1. Introduction

The Jingpho language is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken primarily in Kachin State and northern Shan State of Burma, southwestern Yunnan in China and northeastern India. The total Jingpho population is estimated to be 650,000 (Bradley 1996), and most speakers live in northern Burma. Although there are several dialects of Jingpho in Burma, most have not been sufficiently described. Kurabe (2012b) is a preliminary description of the Duleng dialect, and Kurabe (2012c) is a preliminary description of the Dingga dialect. Kurabe (2012g) provides a brief overview of Jingpho dialects known to date with their geographic distribution and tentative subgrouping based on previous studies, linguistic facts and native speakers’ reports. The dialect treated in this paper is spoken in Myitkyina, the capital city of Kachin State (around 25°38’N, 97°39’E), and in Bhamo, the second largest city of Kachin State (around 24°25’N, 97°23’E). It is the most standard Jingpho dialect and can be called ‘Myitkyina-Bhamo dialect’ or ‘Standard Jingpho’.

Jingpho constitutes an ethnic group called ‘Kachin’ with people who speak Burmish languages such as Lhaovo (Maru), Lacid (Lashi), and Zaiwa (Atsi). They share a common

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1 "Kachin" comes from the Jinghpaw word “GaKhyen”, meaning “Red Earth”, a region in the valley of the two branches of the upper Irrawaddy with the greatest concentration of powerful traditional chiefs’ (Lehman 1993: 114).
culture and religious ideology, and constitute a totally distinct ethnic group from Burmese, although Lhaovo, Lacid, and Zaiba are linguistically much closer to Burmese than to Jingpho. In Kachin, Jingpho outnumbers other groups and their language (Jingpho) is a lingua franca among the Kachin people. Therefore, the name ‘Kachin language’ has also been used for the Jingpho language.

Jingpho has been placed within various subgroups of Tibeto-Burman. Shafer (1955, 1966) placed it in his Burmic Division. Burling (1983), on the other hand, claims that the lexical similarity observed between Jingpho and Lolo-Burmese is caused by lexical borrowing from Burmish languages into Jingpho, and places Jingpho into his ‘Sal’ languages (Bodo-Konyak-Jingpho) since it has a *sal reflex for the word for ‘sun’ (see also Burling 1971). Matisoff (2003) posits a ‘Jingpho-Nungish-Luish’ group and suggests closer relationship between Jingpho, Nungish and Luish. Matisoff (2012) re-examines the genetic position of Jingpho and concludes that ‘In general, Jingpho seems closer to Luish than to any other TB [Tibeto-Burman] subgroup’.

Jingpho is geographically located in the heartland of the Tibeto-Burman speech area, and it has been pointed out that Jingpho shares a number of morphological as well as lexical features with other branches of Tibeto-Burman. Nishida (1960, 1977) places Jingpho as one of his link-languages between Tibetan and Burmese. Benedict (1972: 5) states that Jingpho ‘stands at the linguistic “crossroad” of Tibeto-Burman languages’.

Jingpho also has a number of areal features shared by many other languages of Mainland Southeast Asia, ranging from lexico-semantic to grammatical features. For example, Jingpho has lexical tones. Almost all words are monosyllabic or disyllabic, and most disyllabic words have a ‘sesquisyllabic structure’, a disyllabic structure with a reduced (minor) syllable Cə as their first element (see 3.1 below). Serial verbs and sentence-final particles are widely used. Jingpho is an aspect- and mood-prominent language, and there is no grammatical tense. Adjectives can be treated as a subcategory of verbs. Jingpho also has ‘areal calques’, i.e., compounds whose semantic structure is constant across geographically contiguous languages regardless of their genetic affiliation, such as yùŋ+nû ‘lit. finger+mother, thumb’, wàn+cîplêt ‘lit. fire+tongue, flame’ etc. (see Matisoff 1978). Fine verbal distinctions of ‘washing’, ‘cutting’, ‘breaking’, ‘drying’ and ‘plucking’ are also attested in Jingpho, similar to many other languages of Mainland Southeast Asia. Jingpho has adopted a number of loanwords from Shan, Burmese and Chinese, with which it has come in contact for long periods of time (Kurabe 2012f).

In terms of typological features, Jingpho morphology is analytic and agglutinative. In general, grammatical relations are expressed by means of postpositions. The case marking pattern is the nominative-accusative type (S/A vs. P). Jingpho has both head-marking and dependent-marking morphology, although person marking on verbs is optional and hardly used, especially in spoken Jingpho (see 4.4 and texts in 5 below). As with the vast
majority of Tibeto-Burman languages, the word order is verb-final and verbs must be placed at the end of the clause (for more details, see Kurabe 2011a, 2012a, 2012d).

2. Phonology

2.1. Tones

Jingpho has four syllabic tones on sonorant-final syllables, High-level / má/ [55], Mid-level / ma/ [33], Low-falling / và/ [31], and High-falling / và/ [51] (e.g., ɲó ‘to plan’, ɲo ‘to float’, ɲò ‘to be worn out’, ɲò ‘SFP’), and two on stop-final syllables, High and Low (e.g., gà ‘market’ and gà ‘to run’). The high-falling tone is secondary and only attested in some specific words, such as kinship terms, as in nû ‘mother’, sentence-final particles (SFP), as in tà ‘Q’, or interjections, as in gà ‘Come on!’.

It is also attested in some surface syllables derived by prefixation from the underlying low-falling tone, as in [ʔəlòy] ‘easily’, from ʔə ‘ADVERBIALIZING’ prefix plus ə ‘to be easy’.

2.2. Segmental phonemes

Jingpho has 23 consonant phonemes, as listed in Table 1 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1 Consonant phonemes in Jingpho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph[pʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s[sʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are examples of minimal or near-minimal pairs:

* pà ‘to be flat’
* phà ‘to be thin’
* bà ‘brother’
* mà ‘child’
* wà ‘to return’
* ta ‘month’
* thà ‘to scold’
* dá ‘to put’

* tsà ‘hundred’
* sà ‘to send’
* za ‘to be damaged’
* nà ‘to hear’
* là ‘to wait’
* rà ‘to need’
* cà ‘to paint’
* já ‘gold’
There are six vowel phonemes: /i, e, a, o, u, ə/ (e.g., dìɁ ‘to cut’, dèɁ ‘ALL’, dàɁ ‘weaving’, dọɁ ‘to break’, dùɁ ‘neck’). The vowel /ə/ is secondary in nature and does not bear any tone. Moreover, it never occurs in closed syllables or in word-final position (see 3.1 below). Thus, toneless syllables are not possible words in Jingpho. They can only appear when followed by other syllables with ‘full’ vowels, /i, e, a, o, u/. Although there are many restrictions on its appearance, /ə/ should be given phonemic status since its occurrence is not predictable. There is no diphthong in Jingpho. [ui], [oi], [ai] and [au] are phonologically interpreted as sequences of vowel plus glide (i.e., /uy/, /oy/, /ay/ and /aw/ respectively) since they never occur in closed syllables (see 2.3).

2.3. Syllable structure

The basic syllable structure of Jingpho allows up to two prenuclear consonants and one postnuclear consonant, so that the maximal syllable is CCVC. The complex onset may consist of a stop (labial, velar) or nasal plus /r/ or /y/ (e.g., pru ‘to go out’, kyā ‘favour’, myā ‘race’), thus we can generalize that sonority must increase in the onset. There are nine consonants which occur as the coda: /p, t, k, ?, m, n, ŋ, w, y/ (e.g., jàɁ ‘to be hot’, jàɁ ‘to add’, jàk ‘machine’, jàɁ ‘to be hard’, məɁ ‘paddy’, məɁ ‘face’, məɁ ‘corpse’, məɁ ‘to be surprised’, məɁ ‘to be okay’). Jingpho has a syllabic nasal which assimilates in place of articulation with the onset of the following syllable, as in ǹbá [m̀bá] ‘cloth’, ǹsén [ǹsén] ‘voice’, and ǹgùp [ǹgùp] ‘mouth’. The syllabic nasal never occurs word-finally.

