Motion Verbs in Youle Jino
— 'come' and 'go' —

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1 Introduction

1.1 Language Background — Jino

[Genealogy]: Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan

[Area]: Sipsongpanna (Xishuangbanna), Yunnan, China

[Population]: 20,899 (2000 census)
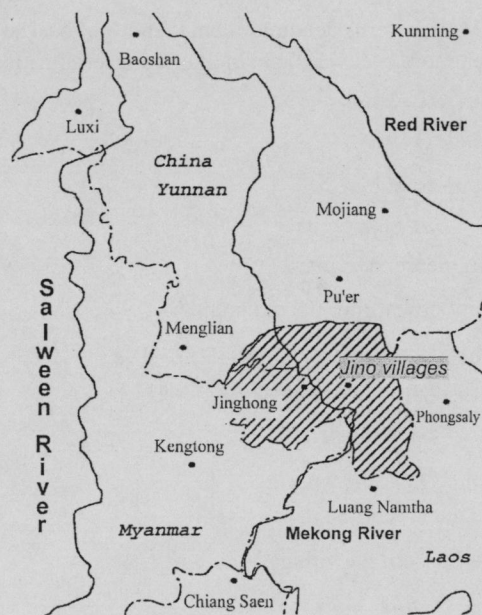
[Dialects]: **Youle** (90%), Buyuan (10%)

Figure 1: The Jino villages, Yunnan (Kato 2000 revised by the present author)

1.2 Aim of This Presentation and Directions

■ Aim

- to describe and analyze morpho-syntactic and semantic features of motion verbs (especially 'come' and 'go') in Youle Jino

■ Directions

§2: Previous Works

§3: Morpho-Syntactic Features of 'come' and 'go' in Youle Jino

§4: Semantic Features of 'come' and 'go' in Youle Jino

§5: Conclusion

2 Previous Works

2.1 Gai (1986)

- directional verbs as subcategory of verbs

Table 1: Youle Jino Directional Verbs described by Gai (1986: 59)

Directional Verbs	Gloss	Directional Verbs	Gloss
ta^{42}	'ascend'	kha^{44}	'pass'
$khɹɔ^{35}$	'descend'	no^{42}	'back'
$ɣo^{42}$	'go out'	$thɔ^{44}$	'get up'
$lɔ^{42}$	'come'		
le^{33}	'go'		

Table 2: Examples of Youle Jino Directional Verbs described by Gai (1986: 59)

$ʃɔ^{33}$	ta^{42}	$lɯ^{44}$	'pull up'	$ʃɔ^{33}$	$khɹɔ^{35}$	le^{44}	'pull down'
pull	ascend	come		pull	descend	go	
$ʃɔ^{33}$	kha^{44}	la^{44}	'pull along'	$ʃɔ^{33}$	kha^{44}	le^{44}	'pull away'
pull	pass	come		pull	pass	go	

- Vowel alternation: $lɔ^{42} \rightarrow lɯ^{33}$, $lɔ^{42} \rightarrow la^{55}$

- Tonal alternation: $lɔ^{42} \rightarrow lɔ^{44}$

- $lɯ^{33}$ largely occurs in the sentence involving downward movement.

2.2 Jiang (2010: 106–110)

- Directional verbs in Youle Jino can be placed after verbs to denote direction of action.

Table 3: Youle Jino Directional Verbs described by Jiang (2010: 106–110)

Directional Verbs	Gloss	Directional Verbs	Gloss
la^{54}	'come'	ta^{31}	'ascend'
$l\mathfrak{o}^{31}$	'come'	za^{54}	'descend'
$l\mathrm{u}^{33}$	'come'	to^{31}	'go out'
le^{33}	'go'	$kj\emptyset^{33}$	'enter'
je^{31}	'go'	$th\mathrm{u}^{31}$	'get up/ go up'

Table 4: Semantic Differences among 'come' and 'go' in Jiang (2010: 106–110)

'come'/'go'	Verbs	Differences Regarding Manner of Movement
'come'	la^{54}	action moving toward the speaker or the speaker's place
	$l\mathfrak{o}^{31}$	action horizontally coming to a certain place
	$l\mathrm{u}^{33}$	action vertically coming to a certain place
'go'	le^{33}	action horizontally leaving the original place
	je^{31}	action vertically leaving the original place

3 Morpho-Syntactic Features

3.1 Basic Characteristics

■ [Motion Verbs in Youle Jino]

