

Edinburgh Handbook of

Evaluative Morphology

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16.6 Tibetan

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1 Introduction

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). In 650, Tibetan was reduced to writing as an administrative exigency of running the Old Tibetan empire; the earliest extant documents date from a century later (Hill 2010, 110–12). Tibetan linguistic history is conventionally divided between Old Tibetan (eleventh 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). Lhasa Tibetan is the language spoken in the city of Lhasa, the cultural and historical centre of the Tibetan-speaking area; this dialect is closely affiliated with the other Central Tibetic languages (Ü-kä, *Dbus-skad*).¹

Different morphosyntactic processes are attested in Lhasa Tibetan to express evaluative semantics.² In addition to diminutive and intensive formations, Lhasa Tibetan also has honorifics, which express an evaluation by the speaker.

2 Diminutives

Diminutives are mostly expressed by suffixation. Only one reduplicative structure is used as a diminutive.

2.1 Suffixation

2.1.1 The suffix *-bu*

In a formation that is no longer productive in Lhasa Tibetan, the noun *bu* 'son, child' suffixed to a noun forms a diminutive (e.g. *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'³).

After open syllables the *-b-* weakens to *-h-* (pronounced [ɣ] in Old Tibetan), and the vowel *-a-* ablauts to *-e-*, e.g. *spra* 'ape', *spreḡu* 'monkey', *rta* 'horse', *rteḡu* 'colt, mare' (cf. Uray 1952, 186).⁴ Often the suffix assimilates to the preceding final consonant, as in

lug-gu ‘lamb’ (cf. *lug* ‘sheep’) (Uray 1952, 185–6). However, this orthographic practice does not reflect phonological or phonetic gemination in Lhasa Tibetan. The word *mde-hu* ‘bullet’ (cf. *mdah* ‘arrow’), as an early modern technology, serves as a *terminus post quem* for the productiveness of this formation.

2.1.2 The suffix *-tsam*

A reflex of the Classical Tibetan clitic *-tsam*,⁵ pronounced [ts] in Lhasa, occurs in the word *tog.tsam* ‘a bit’ and in a diminutive construction, in which it is postponed to verbs, adjectives or numerals. Suffixed to adjectives, *-tsam* weakens the strength of the adjective.

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|-----|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (1) | རཱ་ | དུས་ཚོད་ | མང་ཙམ་ | དགོས་ཀྱི་འདུག |
| | <i>ña-r</i> | <i>dus.tshod</i> | <i>mañ-tsam</i> | <i>dgos-kyi.ħdug</i> |
| | 1SG-DAT | time | lot-DIM | need-PRS.TEST |
| | ‘I need a bit more time.’ | | | |

With numerals, this suffix tends to convey an idea of approximation, more than a diminutive; it is often understood as ‘almost NUM’, or ‘a bit more than NUM’.

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|-----|---|--------------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (2) | མོང་ | མ་གྲུག་ནས་ | ལོ་ | བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ | ཕྱིན་མོང་། |
| | <i>khoñ</i> | <i>ma-thug-nas</i> | <i>lo</i> | <i>bcu-tsam</i> | <i>phyin-son/</i> |
| | 3SG.HON.ABS | NEG-meet-CONN | year | ten-DIM | go-PST.TEST |
| | ‘I have not met him for about ten years.’ | | | | |

When suffixed to verbs, this derivation triggers a modification of the part of speech: to be used as a verb, the derived stem must be reverbalised with the help of the light verb *byed* ‘to do’.

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|-----|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (3) | རཱ་ཁི་ | རྩོགས་པ་ཁི་ | ཡིག་ཚད་ | ལྟ་ཙམ་ | བྱས་པ་ཡིན། |
| | <i>ña-ħi</i> | <i>rogs.pa-ħi</i> | <i>yig.tshad</i> | <i>lta-tsam</i> | <i>byas-pa.yin</i> |
| | 1SG-GEN | friend-GEN | exam.ABS | look-DIM | LIGHTV-PST.EGO.INTENT |
| | ‘I took a look at my friend’s exam.’ | | | | |

Related to its diminutive function, *-tsam* is also grammaticalised as an aspectual marker; suffixed to a verb it means ‘to have just V’.

