This book is an introduction to the family of languages derived from Old Tibetan. These languages are spoken on the Tibetan plateau, in the Himalayas and the Karakoram. The Tibetic-speaking area is nowadays located in six countries: China, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan, and Myanmar. Some of the smallest languages are seriously endangered, and likely to disappear soon. In the first chapters, sociolinguistic and anthropological aspects of the Tibetic societies are presented, as well as information about the main religions of the Tibetic area – Buddhism, Bon, and Islam. The book includes a presentation of the main phonological and grammatical characteristics found in the Tibetic languages, and also provides information about the Tibetan script and the written languages used in the area. A whole chapter is devoted to dialectology and the presentation of the main linguistic characteristics for each section of the Tibetic area – Southeastern, Eastern, Northeastern, Central, Southern, South-western, Western, and Northwestern. The book also includes a historical and comparative dictionary presenting the main lexical differences between the modern languages, as well as their etymologies in Classical Tibetan. It presents the lexical correspondences between the major Tibetic languages: Central Tibetan, Tsang, Amdo, Kham, Dzongkha, Lhoke (Sikkim), Sherpa, Balti, Central Ladaks, Purik and Spiti. In order to explain the interactions with other language families, we have provided a presentation of the contact languages, which essentially belong to other Tibeto-Burman branches, as well as Sinitic, Mongolic, Turkic, Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Germanic (English) and Burushaski language families. This work includes three appendices. The first two deal with toponymic information and provides the names of the main mountains, rivers and lakes of the Tibetic area. The third appendix includes several detailed maps presenting the locations of the Tibetic languages and dialects. It also offers maps of the natural and human environments, as well as the administrative units of the area.

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• Quentin Devers is an archaeologist at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS, Paris). He specialized in the archaeology of Ladakh and contributed to the North-Western section Migration patterns, legends and historical records.

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Foreword

Randy J. LaPolla, Beijing Normal University at Zhuhai, China and Nanyang Technological University

This massive tome is a distillation of more than thirty years of fieldwork by the two authors on the many linguistic varieties spread across Western China, Tibet, Northeast India, Northwest India, Pakistan, Bhutan, Sikkim, and Nepal that can be shown to be descendants of Old Tibetan. The authors are two of the most dedicated fieldworkers I know of, each having investigated dozens of varieties and worked with hundreds of people in some of the toughest areas of the world to do fieldwork in. I have had the chance to interact with the authors over the years while they were working on this book, first conceived of by Nicolas Tournadre in the early 1990s, and have enjoyed hearing about the adventures they had while doing the fieldwork. They also refer to work by other authors as well in completing this survey to make it more comprehensive.

The main goal of the work is to present a comprehensive overview picture of the life and languages of the speakers of the many language varieties that can be traced back to Old Tibetan. It not only presents the linguistic data, but also includes survey information about the peoples who speak these languages: their ethnic designations and locations, their religions, their lifestyles and livelihoods (and differences in the speech of speakers who have different livelihoods), their sociolinguistic practices, such as the use of honorifics, and their contact with speakers of other languages and its effects. It also includes an extensive discussion of the origins, uses, and styles of the Tibetan script. For this reason the book will also be of use to anthropologists, sociologists, historians, language typologists (Chapter 7 is a typological overview of what does and does not appear in the phonologies of the different varieties, and Chapter 8 is a typological overview of the grammatical features found), and historical linguists generally, as well as specialists on Tibetic languages and cultures.
A second goal of the work is to allow those who know Classical Tibetan (which is the later literary language) to understand the correspondence rules between Classical Tibetan and the modern varieties, so that they can easily learn those varieties. The discussion of this aspect is framed within a larger discussion of the historical development of Literary Tibetan in general and the morphological features of Classical Tibetan. The mutual influence of Literary Tibetan and the modern varieties is also discussed.

The main part of the book (Parts 2 and 3) is the linguistic overviews, not only in Chapters 7 and 8, which are phonological and grammatical outlines of the languages as a whole, as well as a discussion of the phonological changes that have occurred and their geographical distribution, to explain the differences between the Old and Classical Tibetan forms and the modern forms, but also in Chapter 9, which presents the classification of the varieties and gives their phonological and grammatical characteristics. The lexical features of the Tibetic varieties are also covered in depth, along with a historical and comparative glossary with English index.

Chapter 9 is a detailed classification of the Tibetic varieties. The discussion starts off with a review of earlier proposals for classifications and the justification for the new proposal. The different varieties are then grouped into sections with geographic names, such as the ‘Southeastern Section’, and information about the linguistic and ethnic groups of each section, the sociological and sociolinguistic situation in the section, the geographic boundaries and historical extensions and migrations relevant to each section, the number of speakers in each section, a full-color map of their locations, and the phonological and grammatical characteristics of each section are given. A wealth of information is presented in this long chapter. This internal classification is then followed (in Chapter 10) by a discussion of the place of Tibetic in the Sino-Tibetan stock generally and its genetic and contact relations to certain neighboring languages more specifically. In this chapter the idea of a ‘Tibetosphere’ is argued for, and the languages within this sphere of influence are discussed. There is also a lengthy discussion of how to distinguish a Tibetic language from a non-Tibetic language, using lexical, phonological, and morphological cognacy.
The book also includes three appendices and the references cited round out the volume. The first appendix provides elements of the geography and a list of the main mountains, rivers and lakes of the Tibetic area. The second appendix, “Elements of toponymy”, is a discussion of the different formatives used in the place names in the different areas where Tibetic speakers live. The study of toponyms has become a hot topic in linguistics, and this will aid those working in this field, but also help those working in the various areas where the Tibetic languages are spoken to understand the meaning of the place names.

The third appendix contains seven beautiful original maps produced by Xavier Becker and digitized by Alain Brucelle. The maps highlight different aspects of the region, e.g. the languages and dialects, the administrative divisions, and the Tibetic linguistic sections. The map of the languages and dialects is also accompanied by an index with all the dialect names and locations. The third appendix also lists the administrative units of the Tibetic area, gives the names of all of the provinces, cities, towns, counties, and districts in the countries where speakers of Tibetic languages live. The names are given in Tibetan and the relevant local language (e.g. Chinese, Nepali and Hindi-Urdu).

In all this is an incredibly rich compilation of information about the Tibetic languages that will be useful for anyone wanting to get an overview of the whole branch, or wanting to find details about the varieties spoken in a certain area, or wanting to understand the history of the branch, or looking for the typological regularities found in the branch, or a dozen other purposes. The authors should be congratulated and thanked for producing such a volume, the fruit of so many years of arduous work to benefit the scholarly community.
Preface

In the minds of many people, Tibet is a small region of high altitude enclaved in the Himalayas between Nepal and China. This misconception is due primarily to contemporary geopolitical factors.

In reality, the Tibetan plateau represents about a quarter of the total Chinese territory and it is crossed by a dozen of high mountain ranges. The southern border of Tibet is delimited by the Himalayas and the Karakoram.

The immense territory that constitutes the Tibetan Plateau is commonly called the “Roof of the World” because of its average high altitude. However, the Tibetan Plateau has also been known as the “Third Pole” because Tibet and its southern border, the Himalayas, stores more snow and ice than anywhere else in the world outside the polar regions. This Third Pole is also the source of all the major rivers of China, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh. Hence this vast area serves as a remarkable ecological buffer and will probably play a major role in the context of global warming. This region of the world has an extraordinary geological and biological diversity, but it also has preserved a very rich cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.

From a historical point of view, the Tibetan Plateau belonged to the great Tibetan empire over a millennium ago. This empire has disappeared long ago but its traces are still present today. From a cultural point of view, the Tibetan Plateau and the Himalayas form a distinct entity from the neighboring great civilizations of China and India. For this reason, some authors have stated that one should speak not only of the traditional Sinosphere and Indosphere (the cultural spheres of Influence of China and India) but also of the Tibetosphere since the impact of the Tibetan culture and Tibetan Buddhism is still very strong over the entire “Third Pole.”

The only independent country which belongs to this cultural buffer zone is Bhutan, whose national language, Dzongkha, is a Tibetic language. Some Tibetic areas in China and in India have various autonomous statuses.
Another cliché about this region of the world is the fact that most people still think that there is only one language, Tibetan, traditionally spoken in Tibet.

In fact, Nicolas Tournadre had this perception before he traveled for the first time in 1985 to the Himalayas and Ladakh and then to Tibet in 1988. Eventually, in 1990, during a trip to Bhutan, the idea of writing a book about the dialectal diversity germinated. At that time, all the scholars, specialists of the languages and cultures of Tibet and the Himalayas, were talking about ‘Tibetan dialects’ when they referred to the languages derived from Old Tibetan.

These languages are spoken from Sichuan to the Karakoram in Pakistan, 2,500 kilometers away. Of course, there is no more intelligibility between these languages than there is between Romance languages such as French, Portuguese and Romanian, or Germanic languages such as English, German, Dutch and Swedish.

The "crazy idea" of writing a book about the whole Tibetic linguistic family arose in the beginning of the 1990s because at that time, the first author of this book could not imagine the incredible linguistic diversity of this language family. The task of writing such a book was nearly an impossible challenge. In the beginning of the twenty-first century researchers kept finding Tibetic languages that were never described. A number of languages and dialects were still poorly documented or not documented at all. During the last two decades, while the knowledge about the Tibetic languages was increasing at a fast pace, a number of languages and dialects were starting to disappear or to be endangered. Though the present publication cannot pretend to be an exhaustive presentation of the Tibetic languages, it shows already the fantastic linguistic and cultural diversity of the languages derived from Old Tibetan.
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Conventions

In this book, we use a transliteration of the Tibetan script in roman script. The transliteration renders the Tibetan orthography. It is useful for readers who have not mastered the Tibetan script.

We also provide a romanization which renders the pronunciation of Tibetan terms particularly proper names.

Finally, in the discussions dealing with the phonology, morphology and syntax of Tibetic languages, we also provide a phonetic transcription. This transcription will be presented in Chapter 7.

Transliteration

The transliteration is useful for providing the Tibetan orthography but does not indicate the modern pronunciations in the various Tibetic languages. The same word may be read in different ways for example by Ü-Tsang, Amdo, Ladakhi or Dzongkha speakers.

The transliteration and the Tibetan script are functionally strictly equivalent. Since the present book may be read by those who have not necessarily mastered the Tibetan script, we provide the transliteration after the Tibetan script or, in some cases, a romanization (see below).

Our letter-to-letter transliteration is based on the international Wylie transliteration except for the letter འ which is noted as ? (see details in Chapter 5). In this book, the transliteration is always noted in small capitals and italics, which is not usually the case in most publications. The reason for using these styles is to make a clear distinction between the transliteration and the romanization or phonetic transcriptions used in the book. In our transliteration, when a word has several syllables, they are connected by a dot.
Thus, for example:

Gzhikatse, Mngā’ris, ‘Braslung, Dpa’ris, Rgyalrong, Drāpung, Par, Khams, Amdo, Chagthreng.

If we mention Tibetan authors or titles written in Tibetan in the body of the texts, the radical letter in the first syllable of each word form is capitalized in its transcription. The Tibetan words in the bibliography and the index are also sorted by the roman alphabetical order of the radical letter of the first syllable. This rule may be applied for all the proper names related to Tibetan letters.

**Phonetic transcription**

For the precise description of the phonological systems found in the Tibetic languages, we use a *pandialectal phonetic transcription*, which is described in the chapter 7. It is always provided either *in square brackets*, for a phonetic description, ex. [ŋ] or *in slashes*, for a phonological description, ex. /ng/. In the chapters which do not deal explicitly with phonology, we avoid technical transcription and use the romanization to facilitate the reading of non specialists.

**Romanization**

In this book, we propose a romanization which is noted in lowercase letters to render the reading pronunciation of Tibetan names (person names, toponyms, etc.) for the general public.

Thus, for example:

Zhikatse, Ngari, Drāpung, Par, Rgyalrong, Drugchu, Khams, Amdo, Chagthreng.

The romanization is easily readable and does not use diacritic signs for tones.

**Pronunciation of the romanization**

The velar series $k, kh, g$

$k$ as ‘k’ in ‘akin’, $kh$ as the aspirated initial ‘k’ or ‘c’ in ‘kill’, ‘cool’, $g$ as ‘g’ in ‘gold’.
The palatal series č, ch, j
č (or simply c) is pronounced as ‘ch’ in ‘couch’ or as ‘c’ in ‘ciao’ (in Italian). The consonant ch is aspirated as in ‘cheese, chair’, while j is voiced and unaspirated as ‘j’ in ‘jazz’.

The dental series t, th, d
t as ‘t’ in Spanish ‘torro’, th as the aspirated ‘t’ in ‘take, talk’, d as ‘d’ in Italian ‘dente’.

The retroflex series tr, thr, dr
tr as ‘tr’ in ‘metro’, thr as the aspirated ‘tr’ in ‘try’, dr as ‘dr’ in ‘dry’.

The labial series p, ph, b
p as ‘p’ in ‘copy’, ph as the aspirated ‘p’ in ‘poor’, b as ‘b’ in ‘boat’.

The affricate series ts, tsh, dz
ts as ‘ts’ in ‘lots’, tsh as an aspirated ‘ts’, dz as ‘ds’ in ‘ads’.

The fricatives s, z, sh, zh
s as ‘s’ in ‘same’, z is realized as z in ‘zoo’ (many modern languages may devoice the z and pronounce it like s). sh is realized as ‘sh’ in ‘shoe’, zh as in ‘Brezhnev’ or ‘su’ as in ‘pleasure’.

The nasal ng, ny, n and m
ng as ‘ng’ in ‘king’, ny is realised as ‘ni’ in ‘onion’, n as ‘n’ in ‘never’ and m as ‘m’ in ‘more’.

The latera and vibrant r and /
r is pronounced in a similar way as the ‘r’ in ‘rye’ and / as in ‘leave’.

The glides w and y
w as ‘w’ in ‘way’ and y as ‘y’ in ‘yellow’.

1. The reason why we use a hácek is to remind beginners that the ‘č’ should always be pronounced as a (pre-)palatal sound close to ‘ch’ in English (but not aspirated!) and never as the letter ‘c’ in ‘can’. It would be quite alright to use the ‘č’ sign without a hácek, since it is never ambiguous in Wylie and is always pronounced as in Czech or Ciao.
The glottals *h* and ‘

*h* as 'h' in 'how'. Historically, the sound, noted by an apostrophe ‘, corresponds to /ɦ/, a sound which does not exist in English. In some modern languages, the sound is no longer pronounced. It can be ignored by readers who do not speak Tibetan.

The vowels vetica, vetica, vetica, vetica, vetica, vetica, vetica

• a is pronounced as ‘a’ in Spanish 'madre’;
• å corresponds to the vowel sound in English 'share' or Swedish 'väst’;
• i corresponds to the sound i in Italian 'pizza' or ey in English 'key’;
• the vowel e is similar to the vowel in the French 'été' or the German 'See’;
• u corresponds to the sound oo in 'cool' or u in 'rune’;
• ü corresponds to the sound u in French ‘tu’ or to ü in the German word ‘Bücher’.
• o is pronounced as o in Spanish or French ‘coco’;
• ö corresponds to the sound in Swedish ‘öst’ or ‘œ’ in German ‘Goethe’.

Standardization issues

The Tibetan transliteration is standardized to a large extent (see Wylie transliteration in Chapter 5), but that is not the case of the romanization. Due to the lack of standardization, some names may be transcribed in many ways depending on the various publications and the authors. For example, the town of གཞིས་ཀ་རྩེ་ GZHIS KARTSE, capital of the Tsang region, may be written as Shikatse, Shigatse, Zhikatse, Zhigatse, Zhigatsey, Rikazê, Xigazê, etc.; the ‘Northern plain’ or བྱང་ཐང་ BYANG THANG is spelled Changthang, Changtang, Jangthang, Byangthang, Qangtang, etc.; and the town ཉླུག་ཆུ་ BRUG CHU may be romanized as Drugchu, nDrugchu or mDrugchu. Some of these spellings partly reflect the pronunciation and partly the traditional orthography. They may be based on an English transcription, a Chinese transcription (Pinyin, etc.), a Hindi-Urdu or Nepalese pronunciation (or a hybrid system) and in some cases an IPA transcription.
A standardized rendering of Tibetan names is also needed because names written in Tibetan script (which correspond to traditional orthography) may have very distinct pronunciations depending on the native dialect of the reader and variations are sometimes perceptible even between neighboring dialects. That is for example the case of གླེང་པོ་ PHYAG.PHRENG which is pronounced in Kham [c’ak’t’en], [s’a’t’en], or [t’a’eng].

Hence, in order to avoid having a single spelling in Tibetan script related to a significant number of pronunciations, which would be very confusing, we associate the Tibetan script to a single pronunciation. The romanization used in the present book is directly derived from the transliteration, by some simple rules consisting in deleting the letters that are not pronounced in the reading pronunciation of the so-called Common Tibetan (རྫོང་སྐད་ Čikä). For a presentation of the derivation rules from transliteration to romanization, see Chapter 5.

We provide a system of romanization (used in the book mainly for proper names) that reflects to a large extent the pronunciation of ‘Common Tibetan’, however, it is only for the sake of simplicity, readability and consistency. This book introduces the various Tibetic languages, thus we do not have any intention to force readers to use a standardized pronunciation. Since the names are also usually given in Tibetan script, the reader of each region will read the script according to his own dialectal phonology.

Finally concerning Chinese, we usually provide words in Chinese script as well as the Pinyin (phonological transcription) but without tones. We uniformly avoid presenting tonal signs of pinyin for two reasons. The first one is that many proper names transcribing Tibetan pronunciations reflect local Mandarin dialects, which present a lot of tonal variations. Any reading in Standard Mandarin (Putonghua) is not recommended in this case. The other reason is that the characters with a tonal sign are unfriendly for those who want to search for a given word on the online document. The script code (Unicode) makes a different treatment of the character when it has a tonal sign.
It is also due to the same logistical reason that tonal signs are not indicated on the phonetic symbols but put before a word form in the phonological description of a given language. See Section 7.3.

Examples and glosses

Unless specified otherwise, all the examples given in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are from Suzuki (for Amdo, Kham and the Eastern section) and Tournadre (for Ü, Tsang, Tö Ngari, Amdo, Hor, Northern Kham, Thewo Mā, Dzongkha, Choča-ngača, Lhoke, Spiti-Garzha, Khunu Töt, Ladaks, Zanhar, Purik and Balti). The great majority of examples are given in Tibetan script always accompanied by the Wylie transliteration. All the examples are translated into English. When necessary, particularly in some grammatical examples, a word-to-word gloss is provided.

2. The term 'Ladaks' refers here (and elsewhere in the book) to the dialects of Central Ladakh spoken in Leh and around the capital.
Abbreviations

Abbreviations of general terms

* Unacceptable phrase/sentence
※ The sign is used to indicate a reconstructed form. This “reference mark” replaces the usual asterisk to avoid the ambiguity with the above meaning.
◊ Form or spelling not attested in Classical Tibetan
# Pragmatically or semantically weird sentence but acceptable in some contexts. Also used for rare or specific phonological forms
√ Lexical root (without prefix or suffix)
1 First person pronoun
2 Second person pronoun
3 Third person pronoun
A Agent
ABL Ablative
ABS Absolutive
ADJ Adjective
ADM Adjunctive marker
ART Article
ASS Associative
AUX Auxiliary
B Beneficiary
C Consonant
CAUS Causative
CHIN Chinese
CEV Copulative and existential verbs
CMP Completed (aspect)
CNTEXP Counter-expectation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>Comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>Connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CompNP</td>
<td>Comparee noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ComTib</td>
<td>Common Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPV</td>
<td>Copulative verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Comparative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Classical Literary Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>Definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>Determinant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>Directional/Tropatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr</td>
<td>Drogo (pastoralist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGO</td>
<td>Egophoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-E</td>
<td>Evidential-Epistemic (system).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>Elative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXV</td>
<td>Existential verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FQ</td>
<td>Final question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCTL</td>
<td>Historical and Comparative Tibet Lexicon (Chapter 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hum</td>
<td>Humilific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INE</td>
<td>Inessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>Inferential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUS</td>
<td>Jussive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV</td>
<td>Light verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVC</td>
<td>Light verb construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>Modifier</td>
</tr>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NML</td>
<td>Nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Nominal phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>Numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OT</td>
<td>Old Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
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<tr>
<td>POST</td>
<td>Postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPS</td>
<td>Purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PQ</td>
<td>Prefixed question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSN</td>
<td>Personal name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>Proto-Tibetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTB</td>
<td>Proto-Tibeto-Burman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QNT</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ro</td>
<td>Rongwa (cultivator)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Single argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Single argument agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp</td>
<td>Single argument patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEC</td>
<td>Secondary verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENS</td>
<td>Sensory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFE</td>
<td>Sentence final exclamative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>StandNP</td>
<td>Standard noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUP</td>
<td>Superlative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>Sino-Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAG</td>
<td>Tag question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>Tibeto-Burman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Tense, aspect, modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAME</td>
<td>Tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIB</td>
<td>Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>Topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCMP</td>
<td>Uncompleted (aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V[FLEX]</td>
<td>Verb stem with an inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vs</td>
<td>Verb stem</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIS</td>
<td>Visual sensory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NVIS</td>
<td>Non-visual sensory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<td>----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amdo</td>
<td>Am</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balti</td>
<td>Ba</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drugchu</td>
<td>Bc</td>
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<tr>
<td>Janglam</td>
<td>Bl</td>
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<td>Bm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brokpa</td>
<td>Bro</td>
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<td>Choća-ngāca</td>
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<td>Čone</td>
<td>Cn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chagthreng</td>
<td>Cp</td>
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<td>Derong-Jol</td>
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<td>Hor Bachen</td>
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<td>Hor</td>
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<td>Khöpokhok</td>
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<td>Ko</td>
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<td>Khyungpo</td>
<td>Ky</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ladaks</td>
<td>La</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ladakhhi Jangthang</td>
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<td>Lhoke</td>
<td>Lho</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lholam</td>
<td>Ll</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**List of language names and their abbreviations**

- **Am**: Amdo (ཨ་མདོ) *ZA-MDO*
- **Ba**: Balti (བལྟི) *BALT*I
- **Bc**: Drugchu (ཧོར་སྦྲ་ཆེན) *BRUG.CHU*
- **Bl**: Janglam / Shanglan (ཨྲུག་ཆུ) *BYANG.LAM*
- **Bm**: Baima (བོད་དམག) *BOD.DMAG*
- **Bro**: Brokpa (ཨེ་ནག་འབྲོག་པའི་ཁ) *ME.RAG.SAG.TENG.BROG.PAYKHA*
- **Cho**: Choća-ngāca (ཁྱོད་ཅག་ང་ཅག) *KHYOD.CAG.NGA.CAG*
- **Cn**: Čone (ཅོ་ནེ) *CO.NE*
- **Cp**: Chagthreng (ཕྱག་ཕེང) *PHYAG.PHRENG*
- **DJ**: Derong-Jol (སྡེ་རོང་འཇོལ) *SDE.RONG.JOL*
- **Dy**: Dzayul (རྩ་ཡུལ) *RDZA.YUL*
- **Dz**: Dzongkha (རྫོང་ཁ) *RDZONG.KHA*
- **HB**: Hor Bachen (ཧོར་སྦྲ་ཆེན) *HORSBRACHEN*
- **HN**: Hor Nagchu (ཧོར་ནག་ཆུ) *HOR.NAG.CHU*
- **Hor**: Hor (ཧོར) *HOR*
- **Jir**: Jirel (ཇི་རེལ) *JI.REL*
- **Kg**: Kyegu (སྐྱེ་དགུ) *SKYE.DGU*
- **Kh**: Kham (ཁམས) *KHAMS*
- **Kk**: Khöpokhok (ཁོད་པོ) *KHOD.PO.KHOG*
- **Ko**: Kongpo (ཀོང་པོ) *KONG.PO*
- **Ky**: Khyungpo (ཧོར་སྦྲ་) *KHYUNG.PO*
- **La**: Ladaks (ལ་དྭགས) *LADWAGS*, the dialects of Central Ladakh
- **LJ**: Ladakhhi Jangthang (ལ་དྭགས-ཀྱི་བྱང་ཐང) *LADWAGS-KYI.BYANG.THANG*
- **Lho**: Lhoke (ལྷོ་སྐད) *LHO.SKAD*
- **Ll**: Lholam (ལྷོ་ལམ) *LHO.LAM*
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<th>Code</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Lo-Mönthang (GLOSMON.THANG)</td>
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<td>Minyak Rabgang (MINYAG.RAB.SGANG)</td>
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<td>Kh</td>
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<td>Sharkhok (SHAR.KHOG)</td>
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<td>Southern Kham (KHAMS.LHO.PHYOGS.KYI.YUL.SKAD)</td>
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<td>Sn</td>
<td>Semkyi Nyida / Shangri Nyida (SEMS.KYI.NYL.ZL)</td>
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PART 1. – ETHNOCULTURAL, SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND
1. Introduction

1.1. The purpose of this book

The primary goal of this book is to give an idea of the diversity of the Tibetic languages and dialects spoken on the Tibetan Plateau and in the Himalayas. While mainly focusing on linguistic issues, this book also tackles various cultural, religious, ethnic, geolinguistic and sociolinguistic issues to give a global view on a linguistic region of the world, which is now divided into six countries.

Tibetan civilization is one of the great and ancient cultures of Asia. This civilization has still a significant impact in Asia and, to a certain extent, in the rest of the world mainly because of Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan medicine. Tibetan civilization is located between two of the greatest cultures in Asia: the Chinese and Indian civilizations. Over the course of history Tibetan civilization has naturally been influenced by its two neighbors but has also created its own original civilization adapted to the high altitude environment. To illustrate briefly both influences, it is sufficient to say that the Tibetan script is derived from an Indian script, whereas the twelve-year cycle of the Tibetan astrology is essentially influenced by the Chinese tradition.

This geographical and cultural advantage has turned into a misfortune since these two Asian civilizations also correspond to the two most populated territories on earth, whereas the areas in which the Tibetan civilization has flourished are largely desertic and scarcely populated lands.

Today languages and cultures are facing various threats of the following types:

a) significant immigration of labor force from China, India or Nepal.
b) mass tourism mainly from China, India, Nepal and the West, which may outnumber the local populations.
c) acculturation in part due to immigration and mass tourism as well as to the lack of political independence (with the notable exception of Bhutan).
d) fragile mountainous environment (glaciers, rivers) subject to current global warming and climatic changes as well as to the multiplication of hydroelectric plants and mining industries.
The secondary goal of this book is to demonstrate how closely the modern languages and dialects derived from Old Tibetan are related to Classical Tibetan. Thus, for someone who already knows Classical Tibetan, the derivational rules provided in this book should facilitate the learning or the description of the modern languages or dialects. It also aims at showing that the modern spoken languages and dialects convey rich oral traditions and vocabularies which often allow reconstructing early stages of the Tibetan language.

This book draws on previous work conducted by various authors in the field of Tibetan linguistics and dialectology, but it is also based on our own fieldwork.

Since 1985, Nicolas Tournadre’s extensive fieldwork in China, India, Bhutan, Nepal, and Pakistan has involved recording and analyzing many dialects in the following areas: Ü, Tsang, Tö Ngari, Kongpo, Lhokha, Kham, Hor, Amdo, Thewo, Sharkhok, Khopokhok (China); Central Ladakh and Purik, Sikkim, Upper Kinnaur, Spiti and Lahul (India); Baltistan (Pakistan) Pharak, Khumbu and Jiri (Nepal); and Thimphu and Monggar (Bhutan).

Hiroyuki Suzuki has conducted extensive fieldwork since 2003 in China, Nepal and Myanmar, recording and analyzing many dialects especially in the following areas: Kham, Amdo, Sharkhok, Khöpokhok, Čone, Thewo, Drugchu, Hor, Ü, Tsang (China), Dölpo (Nepal).

The book is intended primarily for those interested in Tibetic languages and dialects, Classical Tibetan (CT), Tibetan linguistics and the reconstruction of Proto-Tibetic. However, some chapters should also interest scholars and students in anthropology, literature, history, geography or other human sciences, who could use the data for their own field or purpose.

The present book also provides general information about the number of speakers and the administrative divisions of the area where speakers of Tibetic languages are found, and includes maps of the Tibetan linguistic family illustrating linguistic boundaries.

The book is divided into three parts:
The first part (Chapters 1–3) is devoted to the general presentation of the languages and cultures of the Tibetic and the contact languages of the Tibetosphere.

The second part (Chapters 4–10) discusses the history of the Tibetic languages and the reconstruction of Proto-Tibetic, as well as the written languages and the Tibetan script. It also proposes a description of the main phonological and grammatical features of the Tibetic languages and dialects (see Chapters 7 and 8).

The third part of the book (Chapters 11–12) discusses lexical features of the Tibetic vocabulary and contains a Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon which analyzes more than one thousand words. Throughout the book, extensive references are made to CT in order to demonstrate that it shares its fundamental grammar and a considerable body of its vocabulary with the spoken languages.

Finally, the book includes three appendices with various original maps (and indexes) of the Tibetic languages and dialects, as well as environmental, cultural and administrative maps. The appendices provide additional information about the administrative units of the Tibetic areas in six Asian countries as well as elements of geography and toponymy.

1.2. The definition of ‘Tibetic’ as used in this book

The term ‘Tibetic’ has been used in the recent past by some authors (Matisoff 2000; Beckwith 2006; Dalby 1999, 2000; van Driem 2014; Chirkova 2013; Tournadre 2008, 2014a, 2014b; Blench, Roger & Post 2014; Noonan 2011; Sun 2014; Zeisler 2018a; etc.) as well as the Ethnologue website and the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) in different ways to refer to various intermediate levels of classification within the Sino-Tibetan macrofamily (hereafter ST).¹

1. The Sino-Tibetan macrofamily is accepted by most specialists. However, the grouping and sub-grouping with ST are not well-established and scholars do not agree on the nature (genetic relation or borrowal) and the proximity of the relationship. Many scholars consider that although Tibeto-Burman and Sinitic were very closely related some seven thousand years ago, a major split occurred between Tibeto-Burman and Sinitic. Contact and migration have played a major role in the construction of ST (LaPolla 2001). Sino-Tibetan refers to a grouping together of Tibeto-Burman and Sinitic (which cor-
Tibetic is sometimes used as a synonym or quasi-synonym of Tibeto-Himalayan or 'Bodic', a subgrouping of ST comprising many languages found both in the North and the South of the Himalayas.

'Tibetic' is also sometimes used as a synonym or quasi-synonym of Bodish, a much smaller subgrouping of languages, with languages such as Tamang, Manangi, Bumthang, Kurtö, and 'Tibetan'. However, Bodish is not very well-defined and the hypothetical common innovations of this grouping have not yet been provided. Also there is no fundamental reason to replace the term Bodish with another term.

The notion of 'Tibetic languages' may, however, turn out very useful to replace 'Tibetan dialects', which is not appropriate for various reasons.

Here we need to provide a small explanation about the difference between 'language' and 'dialect'. Whichever linguistic community we belong to, we do not speak a 'language', but above all a particular 'dialect' (Chambers and Trudgill 1998; Laks 2012; Calvet 2004; Tournadre 2016). Each dialect has its own lexical, grammatical and phonological specificities and, as noted by van Driem, each “dialect deserves its own description” (2002: 9).

The term 'language' when opposed to 'dialect' may refer to an abstract entity corresponding to a group of dialects which allow mutual intelligibility. Two (or more) genetically related dialects belong to a same group if these dialects allow for responds to the 'Chinese dialects'). The term 'Trans-Himalayan' has been proposed instead of ST (van Driem 2014) but it is not widely used. Broader relationships have also been suggested such as Sino-Austronesian (Sagart 2005). The Tibeto-Burman branch includes many sub-groups such as Karenic, Lolo-Burinese, Qiangic, Bodo-Garo-Jingpho, 'Tibeto-Himalayan' (or Bodic). There is a lot of variation in the detailed classification of the TB branch. Some of the subgroups are still problematic or impressionistic.

The geographic term Tibeto-Himalayan is preferable to Bodic since the latter is derived from Bod ('Tibet') and several languages belonging to this group such as the West Himalayish are only remotely connected to Tibetan.

The term 'Bodish' which is derived from the root bod 'Tibet' makes more sense than the term Bodic because the Bodish languages are very closely related to Tibetan, whereas the term Bodic includes languages that are very different from the Tibetic languages.

Thus for example, the 'English language' includes several dialects.
intelligibility. In the inverse case, they must be classified in different groups.\(^5\) The term ‘language’ may also convey a sociolinguistic and political sense which is entirely different from the above meaning. Weinreich reportedly provided the following famous definition: “A language is a dialect with an army and a navy” (one may add a written form, a political status and an education system).

Let us turn back to the choice of ‘Tibetic languages’ as opposed to ‘Tibetan dialects’.

First, the notion of ‘Tibetan dialects’ implies the existence of a single ‘language’ (according to the above meaning). However, the so-called ‘Tibetan dialects’ refer in fact, as we will see, to various ‘languages’ (or ‘groups of dialects’), which do not allow mutual intelligibility at all!

Second, these languages are spoken not only by Tibetans per se, but also by other ethnic groups such as Ladakhi, Balti, Kinnauri, Sherpa, Bhutanese, Sikkimese and others who do not consider themselves to be Tibetans.

The expression ‘Tibetan languages’ (in the plural) has also been used recently (Zeisler 2004; Gawne and Hill 2017) instead of ‘Tibetan dialects’. The expression ‘Tibetan languages’ is not very appropriate either because speakers of Ladakhi or Dzongkha would not consider that they speak Tibetan proper and their languages do not allow mutual intelligibility. If we take in account the ‘linguistic scale’, it is better to coin a term that refers clearly to a family of languages. We do not usually speak of French languages or Russian languages (in the plural). If we want to refer to the family of languages that include them, we use the respective terms of ‘Romance’ or ‘Slavic’. The distinction between ‘Tibetan’ and ‘Tibetic’ is also very similiar to the one between ‘German’ and ‘Germanic’. Thus English is designated as one of the Germanic languages and not as one of the German languages.

5. Of course, mutual intelligibility is a matter of degree. One must also consider that dialectal variation is often inscribed in the context of a geolinguistic continuum. However, if speakers can converse each in her own dialect and conduct a whole conversation, then the mutual intelligibility is sufficient to communicate. Otherwise, the speakers naturally often chose to speak another common language (if available). For more details, see Tournadre (2014b, forthcoming).
Of course, we could understand the word 'Tibetan' as referring to 'Old Tibetan' and thus the expression 'Tibetan languages' would be equivalent *mutatis mutandis* to the expression 'Latin languages' (in its plural form), but such a label would be inappropriate to designate the Romance languages. The expression 'Tibetic languages' is used, in relation to Literary Tibetan, in a similar way as 'Sinitic languages' in relation to Classical Chinese or 'Romance languages' in relation to Latin.6

For all the above reasons, the term 'Tibetic' is very convenient to denote a very well-defined family of 'languages' (or 'groups of dialects') directly derived from Old Tibetan (See Tournadre 2008; Tournadre 2014a; Tournadre and Karma Rigzin 2015; DeLancey 2018; Suzuki 2017b; Gawne 2017, Yliniemi 2017; Hyslop and Karma Tshering 2017; Chirkova 2017a). This is the way that 'Tibetic' is used in the present book. It advantageously replaces the expression 'Tibetan languages' or 'Tibetan dialects' which are misleading in various ways.

The Tibetic family is comparable in diversity to the Romance or Germanic language families.

In Tibetan, there is no straightforward way to translate the term 'Tibetic'. For a number of years, however, the word བོད་ 'Bodo' 'Bhoti', or its variant 'Bhutia', has had a meaning similar to Tibetic,5 and is frequently used in the Tibetic communities outside Tibet.

The term བོད་ 'Bodo' or its variant བོད་ 'BhoTa' is derived from the Indo-Aryan pronunciation of term བོད་ 'Bod' 'Tibet',9 but sometimes includes Himalayan languages such as Gurung, Tamang, Manangi, etc.

6. Sinitic languages traditionally called 'Chinese dialects' refer the languages derived from Old Chinese and form a very well-defined family (see Chappell 2006).

7. In some exceptional cases such as Baima, languages may have a distinct substrate attesting that they are not directly derived from OT.

8. As noted by Matthew Kapstein (personal communication), the word *BhoTi* or its variants had or may have negative connotations in some areas. However, the word *BhoTi*, which is also the root for Bhutan is now used all over, particularly in India and Nepal, and has even acquired an official status. See below.

9. Some people think it might be the other way around, i.e, the term *Bod* would be derived from *BhoTa*. But we disagree with such an interpretation.
Thus, the term भोटि Bhoṭi is perfectly suited to render the English term, 'Tibetic', *in its restricted meaning*. In the present book, the term भोटि Bhoṭi is only used (unless specified otherwise) for the Tibetan translation of the English term 'Tibetic'.

According to the above definition, we have listed seventy-six Tibetic 'groups of dialects' or 'languages' spoken in the entire Tibetic speaking area (see Section 2.2 and Chapter 9). Among these seventy-six dialect groups, forty-five are located in Tibet (TAR and TAPs in China), and thirty-one dialect groups are located outside Tibet, in India, Bhutan, Nepal and Pakistan.10

As we will see (Chapter 10) the Tibetic languages are in contact with languages belonging to other branches of ST or to other phyla. In Tibet alone, there are fifty-two non-Tibetic languages (see Section 3.4 and Chapter 10); some of them spoken by a very small number of people.

All the modern Tibetic languages and dialects share phonological features as well as fundamental grammar and a core vocabulary. Beyond these common features, the linguistic diversity of Tibetic languages include many phonological, grammatical and lexical discrepancies. The most striking differences probably lie in their phonetics and phonology. To give just a small idea of this diversity, some Tibetic languages have tones and simple syllabic structures (U-Tsang, Kham, Dzongkha, etc.), whereas others do not have tones, but have a complex syllabic structure (Amdo, Balti, Purik, etc.).

Thus it is safe to say there is a real mosaic of languages and dialects on the high plateau. This exceptional diversity has also been noted by the Tibetans themselves who often use the famous proverb: བླ་མ་རེ་ལ་ཆོས་ལུགས་རེ་ལུང་པ་རེ་སྐད་ལུགས་རེ། BLAMA RE-LA CHOS LUGS RE, LUNG PARE LA KAD LUGS RE ‘every lama has his own religion, every valley has its own speech’. This proverb has an interesting variant in the Purik area of Ladakh: བླ་མ་རེ་ན་ཆོས་ལུགས་རེ་ན་བཟང་ལུགས་རེ། BLAMA RE-NA CHOS LUGS RE, ANE RE-NA BZANG LUGS RE ‘every lama has his own religion, every woman has...

10. Generally the dialect groups do not cross today’s national borders. However, there are a few exceptions, such as the southern section which includes some dialects spoken in Tibet (Dromo) as well as Dzongkha and Dränjong, respectively in Bhutan and Sikkim (India). The same is true for the Southwestern section, which includes mainly dialects spoken in Nepal, as well as the Kyirong dialect spoken on the other side of the border in Tibet. For more on this topic, see Chapter 9.
her own virtue’. A proverb from Ladakh also says: ཞུ་གཅིག་གཅིག་འཐུང་ན་སྐད་གཅིག་གཅིག་ཡོང་ང་ནོག (CHU CIG CIG THUNG NAS KAD CIG CIG YONG NGA NOG) / chu chik-chik thung-na skat chik-chik yong-nga-nok/ ’if you drink the same water, you speak the same dialect’ (Tournadre and Robin 2006; Zeisler 2004: 604).

These proverbs bear some sociolinguistic truth! As we will see in Chapters 2 and 3, the parameter of ‘valley’ and ‘river’ is essential to define the languages on the Tibetan plateau and in the Himalayas.

Apart from the above linguistic definition of Tibetic (or Bhoti) speakers as people speaking languages derived from Old Tibetan, we will also mention some general cultural features shared by all the Bhoti ethnic groups. Regardless of whether they are Buddhists, Bönpos, Muslims or those belonging to other religious communities, all members of Bhoti communities live in a high mountainous environment, and they share an especially adaptive relationship with the surrounding mountains.

They also share some rituals and food habits. Virtually all the Buddhists, Bönpos and Muslim Tibetic or Bhoti communities practice the ancestral fumigation ritual of purification called sang or shugsang, using the juniper tree shugpa. Note that this ritual is very ancient and predates the conversion of Tibetic communities to Buddhism.

Butter has acquired a nearly ‘sacred’ status. All the Tibetic-language speaking people commonly consume མར ‘butter’ mixed with roasted barley flour or in the tea. But butter is also traditionally used as an ointment for one’s face. Some ceremonies, such as weddings or welcoming guests, include ‘buttering the forehead’ (putting a small swab of butter on their head). A small clump of butter, called མར་རྒྱན mar gyän (in Common Tibetan), མར འབྲ ལ་ mar chömar (in Ladakh) and མར་རྒྱན mar gyän (in Bhutan), is put on the rim of tea or chang cups and other things served to guests, as an auspicious symbol. Butter is also used as མར་རྒྱན ‘butter for religious offerings’, but also to make flowers and other decorations on tormas (offering cakes) called མར་རྒྱན mar gyän, as well as for butter lamps (བོད་ཆོག་མི་ mar me), and so forth.

Last, but not least, ངས མ་ ma rtsampa (or ངས མ་ nashe in Ladakh) ‘roasted barley flour’ is the staple food of nearly all the Tibetic ethnic groups. Beyond their religious identities, Bhoti ethnic groups may as well be defined as ‘tsampa eaters’. This term was
recently used in a song by a famous Tibetan rapper, Karma Emchi, who used it as a poignant symbol for Tibetan identity.\textsuperscript{11}

This would be true not only for the Tibetan proper, but for all the Tibetic people from Baltistan and Ladakh to Tibet and Bhutan. So, in brief, it is safe to consider sang fumigation, butter and tsampa to be important features of lay identity for Tibetic peoples!

\section*{1.3. Traditional terms for written and spoken Tibetic languages}

People usually make a major distinction between spoken languages, \textit{KHA.SKAD}, and written languages, \textit{YIG.SKAD}. The term \textit{SKAD.YIG} refers both to the spoken and written forms. Classical Tibetan, the traditional written language of the entire Tibetic area for more than a millennium, was long considered to be prestigious, and generally remains until now the written language of the elite. Traditionally it is simply referred to as \textit{BOD.YIG} lit. ‘written Tibetan’. Instead of written Tibetan, in many traditional texts, the general expression \textit{BOD.SKAD} lit. the ‘Tibetan language’ can be found. Many religious texts thus begin with the expressions: \textit{RGYA.GAR.SKAD.DU} lit. ‘in the Indian language’ (i.e. Sanskrit) and \textit{BOD.SKAD.DU} lit. ‘in the Tibetan language’. In this case, \textit{BOD.SKAD} refers to the \textit{Classical written language}. Now, the term \textit{RGYUN.SROL.BOD.YIG} lit. ‘Classical Tibetan’ is also used. Because Classical Tibetan (hence CT) is often associated to Dharma or Tibetan Buddhism, it is also referred to as \textit{CHOS.SKAD} lit. ‘Dharma language’ or ‘religion language’. This term is used in Tibet, but it is particularly common in Bhutan, Sikkim and Ladakh. There are two problems with the term, \textit{CHOS.SKAD}. First CT is not only used to express Buddhism philosophy or religion, but also traditionally conveys texts related to history, medicine, astrology, poetry, and so forth. Moreover texts written in Classical Tibetan appear in the context of other religions, such as Bön or, even more marginally, Islam and

\textsuperscript{11} It is interesting to note that Tibetan sign language designates the term, Tibetan \textit{(BOD.RIGS)}, with a sign related to the mixing of tsampa (see the Tibetan sign language dictionary by Wangchen Gelek et al. 2011). One could also mention \textit{chang} ‘barley beer (or cider)’ as part of the Bhoti ‘cultural habit’. Although \textit{chang} is nearly pervasive, it is not found in some regions such as Amdo.
Christianity.\(^\text{12}\) The second issue with the term, ཆོས་སྐད་ (CHOS.SKAD), is that it implies specific grammatical features. That is not the case. Certainly, ཆོས་སྐད་ (CHOS.SKAD) includes a specific lexicon of terms related to Buddhism (ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྙད་ (CHOS KYI THASNYAD)), just as Dharma English uses specific terms. However one should not consider Dharma English to be a language that is distinct from English, even if the language may have been influenced by the source language of Dharma, as shown by Griffiths who speaks of ‘Buddhist Hybrid English’.

A modern version of CT, དེང་དུས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཡིག་ (DENG.DUS.KYI.BOD.YIG) ‘Modern Written Tibetan’, has been used since the twentieth century, both in Tibet and outside in the Himalayan regions. Modern Written Tibetan has integrated many neologisms related to modern concepts and technologies. Its grammar has also been influenced by the spoken language of Central Tibet, but there is a continuum between the grammar of Classical Tibetan and Modern Written Tibetan.

As for the vernacular languages, they are usually called མགོན་ཁ་ (KHA.SKAD) ‘oral languages’ (lit. ‘mouth languages’) or གཡུལ་ཁ་ (PHAL.SKAD) lit. ‘ordinary language’ or ‘secondary language’, as opposed to the written language(s). When referring to the linguistic diversity, the term ཡུལ་ཁ་ (YUL.SKAD) ‘dialect’ (lit. ‘local speech or language’) is frequently used. Note that the term ཡུལ་ཁ་ (YUL.SKAD) entails an ambiguous meaning, independent of the degree of mutual intelligibility. Thus, for example, many Tibetan authors use the term ཡུལ་ཁ་ (YUL.SKAD) to refer to various Tibetic languages, which do not allow for mutual intelligibility, such as Balti, Amdo and Dzongkha.

### 1.4. Difficulties related to fieldwork

Fieldwork and data collection on Tibetic languages present a number of specific difficulties, which are due to several factors.

Among the difficulties of fieldwork, one should note the following:

- The territory across which the Tibetic languages and dialects are spoken (see Chapter 2) is immense, and transportation across the Tibetan Plateau and the

12 For example, the famous text entitled KHACHE PHALU is clearly inspired by Muslim authors and Persian poetry. The Gospels and the Bible have been translated in CT.
Himalayas is difficult. In many areas, mountain ranges and rivers still constitute natural boundaries. Due to the lack of proper roads or bridges, some villages are isolated. Fieldworkers have had to and, in some cases, still have to take jeeps on mud roads, ride horses or yaks or even walk long distances.

- The average altitude of the area is high. Many villages are above an altitude of 3500 meters. The elevation correlates with a harsh mountainous climate, with various consequences: strong temperature contrasts (a fall of twenty-five degrees in one day is frequent), sudden flash floods or swollen rivers, falling stones and rocks, monumental landslides, snowstorms and heavy snowfalls (even in the middle of the summer, in June, July or August). Some regions are isolated during winter because the passes which connect them to the neighboring areas are blocked by the snow. Furthermore, some villages are only connected to the rest of the world via ropeways, which are called by various names – torang (Spiti), threng (Kham), giling (Bhutan), bips (Ladakh) – and which allow one to slide on ropes across roaring rivers.

This climate and terrain can result in having villages cut-off for weeks or months at a time.

This area is also a highly seismic zone and severe earthquakes are not rare, such as the terrible earthquake of Yülshül (or Yushu) in 2010, or the one that took place in Sikkim (2011).

- Another factor contributing to the difficulty of data collection in the area is the tense political situation in most of the Tibetic area, whether in China, Nepal, Pakistan, India, Myanmar and, to a lesser extent, in Bhutan. For example, many areas of the Tibet Autonomous Region and Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures in China were inaccessible between 1950 and 1980. Separatist Tibetan guerillas were active in some areas until 1974. Furthermore, the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) prevented research in China, since all schools and academic activities were suspended for years during that period. With the unprecedent wave of self-immolations that have taken place since 2008, there are a number of restricted areas in eastern Tibet (in Sichuan, Gansu and Qinghai). Some areas
located near the Indian border remain inaccessible, and special permits are
required to access the Tibet Autonomous Region and even some areas in the
Tibetan-speaking Chinese provinces.

On the border between India and Pakistan, it is still difficult to access some regions
of Ladakh and Baltistan because of the Indo-Pakistani armed conflict over Kashmir.
Some villages of Ladakh close to the Chinese border are also not accessible because of
conflicts over border issues. The area of upper Kinnaur in India has only been open to
tourism and research since 1993 and still requires an ‘inner line permit’. The state of
Sikkim still requires a special permit for foreigners.

The situation in Nepal was more favorable, but deteriorated from 1996 to 2006
due to the conflict between the monarchy, the mainstream political parties and the
Maoist guerrilla wing of the CPN-M (Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist). Some of
the Tibetic-speaking areas of Mustang, Dölpo and Solukhumbu are accessible only
with special permits.

Many regions have been closed for years, and even today research permits are not
always easy to obtain.

Close to the border of the Tibetan linguistic area, in Assam one finds another armed
conflict: various separatist groups such as the United Liberation Front of Assam or the
Bodo Liberation Tiger Force fight for their independence.

In Myanmar (Burma), the few Tibetan-speaking villages in the area of the Hkakabo
Razi are located in the Kachin state, which has been in war with the government for
the past few decades.

These geographic, climatic and political factors, together with the immensity of
the area, have created various difficult conditions for fieldwork, which have resulted in
a lack of data or insufficient data for some languages or dialects of the region.

High altitude, transportation difficulties, political problems and the relatively low
development of education across the entire area have had a positive linguistic conse-
quence. Many Tibetic languages and dialects have so far remained isolated and thus
relatively well preserved. With the rapid economic development, however, the building
of roads and infrastructure, the situation has been changing rapidly since 1990, and the ecolinguistic situation in some regions has become fragile.

1.5. General remarks about language names

There is a large variation in the glossonyms and this creates confusion. This is partly due to the fact that the language names are often given in national languages (Chinese, Hindi-Urdu or Nepali) or even in English, and not in a transcription of the local languages. They often differ substantially and cannot be recognized. In the book, we prefer to use autonyms to designate the languages and generally avoid exonyms, regardless of whether they are Chinese, English, Hindi-Urdu or other types, and replace them with original glossonyms. For example, we replace the exonyms Tshona Mönpa (or Cuona Menpa),\(^\text{13}\) Black Mountain, Ladakhi,\(^\text{14}\) Purki or Sharchop (lit. the ‘Eastern people’) with the endonyms respectively Dakpa, ‘Ole, Ladaks, Purik and Tshangla. In some rare cases, such as Choća-ngaça, we maintain the exonym because it is used by the local people in their own language. In some cases, such as Sharwa and Piti, we maintain the usual language names, respectively Sherpa and Spiti, despite the fact they do not reflect the local pronunciation, because they are well-established.

In Bhutan, the Dzongkha morpheme, /-p/ or /-pa/ ('people'; related to the CT derivational marker -pa) is added to many language names. Thus, for example the language name Kurtöp reflects the pronunciation of the Dzongkha name, ཅུར་སྟོདཔ་ཁ་ KUR.STODP KHA or ཅུར་སྟོད་པའི་ཁ་ KUR.STOD PAI KHA lit. ‘the language of the Kurtö people’. The same is true for the term བུམ་ཐངཔ་ཁ་ BUM THANGP KHA or བུམ་ཐང་པའི་ཁ་ BUM.THANG PAI KHA ‘the language of the Bumthang people’, which has given the language name, ‘Bumthap’. In this case, the language name has also been influenced by the Dzongkha pronunciation, which does not pronounce the final velar nasal /ng/ of Bumthang, and thus directly adds the -p to Bumthap. For the language label, we thus use the original names: Kurtö and Bumthang.

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13. The Chinese term Cuona is a geographic term that refers to Tshona County, and the ethnic term Mönpa is a general ethnic exonym that designates ‘non-Tibetans living in the southern areas’.

14. Ladakhi reflects the Purik pronunciation and the Urdu spelling of this pronunciation. The original name of the language is དཔོན་པ་སྐད་ (LADWAGS.SLSCD) /ladaks-e skat/.
We also normally avoid using the forms *SKAD* (or its transcription –ke) or *KHA* after the language name in English, because these terms already mean ‘language’ in CT and in Dzongkha. Thus, we use Amdo (language) and not Amdo–ke language, Kham language and not Kham–ke language, and Choča–ngača language and not Choča–ngača–akha language. There are a few exceptions to this convention, such as Dzongkha (in Bhutan) or Lhoke (in Sikkim), for which the language names are well established.
2. The geography and the people

2.1. Territory and administrative divisions

The Tibetic speaking area corresponds to an immense territory of roughly 2.4 million km$^2$ comprising the Tibetan Plateau as well as some areas of the southern Himalayas and the Karakoram. The territory extends 2,500 km from east to west and in some places more than 1,000 km from north to south.

This territory extends over mountainous areas of five different countries: China, Bhutan, Nepal, India, and Pakistan. Additionally, a dialect of Kham has been reported in Myanmar (Suzuki 2012a). This territory corresponds roughly to the expanse of the ancient Tibetan Empire (seventh to ninth centuries) and, in some cases, to subsequent migrations in the southern Himalayas.

The major part of the Tibetic area is located in China with about 2,200,000 km$^2$ and extends over a quarter of the current total Chinese territory. The rest of the Tibetic area is shared by the other countries: Bhutan, 47,000 km$^2$; India, 48,000 km$^2$; Pakistan, 25,000 km$^2$; Nepal, 20,000 km$^2$; and Myanmar, a few hundred km$^2$.

Within China, Tibetic languages and dialects are spoken in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), as well as in various Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures (henceforth TAP), which are included in the adjacent Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan. Details about the Tibetan administrative units within China are given in Appendix 3. Tibetic languages are also spoken, in a marginal way, in some counties of Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan outside the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

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1. The figure of 3,800,000 km$^2$ was mentioned in R. Stein 1962, but that is an overestimation. In any case, the Tibetic area is bigger than the whole territory of Mongolia (1,556,500 km$^2$) and even Iran (1,643,958 km$^2$). India has less than 3.3 M km$^2$.

2. If we except the Tarim Basin and the areas of Gilgit and the Hunza valley.

3. The Tibetan-speaking areas in the Southern Himalayas (i.e. Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim) correspond to a later, 15th century, emigration southward from Tibet. Concerning the Tibetan empire, see, among others, Stein 1962; Smith 1996; Beckwith 1993.

4. Precisely: 2,179,025 km$^2$. It includes the TAR (1,138,400 km$^2$), Qinghai TAPs (723,600 km$^2$), Sichuan TAP and TAC (247,530 km$^2$), Gansu TAP and TAC (45,625 km$^2$), and Yunnan TAP (23,870 km$^2$).
Prefectures (see the maps in Appendix 3). It is important to emphasize that nearly half of the Tibetic-speaking area within China are located outside the TAR in various TAP.

In Bhutan, Tibetic languages and dialects are mainly spoken in the western region and in a marginal way in the central and eastern regions (see the details of the Bhutanese administrative units in Appendix 3). Dzongkha, a Tibetic language, is spoken as a native language in western Bhutan, but since it has been adopted as the national language of Bhutan, it is now spoken as a second language by many Bhutanese across the entire country.

Within India, Tibetic languages and dialects are spoken essentially in the northern states of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim and, in a marginal way, in West Bengal and Uttarkhand Pradesh. Within these states, Tibetic speakers are found mainly in the regions of Ladakh and Kargil districts, central and northern Sikkim, Lahul, Spiti, Upper Kinnaur as well as in the areas of Darjeeling and Kalimpong. (See details in Appendix 3.)

Within Nepal, Tibetic languages and dialects are spoken in nearly all the districts along the border between Nepal and the TAR (China). A substantial number of Tibetic language speakers live in the capital, Kathmandu.

Within Pakistan, Balti is spoken in the Gilgit-Baltistan territory, which is located in the northern areas of the country. The Balti language is spoken in the two districts of Skardo and Ganche, eastern Baltistan borders Ladakh, India.

**Political status of the various regions**

With the salient exception of Bhutan, which is an independent country, most Tibetic speaking areas have only autonomous status or lack autonomy entirely.

Within China, the Tibet Autonomous Region has a formal autonomous status, which corresponds more or less to the status of a Chinese Province. Other Tibetic speaking areas in China have a level of autonomy only at the prefecture level, being integrated into the Chinese provinces of Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu, and Yunnan.

5. Since 2019, Ladakh has acquired the status of ‘Union Territory’.
Some counties also have autonomous status. Lastly, a minority of Tibetan settlements located within some Chinese provinces do not have any autonomous status.

In India, Tibetic speaking areas are integrated into states such as Sikkim and West Bengal or are under the direct governance of Delhi. In Nepal, the northern districts along the border where Tibetic languages are spoken do not have autonomous status. In Pakistan, Baltistan is integrated in the broader entity of Gilgit-Baltistan and does not have any real autonomy.

2.2. Traditional toponyms and modern designations

One of the difficulties for researchers working in Tibetic regions is that there are many variations in place names as well as in the names of peoples and of languages. County names, which are often eponyms of language, may change because of political or economic reasons.

There are many instances of these changes, as the following examples demonstrate. In China: རྒྱལ་ཐང་ Gyalthang is now called སེམས་ཀྱི་ཉི་ཟླ་ Semkyi-Nyida [Shanggii Nyila], a transcription of ‘Shangrila’, a name invented by the British writer James Hilton in his novel “Lost Horizon”; རྒྱུ་ Mewa is called སྣང་རྒྱལ་ Marthang (lit. 'the red plain'), a translation of the Chinese 红原 Hongyuan. Tibetan place names are sometimes replaced by their designation in Chinese: དར་རྩེ་མདོ་ Dartsendo is called 康定 Kangding; དཔའ་ལུ Balung [Melung] is referred to as 维西 Weixi; རེབ་གོང་ Rebgong is often called by its Chinese name 同仁 Tongren; ཡར་རོ་ Yadzi is often called 循化 Xunhua, and so on.

An additional source of confusion stems from the many official names that are modified because of new administrative divisions. That is the case, for example, with Sinta County, which is now incorporated in བཱུང་། Jonda County, and Thopa County, which no longer exists, and is part of རྔོ་ཆེན་, now known as Chamdo Municipality. Similar cases have occurred in Kandze Prefecture, former Qianning, Tongkor (Dengke) and Yidun have already been incorporated in Tau, Sershül, Bathang and Lithang counties respectively.

In Nepal, the Tibetic names sometimes have been replaced by exonyms. For example གློ་མོན་ཐང་རྫོང་ Lo Mönthang Dzong is called Mustang District (मस्टांड) and
Nauche ‘the big forest’, the Sherpa name for the main town of the Khumbu, is usually referred to as Namche Bazaar (नाम्चे बजार). In India, the replacement of local toponyms has also taken place. This is the case for the state name ‘Sikkim’, which is used instead of the Lhopo name ‘Dränjong’. Most village names of upper Kinnaur and Lahul and Spiti have also been altered. For example, Shelkhar (Kinnaur) has replaced the traditional name of ‘Kyakhar’, Gemur is the modern Hindi name of ‘Gemön’, and Teling has replaced the original Garzha name ‘Shrameling’.

In Baltistan, the village name of Parkuta has been replaced by Mehdiabad, an Urdu toponym of Persian origin.

Thus, for various political and economic reasons, many traditional names (e.g. village names, rivers, mountains) across the Tibetic regions, whether in China, India, Pakistan or Nepal, have already been lost or are just known by the elders. The only notable exception is Bhutan, which is the only independent state of the Bhoti area.

These traditional names often have a clear meaning in Tibetan. In this book, we provide the traditional and historical place names, together with the modern official names, as often as possible.

2.3. Environment and geography

From a geographic point of view, the Tibetic speaking area comprises the Tibetan Plateau as well as various regions of the Himalayas and the Karakoram ranges. Geography is an important key to understanding the cultural and political situation of Tibetic ethnic groups. The Tibetan Plateau, which has been called the ‘Third Pole’, essentially constitutes the water reservoir of South and Southeast Asia. It is no coincidence that terms for ‘waters’ or ‘rivers’ figure in the names of the two significant regions bordering the Tibetan Plateau: ‘Punjab’ on the Indian side and ‘Sichuan’ on the Chinese side. The name ‘Punjab’ is derived from Persian and means ‘five waters’ (from panch ‘five’ + ab ‘water’). Three rivers out of five, the Indus and its two tributaries, the Sutlej and the
Chenab, originate on the Tibetan Plateau. The name 'Sichuan' means 'four rivers' (from si 'four' and chuan 'water', or 'plain' in Old Chinese) and refers to the four major tributaries of the Yangtze. Of those tributaries, the Min originates on the Tibetan Plateau as well as the Yangtze itself.

The average elevation of the Tibetan Plateau is 4,000 m above sea level, making elevation a fundamental feature of this linguistic area. Speakers of Tibetic languages, whether Tibetans, Sherpas, Ladakhis, Baltis, Bhutanese or Sikkimese, etc. have settled only in mountainous regions ranging from 1,500 m to 5,000 m in altitude, the majority dwelling at an altitude of about 3,000 m.

Archeological evidence indicates that the high plateau was already populated some 20,000 years ago. However, there is no clear evidence that the paleolithic population had any genetic link to the present Tibetan population. Living at such altitude necessitated various shared physiological adaptations. The populating of the Tibetan high plateau occurred long before that of the Andean plateau, which took place only 13,500 years ago. The mechanisms of biological adaptation to altitude in the Andes and on the Tibetan High Plateau seem very different. (See Aldenderfer 2003; Beall, 2001.)

Regarding the main mountain ranges of the Tibetic speaking area, it is important to note that the great arc formed by the Himalayan range constitutes only the southern border of this area. Dozens of other mountain ranges are located on the Tibetan Plateau itself or at its periphery. (See the map 'Tibetic area at the heart of Asia' and Appendix 3.)

Although all the Tibetic regions share an average high altitude and many other related features, such as a rich hydrological system, they exhibit extraordinary geographic, climatic and biological diversity. The ecology varies dramatically from the wide valleys of Central Tibet, to the steppes and deserts of the Jangthang area, the paddy fields of Bhutan and Sikkim, the large forests and pastures of Kham, the orchards of Upper Kinnaur, Kongpo, Lahul and Baltistan, and the grasslands of Amdo, for example.

It is clear that the geographic environment, particularly mountains and great rivers, had, and continues to have, a tremendous impact on Tibetic cultures. This is
reflected in many popular songs and proverbs, as in the following examples (see also the proverbs in section 1.2):

If you go up a high mountain, you can see in all four directions' [meaning, you become more broad-minded].

‘There is a way to go around even high mountains, there is a way to report to big chiefs’.  

‘There are always higher mountains, there are always people that are more expert’.

‘There's a high mountain, there's a steep ravine; if there's big profit, there's big risk; if there's profound dharma, there are powerful demons’.

‘The hollows in the heart of a big mountain are filled with winds; the hollows in the heart of a big man are filled with lies’.

Even if one eats the entire mountain, one is not full, even if one drinks the entire ocean, one is not satisfied’.

If the lion sits in his den on the white glacier, the male dragon should be careful even in the plains…’

People can meet [anywhere] but mountains can’t meet’ [meaning, behave nicely because you can always run into somebody you offended.’] (Pur).

Four mythical animals play a major role in Tibetic languages and cultures: ganggang 'snow lion', drug 'dragon', la 'nāga' (a divine snake-like creature) and jkhyung 'garuda' (a divine eagle-like creature). All are related to the environ-
ment of the High Plateau. With the exception of the snow lion, the three other mythical animals are found in many countries of South Asia (India, Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, etc.), Central Asia (Mongolia, Buriatia, etc.) and the Middle East (Iran, etc.).

Snow lions dwell on high peaks and usually symbolize strength and courage. Dragons sleep in lakes but they can also fly, particularly during summer storms. In all Tibetic languages, ‘thunder’ translated as the ‘dragon’s sound’ or ‘the dragon’s call’. Nāgas, snake-like water deities, also dwell in rivers and springs, and sometimes in trees. Often considered harmful creatures, nāgas are nevertheless associated with prosperity. The feminine form of nāga, the nāgini called རྣ་ལོ། lamo in Tibetan, is associated with extraordinary female beauty. Garuda, which are described as a kind of giant eagle, dwell in the sky and are enemies of the nāga. A garuda is often represented carrying a snake in its mouth.

2.4. Landscape and architecture

As we have just seen, one finds throughout the Tibetic-speaking area a great variety of landscapes situated in mountainous environments usually at a high altitude: wide plateaus, deep valleys or gorges, large forests, deserts, high pastures and steppes, tumultuous rivers, great lakes, etc. But the landscape is also characterized by various man-made structures that are emblematic of Tibetic civilization. These constructions are essentially of two types.

First, those that are religious in their nature or purpose. Stupas, called རྟོ་གྲོས་ chörten in Tibetan, are ubiquitous. Other religious structures that punctuate the landscape include the many monasteries (རྒྱ་གླིང་ gönpa), temples (ལྷ་ཁང་ lhakhang) and hermitages (རི་ཁྲོད་ rithrö). On mountain passes, or on the roads, one frequently sees cairns (ལ་བཙས་ labtse, also called ལྷ་ཐོ་ lhatho) and prayer flags (དར་ལྕོག་ darchok). Walls of stones carved with sacred inscriptions called ‘mani walls’ (མ་ཎི་རྡོ་ཕུང་ mani dophung) and water-powered prayer wheels (མ་ཎི་ཆུ་འཁོར་ mani chunkor) are also part of the landscape.

Rock carvings with representations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, epigraphic carvings of mantras are also frequent. Such representations are found everywhere from Tibet to Bhutan and Ladakh, including the Muslim areas of Purik and Baltistan, which have
preserved a very rich Buddhist patrimony (see 9.10), in some cases predating the Tibetan presence in the region (see e.g. Schuh & Munshi 2013; Devers 2017a-b).

In the Muslim part of the Tibet-speaking area, in some part of Amdo, in Baltistan and in Purik (Ladakh), monasteries are replaced by mosques, བཁྲ་ཆེ་ལྷ་ཁང་ Khache lhakhang, or གྲུ་གླིང་ (PHYAG.KHANG) chakkhang pronounced /phyakkhang/ in Balti. In Purik (Ladakh) and Baltistan, one also sees གོ་ཐ་སྟ་སྲུལ་ asthana – graves of famous Muslim saints, kings or queens – and གམ་ཏམ་སར། matamsara (lit. ‘mourning hall’ in Persian), which refer to community halls used for religious Shiah festivals. There are also ཁུ་ན་ khanqa which designate originally dervish and Sufi retreat places. One should also mention the Qor’an khanqa which resembles the Buddhist cairns known as སྐྱ་ལྷེ སྡོི་ lhatho.

Second, throughout the Tibet-speaking area, one also finds fortresses, castles and palaces which represented secular power during the Tibetan Empire and subsequently. These architectural elements are called སྒྲོང་ (RDZONG) dzong and དྲོ་བྲང་ (PHO.BRANG) phodrang. A number of these palaces and fortresses are well-preserved or have been restored. The most famous is the Potala Palace, ཁྲོ་བྲང་པོ་ཏ་ལ་ Tse phodrang, in Lhasa. Whereas in Bhutan castles or dzong, which still represent the Bhutanese administration, have been remarkably preserved in most districts, the situation is very different in Tibet. With a few exceptions, such as རྒྱལ་རྩེ་རྫོང་ Gyantse dzong in Tsang province, most of the dzongs were badly damaged or destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. In Ladakh and Baltistan, one also finds many fortresses or khar, some of which have been well-preserved. However, most of these fortresses are now in ruins.

Finally, in some Tibet areas, particularly in Western Tibet, Ladakh and Baltistan, one finds a lot of proto-historical rock art, petroglyphs and pictographs (Bellezza 2008; Devers 2017b). In some areas, particularly in Central and Western Tibet, one sometimes also sees steles or doring རྡོ་རིང་ (RDO.RING) with epigraphic inscriptions.

7. Devers (forthcoming) gives the following comment: “By convention, Protohistory in Central Asia encompasses the Bronze and the Iron Ages, starting in the 3rd millennium BC and lasting well into the 1st millennium AD. It is usually these dates that are retained for the Protohistory in Ladakh, though
2.5. Populations

2.5.1. Ethnic groups and ethnonyms of the Tibetic area

The Tibetic languages are spoken not only by Tibetans *per se* but also by other ethnic groups such as Ladakhi, Balti, Lahuli, Khunuwa, Pitiwa, Sherpa, Bhutanese, Lhopo and Bhotia (Sikkim), among others, who do not consider themselves to be Tibetans. As in other regions of the world, there is no strict correlation between certain ethnic groups or nationalities and the language they speak.8

In China, the government has tried to establish the nationality upon language. However, this criterion has not been used in a consistent way and cannot always be applied because language is just one constituent, albeit an essential one, of the cultural identity. Moreover, in China, the Tibetans, just as all the other cultural minorities, are called 'nationalities with small populations' (Tib: ཨྲགས་ཉུང་མི་རིགས Drangnyung mirik, Chin: 少数民族 shaoshu minzu).

In China, within the Tibetic area, we find at least a dozen or more 'nationalities'. These 'nationalities' correspond to political categories defined within the political system of the PRC, and now we often find *minzu* instead of this term even in English contexts. The main one is, of course, the Tibetan nationality, which is called Bö-rik (*BOD*.*RIGS*) in Tibetan and Zangzu (藏族) in Chinese. The term Börik refers to the Tibetans living in the three traditional provinces of Tibet (*Chölkha sum*), i.e. Ü-Tsang, Kham and Amdo (corresponding roughly to the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Autonomous Prefectures in the four Chinese provinces). Although the Tibetans do use the term Bö-rik, they often prefer to call themselves with the traditional term བོད་པ་ (*BOD.*.PA) Böpa in nearly all the regions or simply བོད (BOD), pronounced in many ways such as /wot/, /wol/ in Amdo or /pe/ in Kham.

8. Just as, for example, French citizens traditionally spoke languages belonging to several linguistic families: Romance, Celtic, Germanic (all Indo-European macrofamily) and Basque (isolate).
The great majority of Ethnic Tibetans speak various Tibetic languages traditionally referred to as བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་སྐད་ (bō-kyi yülkā) ‘Tibetan dialects’ (see Chapter 9). A minority of Tibetans do not speak a Tibetic language as their mother tongue but speak other languages belonging to the ST macrofamily such as the rGyalrongic, Qiangic or Tibeto-Himalayan groups.

The non-Tibetic languages are often referred to as ལོགས་སྐད་ (logkā) lit. ‘reversed languages’ or ‘side language’, a term which is also used for “slang.” Sometimes other derogatory terms such as དྲེ་སྐད་ (drekā) ‘demon language’ and སྨོ་སྐད་ (nyokā) ‘lunatic language’, used in Rebgong Amdo, are also encountered.

The main non Tibetic languages spoken as mother tongues by ethnic Tibetans are found in the རྒྱལ་མོ་ཅེས་བ་རོང་ (Gyälmo Tshawarong) area (lit. meaning ‘the hot valley of the queen’), which is often abbreviated as རྒྱལ་རོང་ (Gyälrong). They include Situ (or eastern rGyalrong), Showu, Tshobdun, Japhug, Lavrug, Geshitsa, sTodsde (Shangzhai), sTau, and Nyagrông-Minyag. They are all spoken in Sichuan, in the border area of Ngawa Prefecture (Throchu, Marthang, Ngawa, Barkham, Tsanlha, Chuchen and Dzamthang) and Kandze Prefecture (Tau, Rongdrak, Drango and Nyagrông). Another series of languages spoken by ethnic Tibetans in Ngapa (Ngawa) and Kandze Prefectures (Sichuan) include the following languages, principally classified into Qiangic and Naic: Rmaic (Qiang), Choyu (Queyu), nDrapa (Zhaba), rGochang (Guisiqiong), Darmdo Minyag, Shimian Minyag, Prinmi (Pumi), Shixing (Shihing), Namuyi (Namzi),11 Ersu, Doxu, and Lüzu.12 In addition to these, Chamdo Municipality in TAR is a home to three non-Tibetic languages: Lamo, Larong sMar, and Drag-yab sMar, and Dzayül County in Nyingthri Municipality has a language called gSerkhu, related to Lamo (see Tashi Nyima & Suzuki 2019). Finally a Bodish language, བོད་ཡིག་ (bō-yika) is spoken in Nezha County in NE TAR.

9. The last five languages are still regarded by some authors as one language called 霍尔巴 Horpa or 尔龚 Ergong in Chinese, but this does reflect the reality. Moreover, these terms are not appropriate. See Tunzhi (Sonam Lhundrop) et al. (2019).
10. As well as Muli Tibetan Autonomous County.
11. Some scholars think that Namuyi is a member of Naxi group (also called Na).
12. It is sometimes spelled ‘Lüsü’ because of the Chinese transcription, but the actual autonym is Lüzu.
"Basum' locally called 'Ba-ke' (བསམ་ནི་) is spoken by Tibetans in the Kongpo area of the TAR (for a detailed account of the non-Tibetic languages spoken in the Tibetic area, see Roche & Suzuki 2017).

The second pervasive ethnic group throughout the Tibetic area in China is the Han Chinese nationality, called རྒྱ་རིགས་ (RGYARIGS) Gya-rik in Tibetan. Han Chinese have settled in many towns of the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century. Many Chinese Muslims called Hui (ཧུའི་རིགས་སྐད་མོ་ས་), who are considered a separate 'nationality', also live in the Tibetic area particularly in Amdo.

In Qinghai, east of Kokonor Lake, we find the Tu people (土族 Tuzu), who live in Tuzhu, Minhe and Datong counties and the Bonan people (保安族 Baoanzu) in Rebgong County (Tongren in Chinese). They are called སྒྲོར་རྡོ་ Dordo in Tibetan (note however that this word is sometimes perceived as pejorative by the Tu people). These ethnic groups speak Mongolic languages.

Various groups belonging to the Mongolian nationality, called སོག་རིགས། Sog-rik in Tibetan and 蒙古族 Mengguzu in Chinese, are found in the Mongol Autonomous County, further south of Qinghai in the Mongol Autonomous county of Sogwo [Chin: Henan menggu zizhixian]. The Mongolian, Tu and Bonan nationalities speak various Mongolic languages. The official classification of the Tu and Bonan nationalities is rather confusing for several reasons. First, the main distinction between these two nationalities is based on the dominant religion: Buddhism in the case of the Tu people and Islam for the Bonan people. Linguistically the Bonan people speak a Mongolic variety very similar to the one spoken by the neighboring Tu people called Manigacha. Second, the Tu group speaks various Mongolic languages that do not allow a good intelligibility (see Fried 2010). Third, some people of the Rebgong, Minhe, Tuzhu and Datong counties have shifted nationalities, from Tibetan to Tu or Bonan (or vice-versa) during the last decades depending on the fluctuations of Chinese state ethnic policy.
In Amdo, one also finds Salar, Kazakh and Yughur who speak various Turkic languages.

Members of the Salar nationality (Tib: སྲལ་རིགས་ - salar-rik; Chin: 撒拉族 Salazu) mainly live in Xunhua County (see Simon 2016). According to Dwyers (2007: 14): “Today, to be Salar is no longer to be a displaced Central Asian Turk; rather it is to be a distinct member of the greater Muslim community in Amdo Tibet.” Yughur nationality (Tib: རྣ་གྲུངས་ - yugur-rik, Chin: 裕固族, Yuguuzu), sometimes called Yellow Uyghurs, are essentially found in Sunan Yughur Autonomous County (Gansu), north of Qilian county (Arik), but some Yughur people have settled in the Tibetan Prefecture of Yülshül. Various communities belonging to the Kazakh nationality (哈萨克族 Hasakezu) have settled at the Qinghai-Xinjiang border and in Gansu (Pari County).

Further south, we find the Qiang nationality (Tib: ཆགས་རིགས་ - chaang-rik; Chin: 羌族 Qiangzu) in Ngawa Prefecture, mainly in Mao, Li (or Trashiling) and Wenchuan counties and the Pumi nationality (ཕུའུ་སྨི་རིགས་ - phuumi-rik 普米族 Pumizu) who live mainly in Yunnan, Lanping and Ninglang counties.

The Jang nationality (འཇང་རིགས་ - jang-rik), better known as Naxi (纳西族 Naxizu), live in various areas of Yunnan and some communities are located in the TAP of Dechen as well as in Markam County (TAR). They speak a language traditionally classified as Lolo-Burmese but recently Michaud & Jacques (2011) have convincingly proposed a new classification of Naxi which belongs to an independent group called Naic.

In the case of some nationalities, the situation is rather confusing. For example even if the majority of Pumi, Qiang and Naxi have now been recognized as independent ethnic groups from the Tibetans, the Pumi communities living in Gyäzil and Muli Counties, the Qiang of Throchu and Naxi communities are still officially considered to be Tibetans.13 This ethnic affiliation is due to the fact that they practice Tibetan Buddhism. In the case of the Naxi, it is also very confusing because they are

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13. According to the site of the Ethnologue, there are 130,000 total for Northern and Southern Qiang languages, including 80,000 as Qiang nationality and 50,000 as Tibetan nationality. The Pumi are reportedly 54,000: 24,000 as Pumi nationality and 30,000 as Tibetan nationality.
either classified as being of Naxi nationality (in Yunnan), as Tibetans or as Mongolians (in Sichuan).

Members of the Trung nationality (Tib: ཀུལ་ལུང་རིགས tuulung-rig; Chin: 独龙族 Dulongzu) live in Gongshan Dulong and Nu Autonomous County in Yunnan and in Myanmar (Huang & Dai 1992: 649) but they are also found in Balung County (Chin: Weixi) in Yunnan and Dzayül county, in TAR. Their language is closely related to the Rawang in Myanmar and belongs to the Qiangic group.

Members of the Nu nationality (ནུའུ་རིགས nuu-rig; Chin: 怒族 Nuzu), locally pronounced སུང་ Nung, are found mainly in Fugong, Gongshan and Balung (Weixi) counties in Yunnan, but also in Dzayül County of the TAR. The Nu speak four languages: Nusu, Zaazu, Anong, and Trung. The first three are independent languages, with the third being a language related to Trung (aka Nung). Anong is considered as a dialect of Trung but this is frequently used by Tibetan speakers in Gongshan.

Members of the Lhopa nationality14 (ལོ་པའམ་ལོ་རིགས lhopa or lho-rig; Chin: 珞巴族 Luoba zu) are found in various counties of the Nyingthri Prefecture (TAR). They also live on the other side of the de facto border with India in Arunachal Pradesh. The Lopas speak various Tani languages.

The Deng people called སྟེང་པ་ Tengpa or གདན་རིགས Dän-rig (Chin: 僜人 Dengren) are considered as members of the Tibetan nationality. Deng people mainly live in Arunachal Pradesh, but some are also found in the Dzayül County of the TAR. They also speak a language of the Tani group.

The Mönpa nationality (Tib: མོན་པ་ mönpa or མོན་རིགས mön-rig; Chin: 门巴族 Menbazu) in China refers to various groups of people living mainly in Nyingthri Prefecture of the TAR. The term Monpa is also a generic term to designate various groups who usually speak Bodic languages found in Bhutan, Arunachal Pradesh as well as Ladakh (see 2.6.3).

14. Lhopa is a recent orthography. The people used to be called ‘Lopa’. See next section about traditional ethnonyms.
The Lisu nationality (Tib: ཞི་སུའུ་རིགས lisuu-rik; Chin: 傈僳族 Lisuzu) is mainly found in Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture but Lisu people also live in Dechen TAP and Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture. They speak a Lolo-Burmese language.

The Yi nationality (Tib: དབྱི་རིགས Yi-rik; Chin: 彝族 Yizu) refers to a number of ethnic groups living in Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi. In Sichuan, the Yi are mainly in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture where Tibetans are also found. Yi speak various Lolo-Burmese languages, among which Nosu is spoken in the contact areas with Tibetans.

Members of the Bai nationality (Tib: བའེ་རིགས Pae-rik; Chin: 白族 Baizu) are mainly found in Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture, but the Bai people also live in Dechen TAP and Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture. They speak Bai languages (see Wang Feng 2008).

In the southern Himalayas and the Karakoram region, whether in India, Nepal, Bhutan or Pakistan, there is no generic name referring to speakers of Tibetic languages, unlike the term ‘Tibetan’ in the Tibetan territories in China. For example, in Bhutan, there is no designation referring to the speakers of Dzongkha and other Tibetic languages, as opposed to speakers of non-Tibetic languages such as Tshangla or Bumthang.

The same is true for Nepal, India and Pakistan. In the case of some major groups, a specific name is used to designate a group such as the Baltis (Pakistan), the Ladakhis (ལ་དྭགས་པ ladakspa) and the Lhopos (ལྷོ་པོ lhopo) in India or the Sherpas whose autonym is ‘Sharwa’ (ཤར་པ་ sharpa) in Nepal and India. Smaller groups are rarely identified by a specific ethnic name.

Instead, they are often designated by the generic term of Bhoti (བོད་ bhoti), which is derived from the pronunciation of the historical name Bod (“Tibet”), by Indo-Aryan speakers (see 1.2 and 2.5.2).

In some areas, the ethnonym and glossonym Bhoti or its variants have also been used for family names. This is the case in Northern India (Kalimpong, Darjeeling, Gangtok, etc.), where Bhutia has become a frequent family name.
In Nepal, the family name 'Lama' is automatically given to Tibetan refugees and some other Tibetic groups. According to Gawne (2013: 17), "the [Tibetic] languages of Lamjung, Ramechhap and Helambu are often referred to as Lama or Lama Bhasa in Nepali [...]."

The Indian and Nepalese governments label as 'Tribals' all the non-Indo-Aryan ethnic groups that traditionally do not use the Indian caste system or jāti. 'Bhutia' and 'Lama' also generally fall into the category of 'Tribals' but the Indian and Nepalese government have also tried to integrate some of the 'Tribal groups' into the Indian caste system. In the case of 'Bhoti', 'Bhutia' or 'Lama', etc., this is particularly problematic since they originally came from Tibet where the Indian caste system is unknown.

From the official political point of view, the Indian government, in its constitution, classifies some distinct ethnic and linguistic groups as "scheduled tribes" and "scheduled castes." The latter are essentially groups which are traditionally lower castes in Hinduism, but the concept of "caste" is quite flexible. These statuses given to "historically disadvantaged people" of India may provide some political preferences such as the reservation of seats for political representation.

For example, some ethnic groups in Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and Sikkim, such as Bhot, Bhutia, Balti, Purigpa, Yolmo, Sherpa and Jangpa (Jangthang people), who speak Tibetic languages, are officially considered as "schedule tribes."

2.5.2. Some terminological issues about Bod, Bhoti, Bodhi and Bodjig

As mentioned above, the term བོད་རིགས་ BOD, RIGS (lit. Tibetan ethnic group) is used in China. This term is new and was introduced after the Chinese took control of Tibetan areas in 1950. It is used to designate the Tibetan nationality and refers to all the Tibetans or བོད་པ། BOD, PA independently of their native language. The term BOD in China is thus used as an ethnic concept.

In Pakistan, the ethnic term Balti بولتی BAL, TI is used to designate the people of Baltistan who speak a Tibetic language. Note that the spelling سېبالتی SBAL, TI is normally used in Classical Tibetan, however, this spelling would be pronounced /zbalti/

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15. This term may of course have a derogatory connotation!
according to the phonology of this language, whereas it is actually pronounced /balti/ and local scholars generally use the above spelling BAL, TI.

In Bhutan, the term ཀྲུང་པ ་ 'BRUG,PA or ཀྲུང་པ་ ་ 'BRUGP /dʁuːp/ (lit. the 'Dragon people') designates all Bhutanese citizens independently of their native language. In its primary significance 'BRUG,PA refers to the 'BRUG.PABKA'.BRGYUD religious order. As mentioned above, there is no common term to refer only to the speakers of Tibetic languages such as Dzongkha or Choča-nača as opposed to the speakers of non-Tibetic languages such as Tsangka or Nepali.

In India, and Nepal, the situation is more complex and there is a considerable terminological and conceptual confusion. The ethnonym ཀོ་ཊི་ Bhoṭi (usually written as Bhoti), or its alternative forms Bhoṭe, Bhuṭia or Bhotiya, is very frequently used to designate the various populations speaking Tibetic languages, such as Sherpa, Mustang (Nepal), Ladakhi, Lhopo (India) and even Bhutanese. The terms Bhoti, Bhutan and the above variants are exonyms and correspond to the Indo-Aryan pronunciation of the word Bod, 'Tibet'. Let us remember that in the eighteenth century, the British still confused 'Thibet' and 'Bootan' or 'Bhutan'.

Bhoti as a derivation of Bod is a good match for the English word 'Tibetic'. The first small problem is that the term Bhoti is spelled in many ways: Bhot, Bhutia, Bhotiya, etc. All these terms are absolutely synonyms and are derived from the classical word Bod.

A more serious issue is that the term Bhoti may also be used loosely to designate people of mongoloid descent in the Himalayas, who speak various TB languages such as Tamang (ཉབ་མང་), Manangi (སྙེ་ཤང་པ་ Nyeshangpa), or even Lepcha (ལེབ་ཅ་), etc. which are not Tibetic languages since they are not derived from Old Tibetan. In order to avoid the confusion, it is better to use the term ཀོ་ཊི་ Bhoti or ལྟོགས་ཀྱུར་གངས་ལྷོངས་ Bhoti (lit. 'Bhoti of the Snowy Land') as synonyms of 'Tibetic'.

16. See K. Teltscher (2006). In the writings of George Bogle (1746-1781), an employee of the East India Company and visitor to both Bhutan and Tibet, he used the term Bootan for the country and Boot for the people.
In recent years the term Bhoti has become a political symbol to unite the various Himalayan populations who speak Tibetic languages (or, as we just mentioned, closely related languages). The political dimension of the term ‘Bhoti’ can be perceived in the following sentence: "Classical Tibetan Bhoti language is the fundamental channel for the development of the religion and politics of the Himalayas." 17 In this context, the term Bhoti is sometimes used to refer to a hypothetical general ‘Tibetic language’ spoken throughout the southern Himalayas.

For example, the website Reach Ladakh (November 7, 2014) reported the following information: "Reading out the argument in favour of the demand for recognition of Bhoti language [i.e. Tibetic] in the 8th Schedule, Tsewang Dorje said that Bhoti is the mother tongue of more than a million people living in the Himalayas right from Ladakh to Arunachal Pradesh. The choice of the term ‘Bhoti’ over ‘Tibetan’ is a conscious strategy adopted by the leaders of the movement belonging to diverse tribes to affirm their status as a part and parcel of the Indian identity." 18 In the above context, the word Bhoti refers to various languages such as Sherpa, Spiti, Ladaks or Lhoke which are closely related and derive from Old Tibetan but do not allow mutual intelligibility. Moreover, it includes non-Tibetic languages such as Tamang, Gurung or Lepcha. Thus, the expression ‘Bhoti language’ should appear in the plural: ‘Bhoti languages’. The term Bhoti in its restricted meaning is useful to designate the whole family of languages derived from Old Tibetan and should of course not replace the names of the various languages: Amdo, Kham, Central Tibetan, Dzongkha, Lhoke, Balti, Ladaks, Purik, and others.

In Ladakh and some other Himalayan regions, Bhoti is also sometimes used as a synonym of Bodyig (or Bodyik) ‘Classical Tibetan’. 19 Again, this may

generate a lot of confusion, since the term Bhoti usually applies to the modern languages such as Ladaks, Purik, Dzongkha, Lhoke, Sherpa, etc., whereas Bodyig refers to the Classical Tibetan written language. The confusion between the two terms comes in part from the fact that the term Bodyig is ambiguous since it also designates the Tibetan script (see Chapter 5 and the HCTL). Thus for example, བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བྲིས་པའི་སྐད། BOD.YIG-TU BRIS-PA’I SKAD YOD.TSHAD BOD.SKAD-DU KHAS LEN-PANG MI ’THAD-STE ’BRAS.I.JONGS-DANG ’BRUG.YUL-DANG LA.DWAGS.PA’I SKAD BOD.YIG-TU BRI’.ANG BOD.SKAD MA-YIN “All the languages written in Tibetan script cannot be considered as ‘Tibetan’. The languages of Sikkim, Bhutan and Ladakh [Lhoke, Dzongkha and Ladaks] even if they are written in Tibetan script are not Tibetan.”

The most serious confusion comes from the use of another term, namely Bodhi, which refers either to Ladaks language or other regional Tibetic languages but it may also in some cases be a synonym of Classical Tibetan. This confusion is partly due to the fact that both བོད་ and Bhoti are pronounced in a very similar way in English. The word Bodhi appears as an official term on some government websites, in the media and school curriculum of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.


21. “It is established that Kashmiri ranks first among the mother tongues of the State commanding the largest number of speakers, with Dogri in second and Gujari in third position, followed by Punjabi, Bodhi, Balti, Shina/Dardi in succession” (http://koausa.org/language/Warikoo.html). In this sentence Bodhi is a synonym for Ladakhi. The same is true for this list presented on an official government Indian site of Jammu and Kashmir state: “Kashmiri, Dogri, Pahari, Punjabi, Gojari, Ladakhi or Bodhi, Balti, Dardic” (http://mha.nic.in/more3).
**Bodhi**, cognate with 'Buddha', is not appropriate to refer to Bhoti or Tibetic languages because it is a Sanskrit term which means 'Enlightment' in a Buddhist context. The use of *Bodhi* induces the idea that the Tibetic or Bhoti languages are 'Buddhist languages' and that the Tibetan script is a "Buddhist script." Some official documents of the Jammu and Kashmir state even propose to choose between 'Arabic' and 'Bodhi', i.e. in other words, between a “Muslim script” and a “Buddhist script.” This formulation introduces another confusion i.e. between a script and a written language. The same language or very closely related dialects of a language may be written in different scripts: Hindi and Urdu, Persian and Tajik, Serbian and Croatian. Moreover, it should be pointed out that the Arabic script is used not only by Muslims but also by Christian Arabs and members of other religions such as the Zoroastrians. The qualification of the Latin script as 'Christian script', which is used to write in a great number of languages (including English), would also be equally absurd.

In the same way, the Tibetan script is not a Buddhist script but an Indic script (as are Devanāgari, Bengali, Gurmukhi, etc.) and was used in the course of history not only by Buddhists but also by Bönpos and even by Muslims. Thus, the conflation between Bodhi/Buddhist and Bhoti/Tibetic is politically problematic. The Muslim communities of Baltistan and the Purik area (Ladakh) and Amdo, which speak Tibetic/Bhoti languages, could feel excluded if the term Bodhi is used.

We will now examine other issues related to traditional ethnonyms.

### 2.5.3. Traditional ethnonyms

Some traditional designations for ethnic groups generate plenty of confusion since the same names may refer to entirely different groups and have several meanings. Let’s review some examples.

The term *Böpa* (བོད་པ་ *BÖ.PA*) 'Tibetan' can be used in several ways. It usually refers to the entire Tibetan speaking people within China and is, in this case, a synonym of *Börik* (བོད་རིགས་ *BÖ.RIGS*) 'Tibetan nationality'. It also sometimes designates, in a restrictive sense, the Tibetans of the TAR, but the term may also be used, albeit rarely, in a traditional way to refer to some populations of cultivators in Central Tibet. This is the case, for example, in Nyemo County located just one 100 km east of Lhasa. In
this county, the pastoralists are traditionally called Drogpa, whereas the cultivators are designated as Böpa and the agropastoralists as བོད་མ་འབྲོག་ Bömadrok (instead of the usual term samadrok). Thus, the term བོ མེ་ བོཞི་ "Bö" designates here some lower valleys of Central Tibet.

Under the Tibetan nationality, we find various traditional regional identities, such as འམྲ་ལྷ་ Amdowa, འགོ་ལོ་ Khampa, ཡ་ལྷ་ Tsangpa, ལྷ་ས་ Lhasawa, མི་ལྷ་ Phänowa, ཆུ་པ་ Kangowa, སྲུག་ མྱ་ Horpa, རྥེ་ Töpa, ངེ་ཐུ་ Gyärongwa and so forth.

The traditional term Drogpa (འབྲོག་པ་ 'BROG.PA) 'cattle breeders' is used to refer to various pastoralist populations of central, western and eastern Tibet, as well as Bhutann. In southeastern Ladakh, these pastoralists are referred to as བྱང་པ་ Jangpa (alt. Changpa). The term Drogpa (འབྲོག་པ་ 'BROG.PA) is pronounced in various ways depending on the region as /dɔkpa/ (Central Tibet), /ˈdɔswa/ (Amdo), /bloqpa/ (Balti), /ˈdɔːp/ (Dzongkha), and so on. However, in the areas of Baltistan and Purik, Drogpa – locally pronounced Bloqpa or Broqpa – refers to an ethnic group that speaks Brokhat, a variety of Shina, a Dardic language (subgroup of Indo-Aryan). The Brokpa live in the Hanu area near Kargil (India) and on the other side of the border in Pakistan. Brokpa are usually cultivators, wine makers and more rarely cattle breeders and shepherds. They practice Buddhism or Islam depending on the settlement. Thus, the same word Drogpa (འབྲོག་པ་ 'BROG.PA) has acquired two different meanings: in the Tibetic areas, it refers generally to cattle breeders whereas in western Ladakh and Baltistan, it designates an ethnic group who speaks an Indo-European language. It is worth noting that in Purik and Western Sham, the word བྲེག་ "Brok" is used for 'isolated places (usually high places but not always)', as opposed to རྒྱ་ལེགས་ "Mal", which designates a lower place and a permanent residence.

The designation Brokpa/Drokpa in both cases ('cattle breeder' and 'a specific ethnic group') probably stems from the original CT meaning of 'BROG as a 'lost place usually in high altitude', a synonym of བྲེན་པ་ DBEN.PA < DBEN, meaning 'isolated place'..

The traditional term Rongpa རོང་པ་, pronounced Rongwa རོང་བ་ (notably in Amdo), normally designates the populations of cultivators living in lower valleys or gorges.
This is the usual meaning in Amdo for example. However, the term Rongpa may also refer in Sichuan to Pumi or other people who speak non-Tibetic languages. The Sherpas and other Tibetic-speaking groups of Nepal use the word Rongpa to designate the Nepalese people. The same is true in Kinnaur (India), where Rongpa is one of the terms Tibetic-speaking people of upper Kinnaur use to refer to the Kinnauri, called Khmu people ཁུ་ཀུ by the Tibetic-speaking population of upper Kinnaur or Khunu Tö Tö ཁུ་ཀུ དོ་དོར. Geographic labels related to altitude are often used both in Tibet and elsewhere in the Himalayas to designate ethnic groups or subgroups and their language. These include: ཁུ་ཏོ 'upper', ཁུ་gyen 'upward', ཁུ་gong 'higher part', ཁུ་mä 'lower part', and ཁུ་sham 'lower part'. For example, the term ཁུ་ Töpa refers to the inhabitants of Ngari Province (in Tibet) as well as people who live in the Upper Spiti valley, upper Kinnaur, or upper Garsha or Lahul (in the Indian Himalayas). ཁུ་Sham is used to refer to the lower Indus valley after Leh and also designates the language spoken there: ཁུ་sham-kä locally pronounced /shamskat/ and ཁུ་ Shamma 'people of Sham'. The term Sham also applies to the lower part of Zanskar.

The historical terms ཁུ་Hor or ཁུ་Horpa are used in the north and east of Tibet to refer to various groups, including Turkic tribes, Mongols, and Tangats. In Nagchu, Hor is used to refer to cattle-breeders likely of mixed Tibetan and Mongolian origin, whereas in Kandze TAP (Sichuan), 'Hor' is an exonym which refers to a group of Khampas in the region of ཁུ་ཧོར་ Horkhok or ཁུ་ཧོར་ʈehor, including speakers of rGyalrongic (non-Tibetic) languages.

The traditional designation of ཁུ་Mönpa is used to refer to various groups of people living in the southern valleys of Lhokha, Kongpo and Dzayül (TAR), as well as in Kinnaur, Ladakh, Sikkim, Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh. In China, the term Mönpa officially designates one nationality (see section 2.4.1) which includes at least two groups speaking different languages: Tshona Mönpa, which is spoken in Lhokha

22. KHANG.GSAR, MAZUR, BRAG. GO, BE.BI and TEBOR. There is no consensus about the precise boundaries of this region.
(TAR) and Metok Mönpa, also known as Tshangla, which is spoken in Nyingthri Prefecture (Metok County or Pemakö), Bhutan, and Arunachal Pradesh. Additionally, the term Mönpa in Sikkim traditionally refers to the Lepchas, who speak a TB language not related to the two above languages. In Bhutan, the term Mönpa denotes various communities of Wangdu Photrang, Shemgang, and Trongsa districts, who speak eastern Bodish languages closely related to Tshona and Tshangla. In Spiti and Kinnaur, the term Mönpa is applied to the Kinnauri people. Finally, the same term, Mönpa, locally called Mon designates a “caste” of musicians in Ladakh. From the above description, we can see that Mönpa does not refer to a precise ethnic group and is applied by the Tibetans to various ethnic groups south of the Himalayas, speaking Tibeto-Burman languages.

The term Lopa (ཀློ་པ་ KLOPA) derived from Lalo (ཀླ་ཀློ་ KLAKLO) meaning 'savages, uncivilized people', is an exonym referring to various tribes of the southern periphery, who have not been converted (or not entirely converted) to Buddhism. The term པློ་ Lalo is also used to refer to Hui (Chinese Muslims) in the Kham area of Kandze prefecture (see Suzuki 2007a).

The ethnonym ལྷོ་པ་ Lopa designates groups speaking various languages such as Bokar, Idu or Sulong. To avoid the term Lopa, which bears a derogatory connotation, people now prefer to use term ལྷོ་པོ་ Lhopo which means 'Southerner'. The replacement has been possible because the pronunciations of Lopa and Lhopa sound very similar. This latter term is now used to designate a nationality recognized by the Chinese administration. The problem is that Lhopa is also used to refer to various people of the southern Himalayas.

For example, the Sikkimese 'Bhutia' often call themselves ལྷོ་པོ་ Lhopo (a local pronunciation of Lhopa). A small group of people living in the District of Sankhuwa-Sabha in Nepal are called Lhomi (ལྷོ་མི་) which also means 'Southerners'.

To make things a little more complicated, the people of Mustang in Nepal, which is locally called Lo Mönthang གློ་སྨོན་ཐང་, are also called Lopas. Although it is pronounced
in the same way as the Lopa nationality in the TAR, the local term referring to Mustangi is spelled གློ་པ་ GLO.PA.23

The term ཤར་པ་ Sharpa is another traditional term which can refer to various populations. It is derived from the Tibetan root shar ‘east’ and the suffix pa and simply means ‘Easterner’. The term Sharpa may be pronounced in various ways depending on the region: /ɕarwa/, /ɕarpa/, /x’arwa/, etc., but it has been popularized in English under the orthography of Sherpa. This term mainly designates the Tibetic language called /sharvi tamnye/ spoken in the Solukhumbu district of Nepal and in various villages of western Sikkim as well as in Dram (TAR). However, Sherpa is also sometimes used to refer to a group known as Helambu Sherpa in Nepal who speaks another Tibetic language alternatively called Yolmo. The two languages Yolmo and Sherpa are distinct and should not be confused. Because of the fame of the Sherpa community on a national and even international level, some ethnic groups of Nepal or India who speak TB languages may declare themselves as Sherpas. A third group of people sometimes called ཤར་བ་ Sharwa is located on the eastern edge of the Tibetan Plateau in Zungchu County (Sichuan) in the Sharkhok region. The language used there is not directly related to the Sherpa language in Nepal.

Thus as we have seen, there is a rich ethnic diversity in the Tibetic-speaking area. The majority of the ethnic groups speak Tibetic languages but a significant number of groups speak non-Tibetic languages (for more details, see below 3.4).

23. The etymology of glo might be ‘side’ or ‘strap’. The word glo usually means ‘lungs’.
2.5.4. Population figures

It is difficult to give precise figures for the people who speak Tibetic languages. One of the reasons is that the censuses from the six countries of this linguistic area are neither precise nor reliable. The second reason is that many issues linked to linguistic classification are not yet solved. The number of speakers for the six countries that we provide below are thus tentative and approximative.

China

The number of people who speak Tibetic languages in China is hard to estimate because of the lack of recent and reliable censuses and also because of the complex relationship between ethnic and linguistic parameters. Another flaw of many studies is that the figures proposed are based on linguistic classifications that are neither precise nor accurate, as we will see in the Chapter 9.

SKAL.BZANG'GYUR.MED and SKAL.BZANG.DBYangs.CAN (2002: 2) mention the figure of 4,593,000 speakers. Linguists in China usually classify the “Tibetan dialects” into three main groups and accordingly estimate the number of speakers in the three main dialect groups of Ü-Tsang, Kham and Amdo. For example Qu (1996) mentioned 1,500,000 Kham speakers, over 1,000,000 for Ü-Tsang and roughly 800,000 Amdo speakers. More recently Kalsang Norbu et al. (2000) proposes the figure of 1,500,000 for Amdo speakers.

As mentioned in the previous section, some Tibetans speak, as native speakers, non-Tibetic languages such as various rGyalrongic, Qiangic, Bodish as well as Tani, Lolo-Burmese or Naic languages. The total number of Tibetans who are native speakers

24. A lot of figures given by the various authors are based on the 1990 census. The official statistic of the Zhongguo minzu renkou ziliao: zangzu 中国民族人口资料 藏族 for the Tibetan population in TAR and TAP in 1990 (quoted by Catriona Bass 1998) is 4,574,977. The web site of the Renmin Ribao newspapers dating from November 2000 gives the figure of 4,593,000. This is also the figure mentioned by Gesang Jumian (SKAL.BZANG'GYUR.MED and SKAL.BZANG.DBYangs.CAN 2002: 2). See also the website: tibet.nbyzwhzx.com.

25. As we will see in Chapter 9, which is devoted to the classification of the Tibetic languages, Kham may no longer be considered as a single language and thus this figure is problematic since it lumps together distinct languages.
in these languages is about 300,000, i.e. roughly 5% of ethnic Tibetans. However, a significant number of those Tibetans who are native speakers of non-Tibetic languages may also speak Amdo or Kham languages depending on their location. Nowadays, they also acquire Chinese.

Aside from Tibetans, various ethnic groups of Tibet may also speak Tibetic languages. For example, in Amdo a number of people belonging to the Salar, Tu, Bonan or Hui communities can also speak Amdo as a second language, sometimes as natives. The Mongols of Sogwo have been tibetanized and speak mostly Tibetan.

Various ethnic groups who live in Kham area, such as the Pumi, Lisu, Bai, etc., may also speak various Kham dialects. Likewise, in the TAR, many Monpas can speak Central Tibetan dialects from the Lhokha or Kongpo areas.

Conversely due to the pressure of Mandarin-speaking Chinese, some young Tibetans in the cities have lost their native tongue or may not be very fluent. This is often the case in counties such as Bayi (TAR), Dartsendo (Kangding) in Sichuan, Drugchu in Gansu, Gyalthang [Xianggelila/ Zhongdian] in Yunnan, and others.

Given the complexity of the linguistic, ethnic and political situation, it is probably safe to say that the total number of native speakers of Tibetic languages in China is between five and six million.

India

In India, the major groups who speak Tibetic languages are the Ladakhi (160,000 speakers), the Lhopos or Sikkimese (70,000), the Baltis (39,000 speakers), the Puriks (100,000 speakers; Zemp 2018), the Sherpas (31,000 speakers), the Zangskari (12,000), the Spiti Bhottis (10,000). The remaining groups (Lhomis, Garzha, Jads, 26. Gerald Roche (pers. comm.) independently proposes the same estimation.
27. A number of Tibetans live in Chinese cities such as Beijing, Xi’an, Chengdu, Lanzhou, etc. Many Tibetan students are sent far away from their home to study in various Chinese provinces.
28. We include here the Jangpas (alt. Changpas), who are given an estimate of 10,000, pastoralists in the south of Ladakh.
29. Yliniemi (2019) considers it is an overestimation.
etc.) each have less than 10,000 speakers. Thus the total number of speakers of Tibetic Languages in India is approximately 400,000.

Pakistan

In Pakistan, only one Tibetic language, Balti, is spoken but it has a large number of speakers, reportedly 270,000.

Bhutan

In Bhutan, the main Tibetic language is Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan. It has approximately 160,000 native speakers and many people also speak it as a second language. The second language is Tsamang (or Choça-ngača), with 20,000 locutors. The remaining groups are Lakha, Mera Sakteng, Brokkat, each with less than 10,000 speakers. The total number of native speakers of Tibetic languages in Bhutan is approximately 200,000.

Nepal

In Nepal, most of the Tibetic communities (see section 2.3) have between 1,000 and 10,000 speakers. Only the Sherpa have a significantly higher figure of 50,000 speakers. The total number of speakers of Tibetic Languages in Nepal is approximately 100,000. This does not include the recent Tibetan immigration in Nepal, which probably includes more than 20,000 refugees.

Myanmar

In Myanmar, a variety of Kham Tibetan is reportedly spoken in the Kachin state on the border with China. Thus the total number may not exceed 400 speakers.

The Tibetan diaspora and other emigrations from the Tibetic area

Due to immigration since 1959, about 150,000 Tibetans make up a diaspora community that lives mainly in India, Nepal and Bhutan, but also in many other countries worldwide, particularly Europe, Northern America, Asia and Australia.

Given the lack of the data, it is more difficult to evaluate recent migrations of Tibetic speakers from India, Bhutan, Nepal or Pakistan. Buddhists or Bönpos may follow the migration patterns of the Tibetans. Tibetic speakers of India, Bhutan, Nepal or Pakistan may also follow the migratory patterns of their compatriots. For
example, many Nepalese people work in the United Arab Emirates or Hong Kong and these Nepalese may include Tibetic-speaking people such as the Yolmo, Sherpas, etc.

Various migration patterns are also attested within various zones of the Tibetan area. For example, a number of Nepalese Yolmo or Sherpa speakers have settled in the Spiti area of India. Sherpas have migrated to Sikkim together with the massive Nepalese immigration into this Indian state.

**Total number of Tibetic language speakers**

We can estimate roughly that the total number of speakers for the Tibetic language family in the six countries, including the diasporas, is slightly less than seven million people. Nearly 90% of the speakers live in the Tibetan Autonomous administrative units in China.

### 2.6. Geographic distribution of the languages

Leaving aside for the time being the problem of dialectal diversity and the theoretical issues related to the distinction between dialects, dialect groups and languages, we will list the traditional Tibetan glossonyms. The purpose of this inventory is to provide names for the languages of this family and their approximate location. For discussions concerning the classification, grouping or subgrouping of these languages and related issues, see Chapter 9.

Starting from the western regions, the first languages are Balti (◊ བལ་ཏི་སྐད་ BAL.TI SKAD), spoken in the Balti and Ghanche districts of Baltistan (northern Pakistan), Purik (◊ བུ་རིག་སྐད་ PU.RIG SKAD) and Ladaks (◊ ལ་དྭགས་སྐད་ L.A.DWAGS.SKAD), locally called ◊ ལ་དྭགས་སི་སྐད་ L.A.DWAGS.SI SKAD [ladakse skat] or [laakse skat], spoken on

30. The usual spelling in Literary Tibetan is ◊ བལ་ཏིའི་སྐད་ BAL.TI I SKAD, but it does not match the Balti pronunciation. There is a little-known but consistent rule in Literary Tibetan: if a word ends with a vowel, a genitive marker will be added before the word SKAD. With a final consonant, the genitive may be dropped. Thus, one usually finds ◊ བལ་ཏི་འི་སྐད་ BAL.TI I SKAD or ◊ བེལ་ཙེའི་སྐད་ AMO.DI I SKAD (with the genitive) and ◊ མཁམས་སྐད་ KHAMS.SKAD or ◊ བོད་འཇོངས་སྐད་ BR.EJONGS.SKAD (without the genitive).

31. We prefer to use local names rather than exonyms. In this case, the local term Ladaks for the language is preferred to Ladakhi which corresponds to the Hindi-Urdu form. For the same reason we use the local term Zanhar instead of the Hindi-Urdu term ‘Zanskar’. See Below.
the other side of the border in the Kargil and Leh districts of Ladakh, Northern India. Until recently, speakers of Ladak, Purik and Balti had regular contact, but due to the political conflict between India and Pakistan the exchanges are now very limited. Zanhar, also referred to as Zangskar (ཟངས་ཀར་ མཁན་པས་ ZANGS.DKAR SKAD) locally pronounced [zähär hat] is spoken in the Kargil district. It is closely related to Ladak and generally allows mutual intelligibility with Leh dialect but includes a lot of specific features.

The next languages are Spiti (སྤི་ཏིའི་སྐད་ SPITI SKAD [Pitti]) and Garzha (གར་ཞྭའི་སྐད་ GARZHA’I SKAD), which are closely related. Both are spoken in Himachal Pradesh in the district of Lahul and Spiti further in the southeast. Garzha which sometimes referred to as Lahuli, is locally called སྟོད་སྐད་ STOD SKAD [tötkat]. The language name Garzha is preferable to Lahuli since the latter also designates an Indic language.

Other Tibetic languages located further southeast are Khunu (ཁུ་ནུའི་སྐད་ KHUNU’I SKAD), which is spoken in Upper Kinnaur District (ཁུ་ནུ་). At the border between Himachal and Jammu Kashmir, one also finds two Tibetic languages, Pangi (པང་གི’ ལ་སྐད་) and Paldar (པལ་དར་སྐད) spoken by small communities.

Further southeast, in the gorges of the Jad Ganga (Uttarkashi district), one finds a small community who speaks Jad or Dzad (འཇའ་དང སྐད་), a language closely related to Spiti.

Further east in Nepal, we find a series of closely related languages, which are all spoken along the Sino-Nepalese border. They include from west to east: Humla (ཧུམ་ལཧ་ ལ་སྐད་) in Humla district; Mugu (མུ་གུའི་སྐད་) in Mugu District; Dolpo (དོལ་པོའི་སྐད་) in Dolpo District; Lo-ke or Mustang (ལོ་རུ་འི་སྐད་) in Mustang District; Nubri (ནུབ་རིའི་སྐད་) and Tsum (ཙུམ་སྐད་), both in Gorkha District, Gyalsumdo (རྒྱལ་གསུམ་མདོ་) in Manang District; Langtang (ལོང་ཐང་སྐད་) in Rasuwa District; Yolmo (ཡོལ་མོའིསྐད་) and Kagate (CT), in Sindhupalchok and Nuwakot Districts; Jirel (ཇི་རེལ་སྐད་) (locally called ཇི་རེལ་ jirel bat), in Dolakha, Sherpa (ཤར་བའི་སྐད་), locally called ཤར་བའི་གཏམ་སྙད་
The geography and the people

[Sharwi Tamnye],[32] in Solukhumbu District; Shupa (ཤོག་པའི་སྐད་) in Ramechhap District; Lhomí (ལྷོ་མིའི་སྐད་) in Sankhuwa-Sabha District; Walungchung Gola (བོལ་ུང་ གོལ་འབི་སྐད་) or simply Walung (བོལ་ུང་) in the district of Taplejung and Tokpe Gola (ཤོག་པོ་སྐད་) in the district of Tadapani.

Further west, in the Indian State of Sikkim, we find the Dränjong language (འབྲས་ལྗོངས་སྐད་), which is more often locally called Lhoke བོད་ སྐད་ (lit. 'southern language'). It is closely related to the language spoken in Dromo on the other side of the Indochinese border.

The next Tibetic languages further west are spoken in Bhutan: Dzongkha (རྫོང་ཁ་) traditionally spoken in the districts of western Bhutan; Tsamang (ཞབས་མང་) also called by the exonym of Choča-ngača (ཆོས་ངག་ཅ་), in Mongar and Lhuentse Districts; Lakha (ལྷ་), also called Tshangkha བོད་ སྐད་, in Wangdi Phodra District; Dur Brokkat (དུར་གྱི་འབྲོག་) also called Bjokha (in Dzongkha) in Bumthang District; and finally Mera Sakteng Brokpa (མེ་རག་སག་སྟེང་འབྲོག་པའི་སྐད་) in Trashigang District.

Let's now mention the Tibetic languages spoken on the Tibetan Plateau and its periphery in the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Chinese Provinces of Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan (note that the names used in this chapter are traditional labels. For a precise description of the languages and dialect, see Chapter 8).

The Ü and Tsang dialects (དབུས་སྐད་དང་གཙང་སྐད་), sometimes lumped together as Ü-Tsang (དབུས་གཙང་), are spoken in the TAR. It comprises numerous dialects (for details see Chapter 9) spoken in Ü (དབུས་) 'Center') around the capital Lhasa, Tsang (གཙང་), in Zhikatsé Prefecture (ཕྱིན་ཏན་ས་ཁུལ་) and Lhokha (ལྷོ་ཁའི་སྐད་) in Lhokha Prefecture (ལྷོ་ཁའི་ས་ཁུལ་) south of the TAR. Closely related dialects include Kongpo (ཀོང་པོ་) spoken in the Nyingthri Prefecture east of the TAR, and Tōkā ཡུལ་, traditionally spoken in the Ngari Prefecture (བོད་ཡུལ་) in the west of Tibet at the border of Ladakh.

32. The spelling GTAMSNYAD is usually found in the Sherpa dictionaries in Tibetan script (see Gyurme Chodrak & Tournadre et al. 2009), however form with a nasalized vowel is attested in Solu area (Matthew Kapstein, pers. comm.). This form could be a reflex of the CT GTAMSNYAN 'sweet speech'.

The dialect spoken in Kyirong (སྐྱིད་རོང་), which belongs to Zhikatse Prefecture, is closely related to the dialects spoken on the other side of the Sino-Nepalese border such as Kagate and Langtang (see below).

The Kham 'language' is spoken in the east and the southeast of Tibetic area in Chamdo Prefecture (ཆབ་མདོ་ས་ཁུལ་) and a part of Nyingthri Prefecture (ཐེ་ལྣོ་སེམས་དབྱུར་) [TAR], in Dechen Prefecture (དབྱེན་སོ་ས་ཁུལ་) [Yunnan] in Kandze Prefecture (རང་སྐྱོང་སེམས་དབྱུར་) and some neighboring counties [Sichuan], and in Yulshul Prefecture (ཡུལ་ཤུལ་ས་ཁུལ་) [Qinghai]. The complexity of dialects may be reflected in the traditional geographic diversity. From a historical and geographic viewpoint, Kham is called chuzhi gangdruk thangsum, which means: 'four rivers, six plateau and three grasslands'. The inhabitants dwell in the latter two areas. The six plateaus designate Zalmo gang (present Derge and its surroundings), Tshawa gang (corresponds to present eastern Dzayul and to Dzogang [nDzogong] alongside of Nujiang), Markham gang (corresponds to present Markham and its surroundings, between Nujiang and Lancangjiang), Pombor gang (corresponds to present Gyalthang, Derong, Chagthreng, Dabpa and Lithang, between Lancangjiang and Jinshajiang), Mardza gang (corresponds to present northeastern Daofu to Golok) and Minya Rabgang (corresponds to present Dartsendo and Yajiang, between Mt Zheduo and Yalongjiang). The three grasslands designate Lithang (roughly equivalent to present Lithang), Bathang (roughly equivalent to present Bathang) and Gyalthang (present Shangri-La, especially its central area).

Some pockets of Kham speakers are also found in other areas outside of Kham, such as Gertse, Geyä (Ngari Prefecture), Bhutan, and even Myanmar. These Kham communities correspond to relatively recent migrations. The dialectal diversity of Kham is so enormous that mutual intelligibility is very limited in some areas. The delimitation and subgrouping of Kham dialects will be discussed in details in Chapter 9.

33. The term ‘language’ is used here for simplicity sake. But as we will see below, Kham corresponds in fact to several groups of dialects.
The Hor language (ཧོར་སྐད་) is very closely related to northern Kham dialects. It is spoken in the Jangthang area བྱང་ཐང་ north of the TAR in Nagchu Prefecture and in some limited areas of Ngari.

Next is the Amdo language (ཨ་མདོའི་སྐད་) or Amkä (ཨམ་སྐད་), which is spoken in the north and northeast of the Tibetic area mainly in Qinghai, Sichuan and Gansu. Amdo speaking regions in Qinghai include the prefectures around Kokonor Lake: Tshonup Prefecture (མཚོ་ཏུབ་ས་ཁུལ་, lit. 'prefecture west of the lake'); Tshojang Prefecture (མཚོ་ཐང་ས་ཁུལ་, lit. 'prefecture north of the lake'); Tsholho Prefecture (མཚོ་ལྷོའི་ས་ཁུལ་, lit. 'prefecture south of the lake'); Tshoshar Prefecture (མཚོ་ཤར་ས་ཁུལ་, lit. 'prefecture east of the lake') and in the area of Xining City (ཞིག་དཔེ་ལྡན་). Amdo is also spoken in the Golok Prefecture (གོ་ལོག་ས་ཁུལ་) and in the Malho Prefecture (རྨ་ལྷོའི་ས་ཁུལ་), located south of the Yellow river.

In south Gansu, Amdo is spoken in the Kanlho Prefecture (ཀན་ལྷོའི་ས་ཁུལ་), also called Dolho (མདོ་ལྷོའི་ས་ཁུལ་), and in Pari County (དཔའ་རིས་), locally pronounced [Xwari].

In Sichuan, Amdo is essentially spoken in Ngawa Prefecture (རྨ་བའི་ས་ཁུལ་, spelled as Ngapa in Central Tibet), and in the northern parts of Kandze Prefecture (ཀན་ཆེས་ས་ཁུལ་), particularly in Sershul and Serta counties and in some pastoralist communities of Lithang, Dartsendo and Nyagchu Counties (see details in Chapter 9).

Aside from Amdo and Kham, a series of Tibetic languages and dialects are spoken in southern Gansu and northern Sichuan mainly in the area of the Min Jiang and Bailongjiang rivers, respectively called Zungchu (ཟུང་ཆུ་) and Drugchu (འབྲུག་ཆུ་) in Tibetan.

These languages include Čone (ཅོན་སྐད་), Thewo Tö (ཐེ་བོའི་སྟོད་སྐད་), Thewo Mä (ཐེ་བོའི་སྨད་སྐད་), Drugchu (འབྲུག་ཆུའི་སྐད་), Pälkyi (དཔལ་སྐྱིད་སྐད་), Khöpokhok (ཁོད་པོ་ཁོག་སྐད་), Baima locally called [Pema] and sometimes written བོད་དམག་སྐད་ (BOD,DMAG,SKAD), Sharkhok (ཤར་ཁོག་སྐད་) and Zhongu (ཞོང་ངུ་). So far, we have listed about fifty terms referring to distinct Tibetic 'languages' that are mutually unintelligible or have limited intelligibility from one to another (for the detailed listing and classification, see Chapter 9). The essential claim here is that all
these languages are derived from Old Tibetan, and share a lot of lexical and grammatical features with Classical Tibetan.

However, they also differ from each other in many ways. Although they do share a common basic vocabulary and grammar, they may largely differ in some aspects of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. To illustrate some of the difference, it is sufficient here to say that some of these languages are tonal, while others are non-tonal. They present also significant differences in their tense-aspect, evidential and epistemic systems as well their grammatical case systems (see Chapter 8).

The Tibetic area shows a remarkable dialectal diversity which can be partly explained by the mountainous terrain and the difficulty of travel across the Plateau and the Himalayas. This diversity may also be partly explained by language contact with non-Tibetic languages (see Chapter 3). Some areas, such as southern Gansu, northern Sichuan, western Yunnan (China) or Ladakh (India) exhibit very complex dialectal cartographies. For precise geographic locations of the Tibetic languages, see maps 3 and 4 in the Appendix 3.

2.7. The main Tibetic languages

With regard to the number of speakers, only three Tibetic languages have more than one million speakers: Central Tibetan, Amdo and Northern Kham. A few Tibetic languages have about 100,000 speakers or more. They include Balti, Ladaks, Purik and Dzongkha. Apart from these languages, just a couple of languages have more than 10,000 speakers: Lhoke (or Sikkim Bhutia), Sherpa, Sharkhok, Spiti and Choćangača.

The remaining languages which constitute the great majority of the Tibetic linguistic family have less than 10,000 speakers and in some cases even less than 1,000 speakers. We can consider these languages as endangered in various degrees.

34. It includes Čikā or Common Spoken Tibetan. Here we also include the varieties of Tsang, Phānpo and Lhokha which are closely related. For details, see chapter 9.
35. As we will see in Chapter 8, Kham linguistic diversity is remarkable and here it designates the language spoken in Northern Kham (along the northern road), but also includes the Hor variety which is very closely related. For details, see chapter 9.
Thus the main Tibetic languages are: Central Tibetan (Tibet Autonomous Region, China), Amdo (Tibet Autonomous Prefectures, China), Northern Kham (Tibet Autonomous Prefectures and Tibet Autonomous Region, China), Balti (Pakistan), Dzongkha (Bhutan), Ladakhs (Leh district, Ladakh, Union Territory, India), Purik (Kargil district, Ladakh, Union Territory, India), Lhoke (Sikkim, India), Sherpa (Solukhumbu, Nepal; Sikkim, India), Sharkhok (Ngawa Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, China), Spiti (Lahul & Spiti, HP, India), and Choča-ngača (eastern Bhutan).

As we will see in Chapter 5, for more than a thousand years, the written language of the whole Tibetic area has been Literary Tibetan which is commonly referred to as Classical Tibetan. This prestigious written language is still used as the liturgical language of Vajrayana Buddhism and Bön. During the twentieth century, a modernized form of Classical Tibetan, sometimes called Modern Literary Tibetan, has developed (Goldstein 1991). It generally preserves the traditional orthography of Classical Tibetan and its essential grammar (with minor innovations) but has integrated into its lexicon many neologisms to render modern technical and scientific concepts that did not exist in Classical Tibetan. Modern Literary Tibetan serves as the contemporary official written language of Tibet and is used basically in all the Tibetan autonomous administrative units within China.

Elsewhere, Modern Literary Tibetan is also the written language of the Tibetan diaspora. There is a severe diglossia between the spoken Tibetic languages and Literary Tibetan, whether in its classical or modern forms. Both Classical Tibetan and Modern Literary Tibetan are not spoken languages per se, but rather are used exclusively as written languages. Amdo, Ü-Tsang, Kham and other modern Tibetic languages of Tibet have not developed a written system because they share Literary Tibetan as a

36. The information given in parenthesis provides the administrative location, but it does not mean that the entire administrative units speak the same dialect or even the same dialect group of language. For details about the locations see Chapter 9 and the maps in Appendix 3.

37. With the notable exception of Baltistan which abandoned the Tibetan script after the 15th century as well as the Purik-speaking area in Ladakh where it was also gradually abandoned due to the propagation of Islam.
written language. The development of a written language for these languages would undermine the unity of the Tibetans in China and has thus been avoided despite the problem of diglossia.

Literary Tibetan is also used as a written language by Tibetans who are not native speakers of Tibetic languages and speak, for example, rGyalrongic or Qiangic languages.

The situation is quite different outside Tibet, in the southern and western Himalayas, in Bhutan, India, Nepal and Pakistan. Some of the major Tibetic languages of these areas such as Dzongkha, Lhoke (Sikkimese Bhoti) and Ladaks have developed a written form. Others such as Sherpa and Balti are currently developing a written form. Additionally Bhutanese, Ladakhis, Sherpas and Lhpos also use Literary Tibetan as a liturgical language of Vajrayana Buddhism and sometimes as a formal written language, along with their own written languages. Although, the mutual intelligibility between the modern Tibetic languages is quite limited, the fact of sharing a prestigious written language is an important aspect of the Tibetic or 'Bhoti' identity.

In Chapter 5, we will discuss the written systems developed for Dzongkha, Ladaks, Lhoke, Sherpa and Balti. Apart from these languages, none of the modern Tibetic languages have developed a written language.

2.8. Endangered languages and dialects

As we have seen above, many small Tibetic languages are spoken by less than 10,000 people and some by less than 1,000. Some of these languages are threatened and may disappear rapidly.

38. There are however regional influences of the local dialects on the Modern Literary Tibetan. See 6.7.2.

39. In a similar way, speakers of Sinitic languages have been reluctant to transcribe their language using specific characters distinct from Literary Chinese. A notable exception is Cantonese which use up to 1,000 specific characters, but the majority of the publications remain in Literary Chinese. In Hong Kong the traditional complex characters are used as in Taiwan while in Guangdong Province the simplified characters are also used.

40. The number of publications in Ladaks and Lhoke are still very limited. Aside from Literary Tibetan, which has a lot of print and online publications, only Dzongkha has gained some visibility on the internet. For details, see 5.8.
Most Tibetic languages and dialects are now under the threat of both internal and external forces. On the one hand, Common Tibetan and Standard Bhutanese (Dzongkha) place considerable pressure on the neighboring “minor” languages. On the other hand, Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, Nepali, and English are also becoming major influences. Literary Tibetan has been replaced by Chinese for nearly all administrative activities in Tibet and thus is declining for the first time in its thousand-year history. In Bhutan, the influence of English is also becoming increasingly dominant.

The main languages listed in the previous section may be declining but are not immediately threatened with extinction. This is not the case, however, for many smaller languages – those spoken by less than 10,000 speakers, such as: Baima/Pema, Khöpokhok, Drugehu, Kholong, Dartsendo, Rongdrak, Daan, Zhollam, Balung [Melung], mBalhak, Pari [Xwari] (all spoken in Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan, China), Sangdam (in Myanmar), Kagate, Lamjung Yolmo, Jirel (in Nepal), Khunu Töt, Garzha, Jadang (in India), Mera-Sakteng, Dur-brokkat, Lakha (in Bhutan), etc.

If we implement the labels proposed by C. Grinevald (2007; Grinevald & Bert 2011), for a typology of speakers, we find various types in the Tibetic area, such as:

• Semi-speakers, who are often found in urban areas.
• Minimal-speakers, i.e. speakers who are capable only of minimal communication (e.g. Balung [Melung])
• Ghost-speakers, who actually pretend not to know a given language but have some competence in it.

One salient feature of the area is the linguistic differences between generations. Sociolinguistic factors have a strong impact on these small endangered languages. The speech of some younger speakers, who have been sent to school outside their valleys for a number of years, may have undergone significant modifications. Thus in some cases one can witness linguistic gaps between generations, with the result that they do not have a common native language anymore.

Since none of these small languages are written, they are threatened with rapid disappearance. In some cases, the communities show a pragmatic attitude towards
their language and consider that it is better to speak a major Tibetic language or a national language rather than their own native languages.
3. Sociolinguistic and cultural background

The information presented in this chapter is meant to help a wide readership understand the cultural background and sociolinguistic dimension of the Tibetic language. There are numerous scientific publications about the cultures, societies and religions of the Tibetan plateau and the Himalayas. We intend here to provide only a brief description of some important aspects. We will see, for example, that some socio-economic and religious communities have developed their own dialects.

3.1. Socio-economic background

Within most of the Tibetic speaking area, the population is traditionally divided into cultivators called རྣ་མ་ zingpa or རོང་མ་ rongpa / རོང་བ་ rongwa (alternative names have been documented. See the HCTL, in Chapter 12) and cattle breeders or pastoralists called རྒྱུན་པ་ droga.

The pastoralists, who raise livestock and do not cultivate fields, are found on the highlands of the Tibetan plateau, usually above 4,000 m1 altitude, and more marginally on some grasslands of the high Himalayas. The main pastoralist communities are located in the Jangthang region བྱང་ཐང་ extending over a huge territory that stretches from the Hor Nagchu region to Tö Ngari (Western Tibet) and Ladakh. They are also found in the Yermothang region གཡེར་མོ་ཐང་, in Amdo and in Kham pastoralist areas (Eastern Tibet). Some limited pastoralist areas are also found in Central Tibet, as well as in the southern Himalayas, in Bhutan, Sikkim (India) and Nepal. The cultivators, who tend fields and raise crops, dwell in the lower valleys with more fertile lands located on the Tibetan Plateau (Ü-Tsang, Kham, Amdo), in the southern Himalayas (Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal) and in the western Himalayas and Karakoram (Baltistan,

1. In the northern areas, such as Amdo where the climate is colder, pastoralism starts at a lower altitude. For ex. many pastoralists live around Kokonor lake (Tsho ngoupo) at 3,200 m.
2. This name, as we already mentioned, is a historical term and it is difficult to establish the precise location of this plateau. Matthew Kapstein (pers. comm. 2020) has tentatively identified the Luchu region of Gannan but the term might have been used in past times for other regions as well.
Ladakh, Spiti). Most of the arable lands of the Tibetic area are found at an altitude between 2,000 and 4,000 m.

There is also an intermediary category of agropastoralists or “cultivators-pastoralists” which are usually referred to as བོད་མ་འབྲོག་ samadrok (lit. 'half land-half pasture').

In Tibet, samadrok (agropastoralists) and drogpa (pastoralists) are always differentiated as distinct groups. Drogpas who practice ‘pure pastoralism’ are sometimes referred to as བོད་མ་འབྲོག་ drogpa drogsak ‘lit. entirely black drogpa’.4

Depending on the languages and dialects, alternative names for samadrok such as དོང་མ་འབྲོག་ rongmadrok (notably in Amdo), བཞིང་མ་འབྲོག་ zhingmadrok, ཤིང་མ་འབྲོག་ zhingma-drog, དོང་འབྲོག་ rongma-drog, ཁྲོང་པོ་འབྲོག་ rongpo-drog (in Kham), དྲོགས་འབྲོག་ drolma-drog, དྲོགས་འབྲོག་གཏན་ khatrö drogma, དོང་ཁྲོང་ཁ་སྤྲོད་ rongche khatrö or even རོང་ཁྲོང་ཁ་སྤྲོད་ rongche khatrö (in Nyemo, near Lhasa) are also found. Agropastoralists cultivate fields but also breed some cattle. Their settlements are usually located lower than pastoralist areas but higher than agricultural lands.

In the Tibetan speaking area outside Tibet, the notion of samadrok is usually absent. However, in many areas of the southern Himalayas, in Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, as well as in Ladakh, cultivators breed poultry, cows or dco (more rarely yaks), sheep, goats, donkeys and, in some areas, pigs (see below). In some regions, they may practice some seasonal transhumance.

Nomadic and sedentary lifestyles are often noted when referring to the distinction between cattle breeders and cultivators. However, if it is true that cultivators are sedentary, there is no equivalence in Tibet between pastoralism and nomadism. Traditionally, most cattle breeder communities (pastoralists and even agropastoralists) practice transhumance and live in tents all the year or part of the year. Camps are established in the same place each year and the pastoralists move according to seasonal

3. There are some lower areas. The Choča-ngā’a community of eastern Bhutan lives at an altitude of 1,000 m.
4. F. Robin (pers. comm. 2020) provided an alternative explanation: -nak would mean in this case 'extreme' (drogpa).
patterns from their summer camps called *yarsa* ཡར་ས་ to winter settlements called *günsa* ཡུན་ས་, which correspond to the main residence and middle season camps referred to as *barsa* བར་ས་.

In some areas of the Tibetan Plateau, Drogpas have settled in houses and have become sedentary pastoralists. Thus, the Drogpas are mainly defined by the activity of herding and cattle breeding. Nomadism or transhumance is a secondary characteristic. The general tendency in the recent years is the sedentarisation of pastoralist communities throughout the Plateau (Tö, Hor Kham, Amdo, Ladakh). Forced sedentarisation has often been part of a Chinese government policy.

Pastoralism on the Tibetan Plateau, as in other regions of the world, is faced with many challenges. In some areas, Drogpas who were traditionally pastoralists have even sold their cattle and settled in houses and now are engaged in trade or other activities.

On the Indian side, in Ladakh Jangthang and Zangskar (or other areas), pastoralism is also threatened because the younger generations do not want to continue in the harsh living conditions endured by their parents, often preferring the comparatively more comfortable lifestyles offered in lower areas where facilities and schools are available. In Upper Kinnaur, yak and goat herding have been abandoned in the past decades.

Aside from cultivators and pastoralists, the traditional socio-professional groups include དཔོན་པ་ tshongpa ‘merchants’, who before 1950 used to travel throughout the entire Tibetic area, from Ladakh, Bhutan, Sikkim, Khumbu, etc., to Central Tibet. Since then, the frontiers between India, China, Bhutan, and Nepal have been totally or partially closed and the traditional routes are no longer used.

5. “A recent estimate suggests that there are 120 million pastoralists and agropastoralists in the world. Some 50 million of these live in sub-Saharan Africa, where pastoralism is a widely used practice in an area extending from Senegal to Somalia. There are also many African pastoral communities within the band stretching from the Horn of Africa to Namibia. A considerable amount of pastoralism also exists in the arid areas of Central and Southern Asia and of the Tibetan plateau, in Europe, and in Andean plateaus in Latin America.” (http://www.agter.org/bdi/fr/corpus_chemin/fiche-chemin-623.html)
Nowadays, tourism has become a major business in the Tibetic area. This industry has prompted the construction of many roads and hotels. During the last two decades, local tourism from China, India, Pakistan and Nepal has become more important than international tourism.

Some socio-professional groups are often looked down upon in the Tibetic area. They include བཤེན་པ་ 'butchers', ལྷོན་པོ་ 'hunters', རྒྱལ་པ་ 'fishermen', རྒྱལ་པོ་ 'blacksmiths', སློ་ཐོ་ 'cobbler', རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཤིང་ 'carpenters', རྒྱལ་པོ་ དབུན་ 'corpses', རྒྱལ་པོ་ རྒྱུན་ 'carpet, shawl weavers', རྒྱལ་པོ་ སྦྱོང་འགྲོམ་ 'begging musicians' and རྒྱལ་པོ་ 'bandits'. These professional groups are considered as 'low castes' or སྲོང་ཆོག་གི་ 'dörkrik'.

The prestigious socio-professional groups include many types of religious masters or professionals such as རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ 'rimpoche' (a title literally meaning 'precious' generally applied to highest lama or trülkus), ལོ་ལྟ་ 'lama', 'religious teachers', སྲོང་བོ་ 'khampa', 'head of a monastery, abbot, highly qualified monk' (in the Nyingmapa tradition), གཞན་པོ་ 'geshe', 'doctors of Buddhist philosphy', རྗེ་འོ་ 'pechawa', 'learned monk', རྗེ་ 'drapa', 'monks', རྗེ་ ལོ་ 'jomo', 'nuns' (or རྣལ་ 'ane), སྨན་པ་ 'ngagpa' and རྩོ་ 'pön' (pronounced /xwon/ in Amdo) which are various kinds of tantric priests, རྩོ་ 'lhapza', 'medium', རྩོ་ སློ་ 'khandroma', 'Dakini' (lit. 'skygoer', a type of sacred female spirit), རྩོ་ འགྲོའི་ 'näljorpa', 'yogins', རྩོ་ ཐིང་ 'ritöpa', 'hermits', as well as other professionals such as རྩོ་ སྦྱོང་ 'lharipa', 'thangka painters', རྩོ་ སྦྱོང་ 'lhapzowa', 'statue makers', རྩོ་ སྦྱོང་ 'chandzö', 'treasurer, chamberlain', རྩོ་ རྩོ་ 'mänpa' or རྩོ་ རྩོ་ 'emchi', 'doctors', རྩོ་ རྩོ་ 'gegän', 'teachers', and རྩོ་ རྩོ་ 'lächepa', 'civil servants'.

The proportion of monks and nuns in Tibet before the 1950s reached more than ten percent of the population, being no doubt the highest in the world. Pilgrimages called འབྲུག་ 'näkor' or འབྲུག་ 'näkór' are an important activity. The objectives of these pilgrimages may be monasteries, temples, sacred lakes or mountains, particularly during the winter months. The འབྲུག་ 'näkorwa', 'pilgrims' may travel for several months or years to visit the various sacred places and may use various types of transpor-
tation but may also perform the arduous physical action of making prostrations all the way to increase the merit of their journey.

Aristocrats or སྐུ་དྲག་ kudrak, also referred to as བོད་པོ་ pönpo (notably in Amdo) formerly played an important political role in Central Tibet, Ngari, Kham and Amdo, until the arrival of the Chinese communists in Tibet. Outside Tibet, in some areas, such as Ladakh, Spiti, Lo Mónthang (Mustang), Dranjong (Sikkim), Baltistan, and Bhutan, ཁྱ་ལྡོ་ gyālpö 'kings' and noble families are still found. Presently Bhutan is still officially a kingdom and Bhutanese nobles are called by the title དྲག་བཞིན་ dragshö. In the other countries of the Tibetic area in Nepal, India, and Pakistan, kings may continue to play some political role but their title is only a formal one. In Spiti, the kings are referred to as ནོ་མོ་ nono.

Aside from the religious affiliations that may have sociolinguistic characteristics (see below 3.2), one also encounters various ethnic communities. Let us mention here the well known མཚར་ Katsara community in Lhasa, the descendants of Newar craftsmen and traders who came to Tibet from Nepal and married Tibetan women. Many ethnic groups of the Plateau and the southern Himalayas are organized in clans and subclans. The term རུ་ rū, which originally meant ‘bone’, corresponds to the patrilineal affiliation, while སྤ་ sha meaning ‘flesh’ refers to the matrilineal affiliation.

The clan plays a great role in the organization of various groups, particularly Tibetan pastoralists of the Jangthang, Kham and Amdo. It is also true for the Jirels, Sherpas, Lhopos, Ladakhis, and many others groups. Patrilineal descent is predominant in the area (see Osmaston & Denwood 1995).

Monogamy and various types of polyandry are encountered across the Tibetic area. While monogamy prevails in the towns, fraternal polyandry, which is referred to in Tibetan as གནོད་ zasum (lit. ‘three spouses’) is still found in many rural areas of Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh, Khunu, Mustang, etc. (Goldstein 1971, 1987). However, polyandry is generally declining in the Tibetic area.

Funeral rites are very diverse within the Tibetic area. Cementaries and funeral sites are generally called དུར་ཁྲོད་durthrö. The methods for disposing of a human body after death are associated with the four elements: ས་ sa ‘earth’, དུ་ chu ‘water’, མི་ me ‘fire’
and རླུང་lung ‘air’. In Buddhist tradition, the corpse is considered an empty vessel and should be eliminated as soon as possible so that the soul རྣམ་ཤེས་namshe does not become attached to it. If the body is buried, Tibetans consider that it is offered to worms and insects; if it is thrown into a river, it is offered to fish. In many cases, the body is cut up and given to vultures but, in some areas, it may also be left for wolves or jackals.

The method known as བྱ་གཏོར་jator ‘sky burial’, which consists of offering the corpse (cut into pieces) to the vultures, is practiced in some areas of Ü-Tsang, Ngari, Kham, and Amdo, but since it requires the presence of བྱ་རྒོད་jagö ‘Himalayan vultures’, it is often practiced in higher places and more frequently in pastoralist areas. The other rites, which consist of burying the corpse, throwing it into a river, or burning it, are also practiced inside and outside Tibet in the neighboring areas.

སྦྱིན་སྲེག་jinsek ‘cremation’ is restricted in some area because of the lack of wood. The details of the rites may also widely differ from one region to another. In Muslim villages of the Tibetan area, the corpse is buried, whereas in many Buddhist and Bön regions in Tibet and in the Himalayas – in Bhutan, Nepal and India (Ladakh, Kinnaur and Lahul, etc.) – the body is usually burned. Finally, one ought to mention mumification, which has also been marginally attested. (See Kursel Palmo 2018.)

**Economy and subsistence**

Depending on the altitude and the climate, the main crops cultivated in the Tibetan regions are ནས་nä ‘barley’, ངྲོ་dro ‘wheat’, འབྲ་བོ་droawo ‘buckwheat’, གསོ་sowa ‘thick-shelled barley’, གོག་ཁོག་zhogkhok ‘potatoes’, མཆོག་sänma ‘beans’, རྭང་དཀར་yungkar ‘yellow mustard’ and རྭང་ནག་yungnak ‘black mustard’. The names ནས་nä, ངྲོ་dro and མཆོག་sänma are usually pandialectal.

Barley, which can grow at up to 4,300 m. of altitude, and beans are emblematic crops since they are cultivated throughout the Tibetan Plateau and in the higher valleys of the Himalayas and their designation is similar in most of the Tibetan
languages. Roasted barley flour called རྩམ་པ་ tsampa,’ or simply རྩེ་ che ‘flour’, in many areas is the staple food of Tibetans and of most Tibetic ethnic groups from Amdo to Baltistan as well as in the southern Himalayas. In many areas, tsampa is mixed with tea and kneaded into a dough, called རྲུས་ pak, དབྱེ་ཁོ་ལག་ kholak or ལྕེ་ zän, which is eaten as is, without further cooking.

In the lower areas of the southern Himalayas and on the margins of the Tibetan plateau, people also cultivate དྲ་ དབྱེ་ ‘rice’, རྒྱལ་ སྦེ་ ‘millet’, བོད་ལྟོ་ཁམ་ ‘maize’ and ཡུག་པོ་ ‘oat’.

Fruit trees and orchards are found in the lower valleys of the Tibetan Plateau and the southern Himalayas. The main fruits of the Tibetic area are ཀུ་ཤུ་ ‘apple’, ཞི་ཙི་ ‘pear’, གཙུ་པོ་ ‘peach’, གཙུ་ སྟར་ཁ་ ‘apricot’ also called སྟར་ཁ་ ཀྲུ་ ‘walnut’. In some areas, such as Kongpo and Kham, one finds many varieties of apples and pears. The western regions of Ngari, Baltistan and Ladakh are famous for their varieties of apricots. Walnuts are also emblematic of the Tibetic areas and are found in most places. The name for ‘walnut’ which is derived from CT ཤར་ཁ་ STAR.KHA is found in nearly all regions (see the HCTL, chap. 12).

Tibetic ethnic groups are usually fond of རྟ་མོ་ shamo ‘mushrooms’, which are abundant in regions such as Kham, Central Tibet, Sikkim or Bhutan. In the forest areas, people also eat གཙུ་ བོ བོ་ zapo or སྟར་ཁ་ སྟར་ཁ་ ‘nettle’ and རྟ་མོ་ ལྟེག་ nagkye /naki/ ‘fern’ or རྟ་མོ་ ནོ་ འོ་ གོ་ ཤེ་ ནུ་ བོ་ བོ་ tönshi as it is called in Bhutan (respectively in Dzongkha and Cho-ča-ngača) or རྟ་མོ་ ལྟེག་ ‘fern’ in Thewo (Gansu, China).

7. However, in various Tibetic areas, especially located in the south, tsampa is not always used to mean ‘barley flour’ but flour of crops, which may include wheat, bean and even corn. It depends on the kind of the areal main crop.

8. Strictly speaking, tsampa is not completely equivalent to “roasted barley flour.” In some regions, tsampa designates the flour of wheat as well as corn; in other words, what tsampa designates “will tsampa.”

9. The choice of term depends on the area of usage. Other words are marginally found. Note that zän is often cooked. See the Lexicon, chap. 12.
Some areas are very dry and desertic, whereas others are covered with forests, but in most Tibetic areas, two types of tree are emblematic: གོང་མ་ ‘willow’, which is ubiquitous and ཤུག་པ་ ‘juniper’, which is used among other things for fumigations together with fragrant herbs such as ཞང་པ་ ‘amber’. Other common trees include ཀྵང་ཤིང་ ‘pine’, སོམ་ཤིང་ ‘spruce’, བེར་དོ་ ‘oak’, and in lower areas ཤུག་ ‘bamboo’.

In some lower areas at the margin of the Plateau and in the southern Himalayas, one can even find གོད་འབྲུམ་ ‘grapes’ (lit. ‘winter grapes’), ལྷིན་ ‘tea-tree’, བཤིལ་ ‘orange’, སྲོ་ ‘almond’, and འཿཿ ‘mango’ (or ‘persimmon’).

Concerning beverages, tea has a special place in the diet of Tibetic ethnic groups. There is a large variety of teas but ‘butter tea’ is frequent in various areas. It is prepared with butter (sometimes milk) and salt. This beverage receives various names depending on the regions: འཇུག་མ་ or འཇུག་མོ་ ‘churned tea’, ལྷིན་ ‘churned tea’ (in Bhutan), འཇུག་ ‘bitter tea’ (in Ladakh), འཇུག་ ‘salt tea’ (in Baltistan) or འཇུག་ ‘Tibetan tea’. The other frequently encountered types of tea are འཇིག་ ‘Sweet tea’ sometimes called in some Kham dialects འཇིག་ ‘rice tea’, འཇིག་ ‘corn tea’, etc. In the southern Himalayas (in Jiri, Solukhumbu, Kalimpong, etc.), chang may be made of millet ཕྲེ་ ‘millet’ and drunk with a straw from a container called ཁ་བ་ ‘salt milk tea’.

Another important element of the diet in many Tibetic areas is དང་ ‘barley’, an alcoholic beverage made of barley more specifically called ཤིག་ ‘barley’. But chang may be made of other cereals and one encounters ཤིག་ ‘rice chang’, ཤིག་ ‘corn chang’, etc. In the southern Himalayas (in Jiri, Solukhumbu, Kalimpong, etc.), chang may be made of millet ཤིག་ ‘rice chang’ and drunk with a straw from a container called རོང་ ‘tongpa’. A stronger beverage called རྣ་ ‘arak’ or རྣ་ ‘arak’ is also highly appreciated. It is usually made of rice or barley, but in some areas, such as Kinnaur, it may be prepared with fruits (apple, apricot, etc.).

10. Both the names changma and shugpa are found in nearly all the Tibetic languages.
11. The written form is གཤཾ འ.M.R.A.
Many cultivators and samadrok (see above) also have some livestock such as བོང་བུ bongbu ‘donkeys’ or དྲུཾ kuru (in Kham), དྲེལ drel ‘mule’, གླང lang ‘ox’, འབྲ་ ba ‘cows’, ར་ ra ‘goats’, དོ་ ta ‘horses’ and དྲེལ drel ‘dzo, the last being hybrids of yak and cow. They also usually own ལྷན་ jad ‘chicken’. In relatively low areas of Kham, Kongpo and Amdo or the southern Himalayas, in Bhutan and Sikkim, farmers also raise ལྷན་ phagpa ‘pigs’ (or simply ལྷན phag, see the HCTL). The breeding of pigs is rarely found in Central Tibet or in the western regions of Ngari (in Tibet), Ladakh, and Spiti. It is also not present in the pastoralist regions and, due to religious prohibitions against pork, in the areas inhabited by Muslims in Baltistan, Ladakh and Amdo.

Pastoralists breed various species of livestock such as ལུག lug ‘sheep’, ར་ ra ‘goat’, ལྷན lang ‘(male) yak’, དྲེལ drel ‘female yak’ (also called བུན nab in some areas), དོ་ dzo and ཁུ་ dzo ‘female dzo’. In Bhutan farmers also breed བི་མེན bamen ‘mithun’ (crossbreed between wild Indian ox and domestic cow). The wealthy pastoralists usually breed དོ་ ta ‘horses’.

The pastoralists do not cultivate fields and rely mostly for their nutritional needs on meat and diary products. They also buy tsampa, cabbages, potatoes, beans and rice from the markets.

Dairy products are important in the diet of the various Tibetic ethnic groups. They include ཤོ་ oma ‘milk’ of cows, དྲེལ drel, དོ་ dzo and goats, འབྲ་ mar ‘butter’, བུན dara ‘curd’, as well as various types of ལྷན chura ‘cheese’ and དོ་ zho ‘yoghurt’. On the highlands, a wild crop དྲོམ་ droma ‘silverweed (Potentilla anserina L.)’ is often included in the seasonal diet.

Meat is also an important part of the diet of pastoralists and to a much lesser extent of cultivators. In most areas, people eat ལུག lug ‘mutton’ and དོ་ dzo ‘yak meat’. In many agricultural areas, one will find ལྷན jas ‘ja-sha ‘chicken’, ར་ ra-sha ‘goat meat’ and sometimes བུན lang-sha ‘beef’ (in some areas of Nepal and India, such as Himachal Pradesh, the consumption of yak or cow is forbidden). In Bhutan and in eastern Tibet, particularly in Kham, Kongpo and Amdo, people eat ལྷན phag-sha ‘pork’, while the consumption of pork is not traditional in Central and Western Tibet, Ladakh or Spiti. Although fish is abundant in some lakes
and rivers of the Plateau, གྲུ་གྲུ་ nya-sha ‘fish’ is rarely eaten and is not popular among ethnic groups of the Tibetic area. There are some exceptions such as Chushur (in Central Tibet), Kongpo and southern Kham populations of Yunnan (see Lange, 2010). The euphemism རྒྱུ་ལ་ཕུག་ chiia laphuk ‘water turnip’ is used for ‘fish’. The reluctance to eat fish may be related to the belief in nagas, spirits who mostly live in the water.

A certain number of wild animals of the Tibetic area, including endemic species, were traditionally hunted for their meat or for their skins. However, the influence of Buddhism has limited hunting activities and nowadays, most of these species are protected: གྲུ་ drong ‘wild yak’, དོ་ kyang ‘onager, wild ass’, ཤེ་ dremong ‘Tibetan bear’, ལྷེ་ dom ‘black bear’, གི་ kyin ‘ibex’ (especially in western areas: Spiti, Ladakh, Baltistan), ལྷར་ nawa ‘bharal or blue sheep’, གླུ་ gowa ‘gazelle’, དོ་ tso ‘antelope’, ལྷ shawa ‘deer, stag’, ལྷུན་ nyain ‘angali’ (type of wild sheep), གླུ་ chiuva ‘marmot’, སིཤྷ sam ‘otter’, བྲི་ rituals riphuk or འབྲེག་ phaggö ‘wild boat’, ལྷུན་ dremong ‘Tibetan bear’, ལྷུན་ drong gyimse ‘angali’ (type of wild sheep), དོ་ tak ‘tiger’, ལྷུན་ zik ‘snow leopard’, སིཤྷ sa ‘snow leopard’, རྩེ་ yi ‘linx’, སྲོ་ gung ‘leopard cat’, and ལྷུན་ ta or ཞྱིུ་ treu ‘monkey’ (macaques, langurs, etc.). In northern Amdo and in the Nubra valley (Ladakh), one also finds ཟུ་ ngamong ‘camel’ pronounced rngabong in Ladakh.

Some of the skins (such as tiger, dremong or leopard skins) were traditionally used as carpets in wealthy families or used as cloths ornaments (particularly tiger, otter, monkey, and leopard skin), but since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Dalai Lama as well as other religious leaders have urged followers to abandon this ancient custom, for obvious Buddhist and ecological reasons.

Coming back to diet, a few spices are widely used in some Tibetic regions, the most popular being གྲུ་ཡེར་ yerma ‘Sichuan pepper (Zanthoxylum)’ (other terms are attested, see the HCTL), རྒྱུ་ sipen or ལྷུན་ martsa ‘chilli’ and སྲོ་ gamuk ‘ginger’ (མགུ་ chazga in Ladakh). In the southern Himalayas, particularly in Sikkim and Bhutan, རྨི་ lenji ‘cardamon’ is also very popular.
Medicinal herbs called བོད་མོང་མོན་mäntsa play an important role in the economy and in the cultural tradition of most Tibetic areas. They are used in traditional Tibetan medicine. The collection of cordyceps sinensis, called ཐབས་རྒྱན་དགུན་འབུ་yartsa günbu, which is found on the high pastures, brings substantial revenues (sometimes the main revenue) to many people.

A traditional source of income for the pastoralists is the production of wool of various types: མོད་བཞི་‘sheep wool’, ཁྱི་ཤེ་‘yak hair’ used to make the pastoralists’ black tents, མོད་ཁུལ་‘yak wool’, and ལེ་སྣ་‘goat wool’ or ‘pashmina’.

Traditionally during the winter seasons the pastoralists transported the salt from salt lakes and exchanged it with farmers for grains. The cattle breeders who form salt caravans are called ལྷ་སྤེལ་thapa. Some of these traditional activities (the production of salt and pashmina) have either disappeared or declined in the past decades.

Despite the geographic and biological diversity across the Plateau and the Himalayas, the various regions of the Tibetic area traditionally share many sociocultural and economic features in a number of fields such as language, social structure, food, architecture, and medicine, etc. Additionally all the Tibetic groups share a common adaptation to high altitude.

3.2. Religious traditions
Let us now briefly consider the religious traditions across the region.

Even though Tibetan Buddhism is dominant, one should not assume that it is a religion common to all Tibetic ethnic groups. Within the Tibetic speaking area, one encounters a great variety of religious traditions.

Aside from Buddhism, the main religion, one also finds Bön, Islam and, although in a marginal way, Hinduism and Christianity are also found on the Tibetan High Plateau or at its periphery.

Buddhism and Bön
Tibetan Buddhism, called སངས་རྒྱ་ཐོང་པ། nangpa sanggyäpä chö, or simply སངས་རྒྱ་ཐོང་nangpa chö, and also referred to as Vajrayana དཔལ་སྒྲུལ་པ་dorje thegpa, is the dominant religion of the Tibetic area. It is usually divided into four main schools called
Many regions have developed specific ties with one or two schools in particular. For example, in Bhutan, Sikkim and the Sherpa area, there are essentially Nyingmapa and Kagyüpa monasteries.

The Bön religion or གཡུང་དྲུང་བོན yungdrung bön and Buddhism have had such a mutual influence on each other that Bön is sometimes considered as a branch of Tibetan Buddhism. The Fifth Dalai Lama recognized Bön as one Tibet’s official religions (Richardson 1998; Karmay & Nagano 2003; Beckwith 2012).

Bön monasteries, although much less numerous than the Buddhist ones, are also found in all the Tibetan territories, such as Ü-Tsang, Tö Ngari, Kham, Khyungpo, Nagchu, Amdo, Gyälrong, and even outside China in the Nepalese Districts of Mustang and Dölpo. For a detailed account of Bön monasteries and Bön religion, see the publications on Bön studies edited by Samten Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano (2000, 2003).

Throughout the whole area, there are also various types of practitioners who perform curative techniques, divinations, medium trances, etc. These practitioners are called by various names, including མཁྱེན་ lhapa or གཞིགས་ lhagpa, སྤྱིིབས་ pawo, དོང་ bongthing (in Sikkim), སྡོང་ bönpo (but not referring to the organized Bön religion). These practitioners have sometimes been designated as “shamans” by foreigners. (See e.g. Geoffrey 1993.) However, they do not belong to any recognized religious body, except, as it is often the case, insofar as they and their followers adhere to Buddhism or Bön.13

12. Kadampa refers to a historical school of Buddhism (eleventh century) which led to the creation of the Gelugpa school as well as to a modern school, called New Kadampa, which developed in the end of the twentieth century.

13. We are thankful to M. Kapstein for his comments on these practitioners.
Islam

Islam called ཇེ་ཐོ་ཆོས་ལུགས། khache chöluṅ is mainly found in the northwest and the northeast of the Tibetic area. The term khache which in many regions is a general term to designate Muslims is derived from the name Kashmir. (See e.g. Sheikh 2010; Berzin 2019.)

In Baltistan and in the Kargil district of Ladakh, Muslims are mainly Shi’ah བལ་ཏི་ཤི་ཡ་ Balti Shi’ab but there is also a minority of Nurbakhshi Shi’ah ལུཔས་བཀོད་གྲོ། and even Sunni Muslims called specifically ཁ་ཆེ་ khache in Ladakh. They are also found in Leh and Padum (Zanskar) and in a few villages of Central Ladakh (Chushot, Shey, Thiksey) and Sham (Achinathang). Given the Buddhist prohibition of killing animals (but not of eating meat), the butchers in Ladakh and even Lhasa were usually Muslims (from Kashmir and Baltistan), who were invited as butchers. Intermarriage between Muslims and Buddhists in Ladakh was fairly common until the end of the twentieth century.

Another region with a significant population of Muslims is located at the northeast border of the Tibetic area in Amdo (see Hille et al. 2015). This community corresponds to Chinese Hui Muslims locally called བོད་་ཐོ་ HWOS locally pronounced /xwexwe/ or བོད་་ཐོ་ RIGS (alt. ལུ་ཐོ་ RIGS VUE.RIGS). Some elders of this community speak Amdo as their native language.

In Lhasa, two Muslim communities are found: བོད་་ཐོ་ lhasa khache, who are originally from Kashmir or neighboring regions and considered Tibetans, and the Hui Chinese or བོད་་ཧོ་ gya khache also known as Horpaling who are of Chinese origin.14

The Tibetan capital has two main mosques representing these two Muslim communities.

Christianity

Christianity བོད་་ཆོས་ལུགས། yeshu chöluṅ exists at the margin of the Tibetan Plateau or in the southern Himalayas. It was introduced into Western Tibet and in Ü-Tsang during the seventeenth century and into Ladakh in the nineteenth century. A church

14. The native language of the Lhasa Khache is Tibetan (see also 3.3.4) while the native language of Hui Chinese and Horpaling (chin: Hebalin) is Chinese.
was even built in Lhasa during the eighteenth century. The first Christians were Roman Catholics but later, Protestant missionaries also arrived in the region.

Incidently, the research and publications of some Christian missionaries, such as Heinrich August Jäschke and Auguste Desgodins, made pioneering contributions to Tibetan philology (see Jäschke 1881, and Desgodins 1899).

Before World War II, some wealthy Tibetan families would send their children to Christian colleges in Darjeeling or Kalimpong. This is still true in the southern Tibetic speaking areas of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

Scattered small communities of Christians are still found among the Tibetans especially in southern Kham. In the Tibetic area outside China, a few Christians are also found among various ethnic groups such as the Ladakhis and the Lhopos of Sikkim (see e.g. Houston, 1991).

**Hinduism**

There are very few communities speaking Tibetic languages who are Hindus. Some Jirel people in Nepal are followers of Hinduism, རྒྱུ་ལུགས་ (hindu chölug). But generally their practice includes elements derived from Hinduism, as well as Buddhism or various other practices (Sidky et al. 2000). Tibetic communities of Garzha in Lahul and Khunu Tönt in upper Kinnaur (Himachal Pradesh, India) are also in close contact with the Hindu surrounding populations and influenced by Hinduism.

Various types of “syncretism” or mixed religious practices, including elements of Buddhism, Bön, Hinduism or Islam are attested in various regions of the Tibetic area. Sheikh (2010: 226-228) recalls for example that in Kukscho, a village of the Purik area (Ladakh), still in the 1970s,

“most of the men [...] had combined Buddhist and Muslim names, such as Rahim Tsering, Ali Tashi, Namgyal Musa. The elder brother of the family received a Muslim name, but almost all the women had Buddhist names. In the wake of a severe illness of a child, on the advice of a priest, the parents would change the name of the child from a Buddhist to a Muslim one and vice versa.”

Sheik (ibid.) mentions the case of two brothers, one who was a monk and the other who had performed haj (pilgrimage to Mecca) and adds: “the strange aspect of their
relationship was that the two brothers shared a polyandrous marriage (see zasum, 3.1).” However, in the past fifty years, these combined Muslim-Buddhist practices have almost entirely disappeared.

3.3. Sociolinguistic background

Various social and political factors have contributed to interactions among the various dialects. Of these factors, three probably play a central role: monastic networks, aristocratic and royal families and the way of life of pastoralists as opposed to that of cultivators.

3.3.1. The dialects of pastoralists and cultivators

In many areas of the Tibetan Plateau and in a marginal way in the southern Himalayas, one can distinguish two sociolinguistic subgroups of dialect: that of the pastoralists and that of the cultivators (or agropastoralists). The first set of dialects are referred to as འབྲོག་སྐད་ (BROG.SKAD) drogka and the second as rongka རོང་སྐད་ (RONG.SKAD) or zhingpä kä ཞིང་པའི་སྐད་. There is traditionally no special term to designate the dialects spoken by agropastoralists སམ་འབྲོག་ samadro, who are often assimilated into the cultivators.

In each region (see 3.1), the pastoralists speak dialects that differ from the dialects of neighboring cultivators or agropastoralists.

The idea that cattle breeders speak “the same language” all over Tibet is very widespread. In fact, this is reflected in the following saying: འབྲོག་སྐད་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་མེད། རོང་སྐད་ཡུལ་སྐད་མང་། ‘BROG.SKAD-LA KHYAD.PAR MED, RONG.SKAD YUL.SKAD MANG’ “There is no difference among the speech of pastoralists; there are many dialects among the speech of cultivators.” As we will see this view does not reflect the linguistic reality.

Such a view is probably due to the fact that the cattle-breeders traditionally shared a "nomadic way of life.” However, from a linguistic point of view, it is not correct to say that the various pastoralist communities would speak the same language.

Depending on the areas, drogka འབྲོག་སྐད་ can be considered as independent groups or as subgroups of dialects and even in some cases, simply as sociolinguistic varieties (see the classification in Chapter 9). For example, the drogka dialects of Amdo constitute various groups of Amdo. In Ladakh, the dialects of the pastoralist communities referred
to as Jangpa བྱང་པ་ (alt. Changpa) are tonal dialects and thus very different from the archaic dialects of cultivators of the lower Indus valley.

Kham pastoralists cannot successfully communicate with Amdo pastoralists and Tö Ngari pastoralists have also trouble communicating with Kham pastoralists.

Some pastoralists of Nagchu have settled in the Nagtshang area and even further away in the Ngari region of Western Tibet. They often have Tö pastoralists as neighbors on the steppes and share a similar way of nomadic life. However, from a linguistic point of view, the Nagchu (or Hor) pastoralists speak a dialect closely related to northern Kham whereas the Tö pastoralists speak a dialect related to the Tsang and Ú dialects as well as to the dialects of the Ladakh Jangthang and Spití.

In Amdo, two clearly distinct types of pastoralist dialects are found (see Chapter 9): the innovative and the archaic dialects. Thus there is much variation within the pastoralist dialects (see Chapter 9).

It is generally true in Amdo, Nagchu and Ngari, that the dialects of pastoralists have preserved more archaic features than those of the cultivators in these areas. However, the same is not true in Ladakh, where the Jangpa’s dialect is less conservative than the dialects of Shamskat spoken by cultivators in the Lower Indus valley. The cultivator dialects of Baltistan and Purik (together with Amdo pastoralists) have preserved the most conservative features of the Tibetic family. As we have seen earlier, in Baltistan and Purik, /bloqpa/ (< 'BROG.PA) does not refer to ‘pastoralists’ and designate native speakers of ‘Brokskat’ (< CT ‘BROG.SKAD) which is an Indo-Iranian Dardic language closely related to Shina, or a variety of Shina which has been greatly influenced by the neighboring Tibetic languages.

In Bhutan, the pastoralist dialects of Lakha, Dur and Merak-Sakteng are more innovative than the cultivator dialect of Tsamang (Choča-ngaca).

The pastoralist groups of dialects are not only characterised by the phonological features mentioned above but also by grammatical and lexical peculiarities.

For example, in many Hor and northern Kham pastoralist dialects, the existential verbs for ‘to be’ are derived from འབྲོ་ GDA and ཡོད UD (an archaic form of ཡོད YOD)
whereas cultivator dialects tend to use forms derived from འདུག་ DUG or སྣང་ SNANG and ཡོད་ YOD. Likewise, ‘to see’ is often derived from རིག་ RIG (< CT ‘to know’, ‘to perceive’) in many pastoralists dialects whereas the CT root མཐོང་ MTHONG is used in cultivator and agropastoralist dialects.

All the above evidence shows that the socio-economic distinction between pastoralists and cultivators has significant linguistic consequences. Furthermore, this distinction is clearly correlated to the geography since pastoralists live on grasslands that are higher than the cultivators’ lands. Thus one can say that the Tibetan linguistic map depends directly on elevation as a key factor. The picture is much more complicated, however since in some regions, such as Rebkong, there are historical cases of cattle breeders becoming cultivators (Jangbu Dorje Tsering, pers. comm.).

Apart from linguistics, the social and cultural differences between the various groups of cattle breeders and cultivators are quite significant. They include housing, clothing, professional activities, physical appearance, food, language, mentality, as well as various traditions (wedding customs, handicraft, etc.).

**3.3.2. Monasteries as cultural melting pots**

It is clear that monastery networks have played and still play a crucial sociolinguistic role in all the Tibetic areas.

After the fall of the Tibetan Empire, there was never again a powerful state that had control over the entirety of Tibetan-speaking areas. From the end of the ninth century, the territory once belonging to the empire became divided into a number of small kingdoms, principalities, and even estates (see Stein 1962) with the notable exception of the western regions (Ladakh and Western Tibet) and the emergence of the Ngari Korsum kingdoms (ninth century–fifteenth century). This situation lasted until the seventeenth century when the Fifth Dalai Lama managed to reunify Central Tibet. However, even at the height of its strength, during the reigns of the Fifth Dalai Lama and Thirteenth Dalai Lama (first third of the twentieth century), the Lhasa government did not control Amdo nor the major part of Kham. Despite political divisions, religion maintained a certain unity and played a fundamental role in linguistic development. In fact, throughout the entire Tibetan-speaking area, each of the major
schools of Tibetan Buddhism, as well as the Bön religion, established their own network of monasteries. Monasteries belonging to the same school had and still have strong ties, regardless of the distance between them. This meant that prominent lamas or monks would visit and teach in the various monasteries of Ü-Tsang, Amdo, Kham, Ladakh, Bhutan, and Sikkim, etc. The constant flow of lamas, monks and pilgrims had an ongoing impact on the linguistic situation, since people speaking various Tibetic languages were living for months or years in the same monastery and thus were forced to communicate and to adapt to other dialects or languages. In some areas this situation remains unchanged even today.

The case of Lhasa deserves special attention. For centuries, the capital of Tibet has been, and to a certain extent still is, a major pilgrimage center for Vajrayāna Buddhists. Until 1959, the main monasteries of central Tibet, especially the དབུས་སྤུངས་ 'three seats' (Dräpung, Sera and Gandän) had monks coming from various regions of Tibet and beyond (such as Ladakh, Bhutan, Mongolia, Buriatia, and Kalmykia, etc.). Although the monks quarters within the main Gelugpa monastic seats were divided into various མཁས་ཚན་ "colonies" according to their regional origin, communication was common between the monks of all regions. The language spoken in the great monasteries of Dräpung འབྲས་སྤུངས།, Sera སེ་ར་ and Gandän དགའ་ལྡན་ was a mixture of Literary and Central Tibetan influenced by all the possible dialects. In the main Nyingmapa monasteries, the dialectal "melting pot" was even stronger due to the absence of khamtsän in this school.

Lhasa being one of the centers of pilgrimage, as well as the main political and economic city, continually attracted people from all over the Plateau. Thus, the high number of migrants, speaking various dialects especially at the time of the New Year Festival and the Great Prayer Festival, has certainly had an impact on the Lhasa dialect.

15. Since the 2008 Tibetan riots in Lhasa, the Chinese government has implemented various new policies that impose restrictions on settling and traveling in the TAR and prevent many Tibetans from other areas from journeying to the Tibetan capital.

16. This without taking into account the additional factor of linguistic borrowings from Mongolian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Chinese and Uighur.
While the religious factor has often contributed to the tightening of relations between various dialects, it has sometimes played the opposite role. One clear example of dialectal distinction based on religious parameters is the Zangri village in Nyemo County between Lhasa and Zhikatse. The eponymous Bönpo monastery of Zangri was founded in the eleventh century (see Karmay & Nagano 2003) and became an important Bön center in Tsang with hundreds of monks. Whereas all the Buddhist villages of Nyemo county use the verb འབའ་/´ba/ or འབོ་/´bo/ for ‘to be’, only the Zangri village in Nyemo makes use of /re/ derived from the Classical verb རེད་RED as in Lhasa. All of 114 Households of Zangri are Bönpos. It is clear that this important linguistic peculiarity for the verb ‘to be’ is due to the religious identity of this community.

Another clear example of sociolinguistic factor driven by the religious affiliation is the case of the Khyungpo dialect spoken in Tengchen and Bachen (TAR) on a high plateau. The Khyungpo dialect is very peculiar, and the Thromtshang variety is by far the most astonishing. Although the Khyungpo dialect is a variety of Kham, it bears some very archaic features that resemble some Amdo pastoralist dialects. It is also spoken by a community of herders, who are followers of the Bön religion. Khyungpo is the seat of one of the biggest Bönpo monasteries in Tibet.

3.3.3. The relationships of Aristocratic families across the region

For many centuries, aristocratic families in Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh or Baltistan, to name a few, have had significant ties with aristocratic families in Lhasa, Tsang and Ngari. Because of the prestige of these Tibetan families and their political roles, Central Tibetan, and particularly the Lhasa dialect, has lent words even to the most remote dialects.

Direct relationships between aristocratic families located in peripheral areas were also common. For example, the royal families of Spiti and Baltistan had various bonds with the Ladakhi royal family. Ties between aristocratic families of Bhutan and Ladakh are also historically documented. These relationships may have had some impact on the linguistic situation.
Various terms are used to refer to kings and rulers. Apart from རྒྱལ་པོ་ Gyälpo 'king' and བཙན་པོ་ Tsänpo 'emperor' (lit. ‘the powerful’, a term used for the rulers of the Tibetan Empire), terms such as གོོ Jo ‘lord’ and ཕོག་ Nono are attested in Ladakh, Spiti and Baltistan. The term རློན་པོ་ Lönpo lit. ‘minister’ is also widespread.

In some areas, such as Kham, there were also some principalities or vassals states with their own Gyälpo རྒྱལ་པོ་ ‘king’ or ‘chieftain’, such as Yülshül, Derge or Nangchen. These small kingdoms also had aristocratic families but they were independent from the ruling aristocratic families of Central Tibet.

3.3.4. Respectful register

As Mélac and Tournadre (2021: 185) noted:

“In all the world’s languages, there are words, constructions, terms of address and/or grammatical paradigms that encode respect towards the addressee, as well as the things and people that the speaker refers to (Ike 1989; Agha 1993, inter alia). However, several Asian languages possess an honorific domain that is more pervasive and systematised.”

The respectful registers attested in some Tibetic languages are sophisticated systems comparable to those found in Japanese and Korean (Okamoto 1999; Strauss & Eun 2005, inter alia). Several scholars have studied the Tibetan honorific system (Kitamura 1974; DeLancey 1998; Tournadre & Dorje 1998, 2003; Tshewang Tamding 2000; Denwood 1999; Mélac & Tournadre 2021). It is so developed that there are dictionaries devoted solely to the honorific lexicon (see e.g. ཉོ་སྨི་འབྲོ་སྦྱིད་ བཙན་པོ་ ཐིང་ དུང་ ོན་པོ་ སྨི་ ’deference’ (Chung Tsering 2000). The word ཉོ་སྨི་ ZHE-SA or its variant ཉོ་སྨི་༔ ZHE-SO (in Sikkim) appears in most languages but in Ladakh, the term རྣ་མོ་ ལེགས་ CHERTAGS lit. ‘sign of greatness’ is used.
The respectful register is quite developed in the dialects of Ü, Tsang, Lhokha, Ladaks, Dzongkha and, to a lesser extent, in Balti, Sherpa, Lhoke, Spiti or Khunu. It was generally considered that the respectful register was very limited in northern Kham and Amdo; however, recent studies have revealed the existence of a respectful register which developed in a completely different way from Central Tibet in the pastoralist speech of Amdo (Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki 2019) and some varieties spoken in the southern and eastern Kham areas. As we will see below, it is true that respectful registers attested in Kham and Amdo are more restricted than those of Central Tibet. However, it is more accurate to say that most Tibetic languages (if not all) have some kind of respectful register: these registers differ in their significance, ways of functioning and frequency of usage.

We can generally distinguish two main types of respectful register: the ‘aristocratic type’, attested in many Central, Southern and Western languages, but also to a much lesser extent in the Eastern languages, and the ‘pastoralist type’, found in Amdo and Kham. The first type is always related to the existence of aristocratic families, e.g. in Lhasa but also in other cities, such as Zhikatse, Gyantse, Thimphu (Bhutan), Gangtok (Sikkim), Leh (Ladakh) or Skardo (Baltistan). As we have seen in section 3.3.3, these aristocratic families had ties for many centuries, and this explains why the zhesa they use exhibits many similarities. It is, however, important to note that the use of zhesa in the Tibetan capital, and more generally in the Tibetic languages, is not restricted to aristocratic families and may be used largely by the clergy and cadres as well as by merchants or cultivators. It is also interesting to note that Lhasa Khache, the Tibetan Muslims of the capital, usually have a very good knowledge of zhesa. Another characteristic of zhesa is that it is not only used to indicate the relationship to a higher social status. It may be used between friends and, at least in Central Tibet, is often used inside the family and by married couples.

The first type of respectful register, the ‘aristocratic one’, essentially consists of two main categories. Note that the Tibetan linguistic terms we use below were proposed by Dogonpa Sangda Dorje (see Tournadre & Sang Dorje 1998):
a) **honorific** བཀྲ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀ་མཚོན་པའི་ཞེས་ MTHO,SA MTSHON,PA'ZHE-SA

The honorific (abbreviated as 'H') is used in reference to others (in the 2nd and 3rd person) and may not be used by the speaker to refer to him or herself (1st person). In the case of a monovalent verb (or when only one human participant occurs in the clause), the honorific form indicates that the Agent or the Undergoer (which excludes the speaker) is treated by the speaker as having a high position or in the case of a bivalent /trivalent verb, indicates that the Agent is treated by the speaker as having a higher position than the Patient or the Recipient (when they refer to human beings).

b) **humilific** དདམའ་ས་བཟུང་བའི་ཞེས་ DMA,SA BZUNG BA'ZHE-SA

The humilific (abbreviated as 'h') is used with the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, but when using the respectful register, the humilific is mandatory with the 1st person. In the case of a monovalent verb (or when only one human participant occurs in the clause), the humilific form indicates that the Agent or Undergoer is treated by the speaker as having a low position, and in the case of a bivalent verb (or trivalent verb), the Agent is treated as having a lower position than the Patient or the Recipient (when they refer to human beings).

In some occasions, these two categories may combine to create a single humilific-honorific form (abbreviated as 'hH'). བཀྲ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀ་མཚོན་པའི་ཞེས་ MTHO,SA GNYIS,LA MTSHON,PA'ZHE-SA. The humilific-honorific form (hH) indicates that the Agent is treated by the speaker as having a high position but a position lower than the Patient or the Recipient.

Ex. སྐུ་ཞབས་ལགས་ཀྱིས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ཕྱག་དཔེ་ཕུལ་གནང་པ་རེད་ SKU,ZHABS LAGS,KYIS RIN,PO,CHELAPPHYAG,DEB,PHUL,(h),GNANG(H),PA,RED. The venerable monk (H) has offered (h) a book to Rinpoche (H, title of a reincarnated lama).

In some languages (e.g. Lhasa, Zhikatse), the honorific may further be subdivided into two categories: 'usual honorific' བཀྲ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀ་མཚོན་པའི་ཞེས་ NAM,RGYUN-GYZHE-SA, and 'high honorific' བཀྲ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀ་མཚོན་པའི་ཞེས་ ZHE-SA SHIN,TU MTHO,PO. However, this differentiation between usual honorific and high honorific is not present in all the languages that have developed zhesa.
In order to speak in a formal, polite and respectful way, the speaker has essentially two options: s/he uses honorifics (H) or high honorifics (HH). In both cases, the respectful register will include humilific forms (h). It is interesting to note that while there are many honorific verbs, there are essentially only four humilific verbs: མི་ལ། MJAL ‘to meet’, བཅར། BCAR ‘to go’, གཏུལ། PHUL ‘to offer’, བུ། ZHU ‘to say, eat, drink, do’. (Robin, pers. comm. 2020).

Some examples of honorific, high honorific and humilific words in Common Tibetan are provided in the chart III.1 (see below).

The appropriate form of the register (h, H, HH, hH) “for a given linguistic item is chosen according to the social status of the participants mentioned in the sentence (explicit or implicit) with respect to the speaker. The register does not only refer to people, but also to their spheres, that is, the objects and other entities that are related to them.” (Mélac & Tournadre 2021: 186).

Honorific forms (H) are found for verbs, nouns, personal pronouns, adjectives, auxiliaries, terms of address and politeness formulas. High honorific forms (HH) are also found for these categories except maybe for the adjectives. Humilific forms (h) concern verbs, personal pronouns and some politeness formulas, but they do not apply to nouns. The combination of humilific and honorific forms (hH) are restricted to compound verbs.

The zhesa system in Lhasa is very sophisticated and is to a certain extent comparable to the Japanese 敬語 keigo. The morphological system of the Japanese respectful register is principally divided into four categories: honorific or exalted form, humilific or humble form, polite form, and mannerly word (Kamei et al. 1996: 324-325; Minami 1987). 17

17. The first two categories are called ‘respect forms’ (respectful register towards reference), whereas the last two are ‘speech levels of deference’ (respectful register towards addressee) (cf. Martin 1964). Honorific forms can be divided further into supreme honorifics (reserved for the imperial family members) and others. As with its Tibetan homologue, the Japanese respectful register also uses suppletive forms of the verbs. For example, the word formation for the respectful register of the verb ‘to
### Chart III.1 – Examples of respectful and ordinary registers in Common Tibet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zhesa / respectful register</th>
<th>Ordinary register</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHIB.BSGYUR</td>
<td>PHEBS</td>
<td>BCAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STSAL</td>
<td>GXANG</td>
<td>PHUL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THUIG.NGO.MKHYEN</td>
<td>NGOMKHYEN</td>
<td>ZHAL.TSHOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LJAGS.SMIN</td>
<td>GSUNGS</td>
<td>GSUNG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSOL.TSHIGS</td>
<td>ZHAL.LAG</td>
<td>KHALAG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSER.ZHAL.RIN.RAS</td>
<td>ZHAL.RAS</td>
<td>GDONG.PA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKU</td>
<td>SKU</td>
<td>LUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHYAG</td>
<td>PHYAG</td>
<td>LAG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAB</td>
<td>CHAB</td>
<td>CHU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKU.NYID</td>
<td>KHYED</td>
<td>RANG.KHYOD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'do' involves derivational as well as suppletive forms or a combination of the two strategies: する suru ‘do’ (plain), させる sareru ‘do’ (honorific; derivational), なさる nasaru ‘do’ (honorific; suppletive), いたす itasu ‘do’ (humilific; suppletive), します simasu ‘do’ (polite; derivational), なさいます nasaimasu ‘do’ (honorific polite; suppletive+derivational), いたします itasimasu ‘do’ (humilific polite; suppletive+derivational).
In the zhesa system, all the respectful categories can co-occur according to whom a speaker wants to express politeness (see ex. above). This is also the case for the Japanese keigo.18

Lhasa, being the nexus for both the Tibetan aristocracy and clergy, had a very developed zhesa vocabulary until the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). During this period the use of zhesa was prohibited because it was perceived as a ‘class language’. Nowadays, zhesa is again in use, but ‘broken honorific forms’ བཟུང་ནང་ཆག zhesa kangchak are often heard particularly in Common Tibetan. These broken honorific forms involve the mixture of honorific and non-honorific. Sometimes, unnecessary repetitions of honorific forms such as སྒུང་གནངས་ GSUNG GNANG (the honorific verb followed by an honorific auxiliary) whereas the honorific སྒུང་ GSUNG is sufficient.19

As mentioned above, the respectful register of the first type extends to various word classes (verb, noun, pronoun, adjective, auxiliaries, etc.) and is particularly abundant in some domains. The vocabulary of the respectful register is mainly concerned with the human social sphere. It includes personal pronouns (for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons);20 nouns indicating body parts, clothes, food, objects and some animals (‘horse’, ‘dog’); various verbs related to oral, mental or physical activities, and a series of ‘light verbs’. Some adjectives related to human activities or states may also have a specific honorific form (see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, 2009). In the various languages which have developed the ‘aristocratic type’ of respectful register, the form and the number of honorific and humilific words may vary.

18. 私は先生のお作りになったお料理をいただきました。
   watasi=ha sensei=no otukuri=nin nat-ta o-ryouri=wo. itadaki-masi-ta
   1=TOP teacher=GEN make(H)=CONJ do-PFT MANNER-dishes=ACC eat(h)-POLITE-PFT
   ‘I ate(h; polite) the dishes(mannerly) that the teacher made(H)’

19. Again, it is interesting to note that this trend is also found in Japanese. Recently, the system of the Japanese respectful register has undergone some changes, such as the inclusion of unnecessary or excessive double-marked honorific forms. A formulation “honorific suppletive form + a derivational auxiliary” is one such usage, e.g., なさる nasaru ‘do (H)’ vs. なされる nasarearu ‘do (H)’; 召し上がる mesiagaru ‘eat, drink (H)’ vs. 召し上がられる mesiagarareru ‘eat, drink (H)’. The latter form of each pair is considered incorrect usage for honorifics; nevertheless, they are sometimes used in oral communication.

20. Only some dialects such as Tsang and Spiti have a special humilific form for ‘I’.
Here are some frequent honorific and humilific verbs (simple or compound forms) used in many Tibetic languages, particularly Ü, Tsang, Ladaks, Purik, Balti, Dzongkha and Lhoke:

▪ motion and posture verbs, such as གཤེགས་ GSHEGS ‘to go, come [H]’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, etc.), སྐྱོད་ SKYOD (La, Pur, Sp, etc.) ‘to go, come [H]’, འཁོས་ THERGS ‘to go’ [H], བཅར་ BCAR (Ü, Ts) ‘to go’ [h], བཞེངས་ BZHENGS ‘to stand up’ [H], བཞུགས་ BZHUGS (Ü, Ts, NorthKh, La, Pur, Am) ‘to go, come’ [H], གཟིམས་ GZIMS ‘to lie down, to sleep’ [H] (Ü, Ts, NorthKh, La, Pur, Am).

▪ speech verbs, such as གསུང་ GSUNG (Ü, Ts, Am) ‘to tell, to teach’ [H], རུ་ ZHU ‘to talk, to report’ [h], པོ་མོལ་པོ་ ZHU B’KA’MOL ZHU (Ü, Ts) ‘to talk’ [h], བཅར་ MOL (La, Pur, Ba) ‘to tell, to teach’ [H].

▪ verbs of gift or action, such as གནང་ GNANG ‘to give, to do’ (hon), ལྟ་ STSOL (Ü) ‘to give’ [HH], རུ་ ZHU S’LA (La) ‘to offer’ [h], ལྷ་ GSOL ‘to do offering rituals’ [H] (La), ན་ MDZAD (La) ‘to do’ [H], ར་ ZKYON (Ü) ‘to make’ [H], གཟིགས་ GZIGS (Ü, La) ‘to buy’ [H], ཆུ་ BSNAMS (Ü, Ts, La) ‘to take’ [H], བཞེས་ BZHES (Ü, Ts, NorthKh, Am) ‘to take’ [H], མེ་འབོལ་ ZHU B’KA’MOL (Ü, Ts) ‘to show’ [H], ལུ་སྤེན་ནས་རིགས་ NGO MKHYEN (Ü, Ts) ‘to know (s.o)’ [H], རུ་ ZHAL ‘TSHOR (Ü, Ts) ‘to know (s.o)’ [h].

▪ verbs of perception, such as གཟིགས་ GZIGS (Ü, Ts, La) ‘to see, to look at, to read, etc.’ [H], ཏུགས་ NGAN ‘to listen to, to hear’ [H], ར་ MJAL (La, Sh, Ü, Ts) ‘to visit, see’ [h].

▪ verbs related to eating and drinking: བཞེས་ BZHES (Ü, Ts, NorthKh, Am), ‘to eat, drink’ [H] ‘to take’, རུ་ ZHU ‘to eat’ [h] (La, Ba, Ü, Ts, NorthKh, Am, Dz), རེ་ MCHOD (Ü, Ts) ‘to eat, drink’ [H] ‘to offer’, དུ་ DON (La) ‘to eat, drink’ [H] ‘to recite prayer’ (La). In these two last cases, the honorific for eating and drinking is related to the Buddhist habit of offering and praying before meals.

▪ birth and death: གྲོང་ GRONG (Ü, Ts, Sh) ‘to die’ [H], གཤེགས་ GSHEGS (Ü, Ts)
‘to die’ [H] < ‘to go’, ་གོངས་པ་རྫོགས་[DGONGS.PA RDZOGS] ‘to die’ [H] lit. ‘to complete the thought’; དགོངས་པ་རྫོགས་ ཤིང་ལ་ཕེབས་[ZHING.LAPHEBS] ‘to die’ [H], lit. ‘to travel to the (Buddha’s) fields’, འཁྲུངས་[KHRUNGS] (Ü, Ts, La, Sh) ‘to be born’ [H].

The main roots used for honorific nouns include body parts:

▪ བུ་ [DBU] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz, La) ‘head’ [H], མཁྱེན་པ་ [PHYAG] ‘hand’ [H], བུ་ [DBU] ‘head’ [H], རིག་ [ZHABS] ‘leg, foot’ [H], བཀའ་ [BKA] ‘speech, order’ [H].

The honorific and humilific vocabulary is made of a small number of specific roots, usually nouns or verbs (such as the above examples). These roots which are essentially monosyllabic are used to build a great number of compound words (see e.g. Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 2003).

In some languages or dialects, the Classical honorific forms may have lost (or never acquired) the honorific meaning. This is for example the case of the pronouns གཏོང་ and གངས་ [NGED] (H) which convey the meaning of a plural, respectively ‘they’ and ‘we’ in some southern or western languages (Dz, Cho, La). This is also true for the noun བུ་ [DBU] ‘head’ (H) which is used in Amdo and Kham as ‘bottom’ (ordinary) but rarely for ‘leg (Honoric)’, or verbs such as བཞུགས་ [BZHUGS], བཞེན་ [BZHES] as ‘createdAt’ [KHRUNGS], བཞིན་ [BYON] which, in some dialects of Southern Kham simply means respectively ‘to sit’, ‘to go’, and ‘be born’ in the ordinary register. In Dzongkha and Spiti, forms derived from the CT honorific verb བཀྲེས་ [BKRES] ‘to be hungry’ (H) now conveys the meaning ‘to be hungry’ (ordinary register).

Apart from the ‘aristocratic type’, a second type of respectful register has recently been discovered among Amdo and Kham pastoralist communities (Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki 2019). Aside from the limited use of some verbs and nouns such as བཞེན་ [BZHES] ‘to come, go’, བཞུགས་ [BZHUGS] ‘to come, go’, བཞིན་ [BZHES] ‘take, eat’, བཀའ་ [BKA] ‘water’ [H] (note that it means ‘river’ in Old Tibetan, see Bialek 2018a), བཀའ་ [BKA] ‘speech, order’ [H].

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these Amdo and Kham communities additionally have developed a second type of respectful register which primarily concerns humilific nouns. The pastoralist communities who use this second type do not consider it as a part of *zhesa*. Because of this reason, the use of humilific forms is often criticized as ‘bad manners’ by intellectuals and speakers who tend not to use these words when talking with outsiders.

Humilific forms attested in pastoralist speech of Amdo principally appear in nouns, by adding a suffix or an adjective, or by a suppletion of word forms. These forms have a humilific meaning only when they are used by the speaker to talk about himself/herself, his/her belongings or his/her social sphere. Otherwise, it might have a derogatory or insulting meaning.

The main suffixes are: གན་ NGAN < CT ‘bad’, གག་ CHAG < CT ‘broken’, གད་ CHAD < CT ‘cut, fallen apart’, རིག་ RDIG < CT ‘torn, ripped with patches’, རུལ་ RUL < CT ‘rotten’, གན་ RGAN < CT ‘old’, རྡུལ་ RTUL < CT ‘dull, weak’.

The adjective གཞ་ཧྭ་མ་ A.HWA.MA ‘bad’ and དབྱོ་ ‘similar, sort of’ and some suppletive forms (see below ‘body’ and ‘meat’) are also used for this purpose.

Below are examples from the Mabzhi dialect (spoken in Mangra County) and from Sogwo:


This type of derivational morphology is attested in various languages spoken in the eastern area with a difference of suffixes. It is also noteworthy that cultivators in Amdo generally do not use the humilific words whereas some in Kham such as Minyak, Derge, and rGyalhang, do use them.
3.3.5. Gesar epics

Gesar epics, གེ་སར་སྒྲུང་ GESAR SGRUNG is one of the great epics of Asia. It narrates the deeds of the King Gesar of Ling གླིང་གེ་སར་རྒྱལ་པོ GLING GE SAR RGYAL PO. This epic is one of the longest epics in the world, together with the Manas epics of the Kirghiz people. The Gesar story resembles in some ways the Medieval epics of Europe such as King Arthur. The Gesar epic, which originates in Tibet, is particularly interesting because it is common to the various Tibetic cultures and it is also found in Mongolia, Tuva, Hunza and few other cultures in Asia. Traditionally, dranpa (སྲུང་པ་ SGRUNG PA) or bards would recite the story. This epic was transmitted orally and not written down until the seventeenth century. The recitation and the reading of the epic was even forbidden in some Buddhist monasteries (see Karmay 1999).

The Gesar epic is very popular in most Tibetic areas, namely Kham, Amdo, Ü, Tsang, Ngari, Ladakh, Baltistan and Bhutan. It is particularly interesting from a cultural and linguistic point of view because the bards would sing this epic in their native dialect, but also because this epic contains a lot of specific expressions. Many versions of the texts are attested in the various Tibetic languages.

3.3.6. Dialect blending

One of the remarkable features of the Tibetic dialectology is that it is quite common in many Tibetic areas to mix various dialects in a single conversation. This is by no means unique to this area and is found elsewhere in the world, but the high dialectal diversity of the Tibetic area and the lack of standard language (in most cases) makes this type of 'dialect porridge' or 'dialect kasha' particularly frequent. For example, within Ladakh, one will frequently mix forms from Nubra, Zanhar and Sham with Leh dialect forms (or similarly various dialects of Purik, Balti and Sham mixed with the Kargil dialect). The same is true within Tibet, where dialect forms from Kongpo, Tsang, Tö Ngari or even Hor will frequently mix with Lhasa dialect or other dialects. The same situation can be found in Kham and Amdo, as well as in Bhutan and Sikkim.

Apart from the high dialectal diversity and lack of standardisation, a few additional reasons contribute to this kind of dialect mixing. First, it is frequent to have a བེན་པ་
magpa 'son-in-law’ or a མནའ་མ་ nama 'daughter-in-law’ from a different valley or region, and thus within a single family one often hears some dialectal diversity.

Second, for the purpose of education in schools or monasteries, children from isolated villages are often sent far away from home for a couple of years, sometimes up to ten years, and have to learn a different dialect. When they come back to their village, they have often partly forgotten their native dialect or mix it up with the dialect or language that they have acquired. Merchants who travel frequently through various Tibetic regions are also likely to acquire several dialects which may over the years color their native dialect.

Consequently, when documenting a specific dialect, one should bear in mind these characteristics and try to choose consultants who have well maintained their native dialects.

### 3.3.7. Code-mixing and code-switching

Code-mixing refers to placing various linguistic units from two (or more) codes within the same sentence. Within Tibet and the Himalayas, code-mixing is frequent between the official dominant languages and Tibetic languages or dialects.

For example, the various Tibetic languages of Central Tibet, Amdo and Kham are often mixed within a same sentence with Mandarin Chinese or local Chinese dialects from Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan (concerning the situation in Lhasa, see e.g. Tournadre 2003). In Baltistan, Ladakh and Spiti, the various Tibetic languages are often mixed with Hindi-Urdu as well as English whereas in Nepal, Sikkim (India) and Bhutan, the mixing generally involves the local Tibetic languages and Nepali or English.

In most cases, code-mixing involves the use of a Tibetan grammatical structure mixed with non-Tibetic lexical items (Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, Nepali or English depending on the region). Among the non-Tibetic lexical items, we find in particular numerals, nouns and some adverbs. Verbs and adjectives as well as grammatical categories are less likely to be used in the context of code-mixing. The speaker may use foreign words from the national dominant languages even when s/he knows very well the Tibetic equivalent.
It is important to note that here code-mixing does not refer to pidgins nor to mixed languages which are more stable types of speech and may be acquired as mother tongues.

In Tibet, code-mixing is usually called ར་མ་ལུག་སྐད་ ‘half goat half sheep language’, སྦྲགས་སྐད་ ‘combined language’ or བསླེས་པའི་སྐད་ ‘mixed language’. As mentioned above, code-mixing is a frequent phenomenon in the various Tibetan regions. However, for about the past decade, a strong movement called ལ་སྐད་གཙང་མ་ ‘the pure mother tongue’ (lit. ‘father tongue’) has been spreading in Tibet. This movement advocates the important of speaking a pure Tibetan and avoiding code-mixing.

Code-switching is also very frequent in the Tibetic-speaking area and essentially involves the same languages as the code-mixing: Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, Nepali and English. For example, it is quite common for a speaker to start a speech or a dialogue in a Tibetic language and after a few sentences to switch to the national dominant language(s) – Chinese in China, Hindi-Urdu, or Nepali and/or English in the southern Himalayas – then may switch back to his mother tongue, etc. When switching from his mother tongue to another language, the speaker is not always aware of the successive shifts.
PART 2. – DESCRIPTIVE APPROACH TO TIBETIC LANGUAGES
4. Proto-Tibetic and Old Tibetan

Proto-Tibetic is the common ancestor of Tibetic languages. In the literature, it is traditionally referred to as 'Proto-Tibetan', but in order to be consistent with our terminology, we will use Proto-Tibetic (hereafter PT). As a hypothetical language, PT can be reconstructed in two ways: by comparing the various modern languages and dialects; and by comparing them with Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Higher levels of Proto-languages for the ST macrofamily have been partly reconstructed. Many Proto-Tibeto-Burman roots have been reconstructed by various authors such as Benedict (1972), Matisoff (2003), and Thurgood and LaPolla (2003).

Some authors such as R. Sprigg (1972), Li Fang-Kuei (1987, 1993), G. Jacques (2004a and b) have proposed various reconstructed forms for PT but so far there is no systematic study of the common ancestor of the Tibetic languages.

Reconstructed PT forms are often similar or identical to the orthography of Classical Literary Tibetan. The reality is, of course, somewhat more complex. As Sprigg (1972: 556) points out "Shafer would have said that we already know what Proto-Tibetan looks like: it is embalmed in the orthographic forms of Written Tibetan." He adds though that "none of the dictionaries gives a reliable picture of the phonological structure of Written Tibetan during a given État de langue."

Sprigg further states that, for establishing PT forms, it is better "not to [accept] Tibetan orthographic forms without first testing them against constructions based on comparing contemporary spoken-dialect forms."

Whether Proto-Tibetic was a homogenous language or was a hybrid is a debatable issue. As we have seen in the previous chapter, during their history, Tibetic languages were sometimes in contact with both ST languages and many languages belonging to other genetic groups, such as Indo-Iranian, Mongolic or Turkic. However, even if we accept that some of the contact languages could have left a significant lexical and structural impact on neighboring Tibetic languages, it is clear that the great proximity of the modern languages points toward the existence of a common PT. Of course, this
does not exclude the fact that some processes of convergence could have taken place and contributed to the similarity of the modern languages.

4.1. Methodology for the reconstruction

As previously rementioned, the reconstruction of PT can be achieved essentially by comparing all the modern Tibetic languages and dialects with each other and then, together, with Classical Tibetan. Other sources can also be used. For example, many words found in Bodic, rGyalrongic and Qiangic languages have been borrowed from Tibetan at various stages of their history, and often they have preserved archaic forms.

Historical annals and chronicles in Chinese, Mongolian, Tangut or other languages mentioning Tibetan names or titles may also supply valuable information about the pronunciation of Old Tibetan or Tibetan spoken during the Middle Ages. The Tibetan orthography of foreign words from Sanskrit, Chinese, Mongolian, etc., also provides clues about ancient pronunciation.

The existence of a millennium-old literary tradition in Tibet is very useful for the reconstruction of PT. Many written documents from the eighth century onwards have been found and preserved. The reconstruction is also facilitated by the fact that Tibetans have always used a phonetic alphabet (or more precisely an alphasyllabary) to transcribe their language (see Chapter 5). Had the Tibetans used pictographic or ideographic systems such as Chinese, Naxi, Tangut, Yi, etc., the reconstruction would have been very difficult.

4.2. A dialect of Old Tibetan used as a basis for the written language

In written languages, which use a phonetic alphabet (or an alphasyllabary), the ancient orthography usually reflects the pronunciation of a given dialect.

There is thus little doubt that the written language was based on a given spoken dialect of Old Tibetan. However, it is difficult to have a precise idea as to which dialect served as the basis for the written language and there is so far no consensus on this issue among scholars.

Many scholars first thought that the Old and Classical orthographies were largely artificial because of the complexity of their syllable structures (see 5.2). During the last
three decades, however, the data collected from modern Tibetic languages such as Balti, Purik, Ladaks, Amdo and Choča-ngača have shown that these languages preserve complex syllabic structures and that the pronunciation of certain words remains very similar to the corresponding transcriptions that we can infer from Classical orthography.

If we look at the historical background, it is clear that the emergence of a written language is related to the rise of the Tibetan Empire in the seventh century. Although the earliest Tibetan written document known at present dates from 764, Tibetan historical tradition states that the creation of the Tibetan alphabet occurred during the reign of King Songsan Gampo (SRONG.BTSAN.SGAM.PO) in the seventh century. Given the empire’s extensive military conquests, it is likely that the script was already in use at the beginning of the Tibet’s military expansion, i.e. in the first part of the seventh century, and that it facilitated the administration of the empire, including communication between the various regions under its rule.

Songsan Gampo’s father, Namri Songsan (GNAM.RI SRONG.BTSAN), reigned at end of the sixth century, ruling over a small kingdom in the Chonggyä and Yarlung valleys.

The capital of his kingdom was Chingwa Tagtse (PHYING.BA STAG.RTSE) in the Chonggyä valley. His son, Songsan Gampo gradually moved the capital to Lhasa, less than two hundred kilometers to the north. Lhasa became the capital of a powerful empire until the fall of that empire in the mid ninth century. All of the tombs of the Tibetan emperors are located in the necropolis of Chonggyä. This history clearly demonstrates that Lhasa, as well as the Yarlung Shampo and Chonggyä valleys, were central places for the Tibetan Empire.

The ethnic diversity on the Plateau at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century is not known in detail. At that time, various ethnic groups had their own kingdoms, such as Zhangzhung in Ngari area, ’Azha (or Tuyuhun) in the Kokonor area, the Qiang in eastern Tibet or the Sumpa, and did not speak Tibetan dialects.

1. However, the Old Tibetan annals indicate that the Tibetan emperor (BTSAN.PO) was not settled permanently in Lhasa and had a mobile court.
Thus, the language that served as the basis for the first transcriptions of written Tibetan was presumably spoken in the Yarlung valley and Lhasa areas around the seventh century. This language, which was quite different from its modern form (especially its phonology), then spread to other areas of the Tibetan Plateau along with the expansion of the Tibetan Empire. The degree of dialectal diversity within Central Tibet in the seventh century is not easy to establish, but it is very plausible that dialectal diversification had already taken place.

If these hypotheses are correct, we can say that Central Tibetan and Dzongkha have undergone a massive phonological evolution, whereas languages spoken at the periphery of the Empire, such as Amdo, Balti, Purik, Ladaks or Choća-ngača have retained more archaic features of this original ‘Yarlung language’.

4.3. Archaic reflexes found in some modern languages

As mentioned above, some Modern Tibetic languages have preserved reflexes which are very similar or identical to Classical spellings.

Examples of initial consonant clusters

The initial consonant cluster $LT$ has been well preserved in Balti, Purik and Ladaks dialects, as well as some Amdo dialects neighboring the rGyalrong area (the modern pronunciation appears in oblique bar):

\[
\text{ཁ་} \, LT/\text{ka}/ \text{‘to look at’ (Ba, Pur)}, \text{ཁོ་} \, LT\text{OGS/\text{toks}/ ‘to be hungry’ (Ba, Pur, La)}.
\]

The initial consonant clusters $RG$ and $RGY$ have been well preserved in Balti, Purik and some conservative Amdo dialects:

\[
\text{རྒ་} \, RG\text{-PO/\text{garpo}/ ‘old man’ (Am, Bal, Pur)}, \text{རྒྱལ་} \, RG\text{YAL-PO/\text{gyalpho}/ ‘king’ (Bal, Pur)}, \text{རྒྱི་} \, RG\text{YAL-PO/\text{gyalpho}/ ‘king’ (Bal, Pur)}.
\]

The initial consonant cluster $SR$ has also been well preserved in Balti and Purik:

\[
\text{བྲོག་} \, SR\text{OG/\text{strocq}/ ‘life’ (Bal, Pur)}, \text{བྲུང་} \, SR\text{UNG/\text{strung}/ ‘to keep, protect’ (Bal, Pur)}.
\]

2. About the notation of preinitials see chapter 7. We use here a phonological notation. From a strictly phonetic point of view, the preinitial T is pronounced as unvoiced. It is sometimes noted as a fricative [ɾ] or as voiceless [ɽ].
The initial consonant clusters KHR and GR have disappeared in most languages except for Balti, Purik and the archaic Kham dialects of Rongdrak (sProsnang) and Phongpa.

The initial consonant clusters SKR and SGR have usually not been preserved. However, they are attested in Purik:

The initial consonant clusters PHY and BY are still attested in some western and southern languages such as Balti, Purik or Choča-ngača:

The initial consonant clusters PR and BR are still attested in some western and southern languages such as Balti, Purik, Kyirong or Choča-ngača:

The preinitial consonant M has disappeared in nearly all the modern languages but is still present in some archaic Amdo dialects.

