Himalayan Linguistics

Compound adjectives with suffixes in Tibetan: Their source and properties

Wen Meng
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Di Jiang
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

ABSTRACT
In Tibetan sequences of N₁+ADJ₂+SUF can be analysed as N₁+(ADJ₂+SUF) phrases or as [(N₁+ADJ₂)+SUF]ₐdj (compound adjectives with derivational suffixes); these two constructions are greatly different in semantics and syntax. This paper adopts generative lexicon theory to analyse such structures. As phrase structures, ADJ₂+SUF is the modifier of N₁. But semantically, N₁ seems to be the attribute value of ADJ₂+SUF, which highlights the property of ADJ₂+SUF in some aspect. Therefore, this semantic condition generates an implicit exocentric construction. And through metonymic expressions, the latter is lexicalized from the former, which realizes the transformation of syntactic structures.

KEYWORDS
Tibetan, compound adjectives with derivational suffixes, exocentric construction, lexicalization
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Wen Meng  Di Jiang
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

1 Constructional homonymy of modification-center phrases and compound adjectives

There are two possible grammatical analyses of a sequence NR+ADJR+SUF in Tibetan (R stands for ROOT): (a) NR+(ADJR+SUF) phrases, and (b) (NR+ADJR)+SUF (compound adjectives with derivational suffixes). བཀྲ་ཤི་ nag-po (ADJ 'black') in clause 1 is the modifier of the head word མཆོད་Ȧེན་ mchod-rten (N 'stūpa'), which is a normal modifying construction in Tibetan (Shi DX, 2010). ཀྱུན་པོ་ gtong phod (N 'generosity') in clause 2 is also the head word of the post-head adjective གཞི་ chen-po (ADJ 'big') in form, but it does not form a phrase in structure, and cannot be explained as 'have great generosity'. Constructions of the latter type are named as compound adjectives with derivational suffixes in this paper, which are compounds of nouns and the following attributive adjectives.

1. དེ་འི་ གང་ལ་ མཆོད་Ȧེན་ ཡོང་པོ་ ལུགས་
   རྒྱུད་ བྱེ་ རེད།
   this-GEN above-LOC stūpa(N)  black(ADJ)  one  do  ASP
   There is also a black stūpa standing above. (verb predicate clause, Cf. Jiang 2005 for ASP)
2. གྲོ་ཆེན་པོ་ བཀྲ་ཤི་ དཔོན་ གཏོང་ཕོད་ གཞི་ འདོག་
   1.PL  khro-chen-rdzong-GEN  rdzong-dpon  generosity  great  ASP
   The rdzong-dpon (magistrate) of our khro-chen-rdzong (county) is generous. (adjective predicate clause, CF. Jiang & Hu 2005)

There may be another kind of structure that looks like head-modifier phrase. རྒྱུན་དཔོན་ sku gzugs (N 'body', honorific) in clause 3 seems to serve as the subject, and བདེ་མོ་ bde mo (ADJ 'comfortable') as the adjective predicate.

1 Following the widespread convention of Tibetan studies, we use a hyphen to transliterate a word internal tsheg in Tibetan examples. In the glosses a hyphen indicates morpheme boundaries. Thus, the number of hyphens in transliteration and glossing often differ.
3. khyed-rang sku-gzugs bde-po mi vdug gas.  
You-self  HON-body comfortable NEG ASP INT  
Don’t you (body) feel well?

The phenomenon of clause 3 is a little complicated and will be discussed later. Clause 1 and 2 reflect that the NP+AP phrases have the same structure with the homomorphic compound adjectives with derivational suffixes on the surface layer, which are N_R+ADJR. However, they are clearly not linguistic units at the same level; the former is a head-modifier syntactic relation, while the latter is not a syntactic relation, but a lexicalized compound. Some cases listed below will be observed.

