

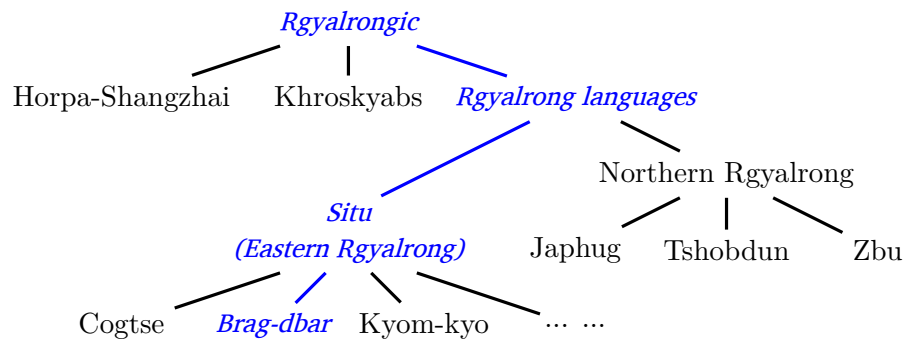
# Associated motion in the Brag-dbar dialect of Situ Rgyalrong\*

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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)



#### 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.



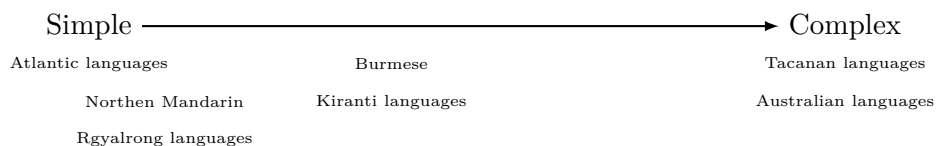
- (1) Ese Ejja, Tancan language spoken in the Bolivian Amazon  
([Vuillermet, 2012](#))

- a. *lxya-ki-kwe!*  
manger-ALLER\_\_FAIRE-IMP  
‘Vas manger!’
- b. *lxya-wa-kwe!*  
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



## 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](#))

	Directional	Motion-cum-purpose	AM
Motion	-	+	+
Purpose	-	+	+/-

- 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

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless stop	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>
Voiceless aspirated stop	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>			<i>ch</i>	<i>kh</i>
Voiced stop	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>
Prenasalized stop	<i>mb</i>	<i>nd</i>			<i>ɲɲ</i>	<i>ŋg</i>
Voiceless affricate		<i>ts</i>	<i>tʂ</i>	<i>tɕ</i>		
Voiceless aspirated affricate		<i>tsh</i>	<i>tʂh</i>	<i>tɕh</i>		
Voiced affricate		<i>dz</i>		<i>dʒ</i>		
Prenasalized affricate		<i>ndz</i>	<i>ndʒ</i>	<i>ndʒ</i>		
Voiceless fricative		<i>s</i>		<i>ɕ</i>		<i>x</i>
Voiced fricative	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>ʒ</i>		
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Trill		<i>r</i>				
Approximant	<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>			<i>j</i>	

- Vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
Close	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Close-mid	<i>e (ie, iə)</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
Open-mid	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɐ</i>	
Open		<i>a</i>	

- Syllable structure: (C)(C)C(C)V(C)(C), e.g. *ʔɕtə.ɕɕtwat* ‘to pull with force’; *mbarkhājp* ‘at Barkam’.
- Tonal system: interaction between tone and pitch accent
  - Binary contrast between level (*ō*) and falling (*ô*) tones in default final accented syllable position, e.g. *tə-rpī* ‘seed’ vs. *tə-rpî* ‘wheat bran’.
  - Neutralization of tonal contrast when stress falls on a non-final syllable (*ʼo*) in particular morphological-syntactic processes.

### 2.2 Verbal morphology

- SOV as basic word order.