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|-----|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| (4) | ཁ་ལག་ | བཟས་ཚར་ཙམ་ཡིན། |
| | <i>kha.lag</i> | <i>bzas-tshar-tsam-yin</i> |
| | meal.ABS | eat-finish-ASP-PST.EGO.INTENT |
| | ‘I have just eaten.’ | |

2.1.3 The suffix *-ħdra*

Two structures which contain the morpheme *ħdra* ‘to be similar’ or the adjective *ħdra.po* ‘similar’ convey a diminutive meaning that can be paraphrased as ‘kind of NP’. The first structure is derived by the following morphosyntactic rules: NP → NP-*ħdra*; the second structure has the two alternative forms N → N-GEN-*bzo.ħdra* and N → N-GEN-*bzo-ħdra-po*. The indefinite marker *cig* ‘a’ frequently follows the noun phrase that results from these processes. In natural speech, the syllable <*ħdra*> is phonologi-

cally realised /ra/ or /rä/ (instead of the regular /da/), but most speakers still recognise its etymology.

Morphosyntactically, NP-*hdra* modifies the whole noun phrase to which it is postposed. It is best described as a noun phrase enclitic.⁶

- (5) མོ་ མི་ མྱོ་མོ་འདྲ་ཅིག ཡོད་པ་འདྲ།
kho *mi* *skyo.po-hdra-cig* *yod-pa.hdra*
 3.SG.ABS person poor-DIM-INDF COP-EPIST
 'It seems that he was kind of poor.' (Hoshi et al. 1981–90)

The second derivation, which associates the verb *bzo* 'to make' with the verb *hdra* or the adjective *hdra-po*, has the same structure as a postposition: it is only postposed to nouns, to which it is linked by the genitive marker.

- (6) མོ་རང་ ཐུགས་སློའི་ བཟོ་འདྲ་ཅིག་ལ་ཡུ་ སྐད་གཏང་གར་བྱས།
kho.ran *thugs.spro-ḥi* *bzo.hdra-cig-la.yā* *skad.btañ-gar-byas*
 3SG.HON.ABS party-GEN DIM-INDF-DAT invite-CONN-do
 '[They] decided to invite him to a kind of party.' (Hoshi et al. 1981–90)

Both structures are fully productive.

2.2 Reduplication

The only reduplication strategy that conveys a diminutive meaning applies to both adjectives (7) and verbs (8), but not to nouns. The derivation has the form ADJ/V-*la ma* ADJ/V. Its meaning can be paraphrased by 'not very ADJ' or 'to half-V'/'not to V whole-heartedly'/'to almost V'.

- (7) གསལ་ལ་ མ་གསལ།
gsal-la *ma-gsal*
 clear-CONN NEG-clear
 'not very clear'
- (8) ཕུ་ལགས་ གཤེགསེ་བཏང་བྱུང།
pā-lags *gše.gše-btañ-byuñ/*
 father-HON scolding-LIGHTV-PST.EGO.REC
- ཡིན་ནའང་ ཉན་ལ་ མ་ཉན་བྱས་པ་ཡིན།
yin.na.hañ *ñan-la* *ma-ñan-byas-pa.yin/*
 but listen-CONN NEG-listen-LIGHTV-PST.EGO.INTENT
 'Father scolded me, but I only half-listened.'

3 Intensives

Lhasa Tibetan has a number of intensive derivations formed through suffixation and reduplication.

3.1 Suffixation

Two intensive formations are expressed through suffixes, namely ADJ-*drag(s)* and N/ADJ-*tsha.po*. Suffixation with *-drag(s)* is productive, but suffixation with *tsha.po* is, at least partially, lexicalised.

3.1.1 The suffix *-drag(s)*

The suffix *-drag(s)* is used to derive excessive meaning of adjectives regularly. Etymologically, it results from the grammaticalisation of the adjective *drag.po* ‘ferocious, violent’. The two spellings *-drag* and *-drags* are both accepted.

- (9) མོ་ཏ་ མང་བླགས་-བཞག
Mo.ta *mañ-drags-bžag*
 car lot-too.much-PRF.EVID
 ‘There are too many cars.’

The modification of the range of syntactic functions accessible to the lexical item is made clear, here, by the absence of copula, which would otherwise be necessary for the expression of predicative adjectives. Here, the adjective suffixed by *-drags* is directly followed by the verbal aspecto-modal suffix *-bžag*.

