CONTEMPORARY TRACES OF THE VERB SUFFIX *-s OF PROTO-TIBETO-BURMAN

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

There existed in Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) a verb suffix *-s. It was used to show that the action denoted by a verb has been performed or completed. The existence of this suffix can be seen in contemporary markers of the past tense, the yixing aspect or the wancheng aspect in many Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages in China.\(^1\)\(^2\)

Although *-s has disappeared from some TB languages, it is not surprising that most Qiangic languages have kept the element. This is because the Qiangic branch generally has much more inflectional morphology than other branches under the TB Group. Yet even in the Yi (or Loloish) branch of languages, which have little inflectional morphology and are analytic in structure, traces of the proto-suffix under discussion can still be found.

The modern descendants (or reflexes) of *-s take several forms with different grammatical meanings. It can be a single [s] by itself or a suffix-like syllable beginning with [s]. (All of these forms can hereafter be represented by “s(N(C))”, with the uppercase “N” and “C” denoting “nucleus” and “coda” respectively). In different languages, the s(N(C)) element can be an affix, a

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1 Tibeto-Burman languages discussed in this paper are limited to those in China. The present writer’s own fieldwork provides data for Muya (= Minyak), the Pumi spoken at Muli, and the Xia’erba and Balti varieties of Tibetan. Other linguistic data are taken from published sources (see References).

2 Translators’ note: Yixing (literally, ‘already-performed’) and wancheng (literally, ‘complete’) are the pinyin spellings of two Chinese terms. Both can be translated as ‘perfective’. Generally speaking they are used interchangeably, according to the preference of individual fieldworkers and grammarians. But in some languages, e.g. Shixing (Huang and Renzengwangmu 1991:187-8) and Naxi (He and Jiang 1985:84), there is a contrast.
functional particle, or even a conjunction. As an affix or particle, it is a marker of tense, aspect, qingtài (i.e. evidentiality), or yūqì (i.e. mood or tone).\(^3\)

### 2.0 FOUR TYPES OF REFLEXES FROM *-s

Based on their grammatical functions, the reflexes of *-s in various TB languages can be divided into four types: markers of tense or aspect, markers of modality, conjunctions, and nominalizers. The four subsections below will present examples of each type.

### 2.1 MARKERS OF TENSE OR ASPECT

This group includes the following TB languages: Tibetan, Jingpo, Qiang (spoken at Taoping), Shixing, Jinuo, Lahu, Naxi, Queyu, and Canglou Menba. The s(N(C)) elements in these languages are markers of either the past tense or the perfective aspect. The data presented in this paper and the accompanying analyses concerning tense or aspect are taken directly from published descriptions as cited below. The present writer’s comments on these analyses are added as necessary.

(i) In Classical Tibetan, verbs could take the suffixes *-s or *-d. Appearing only after roots ending in [n], [l], or [r], the latter was a morphophonemic variant of the former. Two examples are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenses</th>
<th>Classical Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>b-lta-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>lta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>b-lta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, *-s and *-d served as past tense markers. In addition, together with an inflectional change in the vowel of the verb root, they were also used to make up the imperative form, e.g. lto-s ‘see < imperative>’.

In most modern Tibetan dialects, *-s and *-d have already disappeared. (Suffixal *-d disappeared earlier than *-s; Tibetan manuscripts stopped using the former after the 10th century.) Their disappearance in some dialects has resulted in a change in the form of some past tense verbs, as shown by the following examples:

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\(^3\) Translators’ note: Later discussions in the paper will show the meaning of the two Chinese terms qingtài and yūqì as used by Prof. Huang.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenses</th>
<th>Classical Tibetan</th>
<th>Lhasa Tibetan</th>
<th>Xia’erba Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>b-lta-s</td>
<td>[te^52]</td>
<td>[ta^53]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>lta</td>
<td>[ta^55]</td>
<td>[ta^53]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>b-lta</td>
<td>[ta^55]</td>
<td>[ta^53]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb ‘to see’ in Classical Tibetan and two modern Tibetan dialects

The disappearance of -s from Lhasa Tibetan has raised the vowel and produced a falling tone. On the other hand, the past tense suffix has been replaced by a contrast in vowel length in the Xia’erba variety of Tibetan.

