

Jingpho Dialogue Texts with Grammatical Notes

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Jingpho is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Kachin State and Shan State, Burma and adjacent areas of China and India. This paper provides dialogue texts with a brief grammatical sketch of the Myitkyina-Bhamo dialect, the most standard dialect of Jingpho in Burma. General information on Jingpho is provided in section 1. In section 2, I describe the phonological system of this language. An overview of morphology and syntax is given in section 3 and 4 respectively. Section 5 provides dialogue texts in Jingpho, consisting of over 200 sentences.

Keywords: Jingpho, Kachin, Myitkyina-Bhamo dialect, Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan

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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 'Kachin¹' with people who speak Burmish languages such as Lhaovo (Maru), Lacid (Lashi), and Zaiwa (Atsi). They share a common

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 Zaiwa 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+çìŋlèt* ‘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 /mà/ [31], and High-falling /mâ/ [51] (e.g., *yó* ‘to plan’, *yo* ‘to float’, *yò* ‘to be worn out’, *yô* ‘SFP’), and two on stop-final syllables, High and Low (e.g., *gát* ‘market’ and *gât* ‘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 *tâ* ‘Q’, or interjections, as in *gây* ‘Come on!’. It is also attested in some surface syllables derived by prefixation from the underlying low-falling tone, as in [ʔəlôy] ‘easily’, from ʔə- ‘ADVERBALIZING’ prefix plus *lòy* ‘to be easy’.

2.2. Segmental phonemes

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

Table 1 Consonant phonemes in Jingpho

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p ph[p ^h] b	t th[t ^h] d		c[tɕ] j[dʒ]	k kh[k ^h] g	ʔ
Fricative		ts[s~ts] s[s ^h] z		ɕ		
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Lateral		l	r			
Glide	w			y		

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

<i>pà</i>	‘to be flat’	<i>tsa</i>	‘hundred’	<i>ɕà</i>	‘only’
<i>phà</i>	‘to be thin’	<i>sà</i>	‘to send’	<i>ya</i>	‘to give’
<i>bà</i>	‘brother’	<i>za</i>	‘to be damaged’	<i>kà</i>	‘to dance’
<i>mà</i>	‘child’	<i>nà</i>	‘to hear’	<i>khá</i>	‘to be bitter’
<i>wà</i>	‘to return’	<i>là</i>	‘to wait’	<i>gà</i>	‘language’
<i>ta</i>	‘month’	<i>rà</i>	‘to need’	<i>ŋà</i>	‘to live’
<i>thá</i>	‘to scold’	<i>cà</i>	‘to paint’	<i>ʔà</i>	‘blessing’
<i>dá</i>	‘to put’	<i>jà</i>	‘gold’		

There are six vowel phonemes: /i, e, a, o, u, ə/ (e.g., *dìʔ* ‘to cut’, *dèʔ* ‘ALL’, *dâʔ* ‘weaving’, *dòʔ* ‘to break’, *dùʔ* ‘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’, *kyú* ‘favour’, *myú* ‘race’), thus we can generalize that sonority must increase in the onset. There are nine consonants which occur as the coda: /p, t, k, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, w, y/ (e.g., *jâp* ‘to be hot’, *jât* ‘to add’, *jâk* ‘machine’, *jâʔ* ‘to be hard’, *mam* ‘paddy’, *man* ‘face’, *maŋ* ‘corpse’, *maw* ‘to be surprised’, *may* ‘to be okay’). Jingpho has a syllabic nasal which assimilates in place of articulation with the onset of the following syllable, as in *ñbá* [mbá] ‘cloth’, *ñsén* [ñsén] ‘voice’, and *ñgùp* [ŋgùp] ‘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 *Cə* as their first element (Matisoff 1973), such as *məraŋ* ‘rain’, *ɕəta* ‘moon’, *gəlo* ‘to do’, *ləgú* ‘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 (**gən*); 3) it does not have a consonant cluster as its onset (**grə*); 4) it never occurs word-finally (**gə#*). 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

	pə	phə	bə	tə	thə	də	cə	çə	jə	kə	khə	gə
token	53	24	17	4	8	55	95	383	97	23	85	588
%	1.8	0.8	0.6	0.1	0.3	1.8	3.1	12.7	3.2	0.8	2.8	19.4
	ʔə	tsə	sə	zə	mə	nə	ŋə	lə	rə	wə	yə	
token	534	13	124	*	511	*	*	408	*	*	2	
%	17.7	0.4	4.1		16.9			13.5			0.1	

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 *gìnsúp* ‘to play’ and *gùmphrò* ‘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 *gùmgay* ‘old woman’, *gùmrà* ‘horse’, *gùmłót* ‘to jump’, *gùmphòn* ‘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 *um* 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 ʔə- ‘DIMINUTIVE’, çə- ‘CAUSATIVE’, and mə- ‘NOMINALIZER’. In general, prefixes can only be added to monosyllabic bases, as illustrated by the following examples: *gùy* – ʔə-*gùy* ‘dog – doggy’, but *gùmrà* – *ʔə-*gùmrà* ‘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.

officiate’, *jàywà* ‘a professional story-teller; to narrate’, *nìṅbo* ‘leader; to lead’, *thìṅbù* ‘neighbor; to be neighbor’ and *mənà* ‘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; *thó* denotes an object on a higher place than the speaker, *wó* 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 *mà nday* ‘this child’ (cf. *mà* ‘child’). Jingpho also has a construction with a demonstrative simultaneously preceding and following the head noun, as in *nday mà nday* ‘this child’. Distal demonstratives are typically followed by *rà* (from *ɕərə* ‘place’), as in *thóra* ‘that up there’, *wóra* ‘over there’, and *léra* ‘that down there’.

4.2.2. Numerals and classifiers

In most cases, numerals directly follow the head nouns they modify, as in *mà məsum* ‘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 *mà mərəy məsum* ‘three children’, where the form *mərəy* is a classifier for human beings. The classifier-numeral phrase can also occur without a head, as *mərəy məsum* ‘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 *mùk gəbà* (cake-big) ‘big cake’, *mùk ònán* (cake-new) ‘new cake’, *mùk gəja* (cake-good) ‘good cake’, and *mùk phrò* (cake-white) ‘white cake’. Other adjective-like verbs cannot follow the head, as in **mùk dùy* (cake-sweet) ‘sweet cake’, **mùk mu* (cake-delicious) ‘delicious cake’, and **mùk jà?* (cake-hard) ‘hard cake’. Such verbs can modify the head only by means of the nominalizing/relativizing marker, such as *-?ay*, as in *dùy-?ay mùk* (sweet-NMLZ-cake) ‘sweet cake’, *mu-?ay mùk* (delicious-NMLZ-cake) ‘delicious cake’, and *jà?-?ay mùk* (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 məsum* (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 məsum* (child-this-PL-three) ‘these three children’.

