

## The cis- and translocative suffixes in Jinghpaw\*

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### Summary

The goal of the present paper is to investigate spatio-directional categories in Jinghpaw, a Tibeto-Burman language mainly spoken in northern Burma, especially focusing on the cislocative and translocative directional suffixes that occupy an important position in the verb complex. The cislocative suffix *-r*, typically marking a spatial motion toward the deictic center, has developed into a suffix marking other grammatical categories, such as aspect and tense. The translocative suffix *-s*, marking a spatial motion away from the deictic center, has also developed into an aspect marker. These historical developments are not arbitrary given that spatial motions are semantically parallel to temporal motions. The cis- and translocative suffixes have their sources in deictic motion verbs meaning ‘to come’ and ‘to go,’ respectively, which are common lexical sources of cis- and translocative markers cross-linguistically. An asymmetrical distribution of the cis- and translocative suffixes suggests that the translocative suffix first reduced its distribution, followed by the cislocative suffix under analogy.

**Key words:** directional affix, cislocative, translocative, Jinghpaw, Tibeto-Burman

關鍵詞：趨向詞綴、正方向、反方向、景頗語、藏緬語族

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## 1. Introduction

The present paper investigates spatio-directional categories in Jinghpaw, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in northern Burma and adjacent areas of India and China, especially focusing on the cis- and translocative suffixes. These suffixes, occupying an aspect/direction slot in the verb complex, mark spatial motion toward or away from the deictic center. These directional markers have further developed into markers for grammatical categories, such as aspect and tense, which are not arbitrary given that a spatial motion toward/away from the deictic center is semantically parallel to a temporal motion toward/away from the viewpoint.

The remainder of the present paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives a brief summary of grammatical categories in Jinghpaw that grammatically encodes spatial and directional concepts in both noun and verb phrases. Section 3 provides the structure of the verb complex where the cis- and translocative suffixes are manifested. Section 4 focuses on the cis- and translocative suffixes marking spatial motions in terms of mood, moving entities, and the deictic center. Section 5 deals with examples of the cis- and translocative suffixes conveying grammatical meanings other than spatial motions, including aspect, tense, and benefaction. A brief diachronic consideration on the directional suffixes and their development is given in Section 6. Before a closer look at the Jinghpaw spatio-directional categories, in the remainder of this section, a brief account of the language and the data in the present paper are provided.

Jinghpaw belongs to the Jinghpaw-Luish group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. This language is mainly spoken in a broad region stretching from the upper Brahmaputra valley of northeastern India across northern Burma, and beyond the Burma-China border into far western Yunnan province of China, lying to the north of the equator approximately between the 23rd and 27th degrees of north latitude and the 93rd and 98th degrees of east longitude. The following map shows some locations where Jinghpaw is widely spoken. As shown, the center of the Jinghpaw distribution is located in northern Burma, especially in Kachin State. The language, also known as the “Kachin” language, serves as a lingua franca among the Kachin (Jingpo) people, who are a linguistically diverse people speaking several distinct Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Jinghpaw, Zaiwa, Lhaovo, Lacid, Ngochang, and Rawang.

The maximal structure of the Jinghpaw syllable allows up to two prenuclear consonants and one postnuclear consonant, so that the maximal syllable structure is  $C_1C_2VC_3/T$ . The  $C_1$  slot, when  $C_2$  is not filled, can be occupied by any consonant in the consonant inventory /p, t, k, ts, c, k, ʔ, b, d, dz, j, g, ph, th, kh, s, sh, m, n, ng, ʔm, ʔn, ʔng, r, l, ʔr, ʔl, w, y, ʔw, ʔy/. The  $C_2$  slot can be either /r/ or /y/. The V slot can be filled by /i, e, a, o, u, ə/, where the last vowel is phonetically short and atonic. The  $C_3$  slot can be filled by final consonants /p, t, k, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, w, y/. Every syllable, except that headed by /ə/, is assigned a tone. Four distinctive



**Map** Jinghpaw-speaking area

tones are realized in unchecked syllables, and two distinctive tones are realized in checked syllables (e.g., *ngà* ‘to live,’ *nga* ‘cow,’ *ngá* ‘fish,’ *ʔnú* ‘mother,’ *gát* ‘to run,’ and *gát* ‘market.’)

Jinghpaw exhibits various kinds of areal-typological features of mainland Southeast Asian languages. As noted above, Jinghpaw has a lexical tone. In terms of syllable, like many other neighboring languages, its internal structure exhibits a binary branch with onset and rhyme (e.g., *m-à* ‘child,’ *m-àt* ‘to lose,’ and *gr-ài* ‘very’). Jinghpaw, as illustrated above, has a highly restricted set of final consonants as compared to initial consonants. The Jinghpaw prosodic pattern also reflects areal traits where mono-morphemic words are almost always monosyllabic or disyllabic, with disyllables tending to take the form of the iambic or “sesquisyllabic” structure (Matisoff 1973), consisting of a heavy syllable preceded by a light syllable with reduced phonemic possibilities (e.g., *ləgo* ‘foot,’ *mashà* ‘person,’ *gəlo* ‘to do,’ and *kəwá* ‘bamboo’). Jinghpaw has a rich example of syllabic nasals that can be considered as a type of light syllables in the language (e.g., *nsén* ‘voice,’ *ntá* ‘house,’ *ndai* ‘this.’)

