

Connections of directional prefixes and verb stems in nDrapa*

SHIRAI Satoko

The University of Tokyo

Summary

This study focuses on the connections of verb stems and directional prefixes in the nDrapa language (Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman). nDrapa has a set of directional prefixes, that is, verbal prefixes that primarily indicate the direction of motion: *ɬ-* ‘upward,’ *a-* ‘downward,’ *kɬ-* ‘inward/upstream,’ *ŋɬ-* ‘outward/downstream,’ and *tɬ-* ‘neutral.’ Moreover, their function expands to include certain grammatical markings such as mood and aspect. With the exception of a few zero-directive verbs, nDrapa verbs obligatorily take one of the five directional prefixes in certain moods and aspects such as imperative and perfective. Most non-motion verb stems show a fixed one-to-one connection with a directional prefix. This study first describes nDrapa directional prefixes and then lists the verb stems that are connected with directional prefixes. In the list, the verbs are classified into four types: [A] those that can take any of the five directional prefixes; [B] those that may choose a directional prefix among limited members; [C] those that take one of the directional prefixes; and [D] those that do not take a directional prefix even in the imperative or perfective (zero-directive verbs). Type A consists of motion verbs such as *ji3* ‘go/come’ and *ɦli1* ‘(breeze) blow.’ Type B includes *koko3* ‘call, address (a person),’ *ntɦil* ‘look,’ and *məl* ‘make.’ Among the 235 verb entries, 214 belong to Type C. We can conclude that none of the directional prefixes function as default mood/aspect markers since none of the directional prefixes show significantly frequent use with Type C. Most of the Type D (zero-directive) verbs are found to share a common feature: movement toward the deictic center. Thus, we can point out that nDrapa lacks a cislocative prefix. These facts may suggest that the nDrapa cislocative prefix has changed into the zero form.

Key words: directional prefix, nDrapa, Qiangic, verb, zero form

關鍵詞：趨向前綴、扎壩語、羌語支、動詞、零形式

*This study is supported by Kakenhi Grants-in-Aid (17J40087, 18H03577, and 19K00543).

1. Introduction

The nDrapa language (ISO 639-3 zhb) has a set of verbal prefixes that primarily indicate the direction/orientation of motion. The present paper terms such prefixes directional prefixes. In nDrapa, the function of directional prefixes is not limited to directive marking but, rather, expands to include certain grammatical markings such as mood and aspect. In other words, a directional prefix is obligatory for every verb in the imperative or the perfective. Moreover, no prefix functions as the default choice for such mood or aspect marking. Consequently, every nDrapa verb (with a few exceptions) can be associated with one of the directional prefixes, even if the verb does not appear to connote movement. Thus, there are many apparently arbitrary connections between directive markers and verbs in nDrapa. This study surveys the characteristics of nDrapa directional prefixes, and then lists the connections between directional prefixes and verb stems.

1.1 Profiles of the language

The nDrapa language, which is also called Zhaba (扎壩/扎巴), belongs to the Qiangic group of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily. The number of speakers is estimated at about 8,000–10,000 (Huang 1990, Feng 2010). nDrapa is spoken in seven townships (鄉) of the Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous prefecture, Sichuan Province, China (Figure 1). Five of these, viz., Zhongni (仲尼), Hongding (紅頂), Zhatuo (扎拖), Yazhuo (亞卓), and Xiatuo (下拖), are located in Daofu County; and the other two—Waduo (瓦多) and Murong (木絨)—are in Yajiang County. The present study focuses on the Mätro dialect, which is spoken in the village Mazhong (麻中; /meʈo3/) of the Zhongni Township. The language data is obtained from the author’s fieldnotes.

