Associated motion in the Brag-dbar dialect of Situ Rgyalrong*

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1 Introduction

1.1 Rgyalrongic languages and the Brag-dbar dialect of Situ Rgyalrong

- A subgroup of the Burmo-Qiangic branch of the Sino-Tibetan family, are spoken in the Western Sichuan Province of China.
- Polysynthetic languages; rich verbal morphology.
- Stammbaum (Sun, 2000)

![Rgyalrongic Stammbaum Diagram]

1.1.1 Associated motion

- Associated motion (henceforth AM), first described in some Australian languages (Koch, 1984; Wilkins, 1991).

- Grammatical morphemes (affixes, clitics, etc.) that associate a motion co-event to the event denoted by the verb (Wilkins, 1991).

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*Glosses follow the Leipzig rules, to which the following are added: I stem I, II stem II, I' stem I', II' stem II', AUTOBEN autobenefactive CISLOC cislocative, DIS distal, FAC factual, EGO egophoric, IFR inferential, INV inverse, PROX proximal, SENS sensory, TAME tense-aspect-modality-evidentiality, TRANSLOC translocative.
Ese Ejja, Tancan language spoken in the Bolivian Amazon (Vuillermet, 2012)

a. *lxya-ki-kwel*
   manger-ALLER__FAIRE-IMP
   ‘Vas manger!’

b. *lxya-wa-kwel*
   manger-VENIR__FAIRE-IMP
   ‘Viens manger!’

- An under-reported phenomenon in Sino-Tibetan, in which highly diverse systems are found (Jacques et al., 2018).

### 1.2 Levels of complexity of the AM systems
- **Guillaume** (2016): levels of complexity of the AM systems – Continuum of the AM systems in the world’s languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic languages</td>
<td>Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Mandarin</td>
<td>Kiranti languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacanan languages</td>
<td>Australian languages</td>
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</table>

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Complex</td>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Complex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.3 Motion-cum-purpose subtype
- Motion-cum-purpose ([Guillaume, 2006; Lamarre et al., Manuscript]: AM systems involving purpose encoding. e.g. Northern Mandarin ([Lamarre, Manuscript]); etc.

- Typology of the spatial event encoding systems ([Guillaume, 2006])

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>Motion-cum-purpose</th>
<th>AM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motion</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Motion-prior-action temporal sequence and volitional verbs (see section 3.2).

### 1.4 Associated motion in Rgyalrong languages
- The only group in Sino-Tibetan having devoted AM markers, distinguished from the directional prefixes encoding the path of a motion event ([Talmy, 1985] 2007).

- Relatively simple systems presenting a binary contrast between the translocative and cislocative motion.
• Newly developed functions that interact with TAME.
• Variations in the attested grammaticalization processes of the AM makers.

2 Overview of Brag-dbar phonology and verbal morphology

2.1 Phonology

• Consonant inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Alveolo-palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless aspirated stop</td>
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<td>th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>kh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized stop</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jy</td>
<td>nj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless affricate</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ʃʃ</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>ʃʃ</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tʃh</td>
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<td>tʃh</td>
<td>tʃh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced affricate</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dʃ</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized affricate</td>
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<td>ndʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndʒ</td>
<td>ndʒ</td>
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<td>Voiceless fricative</td>
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<td>ʃ</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>Voiced fricative</td>
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<td>z</td>
<td></td>
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<td>z</td>
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<td>Nasal</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Vowel inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>e (iɛ, iə)</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>iɛ</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Syllable structure: (C)(C)C(C)V(C)(C), e.g. ˈpʃtə ˈpʃtwat ‘to pull with force’; mbarkhājp ‘at Barkam’.

• Tonal system: interaction between tone and pitch accent
  – Binary contrast between level (ơ) and falling (ơ) tones in default final accented syllable position, e.g. ta-rpī ‘seed’ vs. ta-rpī ‘wheat bran’.
  – Neutralization of tonal contrast when stress falls on a non-final syllable (ơ) in particular morphological-syntactic processes.

2.2 Verbal morphology

• SOV as basic word order.
- Templatic morphology showing a strong tendency of prefixation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ŋe-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Directional prefixes, slot 2 (see section 4.1)
- AM, slot 4

3 Associated motion in Brag-dbar Situ

3.1 Morphology

3.1.1 Interruption of the leftward spread chain of the o

- Interruption of the leftward spread chain of several (quasi-)homophonous o prefixes, i.e. IFR o-, IRR o-, INV/3NS.PST.TR. o-,PASS/RECP o-, the lexicalized transitivizer o-, if the negative prefix ma- is absent (example 3)
- The presence of the negative prefix ma- can block this interruption (example 4).