3. Morphology

3.1. Word structure

Almost all simplex words in Jingpho are monosyllabic or disyllabic, and words longer than disyllabic are quite rare. According to my survey (Kurabe 2012a), the most frequent word structure of the verb in the basic vocabulary is monosyllabic. The most frequent word structure of the noun in the basic vocabulary, on the other hand, is disyllabic. Most disyllabic words in Jingpho are sesquisyllabic words—disyllabic words with a reduced (minor) syllable Cs as their first element (Matisoff 1973), such as məɁ ‘rain’, cəɁ ‘moon’, əɁ ‘to do’, leɁ ‘to steal’ etc. The form of the minor syllable and the morphological positions in which it occurs are highly restricted. This can be summarized as follows: 1) it does not bear tones; 2) it is always an open syllable (*gəɁ); 3) it does not have a consonant cluster as its onset (*gəɁ); 4) it never occurs word-finally (*gəɁ). The frequency of consonant phonemes which occur as the onset of the minor syllable is also asymmetric. I have surveyed all 3,024 sesquisyllabic words, except dialectal forms, listed in Hanson’s dictionary (1906) in an attempt to determine the relative frequency of consonant phonemes which occur in the minor syllable. The result is presented in the following table (The * in the list shows that no forms are attested):
Table 2 Frequency of onset consonants in the minor syllable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pə</th>
<th>phə</th>
<th>bə</th>
<th>tə</th>
<th>thə</th>
<th>də</th>
<th>cə</th>
<th>çə</th>
<th>ja</th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>kə</th>
<th>khə</th>
<th>qə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>token</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>588</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pə</th>
<th>tsə</th>
<th>sə</th>
<th>zə</th>
<th>mə</th>
<th>nə</th>
<th>ñə</th>
<th>lə</th>
<th>rə</th>
<th>wə</th>
<th>yə</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>token</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that there exist systematic gaps in the paradigm of minor syllables might suggest that the syllabic nasal mentioned in 2.3 above is phonologically /nə/ or /ŋə/. This analysis is also consistent with the fact that the syllabic nasal never occurs word-finally, a property which also holds for the minor syllable as we have discussed above.

There are also disyllabic words with a fully stressed first syllable, such as ginsüp ‘to play’ and günsthò ‘silver’. The form of first syllables with fully stressed vowels is also restricted. Such syllables occur repeatedly in a number of disyllabic words, although in many cases, it is hard to tell their exact functions or meanings. For example, there are a number of words with first syllables such as gum, gin, sum, sin, buŋ, diŋ, as in günstgay ‘old woman’, günsthà ‘horse’, günstlòt ‘to jump’, günsthòn ‘to bundle’, although these words share no common meaning. The formal characteristics of such syllables are summarized as follows: 1) it does not have a consonant cluster as its onset; 2) its rhyme is almost always i or u followed by the nasal codas m, n or ŋ; 3) the forms of the rhymes are in near complementary distribution, e.g., rhymes such as in and un are observed in the vast majority of fully stressed first syllables, but rhymes such as im and un seldom or never occur in this position (for more details, see Kurabe 2012a, 2012e).

3.2. Word formation

Jingpho has few productive affixes, though there are various kinds of ‘fossilized affixes’ which are not productively used anymore. All productive affixes are prefixes and most of them take the form of a minor syllable, like ðə- ‘DIMINUTIVE’, çə- ‘CAUSATIVE’, and mə- ‘NOMINALIZER’. In general, prefixes can only be added to monosyllabic bases, as illustrated by the following examples: guby – ðə-guby ‘dog – doggy’, but günsthà – *ðə- günsthà ‘horse – small horse’; pyo – çə-pyo ‘be pleased – amuse’, but gəbu – *çə-gəbu ‘be glad – amuse’. mə- is a nominalizing prefix which derives nouns from reduplicated verbs, V₁+mə-V₁ > N ‘everything that one V₁’, which also can only be added to monosyllabic bases, as in lù-mə-lù ‘everything that you get’, but not *gəlo-mə-gəlo ‘everything that you do’. This constraint indicates that Jingpho words, except compounds, basically cannot be longer than disyllabic. This observation is consistent with the fact that Jingpho has few simplex words longer than disyllabic, as was discussed in section 3.1 above.
Compounding is the main morphological process of word-formation in Jingpho. Only the major word classes of nouns and verbs are productively involved in compounding. Jingpho has both right-headed compounds, such as \( \text{ɕàŋ+gùmphrò} \) (lit. enter+money) ‘wages’ and left-headed compounds, such as \( \text{jùm+dùy} \) (lit. salt+sweet) ‘sugar’, though the noun-noun compound, which is most productively created in this language, is always right-headed, except co-compounds (see below). That is, a noun-noun compound \( \text{jòŋ+mà} \) (lit. school+child) means ‘student’, but not ‘children school’. The minor syllable of the root may drop when the created compound is phonologically longer than disyllabic, as shown in the following examples: \( \text{pòlogy+lòtà} \) (lit. clothes+hand) \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{lòtà} \) ‘sleeve’, \( \text{nday+śəni} \) (lit. this+year) \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{dàyni} \) ‘this year’, \( \text{ǹlùŋ+se} \) (lit. stone+pure) \( \Rightarrow \) \( \text{lùŋse} \) ‘jade’.

Jingpho also has a number of co-compounds, a type of compound consisting of two members which express semantically associated concepts, such as \( \text{nû+wâ} \) (lit. mother+father) ‘parents’, \( \text{lògo+lòtà} \) (lit. foot+hand) ‘hands and feet’, \( \text{jan+shota} \) (lit. sun+moon) ‘sun and moon’, \( \text{tsàŋ+corù} \) (lit. rice wine+liquor) ‘liquor’, \( \text{pru+càn} \) (lit. go out+go in) ‘to go in and out’, \( \text{dùt+məri} \) (lit. sell+buy) ‘to buy and sell’. The remarkable properties of Jingpho co-compounds are as follows. First, the paired members are not only from major word classes, such as nouns and verbs, but also auxiliaries, which belong to the minor word class, as in \( \text{yu+gà} \) (lit. EXP+EXP) ‘EXP’, \( \text{to+gà} \) (lit. CONT+CONT) ‘CONT’ (see [19] A1 in section 5). Second, the order of members in co-compounds is determined by some rules. Phonology plays an important role. Kurabe (2011b, 2011c) proposes three rules: Highest vowel first rule (Rule1); Shorter first rule (Rule2); Native word first rule (Rule3).

There are also compounds with suffix-like constituents, such as \( \text{cá+pha} \) (lit. eat+what) ‘food’ and \( \text{ginsû+p+pha} \) (lit. play+what) ‘toy’ (see also [10] B2 and [16] A3 in the following texts in section 5). In these compounds, the word \( \text{pha} \) ‘what’ lost its original meaning and has developed into a suffix-like morpheme with nominalizing function. This kind of grammaticalized affix-like morpheme with corresponding lexical forms is sometimes called an ‘affixoid’ (Booij 2007). Another example of an affixoid in Jingpho is \( \text{ya} \) ‘to give’ with the meaning of ‘addict’, as in \( \text{kóni+opium+ya} \) ‘opium addict’, \( \text{corù+alcohol+ya} \) ‘alcohol addict’, and even \( \text{game+ya} \) ‘game addict’.