Noun phrases may be closed by nominal particles, such as =*dəram* (also pronounced *rám*) ‘about’, =*çəgù* ‘every’ and =*phrà?* ‘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 =*?à?*) to possessors, as in *?ənú=ná òsén* (mother-GEN-voice) ‘mother’s voice’. Singular personal pronouns have unique genitive forms, as in *ɲay* ‘I’ vs. *nyé?* ‘my’, *naŋ* ‘you’ vs. *ná?* ‘your’, and *çi* ‘he/she’ vs. *çi?* ‘his/her’. These genitive forms seem to be historically derived from the contraction of singular personal pronouns plus the genitive marker =*?à?*. 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 *nyé? ?ənú* (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-?ay mà* (go-NMLZ-child) ‘child who went’ and *dùy-?ay mùk* (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 *çàt grày çá-?ay nday nyé? gəçà* (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

Form	Gross	Function	Note
=phéʔ	ACC	P, recipient, path	see [10] A1, B3, [13] A3
=kóʔ	LOC	location, goal	see [4] A3, B3, [6] B1, A3
=thàʔ	LOC	location, standard of comparison	from <i>ləthàʔ</i> ‘upper’
=ʔè	LOC	location	literary style
=dèʔ	ALL	goal, location	see [5] A1, B1, A2, [8] A1
=nná	ABL	source	=ná in the spoken style
=dùkhrà	TER	terminal point	<i>dù</i> ‘arrive’+ <i>khrà</i> ‘till’
=ʔàʔ	GEN	possessor	more formal than =ná
=ná	GEN	possessor	see [4] B3, [6] A1, B3
=thèʔ	COM	comitative, instrument	see [5] B2, A3, B3, A4

Jingpho also has nouns which function as case markers, such as *məjò* ‘because’, *zòn* ‘like’, *mətu* ‘for’, and *məláy* ‘instead’. They are nouns since they can be modified by genitives, such as *cíʔ* ‘his’, like other nouns, as in *cíʔ məjò* ‘because of him’, *cíʔ zòn* ‘like him’, *cíʔ mətu* ‘for him’ (see also [19] B2), and *cíʔ məláy* ‘instead of him’. These ‘case nouns’ also form subordinate clauses when modified by nominalized/relative clauses, as in *sə=na məjò* ‘because he will go’ (see also [11] B1, [15] A3), *sə=na zòn* ‘like he will go’ (see also [11] A4), *sə=na mətu* ‘in order to go’ (see also [16] B1, B3, [20] B4), and *sə=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 *í-* 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:

$$[{}_{vc}[V_1+\dots V_n]\text{-AUX-TAM}]$$

Figure 2 The structure of a verbal complex

4.4.1. Serial verbs

The verb slot in a verbal complex may be filled with a sequence of verbs without any overt marker of coordination or subordination. The syntactic and semantic relationship holding between serialized verbs is: ‘sequential’, as *sa cǎ* (go-eat) ‘to go and eat’ (see also [10] B1, B2, [14] A1, [15] B3, [16] A1, [17] A1, [18] A4); ‘manner’, as *ləwan sa* (be.quick-go) ‘to go quickly’ (see also [10] A1, B3 [15] B3, [16] B3, [18] B4 and [19] B1); ‘purpose’, as *cǎ sa* (eat-go) ‘to go for eating’; ‘complementation’, *cǎ rǎ?* (eat-like) ‘to like eating’ (see also [14] N1, B3).

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 cəga* (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 *ń-*, as in *ń-ce cəga* ‘cannot speak’ and *khom ń-ce* (or *ń-khom ce*) ‘do not walk everyday’. Examples of *ce* can be found in [13] A1, B1, A2, B2, A3, B3, A4, [16] A3, B3, A4, [19] B3. Another example of a versatile verb is *may* ‘to be okay’, occurring in the pre-head position in [8] B2, A3, [14] B1, [17] C2, C3, [19] A3, [20] B2 and in the post-head position in [19] A4. The verb *lù* ‘to get’ is also a frequent versatile verb, occurring in the pre-head position in [10] A2, [15] A3 and in the post-head position in [20] B2 (for more details and other examples of the versatile verbs in Jingpho, see Kurabe 2010, 2012a).

4.4.2. Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries always occur after verbs and denote meanings or functions such as tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality and voice, as in *=na* ‘FUTURE’ (see [2] A2, B3, [3] A1, B1, [4] B2, [5] A1, B1 and many other examples in the texts), *=cǐ* ‘still’ ([4] A2, [16] A3, [17] A1, [20] B1), *=to* ‘CONTINUOUS’ (derived from *to* ‘to lie down’, [4] A2, [8] B2, [12] A2, [19] A1), *=ya* ‘BENEFACTIVE’ (derived from *ya* ‘to give’, [7] B3, [10] A1, B1, [13] A3, [17] A3, A4, C3, [19] A1, B1, B3, [20] B2), *=məyu* ‘want to’ (derived from *məyu* ‘to hope’, [8] A1, B1, [10] B1), *=rǎ* ‘have to’ (derived from *rǎ* ‘to need’, [8] B1, A2, B3, A4, [11] B1, [14] A2, [16] B3, [19] A1, B2, A4, [20] B1), *=yu* ‘try to’ (derived from *yu* ‘to see’, [9] A3, [10] B2, [15] A2, B2), *=mǎt* ‘COMPLETIVE’ (derived from *mǎt* ‘to lose’, [11] A3, [16] A3, [18] B1, [19] A3, [20] A3), *=ga* ‘EXPERIENTIAL’ ([12] B3, [13] A2, [17] A1), *=khǎt* ‘RECIPROCAL’ (derived from *khǎt* ‘to dispute’, [13] A4), *=dǎ* ‘RESULTATIVE’ (derived from *dǎ* ‘to put’, [16] A3, [17] B1), *=ŋǎ* ‘CONTINUOUS’ (derived from *ŋǎ* ‘to stay’, [19] A1), *=sám* ‘seem to’ ([19] A3), *=cəŋún* ‘CAUSATIVE’ (derived from *cəŋún* ‘to send a person’, [19] A4) etc. (for more examples, see Kurabe 2011a).