(2) \textit{ma-o-nə-o-ˈtə-okərə-n} [\textit{mo.no.ˈto.krən}]
\textit{NEG-INTRVZ-IMP-INTRVZ-to.cry}_1-2

‘Do not cry.’

(3) a. \textit{na-je-o-səkɕət-ŋ} [\textit{na.ˈjo.ˈsək.cən}]
\textit{IMP-CISLOC-INV-CAUS-to.teach}_1-1SG

‘Come and teach me.’

b. \textit{pardən \ mbakhəm=ni \ prawər-ja}
Dpal.Idan Barkam=downstream Brag.dbar-LOC \textit{ma-no-ˈco-vəzə?} [\textit{ma.ˈna.ˈko.vəzə}]
\textit{NEG-PFV:downstream-TRANSLOC.IFR-to.come}_1

‘Has Dpalldan come from Barkam downstream to Brag-dbar?’
3.1.2 Dissimilation of the *a* vocalism

- */ʁv-je/cv-/* → */ʁə.jɛ/cv* (5)
- */na-je/cv-/* → */nə.jɛ/cv* → neutralization of the contrast between *na-* with AM prefixes (6).

(5)  *khʁi rʁ-cv-skîɛ̂n*  [ʁə.cv.ksiɛ̂n]
rice IMP:upwards-TRANSLOC-to.cook₁-2SG
‘Come (upwards) and cook the rice.’

(6)  a.  *na-tʃɛ̂n*,  *tɔ-ŋgá*
IMP:downwards-to.go₁-2SG POSS.INDF-clothes
*na-cv-ctɛi-n*  [na.cv.ctɛi̯n]
IMP:downwards-TRANSLOC-to.wash₁-2SG
‘Come (downwards) and wash the clothes.’ (Elicitation)

b.  *nɔ-tʃɛ̂n*,  *tɔ-ŋgá*
IMP:downstream-to.go₁-2SG POSS.INDF-clothes
*na-cv-ctɛi-n*  [na.cv.ctɛi̯n]
IMP:downstream-TRANSLOC-to.wash₁-2SG
‘Come (downstream) and wash the clothes.’ (Elicitation)

3.2 Parameters of AM in Brag-dbar Situ

- Parameters (Guillaume, 2016; Jacques et al., 2018; etc.) of AM in Brag-dbar Situ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th><em>cv-</em></th>
<th><em>je-</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporal relation</td>
<td>Motion prior to action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis</td>
<td>Tranlocative</td>
<td>Cislocative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical function of the moving entity</td>
<td>S/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical dimension</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree of event integration</td>
<td>higher</td>
<td>lower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volitionality</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1 Grammatical function of the moving entities

- Accusative alignment of the AM.
Causative constructions: both the A (causer) (7a) and P (causee) (7b) can be the argument involved in the motion:

(7) a. \(<you>\)-ˈsa-lat-ʃ, \(<you>\) tce \(kanas-zju-tərpjɛ\) 
petrol-PTCP:OBL-release-LOC petrol LOC two-ten-CLF:jin 
tsur \(ce\)-sa-lat-ŋa about TRANSLOC-CAUS-releaseI-1SG 
‘I am going to add about twelve <jin> of petrol at the petrol station.’

b. ta-rə \(no\) kə ranrəŋ \(<gegezu>\) 
POSS.INDF-leader PL ERG everyone every.group 
\(ce\)-ka-na-rawər TRANSLOC-PTCP:P-AUTOBEN-to.make.money 
kə-rə PTCP:S/A-to.be.necessary 
\(ro\)-co-sə-oṃ-təsə-ʃə transloc-1→2-to.see 1SG 
PFV.INV-TRANSLOC.INV-CAUS-discussI-1PL LINK:then 
‘The leaders made us to go to discuss (the amount that) each group should get, and then...’