Table 5: Youle Jino Motion Verbs described in my fieldnote

Motion Verbs	Gloss	Motion Verbs	Gloss
le^{55}	'go'	ta^{42}	'ascend'
je^{55}	'go'	za^{55}	'descend'
ja^{55}	'go'	o^{42}	'enter'
$l\mathfrak{o}^{42}$	'come'	to^{33}	'go out'
$l\mathrm{u}^{55}$	'come'	zo^{55}	'walk'
la^{55}	'come'		

■ [Positional Restriction of 'come'/ 'go' in Youle Jino]

\<Independent Use (First Position) \>
— ja^{55} and la^{55} cannot occur independently.

(1) a. $\mathrm{u}^{33}tha^{42}$ $\{le^{33}/\ *ja^{33}\}$-$m\varepsilon^{35}$.
mountain.OBL go-PAST

'(He/She) went from the mountain.'

   b. $\mathrm{u}^{33}tha^{42}$ $\{l\mathfrak{o}^{33}/\ l\mathrm{u}^{33}\ /\ *la^{33}\}$-$m\varepsilon^{35}$.
mountain.OBL go-PAST [come]

'(He/She) came from the mountain.'

(2) $mi^{55}\int\mathfrak{o}^{55}\underset{\circ}{n}^{44}$ $\eta\mathfrak{o}^{42}$ $\mathfrak{c}i\eta^{33}xo\eta^{44}$ $\{le^{33}/\ je^{33}\}$-me^{35}
tomorrow   1SG.NOM Jinghong (PLN) go-FUT

'Tomorrow I will go to Jinghong.'

\<Second Position\>
— Apart from je^{55}, Motion verbs denoting 'come' and 'go' basically can be placed at the second (or even more backward) position of verb serialization.

(3) ςi^{35}=$j\mathfrak{o}^{44}$ ta^{33}+le^{44}-$n\alpha^{44}$.
here=from ascend+go-SFP

'(He/She) went up from here.'

(4) a. $\mathrm{u}^{33}tha^{42}$ za^{55}+ja^{42}-$n\alpha^{44}$.
mountain.OBL descend+come-SFP [go]

'(He/She) went down from the mountain.'

   b. $mi^{55}\int\mathfrak{o}^{55}\underset{\circ}{n}^{44}$ $\eta\mathfrak{o}^{35}$ $zo^{55}ku^{55}$ no^{35}-ja^{42}-me^{44}.
tomorrow   1SG.OBL child   back-go-FUT

'My son will go back tomorrow.'

(5) $tso^{55}\underset{\circ}{m}i^{55}$=$j\mathfrak{o}^{44}$ ta^{33}+$l\mathfrak{o}^{33}$-$n\alpha^{44}$.
village=from   ascend+come-SFP

'(He/She) came up from the village.'

(6) $\mathrm{u}^{33}tha^{42}$ za^{55}+$l\mathrm{u}^{44}$-$n\alpha^{44}$.
mountain.OBL descend+come-SFP

'(He/She) came down from the mountain.'

(7) $mi^{33}tha^{55}$ xo^{33}+la^{42}-$n\alpha^{44}$.
  rain (n.) rain (v.)+come-SFP

  'It begins raining.'

· je^{55} tends not to be placed at the second position of verb serialization.

(8) vai^{35} o^{33}+{le^{55}/ *je^{55}/ja^{55}}.
  quickly enter+go

  'Go in quickly!'

3.2 Verb Serialization

- All verbs regarding 'come' and 'go' are placed at the last position of verb serialization.[1]

· Verb serialization with ja^{55} or la^{55} should be construed as iconic parataxis.

(9) a. tso^{33}=$j\vartheta^{55}$ $tsh\vartheta^{55}m\vartheta^{44}$ $jo^{33}ma^{55}$ $\int u^{35}$+ja^{42}-$n\alpha^{44}$.
    house=from spade   3PL.NOM borrow+go-SFP

    'The spade in the house was borrowed away by them.'

  b. $khju^{55}m\gamma^{55}$ $\eta u^{55}vu^{44}$ ka^{55}+zo^{35}+ja^{33}-$m\gamma^{44}$.
    thief   1PL.EXCL..NOM chase+walk+go-PAST

    'The thief was driven away by us.'

(10) $\eta\vartheta^{35}$ $kh\gamma^{42}$ ςi^{35} $\int u^{55}$+la^{33}-$m\gamma^{44}$.
   1SG.OBL 3SG.NOM here take+come-PAST

   'I was taken here by him/her.'