The preinitial consonant’ has not only been preserved in many eastern dialects of Kham and Amdo, but also in Tö Ngari dialects.
Examples of final consonants

Some final consonants, such as S, L, and D, which have generally disappeared, are still heard in certain languages or dialects.

For example, the final S is still present in the western languages of Balti, Purik and Ladaks: རྗེ་ན/ནས barley /nas/ (Ba, Pur), གཞན་ལས work /las/ (Ba, La, Pur).

The final consonant L is still present in many western and southern languages, such as Balti, Purik, Ladaks, Choča-ngača, Sherpa: རིལ་ BAL wool /bal/ (Bal, Pur, Lad, Cho), /pal/ (Sh); གཞན་ KHAL score (Bal, Pur, Lad, Cho, Sh), བྲལ་ ལེ་ SBLPA frog /balpa/ (Ba, Pur).

The final D is still present in the western languages of Balti, Purik, Ladaks and Zanhar as well as some conservative Amdo dialects and Choča-ngača: རྒྱ་ RGD-PO /gatpo/ ‘old man’ (Am, Bal, Pur), /gatpo/ (Cho).

The final consonant cluster GS has disappeared in nearly all the modern languages except for Ladaks, Purik and some Balti dialects:

ལྕགས lcgs ‘iron’ /lcaks/ or /lcags/ (La, Pur), ལྗེགས PHYUGS cattle /phyuks/ ‘goat and sheep’ (Bal), བྲལ་ ལ་ ཅུ་ LADWAGS Ladakh’s /ladaks/ (La).

The second suffix D has left some traces in the Classical orthography of bound morphemes such as TO ‘the final particle’, and the terminative case TU. For example རྗེ་GYUR-TO ‘has changed’ instead of རྗེ་GYUR-D0, རྗེ་ KUN-TU ‘entirely’ instead of རྗེ་ KUN-DU. See Tournadre & Dorje (1998, 2003: 468).

To our knowledge, segmental traces of the second suffix D are not attested in the modern languages but some rare suprasegmental traces (tone changes) are found (see 7.3.1).

No single modern language has managed to preserve all the consonant clusters found in Old Tibetan and in the Classical orthography. However, if we put together the most conservative languages and dialects, such as Balti, Purik and Ladaks in the western area, Amdo in the east, Choča-ngača in the south and some archaic Kham dialects (as if they were the pieces of a linguistic jigsaw puzzle), we find that nearly all the consonant clusters have been preserved.
4.4. Characteristic features of Proto-Tibetic

We will now briefly examine various characteristic features of PT. But first, let’s emphasize the necessity of distinguishing between PT, the common ancestor of the family and Pre-Tibetic, a stage of the language, which immediately preceded the emergence of the Proto-Tibetic language. Note that some authors actually use the term Proto-Tibetan to refer to forms that we call Pre-Tibetic (cf. Jacques 2004b; Sprigg 1972).

A few authors, such as Uray (1953), Li Fang-kuei (1987, 1993), Coblin (1976), Beyer (1996), and Jacques (2004a-b) have proposed a reconstruction for some PT roots.3

The main phonological features that characterize PT are:

▪ the preservation of the prefixes inherited from Proto-TB;
▪ the palatalisation of dental and alveolar before \( y \);
▪ the change from lateral to dental after \( m \);
▪ the emergence of distinctive aspirated initial plosives.

Preservation of prefixes

The numerous prefixes of Proto-TB are still clearly pronounced, most probably with an epenthetic vowel in PT.

On this topic, Matisoff (2003: 97) gives the following comment:

“We cannot be sure from the WT [Written Tibetan] orthography how the Tibetan combinations of prefixes and initials were pronounced in ancient times; but judging by their excellent state of preservation in WT, we may surmise that they were pronounced with a following unstressed schwa-type vowel,4 which served to protect them from too close contact with the root initial. That is most words with prefixes must have been pronounced sesquisyllabicity.” Matisoff (2003: 97)

It is not excluded that in some cases, prefixes were in fact the result of a metathesis as suggested by Zeisler (pers. comm. 2020).

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3. These authors use the term Proto-Tibetan.
4. The term ‘schwa’ which denotes the vowel [ə] used in general linguistics is borrowed from Hebrew classical terminology and corresponds more or less to the French “e muet.”
The main prefixes found in PT are: ※s(ǝ), ※d(ǝ)/g(ǝ), ※m(ǝ) and ※b(ǝ).

The words for numbers give a good illustration of this phenomenon.

※g(ǝ)-tǝk ‘one’, ※g(ǝ)-nyis ‘two’, ※g(ǝ)-sum ‘three’, ※b(ǝ)-zi ‘four’, ※l(ǝ)-na ‘five’, ※d(ǝ)-ruk ‘six’, ※b(ǝ)-dun ‘seven’, ※b(ǝ)-rgyat ‘eight’, ※d(ǝ)-gu ‘nine’, ※b(ǝ)-tǝ ‘ten’.

Concerning the numbers ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘8’, it is possible that Pre-Tibetic forms had two prefixes: ※d(ǝ)-k(ǝ)-ruk ‘six’, ※b(ǝ)-d(ǝ)-nis ‘seven’, ※b(ǝ)-r(ǝ)-g yat ‘eight’.

The presence of high tones in southern Kham for ‘six’ /ʈɔɁ/ could be a trace of the voiceless prefix k(ǝ). In written Burmese, the form for ‘six’ is /khruk/.

The prefix ‘s’ is used for animals and body parts.

※s(ǝ)-dik-pa ‘scorpion’, ※s(ǝ)-bal ‘frog’, ※s(ǝ)-tak ‘tiger’, ※s(ǝ)-b-rul ‘snake’, ※s(ǝ)-pra ‘monkey’, ※s(ǝ)-kra ‘hair’, ※s(ǝ)-nyi ‘heart’, ※s(ǝ)-na ‘nose’.

However, other prefixes such as ‘d’, ‘m’ and ‘r’ are also used for the body parts:


Concerning the prefixes ※d(ǝ) and ※g(ǝ), Li Fang-kuei (1933) noticed that they occur in a complementary distribution. The dental prefix ※d(ǝ) occurs before the labials and the velar (g) whereas the velar prefix ※g(ǝ) occurs before dentals (t, d, n) and the lateral (l).

**Palatalisation of dentals and alveolars before y**

Palatalisation is one of the main features of PT. The combinations ※ty, ※ly, ※sy, ※tsy were not palatalised in Pre-Tibetic (see Jacques 2004b and Gong 1977, for these reconstructions), but all these combinations have undergone a palatalization in PT, which is recorded in the orthography of Literary Tibetan. All the modern languages and dialects have now developed reflexes of these palatalised forms.

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5. Sagart and Jacques propose the reconstruction ※s-m-rul for some earlier stage (pers. comm., also compare Hill 2011: 448).
In the following examples, we propose a reconstruction for Pre-Tibetic forms, then provide the reconstructed form for PT and the classical orthography, and in some cases the archaic orthography.

- ty > te; dy > dz
- \( ^*g(ǝ)-tyi \) 'one' > PT: \( ^*g(ǝ)-te(h)ik \) > OT: \( GCIG/GCHIG \) / ལྷིན / ལྷིན
- tye 'big' > PT: \( ^*te(h)e \) > OT: \( CHE \) སེ
- \( ^*g(ǝ)-tyik 'one' > PT: \( ^*g(ǝ)-tɕ(\text{h})ik \) > OT: \( GCIG/GCHIG \) / ལྷིན / ལྷིན
- \( ^*tɕ(\text{h})ei \) 'what' > PT: \( ^*te(h)i \) > OT: \( CI/CHI \) / སེ
- Beyer (1992: 78) has proposed the following evolution for 'flea' in PT, postulating the metathesis: \( zli > lzi \).
- z-li 'flea' > *lzi > *ldi > PT: *ldyi > LJI / ལྗི / ɦJI ’ajî

Proto-Tibeto-Burman had non-palatalised forms: \( ^*g(ǝ)-tyik 'one', ^*b(ǝ)-tyu 'ten'. \n
In many Tibeto-Himalayan, and even in Bodish languages closely related to Tibetan, we do not find palatalised forms of \( ^*t+y \). See for example Bake (Basum lake) /ti/ 'what', /tɨʔ/ 'one' which reflects a stage close to Pre-Tibetic.

- \( s y > c \)
- \( sya 'flesh' > PT: ca > CT: SHA འར་ \)
  < syes 'know' > PT: ces > CT: SHES དེ་
  < sying 'wood' > PT: cin > CT: SHING ཀུན་

Many Bodish languages such as Tamangic (Tamang, Gurung, etc.) and East Bodish (Kurtö, Bumthang, etc.) have not undergone this change.

- \( tsy > tɕ \)
- \( ^*b(ǝ)-tsyat 'to cut' (past stem) > PT: ^*b(ǝ)-tɕat > CT: BCAD རེ་ \)
- \( ^*m(ǝ)-tsyl-ma 'spittle' > PT: ^*m(ǝ)-te(h)il-ma > CT: MCHIL.\text{MA} རེ་ \)
- \( ^*m(ǝ)-tsin-pa 'liver' > PT: ^*m(ǝ)-te(h)in-pa, CT: MCHIN.\text{PA} རེ་ \)

6. Both 'ji-\text{ba} and lji-\text{ba} are found in CT. The TDCM gives two slightly different meanings for 'ji-\text{ba} and lji-\text{ba}, but they have certainly a common etymology. See also Beyer (1992: 78).
For some words, we have to postulate a metathesis. That is the case for the term *LCAGS ‘iron’.

\[ \text{s}(a)-\text{lak}(s) ‘iron’ > \text{t}-\text{sak}(s) > \text{t}-\text{tsyak}(s) > \text{CT: LCAGS 'lyak’} \]

* ly > z

Among the important innovations of Proto-Tibetic is the palatalization of the lateral /l/ in front of y (see Jacques 2004a). This sound law has been dubbed ‘Benedict’s law’ by Hill (2011: 445).

\[ \text{b}(a)-\text{lyi ‘four’} > \text{CT: BZHI ‘blyi’} \]

\[ \text{lying ‘field’} > \text{CT: ZHING ‘lying’} \]

The lateral of the sequence *bli is also preserved in many other Bodish or even ST languages, such as Kurtö, Tshona (mtsho-sna), rGyalrong, and Old Chinese (see Jacques, 2004).

**The change from lateral to dental after m**

The change from *ml to *md that occurs in PT and its reflex is found in all the modern Tibetic languages.

Thus PTB (Matisoff) *b/ml-la ‘arrow’ > CT: MDA ‘mda’

Some Bodish languages closely related to Tibetic did not undergo this mutation. Cf. Kheng (see also Michailovsky and Mazaudon, 1994).

**Emergence of distinctive aspirated initial plosives**

Another characteristic of PT is the emergence of distinctive aspirations for initial plosives, as was shown by Li Fang-kuei (1993). In Old Tibetan, the status of the aspiration gradually became phonemic. The fact that the aspiration of initial plosives appeared at a relatively late stage can easily be proven by the fluctuation found in the

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7. Matisoff (2003: 317) proposes for Proto-TB the reconstruction *l-tsyak. This reconstruction is perfect for Tibetan. However it does not match some data found in Bodish languages such as Kurtoep ʔlaʔi and Bumthap /lak/ (Michailovsky and Mazaudon, 1994) or Bake /r̥l/.  

8. This phenomenon also occurred in some romance languages such as Spanish: *lla > /ʎa/ as in *llamar, *llorar, which have derived into [ʃ] in Portuguese: *chamar, *chorar (and in Argentina Spanish).
orthography of OT between aspirated and non aspirated consonants (Bialek 2018a ou b?).

Ex: CT\textsuperscript{a}/CHI\textsuperscript{b} ‘what’, etc. CU-DMYG རུམ་ཡིག / CU-MYG རིུམ་ཡིག / CHU-MYG རིུམ་ཡིག ‘(water) spring’.

Fluctuation of aspirated versus non-aspirated consonants in the orthography of OT is also attested for second syllables and for non-initial consonants. This type of phenomenon is still attested in some Amdo dialects with the aspirated initial consonants of second syllables which are sometimes pronounced as unaspirated.

Ex: PHYIN-CHAD/PHYIN-CAD གོ་ཞིག / གོ་ཞིག ‘from now on’
Ex: GCIG གཅིག / GCHIG གཅིག ‘one’

**Cases of non-coincidence between PT and Classical Tibetan**

For some words, the classical orthography does not correspond to PT. For example for the word བོད་ MIG ‘eye’, a few dialects of Amdo have a form such as /ŋnɔx/ or /mnɔx/. The PT form could be reconstructed ːd(ə)-myik. Fortunately, an archaic orthography རུམ་ཡིག is attested in some old documents.

But this is not always the case. For the word རུམ་པོ SBOM-PO ‘big, thick’ (for rope), the reconstruction based on some dialects of Tö and Amdo (Ngaba [rNgawa]) which yield /ɾompo/ should be PT ːsbrom-po ːsbron-po. This form is not attested in Literary Tibetan but the form /dŋompo/ is found in Spiti. This is a perfect reflex of the reconstructed form ːsbrom-po རུམ་པོ. An astonishing confirmation of this hypothesis is found in Purik where the word for ‘fat (person)’ is /brompo/, which is also a cognate meaning ‘thick in circumference’.

On the basis of many languages (Tö, Balti, Ladak, Sherpa, Gyalsumdo, Lhoke, etc.), we should reconstruct for ‘flower’ PT ːmentok, whereas Classical Tibetan has རོིན་ ME, TOG. Fortunately, the form MEN,TOG རོིན་ is also attested in Old Literary Tibetan (see Hill 2007: 480 note 8).

Bielmeier gives a similar illustration for Balti:

“In a number of cases the comparative evidence of the dialects does not lead back directly to the Written Tibetan etymological equivalent. Either the evidence leads to a
form previous to the Written Tibetan etymological equivalent, making the Written Tibetan equivalent thus not the ‘ancestor’ but simply an ‘older relative’, or else we have to accept that certain morphological or grammatical changes took place within individual dialects. To give an example, we have GYANG ‘wall’ in Written Tibetan with regular etymological correspondences in all dialect groups of Tibetan, but in Balti we find rgyang ‘wall’. In such a case we have either to start from a Common Tibetan [PT] ※RGYANG of which Written Tibetan gyang is a later offshoot, comparable to Purik gyang, or else we may assume that there was an internal Balti development from Common Tibetan [PT] ※GYANG to Balti RGYANG by prefixing r-. We would then have to explain the reason for this prefixing.9

A last example of discrepancy between Classical Tibetan and PT is the word for ‘silver’. The word for ‘silver’ is DNGUL in Classical Tibetan and most of the Tibetic languages have a reflex of this form. However, a couple of languages and dialects of Western Tibet and Baltistan have forms as /xmul/ or /mūl/, so we could reconstruct a PT form: ※dmul (※DNGUL), which would have undergone a change from labial /m/ to velar /ŋ/ in most Tibetic languages. Thus PT ※dmul > dŋul.

We should keep in mind that due to contact with other languages as well as reanalysis and analogies, it is quite possible that some of the forms that look ‘archaic’ do not necessarily point toward a PT origin and may well be later developments.

In some cases, one could be tempted to reconstruct the PT form, however a phonological innovative rule may provide a better account for the phenomenon. For example, the word KHANG.PA ‘house’ is sometimes prenasalised in some dialects of Amdo, Khöpokhok, Minyag Kham and Baima (Zhang 1997) and thus we could have proposed to reconstruct PT: ※khangpa. But in this case, the phonological environment may provide a better explanation. A few words with this type of prenasalisation (e.g. TSHANG ‘nest’, PHRENG ‘beads’, TSHANG.MA ‘all’) attested in these dialects originally had an aspirated obstruent initial with -ng final which was omitted and caused a prenasalisation instead (except Amdo: Machu, mGolog). Thus, we have to be careful

9. Website of the CTDT: www.isw.unibe.ch/tibet/CDTD.htm. R. Bielmeier’s use of ‘Common Tibetan’ here refers to a reconstructed form of language equivalent to our Proto-Tibetic. It should not be confused with our definition of the Modern Common Tibetan.
with the reconstruction of PT forms when they are based on a single region of the Tibet area and never rule out the possibility of local areal innovations.

**Grammatical features**

It is beyond the scope of this book to present a reconstruction of the PT grammar, which has not been described so far, but we can provide some of its essential features. The verbal morphology (see Chapter 6) inherited from proto-TB has been replaced in PT by a system of auxiliary verbs used with nominalized forms of the verb (see DeLancey, 2011b). The reconstruction of a pronominalization system in proto-TB has generated a hot debate. Whether or not it existed in TB, there is no trace of it in OT.

This system is already clearly present in Old Literary Tibetan in the first attested documents. In modern languages, auxiliary verbs have become verb suffixes and convey a number of tense-aspect, evidential and epistemic meanings. However the various verb stems (present, past, future and imperative) as well as the causative derivation in *s have been relatively well preserved in Classical Tibetan and to a certain extent in many modern Tibet languages. Negation in all modern Tibet languages is always marked by reflexes of * MA and * MI or * MYI and thus PT negation should be reconstructed as * ma and * myi.

There are no traces in PT of the verb agreement found in many ‘pronominalised languages’ such as Kiranti, West Himalayish, Qiangic or rGyalrongic (see van Driem 2001; LaPolla 1992; DeLancey 2010, 2011b). Thus, modern Tibet languages do not exhibit any verb affixes (prefixes or suffixes) related to personal or directional marking. Instead, Tibet languages have developed a nominalization strategy associated with auxiliary verbs (DeLancey 1991, 2010; Tournadre & Jiatso 2001).

Classical Tibetan has a system of ten nominal cases (see Tournadre 2010; Hill 2012a). It is difficult to have a clear picture of the original PT nominal case system. Most of the modern languages have preserved to some extent the nominal cases inherited from Classical Tibetan but in many languages, the number of cases is reduced.

All the Tibet languages exhibit a form of nominal ergative marking, with one or two exceptions such as Baima, however the modern languages differ in the type of ergativity (see Chapter 8). Systems of classifiers, which are found in many ST languages,
are not found in CT nor in the modern languages, although a few rare classifiers are encountered. Hence, it is probable that there was not any system of classifiers in PT.
5. The Tibetan script

Classical Tibetan is closely related to modern Tibetic languages and its orthography allows us to reconstruct many ancient forms and understand the evolution of these modern languages. The first forms of written Tibetan (for the early written sources in Tibetan, see 6.3) are intimately linked to the elaboration of a specific Indic script around the seventh century A.D. No form of Old Tibetan is attested in any other script.

The Tibetan script has also been used to transcribe some other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Nam, Zhangzhung, rGyalrong and Indic languages such as Sanskrit.

We will briefly present below the script and its history as well as some important features of Tibetan syllable structure. Further information about the Tibetan alphabet can be found in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003: 29-52).

5.1. The script and its origin

According to Tibetan tradition, the Tibetan script was created in the seventh century during the reign of King སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ་ Songtsän Gampo by one of his ministers, ཐོན་མི་སམ་བྷོ་ཊ། Thönmi Sambhoṭa. This minister was sent to India and is purported to have created not only the Tibetan alphabet but also to have written eight grammatical treatises (six of which were subsequently lost) as well as translations of various Buddhist sutras. There is a great deal of uncertainty about the historicity of Thonmi Sambhota and his composition of two grammatical treatises that are still well known to Tibetans today: the SUM.CU.PA (སུམ་ཅུ་པ་) and the RTAGS.KYT JUG.PA (རྟགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་). First, the name of this minister is not mentioned even once in the Dunhuang documents, in which all the important ministers of Songtsän Gampo are

1. In a marginal way, transcriptions of the pronunciation of some rGyalrongic languages with the Tibetan script were conducted in 18th century. The documents are named Xiàn Yìyuàn (Chinese-Tibetan vocabulary). Cf. Nishida 1973 and Nishida & Sun 1990.

2. For instance cf. Miller 1976, 1993; Róna-Tas 1985: 183-303; Zeisler 2006b. Kesang Gyurmé is one of the few Tibetan linguists and grammarians who take a critical approach to the tradition. In his view, Thonmi Sambhota may not have written the SUM-RTAGS at all, or at least not its present version (Kesang Gyurmé, pers. comm.). Such an opinion is not likely to be accepted by most Tibetan scholars, since it contradicts tradition. Thonmi is for most religious people a sacred figure and his work cannot be questioned. There is even more uncertainty about the six lost treatises.
listed. Second, there is linguistic evidence suggesting that the ‘current’ versions of the SUM.CU.PA and the RTAGS.KYI JUG.PA treatises were composed not in the seventh century but in the ninth century, or perhaps even later. For example, the grammatical rules of gender agreement explained in the text correspond to the rules of the second orthographic reform which took place during the reign of another Tibetan king, ཁྲི་གཙུག་ལྡེ་བཙན་Thri Tsukdetsän also known as རལ་པ་ཅན་Ralpačän.

What is clear, however, is that the Tibetan script is directly derived from a script used in the Gupta Empire of Northern India. The various types of Gupta script are themselves considered as late forms of Brāhmi script, the ancestor of all modern Indic scripts.

It is hard to tell precisely which variant of Gupta (or closely related scripts such as the Siddham Khotanese and Śāradā alphabets) the Tibetans used as a model to develop their own script. Below is a chart comparing the shape of Gupta letters with Tibetan letters.

Whatever the precise model was, it is clear that the Tibetans slightly transformed the shape of some letters and elaborated them into a very elegant graphic system. But above all, the Tibetan philologists and translators of that time adapted the Indic script to the phonology of their own language. First, they did not incorporate into the basic consonant alphabet the letters corresponding to retroflex and voiced aspirated sounds, because the Tibetan language did not have such sounds.

Second, they invented at least seven letters in order to render the Tibetan affricate series (ts, tsh, dz) as well as some sounds (w, zh, z, ḥ) that did not exist in the Indic

3. This term refers to orthographic and euphonic rules explained in the traditional treatise RTAGS.KYI JUG.PA and many later commentaries.

4. See R. Hoernle 1916, Manuscript remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan. About the various scripts at the origin of the Tibetan alphabet, see e.g. van Schaik 2011; Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 2002; and Saerji 2010.

5. They did, however, create a way to transcribe the Indic letters used for the specific sounds of Sanskrit. See below the ‘six reversed letters’ and the ‘five thick letters’.
script they had taken as a model.\(^6\) It is interesting to note that the Tibetans in their system of transcribing Indic languages used the Tibetan affricates to render the Indic palatal.

### Chart V.1. – Comparison of Early Gupta script with Tibetan script\(^7\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gupta</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ख</td>
<td>kha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ङ</td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>च</td>
<td>ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>छ</td>
<td>cha</td>
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<tr>
<td>ज</td>
<td>ja</td>
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<td>झ</td>
<td>dha</td>
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<tr>
<td>इ</td>
<td>ha</td>
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<tr>
<td>म</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ष</td>
<td>zha</td>
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<tr>
<td>ष</td>
<td>za</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ष</td>
<td>hṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>dhla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प</td>
<td>pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फ</td>
<td>pha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध</td>
<td>da</td>
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<tr>
<td>ब</td>
<td>ba</td>
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<tr>
<td>ध</td>
<td>dha</td>
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<tr>
<td>द्व</td>
<td>dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>न</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>न</td>
<td>nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह</td>
<td>ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sign ङ (see our transliteration system in 5.9) which was originally a vowel in Gupta was interpreted as a consonant probably because the Tibetans perceived

---

6. The sounds either did not exist in the Indic languages or were perceived as different from their Tibetan equivalents. These missing letters appear in grey in the chart above.

7. The chart includes the Gupta letters with their Tibetan correspondences. The Gupta letters are taken from Wikipedia. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gupta_script). The chart does not display the Gupta retroflex and voiced aspirated letters, which have no Tibetan correspondence.
some initial glottal stop [ʔ].\(^8\) The sound 'a probably corresponded to a sound close to a voiced glottal fricative [ɦ]. The designer(s) of the Tibetan alphabet came up with a script consisting of thirty basic consonants \(\text{sālje sumcu} \text{ GSAL.BYED SUM.CU}\) and four diacritic vowels or 'vowel accent' \(\text{yangbi} \text{ DBYANGS BZHI}\). The vowel /a/ is a default vowel, which appears with all the consonants. The chart below gives the thirty consonants and four diacritic vowels of the Tibetan alphabet in the block letter style.

**Chart V.2.** – The 30 consonants and the transliteration

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ཀ} & \text{ka} & \text{.getChildAt(1)} & \text{nga} \\
\text{ཅ} & \text{ca} & \text{.getChildAt(2)} & \text{nya} \\
\text{ཏ} & \text{ta} & \text{蟮} & \text{da} & \text{na} \\
\text{པ} & \text{pa} & \text{.getChildAt(5)} & \text{ba} & \text{ma} \\
\text{ཙ} & \text{tsa} & \text{ViewChild(6)} & \text{dza} & \text{wa} \\
\text{ཞ} & \text{zha} & \text{ViewChild(7)} & \text{za} & \text{ya} \\
\text{ར} & \text{ra} & \text{ViewChild(8)} & \text{la} & \text{sa} \\
\text{ཧ} & \text{ha} & \text{ViewChild(9)} & \text{wa} & \text{a} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Chart V.3.** – The four diacritic vowels: vowel sounds, other than the inherent \(\text{a}\), are indicated by diacritic marks above (\(\text{i}, \text{e}, \text{o}\)) or below (\(\text{u}\)) the consonant.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ཨ} & \text{i} & \text{ViewChild(10)} & \text{u} \\
\end{array}
\]

Apart from the basic thirty consonants and the four accent vowels, the Tibetan alphabet makes use of a few additional letters.

---

\(^8\) The situation is very similar to the Greek adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet. The Greeks did not have some glottal and laryngeal consonantal sounds used in Phoenician, but they needed vowels that the Phoenicians did not have. So they took various signs corresponding to consonantal sounds alien to the Greek language in order to note the vocalic sounds.
The six ‘reversed letters’ ལོག་པ་དྲུག LOG-PA DRUG: ཁ་Ta, ཁ་Tha, ཁ་Da, ཁ་Na, ཁ་Sha, ཁ་kSha. and the five ‘thick letters’ བུག་པོ་ལྔ་MTHUG-POLNGA (breathy-voiced aspirated sounds).

These additional letters correspond to the voiced aspirated (or breathy) sounds and the retroflex sounds of Sanskrit. They are essentially used for the transcription of mantras or foreign loanwords.

In various Indic scripts, the letters corresponding to retroflex and aspirated voiced sounds have specific shapes. The ‘inventors’ of Tibetan script did not copy the shape of their Indic equivalent letters. Instead, they used two original and simple methods to render these sounds, which were absent in their phonology. To transcribe the retroflex sounds, they reversed the shape of the dental series (see the above chart). So that ཁ་Ta ། ཁ་Tha ། ཁ་Da ། ཁ་Na. They did the same for the fricative sounds: ཁ་Sha ། ཁ་kSha.

For the aspirated voiced sounds, they simply affixed a H letter under the various plosive sounds: ཁ་ga ། ཁ་gha, ཁ་da ། ཁ་dha, ཁ་ba ། ཁ་bha, ཁ་dza ། ཁ་dzha, ཁ་Da ། ཁ་Dha.

Tibetan script also has been widely used to transcribe Sanskrit and Zhangzhung texts. In the Tibetan Buddhist tradition (Vajrayana), mantras usually are not translated into Tibetan but, instead, are rendered in a phonetic form of Sanskrit transliterated in Tibetan script. In the Bön tradition, many mantras are reportedly in Zhangzhung language with some Sanskrit or Tibetan words.

The transliteration of mantras is not entirely standardized but the online converter of the Tibetan and Himalayan Library (www.thdl.org) provides an automatic conversion from the Tibetan script to extended Wylie transliteration (and vice versa). One peculiarity of Sanskrit transcription in Tibetan script is that the intersyllabic dot is often dropped within a word.

9. The link between the historically documented Zhangzhung language (in the Dunhuang manuscripts) and the language reported by the later Bön texts is not clear.

Here are some examples of mantras in Sanskrit and their transliteration:

\textit{ célibe}

\textit{aM ma Ni pa d+me hU~M}

\textit{aM aHbU~M' badz+ra gu ru pad+ma sid+dbi hU~M':}

\textit{aM badz+ra sa twa sa ma ya/ma nu pA la ya/ _badz+ra satwa twe no pa/_ tiSh+Tha
dri D+h mo b+hA wa/_/su to Sh+yo me b+hA wa/_/su po Sh+yo me b+hA wa/_ a nu
rak+to me b+hA wa/_ sarba sid+d+bi m+m me pra yats+tsba/ sar+b+ha karma su tsa
me/_tsit+taM sbrI yaM ku ru bUM/_ ha ha ha ha boH_b+ha ga wA na/_ sarba ta_thA
ga ta/_ _badz+ra mA me muny+tsa/__badz+rl b+hA ba ma hA sa ma ya satwa AH__aM
badz+ra sa twa bUM/}

Many philosophical and religious texts – even those written up to the present
day – are headed by Sanskrit titles in Tibetan script. This sometimes occurs when the
text was originally written in Sanskrit and then translated into Tibetan, but with the
original Sanskrit title preserved. Alternatively, a Sanskrit title may be contrived to
accompany a text originally written in Tibetan.

To accommodate Sanskrit sound combinations, several combinations have been
created for the Tibetan script. The consonants are usually stacked vertically. These
combinations are used in the transcription of some Sanskrit mantras. For an exhaustive
list of these combinations, refer to the 'Tibetan Sanskrit' fonts of the Tibetan and Himalayan
Library.
5.2. The Syllable Structure

In written Tibetan, the morphological unit is the syllable. It can be identified in most cases as a letter or groups of letters between two intersyllabic dots called *TSHEG*. The *TSHEG* which is also referred to as *SROG* ’soul’ is fundamental for the reading of Tibetan.

As mentioned earlier, written Tibetan was first used to write down Old Spoken Tibetan, a language spoken at the time of the Tibetan Empire. This language had a rich phonological system and complex syllable structure as we will see now.

The syllable spelling template is (C)(C)\(\overline{C}(C)(C)\overline{V}(C)(C)\).

Thus the initial consonant cluster can theoretically comprise up to five consonants (the two postradicals include glides) and the coda two consonants. However, no combination has eight letters. The most complex attested syllable has seven letters CCCCVCC (see below) and is attested in a few words, but syllables such as CCCVCC, CCCVC, CCVC and CVCC are frequent. The simplest syllable unit is made of one consonant and one vowel CV.

The rhyme structure (vowel nucleus and coda) is straightforward but the consonants appearing in the onset may have different properties depending on their positions (see Jacques 2004).

In written Tibetan, the basic syllable consists of a single radical consonant, or ‘root letter’ ར་ (MING GZHI) and a vowel དབྱངས་ (DBYANGS): CV.

Example: རི RI. This basic syllable is made of a root letter ར་ RA with the diacritic sign བ. As noted above, the vowel a is inherent to all radicals, unless a different vowel sound is indicated by a diacritic either above or below the radical.

Example: ར་ RA. This basic syllable is simply made of a root letter ར་ RA with no diacritic.

This nuclear structure can be expanded upon by combining other consonant sounds with the radical consonant, or by adding consonant sounds after the vowel.

11. The only exceptions are the beginning and the end of a sentence. As mentioned above, the intersyllabic dot is often elided in the mantra transcriptions of Sanskrit.
Consonant sounds are referred to as preradicals when they precede the radical, and as postradicals when they follow the radical. Final consonant sounds following the vowel (inherent or diacritical) are referred to as suffixed consonants.  

Thus, the maximal syllable consists of seven sounds noted by six letters and a diacritical or inherent vowel. This can be represented by the following scheme:

\[(\text{ANTE})+(\text{PRE})+\text{RAD}+(\text{POST})+(\text{POST2})+\text{VOC}+(\text{SUFF})+(\text{SUFF2})\]

The preradical, radical and postradical correspond to the onset of the syllable whereas the vowel corresponds to the nucleus and the suffixed consonant(s) correspond to the coda of the syllable.

In written Tibetan, the 'radical' is in most cases easily identified since it bears the diacritic vowel. With the vowel a, there is no diacritic sign, and the identification of the radical must be deduced from its position in the chain of sounds.

Not all the thirgy radical consonants may appear as preradicals or postradicals. One only finds the following possibilities:

1 antepre-radicals: B
8 pre-radicals: G, D, B, M, ŋ, R, S, L
4 po-radicals: Y, W, R, L
1 second po-radical: W
10 suf-fixed consonants: G, NG, D, N, B, M, R, L, S, ŋ
2 second suf-fixed consonants: D, S.

See the chart V.A., *The eight preradical consonants and the ten final consonants.*

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12. In the some ancient and even recent works describing Literary Tibetan, the term of suffix is also used. Note that the term 'suffix' refers then to suffixed consonant letters, and not to a morphological unit.

13. Concerning the sound R, it generally corresponds to a postradical when it occurs in the second position of the syllable onset, but in some rare words it may be interpreted as a preradical. For example, in the word BRAG 'rock, cliff', the B is a radical and the R is a postradical, while in the word BRIS 'to write', the letter B is a preradical and the R is the radical. For the consonant L, the traditional grammar treats it as postradical when it occurs in the second position of the syllable onset but from a phonotactic point of view, we will see in Chapter 7 that it behaves like a radical in the Tibetic languages.
There are constraints on the combinations of radical consonants with preradicals and postradicals. Thus, for example, the preradical \( R \) is compatible with only twelve radicals out of the thirty consonants: \( RKA, RTA, RTSA, RGA, RJA, RDA, RBA, RDZA, RNGA, RNYA, RNA, RMYA \).

Similarly, the postradical \( y \) is only compatible with seven radicals out of the thirty: \( KYA, PYA, KHYA, PHYA, GYA, BYA, MYA \).

There are even more constraints on the combination of both preradical and postradical occurring together. For example, only three radicals (\( K, G, M \)) out of the thirty can combine with both the preradical \( r \) and the postradical \( y \): \( RKYA, RGYA, RMYA \).

Many combinations not permitted by the Tibetan phonotactics do not have a standard written form. They include \( SKLA, SBLA, RKLA, RBLA, MBLA, MLA, LMA, DLA, SDRA, LDRA, GBRA \), etc.

The traditional terminology to describe Tibetan letters and syllable structure is based on a graphic point of view rather than a phonological one. Although Tibetan writing is oriented from left to right, some of the preradical letters, postradical letters, and vowels are stacked vertically.
CHART V.4. – The thirty root-letters, eight preradical consonants and ten final consonants

Note: our transliteration differs from the Wylie transliteration for the notation of the letter a, which we transcribe as ṭa. For the transliteration of ḍ [ɦ], we use the Wylie symbol ('). See 5.9.

The five preradicals (G, D, B, M, ’) that are written horizontally are called སྔོན་འཇུག་ 'prefixed (letter)' or གྲུབ་ཡིག་ 'prefixed (letter)'. The three preradicals (R, S, L) that are written vertically, i.e. above the radical are called མགོ་ཅན་ 'the head (letters)' or superscript. The four postradicals (Y, W, R, L) are called འདོགས་ཅན་ 'attached letter' or subscript because they are written vertically and attached under the radical. The vowel is called དབྱངས་ 'melody' and the first final consonant are called རྗེས་འཇུག་ 'suffixed (letter)' and the second final consonant is called ཡང་འཇུག་ 'again suffixed'. The five prefixed སྔོན་འཇུག་ (G, D, B, M, ’)
and the ten suffixed letters རྗེས་འཇུག་ RJES, JUG (G, NG, D, N, B, M, R, L, S) are called འཕུལ་རྟེན་ PHUL, RTEN, but there is no general traditional name to call the preradical sounds.

The matrix below represents the graphical display of complex syllables:

The left diagram corresponds to the vowels written above the radical and the right diagram corresponds to the vowel written under the radical.

\[
\begin{array}{c c c c}
\text{VOC} & \text{(PRE)} & \text{RAD} & \text{(SUFF)} \\
\text{(PRE)} & \text{RAD} & \text{(SUFF)} & \text{(SUFF)} \\
\text{(PRE)} & \text{RAD} & \text{(SUFF)} & \text{VOC} \\
\text{(POST)} & \text{(POST)} & \text{VOC} & \text{VOC}
\end{array}
\]

We give below examples of the graphical display of the written syllable:

BSGRIGS 'arranged' written
I
B S G S
G
R

BSGRUBS 'achieved' written
B S B S
G
R
U

In rare cases, a second postradical \textit{wa} is attached vertically as a subscript:

\[
\begin{array}{c c c c}
\text{RAD} & \text{(POST)} \\
\text{(POST)} & \text{(POST)} \\
\text{RAD} & \text{(POST)} \\
\text{(POST)} & \text{(POST)}
\end{array}
\]

For example:

GRWA 'college' written
G
R
W
5.3. Calligraphic styles

It seemed important to include a section about calligraphic styles because the calligraphy plays a significant role in the cultural tradition of the Tibetic areas.

The Tibetan script is remarkably conservative in its form. The shape of the letters has not undergone any significant change during the last 1,250 years.

Thus, the knowledge of the alphabet in the block print style or ར་ལ་འདི། DBU CAN 'Utsi' (lit. 'headed') presented above allows for the reading of Old Tibetan texts without any difficulty.

The Utsi styles are opposed to ར་ལ་འདི། DBU MED 'Ume styles' (lit. 'headless').

"The first script is characterized by short horizontal lines (the 'head') along the tops of many letters, like the serifs of the Latin script, while the second script dispenses with these lines. There are numerous different styles within the headless script [...]." (van Schaik 2014)

There is a rich tradition of calligraphic styles (see e.g. BOD LJONGS DGA' SKYID GLING 2006). The historicity of some of these styles is problematic and more research must be carried out to establish their historical status. There are many block print styles which include the 'Crawling Black Frog' བྱ་ནག་བགྲད་འདྲ། SBUR, NAG BGRAD, DRA, the 'Square-Brick' style སྦྱིལ་པོ་གཤིབ་འདྲ། SO-PHAG GSHIB DRA, the 'Rooster' style རྒྱལ་བུ་འཇོལ་འདྲ། BYA PHO, DRA, the 'Green-Barley-Scattered-on-White-Felt style' བཀྲལ་སྔོན་ཕྱིང་དཀར་སྟེང་བཀྲམ་པ་འདྲ། NAS SNGON PHIBG DKAR STENG BKRAM PA DRA, the 'Pearl String' style རྒྱལ་གྲིག་སྲཀོལ་ བཀྲི་འབྱུར། MUB NIG STAR BRGYUS, the 'Black-Beetle-Crawling' style, རྒྱལ་བུ་འདྲ། SBUR, NAG BGRAD, DRA, and many others.

Over the course of history, the Tibetans have also developed many calligraphic Ume styles for cursive, semi-cursive or elegant handwriting, as well as official or religious purposes, such as རྒྱག་ཡིག་ (KHYU, YIG) Khyugk 'fast letters', འབྲུ་ཚ་ (BRU, TSHA) Drutsa, འཇིག་ཐུང་ (TSHUGS, THUNG) Tshugthung, འི་རྒྱུག (DPE, TSHUGS) Petsbuk,

14. There are even sites entirely devoted to the Tibetan calligraphy. See for example: http://www.zgzzsfw.com/
Nowadays, only the **Ucän** style is common to all the Tibetic-speaking areas and is used in all the schools, universities and monasteries in the five countries, but some Ume styles are found in various areas from Ladakh to Amdo. Some regions such as Amdo or Spiti, do not use cursive styles very often. In Amdo and Kham Ume styles are usually called བཀྲ་ལྟར་ yignak ‘black letters’ as opposed to བཀྲ་བོ་ yigkar ‘white letters’. In Ladakh, Ume style is referred to as རྟྨ་ thrayik ‘thin letters’. In Bhutan, the cursive style is called སྙིང་གྱོགས་ yiggyi ‘fast script’. Certain cursive styles also may be specific to some areas. For example, the Dzongkha cursive style is particular to Bhutan and differs from its equivalent in Central Tibet. However, literate people can usually decipher the various calligraphic styles without difficulty since the variations in the letter shapes are limited.

The first Unicode fonts were developed around 2005. They now include various styles. The main Unicode fonts are: Jomolhari, Microsoft Himalaya, Monlam, Qomolangma Betsu, Qomolangma Chuyig, Qomolang Drutsa, Qomolangma Tsuring, Qomolangma Tsutong, Qomolangma Sarchen, Qomolangma Sarchung, Qomolangma Suring, Qomolangma Sutung, Qomolangma Tsumachu, Qomolangma Uchenbiaoti, Qomolangma Uchenxiaobiaoti, Qomolangma Dunhuang, Qomolangma Edict, Qomolangma Art, and Qomolangma Woodblock. The font series named Qomolangma has been developed by Tashi Tsering and copyrighted by China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC). (These fonts are available at: www.yalasoo.com)

Here are some examples of Unicode fonts corresponding to various Ucän and Ume styles. These samples illustrate the significance of the calligraphy and its development on the internet during the last 15 years.

The text is the same in the various scripts:

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15. See e.g. *ZLA.B TSERING* 1983, 1999; *Tournadre & Sangda Dorje* 2003; *GO.BADBYIG & HRI.ZHOD.LI* 1990.
SNOD KYI SKYON GSUM
RNA BAMI GTOD KHASBUB LTABA'USKYON
YID LAM' DZINZHARS RDOL LTABA'USKYON
NYON MONGS DANG 'DRES DUG CAN LTABAUSKYON

Jomolhari

སྣོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་གསུམ།
རྣ་བ་མི་གཏོད་ཁ་སྦུབ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྐྱོན།
ཡིད་ལ་མི་འཛིན་ཞབས་རྡོལ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྐྱོན།
ཉོན་མོངས་དང་འདྲེས་ཅན་ཅན་བརྒྱུ་སྐྱོན།

Microsoft Himalaya

སྣོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་གསུམ།
རྣ་བ་མི་གཏོད་ཁ་སྦུབ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྐྱོན།
ཡིད་ལ་མི་འཛིན་ཞབས་རྡོལ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྐྱོན།
ཉོན་མོངས་དང་འདྲེས་ཅན་ཅན་བརྒྱུ་སྐྱོན།

Monlam

སྣོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་གསུམ།
ལྟོན་ཁོང་གསུམ་གཙོ་བོའི་སྐྱོན།
ཡིད་ལ་མི་འཛིན་ཞབས་རྡོལ་འི་སྐྱོན།
ཉོན་མོངས་དང་འདྲེས་ཅན་ཅན་བརྒྱུ་སྐྱོན།

Qomolangma-Uchen Sarchen

སྣོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་གསུམ།
ཅ་ོང་ནུལས་དཔོན་དཔོན་འབོད་སྐྱོན།
ཡིད་ལ་མི་འཛིན་ཞབས་རྡོལ་འི་སྐྱོན།
ཉོན་མོངས་དང་འདྲེས་ཅན་ཅན་བརྒྱུ་སྐྱོན།

Qomolangma-Uchen Sutung

སྣོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་གསུམ།
ཅ་ོང་ནུལས་དཔོན་དཔོན་འབོད་སྐྱོན།
ཡིད་ལ་མི་འཛིན་ཞབས་རྡོལ་འི་སྐྱོན།
ཉོན་མོངས་དང་འདྲེས་ཅན་ཅན་བརྒྱུ་སྐྱོན།
Qomolangma-Uchen Sarchung

Qomolangma-Uchen Suring

Qomolangma-Uchen Biaoti

Qomolangma-Uchen Xiaobiaoti

Qomolangma-Dunhuang
Here are some examples of Unicode fonts corresponding to various cursive and ornamental styles: 'KHYU,YIG, 'BRU,'TSHA (Drutsha), 'TSHUGS,THUNG, 'TSHUGS,RING, 'DPE,TSHUGS, 'TSHUGS,MA,'KHYUG, etc.
Qomolangma-Tsuring ཁུང་རིང་ TSUGS.RING

Qomolangma-Tsutong ཁུང་ཐུང་ TSUGS.THUNG

Qomolangma-Tsumachu ཁུང་ན་འཁྱུག་ TSUGS.MA,KHYUG

Qomolangma-Art

དབུ་ཅུ་ཆེ་
བདེ་འཇིགས་ཆེ་
ངལ་བའི་ཤས་
རྒྱུན་མ།
5.4. Ornamental scripts

One should also mention that for ornamental and religious purpose, the Tibetans have used a number of other scripts (see BOD Ljong Dga’ Skyid Giling 2006) such as the so called Persian style tagzik pungyik ནག་གིས་གམ་གིས་ (STAG.ZIG SPUN.GYIG), Lantsa also called Rapijanā བལ་ (LANDZA), Wartu བུ་ (Lantsa and Wartu are used only for Indic languages), Marchen རྩི་ (SMAR.CHEN), Marchung གྲུ་ (SMAR.CHUNG), Lhabab Yige the script descended from the God(s) འབྲུ་ག་ཡི་གེ (LHA.BAB YI.GE), the ‘Agate-style script’, ziyik དོན་ (GZI.YIG), and Yangden Yiksar དབྱངས་ལྡན་གསར་ (DBYANG.LDAN.YIG.GSAR) (See http://www.tibetan-blockstyle.at/). Very few Tibetan monks or experts can read these ornamental scripts and they are usually not used to write texts.

5.5. Graphic abbreviations

Some Tibetan texts make an intensive use of abbreviations. They are frequent in texts written in Ume styles, particularly (but not only) ritual texts. They aim at reducing the number of syllables and the space of the manuscript. The abbreviations are not entirely standardized but they are usually easy to guess. The general principles are to compact two or more syllables into one and to use diacritic signs for some vowels or consonants. Here are some samples of abbreviations written in a Petshuk style. (Examples provided by Thubten Rigzin, pers. comm.):
The above abbreviations respectively correspond to: BYANG.CHUB ‘awakening’, SNYING.PO ‘essence’, DE.BZHIN.GSHEGS.PA, THUGS.RJE CHEN.PO ‘the great compassion’, Dkon.chog gsun ‘the three jewels’, PHYAG 'tshal lo ’(I) prostrate’, GZHAL.YAS,KHANG ‘the palace’, Kun.tu.BZANG,PO ‘Samatadbhara Buddha’, SDUG.BSNGAL ‘suffering’. The abbreviated forms may include a grammatical case (see the example of THUGS.RJE CHEN.POT ‘the great compassion + genitive’.

Here are two additional examples of graphic abbreviations: བཅིུག BCUIG (for BCU.GCIG) ‘eleven’ བཅིུས་ BCUIS (for BCU.GCIG) ‘twelve’.

The number of abbreviated terms may be very high in some texts and essentially depends on the frequencies of the terms.

5.6. Printing techniques

The various texts written in OT were mainly found on paper manuscripts, wooden tablets, bells or stone pillar (see Chapter 6). A significant part of the Classical literature appears in a printed form.

There are mainly two types of traditional printing techniques: xylographic (requiring a single carved block for each page); and typographic, made with interchangeable pieces of movable type (Gutenberg’s technique). The first printed documents probably appeared in China in the second half of the ninth century as mentioned by Pelliot (1953: 47):

« Le plus ancien imprimé daté qui soit un véritable livre, formé de la réunion de feuilles tirées sur un certain nombre de planches, est le Jingang jing, c’est-à-dire une version chinoise de la Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā ‘The Diamond Sūtra’ qui se termine par un colophon imprimé daté du 11 mai 868. »16

16. “The oldest printed work that is dated, which is truly a book, made up of a collection of pages printed with print blocks, is the Jingang jing, i.e. a Chinese version of the Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā, which concludes with a colophon dated 868, May 11.”
In India, the Jesuits had established printing houses by the second half of the sixteenth century in Goa, but printing production developed during the seventeenth century (see Robin 2003: 156).

The carving and production of xylographic blocks in Tibetan script probably began during the thirteenth century (Jackson 1990; Robin 2003) in China and in Xixia. This time-tested technique is still used in Tibet, Bhutan, India, and Nepal, essentially for topics such as religion, philosophy, medicine or astral sciences. However, most readers now favor modern printed editions.

The diffusion of the Literary language is certainly linked to the xylographic technique and the multiplication of Tibetan printing houses parkhang བར་ཁང་ (Par.Khang). Interestingly, during the twentieth century, Tibetans developed a few models of typewriters with Tibetan keys.

Since the 1990s, various Tibetan fonts have been created which allow printing Tibetan texts from computers. As mentioned earlier, there has also been a considerable development of on-line publications in Tibetan after 2006, thanks to the elaboration of Unicode fonts. The coexistence of a living xylographic tradition and computer fonts is a rare phenomenon among the languages of the world.

5.7. Reading and spelling styles

The reading pronunciation of Literary Tibetan has many variations, depending on the native phonology of the readers. The same literary text may be read with tones e.g. in Ü, Tsang, Spiti, Kham, Dzongkha, and Lhoke or without tones in Ladaks and Amdo. There are also many segmental differences. In Amdo and Ladaks, the preradicals R, S, L, D, G, B are more or less pronounced, while they are absent in Central Tibetan, Kham, Dzongkha, and Lhoke. The preradicals ’ and M are read as prenasals in Eastern Tibet but usually not pronounced in Ü, Tsang or in the Western Tibetic areas of Ladakh. Other variations are related to the reading pronunciations of the final consonants (G, NG, D, N, B, M, R, L, S). These nine final sounds are still clearly realized in Ladaks reading pronunciation, but only partially in some Amdo dialects; and they have entirely disappeared in some south-eastern languages of the Kham area.
Note that in Amdo, there is no difference in the reading pronunciation of some letters, such as མ་ KA vs. མ་ GA, མ་ CA vs. མ་ JA, མ་ TA vs. མ་ DA. So in order to distinguish these letters, various expressions describing the shape of the letters are used. For example, (DPAL. JAM 1999: 142; Jangbu Dorje Thshering, pers. comm.) མ་ KA = མ་ ག་ with opened mouth; མ་ KA = མ་ ག་ with mouth shut; མ་ CA = མ་ ཇ་ 'CA with round (shape)', etc. In the same way, Central Tibetan does not distinguish between མ་ 'A vs. མ་ 'A, so the former is usually referred to as མ་ 'ACHUN' 'little A' and the latter as མ་ 'CHEN' 'big A' (Beyer 1992: 43) or, more often, simply མ Arial.

The various reading styles are often associated with various spelling techniques. In Amdo, spelling is called ང་རིས་ TSHEG SDUD and in Central Tibet གཟིགས་འབྲི་ SBYORGLOG.

Differing pronunciations of the alphabet and spelling styles have been recorded by 'BRONG RWA ME BA' in 145 Tibetic varieties (see the site of 'BRONG RWA ME BA' in the webography).

In the Central Tibetan method of spelling, the prefixed letter is followed by the syllable ཀྱིའ། 'OG /o/ lit. 'under' (or 'after') while in eastern spelling styles (Amdo and Kham), the final consonant is followed by the syllable བཝི། 'BZHAG /zh/ lit. 'to put'. Both systems use the syllable རྫིོ། /p tạ/ (Amdo) and /ta/ (Central Tibet).

For example:

བཏབ། BTAB 'to plant' (past) is spelled in Amdo: /wa ta wa'zhog/ > /tap/ and in Central Tibet: /p'ao ta pa/ > /tap/.

སྲུལ། SBRUL 'snake' is spelled in Amdo: /sa wa'tax/ 'ba ra'tax 'dza zhamcha 'dpo la 'zhag 'dol/ and in Central Tibetan: /sa pata pa rata ta shapkyu tu la tsiu/.

Additionally, within the same area, one should make a distinction between reading and colloquial pronunciations. For example, one can distinguish reading and colloquial pronunciation in Central Tibet, Amdo, Kham, Dzongkha, and Ladaks, etc.

Let's give some examples of differences between the various reading and colloquial styles in central Tibetan dialect (Lhasa) and Amdo.17 In the chart, we indicate the

17. Xinghai (Tsogorthang).
Tones because the variation between the reading and colloquial pronunciation also involve suprasegmental changes. See Table V.5.

**TABLE V.5.** Examples of differences between reading and colloquial styles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary Tibetan</th>
<th>Lhasa</th>
<th>Amdo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Colloquial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བལ་</td>
<td>/p’ãl/</td>
<td>/p’ã:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ིིག་</td>
<td>/mik/</td>
<td>/mi’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལྷུལ་</td>
<td>/tʃul/</td>
<td>/tʃu:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལེང་</td>
<td>/m’a/tɕin/</td>
<td>/m’a/ /tiŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཡ་མ་</td>
<td>/ʃin/</td>
<td>/ʃin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤུ་</td>
<td>/p’uð/</td>
<td>/p’i/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sanskrit mantras and texts are also read according to local traditions. The pronunciation of Sanskrit words may also be specific for a given language or dialect. 21

**5.8. Adaptation of the script to modern Tibetic languages**

During the twentieth century, the necessity of writing down modern spoken Tibetic languages has been advocated for educational reasons in order to facilitate access to a written language.

Vernacular Tibetic languages are usually referred to as phälkä phel sKYad and they are usually opposed to bod yig ‘written Tibetan’ and chos skYad lit. ‘Dharma language’, which refers to the Classical language of the…

18. The verb mTthong does exist in southern Amdo dialects such as Ngapa and Dzorge but it is not used in many northern Amdo dialects. Instead the verb RIG is used for the same meaning. So ‘not seen’ /ma rəχ/.
19. In colloquial Amdo, the verb PHYIN is not used and replace by the verb SONG: /ma song/.
20. The reading pronunciation /palma/ and the colloquial pronunciation /warma/ is also attested (e.g. Golok and Ngawa).
21. Thubten Rigzin gives examples of Sanskrit words read with a very different pronunciation in Ü-Tsang and Amdo (pers. comm.).
Buddhist canons. As mentioned in Chap. 1.3, it should be emphasized that the two terms བོད་ཡིག་ BOD.YIG and ཆོས་སྐད་ CHOS.KAD are sometimes used as synonyms, which is problematic. The reason is that written Tibetan is used for purposes other than Buddhism, such as historical texts, medicine, modern science and technologies, etc.; and also because it is utilized for another religion in Tibet, namely བོན་ BON. The term ཆོས་ CHOS, which originally meant ‘dharma, phenomenon’, has acquired the meaning of ‘religion’ in a more general sense and is also used by Balti and Purik Muslims to refer to Islam. The Bönpos however are reluctant to use the term ཆོས་ CHOS which they perceive as Buddhist and use instead the term བོན་ BON. For example, they don’t say ཆོས་ SKU ‘dharmakaya’, but བོན་ SKU. The Bön canons are written in བོད་ཡིག་ BOD.YIG but Bönpos would not say that they are written in ཆོས་སྐད་ CHOS.KAD!

The term ཆོས་སྐད་-DU ‘in Dharma language’ is never used in these contexts. Concerning the confusion between ‘written language’, ‘script’ and ‘religion’ and their negative consequences, see 2.6.2.

In Bhutan the term གོམ་ Chöke (CHOS.KAD) is used for political reasons to avoid the use of བོད་ཡིག་-DU ‘written Tibetan’. Chöke is mainly used in the monasteries whereas Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan, is used for all other social purposes.

Some Buddhists from Tibet, as well as from other Tibetic regions such as Bhutan, Sikkim or Ladakh, traditionally considered (and still consider) written Tibetan as sacred. In some cases, this great prestige and holiness extends to the script itself:22

22. In some cases, the sacredness of the written language could apply indeed to any script. Once, in Paris, a lama saw his disciples sitting on telephone books and was shocked: Tibetans would never walk over a book, much less sit on one! Two anecdotest reported by a Ladakhi called Gelek (pers. comm. Leh 2017) confirm the sacredness of the Tibetan script: in Lamdon (LAM.SGRON) Tibetan school in Leh,
Not only old prayer books or prayer flags, but also secular books or even sometimes ordinary papers with Tibetan script would not be thrown away but burned or preferably buried into caves, stupas or mani walls.\textsuperscript{23}

Coming back to the Tibetic languages, we have just seen that the contrast is not only between written language and spoken vernacular languages, but also between lay spoken languages and written ‘sacred language’. Thus, the idea that only written Classical Tibetan is worth teaching is still rooted in the minds of many people.\textsuperscript{24}

The problem is that Classical Tibetan is quite different in its phonology, vocabulary and grammar from the modern Tibetic languages spoken in and outside Tibet. The younger generations find Classical Tibetan quite difficult to learn and often complain about it.\textsuperscript{25}

Thus, the severe diglossia between Classical Literary Tibetan (or even modern Literary Tibetan) and the vernacular languages has created a lot of obstacles for the democratisation of literacy and the development of a modern curriculum.

\textsuperscript{23} This again is not unique to Tibetans. In the Jewish tradition for example, old or defective copies of Torah and other scriptures are kept in a special ‘cemetery’ called geniza. Similar remarks could also apply to Hinduism and texts written in Sanskrit.

\textsuperscript{24} Similar attitudes toward the spoken languages are found in other cultural traditions: Written Hebrew was traditionally considered as a ‘sacred language’ (Lashon ha-qodesh) and Eliezer Ben Yehuda, the ‘father’ of modern Hebrew in the beginning of the twentieth century had difficulties convincing other members of Jewish communities that it was necessary to speak in a form of Hebrew for lay purposes. A similar situation, even more similar to the modern Tibetic languages, is attested with the modern Arabic languages, because of dialectal diversity. One often opposes the spoken lay ‘dialects’ called darja with fusha i.e. Literary Arabic, the ‘sacred Qoranic language’. As in the case of the Tibetic languages, modern Arabic languages called ‘dialects’ do not allow a good mutual intelligibility and is some cases do not allow even basic communication.

\textsuperscript{25} The situation is similar to the speakers of Romance languages (Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, etc.) who were obliged to learn Latin until the 1960s, 1970s. They felt the language was not relevant to daily life, as well as terribly difficult, and thus were often bored.
Within Tibet, under the Chinese administration, speakers of the main ‘languages’ (or groups of dialects, see Chapter 9) of the three traditional Provinces – Ü-Tsang, Amdo and Kham – who could have easily transcribed their language in a written form, have thus far resisted the idea. Following the long-established tradition, they have favored the use and the teaching of Literary Tibetan (in a modernized form) as the ‘common written language’ within Tibet (both in the TAR and TAPs). The reason is that distinguishing written forms of Amdo, Kham and Central Tibetan would undermine the political and cultural unity of ethnic Tibetans living in the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures of Eastern Tibet.

Despite the existence of a common literary language (བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་སྐད་), the need of མི་ཤི་སྐད་‘Common (spoken) Tibetan’ remains a real issue since oral communication between Tibetans of various distant areas is still impossible or very difficult in many cases. The precise definition of མི་ཤི་སྐད་‘Common in its spoken form (but also in its written form) has generated many debates (see e.g. DPAL, JAM 1999; DON, GRUB LHARGYAL, ibid.). In the TAR and in the exile communities (see Chapter 9.6), a form of Common Tibetan, based on the language of the capital, has de facto emerged (see Chapter 9) and could easily spread to the regions of Eastern Tibet, but so far, it has not received any official support.

In the other Tibetic areas of India, Nepal, Bhutan and Pakistan the attitude towards the transcription of vernacular languages varies with each region.

However, generally speaking, the option to write the vernacular languages or རྒྱུ་སྐད་ PHAL-SKAD phälkä has generated hot linguistic and political debates from officials, intellectuals and monks in the whole Tibetic area for more than a century.

For example, the great scholar Gendün Chömpel stated:

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26. Even if some authors incorporate a few dialectal elements in their writing on occasion (see 6.7.2).
27. We leave aside the situation in Myanmar where the number of Tibetic speakers is very small.
28. In the review La tse (Fall 2005), p. 30 LADWAGSKYI AGBARDANG DE’RGYAB JONGS an article by RSON NAMS TSHE RING. RANG RE RNAM JISRID BSTAN CHOS KI THAS NYAD DANG CHOS SKAD CHA
“As long as we use Dharma language and the terms of the Buddhist doctrine, Tibetan language will remain united in the whole of Tibet. However, nowadays some people from the periphery [of the Tibetan area] have the negative habit of writing books and dictionaries in the vernacular language. One should really be very careful with such trends.”

During the last quarter of the twentieth century, new linguistic policies began to emerge which favored the promotion of the vernacular languages such as Dzongkha, Lhoke, Ladaks, Sherpa and Balti and their transcription in a written form. Until now, out of these five languages only Dzongkha, and to lesser extent Lhoke and Ladaks, have produced a significant number of publications.

Writing down these languages required linguistic expertise for standardization purposes as well as political backing and support. School books, dictionaries, history books, collections of proverbs, language manuals, and newspapers, etc. have been published in Dzongkha, Lhoke and Ladaks, and some publications have also been issued in Sherpa and Balti.

Apart from the numerous newspapers published in Literary Tibetan, a few newspapers or magazines have been published in other Tibetan languages, the main ones being the Dzongkha newspaper Kuensel (ཀུན་གསལ་ "KUN.GSAL"), Ladags Melong 'The Mirror of Ladakh' (ལ་དྭགས་མེ་ལོང་ "LA.DWAGS.MELONG"), the Sikkhimese newspapers Sikkim Today (སེམ་ཁྲི་ཆེན་པོ་ "DAL.THY.BRAS.LJONGS") and the Sikkim Herald (སེམ་ཁྲི་ཆེན་པོ་ "BRAS.LJONGS.BYAMARTA").

29 Some attempts were made much earlier. In the case of Ladaks, a written style had already been elaborated by Moravian missionaries in the nineteenth century.

30 With the help of native philologues or even foreign linguists such as G. van Driem for Dzongkha and S. Koshal for Ladakhi.
Many newspapers in Literary Tibetan are now published online (see some examples in the webography), but online newspapers in other Tibetic languages are very few. A notable exception is the Bhutanese newspaper Kuensel which is now online. Bhutan Broadcasting Service (BBS) launched its Dzongkha website in 2008.

In the Tibetic area of the southern and western Himalayas, along with the vernacular languages (Dzongkha, Lhoke, Ladaks and Sherpa) and the national or official languages (Hindi, Urdu, Nepali, English), Literary Tibetan has remained in use mainly for religious purposes in the Buddhist or Bönpo monasteries.

Even outside Tibet, the attitude towards the transcription of Tibetic vernacular languages has not always been positive and is still a hotly contested issue, for example in Ladakh. This attitude appears clearly in an article, “Ladakhi language change: progress or decay?” by Sonam Wangchuk published in the Ladags Melong “The Mirror of Ladakh” (2005: 18–22):

“For several months under the umbrella of the Ladakh Cultural forum and the Central Institute of Buddhist studies (CIBS) Choglamsar, have been running an aggressive campaign against what they call ‘the destruction of the old grammar’ by Ladags Melong. They have been issuing veiled and even open threats of mob violence against Ladags Melong for writing in Modern Ladakhi of the twenty-first century.”

One could argue as Zeisler (2006a): “that Literacy in phalskat, on the other hand, as well as an understanding of its grammar through adequate training in school, may well enhance the understanding of choskat, which after all is the younger cousin of Ladakhi and Balti phalskat.”

Even if a part of the Ladakhi clergy together with some Tibetan monks have been very critical in the past about the use of written Ladaks, the situation is now gradually changing. A few prominent members of the Ladakhi clergy have produced excellent translations of religious and historical texts from Classical Tibetan into Ladaks.

As reported by Zeisler (2006a), Bakula Rangdol Nima Rinpoche, an eminent Ladakhi lama “wrote a grammar for Ladakhi phalskat just because ultimately everybody should learn choskat.” The book called ’LADWAGS,SI BRDA’,SPROD BZHUS,SO Ladakhi grammar is composed in written Ladaks (in a style influenced by
The same author, Bakula Rangdol Nima, has also published in 2014 a translation in Ladaks language (from CT) of the famous Nāgārjuna’s BSHES.PAI SPRING.YIG ‘Letter to a Friend’ and in 2010, the translation of the Dharmapāla CHOS SI TSHIGS BCAD. A well-know Khenpo, Knochok Phanday, has also published several books in written Ladaks, including CHOS.BYUNG RAB BSDUS 31 A Brief Modern Religious History of Tibet and Ladakh (2017). Despite its title (both in English and Tibetan), the book also deals with the secular history of Tibet and Ladakh. These authors rightly argue that if the Ladaks language is not written down and taught in the schools, it will be replaced not by Tibetan (written or spoken) but by Hindi-Urdu or English and that will be the end of the Ladakhi culture.

In the case of Sherpa, the clergy has clearly supported the idea of writing down vernacular Tibetic languages. For instance, Ngawang Tenzin, the abbot of Tengpoche monastery in the Khumbu area of Nepal has advocated the use of written Sherpa in order to preserve the language, which is threatened by the spread of Nepali and English. 32

The choice of a script

In general, the choice of Tibetan script to write down Ladaks, Dzongkha and Lhoke has been natural and obvious. 33 However, in some cases, there has been debates about the type of script used to transcribe the language, because of political, national or religious factors.

For example, Balti has been written down using Tibetan, Arabo-Persian and Latin alphabets. 34 Some Balti scholars have been reluctant to use Tibetan script because they

31. The title literally means a Brief History of the Dharma. In the book, three languages are used: the preface is in Literary Tibetan, whereas the first part is in written Ladaks and the second part is in English.
32. Ngawang Tenzin Rinpoche has written the preface for the Sherpa-English dictionary with Literary Tibetan and Nepali equivalents (Tournadre et al. 2009).
33. For example, in Central and Upper Ladakh, the strong cultural references to the Tibetan Buddhist culture have motivated the choice of the Tibetan alphabet. Due to the complex political and linguistic situation within the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Northern India, Ladakhi children have to learn two, three or four scripts: Tibetan alphabet, Devanāgari alphabet, Arabo-Urdu alphabet and Latin alphabet... The choice of Tibetan or Arabo-Urdu is usually motivated by the religion of the parents.
34. The Qur'an has already been translated into Balti using the Urdu script.
automatically associate it with Vajrayāna Buddhism. Other scholars on the contrary want to reintroduce Tibetan script, which was dropped nearly five hundred years after the conversion to Shiʻah Islam.\footnote{A Balti historian from Hardas, Mohammad Sadiq, said “the loss of the Tibetan script was the ‘biggest accident’ in the History of Baltistan” (Mohammad Sadiq, pers. comm. Hardas, 2019).}

However, as we have demonstrated before, automatically associating a particular script with a given religion is not always the correct assumption.

A good example is provided by the Bangladeshis, who, after independence and despite the fact the large majority were Muslims, chose to maintain the use of the Bengali Indian script rather than Arabo-Persian.

Similar debates and discussions about the choice of a script have also taken place in the Purik-speaking area of Ladakh and even in Leh, within the Muslim Ladakhspeaking community. Some prominent members of the Arghon Sunni community have declared that they are clearly in favor of the Tibetan script, but lament the fact that the majority of books in the Ladakhs language still deal with the Buddhist religion; they wish there would be more books on secular and scientific subjects.\footnote{N. Tournadre interviewed in December 2018, Mohammed Shafi Lassu, a well-known lawyer from Leh, who declared that his grandfather, a renown member of the Arghon community, knew only the Tibetan script and unfortunately, given the school system of Ladakh, which imposes the choice between “Urdu (Arabo-Persian)” and “Tibetan scripts” he himself had taken Urdu at school and could not read the Tibetan script although his mother tongue is the Ladakhs language. Until the independence of India, educated Muslims of Ladakh in Leh and Kargil (whether Balti or Khache / Arghon) would mainly write in written Tibetan.}

Sherpa has been written in three alphabets: Tibetan, Latin and Nāgarī. The alternative scripts, Latin and Nāgarī, were proposed because Sherpa children already learn these two scripts within the Nepalese school system. However, for cultural and linguistic reasons, the Sherpa elite usually favor the Tibetan script. In Sikkim, the school books to learn Sherpa have been using Tibetan script since their introduction.

Introduction of new graphs

In most cases, the phonology of these Tibetic languages could be easily transcribed in Tibetan script without creating new letters. There are, however, a few exceptions,
particularly in Balti and Lhoke. In most cases, the new letters are created by adding a diacritic sign to already existing Tibetan letters.

In Balti, additional letters were proposed to render various phonemes present in Persian or Urdu but absent in the Tibetan alphabet. The main letters are \( \ddot{q} /q/ \), \( \ddot{x} /x/ \), \( \ddot{r} /r/ \) which are now standardised Unicode graphemes. For example, the word 'choice, election' is written ནིན་ཏེ་ཁཱའབ་/intexâb/ (a word borrowed from Persian and ultimately from Arabic) in Balti Tibetan script. For the \( /q/ \) and the \( /x/ \) alternative notations, respectively as \( \ddot{r} /r/ \) and a \( \ddot{x} /x/ \) with a subscribed dot, have been proposed in the same way as the Urdu words are transcribed in Nāgarī script. Both notations for \( /x/ \) and \( /q/ \) are both rational and functional. The notation using reverse letters is classical in Tibetan (such as \( \ddot{t} /t/ \) and \( \ddot{p} /p/ \)) and so is the crook which is used to distinguish \( \ddot{c} /c/ \) and \( \ddot{c} /c/ \). Other new graphs have also been introduced to render the sounds \( \ddot{u} /q/ \) (a dot under \( \ddot{a} /a/ \)), \( /f/ \) (a dot under \( \ddot{f} /f/ \)), \( \ddot{d} /d/ \) and \( \ddot{s} /s/ \), etc. These sounds are also used in Balti to transcribe Urdu or Persian loanwords.

Whatever the final political decision concerning the choice of the Arabo-Persian script or the Tibetan script, it is important to develop a system which would allow automatic conversion from one script into the other. Such systems exist, e.g. for the automatic conversion of Nagari Hindi script and arabo-persian Urdu as well as for the conversion of Tajik Cyrillic and arabo-persian Farsi.

Another Tibetic language, Lhoke, has also introduced four additional letters \( \ddot{p} /p/ \), \( \ddot{y} /y/ \), \( \ddot{b} /b/ \) and \( \ddot{m} /m/ \). These notations are now standardised and Unicode graphemes have been created by Thubten Rigezin (alias Sébastien Carrillo) in 2010 for these letters.

Introduction of spaces between words

In Dzongkha and Lhoke, unlike in Literary Tibetan, words or phrases are separated by spaces, just as European written languages. This facilitates reading for people who are not trained in Classical Tibetan. The notation of spaces has generally not been used in other languages, such as Ladaks and Sherpa. So far Modern Literary Tibetan has resisted the temptation of introducing spaces between words. Manuals of
Central Tibetan (Lhasa Tibetan), Kham and Amdo for foreigners have not used this strategy either.

**New letter combinations**

Among the important innovations related to the new Tibetic written systems, one should mention some specific combinations of consonants which are absent in the syllabic pattern of Classical Tibetan. They include mainly the following combinations of final consonants:

- སི་- RS, ཁྲ་- NS and ཁྲ་- DS (Ladakhs)
- སྒྲ་- NGMO, ཁྲ་- NGM, སྒྲ་- NM, ཁྲ་- DW, ཁྲ་- LW, སྒྲ་- RM, etc. (Dzongkha)
- སྒྲ་- NGMO, ཁྲ་- NGM, སྒྲ་- NM, ཁྲ་- DB, སྒྲ་- RM, etc. (Dränjong)

Let us illustrate these combinations by the following words:

- **in Ladakhi:** མོ་ཞེ་- ZERS/zers/‘to tell’ (past), མོ་ཞེ་- MDZADS/dzats/‘to make’ (past, Hon), མོ་ཞེ་- LTANS/ltans/‘to show’ (past);
- **in Dzongkha:** མོ་ཞེ་- SLOB-DPONM/loppöm/‘female teacher’, མོ་ཞེ་- GSOLW/söu/‘give’, མོ་ཞེ་- RINGMO/ri:m/‘long’, མོ་ཞེ་- STONGM/to:m/‘empty’, མོ་ཞེ་- SKARM /ka:m/‘star’;

One of the main principles of the modern written languages such as Ladakhs, Lhoke, Dzongkha and Sherpa has been to preserve as much as possible the traditional orthography of Classical Literary Tibetan, i.e., whenever the reading pronunciation of the Literary cognate is not too far of the actual pronunciation in the given language. It seems written Balti has not followed this principle and has not tried to preserve the traditional Tibetan orthography. This may be due to the fact that Balti philologists are not well versed in Literary Tibetan, but also to the fact they generally write Balti in Urdu script. This is reminiscent of the strategy used in the orthography of Romance languages, particularly French, which made certain compromises to preserve some traces of Latin orthography.
In other words, the modern orthography of these written Tibetic languages is a compromise between the reading pronunciation of Literary Tibetan and their vernacular pronunciation.

Thus, for example, the word ‘iron’ is written ལྕགས་LCAGS in Ladaks, Dzongkha and Lhoke, as it is in Literary Tibetan, although, the initial L and the final S are not pronounced in Dzongkha and Lhoke.

Of course, this orthographic principle would not apply to some grammatical morphemes and lexical items when they are absent in Classical Tibetan or when the reflexes are not obvious.

After a little training, people who have a good knowledge of Literary Tibetan would be able to read Dzongkha, Ladaks, Lhoke, Sherpa or Balti without great difficulty. Conversely, people who have a good knowledge of one of those modern written Tibetic languages can easily learn Literary Tibetan.

5.9. Transliteration

Tibetan script can be easily transliterated in the Roman alphabet. The transliteration provides the orthography of Literary Tibetan (see the Conventions, p. 25-30) but does not give any precise information about the modern pronunciation (for this purpose, see the transcription presented in the Chap. 7). Since Western scholars first encountered Tibetan script, multiple ways of transliteration have been proposed. At present, a standardized transliteration system, known as the Wylie Transliteration (already mentioned in Chap. 1) is widely used by scholars around the world. Let us compare several ways of ‘letter-to-letter’ transliteration of the thirty radical letters39 (see Chart V.6.).

Transliteration allows the rendering of the exact spelling of the original Tibetan text. This is achieved by representing each and every character and diacritic of the Tibetan orthography by one – or occasionally two – character(s) of the Roman alphabet.

39. Some transliteration systems may use different roman scripts for certain Tibetan letters depending on radical or preradical letters. There are other systems such as the Pelliot transliteration and the US Library of Congress systems.
Transliterations in the Roman alphabet write the Tibetan letters in a linear horizontal form even when they are vertically stacked. The superiority of the system of Wylie transliteration is that its font set is limited to ASCII characters, which enables us to input the characters using any language keyboards and softwares and to save a document in any standard formats, such as .txt, .rtf and .doc.

An 'extended' version of the Wylie system has been developed by the Tibetan and Himalayan Library of the University of Virginia.

Wylie transliteration is very convenient to write in Tibetan Unicode, which allows writing documents and emails in Tibetan script. Additionally, as mentioned in 5.1, Wylie Transliteration can be automatically converted into Tibetan script and vice versa. To Thus, apart from the visual display, the two systems are equivalent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan script</th>
<th>Jäschke</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Zeisler/Bielmeier</th>
<th>Chinese style</th>
<th>Wylie</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41. The so-called Chinese style is based on the Wylie transliteration but is influenced by the IPA.
The Tibetan Script

For example, a stance such as:

\[\text{dge slong dag gam mkhas rnams kyis/ / bsregs bcad brdar ba'i gser bzhin du/ / legs par brtag la nga yi bka'/ / blang bar bya yi gus phyir min/ /}\]

can be automatically converted into Tibetan script, in one click:

\[
\text{དགེ་སློང་དག་གམ་མཁས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས།}
\]
\[
\text{སྲེགས་བཅད་བརྡར་བའི་གསེར་བཞིན་དུ།}
\]
\[
\text{ལེགས་པར་བརྟག་ལ་ང་ཡི་བཀའ།}
\]
\[
\text{བླང་བར་བྱ་ཡི་གུས་ཕྱིར་མིན།}
\]

In this book, we will use the Wylie 'letter-to-letter' transliteration with only one minor amendment. The letter \(\breve{a}\) is normally transliterated as \(\text{A}\), but we will transliterate it as \(\text{ʔA}\). Our choice is motivated by two reasons. First every Tibetan letter is rendered by a specific sign of the Latin alphabet except this letter \(\breve{a}\). The \(\text{A}\) of the Wylie transliteration is ambiguous because it may refer to either the inherent vowel following a consonant (see the chart above) or to the 'consonant' \(\breve{a}\). The second reason is motivated by a phonological argument. The letter \(\breve{a}\) was not a vowel since it was grouped together with consonants and it probably corresponded to a glottal stop /ʔ/. Thus, in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan script</th>
<th>Jäschke</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Zeisler/Bielmeier</th>
<th>Chinese style¹²</th>
<th>Wylie</th>
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<tr>
<td>སྲ</td>
<td>'a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a / ?a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹² The so-called Chinese style is based on the Wylie transliteration but is influenced by the IPA.
¹³ We did not use here the small caps or italics for the Wylie transliteration because the THL converter is case sensitive.
¹⁴ This is similar to de Nebesky-Wojkowitz’s (1956) way of transliteration.
this book, we transliterate the letter མ as ʔ. In addition, all the transliterated letters are to be in italics and small capitals in order to distinguish clearly the transliteration from the body of text and other transcriptions.

Another small difference with the Wylie transliteration is the distinction between the 'prefixed letter' ག (preradical) in front of a radical letter ག and the radical letter ག in front of a subscript ག (postradical). Tibetan spelling does not allow such ambiguities in other cases. In fact, this ambiguity does not appear in the script itself because in the first case, the letters are written on a horizontal line whereas in the second case, they are stacked vertically: ག་ཐང་ and ག་ཐང་ are both made of the same letters ག-ཀ-ཐང. In the Wylie transliteration, these two words are distinguished by inserting a period after the prefixed letter ག: ག-ལ་GYANG‘abyss’ ག-ལ་GYANG‘wall’. In our transliteration system, we do not use a period because this sign is used for the intersyllabic dot (see below). So in order to distinguish such combinations, we use a medium level dot after the prefixed letter ག: ག‧GYANG versus གGYANG.

Tibetan texts appear as strings of syllables separated by an intersyllabic dot without any word segmentation. The Wylie system uses a space to render the intersyllabic dot. Thus a Tibetan sentence in Wylie transliteration appears as:

\[
\text{dang po bsgom bya dal ’byor rin chen ’di/thob dka’ jig sla da res don yod bya/}
\]

In the above example, there is no word segmentation.

In descriptive linguistic studies, sentences are often presented with word segmentation. We will present word segmentation in the following way: polysyllabic

---

45. Thus for example in the Wylie style compare ང་ ’mouth’ and ང་ ’Amdo province’. In the first word, the Wylie a notes the default vowel of the sign ང, while in the second word, it notes the consonant ང ག that we propose to transliterate as A-MDO. Of course the ambiguity is resolved by the combination of letters since the ‘a’ corresponding to the consonant ང occurs only at the initial of a syllable, while the default vowel ‘a’ occurs only after an initial consonant.

46. “First one should contemplate this precious human birth which is hard to obtain and easily lost. One should make this life meaningful.”
The Tibetan Script

words are indicated by a dot between the syllables and words are separated by a space (just as in European languages). Thus the above sentence may be displayed as:

DANG.PO BSGOM-BYA DAL. 'BYOR RIN.CHEN 'DI//THOB DKA' JIG SLA DA. RES DON YOD BYA//.

Thanks to the spaces, one immediately visualizes the words, either monosyllabic such as BSGOM, 'DI, THOB, etc. or polysyllabic such as DANG.PO, DAL. 'BYOR, RIN.CHEN, DARES.

For glossing rules, it is also useful to mark the grammatical affixes (suffixes and prefixes) or clitics. For this purpose, we use the hyphen (as opposed to the dot which marks the syllables within lexical words).

For glossing rules, it is also useful to mark the grammatical affixes (suffixes and prefixes) or clitics. For this purpose, we use the hyphen (as opposed to the dot which marks the syllables within lexical words).

This convention will be used in Chapter 8.

There is another issue in the transliteration: the capitalization rule. The Wylie system does not decide on a rule of capitalization for the proper names, but according to Wylie's own convention (1962), the first letter of a word should be capitalized, as 'Lha sa' and 'Skal bzang'. Another capitalization rule also exists: the radical letter of the first

47. The use of a dot similar to a period to mark the Tibetan intersyllabic dot has been applied by various authors (Denwood 1999; Vokurková 2008; Oisel 2013). It is necessary to indicate the syllabic border because syllables are often meaningful. RGYALNGA may be segmented as RGYAL 'victorious' NGA 'me' or RGYA 'vast' LNGA 'live', LABZHI > LA 'past' + BZHI 'four' or LAB 'to talk' + ZHI 'calm'. BYASNA > BYA 'bird' + SNA 'nose' or BYAS 'to do (past)' + NA 'if'; PHAGRO > PHA 'there' + RO 'wheat' or PHAG 'pig' + RO 'corpse'.
syllable of a word should be capitalized, as ‘lHa sa’ and ‘sKal bzang’. This book uses the radical letter capitalization rule to make references.

5.10. Derivation of romanization from transliteration

As we explained earlier (see Conventions) a standardized system of romanization is necessary to avoid multiple spellings of Tibetan toponyms and names. In order to achieve this goal, we start from the Classical orthography in Wylie transliteration, which is standardized. The romanization obtained by this method roughly corresponds to the reading pronunciation of Central Tibet.

We summarize here the rules of derivation from transliteration to romanization. Only the letters which are pronounced are preserved in the romanization. This system of romanization was introduced by Tournadre and Sangda Dorje (1998, in Appendix 7). We have proposed here some minor adaptations.

For example, in བཀྲི་མ་རྩེ GZHIS.KA.RTSE; only the letters in bold GZHES.KA.RTSE are pronounced, and thus the romanization is Zhikatse. Here are other examples: in the words ཆོམ་ཤེས་པ་ DZAM.BU.GLING, DGE.LUGS.PA and DGE.BSHE, if we simply delete the letters that are not pronounced we get respectively dzambuling, gelugpa and geshe. With this convention, ཞྭ་ཞེས་ KHAM.S should be transcribed as Kham because it reflects the pronunciation. Note that the word Kham also refers to a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal and not related to Tibetan (see Watters 2009). Thus, we strongly recommend for linguists to use the Wylie transliteration khams or to specify ‘Kham Tibetan’.

The letters used in the transliteration and in the romanization are identical with one exception: ས་ which is rendered as ča. For example, compare the transliteration and the romanization in the two following words: སྣ་ཚ་ GCA.N.TSHA > Čäntsha. If the diacritic is not available, one can simply write without it as ‘Čäntsha’.

48. In the Bibliography and citing the author names of the previous works in Tibetan, the proper name is transliterated with the Wylie method, and the radical letter will be in capital letter and this radical letter will be considered as the initial letter for the roman alphabetical order. This method has also been used by René de Nebesky Wojkowitz (1956).
Additional rules

Some combinations of letters yield specific sounds. To render better pronunciation of ST following the main principle, explained above, we add a few signs and modify some of the Wylie letters.

**Modifications of the pronunciation:**

1) The initial consonant clusters PY, PHY, BY and SBY/’BY become affricate sounds: PY > c, PHY > ch, BY, SBY, ’BY > j

Thus: སྦྱིན་བདག SBY.BDAG > jindak, ལྷོག་ BY.ANG.THANG > Jangthang, བྱམས་པ་ BY.PA > Jampa, རྒྱལ་དབྱངས་ JAM.DPAL.DBY.ANGS > Jampälyang, 

2) The initial consonant clusters KR, KHR, GR and PR, PHR, BR, TR, DR (and other combinations of GR, DR or BR with a preradical) become retroflex sounds:

KR/PR/TR > tr
KH/KH > thr
GR/GR > dr

Thus: སྒྲོལ་མ་ SGROL.MA > Drölma, རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ RTEN.BREL > tendrel,

3) The initial consonants G, J, D, B, DZ without preradical are normally voiceless and aspirated in Common Tibetan but this is not the case in some conservative languages. We ignore this distinction in the Romanization in this book, but if needed, one may indicate that the initial consonant does not have any preradical with an apostrophe (as proposed by van Driem in 1998 for Dzongkha). In many Tibetic languages, reflexes of a radical letter without preradical yields a devoiced consonant, sometimes associated with an aspiration or a breathy sound.

Thus: སྡེ་རོང་ SDE.RONG > Derong, རྗེས་ འཇོ་ལོ་ JOL > Jöl.
4) The letter ‘’, historically pronounced as [fi] when directly followed by a vowel, is preserved in the initial of a word but is deleted elsewhere:

\[ 'OL.MO.LUNG.RING > 'Olmo lungring. \]

5) Vowels

The vowels E, I are not modified. But A, O and U are transformed into ä, ö, ü in front of D, N, L and S. The vowels ä, ö are pronounced as in German or Swedish and ü is pronounced as the German ü or the French ‘u’ in ‘tu’.

Ex. ཐུབ་བསྟན་ \[ THUB.BSTAN > Thubtän \]

\[ MIL.LAR.AS.PA > Milarāpa, \]

\[ BSTAN.DZIN > Tāndzin, \]

\[ BK.A.BRGYUD.PA > Kagyūpa. \]

6) Specific notation of some combinations:

DB (in front of A, E, I) \> w; DB (in front of O, U) \> u; DBR \> r; DBY \> y; ZL \> d; MY \> ny.

The letters BA and BO are pronounced /wa/ et /wo/ when they appear as initial of the second syllable of a word:

\[ LHASA.BA > Ihasawa, SMYUG.GU > nyuggu. \]

7) The final consonants G, B, D and S

The final G and D are transformed respectively into ‘k’ and ‘p’. དགེ་ལེགས་ \[ DGE.LEGS > Gelek, \]

\[ KHA.BTAGS > khatak, BK.A.SHAG > kashak, DON.GRUB > Döndrup. \]

The pronunciation of ‘k’ in the final position is very light and often realized as a glottal stop. The finals D and S (whether at the end of a syllable or a word) are not pronounced and deleted in the romanization: མི་ལ་རས་པ་ \[ MI.LA.RAS.PA > Milarāpa; \]

\[ BOD > Bö. \]
The main advantages of the romanization proposed here is that it limits the variation in the spelling of Tibetan names because the romanization is directly derived from the Classical orthography, which is standardized to a large extent.

The romanization rule is applied only for the Tibetic languages and their related proper names. It may not be applied for the non-Tibetic languages, even though they are spoken in Tibetosphere. Hence, we can understand the difference between the Tibetic languages and non-Tibetic ones in a clearer way, e.g. Minyak (a variety of Tibetic) and Minyag (a language of Qiangic) for the same Tibetan orthography and transliteration མི་ཉག་MI NYAG, and Gyalrong (a variety of Tibetic) and rGyalrong (a language of rGyalrongic) for རྒྱལ་རོང་RGYAL RONG.

5.11. Other scripts of the Tibetic area

As we mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, before the introduction of the Tibetan script in the seventh century, there is no evidence of a script used in Tibet despite the fact that various scripts had long been attested in both China and India. Since the invention of a writing system on the basis of Indic scripts, Tibetans have been very faithful to their script and during the last 1,250 years have neither written their language with Chinese characters nor any other scripts. Even nowadays, Chinese characters are never borrowed to write in modern Literary Tibetan. The situation is thus very different from the one found in Japan, Vietnam and Korea where many Chinese characters have been borrowed in the course of history.

The Tibetan script has spread not only to all the traditional provinces of Tibet – Ü-Tsang, To-Ngri, Amdo, Kham, and rGyalrong, etc. – but also, as we have seen in 5.8, outside Tibet to the Bhoti regions of Ladakh, Dränjong (Sikkim), and Bhutan, etc. A few other scripts are historically attested at the periphery of the Tibetan Empire. They include some ancient scripts: 'Phagspa, Mongol bichig and Soyombo (Mongolian scripts), Tangut (the script of the Xixia Kingdom), the Yi logographic script, the To-mbu pictographic script and the Geba syllabary of the Naxi, etc. Note that all these scripts except Mongolian (Bichig) are no longer in use or restricted to liturgical practices. More recent writing systems, such as the Lepcha alphasyllabic script (in Sikkim, India) and Yi syllabary (in Yunnan, China) are also attested. However, all these scripts, with the
exception of 'Phagspa, were not conceived by Tibetans and are considered as foreign scripts which do not belong to the 'Tibetan world'. We will briefly present the 'Phagspa script, which had an unusual history.

5.12. The 'Phags-pa script

The 'Phags-pa script is usually called བོད་ཡིག་གསར་པ་ 'Horyik sarpa in Tibetan which means 'New Mongolian script'. It was invented by a Tibetan lama of the Sakya school, ལྡྷ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ (PHAGS.PA BLO.GROS RGYAL.MTSHAN) Phagpa Lodrö Gyaltshän during the thirteenth century on the model of the Tibetan script and also possibly the Khotanese script (see Shen, Zhongwei 2008). In European languages, this script is called by the first name of its inventor འཕགས་པ་ Phagpa in the transliterated form 'PHAGS.PA. In Chinese this script is also called 八思巴字 basiba zi (< PHAGS.PA).

This script is written vertically from left to right like the traditional Mongolian script (unlike traditional Chinese which is written vertically but from right to left).

For at least four centuries, 'Phags-pa script played a very significant role in the transcription of Chinese. A phonological work produced in the second half of the fourteenth century, 蒙古字韵 Menggu Ziyun is written in Chinese and in the 'Phags-pa transcription system, making knowledge of 'Phags-pa script crucial for the reconstruction of Middle Chinese.

Several authors have suggested that 'Phags-pa script, together with Tibetan, had an influence on the shape of the letters of the Korean alphabet when it was invented in the fifteenth century (see also Tournadre 2014b). For more about 'Phags-pa script, see Andrew C. West’s site: /www.babelstone.co.uk/Phags-pa/. When looking carefully at the 'Phags-pa script below, we can recognize in the vertical lines (from left to right) the letters of the Tibetan alphabet written vertically (with an additional bar on every letter).
A new Unicode font in Horyik is available in the Qomolangma series.
6. Literary Tibetan and its evolution

6.1. The various stages of the literary language

It is possible to distinguish three main periods of written Tibetan or literary Tibetan: Old Tibetan (eighth to eleventh centuries), Classical Tibetan (twelfth to nineteenth centuries) and Modern Literary Tibetan (twentieth century to the present).\(^1\)

Old Tibetan is defined by Bialek (2018b) as "[...] the language(s) of non-translatory Tibetan documents discovered in Central Asian oases (Dunhuang, Turfan, etc.) and of the inscriptions from Central Tibet."

Some authors (see Miller 1970; Qu 1996; Nishida 1970; Zeisler 2004: 215-220) have proposed a more detailed analysis than the three periods listed above and have distinguished up to six stages to account for the evolution of the language over more than a millennium.\(^2\)

For Old Tibetan alone, one often encounters the following periodisation: Early Old Tibetan (EOT), Middle Old Tibetan (MOT) and Late Old Tibetan (LOT). See e.g. Nishida 1970; Róna-Tas 1992; Takeuchi 2012; Bialek 2018b.\(^3\)

Some contemporary dialects, which have preserved the most archaic features, could be directly derived from the two early stages as proposed by Bialek (ibid.): "Proto-WAT [Proto Western Archaic Tibetan] descended from EOT, Proto-AT...

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1. There isn’t a complete consensus on the dates. Zeisler (2004) defines OT as: mid-eighth to tenth century AD.
2. For example Nishida (1970: 172-174) proposes the following periods: Old Tibetan (? to seventh century), Middle Old Tibetan (seventh to beginning of ninth century), Late Old Tibetan (ninth to tenth century), Middle Tibetan (tenth to early seventeenth century), New Tibetan (seventeenth to nineteenth century), Modern Tibetan (twentieth century to present).
3. There is some ambiguity in the use of "Old Tibetan." It may refer to Old Literary Tibetan or to the reconstructed "Old Spoken Tibetan" (Bialek, pers. comm. 2020). In the above mentioned articles, EOT, MOT and LOT refer to the stages of the spoken language. The evolutions of the Literary language and the spoken language(s) are not entirely parallel and the pace of change is different. Due to its conservatism, the written language always reacts with some delay to changes and may integrate them a long time after they occurred in the spoken language(s).
[Proto-Amdo Tibetan] from MOT, whereas the remaining dialect groups most probably from LOT.

We will not consider here a detailed classification of the stages, but instead will stay with the terms of Old Tibetan, Classical Tibetan and Modern Literary Tibetan, which are used by most authors (see e.g. Zeisler, 2004).

In Tibetan, the first period is usually referred to as བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་རྙིང་ (‘Old written Tibetan’), the second as རྒྱུན་སྲོལ་བོད་ཡིག (‘Traditional Written Tibetan’), and the third as དེང་རབས་བོད་ཡིག (‘contemporary Written Tibetan’).

The term བོད་ཡིག (‘written Tibetan’) may be used for all written forms of Tibetan, including Classical or Modern, and even Old Tibetan.

Note that the term ཆོས་སྐད་ (‘the language of Dharma’) is also frequently used to refer to Classical Tibetan in relation to religious or philosophical writings. However, we should distinguish the literature translated from Sanskrit from original Tibetan literature. The translations of Buddhist texts into Tibetan have specific characteristics not found elsewhere and the language has sometimes been referred to as ‘Old Church Tibetan’ (Miller 1970). Their vocabulary and syntax clearly show some influence of Sanskrit. (See e.g. Simonsson 1957; Verhagen 2001.)

It is not easy to establish precisely the transition period from Old to Classical Tibetan. The “Sakya aphorisms” (ས་སྐྱ་ལེགས་བཤད་) composed by ལོག་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན (1182–1251) can be considered one of first great works written in Classical Tibetan.

The transition from Classical to Modern Literary Tibetan is no easier to determine. During the throughout the twentieth century and up to the present, one finds texts that are written in a Classical style.

We will present in Chapters 6.5 and 6.6 the distinctive characteristics of Old and Classical Tibetan from a linguistic point of view.
6.2. The liturgical language of Vajrayāna and Bön

Classical Tibetan has been used as the written medium in Tibet for many centuries but it has also been more largely the liturgical language (with the exception of mantras, see 5.1) for Vajrayāna Buddhism and Bön in various countries.

Consequently, aside from Tibetans themselves, the priests or monks – lama, ngakpa, labön, tampa, etc. – of many ethnic groups read pecha (religious books) or specific ritual texts and prayers in Classical Tibetan. The mother tongues of these religious performers include languages that belong to various families such as Tibetic, Bodic, Qiangic, Mongolic, Turkic and even Tani or Naic.

With the exceptions of Balti, Purik and some minorities of Amdo and Central Tibet who are followers of Islam as well as a few other minorities, the Tibetic-speaking ethnic groups use Classical Tibetan as their liturgical language. This is also the case of the various non-Tibetic speaking ethnic groups in the following countries:

- in Russia: Kalmyk, Buriat, Tuva;
- in Mongolia: Mongols;
- in China: Yughur (or “yellow Yughur,” Turkic-speaking ethnic group), Tongur, Oirat, Monghul, Dongxiang [Mongguer], Bonan, Shira Yughur (Mongolic-speaking ethnic group), Ersu, Namuyi, Prinmi (partly), Shuhing, Qiang (partly), rGyalrong, nGochang (Guqiong), nDrapa, Choyu, Minyag, Naxi (partly), Idu (marginally), etc.;
- in Nepal: Taralikam (Dölpo), Gurung (partly), Manang, Tamang (partly), Thakali (partly), Baramun (Kag), Ghale, Baramu-Thami, Chantel, Lepcha (partly);
- in Bhutan: Thangla, Bumthang, Dzala, Dakpa, Chali, Kurtö, Kheng, etc.;
- in India: Kinnauri, Lahuli, Almora;
- in China, Taiwan and many western countries, newly converted adepts of Tibetan Buddhism read their prayers in Classical Tibetan. In many cases, the Tibetan script is accompanied by a phonetic transcription.
6.3. The earliest written sources

The earliest-known documents written in the Tibetan script are 1,250 years old. No older materials have been found to date. From historical sources, we can postulate that the written language was based on the dominant language spoken in the Tibetan Empire (seventh to the ninth century A.D., see Chapter 5). The capital of the ancient Tibetan Empire was first situated in the Yarlung valley and then moved to Lhasa. (See Ryavec 2015, as well as the map, 'Tibetan at the heart of Asia', in this volume.)

In the ninth century, the Tibetan Empire controlled most of the Tarim Basin (East Turkestan, in the present Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China), including the cities of Khotan, Kucha, Aksu, and Kashgar, most of Pamirs, the Karakoram Range and the Hindu Kush as well as some areas on the southern flank of the Himalayas. Thus the Tibetan empire extended westward as far as the ancient kingdom of Tukharistan (which is located in the modern states of Afghanistan and Northern Pakistan) including Baltistan, Gilgit and Ferghana (near modern Tashkent) and eastward as far as the Hexi (Gansu) corridor. Towards the South, the Tibetan army once even reached the Bay of Bengal.

Thus one finds various epigraphs or manuscripts in Old Tibetan across the extent of the Tibetan Empire. Old Tibetan texts (see Bacot & Toussaint 1940; Richardson 1998; Li 1987, etc.) have been found carved on pillars and rocks or written in the form of manuscripts, on palm leaves, carved in wood tablets or cast in metal bells (see Bacot & Toussaint 1940; Richardson 1998; Li 1987; Takeuchi 1995; Chen 1984). The oldest extant document, a stone carving, is the text on the Zhol pillar in Lhasa, dating from 764.5

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4. As expressed by C. Beckwith (1993: 83), [in 715] the Arabs from the west, the Chinese from the east, and the Tibetans from the south – the three greatest expansionistic states of early medieval Asia – had converged.

5. LHAMCHOG.RGYAL (2011) published a paper about a recently discovered bell inscription from the temple DGYULDEN.BYIN.CHEN in Gansu province. This author argues that the inscription dates to the reign of KHRUD.GTSHUG.BRATSA (704-754).
It is worth noting that many of the documents in Old Tibetan were written not only by Tibetans but also by various other ethnic groups which include: Tanguts, Han Chinese, Uighurs, etc.

6.3.1. Stone pillars
Many stone pillars were erected between the mid-eighth and mid-ninth centuries. About fifteen of these pillars have been preserved and described. Early examples that no longer survive were located in Chang’ an (nowdays Xi’an), in 706, 733, 762, 767, 822 and at the Sino-Tibetan border in 732, 787. Below is a list of the eleven main surviving pillars and the subjects of their inscriptions (KHAS.KANG BKRASH TSHE.RING 2001).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oath between Tibet and China</td>
<td>764. During the reign of Thri Ralpačän⁰</td>
<td>Zhöl, in front of the Potala in Lhasa, TAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment to the Buddhist religion</td>
<td>767 (or a few years later). During the reign of Thri Songdetsän</td>
<td>Samyä monastery, Tserhang county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the meeting between the prince of Kongpo, Kongkar Mangpo, and Thri Desongtsän</td>
<td>798-812. During the reign of Thri Desongtsän</td>
<td>Kongpo, Dhemo Nyingthi county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praise to the King’s Minister, Nyang Ting Zangpo</td>
<td>798-812. During the reign of Thri Desongtsän</td>
<td>Zha Lhakhang, near Drigung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another praise to the Minister, Nyang Ting Zangpo</td>
<td>812. During the reign of Thri Desongtsän</td>
<td>Zha Lhakhang (severly damaged)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oath between Tibet and China</td>
<td>821-823</td>
<td>in front of the Jokhang, Lhasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genealogy of King Nythrî Tsänpo</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>Zha Lhakhang (carved stone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer for the development and permanence of Buddhism</td>
<td>798-815. During the reign of Thri Desongtsän</td>
<td>Gyälde Karchung Lhakhang, near the Kyichhu river, Rama sgang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁰ Thri Rälpačän = KHRI.RAL.PACAN; Thri Desongtsän = KHRI.LDE.SRONG.BTSAN; Thri Songdetsän = KHRI.SRONG.LDE.BTSAN; Gyäldepeling = GYAL.LUG.LHAS; Zhangnam Dorje Wangchuk = ZHANG.SNA.NAM.BDO.RJE.DRANG.PHYUG; Gyälde Kurchung = GYAL.LDE.DKAR.CHUNG.
Accomplishments of King Thri Desongtsän | 815–836. During the reign of Thri Ralpačän | in front of Thri Desongtsän’s tomb in the Chonggyä valley
---|---|---
History of the construction of monastery and its consecration by the King | 815–836. During the reign of Thri Ralpačän | Tshurphu monastery (Tönlung county)
The ten Buddhist laws and commitments | 1012. Geshe Zhangnam Dorje Wangchuk | Phänpo, Gyällughä Tsuglagkhang

### 6.3.2. Epigraphs

Many epigraphs written on rock are found throughout the Tibetic linguistic area. Some ancient epigraphs are located on the periphery of the Tibetan empire. For example, an inscription exists on a huge rock in Skardo, the capital of Baltistan in northern Pakistan. Other inscriptions have even been found in the Hunza valley in Northern Pakistan.

### 6.3.3. Inscriptions on bells

A number of inscriptions have also been incised into the surfaces of bells located in monasteries. The content of these texts is essentially religious or philosophical. The bell inscriptions are found mainly in Samyä Gegyä Tsuglagkhang, Drak-Yerpa Monastery and Thrandruk Tsuglagkhang.

### 6.3.4. Manuscripts or scrolls

About the significance of Old Tibetan texts found in Central Asia, Takeuchi expresses the following opinion (1995: 1):

> “Since their discovery at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Dunhuang caves and other sites along the silk road in East Turkestan, Old Tibetan documents have proven to be an invaluable source for understanding the language, history, and culture of Tibet as well as Central Asia in general.”

More than five thousand manuscripts were discovered in Dunhuang caves (Gansu) and in the ruins of Mirang Khar (nub-chung) in East Turkestan, near the Lobnor lake along the Silk Road, mainly by Sir Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot in the years 1907 and 1908.

Along with the Tibetan texts, there are manuscripts in other languages such as Chinese, Uyghur, Syriac, Sanskrit (in Brähmi script), Tangut, Tocharian, Khotanese,
Sogdian (in Aramaic script), Mongol (both in PHAGSPA and Mongolian scripts), Zhangzhung, Kharoshti, and Hebrew.

It is interesting to note that the majority of Old Tibetan documents were found not in the center of the Empire but at its border, on territory that now corresponds to Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang) and the Hexi corridor. As mentioned earlier, it is also assumed that some of these texts have probably been written by non-native speakers of Tibetan.

These Old Tibetan documents are now scattered in various collections around the world: the Pelliot collection in Paris, the Stein collection in London, the Kozlov and Petrovsky collections in St. Petersburg, the German collection in Berlin, and the Otani collection in Kyoto. (See Takeuchi 1995: 14.) Most of these texts are now available at the Old Tibetan Document Online (OTDO website).

6.3.5. Wooden tablets

The majority of these tablets were located in the ruin of Miran Fortress (Xinjiang), and Terlenkha (Qinghai). A total of 389 were discovered by the British scholar Aurel Stein. The Soviet scholar Orbiash Cheshatushusich found a further six tablets. The museum of the Uyghur Autonomous Region (Xinjiang) preserves 200 tablets, of which eighty are very clear from the beginning to the end.

6.3.6. Palm-leaf documents

Old religious texts from India were written on palm leaves called Tālapatrā तालप%ा in Sanskrit and འི་ལི་ལོ་མ་TA LA LI MA in Tibetan. A number of Sanskrit palm-leaf texts are preserved in monasteries such as Sakya, Narthang, and Zhalu. The custom of writing on palm leaves was also practiced by Tibetans living in India. Aside from religious materials, palm-leaf documents deal with other topics such as grammar and history.

6.4. The literary genres

The inscriptions and the manuscripts in Old Tibetan include the following topics: chronicles and royal annals (དེབ་ཐེར་ DEB.THER, ལོ་རྒྱུས་ LO.RGYUS), Buddhist texts such as sūtra (མདོ MDO) or sāstra (བསྟན་བཅོས BSTAN.BCOS), divination texts, legends and epics (such as the Rāmāyana), legal texts and private contracts, military and economic documents, medical and astrological treatises. They include many translations from
Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, as well as translations from Chinese, such as those of Chinese annals (Chin: 尚书 shangshu) and military treatises (Chin: 战书 zhanshu).

Classical Tibetan encompasses the main bulk of the Tibetan literature and one the greatest literatures of Asia. It is traditionally divided into ten traditional sciences, following the Indian tradition.

The five major "sciences" (རིག་གནས་ཆེ་བ་ལྔ་ RIG.GNAS CHE.BA LNGA): "science of sound," linguistics (སྒར་རིག་པ་ SGR.RIG.PA), logic (གཏན་ཚིག་རིག་པ་ GTAN.TSHIG.PA), medicine (གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་ GSO.BA.RIG.PA), "sciences of forms," general morphology, [painting, sculpture, architecture, handicrafts, etc.] (བཟོ་བ་རིག་པ་ BZO.BA.RIG.PA), Buddhism (ནང་དོན་རིག་པ་ NANG.DON.RIG.PA).

The five minor "sciences" (རིག་གནས་ཆུང་བ་ལྔ་ RIG.GNAS.CHUNG.BA LNGA): astrology (དཀར་རྩིས་ DKA.R.TSIS), poetics (སྙན་ངག་ SNYAN.NGAG), metrics (སྡེབ་སྦྱོར་ SDEB.SBYOR), drama (ཟློས་གར་ ZLOS.GAR), lexicography (མངོན་བརྗོད་ MNGON.BRJOD).

However, Tibetan Classical Literature is not restricted to these fields. For a detailed presentation of the various genres listed here, see e.g. Cabezon and Jackson (1996: 30-31).

- The canonical texts of Buddhism and Bön (སྲེང་གི་ལོག་ངག་ BKA.T.GYUR; བཀའ་འགྱུར་ BSTAN.GYUR, ངོན་དགུ་པུན་ཏོས་ RNYING.MARGYUD.BUM, etc.);
- Philosophical treatises such as the Abhidharma (མངོན་མཛོད་ MGNON.MDZOD), the Prajñāpāramitā (ཕར་ཕྱིན་ PHAR.PHYIN), the Madhyāmika (དབུ་མ་ DBU.MA), the Vinaya (འདུལ་བ་ DUL.BA) and the commentaries on logics (ཀོན་ལམ་ཆེན་མོ་ TSHAD.MARNAM.GREL);
- Instructional or soteriological texts and treatises on various practices such as the ‘Stages of the Path’ (ལམ་རིམ་ LAM.RIM), vows (སྙམ་པ་ SDOM.PA), precepts and instructions (དག་མང་ GDAM.MANG), Tantra (དག་ནང་ GDAM.SNGAG), Dzogchen (དབྱིན་པ་ Rdzogs.Chen), Mahāmudrā (དབྱིན་པ་ རྡོགས་ཆེན་ PHAG.RGYA.CHEN.MO);
- Ritual texts such for consecration (རབ་གནས་ RAB.GNAS), offering rites (མཆོད་པ་ MCHOD.PA), Sadhana (གྲུབ་ཐབས་ GRUB.THABS), long-life prayers (ཞབས་བརྟེན་ ZHABS.BRTEN), initiation (དབང་བསྐུར་ DBANG.BSKUR), fasting rituals (སྦྱོང་གནས་ DBANG.GNAS).
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SMYUNG.GNABS, fire rituals (ིའི་སྨོང་ SBYIN.SREG), death rituals (e.g. སྨོང་དོ་མོ་ཐོས་གྲོལ་ BAR.DO THOX.GROL), Mandala construction (རྡུལ་རྡུལ་འཁོར་ DKYIL.KHOR);

▪ Royal chronicles (རྒྱལ་རབས་ RGAL.RABS), histories of the Dharma (ཆོས་འབྱུང་ CHOK.BYUNG), hagiographies (མཁྱེན་པ་ RNAM.THAR), stories of realizations (རྟོགས་ BRJOD), past lives of the Buddha (མཁྱེན་པ་ SKYE.RABS), etc.

They also include various artistic genres such as:

▪ the Gesar Epic (གེ་སར་སྒྲུང་ GE.SAR SGRUNGS), translations of the Rāmāyaṇa, religious songs (མགུར་ MGUR) folk songs, poems (སྙན་ངག་ SNYAN.NGAG), tales, drama (ཝྡོད་ ZLOS.GAR), music (རོལ་མོ་ ROL.MO).

Technical texts or administrative documents as well as guidebooks and encyclopaedic works such as:

▪ medicine and pharmacology (གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་ GSO.BA RIG.PA), astronomy/astrology (དཀར་རྩིས་ DKAR.RTSIS, སྣ་ཤིས་ NAG.RTSIS, སྨོང་དོ་མོ་ཐོས་གྲོལ་ BRJOD.BYUNG.RTSIS), grammar (སྒྲ་ RIG.PA), mathematics (རིག་ RIG), geography/cosmology (ས་ KHAMS.RIG.PA) arts and crafts (བོ་བ་རིག་པ་ BZO.BA RIG.PA) [painting, sculpture, architecture, etc.];

▪ catalogues (དཀར་ཆག་ DKAR.CHAG), pilgrimage guides (ལམ་ཡིག་ LAM.YIG or ཨེས་པ་ GNAS.YIG), encyclopedias (such as སེ་སྟོན་པ་ SHES.BTAN.KHYAB), etc.;

▪ official documents of the Tibetan government (གཞུང་ཡིག་ GZHUNG.YIG), legal documents (ཁྲིམས་ཡིག KHRIMS.YIG).

Another characteristic feature of the Tibetan literary tradition is the existence of compilations and anthologies of various authors (ཕྱོགས་པ་ BSBS.RTSIS, རྒྱལ་པོ་ PHOLS.BRJOD) and the “collected works” of a single author (གསུང་འབུམ་ GSUNG.BUM, བཀའ་འབུམ་ BKA.BUM).

Concerning philological studies, one should of course mention the canonical grammatical texts རྟགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་ RTAGS.KYE.JUG.PA (see e.g. Tournadre 2010: 121-125) and their numerous commentaries (བསྟན་བཅོས་ BSTAN.BCOS) as well as grammars (བོ་བ་རིག་པ་ BRDA.SPROD GZHUNG (or རྟགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་ RTAGS.KYE.JUG.PA))
and various types of lexicographic documents, such as TSHIG.MDZOD 'dictionary', MING.MDZOD 'glossary', DAG.YIG 'spelling guide'. About modern lexicography, grammar and dialectology in Tibetan, see e.g. JUBSTAN.SKYONG 2018; SUM.BHA.DON.GRUB TSHE.RING 2011 2013).

Modern Literary Tibetan (MLT) appeared during the early twentieth century. It is the literary medium in all the Tibetan speaking areas within China (in the Tibet Autonomous Region and Prefectures). It is also used by Tibetan diaspora communities throughout the world.

In the 1980s, Modern Tibetan literature had a new development and many authors began to explore modern genres of literature found in the west (Robin 2003), particularly modern ‘free’ non-versified poetry called rangmō nyāmngak, short stories and even novels. Scientific publications (physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, etc.), articles or books, are written in MLT. There has also been a development of school manuals, language dictionaries, periodicals, newspapers and academic journals.

6.5. Some remarks about Old Tibetan

Old Tibetan differs from the Classical language mainly in its spelling and its vocabulary. There are also some grammatical differences, but it is difficult to summarize them in the absence of reference grammar of OT.

Most Tibetan scholars well trained in CT are able to read Old documents to a large extent. It is beyond the scope of this book to give a detailed presentation of OT. The phonology of OT has been reconstructed by Hill (2010, 2011), and we will just provide here some remarks about orthography and lexicon.

6.5.1. Spelling characteristics

We will summarize below the orthographic peculiarities of Old Tibetan. One of the general characteristics of texts written in OT is the lack of consistency in spelling.

7. We basically follow the analysis and examples in BOD.KYI.RDO.RING YIGE DANG.DRI.BU’ KHAL.YANG by Chen (1984: 10). We will also illustrate the analysis with examples from RNAM.RGYAL TSHE.RING’s dictionary (2001): BOD.YIG BRDA.RNYING TSHIG.MDZOD, [dictionary of archaic expressions].
Thus the same word is sometimes written in various ways even within the same text. For example '(water) spring' may be spelled as: སྲིད་མྱིག་ CUDMYIG, སྲིད་མྱིག་ CUMYIG or སྲིད་མྱིག་ CHU.CUDMYIG.

**List of the main spelling differences between Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan:**

- The vowel I is often written in a reversed way: ཐ. However, this graphic variant does not seem to have any phonemic value (see Hill 2010a).
- There is confusion between aspirated and non-aspirated sounds. Aspirated sounds of CT are often written without aspiration while non-aspirated sounds of CT are written with aspirated consonants in OT. According to Hill (2007) aspiration “had begun to be phonemic” but these fluctuations could reflect the fact that aspiration had not acquired yet a fully phonemic status.

Whatever it may be, note that the orthography is not entirely systematic and the spelling of OT is sometimes equivalent to the CT spelling.

Example: གཅིག་ GCHIG (OT) ‘one’ ↔ གཅིག་ GCIG (CT), རྒྱལ་ཕོ་ RGYAL.PHO (OT) ‘king’ ↔ རྒྱལ་པོ་ RGYAL.PO (CT); ལྟྭི་ ཁྱིམ་ CANG-GYI.CUMYIG (OT) ↔ རྟོགྱིམ་ CHANG.GI CHUMGIG ‘spring of chang (beer)’ (CT), འབྲིས་པ། CARSRID (OT) ‘politics’ ↔ འབྲིས་པ། CHARSRID (CT), དབྱུར་རུང་གི་སྲིད་ BUMO.CUNG.GCHIG (OT) ‘a little girl’ ↔ དབྱུར་རུང་གི་སྲིད་ BUMO.CHUNG.NUGCIG (CT).

- **Variation between voiced and voiceless sounds:** ཀ་ KA ↔ ག་ KHA, ས་ CA ↔ ས་ CHA, ལ་ TA ↔ ས་ THA, བ་ PA ↔ བ་ PHA, ཆ་ TSA ↔ ཆ་ TS HA  
  
  Example: གཞིག་ GCHIG (OT) ‘stone’, འབྲི་ སྲིད་ BUMO.CUNG.GCHIG (OT) ‘moon’.

- The letters N and D are sometimes interchanged, when occurring as radicals or suffixes. ད་ DA ↔ ཡ་ NA  
  
  Ex: ཉག་ TANG (OT) ↔ ཉག་ DANG (CT) ‘and’, བ་ RTO (OT) ↔ བ་ RDO (CT) ‘stone’, འབྲི་ SLA.BA (OT) ↔ འབྲི་ ZLA.BA (CT) ‘big’.  

The second suffix ▪ ད་དྲག་ DA/DRAG is often used after N, R, L with verbs and more rarely with nouns.
Ex: རྫུརད་ GYURD (OT) ↔ རྫུར་ GYUR (CT) ‘to change’, གཙལད་ STSALD (OT) ↔ གཙལ་ STSAL ‘to grant, to bestow’, དབྱརད་ DBYARD (OT) ↔ དབྱར་ DBYAR ‘summer’ (CT).

▪ The labial M when followed by the vowels I or E becomes MYI and MYE.
Ex: མྱི་ MYI (OT) ↔ མི་ MI (CT) ‘human being’, མྱེད་ MYED (OT) ↔ མེད་ MED (CT) ‘negation of to exist’.

▪ The A letter is often used after a final vowel.
Ex: རིའ་ RI (OT) ↔ རི་ RI (CT) ‘mountain’.

▪ Some combinations of graphs that were later abandoned are attested. They include the combination སྩས་ STS, which is frequent in Old Tibetan and is simplified as S in Classical Tibetan.
Ex: བསྩོད་ནམས་ BSTSOD. NAMS (OT) ↔ བསོད་ནམས་ BSOD. NAMS (CT) ‘merit’.

Other combinations include e.g. རི་ RHY and བZR.

▪ The prefixed letters G, D, B and superscribed letters R, L, S are often interchanged.
Ex: རྩང་པོ་ RTSANG (OT) ↔ གཙང་པོ་ GTSANG (CT) ‘river’; ཀྱི་ SNYI (OT) ↔ ཀྱི་ RNYI (CT) ‘trap’; དཔུར་ DPUR (OT) ↔ སྤུར་ SPUR (CT) ‘corpse’; རྨག་ RNGUL (OT) ↔ སྨག་ DNGUL (CT) ‘silver’.

▪ In some cases, the prefixed letter D or G are added.
Ex: རྨག་ DMYIG, རྨག་ DMYIG (OT) ↔ རྨ་ MIG (CT) ‘eye’; སྨག་ DNGAGS (OT) ↔ སྨག་ NGAG (CT) ‘speech’.

▪ In some cases, the subscribed r is replaced by a y.
Ex: བསྨོས་ GTI (OT) ↔ བསྨོས་ GRI (CT) ‘knife’.
Modern reflexes of the glide y, which correspond to the archaic form, are still found in some modern languages such as Amdo, Thewo Tö or Čone.8

6.5.2. Lexical characteristics

There are grammatical differences between Old Literary Tibetan and Classical Literary Tibetan but the main discrepancies occur at the lexical level. Let us illustrate the lexical differences between the two periods with examples from the 봄 뒤 뜨 둘 높은 높은 ‘Lishi Gurkhang’, a fifteenth century text and the 봄 뒤 뜨 둘 높은 높은 ‘BOD,YIG BRDA,RNYING TSHIG,MDZOD’ (‘dictionary of old terms’). It should be noted here that some of the words in this list were still marginally used in CT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Old Tibetan</th>
<th>Classical Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to ask’</td>
<td>མར་ RMAS</td>
<td>རྩི་ DRIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to be angry’</td>
<td>བཀོན་ BKON</td>
<td>བཀྲོ་ KHRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘conversation’</td>
<td>མོལ་ MOL</td>
<td>གཏམ་ GTAM, ོམ་ GROS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
<td>སོན་ SBON</td>
<td>ཐོ་ ZA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘food’</td>
<td>དབྱེ་ DBYE</td>
<td>རོད་པ་ BSNYAL, བཀྲུས་ BKRUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘prairie’</td>
<td>ཕུན་ རྡེ་ ZANG.ZING</td>
<td>མགོ་ MGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>བསམ་ BSAM</td>
<td>བསྨོལ་ ROD.PA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are also grammatical discrepancies between OT and CT but this topic still needs further research. The main differences lie in the verb forms. It seems that irregularities existing in OT were later systematized in CT (see section 6.6.3 below). The evident system started to develop gradually in CT but was very limited in OT (see Shao 2016).

### 6.5.3. The three linguistic reforms

At the time of the Tibetan Empire and during the following centuries, Literary Tibetan underwent three important reforms, called རྣམ་པ་གསུམ / RNam Pa Gsum, lit. ‘the three (linguistic and religious) decrees’. The first reform took place from the time of Thrisong Detsän to Thritsuk Detsän, also known as Rälpačän during the eighth and ninth centuries. Many grammarians and translators, including those known as the Great Nine Lotsawas ‘translators’ (ལོ་ཙ་བ་རབ་དགུ / Lo TSA Ba Rab DGu), took part in the reform. Its main objective was the standardization of the terminology used to translate Buddhist texts and commentaries, which caused important lexical treatises to be composed during this period. Among these was the ‘First volume (of the treatise) on the formation of words’ (སྒྲ་སྦྱོར་བམ་པོ་གཉིས་པ / Sgra Sbyor Bam Po Gnyis Pa).

The second reform happened at the time of Thritsuk Detsän’s reign during the ninth century. Many lotsawas were invited from India to Tibet to discuss translation issues. They composed a bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary, called བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་དེ་དུང་པོ / Byed Brag Tu Dung Po in Tibetan or ‘Mahāyutpatti’ in Sanskrit. The great translator Zhang Yeshe and the Indian Panditas Jinamitra and Danashila composed the treatise called གསྲ་སྦྱོར་བམ་པོ་གནོད་པ་ / Sgra Sbyor Bam Po Gnyid Pa ‘The second volume (of the treatise) on the formation of words’, which was a compilation and correction of all the previous lexicographic works. The ‘second volume (of the treatise) on the formation of words’, which used the “second reform orthography,” was later
included in the བསྟན་འགྱུར་ Tăngyur, the famous collection of commentaries on Tibetan Buddhist canonical texts.

Three measures of standardization were decided:

- grammatical and lexical standardization of the transcription of Sanskrit;
- fidelity to the original text;
- clarity and simplicity of the translation.

There were four types of translation and transcription:

a) phonetic transcription (སྒྲ་སྒྱུར་ SGRA.SGYUR);

b) semantic translation (དོན་སྒྱུར་ DON.SGYUR);

c) calques from Sanskrit (ཐད་སྒྱུར་ THAD.SGYUR);

d) transformation of the original meaning (བཅུས་སྒྱུར་ BCUS.SGYUR).

There were three reasons for using a phonetic transcription and not a translation: a) when the meaning of the original language was unclear, the transcription was added; b) when there was some ambiguity in the Sanskrit meaning; c) when there was some ambiguity in the Tibetan meaning. Four important points were given special attention: the main vocabulary of religion and philosophy of the various schools should be described very precisely, all Tibetans, regardless of their regional origins, should use the same terminology, all neologisms should be reported to the king and approved by the main lotsawas. The transcription of mantras should also receive official approval from the king.

During the ‘second reform’ བཀས་བཅད་བར་མ་ BKAS.BCAD BAR.MA, unclear ancient terminology was abandoned and replaced by new terms. An important orthographic reform, which is described in the text བསྟན་འགྱུར་ M skew MKHAS.PAT.DGA’.STON, also took place. Several letters or combinations were abandoned. They include the glide y subscribed to the M (ཨ MI), the ‘second suffix’ D called DAD.RAG, the final ‘A CHUNG’ and the reversed vowel I was dropped.

The ‘third reform’ བཀས་བཅད་གསུམ་པ་ BKAS.BCAD GNUM.PA, began in the tenth century, after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, starting in Western Tibet during the reign of Lha lama Yeshe Ö. According to historiographic tradition, this reform was actually a gradual series of modifications to Tibetan orthography and lexicography,
which were proposed by a lineage of 170 lotsawas over a period of 470 years. The first lotsawa taking part was lotsawa Rinchen Zangpo and the last was Zhala lotsawa Chökyong Zangpo, who lived in the fifteenth century (see e.g. Tuttle & Schaeffer 2013).

What is essential here is that the lexical and orthographic standardization promoted by the so-called “three reforms” extended over six or seven centuries! The process only achieved “complete unification” during the fifteenth century, as suggested by the dictionary LISHIT GURKHANG composed by Kyokton Lotsawa Rinchen Trashi in 1476.

Finally, one ought to mention a striking characteristic of the translation strategy adopted by the Tibetan lotsawas. Instead of quoting the Sanskrit names of persons, deities and places phonetically, they chose to ‘translate’ them into Tibetan. Thus for example, the towns Rajgir and Vaishali in Bihar, places often cited in Tibetan Buddhist texts, are called respectively རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་ RGYAL.POT.KHAB and ཡངས་པ་ཅན་ YANGS.PACAN. Buddha’s favorite retreat, Gībrakāra, is called བྱརྒོད་ཕུང་པོའི་རི BYARGOD.PHUNG.POT.RI ‘Vulture peak’, etc. The names of Buddha, Ānanda, Nâgarjuna and Shantideva (Sântideva) are rendered respectively into Tibetan as: གྲོ་འདས G ārjuna and Shantideva (Sântideva) are rendered respectively into Tibetan as: གྲོ་འདས G ārjuna, སངས་རྒྱས་ SANGS.RGYAS, རྒྱལ་མཚན། RGYAL.MTSchas, དབང་ཕྱུག DBANG.PHYUG, སྐྱབ་འཇུག KHYAB.JUG and ཐོག་པལ་ལྷམ་ TSHANG.Pa.PAL.LHAMO.

6.6. Essential morphological features of Classical Tibetan

6.6.1. Nominal morphology

We will briefly present here the main characteristics of Classical Tibetan grammar. For more details, see e.g. Kesang Gyurmé’s རབ་བསལ་མེ་ལོང་ RAB.BSAL.ME.LONG (1981) or its French translation and commentary,10 Le Clair Miroir (1992) or its Chinese version (实用藏文文法) and Beyer’s Classical Tibetan (1992), Hahn (1996),

9. Of course ‘complete unification’ or ‘complete standardization’ is a relative notion. No language, even ‘major languages’ such as English, French or Japanese are completely standardized.

10. Many commentaries in italics were added by N. Tournadre in the 1992 and 1994 editions to clarify some issues related to the traditional terminology.
Schwieger (2006). The aim of the present description is to provide a synthesis of the Classical language’s morphology in order to compare it with the grammar of modern languages and dialects.

The ancient prefixes and suffixes found in Pre-Tibetic (see Chapter 5) are no longer syllabic in Old and Classical Tibetan. They correspond to single consonants, which may be called ‘formatives’ following Beyer (1992). For example, from the verb མན ‘to be sick’, it is possible to derive the noun ཕན ‘disease’ through the formative ‘D’.

Both sound alternations and formative derivations have sometimes been called “inner derivation” because they occur within a single syllable. “Outer derivation” refers to affixes (prefixes or suffixes) that are attached to a syllabic stem, following Beyer (1992: 111).

“We will use the term inner derivation to refer to those processes of derivation that operate within the syllable, using such formatives as prefixed s (as in ring “be long”, sring “make long”), suffix d (as in dro “be warm” drod “warmth”), and infixed voicing (as in thom “emerge”, dom “eject”). We will use the term outer derivation to refer to those processes of derivation that operate outside the syllable, using either such syllabic formatives as –pa “one having to do with” (as in mda’ “arrow”, mda’-pa “archer”) or reduplication of the syllable as a whole (as in rnyam-po “bright” rnyam-rnyam “dazzling”).”

Inner alternations and formatives belong either to derivational or inflectional morphology. Derivational morphology deals with the lexicon (i.e. the creation of new words), while inflectional morphology conveys grammatical meanings such as tenses, cases, and so forth. Whether belonging to derivational or inflectional morphology, formatives and alternations found in CT reflect an archaic stage of the language that was no longer productive in OT.

The various modern languages and dialects are all derived from OT and thus usually share the same inner formatives. The outer affixation (only through suffixes), however, is probably a later phenomenon. Thus, the various modern Tibetic languages and dialects do not necessarily share all the same suffixes or prefixes (see Chapter 7).

6.6.1.1. The initial formatives

In OT and CT, one finds mainly the ‘S’ “causative” formative, the ‘S’ “animal” formative, the formative ‘M’ “human body” and ‘M’ “honorific.” These formatives are derived from the prefixes that existed in Proto-Tibetic (see Chapter 4).
Formative N: རུ་ STAG 'tiger'; སྲོག་པོ་ SPYANG.GU 'wolf'; སྲོག་ SDOM 'spider'; སྲིག་པ་, སྲིག་པ་ སྲིག་པ་, སྲིག་པ་ SRAM 'scorpion'; སྲོག་ SRO 'louse egg'; སྲིག་ SKYIN 'ibex'; སྲིག་པ་ SIRANG.BU 'fly'; སྲིག་པ་ SIRUL 'snake'; སྲིག་པ་ SRUP 'crab'.

Formative ‘M: མཁྲི་མ་ MHKAL.MA 'kidney'; མཆོག་ MCHIN.PA 'liver'; མཁྲི་མ་ MKHRS.PA ' bile'; མོ་ MGO 'head'; མགྲུལ་པ་ MGUL.PA 'neck (H)'; མཁྲི་མ་ MGRIN.PA 'neck'.

6.6.1.2. The final formatives

In CT just as in OT, nouns are often derived from the verb by adding a consonant 'D', 'N', or 'S', sometimes followed by a suffix.

Formative 'D: ས་ NA 'to be sick' → ས་ NAD 'disease'; ས་ LU 'to cough' → ས་ LUD.PA 'sputum'; ས་ TSHA 'to be hot' → ས་ TSHAD.PA 'hot temperature'; ས་ RGAD 'to become old' → ས་ RGAD.PA 'old person'; ས་ RTSE 'to play' → ས་ RGAD.PA 'game'; ས་ NGU 'cry' → ས་ NGUD.PA 'sob'; ས་ LTA 'to look at' → ས་ LTA 'to watch'; ས་ POD 'to show, spectacle'; ས་ DRO 'warm' → ས་ DRO 'heat'.

Formative 'N: ས་ BKUN.MA 'thief'; ས་ ZA 'to eat' → ས་ ZAN 'food'; ས་ GRO 'to go' → ས་ GRON.PA 'guest, visitor'; ས་ GDA 'to be there' → ས་ GDAN.PA 'seat'; ས་ RGAD 'to become old' → ས་ RGAD.PA 'old person'; ས་ GCI 'to urinate' → ས་ GCIN.PA 'urine'; ས་ BSHA 'to slaughter' → ས་ SHAN.PA 'butcher'; ས་ BSU 'to welcome' → ས་ BSUN.MA 'lady who welcomes guests'; ས་ RDZU 'to pretend' → ས་ RDZUN 'lie'; ས་ RGYU 'to run, move' → ས་ RGYUN 'flow, stream'.

Formative 'S: ས་ ZA 'to eat' → ས་ ZAN 'food'; ས་ LTA 'to look at' → ས་ LTA 'benison'; ས་ BKRU 'bathe, wash' → ས་ KHRUS 'bath'; ས་ PHYUG 'to be rich' → ས་ PHYUGS 'cattle'; ས་ BSAM 'to think' → ས་ SAMS 'mind'; ས་ SKYOB 'to protect' → ས་ SKYABS 'protection'.

6.6.1.3. The nominal affixes

The main nominal suffixes found in CT (and in OT) are: ས་ PO, ས་ BO, ས་ MO, ས་ PA, ས་ BA, ས་ MA. Other less frequent suffixes include ས་ KA (and its variants ས་ KHA and ས་ GA), ས་ CHA, ས་ SO, as well as the diminutive ས་ BU and its variants ས་ GU and ས་ U. Additionally a few words, which mostly correspond to kinship terms, may have a prefix ས་ PA.
Ex: རྒད་པོ བལྟད་མོ བམ་ཆིན་པ་མཁལ་མ་སྤྱང་གུ ཨ་མ་ཨ་ཇོ་ཨ་ཕ་ཨ་ཁུ་ཨ་ཞང་མེ་ཨ་ནེ་ 12

6.6.1.4. The case system

For more than a millennium, the Tibetan grammatical tradition has used categories largely based on the Sanskrit model to describe Classical Tibetan. This choice was motivated by both cultural and religious reasons; however, it has generated some problems for grammatical analysis since the two languages belong to different families – Indo-European and Sino-Tibetan – they cannot be described efficiently with the same linguistic categories. By choosing Sanskrit as their model, the Tibetan grammarians were ‘obliged’ to use concepts and categories that are not relevant for Tibetan and lacked categories that are fundamental to the description of their language. The case system is a good example of the problems that arise when using Sanskrit grammar as a model for the Tibetan language.

Traditionally, the Tibetan case system (རྣམ་དབྱེ་ RNAM.DBYE) is presented as having eight cases, which correspond to the Sanskrit cases (see Chart VI.3.).

An analysis exclusively based on Tibetan morphology and syntax yields ten cases for Classical Tibetan, see Tournadre (2010) and Hill (2011, 2012): absolutive (Ø); ergative 11 (གྱིས GYIS and its variants: དེ་ YIS, དེ་ GIS, དེ་ KYIS, དེ་ S); dative (ནའ་ LA); purposive also called “terminative” (དུ་ DU and its variants: སུ་, ར་ RU, སུ་ TU); elative (ནས་ NAM); genitive (གྱི་ GYI and its variants: དེ་ YI, དེ་ GI, དེ་ KYI); locative (ན་ NA); ablative (ལས་ LAS); associative (དང་ DANG); and comparative (བས་ BAS).

11. In CT, the “ergative” is also used for the instrumental functions.

12. In Tournadre (2010), the variant ར་ was classified together with the dative ལ་ LA, but it is generally grouped together with the purposive (or terminative) (see Hill 2011, 2012a). The fluctuations in some adverbal functions between ར་ and རུ་ as well as data from Purik (Zemp 2018) advocate for the grouping with the terminative case.
The CT case markers are neither inflection like classical cases, e.g. in Sanskrit, Greek, or Russian, nor adpositions like those found in French or English (e.g. the prepositions ‘à’ in French or ‘to’ in English): They are clitics and attach at the end of a noun phrase (concerning clitics and affixes in TB languages, see Genetti 1993). The case markers never occur independently. Another difference directly related to their

13. I give here the Tibetan transliterations of Sanskrit cases according to the Tibetan tradition. The earlier Sanskrit tradition mentions only six kārakas (see Verhagen 2001). These Sanskrit transliterations are rarely mentioned in the commentaries and usually replaced by their Tibetan equivalents.

14. LAS.SU.BYA.BA can be translated literally "activity towards a work/for a work" (see Zeisler 2006b: 59).
clitic nature is that Tibetan cases occur only once for each NP (Noun Phrase), unlike ‘classical’ case systems of Sanskrit, Latin, Greek or Russian, where a case, for example dative, is marked on each constituent of the NP whether nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers or pronouns.

Another consequence of the clitic nature of the cases is that the various constituents of the NP never undergo any morphological variation. The only morphological variation is related to the clitic morpheme itself, which may undergo a variation depending on the final consonant or vowel of the preceding word.

Some case markers are clearly allomorphs and represent formal variations of a single morpheme in a certain environment. The variation is linked to an old morphophonological rule and does not reflect any difference in terms of grammatical semantics.

This is for example the case for GI, KYI, GYI, I and YI, which are allomorphs of the same genitive case as well as GIS, KYIS, GYIS, IS and YIS, which are allomorphs of the same ergative (or ‘agentive’) case.

Zero marking (Ø) should also be considered as a case marker although it is formally void. The reason is that the absolutive case, traditionally referred to as ḌO, BO, TSAM, plays an essential role in the ergative constructions. The absolutive is used for both the unique participant of an intransitive construction and the patient of a transitive construction.

Concerning their syntax and semantics, the main characteristic of CT cases is that they are multifunctional, transcategorial and sometimes optional (LaPolla 1995; Tournadre 1997, 2010; DeLancey 2011a). They are multifunctional in the sense that every case has a wide array of functions.

The various cases of CT indicate grammatical roles, when occurring after a noun or a NP. They indicate its grammatical role or function such as Agent, Patient, Beneficiary, Instrument, Goal, Source, etc.

The case markers also have connective functions, when placed after a verb or a nominalized verb. They function as coordinators or subordinators. Apart from these main functions, one also encounters adverbial functions after nouns or adjectives and postpositional functions mainly after nouns.
6.6.2. Adjectival morphology

In both Old and Classical Tibetan, adjectives are often derived from the verb by adding an adjectival suffix བོ PO, རོ BO, བོ MO, བ་ PA, བཟ BA, བ཰ MA (a subclass of the nominal suffixes) and གུ NGU: ནགསལ GXAL 'to be clear' → ནགསལཔོ GXALPO 'clear'; གཟིམ ZHIM 'to be tasty' → གཟིམཔོ ZHIMPo 'tasty'; ནིང RING 'to be long' → ནིངཔོ RINGPO 'long'; ཁོང DKAR 'to be white' → ཁོངཔོ DKARPO 'white'; དུང CHUNG 'to be small' → དུངངུ CHUNGNGU 'small'; དཔེང THUNG, etc.

Sometimes, when the stem ends in a vowel, the suffix is preceded by the formative ་ ཉ ' added to the stem (as we have seen in 6.6.1.2): དྲ་ RGA 'to become old' → དྲགན་པ་ RGANPA 'old'; བྲེས GSO 'to raise' → བྲེསྤོན GSONPO 'alive'; སྤེལ RNO 'to be sharp' → སྤེལན RNONPO 'sharp'; མོང SNGO 'to be blue' → མོངོན SNGONPO 'blue'; ནམི MTHO 'to be high' → ནམིན MTHONPO 'high'; དིས TSHO 'to be fat' → དིསོན TSHONPO 'fat'; ཅེབ CHE 'to be big' → ཅེབོ་ CHENPO 'big', etc. Note that the reduplication of adjectival roots rarely occurs in CT, however, it is frequent in Modern Literary Tibetan and in the modern languages (see 8.1.7).

From a morphosyntactic point of view, one also finds in Classical Tibetan compound adjectives such as: འཛིན་པོར YID.DU. 'attractive', 'handsome', 'charming' (lit. 'coming to' or 'fitting the mind'); བཞིབཔསཔའ་BSAM.YULLAS 'overcoming'; བཞིབཔསཔའ་ BSAM-GYIS MI-KHYAB-PA 'inconceivable' (lit. 'not embraced by the mind'); མི་ཁ་པྲྲས་KHYAD.DU, PHAGS-PA 'superior, sublime' (lit. 'particularly noble'); འཛིན་པོར RNAP. MI-GR'O 'unpleasant' (lit. 'not fitting the ear'), etc.

6.6.3. Verbal morphology

Morphological alternations of consonants or vowels (apophony) are found in Old and Classical Tibetan. These alternations can be compared to those found in Germanic languages. For example, in English sing, sang, sung or think, thought, thought correspond to present, past, past participle. In a similar way, although more complex, one encounters in Tibetan verbs that have four inflections འདེབས་ DEBS, བཏབ་ BTAB, བསམ་ GDAB, འཁྲོས THOBS 'to plant', corresponding respectively to "present," "past," "future," and
“imperative” according to the traditional terminology. However, these forms do not only correspond to tenses but also to aspects and modalities (see Zeisler 2004).

The inflexions were probably originally due to verbal affixes (prefixes and suffixes) which progressively merged with the verb (see also Bialek 2020, 2021; Jacques 2021 for recent debates).

There are, in fact, two types of verbal inflections. The first type, which is pervasive in all the Sino-Tibeto-Burman languages, indicates the opposition between causative (mostly transitive) and anticausative or resultative (mostly intransitive) verbs. For example, བཅད་ ‘to cut’, ཆད་ ‘to be cut’, བསྒྱུར་ ‘to change, translate’, རྒྱ་ ‘GYUR ’to be changed’, བྲོ་ SKOL ‘to boil’ vs. བྲོ་ KHOL ’to be boiled’, etc. (see the list of 200 verb pairs in Kesang Gyurmé 1992 or in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003).

The second type of verbal inflections (such as DEB, BTAB, GTAB, THOBS mentioned above) indicates tense, aspect and modality (TAM). The inflections are irregular and unpredictable. While some verbs are invariable, many have up to four stems (or inflexions) to indicate the present, future, past and imperative. The verbal stems show variations both in vowels and consonants. The forms are often based on different stems, although etymologically related. The following chart shows some examples of stem variations.

**CHART VI.4. – Stem variations according to the tenses and modality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>past</th>
<th>present</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to make, do’</td>
<td>བྱས་ BYAS</td>
<td>བྱེད་ BYED</td>
<td>བྱ་ BYA</td>
<td>བྱོས་ BYOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to cut, decide’</td>
<td>བཅད་ BCAD</td>
<td>ལྷེན་ GCOD</td>
<td>བློ་ GCAD</td>
<td>བྲོ་ CHOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to plant’</td>
<td>བཏབ་ BTAB</td>
<td>བེབས་ DEBS</td>
<td>བློ་ GTAB</td>
<td>བཾེིན་ THOBS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to give, offer’</td>
<td>བྲིམ་ BSTSAL</td>
<td>བྲིས་ STSOL</td>
<td>བྲིས་ STSAL</td>
<td>བྲིས་ STSOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
<td>བྲོས་ BZAS</td>
<td>ས་ SA</td>
<td>བྲོ་ BZA’</td>
<td>ས་ ZO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to lay down, to sleep’</td>
<td>བྲོ་ NYAL</td>
<td>བྲོ་ NYAL</td>
<td>བྲོ་ NYAL</td>
<td>བྲོ་ NYOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to change’ (involuntary)</td>
<td>རྒྱ་ GYUR</td>
<td>རྒྱ་ ‘GYUR</td>
<td>རྒྱ་ ‘GYUR</td>
<td>རྒྱ་ ‘GYUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to demand’, ‘to offer’</td>
<td>བསྲོལ་ GSOL</td>
<td>བསྲོལ་ GSOL</td>
<td>བསྲོལ་ GSOL</td>
<td>བསྲོལ་ GSOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to see’</td>
<td>བཾིི་ MTHONG</td>
<td>བཾིི་ MTHONG</td>
<td>བཾིི་ MTHONG</td>
<td>བཾིི་ MTHONG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some verbs such as ‘to make, to do’, ‘to plant’, ‘to cut’ have four stems, some verbs such as ‘to give, to offer’ have three stems. Other verbs such as ‘to sleep’ and ‘to change’ have only two and ‘to demand, to offer’ is invariable.

Among the differences between CT and OT verb forms, one must mention the final second suffix $D$, which was still written in OT (for the past): བསྩལ་ ‘STALD, གྱུརད་ ‘GYURD, རྒྱུན་ ‘GOLD (compare with the above chart).

The form $BSTSA$ (CT) with a $B$ prefix in the past, instead of $STSALD$ attested in OT was probably invented for the systematization of verb forms. Another clear case of this phenomenon is འཛ་ ‘ZA ’eat’ which had བསྟེ ‘ZOS (past) in OT while CT uses བཟས་ ‘BZAS. Sometimes, the verbal inflexion used originally in Old Tibetan for the causative (transitive) / anticausative or resultative (intransitive) opposition have become part of the tense paradigm of the verb in Classical Tibetan. For example, in the Dunhuang documents, བཟྲུལ་ 'BUL and ངུལ་ 'HUL correspond respectively to the causative and the anticausative (or resultative) forms of the verb ‘to offer’, while in Classical Tibetan 'BUL and PHUL correspond respectively to the present and the past stem.

Based on an article written by Li (1933), Coblin (1976) has shown that it was possible to reconstruct eight paradigms of verb forms for CT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHART VI5. – Stem paradigms</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present (1)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>II</td>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
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<td>VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For some verbs, it is necessary to postulate the existence of two stems:

15. For example in Takeuchi 1995, text 25, line 3 and 4: བཟྲུལ་ ‘BUL / DER MA PHUL LAM GYI GYUS ZHIG TSHAL NA.
The G prefix found in གདབ GDAB is not found for the future in the reconstructed paradigm (in the chart above). Coblin (1976) proposed that the original future prefix G was D and that “the pre-initial D later dissimilated to G before the stem initials C (~CH), NY, T (~TH), D, N, TS, (~TSH), ZH, Z, Y, S and S” (Coblin 1976: 56).

In Classical Tibetan, verbs with four stems are usually controllable (volitional) and transitive. Most of non-controllable (volitional) verbs have only two stems or are invariable.

In some exceptional cases, the verbal forms of Classical Tibetan are derived for entirely different verbs. This suppletive strategy may be illustrated by the following verbs:

- མཐུ་ 'GRO’ to go’ (present, future), ཚེ་ SONG’to go’ (past and imperative) or ཉོན PHYIN ‘to go’ (past).
- མཐུ་ 'ONG’to come’ (present, future), འོངས ONGS ‘to come’ (past), སོག SHOG ‘to come’ (imperative).  

As we will see (chap 8), in some modern Tibetic languages, the suppletive strategy to indicate tenses has been used with various other frequent verbs.

In CT, tenses, aspects and modalities are marked not only by the inflectional forms, which correspond to an archaic morphology, but also by a system of verbal auxiliaries and connectives.

16. Although DeLancey, Tournadre and others authors used previously the term “volitional,” the term “controllable” is preferable. See the comments in the section 8.3.4.2 on Controllability.

17. The latter is derived from the verb གིས་ GSHEGS ‘go, come’ which imperative SHEG is sometimes found in early Classical. Such suppletive verbs are also found in modern dialects for verbs such as ‘go, come, give’, etc. see 8.3.10.
The verbal auxiliaries are essentially used in final clauses, while the connectives are used after subordinate (or non-final clauses).

In the final clause, the verb may occur alone but it is frequently followed by an auxiliary.

In the latter case, the verb is followed by an auxiliary which may itself be preceded by a relator (REL). The relators correspond either to a nominalizer (NMLZ) (sometimes associated to a nominal case) or to a connective (CO) (see Oisel 2013; Tournadre and Konchok Jiatso 2001).

Thus we find the following constructions:

a) (NEG)-V[flex]

b) (NEG)+V[flex]+(REL)+(CASE)+AUX

c) V[flex]+(REL)+(CASE)+(NEG)+AUX

The verb is the only compulsory element and may be inflected as noted in (a) by the parenthesis [flex]. As we have seen above, many verbs are invariable.

In the subordinate (or non-final) clause, the verb is usually followed by a connective. One often finds series of clauses linked together by connectives (see section below). Thus, the complex sentence structure may be represented in the following way:

(SN)+V[flex]-CO, (NP)+ V[flex]-CO, (NP)+V[flex]+(REL+Case)+AUX

Each non-final clause is followed by a connective. The tense which is often marked by the auxiliary (possibly in combination with the verbal inflection) usually appears in the final clause.

6.6.4. Auxiliary verbs

As we have seen in 6.6.3, in order to indicate tenses, aspects and modalities (TAM), Old and Classical Tibetan have developed a system of auxiliary verbs postponed to the main verb, in addition to the verbal inflexions. The auxiliaries in CT play a considerable role in the TAM marking. Evidentiality and epistemic modality are also marked by auxiliaries, but they play a rather marginal role in Classical Tibetan (see Oisel 2013; Hill 2013; Zeisler 2018b).
The main auxiliaries used in CT are:

- **Copulative verbs:** ཨིན་ YIN ‘to be’, ལགས་ LAGS ‘to be (Hon)’, རེད་ RED ‘to be’.\(^{18}\)
- **Existential and location verbs:** འོད་ YOD ‘to have, exist’, མཆིས་ MCHIS ‘to have, exist’ (Hon), འདུག་ DUG ‘to sit’, གདའ་ GDA ‘to exist’, བྱུང་ BYUNG ‘to have, to stay’.
- **Motion verbs:** འོང་ ONG/OONGS ‘to come’ and their variants འོང་ YONG, མོང་ SHOG ‘to come’, འདུག་ DUG ‘to become’, ལྷན་ GRO, རྒྲོ་ PHYIN and རྐྱེད་ SONG ‘to go’.
- **Activity verbs:** བྱེད་ BYED and its inflected forms: བྱས་ BYAS (past)/སི་ BYA (fut)/མཛོད་ MDZOD (imp), བགྱིད་ BGYID ‘to do’ (Hon).
- **Modal and other types:** ཆོག་ CHOG ‘to be allowed’, དགོས་ DGOS ‘to want, must’, ཐུབ་ THUB ‘to be able’, རློང་ MYONG ‘to experience’.

The above list includes both variable auxiliaries such as BYED, BGYID and invariable auxiliaries such as YOD, ‘DUG, GDA’, YIN, etc.

Here is a list of the most common constructions to indicate TAM in final clauses. In some cases, the relator and the case may be dropped.

**Completed past**

\[ V[^{past}] \]

\[ V[^{past}]-REL (པ་ PA)+AUX. (ིན/ཐེ/ཐེ་) YIN/TE/RED \]

\[ V[^{past}]-REL (ནས་ NAS)+AUX. (ིྱུན/པོ་ SONG/PHYIN/ཞེས་) BYUNG/ONGS \]

\[ V[^{past}]-REL+CASE (པ་ R)+AUX. (ིྱུན/པོ་/དོན་ MDZAD/PHYIN) BYIS \]

\[ V[^{past}]-REL+CASE (པ་ R)+AUX. (ིྱུན/BYGs) \]

**Perfect**

\[ V[^{past}]-REL (ཏེ TE/ནས NAS)+AUX. (ིན/པོ/གྲུ་ DUG/ནད་ GDA/ཡིན་ YOD/ཞེས་ MCHIS) \]

---

18. RED ‘to be’ is rarely used in CT. It was spread only after the seventeenth century but remained marginal until the twentieth century. See also Shao (2016).
V[past]-REL (པར PAR)+AUX. (འདུག′ DUG/གདའ′ GDA/ཡོད′ YOD/མཆིས′ MCHIS/སྣང′ SNANG)

Present or uncompleted past
V[pres.]
V[pres.]-REL+CASE (པར PA+R)+AUX. (བྱེད′ BYED/མཛད′ MDZAD/བགྱིས′ BGYIS)
V[pres.]-REL+CASE (པར PA+R)+AUX. (འགྱུར′ GYUR)

Progressive
V[pres.]-REL (བཞིན′ BZHIN/ཅིང′ CING/གིན′ GIN)+AUX. (འདུག′ DUG/གདའ′ GDA/ཡོད′ YOD/མཆིས′ MCHIS)

Future
V[fut.]
V[fut.]-REL+CASE (པར PA-R)+AUX. (བྱ′ BYA/མཛད′ MDZAD/བགྱིས′ BGYIS)
V[fut.]-REL+CASE (པར PA-R)+AUX. (འགྱུར′ GYUR)
V[fut.]-REL (རྒྱུ་RGYU/པ་PA/གི་GI)+AUX. (ཡིན′ YIN/རེད′ RED)
V[fut.]-REL (ནས′ NAS/ཏེ′ TE)+AUX. (འོང′ ONG)

6.6.5. Connectives

The category of connectives, just as auxiliaries, plays an important role in the grammar of CT. One must distinguish between various types of connectives linking nouns (or noun phrase), adjectives (or adjective verbs) and verbs.

We will briefly present here the main verb connectives which also function as clause coordinators or subordinators. Some of these connectives also function as nominal cases (ནས NAS, བས LAS, བ་ PA/བ་ BA, དུ DU (and its variants རུ RU, དུ TU)), (པར PAR/བས BAR, (འ་ PA/བ་ BA)+དང′ DANG, (འ་ PA/བ་ BA)+ལ་ LA, (འ་ PA/བ་ BA)+ལས LAS, (འ་ PA/བ་ BA)+ན་ NA, ལྷུའི KYANG and its

As we have seen earlier, each non-final clause is followed by a connective. In most cases, the non-final verb is not followed by an auxiliary.

The main noun connective is ལོང་ DANG, while adjective connectives are ཡིང་ CING (and its variants ལོང་ ZHING and ལོཟ་ SHING), and སྔ་ LA.

6.6.6. Verb and clause nominalization

Among the characteristic features of CT (and OT), one finds the very frequent use of "nominalizers," which serve as the main tool to nominalize a verb or even an entire clause. Their role is similar to the one of the infinitive in European languages, however nominalizers play a more essential paper in the grammar of CT. Nominalizers are used not only to nominalize verbs or entirely clauses but also to form relative clauses and to indicate, in combination with an auxiliary, the tense-aspect marking.

Various nominalizers are used in CT. They include ཤོ་ PA, མཁན་ MKHAN, སྦ ‘SA, རྒྱུ་ RGYU, རུང་ STANGS, འིི༔ SROL, བྱེད་ BYED, བྱ་ BYA, ཡུལ་ YUL, རྒྱུ་ PHRO. However, the universal nominalizer is ཤོ་ PA/ སྔ་ BA. It is plurifunctional and occurs more frequently than the other nominalizers.

6.7. The relation between Tibetic languages and Classical Tibetan

As mentioned in the introduction, all modern Tibetic languages are closely related to Classical Tibetan and, in some cases, archaic forms found in Old Tibetan. As we will show in the Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon (see the HCTL, Chapter 12), more than 95% of the core vocabulary of modern Tibetic languages is related to a CT, or in some cases to an OT form (see Chapter 4). Some marginal languages at the periphery of the Tibetic linguistic area may have a lower rate of their vocabulary related to Classical Tibetan, due to borrowing from neighboring languages.

However when we compare the modern languages, we can see that the proportion of common vocabulary is much lower (see the HCTL in Chapter 12).
According to Qu Aitang (1996), the modern languages (or "modern dialects") have only about 60% common vocabulary.\textsuperscript{19}

As we will see (in Chapters 7 and 8), the phonology and grammar of modern Tibetic languages have a clear correspondence with Classical Tibetan. Not only are the modern lexical forms comparable to their literary counterparts, but, in addition, the modern languages exhibit \textit{regular sound correspondences} with CT as well as fundamental grammatical characteristics. This systematical similarity suggests that all the modern Tibetic languages have been derived from a common ancestor, which was very close to the literary language.

However, depending on languages, we can also find features which are not related to Classical Tibetan. Thus, we consider the development of modern Tibetic languages not as a simple evolution of a single language, but as a result of complicated language contacts.

The split between the various Tibetic languages must have occurred after the development of Tibetan script, probably at the time of the Tibetan Empire (i.e. seventh to ninth century). As shown in Chapter 4, the dialectal diversification could only occur after various phonological processes, characteristic of the Proto-Tibetic period, had already taken place. These phonological features are not attested or, not systematically attested, in the neighboring Bodish languages.

\textbf{6.7.1. Impact of the literary language on modern Tibetic languages}

The relation between CT and the modern languages is not limited to the genetic affiliation. In most cases, just as with other literary languages of the world, CT has slowed down the natural evolution of the spoken languages that were using CT as their written form.

Many monks and lamas devote much of their activity to reading religious and philosophical texts in CT. This reading activity has had the effect of bridging the differences between oral and written forms. Some monks or lamas are able to recite

\textsuperscript{19} The situation is comparable in many ways to the relationship between \textit{modern} Romance languages. Similarly, when we compare the modern languages with Latin, the rate is much higher.
entirely by heart some sutras or tantras. Within their colloquial speech and during ritual debates they often quote sentences in CT.

There are cases when a given dialect has changed the natural pronunciation of a word because of the reading style. For example, before 1959, the word for འབྲས་ 'BRAS 'rice' in Lhasa was commonly /ˈpäː/ following the regular sound change in this dialect (loss of the r after the labial, see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003: 399), but as a result of the education policy in the Literary language, Lhasa people now pronounce this word according to the literary reading /ˈtäː/.

If we look at the situation of European languages, it is clear that the impact of literary languages on vernacular speech was sometimes significant. For example, in the case of French this impact is quite extraordinary. Many Old French words that had already undergone a significant evolution (such as the loss of a syllable) were 'Latinised' back into Middle French. For example, the word maxine 'medicine', leume (vs. légume) 'vegetable', rade (vs. rapide) 'quick', beneçon 'benediction' were under the 'artificial' influence of the Literary language written and pronounced subsequently as medecine, légume, rapide and benediction.

### 6.7.2. Impact of modern Tibetic languages on Literary Tibetan

In addition to the strong hypothesis of a common ancestor, the tight relationship between modern languages or dialects and the written language might be partially explained by the integration into the literary language of numerous dialectal words and expressions over the last 1,000 years.

In fact, one of the striking features of literary Tibetan is the existence of numerous quasi synonyms. For example the literary words རྒྱ་ས་, སྐྱིགས་, བྲེད་ and ཀྱིགས་ (see the dictionary, part 3) correspond to the same meaning, 'to fear'. It is thus quite possible that these words belong originally to various dialects and have been integrated into CT.

One should note that the orthography of the nominal and adjectival suffixes -BA and -BO instead of -PA and -PO is emblematic of Amdo and differs from the texts written in Kham and Central Tibet: 'house' ཆུང་པ་ KHANG.BA (Am) vs. ཆུང་ PA KHANG.PA; 'leg, foot' རྐང་པ་ RKANG.BA (Am) vs. རྐང་ PA RKANG.PA; 'empty' གོང་པ་ STONG.BA (Am) vs. གོང་ PA STONG.PA; 'first' རྗེ་ DANG.BO (Am) vs. རྗེ་ DANG.PO.
Generally, it seems that Tibetans have been very tolerant towards dialectal forms as opposed to what happened in France, for example. The Academy ‘purified’ the French language from all dialectal influences and strived to eliminate dialectal words and expressions. Of course, this intolerance concerning dialectal words is not confined only to France, but, rather, is frequent in the literary languages of the world. However, the degree of ‘dialectal tolerance’ is certainly higher in German and Italian.

A number of Classical Tibetan texts clearly show dialectal influences. Some writers inserted into their texts lexical items or even grammatical words respectively from Kham, Amdo or Tsang. It seems that, unlike some European traditions, Tibetans and other Bhoti groups never tried to eliminate dialectal expressions and words from their literary works. One possible explanation for this is linked with the oral traditions of Tibetan Buddhism and Bön. Tibetan culture has been transmitted both through the written tradition of pecha (པེ་ཆ་ DPE.CHA) texts and by means of oral traditions. Both are considered equally important. A written text, especially if it is a root text, tsawa (རྩ་བ་ RTS.A.BA), receives oral commentaries and explanations, which often serve as practical instructions. The tsawa is essential for the theoretical approach, whereas the oral instructions (གདམས་ངག་ GDAMS.NG.K) are fundamental for their implementation.

The following texts are considered to be influenced by dialectal features (Dung-dkar Blo-bzang ’Phrin-las 1997: 316, SUMBHA DON.GRUB TSHE.RING 2011):

Traces of Phühpo dialect

- བེའུ་བུམ་སྔོན་པོ་ BE’U BUM SNGON.PO and དཔེ་ལྟོག་གྱི་བསྟན་པྱི་ཕུག DPE-CHOS RIN-CHEN.BSTAN.PHYOG, composed during the twelfth century by DGE.BSHES.PO.TO.BA.

Traces of Tsang or Tö dialects

- The famous Milarāpa’s biography མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ MLLA RAS.PA’I RNAM.THAR, composed during the fifteenth century by སྡེ་ལོ་བོ་དྲེ་ལོ་ནས་སྣངས་དཔེ་རི་དགགས། GTSANG.SMYON.HE.RU.K.A.SANGS.RGYAS.RGYAL.MTSHAN.

Traces of Amdo dialects

- རོལ་བདེ་བའི་ཕལ་སྐད་ཟབ་ཆོས་ ZLOS.GAR.GYIBSTAN.BCOS, composed in the Labrang Amdo dialect during
the nineteenth century by གུང་ཐང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྟན་པའི་སྒྲོན་མེ་ Geneva; and བི་ལེགས་གླུ་ ང་ཐོ། སྟན་པ་རབ་རྒྱས་ in the nineteenth century.

* མདོ་སྨད་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ MDO.SMAD CHOS 'BYUNG, edited by ལུང་གོམས་པ་དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྟན་པ་རབ་རྒྱས་ བྲག་དགོན་པ་དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྟན་པ་རབ་རྒྱས་ in the nineteenth century.

Traces of Kham dialect

* གཏམ་པད་མ་ཚལ་གྱི་ཟློས་གར་ GTAM.PAD.MA.TSHAL.GYI.ZLOS.GAR, composed in the nineteenth century by རྡེ་དཔལ་སྤྲུལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ DON.GRUB.RGYAL, the famous Amdo writer and poet who committed suicide in 1980 (see e.g. Robin 2003).

Further research is needed to determine dialectal influence in Tibetan Classical literature. Some of the above texts contain not only dialectal expressions but also some grammatical dialectisms. The contemporaneous literature of Amdo, which is still written in a style close to Classical Tibetan, shows even more dialectal influences in some texts. Among the famous works that manifest such influences are short stories composed by DON.GRUB.RGYAL, the famous Amdo writer and poet who committed suicide in 1980 (see e.g. Robin 2003).

It is also likely that lamas and lay authors in Ladakh, Bhutan and other areas outside Tibet also were influenced by their local language or dialect (as it is the case currently). Thus it is almost certain that over many centuries various Tibetic dialects have poured lexical items and expressions into the literary language.

Both the dialectal influence on literary language and the literary influence on dialects might have occurred during their millennium of “cohabitation.” However, the situation is probably much more complicated than this, and some fundamental research has yet to be done in this field. Several important issues are still to be clarified:

a) The language underwent some significant transformation in its vocabulary (see section 6.5 in this chapter) during the transition from OT to CT. What prompted these transformations?

b) Sanskrit had an impact on the literary language, particularly on the lexicon and grammar of the canonical texts which still needs further research. However, did Zhangzhung, Tangut, Chinese, or any ancient ST languages have any significant
impact on Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan?

c) What influence did Bodic, Kiranti, Kinnauri, Qiangic or rGyalrongic languages and other Tibetospheric languages have on the Tibetic languages?

d) What influence did the various Tibetic languages have on the evolution of Classical Tibetan? To what extent did Classical Tibetan integrate dialectal words?

All these questions require further research, ideally involving interdisciplinary collaboration e.g. in the fields of linguistics, history and anthropology.

6.7.3. The written language and the reconstruction of protoforms

Few 'compact language families' in the world have long written traditions, which are helpful for the reconstruction of the proto-languages.20 In most cases, there aren’t any written traditions (more than 95% of world languages do not have a written tradition, or, if one exists, it has been in limited use for less than 100 years). Written records are, for example, not available in the case of Australian, Oceanic, most Amerindian (with a few exceptions such as Guarani, Quechua, Nahuatl, etc.) and most African languages (except for the Semitic languages and a few other exceptions). The only area with abundant and ancient written records is Eurasia. Even in this region of the world, some language families, such as the Uralic family, lack records that would help to reconstruct the whole family. Modern languages or language families with written documents dating back more than a thousand years belong to a small "club," which totals less than twenty members: Greek, Romance, Germanic, Armenian, Celtic, Persian, Indo-Aryan, Slavic (which are all Indo-European branches), Semitic, Dravidian, Austronesian, Japanic, Mon-Khmer, Kartvelian, Turvic, Sinitic and Tibetic.

20. By "compact family," we mean here a language family whose languages are closely related and have a Proto-language that is related to an attested written language or can be easily reconstructed.
7. A phonological outline of the modern Tibetic languages

The diversity of Tibetic languages manifests itself in various linguistic fields, such as phonetics and phonology, morphology and lexicon; on the other hand, as mentioned earlier, they share many common characteristics. This section deals with the phonological aspect. The section is divided into two parts: one is a pandialectal overview from the synchronic, macroscopic viewpoint with a unified list of the phonemic components to be able to describe all the varieties of Tibetic languages (section 7.1 and 7.2) as well as a brief description on the suprasegmentals generally called "tones" (section 7.3); the other is a historical or diachronic overview of the sound development compared with CT forms (section 7.4).

7.1. Pandialectal phonetic description and its transcription

The two charts below present the symbols used in order to transcribe the consonants and vowels found in most of the Tibetic languages or dialects and include some rare sounds attested only in a few dialects.

The sounds that are common to most Tibetic languages are given in bold and a larger font size than the sounds which are more specific. The transcription of frequent sounds (in bold) is rather straightforward for English speakers and meant for non-linguists. It has been chosen for simplicity’s sake and in many cases corresponds to the English pronunciation. For example the sounds /ts, dz, j, zh, ng, ny/ are similar to the pronunciation of the spellings ts, dz, j, zh, ng, ny respectively in the English words lots, adz, jaz, zhoe, Breznev, king, canyon.

Linguistic phonetic transcriptions make use of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) authorised by the International Phonetic Association. When our phonetic transcription differs from IPA, the symbols of IPA are given in a square bracket. Some phonetic symbols are not registered in IPA but are mainly employed in Chinese linguistic

1. This is meant for the convenience of a general readership. Linguists can/should use a phonetic description (IPA and other symbols) when citing the data from our book if necessary. For criticism against forcing non-English words to follow the English convention, see Hill (2012b).
works. They are well defined in Zhu (2010); for the sake of providing a precise description, we adapt them in the following charts. Otherwise, the transcription letter is equivalent to the corresponding IPA symbol.

### Chart VII.1 – Pandialectal transcription of the consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial/ labiodental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Pre-palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Pre-velar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plosive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vel.</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ky [k']</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aspir.</strong></td>
<td>p' [p']</td>
<td>t' [t']</td>
<td>l' [l']</td>
<td>s' [s']</td>
<td>c' [c']</td>
<td>ky' [k']</td>
<td>k' [k']</td>
<td>q' [q']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>voic.</strong></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>gy [g']</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vel.</strong></td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td>z [z̪]</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aspir.</strong></td>
<td>ts' [st']</td>
<td>ts' [ts']</td>
<td>z' [z̪']</td>
<td>c' [c']</td>
<td>ñ' [n̩'z̪']</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>voic.</strong></td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>j [dz]</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ĥ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vel.</strong></td>
<td>f [f, ñ]</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>t̊</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x̂</td>
<td>x̃</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aspir.</strong></td>
<td>s' [s']</td>
<td>s' [s']</td>
<td>ñ' [n̩']</td>
<td>t̊' [t̊']</td>
<td>x' [k̩']</td>
<td>ñ' [n̩']</td>
<td>x' [k̩']</td>
<td>ñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>voic.</strong></td>
<td>v [v, ñ]</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ɾ̂</td>
<td>z̃</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ñ̂</td>
<td>ñ̂</td>
<td>ñ̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>vel.</strong></td>
<td>r̂ [l̃]</td>
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<td><strong>voic.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Vibrant</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>vel.</strong></td>
<td>r̂ [c̃]</td>
<td>r̂ [c̃]</td>
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<td><strong>voic.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>vel.</strong></td>
<td>m̃ [ñ]</td>
<td>ñ [ñ]</td>
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<td><strong>voic.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Semi-vowel</strong></td>
<td>w, v</td>
<td>y [j]</td>
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<td>ũ</td>
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</table>

Some sounds have not been included in the chart VII.1. either because the accuracy of their phonetic description is debatable in the Tibetic languages, e.g. [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [tʃ], [dʒ].\(^2\) We did not include either some very rare sounds, such as dental fricatives [s̪, z̪], dental-postalveolar affricates [t̪ s̪, d̪ z̪], pharyngeal fricatives [ħ, ʕ]\(^3\) and an epiglottal fricative [ʢ].\(^4\) Note

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2. The postalveolar articulation rarely has a phonemic status in the languages spoken in East Asia, and the prepalatal counterpart functions instead. Cf. Zhu (2010).

3. These sounds are well attested in Arabic languages.

4. This sound is well attested in Hebrew.
that [w] is a double-articulated sound of the bilabial and velar positions. [ʃ] is a double- or triple articulated sound of the (bilabial), prepalatal and velar positions. The phonetic symbol [r] is defined as an “alveolar trill” in IPA, but for the simplicity’s sake, it designates here multiple kinds of “r-like sounds,” which are usually not distinguished by speakers of the Tibetic languages, including alveolar trill ([r] in IPA), alveolar flap ([ɾ] in IPA), alveolar approximant [ɹ], retroflex flap [ɽ], and even voiced retroflex fricative [ʐ] (the last one appears only in the case of no phonemic contrast between /r/ and /ʐ/).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHART VII.2. – Pandialectal transcription of the vocalic sounds</th>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
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<td>Mid high</td>
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<td>Mid low</td>
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<td>Low</td>
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Oral consonantic vowels: 5

Oral consonantic vowels are sounds with both the features of a semi-vowel (see the chart of consonants) and a vowel, functioning as a syllable core like a full vowel. They are attested only in a few Tibetic languages (see below 7.2.1.2.). From the typological point of view, one should note that these sounds are not so frequent in the World’s language.

Some of the vowels presented in the chart may be nasalised and have a phonemic length distinction. Nasalised vowels are noted with a tilde such as [ā, ī, ŭ], etc. and long vowels are noted as [aː, iː, oː, uː], etc.

More rarely, one can also find retroflex (˭), velarised (ˠ or ˤ) or pharyngealised (ˤ) vowels.

5. The description of [ʃ] is slightly different from the IPA’s, but here we use the identical symbol. See Suzuki et al. (2019).
6. ɿ: is realized as a syllabic labiodental approximant; ə: is articulated as in American English, in “ir” of bird and in Beijing Mandarin er ‘two’; ʃ: resembles a frictionlike or humming [ʃ].
In the above chart, the vowels in bold are the basic vowels found in almost all the Tibetic languages; those not in bold are found in only some dialects.

Central rounded vowels
The existence of central rounded vowels (ü ö) plays an important role in most of the Central and Southern Tibetic languages (Ü, Tsang, Kham, Hor, Dzongkha, etc.). In addition, in Amdo, Eastern Tibetic languages, Kham and Hor, one generally finds a central vowel (ə) with phonemic status.

7.2. The main characteristics of pandialectal segmental phonology
We summarise below the phonological features on consonants and vowels of the Tibetic languages.

7.2.1. Consonants
We will first deal with the modes of articulation and then present the places of articulation.

7.2.1.1. Modes of articulation
• Aspirated sounds
An important characteristic found in all the dialects is the phonological function of aspiration. It occurs only with voiceless sounds, unlike Hindi and some other Indic (Indo-Aryan) and Dravidian languages. Thus in all the languages we find a distinctive opposition between /p, t, tʃ, k, ts, ʈʃ/ and their aspirated counterparts: /p', t', tʃ', k', ts', ʈʃ'/.

Additionally, in many languages of Eastern Tibet (e.g. Kham and Amdo), the opposition extends to other phonemes such as /s/ vs. /s'/, /ʃ/ vs. /ʃ'/, and /ʃ/ vs. /ʃ'/.

7. Most of descriptions on the “central rounded vowels” here regard them as “front rounded vowels” i.e. [y] and [ ø]. However, the sounds attested in almost all the dialects, the notation with front rounded vowels is phonetically inappropriate and we use here u and o with umlaut instead.

8. Aspiration is also an important characteristic in Hindi, Chinese, and many other languages of the area.
Voicing

Voiced plosive and affricate sounds such as /b, d, ɖ, j, g, dz/ are found in the entire area, though in Ü and Tsang of Central Tibet, they do not have a phonemic status.

In most languages one also finds the following fricative voiced sound as opposed to voiceless: /s/ vs. /z/, /ʃ/ vs. /zh/. This opposition is generally absent in Ü and Tsang, where one has only voiceless fricatives.

The opposition between voiceless velar fricative /x/ and voiced /ɣ/ is well attested in Eastern Tibet as well as in Zhangskar and Balti. In some rare dialects of Eastern Tibet, such as Čone and Gyalthang, one also encounters a voicing opposition for retroflex sounds /ʂ/ vs. /ʐ/.

In some dialects of Central Tibet (e.g. Tsang) and southern Kham (Gyalthang), the vibrant voiced sound /r/ is opposed to a voiceless /r'/.

The opposition between denti-alveolar voiced lateral /l/ and voiceless lateral /ɭ/ is also ubiquitous with a few exceptions, notably Central Ladaks, Khöpokhok (Zitsadegu), Thewo-mā and Drugchhu, which lack the latter.

In many languages spoken in Eastern Tibet and in some Tibetic languages of the southern Himalayas such as Lhoke, the opposition of voicing extends to the nasal sounds: /m/ vs. /m'/, /n/ vs. /n'/, /ŋ/ vs. /ŋ'/, /ɲ/ vs. /ŋ'/. 

Ex. སྣ‘ ཟྨ‘ རིལ‘, སྣ‘ ཟྨ‘ ། སྣལ‘ སིང‘ སྣཡི‘; སྣ་ སྣྲིས‘ སྣྲག‘ སྣི‘ སྣྲྩ‘ སྣི‘ སྣི‘ སྣི‘. 

Nasal series

The existence of nasal /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ɲ/ is ubiquitous in all the Tibetic languages (only some dialects of Čone, Markham (in Tibet) and Dazundam (Myanmar) lack /ŋ/, /ɲ/). The phonetic realization of /ŋ/ has been disputed among scholars. This sound is realized as a prepalatal in almost all varieties of the Tibetic languages, but since the symbol /ɲ/ is not an IPA convention, most scholars use the sign /ɲ/, which refers

9. In Tsang the voiceless /r'/ is often realised as a retroflex fricative consonant [ʂ].

to a palatal position. This distinction is in fact important, because a few languages of Kham distinguish a palatal (/ɲ/), and a prepalatal nasal (/ȵ/). (see Suzuki 2016).

As seen above, in many dialects of Kham, a series of voiceless nasal plosives is also found: /m'/, /n'/, /ny'/, /ng'/.

7.2.1.2. Place of articulation

The following commentaries will deal with specific features of the Tibetic languages and do not present an exhaustive list of the phonemes.

- **Labial obstruent series**

  The labial plosives /p/, /p'/, /b/ are pervasive in all Tibetic languages, except for some dialects of Central Tibet where the completely voiced sound [b] is generally absent.

  Labial or labio-dental fricative phonemes /ɸ/ and /v/, often realized as labial fricatives, respectively [ɸ] and [v], are found in Zanhar and in a few dialects spoken in Amdo. In Amdo, depending on dialects, /f/ is pronounced as [f] or as [ɸ] and they are not free variants.

- **Denti-alveolar obstruent and lateral series**

  The denti-alveolar plosives /t/, /t'/, /d/ and africates /ts/ /ts'/ and /dz/ are pervasive in all Tibetic languages.

  The denti-alveolar fricatives /s/, /z/ are found in most languages, although some dialects of Central Tibet (such as Ü and Tsang) lack a voiced counterpart /z/. A few dialects do have additionally interdental fricatives /θ, ð/ in Zanhar (see Hoshi & Tondup Tsering 1978), and some eastern dialects have /ɬ/ and /ɮ/ in mBalhag, Pashi and Čone (see Suzuki 2009, 2013).

- **Retroflex obstruent series**

  One of the characteristics of modern Tibetic languages is the existence of retroflex sounds: /ʈ/, /ʈ'/ and /ɖ/ (plosive), /ʂ/ (fricative), /ɾ/ (vibrant or flap). Some very rare

11. The retroflex articulation may be considered as an areal feature, since it is also found in Hindi and Chinese. However, the phonetic articulations are different. In many Tibetan languages, the
dialects have a distinction between /ʈ/ and /ʈʂ/ (e.g. Gyälthang, Čone). Other rare varieties entirely lack retroflex sounds (e.g. Thewo-mā).

- **Prepalatal obstruent series**
  The affricate phonemes /č/, /č'/ and /j/ are found in almost all Tibetic languages. The fricative /sh/ and /zh/ are also found in most languages (although /zh/ is not found in Ü and Tsang). The plosives /t, t', d, t'/ are attested in some very limited dialects of Kham.

- **Palatal and prevelar obstruent series**
  The palatal and prevelar obstruent series are limited to a few Tibetic languages. In Ü and Tsang, one finds a series of prevelars /ky/ and /gy/, while in some dialects of Amdo and Kham, one encounters palatal plosive or affricate realizations /c, ḋ, cç/, etc. In some dialects of Kham one can encounter palatal fricatives /ç, ʝ/.

- **Velar obstruent series**
  The existence of velar plosives /k, k', g/ is pervasive in Tibetic languages. However, the voiced sound /g/ does not have a phonemic (or distinctive) value in Ü and Tsang.

  The existence of velar fricatives /x/ and /ɣ/ is attested in both Eastern and Western Tibetic languages (Amdo, Kham, Sharkhok, Ladaks, Zanhar and Balti), but is not found in the languages of Central Tibet nor in the Tibetic languages of the southern Himalayas.12

- **Uvular obstruent series**
  Several dialects of Amdo, Kham, Hor and Eastern Tibetic languages, such as Pälkyi [Pashi] and Purik, have some uvular articulations, especially the voiceless uvular plosive /q/. The fricative /χ/ appears more frequently as a final. The dialects of Amdo, Kham and retroflex obstruents are made between a tongue tip and postalveolar. Chinese scholars often regard our “plosives” as affricates; however, contrary to denti-alveolar and prepalatal affricates, one cannot pronounce lengthened retroflex sounds. This means that retroflex sounds are primarily plosives, which are often with a weak friction.

Pälkyi [Pashi] have the uvular series as an initial. They also occur in Balti as final. Uvular sounds are not distinctive in the written system of Classical Tibetan.

- **Glottal obstruent series**

  The glottal stop /ʔ/ is found in many Tibetic languages. Some dialects of Amdo lack a glottal stop. The fricative voiceless /h/ and voiced /ɦ/ are also ubiquitous. Note that the /ɦ/ is sometimes described as breathy voice (see Suzuki 2013d & 2015a).

  Additionally, in many Central and Eastern languages as well as Zanhar, the glottal stop is frequently found in the final position (see section 9).

7.2.2. Vowels

- **Oral vowels**

  The oral vowels /a, i, u, ø, o/ are common to all the dialects. They correspond to the diacritic vowels found in Classical Tibetan.

- **Nasalized vowels**

  Phonetically, one can hear nasalized vowels such as [ä, ĩ, ō, ū], etc. in most of the languages and dialects. However, some phonemic distinctions are found in particular in Kham, Tö, Hor Nagehu, Sharkhok and the Nubra dialect of Ladakh. Scholars hold different views over the phonemic status of nasal vowels in Lhasa. Vowels do not undergo nasalisation in Amdo and Ladaks.

  For the languages that have only a phonetic realization, we will note the nasalization with an N as /aN, ĩN, eN, iN, oN, uN/ but when the nasalization has a phonemic status, for example in Kham and Čone, we will note it with a tilde /ā, ē, ō, ū/ as in IPA.

  Ex. སྨན་ /sman/ 'medicine', /sman/ (Ba, La), /sman/ (Am), /sman/ (Sh), /sman/ (Ü, Ts), /sman/ (Kh).

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Central Rounded vowels

Ü, Dzongkha, Kham, Hor and Sharkhok, etc. have developed the phonemic rounded vowels /ü, ü/. These vowels are generally not found in many varieties of Amdo, Ladaks, Purik or Balti dialects.

Ex. སྲུལ། sbrul’ (U) /ˈtsʰuː/ (Kh), /’bʊ/ (Ho, Dz); བོད། bod’ (Tibet) /’pʰuː/ (U), /’pʊʔ/ (Kh), /’bʊ/ (Dz).

Oral consonantic vowels

This series of vowels such as /ɿ (ʅ), v̩, v̩, v̩/ is rarely found in the Tibetic languages, although /ɿ (ʅ)/ appear more frequently in some dialects of Kham and Amdo. Phonetically, [ʅ] and [ɿ] show a complementary distribution so that they can be analyzed as one phoneme. (See Suzuki 2014b.)

/v̩, v̩/ are only found in a few dialects of Kham (Gyälthang). /v̩, v̩/ are found in Drugchu and some dialects of Amdo (see Suzuki 2013c and Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki 2019).

Retroflex, velarized or pharyngealized vowels

The vowels with a secondary oral articulation do not frequently appear. However, some varieties from South-eastern Tibet have several vowels of this kind. Not all the vowels can take these secondary articulations. The retroflex vowels /ʊ/ is frequently attested.

7.2.3. Phonotactics

Phonotactics, i.e. syllable structure, is essential to understanding the phonetic and phonological features of Tibetic languages (see also the syllabic structure of CT in 5.2). From the synchronic viewpoint, a syllable can be divided into two parts: initial and rhyme. The former is either a single consonant, a cluster, or even zero; the latter can be sub-divided into syllable core and final. Here we will briefly explain the components of the syllable structure: initial consonant cluster, syllable core and final.14

14 A general phonotactics includes a description of suprasegmentals, but in Tibetic languages the suprasegmentals can be born by multiple syllables (see next subsection), they are thus treated separately.
• **Initial consonant clusters**

If we take into consideration phonotactics, several Tibetic languages such as Balti, Ladaks, Purik, Zanhar and Amdo have a significant number of consonant clusters. The clusters consist generally of a preinitial consonant and an initial consonant.

• **Preinitials**

The first position of the initial consonant cluster in a syllable is called a ‘preinitial’. The preinitial elements may include obstruents, nasals and liquids of the labial (/p/, /b/, /w/, /m/), denti-alveolar (/s/, /z/, /l/, /n/), retroflex (/t/, /t/, /ɾ/), velar-uvular series (x, ɣ, χ, ʁ) and glottals (h, ɦ).

From a historical point of view, preinitials correspond in CT to the preradical letters G, D, B, M, ’R, S, L or to the ante-preradical letter B. In a more marginal way, they may also correspond in some languages to a radical letter PH, B followed by a glide R, Y. We propose to note the preinitial sounds with a small exponent letter. For example, depending on the dialect, the word ṭa ᵇ སྡོང་‘face’ is pronounced as /ʁ̝ dong/ (Ba: Skardo) vs. /ɾ̝ dong/ (Ba: Khapulu), /dongpa/ (Ü); བོད་པོ་ DPE,RA ‘language, speech’ (derived from CT བོད་ DPE,SGRA ‘speech’); /pera/ (Ba), /pera/ (La), /pera/ (Nyoma); བོད་སྒྲ་ SKYAG.PA ‘feces, excrement’ /skyakpa/ (La) vs. /kyakpa/ (Ba), /’kyakpa/ (Ü); ṭa ᵇ RTA ‘horse’ /ṭa/ (La, Nubra), /ṭa/ (Ba, Sham, Am: dr̥), /ṭa/ (Am: ro), /ṭa/ (Ü); ṭa LTA ‘to look at’ /ṭa/ (La,
Ba, Pur), /\textipa{ta}/ (Am: dr), /\textipa{ta}/ (Am: ro), /\textipa{ta}/ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz); ནོ་ MTSHO 'lake' /\textipa{ts'o}/ (Am: dr), /\textipa{ts'o}/ (Am: ro, Kh, Ho), /\textipa{ts'o}/ (La, Ba, Pur), /\textipa{ts'o}/ (Ü, Ts, Dz); མཚོ BRJED 'to forget' /\textipa{zhet}/ (Ba) vs. /\textipa{zhet}/ (Ba), /\textipa{jet}/ (Am: rNgawa) vs. /\textipa{jel}/ (Am: Chabcha), /\textipa{je}/ (Ü); བརྗེད་ BRJED 'eight' /\textipa{gyat}/ (Ba) vs. /\textipa{gyat}/ (Purik), /\textipa{jal}/ (Am: Themchen) vs. /\textipa{fat}/ (Am: rNgawa), /\textipa{gä}/ (Ü), /\textipa{gä}/ (Dz).

Note that when the preinitial disappears, the initial, in most cases, goes unchanged, but modifications of the initial may also occur. For example, ཉོ་ SGO 'door' /\textipa{go}/ (Sham), /\textipa{go}/ (Am), /\textipa{go}/ (Am), whereas in many languages (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz, Sh) the preinitial is no longer present and the initial is left unchanged: /\textipa{go}/. In some dialects such as Zanhar and Leh, the preinitial is modified and the word becomes /\textipa{go}/.

Variations in preinitials across languages and dialects are sometimes due to the fact that CT has a combination of preradicals, such as BR in the case of བརྗེད་ or བརྒྱད་, and that a given language or even dialect may choose the first preradical (B) or the second (R).

However, in most cases, the preinitial sounds are the reflexes of the same preradical sounds in CT (or OT). See above e.g. the words 'horse', 'face', 'lake', etc. The fluctuation of preinitial sounds across the languages is thus due to an inner evolution of the preinitial: for example, in the case of རྟ་ RTA, it was first an /r/, as attested in some Amdo pastoralist dialects and in Shamskat (Western Ladakh), but then underwent a transformation to /s/ or a lenification yielding a glottal fricative /h/ or even a shwa and finally the entire disappearance of the preinitial.

Another important point to be noted is that, in most cases, the reflexes of the preradical are regular, but in some words the reflexes do not follow the expected rule. For example, this is evident in the following Ladaks and Purik words: /\textipa{chin}/ 'urine', /\textipa{demo}/ or /\textipa{demo}/ 'beautiful' and /\textipa{dutpa}/ or /\textipa{dutpa}/ 'knot', which respectively correspond to the CT words: རེ་ GCHIN, རེ་ BDEMO, རེ་ MUDPA. Whereas in Balti, the reflex of the preradical G yields a velar preinitial, in Ladakh, the velar has been deleted or replaced by a /l/ preinitial (particularly in front of an affricate /\textipa{č}/). This is probably due to an analogy and a convergence with many words which do have an initial cluster in /\textipa{l}/ such as /\textipa{čangma}/ 'tree', /\textipa{čaks}/ 'iron' and /\textipa{če}/ 'tongue' derived
from CT དཀྲིུ་ lcang.ma, lcags and lce. Concerning the word 'knot', /dutpa/ or /rutpa/ (< བད་པ་ mdud.pa). Western languages (unlike eastern Tibetan) have not preserved prenasals and thus in most cases the words are left without a preradical: /dun/ 'in front' or /da/ 'arrow' derived from CT བདུན་ mDUN and བདའ་ mDA. The presence of a preinitial in the word བད་པ་ mdud.pa /dutpa/ or /rutpa/ could not have been inherited and can only be explained by analogy with words which have similar clusters such as /doa/ 'stone' and /dak/ 'to lick' from CT རྡོ་བ་ rdo.ba and སྒྲ་ ldag.

Second, the preinitials can be pronounced in the same way as the radical, but they are often pronounced with a weak sonority, essentially realized as a reduced volume. The sonority depends on the given language or even dialect. There are three types of phonetic variations of preinitial in the various languages.

1. Preinitials are always pronounced in the same way as the radical.
2. Preinitials are always pronounced with a weak sonority.
3. Preinitials are pronounced either with a strong or weak sonority.

In some dialects demonstrating the third type, the strong versus weak opposition may even have a phonological status.15

The weak realization corresponds to a “secondary articulatory mode” well attested in Tibetan languages, which plays a significant role in phonological systems. This specific mode is frequent in Amdo, Kham and most eastern Tibetan languages but, from a typological point, it is extremely rare in world languages. A few Amdo pastoralist dialects have the first realization whereas the majority of Amdo pastoralist dialects use a secondary articulatory manner.

It is important to note that dialects that have lost preinitials at the beginning of a word may still have traces of the preinitials inside a word. For example, in Ü and Ladak or Purik dialects, དག་ DUG /tu/ 'there is' (Ü) vs བྲི་ DUG /mi′tu/ 'there

15. When it is necessary to distinguish between a strong and a weak realization in a single dialect, we propose to note the strong articulation by underlining the preinitial. Thus, for example, we can distinguish between /som/ /′som/.
isn’t’ (U); མོ བོ go/ (Pur), ‘head’ vs. བོ བོ go/ ‘beginning of the year’ (lit. ‘head of the year’) (Pur). See also Zeisler (2009).

Finally, an orthographic remark should be made. Since people are not always aware of the preinitial, it has some indirect impact on the orthography of words. It is particularly obvious with the nasal preinitial which is a reflex of ཀ བ བ བ. For example, it is worth noting that some Tibetans, who don’t know the Classical orthography of the negative copula འ བ ་ བ ་ བ བ བ often spell this negative copula འ བ ་ བ ་ བ / MIN-DUG. This spelling is used to render the nasalization /n/ that is noted by a small letter in exponent /m^ni\, pronounced [minu:]. But many people are not aware that the nasalization comes in fact from the letter ཀ བ བ which triggers nasalizations in many words: ཕ བ ་ ་ RGYU-BRAS /'kya\njiː/ ‘karmic causality’, འ བ ་ ་ བ ་ ་ བ DGE-BUN /'kot\n/ ‘Saṅgha’, འ བ ་ ་ ་ ་ ་ བ ་ བ DUS-KHOR /'t\nu\n/ ‘wheel of time’ (Kalacakra), འ བ ་ ་ ་ བ ་ བ ་ བ DPA-L-BYOR /'p\nt\n/or’ ‘economy’, འ བ ་ ་ ་ ་ བ SZA-BRAS /'za\njiː/ ‘meat and rice stew’. These words are all pronounced with a nasalization that comes from the letter ཀ བ བ which triggers nasalizations in many words: འ བ ་ བ ་ ་ ་ བ / MIN-DUG instead of འ བ ་ བ ་ བ / RED-RZHA-LUG ‘the sensory inferential’ corresponding in Common Tibetan to འ བ ་ བ ་ བ / RED-MI-DUG.

Nasal preinitials or “prenasalization”

The nasal preinitials /n/ and /m/ are usually pronounced as sounds that are weaker than that of the main consonant. Many clusters may include prenasalized sounds: /k, q, c, d, t, s, ts, dz, c, j, p, ny, etc. This type of secondary articulatory mode, which is called “prenasalization,” is very frequent.

Prenasalized sounds are mostly found in Eastern Tibet, as well as Hor and Tö.
They are generally absent in Western, Central and Southern Tibetic languages (Ladakhs, Balti, U, Tsang, Sherpa, Dzongkha, Lhoke, Choča-ngača, etc.).

16. Some Japanese scholars, such as Kitamura (1977), Yukawa (1971), Hoshi (2003), and Kitamura & Nagano (1990), have described prenasalizations in a Lhasa variety. Kitamura and Yukawa have done pioneering work in describing this variety based on the speech of a woman from the Tsarong family who grew up in the Horkhang family since childhood.
Glottal preinitials or "preaspiration"

The glottal preinitials /h/ and /ɦ/ are usually pronounced as weak sounds. This type of secondary articulatory mode, "preaspiration," is also frequent, although less than prenasalization. Let’s note that preaspiration is uncommon in World languages but is also present in some Scandinavian languages, such as Icelandic and Faroese, as well as Celtic languages, such as Scottish Gaelic.

In some Tibetic languages, preaspirated sounds are found before nearly all types of consonants. The combination of a different voicing is also allowed so that the preaspiration is written ʰ and ɦ based on its voicing reality. There are obstruents with a preaspiration such as /ʰp, ʰt, ʰk, ʰts, ʰč, ʰsh, ʰs/, /ʰb, ʰd, ʰɡ, ʰq, ʰdz, ʰj, ʰzh, ʰz/ as well as /ʰp, ʰt, ʰk, ʰq, ʰts, ʰč, ʰsh, ʰs/, etc. and resonants such as /ʰna, ʰma, ʰnga, ʰnya, ʰna, ʰma/, etc.

Velar or uvular preinitials

Velar sounds, sometimes realized as uvular ones, are found especially before voiceless unaspirated and voiced consonants in Amdo, Balti and Purik. They may be realized as strong or weak ("secondary articulatory mode") depending on the languages and dialects.

In some dialects, such as Labrang and Rebgong, velar preinitials can freely alternate with preaspirated sounds, but in other dialects, such as rNgawa and Themchen, they are distinctive.

Labial preinitials

In Dzongkha, Balti, many pastoralist dialects of Amdo, and some Kham dialects, one finds the following labial series /ʰp, ʰt, ʰk, ʰts, ʰč, ʰs/, /ʰp, ʰt, ʰk, ʰq, ʰts, ʰč, ʰs/, etc.
Denti-alveolar preinitials

The preinitials /s, z, l/ frequently occur in Western Tibetic languages, such as Balti, Purik, Ladaks and Zanhar. They originally derive from the preradical letters S, Z and L of CT found in various combinations such as SK, SG, ST, SD, LT, LD, SP, SB, LK, LCH, ZL, SL and SR. Denti-alveolar preinitials are usually pronounced as strong sounds and not as "secondary articulatory modes.”

Frequent clusters include /sk, zg, st, zd, lt, ld, sp, zb, lz, lts/.

Ex. བཀ' 'sound, language': /skat/ (Ba, La), དཀ' 'hair': /dkra/ (Purik), ཁག ག' 'door': /go (Ba), ། ག འ ས མ ཉ ཙ ད ཐ མ 'upper part, upper valley': /tót/ (La, Ba); ཁག ག ཀ ས ཞ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'sorrow, grief': /duk/ (Ba, Purik), ཁག ག འ ས མ ཉ ཙ ད ཐ མ 'frog': /balba/ (Ba), ཁག ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'iron': /lčaχ (Ba); ཁག ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'moon': /lzá/ (Am: rNgawa), ཁག ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'to repeat, say': /lţau/ 'conversation' (Za), ཁག ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'moon-light': /lţot/ (Ba), ཁག ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'to teach': /lţap/ (Ba, Pur).

Other rare combinations include the following /lk, lng/. They are attested in rNgawa.

Ex. བཀ ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'mute': /lkpa/ (Am: rNgawa), ཁ ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'key': /lde nyik/ (Am: rNgawa), ཁ ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'five': /nga/ (Am: rNgawa).

Retroflex preinitials

The retroflex preinitials /r, s/ are frequent in many Amdo dialects, but also occur in Western Tibetic languages such as Ladakhi and Balti.

Ex. བཀ ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'language': /ket/ (Am: rNgawa), ཁ ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'horse': /ta/ (Am: rNgawa), ཁ ག ཁ གྷ ཤ ས ཞ པ མ བ ས ཕ བ ཧ 'stone': /do/ (Am), /doa/ (Ba, Pur).

Initial sounds

From a historical diachronic point of view, initial sounds generally correspond in CT to the radical letter. They differ from the preinitial in the sense that they are more stable across the various Tibetic languages and are always realized with a “strong”
articulation unlike the preinitials which are often “weakly” pronounced. Initial sounds are usually followed by a vowel but they may be followed by a glide preceding the vowel.

- **Glides**

The glides /y/ and /w/ are pervasive in all Tibetic languages. One also encounters the glides /r/ and /l/. The former is found in some Tibetic languages such as Balti, Kyirong, Lhoke (in a marginal way), Cho-ngač and in some dialects of Amdo (in contact with rGyalrongic languages) and one dialect of Kham (sProsang), spoken in Rongdrak. The glide /l/ is essentially found in some Balti dialects.

Glides occur between the initial consonant and the vowel. They correspond to the letters R, Y and W which are subscribed to the radical letter in CT. In some cases (see below 'book', and 'pig'), they may also correspond to some specific innovations.

Ex: འབྲས་ ‘BRAS’ rice: /ˈbɾas/ (Kyirong), /blas/ (Western Balti); འབྲུག་ ‘BRUG’ dragon’ /ˈbɾuɡ/ (Kyirong)’dragon’ /bluo/ (Western Balti), ཆི་མོ་ ‘DPA BO’hero’ (Am): /ˈbluo/, ལེ་ ‘DPE-CHA book’ (Am): /ˈbɛwɔː/, རི་ ‘rtwa grass’ /ˈtsɔwɔː/ (Kh: Gyälthang), འ རི། ‘BYA’bird, poultry’ /ˈbja/ (Ba, Purik, Cho); འཁ། ‘phag pig: /ˈpʃeʔ/ (Kh: dGudzong).

One should note that in CT, the L occurs as a LABTAGS; it is subscribed to the ‘radical letter’ in a similar way as R, Y and W in words such as འབྲལ་ ‘lama’, འབྲོ་ ‘mind’, འགྲུང་ ‘ox’, འབྲོ། ‘zl’ ‘thin, easy’, 2) ‘moon’, འབྲོལ་ ‘moon’, འབྲོ་ ‘blangs (past) ’to take’ which indicates that it is treated as a glide in the orthographic tradition. However, there is various evidence that points toward the interpretation that the L functions as an initial sound and it is preceded by preinitials S, G, B, etc. The strongest evidence is that the preradicals often disappear, which is not the case of the radical letters. In the above examples we often find in various languages and dialects reflexes of /b(l)aː/, /b(l)o/, /g(l)ang/, /s(l)a/, /z(l)a/, /b(l)ang but never /b(l)aː/, /b(l)o/, /g(l)ang/, /s(l)a/, /z(l)a/, /b(l)ang. For example, we find /l ama/, /l o/, /l ang/ but never: /bama/, /bo/, /gang/.

18. The fact that this verb has a present stem LEN is an additional proof that L is the radical as noted by Zeisler (pers. comm. 2020).
**Syllable core**

The syllable core generally consists of a vowel, or a consonantic vowel. Vowels with any secondary articulations (including a length) can occupy the position “syllable core.” Additionally, some specific dialects can take a nasal as a syllable core, such as the Sogpho dialect of Kham (Rongdrak). This case is quite exceptional. Ex.: *NGA-GI*’my’ /ng ce/ (Suzuki 2011c). In a few dialects, a number of diphthongs have appeared (see Qu 1987). However, the existence of diphthongs depends on how a syllable structure is defined. Hence there are accordingly differences among various phonological analyses. Our system generally does not allow diphthongs and note core vowel + glides.

Nasalized vowels are often analyzed as “vowel (syllable core) + neutralised nasal final” from the phonological point of view (see Kitamura 1977). However, in our description, we consider nasalised vowels as single units appearing in the syllable core.

**Finals**

Classical Tibetan had ten distinctive simple sounds in the final position *G, NG, D, B, R, L, S, N, M,*’. Thus the set of final consonants is much more limited than the set of initial consonants (30).

Some modern Tibetic languages still distinguish ten final sounds. The final sounds are best preserved in Ladaks, Purik and Balti. Additionally, Ladaks, Purik and some dialects of Balti have preserved final clusters /-ks, -ngs, -ps, -ms/. These clusters have disappeared in all the other Tibetic languages. Furthermore these languages have developed innovative clusters such as /-ts, -rs, -ns, -ls/.

Ex. *ལྕགས་* LCAGS’iron’: /lcaks/ (La), *སྔགས་* SNGAGS ‘mantra, incantation’: /ngaks/ (Purik), /ngaks/ (La), *ཁྲིམས་* KHRIMS ‘law’: / IMS/ (La). In some cases, these clusters correspond to innovations as in Ladaks: *འིང་* BTANG ‘to send (past)’ /tangs/.

On the other hand, some eastern Tibetic languages, such as Baima, Zhongu and Drugchu as well as a few dialects spoken in marginal areas of Kham have only open syllables and entirely lack final consonants.

The plosives /k, p, ?, q, t/ are very frequent in the Tibetic language area. Final plosives are always voiceless and non-aspirated.
The final sounds /k/ and /p/ are particularly frequent in the western, southern, and central areas but they are also found in southern Amdo (rNgawa). /k/ and /p/ correspond respectively to \textit{G} and \textit{B} in CT.

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is distributed in central and eastern areas as well as in some languages of the southern Himalayas such as Sherpa or Lhoke. The glottal stop often corresponds to \textit{G}, \textit{D}, \textit{B} and \textit{S} in CT. Ex. \textit{གཡག་} \textit{G˟YAG} 'yak' /`yaʔ/ (Ü, Ts), \textit{བོད་} \textit{BOD} 'Tibet, Tibetan' /`pʲeʔ/ (Kh), /`pʲeʔ/ (Sh), \textit{ཁབ་} \textit{KHAB} 'needle' /`kʰaʔ/ (Kh). In many dialects of Kham the only final consonant is a glottal stop. Some eastern Tibetic languages such as Sharkhog and Pashi are also similar to Kham, but they have one more specific final, an epiglottal fricative /ʢ/. Ex. \textit{LCAGS} 'iron': /`čaʢ/ (Sharkhok).

The final /t/ is a little less frequent. It is attested in the western Tibetic languages (Ladaks, Balti, Zanhar, Spiti) as well as in some southern Himalayas (Jirel), Choča-ngača and in some southern Amdo dialects (rNgawa, mGolok). Ex. \textit{BRGYAD} 'eight' /`gyat/ (Ba), \textit{SNOD} 'pot, container': /not/ (Jirel), \textit{STOD} 'upper part' /`tot/ (La), \textit{SKAD} 'language' /`ket/ (Am: rNgawa), \textit{BRUG} 'dragon': /bluq/ (Ba), \textit{BRAG} 'rock': /blaq/ 'rocky mountain' (Ba), \textit{PHOG} 'salary': /hoq/ (Am: rNgawa), \textit{SNGAGS} 'mantra, incantation': /`ŋg'aq/ (Am: rNgawa).

The final /q/ is found in northern areas such as Balti and Amdo. It always corresponds to the final \textit{G} or \textit{Gˢ} in CT. Ex. \textit{BRUG}'dragon': /`bluq/ (Ba), \textit{BRAG} 'rock': /`blaq/ 'rocky mountain' (Ba), \textit{PHOG} 'salary': /`hoq/ (Am: rNgawa), \textit{SNGAGS} 'mantra, incantation': /`ŋg'aq/ (Am: rNgawa), \textit{BRUG} 'iron': /`čaʢ/ (Sharkhok).

Final fricatives /χ, r, y, β/ are very frequent in the northern areas (both in the west and in the east: Balti, Ladaks, Zanhar, Amdo, etc.).

The final /l/ is more frequent than the final /t/. It is essentially found in the western and southern Tibetan areas (Balti, Ladaks, Zanhar, Spiti, Tö, Sherpa, Jirel, Choča-ngača), however, it is also attested in some Amdo pastoralist dialects. Historically, the final /l/ is nearly always the reflex of \textit{L} in CT, but in some cases, such as some Amdo dialects, it may be derived from \textit{D}.

Ex. \textit{BAL} 'wool' /`pal/ (Sherpa, Tö), /`pa˧/ (Cho), \textit{SBRUL} 'snake': /rul/ (La), /`rul/ (Sh), /`qil/ (Spiti), \textit{DNGUL} 'silver': /`mul/ (Ba), /`mul/ (La), /`ngul/
A phonological outline of the modern Tibetic languages

7. A Phonology

7.2. The Final /s/

The distribution of the final /s/ is restricted to the western region of the Tibetic area, namely Ladaks, Purik, Balti and Zanhar. Ex. བརྒྱད་ 'eight' /vgyäl/ (Am), བོད་ 'Tibet' /wol/ (Am), སྟོད་ 'upper part': /tol/ (Am).

The final nasals /ng, n, m/ are ubiquitous, except in the eastern area (Thewo, Drugchu, Khöpokhok and many Kham dialects) where many dialects often lack final nasals.

Ex. སྲུང་ 'to guard': /ʂong/ (Am), /ʃung/ (La), /ʃ̣ung/ (Ts), /ʈung/ (Lhasa), ལམ་ 'road': /lam/ (Am, Ba, La), /ˈlam/ (Tö, Sh, Dzongkha, etc.), སྨན་ 'medicine': /sman/ (La, Ba), /ˈm̩an/ (Am), /ˈman/ (Cho), /ˈmän/ (Sp, Dz), etc.

7.2.4. Vowel harmony

A type of vowel harmony or vowel assimilation is frequently attested in Tibetic languages. Unlike Uralic, Mongolic and Turkic languages, which possesses a systematic vowel harmony attested in various morphological aspects, the phenomenon in Tibetic languages is generally limited to vowel changes within a word when forming compounds.