Jinghpaw morphology is analytic and agglutinative. Compounding and reduplication are the main morphological processes of word formation. Only the major word classes of nouns and verbs are productively involved in these processes. All of the logically possible combinations of nouns and verbs (i.e., N-N, N-V, V-N, V-V) are attested (e.g., *ʔù-shəro* ‘brown shrike, lit. tiger-bird,’ *pyen-li* ‘airplane, lit. fly-boat,’ *lùʔ-khàʔ* ‘drinking water, lit. drink-water,’ and *ce-nà* ‘to understand, lit. know-hear’). Reduplication is manifested mainly as partial reduplication, copying the last syllable of the base from the left to right in order to mark habituality, distributivity, indefiniteness, and plurality of interrogatives (e.g.,

*gəlo-lo* ‘to have a habit of doing,’ *məsum-sum* ‘three each,’ *ləngài-ngài* ‘something,’ and *gədai-dai* ‘who-PL’). Affixation and conversion, although limited in scope, are also attested (e.g., *jə-thèn* ‘to break, lit. CAUS-be.broken,’ and *gùmğài* ‘old woman; to become old’).

As with the vast majority of Tibeto-Burman languages, the word order is verb-final with verbs being placed at the end of clauses. Jinghpaw is a double-marking language at the clausal level with verb affixes agreeing with core arguments (see Section 3) and with case markers on NPs, which show the nominative-accusative patterns. The S and A arguments occur without any overt case marker, in contrast to the P argument which, in a transitive clause, is marked by an accusative case when there is a possibility that it may be misconstrued with the A argument, displaying the differential object marking, as widely attested in Tibeto-Burman languages (LaPolla 1992). Verb serialization is widely exploited as a major means to encode consecutivity, simultaneity, and purpose of sub-events. Decategorialization of a verb in series is also attested in Jinghpaw. The general tendency in Jinghpaw serial verbs is that the first verb tends to be de-verbalized into an adverb, while the second verb tends to be grammaticalized into auxiliaries, losing their morphosyntactic properties as verbs (see Section 7). Jinghpaw, as is often the case with other languages of mainland Southeast Asia, is an aspect-prominent language. Jinghpaw adjectives, as typical in other languages in the region, can be best treated as a subclass of verbs, exhibiting differentiating properties of verbs. The pervasive use and multifunctionality of clausal nominalization that serves the role of complementation, relativization, and adverbial subordination is a prominent feature of Jinghpaw grammar. This kind of special relationship between nominalization and subordination is a widespread phenomenon within Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1972).

It is of great relevance to the present paper to distinguish two diachronic varieties of Jinghpaw because the use and distribution of the directional suffix differs between early Jinghpaw and modern Jinghpaw. Modern Jinghpaw, due to an intensive language contact in which Jinghpaw serves as a lingua franca among Burmish-speaking peoples, whose languages have simpler verb complexes, has significantly simplified its verb complex, where the directional suffix is manifested. The full exhibition of the directional suffix can thus be seen in early writings, as represented by the Jinghpaw Bible written in the early 20th century. Due to this situation, examples in the present paper are, unless otherwise noted, drawn from a corpus of early writings in Table 1 compiled by the author that fully represent the complicated verb complex. A large number of examples were examined in the present study and were identified based on AntConc, a concordance program developed by Laurence Anthony.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html> (Accessed 2018-08-18)

**Table 1** Data

	Sources	Genres	Word types	Word tokens
Catechism	Hanson (1895a)	Bible	884	8,671
New Testament	Hanson (1911)	Bible	3,180	281,256
Old Testament	Hanson (1927)	Bible	7,153	781,773
Spelling book	Hanson (1895b)	folktale	663	3,254
Kachin Reader	Hanson (1908)	folktale	1,230	8,041
Kachin Reader 1	Ingram (1916a)	folktale	741	7,790
Kachin Reader 2	Ingram (1916b)	folktale	1,050	15,362
Kachin Reader 3	Ingram (1917)	folktale	1,659	26,018
Handbook	Hanson (1917)	folktale	1,181	10,506

## 2. Spatio-directional Categories in Jinghpaw

Jinghpaw, as with most Tibeto-Burman languages (Genetti and Hildebrandt 2017), grammatically encodes spatial and directional concepts in both noun and verb phrases. Within the nominal system, these concepts are expressed through a system of demonstratives, case markers, and locational relator nouns. Within the verbal system, space and direction are expressed by means of motion verbs, serial verbs, and directional suffixes.

### 2.1 Spatial demonstratives

Jinghpaw spatial demonstratives are distinguished in terms of relative distance and height from the deictic center (i.e., *ndai* ‘here,’ *day* ‘there,’ *wó* ‘over there,’ *thó* ‘up there,’ and *lé* ‘down there’). Demonstratives based on height opposition, as in Jinghpaw, are very common among highlanders in Southeast Asia. Super long distances can also be iconically expressed by means of distal demonstratives with super long vowels (i.e., *wó:* ‘way over there,’ *thó:* ‘way over there,’ and *lé:* ‘way down there’). This yields the system of spatial demonstratives given below, which exhibits a demonstrative system similar to Lahu (Matisoff 2017: 84–5).

(1) Spatial demonstratives

			thó:			
			thó			
wó:	wó	dai	ndai	dai	wó	wó:
			lé			
			lé:			

## 2.2 Case markers

Jinghpaw has a set of case marking clitics that marks spatio-directional semantic roles, such as the source and goal of movement, the path of movement, and the location of existence and an event. The allative case =*dèʔ* marks an NP as a spatial goal of movement and is probably derived from a demonstrative *day* ‘that, there,’ given that the allative case in the Duleng dialect is =*dàiʔ*, suggesting a historical development such as \**dai* > \**dàiʔ* > *dèʔ*. The addition of the glottal final stop may be accounted for in terms of analogy, because many case markers end with glottal stops. A spatial source of movement is marked by the ablative =*nná*. The ablative marker mostly co-occurs with a preceding locative case marker. The ablative marker is also used as a sequential subordinator.<sup>2</sup>

- (2)    *nánthe=gò*            *ngai-phang=dèʔ*            *ń-wâ-m-y-ìtd-ai.*  
          2pl=TOP                    1sg-place=ALL                NEG-return-PL-E-2nd-DECL

You did not come back to me.