3.1.2 The suffix *-tsha.po*

Synchronically, *tsha.po* is an independent adjective ‘hot’. It may also combine with a nominal stem (N *tsha.po*) to form a derived adjective. In such compounds, *tsha.po* regularly alternates with *chen.po* ‘big’, which conveys a more literary register. In this combination *tsha.po* (or *chen.po*) maintains its aspiration and tone; thus, phonologically in this context too *tsha.po* is treated simply as an adjective following a noun. However, syntactically and semantically the result is a single adjective that bears no relationship to ‘hot’, and for this reason it is tempting to analyse *-tsha.po* as a derivational suffix. Most of these adjectives have a pejorative meaning.

- (10) རྣོག་གམ → རྣོག་གམ ཚམ།
rñog.gra → *rñog.gra tsha-po*
 problem → problem hot-POS → ‘problematic’

For a few adjectives this suffix derives an intensive equivalent:⁷

- (11) ལྗེད་པོ་ → ལྗེད་པོ་ ཚམ།
ljid-po → *ljid-po tsha-po*
 heavy-POS → heavy-POS hot-POS → ‘(very) heavy’

Because the structure is partly lexicalised, the intensive meaning is sometimes weak.

3.2 Reduplication

Since reduplication is iconically linked to intensive meaning, it comes as no surprise that this meaning is mainly expressed through reduplication. Reduplication seems fully productive, although it might be restricted to a particular semantically motivated subgroup of lexical items.

3.2.1 Syntactic reduplication

Simple reduplication of adjectives, verbs and numerals conveys an intensive meaning.

- (12) ག་ལེ་ ག་ལེ་ར་ གཞིད་ཁུག་གི་འདུག
ga.le *ga.le-r* *gñid.khug-gi.hdug*
 slow slow-ADV fall.asleep-IMP.TEST
 ‘[I] fall asleep very slowly.’

This meaning is not always evident, as in the following example:

- (13) ཁོ་ གཞིས་གཞིས་ སྐད་ཆ བཤད་ཀྱི་འདུག
kho *gñis-gñis* *skad.cha* *bśad-kyi-hdug*
 3SG two-two.ABS speech.ABS speak-IMP.TEST
 ‘The two of them are talking.’

The reduplication of a verb or a part of the verb phrase conveys a meaning that can be interpreted as an evaluative or an aspectual value (intensification or quantification of the process; see also Vittrant and Robin 2007, 5–6).

- (14) ཁ་ ཕྱེ་གྲབས་ ཕྱེ་གྲབས་ ཕྱིད་ཀྱི་འདུག
kha *phye-grabs* *phye-grabs* *bye-kyi.hdug*
 mouth open-about open-about LIGHTV-IMP.TEST
 ‘[He] is just about to open [it].’

The reduplication of an interrogative in a question invites the interlocutor to answer with an enumeration:

- (15) ནང་ལ་ ལུ་ལུ་ ཡོད།
nañ-la *su-su* *yod/*
 inside-DAT who-who exist.EGO
 ‘Who lives at your home?’ (Lit.: ‘Who [and] who lives at [your] home?’)

Or, if the interrogative is used as an indefinite, with the nominalisation of the verb:

- (16) གན་རྒྱ་ དང་ ཡི་གེ་ ག་ཅེ་ ག་ཅེ་ བཞག་དགོས་ཡོད་ན་འང་ གཞག་གི་ཡིན།
gan.rgya *dan* *yi.ge* *ga.re* *ga.re* *bžag-dgos-yod-nañ* *bžag-gi.yin*
 contract and letter what what put-must-COP-but put-FUT.EGO

‘I will write whatever contract and letter are necessary/I will write as much contracts and letters as necessary.’ (Lit.: ‘What and what contract and letter I should make, I will make it.’)⁸ (Hoshi et al. 1981–90)

3.2.2 Reduplication of adjectives and verbs after an interrogative

This construction applies equally to adjectives and verbs. Its meaning is: ‘As ADJ/V as possible’.⁹

- (17) a. གང་མང་མང་
gan-mañ-mañ

- INTG-lot-lot
'as much as possible'
- b. གང་ཡག་ཡག
gañ-yag-yag
INTG-good-good
'as good as possible'
- c. གང་ཐུབ་ཐུབ
gañ-thub-thub
INTG-can-can
'as much as possible'

This form, if not totally lexicalised, is restricted to a small number of stems in Lhasa Tibetan.