(ii) A group of syllables in Jinchao beginning with [s], i.e. [sa] (1st person), [sin] (2nd person), and [sai] (3rd person), combine with other morphemes to make up what have been called “utterance-final particles”. From the following paradigm (Liu 1984:62) and examples, we can see that the syllables in question indicate completive aspect (wánchéng).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person of the Subject</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-completive</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>ȵ³¹ȵai³³</td>
<td>să³ȵai³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>ȵ³¹tai³³</td>
<td>sân³tai³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>ai³³</td>
<td>săi³³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kʰjį³³ wa³¹ sai³³ ‘He has gone back.’ (p. 32)

ŋai³³ mu³¹ să³ŋai³³ ‘I can [now] see it.’ (p. 32)

(iii) In the variety of Qiang spoken at Taoping, there are also past tense suffixes beginning with [s]. As an illustration, the paradigm for the verb ‘to harvest, gather in’ (Sun 1981:100) and some example sentences are given below:

4 “Utterance-final particles” (yǔwèizhùcì) carry a combination of grammatical meanings. Since Jinchao is like most other TB languages in being SOV, utterance-final particles can also be described as suffix-like elements appearing after the main verb of the sentence.

5 Translators’ note: Syllables with a single tone numeral are unstressed syllables (Liu 1984:14). The syllable-initial consonant [s] is underlined for emphasis, not for any special phonetic attribute.
Although the s(N(C)) in Taoping Qiang also indicates an action in the past, its function as a tense marker is much weaker than the s(N(C)) in Jingpo as an aspect marker. This is so for three reasons: (a) tense contrasts in Qiang are signified primarily by different tones of the verb root and only secondarily by the use of suffixes; (b) s(N(C)) is only used for the first and the second person, but not for the third; (c) the s(N(C)) syllable is also used for the present and the future tense of the second person. Since s(N(C)) no longer exists in the northern dialects of Qiang, we can assume that this element is in the process of fading out from Taoping Qiang as well.

(iv) In Shixing (Huang and Renzengwangmu 1991), [sį́ʔ33] is the yǐxíng (i.e. perfective) aspect particle, for example:

thi53  tōh33  sį́ʔ55
he    come YIXING

I      firewood chop YIXING

[sį́ʔ33] is also used with [-wu55] to represent the wánchéng (i.e. completive) aspect, for example:

ης55  dzə35  tshə33-wu55  sį́ʔ33
I    eat    finish WANCHENG

qo31-tho55  kuo241  ku55-si31  ‘We have gathered in the wheat.’ (p. 101)
we     wheat gather.in

no55  kua24  ku55-so31  ‘You have gathered in the wheat.’ (p. 100)
you.SG wheat gather.in
ni\(^{55}\)  dz\(\text{h}a\)\(^{33}\)  ts\(\text{hi}\)\(^{33}\)  wu\(^{55}\)  a\(^{33}\)  s\(\text{h}a\)\(^{33}\)
you.SG  eat  finish  INTG.PRE-WANCHENG
‘Have you finished eating?’ (p. 188)

(v) In Jinuo (Gai 1986), [s\(\text{h}a\)\(^{33}\)] is the w\(\text{a}n\)chéng; aspect particle, for example: 6

\begin{verbatim}
kh\(\text{e}\)\(^{42}\)  zo\(^{44}\)  s\(\text{h}a\)\(^{33}\)  a  n\(\text{h}e\)\(^{33}\)  ‘He has gone.’ (p. 51)
he  leave  PARTICLE
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
pu\(^{44}\)  t\(\text{h}a\)\(^{33}\)  to\(^{42}\)  s\(\text{h}a\)\(^{33}\)  a  n\(\text{h}e\)\(^{33}\)  ‘The moon has come out.’ (p. 51)
moon  emerge  PARTICLE
\end{verbatim}

(vi) In Lahu (Chang et al. 1986), [se\(^{31}\)u\(^{31}\)] is the w\(\text{a}n\)chéng particle, for example: 7, 8

\begin{verbatim}
l\(\text{h}a\)\(^{31}\)  li\(^{31}\)  qai\(^{33}\)  se\(^{31}\)  u\(^{31}\)  ‘The car has left.’ (p. 69)
car  leave
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
s\(\text{h}i\)\(^{54}\)  ts\(\text{h}i\)\(^{33}\)  te\(^{53}\)  tse\(^{31}\)  thy\(^{33}\)  pa\(^{11}\)  se\(^{31}\)  u\(^{31}\)  ‘This tree has been cut down.’ (p. 27)
tree  this  one  CLF  cut  fall
\end{verbatim}