- (3)    *dai=kóʔ=nná*    *ngai*            *nang=phéʔ*            *jə-khràt-káu-na-d-èʔ-ʔai.*  
          that=LOC=ABL    1sg                2sg=ACC                CAUS-fall-away-IRR-2ndP-1stA-DECL

I will make you come down from there.

The locative =*kóʔ* typically marks an NP as a spatial location or goal of movement. A temporal location is typically marked by means of =*thàʔ*, which has its lexical source in a locational relator noun *lathàʔ* ‘upper.’ The locative =*thàʔ* also marks an NP as a standard of comparison. A spatio-temporal location can also be marked by means of =*ʔè*, which became obsolete in Modern Jinghpaw.

- (4)    *ngai*            *nang=kóʔ*            *ngà-ngà-ngng-ai.*  
          1sg                2sg=LOC                be-CONT-1sg-DECL

I’m at your place.

- (5)    *ləbân-ńthói=thàʔ=gò*            *khùm*            *sa-m-y-ìt-Ø.*  
          rest-day=LOC=TOP                PROH                go-PL-E-2nd-IMP

Don’t go there on holiday.

- (6)    *dai*            *məre=ʔè*    *mərai*    *məli-shi*    *nang*    *mù-khrùp-na-w-ùʔ-ai.*  
          that            village=LOC    CLF            4-10            2sg            see-happen.to-IRR-3rdP-3rdA-DECL

You will happen to see forty people in the village.

<sup>2</sup>In what follows, zeros are not marked unless otherwise required.

### 2.3 Locational relator nouns

Jinghpaw has a closed class of locational relator nouns that specify the spatio-temporal location of a referent, including *lathàʔ* ‘upper,’ *ləwùʔ* ‘lower,’ *kətà* ‘inside,’ *shìnggàng* ‘outside,’ *man* ‘front,’ *shong* ‘before,’ and *phang* ‘back.’ Some spatial nouns have their lexical sources in body parts, e.g., *man* ‘face’ > ‘front.’ In addition, spatial relator nouns sometimes provide lexical sources to other grammatical categories. The relator noun *lathàʔ* ‘upper,’ as noted above, has developed into a locative case =*thàʔ*. The relator noun *phang* ‘back’ has developed into a subordinate clause marker *phang* ‘after’ and a locationalizer that marks an animate noun, which cannot be the goal of the allative case, as a goal role, as shown in (7).

- (7)   ngai           nánthe-phang=dèʔ       ̀n̄thang-wà-na-̀ngng-ai.  
       1sg           2pl-place=ALL       return-VEN-IRR-1sg-DECL

I will return to you.

### 2.4 Motion verbs

Motion verbs include deictic verbs indicating motion with respect to the deictic center, path verbs, where path is conflated with motion, and manner verbs, where manner is conflated with motion (Talmy 1985, Matsumoto 2003). Jinghpaw has a deictically neutral verb *sa*, which means both ‘to go’ and ‘to come.’ Jinghpaw, like Japanese, has a rich set of path verbs in contrast to manner verbs, which are relatively rare in the language.

- (8)   Motion verbs

a. Deictic verbs

*sa* ‘to go, come’

b. Path verbs

*ɛ̀àŋ* ‘to enter,’ *pru* ‘to come out,’ *l̀ung* ‘to ascend,’ *ʔyúʔ* ‘to descend,’ *wà* ‘to return,’ *lài* ‘to pass by,’ *ràp* ‘to cross,’ *khán* ‘to go along,’ *g̀umthòn* ‘jump down,’ *ròt* ‘to leave from,’ *dù* ‘to arrive,’ *kh̀ràt* ‘to fall,’ *l̀ùp* ‘to sink,’ etc.

c. Manner verbs

*khom* ‘to walk,’ *gàt* ‘to run,’ *pyen* ‘to fly,’ *ph̀ungyòt* ‘to swim,’ *l̀uì* ‘to flow’

Motion and directionality can also be expressed by means of serial verb constructions, as in other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Lisu and Lahu (Bradley 2017: 16–7, Matisoff

2017: 94–6). Verbs that are serialized productively and conventionally to express motion and direction are given below. Many of these verbs were identified by Matisoff (1974: 203–4), who referred to these verbs as “versatile motion-verbs.”

(9) Versatile motion-verbs

Form	As main verb	As versatile verb	Example
a. shàng	‘to enter’	‘to V into’	khàt shàng ‘to fall into’
b. pru	‘to come out’	‘to V out’	prùt pru ‘to sprout out’
c. lùng	‘to ascend’	‘to V up’	pyen lùng ‘to fly up’
d. ?yú?	‘to descend’	‘to V down’	gàt ?yú? ‘to run down’
e. khàt	‘to fall’	‘to V down’	lùi khàt ‘to flow down’
f. khom	‘to walk’	‘to V around’	pyen khom ‘to fly around’
g. lài	‘to cross’	‘to V across’	gùmthòn lài ‘to jump across’
h. wà	‘to return’	‘to V toward’	shàng wà ‘to come into’
i. káu	‘to abandon’	‘to V away’	dùt káu ‘to sell away’

## 2.5 Directional suffixes

Jinghpaw has grammaticalized a category of direction into the verbal ending, which is manifested as suffixes to the root (Section 3). Directional suffixes specify deictic orientation of spatial motion, and exhibit a binary distinction between *-r* ‘cislocative’ and *-s* ‘translocative,’ as in:

(10) Directional suffixes  
*-r* ‘CIS’ vs. *-s* ‘TRANS’

The cislocative (venitive) marker signals motion toward the deictic center, and the translocative (andative) marker motion away from the deictic center. As an illustration, consider the following examples in which the motion verb *sa* is deictically neutral, meaning both ‘to go’ and ‘to come,’<sup>3</sup>

(11) ngai      shâ      shong      sa-?ay.  
 1sg          son          first          go-DECL

My son went/came first.

whose deictic orientation can morphologically be specified by means of the directional suffixes, as in (12). In terms of DeLancey’s (1980: 24) words, (12a) “takes the viewpoint at

<sup>3</sup>For the sake of convenience, the directionally neutral motion verb *sa* is glossed as ‘to go’ below.



the end of the subject's journey," having the deictic center as its terminal point of spatial motion, whereas (12b) "takes the onset point of the subject's journey as viewpoint," having the deictic center as its onset point.

- (12) a. sa-r-it-Ø.  
           go-CIS-2nd-IMP  
           Come here.
- b. sa-s-it-Ø.  
           go-TRANS-2nd-IMP  
           Go away.

Before we take a closer look at the cis- and translocative suffixes in Sections 4 and 5, a brief account of the structure of the verb complex, which accommodates the directional suffixes, is in order in Section 3.

### 3. Structure of a Verb Complex

#### 3.1 Template of a verb complex

A minimum verb complex consists of a verb followed by verbal endings marking verbal categories, such as intensity, and inflectional categories, such as number, person, aspect, and mood, the template of which is represented by (13). The defining property for a verb is its negatability: whether or not a verb can be negated by the negative prefix *n̄-*. All words that can be negated by the prefix are identified as verbs in the present paper, which include *sa* 'to go, come,' *gəlo* 'to do,' *cang* 'to be black,' and *rái* 'COP.' A verbal complex may be extended by means of verb serialization and a rich set of auxiliaries. The most expanded form of the verb complex thus consists of a sequence of verbs followed by a string of various kinds of auxiliaries, which in turn are followed by a complex system of verbal endings.

- (13) Verb complex  
       Verb-Number-Aspect-(Intensity)-Person-Mood

Verbal endings are manifested as suffixes, all of which occur after verbs and auxiliaries (if any) in a fixed linear order. Person, number, aspect, and mood are obligatory categories in verbal endings. Optional morphemes marking intensity and possessor agreement, represented by intensity in the template above, may intervene between the inflectional categories. Observe in the template that aspect markers occur closer to the verb than person and

mood markers, which is a cross-linguistic tendency (Bybee 1985). A more detailed template of a verb complex is given below:

(14) Position classes in the Jinghpaw verb complex

0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Root-Number-Aspect-(Intensifier)-Person-Mood					
	SG	CS	INTNS	1st	DECL
	PL	NCS	PA	2nd	INT
		CIS		3rd	EXCL
		TRANS			SPECL
					IMP
					HORT

### 3.2 Number

Jinghpaw has a binary number distinction between singular (SG) and plural (PL). Morphemes indexing the number of verbal arguments occupy slot 1 in the verbal ending. Plural numbers (including dual) are marked by *-mə*, in contrast to singular numbers, which are not overtly marked. As an illustration, compare the following near-minimal pairs.

- (15) nang      dù-Ø-r-ìnd-ai.  
       2sg        arrive-SG-CIS-2nd-DECL

You arrived here.

- (16) dù-mə-r-ìnd-ai.  
       arrive-PL-CIS-2nd-DECL

You (pl.) arrived here.

### 3.3 Aspect and direction

Suffixes marking aspectuality and direction occupy slot 2 in the verbal ending. Jinghpaw, as an aspect-prominent language, has a binary aspect opposition between change-of-state (CS) and non-change-of-state (NCS). The former is manifested by a suffix *-s* (or *-sə* before consonants), and marks a recent change-of-state, whether it is an onset or endpoint. The non-change of state aspect, which is not marked overtly, marks any other situation. The same slot can also be filled by directional markers consisting of a binary distinction between cislocative marked by *-r* and translocative marked by *-s* (Sections 4 and 5). Note that, as illustrated in (17) and (18), the suffix *-s* has a somewhat ambiguous status with respect to aspect and direction, marking both change-of-state aspect and translocative spatial motion. This

is not accidental given that a spatial motion away from the deictic center (translocative) is semantically parallel to a temporal motion away from the viewpoint (change-of-state), as explained in Section 6.1 below.

- (17) yosép=kóʔ            sa-mə-s-it-Ø.  
PSN=LOC                go-PL-TRANS-2nd-IMP

Go away to Joseph.

- (18) məshà      lóʔ-lóʔ-wa      nyéʔ=ʔàʔ      gùmlàu-məgá=ʔè      ròt-mə-s-Ø-ay.  
people      many-RED-ADV      my=GEN      rebel-side=LOC      rise-PL-CSM-3rd-DECL

Many people have started rising against me.

### 3.4 Intensity and possessor agreement

Optional morphemes expressing such verbal categories as intensity (INTNS) and possessor agreement (PA) occupy slot 3 in the verbal ending. The suffix *-n*, the nature of which is not fully understood, expresses intensity at least in imperative and hortative mood. DeLancey (2011: 64) suggests that the morpheme *-n* probably reflects an old copula.

- (19) gədəi=mùng      ngai=phéʔ      khùm      shəruʔ-shətsang-mə-Ø-n-ùʔ-gàʔ.  
who=also            1sg=ACC            PROH            trouble-annoy-PL-NCS-INTNS-3rd-HORT

Let no one cause me trouble.