\[(NR+(ADJR+SUF))_{PHRA-STRU}\] phrases:
4. rta (N. horse) dkar (ADJ. white)  
white horse
5. glu dbyangs (N. voice) snyan po (ADJ. melodious)  
beautiful song
6. zbra mo (N. hat) sgor sgor (ADJ. round)  
round hat
7. gsrog rtse (N. table) gru bzhi gru rkyang (ADJ. square)  
square table

\[(N_R+ADJR)+SUF\]_{ADJ} (compound adjectives with derivational suffixes):
8. thag (N. distance) ring po (ADJ. long)  
(distance) far
9. ngo (N. face) brtan po (ADJ. steady)  
(face) steady/firm
10. gzugs po (N. body) gong po (ADJ. weak)  
(body) weak
11. byad bsbin (N. cheek) bzang po (ADJ. wonderful)  
(face) good-looking

The adjectives in example 4–7 do not seem to be specific; they can be gestalt derivatives (Jiang 2006), gestalt reduplicatives (5) or tetrasyllabic forms (7). If the head word is monosyllabic, the adjective post-head modifier could also be a monosyllabic root, as in rta dkar ‘white horse’. The structures in example 8–11 can also be analyzed as two parts; the noun morphemes are not particularly limited, but the adjective morphemes seem to be confined to gestalt derivatives with the suffix -po, and are generally adjectives of property. What’s more, compound adjectives with derivational suffixes are exocentric constructions, and the meaning of the whole cannot be directly derived from the meaning of the parts. Compared with the surface construction of homomorphic phrases, how does this kind of construction come into being? Why do they not conform to the cognitive rule, or the grammatical meaning of a head-modifier construction? This may show that there are other factors which cause the meaning of head-modifier construction restricting and guiding them to split from the homomorphic phrases and generate a different cognitive meaning.

This class of adjectives is a special phenomenon of word formation in Tibetan, and this paper attempts to elaborate its property, structure, feature and source in a cognitive perspective.

2 Constructional property of compound derivational adjectives

Why is the term ‘compound adjectives with derivational suffixes’ used in this paper? This needs to be analyzed in terms of the overall function and internal construction. The basic formation of adjectives in Tibetan is ROOT_{ADJ/V}+SUF, i.e. a monosyllabic adjective/verbal root + adjective suffix, which are called derivational adjectives, for instance, tsha po ‘hot’, grang mo ‘cold’, chen po ‘big’, bsbor po ‘generous’, bkren po ‘stingy’. Adjectives may also be composed of reduplicated roots, for example, chung chung ‘small’, nar nar ‘banded’, vkhyor vkhyor
'swaying', lhug lhug 'loosely' (Long 2005). These two types account for at least 90% of adjectives (excluding tetrasyllables). Are the compound adjectives a recent development in Tibetan? We argue here that the answer is yes.

There are also a number of trisyllabic adjectives (including derivational suffixes) in Tibetan, such as snying rje po 'adorable', whose internal structure is generally not analyzed, that is, the root of multisyllabic adjective is unanalyzable. In fact, the original meaning of snying is 'heart' from the analysis of etymology, and the root is prone to mean 'heart, consciousness, courage etc.' through metaphor, for instance, snying dkar 'kind-hearted', snying chung 'cowardly', snying xchu 'moved'. As an independent word rje is a verb, with an original meaning 'exchange', and its semantic combination with snying is not literally possible ('exchange hearts'), hence it can only be metonymy ('exchange feelings, feel for others'): snying rje benevolence, sympathy', forms a compound noun. If other verbs are added, it can form compound verbs: snying rje skye 'generate compassion', snying rje lta 'pity, show consideration for', or modified by adjectives, numerals etc.: snying rje gsum 'three mercies' (Buddhist term), snying rje chen po 'humane, infinitely merciful'. The action of the verb morpheme rje weakens, its meaning gradually bleaches, and it can redevelop like an affix: snying rje ba 'pitiful'. In this sense, snying rje is derived from a noun plus adjectival suffix, as are the alternative forms snying mo and snying ba 'pitiful', which are very clearly typical trisyllabic adjectives.