(vii) In Naxi (He and Jiang 1985), [se\(^{31}\)  si\(\text{h}a\)\(^{33}\)] is the w\(\text{a}n\)chéng particle, for example: 9

\begin{verbatim}
thu\(^{33}\)  tshu\(^{31}\)  si\(\text{h}a\)\(^{33}\)  ‘He has come.’ (p. 55)
he  come
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
thu\(^{33}\)  khue\(^{33}\)  mi\(^{31}\)  xu\(^{33}\)  se\(^{31}\)  ‘He has gone to Kunming.’ (p. 50)
he  Kunming  go
\end{verbatim}

6 Translators’ note: Syllables with no tone numeral are unstressed (Gai 1986:10).
7 Chang et al. (1986) do not use the term “aspect”, but in the section on “tense particles” [se\(^{31}\)u\(^{31}\)] is said to indicate that “an action has been w\(\text{a}n\)chéng [i.e. completed]” (p. 51).
8 According to my own analysis of Black Lahu verb-particles, s\(\text{h}e\) (here written se\(^{31}\)) indicates the speaker’s regret, while it is o (here written u\(^{31}\)) that has completive meaning. There is a homophonous particle s\(\text{h}e\) that has inchoative meaning, appearing especially in NEG + V + s\(\text{h}e\) constructions meaning ‘not V yet’. There is also a cognate Burmese particle of similar meaning, WB s\(\text{h}e\) (Mod. Bs. ð\(\text{h}e\)). See Matisoff 1973:330-341. [Ed.]
9 He and Jiang (1985:84) do not use the term “aspect”. According to them, [se\(^{31}\)  si\(\text{h}a\)\(^{33}\)] indicates the w\(\text{a}n\)chéngm\(\text{a}o\) (completive state) and belongs to the group of q\(\text{in}\)gm\(\text{a}o\) (literally, situation-state) particles. The meaning of q\(\text{in}\)gm\(\text{a}o\) is different from what we mean by q\(\text{in}\)t\(\text{h}i\) (modality) in the present paper.
[se³¹ ~ sia³³] has acquired another grammatical meaning, namely, to indicate a "kênding yúqi [definite mood/tone]" (He and Jiang 1985:86), for example:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ηε}³¹ & \text{σο}³¹ \; \text{ηι}³³ \; \text{μο}³³ \; \text{λυ}³³ \; \text{σε}³¹ \\
\text{I} & \text{tomorrow} \; \text{not} \; \text{come} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘I am not coming tomorrow.’ (p. 51)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{υ³³} & \text{λε}³³ \; \text{υ}³³ \; \text{μυ}³³ \; \text{τθο}³³ \; \text{σε}³¹ \\
\text{you} & \text{return} \; \text{go} \; \text{can} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘You can go [now].’ (p. 53)

(viii) In Queyu (Wang 1991), there are two ways to signify the yīxíng (i.e. perfective) aspect: (a) two suffixes [-u⁵⁵] and [-si³¹] together after the verb, or (b) either [ku²⁵⁵-] or [ta⁴⁵⁵-] before the verb but no [-u⁵⁵-si³¹] after it. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ηα}¹³ & \text{tχι}³³-u³³-si³¹ \sim \text{ku}³³-tχo³³ \\
\text{I} & \text{eat-SUF-SUF} \; \text{PREF-eat} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘I have eaten.’ (p. 58)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{τςε}³³ & \text{tχι}³³-u³³-si³¹ \sim \text{ku}³³-p-tχι³³ \\
\text{he} & \text{eat-SUF-SUF} \; \text{PREF-PREF-eat} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘He has eaten.’ (p. 58)

There may be a difference in meaning between the two constructions illustrated above. There is one sentence in Wang (1991) that uses [-si³¹] after the progressive suffix:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ηα}¹³ & \text{tχo}³³-sο³³-si³¹ \\
\text{I} & \text{eat-PROG-SUF} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘I am eating.’ (p. 58)

The exact meaning of [-si³¹] can only be ascertained with additional data from further fieldwork.