The same slot may also be filled by a suffix *-l*, which is used to signal agreement with a possessor of an argument, as exemplified below. The present paper glosses it as ‘PA.’ Argument indexation itself is achieved by number and personal indices affixed to *-l*, and the function of *-l* is simply to signal that the agreement is with a possessor. Note that the marker *-l* predominantly occurs in intransitive clauses, including copula clauses. The possessive relationship is signaled by a genitive phrase or a relative clause.

- (20) nyéʔ=ʔàʔ      gà      n-lâi-màt-na-Ø-Ø-l-iʔ-ʔai.  
my=GEN      word      NEG-pass-COMPL-IRR-SG-NCS-PA-1st-DECL

My words will never pass away.

- (21) [ngai      tsóʔ-ràʔ-ʔay]      gəshà      rái-Ø-Ø-l-iʔ-ʔai.  
1sg      love-like-NMLZ      child      COP-SG-NCS-PA-1st-DECL

This is (my) son whom I love.

What argument determines the agreement when more than two possessors are involved? Although it is not easy to find such data without resorting to elicitation, a few relevant data appear to suggest the following person hierarchy:

- (22) Person hierarchy  
1st > 2nd > 3rd

### 3.5 Person

Person marking, which occupies slot 4, is the most complicated category in the verbal ending due to the fact that the personal indices display fairly complicated allomorphy, and that person indexation is based on a mixture of systems drawing on grammatical roles and a person hierarchy in which speech act participants (SAP's) outrank a 3rd person. Personal indices, despite their allomorphy, can be abstracted into four sets (see Kurabe 2016, 2017). Personal indices compatible with the directional affix can be summarized in (23). Note that the number category for person indices is formally distinguished only in 1st person.

- (23) Paradigm of the verb *sa* 'to go, come' with the cislocative marker *-r*

1sg	sa-r-ìngng-ai	go-CIS-1sg-DECL	'I came here.'
2sg	sa-Ø-r-ìnd-ai	go-SG-CIS-2rd-DECL	'You came here.'
3sg	sa-Ø-r-àʔ-ʔai	go-SG-CIS-3rd-DECL	'He came here.'
1pl	sa-r-ə-gàʔ-ʔai	go-CIS-E-1pl-DECL	'We came here.'
2pl	sa-mə-r-ìnd-ai	go-PL-CIS-2nd-DECL	'You (pl.) came here.'
3pl	sa-mə-r-àʔ-ʔai	go-PL-CIS-3rd-DECL	'They came here.'

### 3.6 Mood

Slot 5 in the verbal ending can be filled by mood-marking morphemes consisting of six paradigmatic values, which mark the end of the verbal ending: *-ai* 'declarative,' *-nī* 'polar interrogative' or *-tā* 'wh-interrogative,' *-kha* 'exclamative,' *-dong* 'speculative,' *-Ø* 'imperative,' and *-gàʔ* 'hortative.' According to which mood they carry, Jinghpaw verbal sentences can be divided into six types. Mood markers do not display allomorphy, being easily separable from other morphemes. Elements occurring after the mood slot are essentially external to the verb complex.

- (24) nánthe pha=mùng n-ce-m-Ø-y-itd-ai.  
2pl what=also NEG-know-PL-NCS-E-2nd-DECL

You (pl.) know nothing.

- (25) nang      n̄-gəyàʔ-Ø-Ø-n̄-ni?  
2sg      NEG-be.ashamed-SG-NCS-2nd-INT

Aren't you ashamed?

- (26) màiphang-phún=gò      khróʔ-màt-Ø-s-áʔ-kha.  
fig-tree=TOP      be.dry-COMPL-SG-CSM-3rd-EXCL

The fig tree has become dead!

- (27) shánthe      gəlo-na-m-Ø-àʔ-dong.  
3pl      do-IRR-PL-NCS-3rd-SPECL

Will they really do that?

- (28) jan      khùm      shə-dù-m-Ø-y-it-Ø.  
sun      PROH      CAUS-arrive-PL-NCS-E-2nd-IMP

Do not let the sun go down.

- (29) nánthe      ce-m-Ø-y-it-gàʔ.  
2pl      know-PL-NCS-E-2nd-HORT

Let you (pl.) know that.

## 4. Cislocative

The primary function of the cislocative suffix is to mark a spatial motion toward the deictic center. The marker is compatible with almost all mood types (4.1), unlike the translocative suffix (5.1). The figure, or the moving entity, involved in the cislocative spatial motion event would be in the subject or object function (4.2). The cislocative *-r* marks a motion toward the deictic center rather than the speaker (4.3). The cislocative marker is also used in relation to benefactive, change-of-state, and future (see 6.1).

### 4.1 Mood

A verb complex in Jinghpaw, as noted in Section 3.6, has an obligatory mood slot exhibiting paradigmatic values of declarative, interrogative, exclamative, speculative, imperative, and hortative. The cislocative suffix, as shown in the following examples, is compatible

with almost all mood types.<sup>4</sup> This is significant because the translocative suffix only occurs in the imperative mood when the suffix marks spatial motion events (see 5.1 below).

- (30) shánthe=phé? khyé-lá=na ngai ʔyúʔ-wà-r-ìngng-ai.  
3pl=ACC save-take=IRR 1sg descend-VEN-CIS-1sg-DECL

I have come down to save them.

- (31) nang=məthàng ngai=kóʔ dù sa-r-ìn-níʔ  
2sg=CONTR 1sg=LOC arrive go-CIS-2nd-INT

Did you come to me?

- (32) [shán=ʔàʔ pòt-bùʔ-ʔai] níthói gəbà dù-wà-r-àʔ-kha.  
3du=GEN be.angry-INTNS-NMLZ day big arrive-VEN-CIS-3rd-EXCL

The great day of their wrath is come!