- Templatic morphology showing a strong tendency of prefixation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>mə-</i> <i>ma-</i>	<i>u-</i> , etc. <i>'na-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>çə-</i> <i>jə-</i>	<i>'o-</i>	<i>tə-</i>	<i>kə-</i> <i>o-</i> <i>o-</i>	Σ	<i>-ŋ</i> , etc. <i>-s</i>
INTER NEG	Directional SENS	IRR	CISLOC TRANSLOC	IFR	2	3NS.INTR. 3NS.TR. INV	Verb stem	Personal suffixes PST

- Person indexation; inverse marking according to the Person Hierarchy 1>2>3. (Zhang, 2016, 104-130)
- Stem alternations marking TAME, person, transitivity, etc. (Zhang, forthcoming).
- TAME domain and directional prefixes
  - \* 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 transitivity marker *o-*, if the negative prefix *ma-* is absent (example 3)
- The presence of the negative prefix *ma-* can block this interruption (example 4).

- (2) *ma-o-nə-o-'tə-okrə-n* [mo.no.'to.krən]  
NEG-INTRVZ-IMP-INTRVZ-to.cry<sub>I</sub>-2  
'Do not cry.'
- (3) a. *nə-jə-o-səkçēt-ŋ* [nə.jo.'sək.çən]  
IMP-CISLOC-INV-CAUS-to.teach<sub>I</sub>-1SG  
'Come and teach me.'
- b. *pardên mbakhâm=ni prawâr-j*  
Dpal.lidan Barkam=downstream Brag.dbar-LOC  
*mə-nə-'ço-vzə?* [mə.nə.'ço.vzə]  
NEG-PFV:downstream-TRANSLOC.IFR-to.come<sub>I</sub>  
'Has Dpalldan come from Barkam downstream to Brag-dbar?'



- (4) *pī ma-nə-ʼɕo-vʒe* [mo.no.ʼɕo.vʒe]  
 now NEG-PFV:downstream-TRANSLOC.IFR-to.come<sub>I</sub>  
 ‘Now he has not come.’

### 3.1.2 Dissimilation of the *ɐ* *a* vocalism

- /*re-je/ɕe-*/ → [*rə.je/ɕe*] (5)
  - /*na-je/ɕe-*/ → [*nə.je/ɕe*] → neutralization of the contrast between *nə-* *na-* with AM prefixes (6).
- (5) *khri re-ɕe-skiê-n* [*rə.ɕe.skiên*]  
 rice IMP:upwards-TRANSLOC-to.cook<sub>I</sub>-2SG  
 ‘Come (upwards) and cook the rice.’
- (6) a. *na-tɕhê-n*, *tə-ŋgâ*  
 IMP:downwards-to.go<sub>II</sub>-2SG POSS.INDF-clothes  
*na-ɕe-ɕtɕî-n* [*nə.ɕe.ɕtɕîn*]  
 IMP:downwards-TRANSLOC-to.wash<sub>I</sub>-2SG  
 ‘Come (downwards) and wash the clothes.’ (Elicitation)
- b. *nə-tɕhê-n*, *tə-ŋgâ*  
 IMP:downstream-to.go<sub>I</sub>-2SG POSS.INDF-clothes  
*nə-ɕe-ɕtɕî-n* [*nə.ɕe.ɕtɕîn*]  
 IMP:downstream-TRANSLOC-to.wash<sub>I</sub>-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:

Parameter \ Prefix	<i>ɕe-</i>	<i>je-</i>
Temporal relation	Motion prior to action	
Deixis	Tranlocative	Cislocative
Grammatical function of the moving entity	S/A	
Vertical dimension		
Degree of event integration	higher	lower
Volitionality	+/-	+
Purpose	+/-	+