Jingpho also has the morphological process of conversion. It is more common to create verbs from nouns than vice versa, and the resulting verbs often express a wide range of meanings. For example, the verb \( \text{khu} \) derived from the noun \( \text{khu} \) ‘hole’ means ‘to make a hole’, however \( \text{tsì} \) derived from the noun \( \text{tsì} \) ‘medicine’ does not mean ‘to make medicine’, but means ‘to cure’. Note also that the created verbs are either transitive or intransitive, as in \( \text{lòtà} \) ‘hand; to choose’, \( \text{cùp} \) ‘breasts; to suck’, \( \text{myít} \) ‘mind; to think’, \( \text{dì} \) ‘egg; to lay eggs’, \( \text{gà} \) ‘word, language; to speak’, \( \text{tsîp} \) ‘nest; to nest’, \( \text{ri} \) ‘thread; to spin’, \( \text{jù} \) ‘thorn; to stick’, \( \text{cen} \) ‘half; to halve’, \( \text{diyòla} \) ‘old man; to get old (male)’, \( \text{gùmgay} \) ‘old woman; to get old (female)’, \( \text{khaw} \) ‘brother-in-law; to be intimate’, \( \text{dùmsa} \) ‘nat-priest; to
officiate’, Ḫàywà ‘a professional story-teller; to narrate’, niḥbo ‘leader; to lead’, thiḥbù ‘neighbor; to be neighbor’ and mənə ‘fool; to go mad’.

4. Syntax

4.1. Word order

Jingpho has a strict verb-final word order, and verbs, or more precisely predicates (verbal complexes and predicate nominals), must be put at the end of the clause. The order of noun phrases in a clause is relatively free, though the subject precedes the object in unmarked contexts. The order of the head and its modifier is somewhat complex. That is, genitives, relative clauses and adverbial clauses precede the heads, while numerals and classifiers follow the heads. Moreover, demonstratives and some adjectival verbs may occur in both pre- and post-head positions. Some auxiliary-like verbs can also be placed in both pre- and post-head positions (see 4.2 and 4.4 below for more details).

4.2. Noun phrases

The maximum structure of a noun phrase in Jingpho can be represented as in Figure 1:

REL-DEM-GEN-NOUN-ADJ-DEM-PL-[CLF-NUM]-NOMINAL PARTICLE

Figure 1 The structure of a noun phrase

4.2.1. Demonstratives

There are two proximal demonstratives, nday ‘this’, which is speaker-centered, and day ‘that’, which is addressee-centered. Three distal demonstratives are distinguished, including two that specify place above or below the speaker; thò denotes an object on a higher place than the speaker, woḍ denotes an object on the same level as the speaker, lé denotes an object on a lower place than the speaker. Demonstratives normally precede the head nouns, although they can also follow the heads, as in nday mà and màn nday ‘this child’ (cf. màn ‘child’). Jingpho also has a construction with a demonstrative simultaneously preceding and following the head noun, as in nday màn nday ‘this child’. Distal demonstratives are typically followed by rá (from ɕərá ‘place’), as in thórà ‘that up there’, wórà ‘over there’, and lérà ‘that down there’.

4.2.2. Numerals and classifiers

In most cases, numerals directly follow the head nouns they modify, as in màn məsəm ‘three children’ (see also [7] B3 and [11] A4 in section 5), although there is a small group of classifiers which precedes numerals when they occur, as in màn məray məsəm ‘three children’, where the form məray is a classifier for human beings. The classifier-numeral phrase can also occur without a head, as məray məsəm ‘three persons’.
4.2.3. Adjectival verbs

Jingpho does not have an adjective word class, and adjectival meanings are expressed primarily by verbs. Some of these verbs, especially those which express core semantic types of adjectives (Dixon 1977), or ‘DIMENSION’, ‘AGE’, ‘VALUE’, and ‘COLOUR’, follow the head noun and modify it syntactically, as in mʊk ɡəbə (cake-big) ‘big cake’, mʊk ɪnán (cake-new) ‘new cake’, mʊk ɡəja (cake-good) ‘good cake’, and mʊk phrò (cake-white) ‘white cake’. Other adjective-like verbs cannot follow the head, as in *mʊk dùy (cake-sweet) ‘sweet cake’, *mʊk mu (cake-delicious) ‘delicious cake’, and *mʊk jà (cake-hard) ‘hard cake’. Such verbs can modify the head only by means of the nominalizing/relativizing marker, such as -Ɂay, as in dùy-Ɂay mʊk (sweet-NMLZ-cake) ‘sweet cake’, mu-Ɂay mʊk (delicious-NMLZ-cake) ‘delicious cake’, and jà-Ɂay mʊk (hard-NMLZ-cake) ‘hard cake’.

4.2.4. Plural marker and nominal particles

Plural forms can be formed by adding the plural marker =ni, as in mà=ni ‘children’ (see also [5] A4, [19] B3, and [20] B3). It is not obligatory, as shown in mà masum (child-three) ‘three children’. The plural marker occurs after the head-demonstrative constituent, as in mà nday=ni ‘these children’, and between the head-demonstrative constituent and numerals, as in mà nday=ni masum (child-this-PL-three) ‘these three children’.

Noun phrases may be closed by nominal particles, such as =dərám (also pronounced rám) ‘about’, =ɕəɡ ‘every’ and =phràp ‘each’ (see also [7] B2 and [13] A3 in the text).

4.2.5. Other nominal modifiers

Genitives are formed by adding the genitive marker =ná (or =páɁ) to possessors, as in ʔənû=ɲá ɪsén (mother-GEN-voice) ‘mother’s voice’. Singular personal pronouns have unique genitive forms, as in ɲay ‘I’ vs. nyéʔ ‘my’, naŋ ‘you’ vs. náʔ ‘your’, and ci ‘he/she’ vs. ciʔ ‘his/her’. These genitive forms seem to be historically derived from the contraction of singular personal pronouns plus the genitive marker =páʔ. Dual and plural pronouns do not have unique genitive forms, and the genitive marker must be added to mark possession. Genitives occur before head nouns, as nyéʔ ʔənû (my-mother) ‘my mother’.

Relative clauses can be analyzed as nominalized clauses in Jingpho (see 4.8 below). Nominalized:relative clauses precede the head noun, as in sa-Ɂay mà (go-NMLZ-child) ‘child who went’ and dùy-Ɂay mʊk (sweet-NMLZ-cake) ‘sweet cake’.

When the nominal modifiers which precede the head noun co-occur, nominalized/relative clauses occur in the first slot, followed by demonstratives and genitives in this order, as can be seen in ɕàt grày cá-Ɂay nday nyéʔ ɡəcà (rice-very-eat-NMLZ-this-my-child) ‘my child who eat a lot’.
4.3. Case markers

In general, Jingpho is a dependent marking language, and grammatical relations are expressed by case markers. The case marking pattern is the nominative-accusative type (S/A vs. P). S and A occur without any overt marker. The case marking of P, on the other hand, is determined by its animacy. That is, P is marked by the accusative marker when it is as high as or higher than A in the animacy hierarchy (see Kurabe to appear). Table 3 below provides a summary of case markers in Jingpho:

Table 3 Case markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gross</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=thè?</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>location, standard of comparison</td>
<td>from lóthtà? ‘upper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ǹá</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>source</td>
<td>=ná in the spoken style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=dùkrà</td>
<td>TER</td>
<td>terminal point</td>
<td>dà ‘arrive’ + khrà ‘till’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ànà?</td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>possessor</td>
<td>more formal than =ná</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jingpho also has nouns which function as case markers, such as majò ‘because’, zòn ‘like’, mòtu ‘for’, and məláy ‘instead’. They are nouns since they can be modified by genitives, such as cìp ‘his’, like other nouns, as in cìp majò ‘because of him’, cìp zòn ‘like him’, cìp mòtu ‘for him’ (see also [19] B2), and cìp məláy ‘instead of him’. These ‘case nouns’ also form subordinate clauses when modified by nominalized relative clauses, as in sa=na majò ‘because he will go’ (see also [11] B1, [15] A3), sa=na zòn ‘like he will go’ (see also [11] A4), sa=na mòtu ‘in order to go’ (see also [16] B1, B3, [20] B4), and sa=na məláy ‘instead of going’, where sa means ‘to go’ and =na is a clause-nominalizer.

