ni* is used as the locative case particle whether the verb is stative or active.

The locative case particle *ni* in Yilan Creole tends to be omitted.

6.1.7 Marking the goal role

Yilan Creole *ni* is also used for the lative case, indicating the goal of a verb of motion, as in the examples in (16a–b).

(16) Yilan Creole

- a. wasi yama ni/∅ i-ta
 1sg mountain LAT/NULL go-PAST
 ‘I went to the mountain.’

¹⁰While some informants indicated that *de* is allowed in some contexts, they do not use it often.

- b. are Tayhoku ni/∅ kuru
 3sg Taipei LAT/NULL come
 ‘She/He will come to Taipei.’

Attached to the place nouns *yama* ‘mountain’ and *Tayhoku* (place name), and co-occurring with verbs of motion, *ni* indicates the goal role of the nouns. In this context, it alternates with zero-marking, and speakers tend to use zero-marking. For example, for ‘go to the mountain,’ speakers prefer *yama iku* over *yama ni iku*.

In Japanese, *e* can be used alternately with *ni* to mark a lative case. But in Yilan Creole, *e* does not exist. In other words, Japanese has two variants, *e* and *ni*, for lative case marking, while in Yilan Creole, which has only one form for lative case marking, a reduction of variation has occurred.

6.1.8 Marking the temporal role

Yilan Creole *ni* is also used as a time marker, as in the example in (17). However, it is often omitted in this context.

- (17) Yilan Creole
 wasi nanazi ni/∅ okiru
 1sg 7 o'clock LAT/NULL get up
 ‘I will get up at 7 o'clock.’

6.1.9 Summary: the multi-functional case particle *ni*

Table 4 summarizes the multiple functions of the case particle *ni* in Yilan Creole. It is not only used as a dative case marker, but also as a locative case marker and a lative case marker. It is also interesting to note that, as mentioned above, in Japanese, the use of *ni* or *o* depends on the degree of causee volition/ability, the use of *ni* or *de* depends on whether the verb is stative or active, and the use of *ni* or *e* depends on whether the meaning is concerned with the direction of the goal or not. These distinctions disappear in Yilan Creole, where *ni* substitutes for the other forms: *ni* has extended its functions compared to Japanese.

Table 4 Case particle *ni* in Yilan Creole

Function	Obligatory/Optional	Noun precedes <i>ni</i>	The case particle used in Japanese
Marking the recipient role	obligatory	animate	<i>ni</i>
Marking the theme role of action verbs	obligatory	animate	<i>ni, o</i>
Marking the theme role for <i>suki</i> ‘like,’ <i>sukanay</i> ‘dislike,’ etc.	obligatory	animate	<i>ga</i>
Marking the theme role in a causative sentence	obligatory	animate	<i>ni, o</i>
Marking the patient role in a passive-like sentence	obligatory	animate	<i>ga</i>
Marking the locative role	optional	inanimate	<i>ni, de</i>
Marking the goal role	optional	inanimate	<i>ni, e</i>
Marking the temporal role	optional	inanimate	<i>ni</i>

6.2 Case particle *de*

The basic function of the case particle *de* in Japanese is to mark the location and instrument participants of an event. Meanwhile, in Yilan Creole, a location participant may be marked by *ni* as described above, and the basic function of the case marker *de* is to mark the instrument participant only. Example is given in (18).¹¹

- (18) Yilan Creole
 are hocyo de niku kiru
 3sg knife INS meat cut
 ‘She/He will cut meat with a knife.’

The case particle *de* in (18) marks a typical instrument, *hocyo* ‘knife’. And in (19) it marks a material, *take* ‘bamboo’. *De* is obligatory. Omitting *de* would make the meaning of the sentences obscure.

- (19) Yilan Creole
 wasi take de tatak cukuru
 1sg bamboo INS hut make
 ‘I will make a hut out of bamboo.’

However, *de* in Japanese may indicate a cause, among other functions; for example, *kare wa kaze de neteiru* ‘He is in bed with a cold’. In Yilan Creole *de* does not have this kind of derivative function. *De* in Yilan Creole has fewer functions than *de* in Japanese.¹²

6.3 Case particle *to*

Yilan Creole has a comitative case marker *to*, which follows a noun (phrase) to indicate a co-occurring participant. *To* can follow either the companion or the agent, as (20) shows.

- (20) Yilan Creole
 a. wasi titi to asondoru
 1sg younger.brother COM play-ASP
 ‘I am playing with my younger brother.’
 b. wasi to titi asondoru
 1sg COM younger.brother play-ASP
 ‘I am playing with my younger brother.’

The word order in sentence (20a) is similar to Japanese word order in that the comitative case marker follows the companion; in contrast, the word order in sentence (20b) is similar to Chinese word order in that the comitative case marker follows the agent. Apparently, these constructions result from the influence of both Japanese and Chinese. There is no significant difference in meaning between (20a) and (20b), and *to* cannot be omitted.