### 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> -*'sa-lat-j*, <you> *tɕɐ kənəs-zɣe-tərpiê*  
petrol-PTCP:OBL-release-LOC petrol LOC two-ten-CLF:jin  
*tser ɕɐ-sə-lāt-ŋ*  
about TRANSLOC-CAUS-release<sub>I</sub>-1SG  
‘I am going to add about twelve <jin> of petrol at the petrol station.’
- b. *ta-rō* *no kə raŋrân* <gegezu>  
POSS.INDF-leader PL ERG everyone every.group  
*ɕɐ-ka-nə-rəwār*  
TRANSLOC-PTCP:P-AUTOBEN-to.make.money  
*kə-râ*  
PTCP:S/A-to.be.necessary  
*ro-ɕo-sə-omə-tsîs-j* *tɕɐnə*, ...  
PFV.INV-TRANSLOC.INV-CAUS-discuss<sub>II</sub>-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-mô* *nə-ɕɐ-natsô-ŋ* *rɐ*  
VOC-mother PFV:downstream-TRANSLOC-to.see<sub>II</sub>-1SG LINK:but  
*ma-na-mətô-ŋ*  
NEG-PFV-to.see<sub>II</sub>-1SG  
‘I went to see my mother, but I did not see him.’ (realization of the motion)
- b. *nə-ɣe-ta-natsô-n* *rɐ* *nəɣô*  
PFV-CISLOC-1→2-to.see<sub>II</sub>-2SG LINK:but 2SG  
*nə-tə-mɛ-n* *majnə ma-na-tə-mətê-n*  
SENS-2-do.not.exist<sub>I</sub>-1SG then NEG-PFV-2-to.see<sub>II</sub>-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. *nəʒə cətāk-j thə nə-ɕɐ-ʔə-və-n?*  
 2SG *cetak*-LOC what PFV:downstream-TRANSLOC-2-to.do<sub>II</sub>-2SG  
 ‘What did you do there at *cetak*?’ (realization of the motion and the action)
- b. *nəʒə thə nə-ʒɐ-ʔə-və-n?*  
 2SG what PFV:downstream-CISLOC-2-to.do<sub>II</sub>-2SG  
 ‘What did you come to do?’ (Jacques et al., 2018) (realization of the motion)

### 3.2.3 Volitionality

- Translocative prefix *ɕɐ-*: compatible with both volitional (10 *ka-ptɕhət* ‘to abandon’) and non-volitional (11 *ka-ptɕhət* ‘to abandon’, 12 *kə-ŋɐs* ‘to be’) verbs.
- *The cislocative prefix ʒɐ- with non-volitional verbs, see section 5.*

- (10) *kərtsû tɕənə ʕa-nə tɕhindəzwô ka-tsə tɕɐ*  
 winter then DIS-downstream confluence PTCP:P-to.say LOC  
*mā-j ɕɐ-ka-ptɕhət ʔno-ŋɐs*  
 DEM.DIS-LOC TRANSLOC-GENR:S/A.VOL.NMLZ-abandon IFR-to.be<sub>I</sub>  
 ‘Then, in winter, we went to abandon him (the unicorn) at the place called the confluence.’
- (11) *ŋa-ʒû ʔro-mie,*  
 1SG.POSS-key PFV.IFR-do.not.exist<sub>I</sub>  
*kətə-kə-ndô-j nə-narɐrɐ-ŋ rɐ,*  
 everywhere-PTCP:S/A-exist-LOC PFV-to.search<sub>II</sub>-1SG LINK:but  
*ma-na-mətê-ŋ, nə-ɕɐ-ptɕhît-ŋ ʔmə-mak*  
 NEG-PFV-to.see<sub>II</sub>-1SG PFV-TRANSLOC-lose<sub>II</sub>-1SG INTER-not.to.be<sub>I</sub>  
*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-mô u-vû tsha-ndās tə mənəŋɔrɐ*  
 1SG.POSS-mother 3SG.POSS-grandfather deceased DET TOP  
*nə kə-nɛʒɐ-s ʒa-psô-j*  
 TOP PTCP:S/A-to.wait-NMLZ 3PL.POSS-together-LOC  
*nə-ɕɐ-kə-ŋô-s ʔno-ŋɐs*  
 PFV-TRANSLOC-NMLZ-to.be<sub>II</sub> PFV.IFR-to.be<sub>I</sub>  
 ‘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<sub>1</sub> action verb + V<sub>2</sub> 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-və-ŋ*                      *renə*                      *nəjə*  
 2SG.POSS-NMLZ:SUP-to.look PFV:downstream LINK:but 2SG  
*nə-tə-mə-n*                      *majnə ma-na-tə-mətê-n*  
 SENS-2-do.not.exist<sub>I</sub>-2SG LINK NEG-PFV-2-to.see<sub>II</sub>-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 *ɕv-*

### 4.1 Directional prefixes in Brag-dbar Situ

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

Dimension	Prefixal form	Direction
Vertical dimension	<i>rɕ-</i>	‘upwards’
	<i>na-</i>	‘downwards’
River/solar dimension	<i>u-</i>	‘Upstream/eastward’
	<i>nə-</i>	‘Downstream/westward’