The phonemes of Mätro nDrapa are as follows: (i) consonants /ph [ph], th [th], ʈ [ʈh], ch [ch], kh [kh]; p, t, ʈ, c, k; b, d, ɖ, ʄ, g; tsh [tsh], tɕh, [tɕh]; ts, te; dz, dz; m, n, ŋ, ŋ; m̥ [m̥m], ɲ [ɲn], ŋ̥ [ŋ̥n], ŋ̥ [ŋ̥n]; fh [fh], sh [sh], ɕh [ɕh]; f, s, ɕ, x, h; v, z, ʒ, ʕ, h; w, j; l, r [ɽ]; ʎ [ʎ], ɽ [ɽ]; (ii) vowels /i, i, u, u, e [ɪ], ø, o, ε, ʌ, ə, a; ei/; (iii) word tones: 1 (high-level), 2 (high-falling), 3 (low-rising) and 4 (low-rising-falling). Tones are indicated at the end of each phonological word.

nDrapa is an agglutinating language that employs both suffixes and prefixes. Verbs can take a directional prefix, a negative prefix, and an egophoric/aspect¹ suffix, as shown in (1).

- (1) The nDrapa verbal affixes (plain mood):
 (DIR-) (NEG-) STEM (-EGOPHORICITY/ASPECT)

¹ nDrapa egophoricity marking was described by Shirai (2007, 2008, and 2021). If the predicate is egophoric, the verbal suffix slot remains zero-marked, whereas if the predicate is factual (non-egophoric), the suffix slot is filled with an aspect suffix.

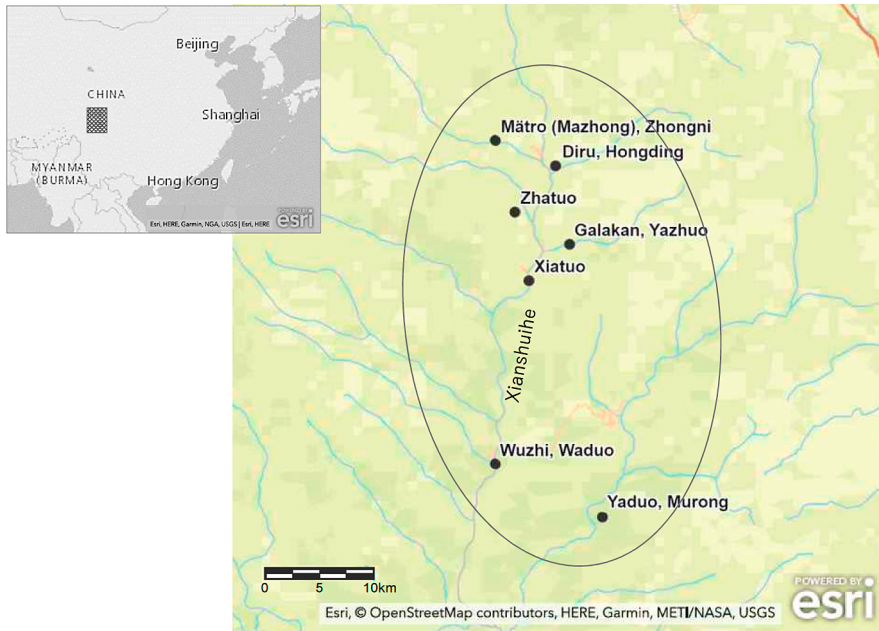


Figure 1 The nDrapa region

Verb stems are largely monosyllabic (e.g., *ntchi1* ‘look’), but there are also around a dozen disyllabic verb stems (e.g., *mphuke3* ‘cry’). Moreover, certain verb stems are usually used in reduplicated form (e.g., *mēmē1* ‘think’). Reduplication of the verb root appears to imply continuity or iterance, though it is not productive synchronically. There are also a number of compound verbs that apparently consist of a noun plus a subsidiary verb (in many cases, *le3*, which originally only meant ‘leave’). A directional prefix is attached to the last syllable of such compound verbs, for example, *hkeje3 le3* ‘shout’ (no directional prefix) and *hkeje3 a-le3* (‘shout’ plus *a-* ‘DWN’).

The case system is basically nominative-accusative. Case can be marked by postpositions. However, there are many instances in which the accusative-dative (*wu*) is not overtly marked, mostly when the grammatical relationships are clear from the context.

nDrapa has no writing system. It has been strongly influenced by Tibetan through long-term language contact.