4.4.3. TAM markers

The TAM slot² 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 4 TAM markers

TAM markers	Representative forms	Examples
DECLARATIVE	-ʔay	sa-ʔay ‘I went.’
IMPERATIVE	-ʔùʔ	sa-ʔùʔ ‘Go!’
PROHIBITIVE	-Ø	khùm sa ‘Don’t go!’
INTERROGATIVE	-h̃ñh̃	sa-h̃ñh̃ ‘Did you go?’
HORTATIVE	-gàʔ	sa-gàʔ ‘Let’s go!’
OPTATIVE	-ʔùʔgàʔ	pyo-ʔùʔgàʔ ‘May you be happy!’
EXCLAMATIVE	-ʔàʔkha	gəbà-ʔàʔkha ‘How big it is!’

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 aspect³. The TAM marker *-say* is a ‘change of state aspect marker’ expressing a recent change of state or situation, as in *çá-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 Jingpho, like ‘the’ in English, and it occurs 257,749 times in a Jingpho 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

An imperative sentence is formed by filling the TAM slot with *-ʔùʔ* ‘general command’, as in *sa-ʔùʔ* ‘Go!’ (see also [4] B3, [10] B2, [11] B2, [12] B3, [15] B2, [17] A4, and [18] B4), *-rit* ‘proximal command’, as in *sa-rit* ‘Come here!’ (see also [16] A4, [17] A3, and [20] B2), or *-sùʔ* ‘distal command’, as in *sa-sùʔ* ‘Go away!’. A prohibitive sentence is formed by the TAM marker *-Ø* with a prohibitive adverb *khùm* directly before the verb, as in *khùm sa* ‘Don’t go!’ (see also [10] B3, [12] B4, and [19] B4). The TAM marker *-gàʔ* is used when a hortative sentence is formed, as in *sa-gàʔ* ‘Let’s go!’ (see also [8] A3, [14]

² Although I use the term ‘TAM’ (tense-aspect-mood) in this paper, Jingpho is an aspect- and mood-prominent language, and does not have grammaticalized tense.

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 Jingpho (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-ʔay=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 *wà=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 *khúrú* ‘to meet’ after the head verb, as in *sàt khúrú* (lit. kill-meet) ‘to be killed’ (see also [15] A3). *khúrú* is a verb, not an auxiliary, since it can be directly negated by the negative prefix *n̄-* in this position, as in *sàt n̄-khúrú* ‘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 *ʔənũ=gò məc̣ã=ni sàt-ʔay* (lit. mother-TOP-people-PL-kill-TAM) ‘They killed my mother’ are much more preferred to corresponding passive sentences like *ʔənũ sàt khúrú-ʔay* (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 *khúrú* ‘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 =*ɕəŋún* following the verb, which expresses indirect causation. The causative prefix *ɕə-* has two allomorphs, *ɕə-* and *jə-*, which are in complementary distribution, with *jə-* occurring before /ç, s/ or aspirated consonants and *ɕə-* in the other environments. Therefore the causative form of *ɕút* ‘to mistake’ is *jə-ɕút* ‘to cause someone mistake’, and **ɕə-ɕút* is ill-formed. Other examples include: *sù* ‘be awake’ > *jə-sù* ‘awake’ (**ɕə-sù*), *phrín* ‘be full’ > *jə-phrín* ‘fill’ (**ɕə-phrín*), *pyo* ‘be pleased’ > *ɕə-pyo* ‘amuse’ (**jə-pyo*), *tsòm* ‘be beautiful’ > *ɕə-tsòm* ‘adorn’ (**jə-tsòm*), *nà* ‘hear’ > *ɕə-nà* ‘inform’ (**jə-nà*), *yúp* ‘sleep’ > *ɕə-yúp* ‘lay someone

down on a bed' (**jə-yúp*), *ʔiŋ* 'be filling up' > *ɕə-ʔiŋ* 'flood' (**jə-ʔiŋ*) (see also [17] A3, C2, C3 and [19] A3). The causative construction is also formed by adding the auxiliary =*ɕəŋún* after verbs, as in *sa=ɕəŋún* 'make someone go', *ʔədùp=ɕəŋún* 'make someone beat something' (see also [19] A4).

4.6. Copula clauses

Jingpho has two types of copulas: *rê* and *ráy*. The former is special in that it cannot take any auxiliaries or TAM markers, as in *jòŋmà rê* '(He) is a student' (see also [1] B1, B2 and other examples in the text). Therefore, the verbal complex which takes *rê* as its head always consists of only *rê*. 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-ʔay* '(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 ń-rê* '(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 rê* '(He) is still a student' (cf. **nóʔ jòŋmà rê*).

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 =*ʔi* (general) or =*kún* (wondering if or not) at the end of the sentence, as in *mà=ʔi* 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

Both the nominalized clause and relative clause are formed by adding *-ʔay* 'general', *-say* 'change of state', or =*na* 'FUTURE' to the verb, as in *gəbà-ʔay* 'big one' and *gəbà-ʔay mà* 'big child' (see also [9] A1, B1, B2, [10] A1, B1, [12] B2, B3, [14] A3, [16] A2, B4, [17] A1, [18] A2, B4, [19] A1, A4, and [20] B4 in the following texts). Relativization in Jingpho can be treated as one of the functions that a nominalized clause has. The relative clause-head noun constituent can be analyzed as a simple juxtaposition of a nominalized clause and a head noun. This kind of syncretism between nominalization and relativization is found in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1972).

4.9. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are formed by adding subordinators to verbs, as in *sa=yàŋ* ‘if you go, when you go’, *sa=nná* (also pronounced *ná*) ‘go and, because you go’, *sa=tîm* ‘however you go’, *sa=khà* ‘until you go’ (see also [8] A2, [10] B1, [11] A3 and [20] B2 respectively). Adverbial clauses are also formed by case nouns such as *məjò* ‘because’, *zòn* ‘like’, *mətu* ‘for’, and *məláy* ‘instead’, as discussed in section 4.3.

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 ləŋu+sì=?i.

this banana+fruit=Q

‘Is this a banana?’

B1: n-rê. day=gò ləmuŋ+sì rê.

NEG-COP it=TOP mango+fruit COP

‘No. It is a mango.’

A2: nday=gò pha=ráy.

this=TOP what=Q

‘What is this?’

B2: day=gò mə?ûn+sì rê.

it=TOP coconut+fruit COP

‘It is a coconut.’

[2] I’m fine.

A1: ?əpàn kham+gəja-?ay=?i.

PSN healthy+good-TAM=Q

‘How are you, Ah Pan?’

- B1: gəja-ʔay. ʔəsəŋ=gò=tó.
 good-TAM PSN=TOP=and.you?
 ‘I’m fine. How about you, Ah Seng?’
- A2: gəja-ʔay. ɲay yáʔ gát sa=na. khán=na=ʔi.
 good-TAM 1SG now market go=FUT follow=FUT=Q
 ‘I’m fine. I’m going to the market now. Will you follow me?’
- B2: m̄, khán=na. ɲay=má yáʔ gát sa=na=ŋú rê.
 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.