4.4. Verbal Complex

A minimum verbal complex, as a rule, consists of a verb plus a TAM marker. The defining property for a verb is its negatability; whether it can be negated by the negative prefix n- or not. The verbal complex can be extended by adding auxiliaries after verbs. The structure of a verbal complex can be represented as in Figure 2 below:

\[
[v\{V_1+\ldots+V_n\}-\text{AUX-TAM}]
\]

Figure 2 The structure of a verbal complex
4.4.1. Serial verbs


Some types of verbs in serialization behave like auxiliaries, expressing an abstract meaning and semantically modifying the other verb in the serialization. These verbs may occur in both pre- and post-head positions. For example, when the verb ce ‘to know’ occurs before other verbs, it expresses ability, as in ce çàɡa (know-speak) ‘can speak’. It can also occur after the semantic head with the meaning of the habitual aspect, as in khom ce (walk-know) ‘to walk everyday’. I will call such verbs ‘versatile verbs’ in this paper. They are verbs, not auxiliaries, since they can be directly negated by the negative prefix nɨ-, as in nɨ-ce çàɡa ‘cannot speak’ and khom nɨ-ce (or nɨ-khom ce) ‘do not walk everyday’.


4.4.2. Auxiliaries

4.4.3. TAM markers

The TAM slot\(^2\) in the verbal complex is filled by TAM markers according to seven mood types: declarative, imperative, prohibitive, interrogative, hortative, optative, and exclamative. The representative forms are listed in the following table with examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM markers</th>
<th>Representative forms</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATIVE</td>
<td>-ʔay</td>
<td>sa-ʔay ‘I went.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>-ʔùʔ</td>
<td>sa-ʔùʔ ‘Go!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROHIBITIVE</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>khùm sa ‘Don’t go!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERROGATIVE</td>
<td>-ǹnî</td>
<td>sa-ǹnî ‘Did you go?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORTATIVE</td>
<td>-gàʔ</td>
<td>sa-gàʔ ‘Let’s go!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPTATIVE</td>
<td>-ʔùʔgàʔ</td>
<td>pyo-ʔùʔgàʔ ‘May you be happy!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCLAMATIVE</td>
<td>-ʔùʔkha</td>
<td>ṭəbà-ʔùʔkha ‘How big it is!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.3.1. Declarative mood

The TAM slot in the verbal complex of the declarative sentence may be filled by -ʔay or -say according to the aspect\(^3\). The TAM marker -say is a ‘change of state aspect marker’ expressing a recent change of state or situation, as in câ-say ‘I have already eaten’ (see also [4] A1, B1, A2, [5] A3, [9] A2, A3, [10] B2, [11] A2, A3, [15] B1, A3, [16] A2, B2, [17] C2, C3, [18] A1, and [19] A3 in the text). The TAM marker -ʔay, on the other hand, is unmarked, expressing any situation except the change of state. This marker is the most frequent word in Jingho, like ‘the’ in English, and it occurs 257,749 times in a Jingho corpus of over 3.5 million words which I have compiled using data collected from online news and blog sources. As a comparison, the more marked aspect -say ‘change of state’ is ranked number eighteen in this corpus, the frequency of which amounts to 34,253 tokens.

4.4.3.2. Other moods


3 The person marking on verbs, which is well known as ‘pronominalization’ in Tibeto-Burman linguistics since it is similar in form to personal pronouns, is not employed at all especially in Spoken Jingho (see all the examples in section 5 below). It occurs, however, in the written styles, which will not be discussed in this paper.
A3, and [15] A2, B3). An interrogative sentence also can be formed by TAM markers, though in most cases, questions are expressed by using sentence-final particles especially in colloquial speech, as in *sa-*pay=ʔi ‘Did you go?’ (see 4.7 below).

4.4.4. Idiosyncrasy of =na

At this point, the idiosyncrasy of the auxiliary =na ‘FUTURE’ should be mentioned. As we have seen, though the verbal complex must take some TAM markers as a rule, the verbal complex which takes the auxiliary =na ‘FUTURE’ does not have to take any TAM markers, as in *sa=na (go=FUT) ‘I will go’ (see also [2] A2, B2, [3] A1, B1, [4] B2, [5] A1, B1, A2, B2, A3, B3, A4 and many other examples in the text in section 5). Because of this characteristic, one might want to treat =na as some kind of TAM marker. However, it is not adequate to do so since TAM markers may occur after =na, as exemplified by *wā=na-say ‘I’m leaving’ (lit. return- FUT-TAM). I therefore treat it as an auxiliary here.

4.5. Voice

The passive construction is formed by means of serial verbs, putting a verb *khrūm ‘to meet’ after the head verb, as in *sāt khrūm (lit. kill-meet) ‘to be killed’ (see also [15] A3). *khrūm is a verb, not an auxiliary, since it can be directly negated by the negative prefix ŋ- in this position, as in *sāt ŋ-khrūm ‘not be killed’. As is the case with the other languages of Mainland Southeast Asia, the passive construction is not frequently used, especially in colloquial speech, and the same meaning is normally expressed by transitive clauses. For example, sentences such as *ʔənū=gō mač=ni sāt-pay (lit. mother-TOP-people-PL-kill-TAM) ‘They killed my mother’ are much more preferred to corresponding passive sentences like *ʔənū sāt khrūm-pay (lit. mother-kill-meet-TAM) ‘My mother was killed’. The passive construction occurs only once in a Jingpho colloquial corpus of over 320-thousand words which I have compiled using data collected from emails and chats sent to me from my Jingpho friends, although the form *khrūm ‘to meet’ occurs 491 times in this corpus.

The causative constructions, on the other hand, are used frequently in Jingpho. Causatives are formed in one of two ways: by adding the causative prefix ɕə- to the verbal base, which expresses direct causation, or with the auxiliary *=cəgǔn following the verb, which expresses indirect causation. The causative prefix ɕə- has two allomorphs, ɕə- and ʃə-, which are in complementary distribution, with ʃə- occurring before /c, s/ or aspirated consonants and ɕə- in the other environments. Therefore the causative form of ɕút ‘to mistake’ is ʃə-ɕút ‘to cause someone mistake’, and *=cə-ɕút is ill-formed. Other examples include: *sū ‘be awake’ > ʃə-sū ‘awake’ (*ɕə-sū), *phrīŋ ‘be full’ > ʃə-phrīŋ ‘fill’ (*ɕə-phrīŋ), *pyo ‘be pleased’ > ɕə-pyo ‘amuse’ (*ʃə-pyo), *tsōm ‘be beautiful’ > ɕə-tsōm ‘adorn’ (*ʃə-tsōm), *nā ‘hear’ > ɕə-nā ‘inform’ (*ʃə-nā), *yūp ‘sleep’ > ɕə-yūp ‘lay someone
down on a bed’ (*ja-þypo), Ɂiŋ ‘be filling up’ > cjo-Ɂiŋ ‘flood’ (*ja-Ɂiŋ) (see also [17] A3, C2, C3 and [19] A3). The causative construction is also formed by adding the auxiliary =cjoún after verbs, as in sa=cjoún ‘make someone go’, Ɂoþijo=cjoún ‘make someone beat something’ (see also [19] A4).

4.6. Copula clauses

Jingpho has two types of copulas: rë and ráy. The former is special in that it cannot take any auxiliaries or TAM markers, as in jòŋmà rë ‘(He) is a student’ (see also [1] B1, B2 and other examples in the text). Therefore, the verbal complex which takes rë as its head always consists of only rë. On the other hand, the copula verb ráy always takes TAM markers and optionally auxiliaries, as in jòŋmà ráy-say ‘(He) has already become a student’ and jòŋmà ráy=sám-say ‘(He) seems to be a student’ (see also [16] B2).

Copulas in Jingpho are verbs since they can be directly negated by adding the negative prefix, as in jòŋmà Ɂiŋ-rë ‘(He) is not a student’. Adverbs such as nóʔ ‘still’ always occur directly before the copula verb, not before the noun phrase preceding the copula verb (or Copula Complement), as in jòŋmà nóʔ rë ‘(He) is still a student’ (cf. *nóʔ jòŋmà rë).

