

An abstract painting featuring a large, dark, organic shape in the upper left, surrounded by swirling bands of yellow, green, and red. Below this, there are several smaller, concentric circular forms in shades of orange, red, and green, set against a background of warm, textured colors like pink and yellow. The overall style is expressive and gestural.

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≡≡≡ The Oxford Handbook of
**DERIVATIONAL
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CHAPTER 34

SINO-TIBETAN

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JACKSON T.-S. SUN

ALTHOUGH there is a fairly wide consensus on the existence of a Sino-Tibetan family of languages, there is considerable disagreement among scholars regarding its exact internal structure and the hierarchical relations between its members (Jacques forthcoming: 1, van Driem 2011). Many languages in this family are furthermore not well documented or studied. This chapter will not attempt to address or take a stand on genetic affiliations, but will instead simply outline the derivational morphology of three representative Sino-Tibetan languages: Standard Chinese, standard written or Classical Tibetan, and Rgyalrong, a minority language spoken in Sichuan province, China. Perhaps the most high-profile Sino-Tibetan language besides Chinese and Tibetan is Burmese, the national language of Myanmar, which is, however, not treated in this volume. For detailed information on the morphology of Burmese, see Okell and Allott (2001). For recent overviews of the Sino-Tibetan family, see Thurgood and LaPolla (2003), van Driem (2003), and Handel (2008).

PART 1 STANDARD CHINESE

KAREN STEFFEN CHUNG

34.1 INTRODUCTION

Standard Chinese, also called Mandarin Chinese, is the national language of both the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, and one of the official languages of Singapore. It belongs to the Sinitic sub-family of Sino-Tibetan, which includes all Han Chinese dialects. Standard Chinese is based on the Northern Han dialect spoken in and around Beijing. Ethnologue cites a 2000 census giving the number of speakers as 840,000,000 and increasing.

34.7 CONVERSION

Conversion is common in Chinese. Most content words can easily be used as nouns, and may be preceded by the possessive enclitic particle 的 *de*, for example 漂亮 *piàoliang* is 'pretty'; 她的漂亮 *tāde piàoliang* 'her prettiness.' Nouns are often used as adjectives, sometimes poetically; one commonly-cited example is 今天的天空多麼希臘 *jīntiān de tiānkōng duōmo Xīlà* "How 'Greece' the sky is today," suggesting a sky that is a deep Mediterranean blue. Nouns are less often borrowed directly for use as verbs; incorporation is preferred—see examples below. In a few cases, tone distinguishes nouns from verbs, for example the noun "nail" is pronounced in the first tone 釘 *dīng*, as in 釘子 *dīngzi* 'a nail,' while the verb "to nail" is pronounced with the fourth tone 釘 *dìng*, thus the cognate VO phrase 釘釘子 *dīng dīngzi*, 'to pound in a nail'; the noun for "drill" is pronounced in the fourth tone: 鑽 *zuàn*, as in 電鑽 *diànzuàn* 'electric drill,' while the verb is pronounced in the first tone, 鑽 *zuān*, as in 鑽洞 *zuāndòng* 'to drill a hole'; and 處 *chù*, in the fourth tone, is 'place,' while 處 *chǔ*, in the third tone, is 'to be located at/in, to manage.'

34.8 INCORPORATION

Verbs with an incorporated noun may be literal, for example 手洗 *shǒuxǐ* [hand + to wash] 'to hand wash'; 目睹 *mùdǔ* [eye + to see] 'to witness with one's own eyes'; 面議 *miànyì* [face + to discuss] 'to discuss in person, face-to-face'; or metaphorical, like English 'to pinpoint,' 'to cherry-pick': 冰釋 *bīngshì* [ice + to release] 'to melt/dissolve away like ice'; 瓜分 *guāfēn* [melon + to divide] 'to divide up as though cutting a melon, to divvy up, to share the pie'; 蜂擁 *fēngyōng/yǒng* [bee + to crowd together] 'to swarm' (Chung 2006: 74–82).

For more comprehensive coverage of derivational morphology in Chinese, the reader is referred to Chao (1968).

PART 2 TIBETAN

NATHAN W. HILL

34.9 BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

In the 7th century the Tibetan empire expanded across the Tibetan plateau and eventually throughout Central Asia (Beckwith 1993). In 650 writing was introduced as

an administrative exigency of running an empire (N. W. Hill 2010c: 110–12); the earliest extant documents date from a century later. Tibetan linguistic history is conventionally divided between Old Tibetan (11th century and earlier) and Classical Tibetan (later texts). Tibetan boasts a vast literature with a wide variety of genres, and the family of Tibetic languages spoken today is comparable in size and diversity to the Romance languages (Tournadre 2008: 282–3). Most researchers see Tibetan as a member of a language family which also includes Burmese and Chinese; this family is known by names including “Tibeto-Burman,” “Sino-Tibetan,” and “Trans-Himalayan,” of which the last is the most neutral and accurate (cf. van Driem 2012).