1.2 Previous studies

Previous descriptive studies of nDrapa, including those by Huang (1990), Shirai (2006), and Gong (2007), briefly introduce nDrapa directional prefixes and their functions in verbal morphology. Shirai (2009) provides a detailed description of the nDrapa system of directional prefixes, with a list of connections between each directional prefix and verbs.

Table 1 Directional prefixes and location pronouns in nDrapa

Directional/Oriental Prefixes	Location/Orientation Pronouns			
	(Topographical)		(Abstract)	
Λ- ‘upward’ (UPW)	roŋo1	‘upper place (closer to the hilltop)’	thapi1	‘upside’
a- ‘downward’ (DWN)	menΛŋo3	‘lower place (closer to the valley)’	zΛpi3	‘downside’
kΛ- ‘inward/upstream’ (INW)	eoŋo3	‘place upstream’	khΛpi1	‘inside’
ŋΛ- ‘outward/downstream’ (OUT)	ŋoŋo3	‘place downstream’	nopi3	‘outside’
tΛ- ‘neutral’ (NTL)	ŋokho1	‘there’ (neutral)	—	
—	kokho1	‘here’	—	

Shirai (2018) discusses the aspect-marking function of nDrapa directional prefixes. Huang and Wu (2018) discuss the functional development of Murong nDrapa and list the connections between each directional prefix and verbs. However, no previous study has presented a list based on verbs, including zero-directive verbs (see Section 2), to show the directive-verb connections in nDrapa.

2. Directional prefixes in nDrapa

nDrapa has five directional prefixes, as listed in Table 1. The downward directional prefix *a-* has an invariable low vowel and low tone. Contrastively, the vowel and pitch of the other four directional prefixes alternate according to the host verb stem: e.g., *o-tɛho1* ‘go upward’ vs. *a-tɛho3* ‘go downward’. Table 1 also shows semantically related location/orientation pronouns for each directional prefix. None of the directional prefixes and location/orientation pronouns show common or related forms, except for the inward directional prefix *kΛ-* and *khΛpi1* ‘inside’.

These directional prefixes primarily serve to indicate the direction of motion. The directive function is typically observed when a directional prefix is attached to a motion verb stem, as in the cases of, for example, *Λ-ji3* ‘go upward/uphill’, *a-ji3* ‘go downward/downhill’, *kΛ-ji3* ‘go upstream’, *ŋΛ-ji3* ‘go downstream’, and *tΛ-ji3* ‘go (in an unknown/any direction)’. The upward prefix *Λ-* and the downward prefix *a-* may indicate either the vertical direction (up/down) or directions along the geographical incline (uphill/downhill). The inward/upstream prefix *kΛ-* and the outward/downstream prefix *ŋΛ-* mainly indicate the upstream and downstream directions along the main river when they are attached to motion verb stems such as *ji3* ‘go/come’ and *hli1* ‘(breeze) blow’. The neutral prefix is used when the speaker does not (or cannot) specify the direction. For example, in (2), the direction of movement is not specified, since the subject (sister of addressee) may move around from

one place to another to find her brother.

- (2) atɛi=ne3 no=pɛrΛ2 fidu3 to-tɛho-a1 rɛ3.
 elder.sister=TOP 2SG=CNT search NTL-go.away-PFV FAC

“Your sister went (somewhere) to find you.” [FT]

Moreover, directional prefixes show a variety of semantic shifts. For example, the outward directional prefix indicates the intensity of the event. Further details can be found in Shirai (2009) and Shirai and Nagano (this volume).

In the imperative mood and the perfective aspect, a directional prefix is obligatorily attached to the verb stem (Shirai 2009; Shirai and Nagano, this volume), apart from a few exceptions. Moreover, a directional prefix strongly tends to be attached to the verb of a telic predicate (Shirai 2018; Shirai and Nagano, this volume). In such cases, most verb stems that do not imply movement show a fixed one-to-one connection with one of the directional prefixes (Section 3). Every verb stem shows common connection among the imperative, the perfective, and the telic. For example, *tsil* ‘eat’ commonly takes the inward directional prefix: *ki-tsil* (perfective/telic) and *ko-tsu2* (imperative).