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[1]The benefactive suffix -$m\vartheta$ should basically be placed after verb serialization (i) , but if the motion verb regarding 'come' and 'go' occurs in verb serialization it should be placed before 'come' and 'go' (ii, iii).
i) $a^{55}m\vartheta^{44}\eta\vartheta^{35}$ $n\vartheta^{35}$ $t\gamma\eta^{55}pao^{55}$ pro^{33}+$xuan^{35}$-$m\vartheta^{33}$-vi^{33}-$m\gamma^{35}$.
  mother 1SG.OBL 2SG.OBL light   help+change-BEN-CAUS-PAST
'My mother let me help you change the light.'
ii) $ji^{55}\int i^{55}$ $\int i^{33}kuan^{33}$ $kh\alpha^{33}$-ma^{55} $mi^{55}tso^{55}$ la^{33} -$m\vartheta^{55}$-$l\u{u}^{33}$-$m\varepsilon^{55}$-je^{44}.
  former days restaurant do-PL   firewood carry-BEN-come-PAST-HS
'(I) heard that in former days (they) carried firewoods (from the mountain) for the people who ran a restaurant.'
iii) $kh\gamma^{35}ren^{44}$ $ja^{55}kho^{44}$ ko^{33}-$m\vartheta^{55}$-le^{44}.
  guest   cigarette have-BEN-go
'Give a cigarette to the guest!'

· Verb serialization with le^{55}, $l\vartheta^{42}$ or $l\u{u}^{55}$ cannot be construed as iconic parataxis in many cases.

(11) $\xi e^{33}ph\u{u}^{55}$ $m\vartheta^{55}$-$t\vartheta^{55}$-a^{44}, $\int u^{55}\int i^{44}$-$mj\vartheta^{42}$, $ja^{33}m\underset{.}{e}^{55}$ ku^{33}-$t\vartheta^{55}$+le^{44}-me^{44}.
  liquor   NEG-drink-PART take a rest-SEQ this evening again-drink+go-FUT

  '(He) took a rest without drinking alcohol, and will go out to drink again this evening.'

(12) a. $t\int ao^{35}$+$l\vartheta^{55}$=ε^{44} $\underset{.}{m}^{33}$-$m\varepsilon^{35}$-$n\alpha^{44}$.
    take a photo+come=POSS speak-PAST-SFP

    '(He) told me to come and take a photo.'

  b. $ja^{33}m\underset{.}{e}^{55}$ $a^{55}t\int en^{44}$-ma^{55} $n\vartheta^{35}$ $m\vartheta^{33}$-khu^{33}+$l\u{u}^{55}$-xa^{44}.
    this evening Azhen (PSN)-PL 2SG.OBL NEG-call+come-PFT

    'This evening Azhen and her friends did not come and call you.'

· The reverse order (13b) and the example including subordinated motion verb (13c) are ungrammatical (Hayashi 2009b).

(13) a. $t\int ao^{33}$+$l\vartheta^{55}$=ε^{44} $\underset{.}{m}^{33}$-$m\varepsilon^{35}$-$n\alpha^{44}$.
    take pictures+come=POSS say-PAST-SFP

    '(He) told me to come (here) to take pictures.'

  b. *$l\vartheta^{55}$+$t\int ao^{33}$=ε^{44} $\underset{.}{m}^{33}$-$m\varepsilon^{35}$-$n\alpha^{44}$.
    come+take pictures=POSS say-PAST-SFP

  c. *$l\vartheta^{55}$-$mj\vartheta^{42}$, $t\int ao^{33}$=ε^{44} $\underset{.}{m}^{33}$-$m\varepsilon^{35}$-$n\alpha^{44}$.
    come-SBNP take pictures=POSS say-PAST-SFP

4 Semantic Features

4.1 Movement

■ [What moves?]

- $l\vartheta^{42}$ tends to be able to occur in the sentence where the movement of agent is focused.