34.10 PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX

The Tibetan alphabet distinguishes twenty-nine consonants (k, kh, g, ŋ, c, ch, j, ñ, t, th, d, n, p, ph, b, m, ts, tsh, dz, w, z, ž, h, y, r, l, ś, s, h) and five vowels (a, e, i, o, u); the alphabet is a good, but not perfect match to Old Tibetan phonology (cf. Hill 2010c). Syllables are distinguished with explicit punctuation. The limitation of onset clusters to word initial syllables provides a possible definition for a language specific phonemic word; most lexemes so defined would be disyllabic. Old Tibetan did not have tone and the tonal systems of those modern Tibetic languages that possess them derive transparently from segmental phonology. Tibetan has agglutinative morphology and ergative alignment (Tournadre 1996); it exhibits *Gruppenflexion*, with ten morphological cases (cf. Hill 2012). Tibetan lacks any agreement systems, but verbal suffixes indicate switch reference (Andersen 1987, Zadoks 2000, 2002, Haller 2009). Tibetan verbal inflection is complex, with four verb stems showing a variety of ablaut, stem alternation, prefixes and suffixes (e.g. present *h̄dzin*, past *bzuñ*, future *gzuñ*, imperative *zuñs* ‘take’). However, the various stems derive from roots through the application of a small number of affixes with subsequent sound changes obscuring the system (cf. Coblin 1976, N. W. Hill 2010a). One of the few components of verbal inflection yet to receive full clarification is an ablaut from *-a-* to *-o-* in the past stem of a handful of verbs (e.g. *za*, *zos*, *bzah*, *zo*, ‘eat’). Following the technique of Meillet (1925: 25) to locate inherited morphology among irregularities, Jacques (2010b, 2012b) sees this *-o-* in the past as a fragmentary reflex of an erstwhile **u* third-person object agreement suffix also confronted in Rgyalrong and Kiranti; LaPolla (2012) disagrees. Both authors overlook the existence of this pattern in verbs aside from ‘eat’ (e.g. *h̄deñ*, *doñ*, —, — ‘disappear,’ *h̄chah*, *h̄chos*, *h̄chah*, *h̄cho* ‘chew, gnaw,’ *lan̄*, *loñs*, *lan̄*, — ‘finish,’ cf. Hill 2010a: 89, 148, 279).

Very little is securely known about Tibetan derivational morphology and it is difficult to determine when a purported derivational affix was productive. Here it is not feasible to describe the morphology of any particular *état de langue*, I instead survey the findings of available research on ‘Classical Tibetan,’ with occasional reference to Lhasa dialect.

34.11 VOICING ALTERNATION

Many authors point to the existence of pairs of verbs, an intransitive with a voiced initial (e.g. *hbo*, *bo*, —, — ‘overflow’) and a transitive that exhibits voice alternation among its stems (e.g. *hbo*, *phos*, *dbo*, *phos* ‘pour’). There have been attempts to derive the voiced forms from the voiceless (Pulleyblank 1973: 114–16, Sagart 2006, and Jacques 2012d: 215–16) and vice versa (Bielmeier 1988: 19, Beckwith 1999).

Those who derive the voiced forms from the voiceless point to parallels in cognate languages. For example, Sagart compares Tibetan voicing alternation to voicing alternation in Rgyalrong and Chinese. Rgyalrong has verb pairs in which the transitive member is voiceless and the intransitive member is voiced and pre-nasalized, for example *ka-tʃop* ‘to set fire to’, *kə-ndʒop* ‘to catch fire’; *kə-klək* ‘to wipe off’, *kə-ŋlək* ‘to fall’. Paralleling the Rgyalrong case and relying on prenasalization in the pronunciation of Chinese loanwords into Hmong-mien, Sagart reconstructs an *N- prefix in Chinese that derives voiced intransitive verbs from voiceless intransitives (2006: 64), e.g. 夾 *C.kʰrep ‘press between’, 狹 *N-kʰrep ‘narrow’.

Almost all authors ignore the fact that in Tibetan this alternation is part of a larger pattern involving three stems, a voiced intransitive, a voice alternating transitive, and a voiceless transitive (cf. Uray 1953a: 50–1), e.g. √gab (*gab*, *gab*, *gab*, *gob*) ‘hide intr.’, √gab (*hgebs*, *bkab*, *dgab*, *khob*) ‘cover tr.’, √kebs (*khebs*, *khebs*) ‘be covered over.’ The voiceless intransitive appears to derive from the present stem of the voice alternating transitive (cf. Hill 2014). This suggests that the voiced root is primary.

34.12 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is used in Tibetan for a variety of functions including emphasis (e.g. *sems bloñ-bloñ-po* ‘depressed mind,’ cf. *bloñ-po* ‘dull person’ Uray 1955: 182), onomatopoeia (e.g. *khruñ-khruñ* ‘crane, stork’), temporal repetition (e.g. *phyir-phyir* ‘one after another’, cf. *phyir* ‘back, behind’ Uray 1955: 190), and spatial diversity (e.g. *phyogs-phyogs-su* ‘to different quarters,’ cf. *phyogs* ‘direction’ cf. Uray 1955: 191). Reduplication is more characteristic of the modern languages than of Old or Classical Tibetan. Uray (1955) gives a thorough treatment of phenomena in the published dialectology of his day. Robin and Vittrant (2007) discuss reduplication in Lhasa dialect. Zhang (1985) examines one type of reduplicated word in Lhasa Tibetan in detail.²

² The only common usage in Classical Tibetan is seen not in nominal derivation but in verbal inflection: a reduplicated nominalized verb followed by *-las* indicates an interrupted action, e.g. *de-nas bya-nan-pa kun-tu hphur-ziñ tshol-tshol-ba-las / skyed-mos-tshal de-na rgyal-buñi skad grags-nas* ‘While the duck, flying everywhere, was searching [for him], the voice of the prince was heard in the park’ (Uray 1955: 195, cf. N. W. Hill 2010b: 255–7).