- A1: ʔəsəŋ pha ɕá=na=ráy.
 PSN what eat=FUT=Q
 ‘What will you eat, Ah Seng?’
- B1: ɲay wàʔ+ɕàn+ɕàtmáy ɕá=na. ʔəpàn=má wàʔ+ɕàn ɕá=na=ʔi.
 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: ń-ɕá-ʔay. ɲay wàʔ+ɕàn+ɕàtmáy ń-ràʔ-ʔay.
 NEG-eat-TAM 1SG pig+meat+food NEG-like-TAM
 ‘I won’t. I don’t like pork curry.’
- B2: pha ɕàtmáy ràʔ-ʔay=ráy.
 what food like-TAM=Q
 ‘What curry do you like?’
- A3: ʔù+ɕàn+ɕàtmáy ràʔ-ʔay.
 bird+meat+food like-TAM
 ‘I like chicken curry.’

[4] Have you eaten yet?

- A1: ɕàt ɕá=ŋút-say=ʔi.
 food eat=finish-TAM=Q
 ‘Have you eaten yet?’
- B1: ɕá=ŋút-say. naŋ=gò=tó.
 eat=finish-TAM 2SG=TOP=and.you?
 ‘Yes, I have. How about you?’
- A2: ń-ɕá=ɕì-ʔay. ɲay kóʔsi=to-say.
 NEG-eat=still-TAM 1SG hungry=CONT-TAM
 ‘Not yet. I’m hungry.’

B2: day=khu ɲa ɲay ɲá+jù jò? ɕá=na=yô.
 that=like say 1SG fish+grill give eat=FUT=SFP

‘So, I will buy you some grilled fish.’

A3: gəja=?i. gərə=kó?=mà.
 really=Q where=LOC=Q

‘Really? Where?’

B3: mənəɲ=ná seɲ=kó? rê. grày ɕá mu-ʔay.
 friend=GEN shop=LOC COP very eat tasty-TAM

gây, khán+naɲ=wà-ʔù?=yô.

INTJ follow+follow=COME-IMP=SFP

‘At my friend’s restaurant. It’s very good. Come on!’

[5] I’ll go to Lashio.

A1: ɲay phót=dè? khom=na.
 1SG tomorrow=ALL walk=FUT

‘I’ll go for a trip tomorrow.’

B1: gərə=dè? sa=na=ráy. manmo=dè=?i.
 where=ALL go=FUT=Q PLN=ALL=Q

‘Where will you go? Bhamo?’

A2: ń-rê. làçù=dè? sa=na.
 NEG-COP PLN=ALL go=FUT

‘No. I’ll go to Lashio.’

B2: pha=thè? sa=na=ráy.
 what=COM go=FUT=Q

‘How will you go?’

A3: wàn+lèɲ=thè? sa=na. wàn+lèɲ+lèkmàt=má məri=ɲút-say.
 fire+wheel=COM go=FUT fire+wheel+ticket=also buy=finish-TAM

‘I’ll go by train. I have already bought tickets.’

B3: gəday=thè? sa=na=ráy. mənəɲ=thè=?i.
 who=COM go=FUT=Q friend=COM=Q

‘Who will you go with? With your friends?’

A4: ʔənú+ʔəwâ=ni=thè? ràw sa=na.
 mother+father=PL=COM together go=FUT

‘I’ll go with my parents.’

[6] What does he do?

A1: ʔəséŋ=ná gəwà pha bùŋli gəlo-ʔay=ráy.

PSN=GEN father what job do-TAM=Q

‘What does your father do, Ah Seng?’

B1: læwúʔ+tsaŋ+jòŋ=kóʔ səra gəlo-ʔay rê.

lower+level+school=LOC teacher do-TAM COP

‘He is an elementary school teacher.’

A2: gənù=gò pha gəlo-ʔay=ráy.

mother=TOP what do-TAM=Q

‘What does your mother do?’

B2: gát dùt-ʔay. ʔəríŋ+ʔəráy ʔəmyúmyú dùt-ʔay rê.

market sell-TAM COUP+goods various sell-TAM COP

‘She sells at a market. She sells various things.’

A3: gərə=kóʔ dùt-ʔay=ráy.

where=LOC sell-TAM=Q

‘Where does she sell?’

B3: gát+gəbà+kətà=kóʔ rê.

market+big+inside=LOC COP

ʔənù=ná seŋ=kóʔ məçà grày sa-ʔay rê.

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.

A1: ʔəpàn naŋ=kóʔ jəpan+làyka+bùk ñà-ʔay=ʔi.

PSN 2SG=LOC Japan+book+COUP exist-TAM=Q

‘Do you have any Japanese books, Ah Pan?’

B1: ñà-ʔay.

exist-TAM

‘Yes, I do.’

A2: bùk gədè ñà-ʔay=ráy.

CLF how.many exist-TAM=Q

‘How many books do you have?’

B2: bùk çi=dərám ñà-ʔay.

CLF ten=about exist-TAM

‘I have about ten.’

A3: grày lóʔ-ʔay=ʔi. ɲay=kóʔ=gò ləŋây=çà ɲà-ʔay.
 very many-TAM=SFP 1SG=LOC=TOP one=only exist-TAM
 gərə=khu lù+lá-ʔay=ráy.
 how=like get+take-TAM=Q
 ‘That’s a lot! I have only one. How did you get them?’

B3: mənəŋ ləŋây jəpan=kóʔ=ná çəgún=ya-ʔay.
 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.

A1: ʔəpàn, dàyní gərə=dèʔ sa=məyu-ʔay=ráy.
 PSN today where=ALL go=want-TAM=Q
 ‘Where do you want to go today, Ah Pan?’

B1: ɲay dàyní məlìʔ+ñmai+zùp sa=məyu-ʔay.
 1SG today PLN+PLN+congregate go=want-TAM
 nday=kóʔ=ná modo=thèʔ sa=rà=na=ʔi.
 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?’

A2: modo=thèʔ ní-sa=rà-ʔay. day=gò nàw ní-tsan-ʔay.
 car=COM NEG-go=OBRG-TAM it=TOP so.much NEG-far-TAM
 ləgo+lam khom=yàŋ dù-ʔay.
 leg+road walk=if arrive-TAM
 ‘You don’t have to go by taxi. It is not so far. We can go on foot.’

B2: ráy=tím yáʔ ɲay ləgo məcíʔ=to-ʔay. modo=thèʔ may sa=na=ʔi.
 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 sa-ʔay. day=khu ɲa modo=thèʔ sa-gàʔ.
 be.okay go-TAM that=like say car=COM go-HORT
 ‘Yes, we can. So, let’s go by taxi.’