3. A verb list with directional prefixes

Table 2 tabulates nDrapa verbs in alphabetical order of their English meaning. The verb forms shown contain a directional prefix. The gloss of the directional prefix is provided in the right column. If a verb stem can take multiple directional prefixes, the prefix slot is filled with <D> or <D*>. <D> means that the verb stem can take any directional prefix, i.e., that it is a motion verb. In this case, the right column will be <ALL>. <D*> means that the verb cannot just take any directional prefix but may take more than one directional prefix. For example, *ntɛhi1* ‘look’ takes the inward prefix as the default choice—*kΛ-ntɛhi1* ‘look (any direction)/regard’—but may also take the upward and downward prefixes to indicate the direction of eyes: *Λ-ntɛhi1* ‘look up’ and *a-ntɛhi3* ‘look down’. In such cases, the attested directional prefixes are listed up in the right column. If the verb stem does not take a directional prefix even in the imperative or perfective, the right column is <ZERO>. If a column contains two forms of the verb stem separated with a slash (e.g., *vΛ1/vo1* ‘come’), the former is the non-egophoric form and the latter is the egophoric form.

Table 2 nDrapa verbs and their connections to directional prefixes

English meaning	nDrapa	Directional prefix
arrange, place <v.t.>	ko-tsho3	INW
arrive	<D>-tti(3)	<ALL>
ask	kΛ-m̄eki3	INW
bark	a-nde3	DWN
become cloudy	kΛ-hteire1	INW
bite	Λ-ndzei3	UPW
bloom	ŋo-fibo1	OUT
blow (breezes_)	<D>-fili(1)	<ALL>
blow (strong wind_)	ŋΛ-the1	OUT
boil (meat/vegetable)	a-hca3	DWN
boil (milk)	kΛ-hca1	INW
boil (water/tea) <v.i. = v.t.>	Λ-hca1	UPW
borrow	ŋΛ-nthwi1	OUT
break (a cup) <v.i. = v.t.>	a-tt̄he3	DWN
break (a toy) <v.i. = v.t.>	a-peitehe3	DWN
breathe in	Λ-h̄tei	UPW
bring	o-tehu1	UPW
build	o-ttu1	UPW
burn (a house) <v.i. = v.t.>	a-hpe3	DWN
burn <v.i.>	Λ-ttsi1	UPW
burn <v.t.>	kΛ-n̄e1	INW
burn <v.t.>	Λ-tshi1	UPW
bury	a-fido3	DWN
buy	kΛ-hei1	INW
call, address (a person)	<D*>-koko(3)	UPW, DWN
call, address (a person)	to-ko1	NTL
carry/bear on the back	Λ-hci2	UPW
change <v.i.>	a-twa3	DWN
change <v.i.>	tΛ-ŋjΛ1	NTL
chant (a sutra)	a-ziza3	DWN
chant (a sutra)	ko-h̄teuhka1	INW
clear up	tΛ-n̄q̄a1	NTL
close <v.i. = v.t.>	a-mø3	DWN
close <v.i. = v.t.>	a-n̄e3	DWN
close the mouth	tΛ-kk̄ekke1	NTL
clothe	tΛ-hci1	NTL

Table 2 (Continued)