34.13 COMPOUNDING

Tibetan exhibits a healthy variety of compounds (Beyer 1992: 104, Hahn 1997, Volkart 2003); examples exist to fit most of the categories known from Sanskrit (Dvandvas: *ra-lug* 'goats and sheep', Karmadhāraya: *dkar-khuñ* 'window' lit. 'white-hole', Dvigu: *gsuñs-ñbum* 'collected works' lit. 'word-100,000', Tatpuruṣa: *sbrañ-rtsi* 'honey' lit. 'bee-juice', Bahuvrīhi: *dri-bzañ* 'saffron' lit. 'smell-good'). Disyllabic words are often shortened to monosyllables when they enter into compound (e.g. *yi-ge* 'letter, writing', *chen-po* 'big', *lag-pa* 'hand' vs. *bod-yig* 'Tibetan written language', *blon-chen* 'prime minister', *lag-rtsal* 'handicraft'). Some elements are so frequent and of such generalized meaning in compounds as to be identified as suffixes (e.g. *bdag-po* 'lord', *sa-bdag* 'local spirit', lit. 'earth-lord', *sbyin-bdag* 'patron', lit. 'give-lord' cf. Beyer 1992: 120). The noun *mkhan-po* 'abbot, expert', seen in *siñ-mkhan* 'carpenter', and *bzo-mkhan* 'artisan', becomes a productive agentive suffix in Lhasa Tibetan that even operates at the clause level (Denwood 1999: 229).

Honorific body part terminology is used in compounds as modifiers to form honorifics. Thus, *skra* 'head hair' in compound with *dbu* 'head (hon.)' becomes *dbu-skra* 'head hair (hon.)' and *zal* 'mouth (hon.)' in compound with *dkar-yol* 'teacup' becomes *zal-dkar* 'teacup (hon.)' (Beyer 1992: 156–7; Denwood 1999: 95–8). This strategy for forming honorifics is common in the Classical language and remains productive in Lhasa Tibetan. The choice of honorific prefix is highly lexicalized.

34.14 AFFIXATION

Most of Tibetan derivational morphology is affixal; there is a causative denominative prefix *s-* in the verbal system and a variety of suffixes occur in nominal derivation.

34.14.1 Causative and Denominative *s-* Prefix

The most conspicuous derivational affix in the Tibetan verbal system is a causative and denominative *s-* prefix (Conrady 1896). A non-causative verb is paired with a causative verb; the two verbs share a root, but the causative verb is prefixed by *s-* (e.g. *lañ* 'rise', *slañ* 'raise', cf. Chang 1971, Beyer 1992: 116–17, Gyurmé 1992: 258–61). Before voiced laterals *s-* appears orthographically as *z-* (e.g. *lo* 'report n.', *zlo* 'report v., say', cf. Hahn 1999: 124). In some cases *r-* appears in place of *s-* (e.g. *ñil* 'decay', *rñil* 'destroy'); the reasons for this variation are not understood. There is also a complication in verbs with root initial *b-*; while normally the prefix *s-* does not affect the initial *b-* (e.g. $\sqrt{\text{b}y\text{a}\text{ñ}}$ 'be cleansed', $\sqrt{\text{s}b\text{y}\text{a}\text{ñ}}$ 'cleanse') in rare cases the causative member of the pair has *sp-* rather than *sb-* (e.g. $\sqrt{\text{b}ub}$ 'be upside down', $\sqrt{\text{s}p\text{ub}}$ 'invert'). Voicing alternation interacts with

the *s-* prefix to sometimes yield a wide variety of verbs ultimately deriving from the same root, for example $\sqrt{\text{gañ}}$ (*gañ*, *gañ*) ‘fill intr.’, $\sqrt{\text{gañ}}$ (*hgeñs*, *bkañ*, *dgañ*, *khoñ*) ‘fill tr.’, $\sqrt{\text{keñs}}$ (*kheñs*, *kheñs*) ‘be full’, $\sqrt{\text{sgañ}}$ (*sgañ*, *bsgañs*, *bsgañ*, *sgoñs*) ‘grow, become full’, $\sqrt{\text{skañ}}$ (*skañ*, *bskañs*, *bskañ*, *skañs*) ‘complete, fulfill.’ The *s-* prefix is also used to form verbs from nouns (e.g. *ñag* ‘speech, talk, word’, $\sqrt{\text{ñag}}$ ‘praise, recommend’).³ Regamey (1946–7: 28, note 4), Bielmeier (1988: 18), and Nishida (1994: 4) regard the *s-* causative prefix in Tibetan as productive into the historical period; they offer no evidence in favor of this conclusion.