This phenomenon has been documented for Central Tibetan (see Tournadre & Sanda Dorje 1998; Haller 2000), for Kyirong (Huber 2005), Zeisler (2004) or Ladaks (Norman 2019). Concerning vowel harmony in the dialects of Ladakh:

"Many Ladakhi [Ladaks] words are compounds of two syllables, each of which is a word root. However, the vowel of the first syllable often changes under the influence of the vowel in the second syllable. Most speakers of Ladakhi don’t realize they are doing this. Although vowel harmony happens in all dialects of Ladakhi, it is strongest in Nubra and Durbuk, and less strong in Leh, Nyoma, Kenhat and Sham." (Norman 2019: xxix)

Here are some examples provided by Norman (ibid.).
The syllable /ts'e/ becomes /ts'i/ when followed by a syllable containing a /i/ but remains unchanged in front of a syllable with an /a/ vowel:

\[\text{TSHE.RING} /\text{tshe}+\text{ring} > /\text{ts'iring}/ \text{PSN}\]

\[\text{TSHE.DRANG} /\text{tshe}+\text{wang} > /\text{ts'ewang}/ \text{PSN}\]

The syllable /ton/ becomes /tun/ when followed by a syllable containing a /u/ but remains unchanged in front of a syllable with an /o/ vowel:

\[\text{DON.GRUB} /\text{ton}+\text{d}up > /\text{tun}\text{d}up/ \text{PSN}\]

\[\text{DON.YOD} /\text{ton}+\text{yot} > /\text{ton}\text{yot}/ \text{PSN}\]

The syllable /de/ becomes /di/ when followed by a syllable containing a /i/ but remains unchanged in front of a syllable with an /e/ vowel:

\[\text{BDE.SKYID} /\text{de}+\text{skyit} > /\text{diskit}/ \text{PSN}\]

\[\text{BDE.CHEN} /\text{de}+\text{čen} > /\text{dečen}/ \text{PSN}\]

\[\text{NOR.BU} /\text{nor}+\text{bu} > /\text{nurbu}/ \text{PSN}\]

\[\text{NOR.BZANG} /\text{nor}+\text{zang} > /\text{norzang}/ \text{PSN}\]

\[\text{CHOS.SKYID} /\text{čos}+\text{skit} > /\text{čuskit}/ \text{PSN}\]

\[\text{CHOS.SGROL} /\text{čos}+\text{d}ol > /\text{čosd}ol/ \text{PSN}\]

The words for numbers are also affected by this phenomenon, which was already attested in Old Tibetan:

\[\text{BCU.GNYIS} /\text{čugnyis}/ \text{‘twelve’}, \text{BCU.BDUN} /\text{čubdun}/ \text{‘seventeen’}, \text{BCO.LNGA} /\text{čo-nga}/ \text{‘fifteen’}, \text{BCO.BRGYAD} /\text{čo}bgyat/ \text{‘eighteen’}.\]

As noted by Norma (2019) “the numbers are even spelled this way in Tibetan, indicating that vowel harmony has been in effect for many centuries,” as we can see with the spelling of ‘ten’ in CT: BCU and BCO.

7.3. Suprasegmentals and tonogenesis of the Tibetic languages

In various Tibetic languages, suprasegmentals function as phonologically distinctive features. Among them the tones play an important role in the phonology of many
Tibetic languages. However, a few western and eastern Tibetic languages such as Amdo, Ladaks,19 Purik, Zanhar and Balti do not have any distinctive tones.

Scholars generally consider that Proto-Tibetic had no suprasegmental distinction because Tibetan script does not reflect any feature of suprasegmentals, unlike Burmese script. This hypothesis posits that the suprasegmental distinction emerged after the creation of Tibetan script, and many scholars have challenged the explanation for the tonogenesis,20 i.e. the process of the generation of suprasegmentals.

Since there is little consensus about the analysis of tones in Tibetic languages, scholars often use very different notation systems.21 In the linguistic literature, the case of the Lhasa dialect has been well discussed,22 but there is not a complete consensus about its tonal system in spite of the abundance of discussions.

Whatever opinion one holds about the Lhasa tone system, it can’t be used as a common model for the tonogenesis of Tibetic languages.23 We believe that the tonogenesis of Tibetic languages is not based on a single model but, instead, has multiple origins. In Tibetic languages, there are at least three types of suprasegmental distinction: 1) pitch tones (or simply “tone”), 2) register (phonation), and 3) stress (accent).

7.3.1. Pitch tones

Among the Tibetic languages with a suprasegmental distinction, the pitch tone system is the most widespread and the word “tone” often refers to this type. It is

19. We reiterate here that Ladaks in this book refers to the dialects of Central Ladakh (if not specified otherwise). This does not include the dialects spoken in the Jangthang area of Ladakh, which do have tones.
20. The word “tonogenesis” was created by Matisoff (1973).
21. For example, we find the following notations: the tonal sign is noted over or under the vowel: à, à, ã, etc. (see Haller 2000; Goldstein 2001; Tournadre 1996a), it is marked in front of a syllable with accents: ‘S ’S ’S ’S (Kitamura 1977) with an apostrophe: ‘S ’S (van Driem 1998) or after a syllable with numbers: S55 S53 S24 S132 (many Chinese scholars as Hu 1989; Jiang 2002; Zhang 2009); with the IPA system adapted from the Chao tone notation: S1 S1 S1; with alphabetical symbols: S1 S1 (Jackson Sun 2003d); S’S Sq’Sq (Schottelndreyer 1978) and various other systems.
22. See Mazaudon (1978), Hari (1979), Hu Tan (1980), Kitamura & Nagano (1990), etc.
23. For example, Suzuki (2005) shows that the origin of the suprasegmentals in Sharkhok is not explained with a theory of the tonogenesis in Lhasa Tibetan. See also Huang Bufan (2007) and Suzuki (2015).
attested mainly in Ü, Tsang, Tö, Spiti, Ladakh Jangthang, Kham, Hor, Lhoke (Sikkim), Sherpa (and other Tibetic languages of Nepal), Dzongkha, Choča-ngača (and other Tibetic languages of Bhutan) as well as some languages belonging to the eastern section, such as Čone and Baima.

It is worth noting that there are two contact zones where tonal and non-tonal languages are genetically closely related and in some cases even allow some mutual intelligibility. The two areas of contact between tonal and non-tonal are Ladakh (India) and Amdo (TAP, China). In Ladakh, the only territory where tonal dialects are found is the Jangthang areas of Nyoma and Durbuk, and along the gorges or rong of the upper Indus. These Jangkat and Rongkat dialects are in contact with the non-tonal dialects of Central Ladakh. The other area of contact is Amdo. In eastern Amdo, the tonal dialects of Čone (Eastern section) are in contact with the non-tonal dialects of Luchu. In Amdo, the second area of contact is located in southwestern Qinghai, where the non-tonal dialects of the Golok areas are neighboring the Kham tonal dialects of Yülshül Prefecture.

Such cases of contacts between non-tonal and tonal languages, which are closely related and form a geolinguistic continuum, are very rare among World languages. Moreover, when Old Tibetan was written down, it was a non-tonal language and two linguistic sections out of eight (the Northeast and Northwest sections, see Chapter 10) still have non-tonal languages. From a typological point of view, this situation is unique since, on the one hand, we have a very old written language that is non-tonal, and on the other hand, the development of various types of tonogenesis in the modern languages (see below). This rare combination is vital to a better understanding of tonogenesis in general.

Let us examine now the Lhasa pitch system, which has been well described in the literature. The pitch in Lhasa Tibetan is associated with the Tibetan script in a quite

24. Indeed only very few compact families in the world have both tonal and non-tonal languages. This is the case, for example, of Bantu languages, mostly tonal, but with some exceptions such as Swahili (non-tonal). The same is true for Khmer, which is non-tonal but is surrounded by other Austro-Asiatic tonal languages.
regular and straightforward way. For simplicity’s sake, we divide the pitch system into two cases: high (H) and low (L) at the word-beginning position and at the word-final position. The H and L at the word-beginning position is determined by the nature of the "radical letter (MING, GZHI).” When the radical letter is voiced (G, NG, J, NY, D, N, B, M, DZ, W, 'ZH, Z, Y, L, R), then the pitch begins with a L tone, whereas when non-voiced, then the pitch begins with a H tone. If there are some preinitials (MGO, CAN and SNGON, JUG) preceding resonant letters (NG, NY, N, M, Y, L, R), the pitch will be H.

With low tones, there is another pattern RL which represents rising-falling tone.

The H and L at the word-final position is determined by the nature of the final letters (RJES, JUG and YANG, JUG): when the final letter is G, D, B, S, then the pitch is falling (L), whereas if the final letter is none or NG, N, M, 'L, R, then the pitch remains high (HH). Note that the second final (YANG, JUG) D, which only existed in Old Tibetan, makes a falling pitch in Lhasa Tibetan. For example the verb གྱིན་ PHYIN is pronounced in Lhasa with a falling tone, which is probably a trace of the old second suffix D: གྱིནད་ PHYIND 'in'.

The analysis and the notation of tones that we present below were elaborated by Kitamura (1977).

HH 'lo: གློ་ GLO 'lungs' ka: སྣ་ KA.BA 'pillar'
LH 'lo: ལོར་ LOR 'paper money' ka: གསྒར་ BS.GAR 'to install, fix'
HL 'lo: སློག་ SLOG 'to give back' ka: བཀག་ BKAG 'to stop'
RL 'lo: འགག་ GAG 'to be blocked'

Kitamura’s analysis parallels Tournadre and Sangda Dorje’s analysis (2003). However, the former approach is more phonetic whereas the latter is more phonemic. For example, the phoneme /-k/ does disappear entirely in the final position and is realized as a lengthening with a HL tone as indicated above: [ʼka:] བཀག་ BKAG ‘to stop’, but in a reading style, a glottal stop can clearly be heard [ʼkaʔ]. Moreover, inside a word, the final -k does not disappear and may be realized as [-k] or [y]. For example:

LCAGS ‘iron’ [ʼca] vs. ལྕགས་ LCAGS.PAR ‘typewriter’ [ʼca-par]
RKANG.LAG ‘limbs’ [ʼkang-la] vs. ལག་ LAG.PA ‘hand’ [ʼlak-pa]
For all these reasons, we will maintain the notation of a ? even in final position:

Another small difference with Kitamura’s notation is the notation of the phoneme /-r/. Although it is true that the final /-r/ is often deleted and generates a lengthening of the preceding vowel (see above the example ཤི ལོར་’paper money’), the variant [ɹ] or even [r] is often heard. Moreover it is always pronounced in formal and reading styles:

For some words, there is a minimal pair that may oppose the reflexes of L and R:

It is thus important to note the contrast. For this reason, we will maintain the notation of a phonemic /-r/. This position is also adopted by Goldstein (2001) in his New Tibetan-English dictionary of modern Tibetan.

Lhasa Tibetan suprasegmentals function as a word-tone system. The pitch pattern is determined for each word as a unit, not for each syllable unlike Mandarin Chinese or Vietnamese. As Sun (1997: 489) noted: “One of the most important generalization on Tibetan tone […] is that the primary register [i.e. in our terminology “tone pitch”] is realized only on the initial syllable of the phonological word; all the other syllables are predictably high-registered [i.e. high pitch].”

When a word has more than two syllables, the pitch pattern applies only to the first two syllables and the subsequent syllables have a neutralized pitch. In normal
The total number of pitch patterns in Lhasa is five: high-level (HH), rising (LH), falling (HL), rising-falling (LHL) and atonal. Thus, in this word tone system, it is sufficient to note one tone for a word even when it has two syllables (or more).

Example of LH: མོ་ MO’ she’ /’mo/, བུ་ MO’ girl’ /’p’umo/;
Example of LHL: བརྒྱད་ BRGYAD’ eight’ /’kyä:/;
Example of HH: རྒྱ་ཐོ་ PHYE-MA-LEB’ butterfly’ /’čemalep/;27
Example of HL: བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ BCO-BRGYAD ‘eighteen’ /’čopkyä:/; སྤྱན་རས་ཟིགས་ SPYAN.RAS.GZIGS’ Avalokiteśvara’ /’čänrä:siʔ/.

The fifth “atonal” pattern corresponds to words with a grammatical suffix: ཀྲུ་ NGA-LA /’nga-la/.

Among the basic rules of the tonogenesis of Lhasa Tibetan mentioned above, the rule regarding the “radical letter” is also applicable to most of the Tibetic languages with a tonal distinction. Some specific dialects have a different tonogenesis, e.g. in the Minyak Rabgang dialect group of Kham Tibetan, the resonants without a preinitial can be realized as H (high). In addition, Čone has a pitch tone system synchronically, but the tonogenesis is not similar to the Lhasa system. It could be associated with the register (phonation) type instead (see below).

There is great diversity in the suprasegmental realizations of closely related dialects. For example, even in the Tö dialects of Ngari, some words are pronounced with different tones28 depending on the given dialect or variety (see Qu & Tan 1983). Dzongkha for example has a basic opposition between high and low register and additionally some tone contour distinctions have been reported. However, “the contour distinction does not exist in all dialects of Dzongkha” (Tshering & van Driem 2018).

27. The word PHYE-MA-LEB is perceived as literary in Lhasa dialect. The common word for ‘butterfly’ is དབུ་ PHYE /’čemma/.
28. Further research about the tonal variation is needed to allow a better understanding of the tonogenesis and more generally tone systems.
Given this extremely high diversity, it is impossible in the present book to note down very precisely the tone for each single dialect or variety. However, to illustrate words in the main tonal languages, we will follow Kitamura’s method: ˉS (high register, level), 'S (high register-falling), ˊS (low register, slightly rising), ˇS (low register, rising-falling).

7.3.2. Register

The distinction with a register difference is attested mainly in the eastern section, such as Sharkhog, Khodpokhog, and Pälkyi [Pashi]. A general definition of the term “register” in this context is provided by Zhu (2010): “The register is related to various phonation types which are divided into three zones: high, mid and low.” High register corresponds mainly to “falsetto”, mid register is associated with voiceless sounds, low register to voiced sounds. Zhu (2010: 76) considers that the register and the pitch height are independent variables, though both of them are strongly related.

In languages with a register system, the main oppositions are related to phonation types and the pitch differences are not distinctive. In previous studies, register systems have sometimes been analyzed as pitch tone systems.

The phonation itself includes many phonetic phenomena such as voicedness, aspiration and creakiness, among which some features are normally regarded as segmental (i.e. consonants and vowels). At least, the register distinction should not be confused with a pitch difference.

In the Tibetic languages with a register opposition, two registers are normally distinctive: mid and low. Suzuki (2008, 2009b) has mentioned a register distinction in several Tibetic languages of the eastern section, such as Sharkhok, Khöpokhok, Babzo and Zhungwa. In these languages, the main opposition is between a high register which is “marked” (with ˚ before a word) and often characterized by a preaspiration, a creaky voice and usually high pitch, whereas in the low register these characteristics are absent.

Ex. ྭlcags/LCAGS/‘iron’ vs. ྭgro/GRO/‘wheat’; ངགནམ/NAM/‘sky’ vs. ང RNA/‘nose’ (Sharkhok); ཐde/‘he’ vs. ང mdo MDOG/‘color’; ང nga/‘five’ (Babzo)
Another Tibetic language of the eastern section, namely Chosrje, has been described as using breathy voice as a distinctive feature (Sun 2003b; see also Suzuki 2015a) which may correspond to a low register.

In synchrony, it seems that the difference of a register does not have a good correspondence with the Tibetan script. However, from a historical point of view, the relation between the register and the script was straightforward. The Proto-Tibetic phonetic system was divided into voiced (obstruent: G, D, B, DZ, ’, Z, ZH and resonants: W, Y, R, L, NG, NY, N, M) and non-voiced (K, KH, C, CH, T, TH, P, PH, TS, TSH, S, SH, H, ?) categories of sounds, which directly corresponds to the low and mid registers respectively.

The breathy phonation (noted by two dots under a vowel: ʰ) is attested in some dialects of Kham Tibetan, such as Yulshul and Khyungpo. The Khyungpo dialect group has a two-way suprasegmental system, and distinguishes both pitches and phonations. The breathy voice plays an important role, particularly in the verbal morphology (see for example the Khromtshang dialect, Suzuki 2010). This is an innovative development in this group, which cannot be easily related to the Tibetan script. Ex. GYEN /chʰ_/ ‘uphill’, BYOS /chʰ_/ ‘do (imperative)’.

7.3.3. Stress

According to Caplow (2009), “stress has played an important role in the development of tone in Tibetan.” The distinction of stress is attested mainly in Balti. Caplow (2016) and some other scholars believe that Amdo or even Lhasa also have a stress opposition but it may play a secondary role in the system. The distinction of stress only occurs in polysyllabic words.

Ex. in Balti: མུ་པ་ KHUR.BA ‘bread’ /kʰur.ba/ vs. མུ་པ་ ‘to carry’ /kʰur.ba/; ཕ་པ་ KLA.PA ‘brain’ /dlat.pa/ vs. ཕ་པ་ ‘to be tired’ /dlat.pa/; ཕ་པ་ THAG.PA ‘rope’ /thak.pa/ vs. ཕ་པ་ ‘to grind’ /thak.pa/.

Ex. in Lhasa Tibetan: རོ་པ་ BSAM.PA / ‘sampa/ ‘thought’ vs. རོ་པ་ ‘to think’ /sampa/; རོ་པ་ ‘instruction’ vs. རོ་པ་ ‘to teach’ /tsipa/ vs. RTSIS.PA ‘astrologist’ /tsipa/ ‘to count’. (A CD recording of these minimal pairs is available in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, 2009: 445.)
Sun (2003: 779) gives a minimal pair on the position of the stress in Zhongu as: /mé-
rə/ ‘ideophone mimicking moving currents’ vs. ཀདམར་པ་ DMAR-BA ‘to be red’ /me-rə/.

Some dialects of Kham spoken mainly in Yunnan, which possess a pitch-tone system synchronically, may also have a stress-like system of tonogenesis such as Tormarong (Dongwang) and mBalhag because they show a prominent stress as a phonetic status.

Ex. in mBalhag, བྲལ་བ་ SOL.BA ‘coal’ /ɬeːja/ (no stress) vs. བྲིང་མོ་ SRING.MO ‘younger sister’ /ɬiːw/.

It seems however that the stress is a secondary feature, at least in some dialects such as Lhasa and mBalhag, and that the pitch pattern is fundamental. In the above examples of Lhasa Tibetan, the difference of stress may be explained by the fact that the second syllable of the verb is an atonal suffix.

7.3.4. Prosodic patterns

Every language has its own prosodic pattern and this is also true for the Tibetic languages. However, because the prosody does not function as a part of phonology, it may be easily influenced by other languages and often changes in the languages or dialects spoken at the periphery of this linguistic area.

Let us look at the example of the Lhasa dialect. The basic prosodic pattern of Lhasa is a trochaic meter (strong-weak) for the first two syllables. Even if one word has more than two syllables, the syllable(s) after the third do(es) not bear a tone. This trochaic type is basically attested in most dialects with a tonal distinction, such as Kham, Dzongkha and Sherpa, etc. It is also the case of the dialects with a register opposition: the most important distinction of register is quite always attested on the first syllable and its following syllables will not bear a register distinction.

In some Amdo dialects, prosody has been influenced by Mongolian. Similarly, other Tibetic languages have been influenced by the prosody of their neighbors. This is the case of Spiti or Balti both under the respective influences of Hindi and Urdu or Persian. In Central Tibet, the media have adopted a prosody which shows some influence of Putonghua Chinese.
Some dialects of Southern Kham have an iambic prosodic pattern (weak-strong) for the first two syllables (Suzuki 2013b) which resembles neighboring languages with a sesquisyllable (one-and-half syllable word), such as T’rung and Jingpho.

7.4. Historical phonology

In order to establish a classification of Tibetic languages, one must study the historical phonology and examine the sound developments attested between Old Tibetan and the modern languages. However, we should be careful when considering the sound correspondences. They do not indicate a direct shift from Old Tibetan to the modern languages, but imply a complex process of sound developments.

From the viewpoint of general historical linguistics, the existence of regular sound developments is one of the striking features of compact language families. This is also the case of the Tibetan language family.

To put it simply, when a word in a modern Tibetic language exhibits a sound change compared to its Classical form, theoretically all the other words of this language with identical sounds will undergo the same sound change (for details and examples, see Chapter 10.5). The regularity of sound changes has been shown in other language families, particularly the Indo-European family, which has become a canonical example. Given the instability of some linguistic phenomena, it is one of the astonishing features of World languages.

7.4.1. Regular reflexes of Old and Classical Tibetan

We will present here the basic reflexes of Classical Tibetan found in the main languages. In the case of exceptional reflexes found only in some specific examples of one dialect, we will not mention them in the following paragraphs. Some of the cognate words listed below may have a slightly different meaning in the modern languages compared to their classical sense. Rare innovations that are specific to some regions or even to some dialects are marked with the pound sign (#).

- **Simple consonants**

  The reflexes of simple consonants will be listed according to the following groups:

  1. obstruents: KA, KHA, GA, CA, CHA, JA, TA, THA, DA, PA, PHA, BA, TSA, TSA, DZA, T'A, SA, WA, SA, SHA, MA
  2. nasals: NGA, NYA, NA, MA
  3. non nasal resonants: LA, RA, YA, WA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT</th>
<th>Pronunciations</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KA</td>
<td>k, #g, #q</td>
<td><strong>KO.KHA</strong> ‘alphabet’, <strong>KA.KA</strong> ‘pillar’, <strong>KO.BA</strong> ‘hide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KHA</td>
<td>k’, #x, #q’</td>
<td><strong>KHA</strong> ‘mouth’, <strong>KO.HO</strong> ‘3SG’, <strong>KHANG.PA</strong> ‘house’, <strong>KHAI</strong> ‘score’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>k, k’, &amp; #q</td>
<td><strong>GANG</strong> ‘one’, **GAL’E’ slowly’, <strong>GO</strong> ‘hear’, <strong>GOS</strong> ‘cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>č, b, #l č, #l s</td>
<td><strong>CAL’AG</strong> ‘thing’, **CI’ what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHA</td>
<td>č’, #g’, #h’, #l’, #l s</td>
<td><strong>CHU</strong> ‘water’, <strong>CHA</strong> ‘pair’, **CHE’ big’, **CHANG’ chang (Tibetan alcohol)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>č, j, #sh, #l č, #l s</td>
<td>**JA’tea’, **JO.BO’lord’, **JO’ robber’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>t</td>
<td><strong>TIL</strong> ‘sesame’, **TIL’SE’ Mount Kailash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THA</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>**THUNG’ short’, **THOG’ roof’, **THANG’ plain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>t, t’, d, #s, #q</td>
<td>**DA.LA’now’, **DOM’ bear’, **DUG’ poison’, **DUNG’ conch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>p, #w, #w</td>
<td>**PAR’print’, **PANG’ lap’, **PAD.MA’lotus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PH</td>
<td>p’, #h, #s, #s</td>
<td>**PHAG’pig’, **PHA.MA’parents’, **PHA.MA’lotus’ **PHAN.THOG’useful’, **PHOR.PA’wooden bowl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>p, p’, b, #w</td>
<td>**RAL’wool’, **BU’son’, **RA’cow’, **BOD’Tibet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>ts, #s</td>
<td>**TSAN-DAN’ sandal wood’, **TSONG’ onion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSHA</td>
<td>ts’, #s</td>
<td>**TSHA’hot’, **TSHE’life span’, **TSHONG.PA’ merchant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DZA</td>
<td>ts, dz, #ndz</td>
<td>**DZH’ urgent’, **DZOR’ shameful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>?, Ø</td>
<td>**PA-MA’ mother’, **PA’ parent’, **PA.ZANG’ ‘maternal uncle’, **PEM.CHI’ ‘doctor’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chart VII.4. – Reflexes of the nasals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NGA</td>
<td>ng, #ma</td>
<td>ཤི་NGA ‘me, I’,  ལུ་NGU ‘to cry’,  ཤི་NGO ‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYA</td>
<td>ny, #ng, #n</td>
<td>ས་NYA ‘fish’,  ས་NYAL ‘to lay down, sleep’,  ས་NYO ‘to buy’,  ས་NYMA ‘sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ས་NAG ‘to be sick’,  ས་NAG ‘black’,  ས་NAS ‘barley’,  ས་NUMA ‘breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ས་MAR ‘butter’,  ས་MANG ‘many’,  ས་MIN ‘not to be’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart VII.5. – Non nasal resonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>l, #y</td>
<td>ས་’La’ mountain pass’,  ས་LAS ‘work’,  ས་LO ‘year’,  ས་LAM ‘road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>r, #fi</td>
<td>ས་’Ra’ mountain’,  ས་RA ‘goat’,  ས་RUS ‘bone’,  ས་RONG ‘deep valley’,  ས་RONG ‘gorge’ (by extension ‘cultivated land’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YA</td>
<td>y, #z, #zh, #sh</td>
<td>ས་YAR ‘upward’,  ས་YUL ‘place, village’,  ས་YE ‘letter, syllable’,  ས་YOD ‘to have’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WA</td>
<td>w, Ū, #v, #h, #h</td>
<td>ས་WA ‘fox’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The complex initials

The reflexes of the complex initials will be listed according to the following groups:

1. radical+postradicals: LA, RA, YA, WA
2. preradicals+radical (+postradicals)
   2.1. obstruent radicals
      2.1.1. preradical GA, DA, BA, RA, LA, SA
      2.1.2. preradical MA, 'A
   2.2. resonant radicals

CHART VII.6. – Radical+postradicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ག སWA</td>
<td>Ø, W</td>
<td>བWA’S’horn’, ཞWHA’hat’, མSHA’29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག སYA</td>
<td>ག, ལ, ཚ, ས</td>
<td>བYA’S’horn’, ཞWHA’hat’, མSHA’29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ལ KYA)</td>
<td>ག, ལ, ཚ, ས</td>
<td>བYA’S’horn’, ཞWHA’hat’, མSHA’29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག KYA</td>
<td>ག, ལ, ཚ, ས</td>
<td>བYA’S’horn’, ཞWHA’hat’, མSHA’29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག GYA</td>
<td>ག, ལ, ཚ, ས</td>
<td>བYA’S’horn’, ཞWHA’hat’, མSHA’29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ལ PYA)</td>
<td>ག, ལ, ཚ, ས</td>
<td>བYA’S’horn’, ཞWHA’hat’, མSHA’29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག PYA</td>
<td>ག, ལ, ཚ, ས</td>
<td>བYA’S’horn’, ཞWHA’hat’, མSHA’29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག BYA</td>
<td>ག, ལ, ཚ, ས</td>
<td>བYA’S’horn’, ཞWHA’hat’, མSHA’29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག MYA</td>
<td>ག, ལ, ཚ, ས</td>
<td>བYA’S’horn’, ཞWHA’hat’, མSHA’29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. The nasal is not pronounced in most languages. Even in the languages which do have a reflex of the /w/ (e.g. Gyalthang, Jol), it is not pronounced in some words such as TSHWA ‘salt’ or GRWA ‘monk’.

 書
A Phonological outline of the modern Tibetic languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ག་ (KRA)</td>
<td>kr, k', gr</td>
<td>མ་KHRA 'blood',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ KHRA</td>
<td>št, š', dž</td>
<td>མ་KHRI 'bed/throne',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ GRA</td>
<td>ċ, ċ', j</td>
<td>མ་GRI 'knife',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ DRA</td>
<td>t, tʃ, q</td>
<td>མ་GRO 'wheat',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ PHRA</td>
<td>pr, p', br</td>
<td>མ་DRIS 'ask',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ BRA</td>
<td>t, tʃ, dż</td>
<td>མ་DRUG 'six',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ PHRA</td>
<td>št, š', dž</td>
<td>མ་DREL 'mule',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ BRA</td>
<td>#s, s'</td>
<td>མ་DRO 'warm',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ SRA</td>
<td>#/ɬ/</td>
<td>མ་BHAR 'hard/solid',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ SRUN</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>མ་SRUNG 'protect',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ SROG</td>
<td>hs</td>
<td>མ་SROG 'life',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་ SRANA.MA</td>
<td>#/A/</td>
<td>མ་SRANA.MA 'bean',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>KLA</td>
<td>GLA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>l</td>
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<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**KLOG** ‘read’

**GLANG** ‘ox’

**BLO** ‘spirit’

**RLUNG** ‘wind’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ZLA</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#y</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**ZLABA** ‘moon’

**ZLOS** ‘to repeat, to recite’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLA</th>
<th>l</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
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</table>

**SLA’easy’

**SLOB’study’

**SLONG’beg’
### Chart VII.7. – Preradicals + radicals: obstruent radicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Γ}_G )</td>
<td>C (no trace)(^{31})</td>
<td>( \text{GSUM}'three'?, \text{GCU}'one', \text{GSER}'gold', \text{GZHU}'bow', \text{GDONG}'face' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Γ}_D )</td>
<td>C (no trace)</td>
<td>( \text{DKAR}'white', \text{DGU}'nine', \text{DKA}'difficult' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Γ}_B )</td>
<td>C (no trace)</td>
<td>( \text{BZHI}'four', \text{BDUN}'seven', \text{BCU}'ten', \text{BSAD}'to kill', \text{BSHAD}'to explain, to talk', \text{BZANG}'excellent', \text{BTSUN.MO}'lady, queen' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Γ}_R )</td>
<td>C (no trace)</td>
<td>( \text{RTA}'horse', \text{RDO}'stone', \text{RTSA.BA}'root', \text{RDZONG}'fortress, district' )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30. In this column, ‘C’ designates the radical consonant. Allophones of this consonant are neglected for the simplicity’s sake. Some peculiar reflexes are mentioned at the end of this tabular.

31. When the predical yields no reflex, it may however modify the pronunciation of the radical. In languages which have an opposition between voiced and voiceless (Dz, Lho) radical consonants, the preradicals are associated with voiced consonants, whereas the plain radical is devoiced (sometimes with breathy voice). In tonal languages (Ü, T’s, Lho) with an opposition between aspirated (low tone) and non-aspirated (low tone), the reflex of the preradical triggers a lack of aspiration whereas the plain radical is aspirated (or with breathy voice).
### S.La

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LA</strong></td>
<td><strong>LKUGS.PA</strong> ‘stupid’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**LGANG’ bladder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**LCAGS’ iron’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**LJANG.KHU’ dark green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**LTA’ to look at’, **LPAGS’ skin’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**LDE’MYIG’ key’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**LDEBS’ hill slope, side’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**LBU’ bubble’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### S.Sa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SA</strong></td>
<td>**SKAD’ sound, language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**STAG’ tiger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**SDUG’ grief, sorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**SPU’ body hair’, **SBAS’ to hide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**STSAL’ to give’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### S.Ma

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MA</strong></td>
<td>**MKHAS.PA’ expert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**MGO’ head’, **MCHU’ lip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**MJAL’ to meet, visit (H)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**MTHONG’ to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**MDA’ arrow’, **MTSHO’ lake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**MDZU’GU’ finger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong></td>
<td>**KHOR.LO’ wheel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**GO-BA’ chief, leader’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**CHAMS’ ritual dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**JU’ rainbow’, **DUG’ to sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**THUNG’ to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**PHUR’ to fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**TSHO.BA’ livelihood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**DZEG’ to climb’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

32. In some dialects such as Zanhar, the preinitial S triggers a fricative initial such as /s, f, θ/, etc.
## Chart VII.8. – Preradicals + radicals: resonant radicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ན་</td>
<td>C (no trace)</td>
<td>གདུས་གཡེ་ བོད་ 'silver, money’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ན་</td>
<td>བོད་ 'red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>མོ་</td>
<td>C (no trace)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>C (no trace)</td>
<td>བོད་ 'five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཙ་</td>
<td>C (no trace)</td>
<td>བོད་ 'early’, བོད་ 'heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>པ་</td>
<td>C (devcoicing)</td>
<td>བོད་ 'nose’, བོད་ 'medicine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཝ་</td>
<td>C (no trace)</td>
<td>བོད་ 'two’, བོད་ 'sky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བོད་ 'yak’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In many languages, some combinations have very specific reflexes. They include: བོད་'DBA’, བོད་'LHA’. The combination བོད་’DBA’ corresponds to either /w/, /ɿ/, /ɾ/, or /b/; བོད་’LHA’ corresponds to /l‘/ or /l/, and even to /h/ in some dialects.

Some languages such as Amdo have specific reflexes on བོད་’DBA’, བོད་’SPA’ and བོད་’SBA’: བོད་’DBA’ corresponds to /χw/, /spa/ to either /ʃ/ or /s/, /spa/ to either /wv/, /v/, /wv/, or /ɾ/. The reflexes of བོད་’SBA’ and བོད་’SPA’ are also very diverse in the modern languages and dialects.

33. In tonal languages, it triggers a difference in pitch. This is also true for the letters D, M, R, L below.
**Rhymes**

We will first examine rhymes with a vowel (i.e. open syllable) and then rhymes with a vowel+final consonant (i.e. closed syllable):

**Chart VII.9. – Open rhymes V**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ག་པ།</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>གོ་ཐ ་'edge', གོ་མ ་'low', གོ་ཁ ་'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་པའ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>གོ་ག ་'agate', གོ་བ ་'person', གོ་ཁ ་'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་པུ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>གོ་ཧ ་'turquoise', གོ་ར ་'to steal', གོ་ལ ་'song'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་པེ</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>གོ་མ ་'fire', གོ་ཞ ་'each', གོ་ར ་'top, summit, point'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ག་པོ</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>གོ་བ ་'taste, corpse', གོ་ར ་'sharp', གོ་མ ་'river juncture, crossroad, sutra'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chart VII.10. – Closed rhymes VC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT final</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ག་པ།</td>
<td>Vཀ,</td>
<td>ག་ཁ ་'brass', ག་མ ་'eye', ག་ཉ ་'sheep', ག་ར ་'cut grass, wool'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. In the following column, 'V' designates varieties of the vocalic quality, which are neglected for simplicity's sake. 怀抱 indicates a nasalised vowel and 诿 a long vowel.

35. It is worth noting that the phonetic variants presented here (fricative velar [x] and uvular [ʔ] as well as plosive velar [k] and uvular [q]) do not have a phonemic value when they are attested in a single dialect.

36. In tonal languages, it sometimes triggers a difference in tone contour. This is also true for the final suffixes: -GS, -NG, -NGS, -D, -N, -R, -S, -M, -MS, -L, -S,
A Phonological outline of the modern Tibetic languages

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GA + SA</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vk, Vx, Vg, Vχ, Vʔ, Vks, V: V (no trace)</td>
<td>नग्स 'forest', ग्जिंग्स 'to see, look', ड्वुंग्स 'breath', ब्येर्तेंग्स 'to pile up', रोंग्स 'companion'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NGA</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vŋ (nasalised vowel) V: V (no trace)</td>
<td>नाङ्ग 'in, within, house', ग्लिंग 'island, mansion', चुंग 'small', स्टेंग 'on, over', सोंग 'to go (past, imp.)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NGA + SA</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vŋ V Vŋs V (no trace)</td>
<td>जाङ्ग 'copper', क्हुंग्स 'source', धेंग्स 'time', ल्जोंग्स 'region'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DA</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vʔ V V: V (no trace)</td>
<td>मेज्द 'negation of existential verb', ग्निंद 'fall asleep', धूड 'cheese cake', स्तोंद 'strength', एल्जोंग 'upper part'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NA</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vn V V: V (no trace)</td>
<td>म्खांव 'agent', सों 'seed', स्प्रिं 'cloud', र्दुंजु 'lie', सेर्मो 'fingernail'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BA</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vp Vfp Vʔ Vwʔ Vw V: V (no trace)</td>
<td>क्हाब 'needle', ग्रिब-मा 'shade', नुब 'west, sunset', थोब 'to get', दे 'book'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37. When they are attested in a single dialect, the variants [p] and [f] do not have a phonemic value.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CT final</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples of words/morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བ་ + ས་</td>
<td>Vp</td>
<td>རྡེ་ 'means'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vf</td>
<td>དབྱིབས་ 'shape'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vʔ</td>
<td>དུས 'covering, case'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vw?</td>
<td>ཞེས 'to come/go (H)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vw</td>
<td>སྤོས 'ability, strength'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V (no trace)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ་ + ས་</td>
<td>Vm</td>
<td>སྲམ་ 'otter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>དིམ་ 'to sink, to be absorbed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>ལོམ 'one hundred thousand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྐྱེམ 'to sew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>མོ་ 'to have the time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V (no trace)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ་ + ས་</td>
<td>Vm</td>
<td>ཛུམ 'Kham region'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>དུ་ 'law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>རིམ 'hand/leg contract'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སོད 'mind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>ཤེ་ 'habit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V (no trace)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ་ + ས་</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>དི་ 'rent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྐྱེར 'change'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྐྱེར 'gold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>འཇོར 'hoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V (no trace)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ་ + ས་</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྤྱེ་ 'clear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>ཚུལ 'cool'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྲེལ 'glass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྤྲེལ 'boil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྲིལ 'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V (no trace)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ་ + ས་</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྲས 'work, activity, karma'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྦྱིས 'calculate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྣུས 'time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྦྱེས 'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>སྦྱོས 'incense'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. In the following column, 'V' designates varieties of the vocalic quality, which are neglected for simplicity's sake. Ļ indicates a nasalised vowel and V: a long vowel.
At the period of OT, another second ཁ་ finals existed. In the modern languages, this feature has still remained as a tonal development in some limited dialects such as Lhasa.

7.4.2. Summary of the main differences

As we can see from the above charts, for simple initials, the variation in modern Tibetic languages is relatively limited. This is true particularly for the following initial sounds: ཀ་ ka, ག་ kha, ང་ nga, ད་ cha, བ་ ja, ཇ་ nya, བ་ ta, ཉ་ tha, ད་ da, ད་ na, དི་ tsa, ང་ tsha, ན་ dza, ལ་ ma, དི་ sa.

From the chart, we see that the main variations are between voicedness (k, t, p, s, z versus g, d, b, z, zh) and aspiration (k, č, t, p, sh, s versus k’, č’, t’, p’, sh’, s’). There are also suprasegmental variations (distinct tones or absence of tone). Apart from these frequent variations, a few sounds have undergone a specific evolution. These specific pronunciations are listed below. They concern only initial consonants:

Obluents

- ཆ་ JA is realized as a simple fricative /sh/ in some Hor dialects (Amdo County) and as a retroflex affricate /ʈʂ/ in some Gyālthang Kham.
- ཁ་ DA is in some rare cases pronounced as a fricative. It is realized as a dental alveolar fricative /s/ in à Hualong Amdo and as a retroflex fricative /ʂ/ in Pāmbar Kham (Pekar xiang). These pronunciations are extremely marginal across the Tibetic area.
- བ་ PA is pronounced as /w/ or /χw/ in some Amdo dialects.
- བ་ PHA is pronounced as /h/ or /χ/ in Amdo.
- བ་ BA is pronounced as /w/ in Amdo.
- ད་ ZHA is realized as a velar /x, χ/ or even as retroflex /ʂ/ in Kham dialects.
- ད་ SHA is pronounced as /χ'/ in Amdo and many Kham dialects, or /ʂ'/ in some southern Kham dialects.
- ད་ SA is pronounced as an aspirated /s'/ in Amdo dialects.
- མ་ HA is realized as /χ'/ in some southern Kham dialects.
A was probably pronounced in OT as a fricative glottal ɦ. Apart from glottal realizations (ɦ, h, ʔ), modern languages of Eastern Tibet have also developed velar and uvular reflexes: /ŋ, ʁ/.

Nasals

- NGA is exceptionally realized /ma/ in Western Tibetic languages such as Balti, Ladakhs and Spiti.
- NYA is pronounced /ng/ or even /n/ in some dialects of southern Kham. These pronunciations are extremely marginal across the entire Tibetic area.

Non nasal resonants

- LA is realized as /y/ in a number of southern Kham dialects.
- YA is realized as a fricative sound /s/, /sh/ or /zh/ in some southern Kham dialects. These pronunciations are very marginal across the Tibetic region.
- WA is realized as /wa/ or Æ in most western, central and southern regions. However in eastern Tibet, velar and uvular realizations /ŋ, ʁ, ɦ/ are regularly attested.

From the above list, we can easily see that the main phonetic innovations concerning initial simple consonants are essentially located in Eastern Tibet. Other regions such as Central and Western Tibet as well as the Tibetic-speaking of the south and western Himalayas have not developed such radical phonetic innovations.

For complex initials, there are many specific evolutions and phonetic diversity is quite high as we can see from the above chart. The phonetic variation is remarkable for the combinations involving postradicals. This is particularly true for the following combinations:

- KHYA and GYA
- PHYA and BYA
- KHRA and GRA
- PHRA and BRA
- SRA
7.4.3. Classical Tibetan forms corresponding to modern sounds

Here we will show how modern sounds demonstrated in the two charts of pandialectal phonetic description (7.1) correspond to CT forms. This is the reverse approach of section 7.4.1: one observes the modern forms and look at their classical correspondences. In this section, we will not mention the obvious correspondences: for examples, the modern sounds /p, p', b/ or /k, k', g/ respectively comes from CT P, PH, B and K, KH, G and we will deal only with peculiar forms and will restrain our remarks to the sounds which have a phonemic status.

We will notably examine sounds which did not exist in OT or CT as well as sounds which did exist in OT and CT but were obtained in the modern languages by specific reflexes. The sounds are listed according to the following order:

a) obstruents (divided in articulatory position; from labials to laryngeals)

b) resonants
The labials

The fricative sounds /f/ and /v/ may derive respectively from the initial combinations SP and SB in some Amdo dialects. For example སྤུན་ /fən/ (Am), 'brother'; ལྡལ་ /vəwa/ (Am), 'frog'. In Zanhar, the above combinations as well as DP may also yield a fricative labial sound: ཀྱེ་ /fera/ ['talk'].

They may also be derived from the final B in CT. སྐན་ /naβ/ (Am).

The denti-alveolars

From a diachronic point of view, the sounds /ts/ and /dz/ are the reflexes of Literary Tibetan TS and DZ but in some languages of Eastern Tibet, they also result from the combination of velars K, KH, G or labials P, PH, B when followed by R or Y. For example མཁྱེ /tsa/ 'dog': /tʃa/, རྒྱ /dza/ 'Chinese': /ʔdza/, བྱ /tsa/ 'bird, chicken': /tsa/, གྱེ /tsi/ 'open': /tsi/; etc.

In northern Kham, Hor and Amdo, the sounds /ts/ and /dz/ may also result from the reflexes of SLA and ZLA. For example སྐྱ /tsa/ 'easy': /tsa/ (Ho), /ʔtsa/ (Am, Kh), རྷ /dza/ 'month': /ʔdza/ (Ho), /ʔdza/ (Am, Kh).

In Zanhar, the fricatives /θ/, /ð/ result from the combination of CT preradicals G, S, R, with dental T, D. For example འར /tsa/ 'horse', བད /dza/ 'beautiful', རྗེ་ /dong/ 'face'.

Historically, the aspirated fricatives /s'/ are the reflexes of fricatives S (without preradicals) while their non-aspirated counterparts are derived from Z (without preradical) or clusters involving S preceded by preradicals (GS-, BS-, etc.).

For example in Amdo: བ་ /sa/ 'earth' vs. བ་ /sa/ 'to eat'.

The sounds /s/, /z/ are usually the reflexes of Literary Tibetan S and Z. However, in some languages (Hor, southern Kham), they may be related to other sources such as the combinations of P, PH, B followed by a glide. Other combinations such as SKYA may also yield /s/ in a few southern Kham dialects (Chakthreng).

For example བ་ /s/ 'to eat', རི /s'i/; etc.
The retroflexes

From a historical point of view, Old Tibetan did not have retroflex plosive and they are not noted in the thirty consonants of the basic Tibetan alphabet. The retroflex sounds ŋ, tʃ, dʒ mainly appeared later as a combination of velar K, KH, G; dental D or labial P, PH, B with R.

For example ཟྲག་KRAG 'blood': (/tʃaʔ/) (Ü, Kh), (/tʃak/ (La), སྲ་ DRUG 'six': (/ʂuʔ/) (Ü), (/ʂuʔk/) (La); སྲིག་DRUG 'six': (/ʈuʔ/) (Ü), (/ʈuʔk/) (La).

The retroflex /ʂ/ is essentially a reflex of the combination སྲ་SR found in Classical Tibetan. This is the case in Ladakhs, Zanhar, Sherpa, Tsang, many Tö dialects and most of Amdo dialects.

For ex: སྲན་མ་SRAN MA 'pea': (/ʂelma/) (Sh.), (/ʂämlma/) (Ts, Tö), (/ʂanma/) (Am), སྲང་SRUNG 'to guard': (/ʂoŋ/) (Am), (/ʂon/) (La), (/ʂon/) (Ts); སྲེབ་མོ་SRAB MO/PO 'thin': (/ʂëmpo/) (Ts, Tö), (/ʂëmpo/) (Ts, Tö), (/ʂëmpo/) (Ts, Tö), (/ʂëmpo/) (Ts, Tö); སྲེག་SREG 'to burn': (/ʂeʔ/) (Ts), (/ʂak/) (Ho), (/ʂak/) (La), (/ʂak/) (La).

The prepalalats

The aspirated /sh'/ are the reflexes of SH or the cluster PHY, whereas /sh/ are derived from ZH (without preradical) or clusters such as BY, SPY, SKY, etc.

For ex: སྲོག་SRA MA 'pea': /šelma/ (Sh.), /šänma/ (Ts, Tö), /šanma/ (Am), སྲུང་SRUNG 'to guard': /šon/ (Am), /šun/ (La), /šun/ (Ts); སྲུབ་མོ་SRAB MO/PO 'thin': /šëmpo/ (Ts, Tö), /šëmpo/ (Ts, Tö), /šëmpo/ (Ts, Tö), /šëmpo/ (Ts, Tö); སྲེག་SREG 'to burn': /šeʔ/ (Ts), /šak/ (Ho), /šak/ (La), /šak/ (La).

In many Western, Central and Southern Tibetic languages, the fricative /sh/ and /zh/ correspond to the reflex of Lit. Tib ŋ, SH and ŋ, ZH, but in most Eastern languages, they correspond to labials P, PH, B when followed by R or Y or even the reflexes of combinations such as SKR, SKY or SPY. For example སྲིག་BYLA 'mouse': /šowa/, སྲིབ་BYA 'bird', 'chicken': /šha/, སྲིས་SKRA 'hair': /šha/, སྲི་SKYIPA 'pleasant': /šhipo/, etc.
The palatals and prevelars

From a diachronic point of view, these sounds are the reflexes of various combinations, such as K, KH, G followed by Y or even R. In some limited dialects they correspond to the reflexes of C, CH, J and P, PH, B followed by R. For example 嘐 [GYU] 'nominalizer' (Û, Ts), /-‘ya/ 'nominalizer' (Am); 嘔 [GRO] 'wheat' /co/ (Am); 嘔 [CHU] 'water' /c‘ya/ (Kh: Chamdo, Sangdam, Drugchu), 嘔 'BRI' female yak' /-‘ya/ (Kh), etc.

The fricative sounds /ɕ, ç/, , are the reflexes of various combinations, respectively: PR, PHR, BR in Kham (Gyälthang). Additionally, the sound ɕ also comes from the combination SL, LH.

For ex: བ› ར› 'cliff' /-‘ya/ (Kh: Gyälthang, etc.).

The fricative ɣ and x, are derived respectively from ZH and SH.

For ex: མ› 'meat' (Kh: Khyungpo).

The velars

From a historical point of view, the fricatives /x/, /x'/ and /ɣ/ are derived from SH and ZH, or G in the final position as well as from some combinations such as SK, RK, RG.

For ex: བ› 'meat': /-‘xa/ (Kh), བ› 'to tell': /-‘xa/ (Kh: Derge, Bathang), བ› 'hat': /-‘xa/ (Kh: Derge, Bathang). In Zanhar, glottal may also correspond to the combination of a preinitial and a radical such as SK or RK: བ› 'leg': /xangpa/ (Za), བ› 'language': /xat/ (Za), བ› 'old man' /yatpa/ (Za).

The uvulars

Historically speaking, uvular sounds are essentially the reflexes of Classical Tibetan KH, G, DP, DB, W, . The last four cases are found in Amdo as well as apart of the Eastern Tibetic languages. Ex. བ› KHATA 'crow': /q‘ata/ (Am), བ› BROQ.PA 'pastoralist', བ› STAG 'tiger': /q‘ata/ (Am), བ› ICAGS 'iron': /q‘ata/ (Ba), etc.

39. Gyälthang, etc.
40. The voiceless fricative is sometimes pronounced as a glottal /h/ in Zanhar.
DPE ‘example’: /χwe/ (Am), ལྷོང་ ‘DBANG’ ‘power’: /kang/ or even /kang/ (e.g. rNgawa), ལྷོུ་ ‘WA’ ‘fox’ > /wa/, བཞུང་ ‘OD’ ‘light’ /kot/, etc.

There is another origin of uvulars, which is merely attested in one vernacular of Kham (Myigzur): K, KH, G without glides. E.g. མཁ ོ སྲ ‘mouth’, SKAR MA / subTitle; རི་མ་ / ‘star’. ཤཱུ སྐོ ‘gate,’ etc.

The glottals

Historically, the glottal stop mainly corresponds to the letter ཊ་, and the glottal fricatives to ཏ་ and ད’, respectively, with some exceptions.

For ex: མཁ ི སྲ ‘mother’ /ʔama/ (La, Am), /ʔama/ (U, Kh, etc.), ཡོ ‘Hor (proper noun)’, /horman/ (U, Ts, Kh), ལོ ‘HA GO’ ‘to understand’ /ha ‘k’o’/ (U, Ts), /ha ‘k’o’/ (Kh); འོབོ་ ‘be surprised’ /hala/ (U), /hala/ (La); མཁ ི / hampa/ ‘brutal’ (U), /hamba/ ‘courageous’ (Ba); ལྷོུ ‘O.MA’ ‘milk’ /fjoma/ (U, Kh) /homa/ (Sh), /ʔoma/ (Cone).

In some languages such as Sharkhok and Khöpokhok, /fi/ corresponds to ཊ་ as in ཡོ་ ‘Horpa’ ‘Horwa (proper name)’ /fi:wa/.

In some languages, mainly in Amdo and some Eastern languages, /h/ can correspond to PH, LH. In some rare cases (in Cone and Drugchu), both ཊ་ and ‘can correspond to /ʔ/.

For ex: མཁ ི ‘PHUD’ ‘to expel, to take off’ /hala/ (Am), འོ་མ་ ‘PHAN,THOGS’ ‘to be useful’ /hant ‘o’/ (Am), ལོ དོ ‘LHAM’ ‘shoe’ /ham/ (U, Am), འོ་ ‘LHOD’ ‘relaxed’ /höhö/ (Kh).

In Dzongkha, /h/ is also derived from CT resonant radicals with a preradical ག.

For ex: ང་ ‘SNA.PA’ ‘nose’ /haba/, usually spelled as ང་ ‘LHA.PA’ (which is based on the sound and not the etymology), གནོ ‘SNYING’ ‘heart’ /hing/, ལུང་ ‘SGON.MO’ ‘blue’ /hóm/.

41. See Suzuki (2014c). There is another report about the existence of uvular series originated from the same CT series in Chenghang dialect of Kham (Ye-shes ’od. gsal. ’a tshogs 2008).
The resonants

The voiceless resonants (m', n', ny', ng', l', r') attested in multiple languages are generally derived from CT preradical S. e.g. in Kham སྨན་ 'medicine' /m'/, སྣ 'nose' /n'a/, སྲན་མ་ 'bean' /r'/, སློབ་ 'study' /h'/. The combination LH also corresponds to /l'/: ལྷ་ 'deity' /l'a/.

The vowels

In southern Kham (Gyälthang), /ɿ/ corresponds to several examples of a R final of CT, whereas /v, v̩/ corresponds to a simple vowel U and E respectively.

Historically, three secondary articulations (retroflex, velarized, pharyngealized) have a common origin, which is the CLT R except for those in the preinitial position.

Preinitial sounds

The preinitial sounds derive historically from the preradical letters G, D, B, M, R, L, S found in CT, which have often disappeared in many languages such as Ù, Tsang, Dzongkha, Sherpa, Jirel, Choña-ngaña, etc. However, they are well maintained in Purik, Balti, Ladaks, Amdo, Kham, etc.

Prenasalizations mainly correspond to the reflexes of the preradical letters M and R found in CT. Ex. བྲིན་ 'cloud' > /ŋ/ (Kh, mThachu), གསེར་ 'gold' > /h/ (Kh), རོགས་ 'friend' > /h/ (Kh, Zhollam), གྲག་ 'blood' > /h/ (Kh, Zhollam), etc.

Preaspirated sounds mainly correspond to the reflexes of the preradical letters G, D, B, R, L, S in CT. The existence of preaspirated series is well attested in Eastern
Tibet (Kham, Amdo, Sharkhok, Drugchu, etc.). The combination of a different voicing between the preaspiration and the main initial is attested especially in Eastern Tibetian languages such as Pashi, Khodpokhog, Drugchu, etc.

Ex. རྟ་ RTA ‘horse’: /hʰta/, སྣ་ SNA ‘nose’: /h’na/, རྡོ་ RDO ‘stone’: /ɦdo/.

One should note that both voiceless nasals and preaspirations are historically derived from the combination of s and a nasal (N, NY, NG, M) in CT. Both strategies are usually not encountered in the same language. Thus, for example, we find either སྣ་ SNA ‘nose’: /h’na/ or /n’a/.

Historically, the velar and uvular preinitial sounds correspond to the reflexes of the preradical letter G in CT, but they may also be derived from the letter D which was realized as /t/ at an early stage (see below 7.4.6).

Ex. ཤ་་ GCIQ ‘one’: /xچə/, ལྗིག་ GZHU ‘bow’/‘zhə/., ལྷ་ DPHD, (KHA) ‘spring time’/shik’a/ (Am), /’pit/ (Ba).

From a diachronic point of view, the labial preinitial sounds have two different origins. They are either the reflex of the preradical B or the reflex of the radical P, PH, B followed by a glide Y.

Ex. བྷན། BRJED /vjel/ ‘to forget’ (Am), /’jet/ (Ba), ལྷ་ BRAG /p’ta/ ‘rock’ (Am), ‘cliff’ /’tʃa:/ (Dz), བྲེ་མ་ BYEM ‘sand’ /ʃema/ (Am), གྲེ་ PHYI ‘marmot’: /ʃh’a/ (Am).

7.4.4. Pace of sound changes

It is quite difficult to have a precise idea of the pace of sound changes and the evolution for each language over the many centuries. However, some historical documents essentially written in Tibetan or Chinese provide very useful information about the pronunciation of Tibetian languages, particularly spoken in Central Tibet. Three texts are important to reconstruct the spoken forms of Ü and Tsang in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, as was shown by Huang Bufan (1983):

ཡི་གེ་བཀྲལས་ཐབས་བྱིས་པ་བདེ་བླག་ཏུ་འཇུག་པ། YI GE BKLAGS THABS BYIS PA BDE BLAG TU JUG PA (KHON BSOD NAMS RTSE MO 1142–1182); བྲི་མ་འབྱུང་གནས་འཕྲུལ་བདུན་གསུམ་པ་ BYIS PA BDE BLAG TU JUG PAI
These texts, as well as other documents, clearly show that the Tibetan spoken in Central Tibet during the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (and in some cases even much earlier) had already undergone major changes:

1. the loss of preradicals \( (S, R, B, D, G) \) particularly in Ü region;
2. the predicals \( M \) and ' had already merged into a prenasalization (both Ü and Tsang);
3. the preradical \( L \) was pronounced as a prenasalization (by some speakers of Ü);
4. the preradicals \( (R, D, G) \) in Tsang region were probably realized as /r/; other documents (Chinese documents, chiefly Yuan dynasty annals) allow reconstructing the pronunciation of some consonant clusters in Tsang area;
5. the preradical \( S \) was still preserved as /s/;
6. the postradical \( R \) (at least for the combination \( GR \)) was still preserved as /r/ in Tsang.

However, the two last points are the subject of some controversy since there is no certainty about the methodology used by the Chinese for their transcriptions, particularly whether these transcriptions were based on spoken or reading pronunciation or were influenced by Tibetan orthography.

Finally, Huang (1983) and Qu (1996) hypothesized that the tones could have appeared as soon as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. This hypothesis may be correct, but there is no evidence supporting it.

All the above features concern sound changes that probably took place in Ü and Tsang in the early medieval period. However, these changes did not occur in all Tibetic languages or may have occurred at a later period in some languages. For example, the clusters \( GR \) and \( BR \) have been maintained respectively as /kr/ and /pr/ until now in some Balti, Purik, Kyirong, Rongdrak or Choća-ngaça dialects.
7.4.5. Types of sound changes and their geographic distribution

Concerning the realization of preradicals, it is possible to distinguish six types of changes in modern Tibetic languages:

The reflexes are manifested:

a) only as segmental features and prenasals: Amdo (Gyalrong and surrounding area);

b) only as segmental features without prenasal: Balti, Purik, Sham, Leh, Nubra, Western Zanhar;\footnote{42}

c) as segmental features, preaspiration and prenasals: Amdo, Sharkhok;

d) as preaspiration and prenasals: Kham, Drugehu, Khöpokhok, Čone, Thewo;

e) as prenasals: Northern Kham, Hor, Tö, Spiti, Ü;\footnote{43}

f) no trace of preradicals: Tsang, Dzongkha, Lhoke, Choča-ngača.

As we can see in the list above, the languages which exhibit segmental features are only found in some Amdo dialects and in the northwestern region of Ladakh and Baltistan. Preaspiration is only found in the eastern regions. Prenasalization is mainly found in the eastern regions of Amdo, Kham and Hor but also occurs in western Tibet.

7.4.6. Archaic phonological features in Tibetic languages and dialects

The qualification of a language as “conservative” or “archaic” is often an oversimplification for several reasons.

First, it is quite frequent that a language is preservative in some fields but innovative in others. For example, Balti and Ladaks certainly have a lot of archaic features in phonology but they have lost all the prenasals and their verb stem morphology, which is rather innovative.

\footnote{42}{The absence of prenasals is only true for initial syllables. Within a word, prenasals generate nasal reflexes.}
\footnote{43}{In the Lhasa dialect, some speakers use a prenasalisation while others do not, but in other central dialects, the prenasalisation is clearly present. (See also SKAL.BZANG ’GYUR.MED & SKAL.BZANG DBYANGS.CAN 2002.)}
Second, within a single "language" or "group of dialects," some dialects can be quite "innovative" while others are "archaic." This is, for example the case, with dialects in Amdo.

All the world languages undergo an evolution in the various linguistic fields (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, lexicon, pragmatics), but the pace of change differs from one language to another and even from one dialect to another and, as we have just said, the pace also depends on the various linguistic fields.

However, if we were to look only at the phonology of Tibetic languages, would it be possible to draw general conclusions about the degree of archaicty of the phonology in a given language or dialect? And if so, what would that tell us about the given language or dialect?

Traditionally, or theoretically, linguistic classifications are among other criteria made on the basis of shared innovations (see Chapter 9) and never on the basis of preservative features. However, archaicty in phonology may reflect a general sociolinguistic trend, which shows that isolate languages or languages spoken at the periphery of a linguistic area often preserve archaic phonological features, as has been shown in many works on dialectology and geolinguistics (or linguistic geography). Is that the case for Tibetic languages?

In order to clarify this question, let's consider the main phonological reflexes listed in 7.4.1 and examine briefly their degree of archaicty.

- **Place and manner of articulation of the simple radical**

  They have generally been preserved in most languages. Only some languages have very specific phonological innovations for the labial sounds \(P, PH, B\) (mainly in Amdo) and for the fricatives \(SH, ZH\) (mainly in Kham). See 7.4.1.

- **Voicedness of initial simple plosives and fricatives**

  Voicedness of the initial simple plosives are *rarely* preserved in modern languages. The only exceptions are found among some dialects of Balti, Purik, Sham, Nubra, Garsha, Choča-ngača, Päلكy [Pashi], and Gyärlong surrounding Amdo.
Place and manner of articulation of the combination \textit{radical}+\textit{w}a

Reflexes of the postradical \textit{WA}, traditionally called \textit{wa}zur, are only found in some dialects of southern Kham and Choča-ngača.

Place and manner of articulation of the combinations \textit{KYA} \textit{GYA}

The preservation of prevelars for the combinations \textit{KYA} and \textit{GYA} as implied in CT forms is only found in the dialects of Central region as Ü, Tsang and Western regions such Ladakh and Baltistan. The other languages have an innovation as prepalatal affricates.

Place and manner of articulation of the combinations \textit{PHYA} \textit{BYA}

The preservation of labials with a /\textit{y}/-glide for the combinations \textit{PHYA} and \textit{BYA} as implied in CT forms is only found (as least with the vowels \textit{A} and \textit{U}) in the dialects of Balti, Purik, Ngari, Tsamang Choča-ngača and Dränjong (Lhoke). For example, in these dialects, the words \textit{PHYUG} ‘rich’ and \textit{BYA} ‘bird’ are still pronounced as /bya/ and /p’yukpo/. The other languages have various innovations as presented in 7.4.1.

Place and manner of articulation of the combination \textit{MYA}

The pronunciation /\textit{my}/ is not reported in any of the modern languages. The more archaic pronunciation /"\textit{my}/ is found in pastoralist Amdo dialects. It is for example attested in the words: སོགས་པ་ \textit{Dmyal-po} ‘hell’, སི་ \textit{Miy} ‘person’, སི་ \textit{Mye} ‘fire’.

Place and manner of articulation of the combinations \textit{KRA}, \textit{KHRA}, \textit{GRA}

The preservation of velars with a /\textit{r}/-glide for the combinations \textit{KRA}, \textit{KHRA} and \textit{GRA} as implied in CT forms is only found in Balti, Purik, Gyalrong surrounding dialects of Amdo, and a few dialects from Rongbrag and Balung (Kham). For example, in these dialects, the segments /\textit{kr}/ and /\textit{gr}/ are still present in the words \textit{KHRA} ‘blood’ and \textit{GR} ‘knife’.

Place and manner of articulation of the combinations \textit{PHRA} \textit{BRA}

The preservation of labials with a /\textit{r}/-glide for the combinations \textit{PHRA} and \textit{BRA} as implied in CT forms is only found in Balti, Purik, Kyirong, Choča-ngača, Gyalrong surrounding dialects of Amdo, and only two Kham dialect, sProsnang (belonging to
the Rongdrak group) and Phongpa (belonging to the Semkyi-Nyida group). For example, in the words གྲུ་ PHRU ‘child’, བྲག་ BRAG ‘rock/cliff’ or བྲིས་ BRIS ‘write’, the clusters /pr/ and /pr/ are well preserved.

**Place and manner of articulation of the combinations ལྟ་ SRA**

The preservation of /sr/ for the combination ལྟ་ SRA is preserved as implied in CT forms is only found in Balti, Purik and Sham. However, Balti and Purik also have an innovative form for this combination, such as /str/. For example, in the word ལྟིང་ SRUNG ‘protect’, ལྟོག་ SROG ‘life’ and ལྟྭན་མ་ SRAN MA ‘bean’, the initial cluster is pronounced as /s(t)r/.

**Segmental preinitials for non-nasal preradicals (G, D, B, R, L, S)**

The preservation as a segmental preinitial for non-nasal preradicals (G, D, B, R, L, S) is only found in Balti, Purik, Sham, Nubra and some Amdo dialects and to a lesser extent in Zanhar (the preradical L). Note that the preradical D has not been preserved anywhere as a /t/-preinitial. In most cases, it is treated as the preradical R. For example, in the words གསུམ་ G SUM ‘three’, དགུ་ D GU ‘nine’, བཞི་ B ZHI ‘four’, རྒད་པོ་ R GAD PO ‘old man’, བཞི་ L TA ‘to watch’, ལྟོ་ L GO ‘door’ the preinitial sounds (in bold) are clearly heard.

**Prenasals for preradicals (’, m)**

The preservation of a prenasal for preradicals (’, M) is found in Spiti, Tö, Hor, Kham, Amdo, Chile, Thewo-tö, Thewo-mä, Drugchu, Sharkhok, Köpokhok and marginally in Ü: ཁསོ་ MTSHO ‘lake’, བོ་ MGO ‘head’, བོ་ MDA ‘arrow’.

**Vowel quality in the open syllable (A, I, U, O)**

Preservation of the vocalic quality as implied in CT forms (A, I, U, E, O) in an open syllable is only found in Ü, Tsang, Tö, Dzongkha, Choča-ngača, Spiti, Ladaks, Zanhar, Purik and Balti.

**Segmental consonants for finals (G, NG, D, N, B, M, R, L, S)**

Complete preservation of the segmental consonant finals as implied in CT forms (G, NG, D, N, B, M, R, L, S) is only found in Balti, Purik, Sham and Leh (Central Ladakh). The preservation of CT finals except for S is attested also in Choča-ngača, most of pastoralist dialects of Amdo, and some dialects from Khyungpo, Kham.
Segmental consonants for final “second suffix” (§)

Preservation of the segmental consonant finals as implied in CT forms (GS, NGS, BS, MS) is found solely in Purik, Balti, Sham and Leh (Central Ladakh).

Concluding remarks

As shown above, Balti, Purik, Sham, Nubra, Leh (Central Ladakh), Amdo and Choča-ngača have preserved multiple archaic features. From the phonological point of view, they can be considered the most “conservative Tibetic languages.”

Purik and Sham (Ladakh) as well as Balti have the highest number of archaic features since they have preserved both preinitial (except of the nasals), postradical glides and final consonant clusters.

We can also note that these languages and dialects are located at the periphery of the Tibetic-linguistic area, i.e. the westernmost (Ladakh, Baltistan) and easternmost regions (Amdo); in addition, some languages, such as Choča-ngača, containing a certain level of archaicity, are spoken at the southernmost region of the Tibetic linguistic area.

Even if there isn’t a single language that has entirely preserved the phonology found in Classical Tibetan, the existence of the above mentioned “conservative languages” suffices to show that their phonology is directly derived from languages very closely related to Classical Tibetan.44

44. In ergative constructions, the agent of a transitive verb is marked by a special case called “ergative” and in some cases “agentive.”
8. Grammatical outline of the Tibetic languages

This chapter aims to provide the essential grammatical features shared by the Tibetic languages. As we will see some of these characteristics are rather rare from a typological point of view in the world languages.

The fundamental morphological, syntactic, semantic, and lexical features of the Tibetic languages may be summarized in the following way:

(a) The verb normally occupies the final position in the sentence.\(^1\)
(b) Nominalizers as well as verb auxiliaries always come after the verb.
(c) Tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality (TAME) are marked by verb auxiliaries and/or suffixes.
(d) Modal verbs always come after the lexical verb.
(e) The negation marker is prefixed either to the lexical verb or to the auxiliary verb.
(f) Transitive verbs may trigger nominal ergative constructions, but ergativity differs in the degree of optionality and in its functions.
(g) Grammatical cases are marked by enclitics.
(h) Numerals and quantifiers are postponed to the noun phrase.
(i) There are only postpositions (no preposition).
(j) Light verb constructions are a major strategy among the lexical verbs.
(k) Lexical composition is a major morphological device.
(l) Ideophones constitute an important lexical category.

The position of adjectives and demonstratives depends on the given languages. They usually come after the noun but, in some languages, are placed before the noun.

Concerning grammatical and lexical semantics, we have the following characteristics:

1. There are some exceptions in the spoken languages, in the case of afterthoughts, antitopics or emphasis, particularly in informal registers. See Meunier et al. (1991).
(a) All the languages\(^2\) have developed rich evidential and epistemic systems.
(b) Intentionality is often grammaticalized and is marked by auxiliary verbs.
(c) There is a lexical distinction between controllable and non-controllable verbs.
(d) There is no grammatical gender.
(e) Number is a marginal category. It never co-occurs with numerals.
(f) Some languages have developed rich honorific registers for nouns, adjectives and verbs.

8.1. Noun phrase

The basic structure of noun phrases in most Tibetic languages is displayed as follows:

\[(\text{MOD}) \text{NOUN} \quad \text{(MOD)} - \text{(QNT/NUM-DEM/DFM-COL)-case} \quad \text{(-TOP/-ADM)} \]

About noun phrase structures, see also Garrett & Hill (2015).

The head noun may be preceded or followed by a modifier (MOD) which corresponds to an adjective or a relative clause. Then the noun may be followed by a sequence of optional suffixes or clitics\(^3\) which occur always in the same order: quantifier\(^4\) (QNT) or numeral (NUM), demonstrative (DEM) or a definiteness marker (DFM), followed by an optional collective marker (COL) which corresponds to a plural marker in European languages (see Kojima 2012). The next element is the grammatical case which usually signals the end of the noun phrase. All the cases are marked by an overt suffix except the absolutive case which remains unmarked.\(^5\) The

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2. With the notable exception of Balti which has only a limited evidential-epistemic system.
3. “A clitic is a surface element part-way between a word and an affix in properties” (Dixon 2010: 221).
4. Quantifier corresponds to a type of determiner such as “some”, “each” in English.
5. It refers to the P (grammatical patient) function or S (single argument), but may also refer to peripheric functions such as a locative. In some cases, the zero merely indicates the absence of grammatical case. Some spatial and temporal words such as ‘today’, ‘tomorrow’ are not marked by the locative case.
case may optionally be followed by a topic marker (TOP) or an adjunctive marker (ADM) meaning ‘also’ as in CT.

Here is an example from Ü and Common Tibetan:

(1) **KHYI CHUNG.CHUNG DE-TSHO-LA**

‘(to) those small dogs.’ (Ü, ComTib)

The noun phrase begins with the head noun ‘dog’ (KHYI) which is followed by a modifier (an adjective), a demonstrative, a collective (or ‘plural’) marker and ends with a grammatical case (LA).

The modifiers may occur before or after the head noun depending on the type of modifier (adjective, relative clause, genitive noun phrase).

In most Tibetic languages, attributive adjectives are postponed to the head noun (see e.g. van Driem 1998; Zeisler 2004; Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 1998; Haller 2000, 2007; Hasler 1999, etc.). However, the reverse order is also attested in Balti and Purik (Bielmeier 2000; Zemp 2018, see also section 8.1.6.).

In the Tibetic languages, the relative clause usually precedes the head noun but there are also head-internal (e.g. in Ü and Tsang, Kh: Rongdrak), postnominal and headless relative clauses. Sometimes, the four types are attested within a single language (see Huber 2002).

In the Tibetic languages, the numerals are always postponed to the head noun.

Thus one says:

(2) **MI GSUM** ‘three persons’ (Lit. ‘person three’)

and not *GSUM MI**

(3) **SLOB.MALNGA** ‘five students’ (Lit. ‘student five’)

and not *LNGA SLOB.MA**

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6. Ü designates the dialect of Central Tibet spoken in the capital Lhasa and in the neighboring towns and villages (see 9.6). It does not include Phénapo or Tsang dialects. Common Tibetan is the koine spoken in the TAR and in the diaspora. It is based on the Ü dialect. For details, see chapter 9.
Additionally, note the following general characteristics:

- The minimal structure of the noun phrase is made of a single noun or a pronoun, normally followed by a case (which may be zero-marked): NOUN/PRO-CASE.
- The quantifiers, numerals, definiteness markers, collective markers and grammatical cases always follow the head noun.
- Collective markers do not co-occur with numerals.
- The genitive noun always precedes the head noun.
- Classifiers are not used in the Tibetic languages. Some rare classifiers postponed to the noun occur with measurements, but they play a marginal role in the system.

8.1.1. Noun

The Tibetic nominal morphology essentially consists of four types of formation:

(a) Noun roots are usually monosyllabic.

(b) A derivational morphology characterized by nominal suffixes and in some rare cases nominal prefixes.

(c) An archaic derivational morphology characterized by initial and final formatives (see chapter 6).

(d) Compound nouns. This type of constructional morphology is a general device and found in many other language families of the world.

Noun suffixes

The most salient feature of the noun morphology is the presence of nominal suffixes (type b).

Some monosyllabic words such as མེ་ ‘fire’, རྨ་ ‘meat’, སྨན་ ‘medicine’, etc., and their correspondences in modern languages do not need a suffix but most monosyllabic stems are followed by a nominal suffix. The suffixes do not generally appear with compound word (In the examples below, bold underlines the suffix).
For example འབྲག་པ་ LAG.PA 'arm, hand' and རྒང་པ་ RKANG.PA 'leg, foot' form the compound word རྒང་ལག་ RKANG.LAG 'limbs' (Lit. 'leg-arm'); In Lhasa Tibetan and many dialects, ཀྲི་ WAMO 'fox' and ཤཱ་ ZHWA.MO 'hat' form ཤཱ་ WAZHWA 'fox [fur] hat'.

In the various Tibetic languages, lexical nouns often share the same stem but differ in their affixes.

Depending on the languages, some monosyllabic nouns may appear with different suffixes or without suffixes altogether and in some rare cases with a prefix instead of a suffix.

The following examples illustrate the dialectal variation of suffixes:

ཨ་སྲུ་ A.SRU (Hor) vs. སྲུ་ SRU.MO (Ü, Ts) 'maternal aunt',
ཨ་ཞང་ A.ZHANG / ashang/ (Ü, Ts) vs. རྒྱ་ན། ZHANG.PA / shangpo/ (Hor) vs. རྒྱ་ ZHANG-ZHANG/xoxo/ 'maternal uncle' (Tm).

The following examples illustrate the fact that some lexical roots may appear with a suffix or with a prefix or even a reduplicated stem depending on the language:

བཟམ་ ZAM.PA / zam/ (Am) vs. བཟམ་པ་ ZAM.PA / samba/ (Ü, Ts) 'bridge', བྱིན་ SPRIN / qwen, / fan/ (Am) vs. བྱིན་ SPRIN.PA / tinpa/ (Ü) 'cloud', བཀྲ་ HAG / hag/ (Am) < CT བཀྲ་ PHAG.PA / p'akpa/ (Ü, Ts) or བཀྲ་ PHAG.LU (Am) 'pig', བྲོན་ STON / ten/ (Sherpa) vs. བྲོན་ STON.KHA / tönk'a/ 'autumn, fall' (Ü), བཀྲི་ GIN.PA / činpa/ (Ü, Ts), བཀྲི་ GIN / čin/ (Am, Kh) 'urine'.

The list of examples below illustrate words which appear with or without suffixes depending on the languages and dialects: རོལ་ ZAM / zam/ (Am) vs. རོལ་ ZAM.PA / samba/ (Ü, Ts) 'bridge', སྲིན་ SPRIN / qwen, / fan/ (Am) vs. སྲིན་ SPRIN.PA / tinpa/ (Ü) 'cloud', བཀྲ་ HAG / hag/ (Am) < CT བཀྲ་ PHAG.PA / p'akpa/ (Ü, Ts) or བཀྲ་ PHAG.LU (Am) 'pig', སྲོང་ STON / ten/ (Sherpa) vs. སྲོང་ STON.KHA / tönk'a/ 'autumn, fall' (Ü), བཀྲི་ GIN.PA / činpa/ (Ü, Ts), བཀྲི་ GIN / čin/ (Am, Kh) 'urine'.

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Most of the suffixes found in the modern Tibetic languages are derived from the CT nominal suffixes: བོ PO, བོ BO, བོ MO, བོ PA, BA, བ་ MA, ཀ A (and its variants), སོ CHA, སོ SO, ལོ BU and its variants ཚ་ GU, ལོ NGU, རོ GU and ལོ U. (see chap 6).

However, there are a few exceptions such as the suffixes ས་ YE, ས་ GO, ས་ GOG: See for examples ས་ རྒྱ་ YE (Ho) and ས་ རྒྱ་ GO (Kh, Sharkhok) ‘hat’.

The suffixes བོ LU, བོ TU appear in some frequent Amdo words such as ས་ རྒྱ་ YE (Ho) and ས་ རྒྱ་ GO (Kh, Sharkhok) ‘hat’. These suffixes are probably derived from the CT diminutive suffix བོ BU.

In the modern languages, the suffixes may be phonologically reduced or even integrated in the root as in the case of some Baima words. In many dialects of Kham, Hor or Tö, the suffixes བོ MO and བ་ MA become a nasalized vowel, respectively /õ/ and /ã/. In Dzongkha, Sherpa and Lhoke, the suffixes of many words have lost the final vowel. For example བོ PO, བ་ PA, བོ MO, བ་ MA are realized as /p/ and /m/. བོ PA ‘pig’ is written བོ PA in Dzongkha and pronounced /p’a:/.

Class terms

DeLancey (1986b) and Henderson (2006) define the class terms as follow: class terms occur as part of endocentric nominal compounds in which the class term is taken from a higher position in the taxonomy than the other element in the compound, which specifies the type. In English, for example, snake functions as a class term in compounds like rattlesnake, king snake, and grass snake where snake denotes the basic
category and rattle, king, and grass denote the type of snake.7

Tibetic languages use a lot of class terms such as བྱ 'bird', བུ 'bug, worm', སིང 'wood', etc.

The class terms are placed in front of the root or after the root depending on the words and the languages. The position of the class term also depends on the dialects.8 Here are some examples: གསོམ་ཤིང་ 'fir', བྱ་ཀྲུང་ 'crane', བྱ་ཁྲ་ 'hawk', བྱ་རྒོད་ 'vulture', བྱ་གླག་ 'eagle', འབུ་བླ་མ་མ་ 'dragonfly', འབུ་དིང་དིང་ 'cicada', འབུ་གྲོག་མ་ 'ant', etc. In Zangskar, the class term བུ is often after: ཆ་ག་ 'locust', གྲེ་ 'ant'.

In some languages, the class terms are compulsory and thus constitute a part of the word, whereas in other languages, they are optional and may be dropped: In some western and eastern regions, the words ང་ 'hawk', རྩེ་ 'eagle', རྒོད་ 'vulture', may occur alone, but in Central Tibet, the class term must be present: བྱ་ཁྲ་ 'hawk', བྱ་གླག་ 'eagle', བྱ་རྒོད་.

Compounding

Among the compounding strategies found in the Tibetic languages and in Classical Tibetan, one finds the polar compounds.

དྲོད་བསིལ་ 'temperature' (Lit. 'hot-cool') (Dz), གསོམ་ཆུང་ 'size' (Lit. 'big-small') (Dz), གྲེ་མ་ 'ant', དྲོད་བསིལ་ 'temperature' (Lit. 'hot-cool') (Dz), གསོམ་ཆུང་ 'size' (Lit. 'big-small') (Dz), གྲེ་ 'ant', དྲོད་བསིལ་ 'temperature' (Lit. 'hot-cool') (Dz), གསོམ་ཆུང་ 'size' (Lit. 'big-small') (Dz), གྲེ་ 'ant'.

7. For Henderson (2006), nominal classification is a broad cover term include class terms, measure terms, classifiers, and noun class markers (http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/sites/secure.lsit.ucsb.edu.ling.d7/files/sitefiles/research/papers/17/Henderson_vol17.pdf)

8. There are also some variations inside a given dialect. In some words, the class term precedes the root whereas in other words, it follows it.
Echo words

A type of nominal reduplication often referred to as ‘echo-words’ is attested in some Tibetic languages. Echo-words also called *mühmde* are frequent in some language families such as Turkic, Semitic, Indo-Iranian and Mongolic. There are also marginally found in the Germanic (Yiddish, German, English) and Slavic languages. Here are some examples: *helter-skelter, pell-mell, money-shmoney, Techtelmechtel* (German) ‘fling’, *çokel'-mokel’* (Russian) ‘holy mackerel’, *liebe schmiebe* (Yiddish) ‘love and such things’. In languages such as Turkish, Persian or Hindi, they are highly productive: *ketap-metab* (Persian) ‘all kind of books’, *kelid-melid* ‘key, etc.’. *šádi-vádi* (Hindi) ‘wedding, etc.’, *prem-vrem* ‘love, etc.’. Echo words are well attested and productive in two Tibetic-speaking areas: The western region of Ladakh and Baltistan and the northeastern region of Amdo. In the first case, the Tibetic languages are in contact with Indo-Iranian languages and Turkic and in the second case, they are in contact with Turkic and Mongolic languages. As mentioned above, Turkic, Mongolic and Indo-Iranian have developed these morphological constructions and thus it is clear than the Tibetic languages have acquired this phenomenon through contact.

Here are some examples in Amdo: ◊ ཆ་ཀར་ཡོལ་མར་ཡོལ་ 'all kinds of cups', ◊ ཆ་ཀར་འབར་དཀར་ 'GON.RGYU MON.RGYU 'all kinds of clothes', ◊ ཆ་ཀར་འབར་དཀར་ 'DPE.RJOD ME.RJOD 'various examples’ (ex. from Simon 2016). In Ladaks, this construction is very productive: ◊ ས་བ་པ་ལ་ 'BAGLANG WAGLANG 'cows, etc., all sorts of cattle’, ◊ ས་བ་པ་ལ་ 'CALAG WALAG 'all sorts of things', ◊ ས་བ་པ་ལ་ 'PE.NE WE.NE 'some money', ◊ ས་བ་པ་ལ་ 'TLBI WLB 'all sorts of hats’, ◊ ས་བ་པ་ལ་ 'GHARI WARI 'all sorts of vehicles’, ◊ ས་བ་པ་ལ་ 'BUMOWO.WO' 'all sorts of girls’.

8.1.2. Personal Pronoun

Three non-honorific pronouns are almost pandialectal: ◊ ག 'NGA T, ◊ བོ 'KHYOD 'you (sg)’, ◊ བོ 'KHO’s/he. In some languages (Am, Sh), the 3rd person pronoun may be expressed by a demonstrative pronoun or by a form derived from a demonstrative pronoun. 9 For example, in a few dialects of Amdo, Drugchu, Sherpa, etc. the 3rd person

9. This strategy is frequently attested in the world languages. For ex. the French personal pronoun "il" is derived from the Latin distal demonstrative *ille*. 
pronouns are identical to the demonstrative pronouns འདི་ ’DI ‘this’, དེ་ ’DE ‘that’ or the archaic form གན་ ’GAN ‘that’ (see Bacot 1948). For the 2nd person singular, the term རང་ ’RANG ‘self’ is used in some dialects, to mean ‘you’ (Ü, Ts, Lho, La).

Most Tibetic languages form the three ‘plural pronouns’: ‘we’, ‘you (pl)’, ‘they’ by adding a collective marker (see the section on number below), such as ཡོང་ ’TSHO, ཡོང་ ’TSHANG, གན་ ’KUN, འབ་ ’CAG, རྣམ་ ’RNAMS, གོ་ ’CHO, ལྟོག་ ’THAMS, རྒྱ་ ’RIGS, etc. to the above mentioned pronouns (see 8.1.10 about number): ཡོང་ ’NGA-TSHO (Ü), ཡོང་ ’NGA-CAG (Lho, Ts, Cho), ཡོང་ ’NGA-CHO (Amdo), ཡོང་ ’KHYED-THAMS, ཡོང་ ’NGA-RNAMS (attested in Kham, see SKAL.BZANG GYUR.MED & SKAL.BZANG DBYANGS.CAN 2002).

The category of dual is grammaticalized in a number of languages: ཡོང་ ’NGA-GNYIS ‘the two of us, we’ (Ü), ཡོང་ ’NGED-GNYIS (Kh: Derge) ‘the two of us, we (exclusive dual)’ (see Häsler 1999) or: ཡོང་ ’U-GNYIS-KA [inclusive dual] (Am) and some languages (Ts: Zhikatse) even have a trial: ཡོང་ ’NGA-GSUM ‘the three of them, they’. In some languages, a collective marker may be inserted between the pronoun and the number as in Kham (Derge); ཡོང་ ’NGA-SUM-GNYIS ‘dual (inclusive)’, see Häsler (1999).

In a few languages (Dz, Sp, Ga, YK, La, etc.), one finds plural pronouns that correspond to the honorific singular pronouns found in CT: ཡོང་ ’KHONG ‘he/she (H)’, ཡོང་ ’KHYED ‘you’ (H)’ or the archaic singular pronoun ཡོང་ ’NGED ‘I’ (formal). Thus, in these southern and western languages, the forms corresponding to ཡོང་ ’KHONG, ཡོང་ ’KHYED or ཡོང་ ’NGED mean respectively ‘they’, ‘you (pl)’ and ‘we’. It is likely that the honorific meanings found in CT are in fact derived from a plural meaning that has been preserved in some of the modern languages (just as the pluralis majestatis ‘majestic plural’ attested for example in the European languages). See also Hill (2010b).

The basic construction of the noun phrase with a pronoun is:

PRO- (NUM/COL)-case.

Along with the distinctions between the three personal pronouns (1st, 2nd, 3rd) singular and plural, most languages distinguish the following categories: gender (for 3rd person only), inclusive/exclusive (for 1st person non-singular only), honorific versus ordinary.
Gender distinction:

- In many languages, one encounters a gender distinction on the 3rd person. When this is the case (e.g. in Ü, Ts, Sh, Lho, Dz, BL (Kh), Ba, etc.), the root མོ MO is used, sometimes followed by a suffix. In some dialects (cf. Amdo), the 3rd person 'she' does not have a plural form. There is a distinction of gender in CT for the 1st person: གུས་པོ GUS.PO 'I (masc)', གུས་མོ GUS.MO 'I (fem).' This distinction does not seem to be attested in the modern languages.

Inclusive/exclusive distinction:

- For 1st person non-singular, one frequently finds a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. The inclusive pronoun includes all the addressees while the exclusive pronoun excludes them. Most of the inclusive pronouns in the various languages are derived from the root འོ O or འུ U: O.CAG / འོ CAG, འུ CAG 'ASKOL we' found in OT and CT, but one also finds the root རང RANG 'self': རང་རེ RANG.RE 'we'. They are found in Kham, Amdo, Thewo, Sharkhok, Zhikatse, Sherpa, Kyirong, Yolmo, etc. Ebihara (2014: 127) notes that:

In Amdo Tibetan, many dialects show the inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first-person plural and dual [...]. All the exclusive pronouns are derived from 1SG pronoun ག ལ NGA (WT: nga). Inclusive pronouns are those starting with vowels: ཡ, བ, བ, ཤ, དྷ, ཫ (the only exception is the Hongyuan) "[derived from འུ U]."

In Ladaks and Purik, the opposition is also attested between the exclusive བ ལ NGAZHA (La) / བ ལ NGA.CA (Pur) and the inclusive བ ལ NGA.DANG /ngatang/. (See Koshal 1979 and Zemp 2018.)

Respectful forms:

- Many languages and dialects use distinct pronouns for the respectful forms of the three persons. For the 1st person, a humilific form is used in a few languages to show respect to the addressee: བྲ ལ BDAG (Zhikatse) and བ ལ BA pronounced /ba/ or /ma/ (Spiti and Khunu.)

10. In Zhikatse, the difference between inclusive and exclusive is marked by a specific suffix (see Haller 2000).

11. The origin of this form is not clear. It could be derived from 'ba.ZHIG' 'alone'.
Many languages have a special form for the 2nd person honorific, which is identical to CT གླྭ་ сын་ (often followed by a suffix). In a few languages, the 1st singular pronoun is used for 2nd person honorific. In Ladak, Balti and Spiti: ཉེད་རང་ NYED(RANG) ‘you’ (H) is clearly derived from the archaic form: ཉེ་རང་ NYE-RANG (1st incl) which is maybe related to the root ཉིད་ NYID ‘self’ found in CT. In Sherpa, the form ཉི་རང་ O-RANG (1st incl) is also used for ‘you’ (H). The Dzongkha honorific ཉི་ NA/na/ ‘you/be/she (H)’ and its plural form ཉི་གུ་ NA/BU ‘they, you’ have unclear origins, but could well be derived from ཁ་རི་ RNAM.PA “honorific term used for second and third person” (see Valby 2003). The form གླྭ་ གླྭ་ གླྭ་ LHA.N.RGYAS < CT ‘together, common’ is frequently used in Lhoke; and in Common Tibetan especially for the second person plural high honorific: གླྭ་ གླྭ་ གླྭ་ LHA.N.RGYAS RNAM.PA TSHO.

For the 3rd person honorific, many languages (Ü, Ts, La, etc.) use the root ཁོང་ KHONG sometimes followed by a suffix. Finally, it should be noted that some dialects (southern Kham as well as Drugchu, Baima, etc.) lack honorific pronouns entirely.

When people talk about a member of the family, in some regions (Ü, Tsang, southern Himalayas, etc.) they may use kinship terms to replace the personal pronouns, such as ཀྲ་ ཀྲ་ ‘(paternal) uncle’, མི་ ཁྲ་ ‘(maternal) aunt’, ཁྲ་ ཏུ་ ‘elder sister’, ཁྲ་ ཁ螅 ‘elder brother’, etc. As noted by Huber (2002) about the Kyirong dialect, the kinship term is selected according to a set of rules depending on age, status and relationship of the person with the family of the speaker.

8.1.3. Interrogative proforms

The interrogative proforms include who, what, when, where, why, how, how much /many. The roots are normally derived from CT.

12. This type of usage is found in other languages, for example, the Kansai dialect of Japanese uses the word ｚｂｕｍ (Lit. ‘self’) to mention ‘I’ as well as ‘you’.
13. Found for example in the གྲེ་ཆེ་མི་མ་.
The proform Who

One encounters only two forms in the various languages. The most widespread form is derived from CT སུ་ SU. It is present in the eight sections but pronounced in various ways: /su/, /sa/, /sʰu/, etc. However, in a few languages, the proform 'who' is derived from CT གང་ GANG 'what, which'. This is the case in Dzongkha ས་ /'g'a:/, ད་ Lhoke /'ka/ and Thewo-mi ས་ /ko:/ and some Southern Kham languages such as Derong /'kwo/. An exceptional form /'sʰa/ is used in Yunnan.

The proform What

There are two main roots found in the Tibetic languages both derived from CT མ CI (or its variant མ CHI) 'what', and གང་ GANG (or its variant མ GA) 'which', 'what', 'who'. The first form མ CI is pronounced /ʻci/ (Ba, La), /ʻči/ (Tö), /ʻči/ (Ho), /ʻco/ (Ko) and /ʻčə, /ʻːčə/ (in Southern Kham). In Amdo this root is normally followed by the indefinite suffix /zək/, ཕེིི༔ CI/ZIIG /ʻzək/ or ཕེིི༔ CI/ZIIG /ʻzək/ (see Simon 2016). The other form གང་ GANG is realized as /kang/ (Ts, Sh), ག་ GARE /ʻkʰare/ (Ü) and other forms in Southern Kham /ʻkʰa/, ག་ GALE /ʻko da/, ག་ GAD /ʻkʰana/, ག་ GABA /ʻka la/, ག་ GABZO /ʻka zo/. In some languages such as Dzongkha, the two roots are combined: ག་ CI /ʻgʰa/. In CT, one additionally finds the form མ JI (which is obviously related to མ CI) in combination with other formant (see below).

The proform When

In most Tibetan areas, one finds a form, which is derived from CT ཀ བ NAM 'when' (Tö, Ho, Kh, Sp, La, Ba, Dz, Sh, etc.). This form is sometimes followed by another root such as བ TSHAD or བ TSHOD 'measure', e.g. in northern Kham /namtsə/, or Amdo /namtsʰə/. In some areas, one finds compound words such as ག་ GADUS (Lit. 'what time'), ག་ TSHAD /GADUS TSHAD also meaning 'what time': e.g. /ʻkʰatü/ (Ü), /ʻtʰutse/ 'kaze' (Kh), etc.
The proform Where

All the languages use the same root for the proform 'where'. It is derived from the word གང་ GANG or its variant ག་ Ga 'which', 'what', 'who' followed by various suffixes: e.g. ག་ནས་ GANAS /'k'ani/ (Am), ག་པར་ GAR /'k'ara/ (Sh), ག་རུ་ GARI /'k'ari/ (Ts, Zhikatse), ག་ཏེ་ལས་ GATE /'g'ate/ (Dz), ག་པར་འདྲ་ GANAS /'k'ara/ (La), ག་སྣ་ GARS /'k'arä/ (Ho), ག་ནི་མ་ GANIMA /'k'anima/ (Sh).

Some languages (such as Amdo, Lhoke, Zhikatse, Thewo-mä, etc.) distinguish the proform 'where' indicating a direction from the proform indicating a location. The difference is marked by the suffix: ག་ནི་མ་ /'k'anima/ (Sh), ག་ཅི་བཀྲ་ཡི་ཁ་ /'k'arin/ (Am), ག་དེ་འབད་ /'k'adä/ (Zhikatse), ག་དེ་འབད་ /'k'adä/ (La).

The proform 'where from' is also formed with the same basic root ག་ Ga 'which' followed by various suffixes depending on the language. In many regions, the suffix is derived from the elative case གས་ NAS or more rarely from the ablative case གི་མ་ /'k'anima/ (Sh). Here are some examples of the various forms: ག་ནས་ GANAS /'k'ani/ (Ü), ག་ལ་ GARKA /'k'lä/ (Khopokhok), etc.

The proform 'how' is a compound made of 'what' — ག་ /'k'ari/ (Sh), ག་ /'k'ari/ (Am) — followed by various forms such as ག་དེ་འབད་ /'k'adä/ (Zhikatse), ག་ནས་ GANAS /'k'ani/ (Am), ག་དེ་འབད་ /'k'adä/ (Thewo-mä), ག་ནས་ GANAS /'k'ani/ (Sh).

The forms ག་ /'k'ari/ (Sh), ག་ /'k'ari/ (Am) all contain the verb 'to do' in the given language (kya, be, bya) respectively derived from CT ལུའི 'to do' and ག་ /'k'ari/ BIED 'to do'.

14. The forms ག་ /'k'ari/ (Sh), ག་ /'k'ari/ (Am) all contain the verb 'to do' in the given language (kya, be, bya) respectively derived from CT ལུའི 'to do' and ག་ /'k'ari/ BIED 'to do'.

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The proform ‘how much’ or ‘how many’ is sometimes made of single word, which is derived from CT words: དུ་ DU ‘how many’, དེ་ TSAM ‘a little, about, around’ and ཇི་ TSAM ‘how many’, མི་ TSHOD ‘quantity’ or མི་ TSHAD ‘measure’, ཉན་ GA ‘some’. Here are some examples: དེ་ TSAM /tsam/ (Tö, Sp, La, Ba), དུ་ DU /tə/ (Am), མི་ TSHAD /ts'o:/ (Sh), ཉན་ GA /’n ga/ (Thewo-mä, Pashi), etc.

Many languages have a compound word that may be translated as ‘what measure’: ཁ་མོ་ཟིག་ CHI MO ZIG /’imozək/ (Am), ཁ་དེམ་ཅིག་ GA DEM GCIG /’gademči/ (Dz) or ཁ་དེ་ཅིག་ GA DE CIG /’gadeči/ (Dz).

The meaning corresponding to the proform ‘why’ is rendered in the Tibetic languages by various expressions (often corresponding to phrases) that literally mean: ‘what has been done?’, ‘what has happened?’ ‘what caused (this)?’ ‘for what reason/root?’ or simply ‘for what?’ For example, in several languages, the verb ‘to do’ is included in the expression, e.g. in Ü, Tsang and Dzongkha: ཁ་རེ་བྱས་ནས་ RTSA RED BYAS NAS /’kare’čänä:/ (Ü), ཁང་བྱས་ནས་ GAN BYAS NAS /’kang’čänä:/, ཉན་ GACI BAD /’gäči be/ (Dz), ཉན་ CLBYED /’g’ê/ (Ho). See also the HCTL.

Here are examples with the word ཁ་དེས་ RTSA BA ‘root’: ཇི་ཐེ་ན དེས་ CLDE RED RTSA RED /’g tə rə tə rə/ (Kh: Lhagang), ཁྱོ་ནག་ཚོས་ gsawa ’ko: ’yi/ (E: Th). Many languages have simply the equivalent of ‘for what’ which is also found in CT: ཉན་ CLPHIR: ཇི་ཐེ་ན CL RED /’g tə rə/ (Ho, Kh), ཉན་ CLYOD THAL /’gə ’yöthe/
8.1.4. Demonstrative

Most Tibetic languages make a distinction between proximal and distal demonstratives. Some languages have a threefold distinction: proximal, medial and distal. In some languages, one finds also an obviative pronoun.16

Historically, Tibetic demonstratives are derived from five demonstrative markers found in CT: འདི་ ‘DI’ proximal’ (and variants that sometimes appear in the modern written forms such as འི་ ‘I or ནི་ ‘NI’), གན་ ‘GAN’ that (medial) (used in Am and Pa), དེ་ ‘DE’ that (medial) or ‘that (obviative)’, བ་ ‘PHA’ that over there (distal) (the variant ར་ ‘HA occurs in Amdo). Some of these morphemes may combine together.

The three-fold distinction between proximal, medial and distal is well preserved in some languages. This is for example the case in Common Tibetan: འདི་ ‘DI’ this’ དེ་ ‘DE’ that’, བ་ ‘PHA’ that (over there). Additionally this language also has a distinction between བ་ ‘YA’ that (up there), བ་ ‘MA’ that (down there). Dzongkha has even a four-fold distinction: འདི་ ‘DI’ this (very proximal)’, འདི་ ‘DI’ this (proximal)’, དེ་ དེ’ that (neutral), བ་ ‘PHA’ ‘DI’ that over yonder (distal)’ (van Driem 1992). Some languages have not maintained the distinction between medial and distal (e.g. Kham or Spiti).

As in many world languages, the demonstratives have two main functions: they may serve as pronouns or as noun determiners.

For the demonstrative determiners, we find the following syntactic patterns across the Tibetic languages. Note that the representation scheme of the noun phrase is abbreviated below (for the complete version see section 8.1.):

(a) **NOUN-DEM-(COL) CASE**
(b) **DEM-NOUN-(DEF)-(COL) CASE**

16. The obviative designates a third person that is less salient compared to another third person that is more central to the story or is close by (proximal).
Note that in (b), the demonstrative may co-occur with a definite marker. The combination of a demonstrative and an article is found in some other languages, that is for example the case in Hebrew but the word order is the reverse of the Tibetic order: Definite article-N-DEM.

In the great majority of Tibetic languages within Tibet (Ü, Tsang, Tö Ngari, northern Kham and Amdo), the demonstrative determiners occur after the head noun as in (a).

Conversely, in most Tibetic languages spoken outside Tibet, in the southern and western Himalayas (such as Balti, Ladakhi, Spiti, Sherpa, Yolmo, Dzongkha, Choćangača, etc.) as well as a few languages of Tibet such as Kyirong and some southern Kham dialects (Sn(Kh), Mi(Kh), YK), etc. the demonstrative determiners are placed before the head noun as in (b). In this case, they often appear together with a definite article that follows the noun.

The following example in Yolmo (Gawne 2013) illustrates the anteposition of the demonstrative:

(3') ṭöDI MI YAG.PU YED
/öodi mi yàabu yè/
that person+ABS good CPV
'That person is nice.'

See also in Dzongkha:

(4) ṭöPHI MI DGE.SL M IN
/opi’i mi’ gelong ‘ing/
that person ordinated monk CPV
'That man is a monk.'

In Common Tibetan, the demonstrative is always placed after the head noun:

(5) MI ‘DI YAG.PO RED
person+ABS this good CPV
'This person is nice.' (Ü, ComTib)
In a couple of languages spoken in southern Kham, the demonstrative may occur either before or after the noun depending on syntactic criteria. If the noun is followed by a modifier, the demonstrative is postponed but otherwise it occurs before the head noun (see Suzuki 2011).

### 8.1.5. Definiteness markers

Tibetic languages do not have real articles since the grammatical category of definiteness is not obligatory in these languages. The fact that “Tibetan has no articles per se” has been noted by some authors such as Goldstein (1991: 48). However, in some previous works, definiteness markers have received various labels such as “article” (Kesang Gyurmé 1992; van Driem 1998; Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 1998; Haller 2000; Huber 2002; Gawne 2016;17 Graves 2007; Robin & Simon forthcoming), “specifier” (Koshal 1982; Beyer 1992), “determiner” and “selector” (Beyer 1992), “numerator” (Denwood 1999). In general, most authors have noticed that the definiteness markers are not obligatory and their frequency is much lower than the articles in European languages.

In order to clearly distinguish these grammatical categories from the category of the “article”, the terms *definite marker* and *indefinite marker* (or the variants definiteness marker, indefiniteness marker) are more suitable. We will use them in the book following several authors such as Häsler (1999) and Zeisler (2007).

#### Indefinite marker

Modern languages have an indefinite marker, which is either derived from the CT indefinite marker བོད་ ZHIG or its allomorph རོབ་ CIG (note that the literary article has three variants depending on the last letter of the word: བོད་ ZHIG, རོབ་ CIG and བོད་ SHIG). In CT, this marker is cognate with the numeral བོད་ GCIG ‘one’ and is clearly derived from it. Some modern languages such as Amdo maintain a distinction between the numeral བོད་ GCIG and the indefinite marker རོབ་ ZIG (reflex of CT རོབ་ ZHIG).

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17. Gawne (2016: 98) notes in her *Sketch grammar of Lamjung Yolmo* that “there are no words in Lamjung Yolmo that are specifically used as articles, however there are words that do function as articles. They are not always used and in definiteness cannot be inferred from their absence.”
However, in most modern languages, the indefinite marker is formally identical to the
numeral ‘one’.

The indefinite marker is pronounced in various ways in the modern languages: མི་/mi/ in Balti and Purik (sometimes reduced to /-ik/), /či:/ in Ü, Tsang; /či/ in Dzongkha and Kham; འིག་/zig/ in Amdo; or reduced to /(y)i/ as in Sherpa.

(6) མི་/mi/ མི་/mi/
\(\text{man} \quad \text{rich-IND} \)
‘A rich person.’ (Sh; adapted from Graves 2007: 191)

(7) ཆིག་/či:/ ཆིག་/či:
\(1\text{SG+ERG} \quad \text{make-AUX} \)
‘I built a house.’ (Gyālthang Kham; adapted from Hongladarom 2007b: 128)

**Definite marker**

The majority of modern languages, just as Classical Tibetan, do not have a definite
marker. This category is also absent in CT. In order to convey definiteness, a bare noun
or a noun with a demonstrative is used.

However, some languages with demonstratives preceding the noun have
developed definite markers, which are always postponed to the noun. The definite
marker may be used alone or co-occur with the demonstrative or possessive nouns.
This corresponds to the structure: (DEM/ POSS) NOUN DEF.

Such structures, which combine a demonstrative or possessive and a definite article
(or marker), are also attested in other languages such as Hebrew, Italian, Romanian,
Scandinavian languages and Greek.18

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18. Cf. e.g. for example the phrase ‘my friend’ translates as: Il mio amico (Italian), prietenul meu (Romanian), יש ידיד ba xaver sheli (Hebrew).
Tibetic languages which have developed definite markers are mostly found in southern and western regions. They include Kyirong, Yolmo, Sherpa, Balti, Purik, Ladak, Spiti, etc.

The definite marker is usually derived from CT demonstratives: usually the medial demonstrative དེ་DE (e.g. Sherpa and Kyirong) or the proximal ཡདི་DI sometimes.

In Ladak, Purik and Balti, the definite marker /po/ བོ་(and its variant /bo/ བོ་) may be derived from འོ་O, an archaic determiner. In Amdo, a morpheme used in the relative clause structure /o/ may also be related to this archaic determiner. In Tsang, the definite marker is derived from the 3rd person pronoun མོ་KHO (Haller 2000).

Here are some examples of definite markers in Ladak:

(8) ◊ ཀར་པོ། LAS-PO /las-po/ work-DEF 'The work.' (La)

(9) ◊ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སི་གནས་སྟངས་པོ། SPYI-TSHOGS-SI GNAS.STANGS-PO /čt’soks-si netangs-po/ society-GEN situation-DEF 'The situation of the society.' (Ladags Melong, 2002, vol 1, issue 5)

In the following examples in Sherpa (see Graves 2007; Tournadre et al. 2009) and in Kyirong (Huber 2002) the demonstrative and the definite marker coexist:

(10) ◊ དི་部ར་(＜ལས་པོ་) TI DI BES.DZA-TI /’t’i p’edza-ti/ DEM child-DEF 'That child.'
8.1.6. Quantifiers and Numerals

In the Tibetic languages, quantifiers and numerals are always postponed to the noun. The quantifiers are never used with the numerals.

A few quantifiers are frequently found across the Tibetic area. They include ལ་ལ་ LA LA /lala/ ‘some’ (Ts, Am) or ལ་ལུ་ LA LU ‘some’ (Dz), ཀྲ་ཁ་ཇས་ KHASHAS ‘some’ (Ü, Ts, Am), ཀྲ་ཁ་ཇས་ KHASHAS ‘some’ (Ü, Ts, Am), རེ་རེ་ RE RE ‘each’ (pandialectal), etc. For detail, see the HCTL.

There are two basic numeral systems found across the area: a decimal and a vigesimal system. The decimal system is pervasive. Numerals are fundamentally composed of the words from 1 to 10 and 10x. The cardinal numbers from 1 to 10 are derived from the same roots in all the Tibetic languages:


In the decimal system, the rounded numbers can be followed by the word ཐམ་པ་ THAM PA ’multiple of ten.’ The unrounded numbers normally need a connecting element to express the units, for example, གཙ་ RTS A for 20 + x (x = 1 to 9), དེ་ནུས་ཐམ་པ་ NYLSHU RTS A GCIG ‘21.’ In Balti, the connecting element is ན་ NA. For example, དེ་ནུས་ཐམ་པ་ NYLSHU NA GCIG ‘21’ དེ་ནུས་ཐམ་པ་ NYLSHU NA GNYIS ‘22’, etc.

Other connecting elements used after བརྒྱ་ BRGYA ‘hundred’, གསུམ་ GSUM ‘thousand’, etc. include ཕ་ RA in Amdo, དང་ DANG in Ü, རི་ NI in Kham. For example, in Amdo: གཙ་ NYS BRGYARA NYLSHU ‘220’ (Am), གཙ་ NYS BRGYADA NYLSHU ‘220’ (Ü, Ts).

The element གཙ་ RTS A can be used for all the unrounded numbers from 21 to 99, but in many languages, the connecting element exhibits different forms depending on the number of tens digit. For example in Ü and Dzongkha we find:
In these languages, the connecting element is clearly derived from the tens digit: ཉི་ NYI, ཉེར་ NYER 'connecting element for 20', སུམ SUM: སོ SO 'connecting element for 30', སྙླུ་ BZH, སྦུ་ ZHE 'connecting element for 40', སྙོག་ LNGA: སྲོག་ NGA 'connecting element for 50', སྤྱིར་ DRUG, སྤྱོད་ RE 'connecting element for 60', སྭུན་ BDUN: སྭུན་ DON 'connecting element for 70', སྱེ་བྱོ་ BRGYAD: སྱེ་ RGYA 'connecting element for 80', སྤྱོད་ DGU: སྤྱོད་ GO 'connecting element for 90'.

In a few dialects such as Khöpokhok and Zhollam (Sn(Kh)), this connecting element is not needed.

There are specific words for multiple of tens for hundred and higher figures: སྱེ་ BRGYA 'hundred', སྤྱིར་ STONG 'thousand', སྨི་ KHRI 'ten thousand', སྤོ་BUM 'hundred thousand', སྤོ་ SAYA 'million', སྤེ་ BYE.BA 'ten million', སྤོ་ DUNG.PHYUR 'hundred millions', སྡོད་ཕྱུར་ THER.BUM 'billion'. These words are usually pandialectal however, after སྤོ་BUM, the higher figures are rarely known or used.

The vigesimal system is found in many languages particularly at the periphery of the linguistic area in the southern and western languages (Dzongkha, Lhoke, Choća¬ngaça, Sherpa, Yolmo, Balti, etc.) and in the east (Thewo-mā). It is probable that the vigesimal system corresponds to a more ancient tradition. Although it is not attested in CT, it is also found in some East Bodish languages such as Bumthang, Kheng, Dzala, 'Ole. It is also found in Lepcha (van Driem 2001: 818).

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19. In Lhasa, NYER is replaced by RTSA.
20. For Yolmo (see Hari and Lama 2004), for Sherpa see Tournadre et al. (2009), for Choća¬ngaça, see Tournadre & Karma Rígzin (2015), for Balti (Tournadre's unpublished data and field recording in Skardo, Shigar and Khapulu).
The vigesimal system usually coexists with the decimal system. Sometimes, the former is reserved for the expression of the age and for measuring grain, etc.

The vigesimal system uses the word མཁལ KHAL which originally means 'load' (on a yak) and has become a weight measure of 'one score' equivalent to twenty units.

མཁལ གཅིག KHAL GCIG 'twenty', མཁལ གྱིས KHAL GNYIS, 'forty', མཁལ གསུམ KHAL GSUM, 'sixty', མཁལ བཞི KHAL BZHI, 'eighty', མཁལ རྨ KHAL LNGA 'one hundred'. It is interesting to note that the word མཁལ KHAL is used in nearly all the regions where the vigesimal system is still found. However, in Baltistan, the word མཁལ KHAL is replaced by རྡུ་ NYLSHU 'twenty'. Thus, in Balti, we have instead རྡུ་ NYLSHU 'twenty', རྡུ་ཨགས་ NYLSHU GNYIS 'forty' (Lit. 'two twenty'), རྡུ་ཨགས་ NYLSHU GSUM 'sixty' (Lit. 'three twenty'). Every region using the vigesimal system has a different way of counting the figures 'thirty', 'fifty', 'seventy', etc. Dzongkha for example uses the word རྒྱ་ PHYED 'half' in combination with མཁལ KHAL (see van Driem 1998). For example, རྒྱ་ མཁལ གཅིག PHYED KHAL GCIG 'thirty' (Lit. 'twoscore (minus) halfscore' or 'forty (minus) half twenty'), རྒྱ་ མཁལ ཉགས་ PHYED KHAL GSUM 'fifty' (Lit. 'threescore (minus) halfscore', or sixty (minus) half twenty'), etc. Thewo-mā uses the word རྡུ་ རུལ་ PHYED ZHIG THAM.PA 'thirty' (Lit. 'one score ten'), རྡུ་ རུལ་ རུལ་ PHYED ZHIG GSUM.ZHIG THAM.PA 'fifty' (Lit. 'two score ten'), etc.

Finally, to count the number of years, some dialects such as Purik use the word རྗེ་ SKOR which refers to the 'twelve year animal cycle' of the Tibetan calendar. Thus རྗེ་ GNYIS.SKOR means '24 years', རྗེ་ GSUM.SKOR '36 years', etc.

Classifiers, except for the measurement terms, are rarely used in the Tibetic languages and their grammatical status is at most marginal. They always follow the head noun in the following way: N-CL-NUM. Here are some examples of classifiers used for measurement: རྗེ་ RKANG 'hair', རྗེ་ BRE 'a measure unit' (for cereal or liquid roughly equivalent to one liter), རྗེ་ MGO 'head' (Am; see Simon 2016).

Ex. Ü, Ts (and CT): རྗེ་ རྗེ་ རྗེ་ SKRA RKANG GCIG 'one strand of hair', རྗེ་ རྗེ་ རྗེ་ རྗེ་ རྗེ་ ME.TOG RKANG GSUM three flowers', རྗེ་ རྗེ་ རྗེ་ NAB BRE GSUM 'three dre
of barley’, ◊མི་མགོ་གཅིག MI MGO GCIG ‘one person’ (Kh), ◊མི་མགོ་གཉིས MYI MGO GNYIS ‘two persons’ (Am). See Simon (2016).

In the dialect of Rongdrak (Kh), ◊ད་ DA, a special classifier not found in CT is used:
◊མི་ད་གཅིག MI DA-GCIG // da(CancellationToken): ‘one person’ (Kh).

In the dialect of Lhagang (Kh), ◊རྡོག RDOG, a special classifier is used only for ‘one’:
◊མི་རྡོག་གཅིག MI RDOG-GCIG // hdoʔhčiʔ: ‘one person’ (Kh).

A couple of specific numerals, such as ◊གང་ GANG ‘one’ or ◊དོ DO ‘two’ are specific to count massive nouns, usually liquids or grain: for example ◊ཆུ་ཕོར་པ་�ང CHU PHOR PA GANG ‘one bowl of water’ (Lit. ‘(A) full bowl of water’), ◊chang YOL DO ‘two cups of chang’.

In some dialects of Thewo-Tö, one finds the numeral ◊འཁན KHAN /‘k’ã/ whose origin is unclear: ex. ◊མྱི་འཁན MYI KHAN ‘one person’.

The ordinal numbers are very similar in most languages and dialects. They are made by the adjunction of the suffix PA also found in CT:

The word ‘first’ has a special form usually derived from CT ◊དང་པོ DANG-PO ‘first’.

The ordinals in some languages are usually preceded by the word ◊ཨང ANG ‘number’.

In southern Kham, some dialects have yet another way to express ordinals.

8.1.7. Adjective
The adjectives in the Tibetic languages, as many world languages, have two main grammatical functions: they function as a modifier of a head noun and as an adjectival predicate. Here is a description of their morphology.

The Tibetan adjectival morphology consists of four main types of formation:
(a) The stem is followed by a grammatical suffix.
(b) The stem is reduplicated.
(c) The stem (or compound adjective) is followed by a reduplicated syllable.
(d) The compound adjective is made of a noun and an adjective.

Additionally, nominalized verb phrases are used in CT to translate Sanskrit adjectives.

One should note that in most cases corresponding to (a), (b), and (c), the adjectival stem is of verbal origin.

**Stem followed by a grammatical suffix**

The adjectival morphology corresponding to the type (a) is characterized by a set of suffixes. The number of suffixes varies according to the languages. As in many world languages the Tibetan languages distinguish three degrees for the adjective: positive, comparative and superlative. Some Tibetic languages additionally have a series of specific grammatical suffixes (see below).

For the positive forms, the main suffixes are derived from the CT adjective suffixes: བོ་ PO, བོ་ BO, མོ་ MO, མ་ MA, བ་ BA. One also encounters other suffixes such as ཆན་ CAN or དྲགས་ DRAGS, also attested in CT but with slightly different meanings.

Some southern dialects such as Dzongkha, suffixes may be subject to phonological reductions such as: PO/PA →/p/, BO/BA →/w/, MA/MO →/m/. The reduction of the suffix has also an impact on the stem which is also sometimes reduced: e.g. བོ་ RING.MO, བོ་ PHYUG.PO → ‘cup’/ ‘rich’ (Dz) < ཁྲིང་ MO, PHYUG.PO. In some Tö and Tsang dialects, the suffix PA may be reduced to /a/: སྐྱིད་ SKYID.DA/ ‘kyita/ (see other ex. below), གར་ GAR.RA /‘k’ara/ ‘strong (alcohol)’.

Additionally, two other suffixes which are not found in CT are attested in various regions and they probably have a Proto-Tibetic origin: ཁྲིང་ DE/”de/ (or/”ce/ (or even/”ce/) southern and western regions (Ts, Tö, YK, Sh, Sp, Ga, La), as well as in a few north-

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21. The orthography ཁྲིང་ GRAGS is also found in CT. See Nagano (1997).
eastern dialects (Am, Tm, etc.). Its variant \( ^*GE \) e.g. in Tsang, Tö and Sherpa. The morpheme \( ^*GE \) is used after velar while \( ^*DE \) is used in other consonants or vowels.

In the various Tibetic languages, adjectives just as nouns often share the same stem but differ in their suffixes or occur without suffix. Compare the following forms:

'good': ཡག་པོ་ (Ü, Ts), ཡག་མོ་ (Kh, Ko), ཡག་ལོ་ (Hor).

'good': དགའ་དྲ་ (Dromo), དགའ་འདེ (Ts).

'pleasant': སྐྱིད་པོ (Ü, Ts), སྐྱིད་ད་ (Ts), སྐྱིད་མོ (Kh), སྐྱིད་ལོ (Hor).

'clear': གསལ་པོ (Ü), གསལ་མོ (Kh), གསལ་བོ (Am), གསལ་དྲ (Dromo).

'light': ཡང་པོ (Ü, Ts), ཡང་མོ (Kh, Am).

'well': བདེ་པོ (Ü, Ts), བདེ་མོ (Kh), བདེ་པོ/r-demo/ now means 'beautiful, nice'.

'heavy': ལྗིད་པོ (Ü, Ts), ལྗིད་མོ (Kh, Am), ལྗིད་ལོ (Hor), ལྗིད་འདེ (Ts), ལྗི་འདེ (Kh).

'big': ཆེན་པོ (Ü), ཆེ་མོ (Kh), ཆེ་བ་ (Am), ཆེ་ལོ (Hor), ཆེ་ (Kh).

'high': མཐོ་པོ (Ü), མཐོན་པོ (Ü), མཐོན་མོ (Pur), མཐོན་དྲ (Dromo).

'thin, easy': སླ་པོ (Ü, Ts), སླ་མོ (Kh), སླ་འོང (Tö, Hor), སླ་པོ/la-po/ (Ü, Ts), སླ་པོ/la-tsamo/, /tsamo/, /h-tsamo/ (Ho, Kh, La, Am), སླ་པོ/la-ong/la-o/ (Tö, Hor).

'white': ཇྷ་པོ (Ü, Ts), ཇྷ་པོ/ka-po/ (Ü, Ts), ཇྷ་པོ/ka-ro/ (Am, Dz).

'hot': དོ་པོ (Ü, Ts), དོ་པོ/ta-po/ (Kh), དོ་པོ (Phalpo) (Am, Ts, La), དོ་པོ (Phalpo) (Am, Ts), ཁྱ་པོ/phya-po/ (Kh).

'thin' (tissue): རྒྱ་པོ (Ü, Ts), རྒྱ་པོ (Am, Ts, La), རྒྱ་པོ (Phalpo) (Ü, Ts), རྒྱ་པོ/ta-po/ (Kh).
Reduplication of the stem

The reduplication of the stem is a common way of forming some adjectives, for example: སྡུང་ཤེས་ CHUNG~CHUNG 'small' (Û, Ts), སྡུང་ཤུང་ THUNG~THUNG 'short' (Û, Ts), རིལ་རིལ་ RIL~RIL 'spheric' (Û, Ts, etc.), སྒོར་སྒོར་ SGOR~SGOR 'round' (Û, Ts, Kh), ཁྱིར་ཀྱིར་ KYIR~KYIR 'round' (La), བྱུང་ནགས་ LHOD~LHOD 'relaxed' (Û, Ts, Kh, etc.), སྑེལ་སྒོ སྒོ་ DMA~DMA 'low' (Kh), རྒྱ་པྲ་ PHRA~PHRA 'thin' (Kh), རྟགས་གྲོས་ GALE~GALE 'slow'22, སྙན་ mANG~MANG 'numerous', སྦྱོན་ SRAB~SRAB 'thin, fine (tissue, cloth)' (Û), གཞོན་གཞོན་ GZHON~GZHON 'young' (Û, Ts).

In many dialects of Kham, reduplication is used to form color adjectives: ཉོ་ཐུར་ DKAR~DKAR 'white', བུད་ནག་ NAG~NAG 'black', ཚུལ་དམར་ DMAR~DMAR 'red', གཉེན་ཤེས་ SER~SER 'yellow', རྒྱུ་ནས་ SNGO~SNGO 'blue', འབྲོ་ལུ་ SKYA~SKYA 'grey' (see also Bartee 2007).

Stems followed by a reduplicated syllable

Stems followed by a reduplicated syllable, are a common way of forming adjective in some Tibetic languages such as Û, Tsang, Kham, Dzongkha or Lhoke. In many
dialects, these constructions usually convey an expressive meaning and function as ideophones (see below, 8.1.8).

The following examples are from Central Tibetan:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{'bright blue/green'}, \quad \text{DMAR LHAB~LHAB} \quad \text{‘blazing burning red’}, \quad \text{DMAR THING~THING} \quad \text{‘bright red (blood)’}, \quad \text{GRANG SIL~SIL} \quad \text{‘biting cold’}, \quad \text{TSHASOB~SOB} \quad \text{‘warm as toast (pleasant heat)’}, \quad \\
&\text{‘quite calm’}, \quad \text{GTXching HRIL~HRIL} \quad \text{‘clean as a whistle’}.
\end{align*}
\]

In Kham, \textit{SKalzang 'GyurmEd} & \textit{SKalzang DByang.can} (2002) have shown that these constructions are extremely productive and convey a lot of semantic nuances. For example, they listed the following expressions just for the various types of \textit{NAG} ‘black’ in Bathang (Kh) but did not provide the translations that could render the various uses and subtle nuances of these ideophones. Here is the list (with some translations that we added):

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{‘deep black’}, \quad \text{NAG TING~TING} \quad \text{NAG KHAB~KHAB} \quad \text{‘blue, turquoise, etc. (or other color) with shades of black’}, \quad \text{NAG THO~THO} \quad \text{‘at night, unclear forms’}, \quad \text{NAG ‘GA’~‘GA’}, \quad \\
&\text{‘deep water with dark or black color’}, \quad \text{NAG LDING~LDING} \quad \text{‘dark, not very clear, at dusk’}, \quad \text{NAG CHIS~CHIS} \quad \text{‘a lot of animals (such as yaks) seen from a distance making a dark shape’}, \quad \\
&\text{‘a group of people or animal hardly visible in the dark’}, \quad \text{NAG SUB~SUB} \quad \text{‘black clouds as a sign of hail’}.
\end{align*}
\]

In Amdo, we find similar constructions:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{‘entirely blue (for the sky)’, \quad \text{SNGO DWANGS~DWANGS} \quad \text{‘entirely green (for fields)’}.}
\end{align*}
\]

For a detailed description of the same constructions in Lhoke, see Yliniemi (2019).

In Dzongkha and Choča-ngača, these constructions no longer convey an expressive meaning and are used to form many basic adjectives:
Compound adjective made of noun and an adjective

Adjective compounds are frequently found in Tibetic languages. They are usually made of a noun followed by an adjective. Frequent compositions include in Central Tibetan:

- གསལ་འོག = GSAL TOG~TO (Lit. 'clear'), དྲང་འོག = DRANG TOG~TO (Lit. 'straight, honest'), སྐྱིད་འོག = SKYID TOG~TO (Lit. 'happy, pleasant'), འཇམ་འོག = JAM TOG~TO (Lit. 'easy', simple') (< CT འཇམ་ DGA' 'soft'), བྱུང་འོག = KHAM.GTXANG TOG~TO (Lit. 'clean'), རྒྱ་འོག = RGYAGS.TO.RII~RI (Lit. 'fat'), བྲག་འོག = DGOD.BRA.SI~SI (Lit. 'funny'), བྲལ་འོག = SKYID TONG~SI~SI (Lit. 'pleasant'), འཇམ་འོག = JAM TONG~SI~SI (Lit. 'easy, simple'), འབྲུལ་འོག = BVYA CHI~KI (Lit. 'nice').

These stems are respectively derived from CT forms: གསལ་ GSAL 'clear', དྲང་ DRANG 'straight, honest', སྐྱིད་ SKYID 'happy, pleasant', འཇམ་ JAM 'soft', etc.

In other modern languages, these constructions are also attested e.g. in Dzongkha and Kham: གྲུགས་འོག LAKHAG.PO (Lit. 'difficult') (Lit. 'thin work'), ལྱིང་འོག DKA'.LASKHAG.PO 'difficult' (Lit. 'hard action'), ཤེན་སློ་པོ་ ZHED.SXANG TSHA.PO (Lit. 'hot fear'), སྲུང་འོག GONG CHEN.PO 'expensive', དྲུག་འོག NYEN.KHA TSHA.PO 'dangerous' (Lit. 'hot danger'), གཞལ་འོག GAL.CHEN.PO 'significant' (Lit. 'great load'), སྲུང་འོག RIGS.TSHA.PO 'sacred' (Lit. 'great root'), སྲུང་འོག GYO.SGYUTSHA.PO 'sly' (Lit. 'hot deceit'), སྲུང་འོག RGYUMA.CHEN.PO 'lymphatic, slow' (Lit. 'long intestine'), བྲག་འོག KHAM.BEI.PO eloquent (Lit. 'good mouth'), བྲག་འོག KHA.TSHA.PO 'vulgar (speech) /spicy (food)' (Lit. 'hot mouth'), སྲུང་འོག THAG.RING.PO (Lit. 'long distance/rope'), སྲུང་འོག THAG.NYE.PO (Lit. 'near distance/rope'), སྲུང་འོག LO.CHEN.PO (Lit. 'big age'), སྲུང་འོག YUN.RING.PO (Lit. 'long time, laps') 'long (for time)', གཞལ་འོག GAL.CHE.BA 'important, significant', བྲག་འོག GONG.CHE.BA 'expensive' (Lit. 'great price'), རླུང་འོག TSHWA.KHA.PA(Kh) 'salty' (Lit. 'bitter salt'), etc.
Nominalized verb phrases used in CT to translate Sanskrit adjectives

These nominalized verb phrases are used as lexicalized adjectives:

- བསམ་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་པ་ (BSAM.YUL.LAS.DAS.PA) ‘inconceivable unbelievable’;
- མི་ཕན་ཏུ་མི་འཁྱབ་པ་ (GYI.MI.KHYAB.PA) ‘inconceivable, unfathomable’;
- བསམ་གྱིས་མི་འཁྱབ་པ་ (BSAM.GYI.MI.KHYAB.PA) ‘inconceivable, unfathomable’;
- འཇིགས་སུ་རུང་བ་ (JIGS.SU.RUNG.BA) ‘frightening, scary’;
- ལེགས་རྒྱུས་ཐེན་པོ་ (GRANGSKYI.MTEN.PA) ‘uncountable, innumerable’;
- འཇིག་ཤིང་ཚོགས་ (JIG.SHTING.TSHOGS.BA) ‘indispensable, essential’;
- བསྭ་བ་ཐུབ་པ་ (BSLU.BA.TUB.PA) ‘inevitable’;
- སྐད་བུ་བྱུང་བ་ (SMA.DU.BYUNG.BA) ‘wonderful’.

Construction of the adjectival predicate

In the Tibetic languages, adjectives function in a similar way as “intransitive (or monovalent) stative verbs”. Some authors even prefer to use the category of “stative verb” (Hoshi 2003, 2016) or “descriptive verb” as opposed to a class of “real adjectives” (see Bartee 2007). In many languages they are followed by a relator or suffix derived from a nominalizer, plus an auxiliary verb. The attested relators are – བ (PA/BA) (Ü, Ts, TN, also attested in CT), ཟེ (LE) (HN, northern Kh), ཟ ད (NI) (Am).

The construction can be represented by the formula below: \( \text{ADJ} + \text{REL} + \text{AUX} \).

For example, ‘is bigger’ translates as གཞག་བཞིན། ཡེ་ (CHE.BA.DUG), དཔེ་ནོར། ཡེ་ (CHE.LE.RED), དཔེ་ནོར། (CHE.NI.RED) depending on the language. In some languages such as Ü, the auxiliary may be dropped: \( \text{ADJ} + \text{REL} + \text{AUX} \). In other languages, such as Southern Kham, Dzongkha and Choča-ngača, etc., the adjective generally occurs without any auxiliary or relator.

Comparative constructions

There is a certain diversity of comparative constructions throughout the Tibetic linguistic area. The comparison implies two elements: the “comparee NP” (abbreviated as CompNP) and the “standard NP” (abbreviated as StandNP) as in the
following examples respectively from Common Tibetan, Southern Kham, Ladaks and In Choč-nača (in Bhutan):

(12) 'BRONG G’YAG-LAS CHE.BA ('DUG)
drong yak-ABL big REL AUX
‘Wild yaks (drong) are bigger than (domestic) yaks.’ (Ü, ComTib)

(13) 'BRONG G’YAG-BAS CHE
drong yak-COMP big
‘Wild yaks (drong) are bigger than (domestic) yaks.’ (SKh)

(14) 'BRONG G’YAG-GA’Y.SANG CHE.YA YOD.KYAG
drong yak-GEN-COMP big-NMLZ EXV+FACT
‘Wild yaks (drong) are bigger than (domestic) yaks.’ (La)

(15) NGA-WA.TA KHYOD RGAS
1sg-COMP 2sg OLD
‘You are older than me.’ (Cho)

The standard NP often comes first and then the comparee NP occurs before the adjective. This order is probably the preferred or unmarked order. However, the reverse order is also attested and depends on the discursive parameters (topic, focus).

Here are the main comparative constructions attested in the Tibetic languages:

1. The comparee is marked by a case (comparative or ablative). The adjective may be marked by a comparative suffix (as in English ‘-er’) or has a positive form (unmarked). Thus in ex.12, the meaning could be rendered as “from the yaks, the wild yaks are bigger” and in ex. 13, as “from/than the yaks, the wild yaks are big.”

2. The comparee occurs in a subordinate clause. In English, it would correspond to: “If we consider the yaks, the wild yaks are bigger.” The verb BLTAS ‘to look’, ‘to consider’ is normally used in the subordinate clause.
3. The comparee occurs in a paratactic clause. The sentence structure could be rendered as "(I) won’t talk about the yak, the wild yaks are bigger." The verb ZER ‘to talk, to say’ is used in the paratactic clause.

The first construction is probably pervasive in the Tibetic area. See the examples above.

There is some diversity in the case used for the comparative: depending on the language, it may be derived from the CT comparative བས། BAS (Dz, Cho, Kh), ablative ལས། LAS (Ü, Ts, YK, Lho), elative ཕས། NAS (Kh), ergative ཡིས། YIS (Kh: Mi) (see below 8.1.9.). Additionally, a few markers are found such as ◊ སང། SANG (La, Sp, TN: Gegyä), ◊ སུམ། SUM (TN: Gar, Tsanda; Kk), ◊ ཇེས། DES (Kh: Ro, Sn). In a few southern Kham dialects and Sharkhok, one also encounters dissyllabic markers for the comparative: /kɔ ʰa/, /kɔ ʰo/. Examples:

(16) ◊ གང་སང། བསྐྱོད་མཐོ་བ།
NGA-SANG KHYOD MTHO-BA
1SG-COMP 2SG tall-CS
You are taller than me.’ (Tö Ngari: Gegyä; Qu and Tan 1983: 191)

In Ladaks, the compare NP is also followed by the morpheme SANG but it is usually preceded by the genitive or, more frequently, the dative case:

(17) ◊ དཔལ་ལྡན་ཉེ་རང་ངིས། རིང་མོ་འདུག
DPAL.LDAN NYE.RANG-NGI-SANG RING.MO DUG
paldan nyerang-ngi-sang ringmo duk
Paldan 2SG-GEN-COMP tall EXV
Paldan
‘Paldan is taller than you.’ (La)

The same meaning may be expressed by the dative:

(18) ◊ དཔལ་ལྡན་ཉེ་རང་ངུས། རིང་མོ་འདུག
DPAL.LDAN NYE.RANG-NGA-SANG RING.MO DUG
paldan nyerang-ngi-sang ringmo duk
Paldan 2SG-DAT-COMP tall EXV
Paldan
The second construction is frequent in Amdo as shown in the example below:
Let’s illustrate the third construction. It is found in Minyak Rabgang:

(21) གཡག་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་མེད འབྲོང་ཆེ་དོ།
G ′YAG-ZER-RGYU-MED ′BRONG CHE-DO
yak say-NMLZ+NEG+EXV drong big-SENS
‘Drong (wild yaks) are bigger than (domestic) yaks.’ (Kh)

Zeisler (2018c) mentions similar constructions of juxtaposition to convey comparative meanings in various dialects of Ladakh but also in Literary Tibetan. Her article also shows the diversity of available constructions within the Western Tibetic languages.

Superlative constructions

Morphology

The superlative may function as a predicate adjective or as an attributive adjective. In many Tibetic languages (Ü, Ts, YK, TN, Dz, etc.), the superlative form is composed of the stem followed by a superlative suffix such as ཤོས་SHOS usually followed by a copulative verb when it has a predicative function.

For example, in Common Tibetan:

(22) ཆེབ་འདི་ཡག་ཤོས་རེད།
DEB 'DI YAG-SHOS RED
book DEM good-SUP be
‘This book is the best.’ (Ü, ComTib)
In some languages, the superlative suffix མོས SHOS is replaced by another suffix such as བ་ BA as in Derong-Jol (Kh) or བོ BO in Ladakh.

(23) ིི་ཐུ་དཔེ་ཆ་ཚང་མའི་ནང་ནས རྒྱལ་ལ་བོ་ཡིན་ནོགDEM book all GEN in-ABL best-NMLZ be+FACT

‘Among all the books, this book is the best.’ (La)

In a number of languages of eastern Tibet, the superlative is formed by adding the intensive marker སེ་CHES ‘the most’ (Lit. ‘great(ly)’):

(24) ིི་གེ་ཐེས་ཕྱུག་།YI.GE CHES PHYUG-NL.RED
most rich-STAT
‘(It) is the richest.’ (Am)

(25) ིི་གེ་ཐེས་ཡག་མོ་རེདYI.GE CHES YAG.MO RED
book most good be
‘This book is the best.’ (Kh)

To convey a superlative meaning, other intensive markers are also encountered in some languages, particularly Amdo and Kham.

ལ་ཐུ་གིས་A.THUR.GIS (Am) probably of Mongolian origin (Simon, pers. comm. 2020), སེ་ཤེད་སེ་SHED.SE (northern Kh), ཀུན་KUN (Kh: Sn) (Lit. ‘all’).

Additionally, in some dialects, the reduplication of the comparative form is also attested for the superlative, as in Bathang (Kham):

(26) ིི་གེ་འག་ཐེས་ཡག་པ་YI.GE YAG.BA YAG.BA
good-CS good-CS
‘The best.’

Syntax of the superlative construction

The comparee is usually introduced by a postposition བེད NANG in’ followed by a case which varies according to the regions. The case is normally derived from the
following CT cases: the elative ནས NAS, the ablative ལས LAS and the locative མ་ N.A.

In some dialects, a specific inessive case is found /na/.

For example let’s illustrate the attribute function:

(27) སློབ་མ་ཚོའི་ནང་ནས་ཆུང་ཤོས་སུ་རེད། SLOB.MA-TSHO’-I NANG-NAS CHUNG-SHOS SU RED student-COL-GEN in-ABL young-most who be

‘Who is the youngest of the students?’ (Lit. ‘from the students’) (Ü, ComTib)

(28) སློབ་མ་ཆོའི་ནང་ནས་ཨ་ཐུར་གིས་ཆུང་ནི་བོ་རེད། SLOB.MA-CHO’-I NANG-NAS ATHUR.GIS CHUNG-NI-BO SU RED student-COL-GEN in-ABL most young-NMLZ-DEF who COP(CT)

‘Who is the youngest of the students?’ (Am)

And then the predicative function:

(29) སློབ་མ་ཚོའི་ནང་ནས་མ་མོ་མ་རེད། SLOB.MA-TSHO’-I NANG-NAS CHUNG-SHOS RED student-COL-GEN in-ABL young-most be

‘(S/he) is the youngest of the students.’ (Ü)

(30) སློབ་མ་ཆོའི་ནང་ནས་མ་མོ་མ་བོ་རེད། SLOB.MA-CHO’-I NANG-NAS ATHUR.GIS CHUNG-NI-BO RED student-COL-GEN in-ABL most young-NMLZ-DEF be

‘(S/he) is the youngest of the students.’ (Am)

Other adjectival constructions and meanings

Several Tibetic languages (e.g. Ü, Ts) have additional suffixes which indicate ‘excessive’ (‘too much’), ‘attenuative’ (‘a little bit’), ‘interrogative’ (‘how+adj+?’), ‘intensive’ (‘very+adj’), ‘mirative’ (‘how+adj+!’). They directly follow the adjective stem and are not used after reduplicated stems. (See e.g. Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003; Yliniemi 2019; Haller 2000, 2007, etc.)

23. The nominalizer NI followed by the definite marker is usually pronounced as /no/ (see Robin & Simon, forthcoming).
For example ཁེ་དྲགས་ CHE-DRAGS 'too big' (U), སྦོམ་དྲགས་ SBOM-DRAGS 'too big' (Dz), གཟིང་རིང་ལོས་ THAG-RING-LOS 'how far?' (U), ཆུང་ཙམ་ CHUNG-TSAM 'a bit small' (U), སྐྱིད་པ་ལ་ SKID-PA LA 'how nice!' (U).

These suffixes are normally used in predicative constructions. (See also the section on "verb phrase.")

Adverbial functions of the adjectives

Tibetic languages just as many linguistic families of the world do not have a "true category" of manner adverb. In order to render the meaning of manner adverbs, these languages use adjectives sometimes followed by a case (usually the dative R).

(31) མགྱོགས་པོ(-R) མཇལ་ཡོང་ MGYOGS.PO(-R) MJAL-YONG quick(-LOC) see-come
    'See you soon (Lit. 'quick').' (U, ComTib)

(32) གོམ་སྟབས་ MGYOGS.PO GOM.STABS pace quick
    '(A) quick pace.' (U, ComTib)

When the adjective is used as an "adverb" it may not only be marked by a case as mentioned but also has a distinct syntactic position and often occurs before the verb.

The syntax of adjective

In most Tibetic languages, adjectives are postposed to the noun: Noun + Adj. This is also the case in CT.

However, in Balti and Purik, the adjectives usually occur before the noun: Adj + Noun. The position of adjectives is one of the important syntactic features that distinguish Ladaks from Purik and Balti.

The anteposition of the adjective is also possible in CT and even Common Tibetan to indicate a restrictive function, but the adjective must be followed by a genitive: Adj + Genitive + Noun.

In Balti and Purik, since the adjective normally precedes the noun, the genitive is not required unlike in CT.
Thus, for example the sentence མཁྱི་ནག་པོ་ཅིག་ KHYNAG.PO.CIG 'a black dog' (Lit. 'Dog black a') in Common Tibetan and many languages becomes in Balti and Purik ནག་པོ་མཁྱི་ཅིག་ NAG.PO.KHYI.CIG (Lit. 'Black dog a'). Here are other examples: རྙིང་མ་ནོག་བུ་ RNYING.MA SHOG.BU /'nyingma shogbu/ 'old book', སྣོ་མ་ཟམ་པ་ SNGON.MA ZAM.PA /nakpo 'gyuma/ 'black intestine', བདེ་མོ་ཡུལ་ BDE.MO.YUL /'demo yul/ 'a nice village', སྔོན་པོ་མིག་ SNGON.PO.MIG /'sngonpo mik/ 'blue eye'.

In most languages, as mentioned above, adjectives typically occur as post-head modifiers. However, when a speaker wishes to place special emphasis or focus on an adjective, the adjective may also be placed before the head. The following examples are from Common Tibetan:

(33) ཆད་ཀྱི། ༄་ཐོ་ བསྟན་པ་ རུང་ DKGAR.PO-İ MO.TA GSAR.PA GA.PAR DUG white-GEN car new where EXV+SENS
WHERE IS THE NEW WHITE CAR? (Ú, ComTib)

(34) བསྟན་པ་ ཆད་ཀྱི། ༄་ཐོ་ རུང་ GSAR.PA-İ MO.TA DKGAR.PO GA.PAR DUG new-GEN car white where EXV+SENS
WHERE IS THE NEW WHITE CAR? (Ú, ComTib)

8.1.8. Ideophones

A morphological category which is pervasive in the Tibetic languages and often found in many ST languages is the category of “ideophones” which are used as adjective predicates (see above) but also have an adverbial function.

Ideophones convey a vivid representation of an idea in the form of a sound. From a semantic point of view, they have an expressive and emotional function and convey subjective and often intense perceptions of sound (in which case, they are normally derived from onomatopoeias), color, smell, form, or events. For Beck (2008) quoting Doke (1935), the term “ideophone” refers to onomatopoeic or synesthetic expression which “are distinguished as a group by syntactic, morphological, and /or phonological
properties, tend to have an emotive function and are associated with spoken and dramatic registers of speech.”

Ideophones are distinguished in Tibetic languages by their morphology: they are normally quadrisyllabic (with an echo reduplication) but some may be disyllabic (Yliniemi 2019). These ideophones are found in the entire Tibetic area but they may vary a lot in their forms and semantics.
evil', 

For a detailed description of ideophones in Purik and Lhoke, see respectively Zemp (2018) and Yliniemi (2019).

Dramatizers

In some Tibetic languages, one also finds a category of words called dramatizers also called intensifiers that "may be viewed as a subcategory of ideophones" (Zemp 2013a), but have also specific features. They usually precede a verb. Dramatizers are also attested in other Tibetan languages such as Ladaks (Zeisler pers. comm.), Yolmo (Hari and Lama 2004), and Jirel (Strahm and Maibaum 2005).

Here are some examples of dramatizers found in Purik (Zemp 2013a): 

For a detailed description of ideophones in Purik and Lhoke, see respectively Zemp (2018) and Yliniemi (2019).

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Here are some examples of dramatizers found in Purik (Zemp 2013a): 

8.1.9. Case marking

The modern languages have preserved to a certain extent fundamental features of the CT grammatical cases (see 6.6.1). They are often multifunctional and some cases may serve as connectives when placed after a verb or a nominalized verb. In some languages, certain cases are optional (see e.g. Tournadre 1991; DeLancey 1991, 2011a). The grammatical cases of the Tibetic languages are morphologically clitics and normally atonal (Huber 2002; Graves 2007; Tournadre 2010; Yliniemi 2019). Their host is the last element of the noun phrase which can be a noun, an adjective, a plural (or collective) marker, a numeral or a determiner. These characteristics of case marking are valid for all the Tibetic languages.

24. Sources: Mélac et al. (2014), sKALBEZANG’GYURMED & sKALBEZANGdBYANGCAN (2002), CTDT, Lama Sangye, Khyungpo (p.c.), Hua & KLU BUM RGYAL (1993) and the BKA’GDAMS GLEGS BAM.
The distinction between case affixes, clitics and adpositions is not always easy to make (Spencer & Luis 2012). Tibetic case markers are normally not considered as suffixes: it is easy to demonstrate that the markers occur once at the end of the noun phrase and they do not have other properties of suffixes. Some scholars such as DeLancey (2003a) or Strahm & Maibaum (2005: 809) have considered that Tibetan cases are actually more like postpositions. There are however some arguments suggesting that they behave like enclitics. First, the Tibetan case markers may never occur alone (without the noun) unlike adpositions which often have this property (cf. English, it's under/after/on, etc.) and they form a prosodic word (together with their host). Tibetan case clitics may not be coordinated unlike some adpositions (in and out, on and off). They often undergo morphophonological alterations depending on the host phonological context, etc. However, the case clitics do sometimes exhibit properties which are also shared by adpositions, such as the possibility of combining together two markers (cf. English in-to, on-to, with-in, up-on, etc.). For both CT and modern Tibetic languages, this phenomenon is attested. Here are some examples: /nesu/ (ablative+purposive) in Spiti, Khunu and upper Ladakh (see also Zeisler 2011, 2018a), /le-gi/ (locative+genitive) in Yolmo, /du-ki/ (purposive+ablative) in Jirel, etc., but such combinations remain quite exceptional.

As we have seen in chapter 6, the CT system can be described as consisting of 10 cases. They include grammatical cases: absolutive (Ø), ergative གྱིས་GYIS, dative ལ་LA, and local cases, purposive དུ་DU, comitative དང་DANG, elative ནས་NAS, ablative ཀྲས་LAS, genitive གྱི་GYI, locative ན་NA, and comparative བས་BAS.

These markers have been inherited in the modern languages, although no language has preserved the totality of the cases.

**Ergative**

Ergative marking derived from the CT form གྱིས GYIS or its conditional allomorphs གྱིས GYIS, གྱི YIS, etc. (see chapt. 6) is attested in all the modern languages. Various reflexes are found: /-gi/ (Ü, Ts, etc.), /-ği/ (Dz), /-ka/ (Kh) /-ya/ (Sk), /-ya/ (Sn: Gyt), /-i/ (Bu, Pu), /-ze/ (Sham), etc. In many languages, the forms of the ergative forms have merged with those of the genitive or are very similar with the latter. In most languages, the ergative is morphologically identical to the instrumental but the ergative
and instrumental roles differ in their syntax. In some languages such as Ladaks, the comitative case ཀྲ་ DANG is used instead to convey the instrumental function (ex. ‘to write with a pencil’).

Ergative constructions are present in all the Tibetic languages with very few exceptions (such as Baima), but the grammatical functions of the ergative may vary substantially. First the number of the “action verbs” that trigger the ergative constructions may differ for the various languages, but “action verbs” always constitute the major verb class. For example, from a semantic point of view, some verbs which denote perceptions such as ‘to see, to hear’ or even emotions ‘to love, to fear’ are treated as “action verbs” (with a subject in the ergative) in some languages, while they are considered respectively as “reception verb” (with a subject in the dative/aesthetive case) and as “emotion verbs” (with a “subject” in the absolutive).

In a canonical way, the ergative marks the Agent of a transitive verb (A), i.e in our terminology an “action verb”, see below the verb classes). It is used with both controllable and non-controllable verbs (see below the section on lexical verbs). In a few languages such as Amdo, the ergative is essentially used in this canonical way. In some languages such as Purik, Balti and Ladaks, the ergative construction is restricted to controllable verbs (see Zeisler 2007, 2011).

However, in many languages, there are restrictions to this pattern. The ergative may be only compulsory with the completed25 aspect and optional with the uncompleted aspect and the future. This “optionality” of the ergative in some environments has been described by several authors (see Tournadre 1991, 2010; DeLancey 2011a). Whenever the ergative is not compulsory, it may indicate a pragmatic sense of emphasis or contrast. This “pragmatic ergativity” attested in many Tibetan languages is also found in other TB languages (LaPolla 1995). In some languages such as Baima, the ergative

25. About verbal aspect in Tibetan see section 8.4.1 We use the terms “completed” and “uncompleted” avoiding the terms “perfective” and “imperfective” which correspond to notions found in some specific aspectual systems such as Slavonic languages or some Indic languages (see Guentchéva 2016).
or agentive is even more restricted and used mainly to disambiguate two potential agents (Chirkova 2005).

Finally, the ergative may also be used with intransitive controllable verbs, to create an emphasis on the agent. This specific function is attested in some languages as Ü (see Tournadre 1991, 1996a), Tsang or Kyirong (Huber 2002), Sherpa (Graves 2007). It is also found (albeit not frequently) in the Classical language (see Kesang Gyurmé 1992; Tournadre 1996a, 2010; Hoshi 2016).

**Absolutive**

The absolutive marks both the intransitive "subject", S and the grammatical patient of a transitive verb, P. It is always unmarked in all Tibetic languages. As we have mentioned above, in some languages, the absolutive marking of an intransitive subject (S) may alternate with the ergative. When there is an emphasis on S or P, the absolutive may be replaced in some languages by a dative (see Tournadre 1996a; Simon 2011; Zeisler 2007, 2012a).

**Dative**

The dative ལ་ LA has been inherited in many languages, but it has a lot of realizations in modern languages such as: /-la/ (Ü, Ts, Lo, etc.), /-lo/ (Lh), /lu (Dz), /-le/ (Kh, Cho), /-la/ (Kh), /-a/ (La, Am), /-e/ (Cho), etc. The dative is used to mark the grammatical beneficiary (also called recipient) and in some cases the grammatical patient. Additionally, in virtually all the Tibetic languages, the "subject" of the possessive constructions is generally marked by the dative and the possessed object is indicated by the absolutive case. For this special dative function, Zeisler (2007) has coined the term "aesthetive" case26 (see also Tournadre 2010 about the various functions of the dative and the traditional grammatical treatment of this case).

**Purposive**

Reflexes of the purposive case (also called "terminative case", Hill 2011) དུ་ DU and its allomorphs དུ་ ཅུ་ -R, དུ་ -SU, etc. (see chapt. 6) are rarely found in modern languages,

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26. Tournadre (2010, 2012) has proposed to call this grammatical role "recipient", "possessor" or "ceptor".
with the notable exceptions of Purik and Balti (see Zemp 2018). Forms derived from the CT purposive case also appear at least marginally in Zhikatse (see Haller 2000) and they also occur in other dialects as fossilized expressions such as ལྷག་པར་དུ་ LHAG.PAR-DU ‘particularly’, ཉགས་པར་དུ་ NGES.PAR-DU ‘certainly, definitely’ (Ü) or བྱད་ དུ་ཡོང་ YID-DU.YONG ‘to remember’ (Lit. ‘come in mind’) (La).

**Comitative**

The comitative case conveys the meaning of ‘with’ in English. Forms derived from the comitative དང་ DANG are attested in many languages across the Tibetic area, however in most modern languages, it is mainly used as a connective. In some languages, it is still used as a grammatical comitative case (Ü, La). In Ladaks and Purik, the comitative is also used to convey the instrumental meaning (“by”). The form ལ་ LA or its variant ར་ -R, which corresponds to the dative in CT, are used in Amdo for this function (see Simon 2016).

**Genitive**

Reflexes of the genitive འ་ GI or its conditional allomorphs འ་ GYI or འ་ YI, are found in all modern languages under various forms: found /-gi/ (Ü, Ts, Dz), /-ka/ (Kh), /-ɣə/ (Sk), /-yə/ (Sn: Gyalthang), /-i/ or /e/ (La, Ba, Pu), etc. The genitive (together with a nominalizer) is also used to form relative clauses in most modern languages (as in CT). What follows is a description of the ablative LAS in CT:

**Ablative**

Tournadre (2010) provided the following description of the ablative LAS in CT: The meaning of the ablative is rather specific and much more restricted semantically than the elative NAS. Semantically, it indicates the spatial origin when the figure is on the surface of the referent (and not inside). Thus, for example རྟ་ལས་བབས་ RTA-LAS BABS ‘(s/he) dismounted the horse’, X was on the back of the horse (and not inside the horse!). It is the same with: བྲག་ནས་ལྷུང་ BRAG-NAS LHUNG ‘(s/he) has fallen from the rock.’ For these meanings, LAS and NAS are practically equivalent: བྲག་ནས་ལྷུང་ BRAG-NAS LHUNG ‘(s/he) has fallen from the rock’ and རྟ་ནས་བབས་ RTA-NAS BABS ‘(s/he) dismounted the horse.’ However, in most examples, LAS does not simply indicate the spatial origin but rather the origin of a transformation: the object (or the being) from which, something is extracted, generated or produced. In these cases, the replacement...
of *LAS* by *NAS* is impossible as show the examples below. བ་ལས་འོ་མ་བྱུང་ *BA-LAS* [cow-ABL:ORI] 'The milk comes from the cow', རོ་ལས་མར་བླངས་ *OMAR-LAS* [milk-ABL:ORI] *MAR* + Ø *BLANGS* 'One takes (extract) butter from milk'. (See also Hill 2011, 2012a.)

Many modern languages no longer make a distinction between ablative and elative. However, reflexes of the ablative ལས /LAS are attested in a few modern languages such as Lhoke and Dzongkha. They are generally not found in Kham. In Ü and Tsang, *LAS* is attested but only has a comparative function (see below).

**Elative**

The elative indicates the provenance or the source. The elative ས་ /NAS is quite pervasive in modern languages, but some southern languages, such as Dzongkha, Choča-ngā, etc. do not have a case derived from *NAS*. In some languages, the elative may also be used (rarely) to convey an ergative meaning. This is the case in formal speech in Common Tibetan (see Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 1998, 2003) and Amdo (see Simon 2016).

**Locative**

Forms derived from the locative ས /NA are attested nearly all the modern languages, however the locative case meaning has been preserved only in some languages such as Amdo, Lhoke, Dzongkha (in a marginal way).

In most other languages (Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, etc.), ས /NA only functions as the conditional 'if' (after a verb) and no longer conveys a locative case function. In some languages, the conditional is marked by a construction which includes a form historically derived from the case marker *NAS* such as: བ་ཅེ་ནེ་ *BA.CE.NE* (Lho) (see Yliniemi 2019), བ་ཅིན་ *BA.CIN* (DZ) < ? CT བར་མཆིས་ན་ *BAR.MCHIS-NA* 'NMLZ+EXV' + if' lit. 'If there is'.

It is worth noting that many Amdo varieties have developed an opposition for the locative depending on the verbal aspect: ས /NA is used in the uncompleted aspect whereas ས /NAS /ni/ is used in the completed aspect. (See Sung & *LHA BYAMS RGyal* 2005: 254.)
Comparative

Forms reflecting the comparative བས་ BAS are only found in a few languages such as Dzongkha under the form འབ/ -wa/ (van Driem 1998), Choća-ngaća with -wata/ (Tournadre & Karma Rigzin 2015) and some dialects of Kham under the form /-peʔ/.

For the comparative function, some languages (Ŭ, Ts, Lho) use the ablative བས་ LAS. A number of Western languages use the comparative case བས་ SANG which is not attested in CT (La, Sp, TN: Purang, Gexye), བས་ SANG (Sham).

Summary of the characteristic of modern case systems

Most modern languages have a simplified case system and have undergone syncretism. For example, as mentioned above, several languages mark the ergative GIS in the same way as the genitive GI in some morphological contexts, thus exhibiting a partial syncretism (cf. Am, YK, Zkt, Dz), but personal pronouns usually maintain the distinction. The elative NAS and the ablative LAS functions are no longer distinct. The locative NA and dative LA have usually merged into a single function. The function of the comparative ablative case LAS and the comparative case BAS are also no longer found together in a single language.27

The minimum number of case markers is probably 4: absolutive, ergative/genitive, dative/locative and ablative. Many case systems consist of 5 cases: absolutive, ergative,28 dative, genitive, and ablative. In some languages (Gyalthang, Kongpo, Spiti, etc.), the ergative has a very marginal status and mainly a pragmatic function.

Others case systems may have up to 7 or 8 cases (La, Kh: Ro, Kh: Zhollam, Dz). The frequently attested case markers include absolutive, ergative, dative, genitive, locative, ablative, comparative, comitative and instrumental.

Some languages are currently developing new casual morphemes for the inessive (‘in, on’), the adessive (‘close to’), the comparative (‘more than’) or even the ablative

27. Even Classical, or Old Tibetan, no longer had an opposition between these two cases, and it seems the use of BAS versus LAS is more a matter of style (archaic versus innovative).
28. In CT, the "agentive" subsumes both ergative and instrumental functions. However in modern Tibet languages, one encounters systems whereby the ergative is morphologically different from the instrumental. Thus we use here the term “ergative”.
('from'). However, the grammaticalization is often not complete. These morphemes are derived from the following terms: 'GO' 'top' or 'MGO' 'head' > 'on', 'NANG' 'inside' > 'in' (both in Kh, Dz), 'RTSA' 'root' > '(close) to' (Lho) and 'SANG' 'comparative' (La, Sp, TN: Purang, Gegye) which may be derived from CT 'RTSA-NA; KHA' 'mouth, surface' > 'KA' a locative case in Purik and Ladaks (see e.g. Zemp 2018). A special form for the ablative is used in 'DAS' in Rongdrak Kham and Zhollam, but its origin is unclear.

8.1.10. Number

Number is usually not compulsory in the Tibetic languages and it is not comparable to the opposition singular/plural in European languages.

For these reasons, we will use here the term “collective marker” (COL) rather than “plural marker” (see Jan Rijkhoff 2001a-b).

In fact, there are reasons to consider that number is not entirely grammaticalized in Tibetic languages. There is no specific form for the singular. There are markers that do indicate “plurality”; however, this type of marking is not obligatory as in the European languages and it is always absent with a numeral.

(35)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BU.MO</th>
<th>GSUM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(The) three girls.’

(36)  

* | BU.MO | GSUM-TSHO |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl</td>
<td>three-COL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intended meaning: ‘(the) three girls.’

(37)  

* | BU.MO-TSHO | GSUM |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl-COL</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intended meaning: ‘(the) three girls.’

Additionally, collective markers indicate that the referent is a non-singleton set and not simply a multiple of singular objects (books) or collectives (families). In many
cases, the use of collective markers (or “plural” markers) is restricted to definite and animate beings when it is directly affixed to the head nouns, but they may be used with inanimate entities when preceded by a demonstrative.

The collective marking is more systematic in the Western regions (Ladakh, Baltistan). In all the Tibetic languages, collective markers appear as clitics that are either postponed to demonstrative or the definite article and appear before the case morpheme:

- **NOUN-DEM-COL-CASE**
- **dem-NOUN-def-COL-case**

or directly to the noun as:

- **NOUN-COL-CASE**

Thus, in Common Tibetan we have:

(38) བུ་མོ་ཚོ། BU-MO-TSHO
    girl-COL. 'The girls.'

(39) དགེ་རྒན་ཚོ། DGE-RGAN-TSHO
    teacher-COL. 'The teachers.'

(40) བླ་མ་ཚོ། BLA-MA-TSHO
    lama-COL. 'The lamas.'

(41) བུ་མོ་དེ་ཚོ། BU-MO-DE-TSHO
    girl DEM-COL. 'Those girls.'

(42) དགེ་རྒན་དེ་ཚོ། DGE-RGAN-DE-TSHO
    teacher DEM-COL. 'Those teachers.'

(43) བླ་མ་འདི་ཚོ། BLA-MA-’DI-TSHO
    lama DEM-COL. 'These lamas.'

The collective markers may be derived from one of the morphemes used in literary Tibetan for this function. They include the following markers:

- **ཀུན་ KUN** particularly in the western regions of Ladakh, Baltistan and Spiti. In Baltistan and many dialects of Ladakh **KUN** has some variants /kun/, /gun/,
and after vowels: /un/, /ung/. KUN is also attested in southern Kham such as Gyalthang and sDerong-nJol (/kè/), and the variant /küntsäʔ/ KUN-TSHAD is used in Ngari (Gar).

- **TSHO** particularly in Central Tibet and Dzongkha (where it is written ཆོག TSHO) but also attested in Amdo: /zo/ (Am: Xunhua),

- **TSHAMS-(CAD)** in Kham < CT `all`.

- **TSHANG,MA** or simply ཁྱད TSHANG are widespread in the Tibetic area,

- **RNAMS** used e.g. in Kham,

- **DAG** in Ü and Tsang.

- **CAG**. The various forms མཚན /kyaʔ/ (in Tö and Nagchu), /kyaʔoN/ མཚན (Hor: Amdo), /-kya/ (Kyirong), /-yo/ (Chamdo), /-ya/ (Yolmo, Mustang), and possibly /-kyäʔ/ (Lhasa) as well as མཚན /-sak/ (Ladaks, Purik) are probably all derived from CT མཚན CAG.

- **GANG,PO** < CT `all` is used for `collective for animate beings` (Cho).

- **RIGS/-rak/ (Am, Kham: Derge; see Häsler 1999) < CT `type`.

- **TSHANG /sang/ or /zang/ < CT `nest`. Amdo: Xunhua and many other dialects (see Simon 2016).

- **GRAL`row, line` (Tsang).

- **CHABO** (Am) or CHO (Amdo) < CT `a pair, a couple`.

- **SLO.SKOR /logo/` (Thewo). The origin of this collective marker is unclear.

Most collective markers are clearly derived from nouns. That is the case of TSHO and TSHANG, respectively derived from of མཚན TSHOGS`assembly, group`, and TSHANG`nest`. The Amdo marker /čaο/ may be derived from CHA-TSHANG`entirely, all` or from CHA`pair`. The collective marker RIGS

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29. According to Koshal (1979, 2005), /sak/ is used as a free variant of /kun ~ gun/. According to Zeisler (pers. comm.) this is restricted to the Sham dialects.

30. This type of derivation is attested in many languages throughout the world. See e.g. Mauritian Creole (cf. plural marker /ban/ < French bande `a set, a gang`).
is derived from the noun 'type'. The Tsang collective marker ་བོ་ 'GRAL' comes from the noun 'row, line'.

Here are some examples respectively with the markers RNAMS, CHABO, GRAL, NG (KUN), RIGS:

(44) རྟ་རྣམས། RTA-RNAMS 'the horses' (Kh: Derge)
(45) ཁོས་རྣམས། GOS-RNAMS 'the clothes' (Kh: Derge)
(46) ◊ ཁ་པེ་ཆ་པོ། DPE-CHA-CHA-BO 'the books' (Am: Labrang)
(47) ◊ ཁ་པེ་གྲལ། DPE-CHA-GRAL 'the books' (Ts: Zhikatse)
(48) ◊ བུ་མོང། BU-MO-NG (< BU-MO-KUN) 'the girls' (Ba)
(49) ◊ བུ་མོག་གྲལ། MYI-RIGS 'the people' (Am).

In some languages, several types of collective markers may coexist (Simon 2016). For example, in some Amdo dialects (Yadzi, Hualong), གཤེས་ TSHANG, གཤེས་ RIGS, དེ་ CHO are used with slightly a different meaning.

8.2. Postposition phrase

Just as CT, all the modern Tibetic languages have postpositions. The use of prepositions is not attested in the Tibetic languages. Postpositions are diachronically derived from relator nouns. The term "relator noun" has been used by some authors such as DeLancey (2005) to describe a functional category which is neither reducible to the category of lexical noun nor to that of adposition. We chose to use the term of "postpositions" rather than "relator nouns" because they show a higher degree of grammaticalization, similar to postpositions. For example, depending on the languages, the postposition is not always followed by a case and often occurs in a construction which corresponds to:

NP-POST

However, the postpositions clearly retain some nominal properties: in many cases, the postpositions govern a genitive case on the noun and are often marked by a spatial

31. The collective probably indicates definite reference in most cases but this needs further research.
case usually the dative, the locative, the elative or the ablative and in some cases the genitive.

The basic structure of postposition phrases are as follows:

NP- (case: GEN) POST- (case: DAT/LOC/ELA/ABL)- (TOP/ADM)

For example:

(50) ར་ཁང་ (གི་) སྟར།
    ZA.KHANG(-GI) NANG-LA
    restaurant (-GEN) interior-DAT
    ‘In the restaurant.’ (Ú, ComTib)

(51) ཀ་རྫོང་ཁག་ (གི་) སྟར།
    RDZONG.KHAG(-GI) NANG-LAS
    district (-GEN) in-ABL
    ‘Among the districts.’ (Dz)

(52) ར་ཁང་པའི་ (གི་) སྟར།
    KHANG.PA'-I RGYAB-LA
    house-GEN back-DAT
    ‘Behind the house.’ (Ú, ComTib)

(53) ཀ་ཁང་ (གི་) སྟར།
    KHANG.BA-(GI) LTAG.GA-NA
    house (-GEN) back-LOC
    ‘Behind the house.’ (Am)

(54) རི་འགོ་སྟེང་ (གི་) སྟར།
    RL.GO-STENG
    mountain top-on
    ‘On the top of the mountain.’ (Kh)

In many languages, the genitive case following the noun is optional and in other languages the use of the genitive is ungrammatical. The optionality depends on various morphophonological parameters (final vowel or consonant and the number of syllable) as well as the style (formal or casual). This optionality is also found in CT.
The spatial case following the postposition is also omitted in many languages, as shown in the Kham example above ('on the mountain'). Thus, the structure NP-POST is quite frequent.

It is interesting to note that this strategy to develop postpositions from nouns has been followed in the entire family but using different lexical items (see the list below).


As one can notice from the list above, a number of relator nouns indicate body parts such as ‘head’, ‘mouth’, ‘back’, ‘cheek’, ‘heel’, ‘rib’, which reflect the general anthropomorphic trend of human languages.

In a more marginal way, postpositions may derive from other categories such as verbs and include compound postpositions: རྒྱུན་SKOR ‘about’ < CT verb ‘to circle, go around’, རྒྱུན་‘MAGTOGS’ ‘except’ < CT NEG+verb ‘belong’, རྒྱུན་‘NANG.BZIN’ ‘alike, like, same’ < CT, རྒྱུན་‘TSOGS’ (La) ‘alike, like, same’ < OT རྒྱུན་‘STOSGS’ (La) ‘STOSGS (-PA)’ and the like, etc.’.
Most of the spatial and temporal postpositions such as སྔོན་ SNGON 'before', གོང་ GONG 'before', རྗེས་ RJES 'after', etc. also function as connectives and occur after nominalized verbs.

8.3. Verbal predicate

In the Tibetic languages, the verb may be preceded or followed by various markers indicating direction, negation as well as tag, direct questions or jussive. The verb is often followed by an auxiliary. Auxiliation plays a major role in the Tibetic languages. Additionally the verb phrase may also include a modal verb.

Two structures should be distinguished for the verbal predicate:

- the verb occurs without an auxiliary
- the verb is followed by an auxiliary which indicates tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality.

8.3.1. Predicate without auxiliary verb

In the former case, which is less frequent, one essentially finds two basic structures may be preceded or followed by various clitic markers indicating the direction (DIR), the negation (NEG), interrogation (Q), marked by prefixed interrogative markers (PQ) or final interrogative markers (FQ), tag questions (TAG) and jussive mood (JUS) as shown below. In some languages of the family, the verb itself may be inflected (FLEX), and the inflections may be inherited from Classical Tibetan (see chap. 6) or innovative (see 8.3.2., below).

Depending on the languages and on the various tenses (or TAM), one finds the following sequences of markers for the verbal predicate:

a) (DIR)-(NEG)-VERB[FLEX]-(FQ/TAG/JUS)

b) (DIR)-(PQ)-VERB[FLEX]-(TAG)

The main difference between the constructions (a) and (b) is the position of the interrogative marker.

In (a), the interrogation is indicated by a sentence-final question marker (FQ) and it may co-occur with the negation which is placed in the position before the verb stem. In (b)
a prefixed question marker (PQ) precedes the verb and occupy the same slot as the negation in (a), and in this case the negation and the interrogative markers are incompatible.

Both the suffixed and the prefixed interrogative markers are found in CT, respectively as གི་ འམ་ (or its allomorphs) and མིན་ཞེ. Most modern languages have either prefixed interrogative marker derived from མིན་ or a postverbal interrogative marker. Some languages use མིན་ འབུ་ instead of མིན་. Postverbal interrogative marking is found in most languages whereas prefixed interrogative marking is dominant in Kham and Amdo. In the languages with a preverbal marking, one also finds postverbal markers, because as mentioned above, the prefixed interrogative marker is incompatible with the negation.

Thus, for example, for the copulative verbs ཡིན་ and རེད་, one finds respectively the interrogative: མིན་ཞེ- ཡིན་ and མིན་ཞེ- རེད་ as well as the negative forms མིན་ (the contraction of མ་ཡིན་) and མིན་ རེད་, but the combinations མིན་ཞེ- མིན་ (or མིན་ཞེ- མ་ཡིན་) and མིན་ཞེ- མ་པོ་ are not attested. In order to utter a negative interrogative sentence, one has to use final question markers: མིན་ཞེ- མིན་ (CT), མིན་ཞེ- མིན་ (Am), མིན་ཞེ- མིན (Ü, Ts), མིན་ཞེ- མིན (La), མིན་ཞེ- མིན (Kh), མིན་ཞེ- མིན (CT), མིན་ཞེ- མིན (Am), མིན་ཞེ- མིན (Kh).

This incompatibility has also been noted for Amdo by Sung and lHa byams rgyal (2005: 65), but it can be generalized to all the eastern Tibetic languages, which have preserved prefixed question markers (PQ). Thus, negative interrogative sentences are normally expressed by the structure (a), i.e. those using sentence final question markers.

However, the prefixed interrogative marker is compatible with a tag question:

(55) མིན་ཞེ- མིན་

ལོ་ འི་ཞིམ་ཆ་ (CHI)

PQ-be tasty-TAG

‘I wonder if it is tasty.’ (Am)

(56) མིན་ཞེ

ལོ- འི་ཞིམ་ (CHI)

PQ-CPV-TAG

‘I wonder if it is the case.’ (Am)
Another peculiarity of the negative marker is that it can be inserted inside a dissyllabic verb as shown in the following example which is inserted between the syllables \( HA \) and \( GO \) of the verb. \( ह་གོ \) 'to know, understand'.

\[
(57) \quad ह་མི་གོ
\]

\( HA \text{ MI-} \text{GO} \)

know-NEG-STEM

'I don’t know.' (Kh)

The predicate may be reduced to the verb alone. It is particularly frequent in the imperative constructions.

\[
(58) \quad འགོ
\]

'GRO

go (PRS)

'Go! / Let’s go!' (Ü, ComTib)

The various tenses are often marked by auxiliaries, but, in some languages, the verb alone may indicate tenses or aspects such as the aoristic past, the intentional future or the present.

\[
(59) \quad མ་སོང་།
\]

\( MA \text{-SONG} \)

NEG-go (PST)

'I did not go.' (Am)

\[
(60) \quad སྒ་བྱེད།
\]

\( NGA \text{ BYED} \)

1SG do (PRS)

'I will do it.' (Kh)

\[
(61) \quad རི་བྱིན།
\]

\( MI \text{-BYIN} \)

NEG-give (PST)

'(I) won’t give (it).' (Dz)
8.3.2. Predicate with auxiliary verb

In the Tibetic languages, the verb is usually followed by an auxiliary (the various auxiliaries are listed below in 8.3.3 and 8.3.4). The auxiliary may occur alone after the verb but is often accompanied by a relator (REL) which corresponds to a nominalizer (see 8.3.12) or to a connective such as GI, STE or NAS (see e.g. DeLancey 1991, 2011b; Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001) linking it to the lexical verb. The most frequent predicate structure attested in the Tibetic languages may thus be formulated in the following way:

VERB[FLEX]-REL-AUX

Auxiliaries are attested for all tenses, aspects and modalities including imperative and prohibitive as in the example below: predicate involving a directional, a negation and an imperative auxiliary:

(65) ག་ལ་འག་རོགས་

YAR-MA-'GRO-ROGS

DIR-NEG-go-JUS

‘Please, don’t come up here (towards me)!’ (Kh)

The relator (REL, in the scheme above) is sometimes morphologically fused with the auxiliary, but it may be separated from the auxiliary by the negation (NEG) or by the preverbal question marker (PQ). In various dialects (Ｕ, Ts, SKh, Am), the auxiliary
may be dropped (particularly in affirmative sentences) and the verb is then only followed by a connective.

Auxiliaries may also be used alone, without the verb, when answering questions as a way of saying ‘yes’ or ‘no’. On the other hand, a zero relator is also found in a paradigm of auxiliaries, e.g., in southern Kham, in which the zero relator is related to a completed aspect. 

In modern Tibetic languages, the relator and the auxiliary have often merged and one may analyze these forms as suffixes or verb endings as shown by Zeisler (2004). However, from a diachronic and comparative point of view, it is better to use the concept of auxiliary and we will continue to use this term, even if from a strictly synchronic point of view, the terms verb endings or verb suffixes are often more appropriate.

Another frequently attested structure includes a "secondary verb" which is inserted between the lexical verb and the final auxiliary. The secondary verb (see SKAL.BZANG 'GYUR.MED 1992; Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001; Bartee 2007; Yliniemi 2019) is a modal verb or an aspectual or directional auxiliary (see also below section 8.3.10):

VERB[flex]-SEC-(REL)-AUX

In some cases, the secondary verb occurs without auxiliaries (see examples below). In a few languages such as Amdo, one finds sometimes two secondary verbs in a sequence:

VERB[flex]-SEC1-SEC2-(REL)-AUX

32. This is also true in the variety of Common Tibetan spoken in the Diaspora. Depending on the analysis and the cases, some may prefer to consider that the relator is simply absent.

33. The auxiliary may also occur alone in some specific contexts, e.g. when answering questions. So it has retained some syntactic autonomy.

34. The term "secondary verb" (see SKAL.BZANG 'GYUR.MED 1992) was proposed by N. Tournadre to translate SKAL.BZANG 'GYUR.MED’s term BYATSHIG.PHAL.PA.

35. From a phonological and prosodic point of view, the various languages seem to behave differently. In Lhasa, the secondary (even preceded by the negation) forms one prosodic word while in Kham or Amdo, the verb and the secondary may constitute two prosodic words.
Additionally, after the auxiliary, one finds final interrogative suffixes (FQ), tag questions (TAG) and jussive markers (JUS).

\[
\text{VERB[ FLEX]} - \text{ (SEC)} - \text{ (REL)} - \text{ AUX} - \text{ (FQ/TAG/JUS)}
\]

As for the elements preceding a verb stem or an auxiliary, interrogative prefixes (PQ) and negative prefixes (NEG) are also frequently attested. The latter are found in all the Tibetic languages (see section 8.4.9), while the interrogative prefixes are mainly found in the eastern Tibetan languages of Amdo and Kham.

Interrogative and negative prefixes may occur in three syntactic positions: either before the lexical verb:

\[
\text{NEG/PQ} - \text{ VERB[ FLEX]} - \text{ (SEC)} - \text{ (REL)} - \text{ AUX}
\]

or before the auxiliary verb:

\[
\text{VERB[ FLEX]} - \text{ (SEC)} - \text{ (REL)} - \text{ NEG/PQ} - \text{ AUX}
\]

And finally, when a secondary verb is present, NEG and PQ may precede it:

\[
\text{VERB[ FLEX]} - \text{ NEG/PQ} - \text{ SEC} - \text{ (REL)} - \text{ AUX}
\]

The position of negative and interrogative prefixed markers depends both on the TAME meaning of a given language and varies from a language to the other.

Note again that since the negative and interrogative prefixes occupy the same syntactic slot, they may not co-occur. For negative interrogative questions, one has essentially two options:

a) One uses final interrogative suffixes with the negation before the auxiliary or the verb.

b) One uses interrogative prefixes before the auxiliary and raises the negative prefix before the verb (or secondary verb).

Additionally in some languages, the verb may be preceded by a directional marker (DIR).
Whenever a causative verb is present, it follows the main verb. This may be expressed by the formula:

\[ \text{VERB}[^{\text{FLEX}}]-[^{\text{REL}}]-\text{CAUS}-[^{\text{SEC}}]-[^{\text{REL}}]-\text{AUX} \]

Here is an example of this complex structure:

\[ (67) \text{ དེ་རིང་ ཆི་ཡིས་ དོ་ལོན་ན་ བཟ་མ་ བཟ་གི་འཇུག་མ་ཐུབ་ཐལ།} \]

\[ \text{DEERING} \quad \text{ʔA.YIS} \quad \text{LO.LON-NA} \quad \text{ZA.MA} \quad \text{ZA-}\text{GI} \quad \text{ÙGMA-THUB-THAL} \]

Today lady old-DAT meal eat-REL CAUS-NEG-SEC-AUX

'Today I could not make the old lady eat.' (Am)

ZA is the main verb, \( ÙG \) corresponds to the causative verb, THUB is a modal verb functioning as a secondary verb and THAL is the auxiliary.

In summary, the complete schematized expression of the predicate is:

\[ (\text{DIR}-)\text{VERB}[^{\text{FLEX}}]-[^{\text{DIR}}]-[^{\text{REL}}]-[^{\text{CAUS}}]-[^{\text{DIR}}]-[^{\text{MOD}}]-[^{\text{ASP}}]-[^{\text{QST}}]-[^{\text{FNL}}]-[^{\text{AUX}}]-[^{\text{FQ}}]/[^{\text{TAG}}]/[^{\text{JUS}}] \]

(Note that in some rare cases, there may be two secondary verbs, as above. Also, the negation may occur also before the lexical verb, the secondary verb or the causative verb).

In terms of morphosyntactic and morphosemantic categories, the main categories present in the verbal predicate are: (a) the lexical verb and the auxiliary (AUX) and (b) optionally causative and secondary verbs, (c) directional, relator, negative and interrogative markers.

This formula corresponds to the maximal expansion of the predicate.

Note that for Tormarong (Dongwang) Tibetan, Bartee provides a similar formula for the following expanded schematized expression (we added the bold outline):

\[ (\text{DIR}-)\text{NEG}-\text{VERB} (\text{CAUS}) (\text{DIR}) (\text{MOD}) (\text{ASP}) (\text{QST}) (\text{FNL} \ \text{AUX}) \]

However, this formula includes semantic categories which are not always manifested by autonomous morphological units, such as “modality”, “aspect” or “evidential”. These operators may be expressed by the final auxiliary or by the secondary verb.
Here are some examples:

(68) གླུ་ལེན་རྒྱུ་མ་རེད
GLU LEN-RGYU.MA.RED
song take[PRES]-REL+NEG+Aux
‘(He) won’t sing.’ (Am)

(69) ལོ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་པ་རེད
SGOR.MO MA-BYIN-NA NGA-S LAS.KA LAS-NL.MA.RED
1SG NEG-give[PAST]-if I-ERG.work work-REL+NEG+Aux
‘If he does give money, I won’t work.’ (Am)

A relator without any auxiliaries can appear depending on language. This is true for example, in Amdo and some eastern languages:

(70) ལོ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་པ་རེད
SGOR.MO PA-MA.RED
sit-REL-NEG-AUX
‘I will go.’ (Kh)

The following example illustrates the double auxiliation:

(71) བཞུགས་ཡོད་པ་རེད
BZHUGS-YOD-(PA)-MA.RED
sit-AUX-(REL)-NEG-AUX
‘(S/he) did not stay.’ (Ü, ComTib)

Other examples with prefixed interrogative and negative markers.

(72) ཥོ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་པ་རེད
GYO-RGYU-ʔE-RED
go[REL]-pq-AUX
‘Are you going?’ (Am)

(73) ལོ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་པ་རེད
MA-BZHUGS-PA.RED
NEG-sit-REL-AUX
‘(S/he) did not stay.’ [S/he refused to stay] (Ü, ComTib)
In some marginal cases, the verb may be separated from the secondary verb by a relator as in the following example:
8.3.3. Copulative and existential verbs

Concerning verb types in the Tibetic languages, it is necessary to distinguish between copulative and existential verbs (CEV), auxiliary verbs, secondary verbs and lexical verbs. As we will see the CEV verbs as well as auxiliary verbs play a fundamental role in the expression of evidentiality and epistemic modalities.

Copulative and existential verbs are essentially derived from equative verbs (‘to be’) as well as existence, posture and perception verbs.

As we will see, lexical verbs in section 8.3.6 may be divided into various verb classes based on their semantics and their syntactic structures. These verb classes have an impact on the behavior of evidential and epistemic auxiliaries. Some verb classes do not combine with certain types of auxiliaries. Thus, one should say that both CEV and lexical verb classes play a fundamental role in the functioning of the Tibetic evidentiality and epistemicity.

8.3.3.1. Copulative verbs

Copulative verbs function as a syntactic copula and generally correspond in English to the verb ‘to be’ but they additionally convey grammatical semantic values, namely evidential and/or epistemic meanings as well as the speaker’s stance. Thus, depending on the various Tibetic languages, they may indicate egophoricity, inference, factuality, etc. as shown below in 8.4.

This is one of the main characteristic features in the Tibetic languages. Each language and dialect may differ in the grammatical semantics conveyed by copulative verbs as well as the form of the verbs.

The copulative verb འབསྡད་ཅེས་ ‘to be’ attested in OT is found in all the Tibetic languages (with virtually no exception). In Dzongkha and Lhoke, it is spelled as འབསྡད་ འི. འབསྡད་ཅེས་ ‘to be’ has a
specific negative form མིན་MIN although the form མ་ཡིན་MA-YIN is marginally attested (in Dzayül).

Many compound copulative and auxiliary verbs are derived from this verb (see below 8.3.3.3):

Other frequent copulative verbs include:

- རེད་RED 'to be' [Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, To(P)]. The form /rak/ in Lo Mönthang (Mustang, see Kretschmar 1995) is probably cognate with /reʔ/ attested in Töpastoralists' dialects (Qu & Tan 1983).
- ◊སྦད་SBAD, ◊སྦེད་SBED or ◊བེད་BED [Ts, Lho] /'paː/, /'pie/; /'beʔ/ 'to be' < CT བྱེད་BYED 'to do' (pres); SKAL.BZANG 'GYUR.MED and SKAL.BZANG DBYANGS.CAN (2002) uses སྤེད་SBED (for Tsang) and ◊སྦཀ་SBAD is used for Lhoke in Sikkim. The variants ◊རྦ་RBA/ˊpaː/, ◊རྦོ་RBO/ˊpoː/, /ˋpaː/ [Ts: Nyemo, Lhokha] < CT ད་BYA 'to do' (fut.) are also attested. Concerning the origin of this auxiliary other hypotheses have been proposed such as ཧབད་'bad (Haller 2000) 'to make an effort, to strive', ཧབབ་'bab' to descend to coincide form དབའ་DBA (BOD.RGYA.TSHIG.MDZOD.CHEN.MO) a dialectal form for emphatic assertion, སྦཀ།SBAD attested in Old Tibetan with the meaning 'to send, to exhort, to encourage' but all these hypotheses are less convincing than the present form of verb བྱེད་BYED 'to do' or the future form ད་BYA which are already used as an auxiliary in CT (see SKAL.BZANG 'GYUR.MED 1992).
- ◊འདག'DAG 'to be' /'dak, 'daʔ/ (To[C]) < CT 'to be correct' and the variants: ◊འདད་DAD/ˊn daʔ/ (To[C], LJ), ◊ནགNAG/ˊnak/ (Lo), ◊ན་NA/ˊna/ 'to be' (Bro, in Bhutan) and probably Sherpa ◊ཛ་DZA/ˊdza/ (see also /da/ in Naaba, eastern Nepal), in /ˊNOG/ NOK/ (Sp, La, Eastern Sham).37 In some cases, the

36. This orthography RED would be the more appropriate to show the derivation from BYED. In many areas of the Western Tibetosphere, the yatak /y/ is dropped in the spoken dialects. The preinitial S in SBED is not etymological and used only for the pronunciation sake.

37. In the case of NOG, another possible etymology would be the verb ԴՈГ. Two arguments are in favor of this hypothesis: the change of the vowel /a/ to /o/ and the fact that in Ladaks, YIN.NOG has two entirely different meanings: one is the equivalent of YIN.ԴՈГ 'factual' and the other is the sensory visual inferential (see 8.4.3) which could thus be reconstructed as YIN.ԴՈГ.
verb is preceded by YIN: གིས་ GIS, YIN: 'DAG (Li), YIN: 'DA (Bro) (this form is 'inferential' (or 'acquired') as opposed to ིན་ NA 'factual' (or 'assimilated'), see Funk 2020), ཨིན་ YIN:DZA (Sh), ཨིན་ YIN:NOG (La, Sp).

Alternative candidates could be proposed such as ིན་ 'DA' 'to pass' (past: ིན་/past 'to pass') or ིན་ 'DOD' 'to desire, wish' but in both there is problem to explain the existence of a final /k/ in western To and Ladakh. So the best candidate is probably the verb ིན་ 'DAG' 'to be correct'.

In a marginal way, one also finds the following copulative verbs:

• ིན་ GIS 'to be' (Thewo),
• ིན་ ZIN 'to be' (Kh:Sn) and ིན་ SNANG 'to be' (Kh:Sn) < CT 'to appear',
• ིན་ GRAG 'to be' (Kh:Sn, Derge).

As we have seen above there are numerous forms for the copulative verb ‘to be’ in the Tibetic languages. However, in the great majority of languages, the verb ‘to be’ is derived from one (or several) of the 4 following CT roots: ིན་ YIN, ིན་ RED, ིན་ BYED and ིན་ 'DAG.

8.3.3.2. Existential verbs

In the languages of the world existence, location, possession and attribution are often expressed by different verbs (copulative, existential, possessive, stative, etc.) and various syntactic constructions. However, in many Tibetic languages, existence, location, possession and attribution are expressed by existential verbs. It seems a pervasive characteristic of the language family to express both the existence and the location through the same existential verbs.

Even when the four functions are conveyed by a single existential verb, they require different syntactic constructions. For example, the existential verb YOD or DUG indicate existence, location, possession and attributive, but each of these meanings is often related to a different argument position and case marking. See below the examples 82-85 in Common Tibetan:

38. ‘This verb is also used in the traditional Buddhist debate to mean “it is right.”'
Existence:

(82) གཡག་ དཀར་པོ་ གཅིག་ འདུག
yak white one
‘There is one white yak.’

Location:

(83) གཡག་ དཀར་པོ་ དེ་ སྤང་རི་ལ་ འདུག
yak white-DEF pasture-LOC
‘The white yak is on the pasture.’

Possession:

(84) སྤྱེ་རིང་ལ་ གཡག་ དཀར་པོ་ གཅིག་ འདུག
Tshering-DAT yak white one
‘Tshering has one white yak.’

Attribution:

(85) གཡག་ དཀར་པོ་ དཀོན་པོ་ འདུག
yak white rare
‘White yaks are rare.’

In some languages, the dative and the locative are marked in the same way and thus the possession and location constructions may sometimes look similar. However, the possessor usually occurs in the first position while the location complement occurs before the verb (in a neutral statement). This similarity of construction is not found in some languages (Amdo, Lhoke, Dzongkha, etc.) since the possession and the location markers have different forms.

Based on the analysis of Tokpe Gola and Common Tibetan, Caplow (2000) has coined the abbreviation ELPA to refer to the various function of the existential verb (Existence, Location, Possession and Attribution). This term has also been taken up by
various scholars such as Garrett (2001) and Gawne (2016) but, even if this term is useful, it cannot apply to all the Tibetic languages for various reasons.

(a) As mentioned above, the existential verb does not exhibit all the four functions in the Tibetic languages. For example, some Kham languages (such as Gyalthang and Lhagang) or the Sham dialect of Ladakh (Zeisler, pers. comm. 2020) do not use existential verbs to express the attributive meaning and use instead a copulative verb or something else.

(b) In some languages of southern Kham, the possession is expressed by an existential verb which is distinct from the existential verb expressing the other functions.

(c) In some languages such as Ladaks, the copulative verb \textit{YIN} ‘to be’ is sometimes used to express location.

We will thus continue to use the traditional and more transparent term “existential verb” in this book.

Additionally, just as with copulative verbs, existential verbs usually also convey grammatical semantic values, namely evidential and/or epistemic meanings. We observe different morphosyntactic constructions in the modern languages. The main differences between existential verbs in the various languages are related to the use of distinct verbs (ོད་ \textit{YOD}, ངེག་ ‘DUG’, གདའ་ \textit{GDA}, བོན་ \textit{SNANG}, གྲག་ \textit{GRAG}, see below), case marking and word order. It is worth noting that a few languages merely have one lexical verb, which is often the old existential CT verb ོད་ \textit{YOD}, but most languages have a paradigm of suppletive existential verbs to convey the various evidential and epistemic modalities.

The main existential verbs which convey the meaning ‘to exist, to have’ in the various languages are: ོད་ \textit{YOD} ‘to exist, to have’ (Ba, La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Am, E, Kh, Lho, etc.) or

Moreover, in many languages around the world existential verbs are used for a variety of functions, and thus this is not specific to Tibetic languages. For ex. in Russian the verb \textit{est’} is used for the existence, the possession and marginally the location. In Hebrew, \textit{yod} is also used for the existence and possession. What is specific to most Tibetic languages is to cumulate various syntactic and semantic functions and play an important role in the expression of evidentiality and epistemic modalities.
its archaic form འོད་ ’OD (Tö, Kh, Hor, etc.) and its specific negative forms: མེད་ MED ’NEG+exist’ (Ba, La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Am, Kh, Lho, etc.) or its archaic form མྱེད་ MYED ’NEG+exist’ (Kh, E, etc.). The verb འོད་ YOD is already attested in Old Tibetan.

The verb འདུག་ ’DUG or its variant ◊ ནག་ NUG < CT ‘to stay, to sit, to exist’ or other derived forms is also nearly pervasive. Reflexes of འདུག་ ’DUG are found in most Tibetic languages (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Sh, Dz, Lho). One should note that when the verb འདུག་ ’DUG is used as an auxiliary (see 8.3.4), or as a component of a compound CEV (see 8.3.3.3), it may take a lot of forms such as ◊ ནག་ NUG (Dz), ◊ བོ Tog (La), ◊ ཆུ GUG or the variants ◊ བུ TSUG and ◊ ཤུ TSHUG (La, Pur, Ba, Kh: Derge; see Koshal 1979; Zeisler 2017; Häsliger 1999), ◊ ི SI (Kh; SKAL.BZANG ’GYUR.MED & SKAL.BZANG DBYANGS CAN 2002), ◊ ZUG, often transcribed as ◊ རི ZIG (Am; ibid.).

Other verbs include གདའ་ GDA’ (Kh, Hor) < CT ‘to exist’ and maybe originally ‘to sit’ (see the derived form གདན་ GDAN ‘carpet’), ◊ ཨ GE or ◊ ཨ GI (Kh: Northern route), མཆིས་ MCHIS < CT ‘to exist’. The verb གྲག་ GRAG < CT ‘to sound, to be heard of’ (East Purik, Ladaks, Ladakh Jangthang, Garzha, Spiti, Tö, Kham) is also widely attested. ◊ ལིག་ SNANG < CT ‘to appear, to shine, to become visible’ is found in Phānpo (central Tibet), in the Pari (Hwari) dialect of Amdo in many varieties of Kham (Bathang, Gyālthang, Chathreng, Zhollam, Tormarong, etc.), in some languages of the northeast region such as Thewo, Čone, Drugchu, Sharkhok, and Khöpokhok in Gansu and Sichuan (see Suzuki 2012d; RIG’DZIN DBANG.MO 2013; Ebihara 2017), in the Nubra dialects of Ladakh and in Balti, notably Turtuk, Khaplu and Tyakshi dialects (see Ebihara 2014). This existential copula and auxiliary is also attested in the Pangi dialect spoken in Himachal Pradesh.

A few languages use different verbs to indicate “possession” vs. “existence/location” (e.g. respectively འོད་ YOD versus ◊ ལིག་ SNANG in Gyālthang). Additionally, in the southern area of Kham, ‘animacy’ is also reflected in the system of existential verbs (see Bartee 2007). Both copulative and existential verbs also function as auxiliary to indicate evidential and epistemic values. (see 8.3.10 and 8.4.3).
8.3.3.3. Compound CEV

Among the specificities of the Tibetic verb systems, we ought mention the existence of many compound CEV made of copulative and existential verbs. The old copulative and existential verbs ཡིན་ YIN ‘to be’ and ཡོད་ YOD combine with other auxiliaries according to the following patterns:

Copulative: ཡིན་ YIN +(NMLZ/CONN.) + AUX

Existential: ཡོད་ YOD +(NMLZ/CONN.) + AUX

These patterns are attested in most (if not all) the Tibetic languages:

Ex. of compound copulative verbs: [factual] ཡིན་པ་ རེད་ YIN PA RED (Ü), ཡིན་ནི་ རེད་ YIN NI RED (Am), ཡིན་འདག་ YIN DAG (LJ), ཡིན་གྲག་ YIN GRAG (La), [sensory or inferential evidentials]: ཡིན་འདུག་ YIN DUG (CT, Lho), ཡིན་ཙུག་ YIN TSUG or ཡིན་སུག་ YIN SUG (Ba, Pur, La), ཡིན་གྲག་ YIN GRAG (La, Kh: Bathang), ཡིན་འགྲོ་ YIN GRO (Ü, Ts, La, etc.), ཡིན་ཁུལ་ YIN KHLU (Ü), ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་ YIN PA RED (Ü), ཡིན་ཐིག་འདུག་ YIN THIG DUG (La), ཡིན་ཐིག་ལེ་ YIN THIG LE (La).

Ex. of compound existential verbs: [factual] ཡོད་པ་ རེད་ YOD PA RED (Ü), ཡོད་ཐིག་རག་ YOD THIG RAG (La), [epistemic]: ཡོད་ལེ་རེད་ YOD LE RED (Ü), ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་ YOD PA RED (Ü).

8.3.3.4. The main morphological and functional differences in the CEV

In the comparative charts below we find the main CEV attested in the Tibetic languages. The first chart illustrates the CEV in Western languages and dialects such
as Yö Ngari, Spiti, Ladaks, Eastern Sham, Western Sham, Eastern Purik, Balti (Turtuk, Hardas and Skardo).\(^{41}\)

### Chart VIII.1 – Differences in the CEV in the Western regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vis. sens.</strong></td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non vis.</strong></td>
<td>ཟྣང /nak/</td>
<td>ཟྣང /nak/</td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Endo.</strong></td>
<td>ཟྣང /nak/</td>
<td>ཟྣང /nak/</td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Auth. or Ego. Cop.</strong></td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Factual Cop.</strong></td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>ཀདུག /duk/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Auth. or Ego. Exist.</strong></td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Factual Exist.</strong></td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང /nang/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41. Some of the squares are left empty. This is the case of the factual category. This is due to the lack of precise data. The copulative verb ཕིན /yin/ and existential verb ཕིན /yot/ do exist in Balti and Purik as well as Ladaks. Despite the fact that the forms are identical or very similar, their grammatical meaning is quite different. They clearly convey an inferential meaning (often associated with as past tense) and not a factual one (see Zemp 2018). The difficulty is also due to the polysemy of some forms. For example, ཕིན /yin/ in Ladaks has two entirely different meanings: it functions as a factual marker and as a visual inferential. (See 8.4.3.) For simplicity’s sake, we have grouped together the authoritative and egophoric categories (see also 8.4.3.5).

42. This form may originally come from ཤེག /ste/ DUG.
In the chart below are the main CEV attested in the Eastern and Central languages and dialects such as Thewo (eastern section), Amdo, Northern Kham, Hor, Tsang and Ü.

**CHART VIII.2. – Differences in the CEV in the Central and Eastern regions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eastern S.</th>
<th>Amdo</th>
<th>NKham (Derge)</th>
<th>Hor, NKham</th>
<th>Ü (Phänpo)</th>
<th>Ü, Tsang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sens (Vis., Non-vis. Endo.)</td>
<td>སྣང་ /n'õ/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yoda/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /da/ etc.</td>
<td>སྣང་ /nang/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yoda/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egophoric cop.</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yin/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yin/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yin/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yin/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual cop.</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yod/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yod/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yod/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yod:/, /ba:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego. exist.</td>
<td>སྣང་ /ye/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /ye/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /ye/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /ye/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /ye/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual Exist.</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yelegi/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yonire/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yolere/</td>
<td>སྣང་ /yore:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally in the southern languages such as Sherpa, Dzongkha and Lhoke, we find the following CEV:
As we can see from the above comparative charts, the main CEV present both morphological and functional variations. However, the main CEV found in the majority of the Tibetic languages are essentially derived from the CT verbs འོད་ YOD, བྱེད་ BYED, འདག་ DAG, བཀྲ་། ། གདའ་ GDA', ཀྲག་ GRAG, ཀྲན་ SNANG, རྡེ་ RED and དུག་ DUG. Concerning the evidential functions of the CEV see 8.4.3.

8.3.4. Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs play a central role in the marking of tenses, aspects and modal categories. They are used with all the tenses and convey evidential and epistemic values as well as the speaker’s stance. Additionally they also may convey intentionality, directionality and deontic meanings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authoritative cop.</th>
<th>Lhoke</th>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egophoric cop.</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual cop.</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authoritative exist</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego. exist.</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual exist.</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
<td>འོད་ YOD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see from the above comparative charts, the main CEV present both morphological and functional variations. However, the main CEV found in the majority of the Tibetic languages are essentially derived from the CT verbs འོད་ YOD, བྱེད་ BYED, འདག་ DAG, བཀྲ་། ། གདའ་ GDA', ཀྲག་ GRAG, ཀྲན་ SNANG, རྡེ་ RED and དུག་ DUG. Concerning the evidential functions of the CEV see 8.4.3.

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Auxiliary verbs play a central role in the marking of tenses, aspects and modal categories. They are used with all the tenses and convey evidential and epistemic values as well as the speaker’s stance. Additionally they also may convey intentionality, directionality and deontic meanings.
Auxiliaries are mainly derived from the copulative and existential verbs (CEV, see above) as well as motion or transfer verbs. As mentioned in 8.3.2., the auxiliary may occur alone after the verb but is often preceded by a nominalizer or a connective.

Aside from the CEV, the list of the main auxiliaries found in the various Tibetic languages includes:

- **evidential auxiliaries:** སོང་ SONG < CT 'to go' (Ü, Ts, Sh, Lh), ཐལ་ THAL < CT 'to go' (Hor, Kh, Am, Sharkhok, etc.), ཡོང་ YONG < CT 'to come' (Ü, Ts), ཁེ་ ZHE (or the variant ཁེ CE (Lho, Cho) as well as ཁེ Yi or the variant ཁེ CI (Dz) < ? CT ལམ་ MCHIS 'to exist, to come', ཡོང་ BYUNG (Ü, Kh, Lh) < CT 'to become', ཀྲོ་ BZHAG < CT 'to put' (Am, Ü), ཡོང་ MYONG < CT 'to taste', རང་ DGOS < CT 'to need', ཁེ THON 'to come/go out' (Kh: Gyälthang).

- **epistemic auxiliaries:** གྲོ་ GRO < CT 'to go'

- **jussive auxiliary:** ཤོག་ SHOG < CT ངས་ GSHEGS 'to go' (H).

Most auxiliaries verbs are already found in CT. Only a few verbs found in the modern languages have no obvious correspondences with Classical forms (they appear with the sign ◊ in the list above and in the CEV list in 8.3.3.). One should note that a number of these verbs were already used as auxiliaries in CT; ལེང་ YIN, ལེད BYED, ཕུང་ SNANG, ལེགས་ DUG, ལེགས་ GDA, ལེགས་ MCHIS, ལེགས་ GRAG (see 8.3.3.1. and 8.3.3.2.).

The auxiliary རེད་ RED 'to be', attested in Central Tibetan, Kham and Amdo, appeared in some texts, already in the 14th century (Shao 2016) but was not widespread in CT. The copulative verb འཛད་ DAG < CT 'to be correct' used in Tö Ngari, Spiti and Ladakh is not reported as an auxiliary verb in CT.

Some auxiliaries such as ◊ རེད GI (Derge, Lithang) are considered as dialectal and do not have obvious correspondence in CT. The same is true for the past auxiliaries found in Dzongkha and Lhoke: ◊ ཁེ ZHE or the variant ཁེ CE (Lho, Cho) as well as ◊ ཁེ Yi or the variant ཁེ CI (Dz). These forms may derive from the CT verb ལེགས་ MCHIS (van Driem 1998).
8.3.5. Secondary verbs

Secondary verbs play an important role in the marking of modal categories. They mainly indicate deontic, intentional as well as directional values.

The term secondary verb (see section 8.3.2) was coined by Tournadre in his translation of Kesang Gyurmé’s grammar (1992) to render the expression བྱ་ཚིག་ཕལ་པ་ BYA.TSHIG.PHAL.PA used by SKAL.BZANG’GYUR.MED (1981). From a syntactic point of view, secondary verbs correspond to the second verb of serial verb constructions and are derived from converbs (see DeLancey 1991, 2011b; Yliniemi 2019; Zeisler 2004, 2019). As we have seen earlier (8.3.2), the secondary verbs occur after the lexical verb and before the auxiliary.

Although secondary verbs resemble auxiliaries and, in some cases, may even function as auxiliaries, it is important to distinguish them for several reasons:

(a) They generally convey modal, aspectual as well as directional values, but unlike auxiliaries, do not convey epistemic and evidential values.

(b) The secondary verbs are in most cases not autonomous and must be followed by auxiliaries.

(c) Unlike many “true auxiliaries”, secondary verbs are normally not preceded by relators.

(d) They are slightly less grammaticalized than auxiliaries and are more related to the lexical meaning of the verb.

Some verbs may function as auxiliaries in some languages whereas they function as secondary verbs in other languages. For example, the verb SONG ‘to go’ is an auxiliary in Central Tibetan and Sherpa while it is a secondary verb in Amdo and Dzongkha. Both functions may coexist within a single language. Also, དགོས DGOS ‘to need’ is both a secondary verb and an auxiliary in Common Tibetan as appears in the examples 86 and 87 below:

(86) གངས་བྱེས་དགོས། NGA-S BYAS-DGOS
1SG-ERG do+FUT+BEN+EGO
‘I will do it (for you).’ [benefactive meaning]
In the first example above, *DGOS* has a benefactive function and refers to an action which the speaker proposes to achieve for the hearer’s benefit. In this function, *DGOS* is a future benefactive auxiliary conveying an egophoric intentional meaning (only compatible with the 1st person singular, and sometimes plural, of a controllable verb) whereas in the second example, it is a secondary verb with the modal meaning ‘need’.

Secondary verbs are attested in most modern languages such as Amdo (see Ebihara 2005; Tournadre & Shao, forthcoming), Dzongkha (van Driem 1998), Spiti (Hein 2007), Common Tibetan (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 1998, 2003), (Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001), etc.

Frequently attested verbs include བཏང་< CT 'to send', སོང་< CT 'to go' (past, both attested in Amdo and Dzongkha), ལོག་< CT 'to go (PRES)', དེ་'ONG / དེ་'YONG 'to come'. Additionally, van Driem (1998) mentions for Dzongkha the verb མཆིས་< CT 'to exist, to go') and provides explanations that show the status of “secondary verb” although he does not use this notion and calls it an auxiliary.

In the following examples of serial verb constructions in Common Tibetan and Amdo (but also many other dialect groups), the secondary verb occurs after the lexical verb: དེ་ བཏང་< CT 'to take away', དེ་ རོག་< CT 'to go (PRES)', འགྲོ་< CT 'to go (PAST)', and སོང་< CT 'to go (past)' (Hor, Kham, Amdo, Sharkhok, etc.), བཞག་< CT 'to put' (Am, Lho), བཏང་< CT 'to send' (Am, Dz, Sp, Lho),...
More rarely other verbs are also attested: ཕིགས་ ‘command, send’ (Kh, Nagkerak) (Bartee 2014), །རུང་ ’to give’ (Kh: Gyalthang), ཉིན་ ’give’ (Dz) to give’ [applicative], གཞིན་ ‘to give’ (Dz), ཉོ་ ’to scatter’ (Dz), བཞིན་ ’to put’ (Minyak Rabgang, nJol Kh).

