Lahu utilizes an interesting array of morphemes and constructions, both in the noun phrase and the verb phrase, to express spatial concepts. These morphemes constitute a closed class of five members, each of which expresses a location or direction in space. This paper describes the semantic and pragmatic components of these spatial-encoding particles, as well as historical changes to these forms and their meanings.

KEYWORDS
particles, deictic, directional, locative, temporal, versatile verbs
On the expression of spatial concepts in Lahu

James A. Matisoff
University of California, Berkeley

1 Introduction

Spatial/locative-directional concepts are sometimes highly grammaticalized in Tibeto-Burman, notably in the Qiangic languages, which are famous for their systems of “directional prefixes” preposed to verbs to indicate the literal or figurative direction of the verbal event. Huang Bufan (1991:298-9) tabulates a total of 13 directional categories, with any given language having anywhere from 3 (Namuyi) to 10 (Ersu, Muya). A typical array is found in the Northern Qiang dialect of Ekou village in the Yadu Township of Mao County, Sichuan (see also Genetti and Sims on Yonghe Qiang and Lin on Cogtse rGyalrong, both in this volume):

(1)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tə-} & \quad \text{‘upward’} \\
\text{a-} & \quad \text{‘downward’} \\
\text{kə-} & \quad \text{‘inward’} \\
\text{ha-} & \quad \text{‘outward’} \\
\text{ȵə-} & \quad \text{‘upstream’} \\
\text{sə-} & \quad \text{‘downstream’} \\
\text{dzə-} & \quad \text{‘toward the center’} \\
\text{tha-} & \quad \text{‘away from the center’} \\
\text{da-} & \quad \text{‘uncertain direction’}
\end{align*}
\]

Lahu boasts nothing quite as neat as this, but it does utilize an interesting array of disparate morphemes and constructions, both in the NP and the VP, to express spatial concepts.

2 The spatial demonstratives (Nsd) [GL 51-52]

These morphemes constitute a closed class of five members, each of which expresses a location or direction in space (čbo ‘here’, o ‘there’, čo ‘way over there’, nó ‘up there’, mó ‘down there’), as indicated in Figure 1:

---

1 Data provided are from Matisoff (1973) The Grammar of Lahu and Matisoff (1988), The Dictionary of Lahu. Data from these works will be cited as GL and DL respectively, followed by the relevant page numbers.
Of particular interest are nô ‘up there’ and mô ‘down there’, a deictic opposition which is of special significance to hill-folk. We see this vertical dimension mapped onto body-part terms in nomenclature for Lahu villages. These have traditionally been located on mountain slopes and care is taken to distinguish the upper part of the village (qhâʔ-ú, lit. “village head”) from the lower part (qhâʔ-mè, lit. “village tail”).

Note that considerable paradigmatic leveling has occurred, so that all members of the class have the same vowel, and all of them (except for chò) are under the same high-falling tone /atonin/. The Nsd's occur with special frequency before the locative noun-particles (discussed in 4.0 below). The word ô-ve, consisting of ô ‘there’, in combination with the genitive particle ve, is the usual Lahu way of saying ‘that’, which can appear either before or after the noun it modifies: ô-ve chò ‘that person’, ô-pô ô-ve ‘that shirt’. This is the only demonstrative in Lahu that is constructed in this way; for example, the proximal demonstrative ‘this’ is chi, which is distinct from the proximal locational deictic ‘here’ chò.

There is an iconic dimension to the Nsd’s. All of them (except chò) may be pronounced with exaggerated high-to-low-to-mid pitch and extra-long vowel in order to convey a greater distance in the spatial dimension in question: mô ô ‘down there’, mô-ô-ô ô ‘way down there’.