4.7. Sentence-final particles

Jingpho has a number of sentence-final particles. Many sentence-final particles expressing a modal meaning phonologically consist of high sonority onsets plus vowels, as yô, lè, lo (see [4] B2, [9] B1, [9] B3 respectively). Yes-no questions are also formed by adding sentence-final particles such as =Ɂi (general) or =kún (wondering if or not) at the end of the sentence, as in mà=Ɂi and mà=kún ‘Is he a child?’ (see also [1] A1, [20] A3 respectively). Content questions, on the other hand, are expressed with sentence-final particles such as =ráy (general, from COPULA), =mà (informal), or just question words without any sentence-final particles, as in pha=ráy, pha=mà, and pha ‘What?’ (see also [1] A2, [4] A3, [20] A2 respectively).

4.8. Nominalization and relativization of clauses

4.9. Adverbial clauses


5. Text

This section provides dialogue texts in Jingpho comprised of 20 dialogue situations. These texts are translations of Kato’s primer of colloquial Burmese (1998), though some lexemes such as person names, place names and cultural terms are slightly modified simply because Jingpho does not have words corresponding to these concepts. Though it is not natural speech, using translation texts has several advantages. First, they include a large range of important grammatical forms since the primer is systematically organized. Second, it does not include repetitions, fillers, afterthoughts etc., so it is easier to see the basic grammar of this language. Third, it can be used for the contrastive study of Jingpho and Burmese. All of the texts below are translated by Ms. Lu Awng (1980s-), a native speaker of the Standard dialect of Jingpho.

[1] It is a coconut.
A1: nday làŋ+lì=ʔì.
   this banana+fruit=Q
   ‘Is this a banana?’
B1: n-rè. day=ɡò Ɂəməŋ+lì Ɂè.
   NEG-COP it=TOP mango+fruit COP
   ‘No. It is a mango.’
A2: nday=ɡò Ɂa=Ɂay.
   this=TOP what=Q
   ‘What is this?’
B2: day=ɡò Ɂənûn+lì Ɂè.
   it=TOP coconut+fruit COP
   ‘It is a coconut.’

[2] I’m fine.
   PSN healthy+good-TAM=Q
   ‘How are you, Ah Pan?’
good-TAM PSN=TOP=and.you?
‘I’m fine. How about you, Ah Seng?’
A2: ɡəja-ay. ɲay ɣá ɡát sa=na. khán=na=ɲí.
good-TAM 1SG now market go=FUT follow=FUT=Q
‘I’m fine. I’m going to the market now. Will you follow me?’
yes follow=FUT 1SG=also now market go=FUT=QUOT COP
‘Yes, I will follow you. I’m going to the market now, too.’

[3] I don’t like pork curry.
PSN what eat=FUT=Q
‘What will you eat, Ah Seng?’
B1: ɲay wà+càñ+càtmáy ɲá=na. ɲəpàn=má wà+càñ ɲá=na=ɲí.
1SG pig+meat+food eat=FUT PSN=also pig+meat eat=FUT=Q
‘I will eat pork curry. Will you also eat pork curry, Ah Pan?’
A2: ɲ-ɲá=ay. ɲay wà+càñ+càtmáy ɲ-rà-ay.
NEG-eat-TAM 1SG pig+meat+food NEG-like-TAM
‘I won’t. I don’t like pork curry.’
what food like-TAM=Q
‘What curry do you like?’
A3: ɲù+càñ+càtmáy rà-ay.
bird+meat+food like-TAM
‘I like chicken curry.’

[4] Have you eaten yet?
A1: càt ɲá=ɲút-say=ɲí.
food eat=finish-TAM=Q
‘Have you eaten yet?’
B1: ɲá=ɲút-say. naŋ=ɲò=tó.
eat=finish-TAM 2SG=TOP=and.you?
‘Yes, I have. How about you?’
A2: ɲ-ɲá=ci-ay. ɲay kò?si=to-say.
NEG-eat=still-TAM 1SG hungry=CONT-TAM
‘Not yet. I’m hungry.’
B2: day=khu ŋa ŋay ŋá+jù jò? cā=na=yō.
that=like say 1SG fish+grill give eat=FUT=SFP
‘So, I will buy you some grilled fish.’
really=Q where=LOC=Q
‘Really? Where?’
B3: mənaŋ=ná seŋ=kó? rē. ɡrày cá mu?-ŋay.
friend=GEN shop=LOC COP very eat=tasty-TAM
gāy, khán+naŋ=wà?-ù?=yō.
INTJ follow+follow=COME-IMP=SFP
‘At my friend’s restaurant. It’s very good. Come on!’

[5] I’ll go to Lashio.
1SG tomorrow=ALL walk=FUT
‘I’ll go for a trip tomorrow.’
where=ALL go=FUT=Q PLN=ALL=Q
‘Where will you go? Bhamo?’
NEG-COP PLN=ALL go=FUT
‘No. I’ll go to Lashio.’
what=COM go=FUT=Q
‘How will you go?’
fire+wheel=COM go=FUT fire+wheel+ticket=also buy=finish-TAM
‘I’ll go by train. I have already bought tickets.’
who=COM go=FUT=Q friend=COM=Q
‘Who will you go with? With your friends?’
mother+father=PL=COM together go=FUT
‘I’ll go with my parents.’
[6] What does he do?
A1: ᵇəsɛn=ⁿá ɡəwà pha bùŋli ɡəlo-ʔay=ɾáy.
  PSN=GEN father what job do-TAM=Q
  ‘What does your father do, Ah Seng?’
B1: Ɂəwúʔ+tsən+jòʔ=ʳóʔ əra ɡəlo-ʔay rē.
  lower+level+school=LOC teacher do-TAM COP
  ‘He is an elementary school teacher.’
A2: ɡənù=ɡò pha ɡəlo-ʔay=ɾáy.
  mother=TOP what do-TAM=Q
  ‘What does your mother do?’
  market sell-TAM COUP+goods various sell-TAM COP
  ‘She sells at a market. She sells various things.’
A3: ɡəɾà=ʳóʔ düʔ-ʔay=ɾáy.
  where=LOC sell-TAM=Q
  ‘Where does she sell?’
B3: ɡá+ɡəbà+katà=ʳóʔ rē.
  market+big+inside=LOC COP
  Ɂənù=ⁿá Ɂəɔ=ʳóʔ Ɂəmà ɡəɾáy Ɂə=ɾáy rē.
  mother=GEN shop=LOC people very come-TAM COP
  ‘She sells at the big market. Mother’s shop is popular.’

[7] I have about ten books.
  PSN ʃ2G=LOC Japan+book+COUP exist-TAM=Q
  ‘Do you have any Japanese books, Ah Pan?’
B1: ʃəʔ-ʔay.
  exist-TAM
  ‘Yes, I do.’
A2: bùk Ɂədè ʃəʔ-ʔay=ɾáy.
  CLF how.many exist-TAM=Q
  ‘How many books do you have?’
  CLF ten=about exist-TAM
  ‘I have about ten.’
very many-TAM=SFP 1SG=LOC=TOP one=only exist-TAM
ɡərə=khu lù+lá?-ay=rán.
how=like get+take-TAM=Q
‘That’s a lot! I have only one. How did you get them?’
B3: monəŋ leŋây japon=kó?=ná cəqún=ya?-ay.
friend one Japan=LOC=ABL send=BEN-TAM
‘One of my friends sent them to me from Japan.’