Modal and psychological verbs: སྨན་ ’to be allowed’, མྱོང་ ’to want’, སྒྲ་ ’can’, ནཱ་ ’can’, སྨན་ ‘may’, སྨན་ ‘want’, མྱོང་ ’to experience, to taste’, ཞིན་ ’to finish’, སྨན་ ’to finish’, ླྀྦས་ ’to finish’ (Dz), ཀན་ ’to be time to’, སྨན་ ’to know’, སྨན་ ’to dare’, སྨན་ ’to count, to have the intention to’, སྨན་ ’to think’, འིང་ ’to think’, གཞིན་ ’to be about to’, ེན་ ’to have the time to’, སྨན་ ’to be able’ (Sh) or the related form found in Kham མོ ’to be able’ (Kh: Nagkerak, Tormarong), གཞིན་ ’can, to be able’ (Am), མོ ’to be able’ (Dz)

As shown above most secondary verbs found in the modern languages have direct correspondences in CT, with only a few exceptions (appearing with the sign ◇ in the list above) that do not seem to be reflexes of CT forms.

8.3.6. Lexical verbs
For lexical verbs, we will examine various semantic, syntactic and morphological categories such as controllability, valency, and inflection.

As in other languages of the world, the verbs may be intransitive/monovalent or transitive/bivalent.43 In the case of bivalent verbs, from a semantic and syntactic point of view, it is necessary to distinguish the various classes of lexical verbs: verbs of action, reception, emotion, and association. (See the section 8.3.4.4.)

8.3.6.1. Verb classes
Action verbs designate physical, verbal and mental actions but extend to other semantic types such as sensory perceptions or psychological states. Action verbs constitute

43. As we will see below it is better to speak in terms of semantic valency for the verbs and thus use the terms monovalent (rather than intransitive) and bivalent (rather than transitive).
the great majority of lexical verbs in the various languages, probably up to 90% of the verbs. E.g. རྡུང་ Rdung ‘to beat’, བསོད་ Bsd ‘to kill’, བཟ་ Za ‘to eat’, བི་ Bri ‘to write’, ཁྱུད་ Khrud ‘to wash’, འིན་ Len ‘to take’, མཐོང་ Mthong ‘to see’, ལེན་ Len ‘to take’, བཤད་ Bshad ‘to say, explain’, ཡོ བྲི། Yobri ‘to recite’, བསམ་ Bsam ‘to think’, རྗེ་bzang Bzangs ‘to forget’, བཤེས་ Shes ‘to know’, རིག་ Rig ‘to see, to know’ ལོག་ Mthong ‘to see’, འོ་ GO ‘to hear’, གྲོག་ Tshor ‘to feel’, སྣུམ་ Snun ‘to smell’. They also include a great number of compound verbs such as བསམ་བློ་བཏང་ Bsam.Blo.Btang ‘to reflect (upon)’, བསམ་ལས་ Kaz.Byed ‘to work’ or its equivalent in the various languages བསམ་ལས་ Las.Kalas (Kh), བྲི་ལས་ Bli.Las ‘to work’, བསམ་འབད་ Bsam.Bad (Dz). As we will see below, the ‘subject’ or grammatical agent (A) of these verbs is marked by a special case called ergative.

**Reception verbs** designate processes directed towards a goal or receiver and also serve to indicate the possession. The list of reception verbs is very limited and comprises of a dozen verbs. However, these verbs are very frequent. They include: འོ་ོབ་ YoThob ‘to obtain’, འབོ ཁྱུད་ GsBrjed ‘to forget’, འོ་བྱོར་ YoByor ‘to receive’, འོ་ཕོག་ YoPhog ‘to be struck’ as well as some compound verbs such as འབོ མཐོང་ yoMthong ‘to dream’, འབོ རོལ་ yoRbial ‘to catch fire’, etc. Existential verbs (see section 8.3.1) such as ཡོད་ YoD, ཡོད་རེད་ YoD.Red, འདུག་ Dug, etc. which convey the meaning ‘to exist’, etc. also exhibit the same syntactic structure as reception verbs when they indicate possession. As we will see below, the ‘subject’ of these verbs is marked by the “aesthetive” or dative (see 8.1.7). In some western languages (Ba, Pur, Za, La), verbs of perception are also marked with the aesthetive and thus function in a similar way as the reception verbs.

**Emotion verbs** serve to indicate psychological attitudes or emotions such as ‘fear’, ‘love’, ‘surprise’, ‘wrath’, etc. As in the case of reception verbs, the list of emotion verbs is also very limited and contains a dozen verbs, some of which are very frequent. They

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44. The category of “subject” is not adapted to many Asian languages but we use it here for simplicity’s sake. See below the grammatical roles.

45. The first meaning of Skye is ‘to be born’. However when used with a dative complement, it means ‘to give birth’. (Lit. ‘To be born to someone.’)
include ལྷོ་ 'to love', ཐེ་ 'to fear', གྲ་ 'to fear', བུ་ 'to fear', as well as some compound verbs such as གོང་ཁྲོ་ལང་ 'to be angry', ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་ 'to be angry', སེམས་པ་ཤོར་ 'to be fall in love', རྡོ་རློ་ 'to be surprised', རྡོ་རློ་ 'to be astonished'. In CT one also finds verbs such as བྱམས་ 'to be kind', to love', སྦྱབ་ 'to be surprised', སྦྱབ་ 'to be astonished', བླུ་ 'to be stunned, surprised'. In CT one also finds verbs such as རྒྱལ་ 'to contradict, violate', གྱེ་ 'to be similar, comparable (with)', གང་ 'to meet (with)', བློ་ 'to meet (with)' (H), གང་ 'to tune with, to be in accord (with)', གྱེ་ 'to fight, to quarrel (with)', གང་ 'to fight (with)', གྱེ་ 'to associate (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with)', གང་ 'to mix (with), etc. As we will see below, the "subject" or experiencer of these verbs is marked by the absolutive and the object is marked by the dative.

Association verbs are used to indicate a separation or a contact between the "subject" and the "object" of the verb. These verbs have been noted by various scholars such as Beyer (1992), Kesang Gyurmé (1992), Wilson (1992), Hackett (2005), Hill (2004), Tournadre & Sangla Dorje (1998, 2003), Zeisler (2007). The list of association verbs also has a dozen verbs, but these verbs are less frequent than emotion or reception verbs. The list includes the following verbs: བློ་ 'to contradict, violate', སྦྱབ་ 'to be similar, comparable (with)', གང་ 'to meet (with)', བློ་ 'to meet (with)' (H), གང་ 'to tune with, to be in accord (with)', བློ་ 'to fight, to quarrel (with)', བློ་ 'to fight (with)', སྦྱབ་ 'to associate (with)', བློ་ 'join; connect; to stick together', བློ་ 'to meet be mixed up, with, to be merged with', བློ་ 'to mix (with)', བློ་ 'join, to connect, combining with', བློ་ 'join, to connect, combining', བློ་ 'to separate (from)', བློ་ 'to separate, to deprive', བློ་ 'to compare (with), etc. As we will see below, the "object" of these verbs is marked by a special case the "comitative".

As we have briefly mentioned, the lexical semantics has also an impact on the syntactic patterns and the grammatical cases. We will come back to this issue with more details.

It should also be noted that not all the modern Tibetic have preserved these four basic classes of verbs (see also below the section 8.3.6.4 on valency).

46. In Kesang Gyurmé (1992), Tournadre's commentary (in italics) of the Tibetan translation mentions the grammatical role of ཁང་ and provide a list of examples.
8.3.6.2. Controllability

One important feature of Tibetic languages is the semantic notion of "control" as noted by many authors (Tournadre 1996a; Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 1998, 2003; DeLancey 1986a, 1990; Huber 2002; Zeisler 2004, 2007; Haller 2000). Every verb that involves a potential agent or an undergoer can be either controllable or non-controllable and this constitutes a lexical property of the verb. As mentioned by Hoshi (2016), the concept of controllability does not apply to verbs that do not involve a potential agent. The marked category is "controllable" (+Ctr) and this category should be indicated in dictionaries and other lexicographic works.

The majority of action verbs are controllable verbs, but this class also includes non-controllable verbs. Perception verbs as well as physiological verbs (see example below) may be either controllable or non-controllable. Association verbs are either controllable or non-controllable, emotion and reception verbs are always non-controllable.

A controllable verb (abbreviated as +Ctr V) designates "controllable actions" i.e. actions which may be mastered by the agent and are intentionally performed, while non-controllable verbs (abbreviated as -Ctr V) refer to actions or situations that cannot be controlled by the agent or verbs that do not imply any agent. For example, verbs such as ལྟ་ 'to look at', རྨ 'to listen', རོ 'to go', འདི 'to learn', རི 'to eat' are controllable while verbs such as རུ་ 'to see', གོ 'to hear', རུ་ 'to understand', རེ 'to die' are non-controllable.

Some authors such as DeLancey (1986a, 1990), Tournadre (1996a), Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003), Hoshi (2003, 2016) have used the terms "volitional" versus "non-volitional" to designate the opposition "controllable" versus "non controllable", however these two classes of verb do not only depend on the agent’s will or volition, they also depend on the controllability of the given process or situation. For this reason, verbs like བུ་ 'to like', བུ 'to find' are non-controllable because the “subject” can not entirely control the process even if the latter implies some degree of volition: one may 'want to find/to love'.

Non-controllable verbs in the Tibetan have morphological and syntactic properties that are different from controllable verbs:
a) In CT, non-controllable verbs never have an imperative stem, while controllable verbs often have a special imperative form: as ལྟོས་ ‘look!’, ཉོན་ ‘listen!’, སོང་ ‘go!’, རོ་ ‘eat!’.

b) In CT and modern languages, jussive particle such as SHIG or DANG may not be used with non-controllable verbs while they are used with controllable verbs: ལྟོས-འིག་ ‘look!’, ཉོན-འིག་ ‘listen!’, སོང-འིག་ ‘go!’. But forms such as མཐོང-འིག་ ‘see!’; ལོས-འིག་ ‘hear!’. However, it seems that in a few dialects, the imperative and the prohibitive are acceptable with some verbs that allow a certain degree of controllability.

c) In CT and in many modern Tibetic languages, the ergative case generally is not used with non-controllable monovalent verbs (or “intransitive” verb) but is acceptable with controllable monovalent verbs: གྲོས་འིག་ ‘he will go’ but *གྲོས་འིག་ ‘he will die’.

d) In a number of modern languages (Ü, Ts, TN, Am, Ho, Northern Kh), intentional auxiliaries are not compatible with non-controllable verbs and may only co-occur with controllable verbs: བལྟས-འིག་ ‘I (have) looked!’ but not མཐོང-འིག་ ‘I (have) seen!’; སྤྱ་འིག་ ‘I will look (at it)’ but not མཐོང-འིག ‘I will see’. This phenomenon has been described by many authors such as Haller (2000), Qu & Tang (1983), Tournadre (1996), Huber (2002) and Zeisler (2004).

e) An additional distinction between controllable and non-controllable verbs is that the former may have up to three core or grammatical arguments while
the latter usually have only maximally two arguments.

f) In some languages, such as Balti and Ladaks, the morphological marking of the past with /s/ has been generalized for controllable verbs (Zeisler 2004).

One finds pairs of controllable and non-controllable verbs: ཇེས་ Nyan ‘to listen’ (+Ctr) vs. ལོ་ GO ‘to hear’, དུ་ LTA ‘to look’ (+Ctr) vs. འབོོ་ MTHONG ‘to see’. Such pairs are of course found in many languages of the world. However, in many Tibetic languages, the number of such pairs is quite high. For example, in Common Tibetan, one finds the following verbs: གཟེར་ཞེས་ GADMO BGAD ‘to laugh’ (+Ctr) vs. འབོོ་ཞེས་ GADMO SHOR ‘to burst into laughter’, ངུ་ NGU ‘to cry/weep intentionally’ (+Ctr) vs. ངུ་ཞེས་ NGU SHOR ‘to burst into tears’,

གཅིག་པ་བཏང་ GCIN PA BTANG ‘to urinate’ (+Ctr), 

གཅིག་པ་ཞེས་ GCIN PA SHOR ‘to urinate unintentionally’, ངུ་ཤོར་ NGU SHOR ‘to burst into tears’, གཉིན་པ་དྲོ་བཏང་ GCIN PO BTANG ‘to urinate’ (+Ctr), གཅིག་པ་ཞེས་ GCIN PA SHOR ‘to urinate unintentionally’, ངུ་ཤོར་ NGU SHOR ‘to burst into tears’, ངུ་ཤོར་ NGU SHOR ‘to burst into tears’.

As mentioned by Huber (2002), “many factors, including cultural differences, are involved in determining what are controllable versus non-controllable verbs in a given language.” For example, the monovalent verb ངུ་ NGU ‘to cry/weep’ is considered as a controllable verb in most Tibetic languages, a feature which might be surprising for speakers of European languages. The verb NGU ‘to cry’ is compatible with the ergative, with the intentional auxiliaries and with the jussive suffixes and also possesses a specific imperative form (see a-d). To give the meaning ‘to burst into tears’ (which is uncontrollable), one has to use a different verb construction: ངུ་ཤོར་ NGUSHOR. Some rare lexical verbs such as མཐོང་ MTONG ‘meet’ may function both as controllable and non-controllable depending on their behavior. This is also the case of some honorific verbs that are ambiguous such as ཤིགས་ GZIGS ‘to see, look at’ or འས་ PHEBS ‘to come, go, arrive’. In some cases, the two behaviors may trigger different case markings as shown by Zeisler (2007: 415). As shown above, in some cases, the controllability is marked by the light verb: ཡིད་དུ་ཡོང་ YID, DUYONG ‘to remember’ (-Ctr) verb, ཡིད་དུ་བཅོ་ YID, DBU CO (+Ctr) ‘to remember intentionally’.
8.3.6.3. Observability and endopathic marking

Another important characteristic of lexical verbs in the Tibetic languages is the notion of “observability” (see Sun 1993; Garrett 2001; Tournadre 1998). Some body-internal sensations or experiences such as hunger, thirst, inner cold, headache, dream, psychological and emotional states or feelings etc. are not directly observable and may be perceived only by the experiencer.

The verbs that involve this type of “inner sensation” are compatible with “endopathic” auxiliaries (see below). This category of verbs [-Obs], related to non-observable phenomena such as an “inner sensation, an emotional state or mental activity” is essentially a subcategory of non-controllable verbs [-Ctr]. However, some rare controllable verbs [+Ctr] such as those indicating a mental activity also fall into the category of “non-observable”.

As mentioned above, these verbs exhibit a specific morphosyntactic behavior. They allow the use of a sensory marker which has an endopathic function (see 8.4.3.1) in affirmative sentences with 1st person, but does not usually occur with 2nd and 3rd person (see ex. below).

Other verbs function in the reverse way: they allow the use of a sensory marker in affirmative sentences with 2nd and 3rd person but not with the 1st person.

Here is an example of [+Obs V]. The following examples (88-95) are in Common Tibetan:

(88) མཆོང་ཚོས་ཆང་‘ཐུང་གི་འདུག
KHONG.TSHO(-S) CHANG ‘THUNG-GL.(’DUG)
3PL(-ERG) chang drink-PROG+SENS

“They are drinking chang’ [the speaker sees or has seen them drinking]

But the following sentence is incorrect, unless one sees oneself drinking. The sign # below indicates a marked sentence that is correct but requires a very specific situation.

(89) # མཆོང་ཚོས་ཆང་‘ཐུང་གི་འདུག
NGA CHANG ‘THUNG-GL.(’DUG)
1SG chang drink-PROG+SENS

Intended meaning: ‘I am drinking chang.’
Here is an example of [-Obs]:

\[(90) \]  
\[
\text{NGA} \quad \text{GR\text{OD}.KHOG} \quad \text{LT\text{O}G\text{S-KYL}.('DUG)}  
\]
\[
1\text{SG} \quad \text{belly} \quad \text{hungry-STAT+ENDO}  
\]
\[
\text{‘I am hungry.’}  
\]

But the following sentence is normally not acceptable:

\[(91) \]  
\[
\text{KHONG/SHYED.RANG} \quad \text{GR\text{OD}.KHOG} \quad \text{LT\text{O}G\text{S-KYL}.('DUG)}  
\]
\[
3\text{SG/2SG} \quad \text{belly} \quad \text{hungry-STAT+ENDO}  
\]
\[
\text{Intended meaning: ‘He/ you are hungry.’}  
\]

The same is true for emotional states:

\[(92) \]  
\[
\text{NGA} \quad \text{ZHED-KYL.('DUG)}  
\]
\[
1\text{SG} \quad \text{afraid-STAT+ENDO}  
\]
\[
\text{‘I am afraid, scared.’}  
\]

\[(93) \]  
\[
\text{KHONG} \quad \text{ZHED-KYL.('DUG)}  
\]
\[
3\text{SG} \quad \text{afraid-STAT+SEN}  
\]
\[
\text{Intended meaning: ‘He is afraid, scared.’}  
\]

In order to convey this meaning, an inferential is generally preferable:

\[(94) \]  
\[
\text{KHONG} \quad \text{ZHED-BZHAG}  
\]
\[
3\text{SG} \quad \text{afraid-PERF+INF+SEN}  
\]
\[
\text{‘He is afraid, scared.’}  
\]

[-Obs] verbs do not always coincide in the various Tibetic languages. For example, in Ü-Tsang, the verb ‘KHYAG’ to feel cold, freeze’ conveys an inner sensation whereas the adjective ‘GRANG.MO’ means ‘to be cold’ (outside). In Common Tibetan, for example, it is absolutely acceptable to say:

\[(95) \]  
\[
\text{PHYLLOGS-LA} \quad \text{GR\text{ANG}.MO} \quad \text{DUG} \quad \text{YIN.NA'I} \quad \text{NGA} \quad \text{KH\text{HYAG-GI-ML.DUG}}  
\]
\[
\text{outside-LOC} \quad \text{cold} \quad \text{EXV} \quad \text{but} \quad 1\text{SG} \quad \text{cold-STAT+NEG+ENDO}  
\]
\[
\text{‘It is cold outside, but I am not cold.’}  
\]
In Amdo, the situation is the opposite. The verb GRANG is [-Obs] and used for “inner sensation” whereas the verb KHYAG means ‘to be cold’ (outside).

Note that in some languages, the sensory marker and the endopathic sensory marker are formally identical (but functionally distinct). This is the case for example of the marker above marker DUG. In some languages, which have non-visual sensory markers, the endopathic and the external sensory are formally distinct. See below the section 8.4.2.

8.3.6.4. Valency

In many World languages, following the European tradition, one can distinguish between transitive verbs, which have a direct object, and intransitive verbs which are deprived of a direct object. However, specialists of linguistic typology do not recognize these categories as universal. In many Asian languages these categories are not very helpful because no argument is compulsory. In the Tibetic languages, a verb can always stand alone without any complement. In other words, arguments of the verb may always be omitted if the context is clear enough. This characteristic is known as “lability” (see Creissels 2014). Since verbs in the Tibetic languages are labile, the notion of transitivity is somewhat problematic.

The notion of valency is more appropriate for these languages and we can distinguish, on a semantic basis, monovalent, bivalent and trivalent verbs. This approach has been used by various authors such as Zeisler (2004, 2007, 2012a), Haller (2007), Tournadre (1996a) and Simon (2016).

Virtually all the Tibetic languages exhibit ergative constructions, i.e. the grammatical patient P of a bivalent verb is marked in the same way as the grammatical single argument S of a monovalent verb by the absolutive case (zero marked), whereas the grammatical agent A is marked by a specific case, the ergative.

47. More technically speaking: this lability can be defined as "Argument nonmodifying weak lability" (see Creissels 2014).
48. In some cases, even quadrivalent verbs.
The lama ate meat. (Ü, ComTib)

‘The meat is rotten.’ (Ü, ComTib)

The word ཕ་ SHA ‘meat’ which is the patient (P) in the first sentence is marked in the same way (with the absolutive) as in the second sentence where it functions as a single argument (S). The word ར་ BLAMA which corresponds to the agent (A) is marked by the ergative case (BLAMA becomes BLAMA-S). For the single argument (S), we need to distinguish between S_A and S_P. The S_A corresponds to an agentive single argument of a controllable verb (see 8.3.6.2). It is usually marked by the absolutive case but in some languages (e.g. Ü, Ts, but not Amdo), in the case of a strong emphasis, it may optionally be marked by an ergative case (see 8.1.9). The S_P corresponds to a patientive single argument of a non-controllable verb.

Ergativity in the Tibetic languages differs from some other types of ergativity which are more driven by syntax such as Basque (see Laka 1996) or Kartuli (Georgian) (Aronson 1982; Hewitt 1995).

In most Tibetic languages, ergativity depends on semantic and pragmatic factors. There is generally a certain degree of optionality (see Zeisler 2012a; Tournadre 1991, 2010; DeLancey 2011a; Simon 2011, 2016; Suzuki 2014a).

This characteristic is not specific to the ergative and applies to other cases, particularly to the dative. The use of the ergative or the dative in some cases usually indicates a contrastive focus on the given argument (pragmatic or discursive value). Additionally the use of the dative (instead of the absolutive) may also indicate that the patient P is partially affected. Here are some examples in Common Tibetan (98-99) and Ladaks (100-101):
Here are two sentences in Common Tibetan illustrating the optionality of the ergative:

(102) ག་ ང་ གཞི་ལས།
NGA JA BZO-GLYOD
1SG tea prepare+PRS
‘I prepare tea.’ (adapted from Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003)

(103) ག་ ང་ གཞི་ལས།
NGA-JA BZO-GLYOD
1SG-ERG tea+ABS prepare+PRS
‘I prepare tea.’ [usually] (ibid.)
The degree of *optionality* of the ergative differs in the various languages. In some languages such as Amdo, the ergative is more prevalent and grammaticalized and optionality is less present whereas in some languages (Southern Kham, Drugchu and Zanhar), ergative is highly pragmatic and does not appear in unmarked sentences. In a third type, ergative marking may be compulsory with some tenses and aspects particularly (with the completed past, see 8.4.2 on tense and aspect) but optionality is found with other tenses or aspects (Common Tibetan, Dzongkha).

The following formulas illustrate the main syntactic patterns of grammatical arguments found in many languages of the Tibetic area.

**Monovalent verbs**

(a) S-ABS

(b) S-ABS (/ERG)

**Bivalent verbs**

*Action verbs*

(c) A-(ERG) P-ABS V

(d) A-(ERG) P-DAT V

(e) A-(ERG) P-DAT/ABS V

(f) A-(ERG) P-DAT/ASS V

(g) A-(ERG) P-ASS V

*Reception verbs*

(h) R-(DAT) P-ABS V

*Emotion verbs*

(i) S-ABS P-DAT V

*Association verbs*

(j) S-ABS P-ASS V

(k) S-(ERG) P-ASS V
Trivalent verbs

(l) A-(ERG) B-DAT P-ABS V

(m) A-(ERG) P-ABS B-ASS V

While the 4 verb classes (action, emotion, reception, and association) are found in several Tibetic languages such as Ü, Tsang, Ladaks, and Amdo, some languages such as Dzongkha, have only two major classes: action and reception verbs. For example, emotion verbs behave as action verbs and the "subject" may be marked by the ergative. Compare below Dzongkha (104) and Ü (105):

(104) ◊ མོ་ལུ་དགའ། KHO-GIS MO-LU DGA’ 3SG(M)-ERG 3SG(F)-DAT love

'He loves her.' (Dz, van Driem 1998: 194)

(105) ◊ མོ་ལ་དགའ་གི་ཡོདརེད། KHO MO-LA DGA’-GI.YOD.RED 3SG(M) 3SG(F)-DAT love-UNCMP+FACT

'He loves her.' (Ü, ComTib)

In some languages such as Kham (Sn, Cp, etc.), the ergative is optional and has only a pragmatic function.

nJol Tibetan:

(106) ◊ ང་ཇ་བཟོ། NGA JA BZO 1SG tea prepare

'I prepare tea.'

An ergative marking of the agent is acceptable, but the neutral form is the absolutive.

(107) ◊ ང་མོ་དགམས། NGA KHO GDAMS 1SG 3SG love

'I love him.'
An ergative marking of the agent is non-acceptable. Note that the object of the verb 'to love' does not require a dative marking.

8.3.7. Verbal composition

While many verbs are simple monosyllabic verbs, one finds in CT and in the modern Tibetic languages a lot of compound verbs which may be divided into 4 types: (a) the noun-verb compounds, (b) the noun incorporating verbs and (c) the light verb constructions, (d) lexicalized serial verbs.

8.3.7.1. Noun-verb compounds

In CT, a relatively small number of verbs are compound verbs which usually involve a noun followed by a verb. Most of these verbs are still found in the modern languages. They include the following lexical items:

- རག་ལས་ RAG LAS 'to depend upon', སྣ་ལས་ HA LAS 'to be surprised', ངི་དེ་ཤེས་ YID CHES 'to trust', ཡོངས་གཏོགས་ KHONGS GTOGS 'to belong', རབ་ཟི། RA BZI 'to be drunk', རྱ་མཚན་ YA MTSHAN 'to be astonished', སྦན་ HAGO 'to understand', རྭ་གཅོད་ THAG BCAD 'to decide', བོད་མགོ་སྐོར་ MGO SKOR 'to deceive', རྱ་ལྷ་ཉན་ KHA LA NYAN 'to obey', etc.

In some cases, the meanings of the noun and verb are transparent: རྭ་གཅོད་ THAG BCAD 'to decide' literally means to 'cut (the) rope'. བོད་མགོ་སྐོར་ MGO SKOR 'to deceive' may be easily analyzed as 'to turn (somebody’s) head', སྦན་ KHA LA NYAN 'to obey' as 'listen to the mouth'. However, in other cases, the elements of the composition are no longer meaningful in synchrony. རབ་ཟི། RA BZI (Ú, Kh, Am, etc.) or རྭ་རོས་ RA ROS 'to be drunk' (La, Kh: Sn) is no longer analyzed in most languages, however in some southern Kham dialects /ra/ is interpreted as རག་ RAG 'alcohol' by speakers.

8.3.7.2. Noun incorporating verbs

A type of noun incorporation is a fairly common and original strategy attested in CT and some Tibetic languages. The compound verb is made of a verb which conveys the main lexical information and a generic noun. In many cases, the noun is derived

49. From a typological point of view there are several types of noun incorporation and the precise definition of noun incorporation is still debated. See e.g. Mithun 2009; Jacques 2012b. It is interesting to note that, according to Jacques (ibid.), Japhug, a rGyalrongic language spoken in Sichuan (see 10.7.6), is a polysynthetic language with “incorporation-like constructions” (Jacques, ibid.).
from the same verbal root – a case of figura etymologica – by means of a formative D or S or a nominalizing suffix MA, BA or both:

རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ་ RTSE,MO RTSE 'to play (a game)', རྐུ་མ་རྐུ། RKU,MA RKU 'to steal (Lit. 'to steal a theft')', བགོ་བཤའ་མོ་བགོས། BGO,BSHA 'to share' (Lit. 'to divide a division'), གད་མོ་བགད་ GAD,MO GAD 'to laugh (Lit. 'stomach laugh')', སྐོར་བ་འཁོར་ SKOR,BA KHOR 'to make a circumambulation / to buy and sell (Lit. 'circle circling')', རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ་ RTSE,MO RTSE 'to play (a game)', དྲི་བ་དྲིས་ DRI,BA DRIS 'to ask' (Lit. 'ask a question'), བེབས་པ་བེབས་ BGS,PA BGS 'to eat (food)', གོས་བགོ་ GOS BGO 'to wear (cloth)', དྲི་བ་དྲིས་ DRI,BA DRIS 'to draw/carve (drawing)', གོས་བགོ་ GOS BGO 'to wear (cloth)', ཆོགས་འདུ་ TSHOGS 'to have a meeting'.

In other cases, the lexical noun may be not related to the verb root but also indicates a generic meaning:

རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ་ RTSE,MO RTSE 'to play (a game)' རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ་ RTSE,MO RTSE 'to play (a game)', དྲི་བ་དྲིས་ DRI,BA DRIS 'to ask' (Lit. 'ask a question'), བེབས་པ་བེབས་ BGS,PA BGS 'to eat (food)', གོས་བགོ་ GOS BGO 'to wear (cloth)', དྲི་བ་དྲིས་ DRI,BA DRIS 'to draw/carve (drawing)', ཆོགས་འདུ་ TSHOGS 'to have a meeting'.

In other cases, the lexical noun may be not related to the verb root but also indicates a generic meaning:

grodkhogs RTSE 'to be hungry' (Lit. 'stomach hungry'), khaskha YLGE BRIS 'to write (a letter)', Miglta TSHAD,PA TSHA 'to feel hot', skadcha BSHAD 'to talk (Lit. 'to speak a speech')'.

Some of these verb constructions are preserved in the modern languages particularly in the eastern regions of Kham and Amdo.

Kham: ZAMA 'to eat (food)', RMILAMRMIS 'to dream (a dream)' (in some Amdo dialects the archaic form RMILAM RMIS /'myalam "nya/ is attested), LAS KAS 'to work', RTSE,MO RTSE 'to play (a game)', BRO CHAM 'to dance', etc.

It recalls some old French noun incorporations: maintenir (from main 'hand' + tenir 'hold') 'to maintain', peaufiner from peau 'skin' + finir or culbuter (from cul 'ars' + buter).
This old strategy of noun incorporation was later replaced by another strategy, the light verb constructions, which is now quite widespread.

8.3.7.3. Light verb constructions

Light verb constructions (hence LVC) correspond in a sense to the reverse situation of the noun incorporation. In the case of LVC, the main lexical load is conveyed by the noun and the verb is essentially generic.

The LVC strategy is less developed in Classical Tibetan, but it is widely used in most Tibetic languages. It is interesting to note that the LVC strategy is also widespread in some neighboring Indo-Iranian languages such as Hindi, Nepali or Persian.

In CT, only a couple of verbs function as light verbs: འདེབས་/ བཏབ་ 'DEBS/BTAB 'to plant', བེནས'/ བླུས་'LEN/BLANGS 'to take' but their productivity is limited: དབྱམས་སུ་ LEN 'to practice', གླུ་LEN 'to sing', དཔེ་LEN 'to copy, imitate', གོ་LEN 'to understand', གསལ་DEBS 'to remind, make clear', གསོལ་DEBS 'to pray', སྨོན་པོ་DEBS 'to pray'.

In the modern Tibetic languages, a dozen of light verbs derived from CT lexical verbs are found. These verbs are extremely productive and form hundreds of compound verbs. It is interesting to note that different light verbs are used in different languages. Sometimes, within the same language, two or even three light verbs may be used with the same noun to indicate an identical meaning.

The light verbs come from the following CT lexical verbs:
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Each language will select two or three verbs as the main light verbs. Among these forms, we find basically three verbs that are widely used across the Tibetic languages: 

བརྒྱབ་ (BRGYAB) ‘to hit, to make’, 

བཏང་/གཏོང་ (BTANG/GTONG) ‘to send’, 

BYED ‘to do’, 

བགྱིད་ (BGYID) ‘to do’, 

བྱེད་ (BYED) ‘to do’, 

LANG ‘to stand up’, 

འགྲོ་ (GRO) ‘to go’, 

ཡོང་ (YONG) ‘to come’, 

འཆོས་/བཅོ་ (CHOS/BCO) ‘to prepare, to construct, to build’, 

ཐེབས་ (THEBS) ‘to get hit/struck’, 

བསྐྱོན་ (BSKYON) ‘hit’, 

ཤོར་ (SHOR) ‘to escape’, 

འཐེན་ (THEN) ‘to draw’, 

བཟོ (BZO) ‘to build’, 

ཐེབས་ (THEBS) ‘to get hit/struck’, 

གནང་ (GNANG) ‘to give, make, do, H. of BYED’, 

བཏང་གནང་ (BTANG-GNANG) ‘to give, make, do, H. of BTANG’, 

ཞུ་ (ZHU) ‘to say, tell, take, eat, drink (humilific)’, 

བཞེས་ (BZHES) ‘to take, eat, drink, H’, 

སལ་ (SAL) ‘to do’, 

མཛད་ (MDZAD) ‘to do, H’ (La).

The light verbs are also used to create pairs of controllable vs. non-controllable verbs (see 8.3.6.2) in the various languages. See for example the opposition in Sherpa (in the list below) between:  ◊ གྲོད་བྲ་ཀྱི་ (DGOD.BRA.GYI) / goa ‘k’yi/ ‘to laugh’ (controllable),  ◊ གྲོད་བྲ་ཤོར་ (DGOD.BRA.SHR) / ‘goaˇshor’/ (non-controllable) or in Common Tibetan: མོག་སྐོར་བཏང་ (MGO SKOR BTANG) (controllable) ‘to deceive’ vs. མོག་སྐོར་ཐེབས་ (MGO SKOR THEBS) ‘to get deceived’ (non-controllable).

Here are some examples of LVC in the modern languages:

In Sherpa:

In Dzongkha:

< RGYAG/BRGYAB: རྒྱ་གཅིག MDA’RKYAB ‘to shoot arrows’, རྒྱ་བོད SHOB RKYAB ‘to lie’, ལྷག་རྒྱབ GRAS.GRIG RKYAB ‘to prepare’, བོས་རྒྱབ MGO BSHA’RKYAB ‘to share, divide’, སྤོ་རྒྱབ BLO’O RKYAB ‘to have a conversation’;
< BYED: བོད LA’BAD ‘to work’; < BTANG: སྲྲིས་པོའི SBYIN.PA BTANG ‘to give alms, practice philanthropy’, འོངས TSHON BTANG ‘to paint’, etc.

In Amdo:

< BYED: བྱེད KHA’BYED ‘to have a conversation’, ཨལུ BA’BYA ‘to work’;
< RGYAG/BRGYAB: ལྷུང SGO RGYAG ‘to close the door’, ལྷུང SGM RGYAG ‘to meditate’;
< LEN: སྒོ་རྒྱག སྒོམ་སྒོ་ཝ སྒོ་ཝ ‘to do shopping’;
< DEBS: ལོ་འདེབས HAR DEBS ‘to grunt (yak’s sound)’, ལོ་འདེབས HE DEBS ‘to cry’;
< BTANG/GTONG: སྐྱིན་པ་བཏང GCIN TONG ‘to urinate’, སྒོ་ང་གཏོང SGO.NGA TONG ‘to lay eggs’;
< THEN: སྟོདཔ་འཐེན BSTOD.PA ‘to sing a praise’, དུ་བ་འཐེན DU.BA ‘to smoke’;
< GUL: སྲིལ་ཀ་འགུལ LAS.KA GUL ‘to work’ (Gyälthang).

In Kham:

< BYED: སྟོདཔ་འཐེན SLORS.BYOD ‘to study’, སྟོདཔ་འཐེན SGO BYED ‘to rest’;
< RGYAG/BRGYAB: གོ་གཅིག SGO RGYAG ‘to close the door’, གོ་གཅིག SGM RGYAG ‘to meditate’;
< BTAB: སྟོདཔ་འཐེན TSWA BTAB ‘to salt’;
< THEN: སྟོདཔ་འཐེན DUBA ‘to smoke’;
< GUL: སྟོདཔ་འཐེན LAS.KA GUL ‘to work’ (Gyälthang).

In Balti:

< BYED/ BYA: འོངས LAS.BYA ‘to work’, འོངས BAG.STON BYA /bakston bya/ ‘to marry’, འོངས BAR BYA ‘to separate’, འོངས GSAMP.BYA ‘to think, meditate’, འོངས CHES.LUGS BYA/česluks bya/ ‘to believe’;
< BTANG: སྟོདཔ་འཐེན DGA’.LUGS.BYA /galuks bya/ ‘to love’;
< BTANG: སྟོདཔ་འཐེན MCH.LU.BTANG ‘to weep, to cry’, འོངས CHU BTANG ‘to water’, འོངས GOM.PA BTANG ‘step out’, འོངས GRON BTANG /gron
tang/’to give a feast’, ◊ གླུ་བུ་བཏང་ GLU.BUTANG ‘to sing’; < BTAB. ཆོ་མཐོང་ LHAM.MA TAB ‘to patch’, ◊ མོ་འབུའི་ བོད་ MO BTAB ‘to foretell’, ◊ ཟོག་སྒྲོས་ SMON.MO BTAB/smonmo tap/’to insult’, ◊ སོ་ བཏབ་ SO BTAB ‘to bite’.

In Ladaks:

< BTANG/GTONG ◊ ནའི་གླུ་ BU BTANG ‘to shout’, ◊ རེ་མེ་འབུན་ GCIN BTANG ‘to urinate’, ◊ མོ་འབུའི་ བོད་ MGO.BSKOR BTANG ‘to deceive, to fool’; < BCOS. ◊ ལས་ LAS BCO ‘to work’, ◊ ལུས་ལོའི་སྦྱོར་ GRAL.’GRIG BCO’to arrange, prepare’, ◊ སྐོར་མོ་ནེས་ NGO.SPROD BCO ‘to introduce’, ◊ སྤྲོད་ ལེགས་ CAG.GABCO ‘to take care (of objects)’; < STSAL. ◊ ཉོན་མོ་འབུ་ DGONGS.PAS.AL ‘to forgive, to allow someone to leave’.

In Common Tibetan:

< BYED. ◊ ལས་ཀ་འབད། LAS.KA BYED ‘to work’, ◊ བོད་པོའི་སོིད། BED.SPYOD BYED ‘to use’; < BTANG. ◊ སེམས་པའི་སྔོན་ GZHAS BTANG ‘to sing’, ◊ བདག་པར་ཡོད། YAR.RGYAS BTANG ‘to improve’, ◊ ལམ་ཐོས། MGO.SKOR BTANG ‘to deceive’, ◊ བདག་པར་ YAR.RGYAS BTANG ‘to rain’, ◊ ལེགས་པའི་སྦྱོར་ GNID.LAM BTANG ‘to dream’, ◊ བོད་པའི་སྦྱོར་’ BSAM.BLO BTANG ‘to reflect upon’, ◊ སོགས་ལྷན། SNGON CHU BTANG ‘to have sexual intercourse before marriage’ (Goldstein 2001); ◊ བདེ་མེའི་ BRGYAB. CHANG.S BRGYAB ‘to marry’, ◊ བདག་པར་དྲུའི་ CHAR.P BRGYAB ‘to rain’, ◊ སྨོན་མཐོང་ ME.MDA BRGYAB ‘to shoot (fire arm)’; < THEBS. ◊ སོགས་ལྷན། MGO.SKOR THEBS ‘to get deceived’, ◊ སྨོན་མཐོང་ ME.MDA’THEBS ‘to get shot (weapon)’; < GRO. ◊ སེམས་པར། YAR.RGYAS’GRO ‘to get improved’, ◊ BSKYON. འབད་པའི་སོིད། ZHAL.LAG ZHES ‘to eat a meal (H)’; < GNANG. སེམས་པ་སོགས། PHYAG.LAS GNANG ‘to work’ (H), ◊ སོགས་ ལེགས་ PB GZHAS BTANG-GNANG ‘to sing’ (H).

8.3.8. Inflectional morphology

Most Tibetic languages have preserved traces of inflectional forms derived from CT to convey the TAM. The only major exception are Dzongkha, Lhoke and southern Kham languages. In some languages, particularly Amdo and northern Kham, reflexes of the irregular classical forms are still well attested. In most other areas (Ú, Ts, Ba, Pur, La, Sh, etc.) we find only traces of the Classical morphology that reflects regular forms.
Let’s make a preliminary remark about the inflections: even in the languages, where Classical inflections have been relatively preserved, they play only a secondary role, because tenses, aspects, moods, and evidentiality are mainly indicated by verb auxiliaries or suffixes (see above 8.3).

In CT, as shown in 6.6.3, for certain verbs we find four different forms corresponding to the “past”, “present”, “future”, and “imperative” for controllable verbs and only three forms for non-controllable verbs “past”, “present”, and “future”. From a morphological point of view these inflections in the modern languages correspond to variations of the initial consonants, vowel or the final $\delta$, as in CT.

We use here the traditional terminology to label the four potential forms. However, as pointed out by some authors such as Zeisler (2004), Zemp (2014, 2016), and Hoshi (2016), the four stems do not convey purely the tense and mood meanings corresponding to the labels “present, past, future and imperative”. They convey aspectual and relative tenses as well as other modal meaning such as “potentialis”. Zeisler (2004: 260) suggested labeling “imperative” the imperative stem when it used as a command and otherwise “potentialis.” She also suggested that the future stem could be called more accurately “posterior/purpose stem.” The present stem should be termed “simultaneous/posterior” stem and the past stem “anterior stem” (Zeisler 2004: 267). We generally agree with this analysis which applies primarily to Old Tibetan and to a lesser extent to Classical Tibetan. The choice to analyze the four stems in terms of relative tenses rather than in term of absolute tenses is certainly justified. However, the notions of “completed” versus “uncompleted” aspect could also be relevant in certain cases. According to Hoshi’s study on the RGYAL, RABGNAL, BATME, LONG (2016: 88-89) the notion “complete” vs. “uncompleted” seems to be more adequate in Classical Tibetan. She employs the terms “uncompleted agentive” and “uncompleted undergoing” instead of the traditional “present” and “future” respectively. For example, the past habitual is often expressed by the “present stem” which cannot in that case be analyzed as a “simultaneous (relative) tense” and must be accounted in terms of “uncompleted aspect.”

Despite the fact that the meaning of the stem is related to relative tenses and aspects in Old and Classical Tibetan, we still maintain the traditional terminology
(present, past, future, and imperative), because in the modern languages, the stems are essentially a vestige of an ancient morphology and the tenses, aspects, modality, and evidentiality are conveyed by various auxiliaries.

The languages which have maintained traces of the archaic verb morphology have not preserved a specific form for the future and use the present form instead. Thus, we essentially find three forms for the controllable verbs "present-future", "past", and "imperative" and only two forms for the non-controllable verbs ("present-future" and "past"). However, systems with four forms for controllable verbs are still marginally encountered in some archaic Amdo dialects (near the Gyārlrong area) and in Khyungpo (Kham). But even in these languages the fourfold system concerns less than ten verbs.

Here are some examples of the stem variation in various Tibetic languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart VIII.4 – Stem variations in Common Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to look at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to make, do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to lie down, sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to tell (hum)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART VIII.5. – Stem variations in Chabcha Amdo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to look at’</td>
<td>བལྟས་ /BLTAS/</td>
<td>བལྟ་ /BLTA/</td>
<td>བལྟ་ /BLTA/</td>
<td>བལྟ་ /LTOS/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
<td>བཟས་ /BZAS/</td>
<td>བཟ་ /ZA/</td>
<td>བཟ་ /ZA/</td>
<td>བཟ་ /ZO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to make, do’</td>
<td>ལོས་ /BZA/</td>
<td>ལོ /sa/</td>
<td>ལོ /sa/</td>
<td>ལོ /ZO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to get up’</td>
<td>བློས་ /BSLABS/</td>
<td>བླ /sa/</td>
<td>བླ /sa/</td>
<td>བླ /ZO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to teach’</td>
<td>སོགས་ /SLOB/</td>
<td>སོ /sa/</td>
<td>སོ /sa/</td>
<td>སོ /ZO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to write’</td>
<td>བྲིས་ /BRIS/</td>
<td>བྲ /sa/</td>
<td>བྲ /sa/</td>
<td>བྲ /ZO/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The examples above are adapted from Robin & Simon forthcoming.)

CHART VIII.6. – Stem variations in Čone (‘Oggangdruk)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to look at’</td>
<td>བལྟས་ /BLTAS/</td>
<td>བལྟ་ /BLTA/</td>
<td>བལྟ་ /BLTA/</td>
<td>བལྟ་ /LTOS/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to blow’</td>
<td>བུད་ /BUD/</td>
<td>བུ /sa/</td>
<td>བུ /sa/</td>
<td>བུ /ZO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to buy’</td>
<td>ཁོས་ /NYOS/</td>
<td>ཁོ /sa/</td>
<td>ཁོ /sa/</td>
<td>ཁོ /ZO/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to make, do’</td>
<td>བྱས་ /BYAS/</td>
<td>བྱེ /sa/</td>
<td>བྱེ /sa/</td>
<td>བྱེ /ZO/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chart VIII.7. Stem variations in Sharkhok (Astong)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to come'</td>
<td>འོངས</td>
<td>འོང</td>
<td>འོང</td>
<td>བཤོག</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བཤོག</td>
<td>བཤོག</td>
<td>བཤོག</td>
<td>/'x'og/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to drink'</td>
<td>འཐུང</td>
<td>འཐུང</td>
<td>འཐུང</td>
<td>འཐུང</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>འཐུང</td>
<td>འཐུང</td>
<td>འཐུང</td>
<td>/'n'og/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart VIII.8. Stem variations in Khyungpo (Thromtshang)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to blow'</td>
<td>དབུད</td>
<td>དབུད</td>
<td>དབུད</td>
<td>དབུད</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>དབུད</td>
<td>དབུད</td>
<td>དབུད</td>
<td>/'pbyud/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to kill'</td>
<td>བསད</td>
<td>བསད</td>
<td>བསད</td>
<td>བྱེད</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བྱེད</td>
<td>བྱེད</td>
<td>བྱེད</td>
<td>/'pbyed/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to do, make'</td>
<td>བྱས</td>
<td>བྱས</td>
<td>བྱས</td>
<td>བྱེད</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བྱེད</td>
<td>བྱེད</td>
<td>བྱེད</td>
<td>/'pbyed/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to lie down'</td>
<td>ཉལ</td>
<td>ཉལ</td>
<td>ཉལ</td>
<td>ཉལ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ཉལ</td>
<td>ཉལ</td>
<td>ཉལ</td>
<td>/'nyol/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart VIII.9. Stem variations in Northern Kham (Derge)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to look at'</td>
<td>བལྟས</td>
<td>བལྟ</td>
<td>བལྟ</td>
<td>བལྟ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བལྟ</td>
<td>བལྟ</td>
<td>བལྟ</td>
<td>/'bltas/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to eat'</td>
<td>བཟྲ</td>
<td>བཟྲ</td>
<td>བཟྲ</td>
<td>བཟྲ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བཟྲ</td>
<td>བཟྲ</td>
<td>བཟྲ</td>
<td>/'bsos/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to buy'</td>
<td>ཉོས</td>
<td>ཉོས</td>
<td>ཉོས</td>
<td>ཉོས</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ཉོས</td>
<td>ཉོས</td>
<td>ཉོས</td>
<td>/'nyos/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to take'</td>
<td>བློང</td>
<td>བློང</td>
<td>བློང</td>
<td>བློང</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བློང</td>
<td>བློང</td>
<td>བློང</td>
<td>/'blangs/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chart VIII.10. – Stem variations in Ladaks (Shamshat)

| (The examples above are adapted from Zeisler 2004.) |
| 'to look at’ | བལྟས་ /*tas*/ | བལྟ་ /*ta*/ | བལྟ་ /*ta*/ | བལྟ་ /*tos*/ |
| 'to eat’ | བཟས་ /*za*/ | བཟོས་ /*za*/ | བཟོས་ /*za*/ | བཟོ / /*zo*/ |
| 'to sniff, smell’ | བསྣུམ་ /*snums*/ | བསྣུམ་ /*snum*/ | བསྣུམ་ /*snum*/ | བསྣུམ་ /*snom*/ |
| 'to get up’ | བཞེངས་ /*zhang(s)*/ | བཞེངས་ /*zhang*/ | བཞེངས་ /*zhang*/ | བཞེངས་ /*zhong*/ |
| 'to kill' | བསད་ /*sat(s)*/ | བསོད་ /*sat*/ | བསད་ /*sat*/ | བསོ / /*sot*/ |
| 'to say’ | བེར་ /*zer*/ | བེར་ /*zer*/ | བེར་ /*zer*/ | བེར་ /*zor*/ |

### Chart VIII.11. – Stem variations in Choča-ngač (Tsamang)

| Past | Present | Future | Imperative |
| ‘to look at’ | བཟས་ /*zas*/ | བཟོ / /*za*/ | བཟོ / /*za*/ | བཟོ / /*zo*/ |
| ‘to eat’ | བསྣུམ་ /*somas*/ | བྱེད་ /*bya*/ | བྱེད་ /*bya*/ | བྱེད་ /*byos*/ |
| ‘to do, make’ | བཞེངས་ /*zhongs*/ | བཞེངས་ /*zhong*/ | བཞེངས་ /*zhong*/ | བཞེངས་ /*zhong*/ |
| ‘to cry’ | བསྣུམ་ /*snums*/ | བསྣུམ་ /*snum*/ | བསྣུམ་ /*snum*/ | བསྣུམ་ /*snom*/ |
### Chart VIII.12. — Stem variations in Sherpa (Khumbu)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to eat'</td>
<td>འབེས་ BZAS/བཟེས་ BZOS</td>
<td>ཝ་ ZA</td>
<td>འབཟེས་ BZA'</td>
<td>ཝོ ZO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/'so:/</td>
<td>/'sa/</td>
<td>/'sa/</td>
<td>/'soc:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to speak'</td>
<td>ལབ་ LAB</td>
<td>ལབ་ LAB</td>
<td>ལབ་ LAB</td>
<td>ལོབ་ LOB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/lap/</td>
<td>/lap/</td>
<td>/lap/</td>
<td>/lop/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to get up'</td>
<td>ལངས་ LANGS</td>
<td>ལང་ LANG</td>
<td>ལང་ LANG</td>
<td>ལོང་ LONG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/la:/</td>
<td>/lang/</td>
<td>/lang/</td>
<td>/lo:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to take'</td>
<td>བླངས་ BLANGS</td>
<td>བླེན་ LEN</td>
<td>བླང་ BLANG</td>
<td>བློང་ BLONG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/la:/</td>
<td>/ling/</td>
<td>/ling/</td>
<td>/lo:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to say'</td>
<td>ཞེར་ ZER</td>
<td>ཞེར་ ZER</td>
<td>ཞེར་ ZER</td>
<td>ཞེར་ ZER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>◊ ཞེར་གྱའ་/'sikya/</td>
<td>◊ ཞེར་/'si/</td>
<td>◊ ཞེར་/'si/</td>
<td>◊ ཞེར་/'si/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to do'</td>
<td>བགྱིས་ BGYS</td>
<td>བིགྱིད་ BGYID</td>
<td>བིགྱི་ BGYI</td>
<td>བིགྱས་ GYIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>◊ བགྱི ཀ'ya/'</td>
<td>◊ བིགྱི/'kyi/</td>
<td>◊ བིགྱི/'kyi/</td>
<td>◊ བིགྱས/'kyi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to wash'</td>
<td>བཀྲུས BKRUS</td>
<td>ཁྲུད་ KHRUD</td>
<td>ཁྲུད་ KHYD</td>
<td>ཁྲུ་ KHYU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/'bu:/</td>
<td>/'khy/'</td>
<td>/'khy/'</td>
<td>/'bu:/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the verb inflection systems preserving the CT forms attested in modern languages, we can find the following types: the language has preserved either three distinctions (past vs. present-future vs. imperative), two distinctions (past-present-future vs. imperative; past vs. present-future-imperative; past-imperative vs. present-future), or no morphological differences. We can also find a type of four distinctions marginally, as in Khyungpo, however, it generally includes innovative stem alternations which are not attested in CT. Sherpa has also four stems for the verb BGYID ‘to do’, but other verbs only have three stems.

Languages which do exhibit the most complex inflections are found in Amdo and Northern Kham areas. Some of these inflections are clearly inherited from CT or even Old Tibetan, but other represent innovations. That is for example the case of the generalized aspirated initial consonants in Amdo and Khyungpo for the imperative
stem (see above ‘write’). It is also the case of the final /s/ for the past in Ladaks and Balti. As noted by Zeisler (2004: 620): “the suffix –s, which, in comparison to Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan has been generalized for controlled action verbs and appears even after DNRL [suffixes] in the central and western dialects. Since neither Ablaut nor change of the radical or prefix occur, it might not be adequate to speak of different stems in a strict sense [...].”

Finally, as mentioned above, languages of southern Kham, Lhoke and Dzongkha have lost all their inflections (except for suppletive forms) or have only minimal traces such as the final vocalic length (reflex of the final S) attested for some verbs in Choña (see the chart above).

One should mention a final historical remark. Some authors doubt that the system of verbal inflectional forms found in CT was actually common to all the dialects. According to Bielmeier (1988, 2003), the verbal prefix B for the "past" is not found in Proto-Tibetan [Proto-Tibetic in our terminology], and never appeared in Balti and Ladaks. He made the following remark:

“[Inflectional forms of the verbs] feature mainly in conservative Amdo Tibetan, but are completely absent in Western Archaic Tibetan. The question is again whether we have to consider them as Common Tibetan or as specific developments of certain areas. The comparative evidence from the spoken varieties again shows that certain inflectional forms of the paradigms in Amdo Tibetan are newly-formed, and suppletion and analogy play important roles in the process of their formation. At least in some cases we can show that this mechanism is also at the root of the formation of the inflectional forms of the paradigms of Written Tibetan, whose forms, therefore, might have to be listed separately.” (Bielmeier 1988)

First one can not agree with the absence of trace in Ladaks, Purik, and Balti. It is true that some characteristics of the CT system are indeed absent in the Northwestern languages such as the alternation of initial consonants and the preradicals conveying present, future, or past tenses. For example, the preradical B, for the past stem, G/D for the future stem as well as the preradicals ’ and Ø for the past stem are not attested in these languages. However, the ablaut is attested for the imperative and it is probable that the archaic irregular morphology gradually disappeared. As suggested by Zeisler (2004: 347): “It is more likely that they have generalized the suffix –s for those verbs
that must have looked quite irregular for them.” Even if we agree with the absence of irregular morphology, it is not correct to say that there are no traces of the archaic morphology. There are a few traces of B past tense prefix in Ladakhs or Balti. For example, in Old Tibetan, the form of the verb ‘to write’ are འདྲི་ DRI (pres), བྲིས་ BRIS (past), བྲི་ BRI (fut) and རིས་ RIS (imp) (Hill 2005) and the past form BRIS yields the reflex /rbi-/ in Balti (by metathesis), which implies the existence of a prefix B in Proto-Balti: ※B-RI. (see Hill 2005). Of course, the general absence of the prefix B in the Northwestern Tibetic languages is a problem but a way to account for this is to propose that the prefix disappeared at an early stage. In Ü-Tsang or Dzongkha, which have lost all the prefixes, it is also hard to say when the B “past” prefix disappeared. Recently, Zemp (2014: 129) has again questioned the absence of archaic morphology and provided a lot of evidences against this affirmation: “[…] there is in fact evidence for all the four stems in at least the variety of Purik. The reason why this was not noticed, however, is that the ClT [Classical Tibetan] verbal system had indeed undergone considerable changes after it split up from Proto-Tibetan.”

Finally, it is a worthwhile reminder that in some languages of the South and Southeastern languages, the verb has entirely lost the inherited ancient morphology and in some cases developed innovative alternations, as we will see in the next section.

8.3.9. Morphophonemic alternations of the verb

Another phenomenon found in some modern Tibetic languages is the innovative morphophonemic variation of the verb stem which depends on the phonological context. This variation is well attested in some southern languages, particularly Dzongkha (van Driem 1998), Sherpa (see Tournadre et al. 2009), Tö Ngari (see Qu and Tan 1983) and Spiti.

This type of alternation has been described by some authors such as van Driem (1998: 209) as an “inflected form of the verb.” However, this variation is very different from the inflection forms discussed in 8.3.4, since the forms do not indicate various tense-aspects and modalities. There are merely related to the morphophonemic variation of the combination of the lexical verb and the verb ending (or relator+auxiliary). According to van Driem there are four types of “inflected stems” for the “factual

a) “Verb stems ending /ng, n, m/ in Roman Dzongkha […] They form their inflected stem by changing the final consonant to m.” For example: ◊ NYANM IN /’nyem-TING/ ‘is listening’, ◊ THONM IN /’thom-TING/ ‘is going out’; ◊ BSDM IN /’dam-TING/ ‘is attaching, is closing’ ◊ GNaNgM IN /’nam-TING/ ‘is giving’ (H).

b) “Verb stems ending in /p/ in Roman Dzongkha [...]. They undergo no change in their inflected stem.” For example: ◊ RKYAB IN /’čap-TING/ ‘is making, LV’, ◊ THAB IN /’chap-TING/ ‘is fighting, is clashing’.

c) “Verb [stem] […] ending in a vowel in Roman Dzongkha” and forming their inflected stem “by adding –u.” For example: ◊ ZAWIN /’sau-TING/ PRS of ‘is eating’; ◊ URWIN /’u:TING/ ‘is rubbing’; ◊ SKYESW IN /’keu-TING/ PRS of ‘is growing’; ◊ BSHALW IN /’sheu-TING/ PRS of ‘is having diarrhoea’.

d) “Verb [stem] […] ending in a vowel in Roman Dzongkha” and forming their inflected stem “by adding –p”: for example: ◊ SOOP IN /’dop-TING/ ‘is staying’, ◊ BTSUGSP IN /’tsup-TING/ ‘is putting, is inserting’.

If we globally may agree with van Driem’s analysis, it poses two problems for which there is an alternative solution.

First, one can consider that the verb is in fact invariable and that the verb ending (or the relator) is the one which undergoes a variation. In fact, this alternative analysis is supported by the Dzongkha orthography. The verb stem never varies but is followed by endings that undergo morphophonemic variation.

Depending on the final consonant of the verb we find the four following endings for the factual present: ◊ +M. IN; ◊ +H. IN; ◊ +W. IN; ◊ +P. IN.
If we adopt this solution, we can present the above verbs in the following way:

\( NYAN + M, \ P N, \ THON + M, \ \tilde{P}N; \ \tilde{M}YAN + M, \ \tilde{P}N, \ \tilde{P}ISDAM + \tilde{P}N, \ \tilde{M}GNANG + M, \ \tilde{P}N, \ \tilde{M}THAB + \tilde{P}N, \ \tilde{P}RKYAB + \tilde{P}N. \)

This presentation matches the Dzongkha orthography. It also matches the diachronic evolution since the four forms \( M \tilde{P}N, \ \tilde{P}IN, \ \tilde{W} \tilde{P}N, \ \tilde{P}IN \) are historically derived from the relator \( \tilde{P}A \) followed by the auxiliary \( \tilde{IN} \). The labial plosive of the relator \( \tilde{PA} \) has simply been assimilated to a labial nasal \( /m/ \) after verbs ending in a nasal and to a labial glide \( /w/ \) after a vowel.

This explanation also matches the modern pronunciation since the verb stem is normally invariable (with one exception) and followed by a variable suffix, corresponding to the verb ending, as shown in the examples above. Let us display the above examples again:

\( \text{chap}^{\tilde{P}} \tilde{M} \) \( /\text{chap-}\tilde{ING}/ \), \( \text{SKYES} + \tilde{W} \tilde{P}N /\text{ke+u}\tilde{ING}/ \), \( \text{RKYAB} + \tilde{P}N /\text{pek}\tilde{ING}/ \).

The only exception that shows an alternation of the verb stem occurs in van Driem's first type since the stem undergoes a change from \( /n/ \) and \( /ng/ \) to \( /m/ \). However, a simple rule of regressive assimilation suffices to solve this problem. For ex: \( /\text{nyem}/ + /\tilde{m}/ > /\text{nyem}/ (\text{\textsc{nyang}} +\tilde{M}, \ P N) \); \( /\text{nang}/ + /\tilde{m}/ > /\text{nam}/ (\text{\textsc{nyang}} +\tilde{M}, \ P N) \), etc.

The same morphophonemic variation is attested 1,000 kms away in Purik and Balti with the nominalizer \( \tilde{P}A \). Here is Zemp's comment about the allomorphs of \( \tilde{P}A \):

\( ^{[^{\tilde{P}A}]} \text{pa} \) (after \( -\text{k}, -\text{q}, -\text{t}, \) and \( -s \), e.g. in \( [\tilde{m}\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{tuk}\text{-pa} \) 'to scoop, pour', \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{strag}\text{-pa} \) 'to roast', \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{fat}\text{-pa} \) 'to cut', or \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{jas}\text{-pa} \) 'to bloom' [...])

\( ^{[^{\tilde{BA}}} \text{ba} \) (after \( -\text{r}, -\text{l}, \) and \( -\text{m} \), e.g. in \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{k}\text{jer}\text{-ba} \) 'to carry', \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{k}\text{gel}\text{-ba} \) 'to be ashamed', or \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( k\text{\textsc{om}-ba} \) 'to have time'),

\( ^{[^{\tilde{MA}}} \text{ma} \) (after \( -\text{ng}, -\text{n} \), e.g. in \( \text{\textsc{hen}}\text{-ma} [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) 'to lose' or \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{len}\text{-ma} \) 'to take'), and

\( ^{[^{\tilde{\text{A}}}}} \text{a} \) (after \( -\text{b} \) and all vowels except \( -\text{e} \), e.g. in \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{leb}\text{-a} \) 'to arrive', \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{tri}\text{-a} \) 'to ask', \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{yua}\text{-a} \) 'to cry', \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{sko}\text{-a} \) 'to dig', and \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{ba}\text{-a} \) 'to do', with its phonetic variant \( -\text{æ} \) (after \( -\text{e} \), e.g. in \( [\text{\textsc{nyang}}] \) \( \text{gse}\text{-a} \) [\text{\textsc{gse-æ}}] 'to play'). (Zemp 2018).
Let's turn back to the Dzongkha verb morphophonemics. In van Driem's analysis, the verb ending in an open vowel may construct their inflected form by adding /u/ or by adding /p/. The author adds: “Which of these two endings an open-stem verb takes is a given which must be committed to memory.”

It seems however that there is a rule that allows predicting the type of variation:

a) After the reflexes of CT final vowels and final consonants R, L and S, the relator is /u/ within the same syllable as the verb stem in Dzongkha.

b) After the reflexes of CT final D and G, the relator is /p/ within the same syllable as the verb stem in Dzongkha.

c) After the reflexes of CT final NG and N, the relator is /m/ written མ/m/ within the same syllable as the verb stem in Dzongkha.

d) After the reflexes of CT final B and M, the relator is Ø (unmarked).

Since the Dzongkha orthography is generally inspired by the CT orthography, the rule (a-d) is easy to apply. There seems to be only one salient exception to this rule: the verb གྲ་བད་ ‘to do’ (and LV) which is extremely frequent. In Dzongkha orthography, the final consonant ends in a D and thus, it should be ending P /p/ but the factual present yields a W /u/: གྲ་ི་བད/ violating the rule b).

However, the spelling of this Dzongkha word does not reflect the original CT orthography. The Dzongkha verb གྲ་བད is in fact derived from the CT verb གྲ་ཡེད ‘to do’. This verb is found in neighboring languages such as Choča-ngcha (in the east) under the form གྲ་འབ/ ‘bya/ and in Lhoke (in the west) as གྲ་ཡེས/ ‘p'ya/ and the classical verb གྲ་ཡེད has the inflection form གྲ་ཡེས in the past which is probably the origin of the contemporary Dzongkha verb ‘to do’. Thus, the final consonant of the verb ‘to do’ is probably originally an S (and not a D as written in modern Dzongkha) which explains why it is followed by the ending W /u/.

If this is correct, we have a much more simple approach whereby all the verb stems are invariable in Dzongkha and the factual present ending has four allomorphs depending on the final consonant or vowel.
The Sherpa verb also displays morphophonemic variations. In this case, we find both a variation of the verb ending (relator + auxiliary) and in some cases of the verb stem. For example, བྲིལ་མུ་ལྷབ་ཛ་ /HRIL.MULHA+BDZA/ ‘to watch’ translates as: བྲཱེན་གི་དེ་ /BRAS ZA GI DER/ or /s/ ‘they eat’. Thus /’sa/ ‘to eat’ becomes /’sä/. Again, it should be emphasized that the umlaut on the vowel only conveys a morphophonemic variation and does not convey a tense-aspect meaning unlike the inflection forms that we examined in 8.3.4.

8.3.10. Suppletive forms

Tense-aspect and imperative inflections are sometimes achieved by using suppletive forms, i.e. TAM may be marked by entirely different verbal roots. This suppletion strategy is found throughout the Tibetic area (see Bielmeier 2004). It is attested in Ladakhs, Balti, Spiti, Sherpa, Amdo, Southern Kham, Ü, Tsang, Dzongkha, etc.
Among the verbs that often have a suppletive form, one finds 'to go', 'to come', 'to give', 'to say', i.e. verbs which have a high frequency. Here is a list of suppletive verbs with high frequency to mark the past, present-future and imperative.

‘to come’: རོང་ YONG (pst and prs), སོག་ SHOG (imp) (Ü, Ts)
‘to come’: རོང་ ONG (pst and prs), སོག་ SHOG (imp) (Kh, Ho)
‘to come’: རོང་ ONG (prs), སོག་ ONGS (pst), སོག་ SHOG (imp) (Sh)
‘to go’: རྒྱོ་ GRO (prs), ལྷིན་ PHYIN (pst), དྲགས་ RGYUGS (imp) (Ü, Ts)
‘to go’: རྒྱོ་ GRO (prs), ལྷིན་ PHYIN (pst), སོང་ SONG (imp) (Kyirong)
‘to go’: རོ་ GYO (prs), སོང་ SONG (pst), སོང་ SONG (imp) (Thewo-Tö)
‘to go’: རོ་ GYO (prs), སོང་ SONG (pst), སོང་ SONG (imp) (Dz)
‘to go’: རོ་ GRO (prs), སོང་ SONG (pst, imp) (Kh, Ho)
‘to go’: རོ་ GYO (prs), སོང་ SONG (pst, imp) (Am)
‘to go’: ཆ་ CHA (prs), སོང་ SONG (imp, past) (La)
‘to go’: ཆ་ CHA (prs), བྱུལ་ GRUL བུད་ BUD (pst), སོང་ SONG (imp) (Garzha)
‘to go’: རོ་ GRO (prs), སྲིད་ BRGAL (pst) (Sh)
‘to give’: རོ་ STER (prs, imp), སྲིད་ BYIN (pst) (Am)
‘to give’: རོ་ STER (prs, imp), སྲིད་ SBYIN (past) (Sh)
‘to say’: རོ་ ZER (prs), སྲིད་ BZLAS (pst) (Am)
‘to sit, stay’: རོ་ DUG (prs), སྲིད་ BSDAD (pst) (Am)
‘to do’: རོ་ BGYID (prs), སྲིད་ BYAS (pst), སྲིད་ GYS (imp) (Cone)
‘to be sick’: རོ་ ZUG.GZER (prs), རོ་ NA (pst) (Sp)

8.3.11. Causative derivation

Modern Tibetic languages have inherited to a certain extent pairs of causative and anticausative or resultative verbs found in OT and CT. This morphological derivation has been described by various authors such as Beyer (1992), Kesang Gyurmé (1992), Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (1998, 2003), Kretschmar (1995), Tournadre & Konchok Jiarso (2001). There are about two hundred verbal pairs in CT but modern
languages often have preserved about thirty frequent verbs. In southern Kham, this contrast is restricted to a very limited number of verbs. The preserved verbal pairs are not identical in the various languages, but the verbs are nearly always derived from their CT correspondences.

Morphologically, the causative verb was historically derived from the basic anticausative form by prefixing an ‘s’ also found in ST. In CT, the causative ‘s’ often appears as a superscript ‘S’ (see the examples below). The superscript ‘S’ is still heard in the western languages of Ladakh and Baltistan or have left a trace as in Amdo. However, in most other languages causative verbs are distinguished from their anticausative correspondent by tone and/or aspiration. In some cases, the spoken forms no longer make a distinction between the two verbs of the pair.

CHART VIII.13. — Anticausative and causative verb pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticausative/ Resultative verbs</th>
<th>Causative verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>མཁྱུལ་ KHOL ‘to boil’</td>
<td>མཁོལ་ SKOL ‘to boil/make boil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མཁོར་ KHOR ‘to turn around, spin’</td>
<td>མཁོར་ SKOR ‘to turn around, revolve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མཕེལ་ PHEL ‘to increase’</td>
<td>མཕེལ་ SPEL ‘to cause to increase, augment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བུར་ BAR ‘to burn, catch fire’</td>
<td>བུར་ SPOR ‘to light, ignite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཞལ་ NYAL ‘to lie down, to go to sleep’</td>
<td>ཞལ་ SNYAL ‘to lay down, to put to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཟོན་ THON ‘to come out, depart’</td>
<td>ཟོན་ STON ‘to cause to come out, put forth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལེག་ LOG ‘to return, come/go back’</td>
<td>ལེག་ SLOG ‘to return, send back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བུམ་ GUM ‘to die’</td>
<td>བུམ་ BKUM ‘to kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བུར་ KHUR ‘to carry a load (on the back)’</td>
<td>བུར་ BSKUR ‘to load a pack (on the back)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བུབ་ BAB ‘to descend, go down’</td>
<td>བུབ་ PHAB ‘to bring down, cause to fall’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From a morphological point of view, causative verbs may have up to four inflectional forms (see 8.3.4), whereas anticausative verbs have usually two inflection forms, rarely three.
From a syntactic point of view, causative verbs always have an additional argument corresponding to an intentional agent performing the action. For these reasons some authors such as Beyer (1992) or Kretschmar (1995: 129-130) have called this opposition “transitive” versus “intransitive” verbs instead of “causative” versus “anticausative”. However, since the syntactic notion of transitivity is highly problematic in the Tibetic languages (see 8.3.2.2), we do not use this terminology: the semantic opposition between “monovalent” and “bivalent” would be more appropriate. However, a few “anticausative” verbs are bivalent (or “transitive”) whereas their causative correspondents are trivalent (or “ditransitive”). This is for example the case of verbs such as ‘KHUR ‘to carry’ (anticausative, bivalent) vs. BSKUR ‘to make someone carry, send’ (causative, trivalent) or GON ‘to put on, dress’ vs. BSKON ‘to dress someone’.

Semantically, causative verbs are always controllable verbs while most resultative verbs are non-controllable and lack imperative. For this reason, some authors such as Huber (2002) have qualified the causative derivation as an opposition between controllable and non-controllable verbs. There are however a few anticausative/resultative verbs, which are controllable (see the above ex. ‘KHUR’ ‘to carry’ and GON ‘to put on, dress’).

Finally, another characteristic feature of the verbal pairs is that they may co-occur in the same sentence to indicate whether the performed action has or does not have a result. For this reason the verb pair has also been called “causative vs. resultative”. Let's give an example of this co-occurrence from Ü and Common Tibetan:

(108) SNGAGS.PA CHAR.PA PHAB.NAS DNGOS.NAS BABS-SONG-NGA ngappa-ERG rain fall-CO really fall-CMP+SENS-TAG
‘The ngagpa (tantric priest) performed a ritual to make the rain fall and it did rain!’ (Ü, ComTib)

This semantic opposition is somewhat analogous to the aspectual opposition found in the Slavonic languages between imperfective versus perfective, and in English, to phrasal verbs\(^\text{53}\) (cut versus cut down; shoot versus shoot down; eat versus eat up; etc.).

Finally the meanings of the causative and anticausative may seem quite distinct in some cases, although they are historically related: compare བསྒོམ། BSGOM’ to meditate versus གོམས། GOMS’ to be used to; ལོབ།LOB’ to learn, teach versus ལོབ།LOB’ to get the habit.

8.3.12. Causative verbs

A few causative lexical verbs are used across the Tibetic area with the meaning ‘let somebody do something’ or ‘cause somebody do something’: བཅུག། BCUG’ to insert’, ལྷན། BYAS’ to insert’, བཟོས། BZOS’ to make’, རོགས། ROGS’ to help’.\(^\text{54}\) (See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 1998, 2003: 267; Simon 2011.) Here are some examples (109-111) in Common Tibetan:

(109) གང་སྤོ་བོ་ལགས་སྨན་ཁང་བསྟེན་པར་བྱས་པ་ཡིན།

1SG-ERG grandfather-H hospital consult-NMLZ-DAT make-CMP+EGOint

‘I managed to have grandfather consult at the hospital.’ (Simon 2011: 87)

(110) གང་ཁོང་ལ་ཡི་གེ་འབྲི་རུ་བཅུག་པ་ཡིན།

1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT letter write-NMLZ make-CMP+EGOint

‘I made him write a letter.’ (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003)

(111) བློང་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ང་མཚན་ནག་གུང་ལ་ཞེད་ཡག་བཟོས་བཞག

uncle-H-ERG 1SG dark inside-LOC be afraid-NMLZ make-PERF+INF+SENSE

‘My maternal uncle made me afraid in the dark.’ (Simon 2011: 87)

53. In Russian (soverennyj/nesoverennyj) or Polish (dokonane/niedokonane) as for example in: Długo cięgał, aż w końcu ją odeciąłem. ‘I was cutting this branch for a long time until I finally cut it down’.

54. Although rogs is not listed as a verb in the great Tibetan Chinese dictionary, it functions as a verb in some Kham dialects.
8.3.13. Nominalizer

In CT as well as in the modern Tibetic languages, the nominalizers always follow the verb and are derived from nouns. They play a major role in the grammar (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 1998, 2013; DeLancey 2010, 2011b). In the modern languages, we find essentially the same nominalizers as in CT. Frequent nominalizers include བ་ PA (nearly pervasive) or the variant མ་ MA (Pur) < CT universal nominalizer, མཁན་ MKHAN (nearly pervasive) < CT MKHAN.PO 'learned person, agent, abbot of a monastery' agentive nominalizer, རྒྱུ་ RGYU (Kh, Am, Ù) < CT 'thing, cloth, cause' patientive nominalizer, ས་ SA < CT 'place', goal and locative nominalizer, སྟངས་ STANGS < CT manner nominalizer. Some nominalizers that are not used in CT are attested. They include: སེ་ LE (NKh and Kh: Minyak Rabgang, E: Th-m); སེ་ CHAS (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ù, Lho) < CT 'thing' and the related nominalizers སེ་ YAS, སེ་ YAG (Û, Ts) or སེ་ SHAD (Lho) pronounced as -čas/-čes/-čel/,-sha/-ča/-ya/, etc. Another frequent nominalizer is མི་ MI < CT 'person, man' or the archaic form མྱི་ MYI realized in various ways as སེ་ /-mã/, /-mi/, སེ་ /-na/ (Am) /ni/ (Dz), སེ /-nye/ (Kh), etc. is found in many eastern and southern dialects Amdo, Kham, Dzongkha. In Amdo, the nominalizer སེ /-na/ is often written as སེ NO because it has merged with the definite marker རི་ BO. In Amdo, the compound form རི་ /sheko/ is used as a nominalizer for instrument. The form is probably derived from རི་ /BYED.PO which is attested in CT.55 More marginally we find in Amdo the nominalizer རེགས་ ROGS < CT 'companion' used for the co-agent (Simon 2016) as well as མི་ KHA < CT 'mouth, surface' replacing in some cases རྒྱུ་ RGU. (See above.)

Even when the nominalizers are formally identical to their Classical homologues, their grammatical functions may differ from the Classical one. For example, in some languages, the nominalizer ས་ SA can be used as instrumental. E.g. in Kham, བདུན་པོ་ BDUN.PO which is attested in CT.55 More marginally, we find in Amdo the nominalizer རེགས་ ROGS < CT 'companion' used for the co-agent (Simon 2016) as well as མི་ KHA < CT 'mouth, surface' replacing in some cases རྒྱུ་ RGU. (See above.)

55. This allomorph is also present with the ordinal number བདུན་ BDUN.GO the seven ones, the set of seven; CT བདུན་ BDUN.PO.
Nominalizers play an important role in the modern grammars. They serve to form nominal clauses, relative clauses as well as verb endings (in combination with auxiliaries).

8.3.14. Connective

The category of connectives plays also an important role in the grammars of the modern Tibetic languages, just as they did in Classical Tibetan (see chap 6), because they have multiple functions. They serve as clause connectives as well but they also occur in the morphology of the verb endings, just as the nominalizers.

The languages usually make a distinction between noun and verb connectives.

The main connectives occurring after a noun or a noun phrase are: ནང་ -DANG (Û, Kh, Hor) < CT associative case, or the variant: ཨོན་ -NANG (La), ཨོག་ -NA (Sham, Pur, Ba) < CT locative-inessive case. In Amdo, the connective ཞེ་ -RA < CT dative case marker ཞེ་ -LA.

The main verb connectives occurring after a verb are: སྟེ་ -STE (La, Dz, Ü, Cho) and its variants སྟེ་ -TE and སྟི་ -STI and སྡི་ -SDI (Lho). Another frequent connective is ཡམ་ -NAS (Û, Ts, Am, Kh). The connective ཡར་ -LAS derived from the CT ablative case marker is also used in a number of areas such as Lhoke (Yliniemi 2019). The connective ནང་ -DANG also occurs after nominalized verbs.

8.4. The semantics of the predicate

All the modern Tibetic languages have developed rich systems of auxiliary verbs which convey temporal, aspectual, modal, epistemic and evidential informations. They may also encode valency and direction.

8.4.1. The aspectual opposition “completed” versus “uncompleted”

Before we examine the tense-aspect paradigms, we will briefly discuss the terms “completed” and “uncompleted” used here and explain why we avoid the terms of “perfective” and “imperfective” for the description of the Tibetic languages.

Although the terms “perfective” and “imperfective” are pervasive in the linguistic literature in English, their use is problematic. These terms derived from Latin perfectum/imperfectum are related to the Slavic aspects совершенный вид.
“perfective” versus “несовершенный вид (nesovrěšennyj vid)” imperfective” (Russian) or dokonané versus niedokonané (Polish) “imperfective”. However, the Slavic system is not prototypical and thus the use of “imperfective”/ “perfective” should be restricted to systems that function in a similar way as the Slavic basic aspectual opposition. This opinion is shared by many scholars: “definitions of perfectivity and imperfectivity that are to be taken seriously are necessarily formulated in the light of Slavic languages” (Zeisler 2004: 72; see also Dahl 1985; Cohen 1989). As mentioned by several authors, such as Tournadre (2004) or Guentchéva (2016: 3) “[…] the Slavic perfective / imperfective distinction […] cannot be considered prototypical of the theory of aspect.”

So, in order to render the aspectual oppositions in the Tibetic languages, we will use the terms completed and uncompleted. The “uncompleted” aspect refers to an ongoing or habitual event or action in the present, past or future, whereas the “completed” aspect refers to an action or event already finished or completed at a given reference point in the past, present or future.

In most languages, as we will see below (see section 8.4.2.2), the “uncompleted past” is formally equivalent to the present. As we will see, only a few languages such as Ladaks, Purik and Balti make a formal difference between “uncompleted” present and past. Additionnally the Tibetic languages also possess a perfect distinct from the completed past.

A number of studies describing the Tibetic languages have also used the notion of “aorist.” This category, which is found in the verb morphology of e.g. Greek, Bulgarian

56. The opposition between imperfective and perfective, found in the Slavic languages, simultaneously conveys an aspectual meaning (e.g. “completed” versus “uncompleted”) as well as an Aktionsart, i.e. a type of event for example telic or atelic, i.e. have (or not) an inherent final limit. While in some languages grammatical aspect and Aktionsart may combine within a single verb form, they may be also appear separately and should be clearly distinguished.

57. In the French tradition, the terminology accompli for “completed” and inaccompli for “uncompleted” is well established (see e.g. Cohen 1989; Feuillet 2001; Tournadre 2004) and generally used for the description of many languages (Romance, Semitic, Sinitic, etc.) as opposed to perfective/imperfective which are used for Slavic some other specific systems. In English several terms have been proposed to avoid the terms perfective/imperfective such as completed versus uncompleted/non-completed, complete versus incomplete, completed versus incompletive, accomplished versus unaccomplished, etc.
or Persian, often corresponds to the bare root of the verb. Semantically, this category conveys a lack of anchoring in the moment of speech and a lack of situational anchoring and may occur both in the past, present and future. It is particularly used in a narrative register as well as in gnomic statements. Concerning most Tibetic languages, it is safer to consider that some forms may have aoristic uses, but the aorist is not a core category of the Tibetic verb systems.

8.4.2. Tense-aspect

From a grammatical point of view, Tibetic languages often distinguish the following tenses and aspects:

(a) completed past,
(b) habitual (uncompleted present and past),
(c) progressive (uncompleted present and past),
(d) perfect,
(e) future.

Each of these tenses and aspects may appear with various evidential-epistemic categories.

While the opposition between progressive and habitual is attested in many languages such as Ladaks, Purik, Sherpa, Kham, Hor, Dzongkha, etc., it is not pervasive. Some languages such as Ü-Tsang or Amdo have only a present form for both progressive and habitual.

One should also note that some Kham languages do not often use a specific future form and use the present form instead.
8.4.2.1. “Completed past”

The “completed past” is usually conveyed by a number of forms, depending on the
evidential and epistemic modalities. This tense-aspect is translated in other languages
by the preterit but also sometimes by the present perfect or the aorist (or non-perfect).

For example:

(112) ◊ནང་མ་རིག་ཐལ།
NGA-S RIG-MA-RIG-THAL
1SG-ERG NEG-see-CMP+SENS
‘I did not see it/ I have not seen it.’ (Am)

(113) ◊ནང་མ་ཐལ།
NGA-S MA-THAL
1SG-ERG see-CMP+SENS
‘I did not see it/ I have not seen it.’ (Kh)

(114) ◊ནང་མཐོང་མ་སོང་།
NGA-S MTHONG-MA-SONG
1SG-ERG see-CMP+SENS
‘I did not see it/ I have not seen it.’ (Ü, ComTib)

8.4.2.2. Habitual present and uncompleted past

The uncompleted past usually corresponds to the French “imparfait” (or “imperfect”)
or Spanish “imperfecto”. In most Tibetic languages, the uncompleted past, or habitual
past is equivalent to the habitual present. See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003), Robin
and Simon (forthcoming). Some North-Western languages such as Ladak and Purik
do distinguish uncompleted past and present.

Below is an example of a habitual present followed by a sentence with a habitual
past. The two sentences differ only by the context.

58. Note that the same marker THAL in some Kham languages (e.g. Lhagang), would yield
the aspectual meaning of a perfect. In this dialect, the completed past (or “aorist”) is expressed by V-
ZIN.YIN/RED.
(115) 

\[ SHA \quad ZA-NLMA.RED \]

\[/\text{ʃ}a\quad \text{sa-na-ma-rə}/\]

meat cat-NEG+PRES+FACT

‘\(s/he\) does not eat meat.’ (in general) (Am)

(116) 

\[ A.KHU \quad YIN-DRUS.THA.TSHO \quad SHA \quad ZA-NLMA.RED \]

\[/\text{ak}’ə\quad \text{yon-tʃ�t’ats’o}/\]

\[ fʃa\quad \text{sa-nəma-ra}/\]

monk be-when meat cat-NEG+PRES+FACT

‘When he was a monk, he would not eat meat (Lit. ‘when he is a monk, he does not eat meat.’)’ (Am) (Robin & Simon, forth).

In many languages, the habitual present may be indicated by the future form:

(117) 

\[ BOD-\text{LA} \quad NAS \quad BTAB-KYI.RED \]

Tibet-LOC barley plant-FUT+FACT

‘In Tibet, one plants barley.’ (Lit. ‘one will plant barley.’) (Ü, ComTib)

(118) 

\[ KHO \quad SHA \quad MI-ZA \]

3sg meat NEG-eat

‘\(s/he\) does not eat meat.’ [the person is vegetarian] (Kh)

In Ladaks and Purik, there is an opposition between uncompleted past and present usually conveyed by the suffix \(πιν\) < CT \(π\) < CT \(\pi\text{yin}\) \(\text{PAYN}\); \(\text{DUG-PIN}\), \(\text{YOD-PIN}\), \(\text{YOD THIG-PIN}\), \(\text{YOD THIG-YOD-PIN}\), etc. Compare the following.

(119) 

\[ M\text{I} \quad M\text{ANG.PO} \quad \text{'DUG} \]

person many EXV+SENS

‘There were a lot of people.’ (La)

(120) 

\[ M\text{I} \quad M\text{ANG.PO} \quad \text{'DUG.PIN} \]

person many EXV+SENS+PAST

‘There were a lot of people.’ (La)
8.4.2.3. Progressive, continuous and durative

Some languages usually make a distinction between habitual and progressive. Languages which have a progressive or a durative aspect include Ladaks, Purik, Sherpa, Kham, Hor, Dzongkha and Lhoke. The progressive form may be reconstructed in several languages (La, Pur, Sh, Lho, etc.) as a suffix *yin may be related the CT progressive suffix བཞིན་ BZHIN or from the suffix གིན་ GIN which indicate simultaneity. Some languages (Kh, Hor) use verbs of posture such as བསྡད་ BSDAD or འདུག་ DUG both meaning ’to stay, sit’. The progressive and habitual are compatible with various evidential and epistemic markers.

Compare the Sherpa habitual and progressive:

(121) དེང་སང་ངས་ཤ་ཟའི་ཝིད། DENG.SANG NGA-S SHA ZA’I.WID (⁄ZA.GI.YOD) nowadays 1SG-ERG meat eat-UNCMP+EGO ’Nowadays I eat meat.’ (habitual)

(122) ད་ལྟ་ངས་ཤ་ཟ་ཡིན་ཝིད། DA.LTA NGA-S SHA ZA-YIN.WID now 1SG-ERG meat eat-PROG+EGO ’Now I am eating meat.’ (progressive)

Here are some examples of the progressive in Ladaks and Purik:

(123) ལས་བཅོ་འིན་ནང་ཡོད། LAS BCO-IN.NANG-YOD work do-DUR-AUTH ’(Right now) I am working.’ (the suffix -nang means ’just’)

(124) བོ བ་ སེམ་ནོན་ KHO LAS BE-’EN-YOD 3SG work do-DUR-AUTH ’(Right now), he is working.’ (Pur)

(125) ཁ ཤ་ རྟུབ་བེན་འདུག SHA RTUB-BEN.’DUG meat chop-DUR+SENS ’(He) is chopping meat.’ (Pur; Adapted from Zemp 2018)
In some languages such as Ladaks, the progressive may also convey a durative function:

(126) ◊ འཛིན་ཚེ་རེ་ཆང་འདུག
    MTSHAN TSHE.RE CHANG 'THUNG-NGIN.'DUG
    night all chang drink-DUR+SENS
    '(They) have been drinking chang all night.' (La)

However, in order to convey the durative function, the auxiliaries 'DUG' and BSDAD together with the progressive (JEN/INV) are often preferred in Ladaks and Purik.

(127) ◊ ལུགས་ཅིག་ངོ་ཚེ་རེ་གེད།
    SHA RTUB-BEN.'DUG-GED
    meat chop-DUR-EGO
    'He keeps on chopping meat.' [durative] (Pur, ibid.)

(128) ◊ གྲོིད་ཟའ་ཕྲི་འདུག་ངེད།
    NGA ZHAG-DANG KLTAB SIL-LIN.'DUG-GED
    1SG every day book read-DUR-EGO
    'I keep reading books every day.' [durative] (La)

In some languages such as Kham and Hor, the same auxiliaries བསྡད་BSDAD(past)/སྡོད་SDOD(pres) convey the progressive. In Dzongkha the progressive form ◊ རོ་DO may also be derived from SDOD.

(129) ◊ བོད་ཡིག་བྲི་འདུག་རེད།
    KHO YLGE BRI-'DUG.RED
    3SG letter write-PROG+FACT
    'S/he is writing a letter.' (Kh: Gyalthang)

(130) ◊ བོད་ཕྲི་གདའ།
    LTO ZA-BSDAD.GDA'
    meal eat-PROG+SENS.
    'S/he is eating.' [Hor]

In some languages, the progressive is marginal and rarely used. That is the case in Common Tibetan (ex. 131) with the progressive construction: V(past)+SGANG.YIN/SGANG.RED('lit. to be on doing something').
8.4.2.4. Perfect

The perfect aspect refers to a past situation that is still relevant at the moment of utterance. This aspect is generally found in the Tibetic languages. Several forms convey the perfect together with various evidential or epistemic modalities. In most languages, the perfect is marked by existential verbs, sometimes preceded by a connective (NAS, TE, etc.). The perfect is compatible with various evidential categories (egophoric, factual, sensory) and epistemic categories.

The non-sensory perfect based on logical inference is conveyed by the existential auxiliary འབྲིས་ YOD as well as compound existential forms which include this auxiliary (see 8.3.3.3).

Auxiliaries that are frequently attested to convey the "sensory perfect" include: བཞག་ BZHAG (Ü) and the related forms དབུག་ DUG (La), དབུག་ TSONG (Pur), དབུག་ ZUG (Am, Kh), དབུག་ NUG (Dz), དབུག་ GDA (NH, Kh: Yülshül, Am), དབུག་ BZHAG (Ü), མས་ SNANG (E, Kh) and རྒྱུད་ GI (Kh: Northern route). See 8.3.10. In some dialects such as Tsang, the sensory is marked with a connective གནས་ NAS after the verb (without auxiliary) in affirmative sentences. However, in the negative sentence, the auxiliary is not dropped འབྲི་བཞག V-NAS-MI DUG.

(131) གནས་བཞག་པའི་སྒང་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་པའི་སྒང་ཡི་གེ་

NGA YI. GE BRIS-PAT. SGANG. YIN

1SG letter write-PROG+EGO

'I am writing the letter.' (Ü, ComTib)

(132) ཀྲ་བ་བབས་འགི

KHA.BA BABS’ GI

snow fall-PERF+SENS

'It has snowed.' (Kh: Derge) (adapted from Häsler 1999)

(133) སྒོ་བརྒྱབ་བཞག

SGO BRGYAB-BZHAG

door close-PERF+SENS

'The door is closed.' (Lit. 'has been closed.') (Ü, ComTib)
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(134) སྒོ་བརྒྱབ་མི་འདུག
SGO BRGYAB-MI 'DUG
door close-NEG+PERF+SENS
‘The door is not closed.’ (Lit. ‘has not been closed.’) (Ü, ComTib)

Note that in Common Tibetan, the auxiliary used in the negation (‘DUG) is not the same as the auxiliary used in the affirmative sentence BZHAG.

In Ladaks, the same example is:

(135) ◊ སྒོ་བཅུགས་ཏེ་འདུག་
SGO BCUGS-TE 'DUG
door close-PERF+SENS
‘The door is closed.’ (Lit. ‘has been closed.’) (La)

8.4.2.5. Future

The future is attested in most languages. In many languages, the future is formed by adding the equative copulative verb ཡིན་YIN or other equative copulative verbs (such as རེད་RED, etc.) after a verb usually followed by a nominalizer (see 8.3.13): V.་ཞིག་+གི་+ཡིན་GI+YIN (Ü), V.་ཞིག་+ལེ་+ཡིན་NI+LE+YIN (Kh), V.་ཞིག་+འིན་+ཡིན་SHAD+IN (Lho), V.་+ཡིན་YIN (La). Ladaks has also developed a second type of future in ◊ བརྒྱད་CEN derived from the nominalizer བརྒྱས་CES +ཡིན་YIN (Zeisler pers. comm. 2020). Some languages (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, La, etc.) make a distinction between intentional and non-intentional future (see Tournadre 2016, 2017). Here are some examples:

(136) ◊ སྒོ་འོང་ལེ་ཡིན།
SGO ONG-LE YIN
1SG come-FUT+EGO
‘I will come.’ [general] (Kh: Minyak Rabgang)

(137) ◊ སྒོ་འོང་ལིའི།
SGO ONG-LI YIN
1SG come-FUT+EGO
‘I will (definitely) come.’ [intentional] (Kh: Minyak Rabgang)
Some exceptional languages, such as Rongdrak Kham do not have a specific form for the future and only distinguish past from non-past.

Here is an example of non-past:

(143) བེ་ རེ། རིམ་པའི་དོན་

DE ZAN ZA-MI.YIN
3SG food eat-PREF+SENS
‘S/he will eat food/ is eating food.’
8.4.3. Evidential modalities

Tibetic languages have developed rich and complex evidential-epistemic systems (E-E system) which are semantico-cognitive in nature although they exhibit some syntactic secondary effects. These systems also involve the category of stance and ethos as we will see below (see the notion of authoritative). For an overview of the evidential systems of Tibetic languages, see Gawne & Hill (2017). See also Bickel (2000, 2001).

In all the modern Tibetic languages, the marking of evidentiality and/or epistemiety is compulsory in finite clauses.

Evidential and epistemic modalities are marked by verb ending morphemes often derived from copulative and existential verbs or auxiliaries (see section 8.3 and 8.4) that may combine together. Every verb ending conveys either evidential or epistemic or a combination of evidential and epistemic meanings.

Evidential and epistemic marking is correlated with the various tenses and aspects. As expected, in the Tibetic languages, the E-E paradigm of form is more developed in the past than in the present or the future.

The major categories in Tibetic languages of the E-E system are (a) “sensory”, (b) “inferential”, (c) “authoritative”, (d) “hearsay and reported speech”, (e) “epistemic”. These 5 macro-categories are attested in all the modern Tibetic languages. However, these categories may be divided into several subcategories as we will see below. Some subcategories are specific to a given language or even a given dialect.

For the notion of “evidential”, we propose the following definition: the representation of source and access to information according to the speaker’s perspective and strategy. (Tournadre & LaPolla 2014). This definition of evidentiality makes a clear distinction

59. Evidential markers have sometimes been called “mediative markers”. The term “médiatif” in French, proposed by Lazard (1956) for a variety of Tajik, referred mainly to “indirect” source and access of information. Later the use of “médiatif” was mainly associated with the verb systems of various languages such as Bulgarian, Persian, Turkish, etc., to indicate hearsay and inference, hence a “mediate information” (Lazard 1999; Guentchéva 1996). These languages do not have a paradigm of “sensory evidentials” indicating specifically direct sensory perception. The term “médiatif” was also applied to Tibetan by Tournadre (1994a, 1996a). In this book, we stick to the English-speaking tradition and will use only the term “evidential” as defined in Tournadre & LaPolla (2014).
between "source" and "access". In the Tibetic languages, both source and access to information are grammaticalized. The Tibetic Evidential/Epistemic systems are associated with a number of typological characteristics and morphosyntactic behaviours that play a crucial role in the functioning of the systems. Among these characteristics, one should mention:

(a) the complex correlation with the category of person;
(b) the correlation with tenses and aspects;
(c) the anticipation strategy and perspective shift in interrogative sentences;
(d) additionally, in a number of languages, such as Ü-Tsang, Amdo or Kham, etc., evidentiality interacts with the semantic categories of “intentionality” or “animacy”;
(e) the paradigm of evidential and epistemic categories conveyed by auxiliary or copulative verbs is only available in the main clause, but generally not in subordinate clauses (see Chang & Shefts 1964; Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 1998, 2003: 76, 142; Garrett 2001);
(f) The choice of evidential or epistemic markers is flexible and depends on the speakers’ communicative intention. The flexibility in the use of the markers has been noted by some authors (see e.g. Zeisler 2012b; Tournadre 2008, 2017; Gawne 2013 and Hill 2013b).

Finally, we ought to emphasize that the five major E-E categories – sensory, inferential, authoritative, hearsay and reported speech, epistemic – may include many subcategories, some of which are present only in a few languages. For example, some languages such as Ladaks and Spiti, distinguish “visual sensory” from “non-visual sensory”, whereas the majority of the Tibetic languages do not make this distinction. Within “non-sensory”, the “endopathic” category has usually has a special status (see 8.4.3.1 & 8.4.3.2). Some languages such as Dzongkha and Choća-ngeće have developed a specific category “participatory-sensory” (see 8.4.3.3). Inferential markers also play a very significant role in the various languages (Zeisler 2012b). In most cases, the E-E systems distinguish several subtypes which include “sensory inferential” and “logical inferential” (see 8.4.3.4). The category of “authorative” includes “factual” and
“egophoric” which are present in most Tibetic languages (see 8.4.3.5 and 8.4.3.6). The egophoric category can be itself further divided into several subcategories: “intentional egophoric”, “receptive egophoric”, “benefactive egophoric”, etc. as well as “strict” and “loose” egophoric (see 8.4.3.7). The hearsay and reported has a special status in the Tibetic E-E system (8.3.4.9).

Additionally some marginal categories such as self-corrective (counter-expectation) and mnemonic are also found in some Tibetic languages.

It is important to underline the complexity of the E-E systems and the existence of overlaps between various categories. For example, the evidential inference and epistemic may combine within the same verb endings (see 8.4.4).

In the following sections, we will first deal with the evidential markers, then tackle the epistemic markers and then examine some specific features of the E-E systems.

8.4.3.1. Sensory

The category of “sensory” refers here to both “external” and “internal” sensory access to information. This category is attested in all the major Tibetic languages. It may be acquired through the sensory channels of the five senses of sight, sound, touch, smell, and taste. But the sensory marker may also be used for “endopathic”, a term coined by Tournadre (1996c: 226), to indicate an “internal sensory” access to information. Endopathic marking encodes inner sensations such as cold, pain and hunger, as well as psychological states and emotions such as fear and anger. In some languages, it may also refer to intuitive feelings.

Note that the sensory marker often conveys to information recently acquired through perception (see e.g. van Driem 1998, see also the discussion about the mirative in 8.4.8.5), but it does not need to be the case. The observation may have occurred long ago! This is the case in the following example in Ladaks:

(145) ◊ སི་ཁུལ་མི་རུགས།

SI KHUL MI-RUG
school NEG-EXV+SENS
‘There was no school (at that time).’ (Lit. ‘there is no school’, I witnessed this situation.)
The speaker, Morup Namgyal, a famous Ladakhi singer, tells about his childhood and remembers that there was not any school in Wanla, his home village when he was a child, more than sixty years ago. In this interview, he further describes his village using mainly the sensory marker 'DUG' or its variant 'RUG'.

The fact that sensory marker is not always related to recent observation is further illustrated by the existence of the past sensory marker 'DUG-PIN' and the allomorph 'RUG-PIN' in Ladaks. To render the same situation the speaker could have said:

(146) ཨ་ཁུལ་མི་རུག་པིན།

school NEG-EXV+SENS-PST

'There was no school.'

The use of sensory marker for observation that occurred long ago is not specific to Ladaks and is also attested in other Tibetic languages. In Common Tibetan, the same sentence is rendered as:

(147) བློ་གྲེ་མི་དུག

school NEG-EXV+SENS

'There was no school (at that time).’ (Lit. ‘there is no school’.)

The category of "sensory" is pervasive in the Tibetic languages but as we will see it may receive various extensions depending on the language. Modern languages usually have various sensory markers depending on the tense-aspect. For the "present" (or "uncompleted/ habitual past") and "perfect" the same auxiliary is often used, whereas a specific marker occurs with the "completed past" sensory.

For the present and perfect, one encounters various sensory forms derived from different lexical verbs depending on the language. In many central, southern and western languages such as Ü, Tsang, Sherpa, Lhoke, Dzongkha, Ladaks and Purik it is derived from the verb 'DUG' to stay, to sit’. Note that the form 'DUG' had already acquired an evidential meaning in Classical Tibetan (Hill 2013; Oisel 2013).

60. The Indian pronunciation of DNGOS.GRUB.
In Ho and several northern Kham dialects, one finds instead the verb གདའ་GDA’< CT ’to sit’. Another form, derived fromསྣང་SNANG’to shine, to appear’, is used for the sensory access marker in Phânpo (central Tibet), in many varieties of Kham,61 in some dialects of Ladakh and Baltistan as well as in Pangi (see 8.3.10). In Amdo, the suffix ནིGI is used. The origin of the sensory markers ཀའི་GI, /’go/ used in the Kham Derge dialect, as well as the Dzongkha འཇམ་MAS are not clear.

In the completed past auxiliaries derived fromཐལ་THAL ’to go’ (Kham, Am) andསོང་SONG ’to go’ (Ü, Ts, Sher, etc.) are frequently attested to convey a sensory meaning.

The “sensory” marking (except for the endopathic, see below) is normally used in declarative and interrogative sentences with the 3rd (singular or plural) person “subject” (A or R). It is sometimes used with the 2nd person “subject” in declarative sentence, but not normally with the 1st person “subject.” The reason is clearly pragmatic: one can not be a witness of oneself, except in some specific situations. For example, to say ’I am eating’ or ’I am writing’, Tibetic languages do not use sensory markers simply because it would entail ’I see myself eating’, ’I see myself writing’. If the speaker sees himself in a mirror, in a dream, in a movie, etc. then the use of a sensory with the first person would be perfectly acceptable.

(148) གཞས་ལ་གཉན་གི་GZHAS-LA NYAN-GI (’DUG)
song-DAT listen-UNCMP+SENS
[S/he is listening to a song.] [I see or I hear s/he is listening to a song] (Ü, ComTib)

(149) དགླུ་འ་གཉན་གོ་གི GLU-A NYAN-GO.GI
song-DAT listen-UNCMP+SENS
[S/he is listening to a song.] [I see or I hear s/he is listening to a song] (Am)

61. Note that in some Kham dialects, SNANG is used as a “non-egophoric” or is restricted to “visual sensory”.

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In some languages, the sensory marker may have a different form depending on the controllability of the verb. For example in Amdo, the form གི GI is used with adjective predicates, emotion verbs, etc., whereas the compound form གིཡོད་ གི GI, often shortened as གོ GI (see Sun and LHABA, RGYAL 2005: 130) occurs with controllable verbs. Compare for example:

(150) རྩུ་ རྩུ་ རྩུ་
CHI.ZIG YED-GO.GI
what do-UNCMP+SENS
‘What is s/he is doing?’ [have you seen, etc. what s/he is doing now?] (Am)

(151) ང་ཉན་གོ་གི
GLU-A’ NYAN-GO.GI
song-DAT listen-UNCMP+SENS
‘S/he is listening to a song.’ [the speaker witnesses the scene] (Am)

(152) གོ
CHOG-GI
alright-STAT-SENS
‘It is alright.’ (Am)

(153) གི
MANG-GI
many-STAT+SENS
‘There is a lot.’ [the speaker sees it] (Am)

Two forms for the sensory are also found in Dzongkha: when the sensory occurs as an existential verb, it appears as སུམ་ སུམ་ སུམ་ ‘DUG’ but if it is used as a verb or as an adjective suffix, it appears as གི MAS:

(154) ཤོགས་ཤོམ་ སུམ་
LEGS.SHOM ‘DUG’
good EXV+SENS
‘(This) is good.’ (Dz)

62. However, as noted by Camille Simon (pers. comm. 2020), the main opposition might be between “stative verbs” and “action verbs”. See also Tribur (2019).
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The following examples illustrate the auxiliary SNANG conveying a sensory meaning. Note that the S of SNANG is never pronounced in the various languages, but in Kham may trigger an unvoiced nasal [ŋ]: /n’ang/

(155) ◊ གང་ རིམ་མས།
CHANG ZHIM-MAS
chang tasty-STAT+SENS
‘The chang is tasty.’ [tasting the drink] (Dz)

(156) ◊ མཁོ་ གཞིར་མ་དྲ་ཚིལ་ མ་ས་
KHO ER.MA.DAR.TSHIL ZA-U.MAS
3SG ema-tatsi EAT-PROG+SENS
‘S/he is eating ema-tatsi (‘chili cheese’).’ (Dz)

In many languages (Ü, Ts, Sh, Dz, etc.), the “visual sensory” markers are formally identical to the “non-visual” markers (i.e. auditory, gustatory, tactile, olfactory and endopathic). The choice of one sense or another depends on the semantics of the predicate and on the context. For example, in Common Tibetan (ex. 159-164), presenting an object (cloth, food, sound, etc.) to somebody, one may ask:

(157) ◊ དྲེ་ རིམ་པོ་ སྣང་།
DRI ZHIM.PO SNANG
smell tasty EXV+SENS
‘It smells good.’ [The speaker is smelling the flower] (Turruk Balti dialect; Ebihara 2017)

(158) ◊ བྲེ་ རུས་ཐུབ་ སྣང་
JA DRON.MO SNANG
beautiful warm EXV+SENS
‘The tea is warm.’ [The speaker is touching the cup or tasting the tea] (ibid.)

63 S. Ebihara translated this as ‘the tea is hot’. This is maybe due to the fact that Japanese does not have an expression for ‘warm tea’. Tea is either ‘hot’ or ‘cold’ whereas ‘warm’ and ‘cool’ are reserved for the honorific register. According to our Purik informants, ‘hot’ is /ts’ante/ and /dronmo/ means ‘warm’ in a similar way to Ladaks and Zanhar. This is also confirmed by Zemp (2018). See also the CTDT.
(159) **SNYING.RJE.PO 'DUG-GAS**
beautiful EXV+SENS-Q
‘Is it beautiful?’ [visual]

(160) **ZHIM.PO 'DUG-GAS**
tasty EXV+SENS-Q
‘Is it tasty?’ [gustatory]

(161) **DRL.MA 'DUG-GAS**
smell EXV+SENS-Q
‘Is there an odor?’ [olfactory]

(162) **JAM.PO 'DUG-GAS**
soft EXV+SENS-Q
‘Is it soft?’ [tactile]

(163) **SNYAN.PO 'DUG-GAS**
nice to hear EXV+SENS-Q
‘Is it nice to hear?’ [auditory]

Or ask about an endopathic information:

(164) **RANG GROD.KHOG L.Togs-Kyi.'DUG-GAS**
2SG stomach hungry-STAT+ENDO-Q
‘Are you hungry?’ [endopathic]

By using the sensory marker ‘DUG, the speaker invites the addressee to look at her dress, to taste the dish, to smell the object, to touch the clothes, to listen to the sound or to tell whether s/he feels hungry.

Conversely, the use of an auxiliary may have an impact on the interpretation of the verbal or adjectival predicate. For example, in Ladaks which distinguishes a visual sensory from a non-visual sensory (see 8.4.3.2), the use of one marker instead of the
other may have an incidence on the predicate interpretation, as shown in the sentences 165-166 and 167-168.

(165) གསལ་པོ་འདུག
GSAL.PO 'DUG
clear EXV+VIS
'It is clear.' [visual]

(166) ◊གསལ་པོ་རག
GSAL.PO RAG
clear EXV+NVIS
'It is clear, I understand.' [non-visual]

(167) བདེ་མོ་འདུག
BDE.MO 'DUG
good EXV+VIS
'It is beautiful.' [visual]

(168) ◊བདེ་མོ་རག
BDE.MO RAG
good EXV+NVIS
'It is good.' [I feel, non-visual]

Very often, the use of a sensory marker implies several senses. Here is an example in Common Tibetan:

(169) ལེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཅིག་འདུག
ME CHEN.PO-CIG64 'DUG
fire big-INDEF EXV+SENS
'There is a big fire.'

The speaker sees the fire, but at the same time smells it, feels the smoke in his/her eyes, etc. As we will see in the next section, in languages which have a distinction between visual and non-visual sensory markers, the visual sensory prevails over the other types of perception (including auditory) in the case of perceptions involving various senses.

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64. The indefinite marker is བི་ ZHIG in written Tibetan. However, it is pronounced /či(k)/ in the spoken language (Ü, Common Tibetan), in the same way as the cardinal number བེས་ GCHIG.
Endopathic access

It is worth noting that even the languages that do not make a morphological distinction between "visual sensory" and "non-visual sensory" marking, exhibit a specific syntactic behavior for the endopathic marking. The endopathic function is restricted to the 1st person "subject" (experiencer or "sensory captor" $S_1$) in declarative sentence and the 2nd person "subject" in interrogative sentence. (See the anticipation strategy in 8.4.8.3.)

This clearly shows that the endophatic has always a special status within the various types of cognitive sensory access to information.

Here are some examples:

(170) ◊ ཆེན་གོད་ཁོག་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་འདུག KHONG GROD.KHOG LTOGS-KYL.'DUG) 1SG stomach hungry-STAT+ENDO I am hungry.' (Ü, ComTib)

Note that in the Lhasa dialect, the auxiliary 'DUG is sometimes dropped in affirmative assertions but it always appears in negative sentences and questions.

(171) ?? ཆེན་གོད་ཁོག་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་འདུག KHONG GROD.KHOG LTOGS-KYL.'DUG) 3SG stomach hungry-STAT+ENDO Intended meaning: 'He is hungry.' (Ü, ComTib)

(172) ◊ ཆེན་གོད་ཁོག་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་འདུག KHONG GROD.KHOG LTOGS-GI LTOGS-GI 1SG (belly) hungry-STAT+ENDO I am hungry.' (Am)

(173) ?? ཆེན་གོད་ཁོག་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་འདུག KHONG GROD.KHOG LTOGS-GI LTOGS-GI 3SG (belly) hungry-STAT+ENDO Intended meaning: 'He is hungry.' (Am)

65. /ho/ is the Amdo pronunciation of PHO.8A.
As mentioned above, the endopathic can not be used with the 3rd person nor the 2nd person in declarative sentences. Three strategies are then available. The examples below are from Amdo, but any language which has developed endopathic marking would have these various strategies:

(a) sensory inferential

(177) ◊ མངོན་དགེ་སྐྱག་གི་

*KHO.DGE SKYAG-GO.GI*

3sg+m be afraid-UNCMP+INF+SENS

'He is afraid.' ['I see he is shivering.'] (Am)

(b) reported speech

(178) ◊ མུར་གེ་མགོ་ཁོལ་གོ་ཁ་ཀི་

*MUR.GE MGO KHOL-GO.GI ZER-GI*

3sg+f head boil-UNCMP+INF+SENS say-UNCMP+SENS

'She says she has a headache.' (Am)

(c) epistemic

(179) ◊ མུར་གེ་མགོ་ཁོལ་གོ་ཁ་ཟིག་རེད

*MUR.GE MGO KHOL-GO.KHAZIG.RED*

3sg+f head boil-UNCMP+INF

'She must have a headache (Lit. 'head boils').' (Am)
It is worth noting that in some rare languages such as Purik (Kargil), the endopathic access is not indicated with a sensory auxiliary but with the authoritative auxiliary, derived from CT རོ་ YOD.

We will now make some remarks about the use of sensory markers in dream narratives. According to Aikhenvald (2004: 344), "the treatment of dreams varies from culture to culture [...]. Some languages treat dreams on a par with ordinary directly observed experience. [...] In other languages dreams are cast in non-first hand evidentials."

In the Tibetic languages, dream narratives are normally told with the use of sensory markers or sensory inferential markers. When the speakers describe dreams which did not involve their participation, sensory and inferential auxiliaries are used as if the speakers had really seen the given situation.

However, when the speakers describe what happened to them in a dream, they also normally use sensory markers as if they perceive themselves as "actors" of a dream (see
e.g. Oisel 2017a; Tournadre 2008; Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 1998). This shift in the consciousness has an immediate grammatical consequence: in most languages, they do not use the same auxiliaries that would be required to describe an ordinary state of consciousness. Thus, dream narratives have specific grammatical features. In particular in dream narratives describing their own actions and states, speakers do not use the intentional egophoric markers (that convey the intention of the speaker, see below 8.4.3.7), nor do they use endopathic markers (that indicate an inner feeling or sensation, see above). The reason is that they do not have access to the intentions nor the inner feelings of the “self” which performs in the dream. These two types of auxiliaries are replaced by sensory or inferential markers.

8.4.3.2. Visual sensory versus non-visual sensory

Some Tibetic languages make a morphological distinction between “visual” and “non-visual sensory” (i.e. gustative, auditory, tactile, olfactory, and endopathic). That is for example the case in Ladak, Tö Ngari, Dolpo or Spiti-Khun-Garzha, and some Kham dialects (Bathang, Derge, Gyalthang). The visual evidential is usually marked with the auxiliary མི་འདུག ‘DUG, whereas the non-visual evidential is indicated by an auxiliary derived from བོད་ ‘GRAG ‘to sound’ (S K A L. B Z A N G & S K A L. B Z A N G D B Y A N G S. C A N 2002; Häser 1999; Hongladarom 2007a; Bartee 2007; Tournadre & LaPolla 2014).

Compare for example the “visual” and “non-visual” evidentials:

(184) ◊ མི་འདུག

MI ‘DUG

person EXV+VIS

‘There is somebody.’ (Sp)

The use of ‘DUG indicates that the speaker’s statement is made on visual access. The speaker sees or has seen that there is somebody. At least that’s what he or she pretends. Of course, one should bear in mind that the speaker may lie, and has not necessarily seen the event.

(185) ◊ མི་འདུག

MI ‘GRAG

person EXV+NVIS

‘There is somebody.’ (Sp)
The use of *GRAG* indicates that the speaker hears or has heard voices, but it may also be used if the speaker had access to information through other channels such as touching, smelling...

Here are three examples from *SKAI,BZANG 'GYUR,MED & SKAI,BZANG DBYANGS,CAN* (2002):

(186) ◊ བང་ཆེན་སླེབས་འོང་གྲག

*DBANG.CHEN SLEBS-'ONG-GRAG*

Wangchen  arrive-DIR-PERF+NVIS

‘Wangchen has arrived.’ [based on hearing] (Kh: Bathang)

(187) ◊ མི་དྲེག་དྲོ་འོང་གྲག

*KHYOD-GI RUM-NANG STAR.GA YOD-GRAG*

you-GEN pocket-LOC walnuts EXV-NVIS

‘In your pocket, there are walnuts.’ [based on touching] (Kh: Bathang)

(188) ◊ རྡོ་རུང་རག་ག་

*SPOS-KYI DRLMA DRO-'ONG,GRAG*

incense-GEN flavor exhale-DIR+NVIS

‘The flavor of the incense is coming.’ [based on smelling] (Kh: Bathang)

Zeisler (2018a: 93) provides a good example of the differences between the visual and non-visual markers in Ladaks (Leh):

(189) ◊ གནང་གཞག་ཏེ་དབུ་ཅང་དག་མི་རྣ་

*THAR.MO.SI NANG-NGA JA DA.RUNG RAG-GA MI-RAG*

/t’armos-i nang-a ča daraUNG rag-a mi-rak/

thermos-GEN in-LOC tea still EXV+NVIS-Q NEG-EXV+NVIS

‘Is there still [some] tea in the thermos flask or not?’ (La)

She gives the following comment: “While uttering this sentence, the speaker might take up the flask and shake it to feel whether there is some liquid left. S/he might also expect the addressee to do so or to have done so a moment before. If s/he would take out the cork and peep through the opening or if s/he expects the addressee to do so, s/he would use the existential verb for visual experience *ḥdug*”: 
It is interesting to note that in the case of perceptions involving both visual and other senses such as auditory, etc., the visual marker is generally used.

In the first example above, the child is present in the room, and the visual auxiliary is used although the speaker also hears the child crying, whereas in the second sentence, the non-visual is used because the speaker hears the child crying in the next room but does not see it. It should be noticed that although the sound is certainly a salient feature of cries, it is nevertheless the sight that is cognitively dominant. The same situation appears with coughing as illustrated below:

These examples also show that the visual marker does not entail that other senses are not involved. Indeed when using the visual marker ("seeing that somebody cries or
coughs”), the speaker also perceives the sounds, but the visual perception is considered as primary.

This appears even more clearly in the following examples:

\[(195) \quad \text{GLU} \quad \text{RGYAL.LA} \quad \text{BTANG-'DUG} \quad \text{song} \quad \text{well} \quad \text{V}^6\text{-PRES+VIS} \quad \text{‘(She) is singing well.’ (I can see her performing on the stage) (La)}\]

\[(196) \quad \text{GLU} \quad \text{RGYAL.LA} \quad \text{BTANG-NGA.RAG} \quad \text{song} \quad \text{well} \quad \text{V}^6\text{-PRES+NVIS} \quad \text{‘(She) is singing well.’ (I hear her singing on a recording.) (La)}\]

Even, in this case where the sound is determinant for the evaluation, the visual marker is normally preferred (see the evidential accessibility hierarchy in 8.4.3.10).

In systems with visual and non-visual sensory, as one could expect, the endopathic (or “inner sensory”) function is always marked by the non-visual evidential.

\[(197) \quad \text{NGA-LA} \quad \text{LTOGS-RE.GRAG} \quad \text{1SG-DAT} \quad \text{hungry-PRES+ENDO} \quad \text{‘I am hungry.’ (Garzha)}\]

\[(198) \quad \text{NGA} \quad \text{LTOGS-SA.RAG} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{hungry-PRES+ENDO} \quad \text{‘I am hungry.’ (La)}\]

There are however some rare exceptions such as Dolpo which uses a visual sensory and not the non-visual as excepted.

8.4.3.3. Participatory-sensory

Some Tibetic languages such as Dzongkha or Choča-ngača have a special marker to convey the fact that the speaker has either witnessed or consciously taken part in an action or a situation. This marker has been called “witnessed past” by van Driem (1992, 1998). However, as we have seen earlier in the Tibetic languages “sensory” markers normally do
not occur with first person (except for the endopathic function and other specific situations, see 8.3.11, Oisel 2017a). In order to designate the markers that normally occur both with 1st person (the speaker is a participant of the event) and with 2nd or 3rd person (the speaker is a witness of the event), we propose the term participatory-sensory. The term “participatory” is used to describe some evidential markers of Papua New Guinea and are related to the participation of the 1st person (see San Roque and Loughnane, 2012a-b).

This is for example the case of the marker yi in Dzongkha.

(199) ◊ ན་ལྟོ་ད་ཅི་ལས་ཟ་ད་ཡི། NGA LTO DA.CI-LAS ZA-DA-YI
1SG meal before eat-SEC-PAST+PART
'I have already had my meal.' (Dz; van Driem 1992: 243)

(200) ◊ ཨོམ་འབོ་ད་ཡི། DA. MO-GIS ♦OM 'BO-DA-YI
now she-ERG milk split-SEC-PAST+PART
'Now she’s spilt the milk.' (Dz; van Driem 1992: 243)

This is also true of the marker -DO in Choča-ngača.

(201) ◊ བཏང་དོ། CHAR.PA BTANG-DO
rain fall-PROG+PART
'It is raining!' [observing the rain falling] (Cho; Tournadre & Karma Rigzin 2015)

The progressive -DO in Dzongkha has a similar reading. According to van Driem (1998): it expresses "an activity which the speaker by his own observation knows to be going on in the present." Thus, the suffix -DO is clearly a sensory marker. However, -DO also frequently occurs with the first person (van Driem 1998):
The inferential mood indicates that the basis of the speaker’s assertion is an inference or a conclusion that is being drawn from the traces or the present results of a past action, or from a logical calculation. The speaker may also make an inference drawn from the present situation to predict a future event. Inference may be considered as certain by the speaker or it may bear various degrees of uncertainty. In this section, we only deal with the inferential conveying certainty. For the epistemic inferential, see 8.4.4.

8.4.3.4. Inferential

The inferential mood indicates that the basis of the speaker’s assertion is an inference or a conclusion that is being drawn from the traces or the present results of a past action, or from a logical calculation. The speaker may also make an inference drawn from the present situation to predict a future event. Inference may be considered as certain by the speaker or it may bear various degrees of uncertainty. In this section, we only deal with the inferential conveying certainty. For the epistemic inferential, see 8.4.4.

The inferential may be essentially of two types: sensory inferential and logical inferential. Let us first examine the former type. In the Tibetic languages, sensory inferential markers are often derived from the following auxiliaries: དུག་ 'DUG (Ü, Ts, La, Ba, La, Pur, Kh, Dz), སྣང་ 'SNANG (Kh, Ba: Turtuk), རྒྱལ་ 'GDA (Hor, Kh), རྒྱ། 'GRAG (La, Lj, Sp, Tö, Kh), རིན་ 'BZHAG (Ü), རྒྱ། 'ZUG (Kh, Am). Some of these auxiliaries such as དུག་ 'DUG, རྒྱལ་ 'GDA, སྣང་ 'SNANG indicate a sensory perception (see 8.4.3.1-2, 8.3.10) when they are used in the present and progressive or incomplete past, whereas they indicate a sensory inference when they occur in the perfect aspect.

It is important to emphasize upon the fact that sensory inferences are not always conveyed by “sensory inferential markers.” They may often be realized by simple
sensory markers. The reason is obvious. From a cognitive point of view, perceptions often imply a certain degree of inference as shows the following Ladaks sentence:

(206) ◊ བི་ ཆུ་ ཕྲོན་མོ་ དུག
\[ བི་ ཆུ་ ཕྲོན་མོ་ དུག \]
today water warm vis

'This water is warm.' [the speaker sees the steam over the water, and infers that the water is warm] (La)

Although the sensory marker "DUG" is used, the speaker may not directly see that the water is warm and only infers the warm temperature from looking at the steam.

The same sentence with cold water would be inappropriate:

(207) ◊ བི་ ཆུ་ རྒུང་མོ་ དུག
\[ བི་ ཆུ་ རྒུང་མོ་ དུག \]
this water cold vis

'Intended meaning: This water is cold.' (La)

The speaker would not have sufficient clue to "see" that the water is cold.

The only way to know would be to touch the liquid and then the non-visual sensory marker "RAG" /rak/ would be appropriate:

(208) ◊ བི་ ཆུ་ རྒུང་མོ་ རག་ སྒྲོན་མོ་ མི་རག
\[ བི་ ཆུ་ རྒུང་མོ་ རག་ སྒྲོན་མོ་ མི་རག \]
this water cold vis warm neg-vis

'This water is cold, it is not warm!' [the speaker touches it or tastes it] (La)

The following frequent sentence in Ladaks illustrates the same phenomenon:

(209) ◊ བི་ དྲིིདྲིིལིི རེམྲི་ ཚུག་ རག་ ཐུག
\[ བི་ དྲིིདྲིིལིི རེམྲི་ ཚུག་ རག་ ཐུག \]
today weather cold vis

'Today, the weather is cold!'

The speaker uses a visual sensory marker, looking at the landscape from the window. Although, the sentence implies an evaluation of the temperature, the speaker may have clues about the outside temperature. For example, in Ladakh, in winter, a cloudy weather implies a cold temperature. Of course, if one goes outside and feels directly the temperature, one will naturally say:
"Today, the weather is cold!" (La)

This being said, when one does not have a direct perception and infers a situation from various sensory evidences.

Here are some examples of sensory inferential markers:

(211)  "It has rained." [The speaker sees the ground wet, sensory inference].  
(Kham, Budy dialect)

(212)  'He is sick.' [The speaker has seen him or is looking at him and concludes he is sick] (Kham, Tormarong [alt. Dongwang] dialect; adapted from Bartee 2007)

(213)  'Oh, it has snowed!' [looking at the white mountains around] (La)

The same sentence in Common Tibetan would be:

(214)  'Oh, it has snowed!' [looking at the white mountains around] (Ü, ComTib)

The sensory inferential contrasts with the sensory:

(215)  'It snowed.' [yesterday, I saw the snow falling] (Ü, ComTib)
It is important to clarify that sentence (198) and (199) do not bear any uncertainty and can not be translated by 'Oh it must have snowed!'. The Tibetic languages usually have grammatical means to distinguish these two interpretations.

Even with inferential related to the future, the prediction is considered as certain.

(216) གོ་རེ་ཁ་བཏང་ངོག
THO.RE KHA BTANG-NGOG
tomorrow snow LV-FUT+INF
'Tomorrow, it will snow.' [looking at the sky completely covered] (La)

Even, if meteorological prediction is far from being certain, the speaker by using this inferential does not have doubts about his prediction. Otherwise he can use various epistemic inferences (see 8.4.4).

For example the sentence below would convey uncertainty:

(217) ཆང་ཡིན་ནོག
LA-’A KHA BTANG-MI-BTANG-NGA.HE
pass-LOC snow fall-NEG-fall+FUT+EPI
'On the pass, it will probably snow.' (La)

In Ladak, the opposition between visual and non-visual sensory inferences is very common. Here are some other examples:

(218) ཆང་ཡིན་ནོག
PO CHANG YIN.NOG
INTJ chang be+SENS
'Oh, (it) is chang!' [by looking at the liquid in the glass] (La)

(219) ཆང་ཡིན་གྲག
PO CHANG YIN.GRAG
INTJ chang be+SENS
'Oh, (it) is chang!' [by smelling or tasting liquid in the glass] (La)

In Balti, Purik and Ladak, the inferential may be conveyed by the auxiliary ཀྲུང TSUG or འབུ་ Sug(Ba, La, Pur) < CT ཤུ་ DUG (Zeisler 2012b, 2017; Zemp 2018), whereas in Amdo and Kham, the auxiliary ཀྲུང ZUG (Kh, Am) is attested. The latter is also attested in Kham Derge dialect (see Häsl 1999) and Amdo.
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(220) ◊ གྱི་འདིས་ཡོད་ཙུག་ CHU ‘DI-S YOD-TSUG
water this-INSTR exist-INF
‘The water came up to here (pointing to the chest).’ (Pur; Zemp 2018)

(221) ◊ གྲོ་ཆོས་ཆང་འཐུང་གི་ཡོད་ཙུག KHO,CHO-S CHANG ‘THUNG-GI,YOD-ZUG
3PL+ERG alcohol+ABS drink-UNC-INF
‘They are drinking alcohol.’ (Am)

[The speaker infers it, because he hears them laughing, shouting and talking very loudly behind the door] (Am: Rebgong; Tournadre & Shao, forthcoming)

(222) ◊ ལོགྱི་འདིས་ཡིན་ཙུག་ KHO PU,LIS YIN-TSUG
3SG policeman be-INF
‘He turned out to be a policeman [dressed in civil clothes].’ (La)

There are also logical inferences. Here is an example from Common Tibetan:

(223) ◊ སླིབ་ཚང་མ་བཟས་ན་གྲོད་ཁོག་ན་གེ་རེད། BYI,RIL TSHANG,MA BZAS-NA GROD,KHOG NA-GLRED
sweets all eat-CONJ stomach be sick-FUT+FACT
‘If he ate all the sweets he would have a stomach ache.’ (Ü, ComTib)

In this example, the logical inference is indicated by the use of a factual marker.

For other discussion on logical inferential, see Garrett (2001).

8.4.3.5. Authoritative
Authoritative stance is one of the 5 the E-E macro-categories found in all the Tibetic languages.66 Stance marking is not only related to the speaker’s commitment but also has an interactional function (see Zeisler 2018a-b). Some languages such as Amdo make a distinction between markers indicating common ground, shared experience and, on the other hand, markers claiming the speaker’s authority and emphasizing

66. The term authoritative was used by Zeisler (2018a-b) with a slightly different meaning. This author used the term in a more restricted sense similar to our “egophoric” meaning: ‘I know that’, ‘I know well that’, ‘I personally know that’, ‘I am convinced that’, conveyed by the auxiliaries YIN and YOD.
upon his/her knowledge that the hearer or “co-speaker” is not supposed to know (Simon 2019, Tübingen).

The use of an authoritative implies that the speaker has/had access to information not via senses or inferences, neither via reported speech but either through his/her own knowledge or through general knowledge but also objective information available to her/him. In many languages, the authoritative category is subdivided into “factual” (general knowledge and objective information) and “egophoric” (personal knowledge). The former category is presented as “objective” whereas the latter is “subjective.”

Some rare Tibetic languages lack one of these two categories. For example, Yolmo (Gawne 2017) does not have a factual marker, but has an egophoric type. Balti and Purik possess a general authoritative marker but lack an egophoric category. These two closely related languages have preserved the Old Tibetan verb འགྲོལ་ YIN and འདོད་ YOD in their original function.

(224) ཆི་ཡིན།
‘DI’U CI YIN
this what be
‘What is this?’ [neutral question] (Ba)

(225) སྐྱིན་ཡིན།
‘DI’U SKYIN YIN
this ibex be+AUTH
‘This is an ibex.’ (Ba)

(226) དེ་ལས་སུན་ཆོད་པ་ན་ཡོང་ངེད།  (<YONG.BAYOD)
DE LAS-SUN CHOD.PA-NA YONG-NGED
that work-PL finish-CONJ come-UNCMP+AUTH
‘As soon as these works are done I will come.’ (Pur; adapted from Zemp 2018)

(227) སྐྱེད་དབུས་རྒྱ་ཆེན་ (ibid.)
MAN-LA DMUL BRGYA KHYER-RED  (<KHYER.BA YOD)
man-DAT rupee 100 charge-UNCMP+AUTH
‘They charge 100 rupees for one man[maund].' (ibid.)
In Purik the simple bare past stem (without auxiliary), usually marked by an /-s/ "tends to be evidentially and epistemically neutral, except that they imply full confidence about the truth of the statement" (Zemp 2018). It corresponds to our “authoritative” function.

In most cases, the use of the simple past in Purik as well as Ladaks implies that the speaker directly experiences, controls or witnesses an event. However, this direct observation or participation is only a default interpretation and is not encoded in the grammar of the simple past. Here are some examples:

(229) མདང་ཀར་གིལ་ལ་ཁ་ཙ་པིག་བཏངས།
MDANG KAR.GIL.LA KHA TSA.PIK BTANGS
yesterday Kargil-LOC snow a little LV-INF-SENS
‘Yesterday it snowed a little in Kargil.’ (La)

The default interpretation is that the speaker saw the snow falling, but it does not need to be the case. He might have received a phone call of somebody he trusts and then convey the information with this authoritative mood. However, in Ladaks, many speakers will prefer to use the inferential form in TOG:

(230) མདང་ཀར་གིལ་ལ་ཁ་ཙ་པིག་བཏངས་ཏོག
MDANG KAR.GIL.LA KHA TSA.PIK BTANGS-TOG
yesterday Kargil-LOC snow a little LV-INF+SENS
‘Yesterday it snowed a little in Kargil.’ (La)

In Ladaks, the authoritative is used for sentences such as ‘I was born in X’ which clearly indicates that in that case, no observation can be involved...
The following variant is also quite frequent:

(234) ◊ ལེ་ བར་ བཅོས་ཏེ་ཡིན།

NGA GLE-A SKYES-TE.YIN
1SG Leh-LOC be born-CMP+EGO
'I was born in Leh.' (La)

The simple past is also used with a 1st person agent (with controllable verbs) when the speaker wants to make a strong emphasis.

(235) ◊ བེད་ བེད།

NGA-S ZERS
1SG-ERG say
'I did tell (you)!' (La)

(236) ◊ བེད་ བེད་ བེད།

NGA-S ZERS-SA MA-ZERS
1SG-ERG say-NMLZ NEG-say
'I told (you), didn’t I!' (La)

Here is an example for Purik, by Zemp (2018):

(237) ◊ གོ་ བར་ བཅོས།

KHO-A RGYAL.LA SONG
3SG-DAT well go-PAST
'It went well for her/him.' [S/he benefits now from it] (Pur)

8.4.3.6. Factual

Many Tibetic languages have developed a factual marker (see e.g. Tournadre 2008; Vokurková 2008; Oisel 2013). The speaker simply presents the information as a fact.
The marker is used for specific facts, known by the speaker as well as gnomic and historical information. For the equative copulative verb, the factual is marked by རེད་ (RED (Ú, Kh, Am, E), སྦད་ (SBAD (Ts, Lho), འདག་ (DAG (Tö Ngari), འགི་ (GI (E: Thewo mà)). In some regions a compound form is used, e.g. རོ་རེད་ (YIN.NOg (La) and རོ་སྦད་ (YIN.SnANG (Kh: Rongdrak)).

Alternative terms have also been used such as “assertive” (Tournadre 1996a) for Common Tibetan and Lende Kyirong (Huber 2002), or “neutral” (Yliniemi 2019) for Lhoke.

Note that Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2018b) have proposed an alternative term “statemental” to describe an auxiliary use in some Kham dialects. This term indicates that the speaker does not specify any access to information whereas the term ‘factual’ may also indicate a logical inference or an authoritative stance.

The existential verbs that indicate the factual are nearly always compound forms usually containing the auxiliary རོ་ (YOD: རོ་ཙེ་ (YOD.RED (Ú), རོ་ཙེ་ (OD.RED (Hor), རོ་ཙེ་ (YOD.D.RED (Kh, E), རོ་ཙེ་ (YOD.NI.RED (Am), རོ་ཙེ་ (YOD.B.SBAD (Ts), རོ་ཙེ་ (YOD.B.SBAD (Lho), རོ་ཙེ་ (YOD.MKHANG.SBAD (Lho), རོ་ཙེ་ (OD.KA’DAG (Tö), རོ་ཙེ་ (YED.LE.GI (E: Thewo mà). The factual auxiliaries are usually made of the above copulative and existential factual verbs.

The neutral question ‘what is (this)’ is conveyed by a factual in most languages. The speaker wants to get a factual information or neutral information and thus makes use of a factual by anticipation: རིང་ དཀར་ རེད། (TSHE.RING DGE.RGAN RED) ‘Tshering is a teacher.’ (ComTib, Ú, Kh, Am)

[The speaker presents this information as a fact. S/he does not claim any personal knowledge].
The same meaning is conveyed by the following Sherpa, Lhoke, Tsang, Tö, Jangpa and C. Ladaks equivalents:

(239) ◊ ཐིས་རིང་འདེ་རྒན་ཡིན་དུ།

TSHE.RING DGE.RGAN YIN.DZA

Tshering teacher be+FACT
‘Tshering is a teacher.’ (Sh)

(240) ◊ ཐིས་རིང་འདེ་རྒན་བཟད།

TSHE.RING DGE.RGAN SBAD

Tshering teacher be+FACT
‘Tshering is a teacher.’ (Ts, Lho)

(241) ◊ ཐིས་རིང་འདེ་རྒན་འདག

TSHE.RING DGE.RGAN ’DAG

Tshering teacher be+FACT
‘Tshering is a teacher.’ (Tö)

(242) ◊ ཐིས་རིང་འདེ་རྒན་ཡིན་དབུག

TSHE.RING DGE.RGAN YIN.’DAG

Tshering teacher be+FACT
‘Tshering is a teacher.’ (LJ)

(243) ◊ ཐིས་རིང་འདེ་རྒན་ཡིན་ནོག

TSHE.RING DGE.RGAN YIN.NOG

Tshering teacher be+FACT
‘Tshering is a teacher.’ (La)

Despite the diversity of forms, all the above languages have developed a factual marker.

8.4.3.7. Egophoric

The notion of egophoric may be defined in the following way: egophoric expresses personal knowledge or intention of the speaker (Tournadre 2008). In other words, “Egophoric evidentiality is therefore about a speaker’s access to her own knowledge” (Gawne 2017).

Let’s note here that some authors, such as DeLancey (2018) and Tribur (2019), differentiate egophoricity from evidentiality.
The notion of egophoric is very similar to "personal knowledge" (van Driem 1998; DeLancey 1990; Caplow 2017; Yliniemi 2017, 2019), "self-person" (Sun 1993), "personal experience" (Huber 2002), "ego evidentiality" (Garrett 2001), "speaker's involvement" (Hein 2007). Here are some examples (244-247) in Common Tibetan from Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003).

(244) བེད་མིག་འདི་ངའི་ཡིན།
LDE.MIG 'DI NGA'I YIN
key this I+GEN be
'This key is mine!'

(245) ཅེ་བུ་མོ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་ཡོད།
NGA'I BU.MO SLOB.GRWA-LA 'GRO-GLYOD
I+GEN daughter school-LOC go-UNCMP+EGO
'My daughter goes to school.'

(246) བྷོང་གི་ངར་ཡི་གེ་བཏང་བྱུང་།
KHONG-GIS NGA-R YLGE BTANG-BYUNG
he-ERG I-DAT Letter Send-EGOREC
'He sent me a letter.'

(247) བེད་མིག་འདི་ཁྱད་རང་གི་གསོལ་ཇ་ཡིན།
'DI KHYED.RANG-GIS GSOL-RA YIN
this you-GEN tea(=) be+EGO
'This is your tea [The tea I made for you].'
1982, and meant that "ego" as a deictic center is a fundamental property of linguistic systems.67 Égophore is a hyperonym for a few other notions related to the deictic center: chronophore, exophore, and endophore, which included the subcategories of autophorique, anaphorique, cataphorique and logophorique.68 The term "égophore" used by Hagège (1982) did not refer to the grammatical phenomenon now known as "egophoric" in the Tibetic languages and did not apply to any particular language or language group. In 1991, N. Tournadre first applied the term "egophoric" to Common Tibetan with an entirely different definition and thus coined a new concept to describe a specific phenomenon in this language. For a discussion on terminological issues related to egophoric and egophoricity, see Gawne & Hill (2017) and Gawne (2017).

**Origin of the egophoric markers in the Tibetic languages**

In the Tibetic languages which have grammaticalized egophoricity, the main egophoric auxiliaries are derived from the copulative verb ཨིན་ YIN ‘to be’ and the existential verb ཨོད་ YOD ‘to exist’, ‘to have’. More marginally, in some languages such as Ü and Tsang, other verbs which have acquired egophoric meanings include བྱུང་ BYUNG, མྱོང་ MYONG, དགོས་ DGOS, ཆོག་ CHOG and ཡོང་ YONG. In Amdo an egophoric marker -a, of unknown origin is attested.

**Egophoricity and access to information**

Egophoric may also be described in terms of access to information. The access is not sensory nor inferential but is related to "self-awareness" (Tournadre & LaPolla 2014). This type of access has not yet received sufficient attention. To explain this type of access, let’s us provide a simple example: if a person is sitting on her bed in the dark in the middle of the night and asked by her partner what she is doing, she may answer: ‘I am thinking about my project’. The speaker’s access is not sensory (since it is in the dark and it is a mental activity) and only possible through the speaker’s “self awareness.”

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67. “Le système de l’égophore est une propriété capitale des énoncés linguistiques.”
In some Tibetic languages, this access is grammaticalized as an egophoric (see Tournadre 2008; Gawne & Hill 2017).

(248) ཨ་བསམ་བློ་བཏང་གི་ཡོད།

'NGA BSAM.BLO BTANG.GI.YOD
1SG reflexion LV-UNCMP+EGO (INT)
I am thinking (about it).’ (Ü, ComTib)

General characteristics of egophoric markers

As mentioned earlier, evidential and epistemic categories feature essentially in the main clause. In non-finite clauses, one encounters essentially egophoric markers (YN, YOD, BYUNG, etc.), but they are used in a neutral way and do not convey any egophoric meaning.

Egophoric markers do not only insist on the personal knowledge, self-awareness and intention, they may also convey a more emotional load, whereas by contrast the factual marker presents the information as “objective” (see also Yliniemi 2019).

There are several types of egophoric both within a single language and across the different languages. For example, Common Tibetan includes several kinds of egophoric depending on semantic parameters such as intentionality or aspect: intentional, receptive, habitual, experiential and benefactive (see 8.3.5 and Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 2003).

Moreover, it is important to make a distinction between loose egophoric or wide scope egophoric and strict egophoric or narrow scope egophoric. The alternative terms of weak egophoric and strong egophoric have also been used (Gawne 2017; Tournadre 2008, 2017). The idea of a difference in scope was suggested by Garrett (2001: 107) who used the terms “strong ego” and “weak ego.”

Strict egophoric

Egophoric auxiliaries in the strict sense are used in declarative sentences (for interrogative sentences, see the anticipation strategy, 8.4.8.3) normally only with the first person singular or plural occurring overtly or covertly, regardless of its function in the given clause – “subject”, “object”, “indirect object”, “genitive complement”, “locative complement” (see Tournadre 2008, 2017). So, in the case of strict egophoricity, the
correlation with the first person is very strong. There are of course some marginal exceptions and the use of egophoric with the 2nd and 3rd persons in declarative sentence is not impossible but requires very specific situations in which the speaker insists strongly on his personal or intimate knowledge. In unmarked situations, the egophoric is usually not compatible with 3rd persons in declarative or interrogative sentences. For example, in Common Tibetan:

\[(249) \text{ NG} A \text{ PHYUG.P} O \text{ MIN} 1 \text{SG rich EGO+NEG} \]

'I am not rich.'

\[(250) \text{ KH} O N G \text{ PHYUG.P} O \text{ MIN-PAS} 3 \text{SG rich EGO+NEG-Q} \]

'Is he not rich?'

As we will see in the case of loose egophoricity, the correlation with the 1st person is less strong and the auxiliaries are also used with 3rd and 2nd persons, and the above sentence would be completely acceptable.

The strict egophoric markers are found essentially in Tibet, e.g. in Amdo, Northern Kham, Hor, Ngari, U, Tsang, and more rarely outside, e.g. Sherpa. (See for example Bartee 2007; Robin & Simon, forthcoming; Denwood 1999; Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003; Häsl 1999; Huber 2002, etc.)

**Loose egophoric**

Loose (or weak) egophoric auxiliaries are found in languages spoken outside Tibet in the southern and western Himalayas such as Dzongkha, Lhoke, Choča-ngača, Yolmo, etc.\(^69\) (Gawne 2017; Yliniemi 2017, 2019). They have been described as conveying “old knowledge”, or “personal knowledge” by van Driem (1998) or Yliniemi (2019). For Dzongkha, van Driem (1998) provides the following explanation:

\(^{69}\) Tournadre (2017) claimed that “Yolmo, just as Ladakhi and Dzongkha do not have an egophoric category per se.” The statement was too strong. The intended meaning was that these languages do not have a strict egophoric contrary to many languages and dialects of Tibet.
“the form *ing* expresses old, ingrained background knowledge or has become a firmly integrated part of one’s conception of reality [...]”

Lhoke:

(251) ◊ མོང་སྨན་པོ་ཨིན།

*KHONG SMAN.PO ḤN*

3SG doctor be

‘He is a doctor.’ (Yliniemi 2019)

(252) ◊ སྨན་པོ་ཨིན།

*LHAN.RGY.ྐS SMAN.PO ḤN*

2SG(h) doctor be

‘You are a doctor.’ (ibid.)

(253) ◊ ལྷན་རྒྱས་སྨན་པོ་ཨིན།

*NGA SMAN.PO ḤN*

1SG doctor be

‘I am a doctor.’

(254) ◊ གི་སྨན་ཁང་ན་སྨན་པོ་ཀརྨ་ཡོད།

*SMAN.KHANG-NA SMAN.PO KARMA YOD*

hospital-LOC doctor Karma Exist

‘In the hospital there is Doctor Karma.’

Dzongkha:

(255) ◊ འཚོ་མི་དེ་དྲུང་ཡིག་ཨིན།

*A.PHI MI-DE DRUNG.YIG ḤN*

DEM monk-DEF clerk be

‘That man is a clerk.’ (van Driem 1998)

(256) ◊ ཐུབ་གེ་སློང་ཨིན།

*NGA DGE.SLÔNG ḤN*

1SG monk be

‘I am a monk.’ (ibid.)
Ladaks:

(257) DBYAR.LA MANALI-YA PHYL.RGYAL.PA MANG.PO YOD

summer Manali-LOC tourist many exist

‘In summer, there are a lot of foreign tourists (Lit. ‘foreigners’) in Manali.’
[I know well, I have personal information] (La)

(258)

KHONG DGE.RGAN YIN
3SG(h) teacher be

‘He is a teacher.’ [I know very well] (marked sentence contrasting with DGE.RGAN YIN.NOG)

(259)

KHONG NGA’I DGE.RGAN YIN
3SG(h) I+GEN teacher be+EGO

‘He is my teacher.’

(260) BLA.MA-KUN-NIS SKU.RIM SAL-LA.YOD

lama-PL-GEN ritual give(h)-UNCMP+EGO

‘The monks are performing a ritual [in my home]’. (Example adapted from Koshal, 1979.)

The example below is a little awkward since both the factual YIN.NOG and the reportive-inferential YIN.KYAG would be preferable, but in a very marked utterance, it is not impossible:

(261) SENG. GE RN.AM.RGYAL LA.DWAGS-SI RGYAL.PO YIN

Sengge Namgyal Ladakh-GEN king be

‘Sengge Namgyal was a king of Ladakh.’ [intended meaning: I know personally very well.] (La)

Yolmo:

(262)

MA.GI YIN.PA
corn COP+EGO

‘It is corn.’ (Gawne 2017)
Even within the realm of loose egophoric, we can observe various degrees of grammaticalizations and restrictions. As pointed out by Gawne (2017):

“Yolmo does not have the same ‘general fact’ [factual] category that is found in Common Tibetan and Tibetic varieties. This is possibly a factor in why the Yolmo egophoric form has a broader distribution than the Common Tibetan cognate. Of all the languages with an egophoric, in Yolmo, the personal knowledge’ component is much weaker than in varieties where it is in contrast with a clear factual, gnomic or ‘non-egophoric’ category.”

Concerning Lhoke, one of the official languages of Sikkim, she adds:

“the Denjongke [Lhoke] personal forms, equative [ྱིན་ཐོ་] and existential [ཡོད་] are contrasted with the familiar sensorial [སྦད་] but also with a neutral [factual] copula [ཛིན་]. This means that while the forms have a quite broad distribution like other Southern Tibetic languages, the neutral form covers some of the semantic space that the egophoric covers in Yolmo. For example, in Lamjung Yolmo, a speaker can use the egophoric to talk about historical events as there is no other evidential form that is preferred. In Denjong, however, ‘it seems impossible to gain personal knowledge of distant historical events’ (Yliniemi 2017: 317-318) and instead the neutral form is used.”

Thus the precise semantic extensions of the egophoric largely depend on each language.

8.4.3.8. Reported speech and hearsay

We use here “hearsay” to refer to reported information without mention of the source (or lacking a precise source) and “reported speech” or “quotation” when the source of information is either explicitly mentioned or clearly identifiable. In the case of hearsay as well as in the case of reported speech, a verb of speech or a reported speech marker is necessarily present.

In a few dialects, we additionally find a “reportive-inferential modality.” The speaker may rely on his own inference or a reported information but it remains implicit and does not normally entail the presence of any reported speech marker. We will first examine the reported speech and hearsay.
a) Reported speech

Since Tibetic languages are all verb final and normally manifest a neutral order SOV, the reported clause is usually embedded between the author reporting the quotation and the verb of speech which occurs in the sentence final position. From a syntactic point of view, the reporting author is marked by a case (usually the ergative). The reported clause is not introduced by any marker (as expected for a verb final language), but is closed by a marker indicating the end of the quotation or reported speech final marker (hence RSF). This RSF is normally followed by a verb of speech, but in some cases, the verb may be used alone. Conversely the verb of speech is often dropped and the RSF may appear in the sentence final position. Let us summarize here the main reported speech constructions frequently attested in the Tibetic languages:

\[(\text{Source-ERG}) – (\text{Goal-DAT}) – \text{"Quotation"} – \text{RSF} – \text{Verba dicendi}\]
\[(\text{Source-ERG}) – (\text{Goal-DAT}) – \text{"Quotation"} – \text{Verba dicendi}\]
\[(\text{Source-ERG}) – (\text{Goal-DAT}) – \text{"Quotation"} – \text{RSF}\]

"Hearsay" – RSF

Here are some examples that illustrate the above structures:

(263) ◊ བི་ ཆང་མས་ དབྱིན་ཇི་ སྦྱངས་ན་ ཡག་པོ་ འདུག (¹DUG)
people all-ERG English learn-CONJ good exist+FACT-RSF say-SENS

‘Everybody says that it is good to learn English.’ (Ü, ComTib; Mélac 2014)

(264) ◊ མི་ རོག་ རིག་ རིག་ ལོ།
people all-ERG English learn-VERB think-ENDO-RSF

‘What did he say he was thinking?’ (La)

(265) ◊ བི་ ཁྱིའི་ ཆེན་
people all-ERG English learn-VERB think-what-RSF

‘What did you say? / What was said?’ (La)

In the above sentence, the RSF functions as a main verb but unlike the latter may not be followed by TAM markers.
The following example illustrates the fact that there may be a recursivity in the reported speech. *Somebody said that X said that.*

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(266) མི་རྒོད་ཀྱིས་ག་ལེར་ཕེབས་ཟེ་ཟེར་གྱིས་ཟ།
yeti-ERG slow-RSF go(h)-RSF say-UNCMP-QUOT
'(He) says that the abominable snowman says, “bye bye”. (Lit. ‘go slowly’) (ibid.) (Ú, ComTib)
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In Mélac’s example above, we can see that there are two reported speakers: the “abominable snowman” and another person (*he*) who reported what was said by the snowman. It is worth noting that both the source(s) and the goal(s) may be deleted.

In some cases, the quotative marker may be used alone without a verb of speech, whereas in other cases, the verb of speech can occur without any quotative marker.

In CT, the RSF is the morpheme རེད་ ZHES, which has two allomorphs རེན་ CES and རེས་ SHES. However, this marker does not seem to be attested in the modern languages. In a number of languages (Ú, Am, Dz, etc.), the RSF /se/, /sa/ (Am, Kh), /s/, /sa/ (Ú, Ts) is derived from the verb of speech རེི་ ZER ‘to say’ found in CT and in many languages. In Amdo, for the past, a suppletive form derived from the verb རེི་ BZLAS. In languages such as Ladaks, Zanhar, Purik, Kyirong, Lhoke or Dzongkha, another form derived from the CT form རེ་ LO is used to indicate reported speech and/or hearsay. (For examples of རེ་ LO in CT, see Kesang Gyurmé 1992). Another RSF marker /tsa/ (Kh: Tormarong), is derived from the CT verb རི་ GRAG ‘to sound’ (see Bartee 2007), so are /tɕa/ and /cəʔ/ found in Gyalthang Kham (Suzuki 2014a).

As noted by Driem (1998: 400), the RSF may be used not only with verbs of speech (such as བཐལ་ LAB, རེི་ ZER, རི་ BSHAD, རེ། ZLO) but also with verbs of perception (such as གོ་ GO ‘hear’) and psychological verbs (such as མནོ་ MNO ‘think’, བསམ་ BSAM ‘think’).

In many languages of the world, utterance complement clause may be expressed either by direct or indirect speech constructions. In “direct speech constructions” the quotation is reported by the actual speaker *verbatim*, i.e. using original wording (or pretending to use it), whereas in “indirect speech construction” the reported utterance
is rephrased by the actual speaker and the deictic words are recalculated with reference to the speaker’s current situation. Cristofaro (2013) notes that “in a number of languages direct speech is the only means available to convey reported speech.”

In the Tibetic languages, two types of reported speech constructions are attested. However, the distinction between direct speech and indirect speech does not exactly match the equivalent in the European languages. This has been noted by various authors. Van Driem (1998: 404) has shown that “sometimes, it is only the context which disambiguates between direct and indirect speech.” According to Koshal (1982) “Ladakhi does not distinguish between direct speech and indirect speech the way English or Hindi does.”

In many cases, there is no alternative between direct and indirect speech as shown in the examples below:

(267) ◊བློ་བཟང་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ཚེ་རིང་ཨེམ་ཆི་རེད་ཟེ་གསུང་སོང་།
BLO:BZANG-LAGS-KYS TSHE:RING ZEM.CHI RED-ZE GSUNG-SONG
Lobzang:H-ERG Tshering doctor be_FACT)-QUOT tell-CMP+SENS
‘Lobzang said: “Tshering is a doctor.”’ [direct speech] or
‘Lobzang said that Tshering was a doctor.’ [indirect speech] (Ü, ComTib)

From a syntactic point of view, the above Tibetan sentence corresponds to direct speech.70 However, there is no indirect speech equivalent.

An alternative reported speech construction is available only when there is a coreference between the author of the reporting speech and a participant of the reported speech. For example, in the sentence below, the pronoun KHONG’s/he’ and the pronoun NGA’I refer to the same person.

(268) ◊ཁོང་གིས་ང་ཨེམ་ཆི་ཡིན་ཟེ་གསུང་སོང་།
KHONG:GIS NGA ZEM.CHI YIN-ZE GSUNG-SONG
3SG(H)-ERG ISG doctor be(EGO)-QUOT tell-CMP+SENS
’S/he said: “I, am a doctor.’’ [direct speech] (Ü, ComTib)

70. Although the sentence has a quotative marker (ZE) that could be interpreted as a complementizer, there are functional reasons (related to deixis) to consider that it is rather a form of direct speech.
However, Tibetic languages tend to avoid coreferential pronouns or NPs. Thus, another construction is often preferred to convey the same information. This construction has been labeled 'hybrid indirect speech' (see Tournadre 1992; Tournadre & Sangla Dorje 1998, 2003; Zemp 2018). Some authors have described this phenomenon in the framework of the conjunct/disjunct model (see e.g. DeLancey 1990, 1992, see 8.4.4.2).

Thus, the sentence above is more often rephrased as:

(269) KHong ʔem.chi Yin-Ze Gsung-song
3SG(h) doctor be(ego)-quot tell-cmp+SENS
'S/he said (that s/he) was a doctor.' [hybrid indirect speech] (Ü, ComTib)

The literal translation of this sentence would be: "S/he am doctor, said."

As we see, the coreferential pronoun NGA'T has been deleted and the ergative case marking the pronoun KHONG has also been deleted since it is now governed by the verb of the embedded clause, here the copulative verb YIN.

In such constructions, the personal pronouns and other deictic markers are reformulated according to the speaker’s current situation, as expected in the case of indirect speech. The honorific markers are also reformulated according to the actual speaker’s perspective (see ex. below). However, one of the distinctive features of the 'hybrid indirect speech' is that it preserves the original evidential and epistemic auxiliaries used in the quotation. This is true even for egophoric auxiliaries that are normally related to the 1st person.

Here are some additional examples:

In Common Tibetan:

(270) BLO.bzang-lags-kyis Nga Yong-glyin-Ze Gsung-gl.’Dug
Lobzang-H+erg 1sg come-FUT+EGO-QUOT tell[H]-PROG+SENS
'Lobzang, says: "I, will come."

(271) BLO.bzang-lags Phebs-kyl Yin-Ze Gsung-gl.’Dug
Lobzang-H come(H)-FUT+EGO-QUOT tell[H]-PROG+SENS
'Lobzang, says that he will come.'
In Amdo:

(272) ◊ བལ་ཡུལ་ལ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད།

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{KHUR.GE} & \text{BOD-ZIG} & \text{MIN} & \text{ZER-GI} \\
/k'\text{arge} & \text{wo'-zaq} & \text{man} & \text{ser-ka/}
\end{array}
\]

3SG+ERG Tibetan-IND NEG+COP+EGO say-PROG+SENS

‘He says that he is not Tibetan.’

(273) ◊ བལ་ཡུལ་ལ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད།

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{KHUR.GE} & \text{BOD-ZIG} & \text{MA-RED} & \text{ZER-GI} \\
/k'\text{arge} & \text{wo'-zaq} & \text{ma-ra} & \text{ser-ka/}
\end{array}
\]

3SG+ERG Tibetan-IND NEG+COP+FACT say-PROG+SENS

‘He says that he is not Tibetan.’

b) Hearsay

Hearsay constructions are made with the same RSF, བཟེར་ ZER, བཟླས་ BZLAS,ལོ LO, ཆུག་ GRAG ‘to sound’ (see above) as the quotative markers. The main difference in the construction between hearsay and quotative is that the argument corresponding to the reported speaker is dropped.

However, since the reported speaker can also be dropped in the case of quotation, the two constructions are syntactically equivalent and it is not always easy to differentiate between hearsay and quotation.

Here are some examples of hearsay in various Tibetic languages:

In Common Tibetan:

(274) ◊ བལ་ཡུལ་ལ་ས་ཡོམ་ཡོད།

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{BAL.YUL.LA} & \text{SA.YOM} & \text{MANG.PO} & \text{YOD.RED-ZA} \\
\text{Nepal-LOC} & \text{earthquake} & \text{many} & \text{exist-HS}
\end{array}
\]

‘There are reportedly many earthquakes in Nepal.’

In Kyirong:

(275) ◊ དུད་པ་སྒམ་མཁན་ལོ།

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{DUD.PA} & \text{SGAM-MKHAN-LO} \\
\text{smoke} & \text{inhale-UNCMP-HS}
\end{array}
\]

‘He inhales smoke, it is said.’ (Huber 2002) [‘They say he smokes.’]
In Dzongkha:

(276) ◊ ཕོ་གིས་ང་ལུ་དགའ་བས་ལོ།
\[ KHO\text{-}GIS \quad NGA\text{-}LU \quad DGA\text{-}BAS\text{-}LO \]
3SG-ERG \quad I\text{-}DAT \quad love-INF-HS
'I have been told that he loves me.' (van Driem 1998: 196) ['I heard that he loves me.]

In Purik:

(277) ◊ མང་ཆེན་འདུག་ལོ།
\[ KHO \quad KHANG.MA \quad CHEN\text{-}DUG\text{-}LO \]
3SG \quad home \quad go\text{+}\text{PROG}\text{-SENS}\text{-HS}
'I hear she is going home.' [Somebody who saw her going home said it to me] (Zemp 2018)

In Minyak Rabgang Kham, the hearsay marker is ZER.RED. Here is an example from Lhagang Kham (Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2015):

(278) ◊ བོ་འུ་ཁ་གྲགས་ཟིན་རེད་ཟེར་རེད།
\[ JO\text{-}BO\text{-U} \quad KHA\text{ GRAGS-ZIN.RED-ZER.RED} \]
Jowo-ERG \quad speak\text{-AOR}\text{-HS}
'It is said that the Jowo spoke words.'

In the Amdo sentence below, the hearsay marker is BZLAS 'to tell' followed by a secondary verb (BTANG) and the sensory suffix THAL which indicates that the actual speaker heard it directly.

(279) ◊ ཚེ་རིང་ཁ་རྩང་ཟི་ལིང་ང་བུད་ཐལ་བཟླས་བཏང་ཐལ།
\[ TSHE\text{RING} \quad KHL\text{RTANG} \quad ZLLING\text{-NGA} \quad BUD\text{-THAL} \quad BZLAS\text{-BTANG\text{-THAL}} \]
\[ /ts\text{-}er\text{ang} \quad k\text{artsang} \quad sabang\text{-nga} \quad wa\text{-}t\text{a} \quad zi\text{[PAST\text{-}tang\text{-}t\text{a}]/} \]
Tshering+ABS yesterday \quad Xining\text{-DAT} \quad go\text{[PAST\text{-}CMP\text{+SENS QUOT-SEC-SENS}}
'S/he said that Tsering went to Xining yesterday.' (Am; Tournadre & Shao forthcoming)

71. CHEN\text{-}DUG\text{-}LO is the contraction of CHAYIN\text{-}DUG\text{-}LO.
Compatibility of hearsay and quotative with evidential markers

In the Tibetic E-E systems, quotative as well as hearsay have a special status, since they are compatible with other evidential categories such as sensory, inferential, egophoric, etc. (see Sun 1993; Tournadre 1996a-b; Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001; Mélac 2014). Sun (1993: 991) noted for Amdo that "the quotative morpheme [...] is on both categorial and distributional count, at variance with the other three evidential markers [direct, indirect and immediate evidential (in our terminology, respectively to sensory, inferential and endopathic)]."

Indeed, reported speech and hearsay provide important arguments to distinguish “access to information” and “source of information” (see Tournadre & LaPolla 2014). As mentioned earlier, quotative markers and hearsay refer to a verbal source of information, whereas sensory, inferential and egophoric markers essentially convey access to information.

The examples below from Sun (1993) illustrate the compatibility of the hearsay (as well as quotation) with other evidential markers:

In Amdo:

(280) ◊ ཏར་ནུབ་ རྒྱུ་མྱེ་སོང་ཟིག་ཟེར།
KHAR NUB MYE SHOR-SONG.ZIG-ZER
last night fire slip-away-INF-HS
‘I heard (from someone who did not see it happen but saw the traces of the fire) that a fire broke out last night.’ (ibid.)

As we have seen above, the hearsay or quotative marker is normally preceded by an evidential marker, which specifies the access to information of the reported source. Note that it does not tell anything about the access to information of the actual speaker, i.e. how she had access to the hearsay. The actual speaker may also specify how she had access to information.
Lobzang+ABS come(H)-FUT+EGOVOL-QUOT tell(H)-PROG+SENS 'Lobzang, says that he, will come.' (Ü, ComTib)

In the above sentence, the actual speaker has directly heard Lobzang’s word (sensory marker), whereas the reported speaker (Lobzang) had an egophoric access (intentional egophoric).

Again the Purik ex. 277 mentioned above illustrates the same phenomenon:

3SG home go+ PROG+SENS-HS 'I hear she is going home.' [Somebody who saw her going home said it to me] (Pur; adapted from Zemp 2018)

The disclaimer ‘s’

Finally, in some languages such as Common Tibetan, the RSF is also used after single words, expressions or whole sentences as a “disclaimer” to indicate that the reader or the speaker does not take the responsibility for the utterance. This habit is so deeply rooted that speakers in Central Tibet would systematically add an རེ་/s/ < CT རེར་ ZER ‘to say’ when answering question about elicited words or expressions. In Ladakh, students of English will usually add the marker རེ་/lo/ even when reading an English sentence (Rebecca Norman, pers. comm. 2017).

c) The reportive-inferential modality

This category is not widespread within the Tibetic languages, but it is interesting from a typological point of view. It is found in some western languages such as Ladaks. Unlike the reported speech and hearsay, the reportive-inferential modality does not explicitly mention reported speech, nor does it include any verb of speech, but rather implies that the speaker had access to the information through media or, in some cases, through his own logical inference. It may be rendered in English as ‘According to what I heard or read, or as far I know’. In a way, from a cognitive point of view, the reportive modality functions more like an access marker than a source marker since it is not concerned with a precise source of information but rather with the cognitive access to
information, which is not sensory but mediated. As we will see, a strong confirmation of the fact that reportive-inferential modality functions as an access marker will appear clearly from the morphological distribution.

Here are some examples:

(284) ◊ སངས་རྒྱས་སི་ས་དུས་འཁོར་དབང་ཆེན་སལ་ཀྱག

*SANGS.RGYAS-SI DUS.KHOR DBANG.CHEN SAL-KYAG

Buddha-ERG Kālachakra give(h)-CMP+REPINF

‘[According to tradition] the Buddha has taught the Kālachakra initiation.’ (La)

(285) ◊ སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་དྭགས་སི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་ཀྱག

*SEN.GE R.NAM.RGYAL LADWAGS-SI RGYAL.PO YIN.KYAG

Sengge Namgyal Ladakh-GEN king be+REPINF

‘Sengge Namgyal was a king of Ladakh.’ [according to what I read in history books] (La)

These two examples are adapted from Koshal (1979: 191, 207). This author describes these as “narrative forms.” She does not use the term “reportive-inferential” for this function nor does she mention the fact that it is based on second hand information, but her comments are useful: “The suffix - kək [kyak] is used in narrations. In such cases, - kək [kyak] implies a certain degree of uncertainty about the veracity of the statement as the speaker cannot himself vouch for it. - kək [kyak] forms are really indifferent to the temporal distinction of present and past as they express uncertainty about an event. -yinkək [yinkyak] expresses a higher degree of uncertainty than -yotkək [yotkyak].”

There is indeed often some uncertainty in the reportive-inferential forms which is inherent to second hand information or to some types of inference. The degree of certainty completely depends on the credibility that the speaker gives to the sources on which s/he relies.

72. Strangely enough she describes the simple authoritative form yod as reportive which is not at all suitable. However, her study at the end of the 1970s was a pioneer work in the field of Ladakhs linguistics.

73. It is not clear whether S. Koshal used a dialectal pronunciation or if it is due to an evolution of the language, but nowadays, people in Leh pronounce this marker /-kyak/ and not /kək/. Many dialects of the area however still pronounce /kak/ (but not /kək/).
For example:

(286) ཇོ་དབྱར་ལ་མ་ན་ལི་ཡ་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཀྱག
       DBYAR.LA MAN.LI-YA PHYI.RGYAL.PA MANG.PO YOD.KYAG

'summer Manali-LOC tourist many exist+REPINF'

In summer, there are a lot of foreign tourists (Lit. 'foreigners') in Manali.'
[from what I hear] (La)

In front of such sentences in the reportive-inferential modality, the speaker can add:

(287) ཇོ་འང་ཚོར་ཅེས་ལ་དབྱར་ལ་མ་ན་ལི་ཡ་
       NGA-'A TSHOR CES-LA DBYAR.LA MAN.LI-YA

'According to what I hear, in summer there are a lot of foreign tourists
(Lit. 'foreigners') in Manali.' (La)

In some cases, the second-hand information or inferential meaning conveyed by

YOD.KYAG may be weakened and interpreted as an equivalent of ཕོད་ཀ་ནོག་YOD.KANOG or

ཡོད་དེ་ཡིན་ནོག་YOD.DE.YIN.NOG which convey a factual or gnomic meaning. This
latter form, ཕོད་ཀ་ནོག་YOD.KANOG, is rarely used in Leh. It has a dialectal flavor. Thus,

somebody living in Leh may perfectly say:

(288) ཇོ་དབྱར་ལ་གླེ་འ་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་མང་པོ་འདུག
       DBYAR.LA GLE-'A PHYI.RGYAL.PA MANG.PO YOD.KYAG

'summer Leh-LOC tourist many exist+REPINF'

In summer, there are many tourists in Leh!' [general statement] (La)

Here, of course the speaker has a complete certainty about his/her statement. It
would still possible for this sentence to add 'as people say' or 'as far as I know', there are
many tourists in Leh. The speaker could also emphasize her own visual knowledge:

(289) ཇོ་དབྱར་ལ་གླེ་འ་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་མང་པོ་འདུག
       DBYAR.LA GLE-'A PHYI.RGYAL.PA MANG.PO 'DUG

'summer Leh-LOC tourist many exist+VIS'

In summer, there are many tourists in Leh!' [I see it all the time] (La)

In summer, there are many tourists in Leh!' [I see it all the time] (La)
This weakening of the "second hand" or inferential information meaning is not present with the form ཡིན་ཀྱག YIN.KYAG, which is opposed to the factual form ཡིན་ནོག YIN.NOG.

Compare for example:

(290) ◊ KHONG DGE.RGAN YIN.KYAG
3SG teacher be+REIPRF

'He is a teacher.' [from what I heard, as far as I know] (La)

(291) ◊ KHONG DGE.RGAN YIN.NOG
3SG teacher be+FACT

'He is a teacher.' [It is a fact, everybody knows it] (La)

Let's give another example:

(292) ◊ BL.AMA-KUN-NIS SKU.RIM SAL-LA.YOD.KYAG
/lama-kun-nis 'kurim sal-la-yod-kyak/
lama-COL-ERG ritual give(H)-UNCMP+REIPRF

'The monks perform rituals.' [in the neighbor's house, I have been told] (La)

(293) ◊ BL.AMA-KUN-NIS SKU.RIM SAL-LA.NOG
/lama-kun-i 'kurim sal-anok/
lama-COL-GEN ritual give(H)-UNCMP+FACT

'The monks perform rituals.' [it is their profession, gnomic] (La)

Finally, note the reportive-inferential modality as other evidential categories is perfectly compatible with a mark of reported speech:

(294) ◊ KHONG DGE.RGAN YIN.KYAG-LO
3SG(h) teacher be+REIPRF-HS

'She told me that, as far as she knows, he is a teacher.' (La)
8.4.3.9. Mnemic, self-corrective and other marginal categories

The richness and complexity of the Tibetic E-E systems is not restricted to the categories that we have examined so far. In some languages, one finds other categories that play a marginal role but tell a lot about the semantico-cognitive and pragmatic principles that govern these systems (see e.g. Oisel 2017a). Most of these categories have not received sufficient attention. Yet they are an integral part of the E-E system and could shed light on the functioning of these systems.

For example, some languages have developed a form called “self-corrective” (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 1998, 2003), “erroneous belief” (Huber 2002) or “counter-expectation” (Zeisler pers. comm. 2019). This author provides the following explanation: “I thought X was Y but it isn’t.” Here is a Kyirong example (Huber 2002: 143).

(295) ◊ མང་ནི་ཁོང་རྒྱགས་པ་ཡོད་པའི་རྩི།
KHONG DGE.RGAN YIN.NOG-LO
3SG(H) teacher be+FACT-HS
’He is a teacher, I heard.’ (La)

(296) ◊ བོད་ནི་ཁོང་རྒྱགས་པ་ཡོད་པའི་རྩི།
NGA-NI KHO RGYAGS.PA YOD.PA’.RTSI
/NGA-NI: k’o cahpa yöbitsi:/
1SG-TOP he fat exist+CNTEXP
’(And) I thought he was fat [but he isn’t].’

Here are examples in Common Tibetan:

(297) འལ་ལི་ཚེ་རིང་ལ་མོ་ཊ་ཡོད་པ་རེད།
A.LA’I TSHE.RING-LA MO.TA YOD.PA.RED
INTJ Tshering-DAT car exist+CNTEXP
’Well, well, so Tshering has a cart!’ [I thought it was not the case]

(298) གཤུབ་བསྟན་ཡིན་པ་རེད།
THUB.BSTAN YIN.PA.RED
Thubten be+CNTEXP
’Oh it was Thubten! [I didn’t think so].’

Another interesting category is the mnemic (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 1998, 2003; Vokurková 2008, 2018). In Common Tibetan, it is marked by a series of
endings such as ཡིན་པ་ཡོད་ YIN.PA.YOD and ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་ YOD.PA.YOD (not to be confused with the counter expectative or self-corrective, see above). These markers indicate that the speaker has only a vague recollection of what he is saying. Vokurková (2008: 198) describes the mnemonic in the following way:

“The speaker remembers something but he is not absolutely sure because, often, some time has elapsed since it happened, therefore, they can be translated in English by such expressions as ‘I remember that (perhaps)’ or ‘I think that it is like this (but do not remember it well).’

This type is quite common in the spoken language of Lhasa though less frequent than some other types of epistemic endings (e.g. YOD, ‘GRO, YOD.PA.’ DRA).

Bartec (2007) mentions the existence of the marker /dʒ̚ã/ in gTormarong (alias Dongwang) Kham with a similar meaning: “the validational dʒ̚ã indicates that the speaker has a vague recollection regarding the statement s/he is making.” The following example was recorded by Vokurková (2008).

(299) གྲུ་ངས་འཁྱེར་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད།
   GRI.NGA-S ‘KHYER-YOD.PA.YOD
   knife 1SG-ERG bring-PERF+EPI2+EGO
‘I’m pretty sure I brought that knife.’ (Ú, ComTib)

The author uses the gloss: EPI2+EGO (egophoric + epistemic) to render the notion of mnemonic.

She provides the following comment: “For a picnic, the speaker has brought a lot of things but he is not absolutely sure whether he has the knife” and adds (ibid.): “Although the speaker is quite sure when uttering the above sentence, he may follow: “Oh, I haven’t, I am wearing another jacket today. It’s in the other one.”

Similar effects are obtained in Ladaks with the marker མི་-PIN < CT PA.YIN.

(300) ◊ གེན་འབྲེལ། ཕོག་སྨོན།
   DE.ZHAG.ZHIG MTHONG-PIN
   a while ago see-PAST+MNEM
‘I think I saw it a while ago.’ (La; Norman, pers. comm. 2019)
(Note that *PIN in its normal intentional use is not compatible with the uncontrollable verb ‘to see’.)

Various marginal categories as the mnemonic or the self-corrective are attested in the Tibetic languages, but they are hard to detect because their frequency is a lot lower than major evidential and epistemic markers. Yet, such categories tell a lot about the grammatical inventivity and sensitivity of the communities speaking Tibetic languages.

For example, people would generally not ask questions to themselves as they would ask to other people. In European languages, the question ‘Where did I put my key?’ would not necessarily have a different morphosyntactic treatment depending on whether the question is asked by the speaker to the hearer or to himself. The intonation might be enough. However, in Tibetic languages, the two situations will yield different sentences. In the former situation, the speaker has to anticipate the hearer’s access to this information (sensory, inferential, etc.). In the latter situation, the speaker just wonders and has no access to this information:

\[(301) \text{NGA-S LDE.MIG G.A.PAR BZHAG-SONG -'DUG }\]
\[
\text{1SG-ERG key where put-CMP+SEN SENS-PERF+SEN }\]
\[
\text{‘Where did I put my key?’ (Ü, ComTib)}\]

Using \text{SONG} the speaker supposes that the hearer has witnessed the scene but \text{DUG} implies that the hearer has seen the key or may infer the location of the key on the basis of visual clues.

In the next example, the speaker may just talk to himself.

\[(302) \text{NGA-S LDE.MIG G.A.PAR BZHAG-YOD.'GRO }\]
\[
\text{1SG-ERG key where put-PERF+EP }\]
\[
\text{‘Where did I put my key?’ (Ü, ComTib)}\]

Again, asking a question as simple as ‘who is s/he?’ will trigger a different formulation depending on whether it is addressed to a hearer or to one self.
The pragmatic and cognitive parameters thus play a fundamental role in the verb morphosyntax. Let’s give a final example, which corresponds to a very specific form of future described by van Driem (1998: 363) for Dzongkha:

“There is a special future form, the autolalic future, which expresses the intent of the first person subject. The autolalic future is only used when thinking to oneself in Dzongkha about what one intends to do. The form is never uttered, unless one is talking to oneself, and is always in the first person singular. The autolalic future also occurs in narrative, in direct quotation of someone’s thoughts, and is marked by the ending –ge-no, which originally derives from the adhortative suffix.”

The main differences in the evidential systems

Although the various Tibetic languages share fundamental features in their evidential systems, they also differ in a number of ways. For example intentionality interacts in a significant way with the evidential system of Central Tibet, Amdo or Ladaks whereas it is not grammaticalized in some languages such as Dzongkha.
If we only consider the core evidential categories of the CEV, we find significant discrepancies. As shown, for example in the chart of section 8.3.3.4, we can see that from Central Tibet to Baltistan, we have only four types of core evidential systems:

(a) a threefold system with: sensory vs. egophoric vs. factual (Phānpo, Lhasa, Zhikatse, etc.) expressed by different morphemes but functionally similar;

(b) a fourfold system with: visual sensory vs. non-visual sensory/endopathic vs. egophoric vs. factual (Tö, Spiti, Ladakh Janthang, Ladaks, Zanhar). It is interesting to note that these dialects have not only a similar functional system but are very similar in their morphology.

(c) Then further west, we find a threefold system with: visual sensory vs. non-visual sensory/endopathic vs. authoritative (East Purik). This system mainly differs from the Ladaks system by the absence of egophoric.

(d) Finally in the west, we find a twofold system with external sensory vs. endopathic/authoritative (West Purik and Balti).

We remind that all the above categories in a), b), c) and d) are compatible with hearsay markers.

Additionally, as we have seen above, the evidential systems also greatly differ in their authoritative and egophoric categories. (See 8.4.7.)

8.4.3.11. Source and accessibility hierarchies

In rich evidential-epistemic systems such as those found in the Tibetic languages, the speaker often has various types of access to information related to various sources (reported speech) or to his/her own sensory perceptions or inferences.

There has been some discussions about the speaker’s preferences concerning the choice between inference or reported speech.

Some authors have proposed the hierarchies (see Faller 2002)

INF > QUOT / REPORT

Whereas others favor:

QUOT / REPORT > INF
In the Tibetic languages, things appear rather clearly since the quotative is not in the same slot as other evidential and combines with all the evidentials! (see Tournadre & LaPolla 2014), which is not the case in many other world systems (Aikhenvald 2004). As we have seen in 8.4.3.8, there is often a double marking of the access related to two sources (the present speaker and the reported speaker).

\[ S'(A:x): S' (A:y) \]

From a syntactic point of view, the reported speech occurs in the first position and is followed by the reporting verb which is placed in the final position of the sentence.

\[ [SN] V1-AUX [S'(A:y)] - [SN] V2-AUX [S'(A:x)] \]

For the Tibetic languages, we thus propose below two types of hierarchies (Tournadre, Tübingen 2019). The first hierarchy is related to the source (S) and the latter is related to the access (A). These hierarchies could also well apply to other languages with rich E-E systems.

\[ S'(A:x) > S1 (A:x) \]

When the actual speaker (S') has the same access to information as another reporting speaker (S'), s/he will normally choose his own access to information, rather than quote somebody else.

Concerning the accessibility hierarchy (A) we propose the following ranking.

\[ A: ENDO/EGO (intent) > VIS SENS > NVIS SENS > SENS INF > NSENS INF \]

We will discuss this ranking hereafter but let’s first turn back to Faller’s question (2002) about the choices between inference and reported speech. Generally the preference of inferential over quotative or the reverse depends on the types of clues available to the actual speaker and on the reliability or trustworthiness of the reporting speaker.

If a person sees snow on the ground in the morning, he is likely to use this evidence to tell his children: ‘It has snowed’ (during the night) even if a neighbor has already told him ‘it (has) snowed’ (with a sensory marker) indicating that the reporting speaker saw the snow falling.

\[ S'(A:INF) > S1 (A:VIS SENS) \]
However, when the speaker’s statement depends on an inference based on weak evidence, the speaker is likely to refer to a reporting speaker who has directly witnessed the event, if the latter is trustworthy. For example, if the speaker’s neighbor has seen a wolf attacking a small donkey and reported it, the speaker is likely to quote his neighbor than say: ‘he said that the donkey was killed by a wolf’ (he saw it), rather than base its statements on the traces left by the wolf: ‘the donkey was killed by a wolf’ (according to traces left on the body).

\[ S_1 \text{ (A: VIS SENS)} > S' \text{ (A: INF)} \]

Let us now examine the accessibility hierarchy. When describing a situation, the speaker has often various types of access to information. For example, if someone who is shivering says: “I am afraid!”, the person has access to information through two distinct ways: the inner feeling of fear (endopathic) and the vision of her hands shaking (sensory inference). If this person tells her friend that she is afraid, the addressee will have at least two types of access to information: the vision of his friend shivering (sensory inference) and the reported speech.

Let’s take another example, if a child is crying nearby, one may both hear and see the child crying. In languages which have an opposition between visual and non-visual sensory (such as Ladaks, Zanhar, Spiti, Ngari, etc.), the speaker could thus choose between the two. However, s/he is more likely to select the visual sensory marker than the non-visual sensory marker.

Thus it seems that there is a default preference for the selection of markers which seems to follow general cognitive principles of accessibility.

The two markers that have the highest accessibility in the hierarchy are the endopathic and egophoric intentional markers. If the speaker has access to this information, he is likely to use it. Both types of markers can normally be used only in the first person referring to the actual speaker or a reported speaker (in case of reported speech). In interrogative sentences, they are used with the second person (see the anticipation strategy below 8.4.7.3, see also the person correlation in 8.4.7.1). The reason of this restriction is purely semantico-cognitive. The speaker is the only one to have access to
his own intentions and to his endopathic feelings or sensations, but s/he has no access
to other's intentions and endopathic feelings or sensations.

The next highest access in the hierarchy are marked by other sensory markers (non
endopathic): visual sensory then non-visual sensory, then sensory inferential (see
Tournadre 2022). The most indirect and non deictic types of access are the non-
sensory inferential and the quotative or hearsay markers.

A somewhat similar notion of “evidential hierarchies” has been proposed, independ-
ently, by other authors (see e.g. Faller 2002; Zeisler 2018; De Haan 1998).

8.4.3.12. Evidentiality and discursive types

Among the characteristics of evidentiality one specificity which has largely been
overlooked is the significance of discourse types. In the Tibetic languages, at least, this
factor plays a crucial role in the selection of auxiliaries. For example, when one is dealing
with food recipes, proverbs, dream narratives, dialogue interactions, historical narratives,
biographies, personal life stories, reporting news, etc. the set of evidential auxiliaries is
likely to be different.

For example, dream narratives in the Tibetic languages are told with sensory markers
(e.g. in Common Tibetan ‘DUG, SONG, BZHAG) and sensory inferential markers,
including when the speaker is describing his/her own actions. Some historical or
religious stories are narrated with the help of authoritative or factual auxiliaries. For
example, Konchok Phanday (2017) wrote in Ladaks language the ‘Twelve deeds of
the Buddha’ (MDZAD.PAB.CU.GNYIS) using all the time the factual auxiliary KAG which
presents the events as facts (see also Bakula 2014). In the text (2017: 2-9), this auxiliary
which is the only auxiliary used in the past occurs more than sixty times. In a sharp
contrast, a tale is more likely to be told with the inferential marker TSUG which presents
the event as reported. For example, in a story called ‘The foolish grandfather’ collected
in Nyoma (Ladakh Janghang, Tournadre’s unpublished corpus 2018), all the events
and states are reported with the auxiliary TSUG/SUG.

8.4.4. Epistemic modalities

Nuyts (2006) proposes the following definition for this notion: “[Epistemic modality
corresponds] to the marking by S of the degree of likelihood s/he attaches to a state of
affairs or the degree of certainty s/he attaches to a certain thought” or in a more detailed formulation (Nuyts 2001: 21):

“Epistemic modality is [...] an evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring, or has occurred in a possible world which serves as the universe of interpretation for the evaluation process, and which, in the default case, is the real world (or rather, the evaluator’s interpretation of it) [...].”

The epistemic modalities have not received much attention in the Tibetic languages. In comparison with the evidential modalities, there are only a few studies and the notable work by Vokurková (2008) on epistemic modalities in Common Tibetan. A possible explanation for this scarcity of academic studies is the fact that they have a much lower frequency than the evidential modalities (Mélac 2014).

Some authors (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004; de Haan 1999) insist on maintaining a clear-cut distinction between epistemic and evidential markers. However, in the Tibetic languages evidential and epistemic markers are sometimes fused together and often form a single paradigm historically made up of the same lexical source forms.

As shown by Tournadre & LaPolla (2014), "Simple evidential copulas and auxiliaries such as ཡིན་ YIN or དེ་ RED ‘to be’, འདུག་ YOD or འདུག་ DUG ‘to be, there is’ (location, existence) may combine together with the help of connectives or nominalizers (such as sa, pa or gyi) to yield compound forms (used as copulas or auxiliaries) which bear either an evidential or an epistemic meaning or both. For example, the epistemic auxiliaries འདུག་ YOD.KYL.RED, འདུག་ YING.RED, འདུག་ YOD.PA.DRA, འདུག་ YOD.SA.RED, འདུག་ YOD.SÁ.RED and the evidential auxiliaries ཡིན་ YOD.RED, ཡིན་ YOD.PA.DRA, ཡིན་ YOD.SA.RED, ཡིན་ YOD.SÁ.RED are both made of ཡིན་ YIN and འདུག་ YOD. The simple evidential forms ཡིན་ YIN and འདུག་ YOD convey an epistemic meaning when they occur in combination with the interrogative marker མ་ PA [The CT form is མ་ PE however the modern languages usually have a reflex of མ་ PA], as in མ་ YIN or མ་ YOD. They convey both evidential and epistemic meanings when they occur preceded by the nominalizer PA, as in མ་ YOD.DUG.” (see also Vokurková 2008; Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003).
The copulative verb མེད RED (in combination with various relators) suffixed to the copulative verb ཡིན YIN or to the existential verb ནདོ YOD conveys an epistemic meaning: ཡིན་མེད YIN.GLYRED (U), ཡིན་མེད YIN.GLYRED (Am, Kh), ནདོ མེད YOD.GLYRED (U), ནདོ མེད YOD.GLYRED (Am). In Common Tibetan, a dubitative marker indicating a very low probability is composed of the copulative verb and the prefixed interrogation: མིན་པ་ ཡིན་གྱི་མེད YIN.GYI.RED (Ü), མིན་པ་ ལྟ་རྒྱུ་མེད YIN.RED (Am), མིན་པ་ ལྟ་རྒྱུ་མེད YIN.RED (Am). In Common Tibetan, a dubitative marker indicating a very low probability is composed of the copulative verb and the prefixed interrogation: མིན་པ་ ཡིན་གྱི་མེད YIN.GYI.RED (Ü), མིན་པ་ ལྟ་རྒྱུ་མེད YIN.RED (Am). In Common Tibetan, the compound made of the verb འོང་ YONG is also attested for the dubitative: མིན་པ་ ཡོང་ YONG (Ü) (see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003: 313).

Apart from these frequent constructions, one also encounters specific constructions attested only in some areas. That is the case of the Amdo suffix ར་ཐང་ NA.THANG or the Ladaks forms གཞིག་འདུག་ THIG.DUG and གཞིག་རག་ THIG.RAG derived from THIG (Pa) ‘prediction’.

In many languages, there is a grammatical distinction between sensory inference and logical inference. Let us examine some examples:

(307) མིན་པ་ མིང་ལ་ རོགས་ ལེགས་ ཨ་ འོག བསྟན་པའི་ གཅིག བཞིོང་ལ་ ཨ་ རོགས་ སྟབས་ ལེགས་ ཨ་ འོག དེ་བསྟན་པའི་ གཅིག (U, ComTib; Vokurková 2008)

(308) མིན་པ་ མིང་ལ་ རོགས་ བེན་པའི་ ཐུབ་ རོགས་ བསྟན་པའི་ གཅིག (ibid.)

The same examples have direct correspondences in Amdo Tibetan (Rebgong):

(309) མིན་པ་ མིང་ལ་ རོགས་ བསྟན་པའི་ གཅིག (Am; Tournadre & Shao, forthcoming)
(310)  མུར་གེ་རོགས་ས་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་རེད།
MUR.GE ROGS.SA YOD-RGYU.RED
marge roksa yo-dzore
3SG(F)+DAT lover has-EPI+FAC
'She probably has a boyfriend.' [Logical inference: she is twenty, so the speaker guesses she has a boy friend.] (ibid.)

(311)  མུར་གེ་རོགས་ས་ཡོད་ན་ཐང་རྒྱུ་རེད།
MUR.GE ROGS.SA YOD-N.A.N. THANG-GI
marge roksa yo-nat’ng-go
3SG(F)+DAT lover exist-EPI-SENS
'She may have a boyfriend.' [Sensory inference: the speaker sometimes sees her with the same person.] (ibid.)

(312)  མུར་གེ་རོགས་ས་ཡོད་ན་ཐང་རྒྱུ་རེད།
MUR.GE ROGS.SA YOD-N.A.N. THANG-RGYU.RED
marge roksa yo-nathan-dzore
3SG(F)+DAT lover has-EPI-EPI+FACT
'She may have a boyfriend.' [Logical inference: she is fifteen, so the speaker guesses she may have a boyfriend]. (ibid.)

The following examples illustrate sensory epistemics:

(313)  མོ་རང་ཆུ་ལ་ཞེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ།
MO.RANG CHU.LA ZHED-KYL.YOD.PA.’DRA
3SG(F) water-OBL be afraid-UNCMP+EPI2+SENS
'She seems to be afraid of water.' [Looking at her behaviour.] (adapted from Vokurková 2008)

(314)  གྲེག་བཀའ་ཉིད་ཟླ་བོ་ཉིད་ཟླ་དཀར་པེག་ན་ཐུག་སེ་ཡིན་ཐིག་འདུག
NGA.CI BLA.NAG-PO BLA.DKAR-PEG-NA THUGS-SE.YIN.THIG.’DUG
1PL-GEN cat black-DEF cat white-IND-COM meet-CMP+EPI+SENS
'Our black cat seems to have mated with a white cat.' [From looking at the color of the cat.] (La; Zeisler 2012b)
In Ladaks, there is also a distinction between two types of sensory inference: visual and non-visual inferences. Here are some examples that we collected:

(316) ◊ མང་ན་ཐང་། MANG-NA.THANG
a lot-EPI
‘There must be a lot.’ (Am)

(317) ◊ མང་ན་ཐང་། MANG-NA.THANG
a lot-EPI
‘There must be a lot.’ (Am)

(318) ◊ མང་ན་ཐང་། MANG-NA.THANG
a lot-EPI
‘There must be a lot.’ (Am)

Ladaks has also a specific marker for logical inference:

(319) ◊ མང་ན་ཐང་། MANG-NA.THANG
a lot-EPI
‘There must be a lot.’ (Am)

Some other constructions are available to convey an epistemic meaning. Examples from Ladaks:

(319) ◊ མང་ན་ཐང་། MANG-NA.THANG
a lot-EPI
‘There must be a lot.’ (Am)

(320) ◊ མང་ན་ཐང་། MANG-NA.THANG
a lot-EPI
‘There must be a lot.’ (Am)
8.4.5. Deontic modalities

Deontic modalities in the Tibetic languages are mainly conveyed by the following verbs: རྙ་ CHOG 'to be allowed, to be all right', རྙན་ DGOS 'to want, must', རྟུབ་ THUB 'can', རྙན་ NYAN 'may, can' (Am, Kh, La, Pur), སྣྱིད་ SRID 'may', རྡོད་ 'DOD 'want', རྟི་ PHOD 'to dare', རྡོུ་ NUS 'to dare', སྒྲུད་ KHYE 'to be able' (Sh), སྟེ། TSHUGS 'to be able' (Dz). They always occupy the position of a "secondary verb" (see 8.3.10), i.e. a postverbal position between the verb and the final auxiliary. (See e.g. van Driem 1998; Zeisler 2014; Vokurková 2018; Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003; Ylieniemi 2019.)

8.4.6. Intentional modalities

Intentionality (or volitionality) is sometimes grammatically encoded in the egophoric auxiliary (see e.g. Delancey 1986a, 1990; Tournadre 1994b, 1996a-b; Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001; Oisel 2013).

The use of intentional egophoric indicate that the speaker is performing, has performed or will perform the action intentionally. So intentional egophoric auxiliaries occur in the past as well as the present and future with controllable verbs.

Altered states of consciousness, such as experiencing a dream, being drunk, being in a trance like a medium or shaman, etc. or simply doing something unwillingly will prevent the use of egophoric.

In Ù, Tsang, Amdo, Northern Kham and Ladaks, intentionality is often marked by the auxiliary ཡིན་ YIN in the past and future tenses as well as by the auxiliary ཡོད་ YOD in the present.

Intentional egophorics are not present in all the Tibetic languages, but they are widely attested in the languages of Tibet, such as Ù-Tsang, Amdo and Northern Kham as well as outside e.g. Ladaks. Intentional egophoric can normally occur only with the 1st person (see also below 8.4.7.1).

(321) བསྡད་ཀྱི་ཡིན། BSDAD-KYI.YIN
1SG stay-FUT+EGO
'I will stay at home.' (Ù, ComTib)
(322) ང་ནང་འདུག་གིན།
NGA NANG-NGA ’DUG-GIN
1SG home-LOC stay-FUT+EGO
‘I will stay at home.’ or ‘I intend to stay at home.’ (La)

(323) ང་ནང་ལ་བསྡད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།
NGA NANG-LA BSDAD-KYL.YOD
1SG home-LOC stay-UNCMP+EGO
‘I stay at home.’ (Ü, ComTib)

(324) ང་ནང་འདུག་གད།
NGA NANG-NGA ’DUG-GAD
1SG home-LOC stay-UNCMP+EGO
‘I stay at home.’ or ‘I will stay at home.’ (La)

This sentence is similar to ex. 297, but ’DUG-GAD implies that the person both intends to stay and will stay in any case, whereas ’DUG-GIN insists on the intention of the speaker.

(325) ང་ནང་ལ་bsdad-pa.yin
NGA NANG-LA BSDAD-PA.YIN
1SG home-LOC stay-CMP+EGO
‘I have stayed at home.’ (Ü, ComTib)

(326) ང་ནང་འདུགས་པིན།
NGA NANG-NGA ’DUGS-PIN
1SG home-LOC stay-PAST+EGO
‘I stayed at home.’ (La)

(327) ང་མི་འགྱོ།
NGA MI-’GYO
1SG NEG-go
‘I won’t go. [I don’t intend to]’ (Am)

(328) ང་མི་CHA
NGA MI-CHA
1SG NEG-go
‘I don’t go [I don’t intend to]’ (La)
The interpretation of these examples was proposed by Norman (pers. comm. 2017) and confirmed by our consultants. The postponed negation is also possible ང་ཆ་མེད་

NGA CHA-MED.

(329)  wrath

NGA 'GRO-GI. MIN
1SG go-FUT+NEG

'I won’t go. [I don’t intend to]' (Ü, ComTib)

8.4.7. Specific features of the Evidential-Epistemic systems

As mentioned in 8.4.2, the Tibetic E-E systems are associated with a number of rare typological characteristics which will be discussed below (see also e.g. Oisel 2017a). In a very marginal way, the category of “animacy” has been described for a Kham dialect: the existential verb which is a reflex of YOD is used for inanimate objects, whereas the reflex of DUG is used for animate beings (Bartee 2007). We will not discuss further this issue but will examine below more frequent phenomena related to the Tibetic E-E systems such as person correlations (including the issue of conjunct/disjunct, anticipation strategy and mirativity.

8.4.7.1. Person correlations

One of the striking characteristics of the E-E systems is the correlation between the access to information and the first, second and third persons. This correlation has been largely overlooked in the literature. For example, Aikhenvald (2004) does not mention the strong correlation of the external sensory markers with the 2nd/3rd persons and the endopathic sensory with the 1st person. Egophoric markers occur more frequently with overt 1st person arguments, than with the 2nd and 3rd persons. Another frequent person correlation related to egophoric markers links the speaker in declarative statements and the addressee in questions, i.e. respectively the 1st person in declarative statements and the 2nd person in questions. The identity of marking of the 1st person (in declarative sentences) and 2nd (in interrogative sentences) has led some scholars to develop the notion of main speech act participant (MSAP).”

74. See Zeisler (2018a). Main speech act participant (MSAP) refers to both the speaker (of the statement) and the addressee (of the question).
Person correlations are probably frequent in various fields of the world languages but they have not received much attention. For example, Mélac (2014: 438-493) showed that in English, the epistemic-inferential and deontic functions of the modal verb must are correlated to a large extent with the person: the epistemic-inferential is four times more frequent with the 3rd person (s/he must) than with the 1st one (I must). Conversely the deontic interpretation is predominant with the 1st person while it is only marginal with the 3rd person. The same is true of the adverb apparently which occurs predominantly with the 3rd person, and is only marginal with the 1st person and even more rare with the 2nd person. Finally, Mélac (ibid.) also shows that the verb guess is used in the present tense to convey an epistemic-inferential meaning in English essentially occurs with the 1st person (I guess) while it is rarely used with the 3rd person (he guesses).

Such correlations are motivated by pragmatic and cognitive reasons. It is interesting to note that in the Tibetic languages, person correlations have either been largely unnoticed (that is the case for example of the endopathic function normal occurrence with the 1st person) or on the contrary have been magnified as in the case of egophoric markers and went considered as instances of “person marking” and agreement. The predominant use of egophoric markers with 1st person arguments has led to the elaboration of the “conjunct/disjunct model.” Within this model, egophoric or personal markers have been interpreted as “conjunct” while all other evidential markers have been interpreted as “disjunct.” The misleading notions of “conjunct/disjunct” have sometimes been used as an alternative model to the E-E system in order to describe some Tibetic languages, particularly Lhasa Tibetan and Sherpa.

8.4.7.2. The controversy about the “conjunct/disjunct” pattern

Among the various works which have used this concept we find Schöttelndreyer (1980), DeLancey (1992, 2001, 2003b), Kelly (2004). Incidentally this concept has also been used in some “second-hand data” typological works such as Aikhenvald (2004) and thus have received some wider attention.

Austin Hale (1980) in his study on Kathmandu Newari proposed the notion of “conjunct” versus “disjunct”. Post (2010) summarized Hale’s idea in the following way.

The “conjunct” set is normally employed in:
• “simple first person declarative sentences”
• “simple second person interrogative sentences”
• “complex speech report constructions in which the matrix verb subject is co-referential with the complement clause subject.”

These three behaviours were referred to respectively as (a) declarative C/D pattern, (b) interrogative C/D pattern, and (c) quotative C/D patterns by Tournadre (2008).

Additionally, as mentioned by Post (2010), "specifically 'conjunct' forms in first-person simple clauses were associated with a construal of speaker intention or volition, while 'disjunct' forms were associated with construals of inadvertence." This feature appears in DeLancey’s definition (2001: 372) "conjunct forms occur with first person subjects in statements and second person subjects in question which refer to an intentional act.”

However, in later works, the opposition conjunct/disjunct was defined in various ways and some authors ignored intentionality or quotative patterns as part of the C/D patterns. For example, Aikhenvald (2004: 391) mentioned the following definition:

[It refers to] "person-marking on the verb whereby first person subject in statements is expressed in the same way as second person in questions, and all other persons are marked in a different way (also used to describe cross clausal co-reference)."

Let us illustrate the three types in Common Tibetan (330-335), from DeLancey’s examples (1990: 295); see also Tournadre (2008):

The declarative pattern:

(330) ག་བོད་པ་ཡིན།
NGA BOD.PA YIN
1SG Tibetan be (Conj.)
'I am Tibetan.' (The speaker and the subject of the sentence are coreferential.)

(331) རོ་བོད་པ་རེད།
KHO BOD.PA RED
3SG Tibetan be (Disj.)
'He is Tibetan.' (The speaker and the subject of the sentence are not coreferential.)
The interrogative pattern:

(332) ཡེ་ཁོ་ས་བོད་པ་ཡིན་པས།
KHYED.RANG BOD.PA YIN-PAS
2SG(h) Tibetan be(Conj.)-Q
‘Are you Tibetan?’ (The addressee and the subject of the sentence are coreferential.)

(333) བ་ཀུན་ི་རེད་པས།
NGA RGYA.MI RED-PAS
1SG Chinese be(Disj., from the hearer)-Q
‘Am I Chinese?’ (The addressee and the subject of the sentence are not coreferential.)

The quotative pattern:

(334) བ་ཀུན་ས་བོད་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་གྱིས།
KHO-S KHO BOD.PA YIN ZER-GYIS
3SG-ERG he Tibetan be(Conj.) say-IMPF/DISJUNCT
‘He says that he is Tibetan.’ (The subject of the embedded clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause.)

(335) བ་ཀུན་ས་བོད་པ་རེད་ཟེར་གྱིས།
KHO-S KHO BOD.PA RED ZER-GYIS
3SG-ERG he Tibetan be(Disj.) say-IMPF/DISJUNCT
‘He says that he is Tibetan.’ (The subject of the embedded clause is not coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause.)

The conjunct/disjunct essentially corresponds to a syntactic approach related to coreference/non-coreference pattern of the "1st person subject." This approach fundamentally differs from the E-E system approach for the following main reasons:

(a) It is syntactic in nature and not motivated by semantico-cognitive parameters.
(b) It is binary in nature, while E-E systems attested in the Tibetic languages comprise a fairly large paradigm of forms and functions (see 8.4.2).
(c) The use of conjunct/disjunct categories is largely automatic and compulsory unlike the concept of egophoric, sensory, inferential, etc. which may depend on the speaker’s perspective (see Tournadre & LaPolla 2014).
(d) It is based on the notion of person coreference patterns, whereas in our approach “the person agreement” is a secondary effect of semantico-cognitive concepts related to the evidential source and access to information.

(e) The “conjunct” category does not convey any specific semantic meaning unlike the category of “egophoric” (see 8.4.2).

(f) Some egophoric markers, such as the receptive marker *BYUNG* or the benefactive *DGOS* are not mentioned as conjunct. The marker *BYUNG* is non-intentional while *DGOS* is always related to the speaker’s intention to perform an act for the benefit of the hearer.

(g) The conjunct/disjunct pattern or system is a complex category that usually manifests itself in three distinct patterns: “the declarative pattern”, “the interrogative pattern” and “the quotative pattern.”

In some papers, DeLancey (2001, 2012) has implicitly proposed to use the terms “conjunct/disjunct patterns/systems” and “egophoric systems” as synonyms, despite the fact that the two notions are very distinct in their approach. The term “egophoric” used by Tournadre since (1991) did not refer to a system but to a specific category of the Evidential/Epistemic system, used along with many other categories (see 8.4.2).

Some authors such as Sun (1993), Tournadre (2008), Bartee (2007) Gawne (2017), have explicitly rejected the notion of conjunct/disjunct as relevant categories to describe Tibetic languages and most of the linguists who have worked extensively on Tibetic languages have avoided both the terms and the notions in their description (see e.g. Gawne & Hill 2017). Sun (1993) wrote the following comment:

“[the terms ‘self person’ and ‘other person’] are related to, but not identical with, the structurally-based labels ‘conjunct’ vs. ‘disjunct’. […] The terms ‘conjunct’ and ‘disjunct’ are incidentally, utterly unrevealing because although the nomenclature appears to be based on structural co-reference of the matrix and complement clause subjects (i.e. ‘conjunct’ if they are co-referent, ‘disjunct’ if otherwise), co-reference is actually relevant only when the subject of the complement clause is portrayed as a volitional actor. […] Since the distinction involves more than mere structural coreference, more self-evident labels should be sought, probably along the lines of such semantically-based terms as *shenzi* ‘thoroughly integrated knowledge’ […] *quezhi* ‘positive knowledge’ or Tournadre’s term egophoric.”
Zeisler (2018a: 86) also shares this opinion:

“This flexibility [in the choice of E-E markers], which is not only exploited for mirative meanings, but for various pragmatic effects, speaks clearly against any description in terms of conjunct/disjunct or even some kind of congruence. Such descriptions are completely misleading with respect to the Tibetan languages.”

As we will see the “interrogative conjunct/disjunct pattern” and the “quotative conjunct/disjunct pattern” can receive alternative descriptions. More accurate explanations for these phenomena are driven from the notion of “anticipation strategy” (see below) and “hybrid indirect speech.” The conjunct/disjunct model has largely been abandoned by the specialists of the Tibetic languages. (See Gawne & Hill 2017; Zeisler 2018a; DeLancey 2018.)