3 Classes of Lahu particles [GL 42-46]

There are dozens of particles that constitute the backbone of Lahu grammar. They are divided into three major classes, one of which has three subclasses:

1. noun-particles (Pn): occur only after nouns (or another noun-particle)
2. verb-particles (Pv): occur only after verbs (or another verb-particle)
3. unrestricted particles (Pu): may directly follow either a noun or a verb, or another particle, as well as certain adverbials
   a. non-final unrestricted particles (Punf): occur only in non-final clauses
   b. final unrestricted particles (Puf): occur only in final clauses
   c. universal unrestricted particles (Puniv) occur in both final and non-final clauses

Locational meanings are expressed by particles in the first two of these classes.
4 Locative noun-particles [GL 162-166]

Four of the noun-particles have general locative meanings. They specify neither the direction of motion nor even motion versus rest. The proper interpretation depends on the verb of the clause, or the sentence as a whole.

(a) lo [GL 162-3; DL 1377-8]

Probably derived from the widespread PTB etymon *lam ‘road/pathway’, lo is rather more formal than the other locative Pn’s. According to context, it is to be translated either as ‘in/at’, or ‘to/into’ or ‘out of/from’:

(2) há-qo lo mì chê ve
cave LOC sit PROG NOM
'(He’s) sitting in the cave.’

(3) há-qo lo lò e ò
cave LOC enter away CHANGE OF STATE
'(He) has already gone into the cave.’

(4) há-qo lo tò e ò
cave LOC emerge away CHANGE OF STATE
'(He) has already come out of the cave.’

(b) ɔ̄ [GL 163-4, 175; DL 222]

The most general use of this particle is as a weak topicalizer, in which function it is a non-final unrestricted particle (Punf):

(5) yɔ̄ qò? ve ɔ̄ à-thò?-ma le
3p say NOM Punf what QST
‘What is it that he’s saying?’

(6) u-pà-mà te qo ɔ̄ ...
example make if Punf
‘For example…’

After nouns referring to places, however, this particle has acquired a weak locative force, where it is to be considered a noun–particle (Pn):
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(7) yè 5
    house LOC
    ‘At the house; in the house; from the house; to the house’

(8) ai-qho 5
    market LOC
    ‘At/from/to the market’

(9) bò-laʔ-qò 3-šè-pbà cho-ší-mà 5 ve cho yà
    boat master land.of.the.dead LOC GEN person AFF
    ‘The master of the boat is a person from the land of the dead.’

The first NP in the following sentence illustrates both functions of this hard-working particle:

(10) nò 5 qo 5 mi bà jà
    up.there LOC TOPIC TOPIC ground steep very
    Nsd Pn Punf Punf N Vadj Vv
    ‘As for up there, the ground is very steep.’

(c) kà? [GL 164-5; DL 331]

This particle occurs after very few nouns, but these are among the most frequently occurring ones in the language: the spatial demonstratives (discussed in 2.0 above) and the interrogative noun qhò ‘where’:

cho kà? ‘here’; nòkà? ‘up there’; mòkà? ‘down there’; qhò kà? ‘where?’

Like the other locative Pn’s, kà? is neutral with respect to direction: cho kà? may mean, according to context, ‘here’ or ‘to here’ or ‘from here’.

Historically kà? is probably derived from the classifier for places, kà, plus the accusative noun-particle thà? ~ à?.

This particle is certainly not to be identified with the homophonous Punf that means ‘also’ or ‘even’ (GL 176, 426-7; DL 332-3), as in the following:

(11) ñà kà? qay
    1p ALSO go
    ‘I’ll go too./Even I will go.’ [post-nominal use]

(12) nò qay kà? ñà mà qay
    2p go EVEN 1s NEG go
    ‘Even if you go, I won’t go.’ [post-verbal use]
This particle is more colloquial and a bit more emphatic than the other locative Pn’s. It may occur in sequence with a preceding kàʔ and/or a following lo.  

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{there} & \text{LOC} & \text{Pn} & \text{bird-fat} & \text{this 3p} & \text{chair} & \text{ACC smear BENEF NOM}
\end{array}
\]

‘He smeared the bird-fat right there on her chair.’

In the vagueness of its semantic content bo seems most similar to ò, and may even be related to it historically.