(viii) The yīxíng (i.e. perfective) aspect in Cangluo Menba (Zhang 1986) is marked by two variants, i.e. [-ci] and [-tci⁵⁵], which probably originate from *si < *s. For example: ¹⁰

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{rο}²³³ & \text{ju}¹³ \; \text{tča}²³³-ci \; \text{mo?} \\
\text{he} & \text{wine} \; \text{drink} \; \text{INTG.PARTICLE} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘Has he drunk some wine?’ (p. 76)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{tca}³³ & \text{ja}³³ \; \text{tβ}³³ \; \text{jo}³³-kβ³³-wa \; \text{tβo}³³ \; \text{mar}¹³ \; \text{ci} \\
\text{I} & \text{last year} \; \text{very} \; \text{one} \; \text{fall.ill} \\
\end{array}
\]  
‘Last year I was seriously ill.’ (p. 76)

¹⁰ Translators’ note: Syllables with no tone numeral are unstressed (Zhang 1986: 11-12).
2.2 MARKERS OF EVIDENTIALITY

This group includes the following TB languages: Jiarong, Daofu, Pumi (spoken at Muli), Muya (=Minyak), and Nusu (one of the languages used by the Nu people). The category of evidentiality involves the following contrasts:

a) if the speaker is conscious of his or her own action or not;

b) if a proposition is based on eye-witness perception or not ("non-eyewitness" is used when reporting what other people have said, or when inferring from the effects or results of an action);

c) if the proposition is new or relatively old knowledge/information. As shown below, the s(N(C)) of the past tense and the perfective aspect is often intertwined with the category of evidentiality. It is therefore probable that the s(N(C)) of evidentiality originates from that of tense and aspect.

(i) In Jiarong (Lin 1993), the suffix [-s] indicates first person self-consciousness or third person eye-witness perception for intransitive verbs in the past tense. For example:

\[
\etaa \ne-r\eta\bar{m}-\eta-s
\]

PAST-sleep-1ST.PERSON

'I have fallen asleep.' [Self-conscious] (p. 234)

\[
\wajo \ne-r\eta\bar{m}-s
\]

he PAST-sleep

'He has gone to bed.' [Eye-witness] (p. 234)

Looking further at the following data, we can see that the past tense is primarily marked by the prefix [na-]. The suffix [-s], as well as the alternation of the vowel from [a] to [v] in the prefix, serves to indicate the self-conscious or the eye-witness mode.

\[
\etaa \na-r\eta\bar{m}-\eta
\]

'I have fallen asleep.' [Past tense] [Self-unconscious]

\[
\wajo \na-r\eta\bar{m}-\eta
\]

'He has gone to bed.' [Past tense] [Non-eyewitness]

\[
\etaa \ne-r\eta\bar{m}-\eta-s
\]

'I have fallen asleep.' [Past tense] [Self-conscious]

\[
\wajo \ne-r\eta\bar{m}-s
\]

'He has gone to bed.' [Past tense] [Eyewitness]

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11 For detailed discussion of evidentiality in TB, please refer to Huang (1991c).
(ii) In Daofu (Huang 1991a), the suffix [-si] indicates first person self-unconsciousness or third person non-eye-witness perception for the yǐxíng (i.e. perfective) aspect. For example:

\[ \eta \text{ du } \gamma \text{-tu } -\text{si.} \]
I poison YIXING drink

'I have [unknowingly] taken the poison.' (p. 36)

\[ \text{maqbi } \text{na-qi } -\text{si} \]
rain YIXING fall

'It has rained.' [Inferred from the wet ground] (p. 36)

Compare with the following:

\[ \eta \text{ yē } \gamma \text{-tu } \]
'I have drunk some water.' [Self-conscious]

\[ \text{maqbi } \text{na-qi} \]
'It has rained.' [Eye-witness] (p. 36)

(iii) In Pumi (spoken at Muli), the suffixes [-si^{31}] and [-s5^{31}] indicate non-eye-witness perception and first person self-unconsciousness respectively. For example:

\[ \text{ts5}^{55} \text{ be}^{55} \text{ kb33-dzu}^{53} -\text{si}^{31} \]
he meal YIXING eat