8.4.7.3. Anticipation strategy

The anticipation strategy is an important characteristic of the Tibetic E-E systems. From a typological point of view, one should notice that it is a phenomenon rarely attested in the World languages. This strategy implies a correlation between the speaker in positive statement, i.e. the 1st person and the addressee in questions, i.e. the 2nd person.

This phenomenon may be best explained by the pragmatic notions of “empathy” (Kuno 1987) and “perspective” (Tournadre & LaPolla 2014). In direct interrogative sentences, the speaker anticipates the addressee’s source and accesses to information by using the auxiliary expected in the answer. Thus, if we take again the example (332) repeated below for convenience sake, YIN is used by anticipating the answer using the egophoric auxiliary:

(336) ᴷʰʸᵉᵈ ᴲˡᵃᵍ  ᴷʰʸᵉ黢  ᴲˡᵃḡ ᴳⁱⁿ-Zᵃᵃ
KHYED.RANG BOD.PA YIN-PAS
2SG(H) Tibetan be(EGO)-Q
Q: ‘Are you Tibetan?’

₂ᵃⁿ ᴹⁱⁿ  ᴹⁱⁿ  ᴹⁱⁿ
LAGS YIN/MIN
H be(EGO)/ be(EGO+NEG)
A: Yes, I am / no, I am not. (,U, ComTib)
The same is true for the following sentence where the auxiliary BYUNG is used by anticipation:

(337) ཤས་ རུལ་ལྡན
NGA-S ZHUS-BYUNG-NGAS
1SG-ERG tell(h)-CMP+EGOREC-Q
'Did I tell you?' (Ú, ComTib)

The answer being:

(338) མཉི་རི་སར རབ་(ཐ) བན
KHYED.RANG-GIS GSUNG-(MA),BYUNG
2SG(h)-ERG told(h)-CMP (NEG)+EGOREC-Q
'You told me / did not tell me.' (Ú, ComTib)

Contrary to what has been suggested by the literature on conjunct/disjunct, this phenomenon of anticipation is not restricted to the so called "conjunct" markers. In other words, the anticipation strategy is a general phenomenon of Tibetic languages, which implies a perspective shift and applies to various evidential categories. For example, the "endopathic" function of the sensory marker, which is normally only used with the first person in declarative sentences, but in interrogative sentences, the endopathic is used with the 2nd person as a result of the anticipation strategy. The speaker anticipates on the addressee’s access to information:

(339) བྱུང་ངས་ རུལ་ལྡན་ བྱུང་ངས་
KHYED.RANG GROD.KHOG LTOGS-KYL.DUG-GAS
2SG where be hungry-ENDO-Q
'Are you hungry?' (Ú, ComTib)

(340) ང་་ རུལ་ལྡན
KHYOD 2A-LTOGS-GI
2SG Q-be hungry-ENDO
'Are you hungry?' (Amdo)

In the above sentences, the sensory endopathic markers KYL.DUG, and GI, which are normally restricted to the first person in declarative sentences, occur here in the interrogative sentence by anticipation of the answer, respectively:
The anticipation of the answer is implemented for the various types of access to information. For example, in order to ask somebody "where were you born?", one has to anticipate the access to information. The usual way to ask this question in Common Tibetan is to use the factual auxiliary RED:

(343) དོན་རང་ག་པར་སྐྱེས་པ་རེད།

KHYED.RANG GA.PAR SKYES-P.A.RED
2sg(h) where to be born-CMP+FACT
‘Where were you born?’ (Ü, ComTib).

The honorific form རྒྱུན་པ་རེད དོན་།
KHUNGS-P.A.RED 'to be born' (H) may also be used instead of དོན་རང་ག་པར་སྐྱེས་པ་རེད།.

In Ladaks, the authoritative is used:

(344) སྐྱེད་རང་ག་རུ་སྐྱེས།

NYE.RANG GA.RU SKYES
2sg(h) where to be born-CMP+AUTH
‘Where were you born?’

The choice of the factual in the question is motivated by the expected source and access to this kind of information. A person knows about her/his birth place usually through reported speech. Other types of access are either marginal or not available: since it is not possible to witness one’s own birth, one may not use the sensory དོན་SONG in the answer. Inferring the place of one’s own birth, based on various clues is possible but not frequent, thus the use of the sensory inferential བཞག་BZHAG would be quite marked.
8.4.7.4. The issue of the "mirativity" and the speaker's attitude

The notion of "mirativity" has been used to describe some markers found in the Tibetic languages or other related languages by a few authors, such as DeLancey (1997, 2001, 2012), Hein (2007), Hyslop (2011), Huber (2002), Aikhenvald (2012), Yliniemi (2017) etc., proposes that the following values are included under the "mirativity" label:

(i) sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization (a) by the speaker, (b) by the audience (or addressee), or (c) by the main character;
(ii) surprise (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character;
(iii) unprepared mind (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character;
(iv) counter-expectation (a) to the speaker, (b) to the addressee, or (c) to the main character;
(v) information new (a) to the speaker, (b) to the addressee, or (c) to the main character.

Huber (2002) used the term "mirative function" to describe the copula /nukpa/ found in Kyirong Tibetan.

(347) Ꞅ ཐིམ་ ཞེ་བོ་ སྐྱེལ། སུ་ང་
?

/amo ’dimi ’di:la ’nukpa/
INTJ key dem-DAT exist-TAG

'Oh the key is here!' (and I have been looking for it everywhere)
In fact, Huber rightly considers that the mirative is just one of the functions of the direct sensory marker /nug/ (derived from 'DUG). Here it is followed by a tag /pa/. Although not using explicitly the term "mirative", van Driem (1998) has described some markers of Dzongkha as conveying "new" versus "old" information. According to DeLancey (2001: 274), "the paradigm [of the Lhasa Tibetan markers such as YOD, 'DUG, SONG, PA, YIN] is built on a fundamentally mirative distinction, with evidentiality as a secondary and somewhat independent addition."

Lazard (1999) proposed to subsume the notion of "mirative" under the notion of mediativity. The very existence of a "mirative" category as a valid grammatical category has recently raised a controversy (Hill 2012c; DeLancey 2012). Zeisler (2018a: 69) advocates for the broader notion of "admirative":

"[...] it marks the speaker’s mental distance or non-commitment towards the proposition, be it because he or she has only ‘indirect’ knowledge (inference or hearsay) or because the content of the proposition is somehow awkward and (socially) unexpected."

Except for a few authors, the category of "mirative" has not been popular to describe copulative and auxiliary markers in the Tibetic languages. We certainly do not agree with DeLancey’s description of the sensory marker ‘DUG (see section 8.4.2) in Lhasa Tibetan as a “mirative” marking (1997, 2001, 2012) indicating “new” or “surprising information” (see 8.4.3.1). Our position is shared by other scholars such as Hill (2012c, 2013a-b), Mélac (2014) or Zeisler (2018a). But this does mean that mirative is not a useful category. The main issue is whether “mirativity” should be considered as an independent phenomenon distinct from “evidentiality” as claimed by DeLancey. B. Zeisler (2018a: 69-70), who has described many dialects of Ladakh, gives the following answer: "Despite DeLancey’s claim to the contrary, evidentiality and mirativity seem to be closely linked in Lhasa Tibetan, and not to be separate categories and ‘mirative’ would only be one of the values of evidentiality.” Tournadre & LaPolla (2014) recognize that “‘DUG may have overtones of ‘mirative’ in some contexts, but [...] the core function of ‘DUG is to indicate sensory and endopathic access to information.”

Zeisler (2018a) also reports the “admirative connotation” for the visual sensory markers ‘DUG and the non-visual sensory marker GRAG in Ladaks.
We will provide some examples in this language which do imply a kind of mirative (or admirative) connotation:

(348) ◊ ར་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ཐོག
  KHA BTANGS-TOG
  snow fall-PFT+SENS+MIR

'Oh, it has snowed!' [looking at the white mountains around] (La)

This example often conveys an element of surprise. S/he could say this sentence when opening the window in the morning and discovering the white landscape.

However, if he reports this information to his friend who has seen it yet, s/he is likely to report it with a resultative perfect:

(349) ◊ ར་ རྒྱ་མཚན་ལུས་
  KHA BTANGS-TE.'DUG
  snow fall-PFT+SENS

'It has snowed.' (La)

This sentence does not entail any inference nor surprise and simply insists on the resultative state.

(350) ◊ གོ་རེ་ རྔག་ཐོག
  KO.RE CHAG-TOG
  bowl be broken-PFT+SENS

'Oh, the bowl is broken!' [Seeing the pieces scattered on the floor.] (La)

It may convey a mirative flavor. Again, the speaker could report this information using the resultative perfect which does not have this surprise connotation:

(351) ◊ གོ་རེ་ རྔག་ལུས་
  KO.RE CHAGS-TE.'DUG
  bowl be broken-PFT+SENS

'The bowl is broken.' (La)

Finally, a specific form –P.A.LA found in some languages such as Ü, Tsang or Ladaks and CT may also convey some mirative connotation. In Common Tibetan it appears only with predicative adjectives:

(352) བུ་བས་
  SKYID-P.A.LA
  pleasant-SFE

‘Wow, it is so nice!’
In Ladaks, it is used with verbs:

(353) ◊ ཐ་བཏང་ང་ལ།

KHA BTANG-NGA.LA
snow fall-SFE
‘Wow, it is snowing!’

Both these sentences express an exclamation and are often related to a surprise.

8.4.8. Directionality

Unlike other languages of the ST macrofamily (see particularly the Qiangic, rGyalrongic or Sinitic languages) directionality is not heavily grammaticalized in most Tibetic languages. One mainly encountered deictic adverbials ། PHAR ‘there (away)’, ‘thither’ and སྒོར TSHUR ‘here, hither’, དབྱེར YAR ‘upward’ and མར MAR ‘downward’ attested in CT that are prefixed to the verb (Bartee 2007). Deictic motion verbs རྒོ་ YONG ‘to come’ and རྒོི་ GRO ‘to go’ are also used to indicate the direction towards or away, from the deictic center or from the reference point (Tournadre & Konchok Jiaso 2001).

Ex. in Common Tibetan:

(354) སྒོར གོ་

TSHUR SHOG
hither come
‘Come here!’

Usually the directional markers function as prefixes (or clitics) but in some cases, they appear as independent words in prohibitive and interrogative sentence. In the example below the form YAR or YARA (< CT YA’up’+R’dative’) correspond to an adverb.

(355) སྒོར དབྱེར་གྲོ།

YAR-MA’GRO
upwards-NEG-go
‘Don’t go up!’ (Kh)

Here are examples of directional markers with motion verbs together with secondary verbs in Common Tibetan:
In Dzayül (Dagong Village, Gula Township) and some southern Kham dialects, deictic adverbials have been grammaticalized into directional prefixes. These prefixes essentially occur in the completed past of declarative sentences as well as in the imperative. They are not compatible with verb-prefixed negation. The use of directional prefixes depends on the person and the illocutionary force (declarative, interrogative or imperative).

For example, the prefix མ་ PHAR is used with imperative sentences:

(358) མ་ འེལ། MA BZAS NEG-eat
'I did not eat.' (Dza)

While the prefix གྲུ་ TSHUR is used with first person and by anticipation with 2nd person:

(359) གྲུ་ འེལ། TSHUR-BZAS-YIN hither-eat-AUX
'I ate.' (Dza)

But with the negative prefix, the directional marker does not occur in Dzayül:

(360) མ་ འེལ། MA-BZAS NEG-eat
'I did not eat.' (Dza)
Some varieties of Southern Kham such as Cha'gtshreng and Derong-nJol use a directional marker BA specialised for an imperative, e.g.:

(361) ◊བ་བཙོང་། BA-BTSONG
  DIR-sell
  'Sell it (to me)!'

Aside these marginal examples, directionality does not play a major role in the Tibetic languages, unlike many other ST languages.

8.4.9. Interrogative and tag question

In some languages such as Nagchu Hor, questions are essentially indicated by a rising intonation. However, in most languages, one encounters question markers. As mentioned in 8.3, there are two types of interrogative markers across the Tibetic languages: sentence final interrogative markers and verb prefixed interrogative markers. The latter is always derived from the morpheme འ /ʔ/ (CT འིེ /ʔE/). Languages which do have such a marker are located in Eastern Tibet, in Amdo and Kham. All other regions in Central, South and Western areas make use of sentence final interrogative markers.

Several sentence final interrogative suffixes are attested in the various languages. Various forms: བ /pa/ (Kyi), ཆ /pa/, ཏ /ngä/ (Ü), ཆ /ga/ or /kä/ (Ü), ཁ /ka/ or /ga/ (Sp, Dz, etc.). More reduced forms such /a/ or C+a/ (with C corresponding to a homorganic sound with the final consonant of the preceding word (La, Cho)) probably derive from the CT marker འ /PA/. The form /nä:/ found in Kyirong (see Huber, 2002) is derived from the CT interrogative marker འ /NAM.

8.4.10. Imperative and jussive

Many Tibetic languages have inherited special verbal inflections stems to convey the imperative and jussive meanings (see 8.3.8, see also Zeisler 2004). For example, in Common Tibetan, བ /LTOS /tö:/, ག /ZO /so/, ར /NYOL /nyö:/ are respectively the imperative forms of བ /BLTA /ta/ 'to look at', ག /ZA /sa/ 'to eat', ར /NYAL /nyä:/ 'to lie down, to sleep'. In some cases, one also encounters innovative inflections for the imperative. For example, in Amdo, some verbs have an aspirated initial consonant for the imperative: ◊བིས PEBRIS 'write!' (versus CT བིས BRIS), ◊ཕྲོགས PFIROGS 'cut!'
shave!’ (versus CT ངོཾ་པྲེགས་ ’bregs), ངོཾ་པྲེངས་ ’phrongs’ lead!’ (versus CT ངོཾ་བྲོང་ ’drongs), ངོཾ་བོ་ ’run away! flee!’ (versus CT ངོཾ་བྲོས ’bros) (Hua & KLI, BUM RGyal 1993).

With the exception of Balti and Purik, which use the negation with the imperative forms,75 the prohibitive is usually marked in the Tibetic languages by the negation simply followed by the verb in the present form (and normally not the imperative as expected) as in the following example: གཉིས་ MA-LAB ‘don’t talk!’ (but not ’གཉིས་ MA-LAB), གཉིས་ MA-LTA ‘don’t look!’ (but not ’གཉིས་ MA-LTOS). There are exceptions however. In Kham, there are two expressions for the prohibitive of ‘go’: གཉིས་ MA-GRO ‘don’t leave!’ (with the present form) and གཉིས་ MA-SONG ‘don’t leave!’ (with the past form). The former presupposes that the person will come back while the latter may imply that the person won’t come back.

However, in the Tibetic languages, the most frequent strategy to indicate the imperative and jussive as well as other related meanings such as the exhortative and the optative is the use of postverbal clitics or auxiliaries. The postverbal clitics དང་ DANG (Ū, Ts, Cho, etc.), འང་ ANG (La) and སིག་ SHIG76 (Ū, Ts, La, Dz, etc.) are attested in a number of languages.

In Common Tibetan, aside from དང་ DANG and སིག་ SHIG, one finds the following markers: དོ་ DO, ར་ RA, and the auxiliaries རོག་ SHOG (derived from the imperative form of ‘to come’), རོག་གནང་ ROGS GNANG (derived from the verb ROGS ‘to help’ followed by the honorific auxiliary GNANG ‘to give/ grant/ make’), གནང་ PAR BYED (derived from the verb BYED ‘to do’), etc.

Ex: ཉོན་དང། NYON-DANG ‘listen!’; གསུངས་དང། GSUNGS-DANG ‘please tell!’; གསུངས་ སིག་ GSUNGS-SHIG ‘please tell!’, གསུངས་དང། GSUNGS-DANG ‘please tell, come on!’; གསུངས་ རོགས་གནང། GSUNG-ROGS-GNANG ‘Could you please tell’, གཉིས་ MA-LAB-MA ‘don’t talk!’, བེབས་ PHEBS-DO (exhortative).

Various jussive clitics and auxiliaries are also found in other languages. For example in Dzongkha we have བི་ SHIG /-sh/, རོགས་ SHIG-LAGS /-sh-la/ (H), རོགས་ GNANG (derived from ‘to grant’, ‘to make’), བི་ SMIS (the latter indicates urgency. It is

75. We thank B. Zeisler (pers. comm. 2020) for mentioning this specificity.
76. SHIG is often realized as /-sh/. That is the case in Ě, Tsang, Dzongkha.
probably derived from CT verb སྨྲས་‘to tell’), སྨ་རེ་ which conveys authority on the part of the speaker (see van Driem 1998: 420). In Choča-ngāča, also spoken in Bhutan, the postverbal clitic ཅེ་ཐང་‘DANG is used as in Lhasa but it is pronounced /dang/ (see Tournadre & Karma Rigzin 2015).

Ladaks has a form LO or LE: ཚེང་ལོ་‘YONG-LO ‘remember to come, all right’, ‘make sure to come’.

Common Tibetan has a familiar form with a similar: མོང་གོ་‘ONG-GO ‘please do it’.

Along with the marker གཟིག་, Ladaks has the auxiliary སྐྱེ་ར།‘KHYER-RA ‘Please take (it)!’ (see Koshal 1979, 1982; Norman 2019).

In Amdo one encounters the postverbal clitics ར་‘RA, ཡ་‘YA, ས་‘A, and the polite form ཐོང་ཁྱེལ་‘GTONG ‘to send’ (see Robin & Simon forthcoming). རང་སྐད་‘THUNS-RA ‘t’ong-ra/ ‘(please) drink!’, པྲ་ུ་ལ་ཐོང་ཁྱེལ་‘MUR-GE ‘A SHOD-LA THONGS marge x’o-la-t’ong/ ‘tell her!’.

8.4.11. Negation

There are only two negation clitic morphemes found across the Tibetic languages. They are reflexes of མི་‘MI and མ་‘MA found in Old Tibetan. The archaic form མི་‘MYI is also attested in Amdo, in some Eastern languages and in Southern Kham. The negation may be an easy test to differentiate from the Tibetic languages some closely related TB languages located in the Tibetosphere. For example, if a language has a negation in /a/, it is clearly not a Tibetic language. This is the case of Bake (བོད་སྐད་) in Central Tibet or Prinmi (Pumi) in Kham or Tamang in Nepal.

In CT, the use of མི་‘MI and མ་‘MA with lexical verbs depends on the TAME. In CT, མི་‘MI is used with the present, future and the imperfective past whereas མ་‘MA normally occurs with the completed past or completed future (notably in subordinate clauses) and the imperative. However, in the modern languages, this rule does not apply to the auxiliaries and the use of the negation marker essentially depends on the auxiliary. Each auxiliary is associated either with མི་‘MI or མ་‘MA. For example, one finds མ་ཐེ་‘MA-RED (Û, Kh, Am) and not མི་ཐེ་‘MI-RED, མ་ཐེ་‘MA-‘DAG (Tö) or
the variant 0 བསྟོད་པ་ 'MA-DAD and not བསྟོད་པ་' MI-DAG or 0 བསྟོད་པ་' MI-DAD, བསྟོད་པ་ MA-BYUNG (Ŭ, Kh) and not བསྟོད་པ་ MA-BYUNG, བསྟོད་པ་ MI-DAG (La, Ú, Ts, Kh, Dz, Am, etc.) and not བསྟོད་པ་ MA-DAD, བསྟོད་པ་ MI-SNANG (Ph, Hor, Kh) and not བསྟོད་པ་ MA-SNANG, བསྟོད་པ་ MI-GDA' (Hor, Kh) and not བསྟོད་པ་ MA-GDA', etc.

The two pandialectal verbs, the essential and existential copulative verbs འབྲིལ་ YIN and འབྲིལ་ YOD have a special negation with a reduced form of བསྟོད་པ་ MI and བསྟོད་པ་ MA as /m/ fused with the copulas: the negation of འབྲིལ་ YIN is བསྟོད་པ་ MIN in CT and in the majority of languages. The negation བསྟོད་པ་ MA-YIN is attested in CT and in Dzayül. The negation of the existential copula འབྲིལ་ YOD is བསྟོད་པ་ MED in the majority of languages and བསྟོད་པ་ MYED in some eastern languages (Am, E, Kh).

In some languages, such as Sherpa, the negative clitic བསྟོད་པ་ MI used for the present and future undergoes a vowel assimilation and takes the vowel color and the tone of the lexical verb (see Tournadre et al. 2009): བསྟོད་པ་ MA, བསྟོད་པ་ MI, བསྟོད་པ་ MU, བསྟོད་པ་ ME, བསྟོད་པ་ MO:

Ex. བསྟོད་པ་ MI-GRO/ mo-’dO/ (s/he) does not/ won’t go', བསྟོད་པ་ MU-DUNG/ mu-t’unɡ/ (s/he) does not/ won’t drink', བསྟོད་པ་ ME-SLEB/ (s/he) won’t arrive.' The negation བསྟོད་པ་ MA used with the past and imperative remains unchanged (ibid.).

This type of vowel assimilation is also attested in Dolpo with the past negation བསྟོད་པ་ MA.

Moreover, in some dialects the form of the negation may be altered by a final nasal. This is the case in Lhoke, as noted by Yliniemi (2019). The negation with a low tone verb has a final nasal: Ex. བསྟོད་པ་ MAN.BYIN/’ mam-bin/ 'did not give', བསྟོད་པ་ MAN.ZA/’ man-zA/ 'did not eat', བསྟོད་པ་ MAN.GO/’ mang-go/ 'did not understand'.

Negation can be expressed in the form of a rhetorical question. In this regard, some varieties of Southern Kham use interrogative words such as རྣམ་ GAR ‘where’ and རྣམ་ CHI ‘what’ as a negation marker, e.g. in Choswateng:

77. In southern Kham, some dialects allow a choice of the negation clitic MA or MI with the auxiliary 'DUG and SNANG.
Grammatical outline of the Tibetic languages

(362) བ་མྱི་གོ
HA MYI-GO
know NEG-STEM
‘I do not understand [what you want to say].’ (SKh)

(363) བ་མ་གོ
HA MA-GO
know NEG-STEM
‘I did not understand [what you’ve said].’ (SKh)

(364) བ་གར་གོ
HA GAR-GO
know NEG-STEM
‘I do not understand (it at all).’ (Lit. ‘Where do (I) know/understand?’) (SKh)

(365) བ་ཆི་གོ
HA CHI-GO
know NEG-STEM
‘You do not/ He does not understand (it at all).’ (Lit. ‘What do (you/he) understand?’) (SKh)

In the Choswateng dialect, བ་ G. A R is mainly used as an egophoric or sensory negation, and བ་ CHI, as a non-egophoric negation (Suzuki & Lozong Lhamo 2021). The crucial point is the position of these negation markers, i.e. the position just preceding a verb stem. In other words, they occupy the same position as the negation markers MI / MYI and MA.

In the Čangdron dialect, བ་ G. A R as a negation is mostly used with the existential verb འབད་ YOD. It expresses a strong negation for a given sentence.

(366) བ་ འབད་
GAR YOD
where EXV
‘It does not exist!’ (Kh: Čangdron, SR)

In varieties as shown above, the intention of “rhetorical question” has already been lost, and the interrogative words seem to be grammaticalized as a negation prefix which behaves in the same way as MI / MYI and MA.
See also Amdo:

(367) རེ་ གི་ དེ་

CHI-YIS YIN
what-ERG CPV

'It does not exist!' (Am)

One ought to mention two very marginal negation enclitic morphemes: རེ་-re attested in OT and ཟ་ na in Amdo. (Shao, forthcoming)

8.5. Interjection

As in other languages of the world, the Tibetic languages have a number of interjections. Some of them are found in most areas. Among the most frequent interjections we find:

- མི་ ར་ ར་ 'An exclamation of cold.' [FFW] (Û, Tsang, Dz, La, etc.)
- མི་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ 'Ouch! Exclamation of heat or acute pain.' [FFW] (Û, Tsang, La, Dz, etc.)
- མི་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ 'Ouch! Expression of pain or indignation.' (La, Û) (see Norman 2019)
- མི་ འ་ འ་ 'Ouch! Expression of pain.' (Dz)
- མི་ ར་ 'Expression of surprise.' (Û)
- མི་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ 'Oh! An expression of shock, dismay.' (Û)
- མི་ ར་ ར་ 'An expression of pain or illness.' (La)
- མི་ འ་ འ་ 'Wow! An expression of surprising or amazement.' (Û, Ts)
- མི་ ལྷ་ 'An expression of disappointment.' (Û)
- མི་ ར་ ར་ 'An expression of regret, pity.' (Û, Dz)
- མི་ ལྷ་ 'An expression of pleasure or satisfaction.' (La) (see Norman 2019)
PART 2 – CHAP. 8. Grammatical outline of the Tibetic languages

▪ གང་ Kang ‘An imitation of laughter.’ (most areas)
▪ གང་ р 放 ‘Hey! (Am); an exclamation of pain.’ (Ü) See གང་ཉ་ གང་.
▪ གང་ གང་ གང་ Kang.Cang ‘Of course!’ (Ü, Ts, Dz, etc.)
▪ གི་ཀི་སྐྱོང་ Kang.Bswo Bswo /kikisoso/ (nearly all the regions) ‘An exclamation when praising the Deities notably when offering incense or throwing wind horses particularly on the mountain passes.’ It is often followed by the expression བྷ་ཐོ་ལོ་ Lha.Rgya.Lo ‘The Gods will prevail.’

8.6. Summary of the main grammatical differences between the Tibetic languages

We will summarize the main grammatical differences concerning the nominal and verbal domains:

a) Nominal morphosyntax

▪ Noun morphology: There are frequent differences in the affixes (essentially the suffixes). See 8.1.1.
▪ Adjective morphology: There are frequent differences in the affixes (essentially the suffixes). See 8.1.6.
▪ Demonstratives: The demonstratives are usually placed after the head noun in the eastern and central languages (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am), whereas they are usually placed before the head noun in western and southern languages (Ba, Pur, La, Sh, Dz, etc.).
▪ Definite marker or article: Most languages lack a definite article. However, some languages such as Sherpa, Kyirong, Ladaks, Purik or Balti, do have a definite marker. It is either derived from the demonstrative དི་ or དེ or from the old definite marker: ཀ/པོ.

b) Verbal morphosyntax

▪ Nominalizers: There are differences in the forms and functions of the nominalizers. See 8.3.13.
▪ Copulative and auxiliary verbs: There are many differences in the forms and functions of copulative and auxiliary verbs.
▪ Verb stems: Some languages such as Amdo, and to lesser extent Ü, Tsang and Northern Kham have preserved the CT morphology whereas most languages (Sherpa, Dzongkha, Ladaks, Purik, Balti, Southern Kham, etc.) have largely lost the stem variations (see 8.3.6).
▪ Tense-aspect: There are a number of differences in the tense-aspect systems. For
example, some languages have various progressive aspects and a few western languages have a specific suffix */pin/* for the past tenses (La, Ba, Pur), whereas many languages do not make such differences.

• Evidential-Epistemic: The languages exhibit some significant differences in their evidential-epistemic systems, particularly in the subcategories of evidentials and epistemics. For example, Tö-Ngari, Spiti and Ladaks make a distinction between visual and non-visual sensory perceptions, whereas most languages do not make this distinction. Many languages have various types of egophoric but some languages such as Balti and Purik entirely lack egophoric marking.
9. Inner classification of the Tibetic languages

9.1. Previous works on the classification

Until very recently, works dealing with the linguistic classification of languages derived from Old Tibetan have not used the term “Tibetic languages” but the term “Tibetan dialects,” thus giving the wrong impression that Tibetan was a single language with an incredible amount of dialectal variety. There was however some ambiguity since the so called “Tibetan dialects’ were divided into groups which may be interpreted as various closely related “languages.”


With a few exceptions such as Bielmeier (2003), Bielmeier et al. (2018), Nishi (1986), van Driem (2001), Zeisler (2004, 2005) and Tournadre (2005, 2008, 2014a), SUM.BHA DON.GRUB.TSHE.RING (2011), most authors limit their analysis to Tibet and do not propose a classification of all the Tibetic areas. Usually, because of the lack of data available on languages and dialects outside of China, the Chinese scholars, whether Tibetans or Han Chinese concentrate their articles on the Tibetan dialects spoken within the People’s Republic of China, except for Jiang (2002), which also mentions Dzongkha, Zanhar and Ladaks and the recent publications of SUM.BHA DON.GRUB.TSHE.RING (2011, ed. 2013). A few studies of western authors propose mainly classifications of western languages or dialects (see e.g. Zeisler 2011).

Some authors are mainly concerned with the classification of the macro-family (Sino-Tibeto-Burman). That is for example the case of Shafer (1955; 1966) who proposed a general classification of ST. In this classification, he proposed the establishment of a Bodish
branch, which roughly corresponds to the Tibetic family (except for East Bodish) was divided in four units: West Bodish, Central Bodish, South Bodish and East Bodish. Shafer (1966) proposed that Ladakhi [Ladaks], Purik and Balti are not derived from Old Tibetan and form a separate branch (West Bodish) of the Tibetic languages ("Tibetan dialects"), which are derived from Old Tibetan. This hypothesis supported by Bielmeier (2004) was based primarily on the fact that Ladaks, Balti and Purik "have not preserved traces of the present and future stems." Zemp (2014) criticized this approach and showed it was not entirely accurate. As noted by Zhang (1996: 115), "In general, Chinese scholars divide the Tibetan language in China into three groups: Dbus-gtsang, Khams and Amdo." Zhang summarises the various propositions of the Chinese authors in a synoptic chart, which we reproduce here. Within each group, the author provides the sub-groups.

These classifications have some flaws, which we will not discuss in detail. Let us just mention the main ones:

a) Some languages/dialects listed in Chart IX.1 are clearly not Tibetic languages as defined in the present book. That is the case of Brag-gsum which is a Bodish language.

b) The groupings are not based on specific phonological or lexical common innovations but rather very general phonological features, such as the loss of final consonants, the absence of tones, the preservation of initial consonantal clusters, etc. They usually do not take into account grammatical features.

c) The classification below takes in account neither the degree of mutual intelligibility nor the geographic parameters.

d) The so called 'brog-skad or Pastoralists' speech is both a sociolinguistic and geolinguistic category. These dialects are not homogenous, and it is difficult to speak of one pastoralist dialect for an entire region such as Amdo or Kham.
CHART IX.1. – Zhang’s synoptic chart (1996)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dBus-gesang group</th>
<th>Khams group</th>
<th>A-mdo group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sKal-bzang ‘Gyur-med (Gesang Jumian)</td>
<td>dBus-skad sg</td>
<td>Southern sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gTsang-skad sg</td>
<td>Central sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Northern sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Brog-skad sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rong-skad sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>’Brog-skad sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Aitang</td>
<td>dBus-skad sg</td>
<td>Eastern sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gTsang-skad sg</td>
<td>Southern sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sTod-skad sg</td>
<td>Western sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brag guum skad sg</td>
<td>Northern sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shar-pa skad sg</td>
<td>Co-ne skad sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Brug-chu skad sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu Tan</td>
<td>dBus-skad sg</td>
<td>Southern sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gTsang-skad sg</td>
<td>Northern sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Brog-skad sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Jichuan</td>
<td>dBus-skad sg</td>
<td>Central sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gTsang-skad sg</td>
<td>(Eastern branch, Western branch,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sTod-skad sg</td>
<td>Northern branch, Central branch,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Brog-skad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bDe-chen skad sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Co-ne and ‘Brug-chu skad sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rong-skad sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Southern branch, Northern branch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>’Brog-skad sg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above chart, there is no mention of the dialects spoken in India, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan and Myanmar (Burma). It mentions three groups of dialects and a number of sub-groups (‘sg’).


*Zangyu fangyan gailun* has been published in 2002 by SKAL.BZANG ‘GYUR.MED (Gesang Jumian), with the help of his daughter SKAL.BZANG DBYANGS.CAN (Gesang Yangjing) but it is based on a manuscript written in 1964 and used since as a pedagogical tool by students in the Central University of Nationalities in Beijing (now called Minzu University of China). This book deals with the three main dialectal groups spoken in China: Ü-Tsang, Kham and Amdo. It is the result of SKAL.BZANG ‘GYUR.MED’s personal research but it was also conceived as a general project of research on Tibetan dialects. This large survey involved a team of nearly one hundred
linguists and was carried out between 1956 and 1958, in ninety places of the Tibet Autonomous Region and Prefectures within China (sKAL.BZING 'GYUR.MED pers. comm. 1988). However, most of the collected data have not been released.

Nishi (1986) distinguishes six major groups: Central (or Ü-Tsang), Western Innovative, Western Archaic, Southern, Kham and Amdo. This classification is very similar to the one used by Bielmeier et al. (2018) in their Comparative Dictionary of Tibetan Dialects (CTDT\(^1\)): 1) Western Archaic Tibetan, 2) Western Innovative Tibetan, 3) Central Tibetan, 4) Southern Tibetan, 5) Northern Kham, 6) Eastern Kham, 7) Eastern Amdo Tibetan. The main difference between the two classifications is that the Khams group is divided into Northern Khams and Eastern Kham in the CDTD.

The Comparative Dictionary of Tibetan Dialects (Bielmeier et al. 2018) is a large project carried out by a team of linguists and researchers based in the University of Berne: R. Bielmeier (project director), F. Haller, C. Haller, K. Häslar, C. Haller, V. Hein, B. Huber, Ngawang Tsering, M. Volkart, M. Zemp as well as former members of the CTDT project D. Klapproth, R. Piva, A-K Röthlisberger-Beer and K. Wymann-Jespersen. The CTDT has so far been the largest collection of data on the Tibetic languages in the five countries (China, India, Nepal, Bhutan and Pakistan). The CTDT is divided in two volumes, a noun volume and a verb volume, which present data concerning about sixty “Tibetan dialects.” As a rule, the main entries are the Written Tibetan etymological equivalents.

The CTDT is a unique work which allows the comparison of many Tibetic languages with Classical Tibetan. The entries correspond for the most to the entries of the great Tibetan Tibetan Chinese dictionary BOD RGYA TSHIG, MDZOD CHEN, MO, but some entries are also from Jäschke’s dictionary (1881). Since the dictionary entries are organized according to the Classical Tibetan forms, i.e. from an onomasiological perspective, the meaning in the modern languages may be

1. See e.g. the site http://www.himalayanlanguages.org/cdtd. It provides the following information: Work on the Comparative Dictionary of Tibetan Dialects commenced in 1992. As the culmination of sixteen years of collaborative effort, the Comparative Dictionary of Tibetan Dialects was completed in 2008, and pre-print copies together with A Short Guide to the CDTD were circulated amongst colleagues from that year.
quite different and moreover a given form may lack reflexes in some of the modern languages. This makes it difficult to compare a given meaning in the various modern languages, but it is still possible thanks to an index of the meanings in English.

An additional publication deserves a special mention, SUM.BHA DON.GRUB TSHE.RING's བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་སྐད་རྣམ་བཤད། BOD-KYI YULSKAD RNAM.BSHAD (The Tibetan dialects) (2011). This work is the most complete presentation of the Tibetic languages written in Tibetan language to this day. It uses a very accurate linguistic terminology in modern literary Tibetan. The only caveat is that it also includes in the classification a few rGyalrongic, Qiangic and Bodish languages.

9.2. Our classification

The inner classification of the Tibetic family is a very complex task because of the extraordinary dialectal diversity and because this linguistic area extends over an immense territory. Let us remind again that if the Tibetic linguistic area would constitute a sovereign state, it would be the tenth largest country in the world (after India, seventh place Argentina, eighth place and Kazakhstan, ninth place). The extreme linguistic diversity is probably partly due to the geographic environment and the fact that the Tibetic area corresponds to the highest plateau in the world, interspersed with mountain ranges and large rivers which constitute natural obstacles to human transportation (see Chapter 2 and Appendix 1). These obstacles are yet relative if we consider the Tibetan history. Tibetans have always traveled extensively throughout the High Plateau for economic, religious or military reasons. These constant population movements, the scarce population figures, the high level of illiteracy together with the lack of a real standardisation have resulted in a very complicated linguistic and sociolinguistic situation. The various dialects often became quite interwoven. For example, dialects of Kham are also spoken in Ngari, Gertse, Bhutan and even Myanmar (Burma) (see below, 9.3). Conversely, some dialects of Amdo are spoken in Kham province, among the pastoralist population (see below, 9.5).

The general characteristics that we have just mentioned suggest that in at least some areas, we are dealing with a rather fragile ecolinguistic system. A significant number of Tibetic languages are spoken by less than 10,000 speakers and some by less
than 1,000 speakers, as we have seen in Chapter 2. These languages, some of which are not well documented are clearly endangered. Additionally, the existence of isolated non-Tibetic languages spread throughout the Tibetic area and particularly in the Kham area, in South-western Sichuan and Yunnan, but also in Bhutan, Nepal and India makes the linguistic situation even more complex.

Another more specifically linguistic reason which makes the classification task very difficult is the existence of a geolinguistic continuum or, more precisely, a set of geolinguistic continua. In theory, the geographic area of a given dialect must correspond to the convergence of phonological, lexical and grammatical isoglosses. However, there is rarely a total convergence of these criteria. For an impressive and visual illustration of this complex situation, one can look at the chart of Kenhat and Shamskat isoglosis in Zeisler (2004). In the case of a dialectal continuum, there are rarely absolute or natural borders. The boundaries established by the linguists depend on selected parameters.

In our classification, we have listed forty-five groups of dialects in the TAR and TAPs of China and thirty-one groups of dialects in the five other countries, with a total of seventy-six groups of dialects (see also the maps in Appendix 3) divided in 308 dialects.

If we consider the number of administrative counties or districts in the six countries (slightly more than 200) of the Tibetic area, we see that the dialectal diversity is usually quite high since there are usually more than one dialect per county. The level of dialectal differentiation may be at the lower level of townships. Moreover, it should also be noted that administrative units do not necessarily follow dialectal boundaries.

Thus in many cases, one may encounter several distinct languages or dialects within a single county or district. For example, in Nyemo County (TAR), one can hear varieties of Tsang, Ü, and Hor. Ü and Tsang belong to the same group, whereas Hor belongs to a different "group of dialects" (or "language"). Another example concerns the village of Drip located less than ten km from Lhasa on the other side of the Kyichu river. The dialect spoken in this village had some specific features, however due to the rapid urbanization of the capital, it is likely than these dialectal specificities are disappearing.
More rarely two (or more) counties may correspond to a single dialectal unit. For example, Chushur or Tagtse Counties in Lhasa Municipality do not currently present significant differences with Lhasa dialect.

The best way to estimate the linguistic variation and to make a relevant classification is to rely on previous publications, documentations and on fieldwork (concerning our fieldwork, see the introduction). However, obviously, a number of countries and districts have not been properly documented and the township level is even less documented. Fortunately, since 1980, the number of fieldwork and publications working on the Tibetic dialectology has risen over the years and it is now possible to have a global picture of the linguistic diversity. This progress has been possible thanks to the involvement of the international community of scholars from many countries or regions of the world: Tibet, China, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Taiwan, Japan, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Netherlands, France, Italy, USA, Australia, Russia, Czech Republic, Poland, Thailand, Finland, Norway, Israel, Spain, etc.

The classification that we propose here is a tentative one. A more precise mapping of the dialects would require having linguistic data down to the township level.

Based on our fieldwork and on the existing materials, we propose to classify the family into eight major sections: South-eastern section (SE); Eastern section (E); North-eastern section (NE); Central section (C); Southern section (S); South-western section (SW); Western section (W); North-western section (NW).

This classification shares some major characteristics with the previous classification of Nishi (1986) and the CDTD. These groupings are based on geolinguistic parameters and the terms used for the various groups are essentially motivated by the geography. These three classifications regroup together dialects in a fairly similar way. However, our classification differs in several ways.

a) We have divided the dialects into eight "sections" while Nishi and the CDTD proposed to distinguish respectively seven or six major groupings.

b) We do not use the term "Tibetan dialect" but instead the term "Tibetic languages".

2. Called "net" in Dalby’s terminology.
(see 1.2). The reason, as mentioned earlier is that there is no intelligibility between the various sections, and in some cases, even inside a given section.

c) The classification proposed here is essentially based on a genetic approach, but it also includes the notion of mutual intelligibility as well as geographical parameters, migration and language contact factors.

d) Our classification terminology is essentially geographic whereas the two other classifications mix the geographic parameter and the degree of linguistic innovation (innovative or archaic). The reason to maintain a strict geographic terminology is that the degree of innovation varies a lot depending on the linguistic domains and moreover it varies within the same group. For example, one could claim that the so-called dialects of the “Western Innovative” group, such as the “Kenhat dialects” of upper Ladakh are indeed quite archaic compared to the Spiti, Khunu and Garzha dialects.

e) The CDTD introduces a distinction between “Northern Kham” and “Eastern Kham.” As we shall see, the linguistic divisions within Kham are in fact much more complex than a simple binary division. The Kham region (our Southeast section) corresponds to a very complex geolinguistic continuum which we subdivide into twelve subgroups.

f) There are some overlaps in the grouping of the three classifications. For example CDTD lumps together the Ngari Tholing dialect of Western Tibet with the “Western Innovative Tibetan” located outside Tibet, whereas we group it with the other dialects of western Tibet within the Central section. Since the Ngari dialects are part of a geolinguistic continuum, thus it is difficult to justify the CDTD choice. Moreover the boundaries of the so-called Tholing dialect are not specified. Another overlap between the groupings concerns the grouping of the northern dialects of Nepal together with “Central Tibetan.” This is not convincing, since the distance between Sherpa, Jirel and the dialects of Central Tibet seems greater than the one between these dialects and those of “Western Innovative Tibetan,” which is classified separately.

g) One of the main differences in our approach is to introduce a separate group
“Eastern section.” Languages of this area such as Čone, Thewo, Drugchu, Baima, etc. are clearly neither Amdo (our NE section) nor Kham (our SE section).

h) Apart from the strictly linguistic parameters, our classification also takes into account the geopolitical boundaries. In fact, these boundaries do have a strong impact on the linguistic situation because in this region of the world political boundaries clearly limit the exchange between the two communities on each side of the border. Another reason to place Northern Tibetic dialects of Nepal into a SW section, i.e., a distinct section specific to Nepal is that all the Tibetic languages have borrowed loanwords from Nepali, the national language, whereas modern loanwords in the Central section usually come from Chinese.

As we just explained the geopolitical borders are taken into account whenever they are linguistically relevant. Thus four sections are located in Tibet, i.e. currently within the People’s Republic of China (the Northeastern, Eastern, Southeastern and Central sections), while the remaining four sections (the Northwestern, Western, Southwestern and Southern sections) are located outside Tibet in Nepal, Bhutan, India and Pakistan.

There are only two minor exceptions of the correspondence between the linguistic classification and the geopolitical border between China and the “Indian subcontinent.” These two exceptions are motivated by linguistic arguments related to their affiliation, but they are also clearly supported by geographic reasons. The two dialects of Kyirong and Dromo are respectively regrouped with the Southwestern section (Nepal) and with the Southern section (Tibetic languages of Sikkim and Bhutan), but the two dialects are spoken in lower valleys that penetrate deeply into the southern Himalayas.

While the Southwestern section is delimited by the geopolitical borders of Nepal, this is not the case with the other sections outside Tibet. The Southern section extends over the Indo-Bhutanese border since it includes the Tibetic languages of Bhutan and Sikkim, which used to be an independent kingdom but is nowadays a state of India.

Before we describe the characteristics of each the linguistic groups, let us briefly give some information about the content of each section:

3. There are only three exceptions, such as Kyirong, Dromo and the Kham dialect of Myanmar which are affiliated respectively to the South-western, Southern and South-eastern sections.
1) South-eastern section (SE)
Northern route Kham, Hor Nagchu, Yülshül, Southern route Kham, Minyak Rangang, and other smaller dialect groups of southern Kham;

2) Eastern section (E)
Drugchu, Khöpokhok (Zitsakhok), Thewo-tö, Thewo-mä, Čone, Baima, Sharkhok, Zhongu, Päkyi (/Pashi/), Throchu;

3) North-eastern section (NE)
Amdo dialects as well as dialects surrounding the rGyalrong and Kham areas;

4) Central (C)
Ú, Tsang, Phänpo, Lhokha, Tö Ngari, Kongpo;

5) Southern section (S)
Dzongkha, Lhoke (or Dränjong, Sikkim), Choča-ngacha, Dromo, Lakha, Dur Brokkat, Mera Sakteng, Brokpa-ke;

6) South-western section (SW)
Sherpa, Jirel, Lo-kä and other dialects spoken along the Sino-Nepalese border;

7) Western section (W)
Spiti, Garzha (Lahul), Khunu, Jadang;

8) North-western section (NW)
Ladaks, Zanhar (Zangskar), Balti, Purik.

The rest of this chapter will be devoted to the presentation of the various linguistic “sections” of the Tibetic area. We will provide a general introduction for each section, which includes information about its sociolinguistic situation, its cultures and religions. We will also indicate some of the major institutions such as universities, monasteries and traditional medical centers of a given area. There are two reasons to provide information about some major monasteries. First, they are considered not only as important religious centers but also as cultural institutions and play a significant role in preserving the history and the memory of a given area. Additionally, indications about the school of Vajrāyana or Bön or other religions often provide useful information about the dialectal diversity.
Then for each section, we will briefly examine a) the migration patterns (whenever information is available), b) the various linguistic groups and subgroups of each section, c) the geographic extension of each section, d) an estimation of the number of speakers, e) ethnic and sociolinguistic information, f) some characteristic features of the phonology, g) some characteristic features of the grammar. Given the linguistic diversity of the Tibetic area, it is of course beyond the scope of this chapter to provide a detailed presentation for each language and even less for each dialect. Rather, the idea is to convey general information about each of the eight linguistic sections and refer to the existing literature whenever available. Each section will also contain maps with indication about the localization of the main dialects. Concerning the phonology, we will discuss only a few major characteristics concerning suprasegmental and segmental features as well as reflexes of Classical Tibetan. Concerning the grammar, we will only mention some general information about core grammatical categories of the Tibetic languages such as grammatical cases, nominalizers, verbal inflections, linking verbs (copulative and existential verbs) and auxiliary verbs as well as negation markers.

9.3. The South-eastern section

The South-eastern section (henceforth SE section) roughly corresponds to the linguistic area of the “Kham (or Kham-Hor) group of dialects” (according the traditional classification, see above), spoken on a territory extending over Sichuan, Tibet Autonomous Region, Qinghai and Yunnan of China as well as an enclave of Myanmar. However, the linguistic diversity within this “group” is so large that we can not regard it as one language (see 9.3.2). There is no mutual intelligibility between some of the Kham groups. For us, the terms Kham and Hor refer to geolinguistic areas and not to language groupings.

Khampas are traditionally either cultivators or pastoralists (particularly in Northern Kham) or agropastoralist called samdrok ལྡན་ལྡོག or yuldrok ཡུལ་དྲོག (see Chapter 2) The majority of Horpas are pastoralists, but some agropastoralists are also found.

Mandarin Chinese is currently the official language in the Kham area of Sichuan, Qinghai and Yunnan but in the Hor and Kham areas of TAR, Tibetan also has an
official status. However, in both cases, Chinese is de facto the dominant language of the school curriculum.

The languages of the SE section can fairly easily be transcribed in Tibetan script but they are usually not written down, and when people write in Tibetan, they normally write in literary Tibetan. This written language is used in the Buddhist and Bönpo monasteries, in the institutes of Traditional medicine and to a certain extent in some cultural organizations and media, particularly on the internet. Depending on their home province (Sichuan, Yunnan, Qinghai or TAR), Kham and Hor students may attend one of the universities, which have Tibetan language departments: the Southwest University for Nationalities Lhonu Mirik Lobdra Chenmo in Chengdu, the Sichuan College for Nationalities Sithrön Mirik Lobling in Kangding (Sichuan), the Qinghai University for Nationalities Tshongön Mirik Lobdra Chenmo in Xining (Qinghai) and the Tibet University Böjong Lobdra Chenmo located in Lhasa.

In Kham and Hor (Nagchu) areas, Vajrayāna Buddhism is the main religion and the four sects (Nyingma, Kagyü, Gelug, and Sakyapa) are represented. Bönpo communities are also found in the region. Small Christian communities are attested in southern Kham.

Major monastic institutions of the SE section include: Gandän Jampaling in Chamdo, Gandän Sumtsenling in Gyalthang; Kangze Gön (Geluk), Kathok Dorjedän, Pälyül Namgyl Jangchubling and Yachen monastic center, all three located in Pälyül County; Dzogchen Monastery (Nyingma) in Derge County; Riwoche Tsuglagkhang (Kagyü); Tenchen Gön and Tselru Tsek (Bön) both in the Tengchen Khyungpo area. One also ought to mention the major printing house, Derge Parkhang.

Among the main studies on the Kham dialects one should mention: SKAL BZANG ’GYUR MED & SKAL BZANG DBYANGS CAN (2002) and Häsl (1999) on Derge, Bartee (2007) on gTormarong (Dongwang), Suzuki (2011b) on dGudzong, and
Kraft & Hu (1998) on Minyak Rabgang and Derge. There are other grammatical sketches regarding Zhollam (Suzuki 2010), Sakar (Suzuki 2012b), Choswateng (Suzuki 2014a), Nangehen (Causemann 1989), Drag-yab (Schwieger 1989), and Lhagang (Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2016a). There is also a Comparative Dictionary of Southern Kham Language Varieties (Barthe & Hugoniot, 2020: webonary.org.SIL International).

9.3.1. Migration patterns, legends and historical records

A Kham variety related to Yülshül or Nanchen dialects is spoken in Gertse and Gegyä counties (Ngari Prefecture). Settlements of Khampas in Ngari (Western Tibet) have been reported by foreign travelers over a century ago. In the History of Ngari Korsum, GE.SLONG BSTAN.‘DZIN DBANG.GRAG (1996: 269) makes a brief mention about the historical migration from Kham:

"From oral accounts as well as archival sources, seven families known as the 'seven families of Teryik' that were from Kham made a pilgrimage to Tö and settled in a place which is now called Gertse. This toponym is the same as a pastoralist settlement in the Yülshül area in Kham. The people of Gertse have very similar traditions and dialectal pronunciation as the people of Yülshül so we consider that they originally came from there.” (our translation)

In Ngari area, nomadic tribes, mainly Hor, have migrated from the Nagchu area. These migrations are confirmed by the linguistic data and the various toponyms found in the Kailash area: Hor,4 Möntser (which indicates Mön or Bhutanese origin) and Gertse (a Northern Kham toponym). One of the striking characteristics of Ngari is the way Hor and Tö pastoralists live together and yet have kept their own dialects, which belong respectively to the Kham-Hor group (our South-eastern section) and the Ü-Tsang group (Central section). Kham pastoralists are also found in Eastern Bhutan, in Trash Yangtse district.

Some Kham speakers have migrated from Dzayü to Myanmar less than two hundred years ago. They have settled in four villages of the Dazundam village tract in

4. In Ngari, Hor usually refers to Uighur people. In Ngari there are also two Mongol tribes: SOG.STOD and SOG.SMAD which are both situated in Gar. They still celebrate the Mongol New Year and follow the same calendar.
the Kachin State, Myanmar, on the China-Myanmar border, near the Tibet Autonomous Region. They still have relatives in the Dzayûl villages on the other side of the border.

9.3.2. Linguistic groups of the SE section

The dialects of the SE section present a greater diversity than Amdo or Central Tibet. Some dialects such as Rongdrak, Semkyi Nyida (locally pronounced /Shanggi Nyila/) and Khyungpo (pastoralist dialect) are so distinct that they do not allow for easy communication with other surrounding linguistic groups.

In the north, the Hor dialects (Nagchu, etc.) and the Kham dialects of the “Northern Route” (Chamdo, Derge, Kandze) and, to a lesser extent, Yülshül allow a fairly good mutual intelligibility. In the east, there are two smaller groups of dialects: Minyak Rabgang and Rongdrak. The former allows good intelligibility with dialects of Northern Route, whereas the latter is considerably different from any Tibetic varieties spoken in Kham.

The dialects spoken on the “Southern route,” which include Bathang འབའ་ཐང་, Lithang བི་ཐང་ and Markham སྨར་ཁམས་ also allow some mutual intelligibility.

Further in the south, one finds four groups: Derong-Jol དེ་རོང་འཇོལ་, Semkyi Nyida (/Shanggi Nyila/) སེམས་ཀྱི་ཉི་ཟླ་, Chagthreng གཅེག་ཐང་ and Pomborgang གོ་བོར་ང ས་ (formerly Muli-Dabpa སྨི་ལི་དང་འཛིན་). These have a very low intelligibility between each other and, of course, with the dialects spoken further in the north (concerning lexical variation regarding Tibetic languages in Yunnan, see Suzuki 2018, 2022).

Thus, it is clearly not suitable to speak of “one Kham language,” even less of “one Kham dialect,” since we have at least 4 major dialect groups or “languages” (i.e. Hor, Northern Kham, Southern route Kham and Minyak Rabgang) and many smaller groups. Nevertheless, we can still make use of “Kham Tibetan” in order to refer to the Tibetic languages spoken in the Kham region.

5. Muli is often written སྨི་ལི་ SMLI Mili in Tibetan, however the etymology and the history of the toponym is not clear and we will continue to use the spelling Muli. Suzuki (2018) has proposed to replace the name of the group Muli-nDabpa by “Pomborgang group.”
For the classification of the SE section, we propose the following **fourteen groups**:

- **Nagchu** སྣ་ཚུལ་ (traditionally called Hor dialects)
  Nagchu སྣ་ཚུལ, Amdo ངད་མོ, Nyånrong དྲུང་རོང, Sok དོན་, north Biru (Driru) ཀུར་, Lhari ཡུར་, Pängön ཤང་གོན་, Tshonyi ཚེ་ཐོན་པོ, Shäntsa མཐུན་, Nyima-Hor གོ་, Tshochen-Hor སྟོ་བོ་, Gertse-Hor སྒེར་, Damzhung རོ་བོ་རུ་ and Nyemo རོ་བོ་(north).

- **Drachen/Bachen** སྦྲ་ཆེན་ (West Bachen (Drachen) སྦྲ་ཆེན་). This variety is also considered traditionally as a Hor dialect.

- **Kyegu** སྐྱེ་དགུ (partly)
  Kyegundo སྐྱེ་གུད།, Nangchen སྐྱེ་ངོན་, Chumarlep-Kham སྐྱེ་དམར་ལེབ, Thrindu-Kham གོ་འདུ་(partly), Dzatö སྣོད་, Dritö སྲོད་, This group also includes Gertse Kham སྒེར་ and Gegyä Kham དགེ་རྒྱ་ spoken in Ngari, which originally come from Kyegu area.

- **Pämbar** སྤལ་བར་ (Pämbar and South Biru (Driru) སྤལ་བར་).

- **Khyungpo** རྐྱ་ལྗོང་(Tengchen and Bachen (east)).
  Northern route (Chamdo, Derge, Kandze) སྐུ་མདོ་(Chamdo སྐུ་མདོ།, Jonda ཇོད་, Gonjo གོ་ནོ་, Drayap རྡི་ཡབ་, Riwoche རི་བོ་ཆེ་, Lhorong ལོུ་རོང་, Kandze སྐ་བཙན།, Nyagrong (Kham) གྲོང་, Pälü བླུ་, Derge རྡེ་, Sershiül སེ་ནོ།, Sershiül སེ་ནོ།, Drango (Kham) སྐྱེ་ནགས། and Tau (Kham) སྲོ་(East).

- **Rongdrak** རོང་འབྲག་ (East and Khoryül བདོ་རྨ་ in Dartsendo (NE).

- **Minyak Rabgang** རང་གུ་བརྒྱ་(Rangakha རང་གུ་, Drongsum དྲོང་སུམ་, and Basme བས་མེ་(spoken in Tau སྐར་)).
Southern route (Markham, Bathang, Lithang)

Bathang (in), Lithang-Kham, Dzogang (East), Markham (West), Pasho (North), Pomā (East), Poto (West) (in Powo district), Nyagchukha-Kham (West) (in Kham, Dzayūl (central) (in Kham, Metok (partly) and probably Sangdâm, spoken in Myanmar.

Dzayūl

Dzayūl Gola (Dzayül East), Dzayūl Tō, Dzayūl Rongmā, Dzayūl Drungchu and Tshawarong.

Derong-nJol

Derong (East), nJol (Dechen) and Pomtsarag.

Chagthreng

Chagthreng (in NW of and in a small area in the north of Derong and) and Tormarang (Dongwang).

Pomboergang

Cingdrol (in the north Dabpa), Mundzin (south of Dabpa), Mairi (north of Muli), Mola (South of Lithang) and Nyayūlpā (South Nyagchukha, Darmdō (Southernmost) and Gyāzur (Northernmost)).

Semkyi Nyida

Nyishar (West of Gyālthang and a small area of Dechen and Balung), Gyālthang (North), Yangthang (East) (south of Gyālthang), Thachu (central area of Balung), Zholam (Northwest, Melung (also in Balung), Maoniuping (Lijiang), Daan (Yongsheng) and Yongning and Muli (south).

The great linguistic complexity of Kham might be due partly to the existence of pockets of other Tibeto-Burman languages namely Situ, Geshitsa, sTāu, Nyargrong-Minyag, Darmdō Minyag, nGochang, nDrapa, Choyu, Lhagang Choyu, Lamo, Larong sMar, Drag-yab sMar, Ersu, Līzu, Nosu, Prinmi, Shuhiing, Namzi, Na (or Moso), Laze, Naxi, Malimasa, Līsu, Bai, Anung and even Miao (see Chapter 10).
9.3.3. Geographic extent of the SE section

The SE section extends over the historical Kham region (ཁམས) as well as the Hor region (ཧོར) located mainly in Nagchu area and in the eastern Jangthang (ཇང་ཐང). This area of Do-Kham (མདོ-ཁམས) is drained by major rivers and it is for this reason sometimes referred to as Four Rivers Six Ranges (ཆུ་བཞི་སྒང་དྲུག):
The six plateaux called སྒང་དྲུག (gang druk) are: བཟལ་མོ་སྒང་ Zälmo Gang, གཙ་བ་སྒང་ Tshawa Gang, འབྲི་ཆུ Drichu river, མཛེར་ཁམས་སྒང་ Markham Gang, སྨར་ཁམས་སྒང་ Pombor Gang, ལྷུང་ཁམས་སྒང་ Mardsa Gang, and མི་ཉག་རབ་སྒང་ Minyak Rabgang. The four rivers are: in the west, the Gyälmo Ngülchu river ཀྱི་མོ་ཀུལ་ཆུ (upper course of the Salween or Nu Jiang), the Dachu [Dzachu/Lachu]6 river རྟྭ་ཆུ (upper course of the Mekong), and the Drichu river འབྲི་ཆུ (upper course of the Yangtze) as well as in the east the Nyagchu river ཉག་ཆུ (Yalong Jiang) a large tributary of the Yangtze.7 Additionally, one should mention two other large rivers, found respectively at the western and eastern limits of Kham: the Dzayül river ཀྱུ་མོ་ཆུ (known as རྣང་ཆུ Sangchu in its upper course), which flows in the south-eastern TAR (China) before crossing the border with Arunachal Pradesh (India), where it becomes the Lohit river, and in the east, the Gyälmo Ngülchu ཀྱི་མོ་ཀུལ་ཆུ (Dadu river),8 which flows east of Dartsendo (Kangding).

The SE section corresponds to Chamdo District (TAR), the south-eastern part of Nyingthri Municipality (TAR), Kandze TAP (Sichuan), Muli TAC (Sichuan), Yülshül TAP (Qinghai) and Dechen TAP (Yunnan). The Hor linguistic area is located mainly in Nagchu Prefecture (TAR) but extends to some counties of Lhasa and Ngari Prefectures.

This linguistic area extends over a huge territory in the south-eastern region of the Tibetan speaking area. It covers about 600,000 km².

6. The difference of these names is due to the phonetic reflex of the word ZLACHU.

7. According to some commentaries, the fourth river is sometimes the RMA.CHU (Huang He) which flows through Amdo. However, since the Four Rivers Six Ranges refer to Kham, the inclusion of the Huang He is not likely to be valid.

8. One should not confuse the Salween and the Dadu rivers which bear the same name in Tibetan: RGYAL.MO RNGUL.CHU.
The map IX.2 focuses on the Kham region, reflecting the linguistic variation attested within eastern Kham.
MAP IX.2. – Linguistic classification of the Kham area

Legend:  
- Northern Route;  
- Rongdrak;  
- Minyak Rabgang;  
- Southern Route;  
- Pomborgang;  
- Chagthreng;  
- Derong-njol;  
- Semkyi Nyida;  
- Dzayül
Detailed location of the Kham and Hor dialects

Here is a list of the counties where Kham dialects are spoken:

- In Chamdo Municipality (TAR): Chamdo ཇ་མདོ, Tengchen བློ་གྱུར་, Jonda རོང་, Gonjo གོ་ནོ་, Drag-yap འབྲག་ཡར་, Dzogang དབུགས་ངོང་, Riwoche རི་བོ་ཆེ་, Markham སྨར་མཁས་, Lhorong སྐྱར་ོང་, Pasho རྒྱ་ོ, and Pămbar རྒྱ་པོ་;  
- In Nyingthri Municipality (TAR): Pomä གོ་མར་ and Dzayül ཐེ་འབྲུ།;  
- In Ngari Prefecture (TAR): Gertse གེ་རི་, Gegyä གེ་རྒྱས་;  
- In Kandze Prefecture (TAP, Sichuan): Kandze ཆྡེ་རྩེས་, Dartsendo ཉ་ཤུ་སྟེས་, Drango དྲ་ཆེན་, Nyagrong སྙན་གྲང་, Palyul རྩོའི་ལུས་, Derge སྐྱེ་དགེ་, Sershül སྐྱེ་ཚུལ་, Rongdrak རོང་གྲ་, Gyasur སྐྱ་ི་རུ, Nyagchukha སྙན་ཆུ་, Tau གཏོ་, Bathang བཞི་དང་, Lithang སྐྱི་, Chagthreng སྐག་ཐྲེང་, Dabpa སྦྱབ་པ་, and Derong སྦྱར་ཐོང་;  
- In Muli (TAC, Sichuan): Muli སྲི།;  
- In Yülshül Prefecture (TAP, Qinghai): Kyegundo བྱེ་གུན་, Nangchen སང་ཆུ་, Chumarlep སྐྱུ་དམར་ལེབ་, Thrindu སྐྱི་ཐུན་ (partly), Dzatö ཚོ་ཅྱི་, and Dritö ཚོ་རྒྱོ་;  
- In Dechen Prefecture (TAP, Yunnan): Semkyi Nyida སྨེས་ཀྱི་, Dechen སྦྱེན་ (འཇོལ་) and Balung བལྡུང་;  

- A few settlements of Kham speakers are also found in Lijiang Municipality, Xuehua (Maoniuping) Village of Yulong District, in Yongsheng County (Daan Township), in Ninglang (Yongning Township) and Gongshan County (Bingzhongluo and Bangta Townships) located in Nujiang Prefecture;  
- In Myanmar (Burma): Dazundam Village Tract;  
- In Eastern Bhutan, Trashi Yangtse District བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་རྩེ་ (van Driem 2001). Any linguistic description on this variety is unavailable; hence, it is still impossible to claim to which dialect group of Kham this variety belong.

Here is a detailed list of the counties where Hor dialects are spoken:

- In Nagchu Municipality (TAR): Nagchu ཇ་མདོ, Amdo རོང་, Nyänrong སྙན་རོང་, Drachen (/Bachen/) འབྲག་ལེན་, Sok སྙེན་, Driru (/Biru/) རྲུ་, Lhari ཐེ་, and in the following counties (together with a Tö pastoralists dialect): Pängön སྨར་ཐོང་
Inner classification of the Tibetic languages

▪ Ngari prefecture (TAR): Tshochen མཚོ་ཆེན་ and Gertse སྒེར་རྩེ་;
▪ in two counties of Lhasa Municipality: Damzhung ཡུལ་མཁན་ and Nyemo བོད་ འབྲོག་ (in the northern part of the county).

9.3.4. Number of speakers

The total number of speakers of the Tibetic languages located in the SE section is hard to ascertain due to the lack of a reliable census and to the linguistic diversity of the area. According to Qu (1996), the total of Kham and Hor Nagchu speakers is about 1,500,000.

This figure might be slightly underestimated. However, one should bear in mind, that given the linguistic diversity in the area, the population can not be considered speakers of one single language. Thus, to have linguistic relevance, a census should be based on a precise inner classification of the SE section.

9.3.5. Ethnic and sociolinguistic groups

The South-eastern section corresponds to the grouping of dialects spoken mainly by two slightly distinct Tibetan ethnic groups: བོད་ཁམས་པ། 'Khampa' and བོད་ཧོར་པ། 'Horpa' herders from the Jangthang area, also called བོད་བོལྡ་ 'Apho Hor' (this term is sometimes slightly derogatory or ironical). Qu Aitaing (1996) has referred to Hor dialect as Western Kham. We do not follow this suggestion because Horpas do not consider themselves as Khampas.

Additionally, in Rongdrak area, people speaking Kham dialects usually define themselves as Gyärongwa (རྒྱལ་རོང་བ) and in the southern most region of Kham, in Dechen and Gyäthang, people until recently defined themselves according to the local regional names such as Gyälthangwa (རྒྱལ་ཐང་བ་).

In Kham, the cultivators’ and the pastoralists’ dialects are distinct. There are also many communities of agropastoralists called བོད་སར་དྲོག་ 'samadrok' or བོད་སྒྲ་དྲོག་ 'yulmadrok' (for alternative terms, see 3.1). Nagchu Horpas are essentially pastoralists བོད་འབྲོག་ 'droga' or in some rare cases agropastoralists.
Note that the Tibetans of Muli, who speak a Kham Tibetan dialect, are sometimes called "Kami," but this is an exonym.

9.3.6. Phonological characteristics of the SE section

It is not possible to list common phonological features to all the dialects of the SE section. The phonological characteristics are usually valid only at the level of the groups or even sometimes the dialects.

Suprasegmental features

The Tibetic languages in the SE section have a pitch tone system without exception. Multiple types of tonal distinction are attested: a majority of dialects have a four-way contrast (high, rising, falling and rising-falling) and a minority of dialects have either a two way-contrast (high and low) or five way-contrast (high, low, rising, falling and rising-falling).

Segmental features

Synchronic approach

The sound systems of the SE section are characterized by the following frequent features:

▪ Existence of voiced non resonant sounds (b, d, ḍ, g, dz, j, z, zh, ɣ, ɦ).
▪ Voiceless nasals (m’, n’, ng’, ny’).
▪ Prenasalization is pervasive (ʾd, ʾb, ʾg, etc.). In many Kham dialects, combinations such as ʾt’, ʾp’, ʾk’, etc., are also found.
▪ Most Kham dialects have an aspirated fricative series: s’, x’, sh’.
▪ Preaspiration is found in many Kham dialects (t’, p’, k’, d’, b’, g’, s’, etc.).
▪ A limited set of final consonants (except in some north-western dialects).
▪ A large set of vowels and the existence of /ə/. The opposition between /a/ and /ɑ/. The distinction between long and short vowels is quite frequent.

9. Not found in Hor dialects. In the phonetic alphabet, the voiceless nasals are noted as [m̥, n̥, ȵ̊, ŋ̊].
Diachronic approach and reflexes of Classical Tibetan

- In the Kham groups, the reflexes of preradical sounds are realized as preaspiration including prenasals. A minority of dialects such as Khyungpo have traces of segmental realization for the preradicals.
- Voiced non resonant sounds (b, d, q, g, dz, j) are derived from the consonants with preradicals (except M and ‘).
- Voiceless nasals (m’, n’, ng’, ny’) are the reflexes of nasals with the preradical S. This is the case in words like སྨན། སྨན man ‘medicine’, སྡན། སྡན na ‘nose’, སྡི་ི། སྡི་ི། snying ‘heart’, སྡོག་ི། སྡོག་ི། sngo sngo ‘blue’.
- Prenasalization correspond to the reflex of radicals with a predical M or ‘.
- As for aspirated fricative series, CT S, SH, PHY without any preradicals correspond to s’, x’, sh’ (in the northern route Kham), but the sound correspondence is different depending on each dialectal group. In some Kham dialects, SR without preradical B also corresponds to an aspirated /s’/.
- Preaspiration in many Kham dialects is triggered by all the CT preradicals (except M and ‘).
- CT final consonants B, D, G often changed into a glottal stop; M, N, NG triggered the nasalization of vowels. The consonants R, L and S often caused the lengthening of the vowel.
- The final consonant triggered the change of tongue position resulting in a vowel change. In addition i without final is usually realized as /ə/.
- In Hor and northern Kham dialects, the combination SL and ZL respectively yield: /ts/ and /dz/. This is the case in words like སྲལ། སྲལ། sla mo ‘easy’, སྲོ། སྲོ། slob ‘to teach’, སྲུ། སྲུ། zla ba ‘moon’, སྲེབས། སྲེབས། slesb ‘arrive’.

9.3.7. Grammatical characteristics of the SE section

As we will see from the grammatical sketch below, the dialect groups of the SE section exhibit significant differences in their grammar. For example, concerning the verbal inflectional morphology, the northern Kham dialects have well preserved two or three inflections inherited from CT whereas the southern dialects have lost these
forms and the lexical verb has become invariable. This feature is shared with the languages of the S section such as Dzongkha and Lhoke. The languages of the SE section also largely differ in their verb auxiliaries from the point of view of both form and function.

9.3.7.1. Case markers

As we will see, cases in the various Tibetic languages differ in form, function as well as the number. However, one can say that all the various case systems minimally include three case markers: genitive/ergative, dative and ablative, as well as the unmarked absolutive case. In most of modern Tibetic languages ergative and genitive case markers are either identical or very similar.

Some dialects of the SE section distinguish up to seven or eight case markers. Frequent cases include ergative, absolutive, dative, ablative, genitive and locative,\(^{10}\) comparative and associative.

We will first present the "core syntactic cases" and then introduce the peripheral cases (or local cases). The case markers that indicate core syntactic roles are the absolutive, the ergative and the dative.

The ergative is used with both controllable and non-controllable verbs. It is found in all the dialects of the SE section. It is used in the various tenses (present, past, future) and aspects (completed and uncompleted). However, the ergative is only compulsory in some contexts otherwise it is optional and used to show an emphasis on the grammatical agent. In some southern Kham dialects, such as Melung (Sems-kyi-nyila), ergative has acquired a more pragmatic function.

In the SE section, one finds the following markers for the ergative: /-ki/, /-ka/ and other forms derived from ཀིས་GIS. However, some dialects have an ergative as: /-je/ which may be derived from the allomorph: སིས་YIS. Some dialects have special ergative forms for the personal pronouns (Derge, Kandze, Chamdo, Rongdrak, Khyungpo).

\(^{10}\) Depending on the languages, the semantic meaning may be a general locative, an inessive or an illative.
In the SE section, ergative and genitive markers may be identical as in Derge or still distinct as in many dialects of Melung, but usually they have a very similar form.

The absolutive is always marked by zero marker (Ø) in all SE languages. In some dialects such as Derge and Rongdrak, the $S_A$ (the subject of an intransitive controllable verb) is optionally marked with an ergative, while the $S_P$ (the subject of an intransitive non-controllable verb) must be in the absolutive.

The dative marker is derived in most dialects from CT ལ་ LA. The vowel varies a lot depending on the dialect: /-le, -la, -lə, -lo/. In a marginal way, one finds other forms whose origin is unclear: /-tsə/ (most dialects spoken in Yunnan). It might be derived from the word བྲླ་ RTSA ‘root’ which is very often used as a postposition and even a case in some dialects of other sections.

The local or peripheral case markers are ablative, genitive, comparative, locative (inessive, illative, etc.).

The three main forms for the ablative are ནས། NAS /-ne:/ as well as /-tsə/ and /-de/. The origin of the /-tsə/ and /-de/ is unclear. The former is quite common in Yunnan (except for Melung area), while the latter is found in Rongdrak and Melung. In some dialects, the ablative is used for the comparative:

The comparative is /-ya/ /-yi/ in some Kham dialects (Derge), a form probably derived from CT ཡིས་ YIS. Another form /-we/, also derived from CT བས་ BAS (also having a comparative function), is found in Gyalthang and Chamdo. The dative is also used for the comparative function, for example in Derge (see Häsl 1999: 119). In Derong a special form /-kərə/ is found.

For the locative case, the dative ལ་ LA is often used. Some dialects have a special form with a more specific locative meaning such as inessive or illative. For example བླ། NA /-na/ is found in Derge. Another form /na/ is widespread in Minyak Rabgang, Rongdrak, Derong, etc. It is probably derived from the classical locative case བླ། NANG ‘interior’. In some dialects the two forms can alternate.
The instrumental in many SE dialects is formally identical to the ergative case GIS. However, a few dialects have a special form: /-kʌ/ (Zhollam) or /-he/ (Gyälthang).

The genitive form is usually derived from GI. As mentioned above, genitive markers are often distinct from the ergative, although they may be very similar. Yunnan dialects have an alternative form /-da/ (of unclear origin). In the Melung subgroup, there is also an exception form for the genitive /-k’ong/ < CT KHONGS’ to belong.

The associative /tɔ/ derived from the CT form DANG (see Hässler 1999).

9.3.7.2. Nominalizers

Nominalizers play a major role in the Tibetic languages. They have a specific argument function related to the verb which is nominalized. They may indicate the agent of the verbal action, the place, the agent, the patient, the instrument, etc. A characteristic feature of Tibetic nominalizers is that they also function as relative clause marker and some nominalizers may also be used with auxiliaries to form verb endings.

Various nominalizers are found in the SE section. We list below eight relatively frequent nominalizers of this section. Some dialects may have only three markers. The nominalizers have a specific argument function related to the verb which is nominalized.

- In Kham and Hor, there is a very widespread nominalizer, MI, which is pronounced in various ways /ma, mo/. Other forms such as NI, -na, -no/ and MI /-nya/ are also attested. All these are probably derived from MI or its archaic variant which originally means ‘person, human being’. One strong argument in favor of this hypothesis is that in the given Kham dialects, ‘human being’ is also pronounced /na/ (Gyälthang) or /nya/ (Chaghtreng). This nominalizer has different functions depending on the dialect. It may indicate the general nominalization (infinitive-like), the patient or the agent of the verbal action (‘the doer’, ‘the thing to be done’ or ‘the thing done’).

11. It seems that the associative case unlike some other dialect groups and CT is not commanded by lexical verbs in the SE section.
The nominalizer མཁན་/MKHAN/ is found in some Kham (Khyungpo, Derge, Minyak Rabgang) and Hor dialects. It usually indicates the agent of the verbal action.

▪ The nominalizer ལེ་/le/ which indicates the patient of the verbal action similar to བ་/PA in CT.

▪ Another frequent nominalizer is བོ་/sa/ derived from CT ས་/sa/ ‘place’ and has various meanings such as the place of the verbal action and the instrument of the verbal action (e.g. Rongdrak).

▪ The form /zä/ is found in some Kham dialects such as Derge to indicate the instrument of the verbal action. It is probably derived from CT རྫས་/RDZAS ‘thing, object’.

▪ The nominalizer /jo/ or /gyo/ is found in several Kham (Derge, Nagchu, Rongdrak, etc.). It is derived from CT རྒྱུ་/RGYU and indicates the patient of the verbal action. For this function, the nominalizer /da/ (of unclear origin) is used in Melung.

▪ The nominalizer སྟངས་/STANGS/ is used in several northern dialects (Derge). It indicates “the way of the verbal action.”

9.3.7.3. Verbal inflections

In most southern Kham dialects, the lexical verb is invariable and has no tense or modal inflections (see 8.3.8). In the northern Kham and Hor dialects, verbs have often two or three forms. The verbs with two forms have an opposition between “present” and “past-imperative” or between “present-past” and “imperative.” The verbs with three forms distinguish “past,” “present” and “imperative.” The Khyungpo Thromtshang dialect is exceptional and has a few verbs with four inflectional forms (“completed,” “uncompleted,” “future” and “imperative”), however these forms are generally innovative and not inherited from CT.
In some dialects a few verbs have suppletive forms: 'to go' གོ་ SONG and འགྲོ་ GRO; 'to come': འོང་ ONG and སོང་ SHOG; 'to say': དེར་ ZER and བཟླས་ BZLAS.

The general trend shows a reduction of verbal inflections and the younger generations have a tendency to use a single verb form. This trend can also be observed in the dialects of Ü-Tsang.

9.3.7.4. Linking verbs and auxiliary verbs

Copulative verbs

The verbs སྤིན་ YIN and རེད་ RED are used both as equative copulative verbs. The copula YIN functions as an egophoric meaning whereas RED indicates a factual meaning. These two markers are widespreaded in the SE section, however, in a few dialectal groups, instead of སྤིན་ YIN and རེད་ RED, other pairs are used: སྤིན་ YIN vs སྤིན་ སྤེན་ YIN-SNANG (Rongdrak), སྤིན་ YIN vs སྤེན་ SNANG (Melung). In Gyälthang, one can find a form གྲག་ GRAG with a non visual sensory evidential meaning.

These auxiliary verbs have the following negations: སྤིན་ YIN > མིན་ MIN or མགྲ་ MA-YIN (Dzayül, Minyak Rabgang), སྤིན་ སྤེན་ YIN-SNANG > མིན་ སྤེན་ MIN-SNANG, རེད་ RED > མགྲ་ MA-RED (most dialects) or མ་ MA or མག་ MAG /maʔ/ (Hor: Nagchu).

Existential verbs

Existential auxiliaries exhibit a greater variation both in form and meaning. ཡོད་ YOD or its variant ཡོད་ 'OD are found in all the dialects, however they convey different grammatical meanings.

A) In many dialects, ཡོད་ YOD, or its variant ཡོད་ 'OD, is used to refer to personal information (egophoric) and generally occurs with the first person subject.

B) In southern Kham (e.g. Gyälthang, Derong, Dechen, etc.) ཡོད་ YOD indicates the possession and may be used with possessors referring to any of the three persons.

These auxiliary verbs have the following negations: ཡོད་ YOD / ཡོད་ 'OD > མིད་ MED or its archaic form བྱེད་ MYED.
In many dialects the following auxiliaries indicate sensory access to information, often visual but not exclusively: གདའ་ GDA’ (e.g. Hor, Yülshül and many herders’ dialects), འགི་ GI (e.g. Derge, Kandze, Lithang), སྣང་ SNANG (southern Kham), ཁུ་་ DUG (Gyälthang, Derong, Muli). For this function, Minyak Rabgang uses a compound form for the existential verb: དོ དུ་ YOD.DU.

In Southern Kham, some of the above auxiliaries have acquired different grammatical meanings. For example, in Gyälthang, SNANG is used to indicate exclusively visual perceptions whereas DUG indicates the existence of animate beings especially humans. In some dialects (Bathang, Derge and Gyälthang, etc.), GRAG is used for non-visual perceptions.

**Compound linking verbs**

Compound verbs are very frequent in the SE section. They involve the combination of various copulas or auxiliaries. Sometimes, the first verb is followed by a relator (connective or nominalizer): ཡོད་ ས་ དུ་ YOD.SA.YOD, ཡོད་ ས་ འགི་ YOD.SA.GI, ཡོད་ སྣང་ YOD.SNANG (Melung), ཡོད་ སྣང་ YIN.LE.RED, ཡོད་ ས་ འགི་ YIN.SA.GI, ཡོད་ སྣང་ YIN.SNANG, etc.

**Auxiliaries**

Frequent auxiliary verbs of the SE section consist of linking verbs (sometimes preceded by a relator): ཡོད་ YIN, སུ་ དུ་ RED, རྒ་ ས་ ཡེ་ GDA’, འགི་ GI /“ asserted”, etc., SNANG, DUG.

Other frequent auxiliaries include: སྟེལ་ THAL (all dialects), BYUNG (most dialects), GRAG (many Kham dialects), ZUG (Derge, Kandze), DO (Derge), KHAI (njol, Minyak Rabgang).

From a semantico-cognitive point of view, the auxiliaries (together with relators) convey complex temporal, aspectual, evidential and epistemic meanings.

Most of the systems have special forms to mark sensory access to information, as well as factual, egophoric, inferential, hearsay and epistemic meanings.
9.3.7.5. *Negation*

The negation has two forms in all the dialects of the SE section: ལ་ *MA* and མི་ *MI* (Kham, Hor) or its archaic form མྱི་ *MYI* (in Yunnan) which occur before the verb or the auxiliary. In general, for the imperative, one can only use the form ལ་ *MA*. In synchrony, negative morphemes ལ་ *MA* and མི་ *MI* together with auxiliaries constitute one single verb affix, which cannot be analyzed. This suffix conveys TAM and evidential-epistemic values as well as negation.

In addition to these, especially in Southern Kham, another negation prefix is emerging: གར་ *GAR*, which originally denotes ‘where’ as an interrogative word. Gyalthang Kham has already grammaticalized it as a negation prefix, and it functions as a negation, mostly used for the negation of egophoric inferential (see Suzuki & Lozong Lhamo 2020).

9.4. *The Eastern section*

The Eastern section (henceforth E section) is made up of several linguistic groups of dialects spoken in a relatively small area in northern Sichuan and southern Gansu. The great linguistic diversity of this section may be due to the contact with other Tibeto-Burman languages such as the Qiangic languages. The mutual intelligibility between the various groups of dialects is really limited. There is no traditional term to designate this linguistic area, which is considered to be a part of the cultural Amdo region.

In the E section, whether in northern Sichuan or southern Gansu, Mandarin Chinese is currently the official language and is the language used in the school curriculum. It has a strong impact on some languages of the E section, particularly on Khöpokhok (Jiuzhaigou) and Baima. In addition, because of the distribution of the languages in the E section, communications with Amdo pastoralists are usually done by using Amdo Tibetan, hence many Tibetans who are natives of a language of the E section can also speak Amdo to some extent, or even fluently, without any strong accent.

The languages of the E section are usually not written down, and when people write in Tibetan, they normally write in Literary Tibetan. The Tibetan written language is used in the Buddhist and Bönpo monasteries, in the institutes of Traditional medicine and to a certain extent in some cultural organizations and media (internet, etc.). Three
universities located not far from the area of the E section have Tibetan language departments: the Northwest University for Nationalities, Nubjhang Mirik Lobdra Chenmo located in Lanzhou (Gansu), the Gansu Normal University for Nationalities, Kansuu Mirik Geö Lobdra Chenmo Tsö (Hezuo, Gansu) and the Southwest University for Nationalities, Lhonup Mirik Lobdra Chenmo in Chengdu (Sichuan).

In the E section, Vajrayāna Buddhism is the main religion, with a predominance of the Gelugpa sect. There is also a strong Bönpo presence in this region, particularly in Thewo and Zungchu counties. In Dzorge as well as Zungchu one also finds Sakya monasteries. The Buddhist and Bön communities of this section are in contact with Hui communities of southern Gansu and Northern Sichuan.

Major monasteries of the E section include: Tagtshang Lhamo, Čone Gönchen Shadrubling (Geluk) and Sharkhok Gamäl (Bön) in Zungchu County.


9.4.1. Migration patterns, legends and historical records
The speakers of each language in the E section have their own history of migration. It is difficult to prove whether this history is based on facts or folklore, but the common

12. This monastery is located in Dzorge at the border with Thewo, Čone and Luchu. It also corresponds to the border between the Eastern section and the Northeastern section where Amdo is spoken. Thus the monastery of Tagtshang Lhamo and nearby monasteries concentrate monks who speak very different dialects.
feature to all the language groups is that the speakers claim they originally come from different parts of TAR, and in the period of the Tibetan Empire (from the seventh to the ninth century) their ancestors were forced to migrate to the eastern region as a military force against Tang dynasty. According to each tradition, Čone ancestors are from Phänpo, Thewo ancestors from Dagpo (DWAGS.PO), Drugchu ancestors from Dagpo, Khöpokhok ancestors from Kongpo, and Baima ancestors from Dagpo. In the case of Sharkhok, Pashi, Thromjekhok and Zhongu, the ancestral origin is unknown and there is no specific folklore about their origin.

9.4.2. Linguistic groups of the E section

The E section is characterized by great diversity, and as mentioned earlier, a very limited mutual intelligibility. Furthermore, this low intelligibility is usually asymmetrical.

In previous works conducted in China, the languages and dialects of this section are often classified as a member of Kham or agricultural Amdo (e.g. Qu & Jin 1981; Nishida & Sun 1990; Zhang 1996; Wang 2012). Sun (2003a) described one Tibetic language of the E section, namely Zhongu. Suzuki (2008) proposes to establish a new category called “Shar” for several Tibetic languages of this section. Sun (2013; 2018) has presented a brief description of two undescribed varieties spoken in Throchu County: Khalong and Taku. The genetic affiliation of Baima, a Tibetic language of this section, is still disputed by several scholars. Until 1949, the Baima ethnic group was still considered as a Qiang minority (Chirkova 2008). It seems that Baima has preserved a Qiangic substrate. When considering the languages of this section, we should also note the existence of linguistic substrata, that is previous potential ethnic minorities’ languages. In this regard, some of the present languages in E Section cannot simply be considered as languages “derived from Old Tibetan.”

For the dialect classification of the E section, we propose the following eleven groups:

- Čone ནོ་ནེའི་སྐད་
- Thewo དོ་ཐེ་བོའི་སྟོད་སྐད་
Nearly all these dialect groups or "languages" form a quasi-geographic continuum, but two or more languages of this section are never found in the same village. Within the E section, Baima and Drugchu are clearly distinct languages, not allowing intelligibility with surrounding languages. Other languages, although more closely related, have sharp dialectal differences. This is the case for example of Čone (Čone Nyinpa vs other dialects) or Pashi (Pashi vs Babzo). Čone (except for Nyinpa) does not allow a good intelligibility with Thewo. The mutual intelligibility of Thewo-tö and Khöpokhok is also limited. Pashi speakers do understand Thewo-tö as well as Sharkhok to some extent, but the reverse is not true (a case of asymmetrical intelligibility). Similarly, Khöpokhok speakers understand Sharkhok well while the reverse is not true. Sharkhok speakers understand Thromjekhok to some extent, while speakers of the latter have a much better understanding of the former. The mutual intelligibility of Sharkhok and Zhongu is limited. As mentioned earlier, Baima and Zhongu have a non-Tibetic substratum, presumably Qiangic, thus they are typologically quite different from the other languages of the E section. Some dialects of the E section are nearly extinct. That is for example the case of Dramtsher /Batse/ (Chin: Lintan), Meri (Chin: Minxian) and Thergyü /Tangchang/ (Chin: Dangchang, locally pronounced /Tangchang/).

13. Except for the conference papers of Sun (2013; 2018), no information is available. In addition, these varieties are to a greater extent different from each other. Here we just propose a temporary classification based on the geography.
9.4.3. Geographic extent of the E section

The E section is located at the easternmost region of the Tibetan cultural area at
the border between Sichuan and Gansu. It corresponds to the area of the upper
Zungchu river བན་ཆུ། called Min Jiang (岷江) in Chinese. Other significant rivers of
this SE area include the Luchu river བཀླུ་ཆུ།, the Drugchu river རྡུག་ཆུ། (Chin: 白龙江
Bailong Jiang) also called ‘Thewo Chunak’ གྲེ་ཆུ་ནག། and one of its tributaries, the
Karchu river ཕྲ་ཆུ། (Chin: 白水江 Baishui Jiang), as well as the Throchu river ེར་ཆུ། (Chin: 黑水河 Heishui He) which is running through the eponym county and is
the main tributary of the Zungchu (Min Jiang).

The E area roughly covers the territories of Čone, Thewo and Drugchu Counties
(Gannan TAP) in Gansu as well as a part of Dzorge, Zitsadegu (Jiuzhaigou) and Zungchu
Counties (rNgawa TQAP) in Sichuan. Other than these areas, a part of Pingwu and
Wen Counties as well as a part of Wudu District are also included in the E area.
PART 2 – Chap 9. Inner classification of the Tibetic languages

Legend:
- Čone
- Thewo-tö
- Thewo-mā
- Drugchu
- Baima
- Khöpokhok
- Pälkyi
- Sharkhok
- Thromjekhok
- Zhongu
- Throchu
Detailed location of the dialect groups

- Čone གོ་ནེ་སྐད།, spoken in Čone County, in Liulin, Muer, Nalang, Taojian, Tsangpawa, Kache, Zhagulu, Malu, Daogao townships and a part of Niba and Wanmao townships.

- Thewo-tö ཐེ་བོའི་སྟོད་སྐད།, spoken mainly in the westernmost part of Thewo County ཐེ་བོ་རྫོང་ in Dianga Town and Yiwa Township as well as the northernmost part of Dzorge (north) བོད་རྫོང་ in Jiangsha, Zhangwa, Chonger, Donglie and Reer townships. A part of the dialects spoken in Niba Township, Čone County, also belongs to this group.

- Thewo-mä ཐེ་བོ་སྨད་སྐད།, spoken mainly in the central and eastern parts of Thewo County ཐེ་བོ་རྫོང་ in Kaba, Ni’ao, Wangzang, Huayuan, Luoda, Axi, Lazikou, and Sangba townships as well as the western part of Drugchu County ལྷང་ཆུ་རྫོང་ in Quwa, Baxi, Hanban, Dayu, and Fenglie townships.

- Drugchu ལྷང་ཆུ་སྐད།, spoken mainly in a part of Drugchu County ལྷང་ཆུ་རྫོང་ in Jiangpan, Nanyu, Baleng, Guoye, Wuping, Chagang, Gongba, Danian, Tieba, and Boyu townships as well as Wudu District (Longnan city, outside of the Gannan TAP), in Pingya township, and Dangehang County in Xinchengzi and Guan’e villages.

- Pälkyi བོལ་སྐྱིད་སྐད། /Pashi/ spoken mainly in Pälkyi District of Dzorge County བོད་རྫོང་ in Baxi, Axirong, Qiuji (Chos-rjes), Baozuo townships as well as in the northern part of Zitsadegu County གཟི་རྩ་སྡེ་དགུ་རྫོང་ in Dalu, Yuwa, Heihe townships. In addition to these, it is also spoken in Dala and Dуюer townships of Thewo County ཐེ་བོ་རྫོང་.

- Khöpokhok གོད་པོ་ཁོག་སྐད། spoken mainly in the central part of Zitsadegu County གཟི་རྩ་སྡེ་དགུ་རྫོང་ (formerly Namphel) in Zhangza Town and Baihe township.

- Sharkhok ཤར་ཁོག་སྐད། spoken mainly in Zungchu County རྫོང་ in Shanba and Shuijing townships as well as Chuanzhusi town, Huanglong, Shili, Dazhai, Qingrun, Anhong and Daxing townships.
• **Thromjekhok** སྨོན་པར་རྒྱ་དོན་ཁོག་སྐད, spoken mainly in Thromjekhok (Munigou), in Anhong and Muni townships of Zungchu County བུང་ཆུ་རྫོང་.  

• **Zhongu** ཉོང་ཁོག་སྐད, spoken mainly in Zhongukhok (Rewugou) ཉོང་ཁོག་བྱེད་ཨ་ of Zungchu County བུང་ཆུ་རྫོང་, in Hongtu along the Zhongu river ཉོང་ཁོག་, in Hongzha and Xiaoxing townships and in a few villages of Throchu ཁྲོ་ཆུ་རྫོང་ [Heishui] according to Sun (2003a).  

• **Throchu** ཁྲོ་ཆུའི་སྐད, spoken mainly in several villages of Throchu ཁྲོ་ཆུ་རྫོང་ [Heishui] in Shashiduo, Luhua, and Qinglang townships according to Sun (2013; 2018). This includes Khalong and Dagu which have been described by Sun (ibid.). Note that these dialects are very different from each other.  

• **Baima** བོད་དམག་སྐད, spoken mainly in the eastern part of Zitsadegu County གཟི་རྩ་སྡེ་དགུ་རྫོང་ [Jiuzhaigou] (Guoyuan, Wujiao, Majia, Anle) as well as a part of Pingwu (in Baima, Muzuo and Mupi townships and possibly Huya Township), Wen (Tielou, Liping, Zhongcai, Shangtanbo) and Drugchu counties (in a few villages of Boyu).  

Each of the above dialect groups or "languages" have an extremely low intelligibility with the others and in some cases, do not allow for any communication. Particularly Drugchu and Baima are never understood by speakers of other languages. Some speakers of these languages learn Amdo, while Amdo-speaking people generally do not understand nor learn these languages.  

There are some varieties spoken between Thewo-mä and Pälkyi /Pashi/, which are not intelligible with the speakers of both languages.

### 9.4.4. Number of speakers

The total number of speakers of the Tibetic languages located in the E section is hard to know due to the lack of reliable census and to the great linguistic diversity. Qu (1996) mentions 65,000 speakers for Čone and Drugchu.\(^{15}\) According to Bradley

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14. There is no definite spelling. Some authors propose the following spelling བོད་དམག་སྐད.  
15. **Zhouqu xianzhi** (1996) mentions 36,000 speakers for Drugchu, Baima and Thewo speakers in Drugchu County.
the number of Baima speakers amounts to 10,000. The number of Zhongu speakers of Zhongu is probably less than 5,000 (Sun 2003a). No figures are available for Sharkhok and Thromjekhok.

The total number of speakers for the various languages of the E section does not exceed two hundred thousand speakers. This figure might even be overestimated since some languages of the E section, such as Khöpokhok and Baima, are now endangered and no longer transmitted to the younger generation: Chinese has become the dominant language.

9.4.5. Ethnic and sociolinguistic groups

The speakers of the Tibetic languages in the E section generally identify themselves as Tibetan and specifically as Amdowa except for the Baima-speaking people, who often regard themselves as non-Tibetan (particularly the Baima people living outside rNgawa prefecture) despite the fact that they are officially classified as Tibetan nationality (Tib: BOD.RIGS; Chin: Zangzu) by the Chinese government. The speakers of Čone, Thewo and Drugchu often mention their historical origin (from Central Tibet) but their ethnic identity is likely to be melded with Amdo.

The languages of the E section are spoken by བཞིང་པ་ zhingpa 'cultivators', sometimes locally called སླ་ཀ་མྱི་/läkanyi:/ or ཐུ་བ་/lu:wa/. There are no pastoralist communities, but agropastoralists རོང་མ་འབྲོག་ rongmadrok are encountered.

9.4.6. Phonological characteristics of the E section

It is not possible to list common phonological features to all the dialects of the E section. The phonological characteristics are usually valid only at the level of the groups or even sometimes the dialects.

Suprasegmental features

The Tibetic languages in the E section present various types of suprasegments, mainly three:

- Zhongu and Throchu lack any systematical suprasegmental distinctive features. But Sun (2003a) describes for Zhongu a stress contrast in some examples, which does have a phonological function.
- Pitch tone type: Čone and Baima.
- Register type (or non-suprasegmental contrast but with a phonetically clear reflex): Thewo-tö, Thewo-mä, Drugchu, Pashi, Khöpokhok, Sharkhok and Thromjekhok.

As for the pitch tone, the number of pitch pattern in Čone is two (high and low) whereas that in Baima is at least four (high, low, rising, falling). As for the register tone, Drugchu and Pashi have breathy-based suprasegmentals (low-register may be more marked) whereas the others have creaky-based ones (high-register may be more marked).

### Segmental features

**Synchronic approach**

The sound systems of the E section are characterized by the following frequent features:

- Existence of voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, ɖ, g, dz, j, z, zh, ɣ, ɦ).
- Prenasalization is pervasive (“d, “b, “g, etc.). Prenasal with aspirated consonants such as “t, “p, “k, etc., are also found.
- Most dialects have an aspirated fricative series: s’, x’, sh’.
- Preaspiration is found in many dialects of the SE section (h, h’, k, h’k, h’l, h’g, h’h, etc.). The voicing of the preaspiration sound is sometimes different from the main initial (in Pashi, Khöpokhok and Drugchu).
- The rhyme form is quite simple. Thewo, Drugchu, Zhongu and Baima just have an open-syllable. In these dialects, the nasal feature in the rhyme is not attested.
- A large set of vowels and the existence of /ɑ/ and /a/. The opposition between /a/ and /ɑ/. The distinction between long and short vowels is quite frequent.

**Diachronic approach and reflexes of Classical Tibetan**

- In the languages of the E section, the reflexes of preradical sounds are realized either as segmental features, preaspiration and prenasals (cf. Sharkhok) or more
commonly as preaspiration and prenasals (Drugchu, Thewo-tö).

- Voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, ŋ, g, dz, j) are derived from the consonants with preradicals (except M and j) in Sharkhok, Thromjekhok, Thewo-tö, Čone and Baima. In Pashi, b, d, ŋ, g, dz, j) are derived from the consonants without preradicals.

- Prenasalization corresponds to the reflex of radicals with a predical M or j.

- As for aspirated fricative series, CT S, SH, PHY without any preradicals correspond to s’, x’ and sh’ but the sound correspondence in the articulatory position is different depending on each dialectal group.

- Preaspiration is normally triggered by all the CT preradicals (except M and j).

- CT final consonants B, D, often changed into a glottal stop; G changes into the epiglottal ʢ or a glottal stop; M, N, NG changed into nasalized vowels; R, L, S often caused the lengthening of the vowel (except for Thewo-mä, Drugchu, Zhongu and Baima).

- The final consonant triggered a change in the tongue position resulting in a vowel change. In addition, i without final is usually realized as /ə/.

- In Sharkhok and Thromjekhok or Thewo-mä, the combination SL and ZL respectively yields: /ts/ and /dz/ just as in many Kham dialects. This is the case in words like སླ་མོ SLAMO ‘easy’, སློབ་ SLOB ‘to teach’, རླ་བ ZLABA’moon’.

9.4.7. Grammatical characteristics of the E section

Languages of the E section such as Baima or Zhongu have a number of grammatical features not found in the other Tibetic languages (For example Baima has an accusative case). These specificities may be partly due to the existence of a Qiangic substrate. The languages of the E section are quite diverse and the differences also extend to grammar. Concerning verbal inflections, the languages of this section have inherited many forms found in CT, but have also innovated a number of forms not attested in CT.
9.4.7.1. Case markers

Some dialects of the E section distinguish up to five or six cases (e.g. Sharkhok). Frequent cases include ergative, absolutive, dative, ablative, genitive and comparative.

The ergative is used with both controllable and non-controllable verbs. All languages of the SE section have ergative constructions (Čone, Thewo, Sharkhok, Drugchu, Khöpkhok, Pashi, etc.) except Baima which has an accusative marker (Huang 2007: 159) and lacks a real ergative marker. Chirkova (2005) however mentions for Baima the existence of an agentive case, but specifies that it is used mainly to disambiguate potential agents.

The ergative in Sharkhok can be used in the past and present but not in the future. In some dialects, the pronouns have a special form. It is also worth noting that the ergative marking is more obligatory for pronouns but remains optional for nouns. Thus, one could say that the ergativity is weakened in the E section compared to other sections.

The ergative marker is often marked by /ɣə/ derived from ཁིས /GIS. In the SE section, ergative, genitive markers and even dative are distinctive but have a very similar form.

The absolutive is always marked by a zero marker (∅). It is used to mark the patient except for Baima which has dominant accusative constructions.

The accusative case is found only in Baima. The form of the case is /tæ/ of unclear origin.

The dative marks the beneficiary and sometimes the patient. In Sharkhok, the form is /ɣe/ and in Čone /fie/. The form /tsɐ/ or /sɐ/ is used in Zhongu. These origins are unclear. The dative is also often used to mark the locative; In Čone, pronouns have a special form for the dative case.

The local or peripheral case markers are ablative, genitive, comparative, locative (inessive, illative).

The ablative is often གིས /NAS /-nc/ or /-nə/. In Baima the ablative form is /ɣə/ of unclear origin.
The comparative has several non-related forms in the various languages: /-shōmbo/ (Sharkhok), /-s’ɑ/ (Khöpokhok), /-shüæ/ (Baima). These forms could be related to the comparative form /sang/ used in Ladakhi.

For the locative function, the dative is often used. Some dialects have the form /-nɔ/ or /-na/ (e.g. Zhongu, Drugchu) derived from CT locative case: /-nɔ/.

The instrumental in many E dialects is formally identical to the ergative case /-nɔ/ or /-kə/. Baima, which lacks an ergative construction, has preserved the instrumental form: /-kə/.

The genitive form in Sharkhok and Khöpokhok is /-gə/ derived from /-gə/ derived from CT genitive case: /-gə/.

9.4.7.2. Nominalizers

Various nominalizers are found in the E section (for a general description of the nominalizers, see section 8.3.13). We list below three frequent nominalizers of this section. Data about nominalizers in these languages are not sufficient.

- In some dialects, one finds the nominalizer /-mo, -nyi, nyə, nyəɯ/ (Čone, Khöpokhok, Drugchu, etc.). These forms are probably also derived respectively from /-mo/ and /-nyə/ which originally means ‘person, human being’. The nominalizer and ‘human being’ have a similar form in many dialects. It may indicate the general nominalisation (infinitive-like), the patient or the agent (of the verbal action) or the subject of an intransitive verb (the ‘doer’, the ‘the thing to be done’ or ‘the thing done’). It refers to persons and is not used for inanimate beings.

- Another frequent nominalizer is /-s’a/. It is pervasive in many dialects of the E section. This nominalizer is derived from CT /-s’a/, which means ‘place’ has various meaning ‘the place of the verbal action’ and ‘the instrument of the verbal action’.

- The nominalizer /-fiə/ probably related to /-fiə/ is found in Drugchu.
9.4.7.3. Verbal inflections

In the dialects of the E section (Thewo, Čone, Khöpokhok, etc.), the lexical verb often has two forms. Sharkhok and Pashi have even three forms for some verbs ("past," "present" and "imperative"). These forms are either inherited from CT or correspond to specific innovations.

For example, some dialects have specific aspirated forms for the imperative, which are not inherited from CT. In some dialects, the verbs 'to go' and 'to do' often have suppletive forms to indicate the various tenses and the imperative: 'to go' སོང་SONG, ཐལ་THAL and འགྲོ་GRO (e.g. Sharkhok); 'to do': ལེ་BYED and ལེ་ཟི་BGYID (Čone).

9.4.7.4. Linking verbs and auxiliary verbs

Linking verbs correspond to equative and existential verbs.

Copulative verbs

Copulative verbs ཡིན་YIN and རེད་RED are found nearly everywhere in the E section, however, in a few dialectal groups other pairs are used as: ཡིན་YIN and དགེ་GI /gi/ (Thewo-mä, Drugchu). They convey respectively egophoric and factual meanings. These auxiliary verbs have the following negations: ཡིན་YIN > མིན་MIN, རེད་RED > མ་རེད་MA-RED (most dialects), དགེ་GI > བར་མགོའི/GI magi (Thewo, Drugchu).

Existential verbs

Existential verbs such as སྣང་SNANG and ཕྱེད་YOD are quite common to the Tibetic languages in the E section. Usually YOD conveys an egophoric meaning while SNANG has a sensory meaning. A compound form སྣང་གི་SNANG.GI is found in Čone and Sharkhok.

འདུག་DUG is quite marginal but found in a couple of dialects such as Zhongu.

These auxiliary verbs have the following negations:

SNANG > ཚུ་མི་MI-SNANG (nearly all the dialects), YOD > མེད་MED (most dialects), \textbf{MYED} (Thewo-mä).

Compound linking verbs

Compound verbs are very frequent in the E section. They involve the combination of various copulative verbs, existential verbs or auxiliaries. For example, we find སྣང་གི་SNANG.GI
Frequent auxiliary verbs of the E section consist of copulative verbs and existential verbs (sometimes preceded by a relator): རེད་ (RED), སྣང་ (SNANG), དགོས་ (DGOS). Other frequent auxiliaries include: ཐལ་ (THAL) (all dialects), དབྱུང་ (BYUNG) (Baima), དགོས་ (DGOS) (Sharkhok, Pashi). In some languages such as Sharkhok, the verb often occurs at the end of a sentence without any auxiliary.

From a semantico-cognitive point of view, the auxiliaries (together with relators) convey complex temporal, aspectual, evidential and epistemic meanings.

Evidential systems of the E section usually make at least a distinction between egophoric, sensory, factual and hearsay markers.

9.4.7.5. Negation
The negation has two forms in all the dialects of the E section: མ་ (MA) and མི་ (MI). Generally speaking, the negation in the various tenses and aspects often comes before the auxiliary and in some cases in front of the lexical verb. See above the specific negation of the copulas and auxiliaries ཡིན་ (YIN) and ཡོད་ (YOD).

9.5. The North-eastern section
The north-eastern section (henceforth NE section) is made up of one large linguistic set of dialects traditionally called Amdo. Thus, we can say that the NE section is made up of one “single Amdo language” with a significant dialect variation. However, there is not any real standardization of Amdo even if some dialects such as Rebgong, Labrang or Thrika often play a prominent role in the media.

Some intellectuals want to establish an Amdo standard language. See for example DPalldan BkraShis’s recent publication Amdo Tibetan language, an introduction to normative oral Amdo (2016).

The dialectal differences are particularly salient in the field of phonology but to a lesser extent they also involve some aspects of the grammar and the lexicon. In Amdo, the phonological discrepancies between the dialects are not only geographically based.
but they also depend upon sociolinguistic parameters, namely the way of life and activity of speakers: nomadic and pastoral versus sedentary and agricultural.

Mandarin Chinese is the official language and is used in the school curriculum of the NE section, but Literary Tibetan is still taught in some schools of the Amdo area. The literary production of Amdo is currently the most productive of all the Tibetic regions.

Amdo dialects can easily be transcribed in Tibetan script but they are usually not written down, and when people write in Tibetan, they normally write in Literary Tibetan. However, some novels are clearly influenced by vernacular Amdo. As in the other Tibetic areas of China, Literary Tibetan is also used in the Buddhist and Bonpo monasteries, in the institutes of Traditional medicine and to a certain extent in some cultural organizations and media (particularly on the internet). Depending on their home province (Qinghai, Gansu or Sichuan), Amdo students may attend one of the three universities, which have Tibetan language departments: the Northwest University for Nationalities Nubjang Mirik Lobdra Chenmo located in Lanzhou (Gansu), Qinghai University for Nationalities Tshongön Mirik Lobdra Chenmo in Xining (Qinghai) and the Southwest University for Nationalities Lhonup Mirik Lobdra Chenmo in Chengdu (Sichuan).

In the NE section, Vajrayāna Buddhism is the main religion. The followers belong predominantly to the Gelugpa sect, but Nyingmapa, Kagyupa and and to a lesser extent Sakyapa sects are also represented. Bonpo communities are also found in the region, particularly in Rebgong, Thrika and Čäntsha. Jonangpa communities are found in Golok and Ngawa areas.

Among the major monastic institutions of the NE section, we find: Kumbum, Labrang Trashi Khyil, Rebgong Rongwo Gön, Dragkar Treldzong in Tsigorthang (Geluk), Achung Namdzong (Nyingma), Darthang (Nyingma) and Jonang in Gabde County.
Amdo speaking Muslim minorities are attested in a few counties namely, in Xunhua and Hualong. More generally, there is a strong “Hui” or Chinese Muslim community in Qinghai and Gansu. There are also Amdo-speaking Mongols living in Sogwo County.


9.5.1. Migration patterns, legends and historical records

Some parts of the Amdo region were incorporated into the Tibetan Empire in the second half of the seventh century. Before this date, the Amdo region was inhabited by other ethnic groups such as ’Azha (probably Turkic speaking people), Qiang and Tangut people.16 During the second half of the seventh century, a significant part of Amdo was under the administration of the mGar family, who was mandated by the Tibetan emperor.

In the more recent periods, Amdo speakers have migrated both within Amdo and outside the traditional Province. During the Muslim warlord Ma Bufang’s rule, people form the Amdo area of Kha-sgang migrated from Palung /Hwalung/ to Chabcha, Thrika, Mangra and Ba Districts in order to flee the forced Islamization conducted by the Qinghai warlord (see SUM.BHA.DON.GRUB TSHE.RING 2011: 21). Amdo speakers have also migrated to various Kham areas such as Dartsendo, Lithang, Drango and

16. It is noteworthy citing a toponym Axia, a township located at the south of Thewo County. According to the folklore, the inhabitants of this township are descendants of ’Azha. However, their language exhibits the characteristics as a Tibetan language, belonging to Thewo-mi; cf. 9.4.3. More investigation is needed.
Nyagrong (see the classification below) from the present south-Kokonor and Rebgong regions.

9.5.2. Linguistic groups of the NE section

Amdo language is in contact with a few Non-Tibetic languages belonging to three genetic stocks: Mongolic, Sinitic (Chinese), and Turkic. Some dialects of Amdo are also in contact in the south with Tibeto-Burman languages such as rGyalrongic and Qiangic languages.

According to Janhunen (2005: 114), the Mongolic languages spoken in Amdo are

“Shira Yughur, (Huzhu) Monghul, Mongghuor, (Minhe) Mangghuer, Qinghai (or Buddhist) Bonan, Gansu (or Moslem) Bonan, Kangja, and Santa (or Dongxiang). [...] Several Mongol and Oirat groups notably the so-called Henan Mongols, have been linguistically assimilated and today use Amdo Tibetan as their native language.”

Janhunen adds:

“The Turkic family is represented in the Amdo by two distinct languages: Salar and Sarygh Yughur (or Western Yellow Uighur). In addition, Kazakh is spoken marginally in the region (in Western Qinghai close to the border of Xinjiang).”

The two languages Salar and Sarygh Yughur (also spelled Yughur) do not present mutual intelligibility. The first language, Salar is spoken essentially in Xunhua County (Qinghai) and the second, Sarygh Yughur is spoken in Sunan County (Gansu), located roughly 400 km away from Xunhua. Northeast of the Kokonor lake, there is also an Autonomous Hui County in རྨི་རེ་ (RMI/RE) Mire or སེམས་ཉིད་ (SEMS/NYID) Semnyi (Chin: 门源 Menyuan Huizu Zizhixian, མོན་ཡོན MON.YON) (Traditionally, the Tibetic area within Menyuan belongs to Pari/Hwari/).

This section is made of six main groups of dialects: Tsho Ngönpo (Kokonor), Labrang-Rebgong, Tsongkha, Rwanak, Ngawa and Washül and several smaller groups. All the dialects of this section generally allow a rather high mutual intelligibility, except
for some striking exceptions, such as Khalong, gSerpa, Gorka, Dungnak and rTarmnyik. The first two dialects clearly have a Qiangic or rGyalrongic substratum.17

The various dialects are grouped together into a language which is named Amdo, locally called Amdo-kä،/amdoˈkā/،/amdoˈkāl/ or/amdo kā/، often shortened as Am-kä،/amkā/، locally pronounced as/amkāl/، in the northern pastoralists’ area،/amkā/، in Ngawa and/amkā/، in the cultivators’ region. Amdo language is also often simply called /workā/،/workā(t)/،i.e. literally ‘Tibetan language’ according to the local pronunciation of /BOD.SKAD/. When they refer to the language of Central Tibetan، the term /BOD.SKAD/ is pronounced as /poˈkāt/. The same is true for the designation of the literary language،/BOD.YIG/،/wo(t)yik/، usually refers to the Tibetan script while the Classical Literary language is called /po yak/،. We have already mentioned in 3.3.1 that there is a widespread cliché stating that all the pastoralists’ dialects are quite similar، while the cultivators are very distinct.18

This point of view is not correct first because Kham، Amdo و Tö Ngari pastoralists’ dialects are very distinct but also because within Amdo، we find quite distinct pastoralist dialects، some of which are innovative while others are more conservative.

Recently، CHAM.TSHANG.PADMA.LHUNGRUB (2008) proposed a classification into four groups: a) archaic pastoralists’ dialects،/BROG.SKAD.RNYING.MA، b) innovative pastoralists’ dialects،/BROG.SKAD.’PHEL.MA، c) cultivators’ dialects،/RONG.SKAD، d) agropastoralists’ dialects،/RONG.MA.’BROG.GISKAD.

17. According to this author، the specificity of some lexical items may be explained by the existence of a Showu substrate، which is a rGyalrongic language. Khalong speakers also speak Showu rGyalrong. Showu rGyalrong is also called Zbu.

18. This idea is for example reflected in the following Wikipedia definition of the Tibetan dialects:

"The Tibetan language is used in Tibet. Generally، one makes a distinction between pastoralists’ and cultivators’ dialects. Concerning the pastoralists’ dialects، there is no distinction between high، low and middle areas [Janghang، Amdo و Kham areas]. The pronunciation and intonation are harsh and rough and the initial sounds have not disappeared."
We generally agree with his analysis, but it is not sufficiently detailed and we prefer to use a classification based on geolinguistic and historical categories rather than purely sociolinguistic categories.

The problem with CHAM, TSHANG PADMA LHUN, GRUB’s classification is that it is not always easy to distinguish between “archaic” and “innovative” dialects as a whole. In a single dialect, some features may be archaic while other features may be innovative. But there are other sociolinguistic reasons that prevented us from using this kind of analysis. The notion of “pastoralist” may refer to people who practice the activity of cattle-breeding but also to a sociolinguistic identity. Nowadays, some pastoralists or droga locally called /tʰogwa/ may still practice transhumance, while other droga have settled down but still breed cattle. A third category of droga do no longer possess yaks, sheep, goats, and horses and may work as merchants, lamas, civil servants, etc., but still consider themselves as droga.

Two dialects Dungnak and rTarmnyik were recently discovered in Gansu by Shao Mingyuan in 2012. These two dialects need further research. Dongnak speakers claim that they originally came from Chamdo. So it may turn out that these two dialects are Kham enclaves in Amdo (just as there are Amdo enclaves in Kham; see the following description).

For the dialect classification of the NE section, we propose the following fourteen groups:

- **Tsho Ngönpo (or Kokonor) group**

This group corresponds to the dialects spoken by pastoralists who live around the lake Tsho Ngönpo. They speak pastoralist innovative dialects’ /p/ and not /w/ as it is usually pronounced in Amdo. The first feature, however, does not correspond to the present Chamdo dialect belonging to Northern Route (Zālmogang) Kham. (see 9.3, in the SE section)

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19. rTarmnyik was mentioned by Qu Aitang (1996) but it has only recently been studied by Shao Mingyuan (pers. comm.).

20. They use the existential verbs SNANG / MI SNANG and the reflex of the initial labial /b/ pronounce /p/ and not /w/ as it is usually pronounced in Amdo. The first feature, however, does not correspond to the present Chamdo dialect belonging to Northern Route (Zālmogang) Kham. (see 9.3, in the SE section)
Chinese literature, this group is called 环湖方言 Huanhu fangyan ‘circum-lake dialect.’

- **Tsongkha group** རྩོང་ཁ་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཚོགས་པ་
  This group corresponds to cultivators’ dialects རོང་སྐད་.

- **Labrang-Rebgong group** བླ་བྲང་དང་རེབ་གོང་ང་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཚོགས་པ་
  This group corresponds to agropastoralist dialects རོང་མ་འབྲོག་གི་སྐད་.

- **Rwanak (Banak) pastoralist group** སྦྲ་ནག་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཚོགས་པ་
  This group locally called Rwanak is also known in the literature as Banak, lit. ‘Black tents.’
  It is located in Amnye Machen ཨ་མྱེས་རྨ་ཆེན་ས་ཁུལ་ and corresponds to pastoralist archaic dialects འབྲོག་སྐད་རྙིང་མ་.

- **Ngawa group** རྔ་བ་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཚོགས་པ་
  This group corresponds to archaic dialects mainly spoken by sedentary pastoralists འབྲོག་སྐད་རྙིང་མ་.

As well as the following smaller groups:

- **Arik group** ཨ་རིག་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཚོགས་པ་
  This group corresponds to pastoralists’ archaic dialects འབྲོག་སྐད་རྙིང་མ་ spoken in Dola Ringmo area མདོ་ལ་རིང་མོའི་ས་ཁུལ་.

- **Hwari (Pari) group** དཔའ་རིས་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཚོགས་པ་
  This group corresponds to pastoralists’ archaic dialects འབྲོག་སྐད་རྙིང་མ་.

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- **Mewa pastoralists’ group** (with settlements in Kham) རྨེ་བའི་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཚོགས་པ་
  This group also corresponds to pastoralist archaic dialects འབྲོག་སྐད་རྙིང་མ་. It includes dialects spoken by pastoralists in some areas of the Kham region.

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21. ‘The tribes’ name does not always allow identification for the younger generation.’
• Washül pastoralists’ group (with migrations into Kham) དབའ་ཤུལ་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཚོགས་པ。This group also corresponds to pastoral archaic dialects ངོ་བརྒྱད་རིང་མ་。It includes dialects spoken by pastoralists in some areas of the Kham region and the Kham-Amdo border zone.

Divergent dialects

• Gorkā group བོད་རྒྱལ་སྐད་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཚོགས་པ。This group corresponds to agropastoralist and pastoralist dialects of the Golok area གེ་འབྲོག་སོགས་རྐང་.  
• Gyälrongo-spheric Amdo གེ་འབྲོག་སོགས་རྐང་ This group corresponds to archaic dialects spoken by pastoralists ངོ་བརྒྱད་རིང་མ་。As well as the following small group:

• Dungnak and rTarmnyik dialects neighboring the Turkic-speaking Western Yughurs of Gansu ངོ་བརྒྱད་རིང་མ་

One of the striking features of the North-Eastern section is the generally high intelligibility across different groups. Our classification differs from previous classifications that were mainly based on the distinctions between various sociolinguistic groups: cultivators’ group, agropastoralists’ group and pastoralists’ group. This is true for recent classifications in Tibet (see SUM.BHA DON.GRUB TSHE.RING 2011). Although these sociolinguistic distinctions are quite significant, they prove to be insufficient for the linguistic classification of Amdo. As it is the case in other sections, Amdo dialects have some significant differences in the fields of phonology, grammar, and lexicon. At the two ends of the geolinguistic continuum of Amdo, the differences may be quite significant, but they would not be an obstacle to basic conversation.

We have noticed significant differences between the pastoralists’ communities within Amdo, thus, we have introduced traditional communities’ names, often referred to as མི་གྲེལ་ tsho’na ‘tribes’ and གཉིས་ shogpa e.g., ངོ་བརྒྱད་ Shogpa, ངོ་བརྒྱད་ Arik, ངོ་བརྒྱད་ Rwanak, ངོ་བརྒྱད་ Washul /ɣa j’u’/ (or /ɣa j’u’/). For example, in Rebgong, there are twelve shogpa ངོ་བརྒྱད་.
9.5.3. Geographic extent of the NE section

The area of the NE section is nearly equivalent to the historical Amdo province except for the part corresponding to the E section mentioned above (where Amdo is often a second language). It corresponds to all of TAPs in Qinghai (except most of Yülshül) and to Gannan TAP and Pari (locally /Hwari/) TAC in Gansu. In Sichuan, it extends to the northwestern part of Ngawa TQAP and to a part of Kandze TAP.

The Amdo linguistic area is located around the Tsho Ngönpo Lake (Kokonor or Qinghai lake) as well as the Ma-chu (夏河), which corresponds to the upper course of the Huanghe (Yellow river), and its tributaries, the Sang-chu and Lu-chu (洮河 Tao He). Another significant river of Amdo, although smaller, include the Tsongchu (湟水Huangshui) which flows through Ziling (西宁 Xining). In the northwest of Amdo, an important river is the Chunak river (黑河Hei He) that runs through Arik (祁连Qilian). Other rivers include the Darlak-chu, Tse-chu, Serch-en-chu (夏河Xia He) and the Lu-chu (洮河Tao He). South of the Machu river, the Amdo speaking area extends to the Golok region, in the upper course of the Nyagchu river (also called Ka river /mðøgwa/).

Some southern Amdo dialects are spoken in Gyälrong and Kham areas in the following counties: Chuchen (Ngawa TQAP), Rongdrak, Tau, Dartsendo, Dranggo, Kandze, Palyul, Nyagrong, and Lithang (Kandze TAP). In these areas, dialects of Amdo are spoken in the high pastures by pastoralist communities. The Amdo speakers of this region (except Chuchen) do not consider themselves as 'Amdowa' and usually call themselves either 'pastoralists' locally pronounced /mðøgwa/. Amdo speaking communities are also found in the west of Nyagchu in Honglong and Kela townships (Nyagchukha County).
**Detailed location of the dialect groups**

The major groups include:

- **Tsho Ngönpo group** 

  This group corresponds to pastoralist innovative dialects that are spoken in the north-west of Amdo around the Kokonor lake in Kangtsha, Themchen, Dazhi, Chabcha (north), Mangra, and extends to the region north of Amnye Machen in Gápasumdo /Kawasumdo/ (south), and Tsigorthang (alt. BRAG.DKAR SREL). Some pastoralist communities in Thrika, Cántsha and Yadzi (Kangtsha dewa) also use this variety. Additionally the dialects spoken by pastoralist migrants in Tuulän and Bayänkhar are probably also affiliated to this group.

  The main tshowas and their distributions are: 

  - **BONG.STAG** (Themchen, Tsigorthang), 
  - **RKANG.TSHA** (Kangtsha, Thrika, Xunhua), 
  - **SGOME** (Chabcha, Tsigorthang), 
  - **GYON.RU** (Chabcha, Cántsha), 
  - **RUK.NGAN** (Mangra, Dulan), 
  - **KLU.TSHANG** (Mangra, Tsekhog), 
  - **PAT.HO.GS** (Tsigorthang), 
  - **MDA.BZHI** (Dazhi), 
  - **THAR.SHUL** (Mangra), 
  - **BDUD.SHUL** (Thrika, Chabcha), 
  - **LHAS.DE** (Thrika, Tsigorthang) and 
  - **BAN.SHUL** (Mangra).

  The area on the west of the lake, including the Tarim basin and the piedmont no longer has any significant Tibetan settlements. This region is presently inhabited mainly by Chinese, Hui, and Mongol populations. This is the case of Terlenkha city (Chin: 德令哈 Delingha), Nagormo or Golmud city (Chin: 格尔木 Geermu), Mangne (Chin: 芒崖 Mangya), Lunhu (Chin: 冷湖 Lenghu), Datsha dam (Chin: 大柴旦 Dachaidan) and Wuulän (Chin: 都兰 Dulan), which includes several Tibetan villages, that are mainly cultivators and agropastoralists.

23. Wuulän is a Mongolian Autonomous County, which is mainly inhabited by Mongolian speaking people and Chinese. Recently about 20 Tibetan families have settled in this area.

24. Some scholars believe the real name was DUR.LAM (the path of the graves) near the great walls.
• Tsongkha group

This group corresponds to cultivators’ dialects spoken mainly in Tsongkha area near Xining and in the cultivated areas near the Yellow river and the Tsongchu River. The core dialect area is the former, such as Čäntsha (SNANG.BA, क्षेत्र MAGI, त्रोरेंस SKYARENGS, क्षेत्र म्रोग BRAG.GI SNAKHA, त्रोरेंस SKYAG.SKYA), Palung DPA.LUNG /Hwalong/ (Wayankhar), BIMDO /Windo/ in Yadzi (Xunhua); part of Pari /Hwari/ (BAYAN RONG.SKID), Drotshang (Chin: 乐都), Tsongkhakhar (Chin: 平安) in DMAR.GTSANG village, Kamalok (Chin: 民和) in GSHONG.THANG village, as well as in Thrika (SNAD.PA, གཞི་ HOR.GYA, གཞི་ SRANG.GZHUG, གཞི་ PAR.KONG).

Other areas include Tongkor (STONG.SKOR) (Chin: 湟源 HUANGYUAN), SKU.BUM (also called Riser or Rusar) (Chin: 湟中 HUANGZHONG), Serkhot GSER.KHOG (Chin: 大通回族自治县 DATONG HUI Autonomous County) and Xining city (proper); Gönlung (DGON.LUNG) or HOR.GRONG (Chin: 互助土族自治县 HUZHU TU Autonomous County) and Semnyi (SEMS.NYID).

In some areas of Gäpasumdo /kawasumdo/ (also called बा Ba), Mangra (Chin: 贵南 GUINAN), Tsgortang (NANG.KHOG) and east Chabcha (county seat and its surroundings), immigrants from Hwalung (Wayankhar) and Čäntsha less than 100 years ago speak this group’s dialect (see Roche 2015 and Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki 2017); therefore, they should be closely related to the Hwalung dialect. Some speakers from Hwalung have also migrated to Tuulän.

• Labrang-Rebgong group

This group corresponds to agropastoralist dialects 'Rongmadrok-gi ka'. These dialects are spoken mainly in Labrang, Tsö and Rebgong by communities, which practice both cattle breeding and culture. We can, however, find small differences between speech in Rebgong and Labrang. The area extends to some communities located in Čäntsha (SNENG.SO, क्षेत्र NANG.KHOG and DO.RGYA), Dobi (DOWI/DO) and Thrika (SKE.BA and
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Among STONG.CHE, the last of which is considered a slightly different subgroup from other dialects in this group called JAM.PA.SKAD, considered by locals as a different variety. Further is AMCHO.GU.SKAD (Sangchu, Chin: Xiahe), KHA.GYA.TSHO.DRUG, and the last NHAM.JAM.PA.ISKAD, considered by locals as a different variety.

The Rwanak group consists of pastoralist archaic dialects spoken in a large area south of Amnye Machen roughly in the north of the Golok prefecture, in Malho prefecture and in the northeastern edge of the Yülshül prefecture, in the following counties: Tsekhok, Soqwo, Gāpasumdo /kawasumdo/, Machen, Matö, Chumarlep, Thrindu (north), Arik, and some pastoralist or agropastoralist communities in Mangra, Luchu, Arik, and the western part of Labrang speak a dialect of this group.

The main tshowas and their distributions are: HOR (Tsekhog), BON.BRGYA (Tsekhog, Mangra), MGAR.RTSE (Gāpasumdo) and SHA.SBRANG (Gāpasumdo). This group also corresponds to sedentary pastoralists’ archaic dialects principally spoken in Ngakhok. These pastoralists have settled down and have become sedentary cattle breeders. These dialects are spoken in Ngawa, Machu, and a part of Čigdril. This group also includes some dialects located in Amdo in Dzorge and Murge (in Zungchu County), north Dzamthang pastoralists as well as southern pastoralists’ part of Golok Prefecture such as Gabde and Darlak. Additionally, a few speakers of this group are found in Marthang and Darlak.

25. They claim they are of LDONG (Minyak) origins.
26. In Soqwo, the official Mongolian language was still used about 150 years ago (Jangbu pers. comm.). Nowadays there are less than ten percent that can speak Mongolian. See also Balogh (2017). There are principally three local varieties in Soqwo.
• **Arik group**

This group is essentially made of the Arik dialect spoken in Dola County about 100 km north of the lake on the banks of Chunak river. Some branches of the Arik tribe live in the present Sogwo and Machen Counties. However, most of the speakers have adopted the local dialect which belongs to the Rwanak group. The Tibetan dialect spoken in Sunan is probably also affiliated to Arik, but it is not sufficiently documented.

• **Hwari (Pari) group**

Hwari is a pastoralists’ dialect spoken in Hwari (West) in Gansu as well as in Semnyi, Serkhok and probably, by pastoralists in some parts of Gönlung (DGON.LUNG, also referred as Hordrong) in Qinghai.

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• **Washül group**

This Washül group corresponds to the traditional tribes of DBA.'SHUL or DBA.’SHUL (WASHUL) and designates dialects spoken by pastoralist communities in Serta (or Serthar) སེར་རྟ་, Darlak སྒྲལ་ and partly Padma /Panma/ བད་མ་ and Sershül སེར་ཤུལ་.

Some of these communities’ dialects are spoken in the traditional Kham region. That is the case of the following dialects:

- Dranggo pastoralist dialect is spoken on the height of Dranggo བྲག་འགོ (Chin: Luhuo) called Likhok བི་ཁོག་.
- Some pastoralists areas of Kandze དཀར་མཛེས་.
- Nyagrong pastoralist dialect is spoken in Larima ལ་རི་མ་ Township of Nyagrong ཉག་རོང་.
- Lithang pastoralist dialect is spoken in central and north-west Lithang སྐྱབས་ཤུལ་ around the county seat (G‧YON.RU and SDE.GZHUNG.MA tshowas)27 as well as in Gemu Township of its southern border area to Dabpa County སྐྱབས་ཤུལ་ tshowa which descends from SKYABS.SHUL. tshowa which descends from སྐྱབས་ཤུལ་ tshowa.

27. The traditional names are HOR.RA.BNYING.PA, DPON.SKOR, TSHO.XHOR, and MECHOD.RTEN. Many pastoralists in this region have practised a nomadic lifestyle without having any determined domicile.
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SDE.GZHUNG.MA), and in the western border of Nyagchukha in Honglong and Kela townships (by the THOG tribe). BDE.GZHUNG.MA’s variety is to some extent different from the others.

Note that Tibetans in Lithang call Amdo-speaking pastoralists WASHUL and their language WASKAI regardless of their origin. Several Lithang pastoralists have narratives that their ancestors came from the Tsho Ngonpo area and are related to Mongols. The GYON.RU (locally pronounced as GYON.GRU) tshowa is one of the pastoralist groups in Lithang and even now one can find GYON.RU to the south of Tsho Ngonpo. As far as linguistic features are concerned, every variety spoken in Lithang shares many features with the Tsho Ngonpo group, but there are also features close to the dialects spoken in Serta, the original place of the WASHUL tshowa. Wherever their ancestors came from, the influence of WASHUL.

The pastoralist dialect in Shingnya hamlet within Lhagang Town (Dartsendo) is directly related to Lithang pastoralist dialect according to their migration history (see Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2019a).

Some Washül people live in Marthang (Hongyuan) and Dzorge as well. However, their language does not reflect the Washül group’s features, but it is rather similar to rNgawa group.

- Mewa group

This group corresponds to pastoralist dialects spoken on the Mardzagang plateau which is located in the traditional region of Kham.

It includes:

- Mardzagang pastoralist dialect spoken in Longdeng, Seka and Xiede townships and Bamei town in Ta’u County (RME.BATSHOWA).
- Lhagang pastoralist dialect is spoken in Tagong (LHASANG) township.

28. The word droga in Lithang denotes Tibetan pastoralists speaking varieties of Kham. They principally live in the DRA.KHOG area, in the westernmost area of Lithang, at the bottom of the sacred mountain GNAS.CHEN.DGE.BENYAN, connecting to Bathang County.

29. In the local languages, Mongolians are always called SOG (PO); however, in some proper names, HOR is also understood as ‘Mongolian’, as in HOR.RNYING.PA (Heni’ Township), HOR.LUNG (Honglong Township) and HOR.CHU (Huoqu River).
in Dartsendo དར་ཚེ་མདོ (Kangding) Country (RME.BA, NAG.LONG.MA, LCANG.PA, NANG.SKOR, RAL.LI, BAR.NANG.GSUM.MDO tshowas).

➢ Marthang (Hongyuan) རྩེ་མདོ་
The above varieties are closely related.

The original center of རྨེ་བ RME.BA tribe was located in a part of the present Kandze County. However, most families migrated firstly to Martsa gang, and then to Marthang (Hongyuan). This migration dates back to the move of Mewa Monastery from Kandze to Marthang in the nineteenth century. At present, the majority of the original རྨེ་བ RME.BA tribe’s territory is inhabited by speakers of the Washül group (see above).

**Divergent dialects**

- **Gorkä group** རྷོན་པོ་ལོག་གི་གངས་པོའི་ཡུལ་སྐད།

  Gorkä refers to an indigenous group of dialects spoken by cultivators and agro-pastoralists in the Golok region. It locally called རྷོན་པོ་ལོག་མགོ་སྐད། MGO.SKAD/gorke/30 and is a tonal dialect according the description made by Wang (2012). Gorkä is spoken in the lower valleys of the following counties: Panma བད་མ་, Gabde ག་བདེ་, Darlak དར་ལག་, Matö རྨ་སྟོད་, Machen རྨ་ཆེན་ as well as part of Cagdril གཅིག་སྒྲིལ་, Serta སེར་རྟ་ (Serthar སེར་ཐར) and Kandze དཀར་མཛེས.

- **Gyärongo-spheric Amdo** རྒྱལ་རོང་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་ཨ་མདོའི་ཡུལ་སྐད།

  A few dialects are spoken in the rGyalrong area and are influenced by the neighboring rGyalrongic languages.

  ➢ The Khalong dialect བཀྲ་ལོང་, described by Sun (2007), is spoken by a community of sedentary pastoralists in Wuyi township up to Gangmuda township, in Dzamthang County (Sichuan). More research is needed to evaluate precisely its affiliation.

  ➢ The gSerpa dialect གསེར་པ་ is spoken in Yangge (Tib: དབྱང་དག, YAG.‘GO), Jiaxue (Tib: གྱེ་སྙེ་ RGY.ASHO), Xuri (Tib: SHO.RIB) townships and Wengda town

30. Jangbu (pers. comm.) proposes to write the language as རྒྱུ་མོ་ རྒྱུ་མོ་, just as རྒྱུ་མོ་ GLUSKAS’ melody pronounced as /gorke/ and not /gorkät/ or /gorkäl/. However, it is not probable because the local pronunciation is /gorke/.
Inner classification of the Tibetic languages

(Tib: རྡོ་མདའ་ RBO.MDA) by an agricultural community at the south eastern corner of Serta County (Sichuan) near the جسُرُ (Chin: Sequ) river. The neighboring རྒྱལ་རོང་ཨ་མདོ་ Gyalrong Amdo was a lingua franca spoken by pastoralists and various speakers of various rGyalrongic languages, such as Situ, Tshobdun, Japhug or Geshitsa. It is still spoken essentially by merchants in these areas, distributed over several counties such as Barkham, Chuchen, འཁུལ་ཤིང་ bTsTanla, and Rongdrak.

གྲུབ་ཁོག་ Yukhok dialect is spoken in Tau County ཤུ། (Yuke District) by pastoralists communities.

མྲོ་ཧ་ Mroha dialect (derived from the word འབྲོག་པ་ BROG PA, and called མེས་ལྷ་ Mosika in Chinese) is spoken by pastoralist communities at border of Chuchen County དྲུག་ (Akeli Township) and Rongdrak རོང་བྲག་ (Dando Township མདའ་མདོ་).

Dungnak and rTarmnyik dialects neighboring the Turkic speaking Western Yughurs of Gansu: རྟ་རྩེ་ 'horse's hoof'

Dungnak རྟ་རྩེ་ is spoken in the Qifeng (Chin: 祁丰) Tibetan township (Qifeng Zangzu xiang) of Sunan Yughur Autonomous County, Gansu. It is located at the northwestern limit of the Amdo. See Shao (2018) for details.

rTarmyik རྟ་རྩེ་ which literally means 'horse's hoof' is spoken also in the Sunan Yugizu Autonomous County in the Tibetan township of Mati (Chin: 马蹄, Mati Zangzu xiang), which is the Chinese translation of rTarmyik. The village of Mati is located near the eponym Tibetan monastery (also called རྟ་རྗེས་ RTARJE 'horse trace').
MAP IX. – Linguistic area of NE section

Legend: 🟠: rTarmyik-Dungnak; 🟡: Hwari; 🟥: Arik; 🟨: Tsho Ngonpo; 🟤: Tsongkha; 🟦: Labrang-Rebgong; 🟧: Rwanak; 🟧: Gorkā; 🟨: Ngawa; 🟨: Mewa; 🟫: Washül; 🟦: Gyalrong surroundings
9.5.4. Number of speakers
The total number of speakers of the Tibetic languages located in the NE section is 809,360 (Qu 1996). Kalsang Norbu et al. (2000) gives the figure of 1,500,000 speakers.\(^{31}\) It is hard to give a precise figure because of the lack of a recent and reliable census and also because Hui (Chinese Muslims) in some counties such as Hwalong and Xunhua and even Rebgong area are native speakers of Amdo. Additionally, many Gyärong as well as speakers of Eastern languages such as Cone, Thewo, etc. also know Amdo as a second language.

The Mongols of Sogwo have been Tibetanized and speak mainly Amdo Tibetan. Some very specific dialects such as gSerpa are spoken by small numbers of people. Sun (2006) gives the figure of 6,500 residents for gSerpa.

9.5.5. Ethnic and sociolinguistic groups
The speakers of Amdo consider themselves as འབྲོག་པ་ Amdowa, which is perceived as a strong identity marker among the Tibetans. Within Amdo, the Golok tshowas ནགོ་ལོག་གི་ཚོ་བ་ have a strong representation of their identity. However, as mentioned above, a minority of Amdo speakers living in Kandze area or in Chuchen do not regard themselves as Amdowa, but as Khampas or simply as འབྲོག་པ་ drogra 'pastoralists'.

9.5.6. Phonological characteristics of the NE section
It is not possible to list common phonological features to the all the dialects of the NE section. The phonological characteristics are usually valid only at the level of the groups or even sometimes the dialects.

Suprasegmental features
It is well-known that Amdo, the Tibetic language of the NE section, does not have distinctive suprasegmental features. However, the position of stress may affect some phonetic realisations. Additionally, Gorkā Amdo has been reported to be a tonal dialect.

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31. The figure of 1,800,000 is even mentioned by Ethnologue.
Segmental features

Synchronic approach

The sound systems of the NE section are characterized by the following frequent features:

- Multiple combinations of initials with a preinitial: prenasalization and preaspiration (see Chapter 7) are widespread features. Additionally, labial, velar and uvular preinitials are also found.
- Existence of voiced non resonant sounds (b, d, ɖ, g, dz, j, z, zh, ŋ, fi).
- Some dialects have voiceless resonant series (m‘, n‘, ng‘, ny‘, l‘).
- Labial prenasalization is found in all the pastoralists’ dialects (“d, “g, “ng, etc.) and homorganic prenasalization is pervasive (“b, “d, “g). Combinations such as “t‘, “p‘, “k‘, or their labial equivalents (“r‘, “k‘), etc., are also found.
- Most dialects have an aspirated fricative series: s‘, x‘, sh‘.
- Most dialects have uvular consonants: q (final), ʁ, χ.
- Amdo dialects have a rich set of final consonants, particularly pastoralist dialects.
- A limited set of vowels, which always include /ə/.

Diachronic approach and reflexes of Classical Tibetan

- In the languages of the NE section, the reflexes of preradical sounds are realized as segmental features, preaspiration32 and prenasals.
- Voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, ɖ, g, dz, j) are derived from the consonants with preradicals (except M and ’). In some dialects, b, d, ɖ, g, dz, j may also be derived from the consonants without preradicals.
- Prenasalization corresponds to the reflex of radicals with a predical M or ’.
- As for aspirated fricative series, CT *S, SH, PHY* without any preradicals correspond to s‘, x‘ and ʃh‘.

32. In the Gyälrong surrounding dialects the reflexes yield mainly segmental features (rather than preaspiration).
- Preinitial (labial, retroflex, uvular, glottal, etc.) is triggered by all the CT preradicals (except M and ).
- All CT final consonants B, G, M, N, NG, R are well preserved. In many pastoralist dialects the final d changed into /l/. The final I is rarely preserved and the final s never appears.
- The combination SL and ZL respectively yield: /ts/ and /dz/. This is the case in words like སླམོ 'easy', སློབ 'to teach', མླག 'moon'.

9.5.7. Grammatical characteristics of the NE section

The Amdo dialects do not exhibit substantial differences in their grammatical systems. Languages and dialects which are spoken in the Gyålrong and Kham areas may have more grammatical specificities, but further research is needed to support this point. Among the major characteristics of the Amdo dialects, one can mention the preservation of inflectional verb morphology inherited from CT. In most case, two or three forms (present-future, past and imperative) are well preserved. In this aspect, Amdo language is the most conservative of the Tibetic languages. Another characteristic feature of Amdo dialects is ergativity. Whereas in many languages, the ergative is either limited to some tenses and aspects (mostly completed past) or largely optional and based on pragmatic factors, in Amdo, the ergative case is quite syntactic and usually compulsory for all tenses and aspects. Finally, demonstratives are postponed to the head nouns as in Central Tibet unlike many languages of the southern Himalayas.

9.5.7.1. Case markers

Some dialects of the NE section distinguish up to seven case markers. Frequent cases include ergative, absolutive, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and associative.

The ergative marks agent of a transitive verb. It is used with both controllable and non-controllable verbs. The ergative case is found in all the dialects of the NE section.

It is compulsory in the various tenses (present, past, future) and aspects (completed-uncompleted)\(^{33}\) unlike in the languages of most other sections.

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\(^{33}\) Or "perfective" versus "imperfective" as they are often called. About the terminological choice, see Chapter 8.
In the NE section, the marker for the ergative is /-ko/, which is derived from CT བོས GBS. In gSerpa, the ergative form is /yi/ which is derived from CT བོས YIS. In Amdo, ergative and genitive markers are usually homophones in most environments. However, the pronouns have usually distinct forms.

The absolutive marks the intransitive subject and the patient. It is always marked by zero (∅) in all NE languages.

The dative marks the beneficiary and sometimes the patient. In Amdo dialects, the dative marker is usually /-a/. In some contexts, the dative is not clearly pronounced. The dative is derived from CT ལ་ LA. In gSerpa, the dative is /-la/.

The local or peripheral case markers are ablative, genitive, comparative, locative (inessive, illative).

The ablative is /-ni/, which is derived from CT ན་ NAS. Sometimes in Amdo, the ergative /ko/ is used to indicate the origin and functions as an ablative.

Most dialects lack a comparative case marker. In many dialects, the comparison is marked by various constructions in the Amdo dialects: one frequent construction is: X(DAT)+BLTAS-NA Y(ABS) V (གུང་གུང་) lit. 'if we look at X, Y is more'. The gSerpa comparative case /-ve/ is probably derived from CT བས་ BAS, whereas it is /ni/ < CT བས་ NAS in Dungnak.

For the locative and allative functions, the dative /-a/ is often used. For the locative (without movement), /-na/, which is derived from CT ལ་ na is also used.

The instrumental in Amdo dialects is formally identical to the ergative case: /-ka/ (སློས GBS) however in gSerpa, there is a special form: /-ke/.

As mentioned above, the genitive and ergative markers are homophones in most environments. The genitive is derived from CT བོས GI /-go/. In gSerpa, the genitive is /yi/ as the ergative and is derived from the CT form བོས YL.

The associative corresponds to /-ra/ and its allomorph /-ta/ which has several functions (including connective functions). It is probably derived from CT མ་ R or ལ་ LA.

4.5.7.2. Nominalizers

Various nominalizers are found in the NE section (concerning nominalizers, see section 8.3.13). We list below seven relatively frequent nominalizers of this section.
• In Amdo ཆོ /-na/ is very widespread nominalizers. It is probably derived from CT ཌ མི or མྱི which originally means ‘person, human being’. It indicates generally the A (agent) of a verbal action.

• Another very similar form ཆོ /-no/ also derived from མི or མྱི followed by a definite marker དོ /-po, -wo/ (also attested in Ladaks and Balti). It indicates the P (patient) and the subject of an intransitive verb (with completed past).

• The nominalizer /-ja, -gya/ is frequent in Amdo. It is derived from CT རི་ and often followed by the definite marker /po, bo/ < དོ and pronounced /-jo, -gyo/. It indicates the P (patient) and the subject of an intransitive verb (with the uncompleted aspect and the future).

• Another frequent nominalizer is ཐ ས /-s’a/. This nominalizer is derived from CT ས, which means ‘place’ indicates ‘the place of the verbal action’. In Amdo dialects, the nominalizer is often followed by the definite marker /po, wo/ < དོ and pronounced /s’o/.

• The nominalizer ང /-ṭo/ གཏྱ ‘remainder’ is a nominalizer used in some Amdo dialects to indicate what remains to be done.

9.5.7.3. **Verbal inflections**

One important characteristic of the Amdo dialects is the preservation of inflectional forms for many verbs. Lexical verbs often have two or three forms. In a few peculiar
dialects such as gSerpa, one finds up to four inflections forms (‘past’, ‘present’, ‘future’ and ‘imperative’). The imperative form is an innovation as shown by Sun (2007). Most dialects have specific aspirated forms for the imperative, which are not inherited from CT.

In some dialects, a few frequent verbs have suppletive forms to indicate the various tenses and the imperative. For example, ‘to go’: སོང་SONG and འགྲོ་GRO, ‘to come’: ཡོང་YONG and ལོག SHOG; ‘to say’: བེར ZER and རེན BZLAS, ‘to give’: སེར STER and ལེག BYIN.

9.5.7.4. Linking verbs and auxiliary verbs

Linking verbs correspond to equative (copulative) and existential verbs.

Copulative verbs

The verbs འིན YIN and རེད RED are used both as copulative verbs. YIN usually conveys an egophoric meaning while RED has a factual meaning.

These auxiliary verbs have the following negations in most dialects: འིན YIN > འིན MIN; རེད RED > རེད玛 RED.

Existential verbs

Existential auxiliaries exhibit some variations both in form and meaning. In nearly all the dialects སོད YOD is used. gSerpa has a reflex of the archaic form སོད་ OD.

སོད YOD or its variant སོད་ OD are used to refer to personal information (egophoric) and generally occurs with the first person subject.

The compound existential verb སོད་ སོད་ GI YOD.GI indicates a sensory marking while སོད་ སོད་ NLRED YOD.NLRED indicates a factual meaning.

These auxiliary verbs have the following negations:

- སོད YOD > སོད MED. The archaic form སོད MYED is found in gSerpa.
- སོད GI YOD.GI > སོད GI MED.GI
- སོད NLRED YOD.NLRED > སོད NLRED YOD.NL.RED
Compound linking verbs

Compound verbs are very frequent. They involve the combination of various copulas or auxiliaries. Aside from ◊ཡོད་ནི་རེད་ YOD.NL.RED mentioned above, we find many combinations of linking verbs such as ◊ཡིན་ནི་རེད་ YIN.NL.RED, ◊ཡིན་རྒྱུ་རེད་ YIN.RGYU.RED, etc.

Auxiliaries

Frequent auxiliary verbs of the NE section consist of the linking verbs (sometimes preceded by a relator): ◊ཡིན་ YIN, ◊རེད་ RED. Other frequent auxiliaries include: ◊ཐལ་ THAL (all dialects), ◊ཟུག་ ZUG, ◊སོང་ SONG, ◊བཏང་ BTANG, ◊གདའ་ GDA'.

From a semantico-cognitive point of view, the auxiliaries (together with relators) convey complex temporal, aspectual, evidential and epistemic meanings.

Most of the systems have special forms to mark sensory access to information, as well as factual, egophoric and inferential meanings. (See Tournadre & Shao, forthcoming.)

9.5.7.5. Negation

The negation has two forms in all the Amdo dialects of the NE section: ◊མ་ MA and ◊མི་ MI. The archaic form ◊མྱི་ MYIts attested in gSerpa. For the imperative, one can only use the form ◊མ་ MA. Other than these markers, the form ◊ཆིས་ CHIS, maybe derived from ◊ཆིས་ CHIS 'by what', as well as the marker ◊ན་ NA are also marginally attested (see also 9.3.7.5 and 8.4.11). Generally speaking, in Amdo dialects, the negation in the various tenses and aspects often comes before the lexical verb, even in the presence of some auxiliaries such as ◊ཐལ་ THAL, but it may also occur after the lexical verb, before the auxiliary.

9.6. The Central section

The Central section (henceforth C section) is made up of one large linguistic set of dialects spoken in Central and Western Tibet. This groups divides into several groups in a similar way as the NE section (Amdo). Thus, we can say that the C section corresponds to a single language which is often referred to as ‘Ü-Tsang’, with considerable dialectal variation.
‘Common Tibetan’ གི་སྐད་ ’CHIKÃ’, which is based on ཁག་ཡི་སྐད་ ’Lhasa dialect’ /lhä:sa kä/, the prestigious dialect of the capital Lhasa, a variety of བུས་སྐད་ ’Ü-kä’, is now spreading through the media. People in Nagchu and Chamdo areas are frequently exposed to Common Tibetan for administrative reasons. Although Kham and Hor dialects are spoken in these two prefectures, their administrative affiliation to the TAR facilitates the diffusion of Common Tibetan.

It is also the language used in the Tibetan diaspora. However, the standardization is not totally achieved since “Common Tibetan” is not taught in schools and is usually not written down.

Both ”Tibetan“ and ”Chinese“ are official languages of the Tibet Autonomous Region. The Chinese law does not specify which type of “Tibetan” is the official language: “Literary Tibetan” or Common Tibetan based on the ”Lhasa dialect,” or both? Given the very significant diglossy, it is an important issue. However, despite the legislation, the main language used in the school curriculum is de facto Mandarin Chinese. This language has thus some impact on the oral dialects of Central Tibet. The ‘Ü-Tsang’ dialects are usually not written down, and educated people prefer to use Literary Tibetan for written purposes. The Literary language is also used in the Buddhist and Bönpo monasteries, in the institutes of Traditional medicine (མོའི་སྨན་རྩིས་ཁང་ Mäntsikhang) and to a certain extent in some cultural organizations and in the media, particularly on the internet. The Tibet University བོད་ལྗོངས་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཆེན་མོ་ Böjong Lobdra Chenmo located in Lhasa, has a Tibetan language department and various departments using Tibetan in the curriculum. It also provides a Tibetan language course for foreigners, in which the Tibetan oral language is often called by the Tibetans ’Tibet University speech’, and perceived as a sociolectal variety.

The cultural and economic capital of Tibet35 is also traditionally a great center for pilgrimages. The Potala palace རྩེ་ཕ་བྲང་ and the Norbu Lingkha ནོར་བུ་གླིང་ཁ་ were traditionally the residences of the Dalai Lamas and the Tibetan government.

35. From a political point of view, it is only nowadays the capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region.
In the C section, Vajrayāna Buddhism is the main religion with followers of the four sects i.e., Gelugpa, Sakyapa, Kagyüpa, and Nyingmapa. Bönpo communities are also attested throughout the region. There are also Muslim and a small Christian minority, mainly living in Lhasa.

Among the major Buddhist institutions of the C section, we find:

- Jokhang, Ramoche as well as the ‘three seats’ Drāpung, Sera and Gandān all located in Lhasa or in the vicinity. In other Central areas, outside the capital, we find the following major Buddhist and Bön monasteries:
  - Radreng (alt. Reting), Drigung thil, Tshurphu (Kagyū);
  - Trashi Lhünpo, Pālkhor Chöde (Geluk), Nyethang Drölma Lhakhang (Geluk);
  - Trashi (Geluk);
  - Mindröling, Samyā (ecumenical), Lama Ling (Nyingma), Yungdrung Ling (Bön) and Mänri (Bön).

The main works on the languages of C section are mainly devoted to the Lhasa dialect or “Common Tibetan.” We will only mention the major textbooks or grammars here and some pioneer works:

- Roerich and Phuntshok (1957), Chang Kun and Betty Shefts (1964), Goldtsein and Nornang (1978), Losang Thonden (1986), Hu Tan et al. (1989), THUB.RSTAN DRANG.PO et al. (1996), Kitamura (1977), Hoshi M. (1988), Wang Zhijing (1994), Tournadre (1996a), Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (1998, 2003), Blondeau et al. (2002, 2014), Chojore Tseten (2003), Denwood (1999), Mélac et al. (2014). Tsang dialects have been much less described. The essential contribution by Haller (2000) is devoted to the Zhikatse dialect. The dialects of Tö Ngari have received more attention. The main references are: Qu and Tan (1983) for a survey of the Tö dialects of Ngari Prefecture (but it does not include the Tö dialect spoken in Zhikatse Municipality), Herrmann (1989) on Tö cultivators’ dialect of Dingri, Kretschmar (1986) on Western Drokpa, a Tö pastoralists’ dialect spoken in Drongpa County. The various dialects of Lhokha, Phânpo, Kongpo, Lhobrak and Dagpo have received little
attention and there isn’t any available overview of these dialects. Tournadre and Jiatso (2001) mention some elements of the verb morphology of the Phänpo dialects.

9.6.1. Migration patterns, legends and historical records

From a historical point of view, the Chonggyä and Yarlung valleys are considered the cradle of the Tibetan culture during the rise of the Tibetan Empire. The implantation of Tibetans in the Kongpo area is also very ancient. According to historical records, the migration westwards towards the Ngari area dates back to the first half of the seventh century, when the Tibetan armies annexed the Zhangzhung Kingdom.

Since Lhasa was the capital of Tibet during the Tibetan Empire and subsequently during the Dalai Lamas’ reign, and it was also a main center for pilgrimages, it has received numerous influences from all the regions of Tibet.

9.6.2. Linguistic groups of the C section

The dialectal variation within the C section is mainly geographic, but it also depends upon sociolinguistic parameters, and one can distinguish in some cases pastoralists’ and cultivators’ dialects, especially in the Tö Ngari region, in Western Tibet.

Communities of ཁོང་པ་ drogpa ‘pastoralists’ and བཞིང་པ་ zhingpa ‘cultivators’ or འབྲོག་པ་མ་ samadrok ‘agropastoralists’ are also found in Ü, Tsang, Lhokha, Kongpo areas, however, the dialectal variation is not clearly based on these sociolinguistic parameters unlike in the case of Tö Ngari or Amdo.

All the dialects spoken in this section generally allow a rather good mutual intelligibility, but there is a gradual variation between the eastern and western limits of this section. This section can be better described in terms of a geolinguistic continuum. Although Kongpo dialect in the east can fairly easily communicate with adjacent dialects such as Ü or Lhokha and these latter dialects are also mutually intelligible with Tsang and Tö, one can safely state that dialects at the two extremes of the area, such as Tö and Kongpo, will not allow for easy communication.

The central section is made up of eight groups spoken in of dialects spoken in Central and Western Tibet.
For the dialect classification of the C section, we propose the following eight groups:

- Ü ཤབས་སྐད།
- Tsang གཙང་སྐད།
- Phänpo ཐབས་རིགས་སྐད།
- Tö pastoralists’ dialects ཐོ་དཔལ་ཙང་སྐད། ‘Drogpä Tö-kä’
- Eastern Tö cultivators’ dialects ཐོ་དཔལ་ཙང་སྐད། ‘Sharchok Rongpä Tö-kä’
- Western Tö cultivators’ dialects ཐོ་དཔལ་ཙང་སྐད། ‘Nubchok Rongpä Tö-kä’
- Kongpo མངའ་རིས་སྐད།
- Lhokha ལྷོ་ཁའི་སྐད།

Two historical regions of southern Tibet, ཀློ་བྲག་ Lhobrak and སྒྲུབ་པ་ Dagpo spoken in the Lhokha prefecture may have linguistic specificities that would require the creation of two additional groups. However, we do not have reliable data on the dialects spoken in these areas.

Several dialects of the C section are in contact with a few Non-Tibetic languages: Ba-ke བྲག་སྐད། (a.k.a Basum, see 10.3), spoken in Kongpo around the Dragsum lake བྲག་གསུམ་མཚོ།, Dakpa (a.k.a ‘Tshona Mönpa’) and Tshangla (in Lhokha and Kongpo), Bokar and Idu (Tani languages spoken in Kongpo).

**9.6.3. Geographic extent of the C section**

From an administrative point of view, the dialects of the C section are all spoken in the southern and western parts of the Tibet Autonomous Region which has been created in 1964 after the integration of Tibet into the People’s Republic of China in 1950. Note that in the northern and eastern prefectures of Nagchu and Chamdo, which also belong to the TAR, Hor and Kham dialects are spoken.

The area of the C section corresponds to the historical regions of Ü ཤབས་, Tsang གཙང་, Ngari མངའ་རིས་, Lhokha ལྷོ་ཁ and Kongpo མངའ་རིས་.
The cradle of the Tibetan civilization is often associated with the ‘Yarlung valley’ ཡརལུང་ (YARLUNG) also spelled ཡར་ཀླུངས་ (YAR.KLUNGS).36 This valley is located at the confluence of the Yarlhasham River ཡར་ལྷ་ཤམ་ (eponym of the mountain and deity Yarlhashampo) and the Chonggye river འཕྱོངས་ཆུ་, which is located near Tsethang in Lhokha. In the Chonggye valley are located the tombs of the Tibetan emperors.

The main river of the Tibet Autonomous Region is the Yarlung Tsangpo river ཡར་ཀླུང་གཙང་པོ་ also known as the Brahmaputra (on the Indian side of the border), which originates from the Tsho Mapham lake མཚོ་མ་ཕམ་ located in Ngari Province (in Western Tibet), and flows towards the Kongpo area (in Eastern Tibet) through Tsang, Lhokha and Central Tibet. In its upper course, the Yarlung Tsangpo river is called Tamchok Khabap རྟ་མཆོག་ཁ་འབབ་ ‘flowing from the horse’s mouth’. The Yarlung Tsangpo is about 2,900 km long (see Appendix 1).

Other significant rivers of the C section include the main tributaries of the Yarlung Tsangpo: the Nyangchu མྱང་ཆུ་ (flowing through Gyantse and Zhikatse), the Kyichu སྐྱིད་ཆུ་ (flowing through Lhasa), the Kongpo Nyangchu ཁོང་བོ་བདུན་ (flowing through Kongpo Gyamda and Nyingthri) and the Pharlung Tsangpo གཏར་ལུང་གཙང་བོ་ (in Pomā area). Thus, the Yarlung Tsangpo and its tributaries represent the core of the C section area. Additionally, two other large rivers, which flow in Western Tibet should be mentioned: The Sengge Khabap སེང་གེ་ཁ་འབབ་ (Indus river) and the Langchen Khabap གླང་ཆེན་ཁ་འབབ་ (Sutlej river).

36. Both are pronounced in the same way as /yarlung/. Note that KLUNGS(5) means ‘river’ while LUNG refers to ‘valley’ (see Appendix 2). The name ‘Yarlung valley’ generates some confusion since it does not designate the valley of the Yarlung Tsangpo, the main river of Tibet (called Brahmaputra in India), but the lower course of the Yarlhasham river (also sometimes called Yarlung river!), which joints the Yarlung Tsangpo near Tsethang.

37. Also spelled མ་པང་ (in the ancient document).

38. One should not confuse མྱང་ཆུ་ MYANG-CHU and ཉང་ཆུ་ NYANG-CHU which are both pronounced ‘Nyangchu’ (see Appendix 1).
Detailed location of the Ü-Tsang dialects

▪ Ü བསྐད་ is spoken in the following counties of Lhasa Municipality: Lhasa ལྷ་ས་, Chushur ཆུ་ཤུར་, Tönlung Dechen མདོ་ལྟོང་ལྡེ་ཆེན་ and Tagte སྟག་.

▪ Phänpo བཐོད་པོ་སྐད་ is spoken in the following counties of Lhasa Municipality: Lhündrup ལྷུན་གྲུབ་, Mādrolungkar སྤྱན་གྱིས་བྲུག་ and part of Tagte སྟག་.

▪ Tsang ཁྲང་སྐད་ is spoken in Zhikatse Municipality in Zhikatse གཞིས་ཀ་རྩེ་ and in some counties of Lhasa Municipality, Namling སྨན་མི་, Rinpung རིན་པོ་ཆེ་, Gyantse གཡུང་, Panam གཡུམ་, Kangmar སྣང་མར་, Sakya སཿ་, Tingkye གཏིང་, Gampa གམ་པ་, Zhāthosmön བཞད་མཐོང་ and Chushur ཆུ་ཤུར་ (partly) and most of Nyemo County ཕྱེ་ and north of Dromo གོ་ཁང་ (for the southern part of Dromo, see 9.7).

▪ Lhokha ལྷོ་ཁ་སྐད་ is spoken in Lhokha Municipality in Nedong (Tsethang) རྲི་མོ་, Chonggyä གཞོང་གྱས་, Gongkar གོང་དཀར་, Nankartse སྣག་རྩེ་, Dranang དྲ་ནང་, Chusum ལྜྷ་, Zangri བྲས་རི་, Lhüntse ལྷུན་ and part of Tsona གྲོ་ཁང་.

As mentioned earlier, the dialects spoken in the Dagpo region of Gyatsha County རྒྱ་ཚ་ and Nang County སྣང་ are not documented. The same is true for the dialect spoken in the region of Lhobrak གོ་ཁང་. So their affiliation needs further research.

▪ Kongpo གོང་པོ་ is spoken in Nyingthi Municipality, in Kongpo Gyamda, Nyingthi, Māl lung and Powo County.

▪ Tö cultivators’ dialects གོ་བོ་ཁྲག་པའི་སྟོད་སྐད་'Rongpā Tö-kā’ may be subdivided in two groups: the eastern and the western groups. The Western Tö cultivators’ dialects are spoken in Ngari Prefecture in the following districts: Sengge Tsangpo (west of Gar) རྨ་, Ruthok (west), Tsa nda སྟན་ད་, and Purang (Pureng) གྲུ་དེར་. Eastern Tö cultivators’ dialects are spoken in Zhikatse Prefecture in Ngamring གནམ་རིང་ (the southern part), Nyanang སྣྱ་ནང་ (also called Nyalam), Dingri གིང་, Lhüntse ལྷུན་ and Kyirong (north) གོ་ཁང་.

▪ Tö pastoralists’ dialects གོ་བོ་ཁྲག་པའི་སྟོད་སྐད་‘Drogpā Tö-kā’ are spoken in Ngari

39. In the northern part of Nyemo County (Markyang township), a Hor variety is found.
prefecture, in the northern part of Zhikatse Prefecture and in the western part of Nagchu prefecture. In Ngari Prefecture: Ruthok རུ་ཐོག་, Sengge Tsangpo (the eastern part of Gar གར།: Langchu ཀང་ཆུ་, Götshang Tö གོད་ཞང་ོག་, Götshang Mä གོད་ཞང་མ་ and Gyaluk གཉལ་ུ་), Geyä གེའི་, Gertse གེར་ཏེ་ and Tshochen བསྟོས་ཞེས་). In Zhikatse Prefecture: Drongpa ཆོང་པ་, Saga གས་དགའ་, Ngamrim གམ་རིང་(the north Latö area), Zhäthongmön བཞད་ཐོང་མོན་(north) and Namling རུམ་གླིང་(north). In Nagchu prefecture: Nyima ཉི་མ་(Nagtshang area), Shäntsa ལཤེ་རྩ་, Pängön ཐང་ནོན་ and Tshonyi སྐོ་སྙིན་. In the latter prefecture, Tö dialects are spoken together with Hor dialects.

9.6.4. Number of speakers

There are about 1,000,000 of Ü-Tsang dialects in a territory of half a million km², i.e. approximately half of the Tibet Autonomous Region (in the other half on the TAR the Kham-Hor dialects of the SE section are spoken). Ethnologue also gives a figure of more than 1,000,000 speakers. In order to give an idea of the total repartition within the Ü-Tsang group of Ü, Tsang and Tö dialects, we give Qu Aitang’s estimation (1996): Ü–569,222, Tsang–457,660, Tö–38,319. According to Qu (ibid.), the total of ‘Ü-Tsang’ speakers is 1,065,201. However, it is probably an underestimation and we do not have reliable recent figures. There is no data for the number of Kongpo and Lhokha speakers.

Due to the lack of official statistics and the constant evolution of the situation, it is difficult to give any precise figure. In some areas of Kongpo such as Bayi, some young Tibetans are no longer able to speak in Tibetan and use mainly Chinese. Conversely, the number of speakers using བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ ‘Common Tibetan’ (based on Lhasa dialect) as a second language is rapidly growing within the Tibet Autonomous Region and to a lesser extent among the elite of Kham and Amdo. ‘Common Tibetan’ is also the main language of the Tibetan diaspora which amounts to 130,000 people, throughout the world.

40. In Gertse “downtown” a Kham variety is spoken. See SE section.
Legend:
- Tö pastoralists
- Tö cultivators
- Tsang
- Ü
- Lhokha
- Phänpo
- Kongpo
9.6.5. Ethnic and Sociolinguistic groups

The speakers in the C section are predominantly རྩིང་པ་ zhingpa 'cultivators' and agropastoralists (notably in Tsang, Phänpo and Kongpo areas) which are locally called བསམ་འབྲོག samadrok or བོད་མ་འབྲོག bömadrok (in Nyemo County). The pastoralists or འབྲོགཔ་ drogpa are essentially found in Tö Ngari, but some small groups of cattle-breeders are also encountered elsewhere in Kongpo, Ü, Tsang and Lhokha. Within the Central area, གཙང་པ་ Tsangpa are generally perceived as strong identities.

9.6.6. Phonological characteristics of the C section

The phonological diversity of the C section is rather limited. However, it is not possible to assert common phonological features for all the dialects of the C section. The phonological characteristics are usually valid only at the level of the groups.

Suprasegmental features

It is well-known that the dialects of the C section have distinctive suprasegmental features and generally have four distinctive pitch and contour tones.

Segmental features

Synchronic approach

The sound systems of the C section are characterized by the following frequent features:

- Most dialects have simple initials and a few dialects (notably Tö) have prenasalization before voiced obstruents.
- The majority of dialects lack voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, q, g, dz, j, z, zh)
- Some dialects have voiceless resonant series (ɾ', m'). The /m'/ occurs with the negation in Lhasa (some speakers) and Tsang in front of aspirated /m/ [m’a] PHYN. But these sounds have a marginal status.
- Final /p/, /m/, /ng/ are usually preserved.
- A limited set of vowels which include central rounded vowels /ö/ and /ü/ as well as midhigh unrounded vowel /ä/.

The majority of dialects have nasalized vowels. The vowel length is distinctive.

**Diachronic approach and reflexes of Classical Tibetan**

- In the languages of the C section, the reflexes of preradical sounds are essentially prenasals (see Tö, Ü) or they yield no trace (Tsang).
- Low pitch aspirated sounds are derived from voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, g, dz, j).
- Prenasalization corresponds to the reflex of radicals with a preradical M or ’ before voiced consonants.
- In Ü and Tsang, the preinitial L of the second syllable triggers a nasal sound as in བོད་ལྗོངས། BOD.LJONGS //ʼp’o’jong/ and དགའ་ལྡན། DGA’LDAN //ʼka’dän/
- The following final consonants B, M, NG, R are well preserved. The final L is preserved only in Tö dialects and the final S and D never appears.
- The combination ZL yields: /n/ or /t/, བླ་བ ZLA.BA //ʼn-dawa/, /ʼtawa/ ‘moon’.

**9.6.7. Grammatical characteristics of the C section**

The languages and dialects of the C section exhibit some grammatical differences particularly in their verbal and nominal morphologies. Discrepancies in the grammatical functions are also attested. Among the major differences, we may mention that the dialects of Ngari have a non-visual form of sensory /ʔa/ < CT ལྱིང་ LING, which is also present in Spiti, Ladakh and Dolpo but not in the central dialects of the C section. The auxiliary of Ü, Ts, Phänpo and Tö are morphologically very diverse, particularly the verb ‘to be’ (see e.g. Tournadre and Konchok Jiatso 2001). Concerning verbal inflections, the languages of this section have preserved a limited number of forms found in CT.

Another significant difference is found in the nominal morphology. The Ngari dialects have a comparative form བོད་ལྗོངས། SANG (also found in Ladakh, Spiti and a few other areas) which corresponds to བསྟོན་ LAS //ʼla/ in the Central dialects. These remarks confirm the existence of a geolinguistic continuum between the Central, Western and North-Western sections.
9.6.7.1. Case markers

Most dialects of the C section distinguish usually six case markers. Frequent cases include ergative, absolutive, dative, comparative, ablative and genitive (for the Kongpo dialect, further research is needed). Three additional marginal cases, the locative, adessive and associative are found in some dialects (for example, the locative /ru/ in Shigatse, see Haller 2000).

The ergative marks the agent of a transitive verb. It is used with both controllable and non-controllable verbs. The ergative case is found in all the dialects of the C section. It is not always compulsory and in some dialects is mainly restricted to the completed past (or “perfective”).

In the C section, the marker of the ergative is /-ki/ which is derived from CT གིས GIs, except Tsanda which has /-shi/. Exceptionally, in Tsanda (Tö Ngari) and Spiti, the form /-su/ related to CT ས་ S is also found.

The absolutive marks the intransitive subject and the patient. It is always marked by zero (∅) in all NE languages.

The dative marks the Beneficiary and sometimes the patient. In the dialects of the C section, the dative marker is usually /-la/ or /-t/. The dative is derived from CT ཐ LA.

The local or peripheral case markers are ablative, genitive, comparative, dative, locative adessive and associative.

The genitive is either identical to the ergative or differs only by a distinct tone. The genitive is derived from CT གི GI.

The various forms of ablative are /-ni/, /-na/, /-nä/, which are derived from CT གན་ NAS.

For the comparative case, the dative /-lä/ is often used in most cases. It is derived from CT ཁ་ LAS. In some Tö dialects, other forms are found /sum/ (Tsanda, Gar),
/sang/ (Gegye) or /sā/ (Purang). The forms སང/ /sang/ is also found in the languages of the Western and Northwestern sections such as Spiti and Ladaks.41

The instrumental in the dialects is formally identical to the ergative case: /-ki:/ (མཚན GTs).

The associative corresponds to /-tang/ or /-ta/ which are derived from CT གི་ DANG.

9.6.7.2. Nominalizers

Various nominalizers are found in the C section (see 8.3.13). We list below six frequent nominalizers. They are normally shared by all the dialects, but they may differ in their pronunciations and specific functions.

• In this section /-ngän, -kän, -k’än/ is a very widespread nominalizer. These marks are derived from CT མཁན་ ‘expert person’. It indicates generally the A (agent) of a verbal action.
• The nominalizer /-pa/ or /-pi/ derived from CT བ་ PA indicates the P (patient) and the subject of an intransitive verb (with completed past).
• The nominalizer /-ya/ or its variants /-yä/ or /-zha/ is frequent in the C section. It is probably derived from CT ཆ་ CHAS ‘thin, tool’. It is also used in the Western, North-western and Southern sections. Thus it is used for the infinitive in Ladaks: གས་ཚར /sa-ches/ and in Lhoke: ཁྲ་ཤད་ /sa-shäʔ/ (the Tibetan spellings SHAD and CES reflect only the pronunciation and not the etymology). The nominalizer /ya/ (or its variants) indicates the P (patient) and the subject of an intransitive verb (with the uncompleted aspect and the future) and has a similar meaning as RGYU.
• The nominalizer /-gyu/ is attested in some dialects. It is derived from CT རྒྱུ RGYU ‘object’ which is also used as a nominalizer in CT. It indicates the P (patient) and the S (single argument) of a monovalent verb (with the uncompleted aspect and the future).

41. They might be derived from CT TSA Na or TSANG which indicates the cause or the origin. Another hypothesis is that these markers are derived from a more archaic form present in proto-TB as suggested by Nishida & Sun (1990). Cognate forms are found in Baima, in Tangut and Ngari as well as Qiang (see e.g. Huang 2007: 123).
Another frequent nominalizer is ས་ (sa/ -sa/). This nominalizer is derived from CT ས་, which indicates "the place of the verbal action" and various other grammatical meanings.

The nominalizer /-tang/ derived from the noun སྟངས (STANGS) 'way, manner, appearance, look' is found in nearly all dialects of the C section.

9.6.7.3. Verbal inflection

The number of inflectional forms is quite limited. Most lexical verbs are either invariable or have two, rarely three forms ("past", "present-future" and "imperative"). See the section 8.3.6 of Chapter 8 for examples. In some dialects, a few frequent verbs have suppletive forms: 'to go': རྒྱུན (PHYIN) (past) and རོ (GRO) (present-future), རྒྱུགས (RGYUGS) (imperative) 'to come' < CT 'to run'; ཡོང (YONG) (present-future-past) and སྒོག (SHOG) (imperative) < CT GSHEGS 'to go, come'.

9.6.7.4. Linking verbs and auxiliary verbs

Copulative verbs

The verbs རྒྱུན (yin) is used as a copulative verb in all the dialects with an egophoric meaning (usually associated with the first person). The negative forms are /man, män/ མ་རེད (mare:). For the factual meaning, various forms are found རྒྱུན /'re:/ in Ü, Phänpo and Kongpo as well as some dialects of Ngari (Gertse, Gegye, Tshoche), where a varieties of Kham and Hor are spoken, རྒྱུན /'pä:/, /pie/ and its variants /'pa:/, /po:/, /pu:/ (Tsang and Lhokha) and རྒྱུན /'na:/ or /'eqi/ (in most Tö dialects) (see Qu & Tan 1983), /'na:/ (Tö, Lhatse) or /'te/ (Tö, Dingri). For the origin of these markers, see section 8.3.3.

The negative forms of these copulas are:

• /'marc:/ in Ü, Phänpo and Kongpo as well as some dialects of Ngari (Gegye, Tshoche).

• /'män-pä:/, /'män-pa/, /'män-po/, /'män-pa/ (Tsang and Lhokha) which may correspond to མན་སྦད (MAN-SBAD) < ? CT མན་མབྱེད (MANG-BYED).
Existential verbs

In the dialects, various forms /'yòː/, /'hòː/, /'wòː/ are found for the existential egophoric verb. They correspond to the reflexes of CT 'YOD or the variant 'OD; These forms are used to refer to personal information (egophoric) and generally occurs with the first person subject.

The sensory forms are /'dùʔ/ or /'nuː/. They correspond to the reflex of CT 'DUG. The auxiliary /'nang/ derived from CT 'SNANG is found in the Phänpo varieties. 'GRAG is used in Ngari for non-visual sensory meaning (see 8.4.3).

These auxiliary verbs have the following negations:

- /'mεʔ/ (Tö), /'mε:/ (Ü) /'mi:/ (Ts) < CT 'MED;
- /'mì-nang/ < CT 'MSNANG;
- /'mÌ-dùʔ/ < CT 'DUG;
- /'mÌ-ʈaʔ/ < CT 'GRAG.

Compound linking verbs

Compound linking verbs involve the combination of various auxiliaries.

The forms indicating an existential factual meaning are:

- /'yòːpə/, /'hòːpə/, /'wòːpə/ (Phänpo), /'wòːːrɛ:/ (Tö) the reflexes of CT 'YOD.PARED or 'OD.PARED or ♦ 'OD.DE.RED.
- /'yòːpə/, /'yɔːpə/, /'yɔːpə/ (Tsang and Lhoka): ♦ YOD.B.A.SBAD < ♦ YOD.B.A.BYED.
- /'wìːdàʔ/, /'fiːtade/, /'fiːtə/, /'fiːktə'dàʔ/ (Tö) respectively derived from ♦ 'OD.P.A.DAG, ♦ 'OD.DE.DAG or ♦ 'OD.MKHAN.DAG.
Auxiliaries

Frequent auxiliary verbs of the C section are made of the linking verbs (sometimes preceded by a relator):

- ངིན་ YIN
- རེད་ RED (Ü), རེད་ SBAD /pä:/, /pa:/, /po:/, /pu:/, /pa:/, (in Tsang)
- འདག་ DAG /da?/, /da:/ or /te/ (in Tö). The latter forms are also probably cognate with /nak/ attested in Loke (Mustang, see South-western section), and /na/ or /-da/ (in the negation /man-da/ and inferential /yin-da/) in Brokpa, Bhutan (see Southern section).
- ཡོད་ YOD or འོད་ OD: /yö:/, /ɦö:/, /wöʔ/
- དུག་ DUG (Ü, Ts) or སྣང་ SNANG (Phänpo)
- བྱུང་ BYUNG
- ཕོང་ SONG (or སྣང་ SNANG)
- རྒྱབ་ GRAG /ʈaʔ/
- བཞག་ BZHAG

Other frequent auxiliaries include: ཀོས་ DGOS, འོང་ YONG, བསྡད་ BSDAD.

From a semantico-cognitive point of view, the auxiliaries (together with relators) convey complex temporal, aspectual, evidential and epistemic meanings.

The systems have special forms to mark sensory access to information, as well as factual, egophoric, inferential and hearsay meanings.

9.6.7.5. Negation

The negation has two forms in all the dialects of the C section: མ་ MA used and མི་ MI. For the imperative, one can only use the form མ་ MA. Generally speaking, in most dialects (with the notable exception of Tö Purang), the negation used in the various tenses and aspects comes before the auxiliary verb (i.e. after the lexical verb) and not before the lexical verb. As in most other Tibetic languages, the negative auxiliaries ངིན་ MIN and འོད་ MED often mark the negation.
In Lhasa, the pronunciation of the negation prefix depends on an initial consonant of the verb stem. If it is voiceless aspirated, the initial of the negation prefix often becomes voiceless /m'/.

9.7. **The Southern section**

The S section is made up of several linguistic groups of dialects mainly spoken in Bhutan and Sikkim (India) and the Dromo County of TAR (China). There is limited linguistic diversity within this section. However, there is no mutual intelligibility between the groups of dialects.

Dzongkha རྫོང་ཁ་, lit. ‘the castle language’, is the national and official language of Bhutan. Although English does not have an official status, it is widely used in administration, education, media and businesses.

Both English and Dzongkha are taught in the schools, but English is the main medium. Nepali, a strong regional language, has also had an impact on the linguistic situation in Bhutan. Written Dzongkha is increasingly used in the media, in the schools and on the internet. Literary Tibetan, which is called Chökä ལྷོ་ཡིག་ i.e. ‘Dharma language’ is used in the Buddhist monasteries.

In the Indian state of Sikkim, Lhoke ཁུ་ཁོ་ (LHO,SKAD) Lit. ‘the southern Language’ is an official language of Sikkim. There are alternative names such as ལྷོ་སྐད་ (BRAS,LJONGS,SKAD) Dränjong-kä often spelled ‘Denjongke’ (lit. ‘language of the fruit/rice region’) or Bhutia. However English and Nepali, the lingua franca, are used as the main medium in the school curriculum. Since the end of the 1960s a written form of Lhoke, called ལྷོ་ཡིག་ ‘Lhoyik’, has emerged. It is written in the Tibetan script. Lhoyik has developed a fairly high level of standardization and is taught in the schools as one of the eleven “official languages”: Nepali, Lhoke (or ‘Bhutia’), Lepcha, Limbu, Newari, Rai, Gurung, Magar, Sherpa, Tamang and Sunwar.

A few novels and plays are written in Lhoke. However, Lhoyik has still a limited diffusion and unlike Dzongkha is not present on the internet.

Thus, in both Bhutan and Sikkim, English and Nepali have a significant impact on the ecologiculinguistic system. Within the S section, the Tibetic languages are also in
contact with various Tibeto-Burman languages depending on the area: Lepcha, Gurung, Magar, Sunwar, Rai, Tamang, Limbu, Bumthang, Kirtö, Tshangla or Sharchopkha, etc.

Among the scientific and cultural institutions of Bhutan, one should mention the National Library of Bhutan, Druk Gyälyong Pedzö located in the capital and the Khesar Gyalpo University of Medical Science, Gesar Gyälpo Sorig Tsuglagkhang Lobde; the department of traditional medicine (ministry of Health) Nangmän Zhabto Lakhir; the Dzongkha development commission Dzongkha gongphel lhántshok.

Unlike in Tibet, most Bhutanese dzongs ‘castles’ are well preserved. Major dzongs include: Trashi Chödzong (in Thimphu), Punakha, Trongsar, Lhuntse, Paro (alt. Rinpung) and Trashigang.

In the S section, Vajrayāna Buddhism is the main religion. In Bhutan, Buddhists are mainly followers of the Drugpa Kagyü and to a lesser extent the Nyingma sect. There is also a minority of Hindus.

Major monasteries of Bhutan include: Chagri Mingyur Dorjedän (near Thimphu), Dechen Phodrang (near Thimphu), Paro Tagtsang, Gangteng (in Wangdü Phodrang) (Nyingma), Kuje Lhakhang (in Bumthang district), Nalanda Buddhist Institute (NBI), Phajoding, Sumthrang Samdrup Chödzong (Bumthang) and Tamzhing Lhundrup chöling.

In Sikkim, Buddhists are followers of the Nyingma and Kagyü sects. There is also a small Christian community. They are also in contact with neighboring Shamanist and Hindu communities. The major monasteries of Sikkim include: Pema Yangtse (Nyingma), Trashi Ding, Rumtek, Tholung, Ralang Pälchen chöling.

Among the cultural institutions of Sikkim, one should also mention the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.

Lhoke, despite the fact that it is an official language of Sikkim, is not well documented yet. There has been a pioneer work by Graham Sandberg (1894). However, some publications (textbooks or articles) have recently appeared: Denzongpo et al. (2009; 2011), and Yeshe Rigzin Bhutia (2008). Yliniemi (2019) has written a comprehensive grammar of Lhoke for his doctoral dissertation, which is a major contribution to the description of this language.

### 9.7.1. Migration patterns, legends and historical records

According to Balikci (2008: 6):

“Tibetan settlers came to Sikkim from the neighboring valleys of Chumbi and Ha and regions beyond these southern valleys such as Kham Minyak from the thirteenth century onwards and established the kingdom in 1642. Their descendants call themselves Lhopo (Lhopa, lit. ‘people from the south’) but are generally known as Bhutia, Sikkimese or even Denjongpas [Dränjongpas].”

Sikkim is called ‘Dränjong’ འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ both in Tibetan and in Lhoke, which means “the land of rice.” However ‘Dränjong’ is probably a shortening for ཆིཤོང་ལྗོངས་ ‘Drámjong’ and is thus better translated as “the land of fruits.” It is also often referred to as a བྲི་ཡུལ būyul ‘hidden valley’ in the Buddhist tradition. Sikkim was a Kingdom until 1975 when it became a state of India. Literary Tibetan was the official language
of Sikkim since the creation of the Namgyal dynasty and remained as such until 1977, when Lhoke was introduced in the schools.

The descendants of the Tibetans, called ལོ་པོ་ Lhopos in the local language and ལོ་པ་ Lhopas in Tibetan, held a prominent position in Sikkimese society for many centuries. However, the indigenous people of Sikkim are the Lepchas, who are called མོན་པ་ monpa in Lhoke. Since the eighteenth century they have developed their own script distantly related to the Tibetan script. Lepcha is a TB language, but does not belong to the Tibetic family and is very remote from Lhoke. If most toponyms and village names are in Lhoke, some are also in Lepcha language such as Thimjin and Kabi. Lepchas represent 15% percent of Sikkimese. They practice both Shamanism and Buddhism.

Another important ethnic group is the Limbu, who are called གཙོང་པ་ gTsongpa in Lhoke and Tibetan and are also referred to as Subba. They also have an original script, which was invented during the eighteenth century (about the Limbu script, see van Driem 2001 and Plaisier 2008). Limbu is also a TB language, but it is very different from Lhoke.

During the past fourty years, the demographic situation of Sikkim has undergone major changes. There has been an influx of immigrants from Nepal and to a lesser extent from neighboring states of India such as West Bengal and Bihar. The Nepalis now form three-quarters of the Sikkimese population. This massive immigration was due mainly to political and economic reasons: the incorporation of Sikkim into India and the development of modern agriculture.

9.7.2. Linguistic groups of the S section

The S section is made up of several linguistic groups, which allow a rather limited mutual intelligibility. However, the region can be described in terms of a geolinguistic continuum, particularly between the Chumbi valley (Dromo), the Ha valley in Bhutan and the central Sikkim area of Gangtok.

These southern Himalayan dialects are traditionally spoken by cultivators or agropastoralists. In some cases, such as Säphuk, Mera, Sakteng and Dur in Bhutan, as well
as in Lachen in northern Sikkim, one also encounters small pastoralists' communities. Some communities such as Dur are now living a sedentary way of life.

For the dialect classification of the S section, we propose the following seven groups:

- Dzongkha རྫོང་ཁ
- Lhoke ལྷོས་
- Choča-ngača ཁོ་ཅ་ང་ཅ་ཁ་ also called Tsamang-Tsakhaling རྩ་མང་དང་ཙས་ཁ་ལིང་ཁ
- Brokpa (Mera Sakteng pastoralists’ dialect) མེ་རག་གྲོ་མོའི་སྐད
- Dur pastoralists’ dialect དུར་འབྲོག་སྐད
- Lakha བ་ཁ་ or Säphuk pastoralists’ dialect སྲས་ཕུག་འབྲོག་སྐད
- Dromo གྲོ་མོའི་སྐད

The Dzongkha language has several dialects, but an inner classification still needs to be done.

According to Driem (1998), they include the Hà dialect spoken in Hà ལ་ district and the ‘standard dialect’. As noted by van Driem (1998: 5), the dialect of Hà is more similar to the Drânjong dialects, spoken in Sikkim. Additionally, three varieties of Dzongkha are spoken by yakherd communities in northwest Bhutan: Laya ལ་ཡ་, Lingzi ལིང་ཛི, Lungnagnak/Lunana སྲས་ཕུག་. These varieties have so far not been studied.


The pastoralists of Merak (locally pronounced Mera) and Sagteng མེ་རག་དང་སག་སྟེང་འབྲོག་སྐད call their dialect དྲོག་པ་ཁ་ ‘Drogpa-kä’, which simply means ‘Pastoralists’ dialect’. Quoting Roerich (1961), van Driem reports that “the language of the Brokpa
[of Merak and Sagteng] is an archaic dialect preserving many ancient phonetic and lexical features of Old Tibetan" (1998: 15). The pastoralists of Dur call their language དྲོག་ཁ་ 'Drog-kä' locally pronounced /Brokkat/, which also means 'pastoralists' dialect'. The community of cattle breeders located in Sāphuk calls their dialect 'Lakha' བལ་ཁ་, lit. the 'language of mountain passes'. In Dzongkha, this language is known as Tshangkha མཚང་ཁ་. There is little available information and a general survey is needed about these three pastoralist dialects.

Lhoke has two very distinctive dialects (Yliniemi 2019): the Northern dialect of Lachen-Lachung འབྲོག་མ་/ཁྲ་མ་, which includes communities of cattle breeders, and the southern varieties spoken elsewhere in South, West and East districts.

The Dromo dialect གྲོ་མོ་སྐད་ is divided into two main subdialects: གྲོ་མོ་སྟོད་ Upper Dromo and གྲོ་མོ་སྨད་ Lower Dromo. Upper Dromo is more similar to the Dzongkha dialect of Há, and lower Dromo, which includes the Chumbi valley, is more similar to Drengjong. As a local proverb says: "The people of Dromo and Há are one" (ྲོ་ཧ་རྩ་གཅིག). Two varieties are spoken in Phagri གཏགས་པོ་and Sharsingma བསྟོན་སྦུང་མ་. These two places were trading centers and Sharsingma was under British control in the beginning of the twentieth century. It was handed over to the Chinese in 1954.

Several dialects of the S section are in contact with a few Non-Tibetic languages either Tibeto-Burman such as Lepcha, Limbu, Bumthang, Kheng, Tshangla, Dzala, Kurtö, Chali or Indic languages such as Nepali and Assamese. There is a rather limited intelligibility between Dzongkha and Lhoke, the two major languages of the S section.

9.7.3. Geographic extent of the S section

The area of the S section is located on the southern slopes of the Himalayas. It extends over Bhutan, which is called འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ Drug-yül i.e. the 'Land of the Dragon' and over the Indian state of Sikkim called ཞྭེ་ནྭེ་ཁྲེང་ Dränjong as well as Dromo County ཐོས་ངོ་ཆུ་ in the Tibet Autonomous Region (China) especially the Chumbi valley ཆུ་འབི་ལུང་.

Additionnally one should mention the two towns of Dorjeling རོ་རྗེ་གླིང་, known abroad as Darjeeling (famous for its tea), and Kalönbuk ཕ་བློན་སྦུ་ག known as
Kalimpong, both located in the Indian State of West Bengal. Historically, many Dzongkha and Lhoke speakers have settled in these two towns.

In Western Bhutan, the largest rivers are: The Wang-chu river ཕང་ཆུ་ (upper course of the Raidak river, a tributary of the Brahmaputra), which flows through Thimphu, the Paro-chu river གྲོ་ཆུ་, which runs in the eponym district. The Mo-chu river མོ་ཆུ་ (upper course of the Sankosh), a tributary of the Brahmaputra, which runs near Punakha. Another significant valley from the economic and historic point of view is the Há valley eponym of the district ལ་ཁ་.

In Eastern Bhutan, the main valleys are those of the Amo-chu river ཨ་མོ་ཆུ་ (upper course of the Torsa in West Bengal), the Bumthang-chu རུམ་ཐང་ཆུ་ which runs through the eponym district of Bumthang རུམ་ཐང་རྫོང་ as well as the Mangde-chu river མང་སྡེ་ཆུ་ and the Drangme-chu དྲང་མེད་ཆུ་, which is the biggest river in eastern Bhutan.

In Sikkim, the main valley is formed by the Teesta River, which runs through the entire state and is a tributary of the Brahmaputra.

Finally, the S section extends to the Chumbi valley located in Dromo County, Tibet Autonomous Region (China). Although, the county is located in Tibet, the valley belongs to the geographic environment of the southern Himalayas and borders with both Sikkim and the Há valley of Bhutan.

**Detailed location of the dialect groups**

- **Dzongkha དོང་ཁ་**

  Dzongkha is traditionally spoken Western Bhutan in Thimphu ཐིམ་ཕུ་, Punakha སྤུ་ན་ཁ་, Paro སྤ་རོ་ (sometimes spelled with the conservative orthography སྤ་གྲོ་), Wangdi Phodrang དབང་འདུས་ཕོ་བྲང་ (/Wangdi Phodra/), Garsa ལྗེས་, Darkarnang དར་དཀར་ནང་ (/Dagana/) and Chukha ར་ཁ་ districts. As the national language of Bhutan, Dzongkha is also spoken as a second language in the other districts of the country. Dzongkha includes the specific varieties of Há ར་ (located in the eponym Geok of Thimphu district), Laya ལྷ་ཡག་, and Lunana ཀུན་ནག་ (located in the eponym Geoks of Garsa County)
Choča-ngača

Choča-ngača language is spoken in eastern Bhutan in Mongar and Lhüntse districts but some speakers are also found in the neighboring districts of Trashigang and Trashi Yangtse. The two main villages of Tsamang and Tsakaling are located in Mongar district. In Mongar, Choča-ngača is spoken in Tsataling, Tsamang, Sheri Muhung, and Saling geoks. In Lhüntse, it is spoken in Jare, Minje, Menbi, Tsankhar and Metsho Ungar geoks, and in Trashi Yangtse it is spoken in Tongshang and Gangkhapa geoks. In Trashigang, speakers of Choča-ngača are found in Bartsham, although according to local history Bartsham speakers originally came from Tsamang village. Due to the Bhutanese resettlement policy, speakers of Choča-ngača can now also be found in the southern districts of Samtse and Sarpang.

Lhoke

Lhoke also called Bhutia or Dränjong-kä (alt. Denjongke) is spoken in the following districts and villages:

**East district:** Gangtok, Pendrom, Tadong, Tathangchen, Matsong (alt. Machong), Sang-Martham, Khamdong, Simik, Dikling, Pakyong, Pathing, Rumtek, and Asam Lingdze.

**South district:** Ralong, Kyozhing (Sosing), Ben, Yanggang, Sangno, Lingmo, Rabang, Namtsi (Namchi), Tinggitam and Barphung Lingtam.

**West district:** Trashiding (alt. Tashiding), Lingchum (alt. Lingchyum), Singgyang, Yuksam, Chumbung, Paling, Gyalshing (alt. Gezing), Náthang, Tingling, Dorap (alt. Darap), Zilnen (alt. Sinon), and Ganggyap.

42. The term ‘Geok’ refers to a block or subdivision of a district.
43. Namtsi is the main town of South district but there are relatively few Lhoke speakers.
44. Ganggyap has a special dialect. A Kham community has settled in this area.
North district: Lachung སྐུང་, Lachen སྐུན་, Phodong སྐུ་, Phänsang སྐྱོན་, Kabi སྐྱོན་, Thingim སྐེ་, Namok སྐྱོན་ and Manggan (alt. Mangan) སྐུ་མཛད་. 15

- The Pastoralist Tibetic languages of Bhutan

Lakha སྐུ་ is spoken in the area of Sāphuk Geok སྐྱུར་གྲོི་ in Wangdü Phodrang district སྐྱོན་པོ་ད་རོང་ (Wangdi Phodra). According to van Driem (1998: 16):

“[i]t is situated in Wangdi Phodra, a district in the north of the Black mountains, south of the lofty white peaks of Gangs dkar kun bzang སྐུྱོན་པོ་དྱུལ་ཀུན་བཟང་ which separate Bhutan from Tibet. […] Lakha speaking villages of Sāphu are B’uso, Langbi, Brabrak, Dzêri, Dărlo, Wangdiöm, Rabu, Kumba, Bati, Nâkha, Sekta and Thanyä.”

Mera Sakteng Brokpa-ke སྐྱུར་གྲོང་སྐད་ is spoken in Trashigang district སྐྱུར་གྲོང་ (in and around the two villages of Merak (/Mera/) and Sagteng. D’ur Brokkat སྐད་ is spoken in the Bumthang district སྐད་ in the village of D’ur.

- Dromo སྐད་

Dromo County is located in the south of Tibet Autonomous Region (China), at the border with both Bhutan, in the east, and Sikkim (India) in the west. It is divided into two dialects: upper Dromo and lower Dromo.

9.7.4. Number of speakers

Dzongkha has about 160,000 native speakers in Bhutan (van Driem 1998). However, since Dzongkha is the official language of Bhutan, a lot of Bhutanese citizens speak Dzongkha as a second language and the number is growing. The total number of speakers (as a first or second language) may be more than 500,000. Additionally, about 10,000 Dzongkha speakers are also found outside Bhutan, in India, Nepal, etc. The second Tibetic language of Bhutan is Tsamang has about 30,000 speakers (according to SIL 2011).

The number of speakers for the other Tibetic languages of Bhutan is much more limited. According to van Driem, Lakha has about 8,000 speakers, for Dur and Mera, there are respectively about 500 and 3,000 speakers.

45. Manggen is mainly a Lepcha speaking area.
Concerning the number of speakers in Sikkim, it is difficult to establish precisely. According to Turin (2011), “the population census of 2001 records Sikkim as being home to only 540,000 residents, of which the indigenous Lepcha and Bhutia make up only a tenth each.” Thus the number of Lhoke speakers would amount to around 50,000 speakers. Ethnologue mentions the figure of 70,000 speakers. Turin (2011) adds: “The autochthonous languages of modern Sikkim – Bhutia, Lepcha and Limbu – are at present severely endangered.” This statement should be relativized in the case of Lhoke (Dränjong-kä or Bhutia) since the language is taught in schools and has a written standard. Yliniemi (2019) provides a lower estimation for the number of Lhoke speakers: 25–30,000.

Finally, for Dromo, which is the only dialect of the S section spoken on the Tibetan side, the number of speakers is roughly of 6,000 or 7,000 speakers.

Thus the total number of speakers for the S section is less than 300,000 speakers.
9.7.5. Ethnic and sociolinguistic groups

The speakers in the S section are predominantly ཆིང་པ་ zhingpa 'cultivators' and agropastoralists. There are some pastoralists' communities of འབྲོག་པ་ drogpa, called འབྱོགཔ་ /bjo/ in Dzongkha, in Mera Sakteng, Dur pastoralists' dialect and Lakha or Saphuk.

In Bhutan (as mentioned in Chapter 2), there is no generic term to designate the people who speak Tibetic languages as their native tongues, and identity is in general related to the native valley or to the dzong. The term འབྲུགཔ་ /BRUGP/ /qyp/ in Dzongkha (བུག་པ་ in Tibetan) applies to all the Bhutanese citizens including those who are not native speakers of Dzongkha.

In Sikkim, the Tibetic speaking people call themselves /lhopo/ ལྷོ་པོ་ which corresponds to Lhopa ལྷོ་པ་ in Classical Tibetan and means 'southerner'. They also sometimes refer to themselves as Bhuṭia or bhoṭi (བྷོ་ཊི) (see 2.5).

9.7.6. Phonological characteristics of the S section

The phonological diversity of the S section is rather limited. However, it is not possible to list common phonological features to the all the dialects of the S section. The phonological characteristics are usually valid only at the level of the groups. Dzongkha རྫོང་ཁ་, Lhoke བྲེས་ and Dromo གྲོ་མོའི་སྐད་ are in general more innovative than Choča-ngača. We lack data about the pastoralists’ dialects which may also be conservative.

Suprasegmental features

The dialects of the S section have distinctive suprasegmental features and generally have two distinctive pitch tones. Additionally, tone contours are found in Dzongkha (see Michailovsky 1986 and Mazaudon and Michailovsky 1989 as well as van Driem 1998).

Segmental features

Synchronic approach

The sound systems of the S section are characterized by the following frequent features:

- The languages of the S section have usually simple initials. Exceptions are found in Dzongkha and Choča-ngača. Dzongkha has combinations of a labial and plosive such as /p/ and /b/ as in འབྱོགཔ་ /bjon/. It has also preglottalized
resonant (as in /'nam/ 'sky'). Choča-n'gača Tsamang dialect has preserved initial clusters such as /pr, phr, br/ and even /mr/.

- They have voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, q, g, dz, j, z, zh).
- Final /p/, /m/, /ng/ are usually preserved.
- A limited set of vowels which include central rounded vowels /ö/ and /ü/ as well as midhigh unrounded vowel /ã/.
- The vowel length is distinctive.

Diachronic approach and reflexes of Classical Tibetan:

- In the languages of the S section, we find no trace of preradicals in the initial position.
- In Dzongkha, low pitch half-devoiced or breathy sounds [b̥] , [g̊] , [d̥] , [g] , dz, j, z, zh are derived from single voiced non-resonant sounds (B, D, G, DZ, J).
- They are noted in the transcription with a voiced consonant followed by the apostrophe. In Lhoke, they are devoiced.

- CT PY, PHY, BY correspond /vɛ/, /vɛ̆/ and /vŋ/ or /vŋ/ in Dzongkha and to /vpy/, /v'py/, /v'by/ or /v'py/ in Lhoke and Dromo. Ex. བྱུག་པོ་ PHYUG PO 'rich': བྱ།ུག་ཀོ། /v'yuko/ (Lho), བྱ།ུག་པོ། /v'ču/ (Dz), བྱེ་མ་ BYE MA 'sand', བྱེ་མ་ /v'čim/ (Lho), བྱེ་མ་ /v'jim/ (Dz). Thus, Dzongkha is less conservative than Lhoke for this reflex and presents an intermediate stage between the labial+glide and the affricate as in the Ü-Tsang dialects of the Central section.

- CT PR, PHR, BR (with or without preradical) correspond to /vɛ/, /vɛ̆/ and /vŋ/ or /vŋ/ in Dzongkha and to /py/, /p'y/, /'by/ or /p'y/ in Lhoke and Dromo. Ex. བྱར་ PHRENG BA 'rosary': བྱར་ /p'by/ (Lho), བྱར་ /v'č'em/ (Dz); བྱར་ /v'č'a:/ (Dz); བྱར་ /v'ya:/ (Lho), བྱར་ /v'ya:/ /v'ya:/ (Dz); བྱར་ /v'ya:/ (Lho), བྱར་ /v'ya:/ (Lho), བྱར་ /v'ya:/ (Lho), བྱར་ /v'ya:/ (Lho).

- The reflexes of CT KR, KHR, GR (with or without preradicals) are quite diverse in the S section. For example, in Dzongkha, they correspond to /k/, /k'/ and /g/ or /g'/: བྱི་ GRYAL 'row': བྱི་ GYAL 'gāː', བྱི་ 'KHRID' to lead': བྱི་ 'KHYID' /k'i/; or to /vɛ/, /vɛ̆/ and /ŋ/ or /ŋ'/: བྱི་ GRO 'go': བྱི་ GYU
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//ju/, /j’u// GRANG.MO ‘cold’; /ʃɿ/ GYAM //ʃ’u//; but also sometimes to
//t/, //t’/, //d/ or //d’//: /bkrong// KHRAG ‘blood’:/ˈt’a/ (see van Driem 1998). In Lhoke, the reflexes are /k’ya/ , /k’ya’/ , /g’y/ or
//g’y’/: /khrag// KHRAG ‘blood’: /ʃɿ/ KHYAG //ʃ’ya//; /ʃɿ/ ‘KHRID’ ‘to lead’: /ʃɿ/ ‘khyig’ //k’ik//, /ʃɿ/ GRANG.MO ‘cold’: /ʃɿ/ GYANG.DRAG
//k’yaNɡa//, /ʃɿ/ ‘gro’ ‘to go’: /ʃɿ/ ‘gyu’ //gyu//; and /t/ , /t’/ , /d/ or /d’/: /khrab// ‘to act’:/ˈt’ap/, /ʃɿ/ ‘GRONG’ ‘to die (H)’: /ˈt’on//. (See Yliniemi 2019.)

▪ Prenasalization is not found in the S section.

▪ The following final consonants B , M , N G are well preserved. L , R , S and D do not
normally appear.

The elision of the final vowel is a frequent morphophonological phenomenon
attested in Dzongkha and to a lesser extent in Lhoke. For example, see above the
words; /sbrang.ma// SBRANG.MA ‘flying insect’ and /bje.ma// BYE.MA ‘sand’.

● The combination ZL yields: /d/: /ʃɿ/ ZLA.BA /dau/ ‘moon’ (Dzongkha).

9.7.7. Grammatical characteristics of the S section

The dialects of the S section exhibit some grammatical differences particularly in
their verbal and nominal morphologies. For example, the grammatical case systems
of Dzongkha, Lhoke and Choça-ngaça differ both in number of cases, forms and functions.
In the languages of this section the demonstratives are placed before the head noun.