The root analysis of trisyllabic adjective is not identical, snying rje po is analyzed as: [[snying] "heart" N [rje] "exchange" V] "mercy" N po] 'compassionate' ADJ. The root is a verb-object construction which constitutes a noun, and it constitutes an adjective after the suffix is added. Another case is khyad mtshar po 'weird', which is analyzed as [[khyad mtshar] "rarity" N po] ADJ according to the analysis above, khyad 'difference' is a noun, mtshar 'oddity' is a noun, and this noun-noun construction is already lexicalized, whose metonymic meaning is 'strange, miraculous'. Therefore, this word can be understood as an adjective constructed with a disyllabic noun and a suffix. If another kind of analysis is applied, i.e. [[khyad] "difference" N [mtshar po] "distinctive" ADJ] ADJ, it means 'obvious difference', which is not the actual meaning.

To analyze gra rgyas po 'abundant' as a monosyllabic noun+disyllabic derivational adjective, i.e. [[gra] "awn" N [rgyas po] "flourish, detailed" ADJ] ADJ is obviously semantically inappropriate. Consequently, the more reasonable analysis is [[gra rgyas] "abundance" N po] ADJ i.e. a disyllabic noun+adjectival suffix; the metonymic meaning 'abundant' comes from noun+adjective head-modifier construction [[gra] "awn" N [rgyas] "multiple" ADJ]. A similar analysis is available for gra vgrig po 'considerate, elaborate' which is constructed from the disyllabic noun [gra vgrig] 'completeness' and suffix. zbib tshags po 'careful' can also be analyzed as a disyllabic noun and suffix: [[zbib] "mercioudness" N [tshags] "compactness" N] "thoroughness" N po] 'careful'.

The root sla has two meanings: 'diluted' and 'easy'. The word sla po is used to express the meaning 'diluted' in Lhasa Tibetan and sla mo also means 'diluted' in Amdo Tibetan. Probably
for this reason, the semantic position is occupied by སྲ་པོ sla po which means ‘diluted’ in the lexicon, thus another form of disyllabic adjective which means ‘easy’ is derived: བག་ཐོད་པོ bag brod po, analyzed as [[bag ‘interest’ N brod ‘interest and charm’ N]N po] ‘full of interest and charm’, whose root is a juxtaposed noun, and other examples are ཉེ་ཐོན་པོ vdra chags po ‘decent, elegant’ and དུ་སིམ་པོ khu sim po ‘silent’.

In the examples given above, trisyllabic adjectives are formed with a structure [[ROOT+ROOT]N po]ADJ, i.e. disyllabic noun+suffix. As a matter of fact, the disyllabic word therein can also belong to other parts of speech categories, for instance, the internal structure of དང་དག་པ་ yang dag pa ‘rightful’ seems a little special: དང་ yang is an adverb which means ‘again’, དག dag is an adjective which means ‘correct, pure’, and དང་ dag ‘correct’ is still an adjective, which constitutes the trisyllabic adjective དང་དག་ pa][ADJ after the affix is added. Another example is སྨྱུག་པོ skyug bro po ‘disgusting, repugnant’, analyzed as [[[skyug] ‘vomit’ V [bro] ‘feel’ V] ‘feel like vomiting’ VP po], the root of which is analyzed as an object-verb construction or a serial verb construction, and it is an adjective consisting of a disyllabic verb and an affix.

Another class of adjective seems apparently constructed with a monosyllable (R mono-) or polysyllable (Rdi-) and a suffix (Rmono-+SUF). For example, ཚུགས་བདེ་པོ thugs bde po ‘reassuring’, the noun ཚུགས thugs refers to ‘brain/heart/meaning’, which means ‘thought’, and the adjective བདེ་པོ bde po means ‘comfortable’. Together ཚུགས thugs and བདེ་པོ bde po constitute a compound adjective which is transferred to ‘at ease’ or ‘relieved’. Similar adjectives are བཀ་སྲོག་པོ kha gsang po ‘talkative’ and ལོ་སྲོག་པོ skad gsang po ‘stentorian’.