(14) a. $kh\gamma^{35}$ $a^{33}pjo^{55}$ $kh\u{u}^{35}$+{$l\vartheta^{42}$/ $l\u{u}^{33}$/ *la^{42}}-$n\alpha^{44}$.
    3SG.OBL letter   arrive+come-SFP

    'His/Her letter arrived.'

b. $tshə^{33}zɔ^{55}$ thi^{55}-$ço^{44}$ o^{55}+{$lɔ^{55}$/ $lɯ^{55}$/ *la^{55}}.
person   one-CL   enter+come

'A person came in.'

c. $ŋɔ^{55}ʃɔ^{55}$ $pu^{55}thɯ^{35}$+{$lɔ^{42}$/ $lɯ^{42}$/ *la^{42}}-a^{44}-$nœ^{44}$.
fish   float+come-PFT-SFP

'Fish surfaced.'

d. $ŋɔ^{42}$ khi^{35}=$lœ^{44}$ to^{35}+{$lɔ^{42}$/ $lɯ^{42}$/ *la^{42}}-$ɔ^{44}$-$nœ^{44}$.
1SG.NOM sweat=also out+come-PFT-SFP

'I have been in a sweat, too.'

e. $a^{33}tsi^{55}$ $thø^{35}$+{$lɔ^{42}$/ $lɯ^{42}$/ *la^{42}}-$nœ^{44}$.
tree   broken off+come-SFP

'The tree was broken off.'

• la^{55} tends to be able to occur in the sentence where the movement of object is focused.

(15) a. $khɤ^{42}$ $tɕhen^{33}pao^{33}$=$jə^{44}$ $phru^{33}$ ko^{33}+to^{33}+{*$lɔ^{33}$/ $lɯ^{33}$/ la^{33}}-$mɤ^{35}$.
3SG.NOM purse=from   money bring+out+come-PAST

'He/She took money out of his/her purse.'

b. $khɤ^{42}$ $tɕiŋ^{33}xoŋ^{44}$=$jə^{55}$ $zɔ^{55}ku^{55}$ $ʃɯ^{55}$+{*$lɔ^{42}$/ $lɯ^{33}$/ la^{33}}-$mɤ^{55}$.
3SG.NOM Jinghong (PLN)=from child   take+come-PAST

'He/She took his/her child from Jinghong.'

c. $ɲi^{55}ju^{44}$ $khɤ^{35}$ khu^{33}+{*$lɔ^{55}$/ $lɯ^{55}$/ la^{55}}.
2PL.NOM 3SG.OBL call+come

'You, call him!'

d. $a^{55}ko^{44}$ $la^{55}xɤ^{44}$, $tʃhə^{44}$ $khai^{55}$+$kø^{44}$+{*$lɔ^{55}$/ $lɯ^{55}$/ la^{55}} -$khju^{42}$.
door   big   car   drive+enter+come-AUX

'The door is large, (so you) can drive the car in.'

e. $kɤ^{33}thɤ^{55}$ ko^{33}+kha^{55}+{*$lɔ^{55}$/ $lɯ^{55}$/ la^{55}}.
chair   have+pass+come

'Bring a chair here.'

(14)[2] and (15) →$lɯ^{55}$ has the widest distribution in verb serialization.[3]

■ [Differences between le^{55} and ja^{55}]
• ja^{55} implies that the agent of movement is away from the reference point.

(16) a. $a^{55}pu^{44}$ $ji^{55}thɛ^{35}$+le^{44}-$nœ^{44}$.
father   sleep+go-SFP

'Father went to sleep.'

b. $a^{55}pu^{44}$ $ji^{55}thɛ^{35}$+ja^{42}-$nœ^{44}$.
father   sleep+go-SFP

'Father has already slept.'

(17) a. $khɤ^{42}$ $zɔ^{55}ku^{55}$ $khɤ^{33}$-$pɔ^{55}$ $ʃɯ^{55}$+le^{44}-$nœ^{44}$.
3SG.NOM child   that-direction take out+go-SFP

'He/She took out the child to that place (and came back here).'

b. $khɤ^{42}$ $zɔ^{55}ku^{55}$ $khɤ^{33}$-$pɔ^{55}$ $ʃɯ^{55}$+ja^{55}-$nœ^{44}$.
3SG.NOM child   that-direction take out+go-SFP

'He/She took out the child to that place (and is not here).'

• (18) implies that the agent 'I' came back to the reference point. →ja^{55} is not OK.
• (19, 20) imply that the agent left away from the reference point. →ja^{55} is OK.

(18) $ŋɔ^{42}$ $khɤ^{35}$ $khɤ^{33}$-$pɔ^{42}$ khu^{33}+{le^{44}/*ja^{55}}.
1SG.NOM 3SG.OBL that-direction.OBL call+go

'I went there to call him/her.'