B3: gədè jòʔ=rà=na=ráy.
 how.much give=OBRG=FUT=Q
 ‘How much will we have to pay?’

A4: khyiŋ+mi=dərám jòʔ=rà-ʔay.
 thousand+one=about give=OBRG-TAM
 ‘We’ll have to pay about one thousand.’

[9] Is there a shop selling jade near here?

A1: ʔəphû=ʔè, nday+grùp.yin=kóʔ lùŋ+seŋ dùt-ʔay seŋ ɲà-ʔay=ʔi.
 brother=SFP this+nearby=LOC stone+pure sell-NMLZ shop exist-TAM=Q
 ‘Excuse me, is there a shop selling jade near here?’

B1: ɲà-ʔay=lè. yáʔ lægo+lèŋ pru=wà-ʔay
 exist-TAM=SFP now leg+wheel come.out=COME-NMLZ
 ɕərə=ná məkaw=kóʔ ɲà-ʔay. mù-ʔay=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: m̄, mù-say, mù-say. day seŋ=kóʔ lùŋ+seŋ+ləkhôn dùt-ʔay=ʔi.
 yes see-TAM see-TAM that shop=LOC stone+pure+bracelet sell-TAM=Q
 lùŋ+seŋ+ləkhôn gəbà rà-ʔay rê.
 stone+pure+bracelet big need-TAM COP
 ‘Yes, I see it. Does that shop sell jade bracelets? I want a big one.’

B2: wórà seŋ=kóʔ gəbà-ʔay ní-ɲà=na=ɲú ɕəduʔ-ʔay.
 there shop=LOC big-NMLZ NEG-exist=FUT=QUOT think-TAM
 gəjì-ʔay=gò ɲà=na rê.
 small-NMLZ=TOP exist=FUT COP
 ‘I don’t think that shop sells big ones. Maybe they have small ones.’

A3: rê=ʔi. pha ráy=tîm sa=yu=na rê. céjú 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: ní-rà-ʔay=lo.
 NEG-need-TAM=SFP
 ‘You’re welcome.’

[10] Gourds are good if you fry them.

A1: ʔəsəŋ tawba+sì lá=wà=ya-ʔay. tawba+sì=phéʔ gərə=khu
 PSN gourd+fruit take=COME=BEN-TAM gourd+fruit=ACC how=like
 ɕá-ʔay=ráy. gəwá ɕá-ʔay bòʔ=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?’

- B1: *ń-rê. ʔəpɸyìʔ sèp=ná ɕá-ʔay bòʔ rê. tawba+sì=gò*
 NEG-COP husk peel=SEQ eat-NMLZ kind COP gourd+fruit=TOP
gəŋaw ɕá=yàŋ grày mu-ʔay. ɕá=məyɸ=yàŋ yáʔ gəŋaw=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.’
- B2: *gəŋaw=ŋút-say. cím=yu-ʔùʔ=lè. nday khri+pha=thèʔ gəthòk ɕá-ʔùʔ.*
 fry=finish-TAM taste=try-IMP=SFP this sour+what=COM dip eat-IMP
gərə=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?’
- A2: *grày mu-ʔay. ʔəpàn jəpan sa=ná wórà=kóʔ dùt=yàŋ gəja-ʔay.*
 very tasty-TAM PSN Japan go=SEQ there=LOC sell=if good-TAM
grày lù dùt=na rê.
 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 khùm ɕəròt tsun.*
 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 məjò ń-sa=rà-ʔay.*
 today school close-NMLZ because NEG-go=OBRG-TAM
ʔəwâ=má rúŋ 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 məcíʔ=ná ń-sa-say. məní məjəp grày ɕá=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.’

- B2: ?əwâ=mùŋ kham+gəja+lam løy mi sədi?-?ù?=lè.
 father=also healthy+good+way a.little take.care-IMP=SFP
 ‘Please take a little care of your health, Dad.’
- A3: sədi?=tîm byin=mât-?ay. n̄-ce-say.
 take.care=but happen=COMPL-TAM NEG-know-TAM
 ‘I take care, but it happens. There is no way out there.’
- B3: ?əwâ=gò ?ənû jəkhriŋkhr̄iŋ pòt=tîm n̄-mədàt-?ay=?i.
 father=TOP mother often scold=but NEG-listen-TAM=SFP
 grày yàk-?ay.
 very difficult-TAM
 ‘Although Mom often scolds you, you don’t listen to her. You’re difficult.’
- A4: n̄tâ=kó? gənù ləkhòŋ n̄à-?ay zòn=çè? r̄ê=?i.
 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: ŋay jəpan+làyka+bùk rà-?ay. nday làyka+bùk=thè?
 1SG Japan+book+COUP need-TAM this book+COUP=COM
 nday làyka+bùk gərə graw khrák-?ay=ráy.
 this book+COUP which more good-TAM=Q
 ‘I want a Japanese book. Which is better, this one or this one?’
- B1: nday=gò nday=thà? graw khrák-?ay=ŋú çədù?-?ay.
 this=TOP this=LOC more good-TAM=QUOT think-TAM
 pha=ná jəpan+làyka+bùk rà-?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: ŋay jəpan+gà+çərin+jòŋ lùŋ=to-?ay.
 1SG Japan+language+teach+school ascend=CONT-TAM
 ráy=tîm ŋay=kó? jəpan+làyka+bùk n̄-ŋà-?ay.
 COP=but 1SG=LOC Japan+book+COUP NEG-exist-TAM
 ‘I attend a Japanese conversation class. But I have no Japanese book.’
- B2: day=khu ŋa nyé? n̄tâ=kó? n̄à-?ay jò?=dàt=na=lè.
 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 làyka+bùk gəja-?ay=?i.
 that book+COUP good-TAM=Q
 ‘Is that book good?’

B3: gəja-ʔay. ɲay θí=ga-ʔay=kóʔ=ná gəja=dik rê.
 good-TAM 1SG read=EXP-NMLZ=LOC=ABL good=most COP
 ítâ=dèʔ khán+nəŋ=wà-ʔùʔ. yáʔ jòʔ=dàt=na.
 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.’

A4: grày ʔəgam-ʔay=lo.
 very hesitate-TAM=SFP
 ‘Thank you.’

B4: khùm ʔəgam=yô.
 PROH hesitate=SFP
 ‘Not at all.’

[13] Can you speak Atsi?

A1: ʔəpàn ʔəzí=khu ce ɕəga-ʔay=ʔi.
 PSN Atsi=like know speak-TAM=Q
 ‘Can you speak Atsi, Ah Pan?’