5 Directional verb-particles (e and la) [GL 318-322]

Two members of the class of directional verb particles (Pv’s) have the opposite meanings of ‘motion away from a center of interest’ (e) vs. ‘motion toward a center of interest’ (la). The motion may be either literal or figurative:

(a) The Pv e

The Pv e is derived from PTB *ʔay ‘go’ [HPTB 209, 482-3]. In most cases it conveys the literal meaning of transitive/outward motion:

\[
hà e ‘go spend the night’; phɔ e ‘run away/flee’; pə e ‘send away/send off’
\]

Occasionally, however, the motion is entirely figurative:

\[
sɪ e ‘die/pass away’; kàe ‘overhear; catch the sound of’; pɔ e ‘be all gone/be used up’
\]

After adjectival verbs or action verbs referring to processes, e may convey a movement that is figurative in a temporal sense, indicating a continuous becoming through time (usually from the present to the future), or the progressively greater realization of a state:

\[
\text{chu e ‘get fat; continue to get fat; get fatter and fatter’}
\]

In both its literal and figurative senses, the meaning of e is practically identical to that of the post-head versatile verb qay (see Section 9.0 below):

\[
yù e (V + Pv) ‘take away’ \quad yù qay (Vh + Vv) ‘take away’
\]

\[
kì e (V + Pv) ‘get more and more rotten’ \quad kì qay (Vh + Vv) ‘get more and more rotten’
\]

In fact, qay ‘go’ is the only native Lahu word ending in the diphthong –ay, and is probably a fusion of *ka, another PTB etymon meaning ‘go’ (HPTB 484) plus *ʔay: *ka-ay > qay.

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2 For attested sequences of Pn’s within a single NP, see GL 155 (Fig. 8).
3 HPTB refers to The Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman (Matisoff 2003).
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The following sentence illustrates several categories of spatial morphemes simultaneously, including mô (Nsd), hɔ́ (Mpfx), ɔ̄ (Pn), ca (vV) and e (Pv):

(14) nga mô hɔ́ ɔ̄ ca ə e
Pron Nsd Mpfx Pn vV Vh Pv
1p down.there below LOC go wait away
‘I’ll go and wait down below there.’

(b) The Pv la

In its more concrete sense, la functions as a Pv of motion opposite in meaning to e, indicating cisative motion, motion toward the center of interest:

pə la ‘come flying’; pə la ‘send hither’; yu la ‘bring to’; phə la ‘come fleeing’

In its more figurative usage, la indicates becoming, imminence, a gradual approach to a present or future state of affairs. This is similar to the figurative use of e; however, e implies a greater continuity and a longer duration of action, and is more future-oriented than la:5

s̄i la ‘be moribund/about to die’; pə la ‘be almost finished’; bū? la ‘be nearly satiated’;

s̄i la ‘come to know/realize’; dā? la ‘get better/improve’; chu la ‘be nearly fat’6

This Pv is morphophonemically related both to the full verb là (9.0 below), and to the non-3rd person benefactive Pv là (GL 324-330).

Even though the meanings of e and la are diametrically opposed, they may both co-occur in the same VP, with either of two meanings:

(a) When both particles have their literal motive meanings, the sequence e + la indicates an action involving first a going and then a coming:

(15) mô ə-qá qhə ɔ̄ chə te tə ve s̄i-ɔ̄ ca təʔ e la-ʔ
Nsd N Mpfx Pn Vh Vv Pv Puniv N vV Vh Pv Pv
down river above LOC chop leave PERF REL logs go carry away hither

‘Go and carry back here the logs we chopped and left down there above the river.’

(b) When e is used to show figurative away-ness and la to show imminence, the sequence e + la means ‘imminent transitivity’:

---

4 ca, which means ‘seek/look for’ as a main verb, here occurs as a ‘pre-head versatile verb’ meaning ‘go and [perform the action of the verb-head]’.

5 While e indicates a ‘continuously greater realization of an already existent state of affairs, la implies a ‘gradual approach to a state of affairs’.