[8] I want to go to Myitsone.
PSN today where=ALL go.want-TAM=Q
‘Where do you want to go today, Ah Pan?’
1SG today PLN+PLN+congregate go.want-TAM
nday=kó?=ná modo=thè? ɡə=rà=na=?i.
this=LOC=ABL car=COM go=OBRG=FUT=Q
‘I want to go to the confluence of the Mali and Nmai rivers (well known as Myitsone
in Burmese) today. Do we have to go there by taxi from here?’
car=COM NEG-go=OBRG-TAM it=TOP so.much NEG-far-TAM
lago+lam khom=yàŋ dù?-ay.
leg+road walk=if arrive-TAM
‘You don’t have to go by taxi. It is not so far. We can go on foot.’
COP=but now 1SG leg ache=CONT-TAM car=COM be.okay go=FUT=Q
‘But, my legs ache now. Can we go by taxi?’
A3: may ɡə=na? ɡay khu ɡə=na? modo=thè? sa-gà?.
be.okay go-TAM that=like say car=COM go-HORT
‘Yes, we can. So, let’s go by taxi.’
B3: goðə jò?=rà=na=ráy.
how.much give=OBRG=FUT=Q
‘How much will we have to pay?’
A4: khyíŋ+mi=dərám jò?=rà?-ay.
thousand+one=about give=OBRG-TAM
‘We’ll have to pay about one thousand.’
[9] Is there a shop selling jade near here?
brother=SFP this+nearby=LOC stone+pure sell-NMLZ shop exist-TAM=Q
‘Excuse me, is there a shop selling jade near here?’
B1: ñà-ay=lè. yá? lâgo+lêŋ pru=wà-ay
exist-TAM=SFP now leg+wheel come.out=COME-NMLZ
cərà=ná makaw=kó? ñà-ay. mû-ay=ʔi.
place=GEN beside=LOC exist-TAM see-TAM=Q
‘Yes, there is. It’s right beside the place where that bicycle came out now. Do you see it?’
A2: m̀, mù-say, mù-say. day seŋ=kó? lûŋ+seŋ+ləkhôn dût-ay=ʔi.
yes see-TAM see-TAM that shop=LOC stone+pure+bracelet sell-TAM=Q
lûŋ+seŋ+ləkhôn gəbà rà-ay rè.
stone+pure+bracelet big need-TAM COP
‘Yes, I see it. Does that shop sell jade bracelets? I want a big one.’
there shop=LOC big-NMLZ NEG-exist=FUT=QUOT think-TAM
gəjì-ay=gò ñà=na rè.
small-NMLZ=TOP exist=FUT COP
‘I don’t think that shop sells big ones. Maybe they have small ones.’
A3: rè=ʔi. pha ráy=tîm sa=yu=na rè. cējū gəbà-say=yô.
COP=Q what COP=but go=try=FUT COP thanks big-TAM=SFP
‘Is that so? Anyway, I will have a look there. Thank you!’
B3: ñ-rà-ay=lo.
NEG-need-TAM=SFP
‘You’re welcome.’

[10] Gourds are good if you fry them.
A1: òsēŋ tawba+sì lá=wà=ya-ay. tawba+sì=phèʔ gərà=khu
PSN gourd+fruit take=COME=BEN-TAM gourd+fruit=ACC how=like
câ-ay=rây. gəwá câ-ay bû?=ʔi.
eat-TAM=Q bite eat-NMLZ kind=Q
‘Ah Seng brought me a gourd. How do you eat it? Do I have to bite it without peeling?’
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NEG-COP husk peel=SEQ eat-NMLZ kind COP gourd+fruit=TOP
gọŋaw cá=yân grày mu-ʔay. cá=mɔ̞yu=yàŋ yá? gọŋaw=ya=na=lè.
fry eat=if very tasty-TAM eat=want=if now fry=BEN=FUT=SFP
‘No, that’s wrong. You should peel the skin to eat it. Gourds are good if you fry
them. If you want to eat it, I will fry it for you now.’

fry=finish-TAM taste=try-IMP=SFP this sour+what=COM dip eat-IMP
garà=khu=ráy.
how=like=Q
‘I’ve finished frying it. Taste a bit of it. Dip it in this source to eat. How do you like
it?’

very tasty-TAM PSN Japan go=SEQ there=LOC sell=if good-TAM
gráy lù dùt=na re.
very get sell=FUT COP
‘Very delicious. You better go to Japan and sell fried gourds there, Ah Pan. They will
sell well!’

B3: ŋay=phéʔ khúm ɡəro ˈtsən.
1SG=ACC PROH lift.up say
‘Don’t flatter me.’

[11] I don’t go because I have a stomach ache.

A1: mà dàyní jòŋ ń-sa-ʔay=ʔi.
child today school NEG-go-TAM=Q
‘Don’t you have school today?’

B1: dàyní jòŋ pát-ʔay mojò ń-sa-ɾà-ʔay.
today school close-NMLZ because NEG-go=OBRG-TAM
ʔɔwâ=má rùŋ ń-sa-ʔay=ʔi.
father=also office NEG-go=TAM=Q
‘I don’t have to go because school is off today. Don’t you also have office, Dad?’

A2: dàyní kan macʔ=ńá ń-sa-say. maní mojàp grày cá=káw=ná.
today belly ache=SEQ NEG-go=TAM yesterday chili very eat=thoroughly=SEQ
‘I have a stomachache today, so I’ve decided not to go, because I ate too much chili
peppers yesterday.’
father=also healthy+good+way a.little take.care-IMP=SFP
‘Please take a little care of your health, Dad.’

take.care=but happen=COMPL-TAM NEG-know-TAM
‘I take care, but it happens. There is no way out there.’

B3: Ɂə wâ = ɡənû jəkhríŋkhríŋ pòt=tím ɲ-mədát-ay=ʔì.
father=TOP mother often scold=but NEG-listen-TAM=SFP
grəy ək-ay.
very difficult-TAM
‘Although Mom often scolds you, you don’t listen to her. You’re difficult.’

house=LOC mother two exist-NMLZ like=EMPH COP=SFP
‘It’s like there are two moms here at home!’

[12] This one is better than this one.

A1: ɲay jəpan+ləyka+bùk Ɂə-ay. nday ləyka+bùk=thè?
1SG Japan+book+COUP need-TAM this book+COUP=COM
nday ləyka+bùk gorâ graw khrâk-ay=ráy.
this book+COUP which more good-TAM=Q
‘I want a Japanese book. Which is better, this one or this one?’

this=TOP this=LOC more good-TAM=QUOT think-TAM
pha=ná jəpan+ləyka+bùk Ɂə-ay=ráy.
what=SEQ Japan+book+COUP need-TAM=Q
‘I think this one is better than this one. Why do you want a Japanese book?’

A2: ɲay jəpan+ɡə+ɕərín+jòn jùŋ=to-ʔay.
1SG Japan+language+teach+school ascend=CONT-TAM
ráy=tím ɲay=kó? jəpan+ləyka+bùk ɲ-ɡə-ay.
COP=but 1SG=LOC Japan+book+COUP NEG-exist-TAM
‘I attend a Japanese conversation class. But I have no Japanese book.’

that=like say 1SG.GEN house=LOC exist-NMLZ give=release=FUT=SFP
‘If that’s so, I’ll give you the one that I have at my house.’

A3: day ləyka+bùk goja-ʔay=ʔì.
that book+COUP good-TAM=Q
‘Is that book good?’
B3: ɡəja?-ay.  ṅay thí=ɡə?-ay=kó?=ná  ɡəja=dik rê.
good-TAM 1SG read=EXP-NMLZ=LOC=ABL good=most COP
house=ALL follow+follow=COME-IMP now give=release=FUT
‘It’s good. It’s the best among the ones that I have read. Come to my house. I’ll give
it to you now.’
very hesitate-TAM=SFP
‘Thank you.’
B4: khùm ʔəgam=yò.
PROH hesitate=SFP
‘Not at all.’