- (33) nang=gò nyéʔ phang khán-nang-r-ìt-Ø.  
2sg=TOP my after follow-be.along-CIS-2nd-IMP

Please follow after me.

- (34) nyéʔ=ʔàʔ phyen=ni=phéʔ mətsa-ya-r-ìt-gàʔ.  
my=GEN enemy=PL=ACC curse-BEN-CIS-2nd-HORT

Let you curse my enemies.

## 4.2 Figure

The figure is a semantic element in motion events referring to a moving entity that changes its location. Our data show that figures involved in cislocative motion events are core arguments, both subjects and objects. Some previous studies suggest that a figure is always the subject (Shaoshuminzu Yuyan Yanjiusuo 1959). This holds for examples such as (35):

- (35) ngai nánthe=kóʔ báí sa-na-r-ìngng-ai.  
1sg 2pl=LOC again go-IRR-CIS-1sg-DECL

I will come to you again.

<sup>4</sup>In our limited data, there are no examples in which the cislocative suffix occurs in speculative mood. This appears to be an accidental gap given that speculative mood is relatively rare in contrast to other mood types.

However, as the following example demonstrates, this is not always the case (where the figure is the object rather than the subject):

- (36) [ce-càng-ʔai]      myìt    ngai=phéʔ      jòʔ-r-ìt-Ø.  
 know-COUP-NMLZ    mind    1sg=ACC            give-CIS-2nd-IMP

Give me wisdom.

### 4.3 Deictic center

The cislocative suffix marks a motion toward deictic center, having the viewpoint at the terminal point of a spatial motion. Many previous studies characterize the cislocative *-r* as marking the direction toward the ‘speaker’ (Nishi 1985, Dai and Xu 1992, Dai 2012). These observations are based on examples as given below, where the speaker is coded as a goal of spatial movement:

- (37) nang=məthàng      ngai=kóʔ            dù            sa-r-ìn-nî.  
 2sg=CONTR            1sg=LOC            arrive        go-CIS-2nd-INT

Did you come to me?

This, however, does not hold for such examples, as given below, where the speaker is an agent. These data suggest that the cislocative *-r* marks the direction toward the deictic center rather than the speaker and that both the speaker and addressee can be the deictic center.

- (38) yáʔ      nang=kóʔ      ngai    dàn      pru-r-ìngng-ai.  
 now      2sg=LOC      1sg    appear    come.out-CIS-1sg-DECL

I have appeared to you.

- (39) ngai      nánthe-phang=dèʔ      báí      dù-na-r-ìngng-ai.  
 1sg            2pl-place=ALL            again    arrive-IRR-CIS-1sg-DECL

I will come back to you again.

- (40) ngai      nánthe=kóʔ      gun      sa-r-ìngng-ai.  
 1sg            2pl=LOC            carry    go-CIS-1sg-DECL

I brought it to you.

## 5. Translocative

The translocative suffix *-s*, which occupies slot 2 in the verbal ending as with the cislocative suffix *-r*, primarily marks a spatial motion away from the deictic center. The suffix marks a translocative motion event mostly in imperative mood (5.1). The figure involved in the translocative motion event, as in the cislocative, would be in the subject or object function (5.2). The translocative *-s* marks a motion away from the deictic center rather than the speaker (5.3). The translocative marker, as noted in Section 3.3, occupies an ambiguous position between translocative and change-of-state, which is not unlikely given their semantic proximity (see 6.1 below).

### 5.1 Mood

The translocative marker *-s*, when marking a spatial motion, is mostly used in imperative mood in contrast to the cislocative marker *-r*, which exhibits a wider distribution (Section 4.1 above). When used as a change-of-state marker, on the other hand, the suffix *-s* is compatible with other moods (Section 6.1). The translocative marker is also special in that this marker can be followed not only by the 2nd person index (i.e., *-s-ìt* ‘TRANS-2nd’) but also by the 3rd person index (i.e., *-s-ù?* ‘TRANS-3rd’) in imperative mood. Examples:

- (41) ngùi-pyo-ʔai=thè? wà-mə-s-ìt-Ø.  
gentle-happy-NMLZ=COM return-PL-TRANS-2nd-IMP

Go back (from here) in peace.

- (42) nánthe nlang gát=dè? sa-mə-s-ìt-Ø.  
2pl all market=ALL go-PL-TRANS-2nd-IMP

You all go away to the market.

- (43) dai=dè? ʔyú? sa-nná ʔánthe mətʉ sa məri-mə-s-ù?-Ø.  
that=ALL descend go-SEQ 1pl for go buy-PL-TRANS-3rd-IMP

Go down there (from here) and get (grain) for us.

### 5.2 Figure

The figures (i.e., moving entities) involved in translocative motion events are core arguments, both subjects and objects. Some previous studies suggest that the figure is always the subject (Shaoshuminzu Yuyan Yanjiusuo 1959). This holds for examples such as (44):



- (44) nánthe yòng wà-mə-s-ìt-Ø.  
2pl all return-PL-TRANS-2nd-IMP

You all go back (from here).

This is not always the case, however, as the following examples demonstrate, where the figure is an object rather than a subject:

- (45) ndai=phé? gəbài-káu-s-ùʔ-Ø.  
this=ACC throw-away-TRANS-3rd-IMP

Throw this away.

### 5.3 Deictic center

The translocative suffix marks motion away from the deictic center, as opposed to the cislocative suffix, which marks motion toward the deictic center. Examples:

- (46) [ʔətsù ce shəgá-ʔai] num ləngái-mi sa tam-mə-s-ùʔ-Ø.  
spirit know call-NMLZ woman one-one go seek-PL-TRANS-3rd-IMP

Go away and look for a woman who can call a spirit.