6 Vs. chu e ‘get fatter and fatter’.
The expression šɨ-e-la-yò has been lexicalized into something like English ‘dreadfully/frightfully/to death’. This is undoubtedly a calque on Thai càʔ taaǰ ‘to death’, and is used now in colloquial Lahu as a rather breathless emphatic tag after verbs:

(17) ŋà 5 mâʔ šɨ-e-la-yò
Pron  N  V
1p  food  hungry
‘I’m so hungry I could die; I’m starving to death.’

6  Locative nouns: spatial prefixable morphemes [GL 57, 73-4, 104, 115-6, 309, 528]

The most important prefix in Lahu is ɔ̀-, which occurs before hundreds of roots, both nominal and verbal. This prefix (< PTB *ʔaŋ-. [See HPTB 522], was probably originally a 3rd person pronominal affix: ye ve ɔ̀-qhò ‘inside the house’ (< “house-its-interior”). There is a set of eleven prefixable morphemes (Mpfx’s) which indicate relative spatial locations:

(18) ‘above/on top of (and touching)’ (ɔ̀-)thà?
‘above/over (not necessarily touching)’ (ɔ̀-)qhò~ (ɔ̀-)qhòʔ
‘underneath’  (ɔ̀-)bò
‘between’  (ɔ̀-)kā
‘in the middle’  (ɔ̀-)qò-ji
‘in back of/behind’  (ɔ̀-)qhòʔ-nò
‘in front of/before’  (ɔ̀-)gù-sì
‘in front of and above’  (ɔ̀-)na
‘inside’  (ɔ̀-)qhò
‘outside’  (ɔ̀-)bà
‘nearby’  (ɔ̀-)pà(-ne)

These words appear as possessed nouns in genitival constructions in both their prefixed and unprefixed forms, connected to their possessor nouns by the subordinating particle ve:

šɨ-e ve ɔ̀-qhò ‘the place above the trees’ / šɨ-e ɔ̀-qhòʔ ‘up in the tree’ / šɨ-e ɔ̀-qhò’treetop’

As in genitival compounds in general, there are three degrees of semantic bonding between the possessor and the thing possessed:

---

7 There are fully 86 pages of entries beginning with this prefix in DL (pp. 134-220). Morphemes which can take this prefix are called "prefixable morphemes" (Mpfx’s).
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\[ \text{vàʔ ve ʔ-sā } \] ‘the flesh of a pig’  \[ \text{vàʔ ʔ-sā } \] ‘pig-meat’  \[ \text{vàʔ-śā } \] ‘pork’

7 The time-space continuum and the ʔ-Ỉşī problem [GL 183-5; 477]

As in a great many languages (Traugott 1974, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Haspelmath 1997, Radden 2004), a number of Lahu spatial morphemes have acquired temporal meanings as well. These include several of the spatial Mpfx’s listed above (6.0):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3-)qhɔ̄ inside</th>
<th>Spatial</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ye ʔ-qhɔ̄</td>
<td>‘inside the house’</td>
<td>têqhɔ̄ ʔ ve ʔ-qhɔ̄ lo ‘in the course of a year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3-)pā-ne’ vicinity</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>mûphɔ̀ la pā-ne’ ‘nearly get dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye ʔ-pā-ne’</td>
<td>‘near the house’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3-)qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ’ behind /in back of</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>chi qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ’ ‘after this/henceforth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye ʔqhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ’</td>
<td>‘behind the house’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3-)gû-ṣī’ in front of</td>
<td>before</td>
<td>ʔ-gû-ṣī ʔ̀ pha ‘formerly/in the past’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye ʔgû-ṣī’</td>
<td>‘in front of the house’</td>
<td>ʔ-gû-ṣī qo ‘after this/henceforth’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the examples indicate, the most interesting of these are the last two on the list. There is no doubt that the basic spatial meaning of (3-)gû-ṣī is ‘front’, while that of (3-)qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ is ‘back’. When used temporally, (3-)qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ always has reference to later time, to the future, e.g.:

(20) \( \text{màʔ bɔ̄ʔ dàʔ ve (3-)qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ} \)
N  V  Pv  Puniv  Mpfx-spat/temp  war  fight  mutually  REL  after
‘after the war is over’