It is worth noting that the languages of this section have lost the verbal inflections
found in CT. Dzongkha has innovated an inflectional system of the stem which is not
found in the other languages of the S section such as Lhoke or Choça-ngaça.

9.7.7.1. Case markers

The languages and dialects of S section usually distinguish at least seven case
markers but if one takes into account grammaticalized relator nouns, we may consider
that there are up to ten cases. Frequent cases include ergative, absolutive, dative, genitive,
comparative, ablative and associative.

The ergative case is found in all the dialect groups or languages of the S section. It
is used with both controllable and non-controllable verbs and in some cases also occurs...
with intransitive controllable verbs. In Dzongkha it is syntactically optional. As van Driem (1998: 193) pointed out:

“The ergative suffix is in most cases homophonous with the genitive ending, they are neither formally nor semantically identical. [...] the Dzongkha ergative differ from a classical ergative, which marks the subject or agent of a transitive verb, in the Dzongkha ergative is used to highlight the agentive character of a subject which performs an activity, transitive or intransitive."

What has been said about Dzongkha is also valid for Choča-ngača (Tournadre & Karma Rigzin 2015).

Both Dzongkha and Choča-ngača have preserved reflexes of the archaic comparative marker BAS. Outside the S section, this marker is not attested in the modern Tibetic languages except for some dialects of Kham such as Chamdo and Gyālthang.

The case systems of the three major languages of the S section, Dzongkha, Lhoke and Choča-ngača, are listed below:

Dzongkha has the following case markers: the ergative /-ki/ ལིས་ GIS, the dative /-lu/ སྲུ་ LU (< CT ས་ LA), the absolutive Ø, the genitive /-ki/ ལི་ GI, ablative /-lä/ ཝོ་ LAS, the locative /-na/ ལྷ་ NA, the comparative /-wā/ བ་ BA (derived from CT བས་ BAS), the associative /-tang/ ངང་ DANG. Additionally, one finds three cases which correspond to the grammaticalization of relator nouns: the inessive སང་ NANG /-na:/ ‘in’, the superessive ཞར་ KHAR /-kha:/ ‘on’, རུ་ GU /-gu/ ‘on’. However, these forms are not entirely identical to the inherited grammatical cases because they still trigger a genitive case (when the word ends in a vowel).

Choča-ngača has seven cases: absolutive (Ø), ergative /gi/ and the allmorphs /-ki/ and /k/ (< CT ལིས་/ ལིས་ GIS~KYIS), genitive /-gi/ and /-yi/ (< CT ལི་/ ལི་ GI~YI), dative /-le/ and allmorphs /-nge/, /-ge/, /-e/ (< CT ས་ LA), associative /dang/ (< CT ངང་ DANG), ablative /leki/ and its allmorphs (may be derived from *LA-GIS ཝོ་ GIS) and comparative /-wata/ (< CT བས་ BAS followed by a form /ta/ of unclear origin) (Tournadre & Karma Rigzin 2015).

Van Driem (1998: 208) provides one example of ergative used with the verb 'PHUR ‘to fly’.
9.7.7.2. Nominalizers

Various nominalizers (see 8.3.13) are found in the S section but some of these markers are specific for a given region of the section. The main nominalizers of the S section include the following markers:

- The nominalizer /-kän/ or /-k’an/ derived from CT MKHAN is used in various languages of the S section such as Lhoke and Choča-ngača, however it is not used in Dzongkha.

- The nominalizer /-mi/ derived from CT MI ‘person’ is used in Dzongkha (but not in Choča-ngača nor Lhoke).

- The nominalizer /-ni/ is very frequent in Dzongkha. It is also probably derived from CT MI ‘person’ and cognate with the Amdo nominalizer /nə/. It is used as an ‘infinitive’ marker but has other functions such as instrument of the verbal action. In its instrumental and infinitive functions, it corresponds respectively to /-shäʔ/ (in Lhoke) and /-sang/ (Cho).

- The nominalizer /-shäʔ/ is used in Lhoke. It is derived from CT CHAS ‘thing’ which is grammaticalized as a nominalizer in many western languages as /ches/ (La) /yä’/ (Ts) and /ya’/ in Central Tibet.

- The nominalizer /-sang/ is used in Choča-ngača. Its origin is unclear.

- The nominalizer /-wa/, derived from CT BA, is attested in the languages of the S section such as Dzongkha, Lhoke and Choča-ngača. The form /wa/ has two allomorphs: /ma/ and /pa/. The nominalizer /wa/ is used among other things to as a supine marker. When the form /wa/ or its allomorphs are followed by a genitive, they are respectively pronounced as /wi/, /bi/ and /mi/.

- The form /-po/ used in Lhoke is cognate to the above nominalizer /wa/.

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47. Tournadre’s unpublished manuscript from a fieldwork in August 2010 at the Namgyal Institute, Gangtok (Sikkim). See also Yliniemi (2015).
is derived from the CT form PA.

- The nominalizer SA /-sa/ is used in the languages of the section. In Lhoke, it is pronounced /-so/. This nominalizer is derived from CT sa, which means ‘place’ has various meaning ‘the place of the verbal action’.

- The nominalizer /-tang/ derived from the noun STANS ‘way, manner, appearance, look’ is attested the various languages of the S section. In Dzongkha and Choča ngača, it is pronounced /t’ang/ STANS. Note that /thang/ is aspirated in both languages, unlike the CT form: STANS.

9.7.7.3. Verbal inflections

The inflectional forms inherited from CT or OT have generally been lost in the languages of the S section such as Dzongkha, Lhoke and Choča ngača. However, some traces are still found. For example, there is a lengthening of the vowel in the past in Choča ngača: /sa/ (present) < CT za versus /’sa:/ ‘to eat’ (past) < CT BZAS, /’ngu/ ‘to cry’ < CT NGUS versus /’ngu:/ ‘to cry’ (past) < CT NGUS. (See Tournadre & Karma Rigzin 2015.)

Dzongkha has developed innovative morphophonemic variations of the verb stem which depends on the phonological context. These stem variations depend on the type of auxiliary verb / suffix that follows the verb (see Chapter 8). For example, the forms /’tang/ ‘to send’ and /’nang/ ‘to give’ (both verbs are also used as light verbs) become respectively /’tam/ and /’nam/ when they are followed by some auxiliaries such as /ing/, the auxiliary marking the ‘factual present’ (see van Driem 1998: 210).

Verb suppletion is also attested in the S section. For example in Dzongkha, the verb ‘to go’ has three forms: /’jo/ (present), /’song/ (past) and /’ya:/ (past used with the secondary verb /so(ng)/), derived respectively from CT GRO ‘to go’ (pres), SONG ‘to go’ (past, imp.), and YAR ‘to split up, to be scattered, dispersed’; the verb ‘to come’ has also three forms /ong/, /thon/, /sho:/ derived respectively from CT ONG ‘to come’, THON ‘to come out’, GSHEGS ‘to come’ (see van Driem 1998: 280).
9.7.7.4. Linking verbs and auxiliary verbs

**Copulative verbs**

As in most Tibetic languages, the copulative verb of the S section is derived from the verbཡིན་. It is pronounced /’yin/ in Dzongkha and /’in/ [iː] in Lhoke. In both Dzongkha and Lhoke orthography, it is written ◊ཡིན་. The same copulative verbཡིན་ or ◊ཡིན་པི་ is also used in Choča-ngača. The values of this copula may however vary in a subtle way between the various languages. In Dzongkha, Choča-ngača and Lhoke, this copula conveys essentially an authoritative or loose egophoric meaning and is perfectly compatible with the third person in declarative sentences.

The negation of this copulative verb isམིན་ MİN in CT, but the vowel is often pronounced as a /ä/ or /e/, sometimes nasalized. In Dzongkha, it is often written ◊ཡིན་ and pronounced /mä/. In Lhoke, it is written ◊མན་ /män/ [mɛː] (Yliniemi 2017; 2019).

For the factual meaning one finds in Lhoke the copulative verb /’bä/ written ◊སྦད་ which is probably cognate with the Tsang and Lhokha dialects copula /ba/ or its variants /’ba/, /bo/, etc., see above the C section and 8.3.3). This form is neither found in Dzongkha (but occurs in compound forms) nor in Choča-ngača. The negation is /’membä/ written ◊མན་སྦད་. Yliniemi notes that this form “is a generally asserting, evidentially neutral copula, it implies neither the personalness [egophoricity, conveyed byཡིན་/’in/ andཡོད་/’yö/] nor the sensorialness [conveyed byའདུག་/’du/].”

**Existential verbs**

The old copulaཡོད་ YOD is found in all the languages of the S section. It is pronounced in various ways: /’yö/ in Dzongkha, /’yöʔ/ in Lhoke and /’yöt/ or /’yet/ in Choča-ngača. In Dzongkha and Lhoke, the existential copulaཡོད་ YOD conveys a loose egophoric meaning while in Choča-ngača, it has a sensory value (!), which is normally conveyed by the markerའདུག་ DUG in many Tibetic languages. This is a very original feature of Choča-ngača, without equivalent in other languages of the family (except Amdo that has ◊ཡོད་གི་). In order to convey the value of the authoritative, the form ◊ཡོད་པི་/’yötpi/ is used in Choča-ngača (see below).
The negative form of ཨོད་ YOD is written བེད་ MED in Dzongkha and Lhoke. It is pronounced respectively: /’me:/ and /’meʔ/. In Cho’a-nga, the negative existential verb is /met/.

In Dzongkha and Lhoke, the sensory forms are གཅུག་ /’du:/ or /’duʔ/, which correspond to the reflexes of CT གཅུག་ ′DUG. The negative form is respectively བེད་གཅུག་ MI-’DUG /’mindu/ sometimes realised as /’minu/.

In Cho’a-nga, the auxiliary གཅུག་ ′DUG is attested but it does not function as an existential verb (see Tournadre & Karma Rigzin 2015).

**Compound linking verbs**

The combinations of various auxiliaries are frequently attested in the languages of S section.

Compound linking verbs in Dzongkha conveying evidential and epistemic meaning include: བེད་ འིན་པས། ′IN-PAS, also written བེད་ འིན་མས། ′IN-MAS /’immä/ a ‘sensory inferential’. This form has been described by van Driem (1998): “the speaker states an observed phenomenon which as such belongs to the realm of his recently acquired knowledge” (see also Tournadre 2017). The origin of the second syllable PAS/MAS is unclear but could be related to the Lhoke form བེད་ ཡིན་པི་འོང་ ′yinpiong/ and the existential form བེད་ ཡོདཔ་འོང་ ′yöp-ong/.

Other frequent compound evidential forms such as བེད་ ཡོདཔ་ འིན་ ′yöp-’In-reflexive and བེད་ ཡོདཔ་ ཡིན་པི་འོང་ ′yöp-’yinpiong/ and བེད་ ཡོདཔ་ ཡིན་པི་འོང་ ′yöp-’yotpiong/ are also attested in spoken and more frequently in written Dzongkha but they have not received much attention.

In Cho’a-nga, several compound linking verbs are also attested: བེད་ ཡིན་ཅེད་ ′yinčet/, which is a sensory inferential corresponding to /’immä/ in Dzongkha may be derived from CT ཡིན་ རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་ འོད། YIN.RGYU.YOD. Other forms include the epistemic markers བེད་ ཡིན་པི་འོང་ ′yinpiong/ and བེད་ འིན་པི་འོང་ ′yotpiong/.

Lhoke has also developed a set of compound equative copulas: The inferential equative ཡིན་ འིན་ ཡིན་ རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་ འོད། YIN.RGYU.YOD, as well as the compound existential copulas: the ‘factual existential’ (called ‘neutral’ by
Yliniemi 2017; 2019), yöpobäʔ/ or its spoken equivalent yöpōn/; ‘past factual existential’ yöpoin/.

Auxiliaries

The main auxiliary verbs of the S section are made of the following verbs (sometimes preceded by a relator). Some of these verbs are also used as copulative verbs.

▪ Yöpoin/ Tâyn (Dz, Lh, Cho) also used as the copulative verb ‘to be’. The auxiliary is used in various constructions for the past, present and future.

▪ Yöpobäʔ Tâyn (Lho) also used as the copulative verb ‘to be’. The auxiliary is used in various constructions for the past, present and future.

▪ Mā /mā/ ‘sensory evidential’ (Dz). This marker is used for the present and uncompleted aspect with verbs, as well as predicative adjectives in the short form (ex. zhim-mā ‘it is tasty’). With predicative adjectives in the long form (or invariable) the copula ‘Dug‘ may also be used. Zhim-tog to ‘Dug‘ ‘it is tasty.’ With the verb in the present, only Mā /mā/ is possible: ḏranm-mā ‘I miss (you), but * ḏran ‘Dug‘ is not attested. With adjectives, when the two auxiliaries/endings are possible, the semantic difference between the two usages Mā /mā/ and ‘Dug‘ /du/ is subtle. It seems that Mā is better suited for the endopathic meaning. The origin of Mā /mā/ is unclear. A possible hypothesis is that the form /mā/ comes from the CT nominalizer PA, BA which is originally followed by the auxiliary ‘Dug‘ (ex. zhim-po ‘Dug‘) and that the latter was subsequently dropped.⁴⁸

▪ Do /du/ ‘present ‘participatory sensory’. This auxiliary is attested both in Dzongkha and Choča-ngāča as well as in Lhoke (combined with the auxiliary ‘in/’). It may be used with first person as well as non-first persons. The origin is unclear but it might be derived from CT Sdod ‘stay’ + Yod ‘copula’.

▪ Dug /du/ is used in Lhoke while Nug /nu/ occurs in Dzongkha.

⁴⁸. Auxiliary dropping is attested in several languages. In Lhasa Tibetan and Amdo respectively nga-sдраŋ-gyi(Dug), ḏɾաŋ-gl. In the case of Lhasa, the auxiliary is usually dropped in affirmative sentences (but not in negative and interrogative). In Amdo, it is less clear whether an auxiliary was dropped. In Hor dialect, the negative copulative verb ḏɾaŋ- becomes /ma1/.
Both convey the ‘perfect sensory inferential’ and are derived from the CT verb གུ་ ’sit’.

- ὄ ὅ yi/ and its allomorph ὅ CT /-či/ ‘past participatory sensory’ in Dzongkha is probably related to the Lhoke form ἔ CE /ce/ and its allomorph ἔ ZHE /zhe/, which conveys a similar meaning. Their etymology is not clearly established. The form ὅ pl used in Choça-ngača might be also cognate with these forms, and could be derived from CT PA-YIN.

- ὄ ὅ SONG (Dz) secondary verb (see 8.3.5) < CT ὅ SONG ‘to go’. It is used in past constructions.

- ὃ ὃ RDA /-da/ secondary verb (Dz) < CT ὄ BTANG ‘to send’. It is used in past constructions.

- ὃ ὅ CHI /-chi/ secondary verb (Dz, see 8.3.5) < CT ὃ MCHIS ‘to exist’. It is used in past constructions. For these three secondary verbs, see Driem (1998) who provides detailed comments and many examples.

- ὃ ὅ ONG /-ong/, derived for CT ὃ ONG ‘to come’ is used in Dzongkha and Choça-ngača to convey an epistemic meaning.

- Finally, let’s also mention the verb ending ὃ /-te/. This form is not an auxiliary verb but originally a connective clitic derived from the CT connective ὅ STE and its allomorphs ὅ DE and ὅ TE. It plays an important role in the languages of the S section as in many other sections. The marker /-te/ occurs alone in Choça-ngača as a marker of the past tense. In Dzongkha, ὅ STE /di/ and the 2 written variants (ἀ DE ὅ TE) pronounced identically are also attested (Driem 1998: 296) to convey the perfect in combination with auxiliaries ὄ /du:/ or ὅ /‘ing/’. This marker is also attested as ὅ STI /-ti/ in Lhoke (see Yliniemi 2017, 2019).

As we have seen above the S evidential/epistemic systems usually have special forms to mark sensory and sensory-participatory access to information, as well as loose egophoric, factual, inferential, epistemic and hearsay meanings. Unlike the languages of the Central and Southeast and Northeastern sections, the dialect groups or languages of the Southern section seem to lack strict egophoric marking. They also generally lack the opposition
between ‘intentional’ (or ‘volitional’) and ‘non-intentional’ (‘non-volitional’) (see van Driem 1998 for Dzongkha and Tournadre & Karma Rigs 2015 for Choća-ngača).

9.7.7.5. Negation

The negation has two forms in all the dialects of the S section: མ་ MA is normally used for the past and the imperative whereas མི་ MI used for the present and future. Lhoke has developed an allomorph མན་ MAN (see 8.4.11). The negation used in the various tenses and aspects comes before the lexical verb (when used without auxiliary) or before the auxiliary when it is present.

9.8. The South-western section

The South-western section (henceforth SW section) is made up of several linguistic groups spoken in the northern districts of Nepal and, marginally, in Sikkim (India) and in the Kyirong County of the Tibet Autonomous Region (China). The main groups of dialects include Sherpa ཤར་བའི་གཏམ་སྙད་/sharwi tamnye/, Kyirong-Yolmo སྐྱིད་རོང་དང་ཡོལ་མོའིསྐད་, Lo དྲོ (Mustang) and Dolpo ཉར. They form a geolinguistic quasi-continuum in the northern districts of Nepal along the Sino-Nepalese border.

Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language, is the official language in the SW section and the medium in the school curriculum together with English. Thus it has a significant impact on the Tibetic languages of this section. They have integrated a number of loanwords from Nepali. More rarely, they may also borrow words from neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages such as Tamang, Manangi, Seke, Gurung, Thakali, Sunwar, Rai, Kiranti, Limbu, etc.

The languages and dialects of the SW section are not normally written down, although several orthographies have been developed. Sherpa has been written down mainly in Tibetan script and in some cases in Devanāgarī. There are a few publications, textbooks or dictionaries in Sherpa. However, the use of written Sherpa is still marginal and is not available yet on the internet. A few other languages such as Yolmo, Jirel or Lhomi have also developed a written standard in Devanāgarī, but the number of written texts remain very limited (see Hari 2004; Maibaum & Strahm 2005). For written purposes, most speakers of Tibetic languages use Nepali and in some cases English.
Literary Tibetan is still used in the Buddhist and Bönpo monasteries, as well as in the institutes of traditional medicine throughout the SW area.

In Nepal, speakers of Tibetic languages are essentially followers of Vajrayāna Buddhism, particularly of the Nyingmapa and Sakya sects. The Nyingmapa sect is dominant among the Sherpas and Yolmo. Sakya is dominant in Mustang. In Dölpo (Dolpa) and, to a lesser extent, in Lo Mönthang (Mustang), one finds significant Bönpo communities (Nagano & Karmay 2004).

Buddhist and Bön monasteries of the SW section include: སྟེང་པོ་ཆེ་དགོན་པ་ Tengboche monastery (Nyingma) in Khumbu area, གཞུང་དགོན་པ་ Pangboche monastery (Nyingma) in Khumbu, ལུང་བོད་དགོན་པ་ Jungbesi monastery or /jung gönpa/ in the Shorong area of Solu; བྱམས་པ་དགོན་པ་ Jampa Monastery in Lo Mönthang (Mustang), མེ་སྤེལ་སུམ་མདོ་དགོན། Shel monastery and བདེ་ལྡན་བསམ་གླིང་དགོན། Dedän Samling monastery in Dölpo (Bön), etc.

Some forms of Shamanism are also attested, for example, among the Jirels (Strahm & Maibaum 2005) and the Helambu Yolmo speakers (Gawne 2013: 25). In the case of the Jirels, one should probably define the religious practices as a form of syncretism with Shamanist and Hindu-Buddhist elements. Small Christian communities are also attested in various areas of the SW section.


9.8.1. Migration patterns, legends and historical records

Generally, Tibetic communities of Nepal have migrated from Tibet a couple of centuries ago. The details of these migrations are not known but there are some historical records. In the case of Yolmo, Kagate, Gyälsumdo and Langthang, they probably migrated from the Kyirong region in southwestern Tibet, which is corroborated by the linguistic affiliation. Other communities in northwestern Nepal such as Humla, Karmarong (Mugu), Dölpo and Lo-kā (Mustang) have also probably migrated from Tö Ngari areas. In the case of Sherpa, the situation is slightly more complicated. Sherpa communities migrated in various waves from Kham via Tö in Western Tibet. Sherpa people are said to have four greater clans of Kham origin (see Nishi 1986).

9.8.2. Linguistic groups of the SW section

Languages of the SW section are traditionally spoken by རྩིང་པ་ zhungpa ‘cultivators’ or རོང་མ་འབྲོག་ rongmadrok ‘agropastoralists’. The mutual intelligibility between Sherpa, Jirel, Lo-kā is not good, while it is undoubtedly better between Lo-kā and some dialects such as Yolmo or Langthang. The detailed description and the relationships between the dialect groups of the SW section still need further research. However, one significant geographic element is the absence of transversal roads linking the various communities. Since the Himalayan valleys of Nepal are oriented north-south, the Tibetic groups are generally isolated from each other, and used to be connected with Tibet in the north and with other other TB and Indo-Aryan communities in the south.

For the dialect classification of the SW section, we propose the following nine groups:

- Humla or Limirong;
- Karmarong (Mugu) or dumkhur;
- Dölpo and Tichyurong;
- Lo-Mönthang often called Lokā (Mustang); and
- Kyirong-Yolmo.

50. According to Hovden (2016), Humla originated from ोmLa. The spelling ोmLa is also attested.
9.8.3. Geographic extent of the SW section

This section is located on the southern slopes of the Nepalese Himalayas in the area of the following mountain ranges: the Jomolangma གོ་མོ་གླང་མ་, better known in English as Everest and in Nepali as 'Sagarmātha', the Jowo Yu (spelled Cho Oyu) ཉོ་བོ་གཡུ་, the Kanchendzönga (alt. Kanchenjunga) གངས་ཆེན་མཛོད་ལྔ་, the Langthang གླང་ཐང་, the Dhaulagiri, the Annapurna and the Manaslu ranges.

Among the main valleys and rivers running through the eastern part of SW section, one should mention the Bumchu བུམ་ཆུ་ (upper course of the Arun river), the Matsang tsangpo མ་གཙང་གཙང་པོ་ (upper course of the Sun Koshi) and the Rongshar tsangpo རོང་ཤར་གཙང་པོ (upper course of the Bhote Koshi) which are Trans-Himalayan Rivers originating in Tibet, as well as the Dudh Koshi and the Tamur rivers. In their lower courses, they join to form the Koshi River, a large tributary of the Ganges.

In the western part of this section, among the main rivers, one should mention the Lo Mönthang river གློ་སྨོན་ཐང་ཆུ་ (upper course of the Kali Gandaki), which runs through Mustang and its tributary, the 'Kyirong-chu' ཕྱིད་གྲོང་ཆུ་ (Trishuli river). The last major river, close to the western border of Nepal, is the Kamali river which originates from the area of the Mapham Yumtsho མ་ཕམ་ཡུ་མཚོ in Tibet and runs through Humla.

The SW languages and dialects are spoken in all the districts along the Sino-Nepalese border, from West to East: Humla, Mugu, Dölpo, Mustang, Rasuwa, Sindhupalchok, Dolakha, Ramechhap, Solukhumbu, Sankhuwasabha and Taplejung, and to a lesser extent in Gorkha, Manang, Nuwakot, Lamjung. In Kyirong area, the SW section extends to the other side of the border in the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Detailed location of the dialect groups

- **Jirel** [JIREL.SKAD] is locally called /jirel bat/ ('bat' is a loanword from Nepali). Jirel is spoken primarily in the Jiri and Sikri valleys and a few villages...
around in Dolakha District (Janakpur Zone) at an average altitude of 2000m. No significant dialectal variation has been reported. According to Maibaum & Strahm (2005), a “small number of Jirels” inhabits some villages to the north-west of Jiri.

- **Hurna** `UMLA’I SKAD` is spoken in Northwestern Nepal along the Karnali river from Hilsa to the Nyin valley east of Simikot and in the Limi valley (GLEY MI) of Humla district. It is also referred to as Limirong.

- **Karmarong** `GLEX AD` is spoken in the district of Mugum (Mugu).

- **Dölpo** `DOL.PO’ISKAD` is spoken in the Dölpo district, mainly in four valleys: Tsharka, Tarap, Panzang and Nangkhong. The VCDs where the Dölpo dialect is spoken are Chharka, Mukot Dho, Phoksundo, Saldang and Tinje. A neighboring dialect called Tichyurong has been reported by Honda (2018).

- **Lokä** `GLEX AD` the dialect of Lo Mönthang or ‘Mustang (GLEX AD)` is spoken in Upper Mustang, which was traditionally called the Lo Kingdom. Lower Mustang `GLEX AD` is referred to as Baragaonle (see van Driem 1997: 861).

- **Kyirong-Yolmo** `SKYID.GRONG DANG YOLMO’I SKAD`. The ‘Kyirong Yolmo’ group includes the following dialects: Kyirong-mä `SKYID GRONG’, Langthang `SHOG PA’ISKAD` also called Kagate or Dhaibung (both Kagate Bhot in Nepali and SHOG PA in Tibetan mean ‘paper maker’ see van Driem 2001: 864), Gyälsumdo `GLEX AD’, Nubri `GLEX AD’, Tsum `GLEX AD’. These dialects are in the Kyirong County (TAR, China) and in central-northern Nepal, mainly in the Manang, Gorkha, Ramechhap Sindhupalchok and Nuwakot districts.

- **Sherpa** is referred to as `SHOG PA’ISKAD` ‘Sharpä-ka’ by the Tibetans however the

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51. Gyälsumdo which is located in the Manangi speaking area was earlier classified as a Manangi dialect (see van Driem 2001; It is only spoken by 200 speakers. Hildebrandt & Perry (2011) propose not to group Gyälsumdo together with Kyirong on the basis of a few reflexes from CT (164 lexical items). The authors note that Gyälsumdo has been located amongst Tamangic languages for a long period of time. Gyälsumdo and Nubri “share a large amount of lexemes, but Gyälsumdo has a number of distinguishing phonological features” (Hildebrandt & Perry 2011).
Sherpas call their language ལོ་བའི་གཏམ་སྙད་ 'Sharwi Tamnye'. It has four main dialects: Khumbu རྡུ་, Pharak རྩ་, Shorong རོ་('Solu') and Rolwaling རོལ་. It is one of the official languages of Sikkim.

The Sherpa dialects are spoken in the Solukhumbu District. Sherpa communities are also reported in the following districts: Dolakha (Chordung-Baramji), Taplejung, east Ramechhap, Okhaldungga, Khotang, Sangkhuwa Shaba (Barun), Bhojpur (Maya Danda), Ilam and Terhatum.

One should also mention a Sherpa "inner diaspora" within Nepal, particularly in the eastern regions and a large community in Kathmandu. There is also a small Sherpa community in Dram (TAR, China) on the other side of the Sino-Nepalese Border, but most speakers have become assimilated and now speak a dialect of To Tibetan spoken in this area. Finally one encounters a Sherpa diaspora in Sikkim and West Bengal (Darjeeling and Kalimpong), as well as in Hong Kong. In Sikkim, the areas inhabited mostly by the Sherpa population are: Ribdi, Bareng, Sangkhu, Okhrey, Sepre Nagi (Sombarey), Bega and Bermoik in the West district, Bermoik Thangsing, Palk Naya Busty, Damthang Jowbari, Perbing and Soreng in the South, Phademchen, Agamlok, Subancy Dara, Sumin, Dokchen, Thokchey and Yali in the East district and Kabi in the North district. Additionally, a dialect called Naaba has been referred to as 'Sherpaic' by Honda (2018). It is spoken in the villages of Kimathanka, Dangok und Pharang in Sankhuwasabha district, not far from the Lhomi speaking area.

The so called ‘Gola group’ refers to Walung-ཀ་ ལུང་ and དྲོག་པའི་སྐད་ Drogpä-ཀ་ spoken respectively in དྲོག་པའི་སྒོ་ལ་ Drogpä Gola (alt. 'Tokpe Gola') and ལུང་ཆུང་སྒོ་ལ་ Walungchung Gola are spoken in the north-eastern area west of Nepal near Mt Kanchenjunga. The term SGO.LA (lit. ‘door pass’) refers to 'border (mountain) pass'. Walung literally means ‘fox valley’ whereas Drogpä (alt. 'Tokpe') probably derives from CT GROG.PO ‘deep ravine with a torrent’. Both communities are located in the Taplejung District of north-eastern Nepal, in villages along the upper reaches of the Mewa Khola.

52. http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/137600/9/09_chapter_03.pdf
The Lhomi and Thudam dialects are spoken in Sankhuwasabha district close to the Sino-Nepalese border which separates them from Dingri County in the TAR. Lhomi communities are located on the mountain slopes of the upper Arun River, near the Barun glacier. According to Ethnologue they are spoken in Chepuwa VDC, Chepuwa, Chyamtang, Gumba, Chhumusur, and Rukuma villages; and Hatiya VDC, Hatiya, Hungung, Pharang, Syaksila, Simbung, Namase, and Shiprung villages; the southernmost village is Seksum in Arun valley; Thudam is spoken on a slope on a tributary of the Arun river.

9.8.4. Number of speakers

The 2001 of the Central Bureau of Statistics of Nepal reported that there were 154,622 Sherpa in Nepal, 19,706 of them living in the Solukhumbu area. The 2011 census gives the figure of 112,946. Bradley (1997) estimated the number of Sherpas as 50,000. Graves (2007) gives that the number ranges between 15,000 and 70,000. There is also a Sherpa speaking community in Sikkim (India) with at least 10,000 people.

The reasons for such discrepancies in the figures are due to the fact that some Tibeto-Burman people of Nepal are sometimes assimilated with the Sherpas who have gained international recognition for their mountaineering skills. The sociolinguistic situation is also complex since some of the young Sherpas who live in Kathmandu or outside the Solukhumbu area no longer speak the language. The overall estimation of 50,000 Sherpa speakers seems reasonable.

MAP IX.7. – Linguistic area of SW section
Among the linguistic communities of the SW section, the Sherpa community is the most vigorous and has the highest number of speakers. As mentioned earlier, it has also developed some written materials both in Nepal and India.

The other communities are much smaller, as shown in the figures below, usually a few thousand people each. The numbers below just give a general idea and there are a lot of fluctuations for this data depending on the sources and the census.


Altogether, the languages and dialects of the SW section are spoken by at least one hundred thousand speakers. However, there are few monolinguals and most of these languages and dialects are endangered, with maybe the exception of Sherpa.

9.8.5. Ethnic and Sociolinguistic groups

The speakers in the SW section are predominantly ཞིང་པ་ zhingpa 'cultivators' and agropastoralists. There is no generic term to designate all the Tibetic people that speak SW Tibetic languages in northern Nepal. They sometimes refer to themselves as bhoṭi (བྷོ་ཊི), bhoṭe (see Chapter 2) or use the name of their community such as རྣ་པ་ 'Sherpa' (locally སྣ་/sharwa/), དོལ་པོ་ 'Yolmo' sometimes also called 'Helambu Sherpa', འབྲོ་ 'Lopa' of Mustang, གྲོ་ 'Dölpo', Jirels, etc.

9.8.6. Phonological characteristics of the SW section

The phonological diversity of the SW section is rather limited. However, it is not possible to list common phonological features to the all the dialects of the S section. The phonological systems of the SW section present some similarities with those of the S section.
Suprasegmental features

All the Tibetic groups of northern Nepal have a pitch tone system usually with a two-way contrast (high and low).

Segmental features

Synchronic approach

The sound systems of the S section are characterized by the following features:

▪ Existence of voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, ɖ, g, dz, j, z, zh, ḃ).
▪ Neither prenasalization nor preaspiration are attested in this section.
▪ The set of final consonants includes n, m, ng, r, p, l, ?, k.
▪ The set of vowels is limited, usually a, i, u, e, o. The vowel length is distinctive.

Diachronic approach and reflexes of Classical Tibetan

▪ In the languages of the SW section, we find no trace of preradicals (in the initial position).
▪ Voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, ɖ, g, dz, j) are derived from the consonants with all preradicals.
▪ There is no trace of the preradical consonants.
▪ CT final B, G, M, N, NG, L are usually preserved. The CT final t is usually dropped in most dialects but it remains in some dialects such as Jirel and in Sherpa (as a morphophonological alternance).

9.8.7. Grammatical characteristics of the SW section

9.8.7.1. Case markers

In the SW section, the grammatical cases of the languages and dialects include the ergative, the absolutive, the dative, the genitive, the ablative and the comitative.

For Kyirong, Huber (2002) provides the following list: ergative /ge/ (< གིས་ GIS), absolutive (⊅), genitive /-ge/ and its allomorphs (< CT གི CT GI), dative /la/ derived from the CT བོ LA, ablative /-lä/ བོ་ LAS.

Concerning Yolmo cases, Hari mentions apart from the usual cases similar to Kyirong the form /-ti/ དེ་ which she labels "attributive" and function as a dative-
aesthetive marker of the experiencer (Hari 2004: 408, 774). This marker is also found in Jirel as /-te/ and also called “attributive” (Strahm & Maibaum 2005). The origin of this marker is unclear. Additionally in Yolmo, the ablative is either /-le/ or /-legi/ (Hari 2004: 242; Gawne 2016: 100).

For Sherpa, we have a similar system: ergative /gi/ and its allomorphs (< CT GIS), absolutive (Ø), genitive /-gi/ (< CT GI), dative /-la/ (< CT LA) and ablative /-ne/ or /-no/ (< CT NAS), (Grave 2005; Tournadre et al. 2008). One should also note the innovation of two markers /-ma/ and /-sur/ (respectively from CT MAR ‘down’ and TSHUR ‘hither’), which are suffixed to the ablative /-no/.

As in many languages, the dative /la/ encodes in Sherpa the beneficiary, the marked patient and the “subject” of possessive constructions but it also indicates the sensory ‘ceptor’, i.e. the “subject” of perception verbs (ex. be cold) and the experiencer (ex. be happy).

For example ག་ལ་དགའ་བེད་/ nga-la ga-wä/ “I am happy” (Grave 2005: 123). It is interesting to note that emotion verbs require in Sherpa the reverse treatment of Ü-Tsang, i.e. the experiencer (the “subject”) is marked by a case /-la/ and the stimulus (“the object”) is in the absolutive (Ø), the Ex. ག་ལ་གླུ་ཉན་འུ་དགའ་བེད་/ nga-la lu nyen-u ga-wä/ ‘I like to listen to music’ (ibid.: 155).

The Jirel case system, described by Strahm & Maibaum (2005) includes the ergative /-ki/ and its variants /-gi/, /-i/, /-iki/) < CT GIS, the comitative /-tang/ < CT DANG, the dative /-la/ < CT LA, the locative /tu/ and its variants /du/ derived from CT purposive ་DU, the locative /-ne/ derived from CT locative ་NA as well as two innovative allative case markers, /-pa/, and /-ma/ conveying the specific meaning respectively of “away, at a distance” and “at a lower location.” These two markers are derived from the CT adverbs མར PHAIR “away” and མར MAR “down” (We adapted here Strahm & Maibaum’s transcription and provided the CT etymologies).

54. This function is also called aesthetive, see 8.1.9.
9.8.7.2. Nominalizers

Various nominalizers (see 8.3.13) are found in the Sherpa, and other languages along the border between Nepal and the Tibet Autonomous Region. They include the following markers:

▪ The nominalizer /-pa/, /-ba/ (in Yolmo and Jirel) or /p/ and the allomorph /u/ (in Sherpa) which is found in the languages of the SW section, is derived from CT པ་ PA / བ་ BA is used in of the SW.

▪ The nominalizer /-ken/ or its variants /gen/ /-kan/ or /-kandi/, derived from CT མཁན་ MKHAN, is used in various languages of the SW section such as Kyirong/Yolmo and Jirel. (see Huber 2002; Gawne 2013)

▪ The nominalizer /-sa/, derived from CT ས་ SA ‘place’.

▪ The nominalizer /-če/ is used in Kyirong and Yolmo (Huber 2002; Gawne 2013). It is probably derived from the CT མཛས་ CHAS. Similar forms are also attested in the languages of various sections (NW, W, S, C). The nominalizer usually corresponds to the CT nominalizer རྒྱུ་ RGYU.

9.8.7.3. Verbal inflections

The inflectional forms inherited from CT or OT have been partly preserved in the languages of the SW section such as Sherpa, Yolmo and Kyirong. Some rare verbs still exhibit three distinctive forms for the present, the past and the imperative (see Grave 2007; Tournadre e.g. 2015). For example the Sherpa verb ‘take’ exhibits three stems: /ling/ (present-future), /la:/ (past), /lo:/ (imperative), and the verb ‘to eat’ has two stems: /sa/ (present-future) and /so:/ (past-imperative) (Grave 2007; Tournadre et al. 2015).

Concerning the Kyirong Lende dialect, Huber provides the following comment:

“A verb can distinguish at most three stems [...]. Stem alternations can consist of a change in vowel quality or vowel length, or in both. However only a few verbs make a morphological distinction between all three stems; most stems have only two forms, or even one.” (Huber 2002: 121)

Additionally, just as Dzongkha, Sherpa has developed innovative morphophonemic variations of the verb stem which depends on the phonological context. These stem variations depend on the type of auxiliary verb/suffix following the verb. They involve
the loss of the stem final consonant and the change of the vowel (see Chapter 8, section 8.3.7).

Some languages of the SW section use suppletive verbs to form various tense-aspects and modalities. For example, some frequent Sherpa verbs exhibit suppletion: to give: /ter/ (present) versus /bin/ (past) derived respectively from CT སྟེར་ STER and སྦྱིན་ SBYIN; /do/ (present) versus /gal/ (past) and /gyuk/ (imperative), derived respectively from CT ང་ GRO 'to go', ཨ་ BRGAL 'to cross' and རྒྱུགས་ RGYUGS 'to run'; /hong/ versus /shok/ derived respectively from CT འོང་ ONG 'to come' and གཤེགས་ GSHEGS 'to cross' (see Grave 2007). In Yolmo, suppletion is also attested. For example སྟེར་ STER /ter/ 'to give' has two imperatives: སྣང་ SLANG /lang/ 'give to me/us' versus སྟེར་ STER /ter/ 'Give to him/her/them' (see Hari & Chhegu Lama 2004: 835).

9.8.7.4. Linking verbs and auxiliary verbs

Copulative verbs

As in most Tibetic languages, the main copulative verb in the SW section is derived from CT རྒྱུན་ YIN. In Sherpa, it is realized as རྒྱུན་ ‘YIN, MIN /min/ in Kyirong (Huber 2002) and རྒྱུན་ PA /yimba/ in Yolmo (Gawne, sketch). The copula རྒྱུན་ YIN has the following negations: རྒྱུན་ MIN /min/ in Sherpa and Yolmo, ཀ རྒྱུན་ MAN /mä:/ in Kyirong. The reflexes of རྒྱུན་ YIN in Kyirong or Yolmo convey an authoritative meaning and not a strict egophoric meaning unlike its equivalent in Ü-Tsang, Kham and Amdo. They naturally combine in declarative sentences with third person and second person, aside from the first person.

In Kyirong the factual form is རྒྱུན་། རྒྱུན་ MKHAN /yindza/ whereas in Khumbu Sherpa, it corresponds to རྒྱུན་ IN.DZA /hindza/ (this form is not mentioned by Graves 2007 in his description of Hile Sherpa).

Yolmo has a general/gnomic and factual copula རྒྱུན་ /ongg; derived from the CT verb འོང་ ONG 'to come' followed by the suffix /ge/, but རྒྱུན་ YIN.PA alone may also convey a general statement (see Gawne 2017).
The copulative verbs ◊ རག་ /rak/\(^55\) and ◊ ནག་/nak/ are marginally attested in the area. For example it is found in Mustang (see Kretschmar 1995). Concerning the origin of the copula ◊ ནག་/nak/ see the section on CEV (8.3.3).

**Existential verbs**

Existential auxiliaries of the SW section include the following verbs:

- ◊ རེད་ /we'/, ◊ སྲེ' /wa/ or ◊ རྟོ /hot/\(^56\) in Sherpa and /o'/ in Dölpo, ◊ དོ /ye/ in Yolmo and /yö/ in Kyirong. All these forms are derived from the CT and OT form སྲོ /YOD or the archaic variant སྲེ /OD. In Yolmo this auxiliary conveys an authoritative meaning or a loose egophoric (see Gawne 2017), whereas as in Sherpa it has a strict egophoric meaning.
- ◊ རེ /nek/ in Sherpa, ◊ སྲི /nu/ in Kyirong, ◊ སྲི /du/ in Yolmo, etc. All these forms derived from the CT verb སྲི /DUG. This copula has the following negation forms: ◊ སྲི /miDUG/ /mindu'/ or ◊ སྲི /miduk/ in Sherpa, ◊ སྲི /mindu/ in Kyirong, ◊ སྲི /mindu/ in Yolmo, etc. These various forms indicate a sensory meaning.

**Compound linking verbs**

Compound verbs are very frequent. They involve the combination of various copulas or auxiliaries. The following combinations are attested in Sherpa:

- ◊ བི /hinok/, ◊ སྲི /hotuinnok/ which derive from the combination of the existential སྲི /YOD or the equative སྲི /YIN with སྲི /DUG (see Graves 2007).

For Kyirong, we find:

- ◊ སྲི /yobayimbä'/, ◊ ཨི /yimbanu/ and ◊ ཨི /yimbayö'/.

This latter form has a 'mnemic' function also attested in Ü-Tsang (Tournadre 1998; 2003). According to Huber (2002): the speaker indicates that he is making an assumption based on his old, personal experience. She illustrated her analysis with the

\(^{55}\) The final /k/ is normally realized as a glottal stop.

\(^{56}\) The form /we'/ is found both in Hile Sherpa and Khumbu Sherpa (see Grave 2007; Tournadre et al. 2009). The form /hot/ is additionally mentioned by Grave (2007).
following sentence (that we reproduce in transliteration here): *KHO DALTADGERGIN YIN, PA, YOD,* ‘He is probably still a teacher.’

**Auxiliaries**

Frequent auxiliary verbs of the SW section consist of the linking verbs (sometimes preceded by a relator):

- སྒྲོན་/ -win/ or the form /i/, derived from the CT (and OT) copulative verb ཨིན་ YIN are used to indicate the egophoric past and the future in Sherpa; the form / -in/ is attested in Jirel (Strahm & Maibaum 2005). This auxiliary is replaced in Kyirong by the relator བཏན/ ge/.
- སྒད་/ -wä/, /we'/ in Sherpa, ཈ོང་/ -yö:/ in Kyirong, སྒན་ / -ot/ or / -o/ in Jirel and སྒན་ / -ye/ in Yolmo are all derived from the existential verb སྒན་ YOD or its archaic form སྒན་ OD. They indicate the authoritative present and uncompleted past (together with a relator) as well as the perfect (in Kyirong and Yolmo). According to Gawne (2016), the form སྒན་ / ye/ is used specifically for the past.
- སུང་/ -sung/ in Sherpa and Jirel and སོ་ / -so/ in Kyirong derived from CT གཙོན་ SONG indicates the sensory completed past.
- སོག་ / -nok/ (Sherpa) སོག་ / -nuk/ (Kyirong) and སོག་ / -du/ (Yolmo) and / -duk/ (Jirel) are derived from CT སོག་ DUG ‘to sit’ are used for the sensory present and perfect. This auxiliary may also be used in the future and then conveys an epistemic value (Huber 2002: 183).
- The ending /bo/ or /bô/ is mentioned by Huber (2002) to convey an ‘ego-receptive’ meaning, i.e. an event or action directed towards the speaker which
is usually involved (Tournadre 1996). It is derived from the CT auxiliary BYUNG’ to come, to appear’.

▪ བྱུང་ /-te/ derived from CT BYUNG’ BSDAD ‘to sit, stay’ is used in Yolmo to indicate the durative aspect.

▪ རིན་ /-sin/ derived from CT ZIN’ to finish’ is used in Yolmo to indicate a past tense (see Gawne 2016).

▪ ཀྲོ་ /-dro/ derived from CT GRO ‘to go’ conveys an epistemic value in Kyirong, Yolmo (Gawne 2016).

Additionally some markers functions as verbal suffixes to indicate TAME meanings but are not derived from auxiliary verbs. They include:

▪ /-te/ derived from the CT connective STE/DE/TE is used in Kyirong to indicate a generic or factual past (see Huber 2002). The suffix /-te/ is also used with a similar meaning in some languages of the S section such as Choća-ngaća.

▪ /-pa/ derived from the CT nominalizer PA occurs in Kyirong to convey the intentional past (see Huber 2002: 163).

As we have seen above the SW evidential/epistemic systems usually have special forms to mark sensory access to information, as well as egophoric and/or factual, inferential, epistemic and hearsay meanings. Languages of the SW section also often exhibit an opposition between ‘intentional’ (or ‘volitional’) and ‘non-intentional’ (‘non volitational’). See Huber (2002: 162), Graves (2007: 69), Tournadre et al. (2009). Epistemic auxiliaries and suffixes are not sufficiently documented.

9.8.7.5. Negation

In the languages of SW section, the negation forms are derived from CT MA and MI as in other Tibetic languages. In Sherpa, the negation form /ma/ is used for the completed past and the imperative. The negation /ma/ is always prefixed with the imperative and usually prefixed with the past, but it may also occur after the verb and be prefixed to the auxiliary (with the progressive, see Tournadre et al. 2009: 279).

For the uncompleted present and the future, the negation is always prefixed to the verb and has several allomorphs MA /ma/, MI /mi/ MU /mu/ ME/me/ or
The vowel following the labial M is homorganic with the vowel of the following lexical verb. This has been noted independently by Grave (2007) for the Sherpa Hile dialect and by Tournadre et al. (2008) for the Sherpa Khumbu dialect. Similar allomorphic variations of the negation marker are attested in Dölpo.

In Kyirong and Yolmo, as in Sherpa, the negation marker is normally prefixed to the lexical verb. The only exceptions in Kyirong are the ‘future’ and ‘aorist’ sensory markers, where the negation follows the verb and is prefixed to the auxiliary /yong/. It is realized respectively as /miõ/ and /mayõ/ (Huber 2002). Just as in CT, the negation /ma/ is used with completed past and prohibitive while /mi/ or /me/ is used with the uncompleted aspect (past and present) and the future (Gawne 2016; Huber 2002). Data is insufficient for other languages and dialects of the SW section.

Generally speaking, one of the main characteristics of the negation marking of the SW section is its prefixation to the lexical verb.

9.9. The Western section

The Western section (henceforth W section) corresponds to a quasi-continuum of neighboring dialects traditionally spoken by cultivators in Lahul & Spiti and Kinnaur Districts, as well as in Chamba and Kishtwar districts (Himachal Pradesh, India) and by some agropastoralists of the Jangthang area of Ladakh. All the dialects of the Western section are tonal and do not have preinitial sounds which are characteristic of the dialects spoken in Ladakh (except the Jangthang area) and Baltistan.

The region of Spiti plays a leading role in the preservation of the local culture and language within the Western section. The mutual intelligibility between the Spiti, Garzha and Khunu dialects is rather good. The intelligibility with the other dialects of Paldar, Pangi and those spoken in the Jangthang is probably more limited due their isolation.

From the linguistic point of view, the W section occupies an intermediary position between the western dialects of the Central section, especially the neighboring Tö dialects of Ngari and the dialects of Zangskar and Ladakh of the North-western section. One could even consider that there is a quasi-continuum of dialects from Sumdo (at the border between upper Kinnaur and Spiti) to Rongchung, which is located in Tsanda...
County on the Tibetan side. The intelligibility is reportedly very good between these dialects. However, for some linguistic specificities as well as geopolitical, historical and sociolinguistic reasons, it is clear that Spiti, Lahul and upper Kinnaur dialects constitute a separate linguistic entity from Ngari, and that they cannot be grouped together with the dialects of Zangskar.

In the W section, the official languages are Hindi and English. Both languages are taught in the schools. The dialects of Lahul, Spiti and upper Kinnaur are not written down. Most people write in Hindi and to a much lesser extent in English. Pahari an Indo-Aryan language is also spoken in the area of Kinnaur and Lahul. Some people of upper Kinnaur can speak various Kinnauric languages and most people can speak Hindi. One should also mention a substantial number of Nepalese migrants, some of whom are native speakers of Tibetic languages, such as Yolmo.

A growing number of people speaking Tibetic dialects of Spiti, Lahul or upper Kinnaur are now bilingual with Common Tibetan. This is due to the strong influence of the Tibetan community under the spiritual leadership of the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan administration whose seat is in Dharamsala, a town also located in Himachal Pradesh, about 200 km from Lahul and Spiti. Literary Tibetan is essentially confined to the Buddhist monasteries and to some rare private schools such as Serkhang School in Tabo, Samten Chöling in Jispa (Lahul) or Keylong Central School (Lahul).

The Tibetic dialects of the W section are in contact with Kinnauri proper and various Kinnauric languages:

- In Kinnaur District: Chitkuli57 (spoken in the Sangla valley), Jangshung (spoken in Morang Tahsil, Jangi, Lippa); Tukpa (spoken in Nesang, Tsarang, and Kunnu), Shumcho (spoken in Puh Tehsil: Kanam, Labrang, Spilo), Sunnan (spoken in Puh Tehsil: Sunam).
- In Lahul: Pattani (alt. Manchati) in the Myar valley and at the junction of the Bhaga and Chandra valleys; Tinani in the Chandra valley; Gahri (alt. Bunan)

57. Alternative names are: Thebarskad (Ethnologue) or Tibarskad. The Kinnauri dialects of Puh and Morang tehsil are also known as Orisanskad, Tamiriyskad and Yanskad.
in Keylang and Kardang area.

They are also in contact with various Indo-Aryan languages such as Pahari, Garhwali and Chinali.

A few villages of this Tibetic speaking area particularly in upper Kinnaur and in Spiti have also a Kinnauri origin. For example, a lot of toponyms in Lower and Upper Kinnaur bear the name /rang/ (i.e. Rarang, Dirang, Sera Rang), which means ‘peak’ in Kinnauri. The mountain name Pomarang situated in Lower Spiti literally means ‘snowy mountain’ in Kinnauri. A village of upper Kinnaur is called Khab, which means ‘gorge, ravine’ (and not ‘needle’ as it would be in Tibetan!).

The term Spiti itself སྤི་ཏི་SPI.TI, which is sometimes spelled སྤྱི་ཏི་SPYI.TI in old texts, is probably of Kinnauri or Zhangzhung origin and could be translated as the ‘water from above’.

The term ti means ‘water’ in Kinnauri and, although in Spiti the normal term for ‘water’ is chu as in the other Tibetic languages, a few expressions related to water still bear the word ti in the Spiti dialect such as niti ‘remaining irrigation water’ and zagti ‘smaller canal for water irrigation’ as pointed out by Spiti Gelong Dorje (2011). A few words containing the root ti are also found in Ladakh and Baltistan e.g. khati ‘saliva’ (La). The term ti is also found in Western Tibet in the toponym བི་ནས་TI.SE, which refers to the Tibetan name of Mount Kailash, as well as in the word བལ་ཏི་BAL.TI. If the above hypothesis is correct, Balti could thus refer to the ‘water from below’. The region of Spiti and Khunu in the upper Sutlej is in fact much higher than the region of Batistan which corresponds to the lower course of the Indus river. A Ladakhi scholar A.G. Sheikh (2010: 164) independently proposed the following explanation:

“Balti means ‘watery ravine’: bal means ‘ravine’ or ‘valley’, and -ti means ‘water’. The name ‘Balti’ is derived from the dialect of Zangzhung. […] There are also several words in Ladakh with the suffix -ti, such as changeti ‘water leaking through a roof’, nati (a running nose) and rati (the rising or flooding of water in a stream, etc.).”

58. **SPYI** is used among other things to refer to the crown or top of the head (as in **SPYI.GTSUG**).
The existence of many toponyms of Zhangzhung or Kinnauri origin throughout the Western regions (Ngari, Khunu, Spini, Garzha, Ladakh and Baltistan) points towards the existence of a non-Tibetic substrate.

Many people, particularly in upper Kinnaur, in Garzha (Lahul), Pangi, Paldar and to a lesser extent in Spiti, have recently adopted Indian names such as Raj, Ram, Devi, Kumar, Rakesh, Baldev Singh, etc., or mixed names such as Angyel Ram རང་གྱི་ཨེ་པོ (Wanggyal Ram) instead of the traditional Tibetan names སྲིའི Karma, སྙིང་ Tshering, བསྤེ་སྒྲིད་ Dikyit, etc (the name are usually given in the school). Moreover, an Indian ‘family name’ or surname, ‘Negi’, is used for all the people of Kinnaur. Thakur ཐག་རུ་ is given to many inhabitants of Kaza (Karze), but this practice is not pervasive in Spiti and Garzha, where the traditional names of Tibetan origin are generally used.

In the region of Spiti, Upper Kinnaur, Garzha, Pangi and Paldar, speakers of Tibetic dialects are followers of Vajrayāna Buddhism, but in many areas, particularly in lower Kinnaur and Lahul, one can witness some syncretism with Hinduism, which is the dominant religion in Himachal Pradesh. The syncretism is stronger and obvious among the non-Tibetic ethnic groups (Kinauri, Lahuli, etc.), than among the speakers of Tibetic languages. It is interesting to note that people who practice Buddhism are often referred to as ‘Pot’ (i.e. Tibetan) whereas the Hindu are referred to as ‘Mon’ (i.e. Ethnic Kinnauris).

In Spiti, the majority are followers of the Gelugpa sect, but Nyingma and Sakya monasteries are also present in the area. The five great monasteries of Spiti are: Kyilgön Norbu Gephel (Gelug), Thegchen Chöling (Gelug), Drangkhar Trashi Chöling (Gelug), Tringön or Gungri Orgyen Sangngak Chöling (Nyingma) and Tenggyü Gün Chönkhor Ling (Sakya). One should also mention the very old temple Lhalung serkhang in middle Spiti, which is allegedly older than that the monasteries of Tapo and Drangkhar.

59. Also called Lavot Gompa བལ་འོད་ Monastery.
60. Kardze Chökhorling is a branch of Tenggyur monastery.
In Lahul, the monasteries are mostly Drugpa Kagyü and Nyingma. They include Kardang Gonpa (Keylong), Drânphuk Lhakhang (near Khoksrar), Samdrup Chökhorling (Teling), Gemon Samtän Chöling (Gemur) and Shashur Gompa (Stingri).

One should also mention the famous pilgrimage site near Uddaipur called ‘Triloknath’ or Garzha phagpa, which is a case of Hindu-Buddhist syncretism. The statue of the shrine is revered by both Buddhists and Hindus either as Avalokiteshvara or an avatar of Shiva.

The main monasteries of upper Kinnaur are located in Chang (alt. Chango): Kamtshang Thubtän Özer Rabgyäling (Kagyu nunnery) and Trashi Yangmo previously called Kharkhok.

Menri Monastery, a major Bön monastery built by the Tibetans in exile is found not far from the W section, in Dolanji, Himachal Pradesh. In Khunu most of the monasteries are Drugpa Kagyü but there are also Nyingma and one Gelugpa monastery.

Most dialects of Lahul, Spiti and Upper Kinnaur have not been described or have received little attention. The dialects of Upper Kinnaur and Garzha are particularly threatened to disappear since Literary Tibetan is not taught in schools (contrary to the situation in Spiti) and the local authorities of Himachal Pradesh or the Indian Central government do not provide sufficient help to support the traditional culture and education of the Upper Kinnaur people and Lahul & Spiti.

Most of the publications are devoted to Spiti: Grierson (1909) and Hein (2001, 2007), Kato (2001), and to a lesser extent to Lahul: Roerich (1933). A dictionary of the Spiti dialect was compiled by Matthew Thomas, Drimet Lodrö (དྲི་མེད་བློ་གྲོས) and Tsewang Dorje (ཚེ་དབང་རྡོ་རྗེ) but has not been published.

### 9.9.1. Migration patterns, legends and historical records

The region of Lahul, Spiti and upper Kinnaur has been part of various kingdoms in the course of history. Before the Tibetan empire it was under the kingdom of Zhangzhung (Bellezza 2008; Vitali 1996), whose capital was reportedly Khyunglung.
in the upper Sutlej valley (Langchen Khabap), not far from the present region of Spiti and upper Kinnaur. The Zhangzhung language was probably a west Himalayan language related to Kinnauri. After the annexation of Zhangzhung by the Tibetan Empire in the seventh century, the region fell under Tibetan control. After the fall of the Empire, it became part of the Guge-Purang Kingdom who also conquered a large part of Ladakh. After the fall of the Guge-Purang Kingdom and the emergence of the Namgyal dynasty (sixteenth-nineteenth centuries) in Ladakh, Spiti was from time to time under Ladakhi control. Thus, it is clear that from the linguistic point of view, Lahul, Spiti and upper Kinnaur have been under the influence of both Tibetan and other west Himalayan languages such as Zhangzhung and Kinnauri. As pointed out earlier, the languages of the W section are in contact with a number of Indo-Aryan languages.

Migrations for Western Tibet and contact with the Tibetans have continued until the annexation of Tibet by the People’s Republic of China in 1959.

9.9.2. Linguistic groups of the W section

Further research is needed to determine precisely the degree of mutual intelligibility but from the recent data show that the intelligibility is rather good. According to Veronika Hein (pers. comm.), Khunu and Lahul-Spiti dialects are fully intelligible:

“In spite of the phonological differences, Piti-kat speakers refer to Khunu-kat as ‘ngui kat’ i.e. ‘our language’. [...] The area around Darcha and Jispa, where a Tibetan dialect [called Töt-kat or Kolong] is spoken, is located in the Bhaga Valley and geographically separated from Khoksar [in the Chandra valley] by other Tibeto-Burman languages of Lahaul like Gahri [also called Bunam, a Kinnauric language], in the Keylong area.”

Hein concludes from the geographic situation that the dialect spoken in the Darcha and Jispa might be linguistically more related to the dialects of the Zangskar valley. N. Roerich (1933) already mentions this point suggesting an affiliation of Töt-kat with the northern dialects of Zangskar and Ladakh:

“The first [Kolong] is commonly designated by the name of Toč-kæ [Töt-kat] and is related to the subdialect of Ladakí spoken in the upper Indus Valley above Sheh [...] and to that of Zangskar spoken around sPadum.”
From the data collected during our own field work (2013) in Garzha-Töt, we can say that some Garzha words are similar to those of Zanhar. However, the Garzha phonology is not closely related to Zanghar phonology and differs mainly by the presence of tones and the fact that preradicals are not pronounced and do not trigger fricativization as in Zanhar.

Here are some basic words which illustrate the difference between the Garzha dialect and those of Spiti and Khunu-Töt and the proximity with Zanhar བཅོ་ (Ga, Za) versus བྱད་ (Sp, Khu) ‘to do’, སྐྱ་ (Ga, Za) versus འགྲོ་ (Sp, Khu) ‘to go’, བོད་ (Ga, Za) versus དོན་ ‘to lose’, བཞིན། བཞིན། ZACHAS (Ga), ZAN (Za) versus བཞིན། LTO.CHAS (Sp, Khu) ‘food, meal’, དོ་ (Ga, Za) versus དོ་ (Sp, Khu) ‘tomorrow’. Despite these types of lexical convergences, we maintain the grouping of Garzha with Spiti and upper Kinnaur for phonetic, grammatical as well as geographic and cultural reasons.

For the dialect classification of the W section, we propose the following eight groups:

- Spiti ང་ཁང་
- Khunu-Töt གུ་རྩོའི་ཚག
- Garzha གར་ཞྭའི་ཚག
- Pangi གང་ཆོ་
- Paldar བལུ་དེ་རི
- Durbuk Jangpa dialect དབུར་བུག་སྡུས་ཁུལ་གྱི་བྱང་པའི་ཚག
- Nyoma Jangpa dialect དབུར་བུག་སྡུས་ཁུལ་གྱི་བྱང་པའི་ཚག
- Jadang (or Dzathang) dialect གྲེི་

The dialects of Spiti and Khunu-Töt are very closely related, whereas the distance is a little greater between Garzha and Spiti dialects. The Pangi and Paldar have yet to be described. However, it is possible to say that there are grammatical differences even concerning the basic existential auxiliary which is ལུ་ SNANG in Pangi (as in Balti: Turtuk and Nubra) instead of ལུ། DUG in Spiti, Garzha, Khunu and Ladakh Jangthang.
Additionally a dialect usually referred to as Jadang is spoken by about 400 people in Uttarkhand Pradesh. One dialect of the SW section, Mugum, is spoken in Himachal not far from the Garzha speaking area.

9.9.3. Geographic extent of the W section

The area of the W section is located in the Himalayas between Zangskar and Nepal along the Sino-Indian border, in the Indian States of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarkhand Pradesh. It extends over three districts: Lahul & Spiti, Kinnaur (both in Himachal Pradesh) and marginally in Uttarkashi (Uttarakhand). Additionally two dialect groups are spoken in the Ladakh Jangthang area in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The region of Lahul-Spiti and upper Kinnaur used to be part of the Guge Kingdom of Western Tibet. Later it fell under the power of Ladakhi kings. The famous Tabo monastery of Spiti was built by Rinchen Zangpo in the end of the tenth century.

The region is drained in the west by the Chandra River (61) (upper course of the Chenab) and the Bhaga river as well as by the Langchen Khabap river (62) (upper course of the Sutlej) which runs westward to join the Indus river. The Spiti river is one of the tributaries of the upper Sutlej and receives as its affluents the Pin, Lingti and Pare rivers. The Beas River, which is part of the hydrological basin of the Indus River is one of the five rivers of Panjab. It joins the Sutlej river but is located outside the Tibetic-speaking area.

In the east, the area of Jadang is drained by the Bhagirathi river (63) and its tributary the Jadh Ganga river. The Bhagirathi is one of the two headstreams of the Ganges.

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61. Since the upper Chandra river is located in a Tibetic-speaking area, the term Chandra ‘moon’ in Sanskrit is most probably a translation of the Tibetan ‘moon river’.

62. In Persian, Panjab literally means ‘five waters’ (panj ab); it refers to the Jhelum, Chenab (Chandrabhāga), Ravi, Sutlej and Beas.
Detailed location of the dialect groups

**Spiti སྤི་ཏི་སྐད་**

The dialect of Spiti སྤི་ཏི་སྐད་ Piti-kä locally pronounced /piti-ket/ is spoken in the Spiti Tehsil and to a lesser extend in Lahul Tahsil of Lahul and Spiti district in the Spiti valley and adjacent valleys.

This dialect includes four varieties: Tabo རྟ་པོ་, which is also referred to as Sham གཤམ་ 'lower region', Kaza referred as Bar བར་ 'middle region', Kyil དཀྱིལ་ or Tö སྟོད་ locally pronounced /töt/ 'higher region' and the Pin valley སྤིན་ 'cloud', whose name is derived from སྤྲིན་ SPRIN 'cloud'.

The main villages of Spiti are: Losar ལོ་གསར་, Kyomo སྐྱོ་མོ་, Hänsa རྣ་མ་, Trotro བྲོ་, Pangmo སྐང་མོ་, Morang འབྲམ་, Khurik སྐྱིི་, Sumlung སྨིུ་, Guling གུ་གླིང་ and Tabo རྟ་པོ་.

The honorific language is more used in lower Spiti and Pin valley than in upper Spiti. For example, the term for 'you' is generally སྙོད་ / nyöt/ (Hon.) 'you' < OT NYED in Karze and lower Spiti, while in the upper area, the ordinary form མྱོད བ་ 'you' is still used. The humilific for 'I' is འབའ་ / mba/ in the Pin valley and a cognate form /mā/, is used in Tabo and upper Kinnaur. The general humilific form in Spiti is ཆོ་ / ngo/ but the ordinary form is ཁ་ / nga/.

The main village is Kaza, which is currently pronounced in Hindi as Kaza or even Kaja, is derived from Classical Tibetan བཀྲ་མཛེས་ DKAR,MDZES.

**Khunu Töt གོ་ནུ་སྟོད་སྐད་**

The dialect of Upper Kinnaur གོ་ནུ་སྟོད་སྐད་ 'Khunu-Tökä', locally pronounced /Khunu-Tötikä/ is spoken in Upper Kinnaur District (Himachal Pradesh). It is sometimes called མོ་ ང་ 'Rong-kä' (locally /rong-kät/) i.e. 'the gorge language', by the inhabitants of Spiti. This dialect of upper Kinnaur used to be called Nyamkat or Sangyas (according to Ethnologue) in earlier publications, but now local people do not use this

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63. Kyil is spelled in different ways as 'Key', 'Ki', etc., on Indian maps.
term, which is an exonym. The term Nyam is used by the lower Kinnauri people to refer to the Buddhist inhabitant of upper Kinnaur. ‘Bhotia of upper Kinnaur’ is sometimes used as alternative name for the Khunu dialect. However, the term Bhotia may induce confusion between Kinnauri (a Himalayan TB language) which in Tibetan is referred as གུན་ནུ་སྨད་སྐད་ 'lower Khunu language', རོང་ཁག་ 'the gorge language' or even གུན་ཁས་ 'Mön language' and the Tibetic dialect of upper Kinnaur. Most of the area between Rampur (རྣྲ་མུ་) and Rekong Peo65 (རེ་ཀོང་ བེའོ་), the district capital, is a Kinnauri and Pahari speaking area, whereas the Tibetic speaking area essentially begins at village of Puh.

The Khunu-Töt dialect speaking area was closed for foreigners until 1993 and an inner line permit is still required after Rekong Peo from Akpa and Jangi checkposts (near Morang village) to Sumdo checkpost, which is located at the border between Upper Kinnaur and Spiti.

The Khunu-Töt dialect is spoken in three tehsils. Hangrang tehsil is located in the north along the lower Spiti river, Pooh and Morang tehsil in the valley of the upper Sutlej. The two first tehsils correspond essentially to a Tibetic-speaking area (with some pockets of Kinnauri Shumcho speakers), whereas in Moorang tehsil, the Khunu-Töt dialect is spoken only in the remote villages in the valleys towards the Sino-Indian border.

The Khunu-Töt dialect is essentially spoken in the following main villages: Puh (alt. Pooh) གུའུ་, Chang བྲང་ (usually spelled Changgo), Nako (or Nao) གཉེན་, Trashi Gang བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒང་, Kah ཕ, Khab འིབ, Dubling ཀླུངས་, Nesang སྐན་ཁང་, Li (or Leo) ཆི་, Namgya སྨངས་, Kyakhar (alt. Shelkhar) སྐྱ་མཁར་, Hang རང་, Tsuling སྐུ་གླིང་, Sumra གསུམ་རག་, Näling (or Meling) གནས་གླིང་ and in some villages of Morang: Lambar འལམ་, Kun ཀུན་ and Tsarang རྩ་རང་ (generally written as ‘Charang’).

64. Term which is applied by the inhabitants of upper Kinnaur to the ones of Lower Kinnaur.
65. The name Rekong Peo has a Kinnauri origin. It means according to one of our consultants: “place to collect fruits.”
Garzha

The dialect group of Garzha is also sometimes referred to as Lahuli, for which the Tibetan etymology of *LHA YUL* i.e. ‘land of deities’ or ‘paradise’ has been proposed. The term Lahuli also designates a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Lahul (Sharma 2007), so in order not to confuse these two languages, it is preferable to avoid the glosronym Lahuli to designate the Tibetic language and use only Garzha. This dialect group is spoken along the Chandra and the Bhaga rivers, in the Lahul Tahsil of Lahul & Spiti. It has three dialects: Töt-kar, Khoksar and Patanam.

The ‘Töt’ dialect is spoken in a few villages located along the Bhaga River. They include the following villages: Dartse, Sumdo, Jispa locally called Zhi (sometimes Zhipa), Gemur locally known as Gemön, Kolong and Kangsar.

The ‘Patanam’ dialect (alt. Patnam) includes some villages located further west in Udaipur subtehsil, in the Patanam valley which is a tributary of the Chandra river.

The Patanam valley is known in Hindi as the Myadv valley, a tributary of the Chenab. In the first two villages of the valley Shakoli and Tamlu which are new settlements, the inhabitants speak a Himalayish language called Sanglo. The main Garzha speaking villages and hamlets are: Tingzet (Hin: Tingret), Karpet, Churput, Olong (Hin: Urgos), Tsheling (Hin: Chaling) and Khyengyar. The upper part of the valley is pasture land.

The ‘Khoksar’ dialect is spoken in the upper course of the Chandra river in the villages of Khoksar, Dränphuk and ‘Teling’, whose local Garzha name is /səməlɪŋ/. The Khoksar variety is isolated from the Spiti area by the Kündzom pass and a desertic mountainous area of about 50 km. Sissu, the next village in the west,

66. Since the etymology of Garzha is not clear, there are a number of spellings which have been proposed but none are really convincing.

67. Dartse is located north of the Garzha area at the confluence of three rivers: Zangskar chu (not to confuse with the tributary of the Indus also known as other Zangskar chu), Zhung chu and Yotse chu, which form the Bhaga river.

68. In the village of Kangsar is found an old fortress (*mKhar*) where a king of Garzha had once its residence.
less than 10 km away from Teling, is a Lahuli-speaking village. Not only does the language change radically, but there are also significant religious differences. Although the inhabitants of Sissu are predominantly Vajrayāna Buddhists, the temple of Sissu, which has the shape of a Hindu mandir, is devoted to the deity Ghepan (sometimes considered as a form of Pehar Gyälpo), clearly a form of Hindu-Buddhist syncretism.

The dialects of Dartse, Khoksar and Patanam are not in direct contact. These Tibetic-speaking pockets are separated by various villages who speak Himalayish and Indo-Aryan languages. In the north, Dartse is separated from the Zanhar-speaking area by a desertic region with several high passes such as the Bara Lacha la and the Shingo la. Given their isolation, the dialects of Garzha are endangered and could disappear within one or two generations. Another aggravating factor is related to the climatic conditions: in winter, the Garzha area is entirely isolated from Manali and inlocked in the snow. This partly explains why many inhabitants of Garzha spend the winter months from October to April in the southern regions of Himachal Pradesh or further south. For example, in Khoksar, only a few residents stay during the winter to watch the houses. If the infrastructure is not improved, this will turn this area into a summer resort.

About the Khoksar and Kolong (Töt-kät) dialects, Roerich (1933) gave the following commentary:

“The Koksar [sic] sub-dialect in many details agrees with Spiti, but its phonetic structure is influenced by the neighboring Himalayan dialects, such as Tinān and Manchāti. At first one is tempted to class it as a branch of the Spiti dialect, but a closer investigation of its phonology shows its close affinity with the sub-dialect of Kolong in the upper Bhāga. [...] The Kolong sub-dialect has its immediate neighbor in the Bunā dialect [a Kinnauri language]. It is noteworthy that the latter has been strongly influenced by Tibetan in phonetic structure, noun inflexion and vocabulary, but its influence on Tibetan is almost negligible, being limited to a few loan-words.”

The main town of Lahul and Spiti district is Keylong, sometimes spelled སླེ་ལང་: ‘Kyelang’ in Tibetan script. Its population includes not only native speakers of Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi, Pahari, Nepali, etc.) but also of the dozens of TB languages (Himalayish and Tibetic) spoken in Lahul. Kardang, the ancient capital of Lahul, is
located near Keylong on the other side of the Bhaga River, where the eponym Kardang Drugpa Kagyü monastery ཨོཾ་རྗུ་དྲུག་པ་ཀར་དྭངས་ is found.

• **Pangi བང་གི**

  Pangi is an administrative sub-division or Tehsil of Chamba district in Himachal Pradesh, with its headquarters at Killar. The main town of Killar is located at a distance of 170 km from Chamba and 260 km from Manali. Hindu (95.25%) religion is predominant amongst the Pangwal, followed by Buddhism with about 1,012 followers or 4.7% of the total population.

  The Pangi region is located in some valleys, tributaries of the Chandrabhāga river. In the lower villages, most people speak an Indo-Aryan language called Pangvali which is similar to Pahari and are followers of Hinduism. The Pangi speaking area is generally Buddhist but there has been some syncretism with Hinduism as in the case of Garzha. Most people are followers of the Drugpa Kagyu lineage. According to our consultant, the Tibetic migration in Pangi and Paldar area is fairly recent and dates back only five generations. People are said to have migrated from the adjacent areas of Garzha, Kinnaur and Zangskar. The main settlements are found in the tributary valleys of the Chandrabhāga river, in Chamba district, less than 50 km from Udhaiapur. The main Pangi speaking villages are located in the upper Saichu valley བང་གི་ཕོ་ (alt. Chasak bhatori) and Hill Tuan གྲུབ་ and in the next valley in Parmar Bhatori གོས་བྲོ་. Pangi is also spoken in another valley, tributary of the Chandrabhāga river in Hudan Batori རྣམ་, above the villages of Killar and Takwas. Another village is located in the upper Sural valley, in Sural Bhatori གསར་. The last village of between Pangi and Paldar is Ganir village གནོན་, but from an administration point of view, it belongs to Padder block in Kishtwar District.

  From a linguistic point of view the intelligibility between Pangi and Paldar is not very good. However as in most other Tibetic speaking areas, one is in the presence of a geolinguistic continuum. Pangi and Paldar dialects may soon undergo a rapid evolution since many children from the area are sent to Tibetan schools in Dharamsala and learn Common Tibetan.
The main villages of Paldar valley include Kabon village, the new settlement of Gulabgarh, which is located at the banks of the Chenab river (also called Chandrabhāga). Most people who live in this settlement come from the higher valleys and speak different varieties of Paldar. The other villages are located in the upper Danglong valley in Hangu, Halo, Dranga, Jashel, Machail, Lossen, and Sumtsham. Paldar-speaking people are in contact with speakers of Indo-Aryan languages. In summer, Gujjar and Gaddi ethnic groups, who are sheep and goat herders, bring their flocks into the area. The Paldar area is also located at the crossroad between Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. The first Muslim villages are found just after Atholi, in Kishtwar District.

In 2010, the Dalai Lama visited the town of Gulabgarh on the request of Himalayan Buddhist and Cultural Association. Since then Buddhism has found a new popularity in the region. Many people who had adopted Hindu names are now using Tibetan Buddhist names.

**Durbuk Jangpa dialect**

This Jangpa dialect (alt. Changpa) is spoken in the Ladakh Jangthang, in the area of Pangong lake region and in the upper Shayok river. It includes the villages of Durbuk Block, Durbuk, Trangse, Chushul, Man-Merak, Shachukul, Thakhung, Phobrang. The people of this area are called Lalokpas ‘from behind the pass’.

**Nyoma Jangpa dialect**

Nyoma Jangthang dialect is spoken in the Ladakh Jangthang, in the Tsomoriri lake region, in the upper Indus valley and on the Rupshu plateau. It includes the villages of the Nyoma Block: Chumathang, Puga Sumdo, Nyoma, Loma, Hanle, Chumur (including other hamlets of the Pare valley), Kharnak, Tshokar (Thukje) and Tsomoriri (Korzok region).
• Jadang

Jadang dialect also called Dzad or Jad⁶⁹ is spoken in Jadang and Nilang villages in Harsil Tehsil of Uttarkashi district (Uttarakhand). According to Sharma (2001), “the name Jad seems to be derived from the village name ‘Jadang’, which is the summer village of the Jad speakers.” The name of the village Jadang might itself be influenced by the Indian pronunciation of the Tibetan word རྫ་ཐང་ Dzathang, which means ‘Slate plain’. Jadang is located in the eponym valley of the Jad Ganga. As noted by X. Becker (pers. comm.), this valley is separated from the Khunu area by the Dzarong valley རྫ་རོང་ located on the Chinese side of the border, in Tsanda County (Tibet Autonomous Region).

Sharma gives the following precision: “During the winter, Jad speakers migrate to Dunda Sub-division, just 17 kilometers below the Uttarkashi district town on the banks of the river Bhagirathi [upper course of the Ganges].” G. van Driem (2001) explains that “the Jad people were resettled after the Indo-Chinese conflict of 1962. Some settlements are also found in Purola, Raiga Jhi, and Bhatvarl sub-divisions. Their original homes lay on the Indo-Tibetan border.” There is no recent data about the situation of the Jadang dialect. Grierson (1909) states that Jad is closely related to Spiti dialect. So far no linguistic data are available on Jadang and thus fieldwork is needed to establish the proximity between this language and the Spiti-Garsha-Khunu group of dialects. However, given the isolation of Jadang within a Hindi-speaking area, one can say this dialect spoken by only a few hundred speakers is seriously threatened of extinction.

⁶⁹. Jad is mentionned by Ethnologue as well as Nishi (1986).
According to the 1981 census, the population in Spiti is 10,383. Lahul Tehsil has 10,414 inhabitants (1971 census). According to the 1981 census, the total population of Khunu (or upper Kinnaur) area is 15,576. There are also 400 Jadang speakers in Uttarkashi District. The number of speakers of the Jangthang dialects as well as those of Pangi and Paldar are not known. It is difficult to establish precisely the number of speakers of the Western section due to the complex sociolinguistic situation and the impact of Indian languages in the area. However, the total number of speakers most likely does not exceed 35,000. Given this relatively small number with few monolingual

70. 3,099 in Hangrang, 5,086 in Pooh, 73,91 in Moorang.
speakers and the fact that the languages of this W section do not have a written form, it is obvious that these Tibetic languages and dialects are endangered.

9.9.5. Ethnic and Sociolinguistic groups
In Himachal Pradesh, the speakers in the SW section are predominantly རྣ་ག་ zhingpa ‘cultivators’ and agropastoralists. On the highest pastures, the shepherds are usually Pahari speakers or speakers of other Indic languages. In the Ladakh Jangthang, the two communities of བྱང་པ་ Jangpa (alt. Changpa) lit. ‘people of the Jangthang’ are pastoralists or agropastoralists.

In Himachal Pradesh, the people usually refer to themselves as ‘Pitiwa’ (སྤི་ཏི་བ་), ‘Garzhawa’ (གར་ཞྭ་བ་) or ‘Khunuwa’ (ཁུ་ནུ་བ་) depending on their native regions. They also sometimes refer to themselves as bhoṭi (བྷོ་ཊི) (see Chapter 2).

9.9.6. Phonological characteristics of the W section
The phonological diversity of the W section is rather limited. However, it is not possible to list common phonological features to the all the dialects of the W section. The phonological features of this section are very similar to those of the Western Tö Ngari dialects of the C section, but are slightly more conservative.

Suprasegmental features
The dialects of the Western section, including the two Jangthang dialects spoken in the state of Jammu Kashmir have a pitch tone system generally with a two-way contrast (high and low). This is a major distinction with the neighboring dialects of Ladakh (except the Jangthang dialects) and Zangskar. Concerning Pangi and Paldar, additional research is needed.

Segmental features
Synchronic approach
The sound systems of the W section are characterized by the following features:

▪ Existence of voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, ð, g, dz, j, z, zh, ñ).

▪ All the dialects lack the voiceless /ɾ/.

▪ Prenasalization (t, tʰ, g, etc.) is present but is often very light and barely audible.
• Preaspiration is not attested.
• The set of final consonants includes n, m, ng, p, ?, l, t. However /l/ and /t/ are not always clearly audible (except for the Jangthang dialects) and may be realized respectively as /:/ and /ʔ/.
• The set of vowels is limited.

Diachronic approach and reflexes of Classical Tibetan

• In the languages of the W section, the preradical sounds are no longer present except for some prenasals.
• In Spiti and Khunu-Töt, voiced non resonant sounds (b, d, ɖ, g, dz, j) are derived from the consonants with preradicals (except m and ’), however in the Töt and Patanam varieties of Garzha, the consonants without preradicals also yield voiced sounds.
• SR corresponds to /ʂ/ in Spiti and Garzha and to /ʈ/ in Khunu-Töt: སྲན་མ་ /ʂänma/ or /satma/ (Ga, Sp) versus /ʈänma/ (Khu) ’peas’. སྲུ /ʂung/ (Ga, Sp) versus /ʈung/ (Khu) ’to keep’. སྲི་ /ʂaʔ/ (Ga, Sp) versus /ʈaʔ/ (Khu) ’to burn’. སྲོ /ʂoʔ/ (Ga, Sp) versus /ʈoʔ/ (Khu) ’life breath’.
• The reflexes of SPR and SKR are identical to those of SR (see above).
• The final consonants P, M, N and NG are usually preserved. However, in some contexts NG leaves no trace. The final consonant G is either maintained or changes into a glottal stop; L is preserved as /l/ or trigger a lengthening of the vowel /:/ and d is realized as /t/ or as /ʔ/.
• CT LH is always realized as /l/.
• The reflex of RTS is usually /s/.
9.9.7. Grammatical characteristics of the W section

9.9.7.1. Case markers

We do not have sufficient data concerning the Paldar and Pangi dialects. The case system of the Spiti dialect (which is closely related to Garzah and Khunu) includes the following cases (see Hein 2007):

- The absolutive Ø.
- The dative /-la/ ( < CT case LA).
- The nominative corresponds to /-su/ (see Hein pers. comm.).
- The genitive /-i/ and the variant /-ki/, both derived from CT case GI. In some dialects of Spiti, the form /di/ is also attested after /n/: Ex. /gèn-gèn-tep/ “the teacher’s book”, and in some cases the /-i/ spreads to the preceding syllable: /sakhang/ ‘restaurant’ > /sakh-ing-dakpo/ ‘restaurant’s boss’, /balang/ cattle > /baling-ngama/ ‘cattle’s tail’.
- The ablative is /na/ (see Hein 2007). The latter form is attested in CT.
- The instrumental is /-su/. However, Hein (pers. comm.) mentions some variants such as /-nai/, /-nakisu/ or /-nasu/.
- The comparative /-sang/ (see Hein pers. comm.).

9.9.7.2. Nominalizers

Various nominalizers (see 8.3.13) are found in the W section. They include the following markers:

- The nominalizer /-kan/ derived from CT MKHAN.
- The nominalizer /-she/ and its variants /-č/ and /-zhe/ are derived from CT CHAS ‘thing’. It is also grammaticalized as a nominalizer in many Western and southern languages: Ladaks /-čes/, Kyirong as /-če/, Lhoke as /-shâ/ and

71. Reminder: in our phonological transcription, /č/ notes a non-aspirated consonant (see 7.1). The aspirated is noted as /č/.
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in Central Tibet, as /-yā/ and /-ya’/.  
- As in other section the nominalizer /-sa/, derived from CT ས་ sa, is used to convey the place of the verbal action.  
- The nominalizer བ/na is used to indicate the instrument of the verbal action.  
It is probably from a connective function of the locative བ/Na “when, if.”

9.9.7.3. Verbal inflections

The various dialects of Spiti, Khunu and Garzha have preserved some verb stem distinctions found in CT. For example in Spiti, the verb /-sa/ (present) becomes /-sö:/ in the past (Hein 2001) corresponding respectively to the reflexes of ར་ZA (present) and རོ་ZOS (past). Just as Sherpa, Dzongkha and the neighboring dialects of Tö Ngari, the dialects of the SW section exhibit morphophonemic variation of the stem. However, available data are scarce.

In the W section some frequent verbs also exhibit suppletive forms to mark various tense-aspect and modalities. For example, in the Garzha dialect, the verb ‘to go’ has four forms: མོ/c’a/ (present), བོ/song/ (past, first person, imperative), བུ/put/ (past, non first person), དུ/qul/ (imp), respectively derived from CT ཙས CHAS ‘to set for a trip’, བོ SONG ‘to go’ (past), བུ BUD ‘to go out’ (past), བིུ GRUL ‘to travel’.

9.9.7.4. Linking verbs and auxiliary verbs

We will illustrate the S section with data from Spiti. They were collected by Hein in Tabo as well as by Tournadre in Kaza (Kardze). However, the dialects of Spiti, Khunu and Garzha have a lot of similarities.

Copulative verbs

As in most Tibetic languages, the main copulative verb /yin/ in Spiti72 is derived from CT རིི YIN. Another copulative verb རིི་དིུ YIN/ /yinnok/ is derived from the combination of CT རིི YIN and བིུ DUU. Their respective negations are རིི /min/ and བིུ /mak/.

72. The materials are from Hein (2001; 2000), Bielmeier (2000) as well as Tournadre’s field work in 2013.
Existential verbs

Existential auxiliaries of Spiti include the following verbs:

- ▪ ེོད་ / yöt/ pronounced [yöt] or [yö̞], conveys an egophoric meaning. The factual existential verb is ◊ ེོད་ཀག་ / yökak. Both are derived from the CT existential verb ེོད་ YOD. The negation form is /met/ (< CT ེོད་ MED).
- ▪ ཀདུག་ / duk/ (< CT verb ཀདུག་ DUG ‘to stay, to sit’) conveys a visual sensory meaning. This existential verb has the following negation forms: ཁོན་སའུ Mi-DUG / minduk/.
- ▪ བགས་ / tık/ or / rāk/ is derived from the CT verb བགས་ GRAG ‘to sound’. It is used for a non-visual sensory access to information. This copula has the following negation forms: ཁོན་སའུ Mi-GRAG / mitāk/. We have seen that the CT verb བགས་ GRAG has also been grammaticalized in the languages of the SE section.

Compound linking verbs

Compound verbs are also attested in the W section: this is the case for example of the above equative copula གིན་ནོག་ / yinnok/ (see also Hein 2007).

Auxiliaries

Frequent auxiliary verbs of the W section consist of the linking verbs (sometimes preceded by a relator) as well as some lexical verbs. They include:

- ▪ གིན / in/ is used for the future and གིན་ / wen/ is used in the completed past. Both forms are derived from the CT copulative verb གིན་ YIN and are used to indicate egophoric past and the future.
- ▪ གིན / et/ is used for the present and the uncompleted past. It is derived from the CT existential verb ཀདུག་ YOD. According to Hein (2001), it indicates an egophoric meaning.
- ▪ གིན་ / song/ < CT གིན་ SONG indicates a visual sensory marking used with the completed past. A variant གིན་ / sang/ is analyzed by Hein (2007) as a ‘mirative morpheme’, but we consider that it can be interpreted as a connotation of the sensory meaning.
- ▪ The auxiliary གིན / čung/ is mentioned by Hein (2001). It is derived from the
CT auxiliary བྱུང་ 'to come, to appear'. It conveys an 'ego-receptive' meaning, i.e. an event or action directed towards the speaker which is usually involved.

- རག་/-rak/ is derived from the CT verb གྲག 'to be heard of'. The possibility that it is derived from the CT verb རེག་ 'to touch' was proposed by Bielmeier (2000) but it seems less plausible (for phonological and comparative reasons). First, we can argue that for the copulative function, both forms /ʈak/ (in Spiti) and /rak/ (in Garzha) are found in the W section as well as in Ladakh. Second, we have seen that the CT verb གྲག has also been grammaticalized in languages of Kham in eastern Tibet. It is used for a non-visual sensory access to information. The auxiliary /-rak/ is used with the present and, together with the marker /-de/ དེ་རག་/-derak/ (or as /-perak/),73 occurs in the perfect. The auxiliary /rak/ conveys a 'non-visual sensory' meaning (Hein 2001). The endopathic function is also typically encoded by this marker and it is used to convey inner sensations, feelings and intuitions.

- ལག་/-kak/ or འག་/-ak/ is used for the habitual present as well as the future. It is a kind of factual or assertive marker. Together with the marker /-de/ དེ་ལག་/-dekak/ (or as /-pekak/) occurs in the perfect. Hein (2001: 43) suggests that "/-kak/ is most likely a contraction of some particle to which the morpheme –ak is added as the negative form implies [ka-m(a)-ak]." For the suffix /-kak/, which is cognate with /kyak/ (in Leh Ladaks), we propose the following reconstruction: /kak/ < /kanak/ < * ལག་་དཀར་/ka.”dak/ MKHAN.DAG. For the suffix /pekak/ < /-pet-kak/ < * ག་ཡོད་མཁན་འདག་ PA YOD.MKHAN.DAG /payotka’dak/. If our hypothesis is correct, it is thus cognate with the form བདེན་མཁན་འདག་ ‘OD.MKHAN.DAG /okande/ attested in Tö Ngari. Hein (2001) considers that /-kak/ "expresses the speaker’s knowledge of the verbal action without specifying how this knowledge is/was gained" and called this marking "speaker’s

73. The markers /de/ and /pe/ are probably reflexes of the connective DE and the nominalizer PA as suggested by B. Zeisler (pers. comm.). An alternative candidate for the marker /de/ would be the verb BSDAD ‘to stay’.
unspecified knowledge.” This interpretation has been confirmed by our own fieldwork in Spiti. The auxiliary /kak/ is also found in the languages of the NW section such as the Kenhat dialects of Ladakh.

- The ending /-tuk/ and the allomorphs /-ruk/ or /-uk/ are derived from CT བུད་‘DUG’ ‘to sit’. These endings are used for the present. Together with the marker /-de/ ཕེ་/-/deruk/ (or as /-peruk/) this auxiliary also occurs in the perfect. It conveys a ‘visual sensory’ access to information.

- ཀང་/-/tang/ or its variant ཀང་/-/rang/ is analyzed by Hein (2007: 7) as an ‘intentional morpheme’ and has a mirative tone. ཁུ/-/tang/ and its variant are derived from the CT verb བཏོང་ BTANG ‘to send’. As we have seen in Chapter 8, this verb is grammaticalized as a secondary verb in Amdo and Dzongkha. In Amdo, /-tang/ also conveys among other functions an intentional meaning. Thus in Spiti, this verb also functions as a secondary verb.

- ངོ་/-/do/ is used as an epistemic auxiliary (< CT ངོ་‘GRO’ ‘to go’. It is also used with the copula and evidential verbs /-yöt-tro/, /-yin-tro/. Other epistemic auxiliaries are attested such as /-sere/ but epistemic auxiliaries and suffix categories are not sufficiently documented.

As we have seen above the W evidential/epistemic systems usually have special forms to mark visual and non-visual sensory access to information, as well as egophoric and/or authoritative, factual or ‘unspecified knowledge’, inferential and epistemic meanings. Among the specificities of the languages/dialects of this section, we find the distinction between visual sensory and non-visual sensory marking.

The grammatical marking of ‘intentionality’ is also present in the dialects of Spiti, Khunu and Garzha (see also Hein 2001; 2007).

9.9.7.5. Negation

In the languages of W section, the negation forms are derived from CT མ་ MA and མི MI as in other Tibetic languages. The negation marker are usually postponed to the lexical and prefixed to the auxiliary.
9.10. The North-western section

The north-western section (henceforth NW section) includes the traditional regions of Ladakh འབྲུགས་, in India,74 as well as Baltistan བལྟི་ཡུལ་'Baltiyul', which is situated in the Northern territories of Pakistan. Ladakh is itself made of several distinct regions with strong identities: Central Ladakh or Leh area གླེ་GLE (alt. སླེ SLE), Zangskar ཟངས་དཀར་, Purik བུ་རིག་, Nubra ནུབ་ར་(alt. ལྡུམ་ར་LDUM,RA) the Jangthang area བྱང་ཐང་and Broqyul འབྲོག་ཡུལ་.

From an administrative point of view, one finds two Ladakh Autonomous Development Hill Councils (LADHC) for the two districts of Ladakh, Leh and Kargil.

The region of Ladakh འབྲུགས་is pronounced /ladaks/ in the Central region and /ladaχ/ in Balti (hence the spelling 'Ladakhi'). We will keep the traditional spelling Ladakhi to designate the region and the people but we adopt for the language the spelling Ladaks which reflects the endonym instead of the Indian designation of Ladakhi. In the same way, we will maintain the name Zangskar75 and Zangskari for the region and its inhabitants but will adopt for the language the spelling Zanhar which reflects the local pronunciation /zãhar-hat/ (< CT ZANGS,DKAR-SKA).76

The linguistic diversity in the NW is relatively high but one is confronted with a geolinguistic continuum of dialects. However, from a political and cultural point of view, it is convenient to speak of three closely languages: Balti (in Baltistan), Purik (in Kargil area) and Ladaks (in Leh area). There is a fairly good intelligibility between neighboring dialects Purik and Balti, Purik and Sham, Sham and Central Ladakh, Central Ladakh and Zangskar, etc. The division of the geolinguistic continuum into three major ‘languages’, Ladaks, Purik and Balti, is convenient, but it should not overshadow the dialectal diversity. A large database on the dialects of Ladakh has been established by B. Zeisler.

74. Ladakh was part of the state of Jammu & Kashmir, but since 2019, Ladakh has obtained the Union Territory status and is no longer part of Jammu Kashmir.

75. The English forms ‘Zangskar’ (and the alternative Zanskar) roughly correspond to the pronunciation of this word in Ladakhi language.
One should note here that the term Ladaks or its Hindi-English equivalent Ladakhi is rather fuzzy. Although it is commonly used in Ladakh, and has been used for linguistic description by various authors such as Koshal (1979; 1982) and Norman (2001; 2019), it does not designate a precise dialect nor language. In most cases, it refers to the dialects of Central Ladakh. However, in a loose interpretation, it may include the dialect of the Nubra region, the Sham dialects, and even the dialects of Zangskar, etc. Whenever we use in this book the term Ladaks without further explication, it refers to the dialects of Central Ladakh spoken in Leh and around the regional capital.

In the NW section, the official languages are Hindi-Urdu and English. They are taught in the schools, both in Ladakh (on the Indian side) and in Baltistan (on the Pakistani side). Ladaks and Balti languages have been developing written forms during the last decades but they do not have an official status. Classical Tibetan is taught in many Buddhist monasteries of Ladakh but is not taught in the Muslim area (except for some marginal cases).

The Tibetic languages of Ladakh are in contact with Hindi-Urdu and various other Indo-Aryan languages such as Brokskat and Kashmiri which belong to the Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan (Indo-European). Brokpa (Shina) are traditionally Buddhists but a number of villages have converted to Islam. They live in the lower Indus valley, the Hanu valley and the Dras valley. They have been largely under the cultural influence of the surrounding Tibetic languages and speak Purik as a second or third language (with Hindi-Urdu) and, in some cases, as their native language.

Just as in the case of Spiti, a number of Ladakhi Buddhists (but also some Muslims) send their children to the Tibetan Children village of Choklamsar (Ladakh) or even to Dharamsala (the seat of the Tibetan administration in exile located in Himachal Pradesh) to study Literary Tibetan. Thus, Common Tibetan and Literary Tibetan are still considered as relatively prestigious. In the case of Balti and Ladakhi Muslims, Persian was also known by scholars and akhun or mulei (mollah) but now has a limited impact.

At soon as the end of the nineteenth century, Ladaks (لاکسکات; Ladaksi-skat) has been transcribed in Tibetan script, but there are still many discussions about the standardization. Some textbooks and publications have appeared in written Ladaks,
but their implementations in the school are still marginal. Programs in Ladakhs language are broadcasted on the radio station in Leh and on the local television (Doordarshan 76 Leh) and All India Radio (Kargil). There is also a local cable network 'Kargil Today' which broadcasts in Purik and Urdu languages. Written Ladakhs is so far not broadcasted on the internet, but as mentioned above, written Tibetan is still used in the Buddhist monasteries.

For Baltistan, the situation is somehow different, since the Tibetan script has been abandoned in the 15th century after the conversion of Baltis to Islam. After the 15th century Persian and then Urdu have been used as written languages. In the recent years, several transcriptions of Balti have been developed in Tibetan script (see chapter 5), Urdu script (a variety of Arabo-Persian) or even in Romanization. However, in the absence of standardization or official language policy, the development of written Balti is still very marginal. It is not available on the internet.

Concerning Purik (Kargil district in Western Ladakh), the situation is more complex. The majority of the population is Muslim, but there is a Buddhist minority. The Tibetan script is no longer used by the Muslims because they consider that the Sambhota script is associated with Buddhism. However, this script has been used by the Muslim rulers of Purik until the end of eighteenth century, beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country was invaded by the Dogras. As a testimony one finds a lot of manuscripts and inscriptions on rocks in Tibetan script signed by Muslim kings, Sultans or Maliks, of the Purik area.

As mentioned by Devers:

“Purig [Purik] became part of Western Tibet [Ngari Korsum] only in the early 11th century it was overtaken by the armies of ‘Odde [the King ‘Od.de Kung rgyal]’ [...] At the time when Tibet was still practicing pre-Buddhist religion, Purig might already have been exposed to forms of Buddhism coming from the east” (Devers 2018: 10-11).

The NW section is characterized by a religious diversity with Muslims, Buddhists and a small community of Christians. Bönpos are no longer found among Ladakhis.

76. Doordarshan means television in formal Hindi but the Ladakhs name Ṛgyaṅ Mthong ‘television’ (see Norman 2019) is also used.
but the tradition existed and the monastery of Lamayuru still bears the name Yungdrung (Skt: svastika), which is the main symbol of Bön. The Tibetic area within Jammu Kashmir also includes a lot of Hindu and Sikh settlers and migrants, but they are generally not speakers of Tibetic languages.

Among the Muslims, Nurbakhshia and Shi‘ah, are found in Baltistan (Pakistan) and in Ladakh (India) particularly in the Kargil district and to a much lesser extent in other areas of Ladakh. Nurbakhshia and Shi‘ah Muslims are called Balti whereas the Sunni Muslims are usually referred to as Khache (< Kashmiri) or Arghon. This community was formed merchants who originally came from Kashmir or Turkestan (Yarkand, etc.) and intermarried with Ladakhis. The term Arghon is probably derived from the Uighur word Argun which means 'mixed' (Norman 2017). This Sunni population is found in Dras, Panikhar (Suru valley), Leh, Shey and Thiksey. Padum the capital of Zanskar has a majority of Muslims whereas the rest of Zanskar is entirely Buddhist.

Concerning the Muslims of Ladakh, Abdul Ghani Sheikh wrote:

“Muslims have inherited many things from the Buddhists of Ladakh but they have themselves made significant contributions to the Ladakhi culture, art, music, language, literature, food and social life. There are many Urdu, Persian, Kashmiri, Turkic and Uzbek words in the Ladakhi language introduced by Muslims. Muslims have enriched Ladakhi culture with the introduction of Ghazal and Qawwali [pasinda and marsia]?” (Sheikh 2010)

Nangpa or Buddhists are essentially found in Leh district, i.e. in the region of Leh, the capital, and in Zanskar, Rupshu and the Shayok upper valley, but also in the Purik area of Mulbek and in the Brogpa (Dard) area of the lower Indus valley (in Dha, Dartsik, Garkon, etc.).

Ladakhi Buddhists primarily belong to the Kagyü school (both Drugpa and Drigung lineages) and Gelugpa school of the Tibetan Buddhism. The major and oldest monasteries of Ladakh are: Thikse /thriktsé/ monastery (Gelugpa),
Alchi monastery, Hemis monastery (Drugpa), Phyang monastery (Drigung Kagyü), Phyang monastery usually called ‘Spituk’ (Gelugpa), Mangtro monastery also called ‘Mathro’ (Sakya), Lamayuru monastery (Drigung Kagyü), Lukyil monastery lit. ‘nāga encircled’ also known as Liker, located near Bazgo, Ridzong monastery (Gelugpa), (Nyingmapa), etc. In some villages of the Purik area (Kargil district), such as Mulbek, Apati and Khartse Khar, one finds well preserved giant statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas carved in the rock. Although the Purik area is largely Muslim, some villages such as Mulbek have both Buddhist and Muslim populations.

There are also many mosques in Ladakh, both Shi‘ah, and Sunni, particularly in Kargil district (Dkargdbyil). A few mosques are also found in Leh district (Gle) and the major mosques in Leh are the Jama Masjid (Sunni) and the Matamsara mosque (Balti Shi‘ah) and also the Shey Masjid (Shi‘ah) in Shey village. In the Kargil area, one finds a famous khamā in Baru. The Lartse Masjid (Shi‘ah), is located in Pashkyum village which historically used to be an important place on the road towards Leh. The most famous aṣṭānas (graves of famous saints) are in Karpo Khar (Dkarpokhár) ‘lit. the white fort’ and Pharona in the Suru valley.

Finally, throughout Ladakh, one finds many ancient fortresses or khar (Mkhār), both in Leh and Kargil districts (see Devers 2017). The names of some of these forts tell a lot about the rulers and the historical migrations of the region: Bod Kharpā ‘the small Tibetan fort’ (previously known as Mon Mkhār, po, che lit. ‘the big fort’), Brogpat Khār (Dardic Fort), Mon Mkhār the Mon Fort (probably referring to Kinnauri-like populations), the Turkic Fort and Balti Mkhār (Balti Mkhār) ‘the Balti fort’ (see also next section 9.10.1).

Most Ladakhi people in Leh District bear names of Tibetan origin when they are followers of Buddhism, whereas in Kargil District, most people have names of Arabo-Persian origin, except for those who are Buddhist and bear Tibetan names. The same holds for the Brogpas who have either Tibetan names or Arabo-Persian names depending
PART 2 – CHAP. 9. Inner classification of the Tibetic languages

on their religion. In some marginal cases, one also encounters hybrid names made of both Tibetan and Persian or Arabic roots.


9.10.1. Migration patterns, legends and historical records

Ladakh is located at the strategic crossroad of nearly unavoidable routes leading to the Tibetan high plateau, which was once the production center of a variety of precious commodities such as gold, pashmina, musk, salt and iron. These resources were circulated along routes passing through Ladakh in direction of major trading centers, such as Khotan and Yarkand, located on the so-called southern Silk Road, the regions along the northwestern corridor of the Pamir and Hindukush ranges such as Gilgit, the Swat valley, Gandhāra and the Wakhan corridor and regions of the northern subcontinent such as Kashmir, Jamnu, Kushiwar, Mandy, Lahul and Kinnaur (Rizvi 1999; Devers 2017). Unsurprisingly, various populations have coexisted and succeeded one another in Ladakh. Among the groups that we are able to trace, in addition to the Tibetans, there have been Dardic settlers, predominantly Brogpa, and also Shina. There have also been Turkic groups (Horpa), coming primarily from the Pamir corridor and from the Tarim basin. In some parts of the Dras and Suru valleys, there have additionally been Kashmiri and other Dardic populations. Finally, there used to be so-called ‘Mon’ communities, locally said to have come from Himachal Pradesh. As can be expected from such situation, numerous toponyms in Ladakh are not of Tibetan origin – examples are villages like Hemis, regions like Purik, and most probably Ladakh itself. As a testimony of this critical commercial location and diverse populations, Ladakh is the area of the Tibetan plateau with the greatest variety of
scripts observed in rock inscriptions. In addition to the use of Tibetan script, we find historical inscriptions written in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī, Chinese, Sogdian, Tokharian, Arabic and Śāradā scripts. It is also the area with the highest density of archaeological remains, being for fortifications, rock art, temple ruins, pre-Buddhist funerary sites, etc.

In the past, we can observe material differentiation between the eastern and western Indus valley: remains from the eastern parts, sometime associated by oral tradition to past Mon populations, display significant shared traits with the the Tibetan Plateau; remains from the western parts, commonly associated by oral tradition to Brogpa, Horpa and Balti populations, display stronger kinks with the Pamir corridor. A transitional area of mixed influences lies in the central belt that extends from the Indus-Zanskar confluence to the confluence with the Gya brook. Parallel territorial variations can be outlined in Zangskar, Nubra and Purik, whereas in the westernmost fringes of the latter, Kashmiri and Shina influences are further noticeable (Devers 2018).

As can be expected in a country of considerable trading and mining wealth, these territories, as delineated by considerable material remains, evolved over the centuries, often considerably. Whereas ancient fortifications or toponyms relatable to the Brogpa can be found in all parts of northern Purig as well as in the Indus valley from Baltistan to the confluence with the Gya brook, Brogpa populations are now strictly confined to the lowest reaches of the Indus river, downstream of Hanu. More strikingly, the Mons have entirely vanished from the country.

Prior to the tenth century, the history of the territory corresponding to present-day Ladakh is largely unknown. We know that to the east, on the Tibetan high plateau, was Zhangzhung and to the west, along the Pamir corridor, was Balur (alt. Bolor). The exact borders of these two ancient kingdoms are unknown. In the light of the geographical distribution of the material remains that have been found, we may

postulate that a frontier between them lay in central Ladakh. In other words, the
Ladakh as we know it now may have been divided between two larger kingdoms. A
domain covering both eastern and western Ladakh seems to have emerged only in the
ten and eleventh centuries under the name Maryul, when the West Tibetan kingdom
of Ngari Skorsum progressively brought these territories under its control (Devers et
al. 2016; Devers forthcoming b). An alternative name for Maryul was Mangyul, the
two names being apparently interchangeable. Ladakh, on the other hand, appears to
have then been only the name of a subdivision of Maryul around Alchi, from where
the Namgyal dynasty originated. When this dynasty took control of Maryul in the
mid-sixteenth century, the name Ladakh seems to have progressively been applied to
the country as a whole.

9.10.2. Linguistic groups of the NW section

In 2011, Zeisler proposed a classification of the NW languages into two major
groups: སྐད་གཤམ་ GSHAM.SKAD sham-kā locally pronounced /Shamskat/ i.e. the ‘language
of Lower Ladakh’ and སྐད་གྱེན་ GYEN.SKAD Gyen-kā, locally pronounced /Kenhat/ i.e.
‘language of Upper Ladakh’. Unlike most other dialects groups of the Tibetic area, the
Highlanders speak ‘innovative dialects’ while Lowlanders speak ‘archaic dialects’. Zeisler
(2011) proposed the following description:

“According to phonetic features alone, the various dialects spoken in Ladakh are
presently classified [by Bielmeier 2004 and others] roughly in two main groups:

* Western Archaic Tibetan: the non-tonal ‘conservative’ dialects of the north-eastern
  and central areas: Baltistan, Purik, Lower Ladakh, Nubra, and Leh, showing initial and
  final consonant clusters.

* Western Innovative Tibetan: the ‘innovative’ dialects of the south-eastern areas:
  Upper Indus, Changthang, and Zanskar, where the clusters have been reduced and
tonal features can be found.”

79. For instance, in the seals of documents emitted by Nyima Namgyal found in Purig during
surveys with Nils Martin, the Namgys present themselves as the “rajas of Mangyul” (RNAM.GYAL.
MANG.YUL.RAJA).

80. Howard was probably the first scholar to understand that Maryul and Ladakh were not
The author in the same article proposed a more refined definition of the first group as: “The group of historically younger, but lexico-phonetically conservative Shamshkat dialects” and the second group as: “The historically older, lexico-phonetically partly conservative, partly innovative Kenhat dialects” (ibid.).

Among the grammatical differences between Kenhat and Shamshkat groups of dialects one can mention the definite marker which is དེ་DE in the former group and བོ་PO in the latter. The archaic form བོ་PO / བོ BO is also attested in Amdo.

A detailed account of the sound changes and morphophonemic dialectal variation in Kenhat is presented in Zeisler (2011).

While Zeisler’s general distinction between ‘Shamskat’ and ‘Kenhat’ is certainly valid and relevant, one needs to propose subgroupings in order to describe the linguistic diversity of the NW section. If we consider ‘Shamskat’ (as defined above) for example, it is clear than Bakti speakers do not easily communicate with Leh dialect speakers or the people of the Nubra region.

It is interesting to note that from a linguistic point of view two regions may occupy an intermediary position between the Western section and the Northern section: Zangskar and Kharu areas. Both dialect groups have developed a frequent fricativisation of initial consonants (see Zeisler 2011; Norman 2019), reflexes of R and S preinitials. However, these two dialects have preserved traces of other preinitials and thus are phonologically closer to the other dialect groups of Ladakh.

The Zangskar region was traditionally isolated from the rest of Ladakh at least six to seven months in winter and early spring (even if some people could walk on the frozen Zangskar River). A few mountain passes at an altitude of 4,500–5,000 meters prevent any transportation and communication to Zangskar and out: the Pensi-la82 in the north-west, Sengge La in the north, Charcha-la in west and Shingku-la in the south. However, southern Zangskar had traditionally more relations with Garzha.

81. Just as the difference between pastoralists’ and cultivators’ dialects is valid but insufficient to describe Amdo dialects.
82. A few hamlets of Zangskar are located on the northern side of the Pensila up to the village of Rongdum.
Finally, two groups of dialects of Ladakh are spoken in the Jangthang in the Pangong lake and in the Tsomoriri lake areas as well as the upper Indus valley. From a linguistic point of view, these two Jangthang dialect groups are more closely related to the dialects of Spiti and Western Tibet than to the other groups of Ladakh. They have developed tones and have not preserved initial consonantic clusters. They have also maintained prenasals a feature also found in Spiti and Tö Ngari but not elsewhere in Ladakh. All these phonological features are found in the neighboring dialects of the Western section and therefore we classify the Jangthang dialects together with these dialects (see the Western Section). A similar classification has also been adopted by the CTDT which has labeled these dialects as 'Western innovative dialects' (just as those of Spiti, Garzha and Khunu). However, from a cultural and political point of view, these two dialects are now heavily influenced by the other dialects of Ladakh and a growing number of people are bilingual with the Leh dialect.

For the dialect classification of the NW section, we propose the following seven groups:

- Balti
- Purik
- Nubra
- Sham
- Leh (Central Ladakh)
- Zanhar
- Kharu

9.10.3. Geographic extent of the NW section

From the administrative point of view, Balti is spoken in Baltistan (Pakistan) which is divided into two administrative districts: Baltistan District where the capital Skardo is located, and Ganche District, as well as a few

83. With the exception of some varieties of Zangskar and Gya-Miru, as noted by B. Zeisler (p. c.).
villages on the Indian side: Turtuk and Bogdang in the Shayok valley as well as Hardas and a few hamlets in the Shingo valley.

Ladaks (central Ladakh, according to our terminology), Purik, Sham, Zanhar and Kharu dialects are spoken in the Ladakh Union Territory in Leh District གླེ་རྫོང་ and Kargil District དཀར་དཀྱིལ་རྫོང་. Leh District has consists of six blocks or ‘tehsils’: Nubra, Khalsi (Khalatse), Leh, Kharu, Durbuk and Nyoma. Kargil District consists of three tehsils: Kargil, Zangskar and Sanku.

The main valleys and rivers of this area are the Indus river, known as སེང་གེ་ཆུ་ ‘Sengge-chu’ i.e. ‘Lion river’ in Baltistan and in Ladakh, སེང་ལྗེང་པོ་ ‘SENG, GE GTSENG, PO’ pronounced ‘Sengge Itsangpo’. In runs from the south-east to the north-west in Ladakh (upper course of the Indus) and then continues its course in Baltistan (lower course of the Indus). In the north-east of Ladakh, the main waters are the Shayok river ཤ་ཡོག་གཙང་པོ་ and its tributary the Siachen river སེ་བ་ཅན་གཙང་པོ་ (often called Nubra river on Indian maps). In the north-west region of Purik, the main river is the Suru river སུ་གཙང་པོ་ a tributary of the Indus, called Shingo in its lower course after its confluence with the Dras river. The Zangskar river (alt. Zanskar) ཟངས་དཀར་གཙང་པོ་ runs through Zangskar in the south to Central Ladakh in the north where it joins the Indus. The main tributaries of the Zangskar river in the east are the Lungnak- chu ལུང་ནག་ཆུ་, also called ཚེ་རབ་ཆུ (alt. Tsarap-chu) in it upper course as well as the Töpe- chu སྟོད་པའི་ཆུ་ in the west. In the region of Ladakh, one finds two great lakes: the Panggong lake སྤང་གོང་མཚོ་ which is located in eastern Ladakh on the Sino-Indian border and extends over 130 km and the Tshomo Riri lake མཚོ་མོ་རི་རི་ located in the Rupshu plateau area.

Zangskar is made of four large valleys: the Zangskar valley, in the north-east, called Sham ‘the lower (valley)’ and the Tö valley, locally pronounced /ˈtɔːː/, lit. ‘the higher valley’, in the north-west which meet in the capital Padum /ˈpaːdum/. The region around Padum is called Zhung, lit. the middle (valley). Finally, we have the Lungnak valley in the south-east after Padum. The Lungnak valley is separated from Garzha by a high pass, the Shingo-la. Additionally a few Zangskari villages are found on the north-western side of the Pensi-la in the upper Suru valley.
The region located in the lower Indus valley after Leh is traditionally called ‘Sham’ (lit. the lower [valley]); The territory from Nimu to Nurla (before Khalatse) corresponds to ‘upper Sham’ (STOD.GSHAM). ‘Lower Sham’ (SMAD.GSHAM) starts at Khalatse and extends to the villages below, on the banks of the Indus river such as Domkhar and Achinathang as well as the village of Lamayuru situated in another valley which joints the Indus. The neighboring language, Purik, is also divided into two dialects: Eastern Purik and Western Purik. The former starts after the Photola pass and includes the villages of Henaskut, Bod Kharbu, Mundik, etc., as well the main villages of Kangral, Chiktan and Yogma Kharbu in the Sengge Lungma valley. Eastern Purik extends to the villages of Wakha, Mulbek and Sharkol in the Wakha valley.

After a long gorge, Darket is the first village of Western Purik, which includes the district capital Kargil as well as the whole Suru valley and its tributaries up to the border with Zangskar at Rongdum. Lower Sham and Eastern Purik, constitutes a geolinguistic continuum between Western Purik (Kargil area) and Central Ladakh (Leh area). During our fieldwork, we have found that there are even some fluctuations in the designation of the languages in some villages of Eastern Purik such as Henaskut, Bod Kharbu and Mundik which have both Buddhist and Muslim populations. The spoken language is either designated as Sham-skat or Purik-skat. It seems that the choice of the former or latter depends to a certain extent on the religion: Buddhists call their language Sham-skat or Purik-skat whereas Muslims prefer to call it Purik-skat.

The Nubra region, locally called /dumra/, is situated on the banks of the Siachen river (a tributary of the Shayok) and the lower Shayok river. As the Sham and Purik areas, Nubra has a lot of archaic features. The upper Shayok valley is entirely barren and not inhabited.

Finally, one ought to mention the Broqpas’ area. Broqpas originally speak a Dard language (called Brokskat) but nowadays a number of Broqpas speak Purik as their native language. The Brokpas are settled in the Dras valley, in the lower Indus valley and in the Hanu valley. The main villages include Dras, Hanu, Dha, Bema, Dartshik, Batalik and Culican. This last village is located right at Indo-Pakistanese border.
Brokpas are also located on the Pakistani side of the border on the Deosai plateau in Baltistan in some villages such as Ganoaks, Morol, Dananusar and Chechethang.

**Detailed location of the dialect groups**

- **Balti** བལ་ཏི།
  Skardo སྐར་མདོ།, Rongyul or Rongdo རོང་ཡུལ།, Shigar ཤི་གར།, Khapalu མཁར་ལུ།, Kharmang མཁར་མང་
  and on the Indian side of Border: Turtuk བུར་ཏུ། and Bogdang རོང་དམོ། in the Shayok valley, as well as, Hardas, Karkichu and Latu in the Shingo valley.

- **Purik** བུ་རིག།
  *West Purik*: Kargil, རབ་རུ། Baru, གཙན། Sanku, དཔལ་ནུ། Panikhar, དཔལ་ནུ། Parkachik, དྲེས་ Dras, 84 Darket དྲེས་ and Olthinthang དེ་ཝི་ནང་
  *East Purik*: Mulbek བུ།, Chiktan དེ་་ན་ན་ and Bod Kharbu བདེ་དཀྱིལ་

- **Nubra** སུབ་ར་
  Khardong སྐྱིན་དེ།, Khashar མི་འགན།, Sumur ཆུ་མ་བྱུང་།, Kyagar ཁྱིན། (called Tiger by the Indian army), Panamik བྲན་མི་, Aranu བྲན་མི།, Yarma བྲན་མི།,
  Dras, དྲེས་, Thois (alt. Thoise) དྲེས་, Tirit དྲེས་, Rongdo རོང་མདོ།, Agyam ༺་ན་ and Digar ཕེ་ན་. Some Balti villages are located in Nubra: Turtuk and Bogdang (see Balti).

- **Sham** གཤམ་
  *Upper Sham*: Nyemo (Snyemo) གཤེམ་, Bazgo གཤེམ་, Nye གཤེམ་, Lukil (alt. Likhir) གཤེམ་, Saspol གཤེམ་, Alchi གཤེམ་, Uledokpo གཤེམ་, Nyurla (Nurla) གཤེམ་ and Teya (Tia) གཤེམ་
  *Lower Sham*: Khalate ཕྱིང་, Skyindiang ཕྱིང་, Tingmosang ཕྱིང་, Domkhar ཕྱིང་, Achinathang ཕྱིང་, Skywalker ཕྱིང་, Takmachik ཕྱིང་

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84. Balti communities are also found in Gultari, Kargil, Leh, etc., and in the Pakistani diaspora around the world. Ladaks speakers are found in Delhi (Buddhavihar, etc.), Jammu, Chandigar, Dehradun, Manali, Dharamsala and in south India, in Mysore, Bylakuppe, Bangalore, Mumbai, etc. and in the Indian diaspora around the world

85. Purik communities are found in Leh and Gar (TAR).
Lamayuru ང་མ་འདུན་ (maybe derived from ང་མ་འདུན་དོན་), Wanla རོང་, Hanu རོང་ and Da རོང་ (Brokskat speakers have become speakers of Sham).

**Leh རྒྱ་** (Central Ladakh)

Leh རྒྱ་, Spituk རྒྱ་, Choklamsar རུལ་ཕྱུགས་, Sabu རུལ་ (or རུལ་), Shey རུལ་ (or རུལ་), Thikse རུལ་, Stagna རུལ་, Stok རུལ་, Matho རུལ་ and Chemre རུལ་. Some specific varieties of Central Ladakh are spoken in Lingshet རྩོམ་, Gongma-Skyunpata རྩོམ་གྱུང་, Yukhung-Nyeraks རྩོམ་ཧྱུང་, Photoksar རྩོམ་ཕོ་, Hanupata རུལ་, Phanjila རུལ་ and the Markha valley, Chiling རུལ་ and Sumda རུལ་.

**Kharu མཁར་**

Kharu (Block) མཁར་, Igu རྒྱ་, Upshi རལ་, Shara (Shera) རལ་, Gya-Miru རྒྱ་, Kyere རྒྱ་ and Hemnya རྒྱ་.

**Zangskar བཟང་སྐར་**

Padum ཟོི་, locally pronounced /fadum/or /faðum/, Rangdum རང་, Phe རོ་, Sani རོ་, Karsha རོ་, Stongde རོ་, Tsazar རོ་, Zangla རོ་, Raru རོ་, Kargyak རོ་, Phuktal (alt. Phukthar), and Shade རོ་.

86. If the spelling *SPA.LDUM* is correct (it matches perfectly the pronunciation of Zanhar) and the pronunciation in Leh dialect also points towards this spelling, then the etymology would be ‘the juniper garden’. *SPA.MA* is a kind of juniper tree.
9.10.4. Number of speakers

According to the 1971 census, Ladaks is spoken by 60,272 persons, but Zeisler (2012a) mentions a figure of 180,000 (including Purikpa and Zangskarpa).

For Balti, the 1981 census gives 223,296 inhabitants. Ethnologue mentions the figure of 270,000. The total number of speakers in the NW section probably does not exceed 400,000, as proposed by Abbas Khazmi (Zeisler 2006a, 2012a, 2012b).

87. The figure of 400,000 proposed by Abbas Khazmi is probably an overestimation (see Zeisler 2006a, 2012a).
exceed 400,000. However, a precise number is hard to ascertain because of the impact of both Hindi-Urdu and English in this NW section.

9.10.5. Ethnic and sociolinguistic groups

The Tibetic or Bhoti people of the region usually refer to themselves as ‘Ladakspa’ (ལ་དྭགས་པ་) locally /Ladakspa/, Zangskarwa (ཟངས་དཀར་བ་) /zâharwa/, Balti (བོལ་ཏི་) and Purikpa (པུ་རིག་པ་). Additionally, the religion plays a significant role in the identity. Buddhists are referred to as གན་པ་ Nangpa, lit. ‘the insiders’. Muslim communities are referred to as Shī‘ah Balti or simply Balti བལ་ཏི་ whereas the Sunni communities are called Khache ཕ་ཆེ་ (For example Khache of Padum in Zangskar).

The languages and dialects of the NW sections are predominantly spoken by གཟིང་པ་ zhingpa ‘cultivators’ and agropastoralists. This is true for Balti, Purik, Ladaks and Zangskar. There are also some small pastoralists’ communities called བྱང་པ་ jangpa alt. ‘changpa’ settled in the Jangthang area of Ladakh (however, from the linguistic point, these communities are grouped together with the Spiti dialect, see the Western section).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the term བྲོག་པ་ BROG.PA locally pronounced /Broqpa/ or /Bloqpa/ designates native speakers of བྲོག་སྐད་ Brokskat, an Indo-Aryan Dardic language, closely related to Shina. Thus, in this region, unlike other Tibetic regions, the term does not designate herdsmen or cattle-breeders but an Indo-Aryan group. The Brokskat speaking region is called བྲོག་ཡུལ་ BROG.YUL, and is located in the Indus valley and the Hanu chu valley near Kargil as well as in some villages on the other side of the Indo-Pakistani border in Baltistan.

9.10.6. Phonological characteristics of the NW section

Although the phonological diversity of the NW section is rather limited, it is not possible to list common phonological features to the all the dialects of the NW section. The phonological characteristics are usually valid at the level of the two main groups Shamskad and Kenhat, but things are more complicated (see Zeisler 2011).

88. The name of the language is of course a loanword from Tibetan. It is sometimes written as Brokskat.
Suprasegmental features

It is well-known that the Tibetic languages in the NW section do not have distinctive suprasegmental features. However, in Balti for example, the position of stress may affect some phonetic realizations.

Segmental features

Synchronic approach

The sound systems of the NW section are characterized by the following frequent features:

- Multiple combinations of initials with a preinitial (see Chapter 7) are a widespread feature particularly in Balti, Purik, Sham, Leh region and Nubra. Labial, alveolar, velar, uvular preinitials are attested in most dialects, however prenasals are not found.
- In Zanhar and Kharu initial fricatives are attested.
- Existence of voiced non-resonant initial sounds (b, d, ð, g, dz, j, z, zh, ð, ð).
- Some dialects have uvular consonants: q (final), k, Ḫ.
- Some dialects have a rich set of final consonants, particularly Purik, Balti and Sham. They exhibit final combinations such as /ks/ and /ts/, /ngs/ and /ns/. However, this is not the case in Zanhar and other southern dialects. Zanhar has preserved only the final /l, r, t, n, ng, m/ but has no longer /s/.
- One characteristic feature of Balti dialects is the dissimilation strategy. When two nasals are in contact, one is often denasalized: GRANG.MO ‘cold’ > /graymo/, LCANG.MA ‘tree’ > /lchaŋma/, MDONG.MA ‘churn’ > /doŋma/, etc.

Diachronic approach and reflexes of Classical Tibetan

- In the languages of the NW section, the reflexes of preradical sounds are realized as segmental features (Balti, Purik, Bazgo, Nubra, Leh), yield a fricativisation as

89. The final /s/ corresponds to the past form of the verb.
in Zanhar (and sometimes Leh).

- Voiced non-resonant sounds (b, d, ḍ, g, dz, j) are derived from the consonants with preradicals. In some dialects, b, d, ḍ, g, dz, j may also be derived from the consonants without preradicals.

- The combinations KR, KHR, GR, PR, PHR, BR as well as DR yield either retroflex sounds (ʈ, ʈ' d) in East Purik, Leh, Nubra and Zangskar or preserve the consonant clusters (in West Purik and Balti): /kr/, /ʈŗ/, /ʈp/, etc.

- Preinitial (labial, retroflex, uvular, glottal, etc.) is triggered by all the CT preradicals: RK, LK, SK, BK, LG, RT, LT, ST, etc. Some dialects (Pur, Ba, Sham) still make a distinction between the preradicals R, S, and L, while other dialects, which have retained the preradicals, such as Leh, do not usually make a distinction between R, S, and L. In this dialect, the preradicals tend to merge with S, but in other dialects, they merge with L. (notably in the Nubra dialect, Zeisler, pers. comm.).

- All CT final consonants G, NG, D, N, B, M, R, L, S are well preserved in most dialects except for the S which is dropped in Zanhar and for the G which is realized as a glottal stop (Za). The second final S (YANG-JUG) is preserved in many dialects, notably Balti, Purik, Sham and Leh.

- In the Western dialects (Balti, Purik and Western Sham), the combination SL yields: /ts/ or /ʈ/ and the combination zl: /dz/, /d/. This is the case in words like སྒོ་/ya/ 'door', སྐམ་པོ་/hampo/ 'dry', སྐང་པ་/hangpa/ 'foot', སྐེད་པ་/çetpa/ 'back (body)', སྐྱིད་པོ་/çitpo/ 'pleasant'.

- In Zanhar and Kharu, the phonetic change from affricate to fricative: རྩ ག ས /tsa/ 'vein' > /sa/, རྩ ག ས བ /tsi/ 'apricot kernel' > /sivu/. This feature is also found in Spiti and Garzha and Ladakh Jangthang.

9.10.7. Grammatical characteristics of the NW section

The dialects of the NW section exhibit some grammatical differences particularly in their verbal morphology and syntax. For example, concerning the verb morphology,
we find the following basic CEV. Most dialects of Ladakh, such as Leh, Sham, Nubra, Zanhar and Eastern Purik (up to Wakha-Mulbek and Sharkol) have a special auxiliary for non-visual sensory and endopathic: རག /rak/ or ཥག ཐི /ḍak/ or /ṭak/ derived from the CT verb ལག GREG. This auxiliary verb is also found in Spiti, Garzha, Khunu, Ladakh Jangthang, western Tibet (Ngari), Dölpo (Nepal) and some Kham dialects (see SKALBZANG’GYURMED and SKALBZANG DBYANGS.CAN 2002). This auxiliary is not used in Western Purik (Kargil area), where it is replaced by འདུག DUG and ཡོད YOD nor in Balti where it is replaced by ཕྱང SNANG and ཡོད YOD.

Another significant difference concerns the CEV ིིན YIN and ཡོད YOD. In Central Ladaks, Zanhar and Sham, these two verbs convey an egophoric meaning, whereas in Purik and Balti, they convey a neutral or authoritative meaning.90

Another difference between the languages and dialects of the NE section concerns the nominalizers (see below) and infinitive markers: Ladaks has /-čes/ or /-shes/ whereas Purik has /-pa/, /-ba/, /-ma/, and /-a/ depending on the context. Among the syntactic differences, we may mention the position of the adjectives. In Balti and Purik, the adjective is normally placed in front of the head noun as in English: རྙིང་མ་ཤོག་བུ /snyingma shogbu/ 'old book', སོ་མ་ཟམ་པ /soma zampa/ 'new bridge', འན་པོ་རྒྱུ་མ /nakpo rgyuma/ 'black intestine', བདེ་མོ་ཡུལ /rde mon yul/ 'a nice village', ཡོང ཆོ་ /snon chos/ ‘blue eye’. This is not the case in Ladaks and Zanhar and other Tibetic languages, where the adjective follows the head noun.

9.10.7.1. Case markers

The languages and dialects of the NW section distinguish up to seven cases (see Zeioler 2007; 2011). Frequent cases include ergative, absolutive, dative, ablative, genitive and locative,91 comparative and associative.

For example, the Leh dialect includes the following cases:

90. The replacement of the auxiliaries YIN, YOD, KYAG and GRAG respectively by YIN, YOD and DUG has a significant impact on the evidential-epistemic grammatical system since both the distinction between egophoric and factual as well as the distinction between non-visual and visual sensory non longer exist.

91. Depending on the languages, the semantic meaning may be a general locative or an inessive, an illative.
The ergative /-e/ or its variants /i/ or /yi/ (Koshal 1979) is derived from the CT ergative case མིས་ ‘IS. It is identical to the genitive. It is worth noting the ergative and genitive cases are still distinct in Balti, Purik, Nubra and Sham: these dialects have preserved the final -s of the CT ergative marker ’IS (or its allomorphs): -(ɨ)s/ in Sham, -ze/ in Nubra (see Zeisler 2007), -(ɨ)s/ in Purik (see Zemp 2018), /-si/, /-s/ in Balti (see Read 1934; Bielmeier 1985).

The absolutive Ø.

The dative /-a/ ‘A derived from the CT case འལ་ ‘LA.

The genitive /-e/ variants /i/ or /yi/ (< CT case ཉི་ ‘GI). This case is morphologically identical to the ergative in the oral language but written differently. See the ergative above.

The ablative /-ne/ ‘N. It is pronounced /-na/ in Sham dialects.

The comitative /-tang/ ‘C or its usual variant /nang/ ‘C.

The comparative /-sang/ ‘S. This marker is usually preceded by the genitive. Additionally Zeisler (2011) mentions the existence of a locative marker /ru/, /roa/ and other allomorphs in some dialects of Shamskat and Kenhat. This case which is marginal in the system is derived from CT ‘R.

Thus all the cases found in Ladaks are derived from forms which are cognates with CT. The only exception is the case /-sang/, which is also found in other western areas such as the Western section and the Tö Ngari area (Central Section).

In written LADWAGS-SI SKAD, the ergative is written down as མིས་ ‘IS and thus is different from the genitive ཉི་ ‘I. Another characteristic features of the written system is that the ergative, the genitive and the dative when attached to a word ending in a

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92. For example in the Ladags Melong, or in the texts of Khanpo Konchok Phanday and Bakula Bakula Rangdol Nima: མིས་ ‘IS KHONG-NGIS “S/he-ERG” (Konchok Phande 2017: 19) versus ཉི་ ‘I KHONG-NGI “S/he-GEN” (ibid.: 23), ཉི་ ‘I NYE.RANG-NGIS “you(H)-ERG” versus ཉི་ ‘I NYE.RANG-NGI “you(H)-GEN.”
consonant are formed phonologically by adding a homorganic consonant followed by -I for the genitive, -IS for the ergative and -A for the dative.  

The dialects of Sham and Purik as well as Balti have a similar case system as the Leh dialect. There are however some discrepancies particularly in the differential marking of the ergative and the genitive. In these dialects, the ergative has a clear reflex of the final 'IS, as mentioned above. Depending on the dialects, the ergative form is /-s/, /-is/, or even /-ze/ (Zeisler 2007; 2011; Zemp 2018), whereas the genitive is generally /-i/.

9.10.7.2. Nominalizers

Various nominalizers are found in the NW section (see 8.3.13). They include the following markers:

- The nominalizer /-k’an/ or /-kan/ derived from CT མཁན། MKHAN is used in Ladaks and Balti. Jäschke (1881) notes that “in colloquial language, esp. in Western Tibet, it has […] entirely displaced the proper participle termination in PA.”

- The nominalizer ཞེས། CES /-čes/ (sometimes written བྱེས། BYES) or its variant ཤེས། /-shes/ derived from CT ཇྱས། CHAS ‘thing, tool’. It is the main citation form for the infinitive in the Ladaks dictionaries. The word CHAS is also grammaticalized as a nominalizer in the Western, South Western, Southern and Central Sections. In other words, this nominalizer is found under various forms in most Tibetic languages except for Dzongkha, Sherpa and the languages of Eastern Tibet, i.e. Kham and Amdo.

- The nominalizer བ་ /-pa/ or its variant མ་ /-ma/ derived from CT བ། PA are used in Purik and Balti.

- As in other section the nominalizer /-sa/, derived from CT ས། SA is used to convey the place of the verbal action.

93. For example ཞེས། SKAD-DI “language-GEN”, ཁྲིན། NANG-NGA “inside-DAT.” (The homorganic consonant is in bold).
9.10.7.3. Verbal inflections

The northwestern languages have not inherited the irregular verb morphology of OT and CT (see the discussion on this issue in Chapter 8). Zeisler (2004: 620) describes the Ladaks verb morphology in the following way:

“In Ladakhi [Ladaks], the imperative stem is identical with the present stem when the syllable of the present stem is closed, and identical with the past stem when the present stem ends in a vowel. A separate imperative stem showing Ablaut a → o does only exist when the present stem has a vowel a.”

The verb in the 'past' (conveying the completed aspect) normally takes a suffix –S and this suffix corresponds to the generalization of the suffix –S attested for many verbs in OT and CT.

For example in Ladaks: རེརས་ ZERS /zer-s/ 'said' (cf. CT: རེ་ ZER), འདུགས་ DUGS /duk-s/ 'stayed' (cf. CT: འདུག DUG) and in Balti: གིཞ་ SHIS /shi-s/ 'died' (cf. CT: གི SHI). The suffix –S is however not entirely systematic as noted by Zeisler (2004: 620):

“There is a certain tendency that only controlled action verbs show the past tense suffix –s or show post-final suffix –s, whereas accidental [non-controllable] event verbs either do not take the past tense suffix –s or show post-final –s, in the present or, rather neutral stem, but there are a few exceptions.” Moreover, the suffixation of the –S varies a lot according to the various languages and dialects: “Despite the tendency in West Tibetan [our Northwestern section] to generalise the suffix –s, for verbs that were lacking it in Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan […], there is an opposite tendency in Balti and Purik to generally delete it in the Simple Past, i.e. the mere past stem not followed by a morpheme.” (Zeisler ibid.: 624)

In the NW section, just as in all other sections, verb suppletion to mark various tense-aspect and modalities is also attested. For example, in most dialects, the verb 'to go' has two suppletive forms: /c'a/ (present), /song/ (past, imperative), respectively derived from CT མཚུངས CHAS ‘to set for a trip’, ལོང SONG ‘to go’ (past) (see Norman 2019; Hoshi & Tondup Tsering 1978).

9.10.7.4. Linking verbs and auxiliary verbs

Copulative verbs

The main copulative verb corresponds to རྒྱལ YIN or སྒྲ YIN in Balti, Purik and Ladaks. The negation is སྒྲ /men/. These forms are derived from CT རྒྱལ YIN and
MIN. This copula has different meanings in the various languages. In Balti and Purik, it lacks egophoricity (see Bielmeier 2000; Zemp 2018) whereas in Ladaks, it has definitely an egophoric meaning.

In Ladaks, the form /inok/ is used to convey an inferential meaning (Bielmeier 2000, and section 8.4.3.4) but also a factual meaning (see 8.4.3.6). The copulative verb /intsuk/ is used in Balti and Purik to convey an inferential meaning (Zemp 2018).

**Existential verbs**

Existential auxiliaries of the NW section include the following verbs:

- /yot/ < CT existential verb YOD. The negation form is /met/ (< CT MEDI).
- /duk/ is attested in Purik and Ladaks. Its use is normally related to visual perception. This verb is derived from the CT verb DUG 'to sit'. It has the following negation forms: MI-DUG /minduk/ or ◊ MI-nuk/.
- /nang/ is attested in Turtuk (Balti) where it conveys a sensory meaning and the neighboring Nubra dialect where it is related to visual perception versus /ak/ indicating non-visual perception.
- ◊ RAG /rak/ or the variant GRAG is used in Ladaks, Zanhar, Sham and eastern Purik (Mulbek, Chitkan, etc.). It is derived from the CT verb GRAG 'to be heard of'. It is used for auditory and more generally non-visual sensory and endopathic access to information. This copula has the following negation form: ◊ MI-GRAG.

**Compound linking verbs**

Compound linking verbs are frequent in the NW section. They include for example ◊ yotp/ derived from CT YOD,PA,YIN or the inferential
forms ◯ཡོད་ཙུག་/yot-tsuk/, ◯ཡོད་ཀག་/yot-kak/ or the variant ◯ཡོད་ཀྱག་/yot-kyak/, ◯ཡིན་ཙུག་/yin-tsuk/ and ◯ཡིན་ཀག་/yin-kak/ (see also Zeisler 2012b).

**Auxiliaries**

Frequent auxiliary verbs of the NW section consist of the linking verbs (sometimes preceded by a relator) are some lexical verbs. They include:

- ◯ཡིན་/YN/-in/ or ◯YIN are derived from the CT copulative verb ◯YIN is used for the future and the completed past. It indicates an authoritative meaning.
- ◯YIN.NOG or the variants ◯YIN.NAG, ◯YIN.DAG has two entirely distinct functions: it conveys an authoritative (factual) meaning and a visual sensory inferential meaning. These auxiliaries are attested in Ladaks (Leh, Sham) and in the dialects of Rongkat and Jangkat along the upper Indus valley and in the Jangthang. The form found in Chumathang and Nyoma is ◯YIN.DAG which is the most archaic. Following the Indus river down towards Leh, the auxiliary changes to ◯YIN.NAG and then to ◯YIN.NOG (in Leh). The auxiliary ◯DAG is also attested in Tö Ngari on the Tibetan side of the border. It is important to distinguish clearly ◯YIN.DAG, the authoritative/visual sensory inferential marker and ◯YIN.GRAG, the non-visual sensory despite the fact that in some dialects such as Jangkat, the two pronunciations are very similar: ◯YIN.GRAG /yinɖak/ (with a retroflex) and ◯YIN.DAG /yindak/ (with a dental sound). In Leh, the same opposition is very clear: ◯YIN.NOG versus ◯YIN.GRAG /yinɖak/.
- ◯ཡིན་/YN/-pin/ derived from CT ◯P.A.YIN has two distinct functions: ‘simple past’ and the ‘remoteness marker’. The former is auxiliary is only compatible with controllable verbs and normally used with the first person. It indicates generally an egophoric meaning. As a marker of ‘remoteness’, it occurs after a first auxiliary and simply indicates a past reference.
- ◯ཡོད་/YOD/-yot/ or its allomorphs ◯/et/ ◯/at/ is used for the ‘simple present’ and the ‘present continuous’ (Koshal 1982/2005: 18, 69) and the uncompleted past.
▪ ◊ ཀདུ/ or its variants ◊ རུ/, ◊ གུ/, etc. are derived from CT ཀདུ 'DUG' to sit'. They are used with the present (Koshal 1982/2005: 18) and the perfect (Zeisler 2018; Zemp 2018) to indicate a visual sensory meaning.

▪ ◊ ནུ/ -buk/, ◊ འུ/ -bok/, འི/ -ok/ are probably derived from CT ལཀ ལཀ 'nominalizer' + 'DUG' to sit' (see Zeisler 2017). They are used to mark the inferential future.

▪ ◊ བུ/ -buk/, ◊ བོ/ -bok/, ཡོ/ -ok/ are probably derived from CT ག་ཀདུ ག་ཀདུ 'nominalizer' + 'DUG' to sit' (see Zeisler 2017). They are used to mark the inferential future.

▪ ◊ ཁོ/ -tok/ and its variants ◊ དོ/ -dok/, ◊ རོ/ -rok/ are used to convey a past inferential meaning. The etymology of /-tok/ (/ -dok/, / -rok/) is rather clear. As shown by Zeisler, it is derived from CT ཀདུ/ DUG.

▪ ◊ རུ/ -suk/ and ◊ རུ/ TSUG sometimes spelled རུ/ TSHUG in the written transcriptions (Koshal 1979). There has been some debates about the origin of this marker. Tournadre and Konchok Jiatso (2001) and Denwood (2007) have proposed to derive these forms from the related CT verbs རུ/ TSHUGS 'to be steady, firm, to be established' or རུ/ ZUG 'to be planted, to get pricked' and pointed out that the auxiliary རུ/ ZUG was also found in Amdo and Kham. However, Zeisler (2017) proposed for the Shamskat dialect an alternative explanation. The form results from the development: -s-duk > -suk ~ -sok or -se-duk > *-se'uk > -suk ~ -sok. For Purik, Zemp (2018) has also proposed to derive རུ/ TSUG from the 'conjunctive participial suffix སྟ/ STE + ཀདུ/ DUG. Even if there are some phonological problems with this hypothesis, their argumentation is quite convincing. Particularly the parallelisms between གོ/ YOD and ཀདུ/ DUG in the resultative constructions: གོ/ YOD, གོ/ YOD, གོ/ YOD as well as the negation of རུ/ TSUG which is རུ/ MI-'DUG.

▪ ◊ སཀ/ /rak/ and its variant /ṭak/ is derived from the CT verb སཀ/ GRAG 'to be heard of' is used in a 'non-visual sensory' meaning (see Tournadre, 2022). The verb GRAG is grammaticalized as an auxiliary in Ladakh, Spiti-Garzha-Khunu, Tö Ngari and some Kham dialects. The endopathic function is also typically

94. Namely the fact, that after the auxiliary YIN, the conjunctive participial should be /-e/ and not /-se/ according to Zemp’s own data. Thus it should yield YIN-e-DUG, which is unlikely to change into YIN(T)SUG.
encoded by this marker and it is used to convey inner sensations, feelings and intuitions. This copula has the following negation forms: ◊ མི་རག /mirak/.

- ◊ བར /kak/ or ◊ འར /kyak/ is used with the various tenses and aspects. According to Koshal (1982: 590), it refers to 'general statement' or 'habitual actions'. It is also attested in Spiti-Khunu-Garzha. For a discussion about the etymology of /-kak/, see the W section.

- ◊ བཟང /-rnang/ or its variant ◊ བང /-ang/ is used in the Nubra, Balti and western Shamskat dialects (see e.g. Ebihara 2014). It is derived from CT བཟང SNANG ‘to appear’. Jones (2009) describes this form as a 'present mirative' (see also Zeisler 2017).

The NW evidential/epistemic systems usually have special forms to mark visual and non-visual sensory access to information, as well as authoritative or factual, inferential, hearsay and epistemic meanings. Among the specificities of the languages of this section, we find the distinction between visual sensory and non-visual sensory marking.

### 9.10.7.5. Negation

In the languages of NW section, as in other Tibetic languages the negation forms are derived from CT མ /MA and མ /MI. The negation markers may occur after the verb and prefixed to the auxiliary, or before the lexical verb.
10. Contact languages

10.1. The various language families in contact with Tibetic

From a historical point of view, the Tibetan scholars have been exposed to various literary languages such as Sanskrit and some Prakrits, Classical Chinese, Persian (and other Iranian languages such as Khotanese). All these languages had some limited impact on literary Tibetan. Sanskrit had a more significant impact because it was chosen as the model language for the Tibetan grammar (see Chapter 5), and also because a great number of texts were translated from Sanskrit. In this section, we will concentrate on the current contact between the Tibetic languages and the spoken languages.

The Tibetic languages are in contact with many other languages spoken on the Tibetan Plateau or in the Himalayas and the Karakoram. Most of them belong to the Sino-Tibetan macrofamily but some are affiliated to other families such as the Mongolic, Turkic, Indo-European and Burushaski. See Endo et al. (2021) for their geographical distribution with linguistic maps under the Asian geolinguistic perspective.

The ST languages in contact with Tibetic essentially belong to three branches: “Tibeto-Himalayan,” Qiangic and rGyalrongic.1 Tibetic languages are also in touch with Lolo-Burmese, Tani, Naic languages and a few other languages, whose classification is currently under debate.

It is important to note that the contact languages are not only found at the margins of the Tibetic speaking area but are also located in Tibet itself. Within the Tibetan Autonomous administrative units, particularly within Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan, one finds many non-Tibetic languages, which are spoken either by Tibetans or other ethnic groups (see Chapter 2) who have settled in Tibet. According to Roche and Suzuki (2018), there are fifty-two non-Tibetic languages spoken within Tibet. (For detail, see the various sections of this chapter; see also Sonntag & Turin 2019.)

Some of these non-Tibetic languages, such as Oirat, Bai, Drung, Lisu, Nosu, Naxi, etc. are also spoken in other territories outside Tibet, while others are only found in

1. Several scholars consider that rGyalrongic languages constitute a well-established subgroup of Qiangic (see Sun 2000).
Tibet. The Chinese authorities have given the political status of “nationality” to some of these communities who speak non-Tibetic languages, such as the Salar, Tu, Western Yughur, Bonan, Mönpa [Chin: Menba], Lopa [Chin: Luoba], etc. (see Chapter 2), but the majority of the communities who speak non-Tibetic languages are officially considered as belonging to the Tibetan Nationality.

10.1.1. Contact with Tibeto-Himalayan languages

The Tibetic languages are in contact with many Tibeto-Himalayan languages which belong to the following subgroups: Bodish, Tshangla, Tamangic and Western Himalayan.

The Bodish languages and Tshangla are spoken in the eastern part of the TAR (China) as well as in Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh (India).

The Tamangic languages are located in Nepal and the Western Himalayan languages in Himalachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand (India).

Some Kiranti languages2 spoken in the Eastern Himalayas such as Limbu are marginally in contact with the Tibetic languages of Sikkim. For some information about the Tibeto-Himalayan languages and their relation to Tibetic, see 10.4. For the list of Tibeto-Himalayan languages, see 10.7.1-5.

10.1.2. Contact with rGyalrongic languages

rGyalrongic languages are also genetically related to Tibetic languages and in close contact particularly with Amdo and Kham dialects. They are spoken in Sichuan province and marginally in the TAR. The rGyalrongic languages have preserved an archaic morphology. The various rGyalrongic languages have borrowed a great deal of vocabulary from Tibetan at least since the seventh century and have preserved many archaic forms. In the rGyalrongic speaking area the traditional written language is Literary Tibetan.

For more detailed information about the rGyalrongic languages see 10.4 and 10.7.6.

2. Limbu, Yakkha, Chiling, Athpahariya, Lohorung, Yamphu, Mewahang, Kulung, Nachiring, Sampung, Sam, Chamling, Puma, Buntawa, Chintang, Dungmali, Hayu, Thulung, Ombule, Dumi, Bahing, Sunwar.
10.1.3. Contact with Qiangic languages

Qiangic languages are spoken in South-western China in the provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu (mostly in Tibetan autonomous prefectures) as well as in TAR. None of the Qiangic languages, except Tangut, are written and Literary Tibetan is used as a written language.

For more detailed information about the Qiangic languages see 10.4 and 10.7.7.

10.1.4. Contact with Tani, Lolo-Burmese, Naic and Nungish languages

A few Tani languages are in contact with the Tibetic languages. They are spoken in the TAR (China) as well as in Arunachal Pradesh (India). Lolo-Burmese and Naic languages are spoken essentially in Yunnan but also in Sichuan. Nungish languages such as Trung and Rawang are spoken respectively in Yunnan (China) and the Kachin state (Myanmar).

All these languages are in contact with Kham Tibetan. In Sichuan, the speakers of Kham generally do not learn Nosu even though they live in the area close to the Nosu-speaking area. In contrast, the speakers of Kham in Yunnan learn some Nosu if they live in the same community. In Weixi County, the elder people of various ethnic minorities used to speak several ethnic languages such as Tibetan, Naxi, and Lisu rather than Chinese, and the mutual influence of each language can be found especially in the vocabulary. In Myanmar, Burmese is an intrusive language and Tibetan speakers also speak it.

10.1.5. Contact with Sinitic languages

A few dialectal groups of Mandarin are in contact with Tibetic languages. Among them, one can mention 兰银 Lanyin (Gansu), 中原 Zhongyuan (Gansu, Qinghai), 西南官话 Xinan-Guanhua “Southwestern Mandarin” (Sichuanese and Yunnanese). 普通话 Putonghua or standard Mandarin is the official language of the People’s Republic of China. As such, it is spoken in the main towns and villages

throughout the Tibetan speaking area in China and it is widely used in the schools and media.

There are three so-called “mixed languages” reported and described so far. They are as follows:

- **Daohua (A-tshogs 2004):** A mixed language of Tibetan and Chinese (Southwestern Mandarin) is spoken and it is locally called Daohua. The variety spoken in Nyagchukha County in Kandze Prefecture (Sichuan) is well described.

- **Wutun (Sandman 2016):** A mixed language which has a Sinitic substratum but has incorporated many Tibetan and Mongolic (Bonan) elements; spoken in Rebgong County (Tongren) in Malho Prefecture (Qinghai).

- **Selibu (Zhou 2018; Zhou & Suzuki 2020, 2022):** A mixed language which has a Sinitic substratum (Southwestern Mandarin but Zhongyuan Mandarin remaining) and has incorporated many Tibetan elements; spoken mainly by Hui Nationality living in Gyalthang Municipality in Dechen Prefecture (Yunnan).

10.1.6. Contact with Indo-Iranian languages

Indo-Iranian languages spoken within the Tibetic area, particularly on the southern slope of the Himalayas and the Karakoram comprise mainly Indic (or Indo-Aryan) languages. They also include one Iranian language. Here is a list of the main languages in contact with the Tibetic languages:

- **Hindi-Urdu in Ladakh, Baltistan, Spiti, Garzha, Upper Kinnaur and Sikkim (and Indo-Aryan dialects such as Pahari in Himachal Pradesh).**

- **Nepali in Northern Nepal, Sikkim (India) and Bhutan.**

- **Bengali in the Darjeeling and Kalimpong areas of West Bengal and Sikkim (India).**

- **Assamese in Arunachal Pradesh (India).**

- **Dardic languages such as Brokskat or Shina in Baltistan, Ladakh and Kohistan.** (See Yoshioka 2015: 209.)
• One Iranian language, Wakhi, is found near the Balti-speaking area in Pakistan.

10.1.7. Contact with Mongolic languages
Southeastern Mongolic are in contact with Tibetic languages in the north of the zone, mainly in Amdo. The various Mongolic languages spoken in Qinghai are Oirat (Wulán, Tuulán, and Sogwo counties), Mangghuer (Minhe County), Mongghul (Huzhu County), Bonan (Tongren or Rebgong County). In Wulán County, Mongolian speakers do not speak Tibetan, whereas in Sogwo, Tibetan is dominant and only elders can still speak some Mongolian. In addition, there is another language, Wutun, which is considered a Chinese-Tibetan-Mongolian creole (see above). It is spoken in Amdo in Rebgong County (Chin: Tongren), Qinghai Province.

10.1.8. Contact with Turkic languages
Uyghur is mainly spoken in the neighboring province of Xinjiang, but Tibetic languages are no longer in direct contact with Uyghur. However, historically, at the time of the Tibetan empire, Tibetan and Uyghur were in contact.

Salar and Yughur languages are the only Turkic languages spoken today within the Amdo region (see Simon 2016). The Salar people are traditionally Muslims. A few of them speak Amdo Tibetan. Kazakh language, another Turkic language, is spoken only at the periphery of the Tibetic area and only marginally in contact with Amdo.

10.1.9. Contact with Burushaski
Burushaski is a language isolate spoken in the Hunza valley at the border with Baltistan. Burushaski is mentioned in Tibetan annals of the empire as Drusha BRU.SHA. Some Burushos have also settled in Baltistan, and this language has been in contact with Balti for many centuries. Many articles have been devoted to this language but Burushaski remains a riddle for linguistics. Concerning the linguistic descriptions of Burushaski and its possible linguistic affiliation, see van Driem (2001).

10.1.10. Contact with intrusive languages
Within China, Putonghua is now used as a second language by a majority of Tibetans. The number of Tibetan speakers who master Chinese has increased during the last decades. For this reason, Chinese has a growing influence on some Tibetic languages
and dialects, especially in the eastern regions. Even in Central Tibet, many people mix in their everyday speech Chinese vocabulary with Tibetan vocabulary and grammar. This has given rise to the so-called རམལས་ཀ་ Ramaluk-ka lit. 'half sheep-half goat language.'

Within the Tibetic areas in India and Pakistan, Hindi and Urdu have also become intrusive languages. They are dominant in the school system and there is a tendency to mix the Tibetic languages such as Spiti and Ladakhi, etc. with Hindi-Urdu particularly in the district headquarters. Nepali has also gradually become a dominant language not only in Nepal but also in the Indian State of Sikkim and is known among the Bhutanese elite.

Since the end of the twentieth century, the “hyper language” English, another Indo-European language, has become widespread among the elites of the Tibetan speaking communities in India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bhutan. It is also used as education medium in many schools of the area.

We have no precise data about the situation in Myanmar, but it is likely that the National language Burmese as well as languages spoken in the Kachin state such as Rawang put pressure on the Kham dialect spoken in some villages of northern Myanmar.

10.2. Tibeto-Burman and Sinitic

Tibeto-Burman and Sinitic form the “Sino-Tibetan” macrofamily. However, many debates have taken place among the linguists about the structure and the extension of ST. (See e.g. Thurgood & LaPolla, 2017.) Recent arguments by Zhang

4. Elites in Central Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim and Ladakh began learning English to various degrees even in the beginning of the twentieth century.

5. Most scholars use the term ‘Sino-Tibetan’. It would also be relevant to call it Sino-Tibeto-Burman. Such a label would be based on the three main literary languages that have been used to reconstruct this macrofamily: Old Chinese, Literary Tibetan and Literary Burman. Some authors have proposed alternative appellations to Sino-Tibetan such as Sino-Bodic (van Driem 1997), Trans-Himalayan (van Driem 2014) or even greater groupings such as Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian (Sagart 2001).

6. Most authors consider as Thurgood and LaPolla (2003) that “the Sino-Tibetan family consists of two major sub-groups: Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman.” However, a minority of authors such as van Driem (2015) consider Sinitic as branch of Tibeto-Burman.
et al. (2019), Sagart et al. (2019), and Zhang et al. (2020) support the establishment of the Sino-Tibetan family. Recent research about the genome of populations in East Asia also seems to confirm the Sino-Tibetan hypothesis (Wang et al. 2021).

The Sinitic family only includes a dozen of mutually non-intelligible languages, which used to be called “Chinese dialects,” all derived from Old Chinese: Mandarin (Northern Chinese), Jin, Wu, Gan, Xiang, Hakka, Min-bei (Northern Min), Mindong (Eastern Min), Min-nan (Southern Min) and Yue (Cantonese). There are more specific dialects reported such as Pinghua. (See e.g. Chappell 2006.)

On the other hand, the Tibeto-Burman family comprises about 400 languages. The TB family includes the following main branches: Tibeto-Himalayan, Bodo-Garo, Lolo-Burmese and Karenic. However, during the last thirty years, some scholars have proposed to add other branches such as Naga-Kuki-Chin, Qiangic, Tani (also called Mirish), Bai, Asakian ⁸ and Nungic languages. There are many questions still regarding the classification of the Tibeto-Burman branch, especially at the level of the groups and subgroups.

Modern Tibetan languages are only remotely related to most other groups of the ST macrofamily such as Sinitic, Baric, Lolo-Burmese, Karenic, etc. but they are obviously more closely related to Qiangic, rGyalrongic and especially to Bodic languages. We can compare this situation with the position of English within the Indo-European macrofamily. English, as a Germanic language, is only very remotely related to Indo-Iranian, it is genetically (and geographically) slightly closer to Slavonic or Romance languages, but it is very closely related to the other Germanic languages, such as Dutch, German, Swedish, etc. As mentioned earlier, the subfamily of Tibetic languages is comparable in size diversity to the Romance languages. They also share with the latter the existence of an old written language which is closely related to their ancestor (such as Latin for Romance and Old Tibetan for Tibetic).

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⁷ Some scholars mention a slightly lower number. Michailovsky gives the figure of 250 languages, while Matisoff mentions 250/300 languages. If we take into account the diversity of the Tibetic family, it is necessary to add at least fifty “languages” without mutual intelligibility.

⁸ See Matisoff (2013). Asakian includes Jingpho, Sal, and other related languages.
Let us now illustrate in Chart X.1 below the degree of remoteness between Tibetic and Sinitic languages (see also the STEDT database). Their genetic kinship, which is accepted by most scholars, is not obvious for non-linguists. Indeed, modern Sinitic and Tibetic languages seem so different that it is hard to imagine any genetic relationship between the two groups. However, when we compare Old Chinese and Classical Literary Tibetan, some roots are obviously cognate as shown in the chart below. These roots are also cognates in most TB languages. We can also clearly see that modern Chinese (in this case Mandarin) has undergone an evolution which makes it look even more different from Literary Tibetan.

In the chart below, the reconstruction of Old Chinese and Middle Old Chinese below is based on Baxter & Sagart (2014).  

As noted by Guillaume Jacques (pers. comm. 2021): “although several scholars have proposed reconstructions of proto-Sino-Tibetan or Proto-Tibeto-Burman (Peiros & Starostin 1996; Matisoff 2003), they are highly controversial.” See also Fellner & Hill (2019).
CHART X.1. – Comparison of cognates between Old Chinese, Middle Old Chinese and Literary Tibetan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexicon</th>
<th>Old Chinese</th>
<th>Middle Old Chinese</th>
<th>Literary Tibetan</th>
<th>Modern Mandarin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>ȵa 魚</td>
<td>ŋjo</td>
<td>ṅya</td>
<td>魚 yú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>C.ȵ'ã? 五</td>
<td>ŋuX</td>
<td>ṅnga</td>
<td>五 wǔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ȵ'ã? 吾</td>
<td>ŋX</td>
<td>ṅnga</td>
<td>我 wǒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>s.ʈʃʃ-四</td>
<td>sɨH</td>
<td>ṅzhhi</td>
<td>四 sì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>kroʔ, [k]æ[t][c][n]ʔ 犬</td>
<td>kwX, khwenX</td>
<td>ṅkhi</td>
<td>犬 gǒu, 犬 quán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>[s]ʕum 三</td>
<td>sam</td>
<td>ṅSUM</td>
<td>三 sān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>[tsʰ]ã? 草</td>
<td>tshawX</td>
<td>ṅRTSWA</td>
<td>草 cǎo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>kʰ(r)ã? 口</td>
<td>kwX</td>
<td>ṅkha</td>
<td>口 kǒu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>[k]ã? 九</td>
<td>kjuwX</td>
<td>ṅDGU</td>
<td>九 jiǔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>C.meŋ 名</td>
<td>mjieŋ</td>
<td>ṅming</td>
<td>名 míngzì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>[ŋ]&lt;r&gt;[n]ʔ, C.m[r][u]k 目</td>
<td>ŋenX, mjuek</td>
<td>ṅMYIG</td>
<td>眼睛 yǎnjìng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
<td>C.ran̥ 涼</td>
<td>læŋX, ljan</td>
<td>ṅGRANG</td>
<td>冷 lèng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>m.o.lat 舌</td>
<td>zet</td>
<td>ṅLCE, ṅLJAGS</td>
<td>舌 shé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>ni-s 二</td>
<td>juiH</td>
<td>ṅGYIS</td>
<td>二 èr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poison</td>
<td>[d]uiʔ 毒</td>
<td>dowk</td>
<td>ṅDUG</td>
<td>毒 dú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>sɨjʔ 死</td>
<td>sɨX</td>
<td>ṅSHI</td>
<td>死 sǐ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Karlgren provides the following reconstruction for initial segment ȵiž.
Apart from a handful of lexical cognates, the phonology and the grammar of Old Chinese and Classical Literary Tibetan are very distinct. The same could be said if we compare Karenic and Tibetic groups.

Classical Tibetan is more closely related with Classical Burmese and even with spoken Burmese than with modern Sinitic languages, as we can see from the following comparative chart.

**Chart X.2. – Comparison of cognates between Burmese and Tibetan in contrast with Chinese**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexicon</th>
<th>Classical Burmese</th>
<th>Classical Tibetan</th>
<th>Chinese (Mandarin)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>မီး /mi/</td>
<td>མེ/</td>
<td>火 huǒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>လ /la/</td>
<td>བླ/       11</td>
<td>月 yuè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>ငါး /nga:/</td>
<td>ཇ་      11</td>
<td>鱼 yú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt</td>
<td>ဆား /s’a/</td>
<td>མ་      12</td>
<td>盐 yán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>ဝက် /we/ (wak)</td>
<td>དག་      13</td>
<td>手 shǒu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>ဝက် /we?/ (wak)</td>
<td>དག་      13</td>
<td>猪 zhū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road</td>
<td>လမ်း /laN/ (lam)</td>
<td>སྨ བ་ 14</td>
<td>路 lù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>အေမ /ame/</td>
<td>ཀྲི་      15</td>
<td>母亲 mǔqín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>အေဖ /aphe/</td>
<td>ཀྲི་      15</td>
<td>父亲 fùqín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite these similarities in a few basic words, Burmese and Burmic languages are only remotely related to Tibetic and they also exhibit a lot of differences in their grammar. As we will see, within the TB family, Tibeto-Himalayan, rGyalrongic and Qiangic
languages share more features with the Tibetic languages. These three groups of languages have been directly in contact with the Tibetic languages for many centuries.

### 10.3. Tibetic and Tibeto-Himalayan

The term "Bodic" is a traditional label coined by R. Shafer to refer to a group of languages that is also called "Tibeto-Himalayan." It lumps together Tibetic languages with a number of languages essentially spoken in the southern Himalayas, in Nepal, Bhutan and India. Apart from Tibetic, Tibeto-Himalayan (hence TH) includes the following subgroups from West to East: *Western Himalayan* or Kinnauri (Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh, India; Western Nepal); *Central Himalayan* (Mid-western Nepal); *Tamangic* (Central Nepal); *Eastern Himalayan* or Kiranti (Eastern Nepal) as well as *Far eastern Himalayan* languages spoken in Bhutan, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh (India) and on the Tibetan Plateau.

"Tibeto-Himalayan" or "Bodic" is a rather "heterogenous and impressionistic" group (van Driem 2001) and some scholars such as R. LaPolla or G. Jacques (pers. comm.) think that it should be abandoned altogether. The validity of the TH grouping has not been proven so far. Many authors such as Matisoff, LaPolla, van Driem or more recently Hyslop (2013) have called for a bottom up approach in the classification before making hypothetical groupings.

The term "Bodish," also coined by Shafer, was intended to designate the “Tibetan dialects” as well as the languages most closely affiliated with “Tibetan,” within the TH branch. In its original meaning, Bodish comprises of the Central Bodish (which corres-

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13. The label "Bodic" and "Bodish" derive from the root *bod* meaning ‘Tibet’ in Classical Tibetan. Both terms are misnomers since the Bodic and Bodish languages include a lot of languages which do not use a word derived from the root *bod* to designate Tibet. For example, in Byangsi the word for Tibet is /kidny/, in Rongpo (or Garhwal) /byan/, etc. Thus the label “Tibeto-Himalayan” is a preferable.

14. This group is often referred to as West Himalayish (see van Driem 2001).

15. It includes languages such as Kham, Magar and possibly Newari. These languages are sometimes grouped together with the Kiranti languages in a “Mahākiranti” group.

16. E.g. Tshangla, Dakpa, Lhokpu, Gonduk, Lepcha, Bhumthang, Dakpa, etc.
ponds to our Tibetic], South Bodish and West Bodish, and a series of languages spoken in Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh called East Bodish. According to van Driem (2001: 828), “Bodish is a more well-defined subgroup whereas Bodic is intended as a more tentative and loosely formulated heuristic set.”

Although “Bodish” is a “more well-defined subgroup” and is less controversial than “Bodic” (or “Tibeto-Himalayan”), it is also problematic. First, various authors have proposed different definitions of Bodish. For example, Bradley (1997) incorporates West Himalayish and Tamangic as branches of “Bodish.” Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994) consider that the Tamangic languages or TGTM (Tamang-Gurung, Thakali, Manangba group) “belongs in the Bodish section but outside the Bodish Branch.” For van Driem (2001), the label “Bodish” does not include the Tamangic languages.

As was shown by Shafer (1955) as well as Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994), East Bodish languages are clearly not “Tibetan dialects” (see also Hyslop 2011, 2013). They exhibit more conservative features than the “Tibetan dialects.” Hyslop (2013: 3) noted correctly that

“a confident placement of the East Bodish languages with regard to Tibetan [Tibetic] and within Tibeto-Burman is impossible at the present time. There has obviously been considerable influence of Chöke (Classical Tibetan, the liturgical language of Bhutan) and Dzongkha on the East Bodish languages in Bhutan and probably in Arunachal Pradesh as well.”

Thus in its restricted sense, “Bodish” is equivalent to the grouping of “Tibetic” (in our sense) with “East Bodish” languages.

If we look at the languages that have the closest genetic affiliations with Tibetan, we find not only the East Bodish languages, but also the Tamangic languages, spoken in the southern Himalayas, as well as some languages whose classification is not entirely clear such as Basum (spoken in Kongpo, TAR) or Tshona Monpa, both spoken on the Tibetan Plateau.

17. Shafer’s Central Bodish comprises Ü-Tsang, Amdo, Kham but also some “dialects” of the southern Himalayas such as Sherpa and Jirel; South Bodish refers to Dzongkha, Lhöke, Dromo; West Bodish corresponds to Balti, Ladakhi (West archaic group) as well as Spiti, Garsha and the Western part of Ngari.
Other TH subgroups such as West Himalayish or Kiranti are not as closely related to Tibetic. Although they do share a lot of cognates, they differ in their basic vocabulary and grammar. For example, both West Himalayish and Kiranti languages are pronominalized languages, i.e. they exhibit a verb "agreement" or rather an argument indexation, which is absent in all the Tibetic languages.

Illustration of some basic lexical discrepancies within “Tibeto-Himalayan”

TH languages share a great deal of cognates as we show below with examples taken from Kiranti, West Himalayish languages and Classical Tibetan (CT). We provide below the correspondences in the various languages\(^{18}\) as well as the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) reconstructed forms. Let us first look at some lexical items, which at first glance would advocate for a close relationship:\(^{19}\)

‘eye’: /mik/ (Limbu), /mig/ (Rongpo), མིག་MIG (CT), *s-myak (PTB)
‘die, to’: /si(-ma)/ (Limbu), /hi(-ci-mo)/ (Byangsi), ལྟོ་SHI (CT), *soy (PTB)
‘drink, to’: /thuŋ/ (Limbu), /tuŋ(-mo)/ (Byangsi), རྟུང་‘THUNG (CT), *doŋ (PTB)
‘fire’: /mi/ (Limbu), /mhe/ (Rongpo), མྱེ་ME (CT), *mey (PTB)
‘fish’: /ŋa/ (Limbu), /hnya/ (Darma), རྩའ་NYA (CT), *ŋya (PTB)
‘five’: /ŋasi/ (Limbu), /ŋe/ (Rongpo), རླ་LNGA (CT), *l-b-ŋasi (PTB)
‘house, home’: /him/ (Limbu), /cim/ (Byangsi), dim (Tamang), རྨ་KHYIM (CT), *kyim (PTB)
‘louse’: /siʔ/ (Limbu), /rhi:ɡ/ (Rongpo), རྒུ་SHIG (CT), *s-r(y)ik (PTB)
‘meat’: /sa/ (Limbu), /ʃa/ (Rongpo), ཤ་SHA (CT), *sya (PTB)
‘wood, tree’: /siŋ/ (Limbu), /ɕiŋ/ (Darma), རྭ་SHING (CT), *siŋ (PTB)
‘one’: /thik/ (Limbu), /tigɛ/ (Byangsi), གཅིག་GCIG (CT), *g-t(y)ik (PTB)

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18. Concerning Limbu (a Kiranti language), the data are taken from Michailovsky (2002). Concerning Rongpo, Byangsi, Darma and Chaudangsi the data are taken respectively form Sharma (2001a-b) and Shree Krishan (2001a-b).
19. Limbu is a Kiranti language while Rongpo, Byangsi, Chaudangsi and Darma are West Himalayish languages.
‘month, moon’: /laba/ (Limbu), hla (Chaudangsi), ZLA (CT), *s/g-la (PTB)

‘two’: /ni/ (Limbu), /nhis/ (Rongpo), GNYIS (CT), *g/s-nis (PTB)

‘three’: /sum/ (Limbu), /sum/ (Rongpo), GSUM (CT), *g-sum (PTB)

‘four’: /lisi/ (Limbu), /bor/ (Basum), /bli/ (Tamang) Kheng /ble/, BZHI (CT), *b-lay (PTB)

‘silver’: /mul/ (Rongpo), /mal/ (Byangsi), DNGUL (CT)

Even when the words are obviously cognate, their form does not comply with the phonological evolution of the Tibetic languages. When we look at the cognates mentioned in the list above, we could already determine that Limbu is not a Tibetic language because in some cases, the cognates are not reflexes of Classical Tibetan but bear more archaic features. As we showed in Chapter 4, one of the important innovative features of Old Tibetan was the palatalization of dental and sibilant consonants: *sy > SH and *ty > CH. The Limbu words /siʔ/ ‘louse’, /si(ma)/ ‘die’, /siŋ/ ‘tree’ (wood), /sa/ ‘flesh’, /thik/ ‘one’ have not undergone the palatalization that occurred in CT: SHIG ‘louse’, SHI ‘die, to’, SHING ‘wood, tree’, SHA ‘meat’ and GCIG ‘one’ and in all the languages derived from it. Concerning the fricative SH, Amdo and some Kham dialects have undergone a change into a velar and pronounce SH as /x’/ or /ɧ’, but no Tibetic language has preserved a dental fricative /s/.

However, the series of cognates listed above could indeed give the wrong impression of a close relationship between the above TH languages (Kiranti or West Himalayish) and Tibetic, whereas it is in fact a relatively remote relationship. First, some of the words listed above such as ‘eye’, ‘louse’, ‘one’, ‘wood’ are not specific cognates and are found beyond the TH branch in many TB languages (as shown by the comparison with Proto-Tibeto-Burman) and even Old Chinese (Matisoff 2003: 347). Second, the vast majority (up to 90%) of basic lexical items found in Kiranti and West Himalayish are in fact not cognate with CT. Let us illustrate this point with basic lexical items:

20. However, we find a sound correspondence of SH with a dental apical fricative in a marginal area of Kham.
'blood': /makkhi/ (Limbu), /vi/ (Darma), KHRAG (CT)
'brain': /nchie/ (Limbu), /tanu/ (Byangsi), KLA.DPA (CT)
'flower': /phuŋ/ (Limbu), /ce/ (Byangsi), /būr/ (Lepcha), ME.TOG (CT)
'gold': /sammyaŋ/ (Limbu), /jəŋ/ (Darma), GSER (CT)
'horse': /sn/ (Limbu), /hray/ (Byangsi), RTA (CT)
'leg': /lan/ (Limbu), /lute/ (Darma), RKANG (-PA) (CT)
'medicine': /sidaʔ/ (Limbu), /wo-so/ (Chaudangsi), SMAN (CT)
'stone': /lun/ (Limbu), /un/ (Rongpo), RDO (CT)
'iron': /phunjeng/ (Limbu), /na-jhau/ (Chaudangsi), LCAGS (CT)
'milk': /nu/ (Limbu), /nù/ (Byangsi), /cer/ (Lepcha), OMA (CT)
'red': /hət/ (Limbu), /man-nu/ (Darma), DMAR (CT)
'yellow': /hik/ (Limbu), /hleda/ (Chaudangsi), SER (CT)
'white': /phò/ (Limbu), /ci-da/ (Rongpo), DKAR (CT)
'seven': /nusi/ (Limbu), /hnis/ (Chaudangsi), /nif/ (Byangsi), BDUN (CT)

What has been told about Kiranti and West-Himalayish is also true for other TH languages such as Lepcha. Let us give a few other examples:

'throne': /hî/ (Lep), KHI (CT)
'law': /hîm/ (Lep), KHRIMS (CT)
'market': /hom/ (Lep), KHROM (CT)
'iron': /punjeng/ (Lep), LCAGS (CT)
'leg': /pâθon/ (Lep), RKANG.PA (CT)
'red': /pəhyur/ (Lep), DMAR.PO (CT)
'white': /pâdum/ (Lep), DKAR.PO (CT)
'blood': /vi/ (Lep), KHRAG (CT)

21. The classification of Lepcha is still not entirely clear and there is no consensus about its precise genetic affiliation within Tibeto-Himalayan. The data are based on Plaisier (2007).
‘flower’: /bûr/ (Lep), ཡེ་ཏོག་ME TOG (CT)

When we examine the Lepcha, we can see that the first words are very similar to their equivalents in Classical Tibetan. This is due to the fact that they have been borrowed many centuries ago. In fact, words such as ‘throne’, ‘market’ and ‘law’ are good candidates for loanwords, because they are related to power or have an economic, cultural or religious value. All the other words (‘iron’, ‘leg’, ‘red’, ‘yellow’, ‘white’, ‘blood’, ‘flower’) are clearly not cognate with CT. This situation is typical of many non-Tibetic languages spoken on the Tibetan Plateau and in the Himalayas, where we find loanwords with a pronunciation reflecting the old Tibetan pronunciation and indigenuous basic vocabulary which is entirely different.

As we can easily see, the words of the various TH languages are not cognate with CT words. In Limbu, about 90% of words are in fact not cognate with their CT equivalent.

On the other hand, all the modern Tibetic languages have direct reflexes of the above CT words.

It is obvious from the above list that the basic vocabulary of these TH languages is not related to Classical Tibetan. To the speakers of Tibetic languages, these TH languages are perceived as alien and relatively difficult to learn since they also exhibit significant differences in their morphology and syntax.

**Languages closely related to the Tibetic family**

The Tamangic and East Bodish languages, spoken in Nepal and Bhutan, as well as a few other languages spoken in Tibet, such as Dakpa and Basum, show a greater proximity to the Tibetic languages and Classical Literary Tibetan than the rest of the TH languages.

This proximity is not only genetic but due to the fact that they have borrowed a great number of words to the neighboring Tibetic languages and to Classical Tibetan which is in many cases used as a liturgical language of Tibetan Buddhism and Bön.

22. The Tamangic languages include various Tamang “dialects,” Gurung, Thakali, Manangi, Nar-Phu, Chantyal and Kaire (the affiliation of Kaire to the Tamangic branch is debated).

Here are some examples of the lexical proximity between Kurtö (East Bodish) and Tibetic. We provide here both CT and Lhasa correspondences for the East Bodish examples below, adapted from Hyslop (2011: 252).

'tiger': /tɑ:/ (Kurtö), /ˈtaʔ/ (Lhasa), STAG (CT)
'dragon': /onium (Kurtö), /ˈoniʔ/ (Lhasa), BRUG (CT)
'pig': /pɑː/ (Kurtö), /ˈpaː/ (Lhasa), PHAG.PA (CT)
'hammer': /tˈowqa/ (Kurtö), /tˈowwa/ (Lhasa), THOBA (CT)
'bridge': /zəm/ (Kurtö), /ˈsampa/ (Lhasa), ZAM.PA (CT)
'saddle': /ga/ (Kurtö), /ˈga/ (Lhasa), SGA (CT)
'drum': /ŋə/ (Kurtö), /ˈŋa/ (Lhasa), RNGA (CT)
'brain': /klatpa/ (Kheng), /klatpa/ (Kurtö), /ˈlɛpa/ (Lhasa), KLA.D.PA (CT)

The reflexes of CT in Kurtö are sometimes pronounced in a very similar way to the Lhasa or Dzongkha pronunciation, but in some words, they reflect an ancient pronunciation of CT or OT, which probably indicates that they are loanwords. This is for example the case for the word 'brain'.

The lexical similarities extend to the honorific vocabulary as well:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtö</th>
<th>CT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ordinary</strong></td>
<td><strong>Honorific</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'body'</td>
<td>/luspu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eye'</td>
<td>/mi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'flesh'</td>
<td>/sha/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'heart'</td>
<td>/neng/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data is from Hyslop (2011: 252).

The phonetic realization is usually devoiced or half devoiced.
It should be noted that the existence of numerous loanwords and common etyma does not entail that the basic terms are always cognates. In fact, as we will see, there is still a significant linguistic gap between these TH languages (Tamangic, East Bodish, Basum, Dakpa, etc.) and the Tibetic languages not only in their vocabulary but also in their phonology and grammar.

Let us illustrate some of the lexical differences in the basic vocabulary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kurtö</th>
<th>Basum</th>
<th>Kheng</th>
<th>CT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'red'</td>
<td>/zhinti/</td>
<td>/dĕnde/</td>
<td>/dʒɛnde/</td>
<td>DMAR.PO (CT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to come'</td>
<td>/ra/</td>
<td>/ra/</td>
<td>/rò/</td>
<td>YONG’ONG (CT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'milk'</td>
<td>/ɟu/</td>
<td>/dʒu/</td>
<td>/dʒu/</td>
<td>OLMA (CT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tooth'</td>
<td>/kwa/</td>
<td>/cīji/</td>
<td>/cīji/</td>
<td>RKANG.PA (CT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'leg'</td>
<td>/tawa/</td>
<td>/ćiji/</td>
<td>/ćiji/</td>
<td>BDUN (CT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to know'</td>
<td>/khan/</td>
<td>/khan/</td>
<td>/khan/</td>
<td>SHES (CT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'seven'</td>
<td>/nīs/</td>
<td>/nīt/</td>
<td>/ni/</td>
<td>BDUN (CT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'water'</td>
<td>/khwe/</td>
<td>/khwi/</td>
<td>/khwi/</td>
<td>CHU (CT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all the modern Tibetic languages, the basic words listed above are regular reflexes of the CT forms, whereas it is not the case in the East Bodish and Tamangic languages.

Finally, let us mention another "Bodish" language very close to Tibetic, Basum, which is spoken by 3,000 ethnic Tibetans in various villages around Basum Lake, in the Kongpo region of the TAR, about 400 km east of Lhasa. This language was classified by Qu (1996) as a "central Tibetan dialect," but we will show that according to our definition, Basum is not even a "Tibetan dialect" (or a Tibetic language). Basum-speaking people are well aware that their language is different from the surrounding Tibetan dialects, and call their language a Dākinī's language (for more information about Basum, see section 10.6 as well as Wang 2020). Most of Basum modern vocabulary is cognate with Tibetan or borrowed from it. Let us compare a list of basic words in Basum and CT:

---


27. This word may be cognate with MKHAN’ 'expert' and MKHYEN’ 'to know' (Honorific), but the pandialectal word for the verb 'to know' is SHES or ※SHEN in Tibetan.
Two observations: first, in the list above, Basum and CT words are clearly cognates. However, Basum words are not regularly derived from CT and do not follow the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basum</th>
<th>CT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘die, to’</td>
<td>ལོག་བོད་ ༠ སི་ སི་། སྐྱ་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drink, to’</td>
<td>ང་ཀྱོ་/ སི་། སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eye’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘louse’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pig’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘road’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wood’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘needle’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘iron’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘moon’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
<td>ལོག་ སྐྱ་ / ༠ སི་། སྐྱ་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Basum is not a written language, we provide here a transcription in Tibetan script to show that in many cases, the orthography would not match the CT equivalents.
phonological rules that normally apply to Tibetic languages. For example, they do not exhibit a palatalization of dental and sibilant consonants in the above words ‘to die’, ‘one’, ‘wood’, ‘louse’ or ‘iron’. Another striking feature is the lack of aspiration for certain words such as ‘pig’, ‘house’ and ‘needle’. This aspiration is an important phonological feature of the Tibetic languages, and although some rare words such as གྱི ’dog’ may have lost the aspiration in some languages, this phenomenon is rarely attested. Three words of the list, ‘black’, ‘yellow’ and ‘moon’ could be considered as problematic, but they actually perfectly match their equivalents in the surrounding Tibetic languages. The words /nænæ/ and /’se:se:/ are not directly derived from CT NAG.PO and SER.PO but from the reduplicated stem NAG.NAG, and SER.SER, a phenomenon which is frequently attested in the neighboring Kham languages, particularly for color adjectives.

The word /daga/ is also not directly derived from CT ZLA.BA but from a frequent compound used in Tibet ZLA.DKAR ‘white moon’, and the Basum term for ‘moon’ perfectly matches the regular reflexes of this compound.

In brief, Basum equivalents are all clearly cognates of CT or derived from original compounds but their phonology does not always correspond to the expected regular reflexes. This alone suggests that there is a problem with the affiliation of Basum as a Tibetic language.

The numbers ‘seven’ and ‘four’ often allow a quick checking of the Tibetic affiliation. In Basum, both numbers do not correspond to Tibetic reflexes. As we will see, a more careful examination of the vocabulary and grammar confirms this hypothesis. Some basic words clearly indicate the existence of a distinctive substratum.

29. E.g., Dingri (Tö), Sherpa and Chagtreng (Kham).
In the above list, none of the Basum words are cognate with CT, whereas all these words are pandialectal in the Tibetic family. Moreover, if we consider the grammatical words, we can also realize the distance between Basum and the Tibetic languages.

The case of Dakpa (Tshona Mönpa), also spoken in the TAR, bears resemblance with the case of Basum. It is interesting to note that Basum speakers are ethnic Tibetans while Dakpa speakers are ethnic Mönpa. This shows once again that language, ethnicity and nationality do not necessarily match, but within the Chinese political system, the determination of the “nationality” is often arbitrary and Dakpa could have been classified as Tibetan, and conversely Basum could have been treated as a separate minzu “nationality.”
Both languages are so closely related to Tibetic that some sentences sound entirely
Tibetan and could easily be written in Tibetan script following in many cases the
Classical orthography. Let us give some examples of Dakpa (Lu Shaozun 1986), with
our transcription in Tibetan script and transliteration:

(368) ◊ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་བོ་ནེད་
BKRA.SHS YLGE BRIS-BO.NED
[tsA cil jil ci primer wo ne]\nPin letter write-SUFF AUX
‘Trashi has written the letter’

(369) ◊ བུ་ཚ་བོད་ཡིག་མ་ཁན་ནི་ནེད་
BU.TSA BOD.YIG MA-KHAN-NI.NED
[pu isA pl jei mil khan ni ne]\nchild Tibetan script NEG can AUX
‘The child can not (read) the Tibetan script’

(370) ◊ ཆོ་བུ་ཚ་ཀོ་ཡི་གེ་ཡིན་ཏེ་
DZO BU.TSHA-KO YLGE YIN.TE
[tsO pu isA ko ji yei yi ne]\nthis child REL book AUX
‘This is the child’s book’

(371) ◊ བེ་ག་ཏོ་ཀི་ར་བོ་ནེད་
PE GA.TO-KI RA-BO.NED
[pe1 ka ho ki ra-wol ne]\n3SG where REL come-SUFF AUX
‘Where does he come from?’

The first sentence (368) really corresponds to a sentence of a Tibetic language
(central Tibet), since all the lexical items are derived from CT and only the origin of
the auxiliary [ne?] is not clear. The second sentence (369) has a form [khan] ‘to be
able’ which is not found in CT. In (370), the demonstrative [tsO] (also attested in
Basum /tsu/) is used instead of the Tibetic DI, DE or GAN, and the genitive for [ko]
which is not a regular reflex of the CT genitive. In the last sentence (371), all the words,
whether lexical or grammatical do not have obvious Tibetic cognates: [pe] the third
person singular (3s) corresponds to KHO in CT, [ra] 'to come' instead of YONG/’ONG 'to come' in CT.

We will examine more in details in the section 10.5 various criteria to identify Tibetian languages and distinguish them from other closely related languages.

10.4. Tibetian, rGyalrongic and Qiangic

rGyalrongic and Qiangic languages have preserved a more archaic morphology and have maintained nominal and verbal prefixes (instead of suffixes) as well as verb agreements which makes the genetic relationship to Tibetian less obvious than in the case of Tamangic or East Bodish.

Here are examples of obvious cognates in Japhug and bTshanlha, some of them exhibiting a very archaic pronunciation close to Classical Tibetan, which shows that in some cases, these may be loanwords.

- ‘meat, flesh’: [ɕa] (Japhug), [ʃa] (bTshanlha), SHA (CT)
- ‘moon, month’: [sla] (Japhug), [zlawa] (bTshanlha), ZLA (CT)
- ‘eye’: [ʈɤ-mɲaʁ] (Japhug), [ʈɤ-mɲak] (bTshanlha), MIG (CT), DMYIG (Proto-Tibetian)
- ‘pig’: [paɾ] (Japhug), [pak] (bTshanlha), PHAG (CT)
- ‘three’: [χsɯm] (Japhug), [kə-som] (bTshanlha), GSUM (CT)
- ‘two’: [ɾnɯs] (Japhug), [kə-ɲis] (bTshanlha), GNYS (CT)
- ‘black’: [kɯ-ɲax] (Japhug), NAG (PTB) (CT)

30. Qiangic languages include Rmaic (Qiang), rGyalrongic, Minyag (Darmdo Minyag and Shimian Minyag), Prinmi (Pumi), nDrapa, Choyu (Queyu), Lhagang Choyu, Namnyi/Namzi, nGochang (Guiqiong), Shihing (Shixing), Ersu, Doku, Luzu, Lamo, Larong sMar, and Drag-yab sMar as well as an extinct language, Tangut. According to most authors (Sun Hongkai 1983; Sun T.S. 2000; Jacques 2004a). Qiangic also comprises rGyalrongic languages (see Sun T.S. 2000): Situ, bTshanlha, Japhug, Tshobdun, Zbu, rTsu (RTA), Geshtsa, Nyagrong Minyag, rTodsle (Shangzhai), and Khroskyabs (Lavrung). The Japhug examples are taken from Jacques (2004a), the Basum examples are Tournadre's data and the reconstructed PTB (Proto-Tibeto-Birman) are taken from Matiasson (2003).

31. Two rGyalrongic languages spoken in Sichuan. Japhug is based on the Kamnyo dialect, while bTshanlha is based on the Bago dialect.
rGyalrongic and Qiangic languages have preserved ancient pronunciations derived from Old Tibetan that are lost in the modern Tibetic languages. For example, in the above bTsanlha words (rGyalrongic), the words for ‘iron’ /ltʃaks/ and ‘rice’ /mbras/ are still pronounced as they were pronounced in Old Tibetan and it exactly matches the classical Tibetan orthography, respectively ལྕགས་LCAGS and འབྲས་BRAS. 32

rGyalrongic languages such as bTsanlha are also the only languages which have preserved Tibetan words with four initial consonant clusters such as བརྒྱུད་བསྒྲགས་/brɟit-bzgraks/ ‘to pass on, transmit’ or བསྒྲགས་ཡིག་/bsgrags-yig`/bzgragr-jik/ ‘handbill, flyer’. There are a great number of old Tibetan loanwords in rGyalrongic languages and in Qiangic languages. As in the case of East Bodish languages, it is not always easy to distinguish between loanwords and inherited vocabulary.

In many cases, the roots are similar or identical to CT but they differ in the affixes: rGyalrongic languages make use of prefixes (such as /ka/, /ta/, etc.) whereas CT and Tibetic languages use suffixes (such as PA/BA, MA, PO/BO, MO, etc.):

- ‘to die’: /sky-si/ (Japhug), /ka-si/ (bTsanlha), བྱི་བ་SHI(=-BA) (CT)
- ‘to arise’: /ka-far/ (bTsanlha), གྲུངས། SHAR(-BA) (CT)
- ‘to pass away’ (H): /ka-xfaks/ (bTsanlha), གསྟེགས་GSHEGS(-PA) (CT)
- ‘to stand up’ (H): /ka-bzens/ (bTsanlha), བཞེངས་BZHENGs(-PA) (CT)
- ‘food’: /ta-za/ (bTsanlha), བཞེངས་ZAM(=PA) (CT)
- ‘mind’: /ta-sems/ (bTsanlha), ལོ་མ་SEMS(-PA) (CT)

32. In bTsanlha, ‘iron’ /ltʃaks/ is clearly a loanword. The native word for ‘iron’ is /jom/.
'well, nice': /kɯ-βdi/ (Japhug), BDE.PO (CT)

A significant part of the basic lexicon in rGyalrongic and Qiangic languages is not
cognate with its Tibetic equivalents as we see from the following examples:

'year': /təpa/ (bTsanlha), LO (CT)

'brain': /tərnok/ (bTsanlha), SER.BA (CT)

'hail': /tərmok/ (bTsanlha), SER.BA (CT)

'milk': /təlu/ (bTsanlha), ʻO.MA (CT)

'leg': /tame/ (bTsanlha), /tɤmi/ (Japhug), RKANG.PA (CT)

'fish': /qa-ɟy/ (Japhug), /tʃhəɹəɡ/ (bTshanlha), NYA (CT)

'flower': /tapat/ (bTsanlha), ME.TOG (CT), MEN.TOG (Proto-Tibetic)

'tongue': /teʃme/ (bTshanlha), LCE (CT)

'red': /kəwən/ (bTsanlha), /ku-шumi/ (Japhug), DMAR.PO (CT)

'yellow': /ku-qarrе/ (Japhug), SER.PO (CT)

'sand': /kawek/ (bTSanlha), BYE.MA (CT)

'sheep': /qa-zо/ (Japhug), /kə-jo/ (bTSanlha), LUG (CT)

'horse': /mбро/ (Japhug), /mboro/ (bTSanlha), RTA (CT)

Again, for all the above words, the Tibetic languages have regular reflexes of the
CT forms.

Recent studies on rGyalrongic and Qiangic languages have shown that these languages
differ drastically in their grammars from the Tibetic languages (see e.g. Sun 2014b;
Jacques 2004a; LaPolla 2003).33

To illustrate the lexical and grammatical differences, let’s give some more examples.
Wang & bTsanlha NGAG.DBANG TSHUL.KHRIMS (1992) provides the following
comparison between Amdo Tibetan34 and bTsanlha rGyalrong in Tibetan script:

34. The author presents the example as Amdo however, the absence of verb auxiliary would
rather lead to consider that it is a form of Literary Tibetan.
Tibetan:

(372) རྟ་ཐོག་ནས་མར་ལྷུང

RTA THOG-NAS MAR LHUNG
horse on-ABL down fall
‘S/he fell from the horse’.

rGyalrong:

(373) ངོ་འོ་གོ་སུ་ནུ་ཞའ་

' BRO  O GO-SU NU ZHA’
horse on-ABL down fall
‘S/he fell from the horse’.

In the above sentences, we can easily see the great discrepancies between rGyalrong and Tibetan in the vocabulary 'BRO' horse' (/m bro/ or /m boro/ depending on the rGyalrong dialects), ZHA’ to fall’, as well as in the ablative case –SU and the adverb NU ‘down’. The corresponding forms for 'horse' and 'down' are respectively cognate of RTA and MAR in all the modern languages.

Among the most striking grammatical differences between Tibetic and rGyalrongic (or more generally Qiangic languages), we have mentioned the “verb agreement” or “argument indexation.” Such systems of pronominal or argument indexations are attested in other branches of TB family such as West-Himalayish, Kiranti, etc. Here are examples of rGyalrong conjugations provided by BTsan.LHA NGAG.DBANG TSHUL.KHRIMS (ibid.) in Tibetan script:

(374) གིས་གོ་རྩིང

NGA-GIS GO-RTSING
1SG-ERG PREF count 1SG
‘I am counting’

(375) དེ་རྩིན་

NYO-GIS GO DE-RTSIN
2SG-ERG PREF count 2SG
‘You are counting’
The verb རྩི་RTSI 'to count' as other rGyalrong verbs has several forms depending on the persons (additionally they may differ also in their prefixes): རྩིང་RTSING '1sg', རྩིན་RTSIN '2sg', རྩི་RTSI '3sg'.

It is interesting to note that the verb རྩི་RTSI 'to count' is attested in the Tibetic languages and CT. However, neither Classical or Old Tibetan, nor the modern languages have developed any agreement of this sort.

The evidential systems, which have developed egophoric forms (see Chapter 8) may not be considered as agreement or pronominal. In fact, some rGyalrongic languages which have argument indexation in their verb morphology have also developed egophoric forms and the two phenomena may coexist as shown by Jacques (2019).

10.5. Languages of the Tibetosphere

We have seen in the above sections (10.2 and 10.3) that Tibeto-Himalayan languages as well as rGyalrongic and Qiangic languages are not only closely related to Tibetan in various degrees, but have borrowed a lot of their vocabulary from CT or Tibetic languages. Furthermore, other languages belonging or not to the Sino-Tibetan stock have also been influenced in their lexicon, their prosody and even sometimes in their grammar by the neighboring Tibetan languages.

Whether in the southern Himalayas or on the Tibetan Plateau, the area over which the Tibetan cultural and linguistic influence is manifest can be called the “Tibetosphere.” This term has been coined on the model of Matisoff’s Indosphere and Sinosphere.35 In his article entitled ‘Megalocomparison’ that targeted Greenberg’s work, Matisoff (1990) proposed these terms to refer to “linguistic/cultural influence in Southeast Asia,” i.e. linguistic and cultural influences from Chinese on the one hand

35. For a critical approach to Sinosphere and Indosphere, see Post (2011).
and from Indo-Aryan on the other hand. However, he overlooked the existence of a third “sphere,” the Tibetosphere that emerged at the moment of the Tibetan Empire (seventh century A.D.). Various authors, such as Noonan (2003), DeLancey (2012) and Tournadre (2014a) have used this notion related to “areal typology” which allows explaining some lexical and grammatical convergences (such as the existence of evidential and epistemic systems, the development of light verb constructions, etc.) within this area, independently of the genetic relationship.

Let us first illustrate some Tibetospheric languages spoken in China. There are sixty non-Tibetic languages spoken within the Tibetic speaking area (see Roche & Suzuki 2018). In addition to this, at least four varieties have recently been “discovered” (10.7.6, see also Tashi Nyima & Suzuki 2019, for details). Forty-eight of these languages are located in Eastern Tibet (Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan).

Here is a map showing their distribution (originally published in Roche & Suzuki 2017).

36. When he conceived these two areas, the author had certainly in mind a long historical period and a typological approach which lead to the idea of “areal typology.”
MAP X.1 – Minority languages of the Eastern Tibetosphere

1. Western Yugur
2. Eastern Yugur
3. Mongghul
4. Kangjia
5. Salar
6. Mangghuer
7. Manegacha
8. Ngandehua
9. Heran Orat
10. Baiina
11. Northern Rmaic
12. Situ
13. Japhug
14. Tscharbdun
15. Zbu
16. Stotsde
17. Khroskyabs
18. Southern Rmaic
19. Southern Rgyalrong
20. Geshitsa
21. Rta’u
22. Nyagrong Minyag
23. Choyu
24. nDrapa
25. Lhagang Choyu
26. Gochang
27. Dachua
28. Darmdo Minyag
29. Shimian Minyag
30. Ensu
31. Nosu
32. Daxu
33. Namuyi
34. Lizu
35. Pinni
36. Shuhrg
37. Laze
38. Na
39. Naxi
40. Malimasa
41. Nung
42. T’rung
43. Lisu
44. Lama (Ba)
45. Southern Pinni
46. Tanglang
47. Lipo
48. Taku

Cartography: Chandra Jayasuriya. Language data: Gerald Roche and Hiroyuki Suzuki
The presence of many non-Tibetic languages on the Tibetan plateau shows that the extraordinary linguistic diversity of this area is not limited to the languages derived from Tibetan. These non-Tibetic languages belong to Sino-Tibetan, Mongolic and Turkic language families. The situation is very complex due to the various ethnic affiliations and administrative statuses of these languages.

The situation of rGyalrongic and Qiangic languages deserve a special mention. Speakers of these languages are now Chinese citizens and all the Gyälrongwas (རྒྱལ་རོང་བ་) are ethnic Tibetans and officially recognized as “Tibetans” (བོད་རིགས, 藏族 Zangzu) by the Chinese government. For the speakers of Qiangic languages, the situation is more complex (see Chapter 2). Officially, they are either of the Tibetan nationality or belong to the Qiang and Pumi nationalities. Many speakers of Qiangic or rGyalrongic languages can master along with their native language an Amdo or a Kham variety as well as Classical Tibetan. They also often know Standard Mandarin Chinese or a Chinese dialect from Sichuan or Qinghai.

The Tibetans who are native speakers of rGyalrongic or Qiangic languages share with the neighboring Amdowa and Khampa the same fundamental Tibetan culture, even if from a linguistic point of view their languages are very different from the neighboring languages of Amdo and Kham (as we have seen above in sections 10.3 and 10.4). For this reason, some recognized Tibetan scholars, such as SUM.BHA DON.GRUB TSHE.RING (2011: 50-51) or Wang & BTSAN.LHA NGAG,DBAng TSHUL.KHRIMS (1992), a native of Gyälrong himself, classify the languages of Gyälrong as “Tibetan dialects.” This choice is due to political and cultural

37. Scholars of the international community just as most Chinese linguists describe these languages as being “non Tibetan languages” (Chin: fei zangyu). However, some Tibetan linguists and traditional philologues such as Duoeji (1998), BTSAN.LHA NGAG,DBAng TSHUL.KHRIMS or Konchok Jiatso are of the opposite opinion. Whatever is the precise affiliation of these languages, they are extremely important for the reconstruction of the proto-Tibetan since they have a lot of archaic features and in any case are closely related to Tibetan.
motivations, but not to a purely linguistic analysis. For example, to explain some fundamental discrepancies in the lexicon of rGyalrongic and Tibetic languages, BTSA.NLHA NGAG.DRANG TSHUL.KHIM (1992: 78) uses cultural arguments. Thus, for example, the stem 甘AM or སྒོམ་ (སྒོམ་) NAM.MKHA’ ‘sky’ is found in all the Tibetic languages, but in rGyalrong, the word for ‘sky’ is དེ་མོ DE-MO and obviously not related to GNAM. The word ས་ SA ‘soil, earth’, which is also a Tibetic pandialectal root is rendered as དེ་ཕོ DE-PH0 in rGyalrong. The author explains these discrepancies in the following way: the word DE-MO contains the syllable MO which means ‘female’, whereas the word DE-PH0 contains the syllable PH0 which means ‘male’ (in Tibetan). Even if this hypothesis were valid, it does not explain why in this rGyalrong language the words ‘sky’ and ‘earth, soil’ are not cognates with GNAM and SA.

In the Amdo speaking area of Qinghai, we find several Tibetospheric languages that belong to the Mongolic stock such as Mangghuer, Mongghul, Manegacha as well as Salar, a Turkic language (see Simon 2016) and Wutun, a Sinitic language (see Sandman 2016). Some of these languages have been fundamentally influenced by the surrounding Amdo dialects and by CT not only in their vocabulary but also in their grammar. For example, Salar has developed several evidential categories, which clearly reflect a Tibetic influence (Simon ibid.).

A number of languages of Yunnan and Sichuan are located at the junction between the Tibetosphere and the Sinosphere. They include languages belonging to various groups, such as Bai, Lolo-Burmese (such as Lisu and Nosu), Naic (Naxi, Na, Malimasa, Laze, Namuyi, and Shuhing) and a few other languages, whose classification is not always well established such as Drung.

38. The confusion between ethnicity, language and nationality is frequent in China and South Asia. It triggers a lot of fluctuations in the definition of nationalities. These notions are not necessarily connected. For example, Breton speaking people are considered as French citizens but from a linguistic point of view, their language is Celtic and does not belong to the same family as French. For a discussion about the ethnic names, see Chapter 3.

39. This word may be related to the Tibetan word དམུ DMU.
Let us now turn to the Tibetospheric languages outside China. There are a lot of parallelisms with the situation we have just described. The TB languages which have been deeply influenced by Classical Tibetan and are in close contact with modern Tibetic languages are for the most part Tibeto-Himalayan languages, particularly Bodish languages. Speakers of these Tibeto-Himalayan languages are essentially Bhutanese, Nepalese or Indian citizens. Thus, a significant percentage of these speakers can also master, depending on their location, one of the major Tibetic languages such as Dzongkha (the national language of Bhutan), Lhoke (one of the official languages of Sikkim), Sherpa (a major Tibetic language of Nepal), Khunu-Spiti dialect of Himachal Pradesh in India, and so on, and in some cases Common Tibetan. And of course, a number of monks and educated people also master Classical Tibetan, which is the liturgical language of Buddhism and Bön. In Bhutan, CT is often referred to as Chöke “the Dharma language.” Additionally, the speakers of Tibetospheric languages living in the Indian Subcontinent also usually master an Indo-Aryan language such as Nepali or Hindi and sometimes English.

Just as rGyalrongic languages are typical examples of Tibetospheric languages on the Tibetan plateau, Tshangla is a good example of such a language in the southern Himalayas. Tshangla, often called ‘Sharchop’ ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཁ་, is the major language of Eastern Bhutan also spoken in Arunachal Pradesh (India) and in Metok County, in Tibet. It has been in intense contact with CT and modern Tibetic languages such as Dzongkha or Choča-ngača. Although Tshangla is often classified as Bodish, there is no consensus concerning its affiliation. Some of its basic vocabulary is very different from CT or modern Tibetic languages. For example, /lum/ ‘stone’ versus CT RDO, /kha/ ‘bird’ versus CT BYA, /tä/ ‘water’ versus CT CHU, /gadaŋ/ ‘hand’ versus CT LAG (PA), /ʑi/ ‘blood’ versus CT KHRAG, etc. However, when one looks at a large

40. For a list of these languages see below 10.6 and for a more general list of the languages in contact with Tibetic see Chapter 3.
41. In a marginal way, they are also found in Tibet: Tshona Monpa and Basum are spoken on the Tibetan Plateau (TAR) itself.
42. Tshangla is the second language of Bhutan after Dzongkha. Sharchop which just means ‘Oriental’ in Dzongkha.
portion of the vocabulary and even the grammar, it becomes clear that the number of loanwords from CT and modern Tibetic languages is very high (see Andvik 2010). Tshangla speakers also share with Dzongkha speakers fundamental aspects of the Bhutanese culture. They use Dzongkha as a written language and have competences in CT. What has been said of Tshangla also applies to all the East Bodish languages of Bhutan.

If we now turn to Nepal, we find similar situations with Tamangic languages, such as Manangi\(^{43}\) locally called Nyishang (ནྭི་ཞང་), but also Tamang (རྟ་མང་), Gurung (གུརུང་), Thakali (ཐ་ཀ་ལི་), which have been in contact for many centuries with Tibetic languages (such as Lo-ke). They share with them many cultural and religious features. From a genetic point of view, the Tamangic languages along with East Bodish are the closest to Tibetic.