There is some controversy concerning what phenomena in Chinese to compare to Tibetan *s-*. Baxter and Sagart (2012) reconstruct **s-* in Old Chinese for such pairs as 譁 **ŋ⁵⁵ak* ‘speak brusquely’, and 愬 **s-ŋ⁵⁵ak-s* ‘complain, accuse’; 當 **t⁵⁵aŋ* ‘have the value of, rank with’, 商 **s-taŋ* ‘estimate (v.)’. In contrast, Mei (2012) employs a Chinese **s-* prefix to explain the same pairs for which Sagart reconstructs **N-* (*vide supra*). Thus, where Sagart reconstructs 中 **truŋs* ‘hit the center’ and 仲 **N-truŋ-s* ‘be in the middle’, Mei reconstructs 中 **s-drjəŋgws* and 仲 **drjəŋgws* (cf. Handel 2012: 62, 70).

Phenomena in other languages that have been compared to Tibetan *s-* usually consist of voiced and voiceless pairs of verbs, such as Lolo *bi⁵⁵* ‘come out’, *pi⁵⁵* ‘cause to come out’, Lahu *dɔ³¹* ‘drink’, *tɔ³³* ‘give to drink’, and Burmese *prat* ‘be cut in two’, *phrat* ‘cut in two’ (Mei 2012: 6 et passim). Since Tibetan and Rgyalrong exhibit both voicing alternation and *s-* prefixation (Jacques 2012d: 215), efforts to credit voicing alternation in related languages to a **s-* prefix are unmotivated.

34.14.2 Suffixes

Suffixes are characteristic of nominal derivation. Identifiable nominal suffixes include the segmental suffixes *-s*, *-n*, and *-d*, the suffixes indicating gender *-pa*, *-ma*, *-po*, *-mo*, a diminutive *-bu*, the productive suffixes *-can* and *-ñid*, and the more rarely occurring suffixes *-ka*, *-so*, *-yas*, *-a*, and *-e*; there is also a different suffix *-e* used to form adverbs.

34.14.2.1 Nominal Suffix -s

Conrady (1896: 43) points to instances in which *-s* derives nouns from verbs, citing the pairs such as $\sqrt{\text{hgro}}$ ‘go’ and *hgros* ‘gait’, or $\sqrt{\text{lug}}$ ‘pour’ and *lugs* ‘mold, casting’. Relying particularly on pairs such as *khuñ* ‘hole’, *khuñs* ‘mine’; *khoñ* ‘inside’, *khoñs* ‘middle, midst’, Simon (1941: 388) suggests that the suffix *-s* derives from the noun *sa* ‘place’; Beyer repeats this suggestion (1992: 118), but “this etymology does not seem well motivated in most of the cases” (Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 309), and more importantly Simon’s proposal is an error of methodology, confusing diachrony and synchrony. The source of one element of a synchronic system cannot be another element in the same synchronic system. Instead, the source of an element from one stage of a language must be sought in a preceding stage. The *shep-* in ‘shepherd’

³ Emmerick (1983: 68) gives the remarkable counterexample *srubs* ‘a seam’, $\sqrt{\text{hdrub}}$ ‘sew’ where the noun occurs with the *s-* prefix, and the verb without.

does not derive from the word 'sheep,' but rather from the Old English word *scaep* 'sheep' as it developed in compound with *hierde* 'herder.'

Denwood (1986) points to a number of pairs of words to argue for a different -s suffix with a 'collective meaning' (e.g. *rnam* 'individual,' *rnams* 'plural marker'; *cha* 'part,' *chas* 'things'). Uebach and Zeisler (2008: 309) identify three uses of -s: (1) a collective suffix, (2) a resultative suffix, (3) a suffix that builds abstract nouns. Although they collect philological attestations of -s suffixed to the second member of compounds, they do not clearly present evidence for each of these three functions. They appear to believe that the use of -s with nominal compounds is either abstract or collective in words such as *rje-blas* 'official service'⁴ and *yig-tshans* 'insignia of rank,' whereas the -s is 'resultative' when the second member of the compound is an adjective in such compounds as *khan-bzans* 'good house' and *lag-rins* 'long arms.'⁵ Uebach and Zeisler (2008: 321) connect this "resultative" use of -s with adjectives to the past stem suffix -s of the verbal system. The number of -s suffixes in Tibetan and their functions remains beset with controversy.

Chinese also has an *-s suffix of controversial use. Downer (1959) identifies eight different functions. Schuessler (1985) argues that these proceed from a single category "inversion" comparable to the passive or middle voice in Indo-European languages (e.g. 威 *ʔuj 'awe-inspiring' and 畏 *ʔuj-s 'fear v.');

Mei (2012) argues for the primacy of a perfective meaning of *-s in Chinese as seen in the pair 傳 *Cə-m-tron 'transmit' and 傳 *m-tron-s 'what has been transmitted,' an analysis that supersedes his earlier proposal for nominalization (e.g. 入 *nəp 'enter' and 內 *n'əp-s 'inside') and a change from an "endodirectional" verb (內向動詞) to a "exodirectional" verb (外向動詞) (e.g. 買 *m'rajʔ 'buy' and 賣 *m'rajʔ-s 'sell') as the two primary functions (Mei 1980, cf. Sagart 1999: 131–2). Jacques (2003) compares both Chinese and Tibetan -s to an -s suffix in Rgyalrong, the primary function of which he sees as nominalization.