'He has eaten.' [Non-eye-witness]

\[ \text{ts5}^{55} \text{ a}^{33} \text{ be}^{55} \text{ tci}^{33} \text{ xiv}^{53-\text{dz}_1} \], \text{ a}^{55} \text{ tci}^{33} -\text{s5}^{53-53} \]
he I OBJ speak let-PROG I speak

'Since he let me speak, I have spoken.' [Self-unconscious]

Compare with the following:

\[ \text{ts5}^{55} \text{ be}^{55} \text{ kb33-dzu}^{53} \]
he meal YIXING-eat

'He has eaten.' [Eye-witness]

\[ \text{a}^{33} \text{ zē}^{55} \text{ phzi}^{55} \text{ kb33 } \text{thē}^{31} \]
we two wine YIXING drink

'We two have (drunk the wine and) gotten married.' [Self-conscious]

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12 Translators' note: The superscript hyphen in [s5^{31-53}] signifies a tone sandhi from 31 to 53.
"Non-eye-witness" in Pumi means that the speaker did not see the action itself, but he or she may see the result of the action. [-si³¹] is used in the following sentences because the process denoted by the verb cannot be observed meticulously:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{your house down.fall} & \quad \text{Your house has collapsed.}' \\
\text{sun come.out} & \quad \text{The sun has come out.'}
\end{align*}
\]

(iv) In Muya (=Minyak, Huang 1985 and 1991b), when the verb is in the wánchénɡ (i.e. completive) aspect, the following suffixes are used to indicate self-unconsciousness of the action or inference about what has just happened (i.e. that the speaker is a non-eye-witness of the action itself): ¹³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>-sø</td>
<td>-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>-sy</td>
<td>-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>-sø</td>
<td>-sø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{v}^{55}\text{tσ}^{33} \quad \text{pβ}^{33}\text{lα}^{55} \quad \text{kβu}^{33} \quad \text{tu}^{35} \quad \text{nυ}^{53} \quad \text{τβ}^{55}\text{-sø}^{33} \quad \text{tσ}^{33} \\
\text{this bowl inside poison WANCHENG put.into NOMINALIZ.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{th}^{55}\text{-mø}^{53} \quad \text{tσ}^{33} \quad \text{kα}^{33} \quad \text{ντe}^{35} \quad \text{fτe}^{33}\text{-ndзв}^{53}\text{-sø}^{33} \quad \text{WANCHENG-forget afterwards I.myself WANCHENG-eat} \\
\text{‘I have forgotten that poison was put into this bowl, and I have eaten [the contents].’ [Self-unconscious] (Huang 1991c:28)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mø}^{53} \quad \text{nα}^{33}\text{-qβ}^{53}\text{-sø}^{33} \\
\text{rain WANCHENG-fall} \\
\text{‘It rained.’ [Non-eye-witness] (Huang 1991c:28)}
\end{align*}
\]

Compare with the following:

---

¹³ In Huang 1985 and 1991b, I used the term qínyàn yúqì (personal-experience + mood) and defined it as “emphasizing that the action is seen by the speaker ...” (1985:71 & 1991b:118). This wording is imprecise because the speaker does not see the action itself, but the results or effects of the action. I gave a better definition in Huang (1991c), and renamed qínyàn yúqì as qíngtái fānchóu (evidentiality + category). Example sentences given below are from Huang (1991c), with the misprints there corrected.
ηι⁵³ ɦa³³-ndzw⁵³ ɹa³³
I WANCHENG-eat PARTICLE
‘I have eaten.’ [Self-conscious] (Huang 1991c:28)

mɔ⁵³ nɔ³³ Ɂh⁵³ ɹa³³
rain WANCHENG fall PARTICLE
‘It rained.’ [Eye-witness] (Huang 1991c:27)

(v) In Nusu (Sun and Liu 1986:84), [sa⁵⁵] is classified as a “yūqi zhùcǐ”, i.e. mood (or tone) particle. It is used at the end of an indicative sentence to convey a “kěndǐng” (definite) mood/tone, in contrast to [ə³¹] for the unmarked mood/tone.¹⁴ For example:

a⁵⁵nɪ³¹ nə³⁵du³¹ dəɾ³⁵ u³¹ kʰuə³⁵ du⁵⁵ bwe³¹ ku³¹ sa⁵⁵
today we paddy.field that CLF dig finish WANCHENG
‘Today we have finished digging up that patch of paddy field.’
(pp. 84-5)