The analysis of quadrisyllabic words is basically similar, e.g. ལོ་ཆ་གསང་པོ skad cha gsang po ‘lucid-spoken’ is also formed by the noun ལོ་ཆ་ skad cha ‘utterance’ and the post-head adjective modifier གསང་པོ gsang po ‘sonorous’, and it means ‘blunt words’ if interpreted as head-modifier phrase. From the lexical analysis, affixes do not assume the meaning, and roots can synthesize compound words independently, such as ཚུགས་ thugs bde ‘peace of mind’ and གསང་ gsang ‘voice’, that is, the lexical structure should still be [[[ROOT mono]+[ROOT mono]+SUF], i.e. a trisyllabic adjective constructed with disyllabic compound word and affix. As for the quadrisyllabic form, due to the prosodic constraint of a disyllable foot, it should be a disyllabic word with disyllabic modifier in principle, but the basic formation of Tibetan adjectives is a monosyllabic root with a suffix, i.e. a derivational form, therefore it may be directly added with a disyllabic adjective+suffix, however, it is still best analyzed as [[[ROOT+a]+[ROOT]mono]+SUF] (Zhang 2009). The combination of the root part innovates in the framework of the monosyllabic adjective prototype, but the addition of the adjective suffix eventually coincides with the form and appearance of the prototype, thus this new type of adjectives is named compound adjectives with derivational suffixes.

3 Zhang (2009) distinguishes such trisyllabic form into “(root+root)+affix” and “root+(root+affix)” in “word formation 8-4”; an example of the former is འབྲོག་མཁྲེགས་ srog mkhregs po ‘sturdy and durable’. However, he does not explain what the basis for this distinction is. We suspect that this distinction probably reflects the availability of the nominal component in daily spoken language, i.e. འབྲོག་ srog ‘fascination, addiction’ exists, but * བཀ་ bde, * srog mkhregs do not. However, we believe the grammatic analysis should be consistent, concise, and reasonable.
There are two syntactic uses of Tibetan adjectives, one is the post-head modifier of a noun, or the restricted pre-head modifier of a noun, the other is used as a predicate, usually with evidential copulas and other clause final auxiliaries (such as modal particles) like a verb. This paper tries to compare the syntactic structures of prototypical adjectives with derivational suffixes to compound adjectives with derivational suffixes.

12. དེ་ཉིན་དབང་ཆེན་གྱིས་ཞགས་པ་རིང་པོ་ཞིག་ཁྱེར།
   de-nyin dbang-chen-gyis zhags-pa ring-po zhig khyer.
   That day dbang-chen took a long rope. (action with a derivational adjective as attributive)

13. ང་ཚྭ་ར་ȭས་ཚོད་རིང་པོ་མེད།
   nga-tsho-r dus-tshod ring-po med.
   1-PL-POS time long V-NEG
   We do not have much time. (possessive clause with a derivational adjective as attributive)

14. ཀྲེང་པ་འདིའི་əག་ཐག་རིང་པོ་ཡོག་མ་རེད།
   lung-pa vdivi shug thag-ring-po yog-ma-red.
   place this-GEN valley (distance)deep ASP-NEG
   This valley is not deep. (adjective predicate clause with a compound adjective as predicate)

15. བོ་བད་ས་འདི་ནས་ཐག་རིང་པོ་རང་མ་རེད།
   ngavi bsdad-sa vdi nas thag-ring-po rang ma-red.
   I-GEN live-place this ABL (distance)far very ASP-NEG
   My place is not too far from here. (adjective predicate clause with a compound adjective as predicate)

The adjective རིང་པོ ring po in clause 12 is the post-head modifier of the noun ཞགས་པ་ zhags pa ‘rope’, which is the common form. Clause 13 is an possesive clause: རིང་པོ ring po is the post-head modifier of ལྷའོས་ tshod’time’, the verb མེད med requires the subject to be marker as possessive; the grammatical constituents are very clear. There can be two interpretations of clause 14, and the difficulty of explaining it as an existential clause is: what is the function of ཐག thag? For instance, ཡོད་ vjog(vshirt) བུ་ thung(sleeve) རིང་པོ ring po(long) རེད yog redASP ‘the sleeves of the shirt are long’, the adjective རིང་པོ ring po directly serves as predicate at the end of the clause. Similarly, ཐག་ thag ring po yog ma red in 14 is better explained as a predicate of a adjective in the clause than as an existential clause. In this explanation, the word ཐག thag serves as an attribute value of རིང་པོ ring po, and converts to a constituent morpheme in the adjective རིང་པོ ring po. In clause 15, རེད red is used at the end of the predicate clause; although རེད red is not a typical marker of a gestalt adjective predicate clause, original meaning is derived from an evidential copular verb. Two more examples are (Garrett 2001):