3.2.2 Degree of event integration

- Degree of event integration: separability of the motion from the action (Jacques et al., 2018)
- Syntactic tests: Concessive (in 8), Interrogation (in 9):
  - TRANSLOC: ambiguous
  - CISLOC: separable

(8) a. \(a-mə\) \(nə-ce-natsə-ŋ\) \(rev\) 
VOC-mother PFV:downstream-TRANSLOC-to.seeI-1SG LINK:but 
\(ma-na-mətə-ŋ\) NEG-PFV-to.seeI-1SG 
‘I went to see my mother, but I did not see him.’ (realization of the motion)

b. \(na\)-je-tə-natsə-n \(rev\) \(ne\) \(do\) 
PVF-CISLOC-1→2-to.seeI-2SG LINK:but 2SG 
\(ma-tə-mə-n\) \(majna\) ma-na-tə-mətə-n 
SENS-2-do.not.existI-1SG then NEG-PFV-2-to.seeI-2SG 
‘I came to see you, but you were not here, so I did not see you.’ (Jacques et al., 2018) (realization of the motion)
(9)  a. *nəɟə ω̂ ćetāk-j thā na-Ć-e-’a-va-n?*
    2SG ćetak-LOC what PFV:downstream-TRANSLOC-2-to.doII-2SG
    ‘What did you do there at ćetak?’ (realization of the motion and
    the action)

   b. *nəɟə thā na-je-’a-va-n?*
    2SG what PFV:downstream–CISLOC-2-to.doII-2SG
    ‘What did you come to do?’ (Jacques et al., 2018) (realization
    of the motion)

3.2.3 Volitionality

- Translocative prefix će: compatible with both volitional (10 *ka-giatan*
  ‘to abandon’) and non-volitional (11 *ka-giatan* ‘to abandon’, 12 *ka-gēs*
  ‘to be’) verbs.
- *The cislocative prefix je- with non-volitional verbs, see section 5.*

(10) *körtu teve ɕa-na tchindażwod ka-tsā tev*
    winter then DIS-downstream confluence PTCP:P-to.say LOC
    mā-j ċe-ka-giatan ˈno-gēs
    DEM.DIS-LOC TRANSLOC-GENR:S/A.VOL.NMLZ-abandon IFR-to.be
    ‘Then, in winter, we went to abandon him (the unicorn) at the place
    called the confluence.’

(11) *nə-ɟû ˈro-mie,*
    1SG.poss-key PFV.IFR-do.not.exist
    kota-ka-nō-dō j na-nāre-rē ʒ*
    everywhere-PTCP:S/A-exist-LOC PFV-to.search II-1SG LINK:but
    ma-na-ma-tē ʒ, na-će-giatan ˈma-mak
    NEG-PFV-to.search II-1SG PFV-TRANSLOC-lose II-1SG INTER-not.to.be
    zie
    PART:echo
    ‘My key was lost, I’ve looked for it everywhere, but I did not find it,
    I lost it, didn’t I?’

(12) *ŋə- móc u-vu tsha-ndās to mənaŋore*
    1SG.poss-mother 3SG.poss-grandfather deceased DET TOP
    na ka-majē s pa-pso ʒ
    TOP PTCP:S/A-to.wait-NMLZ 3PL.poss-together-LOC
    na-će ka-gēs ˈno-gēs
    PFV-TRANSLOC-NMLZ-to.be II PFV.IFR-to.be
    ‘My mother’s grandfather was there, together with those who were
    waiting for (the leopard).’
3.3 Motion verb construction in Brag-dbar Situ

- Motion verb construction (MVC): $V_1$ action verb + $V_2$ motion verb.
  - Action verb: non-finite, marked by the supine NMLZ $kə-$, prefixed by the possessive prefix co-referential with the P in case of transitive verbs.
  - Motion verb: finite (TAME marking and person indexation)

- Expression of the purpose:
  - Low degree of event integration (separability of the motion from the action)
  - Volitionality
  - Interchangeable with AM when the purpose is involved in AM.
    (compare 13 and 8b)

(13) $nə-kə-natsō$ $nə-və̄-ŋ$ $rə̄nə$ $nəɟə̂$
2SG.POSS-NMLZ:to.look PFV:downstream LINK:but 2SG
$nə-ˈtə-
 Majnə mə-na-tə-mətə-n$
SENS-2-do.not.exist1-2SG LINK NEG-PFV-2-to.see1-2SG
*I came to see you, but you were not here, so I did not see you.*
(Jacques et al., 2018)