[13] Can you speak Atsi?
A1: ʔəpàn ʔəzí=khu ce ɡəga?-ay=ʔi.
PSN Atsi=like know speak-TAM=Q
‘Can you speak Atsi, Ah Pan?’
B1: ń-ce ɡəga?-ay. ʔədàw=gò=tó.
NEG-know speak-TAM PSN=TOP=and.you?
‘I can’t. How about you, Ah Dau?’
A2: ɡəmivité ce ɡəga?-ay.  mòy nóê+kûê+jòê=kó?
a.little know speak-TAM ago worship+worship+school=LOC
céta mi çərfîn=ɡə-ay rê.
month one study=EXP-TAM COP
‘I can speak a little bit. I have studied it for about a month at church.’
B2: məwà+ɡà=gò   ce ɡəga?-ay=ʔi.
China+language=TOP know speak-TAM=Q
‘Can you speak Chinese?’
A3: məwà+ɡà=gò  ʔə-tsòm-cà ce ɡəga?-ay.
China+language=TOP ADV-beautiful-ADV know speak-TAM
gəji?-ay çəlóy ńtâ+màkaw=kó?=ná məwà+diŋla ləŋày
small-NMLZ when house+beside=LOC=GEN China+old.man one
çərfîn=ɡəgù ɲay=phê çərfîn=ya-ay rê.
day=every 1SG=ACC teach=BEN-TAM COP
‘I can speak Chinese very well. When I was a child, an old Chinese man nearby
taught me everyday.’
B3: day=khu ŋa mərù=khu=má ?a-tsôm ce çoɡa?-ay=?i. that=like say Maru=like=also ADV-beautiful know speak-TAM=Q
   ‘So, you can also speak Maru very well, can’t you?’
A4: m̀, ce çoɡa?-ay=lè. ñtâ=kó? mərù+ɡa=câ
   yes know speak-TAM=SFP house=LOC Maru+language=only
   ɡa=khàt?-ay Ɂò.
speak=RECP-TAM COP
   ‘Yes, I can. I speak only Maru at home.’
B4: ?ò, day=khu=?i.
   INTJ that=like=Q
   ‘Oh, I see.’

[14] I like flute.
   PSN=TOP week one=LOC once flute+teacher=LOC flute play study-TAM
   ‘Ah Pan studies playing the flute at a flute teacher’s house once a week.’
   PSN after=GEN week which time again come study=FUT=Q
   ‘What time will you come to study next week, Ah Pan?’
   morning clock ten=bay sa çərín=na=ɏay.
   ‘Can I come at about ten o’clock in the morning?’
A2: ɲəy jəfhot+moɡá ɲ-raw?-ay Ɂò.
   1SG morning+side NEG-free-TAM COP
   nò+kú?+jəŋ sa=rà?ay.
   worship+worship+school go=OBRG-TAM
   ‘I’m not free in the morning. I have to go to church.’
   that=like say evening+side clock four=LOC TOP be.okay-TAM=Q
   ‘So, is it OK at four o’clock in the evening?’
A3: m̀, may=?ay=lè. rày=yàŋ=gò çəná?=moɡá khyiŋ məli=kó?
   yes be.okay-TAM=SFP COP=if=TOP evening+side clock four=LOC
   meet-HORT=Q PSN flute study=NMLZ fun-TAM=Q
   ‘Yeah, that’s OK. So, we’ll meet at four o’clock in the evening. Ah Pan, is it fun studying the flute?’
B3: ɣray pyo-ʔay, səra. sumpyi+nsén=ɡò ɣray mədət pyo-ʔay.
very fun-TAM teacher flute+sound=TOP very listen fun-TAM
day məjò ɣay ɣray rà?-ʔay.
that because 1SG very like-TAM
‘Yes, it’s a lot of fun. The sound of the flute is so comforting. That’s why I like it so much.’

[15] He was bitten by a dog.
PSN very spend-TAM=SFP
‘Ah Seng hasn’t come even now.’
1SG 3SG=COM meet-NMLZ when=TOP come=COME=FUT=QUOT say-TAM
ń-sa-say=kúŋ ɲ-ce-say.
NEG-compose-TAM=Q NEG-know-TAM
‘When I saw him, he said he would come. I wonder if he’s not coming.’
tea+leaf+shop=LOC sit=SEQ wait=try=HORT=Q
‘Let’s wait for him in a tea shop.’
1SG first 3SG=ACC phone call=try=FUT
here=LOC for.a.while still wait=IMP=SFP
‘I’ll go and give him a phone call. Wait here for a while.’
N1 ʔəpàn=gò ?əsény=kó? foy ɕəɡá=ná bây wà-ʔay.
PSN=TOP PSN=LOC phone call=SEQ again return-TAM
‘After calling Ah Seng, Ah Pan came back.’
A3: ɕi dáyní ɡuy ɡəwá khrúm-ʔay məjò ń-lù sa-say=dá?.
3SG today dog bite meet-NMLZ because NEG-get come-TAM=HS
‘He can’t come today because he was bitten by a dog.’
B3: ʔəɡá, day=khu ɲa ɕi=kó? lawan sa=ná ɲgü̍n+jò?+gà sa tsun-gà?.
INTJ that=like say 3SG=LOC fast go=SEQ power+give+word go say=HORT
‘Oh, my god! So we have to go to him right now and cheer him up.’

[16] I came here to study Jingpho.
A1: ʔəkhòn jînphòʔ+mun=kóʔ pha sa ɡolo-ʔay=ráy.
PSN Jingpho+land=LOC what come do-TAM=Q
‘What did you come to do here in Kachin State, Ah Hkawn?’
1SG Jingpho+letter study=NMLZ for Jingpho+land=ALL come=COME-TAM
‘I came here to study Jingpho.’

Jingpho+land=ALL come=COME-NMLZ how.much spend-TAM=Q
‘How long have you been here?’

B2: çəta sənít=dârám rây-say.
month seven=about COP-TAM
‘It’s been about seven months.’

A3: çəta sənít=thè? day=râm ce tsun=màt?-ay=ʔi.
month seven=COM that=about know say=COMPL-TAM=SFP
maw+pha=wa=ʔi.
surprised+what=EMPH=SFP
jînphò?+múŋ ñ-sa=çì=yàŋ wórà=kò? çərín=dá?-ay=ʔi.
Jingpho+land NEG-come=still=when there=LOC study=RESL-TAM=Q
‘You’ve learned to speak this much in only seven months? That’s amazing! Did you
study Jingpho before coming to Kachin State?’

B3: tsèpkòp ñ-çərín=wà?-ay. nday=kò? dü=yàŋ=çè?
not.at.all NEG-study=COME-TAM this=LOC arrive=when=EMPH
çərín=phaŋ?-ay.
study=begin-TAM
day majò lòwan ce tsun=na mətu râmram çəkùt=rà?-ay.
that because fast know say=NMLZ for very try.hard=OBRG-TAM
‘No, I didn’t study any. I began to study only after I arrived here. That’s why I had
to make a lot of effort to be quickly able to speak Jingpho.’

A4: jînphò?+makhôn=má ce khôn?-ay=ʔi.
Jingpho+song=also know sing-TAM=Q
ce khôn=yàŋ bùk mi=dârám khôn=dân-rit.
know sing=if CLF one=about sing=show-IMP.PROXIMAL
‘Can you sing a Jingpho song? If you can, please sing a song.’

B4: makhôn khôn=dân=na qøyà?-ay=lo.
song sing=show=NMLZ embarrassed-TAM=SFP
after=ALL=EMPH sing=show=FUT
‘I feel embarrassed to sing a song. I’ll sing it later.’
[17] How much is this dress?

A1: ŋŋay jìnphò=+mùŋ dù?=ay=kò?=ná jìnphò=+pəŋ
1SG Jingpho+land arrive-NMLZ=LOC=ABL Jingpho+dress
NEG-wear=EXP=still-TAM that because 1SG now dress go buy=FUT
mənàw+pòy gəlo?=ay cəłóy jìnphò=+pəŋ phùn=yàŋ
Manau+festival do-NMLZ when Jingpho+dress wear=if
good-TAM NEG-COP=Q
‘I haven’t worn Kachin dress since I came to Kachin State. So, I’m going to buy
one now. It’s better to wear Kachin dress while the Manau festival is held, isn’t it?’

B1: day gəja?=ay. ḇəkhòn=gò jìnphò=+pəŋ phùn=dà=yàŋ gəday=mùŋ
that good-TAM PSN=TOP Jingpho+dress wear=RESL=if who=also
màyɡàn+məɕà=ŋú cədù?=na ɲ-rè.
foreign+people=QUOT think=FUT NEG-COP
‘That’s good. If you wear Kachin dress, no one will notice that you are a foreigner,
Ah Hkawn.’