34.14.2.2 Nominal -n and -d

In some cases a noun is formed from a verb through the addition of an -n suffix (√rgyu 'move, wander,' *rgyun* 'flow, current, stream'; √gci 'urinate,' *gcin* 'urine,' cf. Beyer 1992: 117).⁶ In other cases a noun is formed from a verb through the addition of a -d suffix (√dro 'become warm,' *drod* 'warmth'; √na 'be ill,' *nad* 'illness,' cf. Beyer 1992: 117). Lalou (1953) links these two formations by pointing to an alternation between -n and -d in the spelling of single words, for example *chen/ched* 'big,' *gsid/gsin* 'death.'

Some verbal roots participate in several forms of nominal derivation (e.g. √lta 'look at,' *ltad-mo* 'spectacle,' *ltas* 'omen'; √rga 'be old,' *rgad-po* 'old man,' *rgan-mo* 'old woman,'

⁴ In their survey of previous scholarship on *rje-blas* Uebach and Zeisler (2008) fail to notice Schuessler (1998).

⁵ Walter and Beckwith (2010: 293 note 7) suggest an analysis of *rdo-rins* 'stela' as 'eternal stone' rather than for 'long stone.' It is not clear to me how they would interpret *lag-rins* 'long hands' or *rkan-rins* 'long legs.'

⁶ Simon also draws attention to examples where the bases are not verbs but rather locational terms *ya*, *yan* 'above,' *pha*, *phan* 'beyond,' *tshu*, *tshun* 'hither' (1941: 373).

rgas-ka 'old age'). Such examples hold the most promise to elucidate the semantics of the various types of nominalization.

Sagart (1999: 135) points to a limited number of potential examples of a suffix *-n in Chinese (e.g. 語 *ŋaʔ 'speak', 言 *ŋan 'speak; speech'). Geilich (1994) discusses further examples of -n in Tibetan, Chinese, Lepcha, Lushai, and Tiddim Chin.

34.14.2.3 *The Suffixes -pa, -ma, -po, and -mo*

The suffix *-pa* forms a noun from another noun, meaning 'associated with N' (e.g. *rta* 'horse', *rta-pa* 'horseman', *yi-ge* 'letter', *yi-ge-pa* 'one who holds a letter of office', cf. Beyer 1992: 117). When suffixed to cardinal numbers this suffix forms ordinals (e.g. *gsum* 'three', *gsum-pa* 'third'; *bcu* 'ten', *bcu-pa* 'tenth').⁷ This suffix *-pa* can be distinguished from a verbal noun suffix *-pa/-ba*, because the verbal noun suffix undergoes sandhi according to the preceding phoneme (e.g. *byed-pa* 'doer' vs. *bya-ba* 'task'), but the *-pa* denominal noun suffix does not undergo this sandhi. A word like *skyes-pa* 'human' is ambiguous; it could be an application of *-pa/-ba* to the verb $\sqrt{\text{skye}}$ 'be born' or the suffix *-pa* to the noun *skyes* 'birth.' Furthermore, in words such as *rgyal-ba* 'victor', the verbal noun suffix *-pa/-ba* has a semantic function parallel to the suffix *-pa*, suggesting that the two may ultimately be of a single origin.

The suffix *-pa* is comparable to the Chinese suffix 夫 *-pa, of similar function, thus 田 *l'iŋ 'field' yields 田夫 *l'iŋ-pa, which is directly comparable to Tibetan *ziñ* 'field' and *ziñ-pa* 'farmer' (cf. LaPolla 2003: 27); another instance of the suffix in Chinese is the word 魚夫 *ŋa-pa 'fisherman.'

In Tibetan the suffix *-pa* coincides with the noun *pha* 'father' and the noun suffix *-ma* similarly coincides with the noun *ma* 'mother.' Pairs of words such as *nañ-pa* 'gander' and *nañ-ma* 'goose' suggest that 'male' and 'female' are the etymological meanings of these two suffixes. The pair *ra* 'goat' and *ra-ma* 'nanny-goat' shows that *-ma* can indicate the feminine of a species even when the default term does not end in *-pa*. However, many nouns end with *-ma*, which either have no identifiable gender or even normally have a masculine referent (e.g. *rkun-ma* 'thief', *bla-ma* 'guru').

A rather specialized productive function of *-ma* is its use to mean 'book associated with a place.' Thus, the *Zaŋs-gliñ-ma* was discovered in the *Zaŋs-gliñ* chapel at Bsam-yas monastery, and the *Bkañ-chems ka khol ma* is a testament (*bkañ-chems*) found inside a hole (*khol*) in a pillar (*ka*). This use in book titles and Buddhist coinages such as *bla-ma* 'guru' and *mkhañ-ḥgro-ma* 'ḍākinī' suggest that *-ma* was still productive into the Classical period.