16. དེ་འི་rgyu-mtshan ni ha-cang gsal-po red.
   This-GEN reason TOP very clear ASP

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4 Adjective predicate clauses in Tibetan are generally divided into two categories: (1) gestalt adjectives with predicate markers, most commonly ཡོད་ yod, ཡོག་ vjog, རེད red, but also རེད red, བུ་ thung etc.; (2) root adjectives with predicate markers རེད red, ཡོག་ vjog, རེད red, རེད red, རེད red etc., of which there are differences among various dialects, and the written language. Predicate adjective clauses in Tibetan gradually developed in modern times, and this process is not yet complete (cf. Garrett 2001).
The reason is very clear. (adjective predicate clause with a derivational adjective as predicate, with the aspect mark red)

17. བུད་ཀྱེགས་པ་ཕུག་བུ་ལྡན་པར་རྩེ་བུ་དུས་་བྱུང་བ་འདོད།

lha-savi ra-mo-che gtsug-lag-khang yavi lo-rgyus ring-po phyin yog-red.

Lhasa-GEN Ramoche Temple also history long walk(hold) ASP

Ramoche Temple in Lhasa also experienced a long history. (adjective predicate clause with a more complicated adjective predicate)

3 Generation mechanism of compound adjectives with derivational suffixes

Statically, the internal construction of compound adjectives with derivational suffixes is embodied as a head-modifier construction (Nr+ADjr), which is the typical head-modifier noun phrase in Tibetan, but how does this sort of noun phrases convert into adjectives? Such phrases as སྦུགས་པ་རིང་པོ། zhags pa ring po 'long rope', དུས་ཚོད་རིང་པོ། dus tshod ring po 'long time' and དབྱང་དབུང་ring po 'valley' discussed in last section imply people's cognitive process. According to Generative Lexicon Theory, the meaning of an item itself is generally stable, but the combination of items together leads to integrated meanings and conceptions. The integration is a mental process, what kind of extended meanings can the combination of items generate? Which semantic elements are involved in the integration? The qualia construction of Generative Lexicon Theory has great explanatory power for NP+AP and AP+NP, which will be illustrated below (Song 2011, 2014).

Pustejovsky gives 'long record' as an example of AP+NP. According to the definition of the Oxford Dictionary, record is 'a thin round piece of plastic on which music, etc. is recorded' (Pustejovsky 1995, 2013). Obviously, long is not the property of record, and this phrase appears to be a semantic mismatch of modified relationship. Hence, in accordance with the generative semantic mechanism, the head-modifier construction requires the type of modifiers should be consistent with the modified objects; otherwise the meaning will be reanalyzed through a type of coercion, and the semantic match will be achieved by means of metonymy, semantic expansion and narrowing, or transformation of the concept domain. As for this specific example, on the basis of qualia construction rules, record is man-made, and there may be multiple interpretations when modified by adjectives. The word record has two arguments: material entity (mediator) and information; it denotes 'something long' if the former can be modified by 'long', and denotes 'long playing time (or recording time) if the latter is modified. It is clear that this phrase can only choose the latter interpretation, suggesting that the combination gives rise to the cognitive domain of nouns transferred from things to incidents, from space to time, which also means the reduction, generalization and even disappearance of the original meaning of record. And this is a type of coercion (Zhang et al. 2009).