English meaning	nDrapa	Directional prefix
collapse <v.i.>	a-tʃi3	DWN
collapse <v.t.>	a-tʃhi3	DWN
come	<D>-tɛ(3)	<ALL>
come	vΛ1/vo1	<ZERO>
come (= go)	<D>-ji(3)	<ALL>
come out (from a pouch)	Λ-the3	UPW
count	<D*>-htsΛ(1)	UPW, DWN
crow (cock_)	a-kɛkɛ3	DWN
cry, weep	a-mpʰuke3	DWN
cut	tΛ-tʃa3	NTL
cut (with a kitchen knife, with downward motion)	a-thethɛ3	DWN
dance	ntsheitΛ1 a-hsei3	DWN
defecate, excrete	ηΛ-le1	OUT
die	tΛ-ɛΛ1	NTL
die (fire_)	to-hpo1	NTL
dig	Λ-vɛ1	UPW
draw water	Λ-hkΛ1	UPW
dream	Λ-m̃a3	UPW
drink	kΛ-thei1	INW
drop, fall <v.i. = v.t.>	a-f̃ji3	DWN
drop, lose, throw away <v.i. = v.t.>	a-f̃jo3	DWN
dry <v.i.>	o-tʃu3	UPW
dry <v.t.>	o-kho1	UPW
dye	a-ntshwi3	DWN
eat	kΛ-ttsi1	INW
encounter	ko-f̃dɔ3	INW
escape	to-pho3	NTL
exist	tΛ-nΛ1	NTL
exist, have <v.i.>	to-po1	NTL
exist (animate)	to-tɛu1	NTL
exit, come out (from a pouch) (=come)	Λ-tɛ1	UPW
exit, go out (a cow_)	ηΛ-the1	OUT
expand, become wide	ηΛ-fi1	OUT
expect	tΛ-f̃di1	NTL
extinguish a fire	kΛ-ppɛi1	INW

Table 2 (Continued)

English meaning	nDrapa	Directional prefix
fear	to-hto1	NTL
feed	tΛ-htsi1	NTL
fight, engage in war	o-fidū1	UPW
fill <v.i.>	Λ-pei3	UPW
float up	o-mphū1	UPW
flow	<D>-the(3)	<ALL>
fly	tΛ-ndze1	NTL
forget	to-mō1	NTL
forget, leave (a bag)	to-fidzu3	NTL
freeze	kΛ-mphei1	INW
gather, get together	kΛ-pΛlΛ3	INW
get, obtain	re2/ro2	<ZERO>
get acquainted	εo3	<ZERO>
get angry	a-εetteu3	DWN
get hit	ko-zo1	INW
get injured	a-ηire3	DWN
get loose, come untie (cf. untie)	ηΛ-ʈʈa1	OUT
get wet (unintentionally) <v.i. = v.t.>	kə-ñei1	INW
give	tΛ-khe1	NTL
give birth, be born <v.i. = v.t.>	ηΛ-hci1	OUT
gnaw	a-hkala3	DWN
go (= come)	<D>-ji(3)	<ALL>
go (away)	<D>-tcho(1)	<ALL>
grasp (something)	Λ-ntsha1	UPW
grasp, catch (a person)	ηΛ-ntsha1	OUT
grow (become big)	Λ-tsi1	UPW
grow (grass_)	Λ-ηΛ1	UPW
grow (mustache)	ηΛ-tti1	OUT
hand over	tΛ-hte1	NTL
hang <v.i. = v.t.>	Λ-htei1	UPW
have diarrhea	ηΛ-εi1	OUT
hear	ηε2/ηo2	<ZERO>
heat	a-xu3	DWN
hide <v.t.>	kΛ-hsΛ3	INW
hit	kΛ-tΛ1	INW
hit (a person)	ηΛ-ndei2	OUT

Table 2 (Continued)