The noun suffixes *-po* and *-mo* are also used to distinguish male and female. There are straightforward minimal pairs such as *grogs-po* 'male friend', and *grogs-mo* 'female friend.' The three words *rgyal-ba* 'victor', *rgyal-po* 'king', and *rgyal-mo* 'queen' show the suffixes *-po* and *-mo* contrasting with the verbal noun suffix *-pa/-ba*. The suffix *-po* is also used in the irregular ordinal number *dañ-po* 'first' (cf. *gcig* 'one'). The pair *kho-bo* 'I (male speaker)' and *kho-mo* 'I (female speaker)' shows that *-po* at times occurs as

⁷ When suffixed to *gcig* 'one' it yields *gcig-pa* 'unitary, same' rather than 'first.'

-*bo*. This form of the suffix also occurs in *jo-bo* 'lord' (cf. *jo-mo* 'lady') and *ri-bo* 'mountain' (*ri-mo* 'picture' is unrelated etymologically). It would be tempting to say that *-bo* occurs after open syllable roots, but one encounters counterexamples such as *byed-pa-po* 'agent.'

When suffixed to adjectives the distinction between *-po* and *-mo*, rather than indicating gender, distinguishes a concrete and metaphorical use of the adjective, thus *chen-po* means 'big, large' and *chen-mo* means 'great, grand.' Because authors prefer to be known for writing great books rather than big books, titles such as *Lam-rim chen-mo* 'Great Stages on the Path (to Enlightenment)' is a context where *chen-mo* is often met.

According to Beyer words ending in *-pa* or *-pa/-ba* tend to form a feminine equivalent with *-ma* and words with *-po* to form a feminine equivalent with *-mo*, whereas nouns ending in "neither will idiosyncratically select one formative or the other, although there appears to be some tendency for native Tibetan words to select *-mo* and for borrowed expressions and neologisms to select *-ma*" (Beyer 1992: 125); Beyer does not substantiate this elegant description.

34.14.2.4 The Suffixes *-can* and *-ñid*

Perhaps the two most productive formative suffixes in Classical Tibetan are *-can* 'possessed of' (Beyer 1992: 121) and *-ñid* '-ness' (Beyer 1992: 119). Both suffixes occur frequently in Buddhist terminology, for example *sems* 'mind' vs. *sems-can* 'sentient being (lit. possessed of a mind)' and *ston-pa* 'empty' vs. *ston-pa-ñid* 'emptiness.'

34.14.2.5 The Diminutive *-bu*, *-ḥu*, etc.

The noun *bu* 'son, child' suffixed to a noun forms a diminutive (e.g. *khron-pa* 'a well,' *khron-bu* 'a small well,' *bum-pa* 'water pot,' *bum-bu* 'small water pot,' cf. Uray 1952: 185). The diminutive can add an unpredicted element of meaning (e.g. *rliḡ-pa* 'testicles,' *rliḡ-bu* 'scrotum,' cf. Uray 1952: 185). In some cases the non-diminutive form is unattested or the diminutive derives from a verb stem (e.g. $\sqrt{\text{dril}}$ 'turn,' *dril-bu* 'bell,' $\sqrt{\text{tor}}$ 'throw,' *thor-bu* 'fragments, miscellanea'). Often the suffix assimilates to the preceding final consonant, *nal-lu* 'illegitimate child,' *g'zon-nu* 'young person' (Uray 1952: 185–6). After open syllables the *-b-* weakens to *-ḥ-* [ɣ], and the vowel *-a-* ablauts to *-e-* (e.g. *spra* 'ape,' *spreḥu* 'monkey,' *rta* 'horse,' *rteḥu* 'colt, mare,' cf. Uray 1952: 186). Sporadically the [ɣ] subsequently strengthened to, or was respelled as *-g-* (e.g. *bu-gu* 'small boy,' *gri-gu* 'small knife,' cf. Uray 1952: 187). Spellings such as *sa-ḥon* for *sa-bon* 'seed' and *šo-ge* for *šo-be* 'lie, falsehood' are evidence outside of the suffix *-bu* for interchange among *-b-*, *-ḥ-*, and *-g-* (cf. Hill 2011b).

34.14.2.6 Other Nominal Suffixes: *-ka*, *-yas*, *-so*, *-a*, *-e*

There are a number of additional nominal suffixes in Tibetan for which the evidence is more slim. A number of nouns end in *-ka*, *-kha*, or *-ga* (e.g. *ston-ka* 'autumn,' *žen-kha* 'breadth, width,' cf. Beyer 1992: 133–134) in some cases this morpheme seems analyzable as a derivational suffix (e.g. *thañ* 'flat, field,' *thañ-ka* 'painting'). Suffixed to cardinal numbers *-ka* functions like '-some' in English (e.g. *gñis-ka* 'both, twosome,' *gsum-ka*

'threesome'). Insufficiently distinguishing diachrony and synchrony, Beyer (1992: 133) proposes to derive this suffix from the word *kha* 'mouth.'

Beyer (1992: 122) offers several examples of the suffix *-yas* '-less': *bgrañ* 'number,' *bgrañ-yas* 'numberless,' *mthaḥ* 'end, border, limit,' *mthaḥ-yas* 'endless,' *dpag* 'measure,' *dpag-yas* 'measureless,' *gźal* 'weight, measure,' *gźal-yas* 'infinite.' The name of Tibet's first monastery, Bsam-yas 'inconceivable,' is another instance of the suffix.