If the above sentence ends with [ə³¹] instead of [sa⁵⁵], then it will be in the unmarked mood. [sa⁵⁵] can be used not only after a verb in the wánchéng aspect, but also after a verb in the future aspect. For example:

zue⁵⁵ phə³¹ iə³⁵ zₐa³⁵ bwe³¹ ku³¹ sa⁵⁵,
charcoal kiln make finish WANCHENG

a⁵⁵ nɪ³¹ nə³⁵ du³¹ zue⁵⁵ phaɾ³⁵ gua³⁵ sa⁵⁵
today we charcoal burn FUTURE
‘The charcoal kiln is done; today we will start making charcoal.’
(p. 84)

2.3 CONJUNCTIONS

There exist phonologically similar conjunctions having the form of s(N(C)) independently in Achang, Yi and Lisu.¹⁵ These conjunctions are used to link up either two verb-like elements or two clauses. If it is two verblike elements, the second conjunct is the complement of the first. If it is two clauses, the second clause further elaborates on or adds to the meaning of the first clause. Since these conjunctions often immediately follow a verb denoting an already

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¹⁴ Yūqi zhùcǐ (mood/tone particles) belong to the category of yūqi, which is different from and yet similar to the meaning of the category of qingtài (evidentiality). This is so because the eyewitness contrast also entails the difference between the kěnding (definite) and the unmarked mood/tone.

¹⁵ The function words in Achang and Yi under consideration are both called jiègōn zhùcǐ (structural particle) in Dai and Cui (1985:57) and Chen et al. (1985: 140).
performed action, they probably originate from the ancient element *-s. If this hypothesis is true, then these conjunctions carry a grammatical function more distantly related to verbs; in other words, they are more independent from the verb than the affixes and particles discussed in the last two sections.

(i) In Achang (Dai and Cui 1985), [sɁ^31] links up a verb or predicative adjective with its complement:

\[
\begin{align*}
\te^{55} & \ sɁ^{31} \ \text{Xə}^{31} & \text{‘to be painful from being hit’ (p. 57)} \\
\text{hit} & \text{painful} \\
\text{tshəa}^{31} & \ sɁ^{31} \ \text{nəo}^{31} & \text{‘to differ or miss by much’ (p. 57)} \\
\text{differ, miss} & \text{a lot} \\
\text{ai}^{31} \ za^{31}, \ kəəi^{55} \ sɁ^{31} \ Ɂəμ^{31} & \text{pə}^{31} & \text{oh boy speak wrong PARTICLE} \\
\text{‘Oh boy, I said something wrong!’ (p.61)}
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) Similarly in Yi (Chen et al. 1985), [si^{21-44}] or [si^{33}ni^{21}] links up a verb or predicative adjective with its complement, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tshur}^{33} \ kəər^{33} \ si^{44} \ dzur^{33} \ a^{21} \ hi^{55} & \ ə^{44} & \text{salty eat not able PARTICLE} \\
\text{‘This is too salty (for eating).’ (p. 141)} \\
\text{tshir}^{33} \ he^{33}ma^{55} \ kəər^{55} \ si^{21} \ m(ə)u^{33}du^{33} \ ərur^{44} \ a^{21} \ ənər^{21} & \ ə^{44} & \text{he heart happy solution find not PARTICLE PARTICLE} \\
\text{‘He is extremely happy [i.e. so happy that there is nothing to do about it].’ (p. 141)} \\
\text{hi}^{55} \ hi^{33} \ si^{33} \ ni^{21} \ Ɂə^33li^{33} \ dəəze^{33} & \ ə^{44} & \text{stand-stand foot sore PARTICLE} \\
\text{‘The legs are sore from having stood for so long.’ (p. 140)}
\end{align*}
\]

(iii) In Lisu (Xu et al. 1986), [sɁ^{55}] is used to link up two verb phrases or clauses, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ko}^{44} \ kəər^{44} \ si^{33} \ Ɂ^{55} \ se^{44} \ tshə^{31} \ du^{31} & \text{hill in go medicine dig} \\
\text{‘to go into the hills to trowel up medicinal herbs’ (p. 70)} \\
\text{e}^{55} \ bo^{44} \ ko^{55} \ thi^{31} \ təər^{35} \ ərə^{44} \ lə^{33} \ si^{55} \ Ɂbo^{31} \ Ɂənər^{21} & \text{he pen one CLF get come book}
\end{align*}
\]
kua\textsuperscript{44} dži\textsuperscript{33} dži\textsuperscript{33} bo\textsuperscript{44} nie\textsuperscript{13}
on seriously write PROG