3.2.3 Reduplication before *rkyan*

This construction, meaning 'completely ADJ', is particularly frequently used with colour adjectives, but is also attested with other adjectives, such as: ཅིག་པ་ གཅིག་རྒྱུད་ *gcig-pa gcig-rkyan* (same-POS same-single) 'exactly the same', གསར་པ་ གསར་རྒྱུད་ *gsar-pa gsar-rkyan* (new-POS new-single) 'very new', དཀར་པོ་ དཀར་རྒྱུད་ *dkar-po dkar-rkyan* (white-POS white-single) 'completely white'.

- (18) མོ་ ལྷོན་མ་ ལྷོན་རྒྱུད་ རེད་བཞག
mo smyon-ma smyon-rkyan red-bzag
3SG.F crazy-POS crazy-single COP-EVID
'She is completely crazy!'

3.2.4 Other complex reduplication structures

Other complex reduplication structures conveying an intensive meaning are attested, some of them being fully lexicalised, as in (20). Other forms are more productive, such as the structure NEG-V *dgu-V*. Described in Vittrant and Robin (2007, 14), it conveys an intensive and pejorative meaning and can be paraphrased as: 'to V too much and without care'.

- (19) མི་ འདི་ས་ མི་དྭན་ དགུ་དྭན་ བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཅེད།
mi hdi-s mi-dran dgu-dran byed-kyi.yod.red
man DEM-ERG NEG-remember nine-remember LIGHTV-IMP.FACT
'His thoughts are all over the place./He thinks in an excessive and desultory fashion.'
(Vittrant and Robin 2007, 14)

In (20a), the adjectival stem *dran* is repeated, once with a positive suffix and then with the suffixed verb *bzag* 'to put'. In (20b), the verb *byun* 'to appear' is repeated, once preceded by the interrogative particle and then by the adjective 'a lot'.

- (20) a. དྲན་པོ་ དྲན་བཞག
dran-po dran-bzag
frank-POS frank-put
'really frank'
- b. གང་ལྷོད་ མང་ལྷོད་
gañ-byun mañ-byun

INTG-appear lot-appear
 ‘any old how’

4 Honorifics

Lhasa Tibetan has a pervasive honorific system, in which an honorific equivalent is available for much of the vocabulary. A small proportion of the honorific lexicon is purely lexical and thus arbitrary, but others words are morphologically analysable, although it is difficult to evaluate their synchronic productivity. Examples cited in this section are taken from Rdo.dgon Gsañ.bdag Rdo.rje and Ross (2002) and Mélac, Robin and Simon (2014). A precise inventory of the attested morphological processes of honorific lexicon derivation can be found in Kitamura (1975, 68–74).

As shown by DeLancey (1998), morphologically constructed honorific nouns and adjectives consist of compounds, in which the first constituent has a categorisation property over the second. In such compounds, the first constituent is an unanalysable honorific root of a noun or verb, related to the semantic domain of the non-honorific root. The second constituent is the non-honorific root and carries the semantic information. A possible nominal suffix is deleted in the honorific form: *thab* ‘stove’ → *gsol-thab* (eat.HON-stove) ‘stove.HON’, *las ka* (work-NMLS.SFX) ‘work’ → *phyag-las* (hand.HON -work) ‘work.HON’, *par* ‘picture’ → *sku-par* (body.HON -picture) ‘picture.HON’, *lam-ka* (road-NMLS.SFX) ‘road’ → *phebs-lam* (go.HON -road) ‘road.HON’.

If the non-honorific word is already a compound, its first component is replaced by an honorific categoriser morpheme. Often the first component is replaced by its honorific equivalent: *sems-khral* (mind-tax) ‘worry’ → *thugs-khral* (mind.HON -tax) ‘worry.HON’. The process is also generalised to other types of bisyllabic nouns, containing no categoriser in the non-honorific form: *chu-tshod* (water-measure) ‘clock’ → *phyag-tshod* (hand.HON -measure) ‘clock.HON’, *yi.tsi* ‘soap’ (< Ch. 胰子 *yízi*) → *phyag-tsi* (hand.HON -?) ‘soap.HON’. The fact that this morphological rule operates on the loanword ‘soap’ indicates that this formation was still productive at the time of the loan.