Simon (1941: 386) points to a suffix *-so* that appears to derive nouns from nouns or verbs in a very limited number of examples (e.g. *ñan-so* 'hell,' *ḥkhrul-so* 'mistake' vs. *ñan* 'bad,' $\sqrt{\text{krul}}$ 'be mistaken').

It is necessary to recognize a suffix *-a* in order to account for certain lexical doublets, *bug*, *bu-ga* 'hole,' *chog*, *cho-ga* 'ritual' (cf. Simon 1941: 386, LaPolla 2003: 25). In examples such as *dar-ba*, *dar-ra* 'buttermilk' and *źal-ba*, *źal-la* 'clay' it seems there is not in fact a suffix *-a*, but rather an assimilation of the suffix *-ba* to the final consonant of the preceding syllable. However, an example like $\sqrt{\text{ḥtag}}$ 'weave,' *tha-ga-pa* 'weaver' would be difficult to analyze without such a suffix. Similar reasoning requires a suffix *-e* in the analysis of the pair *yig*, *yi-ge* 'letter.'

34.14.2.7 The Adjectival and Adverbial Suffix *-e*

Uray (1953: 232–3) identifies a *-e* suffix that forms adjectives and adverbs from verbal and nominal roots; examples include *khrigs-se* 'plentiful' from the verb $\sqrt{\text{krig}}$ 'cohere,' *log-ge* 'groundless, false' from the verb $\sqrt{\text{log}}$ 'reverse,' and *ḥbol-le* 'easily, quietly' from *ḥbol-po* 'soft, smooth'. Other nominal suffixes may be applied subsequent to *-e*, yielding words such as *sdug-ge-ba* 'the state of being somewhat pleasing' from *sdug-pa* 'attractive, agreeable' and *che-ge-mo* 'such a one' from *gcig* 'one' (Uray 1953: 235–6). This adjectival and adverbial *-e* suffix is more characteristic of the spoken dialects and Classical Tibetan influenced by spoken forms; it is seldom met in Old Tibetan (cf. Uray 1953: 240).

34.14.3 Circumfixes and Infixes

Tibetan has only one circumfix of rather restricted employment. A collective meaning 'children of' is applied to certain kinship terms by prefixing an *s-* and suffixing a *-d*: *pha* 'father,' *pha-spad* 'father and children'; *ma* 'mother,' *ma-smad* 'mother and children'; *khu* 'uncle,' *skud-po* 'brother-in-law.' Although they do not quite follow the pattern the three words *phu* 'elder brother,' *spun* 'sibling,' and *span-spun* 'brother's relatives' also merit mentioning in this context (cf. Nagano 1994: 110–11).

Gong proposes a palatal infix with honorific meaning ([1977] 2002), the results of which are most conspicuous after velars, *skam* 'dry,' *skyem* 'be thirsty' (hon.). In other contexts the infix *-y-* is only clear if one bears in mind certain changes in Tibetan historical phonology, for example *dugs* 'light, kindle,' *źugs* < **dyugs* 'fire' (hon.) (cf. Gong [1977] 2002, Hill 2011a).

34.15 DUBIOUS INHERITED PREFIXES

Previous authorities discuss a number of ‘animal’ and ‘body part’ prefixes. Conrady (1896: 40) compares Tibetan *s-* to a *sa-* prefix in Lepcha, which occurs in several animal names, for example *sahu* ‘monkey,’ and *saryóm* ‘otter,’ to which he compares Tibetan *sram* ‘otter.’⁸ Benedict (1972: 106) believes that “with words for parts of the body and animals” *s-* derives from “**syá* ‘flesh; animal’” (1972: 106), his reconstruction for the ancestor of Tibetan *śa* ‘meat, deer.’ For body parts Benedict points to *skra* ‘hair,’ *sñiñ* ‘heart,’ *sna* ‘nose,’ and *so* ‘tooth,’ and for animals *sram* ‘otter’ and *śig* ‘louse’ (1972: 106–8, also cf. Beyer 1992: 115). Chang Kun (1972: 336) rejects Benedict’s prefix as “a dubious proposition”. Languages other than Tibetan present more direct evidence for a sibilant ‘flesh’ prefix. The Burmish language Atsi has a full lexeme *syo*¹¹ ‘flesh,’ which reduces to *si*¹⁻ in compounds (e.g. *si*¹⁻*-cu*³¹ ‘fat meat,’ *si*¹⁻*-mau*³⁵ ‘body hair, fur,’ *si*¹⁻*-mi*¹¹ ‘tail,’ cf. Lustig 2010, vol. II: 335–7, 354). Baxter and Sagart (2012: 45) find an exponent of a putative **syá* ‘flesh’ prefix in Chinese with the pair 節 **ts*⁶*ik* ‘joint of bamboo’ and 膝 **s*-*tsik* ‘knee.’