However, *to* in Japanese may indicate a comparative participant; for example, *kare to onazi* ‘similar to him.’ Like Japanese, Yilan Creole also uses *to* for this function; for example, *are to onazi* ‘similar to her/him.’ However, this *to* is not obligatory and speakers tend to omit it, as in *are onazi* ‘similar to her/him.’

¹¹*De* has a variant, *re*.

¹²Instead of a postposition, Yilan Creole uses a structural noun *tame* to indicate a cause.

6.4 Case particle *no*

Yilan Creole has a genitive case marker *no* that indicates the possessive relationship, with the possessee following the possessor.

(21) Yilan Creole

- a. yumin no hayya
 Yumin GEN car
 ‘Yumin’s car’
- b. hoying no ngungu
 dog GEN tail
 ‘a/the dog’s tail’

As (21a) and (21b) show, both proper nouns and common nouns can be followed by *no*. *No* cannot be omitted.

However, *no* in Japanese can be used as an appositive genitive case particle; for example, *onīsan no Tarō* ‘the elder brother, Tarō,’ whereas *no* in Yilan Creole does not have this derivative function. *No* in Yilan Creole has fewer functions than *no* in Japanese.

6.5 Case particle *kara*

Yilan Creole has an ablative case marker *kara*, which is used to indicate the starting point of an action, as illustrated in (22).

(22) Yilan Creole

- a. maki kara mikang to-ta
 tree ABL orange get-PAST
 ‘(Someone) took an orange from the tree.’
- b. wasi nanazi kara neru
 1sg 7 o’clock ABL sleep
 ‘I will sleep from 7 o’clock.’

In (22a) and (22b), *kara* follows nouns of place and time, respectively, to indicate spatial and temporal starting points. *Kara* cannot be omitted; without it, the meaning of sentences such as (22a) and (22b) would be obscure.

However, *kara* in Japanese may indicate a cause, among other functions, whereas *kara* in Yilan Creole does not have this derivative function. *Kara* in Yilan Creole has fewer functions than *kara* in Japanese.

7. Conclusion

This paper has described the case-marking system of Yilan Creole, based on data collected in Tungyueh Village. Yilan Creole’s case marking postpositions are derived from Japanese. However, unlike Japanese, which uses only postpositions for case marking, Yilan Creole uses both word order and postpositions for case marking. Basically, the subject and direct object are indicated by word order, while the indirect object and other arguments are marked by postpositions.

Compared to Japanese, which has nine postpositions, Yilan Creole has a smaller inventory of only five. The postpositional case particles of Yilan Creole are shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Postpositions in Yilan Creole

Particle	<i>ni</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>kara</i>
Case	DAT	INS	COM	GEN	ABL
	LOC				
	LAT				

As Table 5 shows, *de* is the instrumental case marker, *to* the comitative case marker, *no* the genitive case marker, and *kara* the ablative case marker. These case markers tend to show a one form–one function correspondence. In other words, the language change that has taken place is simplification.

Furthermore, it is particularly noteworthy that Yilan Creole *ni* is multifunctional, and has extended its functions to cover those that are expressed by *ga*, *o*, *de* in Japanese.

To sum up, simplification and extension have occurred in the development of the Yilan Creole case system from the Japanese case system.

List of abbreviations

1sg = first person singular; 2sg = second person singular; 3sg = third person singular; ABL = ablative case; ACC = accusative case; AF = agent focus; ASP = aspect; BEN = benefactive case; BN = bound nominative pronoun; CAUS = causative; COM = comitative case; COP = copular; DAT = dative case; DEM = demonstrative pronoun; GEN = genitive case; INS = instrumental case; LAT = lative case; LOC = locative case; NEG = negative; NOM = nominative case; PASS = passive morpheme; PAST = past tense; TOP = topic marker; \emptyset = null.

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宜蘭クレオールの格表示

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要旨

宜蘭クレオールは台湾で話されている日本語を語彙供給言語とするクレオール語である。台湾東部の宜蘭県においてアタヤル人及びセデック人の第一言語として使われているが、若い世代では華語へシフトしつつあり、消滅の危機に瀕している。本稿は、この言語の格表示に焦点をあて、その特徴を記述するものである。宜蘭クレオールでは、語順及び後置詞を格表示として用いている。具体的には、主語と直接目的語は語順、間接目的語とその他の項は5つの格助詞「*ni*, *de*, *to*, *no*, *kara*」によってマークされている。これらの格標識は上層言語である日本語由来のものであるが、そこには異なった用法が存在し、単純化への変化が認められる。また、*ni*の意味用法の拡張なども見られ、独自の格表示のシステムが作り上げられている。

キーワード：台湾, 宜蘭クレオール, 日本語, アタヤル語, 格表示