An alternative strategy is available for marking honorific verbs. Most Lhasa Tibetan verbs are multisyllabic, composed of a predicative noun and a light verb. Honorific verbs are constructed with the honorific counterpart of the predicative noun and the honorific equivalent of the light verb. This formation is fully productive in Lhasa dialect.

(21)	ལན	བརྒྱབ	→	ལུགས་ལན	སློབ
	<i>lan</i>	<i>rgyab</i>	→	<i>ljags-lan</i>	<i>skyon</i>
	Answer	LIGHTV		answer.HON	LIGHTV.HON
	‘to answer’		→	‘to answer.HON’	

For verbs (full or light) that lack a lexical honorific equivalent, the honorific light verb *gnañ* is appended to the verb.

(22)	a.	འདམ་	→	འདམ་གནང་
		<i>hdam</i>	→	<i>hdam-gnañ</i>
		/dam/		/dam-nāng/
		‘to.choose’	→	‘to.choose.HON’
	b.	སྐད་བཏམ་	→	སྐད་བཏམ་གནང་
		<i>skad-btañ</i>	→	<i>skad-btañ-gnañ</i>

/kã'-tāng/ voice-LIGHTV 'to.invite'	→	/kã'-tāng-nāng/ voice-LIGHTV-HON 'to.invite.HON'
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In this case, since both the verb and the light verb carry a tone, *gan* is not a suffix, but rather this is a serial verb construction.

5 Conclusion

Three categories of evaluative meaning are expressed by different morphological means in Lhasa Tibetan: diminutive, intensive and honorific. Reduplication mainly serves to express intensive meanings, although one type of reduplication conveys diminutive or pejorative meaning. Prefixation is limited to the construction of honorific nouns, whereas suffixation is attested for all three types of meaning. Certain constructions not only express evaluative values, but also modify the range of the syntactic functions of the stem; this is especially frequent when the stem is a verb.

Notes

1. *Dbus-skad* is a transliteration of the Tibetan word for the dialect we are discussing here. *Ü-kä* is an attempt to reproduce something like the pronunciation of this word in the dialect itself. In IPA it would be [ykeʔ]. Among the many treatments of Lhasa Tibetan, Kitamura (1977) provides a good short grammar; Hoshi (1988) is a good longer treatment. There is no accurate short treatment of Classical Tibetan; Schwegler (2006) is the best lengthy treatment.
2. In order to restrict the current discussion to morphological processes, a formation is described only if it meets at least two of the following criteria: (i) the item resulting from the application of the process is one phonological word (containing only one aspiration and one tone); (ii) its meaning is not strictly compositional; (iii) the process alters the part of speech or range of syntactic functions of the input form; (iv) at least one element of the derived form is phonologically different from the expected outcome (e.g. <hdra> /ra/ rather than /da/); and (v) at least one element of the derived form cannot be used synchronically as an independent linguistic unit.
3. The symbol √ precedes an uninflected verbal root.
4. In the word *byihu* 'little bird' (cf. *bya* 'bird') the ablaut is unpredictably to *-i-* rather than *-e-*.
5. The behaviour of *-tsam* in Classical Tibetan is not well enough understood to allow us to suggest whether or not it should be considered evaluative morphology.
6. Note that the same verb *hdra* 'to be similar', shown in (5), has also been grammaticalised as a component of an epistemic marker (Vokurková 2008).
7. Although the standard orthography gives *ljid-po* in (11), the positive adjectival suffix in this and other words is pronounced /ko'/. What dictates the selection of /po/ versus /ko'/ in Lhasa Tibetan is not well understood; perhaps it can be linked to spellings such as *sa-hon* for *sa-bon* 'seed' and *šo-ge* for *šo-be* 'lie, falsehood', which also give evidence of interchange among *-b-*, *-h-* and *-g-* as early as Old Tibetan (cf. Hill 2011).
8. For other examples of simple reduplication of verbs with an aspectual (iterative, continuative or exhaustive) meaning, see Vittrant and Robin (2007, 6). For more on Tibetan reduplication in general see Uray (1954) and Vollmann (2009).
9. Etymologically, *gan* is an interrogative pronoun meaning 'what'. In its interrogative functions, it is replaced by *ga* in modern Lhasa Tibetan.

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