An *s-* is not the only candidate for a ‘body part’ prefix in Tibetan. Laufer (1914: 109) suggests that the “prefix *m-* appears in connection with words denoting organs of the body,” giving examples such as *mchin-pa* ‘liver,’ *mche-ba* ‘tusk,’ and *mcher-pa* ‘spleen.’ Shafer (1938: 17) identifies this prefix with the word *mi* ‘person,’ despite Wolfenden’s (1928: 278–9, cf. Beyer 1992: 114) previous rejection of this association. Shafer (1938: 13) retains *mche-ba* ‘tusk’ as an example despite the infrequency with which humans bear tusks; Shafer and Beyer include *mjug* ‘hind, tail,’ which Beyer redefines as ‘buttocks’ to appear more human. Taking another liberty, Shafer and Beyer give *mtshan* ‘genitals’ as a further example of an *m-* ‘human body’ prefix, even though this meaning is a specialized use of the word ‘sign, signifier,’ occurring in the compounds *mo-mtshan* ‘sign of the female’ and *pho-mtshan* ‘male signifier.’ Wolfenden is probably correct that the “*m-* forms show far too widely sundered senses for the prefix to have ever functioned as an index of mental association” (1928: 279).

Jacques proposes the alternative ‘animal’ and ‘body part’ prefixes *g-* and *d-* respectively (2008: 53–4). In support of the *g-* “animal” prefix he compares Japhug Rgyalrong *qa-ljak* ‘eagle,’ *qa-zo*, ‘sheep,’ and *qro* ‘ant’ with Tibetan *glag*, *g.yañ*, and *grog-mo* of the same meanings. In the case of the body part prefix *d-* Jacques does not present direct Tibetan cognates but cites the Japhug words *tu-mtshi* ‘liver’ and *tu-mkhe* ‘neck’ in support for analysing a *d-* prefix in the Tibetan words *gdon* ‘face,’ *dbu* ‘head,’ and *dpuñ* ‘back’ (2008: 57).

It is unlikely that Tibetan has three body part prefixes *s-*, *m-*, and *d-*, and two animal prefixes *s-* and *g-*. None of these proposed prefixes is productive in Tibetan, and they do

⁸ The Lepcha prefix occurs in several animal names (*saka* ‘deer,’ *sacák* ‘leopard,’ etc.), but the only potential example in a body part is *sagrek* ‘throat, intestine’ (Plaisier 2007: 239).

not form body parts and animals from other words, so are not derivational *per se*. Such proposals require more methodological reflection. A similar approach to English would likely yield an *h-* ‘human body part’ prefix in the English words ‘hand,’ ‘hair,’ ‘head,’ ‘heart,’ ‘hip,’ and ‘heel.’ Similarly, an additional Tibetan *r-* ‘animal’ and ‘body part’ prefix could be proposed on the basis of *rkañ* ‘leg,’ *rna* ‘nose,’ and *rkyañ* ‘wild ass.’

34.16 GHOST AFFIXES

Wolfenden (1928: 277, cf. 1929: 30) points to the verb *mñah* ‘to have,’ *mkhyen* ‘know’ and *mgü* ‘be glad’ as examples of an “inactive intransitive” *m-* prefix. Matisoff (2003: 89) similarly sees an opposition “between inner-directed or stative verbs” with *m-* and “transitive or outer directed or causative verbs” with *s-*. Sagart (2006) attempts to link Tibetan *m-* with Chinese *N-, a prefix that forms intransitive verbs out of transitive verbs that he also links to Tibetan voicing alternation (see Section 34.14.1).⁹ However, it is a mistake to associate *m-* with intransitives; Snellgrove (1954: 199) draws attention to such transitive examples as *mthoñ* ‘see,’ *mchod* ‘honor,’ and *mdzad* ‘do’ (cf. Hill 2009: 175). If *m-* has any morphological function in Tibetan it remains obscure.

Many authors posit a *-d* suffix causative (Conrady 1896: 45, Laufer 1914: 62, Róna-Tas 1985: 178, Beyer 1992: 176, LaPolla 2003: 24, Matisoff 2003: 457–88); this is a mistake which results from confusing the *-d* present tense suffix in some transitive paradigms with derivation (Hill 2009: 176). Thus, in the pair of *hgye*, *gyes*, *hgye*, ‘be dispersed’ and *hgyed*, *bkyes*, *dgye*, *khyes* ‘disperse’ the *-d* suffix is an inflectional suffix and not a causative formative. LaPolla (2012: 12) posits a **-t* transitivizing suffix as a ‘distinctive feature’ of Sino-Tibetan; whether or not pairs such as Rawang *ñuī* ‘weep’ and *ñut* ‘mourn, cry for’ (LaPolla 2003: 24), Kachin *məni* ‘laugh’ and *mənit* ‘laugh at’ (Benedict 1972: 101), or Limbu *-sɔŋ-* ‘be done (food)’ and *-sɔŋd-* ‘cause to become done (food)’ (van Driem 1987: 249–67) warrant the reconstruction of such an affix, Tibetan does not support it.

PART 3 RGYALRONG

JACKSON T.-S. SUN

Rgyalrong is a morphologically complex language spoken by well over 100,000 ethnic Tibetans residing in Aba and Ganzi prefectures in northwestern Sichuan. The

⁹ Sagart (1999: 76–86) also reconstructs a **m-* volitional prefix in Chinese, but appears never to have proposed linking this with Tibetan *m-*.

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