B1: í-ce ɕəga-ʔay. ʔədàw=gò=tó.
 NEG-know speak-TAM PSN=TOP=and.you?
 ‘I can’t. How about you, Ah Dau?’

A2: lòymi ce ɕəga-ʔay. mòy nóʔ+kúʔ+jòŋ=kóʔ
 a.little know speak-TAM ago worship+worship+school=LOC
 ɕəta mi ɕəríŋ=ga-ʔay 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+gà=gò ce ɕəga-ʔay=ʔi.
 China+language=TOP know speak-TAM=Q
 ‘Can you speak Chinese?’

A3: məwà+gà=gò ʔə-tsòm-ɕà ce ɕəga-ʔay.
 China+language=TOP ADV-beautiful-ADV know speak-TAM
 gəjì-ʔay ɕəlóy ítâ+məkaw=kóʔ=ná məwà+dìŋla ləŋây
 small-NMLZ when house+beside=LOC=GEN China+old.man one
 ɕəní=ɕəgù ɲay=phéʔ ɕəríŋ=ya-ʔay 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 ɲa mərù=khu=má ʔə-tsòm ce ɕəga-ʔay=ʔi.
 that=like say Maru=like=also ADV-beautiful know speak-TAM=Q
 ‘So, you can also speak Maru very well, can’t you?’

A4: m̄, ce ɕəga-ʔay=lè. ní-tá=kóʔ mərù+gà=ɕà
 yes know speak-TAM=SFP house=LOC Maru+language=only
 ɕəga=khàt-ʔay rê.
 speak=RECP-TAM COP
 ‘Yes, I can. I speak only Maru at home.’

B4: ʔò, day=khu=ʔi.
 INTJ that=like=Q
 ‘Oh, I see.’

[14] I like flute.

N1 ʔəpàn=gò bàt mi=thàʔ kəlàn sumpyi+səra=kóʔ sumpyi dùm ɕərin-ʔay.
 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.’

A1: ʔəpàn phaŋ=ná bàt gərə tèn báy sa ɕərin=na=ráy.
 PSN after=GEN week which time again come study=FUT=Q
 ‘What time will you come to study next week, Ah Pan?’

B1: jəphòt khyiŋ ɕi=kóʔ may sa=wà-ʔay=ʔi.
 morning clock ten=LOC be.okay come=COME-TAM=Q
 ‘Can I come at about ten o’clock in the morning?’

A2: ɲay jəphòt+məgá ní-raw-ʔay rê.
 ISG morning+side NEG-free-TAM COP
 nóʔ+kúʔ+jòŋ sa=rà-ʔay.
 worship+worship+school go=OBRG-TAM
 ‘I’m not free in the morning. I have to go to church.’

B2: day=khu ɲa ɕənáʔ+məgá khyiŋ məli=kóʔ=gò may-ʔay=ʔi.
 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: m̄, may-ʔay=lè. ráy=yàŋ=gò ɕənáʔ+məgá khyiŋ məli=kóʔ
 yes be.okay-TAM=SFP COP=if=TOP evening+side clock four=LOC
 khrúm-gàʔ=ʔi. ʔəpàn sumpyi ɕərin-ʔay pyo-ʔay=ʔi.
 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: grày pyo-ʔay, səra. sumpyi+ñsén=gò grày mädät pyo-ʔay.
 very fun-TAM teacher flute+sound=TOP very listen fun-TAM
 day məjò ɲay grày ràʔ-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.

- A1: ʔəséŋ ramram náʔ-ʔay=ʔí.
 PSN very spend-TAM=SFP
 ‘Ah Seng hasn’t come even now.’
- B1: ɲay ɕi=thèʔ khrúm-ʔay ɕəlóy=gò sa=wà=na=ɲú tsun-ʔay.
 1SG 3SG=COM meet-NMLZ when=TOP come=COME=FUT=QUOT say-TAM
 ń-sa-say=kún ń-ce-say.
 NEG-come-TAM=Q NEG-know-TAM
 ‘When I saw him, he said he would come. I wonder if he’s not coming.’
- A2: phàʔ+làp+seŋ=kóʔ dùŋ=ná là=yu-gàʔ=ʔi.
 tea+leaf+shop=LOC sit=SEQ wait=try-HORT=Q
 ‘Let’s wait for him in a tea shop.’
- B2: ɲay ɕoŋ ɕi=phéʔ foun ɕəgá=yu=na.
 1SG first 3SG=ACC phone call=try=FUT
 nɲ=kóʔ khriŋ nóʔ là-ʔùʔ=yô.
 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 ʔəséŋ=kóʔ foun ɕəgá=ná báy wà-ʔay.
 PSN=TOP PSN=LOC phone call=SEQ again return-TAM
 ‘After calling Ah Seng, Ah Pan came back.’
- A3: ɕi dàyní gùy gəwá khrúm-ʔay məjò ń-lù sa-say=dàʔ.
 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: ʔəgá, day=khu ɲa ɕi=kóʔ ləwan sa=ná ñgùn+jòʔ+gà sa tsun-gàʔ.
 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 jìŋphòʔ+múŋ=kóʔ pha sa gəlo-ʔay=ráy.
 PSN Jingpho+land=LOC what come do-TAM=Q
 ‘What did you come to do here in Kachin State, Ah Hkawn?’