- (47) shâ=ʔè, dài-ní tsəbyíʔ-sún=dèʔ bəngli sa gəlo-s-ùʔ-Ø.  
son=SFP this-day vine-garden=ALL work go do-TRANS-3rd-IMP

Son, go away and do work today in the vine-garden.

## 6. Directional suffixes and other verbal categories

This section investigates examples where the cis- and translocative directional markers, described in Sections 5 and 6 above, convey grammatical meanings other than spatial motions, assuming grammatical meanings such as aspect, tense, and benefaction. The correlation between spatial motion and other verbal categories is not accidental given their semantic proximity, which is pervasive cross-linguistically.

### 6.1 Direction and aspect

The cis- and translocative suffixes, as pointed out by DeLancey (1980: 24), can mark motion not only in space but also in time, both marking change-of-state aspect. The connection between cislocative motion and change-of-state is not arbitrary given that a spatial

motion toward the deictic center is semantically parallel to a temporal motion toward a viewpoint. This also holds for the translocative given that spatial motion away from the deictic center is in parallel with a temporal motion away from a viewpoint. The relationship between deictic motion and aspect can further be evidenced by the cross-linguistically pervasive grammaticalization from cis- and translocative verbs to change-of-state aspect, or COME/GO > CHANGE-OF-STATE, as illustrated by English examples, such as *He went home* and *He went mad* (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 74–5, 156).

DeLancey (1980: 24) gives Jinghpaw examples in which the directional markers are used not only for spatial motion but also for change-of-state. These examples are reproduced in (48), rendered into the transcription system in the present paper. As DeLancey (1980: 24–5) states, (48a) “views the process from its endpoint, and connotes that the subject is approaching the point where she can properly be considered pretty”, in contrast to (48b) which “views the process from its onset point, and connotes that the subject has left the earlier condition of unprettiness.”

- (48) a. shi      tsòm-wà-r-ùʔ-ʔai.  
           3sg      pretty-become-CIS-3rd-DECL

She’s getting pretty.

- b. shi      tsòm-wà-s-Ø-ʔai.  
           3sg      pretty-become-TRANS-3rd-DECL

She’s (started) getting pretty.

Especially important is the translocative suffix *-s* in that this suffix marks a spatial motion only in imperative mood (Section 5.1) and has mostly developed into a pervasive change-of-state marker in other mood types. The change-of-state marker, as illustrated above, marks a recent change of state. A verb in the change-of-state aspect, as in (49), usually encodes inchoative meaning, especially when the situation is atelic. The verb can also encode termination, as in (50), when the situation is telic.

- (49) nang=gò      nyéʔ=ʔàʔ      man=ʔè      khom-ngà-s-ai.  
           2sg=TOP      my=GEN      front=LOC      walk-CONT-CSM-DECL

You have begun walking before me.

- (50) shi=gò      Aiat-møre=dèʔ      dù-s-ai.  
           3sg=TOP      Aiath-city=ALL      arrive-CSM-DECL

He has come to Aiath.

## 6.2 Cislocative, benefactive, and future

The cislocative marker, as described in Section 4, typically marks a spatial motion, where a figure changes its location toward the deictic center. (51) is a typical example of the cislocative *-r*:

- (51) [gəbu-gəra    mai=?ai]    shigà    ngai    nánthe=kó?    gun    sa-r-ìngng-ai.  
 happy-rejoice    good=NMLZ    news    1sg    2pl=LOC    carry    go-CIS-1sg-DECL

I brought you good news of great joy.

The cislocative marker also occurs in relation to change-of-state (Section 6.1), benefactive, and future. The cislocative-benefactive relationship is pervasive cross-linguistically, as in Lahu, where the verb *là* ‘to come’ has been grammaticalized into a benefactive particle (Matisoff 1991: 395–6). The cislocative-benefactive relationship is not unnatural given that a motion toward the deictic center is semantically parallel to an action performed for the deictic center. Examples (52) and (53) illustrate the benefactive usage of the cislocative suffix. The cislocative *-r*, as in (53), often occurs with the benefactive auxiliary *ya* ‘to give.’

- (52) shi            nang=phé?            shəkòn-kúngdón-na-r-ìnd-ai.  
 3sg            2sg=ACC            praise-extol-IRR-CIS-2nd-DECL

He will praise you.

- (53) nang            ngai=phé?            gəbu-gəra=?ai=thè?            jəphríng-ya-na-r-ìnd-ai.  
 2sg            1sg=ACC            happy-rejoice=NMLZ=COM            fill-BEN-IRR-CIS-2nd-DECL

You will fill me with joy.

The cislocative marker, glossed as ‘future progressive’ in Maran (1978: 930), is also used in relation to future, often with the irrealis auxiliary *na*. The cislocative-future relationship is also cross-linguistically pervasive because a spatial motion toward the goal is semantically parallel to a temporal motion toward the future when the viewpoint of the speaker is located at the goal (Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins 1994: 266–70). The following examples illustrate the cislocative marker used for future:

- (54) shəlói            nán            mù-na-mə-r-ìnd-ai.  
 then            2du            see-IRR-PL-CIS-2nd-DECL

Then, the two of you will see it.

- (55) nánthe=ʔàʔ    dɪŋɡla=ni    ʔyùp-mang    mù-na-mə-r-àʔ-ai.  
 2pl=GEN            old.man=PL    sleep-dream            see-IRR-PL-CIS-3rd-DECL

Your old men will have dreams.