The idea seems to be that future time is like the back of an object. It is the part of life that is hidden from view, the part we have not yet seen. If so, we’d expect that (3-)gû-ṣī would have reference to the past, whose face we have seen already, and indeed this is sometimes the case:

(21) \( \text{chi ʔ-gû-ṣī ɲa-bi ti-mi mà ʔa te cā ʔɔ ʔē} \)
Det  Mpfx-spat/temp  Pron  N  Adv  vV  Vh  Vv  Pv  Pv
This  before  we  paddy.fields  NEG  get  to  cultivate  to.eat  EXP  yet
‘Before this we have never yet cultivated wet-rice fields.’

The trouble is that ʔ-gû-ṣī may just as easily refer to the future:
Indeed ɔ̀-qhɔ̀-nɔ may be substituted for ɔ̀-gū-ši in this last example, with no change in meaning.

The Lahu conception of time embodied in the word ɔ̀-gū-ši is reminiscent of the two-headed Roman god Janus, who could look simultaneously backwards into the past and forwards into the future. The correct interpretation of this word in any given instance depends on other clues in the sentence or elsewhere in the discourse. An especially neat way of disambiguating ɔ̀-gū-ši by means of morphemes within the NP is via the particles thâ ‘temporal’ and qo ‘if; when’:

ɔ̀-gū-ši thâ ‘formerly/in the past’  ϰ-Ʌ ϵ[½]

English shows similar vacillation of deictic viewpoint with respect to the flow of time. When we speak of someone ‘following’ us in the spatial sense, the follower is behind us. Yet when we extend the word ‘follow’ to the temporal realm, the orientation is reversed. Things which follow in time are conceived of as being in front of the point in time where one is at the moment.8

It is rather like looking at a two-dimensional drawing of a cube, where first one, than another of the surfaces appears to be closer to the viewer.

8 Locative specifying nouns (Nspec) and the FROM problem [GL167-8; 309]

The exact nature of the spatial relationship between a noun and a following verb is very often left unexpressed by any locative morpheme, but is rather to be deduced from the semantic features of the verb itself. English translations of these constructions usually involve locative prepositions:

(23)  á-qhɔ chê ‘stay at home’  i-kâ pā-ti? ‘sink into the water’
    hâ-qo is? ‘come out of a cave’  yâ-qɔ juć ‘walk along a road’
    i-mûce ‘fall from a horse’  ye ço ‘go around a house’
    ci-qhɔ qay ‘go to market’  mevê-gû khâ ‘be stuck in a swamp’

In GL, the nouns in this construction are called locative specifying nouns (Nspec). No locative particles may be inserted between the Nspec and the verb in most cases.

Of particular interest is the disparate variety of Lahu constructions that must be brought to bear to translate English prepositional phrases with from:

8 A similar shift of deictic center frequently occurs with verbs like bring and take. If I’m at home I might say either “I’m going to take this book to my office today” or “I’m going to bring this book to my office today”. I could equally well use either verb if I were in my office: “I’m going to take/bring this book home today.” It all depends on where one’s internal deictic center is at the moment.
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(a) Most often the “fromness” is part of the semantic core of the verb itself, and requires no further overt expression:

(24) ḩɛʔ-pi-qho 5 və ca tbo qɔʔ la ḷ
jungle LOC bamboo go chop return CIS COMP
‘(He’s) come back from cutting bamboo in the jungle.’

(25) nɔ ye le b3-qɔ 6-ve le və à là
2p house and river that TOP far EMPH QST
‘Is your house far from that river?’

The noun which is the object of from in the English translation may be followed by the accusative Pn thàʔ, by the comitative Pn ge, or by any of the trio of locative Pn’s discussed in 4.0:

(26) yɔ̆-b1 thɔʔ nà-bi ɣa phbɔʔ dáʔ tū yɔ̆
3p-PL ACC 1p-PL must separate mutually FUT AFF
‘We’ll have to separate from them.’

(27) yɔ̆ ge bɔʔ yà qhɔʔ
t3 COMIT quickly take back
‘Hurry and take it back from him.’