- B1: ηay jìŋphò?+làyka çérín=na mətu jìŋphò?+múŋ=dè? sa=wà-?ay.
 1SG Jingpho+letter study=NMLZ for Jingpho+land=ALL come=COME-TAM
 ‘I came here to study Jingpho.’
- A2: jìŋphò?+múŋ=dè? sa=wà-?ay gədè ná?-say=ráy.
 Jingpho+land=ALL come=COME-NMLZ how.much spend-TAM=Q
 ‘How long have you been here?’
- B2: çəta sənít=dərám ráy-say.
 month seven=about COP-TAM
 ‘It’s been about seven months.’
- A3: çəta sənít=thè? day=rám ce tsun=màt-?ay=?i.
 month seven=COM that=about know say=COMPL-TAM=SFP
 maw+pha=wa=?i.
 surprised+what=EMPH=SFP
 jìŋphò?+múŋ í-sa=çì=yàŋ wórà=kó? çérín=dá-?ay=?i.
 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 í-çérín=wà-?ay. nday=kó? dù=yàŋ=çè?
 not.at.all NEG-study=COME-TAM this=LOC arrive=when=EMPH
 çérín=phaŋ-?ay.
 study=begin-TAM
 day məjò ləwan ce tsun=na mətu ramram 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: jìŋphò?+məkhón=má ce khón-?ay=?i.
 Jingpho+song=also know sing-TAM=Q
 ce khón=yàŋ bùk mi=dərám khón=dán-rìt.
 know sing=if CLF one=about sing=show-IMP.PROXIMAL
 ‘Can you sing a Jingpho song? If you can, please sing a song.’
- B4: məkhón khón=dán=na gəyà?-?ay=lo.
 song sing=show=NMLZ embarrassed-TAM=SFP
 phaŋ=dè?=çè? khón=dán=na.
 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: ɲay jìŋphòʔ+múŋ dù-ʔay=kóʔ=ná jìŋphòʔ+pəloŋ
 1SG Jingpho+land arrive-NMLZ=LOC=ABL Jingpho+dress
 ń-phún=ga=çì-ʔay. day məjò ɲay yáʔ pəloŋ sa məri=na.
 NEG-wear=EXP=still-TAM that because 1SG now dress go buy=FUT
 mənàw+pòy gəlo-ʔay çəlóy jìŋphòʔ+pəloŋ phún=yàŋ
 Manau+festival do-NMLZ when Jingpho+dress wear=if
 gəja-ʔay ń-rê=ʔi.
 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-ʔay. ʔəkhòn=gò jìŋphòʔ+pəloŋ phún=dá=yàŋ gəday=mùŋ
 that good-TAM PSN=TOP Jingpho+dress wear=RESL=if who=also
 màygàn+məçà=ŋú çədùʔ=na ń-rê.
 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 pəloŋ gədè=ráy.
 this dress how.much=Q
 ‘How much is this dress?’
- C1: mùn+məli+khyiŋ+məŋa rê.
 ten.thousand+four+thousand+five COP
 ‘It’s 45,000.’
- A3: phu-ʔay=ʔi. lòymi çə-yóm=ya-rìt=yô.
 expensive-TAM=SFP a.little CAUS-go.down=BEN-IMP.PROXIMAL=SFP
 ‘That’s too expensive. Please discount it a little.’
- C2: nday=gò mənəu day=rám=çà rê.
 this=TOP price that=about=only COP
 ń-may çə-yóm-say rê.
 NEG-be.okay CAUS-go.down-TAM COP
 ‘That’s a net price. I can’t discount it.’
- A4: mùn+məli tòn=ya-ʔùʔ=yô.
 ten.thousand+four put=BEN-IMP=SFP
 ‘Take 40,000.’

C3: day=khu ɲa m̀n+m̀li+khyiŋ+m̀sum t̀n=ya=na=ỳ.ò.
 that=like say ten.thousand+four+thousand+three put=BEN=FUT=SFP
 day=thà? ń-may ɕə-ỳóm-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.

A1: gr̀ay mỳit r̀ú?-ʔay. kh̀m=t̀iŋ m̀diʔ=m̀àʔ-say.
 very mind distress-TAM body=all wet=completely-TAM
 ‘This is too bad! My whole body got wet.’

B1: pha byin-ʔay=r̀ay. m̀raŋ kh̀rá=m̀àt-ʔay=ʔi.
 what happen-TAM=Q rain touch=COMPL-TAM=Q
 ‘What happened? You got caught in the rain?’

A2: r̀ê. j̀oŋ ń-lóm-ʔay ńt̀â=k̀óʔ=ná
 COP umbrella NEG-be.with-NMLZ house=LOC=ABL
 pru=ẁà=kh̀r̀up-ʔay. nday=r̀ám m̀raŋ g̀əb̀à=na ń-ɕəd̀ùʔ-ʔay.
 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.’

B2: mỳíʔc̀íná=k̀óʔ m̀raŋ+ta r̀ay=ỳaŋ ɕəní=ɕəg̀ù nday z̀òn th̀ùʔ-ʔay r̀ê.
 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.’

A3: ph̀ót=d̀èʔ=m̀á th̀ùʔ=na=ʔi.
 tomorrow=ALL=also rain=FUT=Q
 ‘Will it rain again tomorrow?’

B3: th̀ùʔ=na ń-th̀ùʔ=na ń-ce-ʔay. th̀ùʔ=ỳaŋ th̀ùʔ=na.
 rain=FUT NEG-rain=FUT NEG-know-TAM rain=if rain=FUT
 ‘I don’t know if it will rain. It may rain.’

A4: ɲay làç̀ù=k̀óʔ=ná m̀əç̀à r̀ê m̀əj̀ò ǹaw ń-ce-ʔay.
 1SG PLN=LOC=GEN people COP because so.much NEG-know-TAM
 làç̀ù=k̀óʔ ɲà-ʔay ɕəl̀óy g̀ərà sa=t̀ím j̀oŋ ń-laŋ-ʔay
 PLN=LOC live-NMLZ when where go=but umbrella NEG-carry-NMLZ
 sa kh̀om-ʔay.
 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: ?è, nday phəjèt=thè? ləwan gəsút=káw-?ù?
 INTJ this towel=COM fast wipe=thoroughly-IMP
 wó çàŋ=na tsàŋ=ná.
 cold enter=NMLZ afraid=SEQ
 ‘Hey, wipe your body with this towel right now, because I’m afraid you’ll catch a cold.’

[19] My car seems broken.

A1: ŋay phót=dè? cum+jòŋ sa=rà-?ay.
 1SG tomorrow=ALL authority+school go=OBRG-TAM
 modo=thè? khán sa=ya=na məçà tam=to+ŋà-?ay.
 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: ŋay khán sa=ya=na=lè.
 1SG follow go=BEN=FUT=SFP
 ‘I’ll take you.’

A2: may-?ay=?i.
 be.okay-TAM=Q
 ‘Is that OK?’

B2: may-?ay. sərəma=ná mətə ŋa=yàŋ gərəm=rà=na=ŋa=lè.
 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: céjú gəbà-say=yò. ŋay=ná modo=gò thèn=màt=sám-say.
 thanks big-TAM=SFP 1SG=GEN car=TOP broken=COMPL=seem-TAM
 jàk ní-may jə-sù-say.
 machine NEG-be.okay CAUS-get.up-TAM
 ‘Thank you! My car seems broken. I can’t even start the engine.’

B3: ŋay grám=ya=na. ŋay jàk+ráy=ni yòŋ ce grám-?ay.
 1SG repair=BEN=FUT 1SG machine+goods=PL all know repair-TAM
 ‘I’ll fix it for you. I can fix everything when it comes to machines.’

A4: rē=?i. phaŋ=dè? grám=rà-?ay ŋa=yàŋ ?əséŋ=phé?
 COP=Q after=ALL repair=OBRG-NMLZ exist=if PSN=ACC
 grám=çəŋún=na=yò. ?əséŋ=gò kàm may-?ay=?í.
 repair=CAUS=FUT=SFP PSN=TOP believe be.okay-TAM=SFP
 ráy=tím pha=ná dīŋkhu ní-çàŋ-?ay=ráy.
 COP=but what=SEQ household NEG-enter-TAM=Q
 ‘Is that so? In the future if I need to have something fixed, I will ask you to fix it.’