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[2] There can be found an example where $lɔ^{42}$ is unacceptable and $lɯ^{55}$ and la^{55} are OK, even though the motion of agent can be considered to be focused.
i) $ŋa^{33}zɔ^{55}$ thi^{33}-$mə^{55}$ $prɛ^{33}$+{*$lɔ^{42}$/ $lɯ^{42}$/ la^{42}}-a^{44}-$nœ^{44}$.
bird   one-CL   fly+come-PFT-SFP
'A bird flew down.'
The examples like (i) should need further investigation.
[3] There are some examples where $lɯ^{55}$ cannot occur, which should demand future research.
i) $ŋɔ^{42}$ $ŋɔ^{33}tshɤ^{55}$-jen^{44} ku^{33}-$mə^{33}$-le^{33}-$mɛ^{35}$, $khɤ^{42}$ thi^{55}-jen^{44} nu^{33}-{$lɔ^{33}$/ *$lɯ^{33}$/ la^{33}}-$mɛ^{35}$.
1SG.NOM fifty-yuan   have-BEN-go-PAST   3SG.NOM one-yuan   back-come-PAST
'I gave him fifty yuan, and he/she gave me back one yuan in change.'
ii) $khɤ^{42}$ $mi^{55}khɔ^{35}$ $nɤ^{33}sɯ^{55}$ pja^{33}+to^{35}+{$lɔ^{42}$/ *$lɯ^{42}$/ la^{42}}-$nœ^{44}$.
3SG.NOM girl.OBL   heart   speak+out+come-SFP
'He/She guessed the girl's heart right. (= He/She speak out the girl's heart. [lit.])'

(19) a. $khɤ^{42}$ $ɯ^{33}tha^{42}$ $o^{35}+\{$ *$le^{44}/ja^{42}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   3SG.NOM forest.OBL enter+go-SFP

   'He/She entered into the forest.'

 b. $ŋɔ^{35}$ $ça^{55}lɔ^{44}$ $jo^{33}m̥a^{55}$ $tɕhaŋ^{35}+\{$ *$le^{55}/ja^{42}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   1SG.OBL stuff   3PL.NOM rob+go-SFP

   'I was robbed of my stuff by them.'

(20) $a^{55}tʃen^{44}$ $khɔ^{35}$ $ku^{55}-le^{35}+ja^{55}-jɔ^{44}$?
   Azhen (PSN) where again-go+go-Q

   'Where has Azhen gone again?'

■ [Issues on Manner of Movement]

 The data in this paper contradict Gai (1986)'s and Jiang (2010)'s description.

(21) a. $ɯ^{33}tha^{55}=jə^{44}$ $ta^{33}+\{le^{44}/ja^{55}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   mountain=from ascend+go-SFP

   '(He/She) went up from (the bottom of) the mountain.'

 b. $tso^{55}m̥i^{55}=jə^{44}$ $ta^{33}+\{lɔ^{33}/lɯ^{33}/$ *$la^{33}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   village=from   ascend+go-SFP

   '(He/She) came up from the village.'

4.2 Aspectual Meaning

 • ja^{55} tends to imply that the event has already occurred and would never be reversible. →(22)[4]

(22) a. $khɤ^{35}$ $nɔ^{55}jɔ^{55}$ $mɤ^{35}+\{$ *$le^{44}/ja^{42}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   3SG.OBL illness   good+go-SFP

   'He/She got better. (= His/Her illness went well. [lit.])'

 b. $khɤ^{35}$ $a^{55}mə^{55}$ $a^{33}khju^{55}$ $khju^{35}+\{ja^{42}/$ *$lɯ^{42}/$ *$lɔ^{42}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   3SG.OBL body   thin (Adj) thin+go/come-SFP

   'He/She got thinner. (= His/Her body went/ came thin. [lit.])'

• $lɔ^{42}$ tends to occur after stative verbs in inchoative sentences. →(23)

(23) a. $khɤ^{35}$ $nɔ^{55}jɔ^{55}$ $mɤ^{35}+\{lɯ^{33}/lɔ^{42}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   3SG.OBL illness   good+come-SFP

   'He/She is getting better. (= His/Her illness is coming well. [lit.])'

 b. $khɤ^{35}$ $a^{55}mə^{55}$ $pə^{55}+\{lɯ^{42}/lɔ^{42}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   3SG.OBL body   fat+come-SFP

   'He/She is getting fatter. (= His/Her body is coming fat. [lit.])'