- TAME function of the directional prefixes:



	Directional prefix	Other prefix	Stem
Factual			I/I'
<b>Imperative</b>	<i>u-, nə-, rɛ-, na-</i>		I/I'
Irrealis	<i>u-, nə-, rɛ-, na-</i>	<i>o-</i>	I/I'
Sensory	<i>'na-</i>		I/I'
Egophoric	<i>u-</i>		II/II'
<b>Perfective</b>	<i>u-, nə-, rɛ-, na-</i>		II/II'
Past Imperfective	<i>na-</i>		II/II'
<b>Inferential perfective</b>	<i>u-, nə-, rɛ-, na-</i>	<i>'o-</i>	I/I'
Inferential imperfective	<i>na-</i>	<i>'o-</i>	I/I'

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

(14) *ka-tɕhê* ‘to go’ (Elicitation)

- a-tiɛ=stō* *rɛ-tɕhê-n*  
PROX-vertical.upside=upwards IMP:upwards-to.goI-2SG  
‘Go upwards.’
- a-vê=no* *na-tɕhê-n*  
PROX-vertical.downside=downward IMP:upward-to.goI-2SG  
‘Go downwards.’
- a-wu=skū*  
PROX-upstream/east=upstream/eastward  
*u-tɕhê-n*  
IMP:upstream/esatward-to.goI-2SG  
‘Go upstream/eastward.’
- a-nə=nī*  
PROX-downstream/westward=downstream/westward  
*nə-tɕhê-n*  
IMP:downstream/westward-to.goI-2SG  
‘Go downstream/westward.’

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

- Perfective

<sup>1</sup>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 *rɛ-* ‘upwards’, and those whose directional prefix is conventionalized, such as *ka-ndziê* ‘to eat’, also selecting *rɛ-* ‘upwards’.



*ŋā re-ndzā-ŋ*  
 1SG PFV-to.eat<sub>II</sub>-1SG  
 ‘I have eaten it.’

b. Imperative

*nəʒə re-ndziē-n*  
 2SG IMP-to.eat<sub>I</sub>-2SG  
 ‘Eat it.’

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

- Prefixation of *ɕe-* creates new motion verbs – combination of different directional prefixes depending on the direction of the motion<sup>2</sup>.
- 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 *ɕe-* (17)

- (16) a. *lowoɕāŋ re-wiēt*  
 Tibetan.garment IMP-to.wear<sub>I</sub>  
 ‘Wear Tibetan garment.’
- b. *ŋā lowoɕāŋ re-wiēt-ŋ*  
 1SG Tibetan.garment PFV-to.wear<sub>II</sub>-1SG  
 ‘I have worn Tibetan garment.’

- (17) a. *nəʒə nə-ʒēm-j lowoɕāŋ*  
 2SG 2SG.POSS-house-LOC Tibetan.garment  
*re-ɕe-wiēt* [rə.ɕe.wiēt]  
 IMP:upwards-TRANSLOC-to.wear<sub>I</sub>  
 ‘Go (upwards) your home and wear Tibetan garment (The house is located upwards from the current location).’
- b. *nəʒə nə-ʒēm-j lowoɕāŋ*  
 2SG 2SG.POSS-house-LOC Tibetan.garment  
*na-ɕe-wiēt* [nə.ɕe.wiēt]  
 IMP:downwards-TRANSLOC-to.wear<sub>I</sub>  
 ‘Go (downwards) your home and wear Tibetan garment (The house is located downwards from the current location).’

<sup>2</sup>Non-motion verbs can also combine with different directional prefixes after the prefixation of the cislocative *ʒe-*.



- c. *nəŋə nə-jēm-j* *lowoɕāŋ*  
 2SG 2SG.POSS-house-LOC Tibetan.garment  
*u-ɕe-wiēt* [u.ɕe.wiēt]  
 IMP:upwards-TRANSLOC-to.wear<sub>I</sub>  
 ‘Go (upstream) your home and wear Tibetan garment (The house is located upstream from the current location).’
- d. *nəŋə nə-jēm-j* *lowoɕāŋ*  
 2SG 2SG.POSS-house-LOC Tibetan.garment  
*na-ɕe-wiēt* [nə.ɕe.wiēt]  
 IMP:downstream-TRANSLOC-to.wear<sub>I</sub>  
 ‘Go (downstream) your home and wear Tibetan garment (The house is located downstream from the current location).’