English meaning	nDrapa	Directional prefix
hold (in the hand)	ʌ-zei1	UPW
improve, get better	ʌ-lei3	UPW
irrigate	a-ju3	DWN
keep (an animal)	kʌ-ntsha1	INW
kill	kʌ-sɛ3	INW
knock	ŋʌ-hkʌ1	OUT
know	tʌ-hsi1	NTL
laugh	nɔʌ1 a-htei3	DWN
learn	a-fibu3	DWN
lend	tʌ-nthwi1	NTL
lie down	tʌ-fji1	NTL
light a fire (in the furnace)	ko-tho3	INW
light a fire (to wood)	kʌ-fibɛ1	INW
listen	ŋʌ-ŋi1	OUT
lodge <v.i. = v.t.>	kʌ-fja1	INW
look	<D*>-ntɛhi(1)	UPW, DWN, INW
lose, get defeated	a-mpho3	DWN
make	<D*>-mø1	INW, DWN
make a hole (cf. open)	a-cchu3	DWN
make drink	tʌ-hkwil	NTL
melt (snow/butter) <v.t.>	a-ɛi3	DWN
melt (snow/butter_) <v.i.> (cf. go)	a-ji3	DWN
melt (sugar_ into liquid) (cf. go)	ŋʌ-ji1	OUT
mix	tʌ-hpahpa1	NTL
mix	ʌ-fidze1	UPW
obstruct	<D*>-tshe(1)	UPW, DWN, INW, OUT
open <v.i.>	o-ccu1	UPW
open <v.t.>	o-cchu1	UPW
order	a-hso3	DWN
overturn <v.i. = v.t.>	a-pho3	DWN
paint	ŋʌ-zʌʌ1	OUT
peel <v.t.>	a-ɣo3	DWN
peel away, tear away <v.t.>	a-tho3	DWN
peel off, come off	a-fido3	DWN
play	a-nchara3	DWN
pound (garlic)	a-ndi1	DWN

Table 2 (Continued)

English meaning	nDrapa	Directional prefix
pull and extend	<D*>-fiʔeʔiʔe3	OUT, NTL
pursue	tʌ-heʌheʌ3	NTL
push	<D>-tʰiʰe(3)	<ALL>
put	kʌ-hpi3	INW
put into (a bowl)	a-hkʌ3	DWN
put on (a hat)	a-fiʂa3	DWN
put on (shoes/trousers)	ʌ-fiʂa1	UPW
put on, wear (clothes)	ʌ-cci1	UPW
quarrel	a-fiʂuʂuʂu3	DWN
rain passingly	a-tʰi3	DWN
rain torrentially	ŋʌ-tʰi1	OUT
raise oneself, get up	o-tʰo1	UPW
raise, set up	ʌ-hʔe1	UPW
read a loud	a-ʔo3	DWN
release	tʌ-le1	NTL
remain	ŋʌ-heʌ1	OUT
remember	ko-hto1	INW
repair	a-peʰte3	DWN
resemble	a-ra3	DWN
rest	ʌ-ŋi1	UPW
return	tʌ-fiʂʌlo3	NTL
ride	ʌ-ndzʌ1	UPW
rip, tear <v.i.>	tʌ-teʰe1	NTL
rip, tear <v.t.>	tʌ-teʰe1	NTL
ripen	kʌ-mmei1	INW
roll (a stone) <v.t.>	a-eʌʌ3	DWN
roll (a stone_), tumble <v.i.>	a-jeʌʌ3	DWN
run	teʰpo1 <D>-le(3)	<ALL>
save (a life)	ŋʌ-ʔu1	OUT
say	tse1	<ZERO>
say, tell	a-eʂe3; a-eʂeʂe3	DWN
scatter	tʌ-reʂe3	NTL
scold	a-ŋe3	DWN
scratch	ʌ-rara1	UPW
search, look for	to-fiʂu1	NTL
see	ʔe2/to2	<ZERO>

Table 2 (Continued)