A2: nday pəŋ gədè=ráy.
this dress how.much=Q
‘How much is this dress?’

C1: müŋ+məli+khyiŋ+məŋa rè.
ten.thousand+four+thousand+fìve COP
‘It’s 45,000.’

expensive-TAM=SFP a.little CAUS-go.down=BEN-IMP.PROXIMAL=SFP
‘That’s too expensive. Please discount it a little.’

C2: nday=gò mənu day=rám=ɕà rè.
this=TOP price that=about=only COP
ɲ-may ɕə-yòm-say rè.
NEG-be.okay CAUS-go.down-TAM COP
‘That’s a net price. I can’t discount it.’

A4: müŋ+məli tön=ya-ʔì?=yô.
ten.thousand+four put=BEN-IMP=SFP
‘Take 40,000.’
C3: day=khu ŋa mûn+mõli+khyîŋ+mõsum  tôn=ya=na=yô. 
that=like say ten.thousand+four+thousand+three put=BEN=FUT=SFP 
day=thè ń-may ɕə-yôm-say. 
that=LOC NEG-be.okay CAUS-go.down-TAM

‘Well, I will take 43,000. I can’t discount it more than this.’

[18] I carelessly came out without an umbrella.

very mind distress-TAM body=all wet=completely-TAM

‘This is too bad! My whole body got wet.’

what happen-TAM=Q rain touch=COMPL-TAM=Q

‘What happened? You got caught in the rain?’

A2: rê. joŋ ń-lóm-ay ńtâ=kô?=ná 
COP umbrella NEG-be.with-NMLZ house=LOC=ABL

pru=wà=khrûp-ay. nday=rám mõraŋ gõbà=na ń-çadû?-?ay. 
come.out=COME=accidentally-TAM this=about rain big=FUT NEG-think-TAM

‘Yes. I carelessly came out of my house without an umbrella. I didn’t think it would rain this much.’

PLN=LOC rain+month COP=if day=every this like rain-TAM COP

‘In Myitkyina, it rains this much almost every day in the rainy season.’

tomorrow=ALL=also rain=FUT=Q

‘Will it rain again tomorrow?’

rain=FUT NEG-rain=FUT NEG-know-TAM rain=if rain=FUT

‘I don’t know if it will rain. It may rain.’

A4: ńgày làcû=kô?=ná mæcà rë majô nàw ń-ce?-ay. 
ISG PLN=LOC=GEN people COP because so.much NEG-know-TAM 
làcû=kô? ńgà-ay ɕøløy gørà sa=tîm joŋ ń-laŋ-?ay 
PLN=LOC live-NMLZ when where go=but umbrella NEG-carry-NMLZ 
sa khom-?ay. 
go walk-TAM

‘I don’t know the weather well because I’m from Lashio. When I lived in Lashio, wherever I went, I would go without an umbrella.’
B4: 何、今日手ぬぐい＝て？ 低音が水＝くわ＝？⊥。

INTJ this towel＝COM fast wipe＝thoroughly-IMP

水が手＝なら 皮＝な。

cold enter＝NMLZ afraid＝SEQ

'Hey, wipe your body with this towel right now, because I’m afraid you’ll catch a cold.'

A1: 昨日ijo＝なり すぐに 学校＝OBRG-TAM

modo＝で？ 児＝な まか＝を＋じー＝？⊥。

car＝COM follow go＝BEN=NMLZ people look.for＝CONT+CONT-TAM

'I’ll have to go to Kachin Theological College tomorrow. I’m looking for a person who will take me there.'

B1: 今日 児＝な＝ら

1 SG follow go＝BEN=FUT=SFP

'I’ll take you.'

A2: 体＝？⊥。

be.okay-TAM＝Q

'Is that OK?'

B2: 体＝？⊥。

be.okay-TAM female.teacher＝GEN for say＝if help＝OBRG=FUT=QUOT=SFP

'It’s OK. I have to help you because you are my teacher, don’t I?'

A3: 感謝＝大＝yό。

thanks big＝TAM＝SFP 1 SG=GEN car＝TOP broken＝COMPL=seem-TAM

ják 今＝may jōsù=say.

machine NEG-be.okay CAUS-get.up-TAM

'Thank you! My car seems broken. I can’t even start the engine.'

B3: 体＝が＝な。

1 SG repair＝BEN=FUT 1 SG machine+goods＝PL all know repair＝TAM

'I’ll fix it for you. I can fix everything when it comes to machines.'

A4: 時＝？⊥。

COP=Q 時＝rάy＝ni 今＝ce 体＝が高い＝？⊥。

repair＝CAUS=FUT=SFP PSN=TOP believe be.okay-TAM=SFP

'Time to fix the household. I can fix it.'
You are a reliable man! But, why haven’t you gotten married?’

B4: day khùm tsun=lo, sàrama.
that PROH say=SFP female.teacher
‘Please don’t ask that, ma’am.’

[20] I don’t want to go back yet.
PSN when Japan return=FUT=Q
‘When will you go back to Japan, Ah Hkawn?’
now=GEN month=LOC return=OBRG-TAM
‘I’ll go back next month. Actually, I don’t want to go back yet.’
when Jingpho+land=ALL again come=COME=FUT
‘When will you come back to Kachin State?’
be.okay happen=if this.year=LOC after once again come=COME=FUT
lawan báy sa=wà lù=khrà ?ɔkỳú phyí=ya-rit=yò.
fast again come=COME get=till favor pray= BEN-IMP.PROXIMAL=SFP
‘If it’s possible, I will come back once again this year. Please pray for me so that I
can come back soon.’
that=ALL arrive=if 1PL=ACC forget=COMPL=FUT=Q
‘When you are back there, I think you will forget us.’
ISG when=also Jingpho+land=LOC=GEN people=PL=ACC NEG-forget-TAM
‘I’ll never forget the people of Kachin State.’
A4: jøpan báy dù=yàŋ phà golò=na=ráy.
Japan again arrive=if what do=FUT=Q
‘What will you do when you are back in Japan?’
B4: mənàw+pɔy=thè? seŋ=?ay láyka+bùk ka=na mətu
Manau+ festival= COM relate-NMLZ book+Coup write=NMLZ for
myit dá=?ay.
mind put-TAM
‘I’m planning to write a book on the Manau festival.’
Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to Ms. Lu Awng who helped me translating the texts. I am also obliged to two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments to improve this paper. My field research was supported in part by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (“A descriptive linguistic study of the Jingpho language”).

Symbols and Abbreviations

1  First person     GEN  Genitive
2  Second person    HORT Hortative
3  Third person     HS   Hearsay
*  Ungrammatical    IMP  Imperative
.  Syllable boundary INTJ Interjection
-  Affix boundary   LOC  Locative
=  Clitic boundary  NEG  Negative
#  Word boundary    NMLZ Nominalizer
+  Compound boundary NOM  Nominative
//  Underlying phonemic representation NUM Numeral
       OBRG Obligative
Ø   Zero            P    Transitive object
A   Transitive subject PL   Plural
ABL  Ablative       PLN  Place name
ACC  Accusative     POSS Possessive
ADV  Adverbializer  PROH Prohibitive
ALL  Allative       PSN  Person name
AUX  Auxiliary      QUOT Quotation
BEN  Benefactive    Q    Question particle
C    Consonant      REL  Relative clause
CAUS Causative      RECIP Reciprocal
CLF  Classifier     RESL Resultative
COM  Comitative     S    Intransitive subject
COMPL Completeive   SEQ  Sequential
CONT Continuous     SFP  Sentence-final particle
COP  Copula         SG   Singular
COUP Couplet       TAM  Tense, aspect, mood
DEM  Demonstrative  TER  Terminative
EMPH Emphatic      TOP  Topic
EXP  Experiential   V    Vowel
FUT  Future
Appendix

Figure 3 Map of Kachin State

References