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5 According to Pustejovsky (1995, 2013), a qualia construction is a set of relational systems for describing the meanings of lexical items. Based on the success of describing verb arguments, the author also puts forward that judging the meaning from the noun qualia construction is as effective as judging the verb meaning from the argument type of the verb. On the specific research, he divides the qualia construction into four roles, which are formal role, constitutive role, relic role and agentive role. The formal role distinguishes the object from surrounding things, including the number, shape, dimension, color, and position etc. of the object; the constitutive role introduces the relationship between the object and its constituents or components, including material, weight, parts and constituents etc.; the telic role introduces the function of an object or person, for example, the function of beer is drinking; the agentive role introduces the formation of the object, for instance, the agentive role of 'passenger and defendant' is the riding activity or suing activity.
The adjective རིང་པོ་ ring po indicating space, time and length property in Tibetan has something special about its meaning, i.e. insensitivity to spatial length; therefore, it tends to modify nouns of spatial length through forming phrases of space length, and this kind of usage already existed in old Tibetan. The original meaning of ལྷང་ rgyang in clause 18 is ‘location, space’, and later extended the meaning of ‘distance, remote’. In the era of the Sba Bzhed, 6 this word containing the meaning of distance could be modified by རིང་པོ་ ring ba/po to indicate distance; However, in clause 19, it is difficult for རིང་པོ་ ring po to directly modify a geographic name which does not contain the meaning of distance, therefore, རིང་པོ་ ring po ‘distance’ needs to be added semantically to help express the meaning.

18. vu-ring rgyang ring-ba ra song
Vu-ring went to a faraway place. (Sba Bzhed)(sba gsal snang 1990)

19. sras mi-mngav bas pha-ming gi vgro-yul thag-ring, ……
son NEG-have because father and brother GEN vgro-yul distance far
Because (Princess vgro) has no son, and her family is far away ... (Sba Bzhed)

In principle རིང་པོ་ ring po might be derived from རིང་པོ་ ring po 'cordage (long thing)', implying the property of length. But in the phrase རིང་པོ་ ring po (distance) far, the isolated root meaning has transformed from concrete to abstract, and semantic generalization appears, i.e. it can only represent measurable things. Along with the consolidation of daily usage, the meaning of such phrases gradually solidifies, for instance, the analogy to རིང་པོ་ ring po ‘(distance) near’. In the further structure of modification, e.g. ལམ་ lam ‘road’ རིང་པོ་ ring po ‘(long way), which is inevitable to be directly reflected as 'long way' from 'far (distance) road' semantically, and the 'distance' concept is internalized as the property of 'far'. At this time རིང་པོ་ ring po modifies the head noun as a whole. The lexicalization of the phrase is realized, and the exocentric construction of lexical analysis is formed.

Zhang Guoxian argues that the adjectivization of Chinese nouns is stimulated by the syntactic position of the attribute: the syntactic position of the attribute lays the syntactic basis of activating the salience and solidification of qualitative meaning of nouns (Zhang 2006). This explanation also sheds light on the fact that compound adjectives with derivational suffixes in Tibetan are influenced not only by the head-modifier construction, but also by the structure of adjective predicate clause. Clause 3 above is the most typical case, in which བདེ་མོ་ bde mo (ADJ ‘comfortable’) describes people’s feeling. But it is necessary to specify the experience part of this feeling, that is, ལྷང་ནུས་ sku gzugs (N ‘body, honorific’) is the constitutive role of people, and the head-modifier structure complements the missing argument of the adjective semantically, 7 which makes the expression

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6 Sha Bzhed is a famous Tibetan historical document, which may have been written before the 12th century.
7 This feature is similar to “adjectives with arguments” proposed by Liu (2005): “arguments here refer to the nouns which also need to appear to make the argument structures of adjectives integrated other than the subjective attributes”, and discussed the object argument in Chinese and the mandatory argument in English etc. It is not impossible to regard compound adjectives with derivational suffixes in Tibetan as adjectives with arguments, but the situation is more complicated, and also involves metaphor/metonymy, lexicalization, adjectivalization etc. This paper is a starting point, which we hope will initiate further research.
logically more reasonable. And \( \text{sku gzugs bde mo} \) ‘(body) comfortable’ serves as an adjective predicate as a whole (Liu 2005).