English meaning	nDrapa	Directional prefix
sell	tΛ-nche1	NTL
separate	a-ndε3	DWN
sew	ko-ʈo1	INW
shake, sway <v.i.>	tΛ-lala3	NTL
shake, sway <v.t.>	tΛ-ʎaʎa1	NTL
shout	hkeŋe3 a-le3	DWN
sink <v.i. = v.t.>	a-hte3	DWN
sit	Λ-fidzɯ1	UPW
sleep	kΛ-mi1	INW
slide, skate	tΛ-ntshele3	NTL
slim down (become slim)	kΛ-fidze1	INW
slip	tΛ-ntsile3	NTL
smell	ŋΛ-ñeñe3	OUT
snap (a rope), cut off <v.i. = v.t.>	tΛ-ʈhe1	NTL
snap, break (a twig) <v.t.>	kΛ-thΛ1	INW
snap, break (a twig_) <v.i.>	kΛ-fidΛ1	INW
spin, turn around <v.i.>	o-fjɔ1	UPW
spin, turn around <v.t.>	o-hco1	UPW
spit up	a-ttshe3	DWN
split, crack <v.i.>	ŋΛ-ke3	OUT
split, crack <v.t.>	ŋΛ-khe3	OUT
stand	Λ-htei1	UPW
starve	ŋΛ-ŋa1	OUT
steal	kΛ-moŋa1	NTL
step on	a-ntho3	DWN
stick (on the board)	ko-tsho1	INW
stick (on the ground)	a-tsho3	DWN
stir, mix	kΛ-hʈΛ3	INW
stop <v.i. = v.t.>	ŋo-ntho1	OUT
stop raining	ŋΛ-tchi1	OUT
take off (clothes/hat)	tΛ-the1	NTL
take off (earrings)	ŋΛ-the1	OUT
take off (shoes/trousers)	a-the3	DWN
take out	Λ-the1	UPW
talk	a-fjifji3	DWN
teach	ko-htso1	INW

Table 2 (Continued)

English meaning	nDrapa	Directional prefix
tear (clothes) <v.i. = v.t.>	a-tehetehe3	DWN
think	ηΛ-mēmē1	OUT
think	tΛ-fidi1	NTL
tie	ko-hco1	INW
touch	kΛ-hta1	INW
transport, carry	to-hpu1	NTL
twist (a rope) <v.t.>	o-fido1	UPW
untie	ηΛ-ʈʰa1	OUT
vomit	Λ-mphe1	UPW
wait	ko-fido1	INW
wake up, awaken	o-ʈʰu1	UPW
wake, awake	o-ʈu1	UPW
walk	a-ndj3	DWN
wash (a pan)	Λ-ntehΛ1	UPW
wash (hands/body)	a-ntehΛ3	DWN
water (a flower)	ko-tu1	INW
win	to-ttu1	NTL
wipe	tΛ-ʈʰaʈʰa1	NTL
wither (a flower_)	o-ʈu1	UPW
write	kΛ-rΛ3	INW

4. Discussion

Among the 235 verb entries, 214 show one-to-one connection with a directional prefix. The number of verbs that take each of these directional prefixes is shown in Table 3. There appear to be a slightly large number for the downward prefix and a slightly small number for the outward prefix. However, the overall difference is not significant. Therefore, we conclude that none of the directional prefixes function as the default marker of such a mood or aspect. conclude that none of the directional prefixes function as the default marker of such a mood or aspect.²

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a verb stem obligatorily takes a directional prefix in certain moods or aspects. However, there are exceptions. There is a group of independent verbs³ that never take a directional prefix but may well take other verbal affixes. These

²Table 3 counts the polysemy induced by the choice of directional prefix separately, e.g., *ko-tsho1* ‘stick (on the board)’ and *a-tsho3* ‘stick (on the ground)’. More often than not, such polysemy involves the downward prefix.

³Copulas and auxiliaries also take no directional prefix but may take other verbal affixes (Shirai 2018: 409). However, the present paper focuses on independent verbs.

Table 3 The number of one-to-one connections for each directional prefix.

Directional prefix	UPW	DWN	INW	OUT	NTL
Number of connections	45	59	38	28	44

verbs include (i) the non-volitional perception verbs, viz., *tɛ2/ʈo2* ‘see,’ *ŋə2/ŋo2* ‘hear,’ and *ɛo3* ‘get acquainted’; (ii) *va1/vo1* ‘(one of the words for) come’; (iii) *re2/ro2* ‘get, obtain’; (iv) *tɛ1* ‘say’. Most of these exceptional verbs share a common feature in terms of direction: the movement toward the deictic center. The verb *tɛ1* ‘say’ is an exception.