### 4.3 Translocative prefix ɕe- in Inferential

- The translocative prefix ɕe- 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. *kəthwəj-ndzə-rti* ‘rə *re-’ɕo-wiēt* *la*  
 fox-skin-hat one PFV-TRANSLOC.IFR-to.wear<sub>I</sub> PART  
 ‘He had worn a fox fur hat.’ (The informant was describing a photo on which the personage was wearing a fur hat.)
- b. *ŋə-ŋgā* *kə-otɕhwās*  
 1SG.POSS-clothes PTCp:S/A-to.be.upside.down  
*re-’ɕo-wat-ŋ*  
 PFV-TRANSLOC.IFR-to.wear<sub>I</sub>-1SG  
 ‘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 ɕe-.
    - In (19a), the translocative prefixed verb *ka-mōp* ‘to drink’ takes its default directional prefix *na-* ‘downwards’ in its Inferential form, although the place where Dpallan drunk wine is Cogtse, located in the upstream. The form *\*u-’ɕo-mop* is not accepted.
    - The directional prefix *u-* ‘upstream’ is compatible in (19b), since the prefix ɕe- associates a translocative motion in Perfective.
- (19) a. *pardən* *tsektse-j* *chā* *na-’ɕo-mop*  
 Dpaldan Cogtse-LOC wine PFV-TRANSLOC.IFR-to.drink<sub>I</sub>



‘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. *pardên tseksê=**sku** châ*  
 Dpalldan Cogtse=upstream wine  
***u-çv-môp***  
 PFV:upstream-TRANSLOC-to.drink<sub>II</sub>

‘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 *jv-*

- 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 *jv-*
    - \* Non-volitional verbs, (20a)
    - \* Volitional telic verbs, (21)

- (20) a. *khaprēj u-ndōk tə kə u-skrū-j kəzē*  
 snake 3SG.POSS-venin DET PROM 3SG.POSS-body-LOC all  
*tə nə-kə-chiêp tçenə nə-**jv**-’kə-**ci**-s*  
 DET PFV-NMLZ-spread<sub>II</sub> then PFV-PROS-NMLZ-to.die<sub>II</sub>  
*’no-ŋes*  
 PFV.IFR-to.be<sub>I</sub>

‘After the venin of the snake had spread through his body, he was about to die.’

- b. *jī-samtçēn ostō*  
 1PL.POSS-domestic.animals often  
*nə-**jv**-siêt kənə, rə-châ*  
 PFV:downwards-CISLOC-to.kill<sub>II</sub> LINK:CAUSE one-time  
*çv-va-rwāk-j*  
 TRANSLOC-DENOM-hunt-1PL

‘Because It often came to kill our animals, let’s go to hunt it one time.’



- (21) *kəʦtɕə̃k kə ji-kəʃōk ʃo nə-ʃo-plet*  
 leopard ERG 1PL.POSS-sheep PL PFV-CISLOC.IFR-to.eliminate<sub>I</sub>  
 ‘The leopard has almost eliminated our sheep.’ (Elicitation)

- Possible grammaticalization pathway: cislocative (spatial proximation) > prospective (temporal/figurative proximation)
  - Similar case in Iraqw (Cushitic): venitive > future marker ([Heine and Kuteva, 2002](#), 308-309).

## 6 AM in Rgyalrongic languages

- Variations in the attested grammaticalization processes of the AM makers in Rgyalrongic languages
  - Khroskyabs Rgyalrongic: bipartite construction ([Lai, Manuscript](#))
  - Rgyalrong languages: dedicated prefixes:
    - \* Situ: cislocative → aspectual 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

Japhug	IRR	NEG/INTER	MA	Directional	Person
Zbu	IRR	NEG/INTER	MA	Directional	Person
Cogtse (Situ)	IRR	NEG/INTER	Directional	MA	Person
Brag-dbar (Situ)	NEG/INTER	Directional	IRR	MA	Person
Kyom-kyo (Situ)	IRR	NEG/INTER	Directional	Person	MA

- Possible restructuring 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



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