(28) mɔʔ-qɔ lo à-mī tɔʔ la ve
mouth LOC fire emerge CIS NOM
‘Fire came out from his mouth.’

(b) Sometimes Lahu expresses an ablative meaning by means of a spatial prefixable morpheme (see section 5.0 above) referring to the position of the object before the separation or withdrawal took place:9

(29) t-kàʔ qho tɔʔ la ḷ
water INSIDE emerge CIS COMPL’V
‘It came from [inside] the water.’

(30) t-mù qhɔ bàʔ yàʔ mè
horse OVER quickly descend URGE
‘Hurry and get down from [on top of] the horse!’

9 In this construction the prefixable morpheme usually occurs without the prefix.
(31) ɲà làʔ-sè qhò yù qhò-gà là
1p hand INSIDE take back want QST
‘Do you want to take it back from [inside] my hand?’

(c) In correlative expressions of the form ‘from NP1 to NP2’, the place-from-which (NP1) is followed by
the clause te lɛ, composed of the verb te ‘do’ and the suspensive non-final unrestricted particle lɛ, meaning
literally “having done”. The idea here is evidently that “being done with this place, we proceed FROM it to
another point”. The place-to-which (NP2) is marked either by the locative Pn ɔ̀ or the extensive noun qha-gà ‘up to; until’:

(32) Há-ni hɔ́ ɔ̄ te lɛ mò ɔ̄ gà-ʔ qò lâ a ve
Red.Rock below LOC down LOC drive.out BENEF PERF NOM
‘(They) drove (them) out for us from below Red Rock downwards.’

(33) ɔ̀-hɔ́ te qhàʔ te le ɔ̀-na te qhàʔ qha-gà qay gà
lower one village upper one village up.to go want
‘(I) want to go from the lower village to the upper village.’

9 Post-head versatile verbs of motion (GL 222-5)

Many TB languages are remarkable for the ease with which two or more verbs may be strung together
or concatenated by simple juxtaposition to form complex verbal nuclei. There is a sizable class of Lahu verbs
that are distinguished by their ability to co-occur as modifiers with large numbers of other verbs. This
“juxtapository productivity” earns them the sobriquet of versatile verbs (VV). Those which occur before
their head verb (Vh) are called pre-head versatile verbs (vV), while those which occur after the Vh are called
post-head versatile verbs (Vv).

One well-defined subtype of Vv’s are the “juxtacapitals”, which occur directly after the head verb,
with meanings related to motion or directionality. These are mutually exclusive when both are functioning
as versatile verbs, but there is nothing to stop one of them from functioning as a main verb with a juxtacapital
modifying it, e.g. ɔ tāʔ (Vh + Vv) ‘spiral upward’, hà qhɔ́ʔ (Vh + Vv) ‘throw back’ (see below). These verbs of
motion often neatly translate the complementary adverbs in English phrasal verbs, like ‘out’, ‘away’, ‘up’,
‘down’, etc.