As can be seen from Table 1, nDrapa lacks the cislocative prefix (i.e., ‘hither’), which is found in other Qiangic languages including Rma/Qiang (**dzə-*, Evans 2004: 205–208), Darmdo Minyag (*ŋgə-*, Huang 2009: 36), and Prinmi (*də-/dɜ-*, Ding 2014: 109–113). The fact that independent verbs that never take a directional prefix connote cislocative movement may suggest that the nDrapa cislocative prefix has changed into the zero form. Thus, I tentatively term such exceptional verbs as those mentioned above “zero-directive verbs”.

5. Concluding remarks

The present paper surveys the directional prefixes in nDrapa and then presents a verb list with directional prefixes. Most nDrapa verbs, except for motion verbs and zero-directive verbs, have a fixed connection to one of the five directional prefixes in the imperative and the perfective. On the basis of the list, we conclude that none of the directional prefixes function as the default mood/aspect marker. We also note the existence of zero-directive verbs in nDrapa, which are not connected to any directional prefixes. Moreover, most zero-directive verbs exhibit movement toward the deictic center. This appears to be related to the fact that nDrapa lacks the cislocative prefix. It suggests that the nDrapa cislocative prefix has changed into the zero form.

Abbreviations

2	second person	OUT	outward directive
CNT	content (case)	SG	singular
DWN	downward directive	TOP	topic
FAC	factual	UPW	upward directive
FT	folktale	v.i.	intransitive verb
INW	inward directive	v.t.	transitive verb
NTL	neutral directive		

References

[English]

Ding, Picus S.

- 2014 *A grammar of Prinmi: Based on the central dialect of northwest Yunnan, China (Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region)*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Evans, Jonathan P.

- 2004 “Reconstruction of Proto-Qiang verb inflection.” In Ying-chin Lin, Fang-min Hsu, Chun-chih Lee, Jackson T.-S. Sun, Hsiu-fang Yang, and Dah-an Ho (eds.). *Studies on Sino-Tibetan Languages: Papers in Honor of Professor Hwang-cherng Gong on his Seventieth Birthday*, 201–238. Language and Linguistics Monograph Series No. W-4. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.

Shirai, Satoko

- 2007 Evidentials and evidential-like categories in nDrapa. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2): 125–150.
- 2009 Directional prefixes in nDrapa and neighboring languages: An areal feature of Western Sichuan. In Yasuhiko Nagano (ed.) *Issues in Tibeto-Burman Historical Linguistics*. Senri Ethnological Studies 75, 7–20. Suita: National Museum of Ethnology.
- 2018 An analysis of the aspect-marking function of directional prefixes in nDrapa. In Tooru Hayasi, Tomoyuki Kubo, Setsu Fujishiro, Noriko Ohasaki, Yasuhiro Kishida, and Mutsumi Sugahara (eds.). *Diversity and Dynamics of Eurasian Languages: The 20th Commemorative Volume*, 405–420. Contribution to the Studies for Eurasian Languages Series Vol. 20. Kobe: Consortium of Studies of Eurasian Languages.

[Chinese]

冯敏 (Feng, Min)

- 2010 《扎巴藏族—21世纪人类学母系制社会田野调查》北京：民族出版社。

龚群虎 (Gong, Qunhu)

- 2007 《扎巴语研究》(中国新发现语言研究丛书) 北京：民族出版社。

黄布凡 (Huang, Bufan)

- 1990 扎坝语概况. 《中央民族学院学报》1990.4: 71–82页.
- 2009 《川西藏区的语言》北京：中国藏学出版社。

黄阳、吴福祥 (Huang, Yang and Wu, Fuxiang)

- 2018 扎坝语趋向前缀的语法化. 《民族语文》2018.4: 21–36页。

[Japanese]

白井聡子 (Shirai, Satoko)

- 2006 ダンパ語メト方言. 中山俊秀・江畑冬生(編)『文法を描く—フィールドワークに基づく諸言語の文法スケッチ— 1』119–148頁. 東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所.
- 2008 ダンパ語における視点表示システムの研究. 京都大学大学院文学研究科博士論文ライブラリー.
- 2021 ダンパ語における広義の証拠性について. 『言語の類型的特徴対照研究会論集』3.