You are a reliable man! But, why haven't you gotten married?'

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

[20] I don't want to go back yet.

A1: ?əkhòn gəlóy jəpan wà=na=ráy.
PSN when Japan return=FUT=Q
'When will you go back to Japan, Ah Hkawn?'

B1: yá?=ná çəta=kó? wà=rà-?ay.
now=GEN month=LOC return=OBRG-TAM
gəja ŋa=yàŋ nəw ń-kam wà=çì-?ay.
really say=if so.much NEG-be.willing return=still-TAM
'I'll go back next month. Actually, I don't want to go back yet.'

A2: gəlóy jìŋphò?+mún=dè? báy sa=wà=na.
when Jingpho+land=ALL again come=COME=FUT
'When will you come back to Kachin State?'

B2: may byin=yàŋ dáyniŋ=kó? phaŋ kəlàn báy sa=wà=na.
be.okay happen=if this.year=LOC after once again come=COME=FUT
ləwan báy sa=wà lù=khrà ?əkyú phyí=ya-rìt=yô.
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.'

A3: day=dè? dù=yàŋ ?ánthe=phé? mələp=màt=na=kún.
that=ALL arrive=if 1PL=ACC forget=COMPL=FUT=Q
'When you are back there, I think you will forget us.'

B3: ŋay gəlóy=mùŋ jìŋphò?+mún=kó?=ná məçà=ni=phé? ń-mələp-?ay.
1SG when=also Jingpho+land=LOC=GEN people=PL=ACC NEG-forget-TAM
'I'll never forget the people of Kachin State.'

A4: jəpan báy dù=yàŋ pha gəlo=na=ráy.
Japan again arrive=if what do=FUT=Q
'What will you do when you are back in Japan?'

B4: mənàw+pòy=thè? seŋ-?ay làyka+bùk ka=na mətə
Manau+festival=COM relate-NMLZ book+COUP write=NMLZ for
myìt dá-?ay.
mind put-TAM
'I'm planning to write a book on the Manau festival.'

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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
∅	Zero	OBRG	Obligative
A	Transitive subject	P	Transitive object
ABL	Ablative	PL	Plural
ACC	Accusative	PLN	Place name
ADV	Adverbializer	POSS	Possessive
ALL	Allative	PROH	Prohibitive
AUX	Auxiliary	PSN	Person name
BEN	Benefactive	PURP	Purposive
C	Consonant	Q	Question particle
CAUS	Causative	QUOT	Quotation
CLF	Classifier	RECP	Reciprocal
COM	Comitative	REL	Relative clause
COMPL	Completive	RESL	Resultative
CONT	Continuous	S	Intransitive subject
COP	Copula	SEQ	Sequential
COUP	Couplet	SFP	Sentence-final particle
DEM	Demonstrative	SG	Singular
EMPH	Emphatic	TAM	Tense, aspect, mood
EXP	Experiential	TER	Terminative
FUT	Future	TOP	Topic
		V	Vowel

Appendix

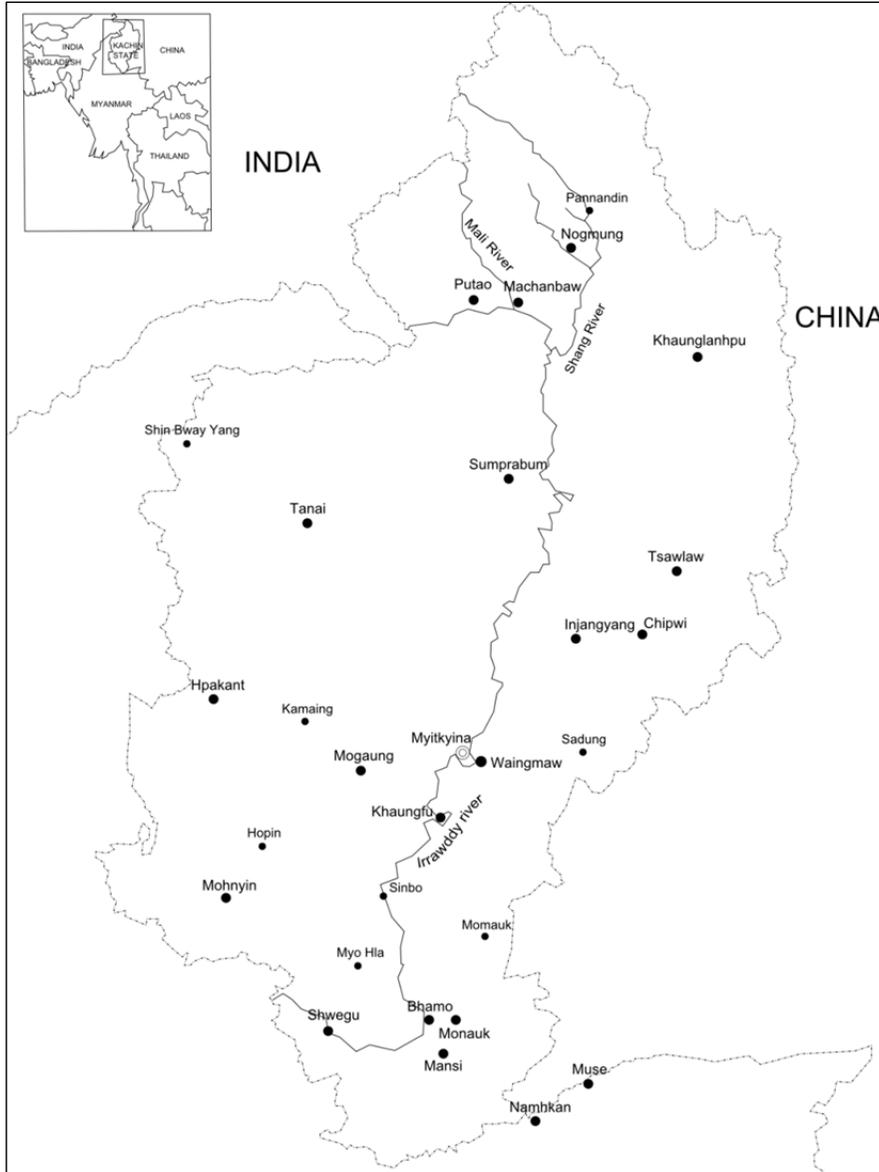


Figure 3 Map of Kachin State

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