## 7. Diachronic aspects of the directional marker

### 7.1 Lexical sources of the cis- and translocative markers

The cis- and translocative suffixes in Jinghpaw have their sources in lexical verbs meaning ‘to come’ and ‘to go,’ which have developed into grammatical forms through grammaticalization: “the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms” (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 2). DeLancey (1985, 2011) suggests that the cislocative suffix *-r*, a similar marker of which is also found in Nocte, originates from a lexical verb #*ra* ‘to come,’ a hypothetical etymon having reflexes that are widespread in the family (e.g., Byangsi *ra* ‘to come’ and Rangpo *rha* ‘to come’). Dai (1996), on the other hand, suggests a historical connection between the cislocative marker and a Jinghpaw lexical verb *rà* ‘to need.’ DeLancey’s (2011) interpretation is more convincing based purely on semantic grounds, further supported by the fact that the grammaticalization from ‘to come to’ to a cislocative (venitive) marker is cross-linguistically pervasive (Matisoff 1991: 395–6, Heine and Kuteva 2002: 70–1). The translocative suffix *-s*, as with the cislocative *-r*, also appears to be of verbal origin. Both DeLancey (1985) and Dai (1996) suggest the diachronic connection of this suffix to a Jinghpaw lexical verb *sa* ‘to go, come.’ The genesis and development of directional suffixes would thus be summarized as in (56):

- (56) Grammaticalization of deictic motion verbs into directional suffixes

Lexical verbs > auxiliaries > suffixes

where deictic motion verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ were first developed into auxiliary verbs as with many other auxiliaries of verbal origin in Jinghpaw, such as *shəngún* ‘to send’ > ‘causative,’ *lóm* ‘to contain’ > ‘applicative,’ *to* ‘to lie down’ > ‘continuous,’ and *yu* ‘to look’ > ‘experiential’. The auxiliaries for the deictic motion have further developed into suffixes, being integrated into the verbal morphology. In terms of the mechanisms of grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2002), the development of the directional markers involves all four main interrelated mechanisms of grammaticalization: desemanticization, extension, decategorialization, and phonetic erosion.

## 7.2 Development of the directional suffix

This section compares the directional suffixes in three diachronic varieties of Jinghpaw. Both cis- and translocative suffixes are only used in imperative mood in Modern Jinghpaw spoken today when they mark spatial motions. Modern Jinghpaw can be contrasted with Bible Jinghpaw described above, where the cislocative suffix occurs in all mood types and the translocative suffix in imperative mood. The asymmetrical distributional in Bible Jinghpaw appears to suggest that both cis- and translocative suffixes occurred irrespective of mood types in Early Jinghpaw prior to Bible Jinghpaw. The historical development of the directional suffix would thus be summarized as follows:

(57) Historical development of the directional suffix marking spatial motions

	Early Jinghpaw	>	Bible Jinghpaw	>	Modern Jinghpaw
all mood	cis- and trans-		cis-		
imperative only			trans-		cis- and trans-

The translocative suffix marking a spatial motion first reduced its distribution in Bible Jinghpaw, presumably due to the fact that it was reinterpreted as an aspect marker compatible with other moods. The change-of-state aspect marker *-s* developed from the translocative is the most pervasive aspect marker in Bible and Modern Jinghpaw. The cislocative marker, which was compatible with all mood types in Early and Bible Jinghpaw, has then reduced its distribution to imperative mood in Modern Jinghpaw, presumably under analogy with the translocative suffix, which reduced its distribution to imperative prior to the cislocative.

## 8. Summary

The present paper investigated spatio-directional categories in Jinghpaw, especially focusing on the cis- and translocative suffixes that occupy an important slot in the verb complex. Jinghpaw, as with many other Tibeto-Burman languages, grammatically encodes spatial and directional concepts in both noun and verb phrases through the system of demonstratives, case markers, locational relator nouns, motion verbs, serial verbs, and directional suffixes. The language has developed a binary distinction between cis- and translocative suffixes marking spatial motions toward/away from the deictic center. The cislocative marker has further developed into grammatical categories marking change-of-state, future, and benefaction. The development is not arbitrary given that a spatial motion toward the deictic center is semantically parallel to a temporal motion toward the viewpoint or an action performed for the deictic center. The translocative has also been developed into a change-of-state aspect marker pervasively used in the language. The development is also natural because a spatial motion away from the deictic center is semantically parallel to a

temporal motion away from the viewpoint. The directional suffixes have their lexical sources in deictic motion verbs meaning ‘to come’ and ‘to go,’ derived through grammaticalization processes involving all four main mechanisms of desemanticization, extension, decategorialization, and phonetic erosion. Based on comparison with other diachronic varieties, the translocative suffix marking a spatial motion first reduced its distribution. This is followed by the cislocative marker, which then reduced its distribution presumably under analogy with the translocative suffix.

### Abbreviations

1	first person	GEN	genitive
2	second person	HORT	hortative
3	third person	IMP	imperative
pl	plural	INT	interrogative
sg	singular	INTNS	intensifier
A	agent-like argument of a transitive clause	IRR	irrealis
ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
ACC	accusative	N	noun
ADV	adverbializer	NCS	non-change-of-state
ALL	allative	NEG	negative
BEN	benefactive	NMLZ	nominalizer
CAUS	causative	P	patient-like argument of a transitive clause
CIS	cislocative	PA	possessor agreement
CLF	classifier	PL	plural
COM	comitative	PROH	prohibitive
COMPL	completive	PSN	person name
CONT	continuous	RED	reduplicant
CONTR	contrastive	SEQ	sequential
COP	copula	SFP	sentence-final particle
COUP	couplet	SG	singular
CS	change-of-state	SPECL	speculative
CSM	change-of-state marker	TOP	topic
DECL	declarative	TRANS	translocative
E	epenthetic vowel	V	verb
EXCL	exclamative	VEN	venitive

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