4 TAME function of the translocative prefix $ce$-

4.1 Directional prefixes in Brag-dbar Situ

- Double functions of the directional prefixes:
  - Spatial function of the directional prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Prefixal form</th>
<th>Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vertical dimension</td>
<td>$rə$</td>
<td>‘upwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$nə$</td>
<td>‘downwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River/solar dimension</td>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>‘Upstream/eastward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$nə$</td>
<td>‘Downstream/westward’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- TAME function of the directional prefixes:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Directional prefix</th>
<th>Other prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factual</td>
<td></td>
<td>I/I'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>u-, na-, rev-, na-</td>
<td>I/I'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>u-, na-, rev-, na-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sensory</td>
<td>'na-</td>
<td>I/I'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egophoric</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>II/II'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>u-, na-, rev-, na-</td>
<td>II/II'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Imperfective</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>II/II'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferential perfective</td>
<td>u-, na-, rev-, na-</td>
<td>'o-</td>
<td>I/I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferential imperfective</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>'o-</td>
<td>I/I'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Directional prefixes with different classes of verbs:
  - **Motion verbs**: Spatial function + tempo-modalizer (example 14).
  - Verbs whose directional prefix is lexically determined: tempo-modalizer\(^1\) (example 15)

(14) **ka-tché** ‘to go’ (Elicitation)

a.  a-tic = stō       \(\text{re-tché-n}\)  
  PROX-vertical.upside=upwards IMP:upwards-to.gōq-2SG  
  ‘Go upwards.’

b.  a-\(\text{vo}=\text{no}\)       \(\text{na-tché-n}\)  
  PROX-vertical.downside=downward IMP:upward-to.gōq-2SG  
  ‘Go downwards.’

c.  a-wu = skū       \(\text{u-tché-n}\)  
  PROX-upstream/east=upstream/eastward  
  IMP:upstream/esatward-to.gōq-2SG  
  ‘Go upstream/eastward.’

d.  a-na = ni       \(\text{na-tché-n}\)  
  PROX-downstream/westward=downstream/westward  
  IMP:downstream/westward-to.gōq-2SG  
  ‘Go downstream/westward.’

(15) **ka-ndzie** ‘manger’ (Elicitation)

a.  Perfective

\(^{1}\)This class of verbs can be further divided into two sub-classes: those whose directional prefix is semantically determined, such as **ka-rwās** ‘to get up’, selecting **rev- ‘upwards’**, and those whose directional prefix is conventionalized, such as **ka-ndzie** ‘to eat’, also selecting **rev- ‘upwards’**.
ŋà  re-ndzà-ŋ
1SG PFV-to.eatII-1SG
‘I have eaten it.’

b. Imperative
nàjà  ra-ndziē-n
2SG IMP-to.eatI-2SG
‘Eat it.’

4.2 Interaction between the directional and the translocative prefix in non-Inferential

• Prefixation of ce- creates new motion verbs – combination of different directional prefixes depending on the direction of the motion\(^2\).

• Example of lowoɕāŋ ka-wiēt ‘to wear Tibetan garment’, selecting re- ‘upwards’ as its default directional prefix.

  – With default directional prefixes (16)
  – With the translocative prefix ce- (17)

(16)  
  a. lowoɕāŋ     re-wiēt
      Tibetan.garment IMP-to.wearI
      ‘Wear Tibetan garment.’
  b. ŋà  lowoɕāŋ     re-wiēt-ŋ
      1SG Tibetan.garment PFV-to.wearII-1SG
      ‘I have worn Tibetan garment.’

(17)  
  a. nàjā  na-jēm-j     lowoɕāŋ
      2SG 2SG.poss-house-LOC Tibetan.garment
      re-ce-wiēt    [ra.ce.wiēt]
      IMP:upwards-TRANSLOC-to.wearI
      ‘Go (upwards) your home and wear Tibetan garment (The house is located upwards from the current location).’
  b. nàjā  na-jēm-j     lowoɕāŋ
      2SG 2SG.poss-house-LOC Tibetan.garment
      na-ce-wiēt    [na.ce.wiēt]
      IMP:downwards-TRANSLOC-to.wearI
      ‘Go (downwards) your home and wear Tibetan garment (The house is located downwards from the current location).’

\(^2\)Non-motion verbs can also combine with different directional prefixes after the prefixation of the cislocative je-.
c. 2sg 2sg.Poss-house-LOC Tibetan.garment
\[ u \text{-event-} \text{wear} \] \[ u \text{-event-} \text{wear} \]
‘Go (upstream) your home and wear Tibetan garment (The house is located upstream from the current location).’

d. 2sg 2sg.Poss-house-LOC Tibetan.garment
\[ na \text{-event-} \text{wear} \] \[ na \text{-event-} \text{wear} \]
‘Go (downstream) your home and wear Tibetan garment (The house is located downstream from the current location).’