'After fetching a pen, he is/was seriously writing it down in the
book.' (p. 70)

2.4 NOMINALIZERS

The s(N(C)) elements in Daofu, Muya, Jingpo, Achang and the Balti variety
of Tibetan can also derive nouns from verbs. Since this s(N(C)) follows a verb
in the yix\textsuperscript{ing} or w\textsuperscript{anch\textsuperscript{en}} aspect in Daofu and Muya, the nominalizing function
is likely to be a new usage originating from PTB *-s.

(i) Examples from Jingpo (Liu 1984) are as follows:

\textipa{ʃ\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{55}-ai\textsuperscript{33}} \quad 'things to eat'
\textipa{ʃ\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{55}-sai\textsuperscript{33}} \quad 'things having been eaten' (p. 35)
\textipa{ʃ\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{55}-\textsuperscript{j}in\textsuperscript{55}-ai\textsuperscript{33}} \quad 'things to learn'
\textipa{ʃ\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{55}-\textsuperscript{j}in\textsuperscript{55}-sai\textsuperscript{33}} \quad 'things having been learnt' (p. 35)

(ii) Examples from Daofu (Huang 1991a) are as follows:

\textipa{və\textsuperscript{33}aro rə-xa s\textsuperscript{i} vdzi}
below YIX\textsuperscript{ING}-come person

'person who came up here from down below' (p. 41)

\textipa{tʰə \textipa{nə də-nt\textsuperscript{chu} s\textsuperscript{i} nə rə}
that I YIX\textsuperscript{ING}-hear be PARTICLE

'That is what I have heard.' (p. 41)

(iii) Examples from Muya (Huang 1991b) are as follows:

\textipa{k\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{55}-nu\textsuperscript{55}} \quad 'to have fried'
\textipa{k\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{55}-nu\textsuperscript{55} s\textsuperscript{ə}\textsuperscript{33}} \quad 'things having been fried' (p 123)
\textipa{ndo\textsuperscript{53}} \quad 'to hear'
\textipa{th\textsuperscript{ə}\textsuperscript{33}-ndo\textsuperscript{53} s\textsuperscript{ə}\textsuperscript{33}} \quad 'what (he) has heard' (p. 123)

(iv) Examples from Achang (Dai and Cui 1985) are as follows:

\textipa{n\textsuperscript{o}\textsuperscript{55} pə\textsuperscript{31}j\textsuperscript{55} s\textsuperscript{l}\textsuperscript{31} ma\textsuperscript{31} n\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{55}
I snap not want

'I do not want those that are broken.' (p. 71)

\textipa{n\textsuperscript{o}\textsuperscript{55} ŋ\textsuperscript{ə}\textsuperscript{35} s\textsuperscript{l}\textsuperscript{31} th\textsuperscript{ə}n\textsuperscript{55} n\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{31} n\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{55} ne\textsuperscript{55}
I come that day be PARTICLE

'It was on the day that I came.' (p. 68)
In the Balti variety of Tibetan, which has preserved comparatively more elements from Classical Tibetan, the past tense suffix -s also has the nominalizing function, for example:

- lanj-s: 'rising; standing'
- granj-s: 'being cold'
- mbris: 'pen' (< fibri 'write')
- bdzik-s: 'destroying; destruction'

### 3.0 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The previous section has pointed out modern traces of the PTB verb suffix *-s in many TB languages. We will end this paper with the following three remarks. First, these traces provide new evidence for cognate relationships in the TB family. Second, linguistic elements for basic grammatical notions (such as tense and aspect) are similar to the basic vocabulary of nouns and verbs in their ability to resist obsolescence. Naturally this does not mean that these elements will always stay the same over time. In individual languages, they may take on forms and meanings unlike the proto-form to different degrees. Third, in synthetic TB languages, which are generally closer to the original structure of PTB, the s(N(C)) is a suffix, but in analytic TB languages it is a particle or conjunction. This reflects the developmental trend from a synthetic to an analytic grammatical structure within the TB family.

### REFERENCES