20. \( \text{khong-tsho} \text{ sdod-sa} \text{ thag-ring-po yod tsang} \) …
   they-PL(GEN) live-place far ASP therefore… (adjective predicate)
   Their place is distant, therefore…

21. \( \text{mi-dmangs sman-khang vdi nas thag-nye-po red.} \)
   people hospital here ABL near ASP
   It is close from here to the People's Hospital. (adjective predicate)

22. \( \text{gcung-po} \text{ vdi nas yul tshang-kravu-ba-r  rgyang thag-ring-po med.} \)
   brother this ABL place tshang-kravu-ALA distance far NEG-ASP
   Brother, this place is not far from tshang-kravu(place name). (existential clause with a compound derivational adjective as post-head modifier)

   In summary, as can be seen, English realizes the relationship of modifiers and central words through type coercion and selection (Pustejovsky 2013), while Tibetan takes another route: it synchronically can be regarded as inserting the consistent central word by type selection, then after the transformation from noun to adjective (adjectivization), modifying the central word through type selection again (Goldstein et al. 1991)\(^8\). Please refer to Figure 1.

   ![Figure 1](Image)

4 Semantic types of compound adjectives with derivational suffixes

The combination of nouns like \( \text{gong} \) and adjectives like \( \text{ring po} \) supplements certain properties of adjectives, which reflects that adjectives can complete their required properties with the help of (or through forcing) nouns; this is mainly embodied in the formal quale role, including orientation, size, shape and dimension etc, for instance, \( \text{nyams} \) ‘feeling, attitude, idea, state’; \( \text{gong} \) ‘value, price’; \( \text{go} \) ‘apprehensiveness’; \( \text{stobs} \) ‘strength, momentum’; \( \text{bag} \) ‘nature’; \( \text{spus} \) ‘quality’; \( \text{srog} \) ‘life, lifetime’; \( \text{gzbi} \) ‘foundation, noumenon’; \( \text{khungs} \) ‘basis, proof’; \( \text{gting} \)

\(^8\) Goldstein et al (1991) suggests that such form is a way of adjectivization of Tibetan nouns, and nouns could convert to adjectives by means of adding adjective modifiers, which are called derived adjectives. However, they do not theoretically elaborate the structure and the reason for the conversion.
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‘depth’; གས་ཐབས་‘method, means’; གནས་སྐད་‘voice’; ངས་ཚབ་‘discourse’. Clause 23 typically reflects such function of attribute value associated with roles.

23. དེ་ངན་དངོས་་ཞི་ག་ོ་ོ་ དངོས་ཉིན་ནོ་ དངོས་ཉིན་གནས་བོ དངོས་ཉིན་ནོ་

de-nas dngos-grub skyo nyams-chen-po-s ngus song,
then dngos-grub sad feeling-very-LY cry ASP
Then Dngos-grub cried sadly. (nyams chen po ‘arrogant’)

Tibetan–Chinese Dictionary by Zhang collects དགུན་ཆེན་པོ་ nyams chen po, which means ‘arrogant’ (Zhang 1985), and the usage in this example seems more like the prototype. དགུན་ཆེན་པོ ‘great/big’ itself does not have the property indicating emotional color, and cannot modify གས་ སྐྱོ་‘sad’ directly, for this reason it first constitutes དགུན་ཆེན་པོ་ nyams chen po to be associated with emotional color and the degree, then converts into adjective through semantic generalization and other methods, and realizes the emotional evaluation of གས་ཞོ. More instances are as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>དགུན་ཐབས• (method)</th>
<th>མཁས་པོ (posi-ferous)</th>
<th>དགུན་ཚབ• (talking)</th>
<th>མཁྲོས་པོ (sand)</th>
<th>དགུན་ཁང• (method)</th>
<th>མིག་པོ (adverb)</th>
<th>དགུན་སྤྲི་ (quality)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>དགུན་ཐབས• (method)</td>
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<td>དགུན་ཚབ• (talking)</td>
<td>མཁྲོས་པོ (sand)</td>
<td>དགུན་ཁང• (method)</td>
<td>མིག་པོ (adverb)</td>
<td>དགུན་སྤྲི་ (quality)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another category of compound adjectives with derivational suffixes are nouns of body parts, for instance, ཁྲེ་ snying ‘heart > soul, thought (metonymy)’, བཞུགས་ sems ‘soul’, འདི་ནག་ thugs ‘chest > mind’, བཞི་ mgo ‘head > thought (metonymy)’:

༡: ཁྲེ་ snying ‘heart > soul, thought (metonymy)’, བཞུགས་ sems ‘soul’, འདི་ནག་ thugs ‘chest > mind’, བཞི་ mgo ‘head > thought (metonymy)’:


༢: ཁྲེ་ nra ‘audition (metonymy)’, དོན་དུ་ sna ‘smell (metonymy)’, དོན་དུ་ mig ‘vision (metonymy)’, དོན་དུ་ gdong/gdong kha ‘feelings (metonymy)’:

9 Zhou & Xie (2003) notices such phenomenon as “subordinate compound words”, but there is no further elaboration.
As can be seen from the examples above, in addition to the words originally expressing abstract conceptions such as སེམས 'mind' etc., metonymy occurs in most words of body parts, especially the facial area, e.g. མིག 'vision' as a metonymy of 'eye'. For example:

24. རྩོད་རྡེ་རྡེ་སྒྲོང་པ་ 'fine' say, NEG need
do not say fine words. (snyan po = snyan mo)

25. དབྱོང་པ་ཤེས་ མི་ལྟེ་ དབྱོང་བ་ 'fat' 
that fat merchant

The discussion above has classified the main types of compound adjectives with derivational suffixes. Some of these are highly productive in modern Tibetan, and generate a fair number of new words, for example, རྲི་མོ 'big' 10, བྲིས་ 'hot' 11, བདེ་ 'pleasant, comfortable' 12, ཀྱི་ 'distinctive, revealing' etc. There are a few forms which can be structurally analyzed by different methods, such as the forms constructed with བྲེ་ 'be good/be apt to' and ཞེས་ 'be liable to do', which will be discussed in another paper due to limited space.
5 Conclusion

Compared with other compound adjectives with derivational suffixes, དིང་ཝོ་ snying rje po discussed in the second section can be called an old polysyllabic adjective, which is unproductive, and probably originates from the process of lexicalization. Other compound adjectives with derivational suffixes can also be divided into old and new types. Adjectives like ཐག་རིང་པོ་ thag ring po ‘distant’ and གཏིང་རིང་པོ་ gting ring po ‘deep’ may have originally constituted noun-adjective phrases, and converted into adjectives through reanalysis and lexicalization. The synchronic feature of these adjectives is that they are used as adjectives freely, and are included in the dictionary. Other new ones might be constituted through lexical analogy, and respectively presented as phrases and adjectives in different contexts, for instance, ནོ་དཀར་པོ་ ngo dkar po ‘white face/cheerful’, ནོ་ནག་པོ་ ngo nag po ‘black face/sullen’, ནོ་མཚར་པོ་ ngo mtshar po ‘a fair face/good-looking’. However, because of the semantic constraints of combination, some can only be understood through metaphor or metonymy, e.g. ནོ་བȦན་པོ་ ngo brtan po is generally interpreted as ‘steady, firm’, from the metonymy of its original meaning ‘reliable face’.

To sum up, compound adjectives with derivational suffixes express a trait or property, therein the adjective morphemic meaning provides the property and nature that the trait needs, and the noun morphemic meaning provides the source, scope, shape, dimension, color, material, location etc., that is the qualia description of meaning. Compound adjectives with derivational suffixes are productive, and they are either trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic; their syntactic functions are that they are used as attribute, predicate, adverbial or complement, which are basically consistent with the syntactic functions of conventional disyllabic adjectives with derivational suffixes.

ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABL</th>
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<td>ADJ</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
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</table>

REFERENCES


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Di Jiang  
jiangdi@cass.org.cn