4.3 Translocative prefix ɕɐ- in Inferential

- The translocative prefix ɕɐ- interacts with the inferential marker, allows a resultative interpretation and emphasizes on the information inferred from a kind of direct evidence, like the Perfect experiential constructions in Tibetan languages (Hill, 2017).

(18) a. fox-skin-hat
\[ \text{one} \text{-transloc.ifr} \text{-wear} \]
la
‘He had worn a fox fur hat.’ (The informant was describing a photo on which the personnage was wearing a fur hat.)

b. 1sg.Poss-clothes
\[ 1sg \text{-transloc.ifr} \text{-wear} \]
\[ \text{to.be.upside.down} \]
‘I got my clothes on backwards.’ (I realized the fact because I saw my clothes on backwards.)

- The verb must take its default directional prefix, regardless of the prefixation of ɕɐ-.

– In (19a), the translocative prefixed verb կա-մօփ ‘to drink’ takes its default directional prefix նա- ‘downwards’ in its Inferential form, although the place where Dpallan drunk wine is Cogtse, located in the upstream. The form ւ-ոՇԺՕՓ is not accepted.

– The directional prefix ւ- ‘upstream’ is compatible in (19b), since the prefix ըՇԺՕՓ associates a translocative motion in Perfective.

(19) a. Dpalldan Cogtse-LOC wine
\[ \text{PFV-TRANSLOC.IFR-to.drink} \]
\[ \text{to.drink} \]
‘Dpallan drank wine from the upstream location.’
'Dpallan must have drunk wine at Cogtse.' (The second day when Dpallan came home, he had smells of alcohol or he has been sleeping all the time.)

b. *pardən* tsektsə=sku  châ
Dpalldan Cogtse=upstream wine
  _u-ce-môp_
  PFV:upstream-TRANSLOC-to.drinkII
'Dpalldan went (upstream) to Cogtse to drink wine.'

- Possible semantic evolution triggered by the non-volitionality of the verb:
  - Translocative motion > Physical distance of the reference point
  > Temporal/figurative distance

5 **Prospective use of the cislocative prefix *je*-**

- The cislocative prefix as the prospective marker is shared feature in Situ dialects (Lin, 2003; Jacques, 2013; Prins, 2016, 461-464).

- Prospective in Brag-dbar:
  - Formation: directional prefix + CISLOC + Stem II/II'
  - Prospective function of the prefix *je*-
    * Non-volitional verbs, (20a)
    * Volitional telic verbs, (21)

(20) a. *khaprɐ̄j u-ndôk  to  kə  u-skrü-j  kɔzə*
  snake  3SG.POSS-venin DET PROM 3SG.POSS-body-LOC all
  to  na-kə-chiɛ̂p  tənə  na-je-ka-ci-s
  DET PFV-NMLZ-spreadII then PFV-PROS-NMLZ-to.dieII'
  'no-ges
  PFV:IFR-to.be
  'After the venin of the snake had spread through his body, he was about to die.'

b. *ji-samtɕɐ̄n  ostō*
  1PL.POSS-domestic.animals often
  na-ju-siɛ̂t  kənə,  ra-châ
  PFV:downwards-CISLOC-to.killII LINK:CAUSE one-time
  _ce-va-rwâk-j_
  TRANSLOC-DENUM-hunt-1PL
  'Because It often came to kill our animals, let’s go to hunt it one time.'
‘The leopard has almost eliminated our sheep.’ (Elicitation)

- Possible grammaticalization pathway: cislocative (spatial proximation) > prospective (temporal/figurative proximation)

6 AM in Rgyalrongic languages

- Variations in the attested grammaticalization processes of the AM markers in Rgyalrongic languages
  - Khroskyabs Rgyalrongic: bipartite construction (Lai, Manuscript)
  - Rgyalrong languages: dedicated prefixes:
    * Situ: cislocative → aspeckual marker
    * Northern Rgyalrong languages: ∅
  - Variations in the grammaticalization processes of the translocative:
    * Khroskyabs: → prospective
    * Japhug (Northern Rgyalrong): → apprehensive
    * Brag-dbar (Situ): → Interaction with inferential

- Position of the AM markers in the verbal template

- Possible restructuration of the verbal template in Situ: Aspect, temps > Mood (Bybee, 1985, 33-35).

- Degree of event integration: diachronically unstable (Jacques et al., 2018)
  - Japhug: high degree of event integration
  - Brag-dbar: low degree of event integration
References


Lai, Yunfan. Manuscript. Come is the new go: the evolution of stem alternation of basic motion verbs in Khroskyabs.