Among the Tibetospheric languages that have both close genetic connection and contact with Tibetan, one ought to mention some of the West Himalayish languages such as Kinnauri, Bun, Man, Manchad and Byansi. They are spoken in India, in Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand. These languages have been in contact with the Tibetic Spiti-Khunu-Garzha language spoken in Himachal Pradesh and in some cases with the Purang dialects and adjacent dialects of Western Tibet. Kinnauri is in close contact with the Khunu dialect spoken along the Sutlej River in the nearby valleys, and Man and Bun are respectively in contact with the Khoksar Garzha and the Tot Garzha. Manchad is in contact with the Patanam Garzha dialect. The Byangsi language and the Purang dialect of Ngari in Western Tibet are spoken in adjacent areas. Over the centuries, Tibetan had an impact on those West Himalayish languages. A number of Kinnauri people in Rekong Peo area (particularly in Morang and Puh Tehsils) can speak the Khunu dialect spoken in the upper course of the Sutlej. From a genetic point of view, West Himalayish language are not as closely related to Tibetan as the the Tamangic or East Bodish languages.

The Tibetosphere traditionally occupied a huge territory between the Indian and the Chinese spheres of influence. However cultural borders are not fixed and they

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\(^{43}\) Noonan (2003) explicitly describes Nar-Phu Manang as a Tibetospheric language.
depend largely on geopolitical, economic, cultural and religious factors. For example, a West Himalayish language like Manchad has slowly been drawn into the Indosphere after the conversion of the population to Hinduism. In Uddaipur, the main town located in the Manchad-speaking territory, the sacred Hindu-Buddhist site of ‘Triloknath’ or བར་ཁྲ་འཕགས་ Garzha phagpa reflects the meeting of the two cultural influences. This shift of cultural influence has resulted in a massive borrowing of Indo-Aryan words in Manchad. The Tibetic enclave of Garzha spoken in the Patanam valley (Myaḍ) a few km from Uddaipur is also impacted by this cultural shift and some young people of the Patanam community are barely aware that they speak a Tibetic language and that their dialect is closely related to other dialects of Garzha and Spiti.

Finally, let’s mention an Indo-Aryan language, Brokskat ‘language of the Brokpas’, which is spoken in Ladakh, India. Brokskat is a Dardic language just as Kashmiri but as the language name itself shows, it has been heavily influenced by the neighboring Tibetic languages of Ladakh, Sham and Purik (see Tsewang Gailtsen 2018). Brokskat is spoken by less than 5,000 speakers in the Indus and Hanu valleys as well as some villages of Baltistan. Since it is not written, it is quite endangered and could disappear within two generations. Most speakers of Brokskat are trilingual, since they can also speak the Purik (or Sham) dialect, as well as Urdu.

For some languages, spoken at the margin of the Tibetosphere, the impact of the Tibetan culture and language is quite limited. Let us consider a few examples. Within Sikkim, the Lepcha language has been in contact with Lhoke and CT for many centuries. Before the development of a specific Lepcha script in the seventeenth century, the language was even written down in Tibetan script (see Plaisier 2007; van Driem 2001). Lepcha or ཀོང་ Rong communities who are called ཆོས་MON.PA in Lhoke have naturally has been influenced by Tibetan, as we have seen in 10.2, but the impact on its grammar and vocabulary has remained limited.
The same is true for another group of languages, spoken in Nepal but also in Sikkim: the Kiranti languages. We have already quoted in 10.2 examples from Limbu, one of the most prominent Kiranti languages together with Sunwar, Bahing, Kulung, etc. In Sikkim, Limbu speaking people who call themselves Yaktungha (ལྡན་ུང་།), are referred to as TSONG by the Lhopos, but according to van Driem (2001: 665), they are called TSHONG by the Lepchas because they came to Sikkim as merchants. Although some Kiranti languages may be more influenced than Limbu by the neighboring Tibetic language, this influence remains marginal. Following the conversion to Buddhism by the Lhopos (or Drânjonpas), Limbus developed their own alphasyllabic script at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the case of Lepcha as well as Limbu, the choice of a script distinct from Tibetan also shows the cultural distance from the neighboring Tibetic populations.

To conclude this section, over many centuries the dominant influence of Classical Tibetan and the Tibetic languages has left a considerable imprint on many closely related languages such as Bodish, Gyalrongic and Qiangic languages spoken in Tibet and on the Tibetan Plateau in China but also in Nepal, Bhutan and India. The impact of Classical Tibetan and the Tibetic languages is even visible on languages of the Tibetsphere which belong to other stocks such as Mongolic, Turkic and even Indo-Aryan.

However, for some languages, often located at the periphery or that are genetically remote, the imprint may be quite limited. In any case, the Tibetospheric languages are very important for the reconstruction of Proto-Tibetic as well as, more generally, Proto-TB and even Proto-ST.

44. Their genetic affiliation in the TB family is probably closer than Lepcha but unlike the latter, they have preserved some archaic features and belong to the “pronominalized languages,” i.e. languages with argument indexation in the verb. Kiranti languages are genetically a lot more distant from the Tibetic languages than Eastern Bodish or Tamangic groups.

45. Tshong is a loanword from Lhoke or Tibetan, which means merchant.

46. For example, the Khaling people who used to live in the territory nowadays inhabited by the Sherpas. See van Driem (2001: 710).
10.6. Methodology for the identification of a Tibetic language

As we have seen in the preceding section, some linguistic groups are not only genetically close to Tibetic, but also very influenced by this phylum. Thus, when the researcher is confronted with great similarities, s/he may wonder whether the language is indeed Tibetic or not.

When we use the methodology proposed below, the identification is immediate and usually not problematic. Some very rare cases have raised some debates, such as Baima, which a few scholars identify as "non-Tibetic." However, it is clear according to our criteria (see below the five main criteria) that Baima is Tibetic, despite the fact that some of its grammatical features exhibit discrepancies with other Tibetic languages. These peculiarities may be due to language contact or to a substratum influence. Conversely, languages such as Basum (in TAR) or Kurtö (in Bhutan) do not fulfill the criteria and can not be considered as Tibetic.

In order to identify a Tibetic language (or a "Tibetan dialect" in the classical wording) a simple test based on the word for 'seven' has been proposed by Beyer (1992: 7) and Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994: 2). In the Tibetic languages, the word corresponding to 'seven' is regularly derived from CT BDUN, while it is not the case in other languages, even when they are closely related to the Tibetic languages. The above test could be used as a first indication, but numbers can also be borrowed. Indeed, in Japhug, a rGyalrongic language, the cardinal numeral is not a reflex of BDUN but the ordinal has been borrowed from Tibetan:

βdɯnpa "seventh" < CT BDUN.PA (see Jacques 2004b).

Although the above test is valid, it gives the wrong impression that the number 'seven' would be the main difference between Tibetic languages and closely related languages (East Bodish, rGyalrongic, etc.). As we have seen in the previous sections of the present chapter, this is clearly not the case and many other lexical and grammatical features also differ. Concerning the basic vocabulary, we have seen that apart from 'seven', words such as 'red', 'to come', 'milk', 'leg', etc., are usually not cognates with their CT equivalents even in the languages that are most closely related to Tibetic.
For Natives as well as colleagues working in Human sciences (but not linguists), a simple quick test that requires only a few minutes should allow very rapidly asserting whether a language is Tibetic or not.

a) The numbers and particularly number ‘one’, ‘four’ and ‘seven’ should be directly derived from CT GCIG, BZH and BDUN. Any discrepancy would suggest that the language is not Tibetic. For example, if for the number ‘one’, a language has an initial /t/ instead of /č/ or /χč/ (CT < GC) or if for the number ‘seven’, the word in a given language starts with a nasal initial /n/ or /ny/ or something else instead of a plosive dental (/v/ or /t/), it is non-Tibetic.

b) The negation should always begin with an /m/ and be directly derived from CT MA or M(Y)I (the vowel may change significantly /mo/, /mu/, /me/). A negation in /a/, for example, immediately signals a non-Tibetic language.

c) Auxiliary verbs directly derived from CT YIN and YOD are normally present in the Tibetic languages. Any language lacking these copulative and existential verbs is likely to be non-Tibetic.

However, the identification of a Tibetic language should be ultimately based on a number of phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical criteria (see Tournadre 2014a). We propose the following fundamental criteria:

1) The basic vocabulary is cognate to CT or OT. It means that a very significant percentage of the basic vocabulary is pandialectal (see Chapters 11 & 12). Sometimes, the modern Tibetic forms found in the various languages may be cognate with different CT roots with a similar meaning.

2) The morphological form of the lexical items is directly and regularly derived from CT or OT. The exceptions should be explained. For example, odd derivations may correspond to loanwords from another Tibetic language.

3) The morphophonological form of the lexical items must be compatible with the developments that occurred in Proto-Tibetic (see Chapter 4).

4) The grammatical words that are cognate in the various Tibetic languages
normally include at least the negation མ་ MA or མི་ M(야), the nominalizing suffixes པ་ PA and/or མཁན་ MKHAN, and various reflexes of the classical cases such as the genitive GI/YI and the ergative/instrumental cases ནེ་ GIS/S or the dative ལ་ LA.

5) The tense-aspect-modality system is marked by a paradigm of verbal auxiliaries that include the reflexes of the copula ཡིན་ YIN and the existential verb ཡོད་ YOD/OĐ and often ལོང་ ONG/YONG and འོ་ GRO (see Chapters 8 and 9). These auxiliaries convey epistemic and evidential meanings.

The first criteria (1) above implies that the basic vocabulary of a Tibetic language should be cognate with CT or OT. See for example a list of pandialectal words (11.1) found in all the Tibetic languages.

However, in any given language, there might be some exceptions:

a) Some of the basic words may have been borrowed from neighboring languages belonging to other families. For example, some Tibetic languages of Northern Nepal do not have the word གན་ PHAG(PA) 'pig' and use instead the word /sunggar/. This word has been borrowed from Nepali and the original Tibetic root has been lost.

b) In some rare cases, a word may reflect an archaic form not attested in CT but attested in OT. For example, some languages do not have reflexes of the word བཏགས་ MIG 'eye' and སྐེ་ ME.TOG 'flower' but exhibit reflexes of OT བཏགས་ MYIG or བཏགས་ DMYIG and སྐེ་ MEN.TOG (see Chapter 4).

c) In some exceptional cases, words do not have reflexes of CT or OT but of a more archaic form that has to be reconstructed for Proto-Tibetic. For example, in the dialects of Spiti and Purik, the word for 'big (rope)' does not reflect the CT སྭོམ་པོ་ SBOM-PO, but a Proto-Tibetic form སྭོམ་པོ་ SBROM-PO (see Chapter 4).

d) Sometimes the lexical items have distinct etyma in the various languages, but they are all cognates with words attested in CT: 'To fear': /jiʔ/ (Tö), /'ziwa laŋ/ (Sh); /jiks/ (La), /zhiks/ (Ba) < CT ཤཇིགས་ JIGS, /'saʔ/ (Kh), /lāk/ (Ho), /čax/ (Am) < CT སྐྲག་ SKRAG, /'she:/ (Ū) < CT གོ་ ZHED, /'tch:/ (Ts)
Contact languages

As another illustration, we may mention the word ‘milk’. Two distinct etyma are found for the word ‘milk’ across the Tibetic languages. The word འོ་མ་ or more rarely the variant འོ་རྗེན་ are attested for ‘milk’ in nearly all the modern Tibetic languages. There are however at least two exceptions: /ʂu/ in Rongdrak (Kham), /sho/ in Choča-ngača (Bhutan). These words are clearly cognates and are probably derived from zho, the genuine word for ‘milk’ in Proto-Tibetic. The Proto-Tibetic form, which may be reconstructed as བོ / བོ་ZHO(N), is a nominal form of the verb རོ ལོ ‘to milk’. The meaning of བོ ZHO ‘milk’ is also attested in CT (see the word ‘milk’ in the HCTL, Chapter 12). In most modern languages, the word བོ ZHO has acquired the meaning ‘yoghurt’.

The second criteria (2) is related to the regularity of sound changes. It implies that the lexical items are not only cognate with their equivalents in CT but also regularly derived from them. Thus, for example, the initial consonant cluster LT in any Literary Tibetan word such as བྲི བྲི་LTA ‘to watch’, བྲི བྲི་LTOGS ‘to be hungry’, བྲི བྲི་LTE ‘navel’, should have regular reflexes in all the Tibetic languages and dialects.

The regular reflexes of lta are: /tə/ (in Ladaks, Purik and Balti), /tə/ or /tə/ (Am), /tə/ (in Ü, Tsang and Kham), /Tə/ (in Sherpa), etc. So, if we examine the words corresponding to LTA and LTOGS in the various languages, we find the following forms:

LTA བྲི ‘to look at’ > /tə/ (La, Pur, Ba), /tə/ or /tə/ (Amdo), /tə/ (Ü, Ts and Kh), /tä (Sherpa); LTOGS བྲི ‘to be hungry’ > /təks/ (Balti, Purik, Ladaks), /təks/ or

48. This word originally refers to ‘breast’ and to the act of sucking. Cf. བོ ‘nipple’, བོ ‘to kiss’.
49. The word /sho/ is reported by Tournadre & Karma Rigzin (2015). See also Ebihara et al. (2016) for a linguistic map of ‘milk’.
50. It has the following inflections: /Jo (present) BZHOS (past), BZHOS (future), JOS (imperative).
51. The cluster is, but we mention the vowel /ə/ in order to indicate tones when they are present.
52. There are a few other possible reflexes depending on the dialects.
The regular reflexes of སྲ/ SRA are: /ʂa/ (La, Am); /γa/ (Ts, Sh), /stra/ (Ba), /sa/ (Kh, Ü), /tə/ (Ü), etc.

For example, the words སྲོག་ SROG 'life' and སྲུང་ SRUNG 'to keep' have the following forms the various Tibetic languages:

SROG སྲོག་ 'life' > /ʂo/ (Am), /ʂok/ (La), /strəq/ (Ba), /ʂoʔ/ (Ts, Sh), /ʂoʔ/ (Kh); SRUNG སྲུང་ 'to guard' > /gon/ (Am), /gun/ (La), /struŋ/ (Ba), /sun/ (Ts, Sh), /sun/ (Kh, Ü) /tən/ (Ü).

In some cases, for the same combination, we find two or more reflexes within a single dialect. In the above example of སྲ/ SRA, the Lhasa dialect has two reflexes: /tə/ or /sa/. In these cases, we can postulate that only one of reflex is a regular derivation and the other is a more recent form which may have been borrowed from another dialect or influenced by the reading pronunciation of CT.

In some Tibetic languages, reflexes can be quite remote from the original but they remain regular. E.g., མཁྲིད་པ་ KLAD.PA 'brain' > /xlatpa/ (Balti) but /ləpa/ (Ü), /leta/ (Sherpa); the phonetic evolution is even more marked in Baima (Chirkova 2008; Zhang Jichuan 1997) and in many Southern Kham dialects (see Suzuki 2009) such as nJol or mBalhag. For example, in Baima, མཁྲིད་ LAG.PA 'hand' becomes > /yə/; དཔེ་ LUG 'sheep' becomes > /yü/ and མཆི་མ་ MCHI.MA 'tear' > /dʑwɛ/. The next criterion (3) stipulates that the morphophonological form of the lexical items is derived from a Proto-Tibetic form, which is not the case of some neighboring languages such as Kheng, Kirtö, Tamang, etc. (See Chapter 4.4). For example, all the Tibetic languages have undergone a palatalisation of dental and alveolar before y. Thus, the word 'four' is reconstructed as Proto- ※b-ly in Proto-TB but it has become /bʐi/ in Proto-Tibetic which is reflected in the Classical orthography བཞི་ BZHI 'four' and in all the subsequent Tibetic languages. This is not the case in many Bodic languages very closely related to their Tibetic neighbors such as Tamang, Kheng, Basum, Dakpa, etc. which have preserved an /l/ or /t/ in their form: /pli/ (Tamang), /ble/ (Kheng, Bumthap), /pliʔ/ (Dakpa), /bʁi/ (Bake), etc. Other palatalizations such ※t > /ɕi/ and ※s > /shi/ are found in CT: ※sɨŋ > ཤིང་ SHING 'wood', ※t > /ɕi/ 'what'. All the Tibetic languages have reflexes derived from the palatalized form. Amdo and most Kham dialects have undergone a velarization and have the reflex /x'/
but no Tibetic language has preserved a dental /s/. However, East Bodish or other closely related languages have preserved non-palatalized forms: ‘wood, tree’: /ʃen/ (Kurtoep), /sˁi/ (Bake), /sˁiŋ/ (Tamang), etc.

Another characteristic change, which occurred in Proto-Tibetic, is the shift from lateral to dental after m. It attested in all the Tibetic languages but not in the closely related neighboring languages. Thus Proto-TB *b/m-la ‘arrow’ has become /mda/ in Proto-Tibetic. This form is reflected in the Classical orthography བད། MDA and in all the modern Tibetic languages. However, East Bodish or Tamangic languages did not undergo this change. The ‘arrow’ has the following equivalents: /ʃja/ (Kurtö, Kheng), /mra/ (Mangde), /b₂A/ (Dakpa), /ʃja1/ (Tamang), etc.

A consequence of these specific evolutions is that some phonotactic combinations which are found in some closely related languages (such as Kheng, Kurtö, etc.) are simply not attested in any Tibetic language. This is the case for example of the onsets /ml/; /pl/ and /ʃr/.53 Let us remind that these combinations cannot be easily written down in Tibetan script.

The next criteria (4–5) are related to the grammatical words and to grammatical semantics. We have provided a small list of grammatical words or clitics (negations, grammatical cases, nominalizers and auxiliaries), which seem to be found in all the modern languages.

Most of the modern Tibetic languages have preserved to some extent a case system inherited from OT and preserved in CT (see Tournadre 2010), however, in some languages, it may be quite reduced. All the languages exhibit a form of nominal ergative marking (with only one or two exceptions), but the marking may be optional and related to pragmatic and discursive parameters or on the contrary may be compulsory and have a syntactic character.

The ancient verb tense-aspect morphology inherited from TB has gradually been replaced by a system of auxiliary verbs used with nominalized forms of the verb.

53. Such phonotactic sequences are found for instance in Kheng. See Chamberlain (2004).
Usually a set of available nominalizers include at least reflexes of *PA* and/or *MKHAN* (see Chapters 8 and 9).

Finally, all the Tibetic languages have developed a rich system of evidential and epistemic markers, which appear as verb auxiliaries or suffixes.

The identification of a language as "Tibetic" should thus be based on the five above criteria (and not restricted to one criterion) and on the various domains of phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and lexicon. In order to sort out the affiliation, it may also be useful to mention the absence in Tibetic of some features that are found in neighboring non-Tibetic languages. For example, classifiers are not found in Classical Tibetan and none of the modern languages have developed any system of classifiers although a few rare classifiers do exist in a marginal way. The "pronominalized languages" include many TB languages belonging to various subgroups such as Qiangic, rGyalrongic and Bodic (Kiranti), but such a system of verb agreement or argument indexation was not attested in Old Tibetan and is of course absent of the modern languages. The morphology of Qiangic and rGyalrongic languages is often marked by prefixation (for noun, adjectives and verbs) instead of suffixation in the Tibetic languages. The verb often presents verbal directional prefixes that are not present in Tibetic languages, with a few exceptions such as Dzayîl Tibetan.

For the majority of non-Tibetic 'Bodic', 'Qiangic' or 'rGyalrongic' languages, the percentage of CT cognates together with Tibetic loanwords may reach up to 50% of words, but it is still much less that the percentage of CT cognates in the Tibetic languages which is usually more than 90%. Furthermore, as we have seen, their phonology, morphology and grammar differ in a significant way from the Classical Tibetan and the modern Tibetic languages. This has two consequences. The Tibetic languages may easily be written in a Tibetan script, preserving most of the CT spelling in a straightforward way. This has been achieved for Ü-Tsang, Amdo, Dzongkha, Lhoke, Ladaks, Sherpa and partially for Balti and Spiti and could be developed for any of the Tibetic languages. However, it is much more difficult to write down non-

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54. To give a comparison, in English the percentage of words borrowed from Latin and French reaches 60%.
Tibetic languages such as Bodish, rGyalrongic or Qiangic languages using the Classical Tibetan orthography.55

Another direct consequence is the fact that for a speaker of a Tibetic language, any other language of the family may be learned very rapidly, at least at a conversational level in only three months, especially if one knows Classical Tibetan, where as Tibeto-Burman languages require a much longer period to reach the same level.

10.7. List of the TB languages in contact with the Tibetic languages

We will list below the main Tibeto-Burman languages that are located within the Tibetosphere or in contact with the Tibetic languages and provide some information that may be useful for the linguistic classification, the substrates and the reconstruction of the proto-languages.56

As we have seen in 10.4, the TB languages of the Tibetosphere include Tibeto-Himalayan, rGyalrongic, Qiangic and in a marginal way Tani, Mishmi, Naic and Lolo-Burmese languages.

Among the Tibeto-Himalayan languages, Bodish and Tamangic languages as well as Tshangla are located within the Tibetosphere. One should mention also Lepcha and West Himalayish, but their tibetospheric characteristics are more marginal.

10.7.1. East Bodish languages (Tibeto-Himalayan branch)

Aside from the Tibetic languages, the East Bodish languages include following languages: Basum (TAR, China), Dakpa (TAR, China; Bhutan, India), Tingpa (TAR, China), Bumthang (Bhutan), Kheng (Bhutan), Kurtö (Bhutan), ’Nyen (Bhutan), Chali (Bhutan), Dzala (Bhutan) and ’Ole (Bhutan).

We give below a small presentation of these languages.

55. As we have seen above, this is not the case for the Tibetic languages of Amdo, Bhutan, Kham, Ladakh or Baltistan, etc. Of course rGyalrongic, Qiangic, East Bodish or Tamangic may be written in Tibetan script but many words do not follow the CT orthography.

56. We restrict ourselves here to TB languages and do not list here languages of other phyla such as Mongolic, Turkic or Indo-Aryan (see Chapter 3) that are located in the Tibetosphere, because the aim is to list languages that are genetically related to Tibetan and are useful for the reconstructions of the Protolanguages.
Basum

The Basum language is locally called བག་སྐད་ /ba'ke/. This term is derived from བྲག་གསུམ་སྐད་ /BRAG.GSUM SKAD 'the language of the Three Rocks'. Basum is spoken by about 3,000 people in two townships of Kongpo Gyamda County, around 400 km east of Lhasa, in Nyingtri prefecture: ཝོ་ཁ་ /Zhoka and མཚོ་མགོ་ /Tshongo townships. The two villages are situated on the banks of a gorgeous lake, the Basum lake བྲག་གསུམ་མཚོ་ /BRAG.GSUM MTSHO ‘lake of the Three Rocks’, which is surrounded by high mountains and glaciers. The Basum valley is quite isolated and according to tradition, it is made of three doors (སྒོ་གསུམ་ /SGO.GSUM), three lakes (མཚོ་གསུམ་ /MTSHO.GSUM) and three rocks (བྲག་གསུམ་ /BRAG.GSUM). འབུག་ལ་ /Drugla Township was once part of Basum territory. There are historical evidence supporting this. Basum people call the language spoken in Drugla ཨ་ཞང་ར་སྐད་ /ayang rakä 'Uncle's goat language'. This term suggests a kinship between Drugla and Basum people. There is also a tale about Drugla Khänchen, the abbot of the Drugla monastery who reportedly used Basum language to win a debate in a Lhasa monastery. Basum speaking Tibetans are well aware that their language is very specific and there are a lot of legends about it. They often claim they speak a བཀའ་འགྲོ་མ་སྐད་ /MKHA.GRO.MA SKAD, i.e. ‘Dākinī’s language’ (see Dākinī in the HCTL, Chapter 12). This myth is related to the fact that Basum is not intelligible for other Tibetan people who live nearby in the Kongpo area. The language might be related with Dakpa since the two languages share some lexical items as well as grammatical morphemes. Basum language is not written and Literary Tibetan is used for this purpose. A description of Ba-ke has been written by Sanchuan Wang (2020).

Dakpa

Dakpa language འབྲགས་པ་སྐད་ /DWAGS.PA SKAD or འབྲགས་པ་ཁ་ /DWAGS.PA KHA in Dzongkha, usually called རྡོ་རྗེ་མོ་ /RDO.RGYES.MBA Tshona Mönpa (Chin: Cuona Menba) in China, is spoken in Lekpo district of Tshona County (མཚོ་སྣ་ /MTSHO.SNA) located in the south of the TAR by about 3,000 speakers, in Tawang (རྟ་བོང་ /TAWANG) in Arunachal Pradesh (India) as well as in the neighboring district of Trashigang in Bhutan. The estimate figure of 1,000 speakers is mentioned by van Driem (2001: 871). In the TAR, it is about 15 km long.
most people know Tibetan and some speak Chinese. Literary Tibetan is traditionally used as the written language. In Bhutan, the Dakpa area is mainly a Tshangla speaking area. A small monograph in Chinese was published in 1986 on “Tshona Mönba.” The Dakpa language can be divided into two dialects: southern and northern, but they do not have a lot of differences and are mutually intelligible. Dakpa, ‘Ole and the Bumthang group (Bumthang, Kurtö, Kheng, Nupbakha, ‘Nyen, Dzala and Chali) are closely related and form the east Bodish group. Though Metok Mönpa, alias Tshangla, and Tshona Mönpa, alias Dakpa, are both called “Mönpa” in Tibet, they correspond to distinct languages.

- **Bumthang**

  Bumthang བུམ་ཐང་ཁ་ (BUMTHANG KHA) is spoken in Bumthang District in Bhutan. It extends in the west to Trongsa (KRONG.GSAR). Bumthang has 30,000 speakers. According to van Driem (1998: 18), “Bumthang is closely related to Kheng and Kurtöp.” There are five dialects of Bumthang: ‘Ura, Tang, Chogor, Chunmat and Nupbakha’. Van Driem (1998: 19) adds that Kheng and Kurtö could even be considered as dialects on grounds of mutual intelligibility. Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994: 545) note that:

  “Bumthang languages are clearly closely related to Tibetan in addition to being heavily influenced by it [...] but they are not Tibetan dialects, that is, unlike Dzongkha, they are not continuation of (roughly) the language reflected in the Tibetan writing system.” (see also van Driem 1995b)

- **Kheng**

  Kheng མེང་ཁ་ (KENG KHA) is primarily spoken in Zh’ämgang District (GZHAL.SGANGS) as well as in Mongar District (MONG.SGAR) in Bhutan. There are 40,000 speakers of Kheng. According to van Driem (ibid.), there is considerable dialect diversity. A form of the Bon religion is practiced in the Kheng area. Chamberlain (2004) gives the following description in his thesis:

  “Though there is a distinct dialect in each Kheng-speaking village, there are three major regions in Zh’ämgang district which are marked by dialect groupings. These regions are referred to as Upper Kheng (comprising the Bumthang River valley, with such villages as Shingkhar), Middle Kheng (along the Mangdi river with as villages as Zh’ämgang,
Buli and Tali) and Lower Kheng (where the two rivers meet and exit Bhutan through the Manas jungle, with such villages as Ngangla and Panbang). A fourth dialect is in the western Mongar district. (Chamberlain 2004: 7)

Lower Kheng “appears to be the most divergent of the Khenga dialects in Zh‘āmgang district” (ibid.). Khengpas practice Nyingmapa Buddhism, Bön and a form of Shamanism.

**Kurtō**

Kurtō དཀུར་སྟོདཔ་ཁ (KUR.STOD KHA) alias Kurtoep or Kurtöp, is spoken in Lhuntsi district བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྩེ་ (LHUN.RTSE) in Bhutan in the valley of the Kuri river. There are 10,000 speakers of Kurtō according to van Driem (1998). Michailosky and Mazaudon (1994: 545) state that “Kurtoep [Kurtō], Bumthap proper [Bumthang], and by all reports Khengke, to the south of Bumthang are mutually intelligible.” See also van Driem (1998: 19). Hyslop (2011) has written a grammar of Kurtō.

**'Nyen**

Nyen language སཱན་ཁ་ (SNYEN KHA) is spoken in Trongsa (ཀྲོང་གསར་ KRONG GSAR) and Wangdi phodr’a (དབང་འདུས་ཕོ་བྲང་). It has 10,000 speakers (van Driem 2001: 871). A possible etymology for the language name is ‘ancient language’ (སྔན་ཁ་ SNGAN KHA).

'Nyen has several dialects. According to van Driem (2001: 913), Phobjikha dialect “differs from other ‘Nyenkha dialects in its lexic.”

**Dzala**

Dzala (དྲེལ་ཁ་ DZALA KHA) is spoken in Bhutan, in Trashi Yangtse (བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་རྩེ་ BKRA.SHIS.G.YANG.RTSE) and marginally in Lhuntsi District (ལྷུན་རྩེ་ LHUN.RTSE). The number of speakers is estimated at 15,000 (van Driem 1998). The language is locally called /dzala mat/. It is called མཁོ་མ་ཁ་ MKHO MA KHA in Lhuntsi District where Kurtō is spoken (van Driem 2001: 915). According to van Driem (ibid.), Dzala is closely related to མཚོ་སྣ་མོན་པའི་སྐད་ MTSHO.SNA.MON.PA‘ISKAD spoken on the other side of the Sino-Bhutanese border around the village of Lekpo in Tshona County མཚོ་སྣ་རྫོང་ MSTHO.SN.A. (MSTHO.SN.A) located in the south of the TAR (see Dakpa language above and van Driem). Basum is also may be related to Dakpa. Interestingly, the toponym Dzala is one important village north of the Basum Lake (see above Basum language).
Chali

Chali ཁྲིལོ (CHALIKHA) or རྲུལོ (PYALIKHA) is spoken in Bhutan in Mongar District གངས་རྒྱས་ (MONG.SGAR), by about one thousand speakers. Chali vocabulary is heavily influenced by Choça-ngaça, a Tibetic language spoken in the same valley of the Kuri River and Tshangla, which are spoken in the nearby area (see van Driem 2001: 914).

'Ole

'Ole language གོ་ལེ (POLE KHA) is often called by van Driem (1998; 2001) “Black Mountain Mönpa.” The term 'Ole seems more appropriate since the English term as well as the Tibetan word Mönpa are exonyms and Mönpa refer to many populations of South Tibet and the Southern Himalayas. There are three dialects: a western (in Riti and Rukha), a northern (Wangling, Jangbi, Phumz’ur) and a southern dialect (Cungseng and Berti) (van Driem 2001: 919). The language has been described by van Driem (1995a) and is quite original since it has preserved some of the Tibeto-Burman biactancial verbal agreement, a grammatical feature also found in Kiranti languages. It is spoken by 500 speakers in Tronsa ཁྲོང་སར་ and Wangdi Phodr’a དབང་འདུས་ཕོ་བྲང་ districts.

10.7.2. Tshangla (Tibeto-Himalayan branch)

Tshangla གཞང་ལ། (TSHANG.LALO) or Sharcho is spoken in southeastern Bhutan, in southwestern and northeastern Arunachal Pradesh in India and in southeastern TAR in China. In Bhutan, Tshangla is spoken in Trashi Yangste བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་རྩེ་ and Mongar མོང་སྒར་. By the number of speakers, it is the second language of Bhutan with 138,000 speakers (van Driem 2001: 871). Tshangla, locally called Tsangla-lo is also called Sharcho in Bhutan “language of the Easterners.”

In the TAR, Tshangla is also spoken by about 7,000 people in the TAR in Metok County (traditionally called Pemakö), in Jingnie Townships as well as Nyingthri County in Tongjuk township (Chin: Dongjiu). See Lu Shaozun (1986: 1). In Tibet, Tshangla is referred to as Metok Mönpa གསུགས་པ་མོན་པ་ (METOG MON.PA’I SKAD). Most of Metok Mönpa speakers are bilingual in Tibetan and some speak Chinese.
In India, dialects of Tshangla are spoken in Kameng and Siang in Arunachal Pradesh.

According to van Driem (2001: 989):

“[...] the Tshangla of Tibet originates from eastern Bhutan and not vice versa and the language may represent the ancient indigenous tongue of eastern Bhutan.”

A Tshangla Grammar has been written by Andvik (2010) and Zhang (1986) has published a sketch grammar of the Cangluo Menba (Tshangla) spoken in TAR.

10.7.3. Tamangic (Tibeto-Himalayan branch)

According to Mazaudon (1978), the Tamang Branch or “Tamangic” comprise Tamang proper and Gurung (proper) as well as Thakali, Manang, Rengpungmo, Kaike, Chantyal, Kagbeni, Rohani, Ghale and Kutang Ghale. These languages are closely related but not mutually intelligible.

The Tibetic languages of Nepal are in contact with these Tamangic languages as well as some other TH languages such as Dhimal.

- **Tamang**

Tamang ངམང་ is mainly spoken in Nepal, in the Bagmati, Narayani and Janakpur zones of the Central region, south of the Langthang Lirung peak and the Ganesh peak (respectively 7,254 m and 7,415 m high) in the districts of Kabhrepalanchok, Makwanpur, Sindhupalchok, Nuvakot, Dhading, Sindhuli Ramechaap, Dolakha and Rasuwa (van Driem 2001: 963). These districts neighbor the districts of Nyalam and Kyirong in the TAR in China. The number of Tamang speakers is close to 1,000,000. Tamang has two main dialect groups, western and eastern. The eastern dialects are phonologically conservative, having preserved a syllable canon with both final consonants and initial consonant clusters. This canon is progressively simplified from east to west, ending up as CV in Gurung (for details, see e.g. Mazaudon 2017; van Driem 2001). The Tamang are mainly agriculturalists. Most are Buddhists, with an admixture of shamanic practices, particularly for medical purposes.
Gurung

Gurung (དགུརོང་སྐད་) is spoken in Gandaki zone, in the districts Gorkha, Kaski, Lamjung, Parbat, Syangja and Tanahu, south of the Annapurna ridge (van Driem 2001: 958). There are about 230,000 speakers of Gurung and many more ethnic Gurung who have become Nepalophones. According to van Driem (ibid.), Gurung comprises three dialects with a low degree of intelligibility: a western group, an eastern group in Lamjung and Gorkha and a southern group in Syangja.

Thakali

As mentioned above Thakali form with Tamang, Gurung and Manangi the Tamangic group. These four languages are thus very closely related. Thakali ཐ་ཀ་ལི་ is spoken in the area of the Kali Gandaki river in Mustang district by roughly 7,000 people (van Driem 2001: 968). There are two main dialects: the southern dialect called Tamang Thakali and the northern dialect upstream called Sekä ལེ་སྐད་ (see van Driem 2001: 971). This northern dialect of Sek is in contact with the Tibetic language of Lok གློ་སྐད་ (GLO SKAD) and constitutes an enclave.

Manangi

Manangi is spoken in the Gandaki zone, in Manang District. There are three dialects: Upper Manangi or Manangi proper, spoken in upper Manang locally called སྙེ་ཤང་ (SNYE SHANG), as well as སྣར་ (SNAR) and གུག་ (PHUG) spoken in the eponym valleys.

Gyalsumdo རྒྱལ་གསུམ་མདོ་ (RGYAL GSUM MDO), a Tibetic language of the southwest section (Hildebrandt & Perry 2011; see also Chapter 9) is also spoken in the lower Manang valley. It has been earlier misidentified by van Driem as a Tamangic dialect (2001). The estimated number of speakers is 2,600 according to 1971 census. Mazaudon (1996) has shown that the number of Tibetan loanwords in Manangi is very high. Manangi people practise Bön as well as Kagyüpa Buddhism.

Kaike

Kaike ཆེ་མི་ is spoken in Dölpo དོལ་པོ་ district and thus in direct contact with the Tibetic dialect of Dölpo. The affiliation of Kaike to Tamangic has recently been
debated. The language is spoken in three villages as mentioned by Fisher (1971) and though no figure is given, the number of speakers does not exceed a few hundred.

- **Chantyal**
  
  Chantyal is spoken in Myagdi and Baglung districts by about 2,000 speakers (see Noonan 1999; van Driem 2001; Noonan & Hildebrandt 2017). Chantyal was identified as a language of the Tamang-Gurung Thakali group by Michailovsky (Mazaudon 1978).

- **Ghale**
  
  According to van Driem (2001: 984), Ghale “appears to be intermediate between Bodish and Tamangic.” Ghale is spoken in the northern part of Gorkha District. The number of speakers was estimated at 12,000 in 1975 (van Driem ibid.). The Ghale people are ethnically classed with the Gurung.

**10.7.4. West Himalayish (Tibeto-Himalyan branch)**

These languages are spoken in India in Himachal Pradesh: Kinnauri, Kanashi, Tinan, Bunam and Manchad, as well as in Uttarakhand: Rongpo (or Garwhal), Byangsi, Darma, Chaudangi and Rangkas. To this list, one has to add the extinct language of Zhangzhung which probably belongs to the West Himalayish subgroup and is considered by some scholars to be related to Kinnauri, particularly Darma (see Martin 2007; 2010; Beckwith 2012).

All these languages (except Kinnauri) have between 1,000 and 50,000 speakers. Thus, they are quite endangered. Traditionally, some of these languages, particularly Kinnauri, have been in close contact with their Tibetic neighbors.

We provide here below some information about Kinnauri, the main language of the West Himalayish subgroup.

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58. On this, van Driem writes (2001: 957): "Although the empirical basis for grouping Zhangzhung together with Bunam, Manchad, Rangkas and Kinnauri may very well be scanty, the hypothesis may none the less be correct."
• **Kinnauri**

Kinnauri is spoken by about 65,000 speakers in the area of upper Sutlej Valley after Rampur and the Sangla Valley. It has several very distinct dialects. Some of the Kinnauri dialects such as Jangshung, spoken in Morang Tahsil and Shumcho and Sunam in Puh Tahsil are surrounded by Khunu Töktat, a Tibetic dialect also spoken in the Puh Tahsil and closely related to the Spiti dialect (with mutual intelligibility).

10.7.5. **Lepcha (Tibeto-Himalayan branch)**

Lepcha people call themselves རོང་ Rong, but are called སོག་པ་ MON.PA by the Lhpos of Sikkim. Lepcha language is essentially spoken in Sikkim and parts of West Bengal in Darjeeling (རྡོ་རྗེ་གླིང་) and Kalimpong areas (ཀ་བློན་སྦུག་). Van Driem (2001: 819) suggests that “Lepcha is the language of the aboriginal populace of Sikkim.” A few small communities of several hundred speakers are also found in Samtsi District in southwestern Bhutan and in Ilam District in Nepal (see van Driem 1998; 2001). In the 17th century, Lepcha has developed an original alphasyllabic script which is still used. According to Plaisier (2007), there are about 30,000 native speakers. In contemporary Sikkim, Lepcha is just one of the minorities. The majority of the Sikkim population is made by Nepalis who are of various ethnic groups. In a paradoxal way, Nepali and not Hindi has become the main language of this Indian state.

10.7.6. **rGyalrongic languages**

rGyalrongic languages are spoken in the traditional region of rGyalrong, which corresponds to the abbreviation of rGyalmo Tshawarong རྒྱལ་མོ་ཚ་བ་རོང་ (RGYAL.MO.TSHA.BA.RONG) lit. ‘the hot valley of the queen’. An alternative name ‘Tsha kho’ is also used to refer to the area. The rGyalrong region is now located in the administrative divisions of Ngawa Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture as well as Kandze TAP of Sichuan. The rGyalrong people all belong to the Tibetan nationality.

According to Qu (1996), the Gyarongic languages are spoken in a territory of 160,000 km² by about 100,000 speakers. Sun (2000) and van Driem (2001) give a

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59. Because of these differences some authors prefer to speak of Kinnauric languages and treat Shumcho, Sunam, etc., as distinct languages from Kinnauri proper.
figure of 200,000. However, given the linguistic diversity, this overall figure is not very
significative. A few rGyalrongic languages such as Japhug are only spoken by a few
thousand speakers (3,000 to 4,000) and thus can be considered as endangered to a
certain degree.

Some scholars consider that the rGyalrongic languages constitute a subgroup of
the Qiangic presentation. In this presentation, we keep the two entities separated for
historical and cultural reasons. Although, rGyalrong does not refer to a linguistic entity
but to an area, its existence as a traditional Tibetan province is well established.

Most of the rGyalrongic languages are not written, however, in the recent years a
few scholars have written down some languages in Tibetan script or in an old
rGyalrong script. Literary Tibetan is normally used as a written language.

In the first studies conducted on rGyalrongic (Lin Xiangrong, Jin Peng, Qu
Aitang) in the 1950s, most authors agreed to distinguish at least three “dialects”:
Eastern, Northwestern, Western. However more recent have refined this
classification. Sun (2000) has listed six languages: Situ, sTodpa (Sidaba 四大坝),
Japhug (Chapu 茶堡), Khroskyabs (previously referred to as Lavrung 拉坞绒), sTau
(alt: rTa'u, Daofu 道孚, Ergong 尔龚) and sTodsde (Shangzhai 上寨).

With the progress of linguistic fieldwork and new data as well as anthropological
research, several recent works on language classification regarding rGyalrongic propose
a more detailed division of languages and renaming with clear definitions: Gates (2014),
Suzuki (2012c) and Roche & Suzuki (2017). Some parts have already been reflected
reflected in Ethnologue, an online catalogue of the world’s languages.

The language previously called sTodpa (Sidaba) is now divided into Zbu (a.k.a.
Showu) and Tshobdun. Other languages newly described include Geshitsa and
Nyagrong Minyag.

When used by the Tibetans, the term རྒྱལ་རོང་སྐད་RGYALRONG SKAD may refer to
any of the rGyalrongic languages, which are not mutually intelligible. However, it

60. Some scholars put sTau and sTodsde under the Horpa languages; however, the use of Horpa
here is inadequate. See Sonam Lhundrop (Tunzhu) et al. (2019).
Contact languages usually refer to the languages spoken around Barkham i.e. Situ, Zbu (or Showu), Tshobdun and Japhug.

rGyalrongic languages constitute an interesting branch in regard to their relatively archaic morphology and phonology dating back in some cases to Proto-Sino-Tibetan (see Jacques 2004a). To the Tibetologists, these languages are also precious witnesses of older stages of Tibetan, as they came into contact with central Tibet at least as early as Vairocana’s exile in the rGyalrong region, in the eighth century (Jacques 2004a: 755-797).

From a linguistic and typological point, rGyalrongic languages are remarkable for the following characteristics: 1) The existence of a very complex verbal agreement (two speech participants can be indexed on the verb); 2) A system of directional prefixes encoding upstream and downstream directions; 3) Existence of stem alternations (ablaut).

- **Situ (or Eastern rGyalrong)**

Situ 四土 is the Chinese name of this language which is locally called [kəru]. In Tibetan, the term rGyalrong is a geographic term and does not designate any precise language. Situ is the largest group in term of speakers, and used to be the lingua franca among speakers of other rGyalrong dialects, alongside Amdo. Eastern rGyalrong is divided in four main dialects: BKRA,SHIS,GLING (Lixian 理县), BAR,KHAMS (Maerkang 马尔康), referred to in Chinese as the speech of Situ 四土 “the four rGyal-po/Tusi 土司” of Լྕོག་རྩེ་ LCØG,RTSE, SO-MANG, RDZONG, GAG and DAMPA, BTSAN,LHA (Xiaojin 小金), on this dialect see BTSAN,LHA NGAG,DBANG TSHUL.KHRIHS 2009; Mansier 1984; Lin Xiangrong 1993; Lin You-Jing 2003; Lin You-Jing 2003) and Chu-chen (Jinchuan 金川). The best studied dialect is LCØG,RTSE (Zhuokeji 卓克基; Lin Xiangrong 1993; Lin You-Jing 2003; Nagano 2018), a dictionary of which was compiled (Huang & Sun 2002). Zhang (2020) is a descriptive study of the BRAG,BAR dialect. A dictionary of bTsanlha rGyalrong has also been edited by a native scholar (BTSAN,LHA NGAG,DBANG TSHUL.KHRIHS et al. 2009).

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61 In Tibetan, the term rGyalrong is rather a geographic term and does not designate any precise language. We propose to refer to rGyalrong proper as KURUSKAD.
• Zbu

Zbu (Chin: 日部 ribu) also called Showu, is spoken in Ribu township and Kangshan (Chin: 康山, Tib: KHANG.GSAR) township in Barkham County as well as Rongan and Kehe townships in Ngawa TAP. It is spoken in a couple of villages in Dzamthang and Ngawa counties. The language is called རྫོང་འབུར་སྐད་ RDZONG.BUR SKAD in Tibetan. The number of speakers probably does not exceed 10,000. An alternative name Showu, based on an exonym /ɕoʁu/ used in Tshobdun has been proposed by Sun T.S. (2007). In Ngawa, Zbu is called མྲར་རོང་སྐད SMAR.RONG.SKAD. As shown by Sun (ibid.), Zbu is certainly the most archaic of the rGyalrongic branch regarding the verb morphology. Gong (2018) is a descriptive study of Zbu.

• Tshobdun

རྩོ་བདུན་ TSHO-BDUN language called Caodeng 草登 in Chinese is spoken in Barkham County in Tshobdun Township (Caodeng xiang). This language has been extensively studied by Sun (1998; 2003c). There are 3,000 people in Tshobdun. Zbu and Tshobdun languages are sometimes grouped together and called དོན་པ་ STOD.PA (si da ba), but these two languages do not allow mutual intelligibility. Sun and Shidanluo (2019) publish a collection of stories in Tshobdun.

• Japhug

Japhug ཆ་ཕུག་སྐད་ is spoken in Barkhams County in three townships: Longerjia གདོང་བརྒྱད་ GDONG.BRG.YAD (龙尔甲), Shaerzong གསར་རྫོང་ GSAR.RDZONG (沙尔宗) and Dazang ཁ་ཚང་ DA.TSHANG (大藏), called [tats’i] in Japhug) along three rivers: Japhug valley, Gajiao valley ག尕脚, and a small portion of the Jiaomujue valley 脚木足. Jacques (2004) has investigated this language in his PhD and in several subsequent articles, and more recently (Jacques 2021b) has published a grammar of Japhug. He has also translated in French a version of Gesar epics in Japhug (Jacques 2010).
• Khroskyabs (Lavrung)

Khroskyabs, formerly known as Lavrung, is a language which comprises at least three dialects: mBrongdzong in the eponym township, Thukje Chenmo in the northwest of Chuchen County, Sichuan. The Wobzi dialect is described by Lai (2017). Some dialects of Khroskyabs remain undescribed.

• sTau (alt: rTao, rTa’u)

sTau language refers rather to a group of closely related languages than to a single language. This group is called in Chinese 道孚 Daofu. One also finds alternative names: 尔龚 Ergong or 霍尔 Hor, which are respectively derogatory and inappropriate (because of a wrong ethnic identification). sTau is spoken by about 45,000 speakers in the following counties of Kandze TAP: 茶朗 Tau and 布拉格 Drango. There are several dialects. The dialect spoken in rTa’u County has been described by Huang Bufang and Sun Hongkai.

Stau speakers usually also know either Tibetan Amdo or Chinese. Jacques et al. (2014) and Gates (2021) have provided a description of Stau.

• Geshitsa

Geshitsa called in Tibetan is spoken in Rongdrak. It has been the subject of a monograph written by (1998), a native speaker. It is called Geshiza (革什扎) or alternatively Gebushiza (革布什扎).

63. The term Lavrung comes from BLARRANG, a famous monastery in Gannan Prefecture of Gansu, and this term was misunderstood and unfortunately created as a linguistic name. The name KHRO.SKYABS corresponds to the proper name denoting one of the eighteen Gyalrong chieftains, known as 錦斯甲 Chaosijia in Chinese.

- **Nyagrong Minyag**

Nyagrong Minyag is a Tibeto-Burman language belonging to the rGyalrongic group of the Qiangic languages, spoken by about 1,000 Tibetans in Nyagrong [Xinlong] County, Ganzi [dKar-mdzes] Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan, China. It has two dialects: rGyarwagshis (spoken in a part of Jialaxi [RGYA.RWA.GSHIS] Village) and Bangsmad (spoken in a part of Bomei [BANG.SMAD] Village). Suzuki (2012c) reports that mutual intelligibility is found to some extent between sTau and Nyagrong Minyag, but this is not enough to make each speaker understood within each language.

- **Stodsde**

Stodsde language which is called Shangzhai 上寨 in Chinese is located near the confluence of the Duke river and its tributary the Zongke river in Shili 石里, Zongke 宗科 (Rdzong.Khog) and Puxi 蒲西 (Pho.sul) townships in Dzamthang County ཞམ་ཐང་ (Sun 2000: 164). According to Sun (ibid.: 166), “Shangzhai and Horpa [Tau] stand in a dialectal relationship to each other.” The number of speakers is unknown.

10.7.7. **Qiangic languages**

Qiangic languages are spoken in Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu in South-western China, mostly in Tibetan Autonomous prefectures.

They include Rmaic (also called Qiang), Darmdo Minyag, Shimian Minyag, Prinmi (Pumi), nDrapa (Zhaba), Choyu (Queyu), Lhagang Choyu, Lhagang Choyu is a highly endangered language, just recorded in 2015. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2016b; 2019b).

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64. Darmdo Minyag and Shimian Minyag are often considered as two dialects of the Minyag languages. Dawa Drolma & Suzuki (2016) propose to divide it into two languages. See also Roche & Suzuki (2017, 2018).

sMar (alt. Drag-yap sMar) as well as an extinct language, Tangut (Xixia) (Sun Hongkai 1983; Huang 1991; Jacques 2004a). According to most authors (Sun H. 1983; Jacques 2004a; Sun T.S. 2000), Qiangic also comprises rGyalrongic languages: Situ, sTau, Geshitsa, Nyagrong Minyag, Stodsde (Shangzhai), Japhug, Zbu, Khroskyabs (Lavrung) and Tshobdun (see above).

Other than those, the existence of at least four languages spoken in Chamdo and Nyingthri Municipalities (TAR) has recently been reported: Lamo, Larong sMar, Drag-yap sMar, and gSerkhu. They are provisionally considered as members of Qiangic languages (Suzuki & Tashi Nyima 2016; Suzuki et al., 2018; Tashi Nyima & Suzuki 2019).

Most of these languages have recently been listed by many linguists such as Sun H. (1983), Dai et al. (1991), Huang and Dai (1992), Qu (1996), Lin (1993), Duoerji (1998), Sun T.S. (2000), Ikeda (2002) and Jacques (2004a). Qiangic languages are concentrated in a few areas, at the border of the Tibetic linguistic area, mainly in the Ngawa Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture as well as Kandze TAP of Sichuan and the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan; hence, this region is often called “The Ethnic Corridor of West Sichuan” (Sun H. 1983).

None of the modern Qiangic languages has a written tradition (see Jacques 2014). One should however mention that the ancient Tangut script, a logographic script invented in the eleventh century was used to write down the Xixia or Tangut language. According to Jacques (2014a), there are enough elements to consider that this language belonged to the Qiangic branch of the ST macrofamily, and more specifically to the “macro-rGyalrongic branch.” (2014a). The script which has nearly 6,000 characters and is inspired by Chinese, is considered by Sofronov (1968) as the most complex script in the world. The reason for this complexity is that the script is not pictographic and has only a limited number of phonetic elements.

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66. Some scholars still doubt that the group “Qiangic” forms a genetic group as in Nishida 1998 and it is sometimes called “Ethnic Corridor of West Sichuan languages.”

67. Maya glyphs may also be good candidates for this world record.
• **Rmaic (Qiang)**

Qiang རྨ་སྐད་ CH'ANG SKAD (羌语 Qiangyu), locally called རྨ་སྐད་ RMA SKAD is spoken by about 100,000 speakers in Lunggu ཀྲུང་གསར་ (Chin: Wenchuan), Zungchu ཀྲུང་ཕུན་, Trashiling ཡ་གླིང་སྐད་, Mao མའོ་, Rongdrak རོང་བྲག་, Throchu གྲོ་ཆུ་ (see the Appendix 3 for the Chinese equivalents) and in some parts of Beichuan Qiang Autonomous County (北川) in Sichuan province (see e.g. Sun Hongkai et al. 1991). One can distinguish a northern and a southern dialect. The northern dialect is mainly used in the southern parts of Maowun, Trashiling and Zungchu. The northern dialect is used in the northern part of Mao County and in most of Throchu. The Qiang living in the Qiang communities can speak both Qiang and Chinese while the people scattered in various communities use only Chinese. A good number of Tibetans of Throchu County are native speakers of some Rmaic languages. The Qiang language is not written and people use Chinese or Tibetan. LaPolla and Huang (2003) has written a grammar of Qiang.

• **Prinmi (Pumi)**

Prinmi (普米语), alternatively called Pumi, is locally called [phʐõm] ཕྲོང་མི་, which means "white people" is spoken by about 47,000 speakers⁶⁸ in Pumi and Bai Autonomous County of Nujiang Lanping Prefecture, Naxi Autonomous Lijiang County and Yongsheng County in Yunnan Province as well as in Muli མུ་ལི་, Gyazil གྲོན་མི་, and Yanyuan 盐源 Counties in Sichuan Province (see e.g. Sun Hongkai et al. 1991: 192; Hu & Hu 2014; Daudey 2014, see also Appendix 3). The Prinmi language is generally not written and people use Chinese as their literary language.⁶⁹ Apart their own language, the Prinmi people also use Chinese and other neighboring languages. Some Naxi and Bai can also speak Prinmi. The Prinmi language has two main dialects: Northern Prinmi and Southern Prinmi. Some scholars say that they do not allow good intelligibility, however, many native speakers feel that there is good

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⁶⁸ According to 1990 census, there are only 29,675 Pumi ethnic people. Other minorities also use Pumi as a vernacular language.

⁶⁹ However, several ritual manuscripts have recently been found, in which the Prinmi language is written in the Tibetan script. See Hu & Hu eds. (2014).
intelligibility. The Prinmi language may be referred to as གུ་མི་སྐད་ PHU.MI SKAD in Literary Tibetan but there is no known traditional Tibetan name for this language. Prinmi speakers are considered as Tibetans བོད་རིགས་ BOD RIGS in Sichuan but otherwise are considered as a separate Pumi nationality གུ་མིའི་རིགས་ also spelled PHUU SMIRIGS. Concerning their religion (see Wellens 2010): Hangui, possibly corresponds to SNGAGS.MGON in Literary Tibetan. Their rituals are very similar to the Bön religion, however, local features are also found. Ritual masters generally use sutras common to Bön written in Literary Tibetan, however, several sutras are written in Prinmi by using the Tibetan script.

- Darmdo Minyag and Shimian Minyag

The Minyag language70 is referred to as གི་ཡག་སྐད་ MINYAG SKAD in Tibetan and is called 木雅 Muya in Chinese (see e.g. Sun Hongkai et al. 1991). Minyag is spoken by around 10,000 speakers in Dartsendo དར་རྩེ་མདོ་, Nyagrong ཉག་རོང་ and Gyäzil Counties བརྒྱད་ཟིལ་ (see Appendix 3). It is also spoken in Shimian County located in Ya'an Prefecture, the next county bordering Dartsendo in the south. All the three counties are situated nearby the Minyak Gongkar range གི་ཡག་གངས་དཀར་ which is 7,500m high. Now the languages of these two areas are not in contact and divided into two different languages on the basis of their mutual unintelligibility: Darmdo Minyag and Shimian Minyag (Dawa Drolma & Suzuki 2016).

In Dartsendo, the majority of the toponyms are Minyag. The language is mainly used in the villages and at home. The people living on the eastern slopes of the Gongkar range also speak Chinese while those who dwell on the southwestern slopes also speak Tibetan.

From a historical perspective it is important to note that Minyak has played an important part in the Tibetan history. The 11th Dalai Lama མཁས་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ (MKHAS.GRUB RGYA.MTSHO) was of Minyak origin. The 93rd and the 95th Gandän Thripas (དགའ་ལྡན་ཁྲི་པ་), respectively Yeshes Wangden and Trashi Tongdü (BKRA.SHIS STONG.DUS) were also of Minyak origin. The five learned of Kagyu at the time of

70. Note that we use the spelling Minyag to refer to the Qiangic language whereas we use Minyak for the Tibetan Kham variety spoken in the area as well as for the toponyms.
Tsogkhapa were also from Minyak region. There were giving Dharma teachings in Miniag language.

- **Choyu (Queyu)**

Queyu has about 7,000 speakers at the border of the three following counties: Nyagchu, Lithang and Nyagrong in Sichuan (see Appendix 3). The language is used within the family or inside the valley, but outside of these contexts, everybody speaks Kham Tibetan, Chinese or another neighboring language (see Dai et al. 1991; Huang & Dai 1992).

Queyu 靖域语 is the Chinese name to refer to this language. It may be referred to as Cho yul skad in Literary Tibetan but there is no known traditional Tibetan name for this language. The language called Gawa ཀ་འབི་སྐད་ in Lithang County in the villages of Ga (DGA) and Gyarawa (BRGYA.RABA) possibly refers to Queyu.

- **Lhagang Choyu**

Lhagang Choyu is a newly recognized moribund language spoken only in one hamlet named Tage (THABS.MKHIS) of Tagong (LHA.SGANG) Town, Kangding (DAR.MDO) Municipality, Ganzi (DKAR.MDZES) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. There are less than a hundred competent speakers, most of whom, unfortunately, no longer use the language in daily life, speaking Khams Tibetan instead. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2016b; 2018a; 2019b).

- **nDrapa**

The nDrapa language, called Zhaba in Chinese (扎坝语 Zhabayu), is used by 7,700 Tibetan speakers (1986 census) in Tau County (Zhaba district) and in Nyagchu County (Zhamai district) in Sichuan. These two varieties allow good intelligibility. Their language does not allow any intercomprehension with Tibetan or Minyag. Outside the family and the village, people use the Chinese language to communicate (see Huang & Dai 1992: 643; Sun 1991). The language may be referred to as DRA.PASKAD in Literary Tibetan but there is no known traditional Tibetan orthography for this language.
nGochang (Guiqiong)

Guiqiong (贵琼语) locally pronounced ‘go.chang [gu³ tʰə]’ or ‘gwi tʰə’ is used by 7,000 speakers (1986 census) in Dartsendo County 杜尔嘎乡 (Yutong district) in Sichuan at the border with Chagzam County 峨边彝族自治县 (Dai et al. 1991; Sun 1991). There are possibly two autonyms with a slight difference of pronunciation, i.e., nGochang and Guichang, both of which lack a complete correspondence in Literary Tibetan form but its etymology is related to a toponym ‘go.thang, corresponding to an old Chinese toponym 鱼通 Yutong. The Chinese name probably reflects the latter. Outside the family and the valley, people use Tibetan or Chinese to communicate. Guiqiong language may be referred to as ‘go.thang.sk’ in Tibetan.

Ersu

Ersu (尔苏语 Ersuyu) has about 20,000 speakers in Ganluo 甘洛, Yuexi 越西, Mianning 冕宁, Muli 色达, Shimian 石棉, Hanyuan 汉源 as well as Gyäzil བརྒྱལ་ཟིལ་ Counties (Sun 1991: 231, see also Huang & Dai 1992). Ersu language may be referred to as ‘er.su.sk’ in Literary Tibetan but there is no known traditional Tibetan name for this language.

Lüzu

Lüzu (吕苏语 Liisuyu) locally pronounced [u³ u⁵] is spoken in Gyäzil བརྒྱལ་ཟིལ་, Mianning 冕宁, Puxiong 普雄, Ganluo 甘洛 and Muli 色达 Counties in Sichuan (Huang & Dai 1992: 647-648). Lüzu is sometimes spelled Lyusu in the English literature (LaPolla 1995) or even Lisu which is a source of confusion with the Lolo-Burmese language also called Lisu; however, there are no varieties that use a voiceless [s] sound as Lüzu, but always a voiced [z] as Lüzu. It is considered as western dialect of Ersu by Sun H. (1983), but according to Huang & Dai (1992 ibid.) the linguistic classification of the Lüzu needs further research (see also Chirkova 2017b). The number of Lüzu speakers is not known, but it probably does not exceed a couple of thousand.

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71. These counties are located in Lianshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Kandze TAP, and Ya’an Prefecture of Sichuan.
The meaning of Lüzu is “White people.” In the past, the Han Chinese used to call them the Small Xifan “Small Western Barbarians” or Xijiao (“Western religion”). There are now officially considered as Tibetan.

Lüzu language may be referred to as བུ་སྐད་ LUSZU SKAD in Literary Tibetan but there is no known traditional Tibetan name for this language.

- **Doxu**

Doxu, often regarded as a dialect of Ersu, is a moribund language. This language is well-known due to the study of Nishida (1973), who predicted the possibility of existence of a language called Doxu in the present society based on a Chinese-Tibetan vocabulary edited in the eighteenth century. See also Chirkova (2014).

- **Lamo**

Lamo is a language spoken in Dongba and Zhonglinka Townships, Dzogang County, Chamdo Municipality, TAR. Suzuki & Tashi Nyima (2016) first reported this language, named mBo skad based on an exonym, and pointed out that it might be a member of Qiangic. Tashi Nyima & Suzuki (2019) is a brief introduction to Lamo as well as for the following three languages LarongsMar, Drag-yab sMar, and gsErkhu. Lamo has approximately 4,000 speakers. It is divided into two dialects: Lamo and Lamei (see Suzuki et al. 2021 for Lamei). Lamo is allegedly closely related to Minyag; however it awaits confirmation.

- **LarongsMar**

LarongsMar is a language spoken on the riverside of Zlachu in Dzogang and Markham Counties, Chamdo Municipality, TAR. There are approximately 15,000 speakers. See Tashi Nyima & Suzuki (2019) for details.

- **Drag-yab sMar**

Drag-yab sMar is a language spoken in Drayap County, in Rongdrup, Khuda, Shamdu, Tsälzang, and Pälri townships, Chamdo Municipality, TAR. There are approximately 20,000 speakers. See Tashi Nyima & Suzuki (2019) for details.
• gSerkhu

gSerkhu is a language spoken in the Adrag Valley in Shangchayu Town, Dzayül County, Nyingthri Municipality, TAR. The ancestor of the gSerkhu speakers are said to have been from Dongba, the Lamo-speaking area, and Lamo and gSerkhu are mutually close to each other. There are approximately 400 speakers. See Tashi Nyima & Suzuki (2019).

10.7.8. Nungish
• Trung (T'run)

Trung (独龙语 Dulongyu, ཆུང་སྐད་ DRUNG SKAD) alternatively called Dulong, is a Qiangic language spoken by the Trung minority (独龙族 Dulongzu) in 贡山 Gongsheng Trung and Nu Autonomous County in Yunnan and in Myanmar (Huang & Dai 1992: 649), where it is called Rawang. Trung is reportedly also spoken in Balung County བལུང་ in Yunnan and in Dzayül County རྫ་ཡུལ་, in TAR. The number of speakers is approximately 6,000. Young people speak mainly Lisu or Tibetan.

• Nung

Nung has been called Anu and regarded as a dialect of Trung by Sun (1982). It is spoken in Gongshan County, along Salween (Nu Jiang) River. However, Qin & Suzuki (2016) claim that the autonym is not ‘Anu’ but ‘Nung’ and the Chinese character 怒 is in that case pronounced Nung (and not Nu). In addition, they distinguish the Nung variety from Trung based on the identitifical observation of speakers of these languages.

• Zørwang and Daru

Zørwang and Daru are two other Nungish languages spoken in Burma (Bradley 1994). They are closely related to Trung and Anung. All these four languages are spoken in the upper of Irrawadyi on the both sides of the Sino-Burmese border. The

72. There is not a traditional term in Tibetan to designate the Trung language.
73. See e.g. the Atlas of distribution of National Minorities in China (He Shiyuan 2002) and Bradley 2007.
number of speakers is 15,000 (Zørwang) and 35,000 (Daru). These two languages are in contact with the Kham Tibetan spoken in Burma (ibid.).

10.7.9. Tani and Mishmi languages

Tani languages are also known as Abor-Miri-Dafla (Matisoff 2003). There is still some uncertainty about the classification of Tani languages (Sun 2003; Post and Sun 2017). Tani and Mishmi languages are spoken in Arunachal Pradesh but marginally in Assam, but they are not directly in contact with Tibetic languages.

Tani languages that are located in the Tibetosphere include Bokar and Sulong, whereas Mishmi languages Idu, Kaman, Taraon and Zaiwa are outside the Tibetosphere. These languages are essentially spoken in the southeastern area of the TAR and on the other side of the Sino-Indian border in Arunachal Pradesh (India).

- Bokar

The Bokar (博嘎尔珞巴 Bogaer Luoba) is a Tani language of the Gallon group. Bokar is spoken in མན་གླིང་ Mänling County (Chin: 米林 Milin) and on the other side of the de facto border with India in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. Bokar speakers belong to the འ་ Lopa minority called 璐巴 Luoba in Chinese and are recognized by the Chinese government as a separate ethnic group. Lopas are found in Mänling མན་གླིང་, Metok མེ་ཏོག་, Dzayül དྦགྱུལ་ and Lhuntse སྣྲུལ་ counties of TAR (Huang & Dai 1992), and on the other side of the de facto border with India in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. Altogether, there might be around 200,000 Lopas but it is very difficult to give a precise estimation of their number. On the northern side of the border, in the southern part of Mänling County, the 1990 census reported only 2,312 speakers. From the linguistic point of view, the Lopa minority corresponds in reality to various linguistic communities speaking distinct languages such as Bokar, Idu, Sulong and Damu. In Metok County, some Lopa people use only Tibetan Kham dialect whereas others can still speak Lopa, apart from Kham Tibetan and Monpa. According to Huang & Dai (1992: 653), Bokar and Bangni are rather close and allow communication. This author considers the above three varieties as dialects.
• **Puroik (Sulong)**

Puroik locally called [suⁿ₃lon₃¹] (སུ་ལོང་) is spoken in Dzayul County འབྲིས་ in TAR by 2,000 speakers and in Tawang མཚོན་ area (Arunachal Pradesh, India). Sulong is the name by which they are known by their neighbors but their autonym is actually [pohⁿ³ yut³¹]. Puroik speakers are also considered as part of the ཕྱོ་ Lopa minority.

• **Idu**

Idu (义都珞巴 Yidu luoba), alternatively called Chulikata or Midu is spoken in Dzayul County འབྲིས་ in TAR by 7,000 speakers. Idu is classified as a Mishmi language. According to Huang & Dai (1992), Idu and Taraon are relatively close and have 40% of common vocabulary. As mentioned earlier Idu speakers are considered as part of the ཕྱོ་ Lopa minority.

• **Taraon**

Taraon and Kaman (see below) are spoken by the Deng minority. Deng languages are called Tingpa རྨ་པ་ (RTING PA'ISKAD) in Tibetan. Taraon which is locally pronounced /tᵃⁿ³ jən⁵⁵/ is called 达让僧 Darang Deng in Chinese. Alternative names for Taraon are Digaru or Methung. Taraon is spoken in Dzayul County འབྲིས་ (TAR) as well as on the other side of the border with India (Huang & Dai 1992: 652). It has around ten thousand speakers, but mainly on the Indian side. Within TAR, Taraon is spoken by about 700 speakers.

• **Kaman**

Kaman, the other Deng language is locally called /kᵘⁿ³ mən⁵⁵/. In Chinese it is referred to as 格曼僧 Geman Deng (Huang & Dai 1992: 653). This language is spoken in Dzayul County འབྲིས་ in TAR by about 200 speakers, according to the 1976 census.

**10.7.10. Naic languages**

The Naic branch includes Naxi as well a few related languages: Na (or Moso), Malimasa, Laze, Shuhing and Namuyi. There are some debates about the classification of these languages.
Naxi has been previously classified as Lolo-Burmese (see Thurgood & LaPolla 2003) have questioned this classification. Shihing and Namuyi were considered as Qiangic languages. Recently Michaud and Jacques (2011) have shown the close affiliation of these languages and proposed to create a separate Naic branch.

**Naxi**

Naxi (纳西) is the Chinese name of a language (or a group of closely related languages) which is called locally /nɑ˩hɪ˧/ (in Lijiangba dialects) and གཞི་བལྱ་ JANG SKAD in Tibetan.

Naxi is spoken by about 290,000 speakers mainly within Yunnan Province in Gucheng district, Yulong Naxi Autonomous County, Yongsheng County (all located in the area of Lijiang Municipality) and in Dechen TAP in the following Counties: Shangri-La, traditionally called Gyälthang རྒྱལ་ཐང་ (Chin: 香格里拉 Xianggelila) and Balung བལུང་ (Chin: 维西 Weixi). Smaller populations of Naxi speakers are found in Dechen དཔེ་ཆེན་ (Dechen TAP), Gongshan, and Ninglang Counties and even as far as in Muli Tibetan Autonomous County (in Eya Township) or Markham County རྒྱལ་ཡུལ་ (Chin: 芒康 Mangkang; in Tshwakhalo Township) in the TAR.

Naxi people have their own religion called /to-mba/ and referred to as Dongba (东巴) in Chinese (see Michaud 2011). This term which is derived from the CT word སྟོན་པ་ STON.PA ‘guide, master’ is also used to designate Naxi Bön priests or Shamans. According to Michaud (2011):

"The Dongba religion and Bön share many rituals and deities as well as a common founder […] Dongpa Shilo is none other than sTonpa Shenrab Mibo, the founder of the Bön religion."

However, the Naxi form of Bön is quite different from the modern Yungdrung Bön (ཡུལ་འབྲི་འབྲུང་) found in Tibet. The word /to-mba/ also designates a unique pictographic script used by the priests during their recitation. A Naxi syllabary called

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74. The Naxi are sometimes referred to as "Western Naxi." See He and Jiang (1985), Michaud (2011). The "Eastern Naxi" refer to other closely related languages such as Na.
Geba has also been developed. There are many syncretic elements in the Naxi religious practices. Many Naxi are also followers of the Kagyu school of Tibetan Buddhism.75

If we look at the Naxi religion and scripts, we understand that the Naxi people live at the crossroad between the Tibetosphere and the Sinosphere: the religion has been influenced by the Tibetan Buddhism and Bön but the pictographic scripts rather point toward a Chinese influence.

• **Na or Moso**

The term Moso (摩梭 mosuo) corresponding to the indigenous pronunciation /moso/ is used to designate a small ethnic group also called Na who is settled in the Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces, close to the border with Tibet. From the ethnic point of view, they are also classified as Naxi. Consisting of a population of approximately 40,000, many of them live in the Yongning region, around Lugu Lake, in Labai and Muli, in Yanyuan. The Moso are famous for the absence of “marriage” and their matriarchal society. They have developed their own religion called Daba. Michaud (2017) describes a full picture of the tone of Yongning Na.

• **Malimasa**

Malimasa (玛丽玛萨) is a Naic language spoken by around 1,000 inhabitants in Kenuo, Haini, and Chuanda administrative villages of Tacheng Town and Balung (Chin: 维西 Wei xi). It has two dialectal varieties, one of which is spoken only in Ruke Hamlet, while the other is more widespread. Speakers do not belong to a single officially recognized nationality: some are Naxi, others are Lisu, and some are Tibetan. Local folklore claims that their ancestors were Moso (Na-speaking people) from Muli (Sichuan) and that the autonym Malimasa originates from Muli-Moso. However, this oral tradition is not shared by all Malimasa. The Lisu Malimasa-speakers especially, do not have such an oral tradition. Short linguistic descriptions of Malimasa are available (Li 2013; Suzuki 2015c).

75. Bradley (2012) discusses a Tibetan-reading pronunciation in the Dongba script sutras. The contents include Bon and even Buddhism.
• Shuhing (Shihing, Shixing)

Shuhing (史兴语) /ʂu55ɦĩ55/ is spoken by about 1,800 speakers in མུ་ལི་ Muli County (Shuiluo Township), Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan (Huang & RIG'DZIN DBANG,MO 1991: 240; Huang & Dai 1992: 646). Outside the family and the valley, people use Chinese, Tibetan or Prinmi to communicate. Shuhing language is referred to as /ɕu55mu55/ by the Kham-speaking Tibetans of Muli. Thus the Prinmi speakers can be rendered as ལུང་གུ་SHUMUSKAD in Literary Tibetan but there is no known traditional Tibetan name for this language. Shihing speakers are officially considered as Tibetans by the Chinese administration.

• Namuyi

Namuyi (纳木义语 or 纳木依语 Namuyiyu) has about 5,000 speakers in ཉི་མཱ་ཡི། Gyäzil ཇུ་མཱ་ཡི།, Muli ཇུ་མཱ་ཡི།, Mianning སྦེ་ནུ།, Xichang 西昌 and Yanyuan 盐源 counties in Sichuan (Huang & Dai 1992; Dai Qingxia et al. 1991: 236). Namuyi has many alternative names: Namyi, Namuji, Namʑi, Namuzi. Traditionally local Han Chinese used to call Namuyi “Western Barbarian” (Xifan). Namuyi are officially considered as Tibetan by the Chinese administration. According to Libu Lakhi (2017), Namuyi denotes Namuyi people, and their language should be called Namuyi Khatho. The Namuyi language may be referred to as གནམ་མཱ་ཞི་སྐད་ GNAMMUSKAD in Literary Tibetan but there is no known traditional Tibetan name for this language. A textbook and grammar of Namuyi has been published (Libu Lakhi 2009; 2017).

10.7.11. Lolo-Burmese languages

Several Loloish languages which belong to the Lolo-Burmese branch of TB are also spoken in contact with Kham languages at the Southeastern periphery of the Tibetosphere. They include Lisu and Nosu (or Nuosu). The former is mainly spoken by Lisu people, and the latter is principally spoken by the Yi Nationality སྨི་རིགས། (Chin: 彝族 yizu), officially recognized by the Chinese government. During and after the Tang Dynasty, the Yi had already developed a logographic script referred to as Classical Yi. The first attested document dates back from the fifteenth century. It had more than 8,000 characters but was not entirely standardized. This script is no
longer in use. At present one standardized Yi script system (规范彝文 Guifan Yiwen) has been established and is mainly used in Sichuan.

- **Lisu**

  Among the Lolo-Burmese languages spoken in Yunnan, Lisu (傈僳语 Lisuyu) is in contact with southern Tibetic languages. It is spoken by about 500,000 speakers in Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture (怒江傈僳族自治州); Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture (德宏傣族景颇族自治州); Dechen TAP (德慶藏 Autonomous Prefecture 藏族自治州), Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture (大理白族自治州) and Lijiang Municipality. Lisu corresponds to one nationality officially recognized by the Chinese government. In Tibetan, there is apparently no traditional term to call this language and people but it may be referred to as བི་སུ་རིགས LLSU’RIGS and བི་སུ་སྐད LLSU’SKAD. Lisu has had three script systems used in the Tibetosphere: Fraser script, New romanized script, and 汪忍波 Wang Renbo’s bamboo stick script (see Mu & Sun 2012).

- **Nosu**

  Nosu, called 诺苏 Nuosu in Chinese (pronounced /nosu/ in Southwestern Mandarin), is also known as Northern Yi is considered as the prestigious language of the Yi people and has been the basis of the standard Yi language (Chin: 聂语). Nosu is spoken in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture and its adjacent area of Kandze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan as well as Yunnan, in Dechen Autonomous Prefecture and Lijiang. It contacts with Kham Tibetans.

  The language is taught in schools, both in its oral and written forms. At the end of the twentieth century, Nosu have developed a complex syllabary (with 756 signs) derived from the Classical logographic script. This modern script is officially recognized and used to write written Yi. It is based on the Liangshan dialect of Yunnan. In Tibetan, there is apparently no traditional term for Nosu in Tibetan language, but it is generally referred to as དབྱིས་སྐད DBYIS SKAD.
Part 3. – Tibetan Lexicon
11. Lexical features of the Tibetic languages

This chapter discusses issues related to the lexicon of the Tibetic languages. It aims at showing the close links that exist between modern Tibetic languages and Classical Tibetan, as well as the lexical diversity of this linguistic area. This chapter also serves as an introduction to the Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon (HCTL) presented in Chapter 12.

11.1. Pandialectal vocabulary

All the modern Tibetic languages and dialects derived from Old Tibetan share a common basic vocabulary. It is sometimes difficult to recognize the old lexical heritage because of discrepancies in the modern pronunciations of the various languages (see Chapter 7). Some of the pandialectal words are not specific to the Tibetic languages and have cognates in other TB languages, or even in Sinitic languages (see Chapter 10).

This is the case, for example, with the following words:


The pandialectal words also include **numbers** such as ༢ 'one', བདུན་ 'seven', རྒྱུ་མ་ 'intestine', བདུན་ 'seven', སྦུ་ 'tooth' and སྲམ་ 'otter'.

Other (nearly) pandialectal words include **ancient loanwords** such as སེང་གེ་ 'lion' (< Sanskrit), བདུན་པ་ 'thread', སྦུ་ 'tooth', འབྲོག་པ་ 'pastoralist, name of an ethnic group', རྒྱུ་མ་ 'intestine', སྦུ་ 'tooth', ཨ་རག་ 'alcohol' (< Persian < Arabic).

A number of pandialectal words are more specific to the Tibetic languages. These include:

* **the numeral** བདུན་ 'seven';
* **nouns** such as བྲོག་པ་ 'pastoralist, name of an ethnic group', སྦུ་ 'tooth', གཉིས་ 'two', སྦུ་ 'tooth', བྲུག་ 'six', བརྒྱད་ 'eight', ཐང་ 'prairie', དགུ་ 'nine', བཅུ་ 'ten', སྟོང་ 'thousand'.

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verbs such as (CT present and past forms): འཁྲུད་ khru'd/ བཀྲུས་ bku's 'to wash', ཀྲི་ dri/ བྲིས་ bris 'to write', ཀྲི་ drij/ བྲིས་ bris 'to ask', བཙོངས་ btsongs 'to sell', དགོས་ dgos 'to need', བསྒྱུར་ bsgyur 'to change', བཅག་ bcag 'to break', རེད་ rjed/ བརྗེད་ brjed 'to forget', ཁིམ་ tshig 'to burn', ལྟ་ lta 'to look', དིན་ skol/ བིན་ bskol 'to boil', དོན་ khol/ དོན་ khol 'to be boiled', གཞིས་ lang/ ལོང་ langs 'to stand up', དོན་ phur/ དོན་ phur 'to fly';

• adjectives, especially adjectives of color, such as དམར་ dmari 'red', དཀར་ dkar 'white', སེར་ ser 'yellow', དྲང་ drang 'straight, honest', མཐོ་ mtho 'high', རྟོག་ phyug 'rich', སྟོང་ stong 'empty', གཙང་མ་ gtsang MA 'clean', སྲབ་ srab 'thin', སྐྱིད་ skyid, ངོ་ rnyin 'old (of things)', མངར་ mgar 'sweet';

• some grammatical words, such as ཚ་ ma 'negation', དེ་ yin 'to be', ནའི yod 'to have', both used as auxiliaries.

Some of these words may also appear in Tibetospheric languages such as the Tibetospherian, Qiangic and Gyalrongic languages, either because they have been borrowed or because they are genetically related. However, in the Tibetic languages, reflexes of the lexical forms listed above will be perfectly regular following the rules of the phonology in the given language or dialect (see Chapter 11). In the non-Tibetic languages, the reflexes may be irregular.

In other words, in order to be identified as Tibetic, a given language should not only have cognates of the pandialectal words (such as those listed above), but should also have cognates which are regularly derived from Classical Tibetan (see Chapter 4). The use of these two criteria, phonological and lexical, should help to quickly determine whether a given language belongs to the Tibetic family. The criteria to distinguish Tibetic from other TB languages should, however, be based on a broader set of criteria, including morphology and syntax.

2. The word ZA 'to eat' is nearly pandialectal, but another form derived from 'cht' lit. 'to chew' is found instead of ZA in a few heterodox languages (Semkyi Nyi Kham and some languages of the E Section).
With this approach, it is possible to show that Tibeto-Himalayan languages such as Kinnauri, Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Bhumthang, Tshangla, Limbu, Magar, Hayu, Basum, etc., share many cognates with the Tibetic languages, but do not belong to the Tibetic family as defined here.

11.2. **Words without CT or OT correspondences**

Exceptionally, some words have roots that are not attested in either CT or OT (see the HCTL). Let us illustrate this point with a few examples: in many Eastern and Southern dialects (Kham, Amdo, Kongpo and Lhoke), we have to reconstruct a root लि LI ‘cat’. This root is not attested in CT, probably because it was replaced at an early stage by the Sanskrit loanword ब्यिल BYILA. The root न्योक nyok ‘child’ is attested in several Eastern languages as न्योक्त NYAG.NYOG or न्योक/NYOG. The word ‘to carry’ is conveyed by the root बक bak, which is not found in CT, in a couple of languages (Kh, Dz, Lho). The number of roots that have cognates in neither CT nor OT is very limited. Such roots should not be confused with those that have slightly different forms, but are clearly cognate. This second type is much more frequent. Even more frequent are words made of stems that have CT correspondences, but with affixes not found in CT. Finally, a great number of compounds not attested in the written form are made of lexemes that are found in CT (see below).

11.3. **Typology of the main differences between the languages**

Beyond the common core vocabulary, Tibetic languages display a great variation in their phonology, vocabulary and grammar. When the modern languages are compared, the number of pandialectal words is limited, making intelligibility very low between languages belonging to different sections. If we compare the Tibetic dialects to Classical Tibetan, the picture is fundamentally different: we then find that the modern languages share more than 90% of their basic vocabulary with CT. In the present lexicon (see HCTL, Chapter 12), this percentage is about 95%. Some languages at the periphery of the Tibetic area may have borrowed much of their lexicon, but their basic vocabulary usually remains Tibetan.
Let us note that the modern languages often use different terms for the same meaning, but the overwhelming majority of these terms are derived from CT roots.

We will present a brief summary of the main ways in which the various languages differ.

From our extensive fieldwork and the systematic comparison of the dialects, we can summarize the main differences and present them in the following hierarchy:

a) phonetic differences,

b) morphological and morphosyntactic differences,

c) lexical and semantic differences.

The complete lack of intelligibility, or relatively low intelligibility, between some Tibetic languages may be explained by the accumulation of these 3 types of differences. These types may be further analyzed in subtypes, as we will see.

a) Phonetic differences


In some cases, the phonetic differences presented by the same lexical word in different languages are so enormous that only trained linguists can tell that they are triggered by regular sound changes acting on the same original word (see Chapter 4).
Here are some examples of the variation of word initial clusters (in bold) by language or dialect; the list of possible pronunciations is not exhaustive:

སྐྲ་SKR 'hair': /skra/, /ʈa/, /ʂa/, /rka/ (note that several languages use other roots or compound words to designate 'human hair'; see HCLT), བྱེ་E 'sand': /byama/, /byanga/, /pema/, /ʰema/ /ʃema/, /sema/, /tsa/.

For other examples, see the HCTL.

b) Morphological and morphosyntactic differences

A second source of variation is related to morphological and morphosyntactic differences. There are three main types of difference: affixes (prefixes, or more frequently suffixes), reduplication of the stem and class term differences (see also Section 11.2 and the HCTL).

Concerning the affixes, we can see, for example, that the root STON 'fall, autumn' is used alone in some dialects, but used with various affixes in other dialects སྐྲུལ་SBR, སྐྲུལ་KHA, སྐྲུལ་PO, or simply སྐྲུ། STON, another example is the root SLA 'clear, thin (of liquid)': སྐྲུས་ SLAMO, སྐྲུས་SLA.PO, སྐྲུས་SLA.DE. The roots སྐྲུས་ SRU and སྐྲུས་ ZHANG – respectively 'maternal aunt' and 'maternal uncle' – appear either with suffixes or with a prefix: སྐྲུ་ SRU, སྐྲུ་ MO, སྐྲུ་ DE, སྐྲུ་ ZHANG, སྐྲུ་ ZHANG.PO. There may also be differences arising from reduplication of the stem, as opposed to affixation: for example, སྐྲུ་ SRAB.PO or སྐྲུ་ SRAB.MO 'thin (tissue)' versus སྐྲུ་ SRAB; སྐྲུ་ NAG.PO or སྐྲུ་ NAG.MO versus སྐྲུ་ NAG.NAG 'black'; སྐྲུ་ DMAR.PO or སྐྲུ་ DMAR.MO versus སྐྲུ་ DMAR.DMAR 'red' (see the HCTL, Chapter 12).

Additionally, there may be differences related to the compulsory presence or absence of a class term; for example, the class term BYA 'bird' is compulsory and part of a word in some languages, but is not used in other languages: see སྐྲུ་ GLAG versus སྐྲུ་ BYA.GLAG 'eagle', སྐྲུ་ KHRA versus སྐྲུ་ BYAKHRA 'hawk', སྐྲུ་ RGOD versus སྐྲུ་ BYA.RGOD 'vulture'.

In some rare cases, the various languages have words derived from a common root that exhibits archaic variants, some of which are attested either in CT or OT. This is
the case, for example, with མི MI (CT) and མྱི་ MYI (OT) for 'human being'. Most modern languages have a word derived from the former, but the Amdo dialects and some Kham dialects have forms derived from the latter archaic variant. The same is true for the word 'eye', which has the roots མིག་ MIG, མྱིག་ MYIG and དམྱིག་ DMYIG. The last two are archaic and attested in OT. The forms found in the majority of modern dialects spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere – in the NE, E and SE sections – are derived from these archaic forms. In some languages and dialects from the Central and Southern sections, although the form is derived from MIG, the high tone reflects the existence of the preradical D. In the following examples, the first word is used in CT, whereas the second word – usually longer and more archaic – is attested in OT (and sometimes also in CT). Both forms are reflected in the modern languages: མེ་ ME and མྱེ་ MYE and even SMYE 'fire'; མིང་ MING and མྱིང་ MYING 'name'; མིང་པོ་ MING.PO and མྱིང་པོ་ MYING.PO 'brother'; ཐེ་ LDE, MIG and དྭ་ LDE, MYIG 'key'; མིན་ MING, TOG and མིན་ཆེན་ MEN.TOG 'flower'; དུ་ LCI and དུ་ LJB 'heavy'; དུ་ DUBA and དུ་ DUD.PA 'smoke'; མིག་ CI and མྱིག་ CHI 'what'; གླང་ཆེན་ GLANG.CHEN and གླང་པོ་ཆེ་ GLANG.PO.CHE 'elephant', etc.

Morphosyntactic differences are also very significant. For example, the modern languages differ in the number and forms of grammatical cases; they also differ in the number of forms of verb endings and auxiliaries. Thus, they exhibit differences in the tense-aspect, evidential and epistemic marker paradigms. There are also a limited number of syntactic differences: for example, in some languages, the demonstratives (see 8.1.4) and adjectives (see 8.1.7) precede the head noun, whereas in others they occur after the head noun. There are, of course, other grammatical differences (see Chapter 8).

c) Lexical and semantic differences

The third source of discrepancy between the dialects is due to their use of different lexical roots. In the great majority of cases, these roots are found in CT (or OT) with similar meanings. For common words, the average number of lexical roots attested in the modern languages is two or three. The number of roots used to convey the same meaning in the modern languages may be much higher in the case of some concepts
that are not significant from a cultural or economic point of view, such as certain small insects or plants that lack cultural or medicinal value.

In general, a given language will select one of the roots, but the other lexical roots may also be present and convey slightly different meanings.

The following list presents some examples (for details see the HCTL). In this list, additional roots may be attested for some items, but they are marginal. In some cases, a single dialect may use two (or more) roots, but usually these have different nuances.

**Two main roots:**

- 'house': མཁང་ KHANG, ྲྀོད་ KHYIM.
- 'face': གོ་ NGO, སྐྱིམ་ GDONG.
- 'snow' མཁྱིམ་ KHYIM, གངས་ GANGS (and the variant མཁྱིམ་ KHANGS).
- 'spring' དཔྱིད་ DPYID.ka, བསོས་ SOS.ka.
- 'to see': མཐོང་ MTHONG, རིག་ RIG.
- 'to arrive': སྐྱེབས་ SLEBS, ཐོན་ THON.
- 'to place, put': དབུག་ BZAG, འབར་ BOR.
- 'new': གསར་ བཟམ་ GSAR.PA, GSAR.PA.
- 'hard, solid': བསྲ་ SRA, མཁྲེགས་ MKHREGS.
- 'cold': འཁྱག་ KHYAG, གྲང་ GRANG.
- 'day': ཁྱིམ་ NYI.MA, རེ་ ZHAG.
- 'yesterday': མདང་ MDANG, མཁྱིམ་ KHA.RTSANG, etc.
- 'what': བཞི་ GANG, CI.

**Three main roots:**

- 'to hear': ཇི་ GO, གོ་ THOS, དབུ་ TSHOR.
- 'village': ཚང་ GRONG, རུལ་ YUL and དེ་ SDE.

**Four or more roots:**

- 'body': མཁྱེན་ GZUGS, འབྲུག་ LUS, ཕུང་ PHUNG and རོ་ RGO.
- 'belly' or 'stomach': བྲོད་པ་ GROD.PA, བོས་ PHO.BA, རི་ བྲོན་ GSUS.PA and བྲོན་ LTO.BA.
 lexical variation is greatly increased by the strategy of compounding. In the modern languages, there are different lexical compounds referring to the same meaning, such as 'hair': while many dialects use the inherited form SKRA, a significant number of dialects use compound forms for this meaning: MGO.SKRA 'head hair', MGO.SPU 'head, body hair', MGO.SGRO 'head feather', SKRA.SPU 'hair, body hair' and CO.TOG, a form found in Old Tibetan (< co 'head' + to/tog 'top') (see HCTL). The word 'weather' may appear as various compounds: GNAM.GSHIS lit. 'sky temperament', GNAM.NGO 'sky face', GNAM.ZLA 'sky moon/time'. The word 'cave' is often a compound, but the form of the compound varies in modern languages: BRAG.PHUG 'rock hole', BRAG.DONG 'rock hole'◊ SA.DONG 'earth hole'.
roots (see HCTL). Moreover, nouns may be borrowed from other languages, whereas verbal roots are normally of Tibetan origin.

This lexical diversity has led some authors to consider that CT is a “composite language” that has integrated a great number of terms that originated from various Tibetic languages into its lexicon.

The lexicostatistical data might at first glance suggest that there is a considerable distance between the various Tibetic languages. However, if we take into account the Classical literary language, it becomes obvious that the modern languages have preserved a very close relation to CT, and in some cases to OT.

Before presenting the Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon (HCTL), we will examine some specific issues related to the Tibetic vocabulary. First, we will describe the various types of greetings found in the Tibetic area, and then we will look at the field of kinship terms, with the aim of illustrating the diversity of terms across the languages.

11.4. Greetings in the Tibetic area

There is a diversity of greetings throughout the area. The pervasive formula བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། BKRA.SHI.BDE.LEGS / ubelek/4 'best wishes' is generally used in Common Tibetan in Central Tibet and among the Tibetan diaspora. The two other pervasive greetings are ཕོམས་སངས། KHAMS.SANGS /k’amsang/ ‘are you well?’ (lit. ‘are you refreshed? are you in high spirits?’) and its variant ཕོམས་བཟང། KHAMS.BZANG /k’amzang/ ‘are you well?’, lit. ‘are you healthy?’. This has an honorific form, སྐུ་ཁམས་སངས། SKU KHAMS.SANGS /s(’)ku k’amsang/, which is ubiquitous (from Ladakh to Bhutan and also Central Tibet). There is also a form བདེ་མོ /v’demo/, used mainly in Amdo and other regions of eastern Tibet.

3. See, for example, the two dictionaries comparing the lexicon of TB languages (Huang & Dai 1992; Sun 1991), including various Tibetan dialects, such as Lhasa, Bathang (Kham), Labrang (Amdo), Arik (Amdo) and Derge (Kham). However, etymologies are not provided.

4. The pronunciations presented here are for Common Tibetan, except where other language names are specified.
The use of the formula ‘Trashi delek’ བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། BKRA.SHI.BDE.LEGS ‘best wishes’ is fairly new for everyday greetings in Tibetan. It was originally the traditional New Year greeting, but has been used more recently to signify ‘hello’. Some modern expressions have also been coined on the basis of this traditional greeting, such as ནགའ་ རྡོ་བདེ་ལེགས། SGNG.A.RO.BDE.LEGS / nga ‘telek/ and མོས་པ་བདེ་ལེགས། ZHOGS.PA.BDE.LEGS / shokpa ‘telek/, both meaning ‘good morning’; these are recent calques of their English and Chinese equivalents, ‘good morning’ and 早安 zao an. It is interesting to note that the English greeting གུ་ད་མ་ནི། G'UTA MANI/ ‘good morning’ was borrowed into Tibetan, probably under the influence of the British and Indian Army officers in Gyantse at the beginning of the twentieth century.

However, these expressions are rarely used in rural areas, as traditional greetings are still the normal way to address people there. In Ü-Tsang, although the expression བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། BKRA.SHI.BDE.LEGS / tashi ‘telek/ is commonly used, it would be avoided in the case of a misfortune or accident, because its original meaning of ‘best wishes’ is still perceived.

Essentially the following types of greetings are found in Tibetic languages and dialects:

a) asking about direction of movement,

b) expressing a welcome formula or a generic polite greeting,

c) asking about the difficulty of a trip,

d) asking about health,

e) wishing long life.

Perhaps the most frequent address when meeting acquaintances casually on the road is:

ག་པར་འགྲོ་ག GA.PAR 'GRO-KA / 'kapa: ‘to-ka/ ‘where are you going?’ or ག་པར་ཕེབས་ཀ GA.PAR.PHIN-P A / ‘kapa: ‘chinpa/ ‘where have you been?’, or their honorific variants: ག་པར་ཕེབས་ KA GA.PAR.PHEBS-KA / ‘kapa: ‘p’ep-ka/ ‘where are you going?’ and ག་པར་ཕེབས་ PA GA.PAR.PHEBS-P A / ‘kapa: ‘p’ep-pa/ ‘where have you been?’. Equivalents of these expressions are found in other regions, such as Purik (see Zemp 2018). No
specific answer is expected! The answer in Lhasa may be: ང་ཕར་ཙ་དེར་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན། NGA PHAR-TSA DER GRO-GLYIN/ 'nga 'p'artsa 't'er 'to-giyin/ 'I am going just over there' or ང་ཡར་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན། NGA YAR GRO-GLYIN/ 'nga 'yar 'to-giyin/ 'I am going up' or ང་མར་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན། NGA MAR GRO-GLYIN/ 'nga 'mar 'to-giyin/ 'I am going down' but sometimes the answer may be more specific: མི་ཅིག་བཙལ་གར་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན། MI GCIG BTSAL-GAR GRO-GLYIN/ 'mi `čik `tsā:-kar 'to-giyin/ 'I am going to look for someone'.

The choice of the future ('where are you going?') or the past ('where have you been?') depends on the relative location of the addressee's residence.

When people lack the time for an extensive salutation, which is often the case in Lhasa or Zhikatse because of the urban way of life, they may simply say: གཤེིས་ཨོ། PHEBS-FO/ 'p'e(p)-o/ '(you) go'.

A more polite expression corresponding to 'welcome' is frequently used for greeting in Central and Tsang provinces: མྱ་གྱི་ཕེབས་གནང་བྱུང་། PHYAG PHEBS GNANG BYUNG/ 'ca: 'p'ep 'nang-čung/ '(you) have come!'. The traditional answer is བྱོན་པ་ལེགས། BYON.PA LEGS (literally: 'well come'), abbreviated to བྱོན་leh BYON.LEGS, which has a reading pronunciation /jönlek/; in Tö Ngari it is colloquially pronounced /jönle'/.

Another formal locution meaning 'welcome', used in most western regions such as Ngari, Ladakh, Baltistan, Spiti, Garsha and Khunu, is derived from Classical Tibetan བྱོན་པ་ལེགས། BYON.PA LEGS (literally: 'well come'), abbreviated to བྱོན་leh BYON.LEGS, which has a reading pronunciation /jönlek/; in Tö Ngari it is colloquially pronounced /jönle'/.

In Ladakh, Spiti and other Western regions, the generic salutation གཤིག་ལེ། JULI /jule/ is very common. This is probably derived from CT ཏུ་ལེ GB LAGS. The form ཏུ་ ZHU is the ubiquitous humilific form of address (< CT 'to say, ask, beg, inform', use to address a superior or to politely aggress an equal), while འལ་ LAGS – pronounced le in Ladaks – is a polite enclitic address word that is very frequent in CT. Note that in Purik, the form ཏུ་ ZHU is used in a way similar to le LE in Ladaks and to གས་ KYA (of unclear origin) in Zanhar, as a generic expression of politeness. For example, in Ladakh: འབའུ་ བ་མ་ལེ་ 'mother (H)' corresponds to འབའུ་ བ་མ་ལེ་ ZHU LAGS' 'mother (H)' in Common Tibetan.
The Purik form ◊ཡའ་ཞུ/YA'ZHU/yazhu/ has a similar meaning to ◊འཇུ་ལེ/jule/ in Ladaks, and is used for ‘you are welcome’, ‘goodbye’ and ‘here you go’ (see Zemp 2018).

It is very unlikely for phonological reasons that ◊འཇུ་ལེ/jule/ is derived from ब्यौन लेग्स || BYON.LEGS, and the form ◊འཇུ་ལེ/jule/ is also used in all kinds of situations, where it translates to ‘Hello, good morning, welcome, goodbye, thanks, etc.’. In Tö Ngari and the Ladakh Jangthang, the greeting གྱག་འཚལ། PHYAG-TSHAL ‘I prostrate’ is also attested – particularly, but not only, with monks.

In Ü, Tsang, Kham, Hor and Amdo dialects, there is a whole range of expressions used for meeting and saying hello that basically mean ‘are you tired?’, such as ◊དཀའ་ཨ་ཅྲ། DKA'-THAL/ /-r/ (< दཀའ་ཨེ་ཅྲ DKA'-E-THAL) (Kh) and ◊དཀའ་བྱུང་། DKA'-BYUNG/ /-a-shung/ (Hor) (< दཀའ་བྱུང DKA'-E-BYUNG). The expected answers, even if you are very tired, are respectively: ◊དཀའ་མ་ཅྲ། DKA'-THAL/ /-r/ and ◊དཀའ་མ་བྱུང་། DKA'-BYUNG/ /-a-shung/ ‘(I) am not tired’. In the Hor speaking area, a similar expression is used: ◊དཀའ་ལས་དཀའ་ཅྲ། DKA'-LAS/ /-kala/-t'i/. The Amdo equivalent is ◊ན་དཀའ་ཅྲ། /-ka-t'a/, to which the expected answer is again: ◊མ་དཀའ་ཅྲ། /-ma-r/-t'a/ ‘(I) am not tired’.

An even more polite expression with an equivalent meaning is used in Tsang, as well as in Kham, Spiti and Ladaks: ◊འོ་བརྒྱལ། O BRGYAL, lit. ‘are you worn out, tired’, pronounced /opgyal/ (La), /`oji/ in Jonda Kham.

In eastern Tö (Dangra Yumtsho), one hears the expression སླ་ལོས། SLA-LOS/ /lao/-‘is it easy?’ and the expected answer: སླ་ོང་འདུག SLA-ONG'-DUG/ /lao’a/-‘do?’, which is derived from CT སླ་མོ་འདུག SLAMO DUG ‘yes, it is easy’.

Some Tö and Hor dialects have an expression that reflects the same idea – namely the hardship of traveling on the high plateau and the vastness of the land: ◊ལམ་ཉེ། LAM-NYE/ /la/-‘Has the road been short?’; which is answered ◊བོད། NYE-THAL/ /nye-t'i/ ‘It has been short!’, regardless of travel conditions.

5. Vowel nasalization is a regular sound change with the suffixes MA and MA. This phenomenon is attested in some areas, particularly in some Hor and Tö dialects, as well as in the Nubra dialect (Ladakh).
Another greeting found in Hor areas is སྡོད་སྐྱིད་ཆེ། /SDOD.SKYID.CHE/ "dö’ kyi ‘e/ ‘Was the stay pleasant?’, to which the answers is ཇེ་ཐི། /CHE-THAL/ ‘e-t’u/ < ཇེ་ཐལ་ /CHE.THA/ ‘very much’.

Greetings corresponding to ‘have you eaten?’ are not common in the Tibetic languages, though they are common in the Sinitic languages. However in the cultivators’ region of Kham, especially in Yunnan, you can often hear: རོ་ཐ་བོཊ /ZANZA.A-THON/ ‘s e sa ‘a t’un/ ‘Have you finished having a meal?’

Finally, there are also many expressions asking about health or physical condition. The most common, already mentioned above, is མཁས་སངས། /KHAMS.SANGS/ /k’amsang/ ‘are you well?’ which is understood nearly everywhere in the Tibetic-speaking area.

In Central Tibet and Tsang, a very common greeting is: བདེ་པོ་ཡིན་པས། /BDE.PO.YIN-PAS/ ‘tepo ‘yin-pä/ lit. ‘is (your) body well?’ or simply བདེ་པོ། /BDE.PO/ ‘tepo ‘yin/. The usual answer to those questions is བདེ་པོ། /BDE.PO/ ‘tepo ‘yin/, or the more emphatic form བདེ་པོ་བདེ་རྐྱང་། /BDE.PO.BDE.KYANG/ ‘tepo ‘te-kyang/ ‘I am perfectly well!’.

In Amdo, the most common greeting is མོ /MO/ ‘o b demo/, which is a variant of the above expression. It is sometimes abbreviated to མོ /MO/ ‘b demo/. The habitual answer is simply: མོ /MO/ ‘b demo/. This form is also frequently used in Kham. Amdo-speakers in the Kham region also employ the greeting མོ /MO/ ‘a-bde ‘a-de/ ‘good morning’, though only in the morning.

A similar but more more sophisticated expression is also used in Ü-Tsang: བདུན་གྱིུན་ ཆགས་ཅན། /SKU.DKYIL.GSAL-THANG/ ‘ku kyi: ‘sä:t’ang/ ‘Is the mandala of your body clear and healthy?’.

In Purik, aside from ཡ་ཞུ། /YA.ZHU/ ‘yazhu/, the traditional Arabic greeting སིལ་མ་ལེ་ཁུམ། /SALAM.ALE.KHUM/ is also used.6

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6. Derived from Arabic /as-salamu ‘alaykum/ ‘peace upon you’. The speaker may add in his greeting /first class yot-a/ ‘are you feeling well? (first class!’.” Thus the greeting mixes three languages: Arabic, English and Purik (Tibetic).
Valedictory expressions are nearly as numerous as salutations. Many of these expressions are related to the verbs བཞུགས་ BZHUGS ‘stay (H)’ and གཟེར་ PHERS ‘go (H)’.

In Central Tibet and Tsang, the usual way of saying ‘goodbye’ to a person who is leaving is ག་ལེ་ཕེབས་ཨོ། GA LE PHEBS-ཨོ། /'k'ale 'p'e(p) (o)'/ (Please) go quietly, while ག་ལེ་བཞུགས་ཨོ། GA LE BZHUGS-ཨོ། /'k'ale 'shu: (o)'/ (Please) sit or stay quietly is said to the one who stays. These forms are sometimes abbreviated as བཞུགས་ཨོ། BZHUGS-ཨོ། /'shu: o'/ (please) stay and གཟེར་ PHERS-ཨོ། /'p'e(p)-o'/ (please) go.

In some parts of Kham and Kongpo, a similar expression is used: ག་ལེ་ཕེབས་ཨོ། GA LE PHEBS-ཨོ། /'k'ale 'song'/ 'go quietly', however, a form which seems to be its abbreviation, ག་ལེ /'kale/', is also frequently attested.

In Ü-Tsang, the honorific expressions བཞུགས་གདན་འཇག་གོ BZHUGS GDAN’ JAG-GO /’shu: 'tänja::ko/ 'please stay (or sit)’, སྐུ་བཞུགས་གནང་གོ SKU BZHUGS GNANG-GO /’kushu ‘nang-go/ 'please stay’, and ཆིབས་སྒྱུར་གནང་གོ CHIBS SGYUR GNANG-GO /'č'ipkyur ‘nang-go/ 'turn the horse’ are used.

The expression ལེན། /'jule/ (Ladakhi, Balti, Spiti, etc.), mentioned above, is also used when departing.

Expressions wishing good health and long life when departing are among the common greetings in eastern Tibet. Thus, in Kham and Hor dialects, ‘goodbye’ is translated as གུས་འཇུན་ TSHE.RING /ts'er'i/ 'wish you) long life’ and གུས་སྲིད་ SKU TSHE.RING /ku ts'er'i/ 'long life (to your) body!). བུད་སྲིད་ DALO BRGYA TSHE.RING /ta lo ja ts'er'i/ ‘a hundred years, long life!’; and in Kandze and Derge དབྱོགས་འཇུན་ TSHE.RING BKRA SHIS /ts'er'i tashi/. The expression བཅུ་འཇུན་ AZHU TSHE.RING-MO /azhu ts'e ringmo/ ‘wish (you) long life’ is employed in Purik.

In Amdo, བདེ་མོ་བྱོས། BDE.MO BYOS /b'demo 'shi/ and བདེ་མོ། BDE.MO /b'demo/ are widely used, and the latter form is used even in some parts of Kham. This brief presentation is certainly not exhaustive, but most languages use greetings that belong to the main types described above.
11.5. Kinship terms for 'brother' and 'sister'

Before examining the terms 'brother' and 'sister', we will mention some general characteristics of the kinship terms in the Tibetic languages. As Norman (2019) states regarding Ladakhi society, 'everybody may be referred to by terms of kinship'. This is largely true for all the Tibetic societies.

In a number of languages, the use of some kinship terms goes beyond the designation of relatives, and extends to some social relations, either related to religious status or marital ties.

For example, in Amdo, the word for '(paternal) uncle' མཁྲི་ /aKh/ is used to designate both 'paternal uncle' and 'monk'. In Central Tibet, the word for 'paternal aunt' མཉེ /ane/ or /ani/ also designates a 'nun', in which case, it is sometimes written མའི /ani/. In Central Tibet, the word for 'elder sister', མཆེ /aChe/ is derived from CT མཆེ་ 'elder sister'. The term མཆེ་ 'elder sister', is also used to designate both 'woman' and 'wife'. Again, the CT terms མལ་ and མལ་ have yielded the terms མལ་ /CO/ and མལ་ /COG/ in Common Tibetan. The terms མགྲགས་ /COG.LAGS/ 'elder brother (H)' and མགྲགས་ /COG.LAGS/ 'elder sister (H)' are used respectively for 'man' and 'woman', and also by extension for 'husband' and 'wife'. In Lhasa, the term མཔོ་ཧོར་ 'elder brother Hor', designates pastoralists from Nagchu.

The use of kinship terms sometimes extends to animals (such as bears, monkeys or even insects). In some Kham areas, monkeys are ཁ་ /rgas/ which literally means 'grandfather monkey', while bears are called ཁ་ /myes/ 'grandfather Bear'. In some areas of Tö, the Tibetan bear dremong is called ཁ་ /rdbo/ 'brother throwing stones'. In Tshawarong and Sikkim, tigers are referred to as ཁ་ /mes/ 'grandfather tiger'. In many stories found throughout Tibet and the Himalayas, the parrot is frequently called ཁ་ /khun/ 'uncle parrot'. In Purik, there is the legend of ཁ་ /bshin/ 'grandmother spider' (or

7. This strategy is also found in Indo-Aryan languages.
its variant  གཞིན་པོ་ 'auntie spider'), a giant spider who eats humans (note that the term "SNR IAMO" is the usual word for 'spider' in this region; see the HCTL). There is also the term  རིའི་མཁན་ 'spider' lit. ‘weaving grandma’ (Kharu), and Norman (2019) mentions a kind of insect pupa called  རང་ལེགས་ 'spider' lit. ‘grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise’. In many areas ‘moths’ are referred to as ཡ་བི་འཐོག་ 'spider' lit. ‘weaving grandma’ (Kharu), and Norman (2019) mentions a kind of insect pupa called  རང་ལེགས་ 'spider' lit. ‘grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise’. In many areas ‘moths’ are referred to as རང་ལེགས་ 'spider' lit. ‘weaving grandma’ (Kharu), and Norman (2019) mentions a kind of insect pupa called  རང་ལེགས་ 'spider' lit. ‘grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise’. In many areas ‘moths’ are referred to as རང་ལེགས་ 'spider' lit. ‘grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise’. In many areas ‘moths’ are referred to as རང་ལེགས་ 'spider' lit. ‘grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise’. In many areas ‘moths’ are referred to as རང་ལེགས་ 'spider' lit. ‘grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise’. In many areas ‘moths’ are referred to as རང་ལེགས་ 'spider' lit. ‘grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise’. In many areas ‘moths’ are referred to as རང་ལེགས་ 'spider' lit. ‘grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise'.

Finally, celestial bodies (such as the sun or the moon) may also be referred to using kinship terms. In Čäntsa Amdo, the sun and the moon may be referred to as རུག་ལ་ 'uncle sun' and ཐལ་བ་ 'mother moon'. The gender of the moon and the sun are not always the same: in the Sherpa area, the name of the moon རུག་ལ་ is derived from རུག་ 'uncle moon'.

Most Tibetic languages make a lexical distinction between older and younger brothers and between older and younger sisters. They usually lack a general term for 'brother' and for 'sister'. There is sometimes a cover term meaning 'sibling' for both 'brother' and 'sister' (see below), and other hypernyms with a broader meaning that usually also include 'cousins'. We should also mention that a distinction is frequently made between address terms and reference terms.

In addition to this, a number of dialects use terms that depend on the sexual identity of the siblings. The word used for 'brother' in relation to a female sibling is

8. Generally speaking, many languages have names for animals or plants related to mythical stories or tales. See, for example, in Basque: Videgain (2008–2010).

9. This difference between address terms and reference terms is often found in Asia. For example, Japanese distinguishes おにいさん 'address term for an elder brother', whereas the reference term is おにい 'elder brother'. The 'address term for an elder sister' is おねえさん whereas the reference term is おねえ. In European languages, there are usually no special terms for one's own brother or sister.
thus different to that used for a male sibling. The same is true for the words for ‘sister’. Accordingly, in the Tibetic languages, there are theoretically eight basic terms corresponding to ‘brother’ and ‘sister’:

1. ‘elder brother (in relation to a male sibling)’
2. ‘elder brother (in relation to a female sibling)’
3. ‘elder sister (in relation to a male sibling)’
4. ‘elder sister (in relation to a female sibling)’
5. ‘younger brother (in relation to a male sibling)’
6. ‘younger brother (in relation to a female sibling)’
7. ‘younger sister (in relation to a male sibling)’
8. ‘younger sister (in relation to a female sibling)’

However, most modern Tibetic languages have lost some of these distinctions (see the examples below). According to our data, only one Amdo dialect has preserved all eight terms. Some languages have only preserved three terms: ‘elder brother’ versus ‘elder sister’ versus ‘younger sibling (brother or sister)’.

Additionally, in some dialects, there are also specific honorific terms used for both address and reference. This is the case, for example, in Central Tibet, with གོ་ལགས་JO LAGS ‘elder brother (H)’ and དུང་མཆེ་ལགས་ACHE-LAGS, also written འབྲས་ནགས་A LAGS11 ‘elder sister (H)’. As a rule, older brothers and sisters are addressed with appropriate kinship terms, whereas younger brothers or sisters are often called by their names.

It is worth noting that there is significant variation in the terms brother and sister even within a single group of dialects. For example, if we consider only Amdo dialects, we find for ‘elder brother’ the following: འཇོ་རྒྱ་/aja/ (Rebgong), འཇོ་/apa/ (Themchen), འཇོ་/aga/ (Dazhi), འཇོ་/ada/ (Golok).

10. This distinction is rather rare in world languages, but is attested some, such as Basque. It is also attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages (for example, see Davids & van Driem 1985) and Amerindian languages such as Quechua.
11. This is a recently conceived spelling.
Most terms found in the modern languages are derived from the following literary roots found in Classical Tibetan: གུ།བོ། PHU 'elder brother', གུ།མོ། PHU 'elder sister', བཐ་ བོ། PAJO 'elder brother', བཐ་ སྐྱེ་ བོ། PACHE 'elder sister', བུ། རུ། NUBO 'younger brother', བུ། དུ་ པོ། NU MO 'younger sister', བཤེན་ བོ། MING.PO 'brother', བཤེན་ སྲིང། MO 'sister', བཤེན་ བཤེན། GCEN.PO 'elder brother', བཤེན་ སྲིང། GCUNG.PO 'younger brother', བཤེན་ བཤེན། GCEN.MO 'elder sister' and བཤེན་ སྲིང། GCUNG.MO 'younger sister'.

Some languages have a general term for 'sibling', but this often has a broader meaning, and may include cousins or other close relatives. The most frequent is probably the root འས། SPUN. Another common root is བཤེན་ སྲིང་ MING.SRING (Kh, La), or its archaic variant བཤེན་ རུ། MYING.SRING (Am), a compound of བཤེན་ སྲིང་ MING.(PO) 'brother' and བཤེན་ སྲིང་ SRING.(MO) 'sister'. In Kham and Amdo, one also encounters the word ཆ་ཐ་ SHA.NYE which is a compound of ཆ་ SHA 'flesh' and ཁ་ NYE 'close'.

Here are some examples of the lexical terms for 'brother' and 'sister' across the Tibetic area:

**Skardo Balti:**

- Elder brother: གུ་ བོ། KAKA//kaka/
- Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: བཞ། གོ། PHO.NO /p’ono/
- Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling]: ཕོ། བཞ། བཞ། MING.MO /mingmo/ (< བཞ། སྲིང་)
- Elder sister: བཞ། བཞ། PACHEN /aše/ (< བཞ། སྐྱེ་ PACHE)
- Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: བཞ། བཞ། SRING.MO /stringmo/
- Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: བཞ། བཞ། NO.MO /nomo/

**Purik Kargil:**

- Elder brother: གུ་ བོ། KAKA//kaka/
- Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: བཞ། བཞ། NO.NO /nono/
- Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling] (CT: བཞ། བཞ། MING.MO /mingmo/
- Elder sister: བཞ། བཞ། PACHEN /a’e/
- Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: བཞ། བཞ། SRING.MO /stringmo/
Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling] (CT: ངོ་མོ /nomo/)

Leh Ladak:
- Elder brother: ལ་ཅོ /a’o/
- Younger brother: སུ་/no/ and སུ་ནོ /nomo/
- Elder sister: ལ་ཆེ /a’e/
- Younger sister: སུ་/no/ and སུ་ནོ /nomo/
- Brother [in relation to a female sibling]: རི་ཤེ་/mingpo/
- Sister [in relation to a male sibling]: རི་མོ /singmo/

Themchen Amdo:
- Elder brother [in relation to a male sibling]: ལ་ཧུར་རྒན /hurgän/ (CT: ལ་ཧུར་རྒན)
- Elder brother [in relation to a female sibling]: ལ་པ /apa/
- Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: སུ་/nu/ (CT: སུ་/nyangwo/12)
- Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: རི་མོ /singmo/
- Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: སུ་/no/ and སུ་ནོ /nomo/

Tsigorthang Amdo:
- Elder brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: ལ་ཧུར་རྒན /hurgän/ (CT: ལ་ཧུར་རྒན)
- Elder brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: རི་མོ /nyangrgän/
- Younger brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: སུ་/nu/ (CT: སུ་/nyangwo/)
- Elder sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: རི་མོ /singmo/ or རི་མོ /sangpo/ and རི་མོ /sangmo/ or

12. According to Jangbu Dorje Tshering (pers. com.), the MYING.BO is the one who carries the name (MYING). SRING, employed for ‘younger sister (word used by a male speaker)’, means ‘to get longer, extend’, and refers to how the girl is given away, enlarging the family.
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Elder sister: འཆེ /ače/
Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྲིང་མོ /sringmo/
Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: སྤུན་ཡ་མ /spun ya ma/

Sogwo (central) Amdo:
Elder brother [in relation to a male sibling]: ཁན་པོ /nyingpo/
Elder brother [in relation to a female sibling]: ཁན་པོ /nyingpo/
Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: མྱེང་པོ /myengpo/
Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling]: མྱེང་པོ /myengpo/
Elder sister [in relation to a male sibling]: འཆེ /ače/
Elder sister [in relation to a female sibling]: འཆེ /ače/
Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྲིང་མོ /sringmo/
Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: སྤུན་ཡ་མ /spun ya ma/

Derge Northern Route Kham:
Elder or younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: རྒྱ་པོ /rgya po/
Elder or younger brother [in relation to a female sibling]: རྒྱ་པོ /rgya po/
Elder or younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྤུན་ཡ་མ /spun ya ma/
Elder or younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: སྤུན་ཡ་མ /spun ya ma/

Lhagang Minyag Rabgang Kham:
Elder brother: ལྷ /lha/ Younger brother: ལྷ /lha/ (Chinese loan)
Elder sister: ལྷ /lha/

13. བོད་ in Rebgong and Tsokhok.
Younger sister: ME /’meme/ (Chinese loan)

Hor (Amdo county):
Elder brother [in relation to a male sibling]: PHU.RGAN /’p’ugän/
Elder brother [in relation to a female sibling]: 产品质量 /’aba/
Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: NU.CHUNG /’noshung/
Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling]: MING.PO /’mingpo/
Elder sister: A.CHE /’ače/
Younger sister: SPUN.YA /’pünja/

Wadmar Ṇone:
Elder brother: 产品质量 /’na nu/
Younger brother: SPUN.BA /’hō fia/
Elder sister: A.CHE /’ta čä/
Younger sister: SRING.MO /’se hō/
The forms for ‘younger brother’ and ‘sister’ are reference terms. Proper names are required when addressing them.

sTaglo dPalavyod:
Elder and younger brother: SHANYE /’a nya/
Elder and younger sister: SRING.MO /’sä: ma/
These are reference terms. To be more specific, one can add CHE for older siblings, and CHUNG.BA for younger siblings to each of these terms. Proper names are required when addressing them.

Lhasa Tibetan (and Common Tibetan):
Elder brother: CO.COG /’cočö:/ <mek
Younger brother and younger sister: O.G.MA /’hoḵma/
Elder sister: A.CHE /’ačä:/ <mek CHE
Lhoke (Gangtok):\textsuperscript{14}

Elder brother: ྦོ་ཅུ། ACU (< གུ་) / açu/
Younger brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: ྦོ་པུན། SPUN.LO / pünlo/
Younger brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: ྦོ་པོམ། PHAMING / p’aming/
Elder sister: ཀུ་ཞི། AZHI / azhi/
Younger sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: བུ་སྲིང། BUSRINGM / p’usim/ (< བུ་སྲིང་)
Younger sister [in rel. to a female sibling]: བུ་སྲིང་མོ། NUM / num/ (< བུ་སྲིང་)

Spiti (Yiki):

Elder brother: ཀུ་ཅོ། ACO / aco/
Younger brother: གཉིག་ NOBO / noc/
Elder sister: ཀུ་ཆེ། 'ače/
Younger sister: མཉོ་ / nomo/

Tsamang (Tokari) Choča ngača:

Elder brother: ཀུ་ཅོ། ACO / aco/ (< གུ་)
Younger brother: གོ་པོ་ MYUNG.PO / nyungpo/ (< གོ་)
Elder sister: ཀུ་ཧེ། AHE / ahe/ (< ཁུ་)
Younger sister: ཇུ་མོ། NUMO / numo/ (< ཁུ་)

11.6. Semantic differences

The same word often has different meanings in Literary Tibetan and the various dialects. Such false friends are quite frequent, and are a source of minor and sometimes major misunderstandings, as well as of mockery and jokes. For example, the word \textit{SAYA} means ‘million’ in Common Tibetan, whereas in Tsang it means ‘ten million’. The list below presents, of course, just a small sample of such semantic discrepancies. We do not provide the differences in pronunciation here. For more details, see the HCTL in Chapter 12.

\textsuperscript{14} /ayi/ ‘any elder woman’, /agya/ ‘any elder man in Lhoke.
Nouns:

- **KHALAG** 'mouth and hand' (CT), 'mouth and hand (washing)' (La), 'food' (U).
- **DUSTSHOD** 'time' (CT), 'time' (U, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), 'hour' (Am, Kh), 'watch' (Am).
- **CHUTSHOD** 'hour' (CT), 'hour' (U, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), 'time/hour' (SKh).
- **SGOR.MO** 'monetary unit, round (coin) (CT)', 'monetary unit' (U, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), 'money, monetary unit' (Am, Kh).
- **DNGUL** 'silver' (CT): 'silver, money' (U, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), 'silver' (Am, Kh), 'silver, monetary unit' (Kh).
- **SA.YA** means 'one million' in CT, which also expresses this meaning as **BUM.BCU**, but 'ten million' in Ts; i.e. equivalent in meaning to CT **BYE.BA** or **BUM.BRGYA**.
- **SPYLTSHOGS** 'society' (U, Ts, Am, etc.), 'parliament' (Dz).
- **BOD** 'Tibet' (CT): 'Tibet' (most languages), 'lower valleys of Central Tibet' (Nyemo), 'Tibetan Buddhist area' (Ba).
- **PAKHU** 'paternal uncle' (CT), 'paternal uncle' (most languages), 'elder brother' (Am: Rebgong), 'monk' (Am).
- **PA.PHA** (CT), 'father' (most languages), 'elder brother' (Am: Rebgong, Kangtsha). Note there are several other words for 'father', such as **a'gya**/ in some Amdo dialects, and **ata/ in Balti (see HCTL).
- **PAJO** 'elder brother' (CT), **PA.CO** 'elder brother' (La), **PAJO** 'grandfather' (Lho).
- **CHANG** 'alcohol drink' (CT), 'barley beer' (U, Ts, etc.), 'alcohol' (Am), 'dark or non-transparent alcohol' (Kh, Za, La).
- **DPE.CHA** 'book' (CT), 'Tibetan-style book' (U, Ts), 'book' (Am).
- **SHOG.BU** 'paper' (CT), 'paper' (pandialectal), 'book' (Ba).
- **RKANG.TSE** 'socks' (Pur, Ba), 'trousers' (La).
THURMA (THUR.MANG) ‘spoon’ (Ü, La, etc.), ‘chopstick’ (Kh Am).

YUL ‘place’ (CT), ‘region’ (Kh), ‘country, region’ (Ba), ‘village’ (Dz, Am, Sh) (spelled ṬUṬ in Dzongkha and YUL.BA in Amdo), ‘homeland, home’ (Am).

RGYAMTSHO ‘ocean’ (CT), ‘ocean, sea’ (Ü-Ts, Kh, Am, etc.); ‘river’ (Ba, Pur).

LCANG.MA ‘willow tree’ (most languages), ‘tree’ (La, Za).

SEMS.CAN ‘sentient beings’ (CT), ‘animal’ (Ü, Tsang).

LUG ‘sheep’ (CT), ‘sheep’ (most languages), ‘ewe’ (Ba).

MAR ‘butter’ (CT), ‘butter’ (most languages), ‘butter, oil’ (Ba).

SPAGS ‘barley dough’ (Ü, Ts, etc.), ‘any curry or dish accompanying staples (rice, bread or barley dough)’ (La, Za).

ZHÔ ‘milk’ (OT), ‘yoghurt’ (CT), ‘yoghurt’ (most languages), ‘milk’ (Cho).

TSHOD.MA ‘vegetable’ (La), ‘dumpling’ (Am).

RKUB (CT): ‘buttock’ (most languages), ‘vagina, female genitals’ (La, Sh).

DPYI (CT): ‘hip’, often with a suffix as DPYI.GO (most languages), ‘vagina, female genitals’ (Ba, Pur).

SPU ‘body hair’ (most languages), ‘pubic hair’ (Ba).

SGO,NGA ‘egg’ (CT), ‘egg’ (Ü, Tsang, etc.), ‘testicles’ (Sh).

ROGS.PA ‘companion’ (CT), ‘companion’ (Ü, Ts, Am, etc.), ‘boyfriend, girlfriend’ (Am: Čàntsha).

Pronouns:

KHONG ‘they’ (OT), ‘s/he’ (honorific) (CT), ‘s/he’ (honorific) (Ü, Tsang, etc.), ‘they’ (Dz), ‘they (H)’ (La).

KHYED ‘you (plural)’ (OT), ‘you (singular, H)’ (CT), ‘you (singular, honorific)’ (Ü, Tsang, etc.), ‘you (plural, H)’ (Dz).

This semantic flipflop, although surprising, is not rare in world languages. See for example the word fanny, which means ‘vagina’ in British English slang but ‘buttocks’ in American slang.
• Adjectives/adverbs:

- **མོ་རང་** 'she' (CT), 'she' (many languages), 'he/she' (Lhasa).
- **YAG** 'good, well' (CT): 'good, well' (many languages), 'beautiful' (Am).
- **BDE.MO** 'well, peaceful' (CT): 'well' (many languages), 'beautiful' (La, Za, Pur).
- **MDANG** 'last night' (OT): 'yesterday' (Sh, La, Sp, Cho, Drug).
- **THO.RENGS** 'dawn' (CT): 'tomorrow' (Sharkhok, Thewo, Khöpokhok, La, Za).

• **Verbs**:

- **RTSE** 'to play' (CT), 'to play' (Ü, Ts, Sh, Kh, etc.), 'to dance' (La, Ba, Am).
- **THON** 'to go out, to leave, to come out, to come' (CT), 'to leave' (Ü, Ts, etc.), 'to come' (Am), 'to complete' [Aux] (Kh).
- **BRDAB** 'to hit, to collide with, to fold' (CT), 'to beat, to bang, to collide with' (Ü, Ts, etc.), 'to kill' (Ba).
- **DZEGS** 'to climb' (CT), 'to climb' (Ü, Ts, etc.), 'to climb, to have sex' (Am).
- **ZHON** 'to ride' (CT), 'to ride' (Ü, Ts, Am, etc.), 'to have sex' (Ho).

As in other closely related linguistic families, semantic differences are due to the selection of various strategies of designation. Among the frequent strategies attested in the Tibetic languages, we find (a) hyponymy, (b) parasynonymy, (c) metonymy, (d) metaphor and (e) onomatopoeia and ideophony.

a) **Hyponymy**

As an example of hyponymy, the word **LCANG.MA** < CT 'willow' is used in western languages (La, Za, Pur) to replace the CT generic word (hyponym) **SDONG.PO** 'tree'. The hypernym 'tree' has thus been replaced in these languages by a hyponym – a 'willow' is a kind of tree. This is also the cases with the hypernym **DPE.CHA**, which in CT designates any type of book, but has come to mean specifically 'Tibetan-style book' (a hyponym) in some Central Tibetan dialects; **SPU** in Balti and Purik means 'pubic hair', whereas in most other languages it means 'body hair' (note that in Purik, 'body hair' is called /real/, which originally meant 'goat hair'; see
the HCTL). The same phenomenon is found, for example, in Romance languages: oiseau 'bird' (French) < Latin avis but pajaro (Spanish) and passaro (Portuguese) < Lat. passer 'sparrow'.

b) Parasynonymy

Quite frequently a given dialect or language will select one term which is a close synonym or parasynonym of the original term. For example, the pandialectal word for འཇིགས་ 'JIGS' to fear' has probably been replaced in Dzongkha by འདྲོག་ 'DROG' to fear', which is derived from CT 'to be startled, frightened, scared (often used of horses)'. Sometimes, a few terms coexist in CT, but their semantic differences are quite subtle and difficult to determine. This is the case with འབྲུག་ SKRAG, which is also used in CT with the meaning 'to fear' (see the HCTL).

c) Metonymy

In some cases, pandialectal words or roots have substitutes that may be based on metonymy. For example, the widespread word for 'book' འཛིན་ DPE,CHA is not used in Balti, which instead uses the word ལོག་ SHOG,BU, with the original meaning of 'paper'. The strategy of metonymy is sometimes used with taboo words: for example, the classical word སྲུ་ STU 'vagina' has been replaced by འབྲུག་ DPYI < CT 'hip' in Purik and by སྨོན་ RKUB < CT 'buttock' in Ladaks.

d) Metaphor

In some languages (dialect groups) and dialects, the traditional terms are replaced by terms with a metaphoric meaning. For example, throughout the Tibetic area, the main word for 'rainbow' is the CT word འཇེལ་ JA, or more marginally, the variant གཏུ་ GZHA. However, in two cases, the traditional words have been replaced by metaphorical expressions: ཨིལ་མ་- གཙུ་ 'THUNG-MA (Pur) 'The sun is drinking water' and ཁྲ་ལྟང་ གཙུ་ 'THUNG(Za) 'the planet is drinking water'. Another example is the replacement of the pandialectal word གཏུ་ 'PHYLBA' 'marmot' by འབྲུག་ SKYEN 'great meditator', because marmots hibernate and remain as still as yogis! In some northern Kham dialects, the pandialectal word འཇིགས་ SKYES to be
born’ has been replaced by the expression མིག་ཕྱེས MIG PHYES ‘to open the eyes’. In some languages (Amdo, Purik and Balti), the quasi-pandialectal verb ན་ NA ‘to be sick’ has been replaced by the verb མོ་ KHOL ‘to boil’, probably describing fever and the impression of ‘boiling like water’. Finally, the metaphorical strategy extends to neologisms: For example, instead of using Chinese loanwords (as in some Kham dialects) or Indian loanwords (as in Ü, Tsang), the herders of eastern Tibet (Hor, NKh, Am) have invented the word ལྕགས་རྟ་ LCAGSRTA lit. ‘iron horse’ for ‘bicycle’ and ལྕགས་བྱ་ LCAGSBYA lit. ‘iron bird’ for ‘airplane’. See also the words for ‘bicycle’ and ‘airplanes’ in the HCTL.

e) Onomatopoeia and ideophony

In some languages, words are based on onomatopoeia or ideophony, the details of which may differ from one dialect to the other. For example, instead of using a loanword for ‘motorbike’, some languages have chosen to use onomatopoeic forms, such as ཀབ་པོ་ BAG BAG (Ü, Ts) and གད་པེ་ PHAD PHAD DA (Pur). Some dialects (Central Tibet) use the word བླ་མ་ MLA MLA for ‘dragonfly’, probably because the buzz of this insect recalls a lama chanting mantras. The hoopoe’s name in a number of languages is derived from གུད་ PUD PUD, which is associated with the sound of this bird (see the HCTL).

11.7. Ethnolexicon

The lexicon of the Tibetic languages is influenced by the cultural features of the Tibetic area, and while it varies by region and dialect, it also depends on sociolinguistic and environmental parameters. For example, in some areas of Tibet and the southern Himalayas where onagers [Equus hemionus kiang] are not found, dialects may lack a word to designate this animal; in this case they may employ a loanword from other dialects or lack the concept entirely.

16. In some languages, such as Persian, this type of metaphorical replacement is very frequent. For example, the original Persian verb for ‘to be born’ has been lost, and བོད་ལྡན་ UMADAN ‘come to the world’ is now used. The word གུན་ ‘hare’ literally means ‘donkey ear’.
11.7.1. Sociolinguistic features of the lexicon

Certain rich semantic fields related to the activities of pastoralists and cultivators are attested only in pastoralist or cultivator areas. For example, the vocabulary related to yaks is very rich in pastoralists’ areas, but is very limited in cultivators’ communities. 

Sung Kuo-Ming & H.H. Byams, Rgyal (2005: 129) provide a list of twenty-eight lexical items from Amdo pastoralist communities that refer to yaks by various age-sex combinations (see Chart XI.1).

The above list is not exhaustive. Other terms are also encountered, such as ངོར་NOR ‘cattle’,\(^\text{17}\) a generic term derived from the term for ‘wealth’, རྨ་SNALO ‘a peaceful yak without a horn (that one can easily ride), བྲོང་BRONG ‘wild yak’, མཁལ་KHAL ‘pack yak’. One also finds a lot of terms designating hybrids: བྲོ་MDZO ‘male dzo, a crossbreed of a male yak and a female cow’, བྲོ་རྒོད་MDZO,RGOD ‘female dzo, a crossbreed of a male yak and a female cow’, རྟོལ་RTOL,PO ‘male hybrid, usually of a bull and dzomo’, རྟོལ་རྒོད་RTOL,MO ‘female hybrid usually of bull and dzomo’, བཀྲ་པོ་GAR,PO ‘male hybrid usually of yak and dzomo’, བཀྲ་མོ་GAR,MO ‘female hybrid usually of yak and dzomo’.

There is also a number of terms specifically related to products derived from the yaks such as: བྲུ་LCLBUR ‘yak dung’, རྟྱིད་RTSID,PA ‘tsipa, yak coarse hair’, རྒྱལ་KHULU ‘khulu, soft yak wool’.

Some of these terms are unknown to cultivators. See also the HCTL, as well as Hoshi et al. (2020).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Generic term</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Any age</td>
<td>ཀྲུག་ནག་ZOG.NAG</td>
<td>ཀྲུག་G-YAG</td>
<td>གྲུའི་BRI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>བེའུ་LBE.U LU</td>
<td>བེའུ་PHO,BE’U</td>
<td>བེའུ་LBE.U LU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>བེའུ་LBE’U (or བེའུ་) YAR,RU</td>
<td>བེའུ་PHO,YAR</td>
<td>བེའུ་MO,YAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>བེའུ་LBE’U (or བེའུ་) YAR,RU</td>
<td>བེའུ་PHO,YAR</td>
<td>བེའུ་MO,YAR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{17}\) In some areas, this term designates only black cattle (mainly yaks, dri, dzo, and dzom) but in the eastern section it refers to any kind of cattle.
Another area where the lexicon is rich is the set of terms related to spirits, deities, gods and demons. According to the Tibetan tradition, spirits, deities and supernatural beings belong to the eight classes of gods and demons. It would be difficult to compile an exhaustive list of spirits, deities and supernatural beings. They include at least the following: གཤིན་རྗེ་ (GSHIN.RJE) shinje, སྲིན་པོ་ (SRIN.PO) sinpo, ཆུ་མོ་ (CHU.MO) chom, བཅོད་པོ་ (BO.PO) bropa, དྲུག་པོ་ (DRUG.PO) drugpo, རྒྱལ་པོ་ (RGYAL.PO) gyalpo, གྱོན་ (GNYAN) gyon, སྦྱུར་ (SRIN) sryn, རླུ་ (LHA) lha, འབྲུག་པ (GDRUG.PO) burgpo, གཞི་ བདག་ (GZHI.BDAG) zhida, དབང་པོ་ (DBANG.PO) dbangpo, གྲུབ་པ (GRI.BA) griopa, སྤྱིད་པ (SRI.PA) sriopa, བྲེལ་ (BLA) bla, དཔང་ (DPANG) dpang, བྲུག་པ (GDRUG.PO) burgpo, དཔོན་ (DPON) don, བྲུག་པ (GDRUG.PO) burgpo, རོ་ (RO) rol, ཐོབ་ (THOBS) thobs, དབང་པོ་ (DBANG.PO) dbangpo, མི་ (MI) mi, སློ་ (SLO) slo, དབུག་ (DBUG.PO) bugpo, དཔོན་ (DPON) don, ཐོབ་ (THOBS) thobs, ཁྱིབ་ (DGYI.BA) dgyipa, རྩེ་ (TSE.PA) tsepa, བྲུག་པ (GDRUG.PO) burgpo, etc. Additionally, some areas have their own specific spirits and supernatural creatures. This is the case in Ladakh with the སྦྱུར་/zbalu/, dwarves who 'live in a world intersecting with the human world but [who are] normally invisible' (Norman 2019).

Some of these spirits are frequently mentioned and play an important role in the various Tibetic cultures. These include སྦྱུར་ лу, གཞི་ སྲིན་པོ་ སྲིན་པོ་ སྲིན་པོ་ སྲིན་པོ་ སྲིན་པོ་, which are often

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>སོ་གཉིས་/SO GNYIS</td>
<td>སོ་གཉིས་མ་/SO GNYIS.MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>སོ་བཞི་/SO BZHI</td>
<td>སོ་བཞི་/SO BZHI.MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>སོ་དྲུག་/SO DRUG</td>
<td>སོ་དྲུག་/SO DRUG.MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>གཤགས་/KHA GANG</td>
<td>གཤགས་/KHA GANG.MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>གཤགས་/KHA GANG</td>
<td>གཤགས་/KHA GANG.MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>གཤགས་/KHA GANG</td>
<td>གཤགས་/KHA GANG.MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10+</td>
<td></td>
<td>གཤགས་/KHA GANG</td>
<td>གཤགས་/KHA GANG.MA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. The authors provide the term /mo hnyi/ in the chart, but SO GNYIS.MA in the text.
the object of everyday offerings. Other important types include the ཡུལ་ལྷ་ yülha and ཉིན་བདག་ zhidak, local protective deities who reside on mountains.

Although the terminology for spirits is very rich, some Buddhist and Bön notions such as བཟོད་པ་ BZOD.PA 'patience', སྙིང་རྗེ་ SNYING.RJE 'compassion', དམ་ཚིག་ DAM.TSHIG 'tantric commitments, samaya link' and བསོད་བདེ BSOD.BDE 'white karma, merit, moral virtue' – which are well known among lamas, monks, the educated and the religious – are not pervasive among pastoralists and cultivators, or may have very different meanings in their dialects. For example, བཟོད་པ་ BZOD.PA 'patience' is not always known. The word སྙིང་རྗེ་ SNYING.RJE in its colloquial use essentially means 'poor dear' or 'miserable person'. Additionally, in Ü and Tsang, the corresponding adjectives སྙིང་རྗེ་པོ་ SNYING.RJE.PO and སྙིང་རྗེ་འདེ SNYING.RJE.DE have come to mean 'beautiful, nice'. The colloquial meanings of དམ་ཚིག་ DAM.TSHIG and བསོད་བདེ BSOD.BDE, are respectively 'lucky coincidence' and 'good luck, good fortune' in Lhasa. In Kham, དམ་ཚིག་ DAM.TSHIG is used with the meaning of 'complaint, lament'.

11.7.2. The quasi-absence of some semantic fields

By contrast, some lexical fields are particularly poor. For example, the Tibetic-speaking people have very few terms to designate types of fish. Fish are traditionally not eaten, an attitude which may in some cases be motivated by a fear of dangerous waters and the belief in མ་ KLU, who dwell in water. In most areas, attempts to elicit fish names may result in terms such as ཉ་ NYA 'fish' (generic), རྒྱུ་ི NAG.RNYA 'golden fish (symbol of happiness and utility)', དྲ་སྨིན་ CHUSRIN 'marine monster, crocodile', ཉ་ NYACHEN 'big fish, whale', རུ་ཤིན་ LCONG.MO 'tadpole', རུ་སྨིན་ NYAPHYS 'oyster' and དྲ་སྨིན་ NYASKYOGS 'clam'. Clearly these terms designate not only fish, but also other marine creatures; they also refer to the mythology conveyed by Vajrayāna.

19. “Au Ladakh, la référence y est quotidienne. La coutume exige en effet que l'on offre les premières miettes de son repas ou les premières gouttes de son verre de bière (ou de thé) en les envoyant d'une pichenette de l'index vers le ciel pour les བཏན lhā d'en haut (steng lhā), devant soi pour les བཏས་ bsan du milieu (bar bsan), vers le sol pour les མ་ d'en bas (’og klu)” (Dolfuss, 2003). Similar practices are found in Tibet and in other areas of the Himalayas.

20. In the rare regions where Tibetans do eat fish from lakes, they may know the names of two or three species. In Central Tibet, only ལྷའུ་ཤིན་ PAHKHALER is relatively well known.
Buddhism and Bön, rather than reflecting a knowledge of the fish that live in the great rivers and lakes of the plateau and the Himalayas.

11.8. Etymology and word families

Tibetan etymology has yet not been the subject of systematic research. In 2009, Zhang Jichuan published in Chinese a book called 藏语词族研究 'Research on Tibetan word families'. This is major contribution as the first monograph on Tibetan word families: that is words – whether nouns, verbs, or adjectives – that have a common origin. Here some examples of word families:

- འཇིག་ 'leather', རི་སྨན་ སྨན་ 'chief, leader', རི་མགོ་ རི་ 'mountain peak, top (lit. 'mountain head'), མགོན་པོ་ 'protector', རི་ལྡན་ 'to climb, go up'. In this word family, we see a metaphor relating the term 'head' with 'upper part, summit, to go up' (in terms of space), 'beginning, start' (in terms of time) and 'leader, head, protector' (in terms of social status). These metaphors and lexical networks are found in many languages of the world (including Russian and Hebrew).

- བོད་པོ་ 'time-consuming, slow', བོད་པོ་ 'time'.

21. Most of these examples are from Zhang, but we have added some of our own examples and comments.

22. The form LKO given by Zhang is not listed in the BOD RGYA TSHIG MDZOD CHEN MO (great Tibetan-Chinese dictionary). It is a variant of KO.BA, and occurs in some compounds such as LKO.LHAM 'leather boot'.

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longer road, a detour’, ལྗོང་སྒོར་, GOR:GOR ‘round, circular’, ལྗོང་པོ་ སྒོར་, GOR:MO ‘currency unit, round (coin)’, ལྗོང་པོ་, GOR:BA ‘a type of (round) bread’, ལྗོང་ སྒོར་, GOR:GOR round, circular’. It is clear from this word family that the root ※kor is not only related to round objects and ‘surroundings’, but is metaphorically related to the notion of ‘winding/indirect’, and thus ‘long’.

▪ བཀ་, KHA ‘mouth, surface, opening, shore’, བཀ་རྒྱག་, KHA:RGYAG ‘to close (an object)’, བཀ་ཕྱེ་, KHA:PHYE ‘to open (an object)’, བཀ་རྒྱག་, KHA:RGYAG ‘advice, teaching (H)’,

▪ ལོ་སྐུག, LO:SKAG ‘blocked year, unlucky year’.


▪ སྐམ་, SKAM ‘to become dry’, སྐམས་, SKAMS ‘to dry something’, སྐམ་, SKAM ‘dry land’, སྐམ་, SKAM ‘dry dairy cattle’, སྐམ་, SKAM ‘to be thirsty’ (lit. to have a dry mouth), སྐམ་, SKAM ‘drink, beverage (H)’,

warm up’, ལྷུམས LHUMS ‘womb’.

▪ ཕུག་པ་ BUG PA ‘hole, cave’, སྦུག་ སྦུགས་ SBUG (DBUG, གཤུག་ PHUG) ‘to pierce a hole’ བུགམ་ བུགས་པས་BIG (BIGS PHIGS) ‘to pierce a hole’, གཤུག་ གཤུགས་པས་ PHUG PA ‘a cave’;

▪ རོ་པོ་ MTHO PO ‘high’, རོ་མོ་ MTHON PO, རོ་ རོ་ RDO ‘lit. high stones, stones piled up to indicate a boundary’ (same meaning as རོ་ཡོར་ THO YOR and རོ་ རོ་ THO PO).

▪ འབུག་ འབུགས་པས་ DBUG, གཤུག་ PA ‘a cave’; in our analysis this is probably also cognate with the following words: འབུག་ འབུགས་པས་ PHUGS BSAM ‘ideal, hope’, གཤུག་ PHU ‘upper end of a valley’. It is clear that the root *bug ‘hole, cave, inner part’ has come to possess a whole range of meanings related to innermost places, difficult to reach places, the end of a valley and so on, and thus has come to mean metaphorically ‘ideal’ or ‘hope’.


▪ རོ་ BSHOR ‘pursue, hunt’, རོ་ SHAN PA ‘butcher’, རོ་ SHEN PA ‘butcher’, རོ་ ཚུ་ GSHED MA ‘executioner, murderer’, རོ་ ཚུ་ GSHA ‘portion, share’, རོ་ ཚུ་ SBYOR ‘copulation’, རོ་ ཚུ་ SHA GSAR ‘virgin’ (lit. ‘fresh flesh’). This word family indicates that flesh or meat is related to the idea
of ‘hunting’, ‘portioning’ and to the butchering activity. The word SHA also has sexual connotations.

▪ དེབ་ DEB ‘book’, སྡེབ་ SDEB ‘join together’, སྡེབ་ LA ‘together’. These cognate words suggest that the word ‘book’ is derived from SDEB ‘join together (pages)’.

A དེབ་ DEB ‘bound volume’ is distinct from དཔེ་ཆ་ DPE.CHA ‘Tibetan-style book’, which is unbound.


All these cognate words are all derived from the notion of ‘weaving’. The word ‘rope’ is conceived of as a woven object. The notion of ‘distance’ is also probably derived from the same root: this would indicate that short distances were often measured with ropes. Finally, the word ‘decide’ is related to metaphorically ‘cutting (a rope)’, just as with the Latin decidere, which also literally means ‘to cut off’.
12. Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon

12.1. The aim of the lexicon

The aim of this lexicon is to give a general idea of the lexical diversity within Tibetan languages (and dialect groups) and of the close relationship between these languages and Classical Tibetan. The Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon (HCTL) contains over 1,300 entries describing words belonging to the basic vocabulary, and includes 200 basic verbs. It provides information about the lexicon of the languages and dialects located in six countries of the Tibetic-speaking area (China, India, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan and Myanmar). Each entry will mention the equivalent words in the languages of the eight sections of our classification: Northwest (NE), West (W), Southwest (SW), South (S), Central (C), Southeast (SE), Northeast (NE) and East (E). Thus, for each entry, we will generally provide the equivalent word in Classical Tibetan (CT) and in the major Tibetic languages (by number of speakers and cultural influence): Balti (Ba), Purik (Pur), Ladaks (La), Spiti (Sp), Tsang (Ts), Central Tibetan (Ū), Kham (Kh), Amdo (Amo), Dzongkha (Dz), Sikkim Lhoke (Lho) and Sherpa (Sh). However, where data are available, we also provide information about other languages and dialects, such as Zanhar (Za), Ngari Töke (Tō), Jangkat (Lj), Choča-ngača (Cho), Jirel (Jir), Kongpo (Ko), Sharkhok (Shar) and others.

The HCTL includes the great majority of the words of the Swadesh list (Swadesh 1971: 283), which has been used for historical-comparative linguistics. The words were originally chosen for their universal and culturally independent availability in as many languages as possible. This list was somewhat culturally biased. To address this problem, Matisoff adapted the Swadesh list to southeast Asian languages as CALMSEA (the Culturally Appropriate Lexicostatistical Model for Southeastern Asia), also as referred to as the “Matisoff 200-word list.” Other word lists have also been developed, such as the Southeast Asia Wordlist (Miller 1994). However, even the CALMSEA word list contains items which do not exist in the Tibetic basic lexicon (see Hongladarom 2000).

Some basic words pertaining to southeast Asia, such as ‘paddy field’ and ‘banana’, are not found in the HCTL as they are absent from most Tibetic areas.

The words listed in the lexicon include religious concepts frequently used in Buddhism and Bön, including ‘karma’, ‘khatak’, ‘lama’, ‘pecha (Tibetan-style book)’, ‘deity’, ‘yullha (local deity)’, ‘sonam (merit)’, ‘compassion’, ‘patience’, ‘monastery’, ‘monk’, ‘Buddha’, ‘beads’, ‘stūpa’, ‘digpa (negative actions)’, ‘tantric priest’, ‘torma’, ‘vajra’, etc. Although these words are usually common to the Tibetic area, some ethnic groups, particularly the Balti and Purik people, lack equivalent words.


The HCTL lists English–Tibetic equivalents according to lexical class: nouns, demonstratives and proforms, numerals, quantifiers and intensifiers, adjectives and verbs. The noun entries are listed in a thematic way. An index of the English terms (in Latin alphabetic order) with page numbers is provided after the lexicon.
One should bear in mind that this lexicon does not provide a systematic presentation of phonetic or phonological variations. For this purpose, refer to Chapter 7.

### 12.2. Results and limitations of the lexicon

The HCTL confirms various fundamental characteristics that we discussed in Section 11.2. As we showed earlier, discrepancies in the lexical items are quite significant when we compare modern languages, but the vocabulary is nearly always inherited from Classical or Old Tibetan. Note that in the HCTL, we write < CT to indicate that a word is a direct reflex of a CT word, which normally implies that it is also inherited from OT. We use the notation < OT only for words which have a different form in CT and OT.

Although many words have a unique pandialectal root (or word) common to all the Tibetic languages, some words are derived from several roots attested in CT or OT. The number of CT roots for a single lexical item rarely exceeds five or six.

The HCTL has some of the limitations inherent to many lexicographic works of this type, especially when the source and target languages (in this case English and Tibetan) are very distant with respect to both linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Among the problems, the two languages differ greatly in the structure of their lexicons. Tibetan often lacks basic hypernyms that we might consider universal. This absence is usually related to traditional taxonomy. A number of Tibetan words do not have direct English equivalents, and their meaning may correspond to two or more English terms. The reverse is also true. Thus, the main difficulties in this kind of lexicographic work are related to semantic overlaps and hypernymy. Here are some illustrations:

The term 'animal' does not have a perfect match in the Tibetic languages. It may be rendered by several terms derived from CT, such as SEMS.Can, lit. 'having a mind, sentient being', DUD, GRO lit. '(one which) walks bending', BYOL.SONG lit. '(one which) turns away, flees', depending on the given language. But in speakers' mind, these three terms are mostly likely to refer to 'beast of burden',

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1. We should distinguish here between folk and scientific taxonomies. The latter is still under development in Tibetan. The conflict between scientific and folk taxonomies is well attested in European languages: for example, a spider may commonly be considered an insect, though from a scientific point of view it is not.
'cattle', and 'mammal' than, say, to 'insect' or 'worm' (for the latter, most Tibetic speakers would prefer to use another term, such as བུ BU). In Classical Tibetan, the term སེམས་ཅན SEMS.CAN 'lit. having a mind, sentient being, animated being' was not strictly the equivalent of 'animal' but rather of 'animated being', and would include human beings. The word insect itself provides another example of a discrepancy between English and Tibetan: the latter lacks a generic term and makes a distinction between བུ BU 'crawling insects, including worms and other small animals' and སྦྲང་བུ SBRANG.BU 'winged insects'. The word life does not have a direct equivalent, and can be translated by two words: སྲོག SROG and ཁེ TSHE. The former is related to 'life force, breath, wind', whereas the latter means 'life span'.

Analogous problems arise with common words such as 'finger', 2 'back (of body)', 'brother', 'sister' (see Section 11.5), 'uncle', 'cattle', 'afternoon', 'old', 'thin', 'big', 'to pour', 'to cut', 'to carry', etc.

For the verb 'to carry', some Tibetic languages make a distinction also found in Classical Tibetan between རྒྱུད་ KHUR 'to carry on the back' and རྗེས KHYER 'to carry in the hands'.

The Tibetic languages usually have several verbs meaning 'cut' and lack a generic verb for this concept: there is a systematic distinction between various type or methods of cutting: 'to cut a rope or tree', 'to cut into small pieces', 'to cut wool or hair, shear, shave off', 'to cut grass, mow, reap' (see HCTL). There are also specific verbs for 'open' དག་ GDANG and 'close' བཙུམ BTSUM in reference to body parts, such as the mouth and eyes.

Conversely, CT and some Tibetic languages use the verb གྲུབ BLUG, which has the meaning of both 'to pour (a liquid)' and 'to put (a solid into a container)'.

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2. In Sherpa, our consultants were reluctant to provide a hypernym, because each finger is usually designated by a specific term. Although Classical Tibetan has a generic term ཚོར་MO for 'finger' and 'toe', the word བཛཱུ་ MDZUB.MO 'index finger' can be used to refer to some the fingers, e.g. རྐྱེན་ MTHE.BONG 'thumb', བཛཱུ་ MDZUB.MO 'index finger', ཐོ་ GUNG 'middle finger', རྒྱུར་ SBRIN.MDZUB 'ring finger', བཙུན་ MTHE.CHUNG 'little finger'.
Another problem that arose during fieldwork is related to the potential confusion of concepts that are distinguished in neighboring dialects. For example, the words གོ་ན་ PHO.ROGS and བི་ན་ KHATA mean respectively ‘raven’ and ‘crow’. However, in some areas, the raven is either absent or rare, and speakers may not have a clear idea of the difference and confuse the terms.

Some entries also have words corresponding to different linguistic categories, such as nouns and adjectives. For example in Amdo, སྐྱུར་ཏོ་ SKUR.TO and སྐྱུར་མོ་ SKYUR.MO both mean ‘acid’, and ལེགས་ KHER.RO and ལེགས་འདུག་ KHER.DUG both mean ‘alone, lonely’, but སྐྱུར་ཏོ་ SKUR.TO and ལེགས་ KHER.RO are used as nouns, whereas skyur.mo and KHER.DUG are used as adjectives. However, we have placed both the noun and the adjective in the same entry, as some dialects do not make this distinction.

Some words refer to different concepts in traditional and modern, rural and urban contexts. For example, the word ལྷང་ SMAN usually refers to traditional Tibetan medicine, but may be used for Chinese and Western medicine (and even for non-medical ‘drugs’ and ‘spices’). In a rural context, the word དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་ DPE.MDZOD.KHANG will normally refer to a monastery library, rather than to a school or university library.

Some abstract concepts on the list proved difficult to elicitate in certain dialects. This is, for example, the case with items such as peace, nationality, and compassion. Nevertheless, we have kept these terms on the list.

Finally, the mismatch between the lexical categories of the target language (English) and the source languages (Tibetic) presents a potential source of problems. In many cases, a noun may be absent from the latter, with the concept only appearing in the form of a verb. This is, for example, the case with the word ‘rain’. Whereas in English the single word ‘rain’ is both a noun and a verb, and many even serve as basis for a derived adjective ‘rainy’, some eastern Tibetic languages lack a specific noun for ‘rain’, instead using the compound verb གནམ་འབབ་ GNAM.BAB ‘sky’ + ‘to fall’, so ‘it is raining’ can be rendered as ‘the sky is falling’. The English adjective old as applied to people is usually rendered in Tibetic languages by a noun, རྒད་པོ་ RGAD.PO ‘old man’ or རྒད་མོ་ RGAD.MO ‘old woman’, rather than by an adjective. Very often, the equivalents
of English adjectives such as ‘quick’ and ‘slow’ – ལྟོགས་པོ་ MGYOGLPO and ལྟོགས་པོ་ GLEGLE respectively – essentially appear in Tibetic languages as adverbs (‘quickly’, ‘slowly’) or as predicative adjectives (‘to be slow’, ‘to be quick’), but not as attribute adjectives (‘quick’, ‘slow’). The adjective ‘wrong’ often corresponds to a verb རོག NOR ‘to err, to be mistaken, to be wrong’. These frequent lexical mismatches have not received sufficient attention in the lexicographic works.

12.3. Sources of the data

The main source of the data for the eight sections of the Tibetic area is our own field work (see Chapter 1). Secondary sources were used for some words. These include the following publications: Bielmeier’s CTDT (preprint 2001; 2018), Norman (2019), Abdul Hamid (1998), Sprigg (2002), Koshal (1982), the Dzongkha Development Committee (DDC) dictionaries, van Driem (1998), skKalbzang ’gyurMED & skKalbzang dByangsCan (2002), Tournadre et al. (2009), Haller (2000; 2004), Strahm & Maibaum (2005), Hari & Chhegu Lama (2004), Hoshi & Tondup Tsering (1978) and Yliniemi (2019).

12.4. Transcription

Since the aim of the lexicon is to show the lexical variations within Tibetic languages, as well as the close relationship between these languages and Classical Tibetan, we are mainly concerned with the lexical roots and affixes used in the various dialects. When dialectal forms are cognate and display regular reflexes with CT, we use the Classical orthography and the Wylie transliteration (in our modified version; see Chapter 5). The actual pronunciations are thus not directly indicated, and the regular reflexes of each dialect must be applied to obtain these. When the pronunciation does not correspond to a regular reflex of a CT word, or when the word has specific affixes or forms not found in CT, we provide an orthography that follows the reading rules of the given dialect. In some cases, when the pronunciation is very specific, we also provide a phonological transcription.

12.5. Abbreviations and special signs

- **PR:** pandialectal (or nearly pandialectal) root. When the same root is found
throughout the languages and dialects of the eight sections, we consider it pandialectal, even if it may have been replaced or lost in some dialects. A pandialectal root implies that the lexical root is the same, but words may have different affixes, or even different compound forms, in the various languages.

- **FFR**: frequently found root. This indicates that a root is found in languages and dialect groups in at least two sections.

- **PW**: pandialectical word. When not only the root, but also the affixes and compound forms, are the same throughout the languages of the eight sections, we refer to the words as a PW, rather than a PR. Again there may be some local languages or dialects with divergent forms.

- **FFW**: frequently found word. This indicates that a word is found in dialects and dialect groups in at least two sections.

- The main roots are in bold.

- ❗️: words not found in Classical Tibetan or Modern Written Tibetan, or not attested in this orthography. Such forms reflect the pronunciation in a dialect. When compound words are marked with a diamond, each syllable may correspond to a lexeme attested in CT or OT, but the compound as a whole is not found in CT. It should be borne in mind that the spellings we employ were not devised with the intent that these words should be written this way, but only to give the reader an idea of their pronunciation!

- ※: form not attested in CT or OT but reconstructed on the basis of several forms found in contemporary languages. For example, we reconstruct a root ※bi for ‘cat’, based on the modern form found in many modern languages; this form is absent from CT. These may also be forms attested in CT but only under a derived form. For example the root ※ṣru ‘maternal aunt’ appears only with a prefix or a suffix in the modern languages.

- <: the origin of a word or a root. For example < CT means that the word is derived from a CT word. When the Classical Tibetan word is itself a loanword from another language, we repeat the sign. For example, SENG, GE < CT SENG, GE ‘lion’ < Skr
This means that the word is found in Classical Tibetan, but is a loanword from Sanskrit. This is to be distinguished from cases such as ॐ SUN.TSE < Chin sunzi, which designates a recent loanword from Chinese that is not found in CT.

- [+Ctr]: a controllable verb that may have an agent and allows the use of intentional/volitional auxiliaries (when they exist) and imperatives. When the indication [+Ctr] is not mentioned, the verb is either not controllable or has no agent.
- [V1] and [V2]: respectively a monovalent (‘intransitive’) and bivalent or trivalent verb.

**Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon**

**BODY (human)**

1. **BODY** གཟུགས་ **GZUGS** [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Tö, Yol, La, Pur, Dz, Lho) < CT ‘shape’. The root may occur alone གཟུགས་ **GZUGS** (Dz, Lho, Sh, Thewo-Má, Jir, etc.), pronounced /zu(k)(s)/ or /su(k)/. It is often followed by a suffix: གཟུགས་པོ་ **GZUGS.PO** (Ü, Ts, Tö, La, Pur). The root ལུས་ **LUS** [FFR] (Kh, Ko, Sp) < CT ‘body’, may be derived from the verb LUS ‘to leave behind, to remain behind’ under the influence of Buddhist doctrine. The following commentary is often heard about the word LUS: ‘The body has to be abandoned after death’. However, this interpretation may be a folk etymology. In the southern Kham area, this word form often does not follow regular sound correspondences, which suggests that it reflects a literary pronunciation, probably related to the religious domain. The root occurs alone ལུས་ **LUS** (La), but is often followed by a suffix: ལུས་མོ་ **LUS.MO** (Kh, Ko), ལུས་པོ་ **LUS.PO** (Kh, Yol), ལུས་བོ་ **LUS.BO** (Sp). Another root, སྒོ་ **PHUNG** (Am, Skh) < CT སྒོ་ **PHUNG.PO’ aggregate’ is often attested in Southern Kham and in Amdo, where it is pronounced སྒོ་ **phung’/hungngpo/. The body is thus conceived as a ‘pile, aggregate’, which corresponds to the Sanskrit notion of skanda. In some cases, the two roots combine to form the compound ལུས་ཕུང་ **LUS.PHUNG**. In Balti, the word མོ་ **RGO** /go/ (Ba) may be derived from the CT word ཕྱོ་ **SGO’ door’ since, in Buddhist
philosophy, the body is considered to be a 'door' (the སྒོ་གསུམ་ SGO GSUM or three doors are 'body', 'speech' and 'mind'). Roerich's dictionary mentions the word སྒོ་ལོ་ SGO LO with the meaning 'body, face'. See also སྒོ་བོ་ RGO BO 'stature, height (of person)' (La) < CT སྒོ་ SGO (Norman 2019), སྒོ་ཕྱག་ RGO PHYAG (La) 'to protraste'. There are also other plausible hypotheses: /r go/ might be derived from Zhangzhung /rko/ 'body' (cf. Matisoff). Finally, the form /go/ may be related to the honorific root སྐུ་ SKU 'body (H)' (Ü, Ts, Dz).

2. HEAD མགོ་ MGO [PR] pronounced /go/ (Am: dr) /n go/ (Kh) and /go/ in most languages. It may occur alone as མགོ་ MGO (most languages) or མགེ་ MGO (Dz), but is sometimes followed by a suffix: མགོ་བོ་ MGO BO also attested in CT, མགོ་བ་ MGO BA, མགོ་ཏུ་ MGO TU (Am). The honorific root is སྐུ། DBU (Ü, Ts, Dz).

3. HAIR སྐྲ་ SKRA [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ts, Ü Dz, Jir, etc.) < CT. Various pronunciations are attested: སྐྲ་/skra/ (Pur), སྐྲ་/ˈca/ (Ü, Ts), སྐྲ་/za/ (La, Za), སྐྲ་/ˈla/ (Ü), སྐྲ་/ˈʈa/ (Tö, Jir) etc. There are a number of other terms, usually compound words, across the Tibetic area: བཅོ་ཅོག་ CO TOG lit. 'head summit' is found in Eastern Tibet (Kham and Amdo) < CT བཅོ་ CO, an archaic word for 'head' and བཅོ། TOG 'summit'. Other compound words are also used, such as མགོ་སྤུ་ MGO SPU (Ho, Kh, Pur) 'head hair', སྐྲ་སྤུ་ SKRA SPU 'hair-(body)hair', མགོ་སྲོ་ MGO SGR 'head feather'. The word རལ་ RAL for '(head) hair' in Baltistan is probably related to CT རལ་ RAL PA 'dreadlock, long hair'. The Tibetan emperor Thritsuk Detsän (KHRI GTSUG LDE BTSAN) was also commonly known as རལ་པ་ཅན་ RAL PA CAN 'the long-haired one'. In western languages (Za, Pur), རལ་ RAL means 'goat's hair'. See WOOL.

4. FOREHEAD ཀྲལ། DPRAL [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ko, etc.) < CT. The root ཀྲལ། DPRAL is pronounced in various ways: ཀྲལ། /pral/ (Pur), ཀྲལ། /ˈpaː/ (Ü), ཀྲལ། /ˈʈa/ (Tö, Jir), etc. It is often followed by a suffix: ཀྲལ། རྒ་ DPRAL MGO (Ü), ཕྲལ། རྒ་ DPRAL BA (Tö, Yol), ཕྲལ། རྒ་ DPRAL TER (Ko). The root སྤྱོད་ THOD [FFR] (Kh, Ho, Ts, Tö, Lho, Am, La, Za) < CT 'skull' is also frequently attested. It is followed by a suffix: སྤྱོད་ PA THOD PA. The root THOD is cognate with
words such as མཐོ་ MTHO 'high' and སྟོད་ STOD 'upper part'. In Yolmo, ེརུ་ RTSA 'eminence', is used.

5. **EYE** རྣ་ RNA [PW] < CT. Its archaic form རྣ་ MIG, pronounced /mig/ in Amdo, is used in some eastern Tibetan languages and is attested in OT. It is originally derived from the root རྣ་ DMYIG. The high tone of རྣ་ MIG /'mik/ in many central and southern dialects confirms the existence of the preradical in earlier forms. རྣ་ MIG.TO (Dz) and རྣ་ MIG.RDO (Am) are also attested. The honorific forms are གཟིགས་མིག་ GZIGS.MIG (Ba, Pur).

6. **EYELID** རྣ་འབྱུང་ RNA.LPAGS [PW] < CT lit. 'eye skin'. The archaic form རྣ་འབྱུང་ MYIG.LPAGS is attested in Amdo.

7. **EYEBROW** རྣ་སྤུ་ RNA.SPU [PW] < CT. It is pronounced in various ways: /mikspu/ (La, Pur), /mikpu/ (Ü, Ts), /mifu/ (Za), etc. In CT, རྣ་སྤུ་ MIG.SPU literally means 'eye hair'; རྣ་སྤུ་ SMINMA [FFW] (Pur) < CT 'eyebrow', རྣ་སྤུ་ MIG.SMA (La) 'eye moustache', རྣ་སྤུ་ MIG.TXA (Yol).

8. **EYELASH** རྣ་རྫི་ RNA.RDZI [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Dz, Sh, Kh, Am, Jir, etc.). A number of compound words are also found, such as རྣ་རྫི་ MIG.RDZIM lit. 'eye eyelash' (Dz), རྣ་རྫི་ MIG.GSHOG (La, Za, Pur) lit. 'eye wing'. རྣ་རྫི་ MIG.SPU (Yol) < CT 'eye hair'. Some dialects confuse 'eyelash' and 'eyebrow'.

9. **NOSE** སྣ་ SNA [PR] < CT. Various pronunciations are attested: /na/ (La, Pur), /'na/ (Am), /'n'a/ (Kh), /'na/ (Ü, Ts, Ho, Sh), /'ha/ (Dz), etc. This root is usually followed by a second syllable: སྣ་སྐུ་ SNA.GO, སྣ་ SNA.PA. The Dzongkha word སྣ་ SNA.MDO (Am), སྣ་ SNA.GDONG lit. 'front of nose, bridge of the nose', སྣ་སྐུ་ SNA.M.TSHUL (Pur). The honorific form is སྣ་ SHANGS (Ü, Ts, Dz, La, Lho, etc.).

10. **EAR** རྣ་ RNA [PR] < CT Various pronunciations are attested: /na/ (Am), /na/ (La, Pur), /'na/ (Ko, Ho), etc. The root can be used alone རྣ་ RNA (Ba, Pur, Am), but in some languages, it is followed by རྣ་ MCHOG 'perfect, sublime'; རྣ་ MCHOG.
**RNA.MCHOG** (Th, Ga, Yol, Dz, La, Jir) or by a suffix: རྣ་མཆོག RNA.MCHOG. In some cases, the root RNA has lost its radical ལ and is pronounced /a/ as རྣ་མཆོག RNA.MCHOG. The honorific form is རྣ་མཆོག RNA.MCHOG or རྣ་མཆོག RNA.MCHOG. In some cases, the root RNA has lost its radical ལ and is pronounced /a/ as རྣ་མཆོག RNA.MCHOG. The honorific form is རྣ་མཆོག RNA.MCHOG or རྣ་མཆོག RNA.MCHOG. 

1. **FACE** རྣ་ [FFW] (Kh, Ho, Tö, Am, La, Ba) < CT. Another root is also widespread: རྣ་མཆོག GDONG [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Dz) < CT. It is often followed by a suffix: རྣ་མཆོག GDONG.PA. The combination of both roots is attested: རྣ་མཆོག GDONG.DZ. In some languages, both roots are used with different meaning: རྣ་ NGO and རྣ་མཆོག GDONG. For example, རྣ་ngo NGO is used in expressions such as རྣ་ཚ་ NGO.TSHA 'to be ashamed' (lit. 'hot face', or རྣ་ཤེས་ NGO.SHES 'to recognize, to know somebody' lit. 'to know the face'). More marginally, there are also compounds with the word KHA 'mouth': མཁུར་ཚོས། MKHUR.TSHOS (Ba, Dz, Pur) lit. 'cheekbone' (CT). In many languages, there is an additional distinction between 'upper lip' ཡ་མཆུ་ YA.MCHU and 'lower lip': མ་མཆུ་ MA.MCHU. Furthermore, in many languages, the word for 'lip' is identical to 'beak'.

12. **MOUTH** མཆུ་ [PW] < CT. Some dialects in Kham and the eastern section use མཆུ་ MCHU.PA or མཆུ་ MCHU.PA or མཆུ་ MCHU.TO /čuko/ (Za, derog.) < CT lit. 'lip, beak'. The honorific form is རྣ་ ZHAL. In many languages, there is an additional distinction between 'upper lip' མཆུ་ MCHU and 'lower lip': མཆུ་ MCHU. Furthermore, in many languages, the word for 'lip' is identical to 'beak'.

14. **LIP** མཆུ་ MCHU [PR] < CT. མཆུ་ MCHU (Am, Kh, E. Dz), མཆུ་ MCHU (Ü, Yol), མཆུ་ KHAMCHU (Ba). An original compound is attested in Ladakh: མཆུ་ MCHU.PA or མཆུ་ MCHU.PA or མཆུ་ MCHU.PA or མཆུ་ MCHU.TO /déptogas/ (La), /k'alpaks/ (La), /k'alfak/ (Za) < CT lit. 'mouth skin'. In many languages, there is an additional distinction between 'upper lip' མཆུ་ MCHU and 'lower lip': མཆུ་ MCHU. Furthermore, in many languages, the word for 'lip' is identical to 'beak'.

15. **MOUSTACHE** མཁུར་ KHASPU [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Ho, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT 'mouth hair'. Other words include མཁུར་ ZARA (Ü, Kh, etc.), མཁུར་ SARA (Ü, CT).
16. BEARD རྒྱ་ (KHYUNG.RU) < CT. There are a number of words across the Tibetan area: རྒྱ་ (GYA) or རྒྱ་ (GYA.BO) (Am, Ü, Yol, etc.), རྒྱ་ (SMAGRA) (Ba), /sniang/ (Pur), རྒྱ་ (SAM.DAL) (La), རྒྱ་ (GYAM.ZHOL) (Dz) < CT. The term རྒྱ་ (GYA.BO) is derived from CT རྒྱ་ 'beard'. In some languages, རྒྱ་ (GYA.BO) refers rather to a 'bearded man'. རྒྱ་ (POG.TSHOM) (Am: Sog) < CT (Am: Sog) 'beard', རྒྱ་ (GRAM.RTSID) (Am: Sog) < CT lit. 'cheek-yak hair', རྒྱ་ (GRAM.SPU) (Am: Sog) < CT lit. 'cheek-hair'.

17. CHIN འཇུག [FFW] (U, Ts) < CT or the variant འཇུག. MALE (La, Za). Other words are attested: རྒྱ་ (KOS.KO) (Ba, Pur), རྒྱ་ (KOS.MYUNG) (U), 'pointy chin', རྒྱ་ (MAM.GAL) (Dz) < CT 'lower jaw', རྒྱ་ (ZALTAB) (Dz) 'jaw', རྒྱ་ (POG.MA) (U) 'lower chin', རྒྱ་ (POKHU) /uku/ (Sh), རྒྱ་ (PO.KO) (Jir) < CT.

18. THROAT རྒྱ་ (POG) (Kh, Am) < CT. རྒྱ་ (POG.BA) (Am), རྒྱ་ (POG MDUD) (Am) or རྒྱ་ (POG MDUD) lit. 'Adam’s apple', རྒྱ་ (MYID) or རྒྱ་ (MYID) (FWR) (U, E, Sh, Jir), རྒྱ་ (MID.PA/mikpa) (U), རྒྱ་ (MYID) (E), རྒྱ་ (MID) (E), རྒྱ་ (MID.THAG) (Am), རྒྱ་ (MGUL) (Am, Yol), རྒྱ་ (LKOG.MA) (La, Pur, Ba, Kh), རྒྱ་ (MJING.PA) (Yol) < CT ‘neck’. The honorific form is རྒྱ་ (MGUL) (U, Ts, etc.).

19. JAW: see CHIN.

20. NECK རྒྱ་ (SKE) < CT, which is pronounced in various ways: /ke/ (La), /she/ (Za), /ke/ (U), etc. རྒྱ་ (MJING.PA) < CT usually ‘back of the neck’ (U, Jir, Yol, etc.). རྒྱ་ (ZHING.LTAG) (Pur).

21. SHOULDER ༨ རྒྱ་ (PHRAG) (Ba, Pur, Ts, Ts, U, Yol, Kh, E, Am, etc.) < CT ‘upper arm’. This root is pronounced in various ways: རྒྱ་ /p’ak/ (Pur, Kyir), རྒྱ་ /p’ak/ (Pur: Chktan), རྒྱ་ /p’ak/ (Tö: Ger), རྒྱ་ /p’ak/ (U), རྒྱ་ /p’ak/ (Am), etc. It is often followed by a suffix: རྒྱ་ (PHRAG.MA) or རྒྱ་ (PHRAG.PA). Another root རྒྱ་ (DPUNG) < CT (Pur, Ts, U, Kh, Am, Jir, etc.).
CT 'shoulder' is frequently attested, and is pronounced /pung/ (Pur), /pung/ (La), /pung/ (Ü, s, Sp, Za), /xwung/ (Am), etc. The root is normally followed by a suffix: དཔུང་པ་ DPUNG.PA, དཔུང་མ་ DPUNG.PA, དཔུང་པོ་ DPUNG.PO, དཔུང་མགོ་ DPUNG.MGO. Other words are also attested, such as རོ་སྟོད་ ROSTOD (lit. the upper part of the back).

22. SHOULDER BLADE སོག་པ་ SOG.PA [PW] < CT, སོགས་པ་ SOG.S.PA (La, Pur) སོག་ཧྭ་ SOG.HWA (Am). In Dzongkha, དཔུང་རུས་ DPUNG.RUS lit. 'shoulder bone' is used.

23. ARM (UPPER) དཔུང་ DPUNG < CT and ལག་ PHRAG; see SHOULDER. For the lower arm, see HAND.

24. ELBOW ལྷུ་ ལྷའོ་ GRU.MO [PW] < CT. Some variants are found: ལྷུ་ GRU.MO (Ü, Ts), ལྷུ་ GRU.MO (Am), ལྷུ་ ལྷའོ་ GRU.MO (Ü). Archaic forms are also attested: ལྷུ་ ལྷའོ་ GRE.MOGS, ལྷུ་ ལྷའོ་ GRE.MOGS (Am, Ü). The distinction between ལྷུ་ ལྷའོ་ 'inner part of the elbow' and ལྷུ་ ལྷའོ་ 'external part of the elbow' is attested (Am, Yol).

25. HAND/LOWER ARM བལ་ LAG [PR] < CT. The word བལ་ LAG refers to the lower arm (ལག་ངར་ LAG.NGAR) from the elbow to the hand. It is generally followed by a suffix: བལ་ PA (Bal, Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor), བལ་ GWA (Am) or བལ་ GO, བལ་ GIP (Dz), བལ་ KO (Lho). In the Nagchu area (Hor), བལ་ RA < CT lit. 'handful' is attested < CT བལ་ RA < CT lit. 'hand (H)'.

26. WRIST བལ་ བལ་ TSHIGS [FFR] (La, Pur, Kh, Am, Dz, etc.) < CT 'hand joint', བལ་ PA བལ་ PA 'Ü, Ts, Sh' /p'rapki gat/ lit. 'joint of the arm' (Ba).

27. FINGER བལ་ MDZUB or བལ་ MDZUG [FFR] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Am, Kh, Yol, Dz) < CT 'index finger'. བལ་ MDZUG.MO (Dz), བལ་ MDZUG.TOG (Sh), བལ་ MDZUG.GU (Ü, Ts, Am, Kh, Pur). The root བལ་ MDZUB is cognate with the verb བལ་ 'DZUGS 'to point with the finger' and originally designates only the 'index finger'. The CT word for 'finger' is བལ་ SOR.MO; this is still used, for example, in some Amdo dialects. Balti uses བལ་ SEN.MO, which originally
meant 'fingernail' in CT. The origin of the Spiti words ཨཊན་མོ/ṭä̊nmo/ and ཨཊན་ཙེ་/ṭä̊nze/ is not clear.

28. PALM ལག་མཐིལ /LAG.MTHIL/ [PW] < CT. The form ལག་པའི་མཐིལ /LAG.PAY MTHIL/(Sh) is also attested.

29. THUMB མཐེ /MTHE/[PR], alt. form མཐེབ /MTHEB/ < CT 'distance between the small finger and the thumb'. In modern languages one finds compound words. མཐེ་བོང /MTHE.BONG/ (Nubra), མཐེ་ཙེ་/MTHE.CHE/ (Kh) མཐེ་ཞེ་/MTHE.RGAN/ (Am: Lab), མཐེ་ཞེ་/MTHE.RGAN.MA/ (Am: Čäntsha), མཐེ་བོ /MTHE.PO/ (Ü, Ts, Yol), མཐེ་ཞེ /MTHE.O.MTHE.O/ (La) lit. 'hand thumb', མཐེ་བོ /LAG.MTHE.O/ (La) lit. 'mother thumb'. མཐེ་ཧཱ /MTHE.HO/ lit. 'elder MTHE'. The root མཐེ /MTHE/ could be related to མཐའ /MTHA/ 'extremity, edge'. If this etymology is correct, it could explain why some languages use the same root for 'little finger' in the word མཐེའུ /MTHE.OU/ 'little MTHE'. The thumb and the little finger would thus correspond respectively to the 'big and small extremity fingers'.

30. NAIL སེན /SEN/ [PW] < CT. The word for 'nail' in Balti is སེན /zermo/ which is probably related to the root གཟེར /GZER/ 'peg, (iron or wooden) nail' or 'to plant'. Note that སེན /SEN/ means 'finger' in Balti.

31. BACK (of body) ལག་པ་/SGAL.PA/ [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz) < CT or རུང་པ /SGAL.BA/ (Am). Other roots are attested: རུང་ /RGYAB/ (Tö, Kh, Ba, Yol) < CT 'at the back', རུང་ /SKED.PA/ (La, Za, Pur, Ba) < CT 'waist'. In many dialects there is a distinction between the upper back, རུང་ /STOD/, རུང་ /RO.STOD/, རུང་ /KHOG.STOD/, རུང་ /SNYING.KHA/, རུང་ /GSHUL/ (Ba) < CT 'trace', 'after', hence 'back') and the lower part of back: རུང་ /TSHANG.RA/, རུང་ /SKED.PA/, etc.—a feature shared with many Asian languages. However, in some dialects, these words may refer to the entire back. The word སེན /SGAL.TSHIG/ more specifically meaning 'spine', may also be used to refer to the back.

32. ARMPIT མཆན /MCHAN/ [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Sh, Kh, E, Am, etc.) < CT (lit. the side of the breast.). མཆན /MCHAN.KHUNG/ (Ü, Ts), མཆན /MCHAN.TSHI/
33. CHEST བྲང་ BRANG [PR]. The root is pronounced in various ways: /brang/ (Pur, Ba, Cho), /ʈang/ (Tö, Sp, La, Am), /'jang/ (Dz), /p'yang/ (Lho), etc. In many languages, it is followed by a suffix: བྲང་ཁོག BRANG.KHOG, བྲང་ད་ BRANG.DA/ʃta/ (Kh: Sh), བྱང་དོ་ BYANG.DO/ˈbjangdo/ (Dz), བྱིང་གོག་ BYANG.GOG/ˈp'yangko/ (Lho). སྐྱེ་ཁོག་ TSHE.KHOG is used in Sherpa.

34. BREAST (woman’s), TEAT ནུ་འམ་ NULMA [PR] < CT ‘breast’ < ནུ་ ‘to suck’ and འོ་ ‘milk’, བོ་པ་ PHO.BA (La, Ts, Kh, etc.) < CT. This word is pronounced in various ways: /krotpa/ (Pur), /ʈotpa/ (La), /ʈota/ (Tö), སྐེད་པ་ SKED.PA [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, etc.) < CT. This word is pronounced in various ways: /krotpa/ (Pur), /ʈotpa/ (La), /ʈota/ (Tö), སྐེད་པ་ SKED.PA [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, etc.) < CT. The CT word སྐེད་པ་ SKED.PA is more specifically used for ‘stomach’ but in some modern languages, it means ‘belly’. In Amdo and some other regions the word སྐེད་པ་ SKED.PA and its variant སྐེད་ནད་ SKED.NAD lit. ‘waist disease’ also means ‘menstruation’ (Ü, Ts). In most western languages, it has also acquired the meaning of ‘back (of the body)’ (La, Za, Pur).

35. WAIST གྲོད་པ་ GROD.PA [PW] < CT. Often pronounced /ˈrea/. The reflex ཡེ་/Te/ (Sh) is exceptional.

36. MENSTRUATION ཟླ་མཚན ZLA MTSHAN < CT ‘month sign’, སྐེད་པ་ SKED.PA (Ü), པར་ སྐེད་པ་ SKED.KHOG (La), སྐེད་ KHYAG (Am) < CT ‘blood’.
39. BUTTOCKS ལྷུན་ རཀུབ [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Sp, E: Th) < CT, originally < CT 'bottom'. Other roots are also found: རོང་ [FFW] (Tö, Am, Dz, Lho) are widespread: རོང་ རོང་ལོ། [FFW] < CT (Tö, Am, Kh), རོང་ རོང་ དོ། [FFW] < CT (Tö, Am, Dz); རོང་ རོང་ སྱན། (Am), 0 རོ་ སྱན། (Dz); 0 རོང་ སྱན། (Lho); རོང་ /rongdo/ is attested in Tö. Another CT root, གྲི་ [FFW] (Sh, E: Th), /spi/ (La), /si/ (Za) < CT 'hip', 'hipbone', is also fairly frequent, as in 0 གྲི་ གྲི་ ལོ། (Sh), གྲི་ རོང་ སྱན། (Am), /shang/ (Sh). Other forms are also found, such as གྲི་ གོམ། /phom/; གྲི་ གོན། /ponpon/ (Ba) < CT གྲི་ གོས་ ཁོས།, also meaning 'buttocks', and གཙ། སྙན། (Pur) lit. 'meat nose'. The word རབས། ZHABS (Am) is also attested for the meaning 'buttocks', derived from an honorific CT term meaning 'foot, bottom'.

40. ANUS བོ། 'OG.SGO < CT 'under door'. རྱེགས། SKYAG.DONG lit. 'feces hole'; རྱེགས། SKYAG KHUNS 'feces hole' (Am), རྱེགས། SKYAG.SNOD (Za) lit. 'feces container', རྱེགས། RKUB (Pur), 0 རས། སྤྱལ། BOLO (DONG) (La), 0 རས། སྤྱལ། TSOL.O (DONG) (La).

41. PENIS རྗེ། MJE [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Yol, Tö, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, Am) < CT. It is pronounced /'je/ (Am), /'je/ (Tö, Kh) /'je/ (Ts, Ú, Ba), /'xe/ (Pur). རྗེ། NGAN[FFW] lit. 'wicked penis' is also used (Am). Another frequent word is རྗེ། RLIG.PA [FFW] (Ú, Yol, etc) < CT. A compound བྲུལ། [FFW] (Am) lit. 'little worm' is also attested. རྗེ། KHalo (Za) 'head of the penis'.

42. TESTICLE རྱེགས། སྡོང་ སྡོང། SONG.DOG (Ú), རྱེགས། SONG.NGA (Yol, Sh) < CT 'egg'; རྱེགས། KHalo (Za), རཀྱེགས། SGO.MA /yoma/ (Pur), རྱེགས། /yol/ (Pur), རྱེགས། LTIG.PA (La) cognate with CT རྗེ། RLIG.PA 'penis', རྗེ། KHalo RLIG.RIL (Am).

43. SPERM རྗེ། THIG.LE < CT 'essential drop', རྗེ། KHU.BA (Ú, Am) < CT. རཀྱེགས། MANU (La) < CT.

44. VAGINA རྗེ། སྦུ། [FFW] (Ts, Ú, Dz, Yol) < CT. Other words are found, such as རྗེ། RKUB (La, Yol) < lit. 'buttocks', 0 གྲི། སྨ། GNYA.MA, 0 རྗེ། SNI.AMA (Am), 0 རྗེ། BYAL.U (Am) < CT རྗེ། BYAL.E 'clitoris' and རྗེ། /pi/ (Pur) < CT རྗེ། DPYI 'hip'.

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45. **CLITORIS** [PW] lit. ‘hen’s tongue’ or CT བྱ་ལེ་ (Am). In the folk tradition, the clitoris is said to be similar to hen’s tongue. The archaic form བྱ་ལེ་ byal is found in Balti. A Balti proverb says ‘if a child has a knife in his hand, he may even cut his mother’s clitoris’.

46. **THIGH** [FFR] (Ū, Ts, La, Za) < CT. བརླ་ byalsha (Ū, Ts, La, Za), བརླ་ལོ་ byaldo (Dz), དོགས་ CHANA (LSham), གཟུགས་ Gzug (Ba), ཆུ་ c/ Ldum (Pur), /c/ zo/ (Southern Kh, E.). The last two words are of unclear origin.

47. **KNEE** [PR] < CT. Normally followed by a suffix: བུགས་ mo (Ū, Ts, Yol), བུགས་ mo /wimo/ (Am), བུགས་ mo (La), བུགས་ mo (Ba), བུགས་ mo (Sh). In Kh ö pokho and Sharkho k (E), ཚིགས་ mo /tshigmo/ (E). The honorific རྡེ་མོ་གཉེན་ /zhabs/ (Ü, Ts, La, Dz, Yol) is frequently used.

48. **CALF** [PR] < CT. རྒྱུ་ nywa /nyasha/ is also frequently used. རྒྱེུ /nyaldik/ (La), རྒྱུ /nyalri (Am), རྒྱུ /pimpa (Pur, Yol).

49. **FOOT** [PR] < CT. རྡེ་ rkang (SKh, E.), རྡེ་ rkang (Am), རྡེ་ rkangma (Ba, Pur), རྡེ་ rkangm /ka:m/ (Dz), རྡེ་ rkang /tshigs/ (Za). See also LEG. The honorific རྡེ་བས་ /zhabs/ (Ū, Ts, La, Dz, Yol) is frequently used.

50. **ANKLE** [PR] < CT ‘the joint of the foot’. Other words of unclear origin are attested: རྡེ་ཁམས་ /rkangma ga/ (Ba), རྡེ་འདུ་ /tshungs/ ‘ankle bone’ (Sh), རྡེ་ཁམས་ /monglo/ ‘ankle bone’ (La).

51. **SKIN** [PW] < CT alt. form མངའ་ /lpagspa, (Am) མངའ་ /bagspa (Ba). In some Amdo and Hor dialects, the term མངའ་ /pagsgwais only used for the skin of tigers, bears and other animals, whereas the term མངའ་
**SKYI** is used for 'human skin'. **SHULLU** (La) is also attested for 'skin' < CT **BSHU** to peel.

52. **WRINKLE** ग्न्येरमा **GNYER.MA** [PW] < CT, **SUL** (La, Za, Pur). It also refers to the pleat of Ladakh women's dress.

53. **WOUND** र्मा **RMA** [PW] < CT. Some dialects use र्मा ख्या **RMA.KHIA** (lit.) 'surface of the wound' for 'wound'.

54. **FLESH** षा **SHA** [PW] < CT. The word is pronounced /sha/ in most languages but as /ʃ’a/ in many dialects of Amdo and /x’a/ in several dialects of Kham. See **MEAT**.

55. **BLOOD** ख्रांग **KHRAG** [PW] < CT. The word is pronounced in various ways: ख्रांग /k’rak/ (Pur), /ʈ’ak/ (Ü, Ts, Kh), ख्राङ्ग **KHRAG** /ʃa/ (Am).

56. **VEIN/PULSE** र्सा **RTSA** [PW] < CT. Often pronounced /tsa/ or /tsa/ but realized as /sa/ in Zangskar and Spiti. In some dialects, it is sometimes preceded by the word **KHRAG** 'blood': ख्रांग र्सा **KHRAG.RTSA**. In the Phuri dialect (Kh), the word ख्रांग्लांम **KHRAG.LAM** lit. 'road of blood' is used. The pulse plays an important role in Tibetan medical diagnosis. The term र्सा **RTSA** has also the meaning of 'channel' in the Tibetan yogic practices called र्सा लुंग्पुर्ल क्होर **RTSA.LUNG’PHRUL.KHOR**. The two concepts of 'channel' and 'vein' are distinct.

57. **BRAIN** क्लाड **KLAD**. **PA** [PW] < CT 'brain' lit. '(on the) top'. **KLAD** sometimes occurs alone. The variant ल्दा्ड र्सा **LDAD.RUS**. **PA** is used in Ladaks, Purik and Zangskar, and is probably a result of metathesis. The form ख्रांग **KHRAG** alone and म्गो क्लाड **MGO.KLAD** lit. 'head brain' are also attested.

58. **BONE** रुस **RUS** [PR] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix: रुस पा **RUS.PA** /ruspa/ (La, Pur), /rufa/ (Za), रुस ठोक **RUS.THOG**, रुस खोग **RUS.KHOG**, (Ü, Ts, Yol), etc.

59. **SPINE** स्गाल **SGAL.TSHIGS** [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, E, Am, etc.) < CT. ग्ञझुंग रुस **GZHUNG.RUS** lit. 'the middle bone' (Pur).
60. **RIB** [PW] < CT. This item is usually pronounced /rți(p)ma/ or /rți(p)ma/, but in some western languages (Za, Sp), it is realized as /sima/. The variant ◊ rțɨn [PW] (Am) is also attested.

61. **JOINT** [PW] < CT. The final /s/ is still pronounced in the Western regions (La, Pur).

62. **TOOTH** [PW] < CT. Note the irregular pronunciation ◊ sa /sa/ in Sherpa. The honorific form ◊ tʃe.ms [Ü, Ts, Dz, La] is frequent.

63. **CUSPID/CANINE TOOTH** [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix: ◊ mčè. [Am]. The compound word ◊ mčè snatch (Yol), lit. 'canine-tooth' is also found, and is also used for 'tusk'. ◊ khy.lso [Yol], lit. 'dog-tooth' is also attested.

64. **TONGUE** [PW] < CT. ◊ lce [Am, Ba, La, Dz, Pur, etc.]; ◊ lce.le [Yol, Ü, Ts, Am, etc.] may be derived from CT ◊ lce.lëb (Hor); ◊ lce.go [Kh] is also attested.

65. **LUNGS** [PW] < CT. In many dialects, the root is followed by a suffix: ◊ glo.b [Am, Ba, La, Dz, Pur, etc.]. Many dialects distinguish ◊ glo.b 'emotional heart' from ◊ snying 'physical heart' (Norman 2019).


67. **LIVER** [PW] < CT. The variant ◊ mch.in [Am] is also attested.

68. **SPLEEN** [PW] < CT, alt. ◊ mch.en [Am]. ◊ mch.in [Am, Ba, La, Dz, Pur, etc.]

69. **KIDNEY** [PW] < CT.

70. **GALL BLADDER/BILE** [PW] or ◊ mkhris [Am]. The variant ◊ mkhris or ◊ mkhris [Am]. In modern Balti, another word /ko/ is used. It is possibly related to CT ◊ kha 'bitter'.
71. **INTESTINE** √ རྒྱུ་ [PR] < CT. Normally followed by a suffix: རྒྱུ་མ་ [PR]. 'Large intestine' is རྒྱུ་དཀར་ [PR], lit. 'white intestine' or རྒྱུ་ཉེན་པོ་ [PR], lit. 'black intestine' or རྒྱུ་ཆུང་ [PR]. (Pur, Ba) or རྒྱུ་སྦོམ་ [PR], lit. 'white intestine' or རྒྱུ་ནག་ [PR]. (Pur, Ba) or རྒྱུ་དཀར་པོ་ [PR]. The word རྒྱུ་མ་ [Pur, Ba], lit. 'white intestine' or རྒྱུ་སྦོམ་ [La] for 'small intestine' is attested in Ladakh.

72. **HIPBONE** དཔྱི་ [PR] (Ts, Ü, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT. This is often followed by a suffix, as in དཔྱི་མགོ་ [Ts, Ü]. ◊ སྟ་ཟུར་ [La] is used in Purik.

73. **EXCREMENT/FECES** སྐྱག་ [PR] < CT In most languages, this is followed by the suffix PA: སྐྱག་པ་ [PA], ◊ སྐྱོག་གྭ་ [PA]. Also attested is ཞོ་ [La] 'animal feces'.

74. **DIARRHEIC STOOL** རྙང་མ་ [FFW] (Ts, Ü), རྙང་བ་ [Am], རྙང་པ་ [La].

75. **URINE** གཅིན་ [FFR] < CT. This is pronounced གཅིན་ /čin/ in some western languages (La, Za, Pur). It is often followed by a suffix: གཅིན་པ་ [PA]. In some dialects, the word རྒྱུ་ 'water' is used to refer to urine. In Hor, northern Kham and Amdo, རི་ཆུ་ [Am] 'water reservoir' is used. The word སྐབ་གསང་ [La] 'secret water' is the honorific.

76. **FART** གྱེན་ [FFR] (Kh, E, Jir, Pur, Za) < CT, གྱེན་དྲི་ [La, Kh, E], གྱེན་རྟུག་དྲི་ [Am, Hor]. In Amdo and Hor, གྱེན་དྲི་ [La, Kh, E] refers to the sound, whereas གྱེན་རྟུག་དྲི་ [Am] and གྱེན་ [Hor] mean a fart with the accompanying bad smell. གྱེན་ རི་ [La, Kh, E] is used in Ladaks and Purik. In traditional Tibetan society, farting in public was considered very rude, and could lead to suicide, particularly among women.

77. **SWEAT** རྨུལ་ [PR] < CT. This usually occurs in compound words such as རྨུལ་ཆུ་ [Pur, Ba] lit. 'water sweat' and རྨུལ་ནག་ [La] lit. 'black sweat'. The archaic form རྨུལ་ཆུ་ [Pur, La] is also attested.
78. **SALIVA** མཆིལ་ [PW] < CT 'mouth water’. མཆིལ་མག་ [PW] < CT 'spittle’ is also used.

79. **TEAR** མིག་ [PW] < CT lit. 'eye water'. Another archaic form is also attested: མིག་ཆུ་ [PW] (Am). The root མིག་ [PW] 'tear' is often followed by a suffix: མིག་མ་ [PW] (Pu), མིག་བ་ [PW].

80. **PUS** རྣག་ [PW] < CT.

81. **SOUND/VOICE** skad [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, E, etc.) < CT and sgra [FFW] < CT, ངུན་ kucho (La), ངུན། tsha/ (La).

82. **CORPSE** roscope [PW] < CT. The word roscope is used for animals and human beings. However, in some dialects, the use of roscope for human being is considered impolite. For human corpses, one also finds གཏུང་པོ་ [PW] < CT 'corpse'. The word མེན་ཏོག་ [PW] 'flower' is used in Purik, Zanhar and Ladaks as a respectful word for 'corpse'. In Amdo, the word roscope is used for 'body' in the humilic register (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.4 for honorifics).

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**THE PERSON, HUMAN ACTIVITIES and FEELINGS**

83. **LIFE-FORCE, SOUL** srog [PW] < CT. Pronounced in several ways: /sroq/ (Ba, Pur), /soq/ (La, Za), /s oʔ/ (Ü, Kh), /t oʔ/ /t soʔ/ (Ts, Sh), etc.

84. **LIFE SPAN** tshes [PW] < CT. The compound བོད་ tshes 'lifetime' is widespread. The name བོད་ tshes 'long life' is found in many regions.

85. **HUMAN BEING, PERSON** mite [PW] < CT. The form མི་ mite, which is used in Amdo, is attested in OT. An exceptional form, མི་ mite, is attested in the Southern Kham area. The CT word མི་ mite 'human being' has come to mean 'somebody' in many languages and is sometimes interpreted as 'other people', or even 'foreigner'. This is reflected in proverbs (see Tournadre & Robin 2006).
Another meaning of མི MI in some eastern regions is 'husband' (Kh, Am, Hor). In some areas, such as Ladakh, ཇེ་ མི CHE MI < CT 'big person' designates an adult or elder person.

86. A PEOPLE མི་དམངས། MLDMANGS [FFW] < CT. The word sense of 'a people', referring to an abstract political concept, is not always present in languages, particularly in rural areas. A modern word, མི་དམངས། MLDMANGS, is currently used in Common Tibetan and in Amdo under the variant མྱི་དམངས། MYLDMANGS. Traditionally the word མངས་ 'subject' was used in the sense of 'people'. Another traditional word derived from CT, མི་སེར་ MLSER, meaning 'serf, subject' (as opposed to 'leader') has come to mean 'citizen, people'.

87. TIBETAN བོད་པ། BOD.PA [PW] < CT. The word is also found without the suffix: བོད། BOD (Am, Southern Kham). The Amdo pronunciation of BOD for 'Amdo Tibetans' is /wol/ or /wot/, which can contrast with /pol/ or /pot/ denoting 'Tibetans of the central area'. In some dialects in Sharkhok, སྤོད་ SPOD is used. See TIBET.

88. CHINESE (HAN) རྒྱ་ MI RGYALMI [PW] < CT. The word is abbreviated as རྒྱ་ RGYA in some languages of Eastern Tibet. A modern compound རྒྱ་རིགས་ RGYARIGS 'ethnic Han' lit. 'Chinese race, type', is also widely used. In Baltistan, the root རྒྱ་ RGYA is now nearly lost and people use the Urdu-English word /chin/ 'Chinese' followed by the nominal suffix pa: གཞན་ CIN.PA (Ba, Pur).

89. MONGOL གོ་པོ། SOG.BO. [FFW] གོ་པོ། SOG.PO.

90. TURKIC PEOPLE རྒྱུར་ HOR [FFW]. Note that རྒྱུར་ HOR also means 'people to the north of Tibet', especially in folktales such as Gesar. It may designate not only Turkic people but also, in some cases, Mongols and minority groups within the eastern Tibetosphere, such as Hor Kandze and Hor Dranggo (the latter terms being exonyms). Historically, this word denotes non-Tibetan people living to the north of Tibet (Moriyasu 1977; Sonam Lhundrop et al. 2019).

91. NAXI གཞན་ JANG.

92. ETHNIC GROUP རིགས། MLRIGS [FFW] < CT. lit. 'race of humans'. In the Chinese context this is translated as 'nationality'. This is a recent concept not
found in remote rural areas. The Amdo form is མྱི་རིགས་ MYI.RIGS. However, it is often understood as a literary word, and thus does not always follow the regular sound correspondences.

93. **Buddhist** ལན་པ་ NANG.PA [PW]. The term བོད་ DO (referred to as ‘Bot’ or ‘Boto tribe’ in the Indian administration) derived from བོད་ BOD is also used in Ladakh.

94. **Non-Buddhist** མུ་སྟེགས་པ་ STEGS.PA.

95. **Muslim** མགོ་དཀར་ MGO.DKAR lit. ‘white head’ (because white headwear) and རྒྱ་སོག་ RGYA.SOG lit. ‘Chinese Mongol’ (Am). In Lhasa, there are two Muslim communities, the Lhasa Khache from Kashmir and the རྒྱ་པ་ལིན་ RGYA.PA/HEPA/’outsider’ is often used, but the Buddhists may use བལ་ TI.BAL (La) to refer to Sunnis. In the Purik and Balti areas, the word དཔོ་ལིན་ DPO.LIN/’musulman/ is used. འར་གོན་ Arghon is used for mixed families descended from Muslim (Sunni) traders and Ladakhi women.

96. **Christian** ཤུ་ སྦུ་ YE.SHU.

97. **Foreigner** མིའི་ལུང་པའི་མི་ MI.LUNG.PA-’I MI’I ‘person from another country’ is found. མིའི་ཡུལ་ MI.YUL lit. ‘people’s country’; མིའི་ལུང་ཁམས་ MI.YUL.KHAMS are also attested. The word མི་ MI < CT ‘human being’ has also acquired the meaning of ‘people’ and hence ‘others, other people’, which has been reinterpreted as
'foreigners'. अंग्रेज़ी /angrespa/ from Hindi-Urdu 'English person/foreigner' and भोजन MGO.SER 'yellow head' are also commonly used (La, etc). In Yunnan, a Chinese loan 洋人 yangren is also used.

98. OLD MAN རྒ་པོ RGAD.PO [PW] < CT verb རྒ་ RGA, རྒ་ RGA 'to be old'. The word is pronounced in various ways: རྒ་པོ /gatpo/ (Pur, La, Am), རྒ་པོ /yatpo/ (Za), རྒ་པོ /kä:po/ (U, Ts). The variants རྒ་པོ RGAD.PO /ge:pa/ (Dz) and རྒ་པོ MLRGAN (Pur) are also used. The honorific word བགྲེས་པོ BGRES.PO is used in some areas (U, Ts). See also OLD (adjective), GRANDFATHER.

99. OLD WOMAN རྒ་མོ RGAD.MO [PW] < CT. The variant རྒྱན་མོ RGAN.MO is also encountered. Another term derived from CT འཁྱེ ME [FFW] 'grandmother' frequently refers to old women (Am, Ba). This is pronounced འཁྱེ་ཡི a'yi in Amdo. The honorific word བགྲེས་མོ BGRES.MO is used in some areas (U, Ts). See also OLD (adjective), GRANDMOTHER.

100. YOUNG MAN གཞོན་པ་ GZHON.PA or གཞོན་ནུ་ GZHON.NU [FFW] < CT, གཞོན་པ་ PHO.GSAR (lit.) 'new male', གཞོན་ནུ་ GSAR.RU lit. 'new malee' སྟག་ཤར་ STAG.SHAR are also frequent in Kham and Amdo. མི་རྒན་ MI.RGAN (Pur) is also sometimes heard. In some western languages, the Persian loanword /jawan/ is used.