9.1 IN and OUT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning as Vh</th>
<th>Meaning as Vv</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kɔ́</td>
<td>‘insert’</td>
<td>‘Vh into’</td>
<td>jũʔ kɔ́ ‘impale’ (“stab into”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mɔ̄d kɔ́ ‘blow into’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>câʔ kɔ́ ‘push into’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 See Matisoff (1969) as well as the long section on “verb concatenation” in GL, pp. 199-265. Some Lahu versatile
verbs are quite concrete in meaning, while others are more abstract. Those on the more abstract end of the spectrum
are somewhat similar to what are usually called “auxiliary verbs” in Western languages.
### 9.2 COMING and GOING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Meaning as Vv</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>là 12</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>‘come in order to Vh’</td>
<td>qə-mí là ‘come to sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ca gí là ‘come to visit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qay</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>‘go and Vh; Vh away’</td>
<td>lē-gē qay ‘go and play’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yù qay ‘take away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>me qay ‘vanish away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jūqay ‘go walking’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.3 UP and DOWN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning as Vh</th>
<th>Meaning as Vv</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tâʔ</td>
<td>‘climb; ascend’</td>
<td>‘Vh upward’</td>
<td>phō tâʔ ‘flee upward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jāʔ tâʔ ‘sneak upward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>co tâʔ ‘spiral upward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yàʔ</td>
<td>‘descend’</td>
<td>‘Vh downward’</td>
<td>pōʔ yàʔ ‘jump down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lēʔ yàʔ ‘swim downstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pu yàʔ ‘roll down’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.4 BACK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning as Vh</th>
<th>Meaning as Vv</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qò</td>
<td>‘give away; deliver’</td>
<td>‘Vh back; Vh away’</td>
<td>hō qò ‘chase away by shouting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dōʔ qò ‘beat back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gōʔ qò ‘drag away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qhśʔ</td>
<td>‘bring/take back’</td>
<td>‘Vh in return’</td>
<td>hōʔ qhśʔ ‘get sthg back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bà qhśʔ ‘throw back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>te qhśʔ ‘do in reprisal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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11 lò differs slightly from Ṽo in that it only occurs after Vh’s which are themselves verbs of motion.

12 This verb is to be distinguished from the morphophonemically related verb-particle Ṽa, under a different tone, above 5.0.
9.5 **IN and OUT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning as Vh</th>
<th>Meaning as Vv</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bà</td>
<td>‘throw; discard’</td>
<td>‘Vh away/irrevocably’</td>
<td>tú bà ‘burn away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thê bà ‘kick over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>q hè bà ‘chip away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ce</td>
<td>‘fall (from a height)’</td>
<td>‘Vh downward; Vh so it falls’</td>
<td>b_plots ce ‘shoot down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bà ce ‘throw down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gà ce ‘hunt down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pə</td>
<td>‘send’</td>
<td>‘send to Vh ; set in motion by Vh’</td>
<td>b_plots pə ‘send to sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>phû pə ‘knock sthg over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cà pə ‘push away’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.6 **IN and OUT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning as Vh</th>
<th>Meaning as Vv</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>co</td>
<td>‘go around; turn’</td>
<td>‘Vh around; go around Vh’</td>
<td>co mi ‘sit in a circle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>co ti ‘plant around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>co ni ‘look around’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 **Conclusion**

This quick *tour d’horizon* of Lahu spatial constructions has raised a number of interesting issues for further discussion:

- The differing degrees of grammaticalization illustrated by the various syntactic and semantic resources used to express spatial concepts.
- The derivation of spatial particles from earlier root-morphemes.
- The quasi-universal relationship between spatial and temporal concepts.
- Possible shifts in deictic viewpoint with respect to space and time.
- The division of the work of expressing spatial concepts between the NP and the VP.
- The often covert semantic/syntactic relationship between a noun and the following verb.
- The incommensurability of cross-linguistic spatial concepts, as illustrated by the diverse Lahu ways to translate the English preposition *from*.
- The semantic bleaching of spatial verbs when concatenated with other verbs.
ABBREVIATIONS

ACC  accusative
Adv  adverb
COMP complementizer
AFF  affirmative
CIS  cisative
COMIT comitative
COMP comitative
DL  Dictionary of Lahu (Matisoff 1988)
EMPH emphatic
EXP experiential
FUT  future
GEN  genitive
GL  Grammar of Lahu (Matisoff 1973/1982)
HBTB Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman (Matisoff 2003)
LOC  locative
NOM nominalizer
MpfX prefixable morpheme
Nsd spatial demonstrative noun
\ specifying noun
PL Proto-Loloish
Pn  noun particle
PROG progressive
PROX proximate
Pu  unrestricted particle
Pu\f final unrestricted particle
Punf non-final unrestricted particle
Puniv universal unrestricted particle
Pr  verb particle
QST question
REL relativizer
Spat/Temp spatial/temporal
TOP topicalizer
Vadj adjectival verb
Vh  verb head
VV  versatile verb
vV  pre-head versatile verb
Vv  post-head versatile verb

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James A. Matisoff
matisoff@berkeley.edu