• la^{55} tends to occur after dynamic verbs in inchoative sentences. →(24)

(24) a. $khɤ^{42}$ $kɤ^{44}kɤ^{44}kɤ^{44}$ $ɯ^{33}+\{$ *$lɔ^{42}/lɯ^{42}/la^{42}\}$.
   3SG.NOM (laughing sound) laugh+come

   'He/She began chuckling.'

 b. $l̥i^{33}$ $a^{33}tshø^{55}$ $phjə^{33}+\{$ *$lɔ^{42}/lɯ^{42}/la^{42}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   wind cold   blow+come-SFP

   'A cold wind began blowing.'

 c. $mi^{33}tha^{55}$ $xo^{33}+\{$ *$lɔ^{42}/lɯ^{42}/la^{42}\}-nœ^{44}$.
   rain (n.)   rain (v.)+come-SFP

   'It begins raining.' (= 7)

5 Conclusion

■ [Summary]

• Morphosyntactic Features of 'come'/ 'go' in Youle Jino

Table 6: Positional Restriction of 'come'/ 'go' in Youle Jino

	'go'			'come'		
	le^{55}	je^{55}	ja^{55}	$lɔ^{42}$	$lɯ^{55}$	la^{55}
First Position	OK	OK	NG	OK	OK	NG
Second Position	OK	NG	OK	OK	OK	OK

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[4] The following example is a hortative sentence. The event in this example should be considered not to have occurred, yet would never be reversible.

i) $ʃi^{35}+ja^{55}$! 'Die!'
   die+go

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Table 7: Verbal Position and Iconicity of 'come' / 'go' in Verb Serialization of Youle Jino

[Verbal Position]	last position of verb serialization
[Iconicity]	ja^{55}/ la^{55}→iconic, le^{55}/ $lɔ^{42}$/ $lɯ^{55}$→not iconic

- Semantic Features of 'come'/ 'go' in Youle Jino

Table 8: Semantic Features in Verb Serialization

	verbs	implication
'go'	le^{55}	(coming back to the reference point)
	ja^{55}	leaving away from the reference point and not coming back
'come'	$lɔ^{42}$	the movement of agent is focused
	$lɯ^{55}$	(wider distribution)
	la^{55}	the movement of object is focused

Table 9: Semantic Features in Aspectual Meaning

	verbs	implication/ feature
'go'	le^{55}	n.a.
	ja^{55}	the event having been already done and being not reversible
'come'	$lɔ^{42}$	inchoative/ occurring after stative verbs
	$lɯ^{55}$	(wider distribution)
	la^{55}	inchoative/ occurring after dynamic verbs

Abbreviation

* represents for ungrammatical sentences, ? for the sentences which sound unnatural, - for the affixal and particle boundary, = for clitic boundary and + for root boundary. *n.a.* means *not applicable*.

AUX	auxiliary	PFT	perfective
BEN	benefactive	PL	plural
CL	classifier	PLN	place name
EXCL	exclusive	POSS	possessive
FUT	future	PSN	person name
HS	hearsay	Q	question
NEG	negative	SBNP	subordinate particle
NOM	nominative	SEQ	sequence
OBL	oblique	SFP	sentence final particle
PART	particle	SG	singular
PAST	past		

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Appendix: Phonological and Typological Features of Youle Jino
[Phonological Inventory of Youle Jino:]
Consonants: /p, ph, t, th, k, kh; ts, tsh, tʃ, tʃh, ʨ, ʨh; m, m̥, n, n̥, ɳ, ɲ, ŋ, ŋ̊, ȵ ; l, l̥; f, v, s, z, ʃ, r, ç, j, x, ɣ, (w)/
Vowels: /i, e, ø, ɛ, œ, a, ə, ɔ, ɤ, o, ɯ, u/
Tonemes: /55, 44, 33, 35, 42/
Syllable Structure: $(C_1)(C_2)V_1(V_2)(V_3)(C_3)/T$ <C_2: -r- or -j-, C_3: -n or -ŋ>
/m, m̥, n, n̥/ can be syllabic nasals.
[Typological Features of Youle Jino:]
Basic Constituent Order: SOV, Noun-Adjective, Possessive-Head Noun, Relative Clause-Head Noun
Morphological Features: Agglutinative (Verbal Complex)
For synchronic description of Youle Jino grammar, see Hayashi (2007, 2009a).