101. YOUNG LADY གཞོན་མ་ GZHON MA, གཞོན་ནུ་མ་ GZHON.NU.MA [FFW] 'young woman', The compound སྨན་ཤར་ SMAN.SHAR (Kh, Am) is also attested. ཨ་ཆུང་ NA.CHUNG (La).

102. ANCESTOR √ མེས་ MES, alt. form: √ མྱེ་ས་ MYES [PR] < CT མེས་ MES.PO 'forefathers, ancestors', or མེས་པོ MES.PO (Hor, Am) lit. 'grandfathers and greatgrandfathers'. མྱེ་ཡང་ YANG.MES (Pur), མྱེ་ཡང་ PHAM.PO (La, Za), མེ་པོ ME.PO (Ba), འཁྱེ་ཁྱེ་པོYA KHYE.ME.ME.YA (Yol).

103. GRANDFATHER √ མེས་ MES [PR] < CT, alt. མྱེ་ས་ MYES < OT 'ancestor'. √ མེ་ ME.ME (Tö, La, Sp, Yol, etc.) < √ མེ་ MES.MES; √ མེ་ ME.PO (Ba), འཁྱེ་ YANG.MES /a"nye/ (Am, Ho, Kh). Other roots are also attested: འཁྱེ་ RAGAS (Dz), འཁྱེ་ RARGAN (Ko) lit. 'the old one' (with the འཁྱེ་ used to designate
104. GRANDMOTHER བདོ་བུད་[FFW] (E, La, Ba, Sp) < CT. The word is pronounced in various ways: བདོ་/ashí/ (E), བདོ་ བུད་ (Am, Kh, Ho), བདོ་ བུད་ (La, Ba), བདོ་ བུད་ (Pur, La, Za), བདོ་ བུད་ (Ts, Tö, Yol). Other terms include བདོ་ བུད་ (Ko, South Kh), བདོ་ བུད་ (South Kh), བདོ་ བུད་ (Lho). Two areas, Central Tibet and the southern Himalayas, make use of other roots: བདོ་ བུད་/mama gaga/ lit. ‘old mother’ (Sh), བདོ་ བུད་/momo/ and the honorific form བདོ་ བུད་/momo/ are cognate with CT བདོ་/female’. Jirel has བདོ་/strong, untamed’.

105. MAN. There is no specific term or general concept for ‘man’, in the sense of ‘adult male’. CT used the word ལོ་/Skyes.BU/var for this purpose. In the modern languages, several terms convey this meaning. ལོ་/Hosk yes (Am) < CT ལོ་/Skyes. The term ལོ་/person, human being’ is frequently used in some languages to designate more specifically ‘male’ or ‘husband’. Other terms which are common to various words, such as BOY, SON, HUSBAND, OLD MAN, UNCLE are also found.

106. WOMAN བདོ་/BUD.MED [< CT, alt. བདོ་/BUD.MYED < OT. This classical term may be derived from BUD ‘expelled, pulled outside’ + MED or MYED (OT) ‘negation’, i.e. ‘without [genitals] outside [of the body]’. An alternative interpretation of BUD.MED has been proposed by Zeisler (pers. comm. 2020): བདོ་/Budmad lit. ‘child+low’. The word is pronounced in various ways བདོ་/BUD.MED (Ts, Tö, Yol), བདོ་/BUD.MYED (Am), བདོ་/Ber.mi (Sh). Other related words include: བདོ་/BAN.MED.mi (Jir), བདོ་/MO.BUD (Lho) < ? བདོ་/MED.BUD; Another classical term is also used: བདོ་/MO.SKYES (Am) <
There is a rich variety of words meaning ‘woman’ across the Tibetic languages. Despite the fact that the status of women is higher in Tibetic areas than in China or India, terms referring to ‘woman’ are usually connected with the derogatory concepts ‘black’ or ‘inferior’, which reflect probably ancient conceptions of women on the high plateau. A fairly frequent term for ‘woman’ is བོ་མོ་ (Am, Kh) lit. ‘black one’. Other terms include བོ་མོ་ནག་ (Am, Kh) lit. ‘the one who loves black (deeds)’. Another root frequently encountered is སྨད་ (Am) ‘inferior’: སྨད་ཆགས་ (Ko) lit. ‘the one who loves inferior (deeds)’; སྐྱེ་དམན་ (Ü, Ts) lit. ‘lower birth’. Some of these etymologies might well be folk etymologies, but the fact that these words occur in various dialects and the other negative designations for ‘woman’ make them plausible. བུ་སྨད་ (Bu) found, for example, in Mila Rapá’s biography with the meaning ‘mother and child’. Other terms for ‘woman’ are mostly derived from words designating female relatives: གྲོ་ཕྲི (Am) ‘grandmother’, གྲོ་ཆེ (Ü, La) ‘elder sister’, གྲོ་མ་ (Am) ‘aunt (paternal)’, གྲོ་ནེ (Sp, Pur) ‘paternal aunt’; བུ་སྲི (Ba) ‘child’; བུ་མོ (Tö, Kh, La, Za) ‘girl’, རྒན་མོ (Kh, Th, Am, etc.) See WIFE and GIRL. In some dialects (e.g. Amdo), the choice of a term may depend on the sex of the speaker, as well as the affiliation of the woman to the community (Jangbu Dorje Tshering, pers. comm.).

107. FATHER རྡེ་ཕ་ (PW) < CT. Often pronounced /ʔapa/ or /ʔaba/ with an unaspirated consonant, རྡེ་ཕ་ (Dz). In some dialects in southern Kham, རྡེ་ཕ་ is used. There are other forms such as རྡེ་ཏ་ (Dz) ‘sister’, རྡེ་ལྕེ (Sp, Pur) ‘paternal aunt’; རྡེ་དི (Dz) ‘child’; རྡེ་བུ་ (Ba) ‘brother’; རྡེ་ལུ (Tö, Kh, La, Za) ‘girl’, རྡེ་བུ་ (Kh, Th, Am, etc.) See WIFE and GIRL.
is used, which may be borrowed from Chinese 爹 die. The honorific forms are སྲོག་པས་ པས་པོ་ལགས་ or སྲོག་པས་ འབ་ལགས་ 'father of an honored person'.

108. MOTHER ལམ་པ། [PW] < CT In some dialects from southern Kham, the root ལམ་ MA alone is used. In the Lithang and Lhagang dialects (Kh), one finds རྒན་ལམ་ MA.RGAN lit. ‘old mother’. In a few languages, other words are used: རྒྱུ་ པོ་ལམ་ (Th) < CT རྒྱུ་ལམ་ 'grandmother'. The respectful terms are སྲོག་པས་ལགས་ འབ་ལགས་ 'mother (H)', འབ་ལགས་ 'father of an honored person'.

109. PARENTS སྲོག་པ། བམ་ [PW] < CT lit. ‘father-mother’. In Amdo, this is pronounced སྨ་/hama/. In some Southern Kham dialects, སྨ་པ། [PW] སྨ་ལམ་ is used in order to avoid sound changes that would happen. There is also the form འབ་ལགས་ 'parents of an honored person (H)'.

110. CHILD (see also BOY and GIRL) བྱིས་ [FFR] (Ts., Sh, Kh, Am and Ba) < CT བྱིས་པ་ BYIS.PA 'child'. The root is used alone in some languages (Kh) but usually occurs in a compound. In northeastern Tibet, we find བྱིས་ཤིས་ ZHAB.YIS or བྱིས་པ་/shayi/ (Am), /shashi/ (Am, Th), also sometimes spelled བྱིས་པ་ ZHAB.YIS. However, given that it is pronounced /zhayi/ in Ngawa, the spelling བྱིས་པ་ ZHAB.YIS is justified. In other languages, it often occurs with the lexeme དགའ་ བྱིས་པ་ TSHEY.BYIS.TSHA. For example, we find /p'isa/ (Ts), /peza/ (Yol) and བྱིས་པ་ བྱི་སྲེལ་ /p'issa/ (Sh, Jir), བྱིས་པ་ བྱི་ བྱི་ /p'i.ʈiŋ/ < བྱིས་པ་ བྱི་ སྲེལ་ BYIS.SRING (Tö). In Balti, བྱིས་པ་ བལ་ /bali/ 'young, child', a loanword from the neighboring Dardic languages. The second frequent root is རྒྱུ་ PHRU or རྒྱུ་ PHRUG [FFR] (Ū, Ko, Ho, La, Ba, Pur, Sp) < CT རྒྱུ་ PHRUG 'child or young of any animal'. The root may be used alone, as in Balti and Purik རྒྱུ་ /p'ru/, but is usually followed by a diminutive suffix, as in རྒྱུ་ PHRUG.GU, རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་ /p'gu/ (Sp), རྒྱུ་ /p'kū/ (Ū, Ko), /t'gu/ (La, Za) and རྒྱུ་ PHRUG.PHRA (Ba). In Amdo, རྒྱུ་ PHRUG.GU /'te/ is also used, but refers to ‘young of animals’ as in CT, and even to objects, e.g. འབས་ རྒྱུ་ PHRUG.SG. 'small box'. This is also attested in
The combination of the two roots for 'child' is attested in Kham: ལུས་ཤིགས་PHRUG.BYIS. Apart from these two frequent roots, there is considerable variation for the word 'child' in Tibetan languages. Words derived from the compounds ལུས་ བུ་ཚ་BU.TSHA (Cho, Am) and ལུས་ སྒྲོམ་BO.TSO (Lho), from ལུས་ BU 'son, boy' and from སྒྲོམ་ TSAH 'grandson' can be encountered. Other words not attested in CT are also found: these are usually onomatopoeic word, baby babbling sounds, or motherese: སྤོས་ནོ་ LO (Ts), སྤོས་ནོ་ A (Lu), སྤོས་ནོ་ རྒྱུ་ ད་ NYOG.RGYUD (Am) 'many kids, gang of kids' (Am), སྤོས་ནོ་ རྒྱུ་ ད་ NYOG.RGYUD (Am) 'family with many children'.

111. **BOY** བུ་ BU [PR] < CT. This root is normally used alone but frequently occurs in the compound form བུ་ཙེ་ BU.TSHA (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Dz, Am) < CT 'son, nephew'. It is pronounced in various ways, such as བུ་ཙེ་ /but'sa/ (Pur, La), བུ་ཙེ་ /b'us/ (Dz) and བུ་ཙེ་ /p'oso/ (Lho). In several languages, the word is derived from roots that designate a child: བུ་ཙེ་ BYIS.TSHA (Ts, Sh, etc.) and the compound བུ་ཙེ་ བྱིས་ཙེ་ BU.BYIS.TSHA 'boy child' (Yol, etc.). In Amdo, 'boy' is a reflex of བུ་ཙེ་ /shimo/ 'female child'. In modern Amdo, it is also spelled བུ་ཙེ་ /shimo/. See also **CHILD** and **SON**.

112. **GIRL** བུ་མོ་ BU.MO [PW] < CT. The final vowel 'o' is dropped in Dzongkha, Lhoke and Sherpa: བུ་མོ་ BUMO (Dz) and བུ་མོ་ BUM (Lho, Sh). The compound word བུ་མོ་ བྱིས་ཙེ་ BU.BYIS.TSHA /p'umpeza/ lit. 'girl child' is attested in few languages of Nepal, such as Yolmo and Sherpa. In Amdo, the word for 'girl' is a reflex of བུ་མོ་ /shimo/ 'female child'. In modern Amdo, it is also spelled བུ་མོ་ /shimo/. See also **BOY** and **CHILD**.

113. **SON** བུ་ BU [PW] < CT. This word may be pronounced in various ways, including /bu/ /pu/ /p'u/ and /wa/. Compound words made with the lexeme བུ་ BU are also encountered: བུ་ བུ་ཤིགས་ BU.TSHA lit. 'son-nephew' (Am, La, Ba, Pur); བུ་ བུ་ཆུང་ BU.CHUNG lit. 'little son'. The root བུ་ BYIS < CT 'child' is also used for this
meaning: འབྱིས་བིས་/BYIS.TSHA lit. ‘child-nephew’ pronounced འབྱིས་/BYIS /pisa/ (Ts), and in Amdo འབྱིས་/BYIS.LU. The honorific form is སྲས་/SRAS (U, Ts, La, Dz, Lho, etc.)

114. DAUGHTER རུམ།/BUMO [PW] < CT. The root འབྱིས་/BYIS < CT ‘child’ followed by the feminine suffix MO is also used for this meaning: འབྱིས་བིས་/BYIS.MO /shimo/ lit. ‘female child’. (See GIRL.) The honorific form is སྲས་/SRAS.MO (U, Ts, La, Dz, Lho, etc.)

115. DAUGHTER-IN-LAW ལྣ་/MNA.MA [PW] < CT ‘daughter-in-law’ derived from ལྣ་/MNA ‘oath’. This is pronounced ལྣ་/MNA /nana/ (La), ལྣ་/MNA /nam/ (Dz), ལྣ་/MNA /na/ (To, Kh), etc. Note that in Dzongkha, ལྣ་/MNA.MA /nam/ has also acquired the sense of ‘sister-in-law’. Another frequent root is བག་/BAG ‘bride, newly married wife’ related to བག་/BAG. STON ‘marriage ceremony’ (see also MARRY). This is pronounced in various ways: བག་/BAG /nga/ (Ba), བག་/BAG /wa/nga/ or /wa nga/ (Am), བག་/BAG /p‘nga/ (Ts), བག་/BAG /pa:m/ (Lho), etc. Although a few languages have maintained the distinction between the meanings of ལྣ་/MNA.MA ‘bride’ and བག་/BAG.MA ‘daughter-in-law’, the majority no longer make this distinction. The bride is usually sent to live with her husband’s family. See MARRY.

116. BRIDE: see DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

117. SON-IN-LAW ལྣ་/MAG.PA [PW] < CT. Reflexes of the variant རྣ་/RMAG.PA are also attested (Am, To, Dz). In Dzongkha, this word is spelt རྣ་/RMAG ‘army, sentinel, guard’ and thus that the son-in-law is considered ‘protection for his new family’. The term ལྣァ/MAG.PA is often used as well to designate the ‘bridegroom’ or ‘husband’ who lives with his wife’s family. རྣァ/BAG.PO (Ba) is also attested. See MARRY.

118. BRIDEGROOM: see SON-IN-LAW.

119. GRANDSON འབྱིས་/TSHA.BO [PW] < CT ‘grandson, nephew’. In most cases, this word also means ‘nephew’. It is pronounced in various ways such as /ts'awo,
ts’ago, ts’o, ts’u/ In a few languages, one finds loanwords such as མ་ཉི། Nati (Sh) < Nep., མ་ནུ། suni. (SKh) < Chin. 孫子 sunzi, or མ་ནུ། sunsun. Even in such cases, བོི། Tshabo is still used in many varieties for the meaning ‘nephew’. Finally, a few languages have no specific word for ‘grandson’ and use expressions such as མ་ཉི། BU ’son’s son’ or མ་ཉི། Bu’mo ‘daughter’s son’.

120. GRANDDAUGHTER. བོི། Tshamo [PW] < CT ‘granddaughter, niece’. In most cases, this word also means ‘niece’. In the languages that use a Chinese loanword, the form of ‘granddaughter’ is same as ‘grandson’. See GRANDSON.

121. SIBLING. བོི། Mingsring (Kh, La) or its archaic variant བོི།. Mingsring (Am, E) < CT (see below ‘(younger) brother’ and ‘(younger) sister’. A frequent root བོི། SPUN < CT often designates ‘siblings’, but also more generally ‘kinsfolk’ and ‘relatives’: བོི། SPUN (Am), བོི། SPUNKYAG (Ü, Ts), བོི། SPUNZLA (La), བོི། SPUNMCHED (Am). The word བོི། SHANYE (Kh, Am) < CT བོ། SHA ‘flesh’ and བོ། NYE ‘close’ is also attested for ‘sibling’, but in some cases may have a more restricted meaning (see Section 11.5).

122. BROTHER/ SISTER. Most languages do not have a general term for ‘sister’ or for ‘brother’, and use either hypernyms such as ‘sibling’ or ‘cousin’, or more specific terms for ‘elder brother’ against ‘younger brother’, ‘elder sister’ against ‘younger sister’ (see below and Section 11.5).

123. ELDER BROTHER. བོི། Zacho [FFW] (La, Lho, Sp, Cho, etc.) or the variant བོི། CHO. Chog/ocoo/ (U) < CT respectively བོི། JOJO. There are some limited variations in the pronunciation, such as བོི། ACU (Lho). In CT, བོི། Gcenpo is also used. Other words are attested. The main terms are: བོི། SHANYE/ x’anye/ (Kh; Derge, etc.), བོི། Kaka (Bal, Pur), བོི། Zaga (Am: Sogwo), བོི། Zargya (Am: Chabcha), བོི། Zapa (Am), བོི། Zabu (Hor), བོི། Zada (Yol), བོི། Phurgang (Am, Hor) < CT བོི། PHU’elder brother’ + RGAN ‘old’; བོི། MYENGPO /myengpo/ (Kh), བོི། MYINGRGAN (Am) < CT MINGPO ‘brother’. A few dialects make a distinction between ‘elder brother (word used by a male speaker)’ and ‘elder brother (word used by a female speaker)’.
respectively: གུ་རྒན་ PHUR.GAN vs. མི་བའ་ ZAPA (Am: Themchen). གུ་རྒན་ PHUR.GAN vs. ལོའ་མི་ MYING.RGAN (Am: Tsigorthang). See Section 11.5 for details.

124. ELDER SISTER གུ་ཆེ་ A.CHE [PW] < CT. There are some variations in the pronunciation of this, such as གུ་ཞི་ A.ZHI /azhi/ (Yol, Lho), གུ་ངེ་ A.HE /ahe/ (Cho), གུ་ག་ A.CAG /aêa/ (Ţ, Ts). In CT, གཅུན་མོ་ GCEN.MO is also used. A few other terms are attested: གུ་ངེ་ SRING.MO /sengmo/ (Kh) and གུ་ཞི་ SRING.RGAN.MA /sanggama/ (Am). གུ་ལེ་ SPUN.YAMA /pinyama/ (Kh). A few dialects make a distinction between 'elder sister (word used by a male speaker)' and 'elder sister (word used by a female speaker)', respectively: གུ་བོ་ SRING.RGAN.MA vs. གུ་ཆེ་ A.CHE (Am: Tsigorthang). See Section 11.5 for details.

125. YOUNGER BROTHER Many dialects (Ba, Pur, Am, Hor, etc.) make a distinction between a) 'younger brother (word used by a male speaker)' and b) 'younger brother (word used by a female speaker)'. For a), the root ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Am, Hor, etc.) < CT ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ is frequently attested: ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ PHO.NO (Ba), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ NONO /nono/ (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, etc.), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ N.U (Am), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ NUCHUNG (Hor). For b), the root ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ MING and its archaic variant ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ MYING are frequently attested: ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ MING.MO [FFR] (La, Hor, etc.) < CT and the variants ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ MING.MO (Ba, Pur), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ MING.BO /nyangwo/ (Am), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ MING.PO (Kh: Derge), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ PHAMING (Lho). Other words are also found: ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ SPUN CHUNG.BA, ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ SPUN.LO (Lho), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ CHUNG.BA (Am), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ SPUN.YAMA /pinyama/ (Kh). ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ OG.MA (Ţ) < CT 'OG, 'under'. In CT, ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ GCUNG.PO is also used. See Section 11.5 for details.

126. YOUNGER SISTER Many dialects (Ba, Pur, Am, Hor, etc.) make a distinction between a) 'younger sister (word used by a male speaker)' and b) 'younger sister (word used by a female speaker)'. For a), the word ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ SRING.MO [FFR] < CT is frequently attested (Ba, Pur, La, Am, Kh, etc.), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ BU.SRINGM /p'usim/ (Lho) < ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ BU.SRING.MO. For b), the word ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ NUM.O frequently occurs: ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ NO.MO [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Sp, La) or ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ NUM.O (Am, Cho), ཁུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ ཕུ NUM...
In CT, གཅུང་མོ གྲུང་མོ is also used. Other words are attested, such as སྤུན་ཡ་མ་ སྤུན་ཡ་མ་ (Kh), སྤུན་ཡ་ སྤུན་ཡ་ (Hor), ཧོག་མ་ ལྷ་ཝ ལྷ་ཝ (U) < CT 'og. 'under'. In CT, གཅུང་མོ གྲུང་མོ is also used. See Section 11.5 for details.

127. UNCLE. In many areas, a distinction is made between paternal and maternal uncles. Sometimes, there is a distinction between a father’s elder brothers and younger brothers. ཞན་ཁུ་ ཞན་ཁུ་ is widely used as an address term for an unfamiliar older male person; in some dialects (such as Minyak Rabgang), རི་སྤུན་ རི་སྤུན་ (Ü) < CT 'under'. In CT, གཅུང་མོ གྲུང་མོ is also used. See Section 11.5 for details.

128. UNCLE (PATERNAL) ཞན་ཁུ་ ཞན་ཁུ་ (FFW) (La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. In Amdo, the term ཞན་ཁུ་ ཞན་ཁུ་ also refers to monks. Some very few dialects use a different root, such as རི་སྤུན་ རི་སྤུན་ lit. 'elder' in Kongpo. Some dialects (e.g. Am: Sog) make no difference between paternal and maternal uncles, using only བརྙ བརྙ བརྙ; but this word specifically denotes ‘paternal uncle’ in some Kham dialects. In some languages, particularly Ladaks, Balti, and others in the southern Himalayas, older and younger paternal uncles are called 'big father' and 'little father'. Thus: རི་སྤུན་ རི་སྤུན་ (Ba, Pur) and རི་སྤུན་ རི་སྤུན་ (Sham, LJ, etc.) or simply རི་སྤུན་ (Sham) refer to the ‘big father’ whereas རི་སྤུན་ རི་སྤུན་ (Ba, Pur), རི་སྤུན་ (Pur), and རི་སྤུན་ (Ba, Pur) refer to the ‘little father’. All these expressions clearly show that in the Tibetic languages, the paternal uncle is considered a second father. The loanword རི་སྤུན་ is used by Ladakhi Muslims.

129. UNCLE (MATERNAL) བརྙ བརྙ (PR) < CT. བརྙ བརྙ བརྙ བརྙ (Pur). In Purik, བརྙ བརྙ བརྙ བརྙ (Pur) for 'mother’s elder brother' and བརྙ བརྙ བརྙ བརྙ (Pur) for 'mother’s younger brother'. Note that in Ladakh, the term བརྙ བརྙ is a term of address for monks. In some Kham dialects, བརྙ /a bu/ is used. In some dialects where the difference between maternal and paternal uncle is not made, the word བརྙ བརྙ is used for both. The term བརྙ /apang/ or
/awang/ ’uncle by marriage’ is used in Western Ladakh and Nubra (see Norman 2019).

130. AUNT. In many areas, there is a distinction between paternal and maternal aunts. Various word forms meaning ’aunt’ are used in many areas as address terms for an unfamiliar older female person: ལྷ་ནེ་ (NE), ལྷ་ཅེ (CE), etc. In some areas, there is a distinction between a mother’s elder brothers and younger brothers. See PATERNAL AUNT and MATERNAL AUNT.

131. AUNT (PATERNAL) ལྷ་ནེ་ (NE) [PR] < CT. ལྷ་ཤེ་ (NE) /ani/ (Ü, Am, Yol), ལྷ་ནེ་ (NE) (Pur, Ba) are found in nearly all the languages. Un Purik, ལེ་ཨྷ་ཁོ་ (NE CHO) ’big aunt’ and ལེ་ཨྷ་མོ (NE) ’little aunt’ a are used respectively for ’father’s elder sister and ’father’s younger sister’. For the ’intermediary’ uncles and aunts, the word བར་པ་ lit. ’intermediary’ is attested (Pur). Note that in Central Tibet, the term ལྷ་ནེ་ also refers to nuns.

In some dialects (Minyak Rabgang), ལཾ་ལུ་ is used. A few languages do not distinguish ’paternal aunt’ from ’maternal aunt’, and thus may use the root *ནེ་ for both meanings, or conversely may use the root *སྲུ for both maternal and paternal aunts (see below). For example, Sherpa makes use of the word ལཾ་ལུ་ < CT ལསྲུ/ashe/ (Th, Am) < CT ’grandmother’ or ལཾ་མེ་ (Dz) < CT ’mother’ and ལཾ་ཅེ (Am) or ལཾ་ཅེ (Yol) < CT ’elder sister’. The words ལཾ་ནེ་ and ལཾ་ནེ་ (NE) ’paternal aunt’ are also used for ’maternal aunt’ in Minyak Rabgang, Balti and Ladaks. The word ལྷ་རྒན་ lit. ’(the) elder’ is used in some languages of Southern Kham. In a number of languages, compound words meaning ’small mother’ are attested: ལཾ་མ་ཅུང་ཙེ (Dz), ལཾ་མ་ཅུང་ (Lho), ལཾ་མ་ཆུང་ (Ba, La Tö, Sp), ལཾ་མ་མོ (Am) < CT ’elder sister’.

132. AUNT (MATERNAL) ལྷ་སྲུ (SRU) [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. ལྷ་སྲུ (Ts), ལྷ་སྲུ (SRU) (Ü), ལྷ་མ་ (SRU) (Am) < lit. ’mother maternal aunt’. Other roots are other found: ལཾ་ཕྱི (Th, Am), ལཾ་མི (Ko) < CT ’grandmother’, ལཾ་མ་ (Dz) < CT ’mother’ and ལཾ་མ་ (Am) or ལཾ་མ་ (CE) (Yol) < CT ’elder sister’. The words ལཾ་ནེ་ and ལཾ་ནེ་ (NE) are also used for ’maternal aunt’ in Minyak Rabgang, Balti and Ladaks. The word ལཾ་རྒན lit. ’(the) elder’ is used in some languages of Southern Kham. In a number of languages, compound words meaning ’small mother’ are attested: ལཾ་མ་ཅུང་ (Dz), ལཾ་མ་ཅུང་ (Lho), ལཾ་མ་ཆུང་ (Ba, La Tö, Sp), ལཾ་མ་མོ (Am).
In most cases, this refers only to the mother's younger sister; the words, མ་ཆེན་ MA CHEN (Sp, Tö), འོ་མོ་ཆོ་གོ་ A MO CHO GO (Ba, Pur) and འོ་མོ་ཆེན་མོ་ A MO CHEN MO (La) all mean 'big mother' or simply 'mother' and are normally used for 'mother's elder sister'. From these terms, we may conclude that in the Tibetic languages, the maternal aunt is conceived as a second 'mother'. Generally speaking, children often address the aunts and uncles respectively as 'mother' and 'father', an attitude which is probably encouraged in some areas by traditional polyandry and, less frequently, by polygamy.

133. NEPHEW: see GRANDSON.

134. NIECE: see GRANDDAUGHTER.

135. FAMILY ཕྱིམ་ཚང་ KHYIM.TSHANG [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'house nest'. The variant ཕྱིམ་ཁ་ KHYIM.KHA is also attested (Am). Other compound words are also attested: མི་ཚང་ MI.TSHANG 'human nest', བཟའ་ཚང་ ZA.TSHANG (Am) lit. 'eating nest', དུད་ཚང་ DUD.TSHANG 'household, family' < CT lit. 'smoke nest'. Another root is also found: བཟང་ NANG < CT 'inside'; བཟང་ཚང་ NANG.TSHANG (La, Za) 'inside nest', བཟང་མི་ NANG.MI 'inside people' or བཟང་ཟོས་ ZAN.ZOS (Pur) lit. 'food eating (companion)'. The word བེས་བེ། 'KHOR.BA (Am: Sog) 'family' < CT 'circle' is also used.

136. RELATIVE/COUSIN ནངོན་ GNYEN [FFR] < CT, ཤུ་ SPUN, འུ་ SHUKHYAG (Am) < CT 'flesh and blood'.

137. GROUP OF FAMILIES བྱ་སྤུན་ PHA.SPUN (La). In Ladakh, the phaspun help each other with major social events (birth, wedding, funerals, etc). They share the same LHA (deity).

138. HUSBAND. Many roots are found for the word 'husband' across the languages, all derived from CT roots. The main forms are རྫ་ BO (U) < CT 'assistant, cooperator, friend, husband, wife' and some compound words such as འབྲུགས་ ML.ROGS (Tö) 'human companion', ནག་འདི་ TSHE.ROGS (Tö) 'life companion' (Tö, Kh, Ho); བདུག་འདི་ 'DUG.ROGS (Tö) 'staying companion'. Other words include བེ། MI or སྐྱ་ MYT (Kh, Ho, Am, Pur) < CT 'person, man'; རེ་ཐ་ MAG.PA (Dz, La, Am, Pur) < CT 'groom'; བདུག་ BDAG.PA < CT 'master'; འོ་ /ʔu:/ (Sp)
139. **WIFE.** Many roots are found for the word 'wife' across the languages. They are mostly linked to five types of meanings: a) 'woman', b) 'companion' or 'food companion' c) 'parents and relatives', d) 'bride' and e) 'age'.

a) We find various forms related to 'woman': བུད་མེད་ **BUD.MED** (Yol, etc.), ◊ བུད་མྱེད་ **BUD.MYED** (Am, etc.), ◊ མོ་བུད་ **MO.BUD** (Lho), ◊ བེར་མི་ **BER.MI** (Sh), ◊ བེན་མེ་ **BEN.ME** (Jir), སྐྱེ་དམན་ **SKYE.DMAN** (see WOMAN).

b) One finds རྩལ་བོ་ **ZLA.BO** < CT 'companion', བྱ་བླ་ **BZA.ZLA** < CT 'eating companion', བྱ་ཙླངས་ **BZA.TSHANG** CT 'eating nest', ◊ རྟན་ཙོས་ **ZAN.ZOS** (Ba) < CT 'eating meal (together)'. ◊ བྱ་ཙླངས་ **BZA.TSHANG** CT 'eating nest', ◊ ལྕམ་མོ་ **LCAM.MO** < CT 'hostess, mistress of the house', འདུག་རོགས་ **DUG.ROG** (Kh) < 'staying companion', མོ་ཙླ་རོགས་ **MO.TSHANG** (Kh) 'life companion'.

c) ◊ མ་ཡིས་ **MA.YIS** < ༣ལྷུའི་ 'grandmother' (Am), ◊ མ་ཅེ་ **MA.CE** or ◊ མ་དེ་ **MA.DRE** 'elder sister' (Û), ◊ མ་པོ་ བདེ་ 'aunt' (Pur), ◊ བཞི་མི་ **ZAM.SRU** lit. 'mother aunt', ◊ བཞི་མི་ **BUSRING** /busring/ (Ba) < CT 'sister girl'. As we see from the above data, in many regions the word for 'wife' is either very similar to or identical to words designating 'female relatives'. This is probably because women in general are often called 'sister', 'aunt' or even 'mother', with wives being simply called 'woman'. Some people (in Central Tibet and in Purik areas) complain about the ambiguity of these terms. However, this is by no means specific to the Tibetic areas.

d) The word བཞི་མི་ **MA.MNA** lit. 'bride' (La, Za, Dz) or བདེ་ **MA.BAG** are also used as 'wife', འདུག་ **LCAM** 'honorific for 'wife' in Ladaks.

e) Finally, age is also at the origin of some words referring to 'wife': རྒན་མོ་ **RGAN.MO** 'old one' or རྒ་པ་ **CHUNG.MA** 'small (one)' (La, Am, Yol, etc.).
The literary word CHUNG.MA, which may also refer to the King’s spouse, is still used in some Ladaks and Amdo dialects.

140. WIDOW (MALE) ིུག་པོ YUG.PO < CT ིུག་za YUG.ZA (In Purik /yuksa/ and /yuksamo/ means somebody who has never been married), ིུག་པོ་ PHOR.GYANG (Pur).

141. WIDOW (FEMALE) ིུག་མོ YUG.MO < CT ིུག་za YUG.ZMA, ིུག་པོ་ MO.RGYANG.MO (Pur).

142. TWINS མཚེ་ MTSHE [PR] < CT མཚེ་ MTSHE (Am, SKh) མཚེ་ MTSHE.MA; མཚེ་ MTSHE.MA /ts’eki/ (Am); མཚེ་ MTSHE.PHRUG. The term མཚེ་ TSHANG.YA (Pur, Sham) < CT lit. ‘match, equal in a nest’.

143. ORPHAN ིྭ་ཕྲུག DWA.PHRUG [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT, ིྭ་ totse/ (Pur), ིྭ་ tatse/ (La, Sham, Yol).

144. MERCHANT སྨན་པ་ SMAN.PA [PW] < CT lit. ‘medicine-man’ SMAN ‘medicine’ + suffix PA. Other words are found marginally, such as སྨན་པ་ TSHONG.DPON ‘chief of seller’ and སྨན་པ་ KHE.BA ‘retailer’.

145. DOCTOR, PHYSICIAN སྨན་པ་ SMAN.PA [PW] < CT lit. ‘medicine-man’ SMAN ‘medicine’ + suffix PA. Other words are also found, such as སྨན་པ་ PEM.CHI (La, Ü, Ts, Dz) borrowed from Mongolian; this word is quite frequent. The word སྨན་པ་ LHA.RJE < CT lit. ‘divine lord’ is used in Kham and Ladakh. More marginally, one also finds སྨན་པ་ /alwa/ (Sp) or སྨན་པ་ DRUNG.TSHO (Dz), སྨན་པ་ TSHO.BYED (Am) < CT lit. ‘curer’. The English loanword ‘doctor’ is also frequently used in India and Nepal.

146. FARMER རིང་པ་ ZHING.PA [FFW] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT རིང་ ZHING ‘field’ with a suffix. Some languages of eastern Tibet use the word རིང་ RONG.PA or རིང་ RONG.BA /rongwa/ (Am, Kh) < CT རིང་ ‘lower valley’, followed by a suffix. Other more marginal terms are also used, including རིང་པ་ SO.NAM.PA (La) < CT ‘cultivator’, རིང་པ་ /zamindar/ (Ba) ( < Pers.), རིང་པ་ SANG.PA (Am, Kh), རིང་པ་ SAG.YED.PA (Ba, Pur), རིང་པ་ ZHING.TAD.PA (La). Interestingly, the
word བོད་པ་ BOD.PA ‘Tibetan’ is used by Hor (Nagchu) pastoralists to refer to ‘cultivators’.

147. SOLDIER དམག་མི་ DMAG.MI [PW] < CT ‘war’ + ‘person’. In Amdo, this is often abbreviated as དམག་ DMAG. The word སྲུ་ SLPA (< Urd and Pers.) is used in Ladakh. The English loanword ‘military’ is also used in some areas.

148. PASTORALIST/CATTLE BREEDER འབྲོག་པ་ BROG.PA [PW] < CT ‘BROG’ ‘remote place, uncultivated land’. This is pronounced in various ways: /brokpa/, /dəkpa/, /bokpa/, 0 /jo:p/, etc. The word འབྲོག་པ་ BROG.PA designates breeders of animals (yak, dzo, sheep, goats, etc.), who are traditionally nomads. Note that, in Balti and Purik, the word འབྲོག་པ་ BROG.PA refers to ‘Broskat-speaking people’ (who speak an Indo-Aryan language) and is not related to pastoralism. Marginally, other words such as ཉང་པ་ BYANG.PA lit. ‘northern people’ (La), གང་པ་ THANG.PA (Ba) < CT lit. ‘people (from the high) plains’ are also found. ཇི་ཁུ་ RE.BO.PA (L) lit. ‘black tent people’. The word ཆུ་ RA.RDZI < CT lit. ‘goat herder’ is also used in Ladakh.

149. AGROPASTORALIST མཚམ་འབྲོག་ SAMA.BROG [FFW] < CT ‘field and pasture’. Agropastoralists (half-farmers half-pastoralists) are found in most Tibetic areas, but do not have a specific name in most regions outside Tibet, because these regions lack pure pastoralist communities (with some exceptions). In Tibet, there are many other compound words to designate agropastoralists: རོང་མ་འབྲོག་ RONG.MA.BROG (Am), བོད་མ་འབྲོག་ BOD.MA.RONG (Am), ས་མ་འབྲོག་ YUL.MA.BROG (Kh), འཐོང་པ་ BOD.MA.BROG (Ts: Nyemo), བོད་པ་ZHING.MA.BROG (Kh, Am), བོད་པ་ZHING.ZHING.BROG.MA (Kh), བོད་པ་ZHING.KHA.SPROD (Kh: Lithang), བོད་པ་ZHING.PHYED.BROG.PHYED (RB: Lhoka, Am), རོང་པ་ RONG.PHYED.BROG.PHYED, ས་ M.A.’FIELD, ZHING’ lit. ‘cultivated field’, ས་ S.’field, earth’, ངུལ་ YUL ‘village’ and བོད་ BOD, which here refers to ‘(lower valleys of Central) Tibet’.
150. SHEPHERD རྫི་ ཐོ་ PR < CT 'to watch, to keep'. This is usually followed by a suffix, as in རྫི་ བོ་ RDZI.BO or appears as part of a compound: བོ་ རྫི་ LUG.RDZI 'sheep shepherd', རྫི་ རྫི་ RA.RDZI 'goat shepherd', རྫི་ འས་ BZHON.PA (La, Pur) lit. milker (male), འས་ འས་ BZHON.MA lit. milker (female).

151. CARPENTER ཤི་ བཟོ་ FFW (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT 'wood craftsman'. ཤི་ མཁན་ MKHAN (Pur, La), lit. 'wood expert'. Sometimes, རྫི་ BZO 'craftsman' is used alone.

152. BLACKSMITH མགར་ བ་ PW < CT. This word is pronounced in various ways: /garba/ (Ba, Pur), /gwarva/ (Am), མགར་ དགའ་ /'gwar/ (Dz), /'gara/ (Ho, Kh), /'gara/ (Ü, Ts, Sh, etc.), etc. ལྕགས་ རྡུ་ MA.LCAGS.RDUNG MA 'iron beating' and ལྕགས་ རྡུ་ MA.LCAGS.BZO 'iron making' are also attested. The Nepali loanword /kami/ is used in Nepal.

153. CORPSE-CUTTER སྟོབས་ རྡུ་ STOBS.LDAN (Ü, Ts) < CT 'strong one'. The variant སྟོགས་ རྡུ་ STOGS.LDAN and the term རོ་ རྒྱབ་ PA.RO.RGYAB.PA are also attested. Sky burial is only only practiced in some areas of Tibet, and this profession is not found in the southern and western Himalayas or in the Karakoram.

154. HUNTER རྔོ་ སྣ་ PA.RNGON.MA < CT. This noun is derived from CT རྔོ་ RNGON 'to hunt' or རི་ ཁྱི་ ཐྱི་ རྔོ་ RKHIL.RGON.RNGON 'to hunt game'. Other words are also attested: རི་ ཁྱི་ ཐྱི་ ཐྱི་ LINGS.PA (La, Pur), རི་ ཁྱི་ ཐྱི་ KHYI.RABA (To) < CT, a term derived form the noun རི་ ཁྱི་ KHYI.RA 'hunting', from རི་ KHYI 'dog', followed by a nominal suffix; in some Amdo dialects, སྤཱི་ བུ་ CHI < Chin is used. Some languages may form the noun 'hunter' with a compound of རི་ ཁྱི་ ཁྱི་ KHYI.RGAR 'game animal' followed by a lexical verb or light verb: བའ་ BDJ 'follow', བྲང་ BTANG LV, རྒྱུ་ CHOR 'hunt', རས་ BSAD 'to kill'. The compound རྒྱུ་ བཅུ་ SHWA.BDA.'lit. 'follow-deer' is also attested.

155. COOK འས་ PA.MAYAN or འས་ MA.CHEN FFW (Ü, Ts) < CT. འས་ JAMA (Am) < CT lit. 'tea maker (female)'; འས་ འས་ THAB.TSHANG.P (Dz), lit. 'kitchen-er' (like French 'cuisinier'), འས་ འས་ ZAMA.LAS.MKHAN, འས་ འས་ ZAN.BZO lit. 'meal maker' (SKh). འས་ འས་ KHAR.JI.SKOL.MKHAN 'meal cooker' (La),
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◊ རོ་མི་རི་པ་ ha si ri pa (Pur) ‘boiler of water (for the) meal’.
◊ ཁྱུད་ཆུ་གསལ་མཁན་ ZAN.CHU SKOL.MKHAN (Pur) ‘boiler of water (for the) meal’.
◊ རིག་གུ་དམ། G.YOS.SKOL (Am), རིག་གུ་འགེའི་ GSOL.THAB (Am). The loanword རིག་གུ་དམ། HARELP is found in Balti.

156. MUSICIAN རོལ་མོ་བ་ ROL.MO.BA (CT), རོལ་ཙ་ལ་ ROL.CHU.BA (CT), རོལ་ཙ་ལ་ ROL.DBYANGS.BA, རོལ་ཙ་ལ་ SBA.CHAB.TANG.MKHAN (Û, Ts). In Ladakh, a caste of itinerant musicians is called རོལ་ཙ་ལ་ Mon or རོལ་ཙ་ལ་ Beda BE.DA.

157. HERO དཔའ་མོ་ DPA.MO [PW] < CT. The syllable དཔའ་ DPA’ is found in SKh. Other compounds are also attested, such as དཔའ་རྒོད་ DPA’RGO D ’strong/wild hero’. The compounds དབུ་རྒོད་ BU.RGO D ‘wild boy, strong boy’ and མྱི་རྒོད་ MYI.RGO D ‘wild man, strong man’ are found. དཔའ་་ཁྲམ་པ་ DPA.KHRAM.BA (Pur) is attested.

158. HEROINE དཔའ་མོ་ DPA.MO [PW] < CT.

159. TRANSLATOR སྐད་སྒྱུ་ SKAD.SGYUR [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Dz, Sh, Kh, Am) < CT lit. ‘to change language’. The word བེད་ la lo TSA.BA < Skt. la cchava lit. ‘eye of the world’, which was used to designate Tibetan translators of canonical texts, is also attested. In Purik, སྐད་ skad is found. In the eastern area, a Chinese loan སྒྲུ་མི་/t’ongs/ < Chin. 通事 tongshi ‘interpreter’ is also used.

160. EXPERT མཁས་པ་ MKHAS.PA [PW] < CT. མཁས་པ་ MKHAS.PA /k’aspa/ (La), /k’e fa/ (Za), མཁས་པ་ /k’amu/ (Sh), མཁས་པ་ /k’a p/ (Dz), མཁས་པ་ MKHAS.PA /k’(w)’wa/ (Am). Marginally other words are found: ཡེ་བྱང་པ་ YANG.PO (Am) < CT ‘to assimilate completely, to know’ and ཡེ་བྱང་པ་ YANG.CHU.BA < CT ‘expert, enlightened’ are also attested. In Purik the form བོད་ལག་སྲེས་ BO.LAG.SHES (Pur) < CT lit. ‘hand knowledge’ is found.

161. BEGGAR སྤྱང་ SPRANG [FFR] (Û, Ts, Lho, Sh, etc.) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: སྤྱང་པོ་ SPRANG.PO, སྤྱང་པོ་ SPE.RANG.PU /-perangpu/ (Sh), སྤྱང་ KA /-t’angka/ (Dz), སྤྱིག་ S’PRANG.SLANG /-pyanglong/ (Lho), སྤྱང་ S’PANG.GO /-panggo/ (Û). The root སྤྱང་ S’LON/G /SLANG ‘to beg’ is found in various dialects in forms such as སྤྱིག་ S’LON.MKHAN (Ts, Tö) and སྤྱིག་ S’LON.MKHAN /itsangk’an/ (Pur, La) < CT lit. ‘one who begs’, as well as as the compound words སྤྱང་ S’PRANG.SLANG (Ts, Kh), སྤྱིག་ LTO.SLANG (Ko), སྤྱིག་ ZAS.SLANG ‘to beg (for) food’. The word སྤྱིག་ SKRU.MI < CT སྤྱིག་
SKRU MA 'beggar' is used in Kham. In some areas, the word refers to the supposed geographic origin of beggars: KHAMS.PA 'Kham-pa' in Kongpo, 糌粑 'RGYA.SPRING 'Chinese beggar' in Amdo and གཉིས་པ་ 'Amdo SPANG.GO (U) lit. 'Amdo beggar' in Central Tibet. The word AROGS (Ko) refers to the greeting 'Hey friend!' used by beggars;UNG.PA (Am) is also attested. It's worth noting that in the Tibetan culture, a number of people beg during pilgrimage, or for other religion reasons.

162. THIEF རྐུན་མ་ RKUN.MA [PW] < CT. Derived from the verb རྐུ་ 'RKU to steal'. རྐུ་མ་ RKU.MA (U, Ts) is used in many areas. The form རྐུན་པ་ RKUN.PA is attested in Balti and རྐུག་པ་ RKEMA in Yolmo. In Dzongkha, a word /aw/ derived from རེ། 'AR-PA lit. 'bandit' is used. The compound form རེ།' རེ། བ་ 'AR.JAG is also attested.

163. ROBBER བོག་པ་ JAG.PA [PW] < CT. Other words are also attested, e.g. རྐོག་ མཁན་ RKOG.MKHAN < CT རོག ལྷོག་ 'do something secretly', རོག་མི་ PHROG.MI < CT རོག་ 'take by force'. གྲོགས་ DGRA.JAG and བོག་ KHRYAM.PA are also used. Robbery was traditionally practiced in some pastoralist areas of Amdo and Kham.

164. PATIENT སྣད་པ་ NAD.PA [PW] < CT. This is derived from the nominal form སྣད་ NAD of the verb སྣད་ 'to be sick', followed by a suffix PA. It is pronounced སྣད་ /natpa/ (La, Pur, Am), སྣད་ 'nä:pa/ (U, Ts), སྣད་ /nepu/ (Sh), སྣད་ /nep/ (Dz). In Southern Kham and the Eastern area, words derived from སྣད་ KHOL 'to boil, be sick' are used, e.g. སྣད་ སྣད་ སྣད་ KHOL.NAD.

165. FRIEND རོག་པར་ GROGS.BA or ལྷོག་ ROGS [FFR] (U, Ts, Lho, Am, Dz, Yol, etc.) < CT related to the verb རོག་ རོག་ 'GROGS to accompany'. རོག་ GROGS (La), རོག་ GROGS.PA (U); རོག་ GROGS.KU (Lho), རོག་ GROGS.MO (U) 'female friend'; རོག་ ROGS (Kh) and རོག་ ROGS.HWA (Am) < CT རོག་ 'female friend'; རོག་ BUTSHA.ROGS 'male friend' (Kh), རོག་ BUMO.ROGS 'female friend' (Kh); རོག་ CHAR.OGS (Dz). Other words are also attested: རོག་ PHAG.PA (Kh) < CT རོག་ 'cell, room' lit. 'room mate'. The CT root སྣད་ MDZA is also attested: སྣད་ སྣད་ ZLAL.MDZA 'companion' + སྣད་ MDZA 'friend';
The words མཛེ་བོ /dzawo, dzago/ (La), མཛེ་མོ /dzamo/ 'female friend' (La). The words བཟང་ས /BZANG.SA (Am) < CT lit. 'excellent person', བཟང་མ /BZANG.SA.MA or བཟང་ས་རྒྱན་ས /BZANG.SA.RGYAN.SA lit. 'excellent person (and) ornament' are used mainly in Amdo and in various dialects in Sharkhok, Paskyi, Thewo (E). Another term, ཡ་ཏོ /YA.TO (La, Za, Sp) < CT 'match', is also frequent in the western regions. རྒ་མཁན /RGA.MKHAN (Ba) < CT lit. 'loving one' is also attested. ང་ཅོ /ʔA.CHO.NO < CT lit. 'elder (and) younger brother' is used in Purik.

The word བཟང་ས /BZANG.SA (Am) < CT lit. 'excellent person', བཟང་ས་མ /BZANG.SA.MA or བཟང་ས་རྒྱན་ས /BZANG.SA.RGYAN.SA lit. 'excellent person (and) ornament' are used mainly in Amdo and in various dialects in Sharkhok, Paskyi, Thewo (E). Another term, ཡ་ཏོ /YA.TO (La, Za, Sp) < CT 'match', is also frequent in the western regions. རྒ་མཁན /RGA.MKHAN (Ba) < CT lit. 'loving one' is also attested. ང་ཅོ /ʔA.CHO.NO < CT lit. 'elder (and) younger brother' is used in Purik.

Nowadays, the word དུ་མ /dost < Urdu, Persian is also frequently used.

166. COMRADE, COMPANION རོགས /ROGS [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT 'help, companion'. རོགས /ROGS (Ba, Lho); རོགས་པ /ROGS.PA (most languages). The word སྨོ /GROGS (Am) < CT lit. 'female companion, lover' is also found in some languages. In northern Amdo, རོགས /ROGS.PA and རོགས /ROGS.BZANG often means 'girlfriend' or 'boyfriend'. The forms རོགས /ROGS and རོགས /ROGS.MA are also attested for 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend'. ཡ་ཏོ /YA.TO (La, Pur, Sp) is frequent in Western languages. གྲོ /PHRO.PA is used all over Ladakh.

167. ENEMY དགྲ /DGRA [PR] < CT. དགྲ /DGRA, དགྲ /DGRA.PA (Ts, La, etc.). དགྲ /DGRA; དགྲ /DGRA.BA (Ma). In Balti the form དག /RG (Ba) may correspond either to the loss of the postinitial R or to a metathesis of G and R. One also finds འབ /MIDGA.MKHAN (Ba, Pur, La) < CT lit. 'non-loving one'. The loanword དུ་མ /dushman < Urdu. And Pers. is also heard in Ladakh.

168. KING རྒྱལ /RGYAL.PA [PW] < CT. alt. རྒྱལ /RGYAL.PA. Pasha is also used in Purik.

169. QUEEN རྒྱལ /RGYAL.PA [PW] < CT. In some Amdo dialects, this word is pronounced /'jalmo/ as opposed to /'jalo/ 'king'.

170. ARISTOCRAT བུ /SKU.DRAG [FFW] (Ts, Ü, La, etc.) < CT.
171. OFFICIAL དར་ག་ཤོས DRAG.SHOS (Dz) < དར། DRAG ‘powerful’. The Drasho or Dasho, senior officials and aristocrats of the Bhutanese government, wear scarves whose color depends on their rank.

172. REGENT སྡེ་སྲི་SDE.SRID, རྒྱལ་ཚབ་RGYAL.TSHAB.

173. ZHABDRUNG སྐུ་ཚབ་ SKU.TSHAB < CT. Title used when referring to great lamas. In Bhutan it refers in particular to the founder of the Bhutanese state.

174. OFFICIAL/CHIEF དཔོན་DPON [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: དཔོན་པོ DPON.PO (La, Ú, Ts, Kh, Am, Yol). In Amdo དཔོན་DPON (pronounced /xvon/) has acquired the meaning of ‘tantric priest’. In Ladakh, this root has also acquired the meaning of ‘artist, painter, master’ (see below). Both tantric priests and thangka painters have a high status in the Tibetan societies. In a marginal way, other forms are attested for ‘chief’: རྒན་ལགས་RGAN.LAGS, རྒྱལ་ཚབ་RGYAL.TSHAB, In Purik, རྒྱལ་ཚབ་/sargoro/ (< Pers.) is used.

175. REPRESENTATIVE ལོང་NGO.TSHAB. The honorific form is also widespread: ངུ་ཚབ་ SKU.TSHAB. Some languages have loanwords.

176. VILLAGE LEADER དགེ་རྒན་DGE.RGAN [FWF] (Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ‘old virtuous (one)’. The honorific form is ལྡ་མཁན་SLAB.MKAN/lsap-k’an/ (Ba, Pur) ‘one who teaches’. In some Kham dialects, ལག་པོ་LA'O SI, a loanword from the Chinese 老师 laoshi, has been used, whereas in the Himalaya, the Indian ངག་ guru, the Persian ངུ་ངུ་ustad and the English ངུ་ཤེས་ teacher and master have sometimes been borrowed. In Sangdam (Myanmar), the word དུ་SARA/s’ara/
has been borrowed from Burmese. In Purik མུན་ཤི MUN.SH'I 'teacher' is used for respectful address as རྒན་ལགས་ RGAN.LAGS in Central Tibet.

178. CIVIL SERVANT/GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE ལས་བྱེད་པ་ LAS.BYED.PA [FFW] (Û, Ts, Ko, Tö, Am, Kh) ལས་པོའི་བཞག GZHUNG ZIABS lit. 'government servant'. The term is recent and used in the context of the Chinese administration. The Chinese term 干部 ganbu is also heard. Outside Tibet, some loanwords are also found ཨུལོ སྐིལ་ཚིག་ MULAZIM < Hindi–Urdu < Arab.

179. WORKER བཟོ་པ་ BZO.PA [FFW] (Û, Ts), བཟོ་བ་ BZO.BA (Am) < CT, བཟོ་ BO 'make'. Another root ལས་ LAS 'work' has produced many words, such as: ལས་མི་ LAS.MI (La, Pur) 'workman', ལས་བྱེད་པ་ LAS.BYED.PA means 'cadre, clerk, staff member'.

180. PAINTER ལྷ་བྲིས་པ་ LHA.BRIS.PA (Û, Ts) ལྷ་བཟོ་ BHA.BZO.PA (Am) < CT ལྷ་ BO 'deity painter', ལྷ་བཟོ་ BHA.BZO.PA (Yol), ལྷ་གཏོགས་པ། LHA.GTOS.PA < CT ལྷ་གཏོགས་པ། LHA.GTOS.PA 'expert', ལྷ་བཟོ་ BHA.BZO.PA (Am) < CT 'deity maker'. In Ladaks and Purik འདོད་ DOND < CT འདོད་ DOND 'master, artist painter'.

181. TAILOR ཤན་པ་ SHAN.PA [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Û, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, etc.) < CT ཤུ་ལམ་ HE.LAM 'to sew'. The loanword ཤུ་ལམ་ HE.LAM is used in Balti. In the Eastern section and Amdo, the word ལྷ་བཟོ་ BHA.BZO.PA is used. See WORKER. The Nepali loanword ཤུ་ལམ་ HE.LAM is used in some languages of the southern Himalayas.

182. BUTCHER ཤབུ་ SHAN.PA [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Û, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, etc.) < CT ཤུ་ལམ་ HE.LAM 'to slaughter' and ཤུ་ལམ་ HE.LAM 'meat'. In some areas, this word may also means 'bloodthirsty' or 'great meat-eater'. In Yunnan, the term ཤུ་ལམ་ PHAG.BSHA 'pig slaughter' is widespread. ཤུ་ལམ་ ཤུ་ལམ་ HE.LAM 'shablas tangkán/ (Pur) lit. 'person working with meat', ཤུ་ལམ་ ཤུ་ལམ་ HE.LAM 'shablas tangkán/ (Pur) lit. 'meat-seller' are also attested.

183. LAY PERSON རྡོ་འཕོ་ MI.SKYA [FFW] (Û Ts, Am, etc.) < CT རྡོ་འཕོ་ MI.SKYA 'black person'. རྡོ་འཕོ། MI.SKYA.BO lit. 'gray' (La), རྡོ་འཕོ། MI.SKYA.BO lit. 'black person'.
184. **BLIND PERSON** ཞར་བ་ [PW] < CT 'one-eyed, blind in one eye', often used in the compound མིག་ཞར་བ་ MIHG ZHAR BA. In some languages, མྱིག་དཀར་ MYIG.DKAR 'white eye' is also attested in many southern Kham dialects. Also འབྲུག་པའི་DMUS.LONG (Am) < CT 'blind'.

185. **DEAF PERSON** ཀྱིད་པ་ [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Jir, etc.) < CT 'deaf' or its variant ཀྱིད་པ་ YON.PA (Hor). In some languages (Kh), it is used with 'ear': གླེན་ RNA 'ear deaf' and གླེན་རྣ་ LDAD.ZHIG lit. 'punctured brain'. The feminine form is also found ཀྱིད་པ་ MA (Kh, Ba, La, etc.), ཀྱིད་པ་ /lz/ (Am), ཁྲེད་རྡོལ་ KLAD.RDOL lit. 'destroyed brain'.

186. **IDIOT/FOOL** བན་བེན་ [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz, Sh, etc.) < CT 'mute, stupid, idiot'. ཁྲེན་ GLEN [FFR] < CT 'stupid': ཁྲེན་པ་ GLEN.PAMA 'punter brain', ཁླད་རྡོལ་ KLAD.RDOL lit. 'stuttering palate', མུང་པོ་ /lu/ (Am), བན་པ་ HAN.LDANG lit. 'confused' (Dz, Pur).

187. **MADMAN/CRAZY PERSON/LUNATIC** སྐྱོད་པ་ [PW] < CT a nominal form of the verb སྐྱོད་ SMYO 'to be crazy'. The words སྐྱོད་པ་ སྐྱོད་པ་ MA and སྐྱོད་པ་ /tsöm/ (Dz) are also heard for the feminine form. Marginally, other roots are found, such as Balti སྐྱོད་ན་པ་ KLAD.PA lit. 'out of the brain', སྐྱོད་ན་པ་ /lz/ (Am), སྐྱོད་ན་པ་ KLAD.PA lit. 'destroyed brain'.

188. **MUTE** བན་པ་ [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Dz, Sh, etc.) < CT; see also IDIOT/FOOL. Also found are སྐྱོད་ན་པ་ NGAG.MED < CT lit. 'without speech', སྐྱོད་ན་པ་ /lz/ (Am), རྣ་ཁྲིམས་ PNKAN.RDIG (Pur) < CT lit. 'stuttering palate', སྐྱོད་ བལུ་ LICE.KHYAD / će xat/ 'sticky tongue' (Ba), སྐྱོད་ན་པ་ HAN.LDANG (La), སྐྱོད་ན་པ་ /lz/ (Am).

189. **PRISONER** བཙོན་པ་ [PW] < CT. Alt. form བཙོན་པ་ BTSON.PA, བཙོན་པ་ BTSONMA /tsöm/ (Dz). In a few Amdo dialects, alternative words such as བཀློ་ཁུ་ས་ KHARMS.PA (Am: Ng) derived from བཀློ་ KHARMS 'law' and བཀློ་ /lok/ derived from a Chinese loanword 劳改 laogai are used.
190. OWNER, SPONSOR བདག་ BDAG [PR] < CT. The root བདག་ BDAG originally means 'self' in CT and normally occurs with a suffix: བདག་པོ་ BDAG.PO (masc.), བདག་མོ་ BDAG.MO (fem), with the meaning 'owner, landlord, master, lord, etc.'.
The word བདག་པོ་ SBYIN.BDAG ‘sponsor, benefactor’ < CT lit. 'donor, sponsor' is also widespread. བདག་མོ་ TASHILA (Pur) is also attested. The Chinese and Urdu loanwords ལའོ་བན་ LAOBAN and མ་ལིག་ MALIK are also used.

191. GUEST མགྲོན་ MGRON [PR] < CT མགྲོན་ MGRON ‘feast, banquet’ usually followed by a suffix: མགྲོན་པོ་ MGRON.PO (Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Ü, Ts, Kh, etc.). Other suffixes are attested: མགྲོན་པ་ MGRON.PA (Ba), མགྲོནམ་ MGRON.M / 'göm/ (Dz).
In Amdo, Cone (E) and Kham, the word རྒྱལ་པ་ GRUL.PA is also attested < CT རྒྱལ་ PA. Note that in some dialects in eastern Tibet, this word also means 'guest'; see GUEST.

192. TRAVELER རྒྱལ་པ་ GRUL.PA [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Hor, Kh, etc.) < CT རྒྱལ་ GRUL ‘to travel’, རྒྱལ་མི་ GRUL.MI (Yol, La). The word བེས་པ་ BES.PA (La, Pur, Ba) is also attested < CT བྱེས་པ་ BYESP.A. Note that in some dialects in eastern Tibet, this word also means 'guest'; see GUEST.

193. SERVANT གཡོག་ G·YOG [PR] < CT. Usually followed by a suffix: གཡོག་པོ་ G·YOG.PO (Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, La, Ba, etc.); the form གཡོག་ G·YOG.MO ‘female servant’ is also attested in some languages. གཡོག་ LAG·G·YOG (Pur) is also used.

194. ANGER སྤྲོ་ SPRO [FFW] (La, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT. The word སྤྲོ་ SPRO < CT ‘wrath’ is pronounced in various ways: སྤྲོ་ /'tjo/ (Kh), སྤྲོ་ /rpo/, /xwo/, /fo/ (Am) and the variant སྤྲོ་ SRO/sjo/ (Am, La, Za). The word སྤྲོ་ KHRO/KHROS [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Ts, Lho) < CT and the compound སྤྲོ་ KHONG.KHRO (Ú, Ts, Lho), is also frequently found. In Balti, སྤྲོ་ KHROS is used for ‘mild anger’. These forms are often used in combination with a verb such as LANG ‘to rise’ to create a compound word: སྤྲོ་ KHONG.KHRO LANG ‘to get angry’, སྤྲོ་ KHROS LANG ‘to get angry’. The word སྤྲོ་ TSHIG.PA [FFW] (Ú, Ts) < CT verb TSHIG ‘to burn’ is related to the metaphor of ‘burning inside’. It is found in other areas as སྤྲོ་ TSHIG.GA (E: Th) (In Amdo TSHIG.GA corresponds to a mild anger, whereas སྤྲོ་ SPRO LANG ‘to get angry’ corresponds to a stronger anger), སྤྲོ་ RTSIGP /'tsip/ (Dz), སྤྲོ་ RTSIG.KO (Lho). The form is often used in the
compound verb, མ་པ་ཟ་ TSHIG.PAZA ‘to be angry’, lit. ‘to eat fire’. The verb བར་ 'BAR' ‘to be angry’ < CT ‘to burn’ is also used in Amdo. In southern Kham, the compound word སྙིང་ཁ་ SNYING.KHA < CT SNYING ‘heart’ + KHA ‘bitter’ is widely used. The word བར་ /xa/ /x kaçan/ is found in Balti and Purik. In the expression /xa ong-nget/ ‘is getting angry’, /xa/ is probably derived from CT ལ་ཏི་ག་ KHA (TIG) /ལ་ KHA (PO) ‘bitter’. Another word སྙིང་དབུགས་ SNYING.DBUGS /snyingsbuks/ [PR] for ‘sigh’, lit. ‘heart air’. It is interesting to note that most words for ‘wrath’ are related to physiological reactions such as ‘heat’, ‘fire’ and ‘air (turbulence)’. This is the case with སྤྲོ་ SPRO ‘radiate, warm up’; སྲོ་ SRO ‘to warmed by fire/the sun’; མ ཚིག་ TSHIG < ‘to burn’ (smth. burning). Other ways to express ‘anger’ are related to air: རླུང་ལང་ RLUNG.LANG ‘to get angry (< lit. ‘air is rising’, རྡོ་ལྡོག་ KHA /mloa k’/ ‘lungs are out’ (Pur)). Note also that Purik uses སྙིང་དབུགས་ SNYING.DBUGS /snyingsbuks/ [PR] for ‘sigh’, lit. ‘heart air’. It is interesting to note that most words for ‘wrath’ are related to physiological reactions such as ‘heat’, ‘fire’ and ‘air (turbulence)’. This is the case with སྤྲོ་ SPRO ‘radiate, warm up’; སྲོ་ SRO ‘to warmed by fire/the sun’; མ ཚིག་ TSHIG < ‘to burn’ (smth. burning).

195. DISEASE/SICKNESS ཨད། NAD [FFR] (La, Ba, Lho), ཉན་ TSHA [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Kh, Am) < CT, གཞན་ TSHAD (Pur) < CT verb ཉན་ NA ‘to be ill, sick’. The second syllable བཞག་ TSHA or ཡཞག་ TSHAD originally means ‘heat/hot or burning acute pain’. བུར་མོ་ ZUR. MO (La, Za) is also attested in Western languages. See also ‘to be sick’ in the verb section.

196. FEVER བཞག་ TSHA /སའ་ TSHAD.NAD [FFW] (Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz, Ba, La, Jir, etc.) < CT ‘heat, fever’; བཞག་ TSHA (Kh) བཞག་ TSHABA (Ü, Yol); བཞག་ TSHAD.PA.

197. COLD/INFLUENZA མ་པ་ CHAM.PA [PW] < CT. ཀྱི་ KHYAG < CT ‘cold’; ཀྱི་ GRANG < CT ‘cold’. In Amdo, a compound word is attested བཞེ་ཁྱ་ DROS.KHYAG < CT ‘warm–cold’. A few compounds are frequently heard: ཆོས་ CHAM ‘epidemic cold’, རྣ་ CHAM ‘nose cold’, རིམ་ CHAM ‘influenza, flu’, བུས་ རིམ་ CHAM ‘cold (H)’.

198. HOPE རེ་ BA [PW] < CT. རེ་ RE.CHIA is found in Lhoke. རེ་ བུ་ གྱི་ GDYANG (Ba) < CT གཞི་ GDENG ‘trust’, གཞི་ GDYANG.MA (Pur). In the
southern Himalayas (Yol, Jir) the loanword ཆོས་/as/ is used (from Hindi आशा /asya/).

199. SELF མ་རང་ [PW] < CT. In some Southern Kham dialects, the words མ་རང་NGA,RANG < CT ‘myself’, ལུན་རང་ URANG < CT ‘ourselves’ and even མ་NGA are used for ‘self’.

RELIGION and SPIRITUALITY

200. RELIGION ཆོས་[PW] < CT. The word ཆོས་CHOS is used to translate the Sanskrit word ‘dharma’ but has a more general meaning of ‘religion’. It is often followed by ལུགས་LUGS ‘tradition’: ཆོས་ལུགས་CHOS,LUGS. In some languages (Kh, Jir), the term refers to Buddhist scriptures. In general ཆོས་CHOS is used to refer to Buddhism, but in Baltistan and Purik it normally designates ‘Islam’. In Christian communities (e.g., in Sikkim), it may also be used for Christianity.

201. DHARMA ཆོས་[PW] < CT. This translates the Sanskrit term ‘dharma’, which is used in a Buddhist context, but the Tibetan word CHOS has acquired a broader meaning. See RELIGION. In Tibet, since ཆོས་CHOS is often associated with the Buddhist Dharma, Bönpo followers use བོན་BON instead.

202. BUDDHISM ལྟ་བ་[PW] < CT lit. ‘Buddhists’ religion’. Also འྲུལ་པའི་ཆོས་PHYI,PAT'CHOS < CT lit. ‘dharma of insiders’, opposed to འྲུལ་པའི་ཆོས་PHYI,PAT'CHOS < CT lit. ‘dharma of outsiders’ referring to religions other than Buddhism.

203. BÖN RELIGION བོན་[PW] < CT.

204. ISLAM བོད་ཆེ་[PW] < CT.

205. CHRISTIANITY ཡེ་ཤུའི་[FFW] < CT.

206. HINDUISM སྣྲ་ཧི་[FFW] < CT.

207. DOCTRINE, VIEW ལྟ་བ་LTA,LA [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, E, Am) < CT ལྟ་LTA ’to look at’.
208. BELIEF (FAITH) གནོད་པ་ [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, E, Am) < CT The word གནོད་པ་ GDEN.GPA is also found in Kham. See TRUST, གདོད་པ་ GDYANG /rdyang/ (Pur).

209. DEITY (MALE)/GOD ལྷ་ [PW] < CT. In some areas (La, Za, Sp, Tö, E: Th), LHA is pronounced without devoicing /la/. The word ལྷ་ LHA is frequently used in both Buddhist and Bon cultures. It is interesting to note that, in the Shi‘ah Muslim community of Baltistan, the words LHA and LHAMO ‘deities’ are sometimes used alongside the term jin, a type of spirit found in the Islamic world. The word ལྷ་ /soda/ ‘Lord, God’, derived from the Persian لح /sodâ/, is used in Balti and Purik. It appears in some texts such as the Khache Palu, spelt ལྷ་ / GO.BRDA. In Eastern Tibet, Christians sometimes refer to Jesus as ལྷ་ LHA ‘deity’. The word ལྷ་ རྙོམ་མཆོག་ Dkon.MChog ‘jewel’ < CT ‘rare and supreme’ or ལྷ་ རྒྱི་པོ་ GNAM.GYI BDAG.PO ‘Lord of the Sky’ is used to designate God as the ‘creator of the universe’.

210. DEITY (FEMALE)/ GODDESS ལྷ་མོ་ LHAMO [PW] < CT.

211. LOCAL DEITY This concept is found in most Buddhist and Bon communities. The word used is ཡུལ་ལྷ་ YUL.LHA < CT ‘village or place deity’. An alternative word is བཛྲིལ་བདག་ BZHLBDAG < CT ‘lord of the soil’. Another form རླ་འདྲབ་ RLDAG ‘mountain deity’ is also attested; this might have arisen through phonetic confusion with བཛྲིལ་བདག་ BZHLBDAG. Each deity has a LHAMBDAG ‘guardian of the deity’ (La, Za) < CT. In some areas, the word and the concept might be absent.

212. GHOST ཀྲེ་ DRE [PR] < CT. Many compound words are also attested ལྷ་ ཀྲེ་ LHA.DRE (SKh, La) < CT ‘deity ghost’; ཕྱགས་ ཀྲེ་ SNGAGS.DRE (SKh) < CT ‘mantra ghost’, དྲན་ ཀྲེ་ CHL.DRE (La); དབུད་ ཀྲེ་ GDUG.DRE /donQe/ (Central) < CT ‘poisonous, malevolent ghost’. ཀྲེ་ DRE. In some areas (e.g., Amdo), other words such as བདུད་ BDUD < CT ‘demon’ are attested. In Southern Kham, the word ཀྲེ་ DRE specifically denotes a spiritual entity which is not dangerous to humans, in contrast to the word བདུད་ BDUD, which refers to supernatural entities that are harmful to humans.
213. DEMON བདུད་ BDUD [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Yol, Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT. The female form བདུད་མོ་ BDUD.MO is also used. The word སྲིན་ SRIN (for male) and སྲིན་མོ་ SRIN.MO (for female) are also widespread (Kh, La). The compound སྲིན་འདྲེ SRIN.DRE is used in Sherpa (see GHOST).

214. BUDDHA སངས་རྒྱས་ SANGS.RGYAS [PW] < CT. This is a compound of སངས་ SANG ‘awakened’ and རྒྱས་ RGYAS ‘expanded’. A few rare languages use other words instead of སངས་རྒྱས་ SANGS.RGYAS, such as བླ /Ta/la/ (E: Čone), ལ་ LHA. < CT ‘deity’ (SKh, E). The word SANGS.RGYAS is no longer used in Baltistan. In the Muslim Purik area, the Buddha is sometimes referred as སྲཱུ /SKU ‘statue’.

215. SAMSĀRA མཁྱོལ་ KHOR.BA [PW] < CT. This word for ‘samsāra’, referring to the cycle of existence, is derived from the verb མཁྱོལ་ ‘to spin’.

216. KARMA བླམ་ LAS [PW] < CT ‘work, action’. In many languages, the word for ‘karma’ is identical to the word for ‘work’ or ‘action’. See WORK (in the verb section).

217. LAMA ལྡོན། BLAMA [PW] < CT. In some dialects, especially in southern Kham, this word also designates a ‘reincarnated lama’.

218. REINCARNATED LAMA, TRULKU སྤྲུལ། SPRUL.SKU [PW] < CT ‘Emanation body’ < Skt. nirmāṇakāya. This is pronounced /ṣulku/ (Sp, Tö, Ts) སྲུལ། /ṣulku/ (La) and /ṣul’un’ (Za) in some Western languages. In Amdo the word སྲུལ། PALAGS is often used instead of སྤྲུལ། SPRUL.SKU.

219. ABBOT མཁན། MKHAN.PO [PW]. This word is related to CT མཁས། MKHAS ‘expert’. It is found in all areas with Buddhist and Bön monasteries.

220. MONK བྱའ། GRWA.PA [FFW] (La, Za, Sp, Ú, Ts, Tö, etc.) < CT lit. བྱའ། GRWA ‘college, section’ + nominal suffix. The word དགེ་སྙོང། DGE.SLONG (La, Dz, Yol) < CT ’bikshu, fully ordained monk’ is attested in some other areas for ‘monk’, whereas in many areas it has maintained its specific meaning of ‘fully ordained monk’. The term རྱུུ རྱུུ A.KHU (Am, Kh, E) < CT ‘paternal uncle’ is used in several Eastern languages while རྱུུ རྱུུ A.ZHANG < CT ‘maternal uncle’ is used as an address in Ladak. སྨེ་མེ་ ME.MELA lit. 'grandfather' is attested in the Nubra...
These kinship terms are associated with the custom of sending at least one child per family to a monastery. In Amdo, Yunnan and Ladakh, another word derived from CT བན་དེ BAN.DE is also used; this ultimately comes from the Sanskrit and Pali vande or bande 'venerable', (lit. 'I praise', an address term for 'monk'). This 'bande' should not to be confused with another loanword སྐེི་ཏ་ PA.N.DI.TA 'Pandit', which means 'expert, scholar'; derived from this in turn is the word སྣང་པ་ PAN.CHEN 'great pandit', often used in the compound སྣང་ཆེན་པོ་ PAN.CHEN.BLA.MA. In some regions (Ladakh, Nepal, etc.), the word སྣང་ཞི། BLA.MA 'lama' may also convey the meaning of 'monk'. The literary word སྤེར་ནུས་པ་ DGE.DUN.PA < CT 'person' longing for virtue' may be marginally used in the spoken languages.

221. NUN གོ་མོ JO.MO [PW] < CT 'noblewoman, lady'. In some areas, the compound བོད་འཇིག་པ་ ZANE.JOMO 'aunt nun' or simply བོད་འཇིག་ ZANE 'aunt' (U, Ts) is used; དགོན་བཙུན་མ་ RJE.BT.SUN.MA 'reverend lady' is found in Dechen (Kh). In some areas, the term སྣག་པ་ རྒྱ་མཚམས་པ་ SNGAGS.MTSHM.PA 'aunt' (Ü, Ts) is used; རྒྱ་བཙུན་པ་ RJE.BT.SUN.MA 'aunt nun' is found in Dechen (Kh). In some areas, the term སྣག་པ་ རྒྱ་མཚམས་པ་ SNGAGS.MTSHM.PA 'aunt nun' is found in Dechen (Kh).

222. MONASTERY STEWARD, KEY-HOLDER དཀོན་གཉེར་ DKON.GNYER [PW] < CT. དཀོན་གཉེར་ DKON.GNYER

223. TANTRIC PRIEST, NGAGPA སྐྱིབས་པ་ SNGAGS.PA [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. The ngagpa is a kind of tantric priest. Traditionally in many villages of Tibet, he was in charge of protecting the place against natural disaster, hail and any other evil. The root སྐྱིབས་ SNGAGS 'mantra' is cognate with the root NGAG 'speech'. Note that in Balti སྐྱིབས་ SNGAGS means 'to hypnotize using the voice/sound' (as with snakes). In Amdo, the word for 'tantric priest' is སྣ་བོ /xwom/ derived from CT སྣ་པོ DPON 'chief, leader'. The variant སྣ་ སྣ་པོ PA.KHU.DPON is also attested. In Yunnan, the term སྣ་པོ MTSHM.UPS.PA 'hermit, one on retreat' is found.

224. ASTROLOGER ལྟོགས་པ་ RTSIS.PA [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. སྣ་པོ DBON.PO (La, Za) /onpo/ < CT 'Buddhist astrologer who
practices exorcism, magic and religious rites’ (Norman 2019). Such ‘onpos’ are also medicine-men.

225. DAKINI སྲིད་དབང་པོས་པ་ ‘GRO’/GRONA or སྲིད་དབང་པོས་པ་ ‘MKHA’/MKHAN [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT ‘sky-goer’ designates a woman of high Buddhist spiritual accomplishments. In its ordinary and popular use, it may sometimes be used for ‘very wise and beautiful woman’.

226. SHAMAN PRIESTS. Whereas the term ‘lama’ is sometimes used to designate Bönpo priests, other terms refer more specifically to various practitioner of Bön and Shamanism: these include འཕགས་པ ‘apa’/APA < CT ‘spirit medium’, དཔའ་བོ་ ‘pawo’/Powo < CT ‘hero’, འབྲེལ་བོན་ ‘labön’/Labön < CT ‘story teller’, རྣམ་པ་ ‘tampa’/Tampa < CT ‘story teller’.

227. AGHA (ISLAMIC CLERIC) སྒྲོལ་ ‘aya’/AYA (Ba, Pur). These agha wear black turbans.

228. SHEIKH (ISLAMIC CLERIC) སེང་ ‘shak, sheix’/SHEIK (Ba, Pur). Sheikhs wear white turbans.

229. MULLAH སྒྲོལ་ ‘ayon’/AYON (Ba, Pur, Am) < Pers. axond also borrowed as Chin. 阿訇 /abang, اخصص /mulvi/ is used by Sunni Muslim.

230. FORTUNE TELLER འབྲེལ་བཏབ་ ‘MO.PA’/MOPA [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT རྣམ་པ་ ‘BTAB’/BTAB ‘to plant’ (the verb BTAB ‘to plant’ is used here as a light verb) འབྲེལ་ ’p’al tangma’/PA’AL TANGMA/Pawo < CT ‘story teller’, རྣམ་པ་ ’p’al tangma’/Pawo < CT ‘story teller’; རྣམ་པ་’p’al tangma’/Pawo ‘divination performed by opening a book in the Persian way’; རྣམ་པ་’p’al tangma’/Pawo ‘divination with a mala’.

231. HELL དམགས་པ་ ‘DMIAL.BA’/DMIAL.BA [FFW] (La, Sp, Yol, Ts, Ü, Tö, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. The word is pronounced in many ways: /n HALA/, nyala/, etc. The alternative དམགས་པ་ ‘DMIAL.KHAMS’/DMIAL.KHAMS < CT ‘hell realm’ is found in Kham. One often finds the expression: དམགས་པ་ ‘TSHADDMIAL’ ‘hot hell’ and དམགས་པ་ ‘GRANG.DMIAL’ ‘cold hell’. The Arabic word ‘ /ja’/JAHANAM’ is used in Purik and Balti.
232. **MOISTERY** དགོན་ D贡 [PR] < CT ‘refuge, protection’ and cognate with མགོན་ MG贡 ’protector, lord, guardian’. From these roots, we find the derivations D贡.པ་ D贡.པ་ and དགོན་སྡེ D贡.sde. གྲྭ་ས་ GRWA.-SA lit. ‘monk place’ (in Western areas) and གྲྭ་ཚང་ GRWA.TSHANG lit. ‘college’ in Kham are frequently used. Some Kham dialects have འདུ་ཁང་ DU.KHANG < CT ‘assembly hall’ instead of དགོན་པ་ D贡.པ་. In some Amdo and Kham areas, the word is also attested ཁམས་ཚན་ KHAMS.TSHAN’ section of a monastery, college with monks from the same region’, དགོན་སྡེ D贡.sde.གྲྭ་ཁང་ D贡.པ་.sde. lhakhang lit. ‘assembly hall’, འདུ་ཁང་ DU.KHANG < CT ‘assembly hall’, etc.

233. **TEMPLE** གྲྭ་ཁང་ GRWA.KHANG [PW] < CT lit. ‘deity house’. In several dialects of Kham and Ladakh, དགོན་པ་ D贡.པ་ is also used with the same meaning and lhakhang refers to the home chapels, also called མཆོད་ཁང་ MCHOD.KHANG. Other words designating religious buildings may be used instead of temple: e.g. གྲྭ་ཆོས་ཁང་ GRWA.TSHOGS.KHANG lit. ‘assembly hall’, འདུ་ཁང་ DU.KHANG < CT ‘assembly hall’, etc.

234. **CHAPEL** (PRIVATE) མཆོད་ཁང་ MCHOD.KHANG < CT ‘offering room’.

235. **MOSQUE** གླ་ཆེ་ལྷ་ཁང་ KHA.CHE.LHA.KHANG [FFW] (Ù, Ts, Kh, La, etc) < CT ‘Muslim temple’. The word khache is derived from Kashmir གླ་ཆེ་astics. khacheyul. The Baltis use གླ་ཆེ་ lhakhang lit. ‘hand-house’ for masjid ‘mosque’. This term is also used by Tibetan Muslims in Lhasa. In Baltistan and Ladakh, other words such as མ་ཏམ་ས་ར་ matamsara ‘Matamsarai, mourning hall’, མིམོ་པར་ག་ imambarga or imambara and མི་ཀ་ khanqa designate a ‘community hall’ used for preaching or teaching. These words are usually not known by Buddhists, except those who live in the Purik area of Ladakh.

236. **MANI** མ་ N.I MA.[PW] < CT < Skr mani. ‘jewel’. The Avalokiteśvara six-syllable mantra is so popular in Tibetic cultures that it is referred to as just mani. Many objects with the mantra written on them have the term ‘mani’ in their name. These include stone walls (མ་ཎི་རྡོ་འབུམ་ MA.NI.RDO.BUM), prayer wheels (མ་ཎི་འཁོར་ལོ་ MA.NI.KHOR.LO), water powered prayer wheels (མ་ཎི་འཁོར་ MA.NI.CHU.KHOR), མ་ཎི་འབྲ་ལམ་ MA.NI ‘Buddhist storyteller’, see also DRAGONFLY, etc.
237. PRAYER-WHEEL རྡོ་རྗུ་མ་རྒྱུད། MA.NI’KHO.RLO [FFW] (La, Sp, Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT lit. ‘mani (jewel)-wheel’, often simply called a ‘mani’. See MANI. Other words are attested: ིུང་ཕྱུར་ DUNG.PHYUR ‘large prayer wheel’ (lit. ‘conch wheel’), རྡོ་རྗུ་མ་འཁོར་ལོ་ MA.NI.LAG.BSKOR ‘hand-operated prayer wheel’, རྡོ་རྗུ་མ་འཁོར་ལོ་ MA.NI.MTER.BSKOR lit. ‘thumb turn’ table-top prayer wheel’.

238. PRAYER FLAG རྡ་ལྕོ་ག་ DAR.LCOG [PW]. Prayer flags are made of white or colored cloths that are said to represent the ‘five elements’. The blue, yellow and white colors correspond to the sky, the earth and the wind. The red and green colors represent fire and water. On each cloth, a prayer is written, which may differ by school. Prayer flags are often attached to small poles on the roof of houses, on temples, on mountain passes, and so on. They are used in both Bön and Buddhism, but are probably of Bön origin. རྲུང་རྒྱ་ KLUNG.RTA [PW] lit. ‘wind horse’ also spelled རྲུང་ Dar.RTA lit. ‘river horse’ (alt. རྲུང་དར་ RLUNG.DAR), refers to a particular type of prayer flag which depicts five animals: a horse in the center, and a garuda, a dragon, a tiger and a snow lion in the four cardinal direction. In many cases, only the horse is depicted the names of the four other animals are written in the directions. Wind horses may also be printed on small pieces of paper and thrown to the wind (especially on mountain passes). Wind horses are associated with notions of luck, vital energy and good omens. Other types of prayer flag include རྡ་ཆེན་ DAR.CHEN ‘big pole with prayer flag’, རྡ་གྱི་ལྡ་ལྡི་ DAR-GYI LDA and བ་དན་ BA.DAN ‘banner’.

239. INCENSE སྤོས། SPOS [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. The word is pronounced in many ways: /s pó/ (Pur, La), /pú/ (Am), /`pö/ (Ú), /`po:/ (Kh, Ho), /`pu:/ (Am: Ng), /`b/ (Am: Dzorge), /foe/ (Za). This is also attested in a compound form, སྤོས་དཀར། SPOS.DKAR. Other words are found, such as སྤོས་དྲེ་ DRI.ZHIM (Ba), lit. ‘nice smell’, སྤོས་ཙྲི་ DRI.BZANG (Am) lit. ‘excellent smell’, སྤོས་དྲི་བཟང་ SPOS.DRI.BZANG. The term སྤོས་BSANG, which generally means FUMIGATION (see next) is also used in some dialects to mean ‘incense’.

240. FUMIGATION རྡོ་རྗུ་བསོངས། BSangs [PW] < CT ‘purification’. The word might be related to Pers. Esmand, sepad < Proto-Ir. *svanta, a plant, Peganum harmala,
which was used for fumigation and purification by Zoroastrians in Persia (and is still used in modern Iran and Tajikistan). Fumigation rituals are practiced throughout the Tibetic area, even in the Muslim Purik area and even beyond. Fumigation is usually performed with fragrant plants (juniper, rododendron, *khanpa* artemisia, etc.). The combination ལོ་སྤོས་པསྟོད། *SPOS.BSANGS* is also attested in Kham (Lhagang), whereas ལོ་སྤོས་པསྟོད། *BSANGS.SHUG* (La, Pur) is used in Western languages.

241. **STUPA** སྤོས་ཐེ། *MCHOD.RTEN* [PW] < CT lit. 'support for offering'. Stupas are hemispheric or dome-shaped monuments containing relics or the remains of Buddhist masters, monks or nuns. Stupas are characteristic of the landscape of Buddhist regions. The word *MCHOD.RTEN* is widespread in Tibetic areas and beyond in the Tibetosphere.

242. **CAIRN-LIKE ALTAR** རྒྱུད། *LHATHO* [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, etc.) < CT lit. 'deity+high'. The word is widespread in Western Tibetic areas (La, Za): it designates a "stone cairn-like altar for local lha spirits, usu. erected on high places or rooftops" (Norman 2019) It is sometimes ornamented with arrows, cattle horns or prayers flags.

243. **CAIRN** རྒྱུད། *LARTSE* [PW] < CT. Alt. spellings: རྒྱུད། *LARTSA, LARTSE*. This refers to the ubiquitous stone cairns found all over the Tibetic area and which are frequent in other mountainous areas of the world. *Lartse* may also be more complex and have a function similar to the Lhatho. In Purik area, they are often called *chörten*. རྒྱུད། *THO.YOR, THO.LO, and THE.GOR* are related to the word རྒྱུད། *THO.PO* 'pile of stones marking a border or a path'.

244. **CLAY OFFERINGS/TSHATSHA** རྒྱུད། *TSHA.TSHA* [FFW] small conical offerings made of moulded clay.

245. **CYMBALS** སྟིལ། སྨྱན། *SIL.SNYAN* 'small cymbals' [FFW] < CT, སྲུག་ཆལ། *SBUG.CHAL* or སྲུག། *SBUG* [FFW] 'large cymbals' < CT. An Urdu loanword is used in Balti: རྩེ། *CANG*.

246. **BELL** སྦུ། ག་ཆལ། *DBUG.CHAL* [PW] < CT. Bells are tied to the neck of some animals (yaks, sheep, goats, etc.). In Tibetan Buddhism, the bell is one of the main ritual
implements, alongside the vajra. Other forms include གོ་རོང་ (GO. RONG) (La), བི་ལི་ ཨ ཉོ་རོང་ (La), གོ་ལོ་ ཁོང་ (DRIL. BONG) (Pur) and གོ་ཁོང་ ཁོང་ (TING. TING) (Dz, Lho). In Balti, along with an Urdu borrowing གན་ཊི་ (GHAN. TI), the word རོང་ /zanggul/ is used; this may be derived from ZANGS 'copper' and 'GUL 'to move'.

247. **THANGKA** ཐང་ཀ་ [PW] < CT. The variants ཐང་ག་ and ཐང་ཀ་ are also attested. Thangkas are Tibetan Buddhist or Bonpo paintings on cotton or silk appliqué, usually depicting a deity or a mandala. The word is widespread in Tibetic areas and beyond in the Tibetosphere.

248. **MASK** ལབ་ (FFW) (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. In Dzongkha the form is ལབ་ 'bag' /'ba:p/. The compounds ལབ་ཀར་ 'GDONG. BAG' lit. 'face mask' and ལབ་མགོ་ 'BAG. MGO' mask head' are also attested in Kham. མཁྲིན་ KHARAS < CT. KHARAS, རུ་ལུ་/gulum/ (Pur, La).

249. **CEMETERY** ཀྱར་ཁང་ [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. In many areas, thus word designates a 'sky' funeral ground or charnel ground, where the corpse is dismembered and given to vultures. However, in some areas where sky burials are not practiced, ཀྱར་ཁང་ DUR. KHROD refers to burial sites. Ladaks, Kham and several other regions (Eastern section) use the term ཀྱར་བདག་ DUR. BDAG < CT 'lord of the grave yard' is used to refer to 'joyful dancing skeletons' that are often represented on thangkhas. A Persian-Tibetan compound གྲམ་བརྒྱབ་ MAZAR. THANG lit. 'cemetery plain' (MAZAR. Pers.+ THANG Tibetan) is used in Balti and Purik.

250. **SKY BURIAL** གནམ་ གཏོར་ [BYAGTOR] (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT 'destroyed/scattered (by the) birds' is used for 'sky burial'. In Ladakh, གནམ་ བུན་ (BYASBYIN (Dur) is attested. The orthography གནམ་ བུན་ BYA. DUR lit. 'bird funeral' is also used (Jangbu Dorje Tshering, pers. comm., quoting Dungkar Lobzang Thrinle). In the Ngari area, it is called གནམ་ གྱི་ GRAM. BRGYAB lit. 'to scatter'. The word གནམ་ གཏོར་ GNAM. GTOR < CT lit. 'sky scattered' is found in Southern Kham.
In most areas, the body is cut into pieces and given to vultures, but in some places it is left to wolves and jackals. Sky burials are only found in certain regions, and cremation and burial are used instead in many Tibetic areas.

251. **TORMA/EFFIGY** གཏོར་མ་ GTOR.MA [PW] < CT verb གཏོར་ GTOR 'to destroy'. Tormas are effigies made of barley dough used in Buddhist and Bönpo rituals. They are destroyed or offered to animals after the ritual. The word is found all over the Tibetic area in Buddhist and Bönpo areas. དགུ་གཏོར་ DGU.GTOR are specific torma for the lu or ‘water spirits’ (see Lu). In most areas, དགུ་གཏོར་ DGU.GTOR ceremonies involving casting out tormas are practiced.

252. **MANDALA** ཆེན་པོ་ཆོས་ DKYIL.KHOR [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT ‘inner circle’ The sanskrit loanword མན་ཌལ་ MAN.DAL is also used in the offering ritual of the mandala.

253. **KHATA/CEREMONIAL SCARF** མཁའ་བཏགས་ KHA.BTAGS [PW] < CT. Khatas are silk ceremonial scarves of various colors, most often white, which are offered to deities, lamas and other people (especially to welcome them and on their departure). The Tibetan word མཁའ་བཏགས་ KHA.BTAGS has been borrowed into Chinese as 哈达 hada (under Mongolian influence), into Russian as шалка (shalka), and into some Western languages, such as French or English khat. Other words are found in the Tibetic area, such as དར་ཁ་ DAR.KHA (Kh) or དར་ KHAR or simply དར་ DAR (Dz) < CT ‘silk’. བསྐལ་དར་ MGUL.DAR and བསྐལ་ན Dar MGUL.DAR are the honorific forms.

254. **CEREMONIAL SHawl** In Bhutan, a shawl called བཀོལ་ནེ་ BKAB.NE is part of the traditional male costume for ceremonies or for visiting dzongs and monasteries and on other formal occasions. It is similar to the upper shawl of a monastic dress called གྲོན་ GZAN (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho). In Ladakh, མཚན་ DAR.TSADAR ‘shawl’ /tsadar, tsazar/ < Pers. chador is worn at funerals.

255. **RITUAL** ཇོ་མ་ CHO.GA [FFW], describing Buddhist rituals for long life and prosperity. In Ladakh, CHO.GA means specifically funerary rites. Other words are also frequently used: རིམ་པོ་ RIM.GRO, ལྕོ་ཞུང་ SKU.RIM, རོ་བལ་ ZHABS.BRTAN, བཀོལ་གསོལ་ BSKANG.GSOL ‘mending and petition ritual’.
256. OFFERINGS མཆོད་པ་ MCHOD.PA [PW], a religious offering.

257. DONATION རུང་ལེབ་ ZHAL.DEBS [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.). This is frequently used in Buddhist and Bon contexts for donations to a lama or monastery. In Ladakh, the word རུང་ REL ‘donation’ < CT SBREL ‘to link, tie’ is used in a lay context to refer to gifts and lists of gift (REL.THO), as well as to money received at a wedding, baby’s celebration or funeral. This is practiced by both Buddhists and Muslims.

258. PROTECTION CASE/AMULET BOX གའུ་ GAU [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. This is an amulet box, usually made of metal, used by Tibetan Buddhists and Bönpos to hold relics or blessed items. Compounds like སྲུང་ སྐྱོར། SRUNG.SGAM are also attested, e.g. in the Eastern section. In Purik and Baltistan the word ཤིས། /tawis/ is used to refer to an amulet with verses of the Qur’an inside it.

259. TSHETHAR/RELEASING ANIMALS དོན་་ TSHE.THAR [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. This refers to the Buddhist practice of releasing animals to save their lives. The word is widespread in Tibetic areas and even beyond in the Tibetosphere.

260. MANTRA/INCANTATION མ་ SNGAGS [PR] < CT. This also has the meaning of ‘charm’, ‘spell’. Sometimes the term གཞུངས་པ་ GZUNGS.SNGAGS ‘dhāraṇī, mantra’ is heard. It is interesting to note that in Purik the same root, pronounced /yaks/, has come to mean ‘trance (induced by song or music)’. In Balti, it is used as a verb to mean ‘hypnotize with music (of snakes, such as cobras)’. The word མ་ SNGAGS is cognate with གཞིན། NGAG ‘speech, word’. In some areas, mani is used as a generic word for mantra.

261. STATUE སྐུ་ SKU [PR] < CT ‘body (H)’. This is used alone as སྐུ་ SKU (Dz) and as part of compound word སྐུ་འདྲ་ SKU.DRA (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Hor, etc.) lit. ‘similar to the body’. སྐུ་འབྲེལ། SKU.BRNAYAN lit. ‘reflection/image of the body’; LHASU སྐུ་ lit. ‘divine body’.
262. PRAYER BEADS/MĀLĀ. √ གྲེོང་ PHRENG [PR] < CT. The root normally appears with suffixes as གྲེོང་ PHRENG.BA, གྲེོང་ PHRENG.MA or གྲེོང MA. The Arabic word takbi is also used in Purik and Baltistan.

263. CANON གཞུང་ GZHUNG [FFW] < CT ‘major text’, ‘source text’ as well as ‘river course’. This refers to the main sources or texts of a tradition. It is essentially a literary word and is not always known by lay people.

264. VAJRA རྡོ་རྗེ RDO.RJE [PW] < CT lit. ‘stone-lord’. This is the main symbol of Vajarayana Buddhism and translates the Sanskrit word ‘vajra’, meaning ‘thunderbolt’. It is also a frequent name for Buddhists and Bönpos.

265. SWASTIKA རླུང་འདྲུང་ G.YUNG.DRUNG [PW] < CT. The yungdrung or ‘swastika’ (in Sanskrit) is a symbol used in Hinduism, Buddhism, Bön and other traditions such as Jainism. In Tibet, it is the sign of eternity and the main symbol of Bön.

266. VICTORY BANNER རྒྱལ་མཚན་ RGYAL.MTSHAN [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Hor, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT lit. ‘victory-sign’. It is also a frequent personal name for Buddhists and Bönpos. A banner called the ཡུས་སྟེ། THARAS is used in Muslim rituals (Pur).

267. DAGGER (RITUAL) གུར་པ་ PHUR.PA [PW] < CT གུར་ PHUR.BA (Am).

268. MERIT བསོད་ནམས་ BSOD.NAMS [PW] < CT BSOD ‘merit, luck’ + NAMS (?) ‘good deeds’. The concept comes from Buddhist doctrine. བསོད་པེ་ BSOD.PDE (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) is also used with a similar meaning བསྲན་ BSOD.BSBN (Am). It is often used as a personal name (female or male).

269. PATIENCE སྐྱོན་ད་ NGANG.RGYID (Sh)
'patience’ < CT ཕྲང་རྒྱུད་ NGAN.GYUD ‘nature (of mind)’, temperament’. However, some rural dialects seem to lack this abstract concept.

271. **COMPASSION** གཉིས་རྗེ SNYING.RJE [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT གཉིས་ SNYING ‘heart’ + རྗེ RJE ‘lord’. This Buddhist notion is one of the pāramitas (transcendant virtues). However, some rural dialects do not use this concept. The word གཉིས་རྗེ SNYING.RJE is often used as an expression of compassion ‘Oh poor dear’, ‘Oh my God!’. For this, some dialects prefer other expressions such as དབང་ལོ NgAN.GA.LO (Hor, Am) < CT ལམ་པ་ LAM.PA ‘pain (in the) flesh’ or སྡིག་པ་ SDIG.PA(Pur, La) ‘poor dear’ < CT ‘sin’. In Amdo the word ཡངས་རྟེན་ BYANG.Sems ‘altruistic mind’ is used for ‘compassion’. A few forms of South Kham can be reconstructed as འབྲུག་མ་ཚིམ་ BLO.MA.TSHIM ‘not satisfying’.

272. **FAULT** རྫོགས་ SKYON [PR] < CT. རྫོགས་ CH.L. Also found with a suffix as རྫོགས་ གཉིན་ CH.L. Other words are marginally found: སྟོལ་ GEM, ླྀྲིན་ ZHAD (Am) < CT ‘stain’; the variant རྫོགས་ ZHAN is also attested.

273. **SIN** སྡིག་ PA SDIG.PA [PW] < CT. The word is cognate with སྡིག་ རྭ་ཙ་ SDIG.RWA ‘scorpion’ and སྡིག་ རྭ་ཙ་ SDIG.SRIN ‘crab’, probably because these are perceived as negative creatures. In Ladakh, སྟངས་ PA NYES.PA (Pur, La) < CT ‘fault’ is used.

274. **GRADE** རིམ་ RIM [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix as རིམ་ PA RIM.PA. This is a rather literary word that is used in a religious context. A few compounds are attested: རང་ཏིས་ BANG.RIM ‘terrace’, གྲལ་ཏིས་ GRAL.RIM ‘rank’, སྐོར་ཏིས་ SKAS.RIM ‘step of a staircase, ladder’; གོ་ཤེལ་ THEM.PA (Pur) ‘threshold’ is also attested.

275. **GARUDA** བྱ་ཁྱུང་ BYA.KHYUNG or བྱ་ KHYUNG [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT བྱ་ BYA སྟོལ་ KHYUNG ‘large bird or eagle’. The Garuda is a mythical bird of Hinduism, also found in the Buddhist and Bon culture.

276. **NÁGA/ LU** ཡུ་ KLU [PW] < CT. Nágas are the serpent spirits of the Hindu and Buddhist traditions that live beneath the surface of the earth or in the water. They are known as lu in the Tibetic areas. They are endowed with magical powers,
wealth and beauty, but they are sometimes considered to be harmful and held responsible for certain types of illness. A female form of the word is attested as ལུ་མོ་ KLU MO. In Old Tibetan, it is written as བླུ་ KHLU.

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277. WORLD བཙན་བུ་ 'DZAM.BU.GLING' [PW] < CT, བཙན་ 'DZAM.BU < Skr. འོ་མོ་ བཙན་ ལུ་ 'Rose Apple Continent' + ངིང་ 'island' < CT, a continent described in Hindu and Buddhist cosmology. Thus བཙན་ 'DZAM.BU.GLING and its shorter variant བཙན་ 'DZAM.GLING are Sanskrit–Tibetan compounds. Another frequent word is བཙན་ འཇིག་ 'JIG RTEN (La, Ê, Ts, etc.) lit. 'basis (RTEN) of destruction (JIG)' which reflects the Buddhist notion of impermanence. Balti and Purik use འཇིག་ 'JIG.MYUL lit. 'people's place' and Ladaks employs བཙན་ SRID /sit/ 'mundane world' < CT lit. 'potential world'.

278. SKY ལྷག་ 'GNAM [PR] < CT. A compound word འོད་དཔལ་ 'NAM.MKHA' < CT lit. 'sky-space' is widespread (La, Ê, Ts, Kh). In Sharkho and Khöpokho (E), the sky is called བཙན་ ལྷག་ 'GNAM.SNGON.PO lit. 'blue sky', བཙན་ GNAM. 'GO lit. 'sky above'. བཙན་ འགོ་ 'GNAM.GO lit. 'sky above'. བཙན་ 'DGUNG' up above, sky' is also used in Amdo.

279. SUN བཙན་ 'OD [PR] < CT. The root is sometimes used without a suffix in compound words such as བཙན་ཝོལ་ 'NYLZLA 'sun and moon' (lit. NYI 'sun' + ZLA 'moon'), otherwise, it is normally followed by the suffix འོད་ བཙན་ 'GNAM.LHA (lit. sky-deity) and འོད་ འདུག་ 'LUNG' are used.

280. LIGHT བཙན་ 'OD [PR] < CT. This root is often used in the compound བཙན་ 'OD.DZER 'light beam'. Another root ངིང་ 'MDANGS is used in Dzongkha, derived from CT 'brightness'. ངིང་ 'DKAR (E) and DKAR.MDANGS ངིང་ 'DKAR.MDANGS < CT 'white radiance'. Balti people use both བཙན་ 'OD and the Arabic loanword ཥུ་ 'NUR. In Ladakh, བཙན་ 'OD also means 'electricity'. Jirel has འདུག་ 'RNAM.DAG < ? CT 'pure'.
281. **MOON གྲ་** [PR] alt. ཚ་ SLA < CT. The word for ‘moon’ is identical or similar to ‘month’, as in many languages.³ The root གྲ་ ZLA is often followed by a suffix ب. གྲ་ལ་ ZLABA. However, some languages have compound words (CT, Kh, To, southern Himalayas), such as གྲ་དཀར་མོ་ ZLADKARMO or གྲ་ཤེལ་ ZLASHEL ‘moon crystal’ (Kh), ཚུ་ DUNGZLA ‘conch moon’ (Am). The Melung dialect (Kh) uses གྲ་ལྷེ་ ZLA DKAR ‘white moon’, གྲ་ཤེལ་ ZLA SHEL ‘moon crystal’ (Ko), གྲ་དཀར་ ZLA DKAR ‘conch moon’ (Am). The Melung dialect (Kh) uses གི་དུན་ ZLA DUNG ‘light [of the] moon'; in Balti and Purik, the word གྲི་དཀར་ ZLA DKAR ‘white moon’, གྲི་པོ་ ZLA KYIR ‘mother (H) moon’ is used. In Sherpa and Yolmo, the first element of the compound གྲི་དཀར་ གྲི་ཤེལ་ ZLA DKAR SHEL lit. ‘uncle moon’. In Myigzur, གི་ནེ་ ZLA A NDA ‘aunt moon’ is used. In Yolmo, གྲི་ལ་ ZLA YUM lit. ‘mother (H) moon’ is used.

282. **STAR རྟེ་** [PW] < CT. It is pronounced in various ways: རྟེ་ རྟེ་ རྟེ་ རྟེ་ རྟེ་ རྟེ་. In the Daan dialect (Kh), 'star' is རེ་ རེ་ རེ་. In many languages and dialects, རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་. From the above, it is clear that the moon in the Tibetic languages is designated using three main strategies: its white color (‘white, conch, crystal’), its round shape, and kinship terms.

283. **WEATHER གནམ་** [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT GNAM ‘sky’ + GSHISH ‘temperament’. Other compounds are also found e.g., གནམ་་ GNAMNGO (Am) lit. ‘face of the sky, temper of the sky’. The compound word གནམ་ གནམ་ ZLA GNAMLA (La, Za), གནམ་ གནམ་ ZLA GNAMZLA < lit. ‘sky month’ is used and these words are also used for ‘season’. Some southern Kham and Estern dialects have གནམ་ གནམ་ < CT གནམ་ YID ‘mind’; this etymology is possible since, in the
Tibetan tradition, the sky and the mind are frequently associated; however, the words ཡུག་ YUG and ཡུག་ཁ་ YUG.KHA from Amdo could be the origin: their etymology means ‘roll of cloth’, but they are also used for ‘horizon’ and appear in the word གྲོར་ YUG ‘environment’. The word KHAD < CT ‘distance, time, surface’ is also used in Amdo for ‘weather’, e.g. གྲོར་འཇམ་ KHOR.JAM ‘the weather is nice’ (lit. soft). Unlike English or Russian, which have specific words such as ‘weather’ and ‘пого̀д’, many dialects lack a specific word for ‘weather’, just as in French, where ‘temps’ (< Lat. ‘tempus’) meaning ‘time’ is also used for ‘weather’. For example, in some Kham dialects, the word གནམ་ GNAM ‘sky’ is used alone with the meaning of ‘weather’.

284. CLOUD སྤྲིན་ SPRIN [FFR] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Ho, Kh, E, Am) < CT ‘cloud’. In some languages, this is following by the suffix pa: སྤྲིན་པ་ SPRIN.PA. The most archaic pronunciation /sprin/ is found in Purik. Two other terms are found: གནན་ MUN.PA (Ba) < CT ‘darkness’, གནན་པ་ MUN.PA (Kh: Yunnan) < CT ‘darkness’, གནན་ MUN < CT ‘fog’ (La); གནན་པ་ SRA.MUG (Dz) is a compound of གནན་ MUN.PA < CT ‘fog’, གནན་ MUN.PA (Jir, Yol). The word གནན་ PO of unclear origin is used for ‘cloud’ in Lhoke. In some cases, the lexical item cloud is normally associated with a color. In Sharkhog (E), clouds are normally associated with the color white: སྤྲིན་པ་ SPRIN.DKAR, but in Yunnan (Kh) they are associated with black color, as in སྤྲིན་ནག་ SPRIN.NAG (Byagzhol). There can also be associations with red: སྤྲིན་ཤེས་ SPRIN.DMAR ‘red cloud’ (Pur). The compound ཀནན་པ་ MUG.NAG is also attested.

285. FOG སྤྲིན་པ་ MUG.PA [FFR] (Ü, Ts) < CT or གནན་པ་ MUG.ZHAG (Am). In some dialects, the word has come to designate low clouds or any type of cloud. The CT word གནན་ NA.BUN, གནན་ MUN.PA ‘mist, fog’ (Pur), གནན་ MUN.PA (Za La) < CT ‘darkness’ is also attested.

286. THUNDER ཤུང་ BRUG [PW] < CT ‘dragon’. See DRAGON. In all Tibetic languages, storms are associated with dragons, and thunder corresponds to the noise of the dragon: ཤུང་འབྲུག་ BRUG.BOS /bluq.bos/ (Ba, Pur) ‘The dragon has called’, ཤུང་འབྲུག་ BRUG.GRAGS /n獠戮/ ‘the dragon has made a sound’
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(Am): འབྲུག་སྐད་བརྒྱབ་ 'BRUG.SKAD BRGYAB'/dukkā: gryap/ (U, Ts, Kh) 'it has made the dragon noise', འབྲུག་BRUG 'BRUG.LDIR (La), འབྲུག་གྱིས་ 'BRUG.GLOG lit. 'the dragon’s lightning' (SKh). The expression གནམ་གྲགས། GNAM GRAGS 'sky makes noise' is also encountered in Kham. According to Sprigg (2002), the Balti word གནམ་འགུལ། GNAM GUL < CT lit. 'sky move' refers to 'thunder in a clear sky'. In Hor dialect, this phenomenon is referred to as འབྲུག་གྱིས། SKAM.GLOG 'dry lightning'. A few dialects use the same word as lightning (see below).

287. LIGHTNING གློག་ གྱག་ 'THOG RGYAG. གློག་'THOG is also used for 'thunder' in some dialects (e.g. Kham). The root གློག་ 'GLOG (Pur, Dz) < CT 'lightning' is also attested. The expressions གདམ་གྲགས། SKAM.GLOG (La, Za) 'dry lightning' and གློག་དམར། GLOG.DMAR (Sp) lit. 'red lightning' are frequently used. Both roots are sometimes found in a single dialect and differ subtly: THOG implies that the lightning hits the ground whereas GLOG is used for lightning in the sky. There is also གློག་ལྕགས། SKAM.LCAGS 'meteoric iron, the weapon of Indra' (lit. lightning iron'). In some dialects in Kham, there is no difference between 'thunder' and 'lightning', and both are described by either འབྲུག་ 'BRUG or གློག་ 'THOG.

288. WIND རླུང་ 'RLUNG [FW] < CT 'wind, air'. The term is used alone as རླུང་ 'RLUNG /lung/ (U), /lu:/ (E: Th), or with a suffix: རླུང་པོ། RLUNG.PO, རླུངས་པོ། RLUNS.PO /lungspö/ (La), /lufo/ (Kharu), རླུང་བུ། RLUNG.BU (Ts) < CT, རླུང་མ། RLUNG.MA (Lho). In Yunnan the compound རླུང་དམར། RLUNG.DMAR < CT 'storm', lit. 'red air' is used. In Purik and Ladaks རླུང་drag 'strong wind' is attested. The word རླུང་པོ། LHAGS.PA or རྣམ་པ། LHAGS.BA [FW] (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Th, etc.) < CT 'cold or freezing wind' is also frequent. In Cone (E) and Čantsa (Am) རྣེས་ 'RSER.BU < CT 'cold wind, breeze' is used. རྣ་ 'RARU is 'wind' or 'whirlwind' in Purik. In Tō, the word རི་ 'UR is derived from a CT ideophone which depicts the sound of the wind. See also AIR.

289. RAIN ཕྱག་ 'CHAR.PA [FW] < CT. alt ཕྱག་ 'CHAR.BA. The verb 'to rain' is formed with the noun ཕྱག་ 'CHAR.PA followed by various verbalisers such as:

In some eastern languages (Kh, Am), there is no specific noun for ‘rain’. In these cases, GNAM (Kh, Am, Ko) < CT ‘sky’ and CHU (Kh) < CT ‘water’ are used for ‘rain’. The use of GNAM alone can refer to ‘rain’, but only where the context allows this; for example CHAR-PARTANG BABS ‘go down, fall’, BABS ‘go down, fall’, ONG ‘come’, BRYAB ‘hit’.

In some eastern languages, compound verb s are frequently made of the noun GNAM ‘sky’ followed by the verb BABS ‘go down, fall’: GNAM BABS (Kh, Am, Ko) lit. ‘the sky is falling’. The verb BABS may also be used alone if the context is clear. In some dialects, a few types of rain are distinguished: e.g. in Amdo, ZHOD or CHAR-ZHOD ‘long lasting rain’, CHARSHA ‘shower, downpour’, SPRIN.BSIL ‘cool drizzle’, CHAR.RDUNG (La) ‘downpour’.

290. DROP THIGS [PR] < CT. Often followed by the suffix THIGS.PA (Ba, La, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor). Some languages also have compound words such as THIGS.CHU lit. ‘drop-water’ (Am) or CHU,THIGS lit. ‘water-drop’ (Dz).

291. RAINBOW JA [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Dz, Jir, Sh, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The compound JA.TSHON < CT ‘rainbow color’ (E) is attested in some languages, and another form GZHA, also attested in CT, is used in Lhoke, Thewo, Paskyi, Khöpokhok and Yunnan Kham. Balti uses GZA. Purik and Zanhar have innovated original words for ‘rainbow’: NYLMA-S CHU ‘THUNG.MA. /nyimas ēu t’unma/ (Pur) ‘sun-drinking-water’ (this expression is also used in Hor dialects), and GZA.CHU ‘THUNG (Za) ‘planet-drinking-water’.

292. SNOW KHABA [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Dz, Jir, Sh, Hor, Kh) < CT, GANGS (Ü, Ts, Kh, etc.) < CT ‘ice’ and the alt. form KHANGS
The verb 'to snow' is formed by adding a verb དབས་ 'to go down', ངདོ་ BTANG 'to send' or རྒྱལ་ RGYAL 'to make, to hit', དེ་ RDEG 'to beat' (Jir) after the noun: ཕབ་ KHABA, ཕངས་ GANGS or མཁངས་ KHANGS. In Babzo (E) and a few Amdo dialects, a uvular form /qʰɑ/ is attested.

293. HAIL མེར་ SER [PR] < CT. Usually followed by a suffix: མེར་འབྱི་ SER.BA and usually pronounced /sera/ or /s'era/; Marginally, compound words such as མེར་འབྱི་ophone SER.CHU lit. 'hail water', མེར་གྲགས་ SER.GRAGS (SKh), མེར་འབྱི་ ZER.BA.DRU /zerba/ (Pur), མེར་འབྱི་ /seraru/ (La) < CT མེར་འབྱི་ DRU 'hail ball', མེར་ ཚུ་ zerba/CHAR.THO (Am) 'hail with large hailstones' are also encountered.

294. DROUGHT ནས་པ་ THAN.PA [PW] < CT. ནགནམ་སྐམ་ GNAN.SKAM (Pur, La, SKh) lit. 'dry sky' is used. ནགནམ་སྐམས་ SKAMS < CT 'dry earth' is found in SKh. མཁངས་ CHUDKON (La) < CT 'water shortage'. The root མེ་ THAN means 'bad omen, disaster' is used in various compounds: མཁངས་ SKAM.THAN 'drought', lit. 'dry disaster'; མཁངས་ 'BUTHAN 'locust plague'.

295. EARTHQUAKE མ་འགུལ་ SA.GUL [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Am) < CT མ་ཡོམ་ SA.YOM [FFW] (U, Ts, Dz) < CT lit. 'earth move' or 'earth shake'. Nearly all the Tibetic languages use one of these two words. Earthquakes are quite common on the Tibetan plateau, in the Himalaya and in the Karakoram region.

296. FROST བབ་ BAMO [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Am) < CT 'frost', alt. བོ BABS (Am); ས་ SED (Sh, Ü, Ts) [FFR] < CT 'frost kill' related to བསད་ BSAD 'kill'. The form བོ BAD found in CT is also attested in Kham, བོ PHID, PO 'frozen' (in Ladakh) < CT བོ PHID 'to freeze' (see Jäschke).

297. ICE མཁངས་ KHYAG.PA [FFW] < CT. བངས་ GANGS /gangs, kangs/ (Pur, La, Za). Note that in some central and eastern languages, the word GANGS has come to mean 'snow', but the original ancient meaning is 'ice' (see SNOW). Other words མཁངས་ CHAB.ROM (Kh, E) and its overanalyzed form མཁངས་ CHAB.ROM (Kh), as well as ཉོ་ DAR (Yol, Hor, Am, La), are also rather widely used. In Hor Nagchu and Ladakh, ཉོ་ DAR refers to the ice formed over a stream or a lake. Other words of unclear origin, such as ཉོ་ SHIR Nagchu (Hor), and ཉོ་ བུ་ GROG (SKh) are also encountered.
298. **Glacier/Snowy Mountain** Gangs, lit. 'snowy mountain' or ice mountain'. In many areas, this word also designates 'glacier'. In some languages, more specific words are used for 'glacier', such as Khyag.rom, Chab.rom and Khyag.klung.

299. **Crevasse** Ser gauche or Ser.Ka [FFW] < CT 'crack'.

300. **Fire** ME [PW] < CT alt. ME < OT (Am, Kh, E). The great majority of dialects have a reflex of CT 'ME but the form in some dialects of eastern Tibet corresponds to reflexes of the archaic form ME attested in OT. A few dialects even suggest the existence of a protoform SMYE; a voiceless initial is attested in Dechen (Kh) and a form with a high-tone is attested in mBathang area (Kh). Some Dunhuang documents support this hypothesis.

301. **Smoke** Duda or Duba [PW] < CT. The archaic form Duda /tutpa, dutpa/ is generally found in the western and southern languages (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Jir), whereas the variant Duba, lacking the final consonant of the first syllable, is attested in the central and eastern languages (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am). A compound Duna is also found. In southern Kham area, a Chinese loan yan is also attested.

302. **Air** Rlung [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways, as /l’ung/ (Kh:Balhag, Ba, La), /l’ung/ (Ü, Ts), /l’ong/ (Am), etc. A form with a suffixed MA is also encountered: Rlung.ma (Ko, Lho), Rlung.m (Dz), Rlung.po (La), /l’ungso/ /lufo/ (Kh.) In Yunnan, Rbugs < CT 'breath' is pronounced /’phu/ (see also BREATH, WIND). Phu ‘air in something inflated' (like a tire) is quite common (Ü, Ts, La).

303. **Breath** Rbugs [PW] < CT. Ladaks has preserved the pronunciation /uks/, but most languages have /uk/. Purik still has snying.rbugs /’nying-bucks/ for 'sigh', which is a very conservative reflex of rbugs. Balti and Purik use the loanword /his/ or /his/ for 'breath'.

304. **Steam** Rlangs [PR] < CT. The root alone is attested (e.g. Jir), but usually occurs with a suffix: Rlangs.pa /langs.pa/ (La), /langfa/ (Za), alt. forms Rlangs.ba (Am), Rlangs.m /la:m/ (Dz). Several
dialects, like mBalhag (Kh), rNgawa (Am) and Purik have a voiceless initial: སྣ ལྷངས་པ། KHANG.S.PA. KHAR.LANGS (La) is also common.

305. HOT SPRING སྟོན་པ སྟོན་པ [FFW] (Û, Ts, Kh, La, etc.) < CT ‘hot water’ སྟོན་པ སྟོན་པ སྟོན་པ [FFW] (Am) < CT ‘boiling water’, སྟོན་པ སྟོན་པ [FFW] (Ba, Pur) CT ‘warm water’.

306. SOIL/GROUND ས་ [PW] < CT.

307. MOUNTAIN/HILL རི [PW] < CT. In some dialects, other words are attested such as སྣ སྣ སྣ (Am) < CT ‘ridge’, སྣ སྣ (Sp, Dz) < CT ‘snow, ice’ (Dz). སྣ སྣ < CT ‘rock’ (Ba, E), སྣ སྣ (Am, E) < CT ‘slate’, སྣ LA < CT ‘mountain pass’ (Kham, southern Himalaya).

308. SUMMIT, PEAK རྩེ [PW]. Sometimes followed by a suffix: རྩེ རྩེ (SKh), རྩེ (La, Za).

309. PASS (MOUNTAIN) ས་ [PW] < CT. Note that in some dialects, LA means ‘mountain’ (see above). The terms ས་ LA.KHA and ས་ LA.MO are also attested.

310. VALLEY ་ ་ [PR] < CT. The root ་ ་ ་ alone is used in a few dialects. The suffixes PA and MA are frequently attested in some languages: ་ ་ ་ (Û), ་ ་ (Lho), ་ ་ ( HGMA, ་ ་ ( HG.BA, e.g. ་ ་ ་ (Dz) /JUM/. Dzongkha also uses another root ་ ་. The word ་ ་ (Ba) < CT ‘deep valley, gorge’ is widespread. Other words are attested, such as ་ ་ (E) < CT ‘field’ and ་ ་ (SouthKh) < CT ‘interior (of the body)’; this last appears in many toponyms related to U-shape glacier valleys, see Appendix.

311. UPPER PART OF A VALLEY ་ ་ [FFW] < CT. This word does not exist in in Kham, Amdo or the E section. In Amdo, the compound word ་ ་ ་ (Am) < CT ‘valley head’ is attested.

312. LOWER PART OF A VALLEY ་ ་ [FFW] < CT. The compound ་ ་ ་ (Am) < CT ‘valley confluence’ is used in Amdo.
313. **CLIFF** གཡང་ G·YANG [FFW] (Ü, Ts) བཀྲ་ཤིང་G·YANG.SA. The word གྱི་མ་GAD.PA [FFW] (Kh, La, Pur, Dz) 'sandy cliff' < CT 'slope', བཀྲ་ཤིང་ BRAG [FFR] (Kh, Yol) < CT 'rock' is also used. The toponym རོང་མི་བྲག་འགོ་ RONG.MI.BRAG.GO (the full name of Rongdrak) lit. means 'the town on the cliff of the rGyalrong people'.

The word བཀྲ་ཤིང་ MTHA < CT 'edge' is attested in Amdo. See the proverb: བཀྲ་ཤིང་ བུས་མེད་ པོ་ལོང་ /p'olong/ (La) < CT བཀྲ་བོང་ PHA.BONG.KHA designates a very old monastery built on the side of a giant boulder.

314. **ROCK** བྲག་ BRAG [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT and བྱག་ BYAG (Lho, De). Some dialects do not distinguish a rock from a stone, thus བྲག་ RDO 'stone' is also used for 'rock'. That is also the case in some dialects of English. The compound བྲག་ཕུག་ BRAG.PHUG < CT 'rock cave' or its variants བྱག་ཀུག་ BYAG.KUG /p'yak' (Lho). Other compounds are attested in eastern Tibetan: བཀྲ་ཤིང་ BRAG.KHUNGS, ས་ཕུག་ SA.PHUG (Am) < CT lit. 'earth cave'. Finally, the compound བཀྲ་ཤིང་ PHUG.KHUNGS < CT 'cave hole' is used in some Kham dialects. The term བཀྲ་ཤིང་ DONG sometimes reduplicated བཀྲ་ཤིང་ DONG.DONG or the compound ས་དོང་ SA.DONG 'earth hole' are found in Southern Kham. In Baltistan, the word བཀྲ་ཤིང་ /kor/ (< Dard) is a loanword, but one also hears བཀྲ་ཤིང་ /baho/ (Pur, Ba),
/bago/ (La) < बागो 'hole, cave, cavern' (Jäschke) or བ་འབའ 'cave door'. The Balti ब्रांग < CT 'rock inside' does not mean 'cave' but 'shelter under a rock'. For 'cave', ཤིཔར 'SKYERS is used in Amdo.

317. WATER གྲུའི་ (La) < CT. Languages with an honorific register, often employ གི་ CHAB [PW] 'water (H)' < CT. However, in Ladakh, ཤིས་པའི་ SKYERS.CHU [H] (La) < CT 'beverage (H)' + 'water' is used in the honorific.

318. RIVER དགའ་ རྗུང་པོ GTSANG.PO [PW] < CT 'large river' was originally used for the Yarlung Tsangpo river ཡར་ཀླུང་གཙང་པོ YAR.KLUNG GTSANG.PO, and now usually designates a large river. The compound དགའ་ རྗུང་ GTSANG.CHU (Dz, Lho) < CT lit. 'river water' is also attested in some languages. In many regions (Kh, E, etc.) གྲུའི་ CHUBO (Am), གུ་ གྲིུའི་ CHU.CHEN lit. 'big water' or གྲུའི་ CHUKA (Pur: Wakha), or གུ་ གྲུའི་ GYAM.CHU (Am) < CT < CT 'river bank', also denote 'river'. In Melung (Kh), གྲུའི་ LUNG.BA < CT lit. 'valley' is used, whereas in Balti and Purik rivers are called གྲུའི་ RGYAMTSHO 'ocean' lit. 'large lake' /gya mt's'o/ (Pur), /gyats'o/ (Ba). For small rivers and streams གྲུའི་ GROG.PO (Pur, La) < CT 'ravine'.

319. LAKE ཤིས་ MTSHE [PR] < CT. The diminutive forms ཤིས་ U and ཤིས་ PHRUG (Am) 'small lake' are found. ལྡིང་ ལྡིང་ LDING.KA < CT lit. 'pond' is also used. In few languages of the southern Himalayas, where there are only small lakes, loanwords are used, such as /al/ in Yolmo or /pokori/ in Jirel.

320. SEA/OCEAN ཤིས་ RGYAMTSHO [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT ཤིས་ RGYA 'vast area' + ཤིས་ MTSHE 'lake'. In some dialects of southern Kham, ཤིས་ MTSHE is used, ཤིས་ PHRUG 'samandar' < Urd (Pur).

321. IRRIGATION DITCH ཤིས་ RKA [FFW] (Pur, La, Za, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT ཤིས་ RGYA 'vast area' + ཤིས་ MTSHE 'lake'. The compound ཤིས་ RUR.KA lit. 'water ditch' is found. Another word is widely attested: ཤིས་ YUR.BA [FFW], /yurba/ (Pur), /yura/ (La, Za), ཤིས་ UR.BA /fiura/ (I.J: Durbuk), ཤིས་ MA.YUR 'main irrigation ditch'.

322. WAVE ཤིས་ RBA.RLABS [FFW] (Tö, Yol, Ts, Ú, Dz, Kh, Am) < CT. Various compounds are also attested ཤིས་ CHUR.BA 'water wave', ཤིས་ CHUR.LABS 'water wave', ཤིས་ CHUBL.B (La), ཤིས་ CHUR.RIM.PA (Sh) lit.
‘water step’, ཆུ་གཉེར་ CHU,GNYER < CT lit. ‘water wrinkle’ ཆུ་ལྗག༔ CHU,LJAG (Pur). The term ཆུ་ལྗག༔ < CHU+? is widespread in the Eastern Section. The origin of the second syllable is not clear.

323. WELL ཆུ་དོང་ CHU,DONG [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Dz) < CT, ཆུ་ལྗག༔ DONG,CHU (Am), ཆུ་གཉེར་ KHRON,PA [FFW] (U, Ts, Kh) < CT. ཆུ་ཅི་ KHRON,BU ‘small well’, ཆུ་མིག་ CHUMIG ‘spring’ < CT ‘water eye’; ཆུ་རྫིང་ CHURDZING < CT ‘pool, reservoir’ also used for ‘well’, and ཆུ་རྫིང་ ZING (Za) < ?RDZING is also sometimes encountered.

324. SPRING ཆུ་མིག་ CHUMIG [PW] < CT ‘water eye’ < CT. From a cognitive point of view, it is interesting to note that this representation is found in many languages of the world (Hebrew, Persian, etc.). The reflex of the archaic form ཆུ་མྱིག་ CHUMYIG (Am, Kh, E) is also attested in Eastern Tibet. The term ཆུ་མགོ་ CHUMGO (lit. ‘water head’) is attested for ‘source of a river’ and even for ‘spring’. ཆུ་མགོ་ LING,KA < CT lit. ‘pond’ is also used. Note that in many regions, the word ཆུ་མགོ་ GRUB.CHU ‘miraculous water’ < CT is attested for ‘sacred spring’.

325. WATERFALL, CASCADE [FFW] • ཆུ་འཕྱར་ CHU,PHYAR (Ba, La, Jir, Yol), ཆུ་འཆར་ CHU,CHAR (La, Yol), ཆུ་འཆར་ར་ CHU,CHAR,RA (Jir). The compound ཆུ་རས་ RAB,CHU alt. ཆུ་སྐྱོར་ CHU,SKYOR is also found.

326. DIKE རགས་ RAGS [PR] < CT. The compound ཆུ་རགས་ CHURAGS (lit. ‘water dike’) is widespread. ཆུ་སྐྱོར་ CHUSKYOR is also found.

327. ROAD བ་བོ་ LAM,KHA (La, Ts, Ü). The compounds འབྲགྲ བ་བོ་ RGYALAM < CT ‘large road’ and འབྲགྲ བ་བོ་ GZHUNG,LAM < CT ‘central or middle road’ usually designate main roads.

328. PRAIRIE/PLAIN གྲུབ་ གྲུབ་ THANG (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) [FFW] ‘flat prairie, plain, steppe’. གྲུབ་ THANG,KHA is also attested (Za). In Amdo the word གྲུབ་ THANG also means ‘floor’. In Sherpa, the word གྲུབ་ SDINGS,MA is used and is derived from the root གྲུབ་ SDINGS ‘plateau’; གྲིབ་ BDE,PHO < CT གྲིབ་ BDE’ easy (going)’ is also found.
329. **GRASSY FIELD, GRASSLAND, MEADOW** \(\text{སྤང་} SPANG\) [PW] < CT. The initial consonant cluster of \(\text{སྤང་} SPANG\) is pronounced in many ways: /p/, /f/, /ś/, /sw/, etc. Other words are found, such as \(\text{རྩྭ་ཐང་} RTSWA.THANG\) lit. 'grass plain', \(\text{འོལ་} OL\) (Ba, Pur) < CT 'clover, lucerne, trefoil'.

330. **FIELD** \(\text{ཛིང་} ZHING\) [PR] < CT. The CT word originally 'region, arable land'. In Ü and Ts, the root is followed by the suffix KHA \(\text{ཞིང་ཁ་} ZHING.KHA\). The compound \(\text{ས་ཞིང་} SA.ZHING\) lit. 'earth field' is also found (Am).

331. **FARMING AREA** \(\text{རོང་ས་} RONG.SA\) [FFR] (Am, Kh) < CT \(\text{རོང་} RONG\) 'deep valley, gorge'. Attested forms include \(\text{རོང་པ་ས་ཆ་} RONG.PA.SA.CHÀ\). This word comes from CT \(\text{ Kb.'river and cultivated land'}.\)

332. **PASTORAL AREA** \(\text{འབྲོག་} BROG\) [PR] < CT \(\text{འབྲོག་} BROG\) 'solitude, wilderness' + S.A 'place' (Am, Kh); \(\text{འབྲོག་} BROG\) (Pur), \(\text{འབྲོག་པ་} SA.CHÀ\). Another widespread root is \(\text{རྡུལ་} RDUL\) (Am, La) < CT 'dust', 'atom', 'pollen', \(\text{sasup} /sasup/\) (Pur) < \(\text{sasub} /sasub/\). See ASHES.

333. **SAND** \(\text{བྱེ་མ་} BYE MA\) [PW] < CT. This is pronounced in many ways: /pyama/ (Pur), /byanga/ (Ba), /pema/ (La), /pema/ (Tö, Sh), /p'ema/ (Ü, Ts), /p'j'im/ (Dz), /p'ema/² (Kh), /tsema/ (Kh, Hor), etc.

334. **DUST** \(\text{ཐལ་} THAL\) [PR] < CT or \(\text{ཐལ་} THAL.BA\), \(\text{ཐལ་} THAL.DKAR\) (SouthKh) lit. 'white dust' \(\text{ཐལ་} DUK.MAMB (Ba), 'dust' \(\text{ཐལ་} DUK.MAMB (La, Za). Another widespread root is \(\text{ཐལ་} DUK.MAMB (Am, La) < CT 'dust', 'atom', 'pollen', \(\text{ས་} /sasub/\) (Pur) < \(\text{ས་} SATSHUB\). See ASHES.

335. **ASHES** \(\text{ཐལ་} THAL\) [PR] < CT or \(\text{ཐལ་} THAL.BA\) (Yol, Kh, Pur, Am). Compound words are also attested: \(\text{ཐལ་} GO.THAL\) (Ü, Ts, Dz) and the variant \(\text{ཐལ་} GO.THAL\) (La, Za), \(\text{ཐལ་} THAL.TSIR\) (Ba), \(\text{ཐལ་} DUK.MAMB (Sh), \(\text{ཐལ་} DUK.MAMB (Kb), and \(\text{ཐལ་} DUK.MAMB (Kh).
336. MUD པ་གཉག་ 'DAM.BAG [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT, or the alt. form: བ་གཉག ‘DAM.PA (CT), བ་གཉན ‘DAM (Pur), བ་གཉན་ ‘DAG.PA (Yol), བ་གཉན་ ‘JAM.BA (Am) related to བ་གཉན་ ‘JAM.MA 'gruel, soup', བ་གཉན་ ‘KALLAG (La, Za).

337. FOREST བ་གཉན་ 'NAGS [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. This word is related to བ་གཉན་ 'NAG 'black' or 'dark'. Various compound words are also attested, such as བ་གཉན་ 'SHING.NAGS (U) < CT 'wood forest', བ་གཉན་ 'NAGS.TSHAL (Kh, E, Lho) < CT 'forest+glove' and བ་གཉན་ 'NAGS.RI < lit. CT 'mountain forest' e.g. རིན་ /ribi/ (Sh). The word རིན ‘RI (Yol, etc.) < CT 'mountain' is also sometimes used alone for 'forest'. Also found are བ་གཉན་ 'NAGS.TSHOGS (La) < lit. forest+ forest' (TSHOGS originally meant 'grouping' in CT), བ་གཉན་ 'TSHOGS < CT 'set, mass, crowd' and བ་གཉན་ 'TSHOGS.GSEB (Nubra); བ་གཉན་ 'RDZA.NAGS is attested in Southern Kham, བ་གཉན་ 'LCANG.GSEBS lit. 'among trees' in Purik (LCANG means 'willow' in CT), བ་གཉན་ 'PHAG.TSHAL < CT 'behind grove' in Amdo. The Hindu–Urdu and Persian loanwords /jangal/ 'wild forest' and /bag/ 'planted forest' are also heard.

338. GOLD བ་གཉན་ ‘GSER [PW] < CT. In many dialects from the Eastern section, such as Cone and Sharkhok, the word is བ་གཉན་ ‘GSER.NAG 'black gold'.

339. SILVER བ་གཉན་ ‘DNGUL [PW] < CT. A variant བ་གཉན་ ‘DMUL is found in some northwestern languages, where it is realized as /mul/, /mul/ (Ba, La, Pur, Sp).

340. COPPER བ་གཉན་ ‘ZANGS [PW] < CT. This occurs in some dialects with a suffix: བ་གཉན་ ‘ZANGS.MA (E). The word བ་གཉན་ ‘RAG is also used (see below).

341. BRASS བ་གཉན་ ‘RAGAN [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). The root བ་གཉན་ ‘RAG is also used alone (La, Am). Both words are also found in CT. In Balti, the word བ་གཉན་ /bramas/ is used.

342. IRON བ་གཉན་ ‘LCAGS [PW] < CT. This is pronounced in various ways: བ་གཉན་ /cáks/ (La, Pur), /cák/, /cák/, etc.

343. LEAD (METAL) བ་གཉན་ ‘ZHANYE [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Kh, Am). In some dialects (E), the second syllable becomes /ne/: བོའི་ZHANE. The word བོའི་ ‘RIN.DI (La, Pur, Ba), < བོའི་ ‘RI.L.MIDE’ 'round bullet' used in northwestern languages
is related to traditional use of lead for bullets; མདའ་མགོ 'MDA', MGO < CT lit. 'arrow head' is also attested.

344. RUST གཙའ་ GTSA' or བཙའ་ BTSA' [FFW] (Pur, La, Ü, Tö, Yol, Dz, Kh, Am) < CT, as well as འབྲལ་ G-YA [FFW] (Ba, La, SKh) < CT. The word བློ་ZANG (La) < CT 'copper' is also marginally attested.

345. ZI (AGATE) ེི་ GZI [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. The agate is an emblematic and symbolic stone of the Tibetic cultures.

346. CRYSTAL ཤེལ་ SHEL [PR] < CT. The word ཤེལ་རྡོ་ SHEL, RDO is another word found for crystal. See also GLASS.

347. DIAMOND གཟི་ SHEL [ATT] (Ü, Ts, Kh) < CT. Compound words are also attested: རྡོ་ཕ་ལམ་ RDO PHA (Th), རྡོ་ རྗེ PHA LAM (Am, Dz, Sh, Lho), རིན་མོ་че RINMO CHE (Pur). Diamonds are not known in some languages.

348. CHARCOAL སོལ་ SOL [PR] < CT སོལ་བ་ SOL, BA [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Tö, Ü, Am). It is usually pronounced /sola/, སོལ་ཏོག་ SOL, TOG (Sh), སོལ་ རོ་ SOL, RDO PHA LAM (Dz). The word སོལ་ཁས་ SOL, KHAS (Am).

349. PLACE ས་ཆ་ SA, CHA [PW] < CT. Some languages use the compound སུམ་ གནས་ SA, GNAS (Kh, La, Dz) or the words ས་ SA < CT 'soil, earth', གནས་ GNAS < CT 'holy place' or སུམ་མལ་ SA, MAL, SA (Pur). /jaga/ is also used in Ladakh.

350. TIBET བོད་ BOD [PW] < CT. This is pronounced in various ways: /bot/ (Pur, Ba), /bot/ (La, Za, Sp), /p'ot/ (Ü, Ts), /wot/ (Am), /wol/ (Am), etc. It is worth noting that the word བོད་ BOD may have different meanings in some dialects. In northern Nyemo, 100 km west of Lhasa, some people still use བོད་ BOD to designate the lower valleys of Central Tibet. The same usage is also found among the pastoralists of Nagchu area. In Baltistan, due to the conversion to Islam, people often associate བོད་ BOD with the Buddhist religion. Tibet is sometimes called there ལྷ་ཡུ LHA, YUL lit. 'the country of the lha (deities)'. It is worth noting the Amdo usages of བོད་སྐད་ BOD, SKAD 'Tibetan language': when pronounced in line with Amdo phonetic correspondences as /wo(t)ka(t)/, it designates Amdo speech, but
when pronounced /po(t)ka(t)/ it refers to Ü-Tsang speech. In some dialects in the Eastern section, this word would be expected to originate from śpoD because of its pronunciation with preaspiration as /pe/ (Serpo), /pe/ (Čone).

SPACE and TIME

351. DISTANCE རྒྱང་ཐག་ [FFW] < CT. The word རྒྱང་བུ་ RGYANG.BU is also attested (Yolmo). ལྷོངས་ NYERING < CT lit. ‘close-far’ is used in some languages for ‘distance’ (note that in some dialects, NYERING means ‘relatives’). The root ཐག་ THAG < CT ‘woven texture, rope’ (because ropes are used to measure) is also frequently used alone (Kh, Pur). The abstract concept of ‘distance’ is less common that adjectives such as ‘far’ and ‘near’.

352. DIRECTION གླུ་ཐགས། PHYOGS [PW] < CT. Often occurs in the compound གླུ་ཁ་ KHALPHYG. The word ཏེ་ NGOS (Pur) < CT ‘side’ is also attested.

353. EAST བྲག་ SHAR [PW] < CT ‘east, to rise’. This is often followed by the word PHYOGS ‘direction’ or ལྷོ་ KHA ‘mouth, surface’. དྲག་པྲུན་ SHAR.PHYOGS, བྲག་ SHARKHA (Ba), བྲག་ SHAR.SHA (Pur). Jirel has a loanword: རུང་ PUR.BA < Nep. In some remote rural areas, speakers know the words for the four directions, but often do not know clearly to which direction they refer. Some regions have preserved only the words referring to ‘east’ and ‘west’ and use loanwords for ‘north’ and ‘south’, while a few rare languages have lost the four cardinal points. In a few areas such as riverside locales in Yunnan, the orientation of the sun and the riverflow are most important.

354. WEST ནུབ་ NUB [PW] < CT ‘west, to sink’. Often followed by the word PHYOGS ‘direction’ or ལྷོ་ KHA ‘mouth, surface’. ནུབ་དགོས། NUB.PHYOGS, ནུབ་ NUB.KHA (Ba), ཁག་ /gasnyi/ (Pur) lit. ‘sunset, old sun’. Jirel has a loanword: སྨུ་ /pashim/ < Nep. Several places in Kham employ /t'ɑ/ for ‘west’.

355. SOUTH ལོ ར་ LHO [PW] < CT. Some languages have a loanword. This is the case in Balti and Purik མ་ /jaanub/ < Pers. and Jirel རླ་ /dačin/ < Nep.
Loanwords are used in some languages on the periphery of the Tibetic area, such as in Balti (Pur) with ལེ་བར་/shimal/ < Pers. and in Jirel with ལེ་བཏར་/utar/ < Nep.

< CT ‘in between’. Additionally, ཤི་མལ་/shimaal/ < Pers. and in Jirel with ཤུ་ཏར་/utar/ < Nep.

< CT 'center' is also used in Kham and Eastern languages. The compound ར་དཀྱིལ་/BAR.DKYIL/ (Yol) is also attested.

< CT 'inside' is used in Dzongkha, and གཞུང་/GZHUNG/ (La).

< CT. Other words are found: དབུས་/DBUS/ < CT; གཞུང་/GZHUNG/ < CT. The word སྦུ་ག་/SBUG/ (Dz) < CT 'inside' is also used.

< CT 'main place' lit. 'navel place' is used for 'central place'.

< CT. The archaic pronunciation /p'yoks/ (Pur) is attested. Other roots are attested: བར་གདོང་/BAR.GDO/ (Ts, Sh) < CT; དཀྱིལ་/DKYIL/ (Yol) is also attested.

< CT. Other words are found: དབུས་/DBUS/ < CT; གཞུང་/GZHUNG/ < CT. The word སྦུ་ག་/SBUG/ (Dz) < CT 'inside' is also used.

< CT. The expressions ར་ཁ་/PHAR.KHA/ and ར་ངོས་/PHAR.NGOS/ 'on the other side' are widespread.

< CT ‘left’ derived from the verb རོག་/gyo/ ‘deceive’, often with a suffix: རོག་པ་/GYON.PA/ (Sham), /yafa/ (Za); རོག་པ་/GYON.PA/ (Sh) lit. ‘outsiders’ (way). In some dialects (E, SKh), there is an opposition between the demonstrative forms ཝོ་/TSHUC/ < ‘hither’ and རེ་/DE/ < ‘that’ (medial) or between ཝོ་/TSHUC/ < ‘hither’ and རེ་/PHA/ < ‘that’ (distal), which are used as directionals. This new system may have been adopted because རོག་/GYON/ sound very similar in these dialects. Loanwords are also found, e.g. in Jirel with ལེ་འཇིག/debre/ < Nep.

Compound and derived words are also attested: རོག་/GYOS/ < CT 'good right' is used. In Balti and Kham (Chathreng, Gyälthang), a compound རོག་/GYOS/ < CT 'good right' is used. In Balti and Kham (Chathreng, Gyälthang), a compound རོག་/GYOS/
lit. 'honest hand' is used. Other words such as དྲང་/Drang/ trang/ lit. 'straight' (Kh, Serpo, Pur), བདེན་/Bден/ (Yunnan) < 'true' and མངོན་འགྲོས་/NangLogspa/ (Sh) lit. 'inside [way]' are also used. The Sherpa word may be related to the Buddhist ('insider') way of circumambulating with the right side closest to the stupa or shrine. Loanwords are also found e.g. in Jirel /sama/ < Nep.

362. FRONT ['in front of'] རྡུན་/Drun/ [FFW] (Pur, La, Za, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT (related to ཆོས་/Chos/ Gdong < CT 'face' or ངང་ལོགས་པ་/NgangLogspA/ (Sh) lit. 'inside'). A third root is frequently attested in Kham and Amdo: རྡུང་/Drung/ Sn gon and རྡུལ་/Drul/ SngA < CT 'before' (normally related to 'time', but here used for space) and derived forms such as རྡུལ་/Drul/ Sngun, རྡུལ་/Drul/ SngunTsho, རྡུལ་/Drul/ SngOso. Finally a word རྒོ་/RgO/ < CT 'rib, side' is also attested in some Amdo dialects. In all the Tibetic languages, the adpositions occur after the head noun and not before as in English, and are usually followed by a locative or dative case (see Chapter 8).

363. BEHIND རྒྱབ་/Rgyab/ [PW] (Ü, Ts, Lho), རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ (La) < CT 'behind', ཏོག་/Tog/ Mtha'.Ma (La), དབུག /Dbug/ Ldo.'ka (La), ཕྱི་/Phyi/ RtsIB.Na (Am).

364. BACK ['behind, at the back of'] རྒྱབ་/Rgyab/ [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Yol, Lho) < CT. Another word རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ Ltag < CT 'behind' is attested: རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ LtagRtsa (Ts), རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ LtagGa (Am). Marginally other forms are also encountered, such as རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ GzHug (Am), རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ Mjug (Kh, Za) < CT 'tail', and རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ PhyiSo (Th).

365. OUTSIDE རྒྱབ་/Rgyab/ [PW] < CT. The word is pronounced in many ways: /p'i/, /p'ei/, /p'ei/, /sh'i/, /s'a/, etc. Many compound words are attested རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ Phylogs 'out side', རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ PhylPhyogs lit. 'out direction', རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ PhylTsogNa (Am), རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ PhylKhJa lit. 'out surface'. The word རྒྱུད་/Rgyud/ PhylSta/p'ista/ (Pur) is attested. Some dialects of southern Kham have the form རྒྱབ་/Rgyab/ < CT 'behind'.

367. Corner སྦུར་ ZUR [FFW] < CT. A few dialects have reflexes from སྦྱུར་ GZUR (Ba), སྦུར་ ZUR, KHAI (Am), སྦུར་ NAZUR (Yol). སྦུ རུ GRU (La, Pur) < CT ‘elbow, corner’. In South Kham, the form /tako/ is of unclear origin.

368. Surroundings སྣ་ཐོར་ MTHA’.SKOR [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Û, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT, སྦུར་ཁ་ NYE.SKOR [FFW] < CT, སྦུར་ཁོར་ KHAR.KHOR (Pur).

369. Border སྟེང་ MTSHAMS [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Û, Kh, E: Th, Am, Dz) < CT lit. ‘earth limit’. The root སྟེང་ MTSHAMS ‘limit’ is also used alone. The Baltic word /χmurdo/ could be derived from སྟེང་ DAMOD.RDO ‘swear stone’ (because conflicting parties may swear on border stones or pillars that they will respect a peace treaty). Also found are སྦུར་ཁ་ TSHER.RTAGS (Pur) < CT ‘thorn sign’, ‘border’ (between two countries) and སྦུར་སྤེལ་ BAR.RTAGS border (between two fields).

370. On སྟེང་ STENG [FFW] (Û, Ts) < CT. Other frequently attested words for the postposition ‘on’ include སྒང་ SGANG (Yol, Û, Ts, Hor, Am) < CT ‘high place, ridge, hill’; ཕྱིལ་ KHA (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Dz, Th) < CT ‘mouth, surface’; ཁོང་ THOG (Th, Ho, Am: Ng, Û) < CT ‘roof’. More marginally, other forms are also used: མཚམས་ KLAD (Am) or བྱུང་ KLAD.KA (Th) < CT ‘above, brain’ and བླུ་ GU (Dz) < CT བླུ་ GO ‘head’. བར་རྟེ་ YAR ‘up there’ is attested in the eastern section. གོ་ LTAG (La) ‘above, over’. It appears that all the positions in the Tibetic languages are derived from CT nouns related to ‘high or upper places, or surface’. This grammaticalization process, which is not rare in the world languages, is particularly clear in this language family.

371. Under/Below བློག་ OG [PW] < CT. The variant བློག་ YOG is also widespread (Pur, La, Tö, Ho, Am: Chabcha). Some other words are marginally attested: བུན་ ZHABS (Kh) < CT ‘foot (H), bottom’, བུན་ ZHOL < CT ‘lower part’, འབྲུག་ GAB (Sp) whose origin is not clear.

372. Upwards/Up འབྲུག་ YAR [FFW] (Yol, Û, Ts, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT. The variant འབྲུག་ YAR is also found in Kham. The term འབྲུག་ GYEN [FFW] (Pur, La) or འབྲུག་ GYEN/ken/, /gen/ < CT ‘uphill’ is also frequently attested. འབྲུག་ /k’hatot/ is used in Purik. A few languages have other forms: འབྲུག་ KHAR (E) < CT ‘on the
surface, on the top'; གོང་ལ་ GONG.LA (Sp) < CT ‘superior’. Note that sometimes, the terms ཡར་ YAR ‘up, upward’ and its opposite མར་ MAR ‘down, downward’ have the secondary meanings of ‘in’ and ‘out’ and ‘thither’ and ‘back’ as in ཡར་ཕེབས་ YAR PHERS ‘come in’, མར་འགྲོ་ MAR GRO ‘go there and come back’.

373. **DOWNWARDS** མར་ MAR [FFW] (Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The term ཐུར་ THUR [FFW] (Pur, La) < CT ‘down, downward’ is also frequently attested. Other forms are used marginally: ཉིར་ SIR (Kh), སྒྲུད་ PHIR (Hor) < CT ལུང་ LUN ‘outside, back, behind, after + dative’. As we have seen above, the word ‘down’ is sometimes interpreted as ‘back’. ཡར་ཕེབས་ YAR PHERS < CT ‘lower part’ and འཕགས་པ་ YOG.LA (Pur) < CT ‘under’ are also attested.

374. **EDGE** འགའ་ MTHA’ [PW] < CT. འགའ་ MAR (Pur, La) may also be used for this meaning.

375. **BOTTOM** བཞག་ MTHIL [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E: Th, Am, Dz) < CT. བཞག་ LAG.MTHIL lit. ‘bottom of the hand’ means ‘palm of the hand’. In Kham and Amdo བཞག་ ZHABS < CT ‘foot (H)’ is used.

376. **TIME** དུས་ DUS [PR] < CT. In some dialects, དུས་ DUS may be used alone (Am, Dz, Kyi, Ba) but the compound ངག་ TSOD DUS.TSHOD [PW] < CT lit. ‘time measure’ is found in nearly all the regions. The root ངག་ TSOD used alone is attested in Drugchu (E). In some Kham varieties and south Himalayan dialects (Yol), ངག་ CHUTSHOD < CT ‘water measure, hour, clock’ is used for ‘time’. In the Phuri dialect (Kh), /sʰ tsʰeʔ/, whose first syllable is of unclear origin, is used (cf. WATCH). ཁྲ་ TSHOD WAGS/waqs/ (La, Pur) < Pers. and Arab *waqt*.

377. **HOUR** ངག་ CHUT.TSHOD [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E: Th, Dz) < CT: ‘water measure, hour’. In Amdo and the Eastern Section, the word ངག་ DUS.TSHOD [FFW] (Am) < CT lit. ‘time measure’ is generally used. A few languages have borrowed words such as ཁྲ། ལྷ། GHAN.TA/ganqa/ (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Jir, Yol) < Hin., Urd. ‘hour (duration)’ and ཁྲ། རྒ་ GHADI/gadi, gati/ (Ba, Pur, La, etc.) < Hin. Urd. ‘clock’.
378. **TODAY**་རིང་ *DE.RING* or the variant ལ་རིང་ *DL.RING* [PW] < CT. Some dialects have a reflex of a form ལ་རིང་ *'ARING* /lə ɾiŋ/ (Sh) or ལ་རིང་ *'ARING* /'aɾiŋ/ (in Yunnan Kh), /'ha r/ (Kh: Sangdam).

379. **YESTERDAY** གཞི//= གཞི//= *KHA.RTSANG* [FFW] (Û, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT ‘yesterday (morning)’; གཞི//= *KHA.RTSANG* is pronounced in various ways: ར་མ་ /kʰaːʀma/ (Dz), ར་མ་ /kʰasam/ (Ts), ར་མ /kʰaːma/ (Ü), etc. In Melung (Kh), /kʰos ma/ is used, while /kʰa ma/ is found in Muli (Kh). ཀན་ *MDANG* [FFW] (La, Ba, Sp, Tö, Yol, Sh, Jir, E: Drugchu, Lho) < CT ‘yesterday (evening)’. In Balti and Purik, འམ་ *GUN.DE* /gunde/ or འམ་ *GON.DE* /gonde/ < ? *DGONG*. Sprigg mentions the word འམ་ *kʰarča*l/ , which is probably related to གཞི//= *KHA.RTSANG*.

380. **DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY** གཞི//= གཞི//= *KHA.NYIN* [FFW] (Û, Am, LJ: Durbuk) < CT. གཞི//= *KHA.NYIN* (Ts, Kh) is also attested. གཞི//= *KHA.NYIN.ZHAG* (La, Pur).

381. **TOMORROW** གཞི//= གཞི//= *NANGS.PAR* [FFW] (Hor, Kh, Am, Dz, Ko) < CT. The variants གཞི//= *NANGS.MO* (Sp, Sham), གཞི//= *NANGS.KHA* (Am) and གཞི//= *NANGS.KHA* (Am) are also attested. Drugchu /na na/ might be derived from གཞི//= *NANGS.NANGS.NYIN* [FFW] (Û, Kh, Am: Ch, Dz) < CT; the shorter form གཞི//= *SANG* is also found (Ts). Other words are used more marginally: some forms are derived from གཞི//= *THO.RENGS* < CT ‘dawn’: གཞི//= *THA.RA* (Th), གཞི//= *THO.RA* (Sharkhok, La, Ba, Za). Tö dialects have a word derived from CT གཞི//= *SNGADRO* ‘morning’. The Sherpa word གཞི//= *ZALA* /sala/ might be derived from གཞི//= *GZLA* ‘planet’. The origins of གཞི//= *HAS.KE* /haske/ (Ba), and གཞི//= *ASKYE* /askye/ (Pur) and གཞི//= *BELA* /bela/ (Ba) are unclear.

382. **DAY AFTER TOMORROW** གཞི//= གཞི//= *GNANGS* [PW] < CT. The compound གཞི//= གཞི//= *GNANGS.NYIN* and གཞི//= གཞི//= *GNANGS.NYIN.KA* are also attested. CT and the modern Tibetan languages not only have specific lexical terms for ‘day after tomorrow’, but also employ གཞི//= *GZHES* [PW] < CT (and the compound གཞི//= *GZHE.NYIN* for ‘three days from today’ and གཞི//= *DGU.NYIN* for ‘four days
from today’. Some languages such as Balti and Purik use, instead of གཞེས་ GZHEN, the variant འཛེས་ RDZES, related to CT རེས་ RIES ‘after’.

383. **TONIGHT** དོ་དགོང་ DO, DGONG [FFW] (Ú, Ts) < CT lit. ‘this evening’. The variants དརྫེ་ས་ RDZES are also attested. In some Kham dialects, གནུབ་ NUB is used. In some languages, there is no specific word: མཚན་ལ་ MTSHAN.LA (Pur) or འཁི་འཛེས་ ‘DLRING PHITOG (La), ‘today’s evening’.

384. **LAST NIGHT** མདང་ MDANG [FFR] (La, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, etc.) < CT ‘yesterday’, གནུབ་ NUB (MO) ‘evening night’. The similarity between ‘morning’ and ‘tomorrow’ is frequent in many languages, including Swedish, German, Japanese and Spanish. དྲོ་ DRO may occur with a suffix as དྲོ་པ་ DRO.PA (Dz, Lho) or དྲོ་བ་ལ་ DROB.LA (Sh). In many languages, the root ཡན་ SNGA/SNGON < CT ‘early’ is also attested: ཡན་ SNGA.DRO (Yol, Am), ཡན་ SNGA.TOG (La, Ts, Kh, Am, Jir), ཡན་མོ་ SNGA.MO (Pur). Another root བཞོས་ ZHOGS [FFR] < CT ‘morning’ is essentially found in Central Tibet and many Kham dialects: བཞོས་པའི་ ZHOGS.PA or variants བཞོས་པ་ ZHOGS.GE (Ú), བཞོས་པ་ ZHOGS.KHA (Kh), བཞོས་པ་ ZHOGS.DA (Ko). The Balti word བཞོས་ Gyogs.Pa is probably an archaic form of བཞོས་ ZHOGS.PA. It is interesting to note that in this language, the word ‘morning’ is related to the word བཞོས་ Gyogs ‘to be the first to arrive, precede in time’ (cf. Sprigg) and is cognate with བཞོས་ MGYOGS.PA < CT ‘quick, fast’. The root ཞངས་ NANGS [FFR] < CT ‘morning’ is well attested ཞངས་ SNGA (Kh), ཞངས་ DI (Am). Other words
are also found: ◊ཐོ་རེ THO.RE (La) < CT ‘dawn’, ◊གཟའ་ LA GZA’LA (Kh), and ◊གཟའ་ RA GZA’RA (Am), which may be derived from ◊གཟའ་ LA GZA ‘planet’.

386. NOON གྲུའ་ཐོི་ NYIN.GUNG [PW] < CT lit. ‘middle of the day’ or its variants ◊ཐོི་ NYIN.MO (Sp). Sometimes it is found in a short form like ◊ཐོི་ LA NYIN.LA (Kh). and ◊གཟའ་ LA GZA’RA (Am), which may be derived from ◊གཟའ་ LA GZA ‘planet’.

387. EVENING/ AFTERNOON གྲུའ་ཐིག་ PHYI.DRO [FFW] < CT lit. ‘afternoon’, ◊ཐིག་ THO.PHYI [FFW] < CT lit. ‘after’, ◊ཐིག་ DGONG [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘evening’. The CT word ◊ཐིག་ SROD ‘evening (from dusk) ’ is attested in South Kham, but is rather rare. For the compound word with ◊ཐིག་ PHYI ‘after’, the following forms are attested: ◊ཐིག་ དབྱུ ཡ བེUNG TSHAD.PA CT ‘heat’ is used.

Forms derived from ◊དགོང་ DGONG include ◊དགོང་ དབྱུ ཡ བེUNG (Am: Ng, La, Ba, Ts), ◊དགོང་ དབྱུ ཡ བེUNG (Ü, Kh, Hor). ◊དགོང་ དབྱུ ཡ བེUNG (Am), ◊དགོང་ དབྱུ ཡ བེUNG (Am), ◊དགོང་ དབྱུ ཡ བེUNG (Am). In many dialects, the distinction between ‘evening’ and ‘late afternoon’ is generally not made. In Yunnan (Kh), /ma k’a/ or /ма k’a/ is used for ‘time between the evening and the night’. The word ◊ཤམ་/sham/ (Pur) < Urdu and Persian is also attested.

388. NIGHT མཐུང། MTSHAN [FFR] < CT. ◊ཤམ་ MTSHAN can be used alone (Am: Ng, La, Ba, Ts), but is often followed by a suffix or the adjective NAG ‘black’. ◊ཤམ་ མཐུང། MTSHAN.MO (Sp, Mus, Am), ◊ཤམ་ མཐུང། MTSHAN.NAG (Ü, Kh, Hor). ◊ཤམ་ མཐུང། MTSHAN.RING lit. ‘long night’ is also found. Other words are also attested, e.g. ◊ཤུཔ་ NUB (Yol), ◊ཤུཔ་ མཐུང། NUB.MO [FFW] (Dz, Am) < CT ‘night, evening’ derived from the verb ◊ཤུཔ་ NUB ‘to sink, to disappear’, ◊ཤུཔ་ མཐུང། (Am) < CT ‘evening’ and ◊ཤུཔ་ མཐུང། DGO.MU (Sh). Marginally attested are compound words such ◊ཤུཔ་ མཐུང། GNAM.NAG (Ts) lit. ‘black sky’ and ◊ཤུཔ་ མཐུང། BYA.BOS (Ba) ‘end of the night’ (lit.
'the rooster called'). In some dialects in South Kham and Zangskar, the word གྱི་འདྲོ (see EVENING) /phiro/ (Za) is attested.

389. MIDNIGHT མགོ་ཕྱེད་ [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, etc.) < CT lit. 'half sky', མགོ་དགོས་ [NAM.GUNG] (Am), མཚན་ཕྱེད་ [MTSHAN.PHYED] [FFW] (La, Pur) < CT lit. 'half night', མགོ་དཀར་ [NUB.PHYED] (Yol, Jir) < CT lit. 'half night', མཚན་གྱི་ལ་ [MTSHAN.DKYIL] (La).

390. NEW MOON, referring to both the lunar phase and the beginning of the lunar calendar. མགོ་ལྗོང་ [NAM.GANG] (U, Ts) < CT 'full sky', ཆོས་པ་བཅོ་ལྔ [TSHES.PA.GCIG] [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'first day (of the lunar calendar)', མགོ་བ ང་ [LO.BA.CHO.LNGA] (Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) lit. 'fifteenth day' (of the lunar calendar).

391. FULL MOON ང་གང་ [NYA.GANG] [FFW] (Ts, Ü) < CT, ཆོས་པ་བཅོ་ལྔ [TSHES.PA.BCO.LNGA] [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) lit. 'fifteenth day' (of the lunar calendar).

392. ZODIAC གོ་དུ་ནུ་གས་ [LO.SKOR.BCU.GNYIS] [PW] < CT 'the twelve years (of) the cycle'. The word for 'animal sign' is གོ་དུ་ནུ་ [LO.RTAGS] (U, Ts, Jir) or གོ་ཨ [LO.BA]. གོ་དུ་ནུ་ [LO.SHAN] in South Kham; the term གོ་དུ་ནུ་ [LO.RTAGS] < CT 'year sign' is also found there. The Tibetan tradition astrological system is based on the twelve-year animal cycle, similar to the Chinese zodiac; the names of the animals are identical, except the Chinese 'goat' is a 'sheep' in the Tibetan calendar. Tibetan astrology is used throughout the Tibetic area, even in Baltistan (Pakistan), and the names of the animals are the same in the various Tibetic languages, though pronounced slightly differently. It is interesting to note that the zodiac animal names are not always pronounced the same as the usual animals' names. In giving a person's age, the sign of the birth year is often given.

393. MOUSE YEAR བྱི་ལོ [BYI.LO] [PW] < CT

394. OX YEAR གླང་ལོ [GLANG.LO] [PW] < CT

395. TIGER YEAR གཙུག་ལོ [STAG.LO] [PW] < CT
396. RABBIT YEAR ཀར་པོ་ YOSLOB [PW] < CT. Some dialects lack the form གཡོས་ YOS, and use རྒོང་ RIGONG < རྡོང་ RLBOOL 'hare' instead.

397. DRAGON YEAR འབྲུག་པ་ BRUGLOB [PW] < CT

398. SNAKE YEAR སླུང་པ་ SBRULO [PW] < CT

399. HORSE YEAR རྫ་པ་ RTALO [PW] < CT

400. SHEEP YEAR བུད་པ་ LUGLO [PW] < CT. In some dialects this is called ར་ལོ་ RALOB 'goat year', under the influence of the Chinese name for this year of the cycle.

401. MONKEY YEAR སྤྲེལ་པ་ SPRELPO [PW] < CT

402. ROOSTER YEAR བྱུ་པ་ BYALO [PW] < CT

403. DOG YEAR ཁྱི་ལོ་ KHYILO [PW] < CT

404. PIG YEAR གཞག་ལོ་ PHAGLO [PW] < CT

405. MONTH རི་ ZLAB [PR] < CT or its archaic variant རི་ SLA. These is pronounced in various ways: /za/ (Ba, Pur), /da/ (La), /da/ (Za), / ta/, / da/ (Ü, Ts, Hor), / do/ (Cho), / dz/ (Am), / dz/ (Kh), / LA / 'la/ (Sh), / SLA / 'la/ (E: Th), etc. It is often followed by a suffix: རི་ ZLABA (Ü, Ts, Tö, etc.) /'tawa/, /'dawa/ or /'da/, / SLAW / 'daw/ (Dz), / SLA / /'doa/ (Cho).

406. MONTH NAMES (MODERN). The names of the month in Tibetan and most Tibetic areas are: རི་ ZLABA DANGPO 'first (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA GNYS PA 'second (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA GSUMPA 'third (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA BZHI PA 'fourth (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA LNGAPA 'fifth (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA DRUGPA 'sixth (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA BDUNPA 'first seventh (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA RGYAD 'eight (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA DGUPA 'ninth (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA BCUPA 'tenth (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA BCUGNCIGPA 'eleventh (lunar) month', རི་ ZLABA BCUGNYISPA 'twelfth (lunar) month'.

407. MONTH NAMES (TRADITIONAL). With the introduction of the Kālacakra tantra calendar in the eleventh century, the months were named after the lunar mansions, the names of which were translated from Sanskrit: རི་ ZLABA
MCHU ZLABA, DBO ZLABA, NAG PA ZLABA, SAGA ZLABA, SRON ZLABA, CHU ZLABA, GRO BZIN ZLABA, KHRUMS STOD ZLABA, DBYUG ZLABA, SMIN DRUG ZLABA, MGO ZLABA, and RGYAL ZLABA. Of these, only Saga Dawa remains widely known, because Vajrayāna Buddhists commemorate the paranirvāna of the Buddha during it. Another traditional way of naming the months was the Hor' Mongolian calendar ( HOR ZLA), which names month by ordinal numbers: HOR ZLA DANG PO, HOR ZLA GNYIS PA, HOR ZLA GSUM PA and so on. During the Tibetan Empire, the months were often named by seasons: DPYID ZLA RA BA 'first spring month', DPYID ZLA BRING PO 'middle spring month', DPYID ZLA MTHA CHUNG 'last spring month', DBYAR ZLA RA BA 'first summer month', DBYAR ZLA BRING PO 'middle summer month', DBYAR ZLA MTHA CHUNG 'last summer month' and so on. In Kargil and surrounding areas of the Muslim area of Ladakh, specific Tibetic names are traditionally found. These partly reflect the system used during the Tibetan empire and are based on the rythm of agriculture. The three spring months are GNAM DRO S 'climate (lit. sky) warms up', SBYANGS PA /byaspa/ lit. 'preparation (of the field)', MTHA CHUNG 'the last small month (of spring)'. The last of these is close to one used during the Tibetan empire. The three summer months are GNAM SNGON S NASNGON lit. 'blue sky, green (lit. blue) earth', MEN TOG RGYAS PA lit. 'blossoming flowers', CHU SMIN lit. 'ripe water'.

4. Younger generations do not know these traditional Purik names. We needed to find consultants over eighty years of age to recover their names. Many thanks go to Mohd Sadiq, a native speaker of Purik, who greatly helped in finding the consultants. He himself has an excellent knowledge of the language.

5. The month is pronounced /namtros/ and more frequently /namros/. Because of its phonetic similarity to /navroz/ Nowruz (Persian 'new year', lit. 'new day'), some take the word to refer to a month of the Persian calendar. However, in Iran, Nowruz refers to the beginning of the New Year, and not to a month. Moreover, all the Purik months are of Tibetic origin and mostly related to agriculture and climate, apart from the month of Losar (the Tibetan 'New Year' month). So interpreting /namros/ or /namtros/ as the Persian New Year would lead to two 'new year months'.
three autumn months are མཚན་ཉིན་མཉམ་MA lit. ‘equinox’, གུས་མོ་/lakso/ or /laksa/ lit. ‘hand resting’. The three winter months are ལོ་གསར་Losar ‘new year’, མ་མ་/Mamani/ (name of a dish served during a festival in this month, which is the coldest of the year), གུས་མོ་/ts’ungtse/ (< ? CHUNG.TSE MTSHAMS) ‘the small limit’. Most of these names are no longer known by younger generations.

408. DATE དོན་TSHES [PR] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix: དོན་TSHES.PA or དོན་TSHES.BA (Am). The Urdu word خیرا /tarex/ is frequently used in some dialects and is pronounced ཡི་རེས /tare/. The word སྤྱེན་/tsiruk/ < tsi ‘to count’ is used in Purik.

409. DAY ཕཀའ་GZA [PW] < CT ‘sun’. The archaic form ཕཀའ་GZA [PW] < CT ‘day’ is also encountered. Another root is attested: མ་ZHAG [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Kh) < CT ‘a day and a night, a twenty-four hour cycle’. It occurs alone as མ་ZHAG (Ba, Pur, La) or followed by a suffix, as མ་ZHAG.MA (La), མ་ZHAG.PO (Kh, La). The compound བར་ZHAG /nylzhag/ is attested in Kham.

410. DAYS OF THE WEEK དོན་GZA [PW] < CT lit. ‘planet, celestial body’. In the various Tibetic languages, the days of the week are traditionally indicated by the Tibetan names of the six planets (Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn) and the sun, on the model of the Indian names of the week, as is also the case in most European languages. The traditional Tibetan names are used not only in Tibet, but also in the Tibetic areas of the southern and western Himalayas (Ladakh, Spiti, Sikkim, Bhutan, etc.). However, in some peripherical areas such as Jirel (Nepal), Baltistan, and Purik, the Tibetan names have been lost and replaced by loanwords from Chinese, Hindi–Urdu, Nepali, Dardic (in Purik), and even English. The Purik names are tsandral, angāru, bōdu, brēsput, shukur, shingsher, adit. Even in regions where the Tibetan traditional names are well known, many people use loanwords instead of the original Tibetan names, as it is the case with numbers. Dzongkha is unusual in that it uses the traditional Tibetan names, but
with an offset of one day compared with the Tibetan system. Thus གཟའ་ཟླ་བ་ GZA’ ZLABA means ‘Monday’ in Tibetan but ‘Tuesday’ in Dzongkha, and so on (see the following day-name entries). In the Kham dialect of Myanmar, གཟའ་དང་པོ་ ZLA DANG.PO ‘first day’, གཟའ་ག སྐྱས་པ་ ZLA GNYIS.PA ‘second day’, and so on are used: these are calques of the Chinese 星期一 xingqi yì, 星期二 xingqi èr, and so on.

411. **MONDAY** གཟའ་ཟླ་བ་ GZA’ ZLABA [PW] < CT lit. ‘Moon celestial body’. In Dzongkha: གཟའ་མིག་དམར་ GZA’ MIG.DMAR.

412. **TUESDAY** གཟའ་མིག་དམར་ GZA’ MIG.DMAR [PW] < CT lit. ‘Mars celestial body’. In Dzongkha: གཟའ་ལྷག་པ་ GZA’ LHAG.PA.

413. **WEDNESDAY** གཟའ་ལྷག་པ་ GZA’ LHAG.PA [PW] < CT lit. ‘Mercury celestial body’. In Dzongkha: གཟའ་ཕུརབུ་ GZA’ PHUR.BU.


415. **FRIDAY** གཟའ་པ་སངས་ GZA’ PASangs [PW] < CT lit. ‘Venus celestial body’. In Dzongkha: གཟའ་སྤེན་པ་ GZA’ SPEN.PA.

416. **SATURDAY** གཟའ་སྤེན་པ་ GZA’ SPEN.PA [PW] < CT lit. ‘Saturn celestial body’. In Dzongkha: གཟའ་ཟླཝ་ GZA’ ZLAW lit. ‘moon day’.

417. **MONTH** པལ་ ZLA [PW] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix, as in བཟླ་པ་ ZLABA.

418. **YEAR** པལ་ LO [PW] < CT. Most languages do not make a distinction between ‘year’ and ‘age’.

420. **HUMAN AGE** པལ་ LO [PW] < CT. Some dialects use ཚེ་ LOTSHE; the honorific form དགུང་པོ་ DGUNG.PO refers to ‘age, (number of) years’. In Purik, age is instead counted in གསུམ་སྐོར་ GSUM.SKOR, which are cycles of twelve years. So གསུམ་སྐོར་ ‘three cycles of twelve = thirty-six years old’, མཆེད་སྐོར་ ‘4 × 12 = forty-eight years old’, etc.
421. **RECENTLY** ལྷ་རྒྱ་ **NYE.CHAR** [FFW] < CT ལྷ་ུན་ **NYE.THUB** (La), ཛྲ་རྒྱ་ **NYE.SNGON** (Am).

422. **THIS YEAR** ཀྲོ་ **DALO** < CT. In several dialects, ཀྲོ་ **DO.TSHIG** (Am) is used. ཀྲོ་ / **DI.CIG** (Sham, Pur), ཀྲོ་ / **DUS.CIG** (Dz). Some words with this meaning have unclear origin: /to: shi/ (Thewo, E), /to چ/ (Khöpokhok, E), /tsa چ/ (Rongdrak, Kh), /ta چ/ (Thoteng, Byagzhol, Qizong, Kh), and /ta چ/ (Yungling, Kh).

423. **LAST YEAR** ཤླ་ **MANING** [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. ཤླ་ / **ZLA.NYIN** (Ü, Ts), ཤླ་ / **NAHING** (Dz), ཤླ་ / **SNGON.LO** lit. 'year before' is also marginally attested.

424. **NEXT YEAR** ཤླ་ **SANG** [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Hor, Kh, Dz, etc.). This root means 'next one', and is used in compound words for both 'tomorrow' or the 'next day' (see TOMORROW) and '(the) next year': ལྷ་ / **SANG.LO**. ལྷ་ / **SANG.PHOD** (Am., Kh., Dz, Sherpa), ལྷ་ / **DUS.SANG** (Ü), ལྷ་ / **SANG.NING** (Hor: Nagchu) and related forms such as /s’o ji/ (E) and /s’d t’e/ (Kh: Chathreng). Other words are also found: ལྷ་ / **NANGS.MO** (La), ལྷ་ / **NANGS.DRAR** (Tö; 'morning' is often related to 'the next day or a future period'), ལྷ་ / **LO.GZHUG.MA** (Am), ལྷ་ / **LO.RJES.MA** (CT), ལྷ་ / **LO.PHYL.MA** (Thewo), ལྷ་ / **DAPHY** lit. 'next year' (Am, Kh). In some dialects of southern Kham, words of unclear origin are used: /p’a: ri/ (Lithang, Kh.), /p’a ھ/ (sDerong and Gyalthang, Kh). ལྷ་ / **BYAZER** /byazer/ is attested in Purik.

425. **IN THE PAST/Ancient Times** ལྷ་ / **GNA.SNGAL.MO** [FFW] < CT or the variant ལྷ་ / **GNA.SNGAM.MA**. ལྷ་ / **GNA.DUS**. ལྷ་ / **ZHAG.ZHIG** (Pur). ལྷ་ / **SNGON.MAY.DUS** (La).

426. **Now** ཤླ་ **DA** [PW] < CT. The root ཤླ་ **DA** is sometimes used alone (Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Kh, E, etc.), but also occurs in compounds: ཤླ་ / **DALTA** [FFW] (Ü, Tö, Sh, Am, etc) < CT ཤླ་ / **DA’now** + ལྷ་ / **LTA’to look**. The word ཤླ་ / **DALTA** is pronounced variously as /tata/, /tanda/, /taha/, /tala/, /tala/ or ཤླ་ / **DALTO** /d’ato/ (Dz). In Drugchu, ཤླ་ / **LTA** is also used alone. Other words which contain the root **DA** such
as /ta se/ are used. དེ་རིང་པ་ /dare/ (Pur), དག་ས་ /daksa/ (La). In the Kyiyil dialect (Kh: Pomborgang), བོད་པ་ /dare/ (Pur), དག་ས་ /daksa/ (La). In the Kyiyül dialect (Kh: Pomborgang), གཞི་ལེགས་ /dare/ (Pur), དག་ས་ /daksa/ (La).

427. **NOWADAYS** དེང་སང་ /deng.sang/ (Ü, Yol) or དིང་སང་ /ding.sang/ (Lho) derived from དེ་རིང་སང་ རིན་ /de.ring.sang/ (CT). This construction could be a calque from Hindi–Urdu aj–kal ‘nowadays’ (lit. ‘today tomorrow’). The word is usually a compound of either ‘today’ plus ‘tomorrow’ or of ‘yesterday’ plus ‘today’.

To illustrate the former, we have: དེང་སང་ /deng.sang/ (Ü, Yol) or དིང་སང་ /ding.sang/ (Lho) derived from དེ་རིང་སང་ རིན་ /de.ring.sang/ (CT), དེ་རིང་ ཐོ་ /d.ring.tho/ (E: Th), དེ་རིང་ ལོང་ /d.ring.long/ (La) or དཻས་ལ་ /dus.la/ (Pur).

428. **BEFORE** སྔ་ /snga/ (La, Pur, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) སྔོ /sngon/ (CT) སྔོ /sngon/ (CT). This is used as a postposition and a connector. སྔ་ /snga/ (La), སྔ་ /snga/ (La) (CT) སྔ་ /snga/ (La). In some dialects, the words མདུན /mdun/ (Ba) ‘in front of’, བཀའ་ /bao/ (Am). The word སོས་ /sos/ (Am) < CT ’early spring’ is also widely attested. Some dialects have both སོས་ /sos/ ‘early spring’ and དཔྱིད་ /dpivid/ ‘late spring’. However, a number of dialects do not have a word for spring and only have words for ‘summer’ and ‘winter’. Some dialects have three seasons but lack a word for ‘spring’.
431. SUMMER བྱར་ DBYAR [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: /byar/ (Pur), /ja/ (Dz), /yar/ (La), /yar/ (Ü, Ts). It occurs alone as བྱར་ DBYAR (Pur, Ba, La), but is often followed by the suffix KHA: བྱར་ KHA (Ü, Ts, Yol), བྱར་ KHA (Lho), བྱར་ KHA (Sh), བྱར་ KHA (Kh). Compound words are also attested, such as ལུགས་ KHA (Dz). When a dialect has words for only two seasons (warm and cold), བྱར་ DBYAR refers to the warm season. In Yolmo /erk’a/ 'monsoon' (June–August), derived from DBYAR, is used. Some dialects simply say དྲེ་ TSA and སྡེ་ KHYAG for the ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ seasons.

432. AUTUMN འོ། STON [PR] < CT. Ist sometimes occurs alone as འོ། STON (Pur, Ba, La, Sh), but in most dialects the root STON is followed by a suffix: འོ། KHA. It is interesting to note that the root འོ། STON ‘autumn’ is found in several words related to feasts, such as འོ། གཅོག་ STON.MO ‘feast’ and འོ། ཁསུ སྟོན་ STON ‘wedding, marriage’. Autumn is the harvest season with an abundance of crops and fruits, and is thus traditionally the time of feasts. Another root is marginally attested for ‘autumn’: ལོ་སྐ ལོ་སྐ KHA (E Thewo má), ལོ་སྐ ལོ་སྐ KHA (Dz).

433. WINTER ཚགས་ DGNU [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: /gun/ (Pur, Ba, La), /gun/ (Am), /gün/ (Za), /gun/ (Sh), /kün/ (Ü, Ts, Dz), etc. It occurs alone as ཚགས་ DGNU (Pur, Ba, La, Dz), usually followed by a suffix: ཚགས་ KHA (Ü, To), ཚགས་ KHA (Ts), ཚགས་ KHA (Sh), ཚགས་ KHA (Kh), etc. If a dialect has names for only two seasons (warm and cold), as in Southern Kham and the Southern Himalayas, ཚགས་ DGNU refers to the cold season. In Yolmo, འཇིག་ རྒྱ་ /ser’tang/ or འཇིག་ རྒྱ་ /serka/ ‘cold season (dry season?)’ may be related to ལོ་སྲུ ལོ་སྲུ LTOGS.SLA ‘early spring’.

434. NEW YEAR དོན་བསྟན་ LO.GSAR alt. དོན་བསྟན་ LO.SRAR [PW] < CT lit. ‘new year’, ཡུན་ ཡུན་ LO,SRUNG (Lho). There are in fact different new year celebrations in different areas: The Kongpo New Year དོན་བསྟན་ དོན་བསྟན་ KONG.PO.LO.GSAR falls on the first day of the tenth month of the lunar calendar, usually in November. ‘New Year for the Impatient’, in the form of དོན་བསྟན་ དོན་བསྟན་ LTOGS.SLA.LO.GSAR in Tsang province, དོན་བསྟན་ དོན་བསྟན་ LADWAGS.KYI.LO.GSAR in Ladakh and Sikkimese New Year
BRAS.LJONGS-KYI LO.SRUNG, falls on the first day of the eleventh month, so usually in December. According to the tradition in Ladakh, King Jamyang Namgyal decided to celebrate the New Year two months in advance in order to lead an expedition against Baltistan. The 'Agrarian New Year' JON.LJONGS.KYI LO.SRUNG falls on the first day of the twelfth month (usually in January). 'The Royal New Year festival' RGYAL.PO LO.SRUNG falls on the first day of the first month, which usually takes place in February. The occasion is celebrated by nearly all the Tibetans. In Amdo Losar falls on the same date as the Chinese New year.

**PLANTS**

436. TREE √ SONG [FFR] (Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT ‘trunk’ usually followed by a suffix SONG.PO, SONG.BO (Am, E: Th, Yol), SONG.MA (Hor). The root SONG [FFW] (Sh, Dz) < CT ‘wood’ is also widespread: SONG (Dz, Lho), SONG.SONG (Ts, Ü), SONG.MO SONG.PHUNG (Kh). In some areas such as Ladakh and Minyak Rabgang, the word LON.MA lit. ‘willow’ (La, Pur, Kh: Minyak Rabgang), an emblematic and widespread tree, is used to designate all trees. The word SONGMA/buta/ used in Spiti, Garzha, Khunu is of Hindi origin. LAG.TSHUGS is used for ‘sapling’ and recently planted trees (Norman 2019). In some areas, one finds sacred trees called LSON.MA or SONG.MA. The Bodhi tree or ‘tree of enlightenment’ is called BYANG.CHUB SONG. In CT, the term LSON.PA or SONG.PA LSON.SONG is often used for ‘tree’.

437. ROOT √ RTSAD or √ RTS [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT. RTSAD.BA is widespread. RTSAD.PA (Am) and RTSAD.KYI (Yol) are also attested. The forms RTSAD.BA (Sh, La) and RTSAD.PA (Dz) point to an etymon
The word བ་ཏྲག་/patrak/ (La, Ba, Pur) < CT བ་ཐག་/BA.THAG. Some dialects use རྒྱས་/Gyas.Pa lit. ‘growing, increasing’ (Kh).

438. LEAF ཡག་/LO.MA [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ú, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT. The variants /lobma/ and /lodma/ are also found in western languages (as well as in some compounds). རབ་/LAB.TI (Yol) and འདབ་/DAB.MA (Ts, Dz) lit. ‘petal’ are also attested. The latter form might have a variant LDAB.MA. Some distinct forms are attested, such as ཀྲ་/nalo/ in Sharkhok (E), /ʔa/ in Gyälthang (Kh), /pu/ in sNyinghong (Kh) and /sh’u ma/ in Khöpokhok (E).

439. FLOWER མེ་ཏོག་/ME.TOG [PW] < CT or its variant མདེ་ཏོག་/MEN.TOG (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Tö, Yol, Kh: Gyälthang, Sh, Lho, Cho, etc.). In some Kham and Hor dialects, the pronunciation མདེ་ཤོག་/ME.ROG (Kh, Hor) is found. The archaic form མདེ་ཤོག་/MEN.TOG is also attested in ancient documents, for example on the ninth-century stela of Khromchen in Lhartse district in Tö province (See KHASANG BKRASHISH TSHERING, 2001: 79). In Baltistan, མེ་ཏོག་/ME.TOG LTAN.MO (Ba) the ‘Flower Festival’ is one of the best known festivals.

440. PLANT རྩི་/RTS.HING [PW] < CT, རྩོ་/RTS.WA [PW] < CT.

441. GRASS, SMALL PLANT རྩོ་/RTS.WA [PW] < CT. The archaic pronunciation རྩོ་/RTS.WA (Kh: Gyälthang), /‘tsoa/ (Pur), and /‘tsoa/ (Cho). The word RTSWA primarily refers to ‘grass’, but also extends to other plants, and is used in the term for ‘medicinal plant’. In some dialects of the Eastern section, one finds ཕོ་/SGO < CT ‘green’.

442. MEDICINAL PLANT རྩོ་/RTS.WA.SMAN [PW] < CT ‘herbal medicine’. The variant མདེ་/SMAN.RTSA.WA lit. ‘medicinal plant’ is also attested. Tibetan medicine is largely based upon medicinal plants.

443. LOTUS བད་/PAD.MA [PW]. The variant བད་/BAD.MA (Am) /warma/ or /‘warma/ is attested. The word PAD.MA is often preceded or followed by a class term ‘flower’: མེ་ཏོག་/ME.TOG.PAD.MA, མེ་ཏོག་/MEN.TOG.PAD.MA བད་/PAD.MA.ME.TOG.
444. **SUNFLOWER** NYLAME TOG [FFW] (Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT lit. 'sun flower'. In Southern Kham, KUALSE METOG (lit. 'flower of edible seeds') is also used (a Sino-Tibetan loanword from guazi ‘edible seeds, sunflower seeds’. The word STONG.RGYAS/stongrgyas/ is found in Purik. Also found are Gang.la.nyIshar (La) and Nylamgos (Sham).

445. **RHODODENDRON** (type of) E.TO ME.TO G [Dz], 0 LAS.TO ME.TOG (Cho). There are many types of rhododendron in southern Tibet and the southern Himalaya. EtoMetO is the 'national flower' of Bhutan. Other common types include BALU.METOG ’type of azalea’, stongrIg ’type of azalea’, etc.

446. **HOLLYHOCK** HALO ME.TO G [FFW] (Ü, Ts, La, Dz). A very common flower in the monastery yard of Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh, etc.

447. **WILLOW** LCANG.MA [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. See TREE. LCANG.SDONG (E) lit. 'willow tree'. LGYAL.CANG (Am) lit. 'chinese willow', MAL.LCANG (Pur), lit. 'lower place tree', BROG.I.CANG (Pur) 'pasture willow'.

448. **JUNIPER** SHUG.PA [PW] < CT. RGyal.SHUG is used in Dzongkha. The juniper is an emblematic tree of the Tibetan plateau and the Himalayas. It is used for sang 'fumigation'. See FUMIGATION.

449. **PINE** THANG.SHING [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The word SRON.SHING < CT 'torch tree' is also used for 'pine' in some varieties in Kham.

450. **FIR** GSOM.SHING [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.

451. **POPLAR** SBYAR.PA [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The word yulat is also found in Ladakh.

452. **BIRCH** STAG.PA [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.

453. **OAK** PER.SHING [FFW] (Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.
454. BAMBOO བུ་མ་ སྨྱུག་མ་ (Ba, La, Pur, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) [FFW] < CT. སྦྱུག་མ་ སྲུང་ (Dz), སྨྱུག་ སྲུང་ (Cho) lit. ‘bow tree’. In some dialects of Southern Kham, /ʰkoː/ (Nyayülzha) may be derived from /sغو.ردو/ lit. ‘round stone’, /koː/ (Mairi), /kədʒ/ (Lamdo), /ɡoː/ (Daan) are used. Walnut is an emblematic tree found in lower valleys in most Tibetic regions.

455. MULBERRY འོ་སེ་ བོ (Ba, La, Pur) < CT. Also found are འོ་ཀོ་ (Dz) and འོ་གུ་ (Hor).

456. WALNUT བུ་མ་ སྟར་ཁ་ (La, Pur, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) [PW] < CT. Also found are སྟར་ཀ་ or སྟར་ག་ (Dz). In some dialects of Southern Kham, /ko/ (Nyayülzha), may be derived from /sغو.ردو/ lit. ‘round stone’, /kə/ (Mairi), /kədʒ/ (Lamdo), /ɡoː/ (Daan) are used. Walnut is an emblematic tree found in lower valleys in most Tibetic regions.

457. PEACH བོ་ གོ་ རླ་ (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT, རླ་ བོ་ (Dz), རླ་ བོ་ < ‘yellow peach’; in Tibet, ཐའོ་ཙེ་ སྦྱེ (Chin. 桃子 taozi is also used.

458. APRICOT ། རྗེ་ ཁམ་ (La, Pur, Ba, Sp), རྗེ་ རྗེ་ (Am) < CT lit. ‘Ngari peach’, རྗེ་ བོ་ (Am). In Ladakh, རེ་ 见 (La) and གུ་ 见 (Am) refer to a variety of good apricots with an edible kernel.

459. APPLE ཤིང་ རླ་ (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Sp, Kh), ཤིང་ རླ་ (Am) < Chin. 苹果 pingguo. In Hor dialect, སྦྱི་ 见 SHING.TOG < CT ‘fruit’, is used for ‘apple’.

460. PEAR ཤིང་ རླ་ (Ü, Ts) < CT < Chin. 见 SILLI (E. SKh), 见 NYU.TI (Pur, La).

461. PLUM 见 SILLI (Ü, Ts), 见 CULI (Am).

462. TANGERINE/ORANGE ཤིང་ 见 TSHALU (Ü, Ts, Hor) < CT. This is found as, e.g., 见 TSHALU (Cho). Other forms include 见 RGYASIL (Am), lit. ‘Chinese fruit’ and 见 /santara/ (Pur).

463. MANGO 见 /am/ [FFW] (Cho, La, Pur) < CT 见 /AMRA < Hindi–Urdu, 见 /AMRA SHING.TOG /AM (Ü, Ts, etc.).

464. FIG ཤིང་ སྦྱེ 见 /CONG.SE, 见 /MLRGAN /AM.CHOG (Hor) lit. ‘old man’s ear’.
465. PERSIMMON སི་ཟི ༣AMRAI NOR. BU. The Chinese loanword /shizô/ 柿子 shizì is also used.

466. GRAPE སྒྲུ་འབྲིུ་ནོར་བུ་RGUN. BRUM [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, E) < CT or simply སྒྲུ་ RGUN (Kh, Pur, La). The word RGUN. BRUM is a compound of 'BRUM 'swelling (shape)', related to a grape's appearance, and RGUN, which could be related to DGUN 'winter' (preinitial R often occurs instead of D). ཤིན་པུ་ PHULTHA'O (SKh) < Chin. 葡萄 putao. Grapes grow in South-Eastern Tibet and in Brokyul in the lower Indus valley in Ladakh.

467. POMEGRANATE ཞེ་འབྲུ SE. BRU < CT.

468. SEABUCKTHORN གྲེམ་མང་TSHER. MANG (La) < CT 'thorn'. A kind of thorny tree with edible berries.

469. THORN གྲེམ་TSHER. MA [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tô, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.

470. FRUIT རིག་ SIL (Am: Xun) < CT རིག་ཏོག་ SÌL.TOG (Am) 'top fruit', རིག་ཏོག་ SHING.TOG (U, Ts, Lho) < CT lit. 'top of the tree', རིག་ཏོག་ BRUM, རིག་ཏོག་ BRUM.BU (Kh: Dechen) < CT 'grape', རིག་ཏོག་ SHING.BRU (Kh: Minyak Rabgang), རིག་ཏོག་ SHING.BRA.S (Hor) < CT 'tree fruit'. རིག་ཏོག་ KHÂ.ZAS (La, Ba, Pur). The Chinese loanword 水果 shuiguò is also attested in Southern Kham. In Nepal, the loanword /phalpul/ is used. Fruit grows in abundance only on the periphery of the Tibetan Plateau (Ladakh, Baltistan, Khunu, Kongpo, Eastern and Southern Tibet) and in the Southern Himalayas (Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal).

471. CATERPILLAR FUNGUS [Ophiocordyceps sinensis] འབྲྲ་རྩ་བདུན་འབུ་ DBYAR. RTSAW DGUN. BU [FFW] (To, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) 'summer grass, winter worm' or simply འབྲུ་ BU (Kh) lit. 'worm', འབྲུས་འཁུམ་ BU.SKAM lit. 'dry worm'. The caterpillar fungus is emblematic of the Tibetan plateau; it is considered to be very valuable and is used in traditional medicine.

472. CROP འབྲུ་BRU [PW] < CT. འབྲུ་ /t'ok/ (Pur), འབྲུ་ STON. THOG (La, Ü) CT 'crop, autumn harvest'.
473. **RICE** འབྲས་ ’BRAS [PW] < CT. It has been suggested that this is derived from a proto-Austronesian root *beRas ‘rice’; cf. *bras ‘rice’ in Malay (see Sagart 2011). However, the root is not found in other TB languages and so the hypothesis is problematic, and is not accepted by other scholars (pers. comm. Bradley). Apart from *BRAS, which is found nearly everywhere, we have additional roots such as གོ་ ཁུམ་ ’CHUM ‘cooked rice’ in Dzongkha and Lhoke, and ཁྱུད་གུ་ DRUS.MA ‘polished rice’ < ‘millet’, originally from ཁྱུད་ ’DRU ‘to dig, to peel’, in southern Kham, which is distinguished from ’BRAS ‘rice plant’. In many areas of Ladakh, the word /bato/ of Indo-Aryan origin is often used for ‘cooked rice’. Rice is cultivated only on the periphery of the Tibetic area, such as in Sikkim, Bhutan, and southern Kham.

474. **SEED** ས་བོན SA.BON or སོན་ SON [PW] < CT. In some dialects of southern Kham, the word is derived from སོ་བ་ SALON.

475. **EAR (PLANT)** སྙི་ SNYI < CT. སྙི་མ SNYI.MA [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, E, Am), སྙི་མགོ SNYI.MGO (La), སྙི་མགོ LOMGO (E), སྙི་མགོ NAS.MGO. ’barley head’ is used in South Kham and Ladakh.

476. **WHEAT** གྲོ་ GRO [PW] < CT and the variants གྲ ར གྲ ར གླ ར Sh) and གྱོ་ GYO (Am, Lho). Wheat in Dzongkha is designated by the word སཀ་ /kə:/ which is probably derived from སཀ/ Dkar ‘white’. Some dialects of Amdo use སཀ སོཊ, in which case /kə:/ is used for ‘barley’ (cf. BARLEY). སཀ སོཊ NAS < CT ‘barley’ is used in Gyālthang and Yolmo.

477. **BARLEY** [Hordeum vulgare] སོ་ར་ SO.BA [PW] < CT. This variety of barley has a thick hull and grows at lower altitudes. It is found in the southern Himalayas and the southeastern regions of the Tibetic area.

478. **HIGHLAND BARLEY** [Hordeum vulgare var. trifurcatum] ས་ སོཊ NAS [PW] < CT. In some Tö dialects, the root ས་ སོཊ ’BRU ‘grain, crop’ is used instead of སོཊ NAS. In some dialects (Yunnan and Nepal), another word སྲོ སྲོ སྲོ Dkar ’U is used. This term is probably derived from Dkar ‘white’ since the Tibetans traditionally make a difference between white and black barley varieties, the former being used for tsampa and the latter for chang (cf. MILA RAS.PAI RNAM.THAR).
479. **BUCKWHEAT** बुक्वेहेट [PW].

480. **MILLET** བྲ་པོ་ KHRE < CT (Kh), but other words such as གྱར /gyar/ (Sherpa) and ག་པར /gyagar/ (Yolmo) are found; མ /m/ (Pur, Sham). Within the Tibetic area, millet grows in the southern Himalayas, as well as in the southeastern and northwestern regions at lower altitude.

481. **OAT** རྡྭུ་ YUG.PO (La) < CT.

482. **CORN** (MAIZE) མ་རྨོས་ལྡོ་ཏོག MA.RMOS.LOTOG [FFW] (Ü) < CT lit. 'the unploughed crop', བྲ་མ་དགའ་འཛོམ BRAM.MO.DGA. 'the rejoicing crop' (Ts), གཞན /KEN.TSONG/ (Lho), and གཞན /ZHOM/ (Ü). In some eastern languages, the word for corn is borrowed from Chinese (玉米 yumi, 包谷 baogu), while southern and western languages use /makka/, /magi/ from Hindi–Urdu 'makkai'. Word forms such as /ta mbo/ and /k’ɑ dze/ are attested in SKh, the latter being a loan from Naxi. Corn has recently been introduced in some lower altitude Tibetan areas, such as Muli, Weixi, and Thewo, as well as the Southern Himalayas, e.g. Solukhumbu, Bhutan, etc.

483. **VEGETABLE** ཡོངས་ཏིས་ TSHAL [FFW] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor) < CT < Chin. 菜 cai. Sometimes it is preceded by the adjective གླུ་ SNGO lit. 'blue/green' གླུ་ཐིས་ SNGO.TSHAL 'green vegetable' (E, Am). རོ་ (E). Another root found in Amdo, Ladakh and southern Kham is TSHOD lit. 'cooked', which is sometimes followed by a suffix MA: རོི་ཇོམ་ TSHOD.MA (Pur, La, Yol, SKh, Am). 蔬菜 LDUMP.A (Am, La) is also attested, and 蔬菜 YO.Mais used in Gyalthang (Kh).

484. **MUSTARD** ཡུངས་དཀར YUNGS.DKAR [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Am) < CT 'white mustard' or the variant ཡུངས་ཀར YUNGS.KAR (La). An important oil crop. 黃芥末 YUNGS.NAG 'black mustard' is also attested.

485. **RADISH** རྡུ་ཧུག LA.HUG [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, etc) < CT < Chin. 萝卜 luobo; 萝卜 LA.HUG (Am), 黃 /durpo/ is attested in Purik.

486. **TURNIP** ཡུངས་ MA.NYUNG [PW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Am etc.) < CT. 黃 FULAG (Pur).
487. CARROT ལ་ཕུག་དམརཔོ LA PHUG DMARPO (Dz), ཟང་ལ་ཕུག་ HONG LA PHUG (Ü, Ts), སར་གྲུའི་རྒྱུན་ SARAG TUR MAN (La), སྦེ་ལྷ་ WALA PHRU (Pur).

488. SPINACH མ་ལག་ PA LAG (La, Pur, Ba, Sh) < Hindi–Urdu, བོ་ཚལ་ PO TSHAL (Ts, Ü, Am, Kh) < Chin. 菠菜 bocai.

489. CABBAGE ལ་ཚལ་ PE TSHAL (Ü, Ts) < Chin. 白菜 bai cai, གོ ལོ Bi (La) < Hindi–Urdu.

490. ONION ོང་ TSONG [PW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, To, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT from Chin. 葱 cong. Some dialects have an aspirated initial, which indicates a late borrowing. Other words are marginally attested, including ོང་དཀར་ TSONG DKAR and words derived from བག འ མི gba ma (see GARLIC).

491. GARLIC བག འ མི SGOG PA (Pur) [PW] < CT. Some dialects of Kham (e.g. Kyidyü) use བག འ SGOG.

492. GINGER བ འ མི SGA [PW] < CT བ འ མི BCA SGA (La, Ba, Kh, Am), བ ཡ འ མི LGABCA', བ ཡ འ མི SGA SMUG (U, Ts, Hor), བ ཡ འ མི RGYE SHAR (Sh), བ ཡ འ མི /tongara/ (Pur). In Amdo བ ཡ འ མི SGA SER means ‘turmeric’.

493. POTATO ཞོག་ཁོག་ ZHOG KHOG [FFW] (Ü, Ts). This crop was introduced to most of the Himalayas and Tibet during the nineteenth century, or in some cases at the beginning of the twentieth century. This explains why the potato has a variety of names across the region. Several are derived from Tibetan roots. The main word ZHOG KHOG may be derived from བག འ SGOG ‘to put (imperative stem)’ and བ ཡ འ SGA ‘to be extracted, to be gathered’ which refers to the mode of cultivation. An alternative etymology has been proposed: ZHO ‘yoghurt’ and KHOG ‘old and ugly’ because it looks like old yoghurt (Jangbu Dorje Tshering, pers. comm.). In many part of Kham, Amdo, Hor and even Tsang, the words བ ཡ འ RG YA GRO MA and བ ཡ འ RG YA GRO literally meaning ‘Chinese potentilla’ are used. Variants are also attested, including བ ཡ འ བ ས ཀྲི་ RGYA YUNG GRO MA. On the southern slopes of the Himalaya, in Nepal and Bhutan, the root བ ཡ འ kye is used, for example in བ འ /he/, in Dzongkha བ ཡ འ KE BA /kewa/, in Lhoke བ ཡ /kyu/. This root is found in other TB languages such as Limbu and means ‘yam’. A compound word བ ཡ འ ར བ འ Ri kye is also found in the Sherpa and Jirel areas, བ ཡ འ Ri KI (Sherpa) and
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*RE.GE* (Jirel), literally meaning ‘mountain yam’. The word /he/ ‘potato’ in Yolmo may be related to *kye*. In many Kham and Amdo areas, the Chinese word 洋芋 *yangyu* is used, while in Bhutan and Ladakh the Hindi–Urdu word 浴 *ALU* has been borrowed. Some words such as /dɔ gwa/, /jɔ lu/, /jɔ bu/, /ko ko/ /nɔ ja/ used in Kham are of unclear origin.

494. **BEAN** སྲན་མ་ *SRAN.MA* [PW] < CT. The word སྲན་མ་ *SRAN.MA* refers generally to beans, peas and lentils. Some compound words and loanwords are found in various areas to describe varieties of beans and lentil. For example, in Ladakh is found རྒྱ་སྲན་ *RGYA.SRAN* lit. ‘Chinese bean’ and སྲན་མ་ *SRAN.MA* ‘black bean’. Some dialects of Southern Kham use /ra ʃa/. In India and Nepal, the Hindi loanword སྲན་མ་ *SRAN.MA* ‘dal’ is used for non-local varieties of bean.

495. **PEA**: see BEAN.

496. **LENTIL**: see BEAN.

497. **MUSHROOM** ཤ་མོ་ *SHA* [PW] < CT. སྲིགས་ཟབ, *SHAMUNG* (Sh) and སཱ་མ་ *SHAPO,SHAMO* (Pur) are also attested. The various species of mushroom usually contain the root ལ་ *SHA* ‘flesh’. གཏར་ *DKAR.SHA* ‘white mushroom’ (usually *Agaricus*), བེར་ *PER.SHA* ‘oak mushroom’, བཱ་མཆར་ *SER.SHA* ‘yellow mushroom’, ལེགས་ *SHAMO RKANG,RING* ‘Caesar’s mushroom (*Amanita caesarea*)’. However in Southern Kham, the names of some species lack the root sba. གྲོ་ *GWANG/ kwashang/* is attested in (Pur). The proverb ཡོད་ཚོང་ཕུལ་ཏུ་ *SHAMO RED MED NA SHAMO RED* *ROGS MED NA ROGS RED* ‘If there’s no meat, mushrooms can replace it, if you’ve no companion, a nun will do’.

498. **POTENTILLA/SILVERWEED** [Potentilla anserina] གྲོ་མ་ *GRO,MA* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, U, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. ཤི་མ་ *GYO,MA* (Am), ཤི་མ་ *GROM* (Dz). Other words are attested very marginally e.g. ཤི་མ་ *MA.KA, BULLU* < ‘baby worm’ (Kh: mBallhag) and རོི་ *Nyotse/ (Pur). This root is emblematic of the Tibetan plateau and used in some traditional dishes. However, both the concept and the word are unknown in some dialects, such as in the southern Himalayan region.
499. Nettle གགས་ ZWABU [FFW] (Ü, Ts), གགས་ ZWATSHOD (La), གགས་ ZWAKHYUG.GE (Am).

FOOD

500. Food བུ་ ZAM [FFW] (Am, Kh, Sh) < CT, ཚོད་ ZAN (Ba, Pur, Skh) < CT 'food', 'eat + nominal suffix' are the most common words. The variant བུ་ ZAS (Yol) < CT is also attested. Another widespread root is ལྟོ་ LTO (Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Dz) < CT. In Central Tibet, རྡོག་རྗུ་ KHALAG is a compound word made of KHA 'mouth' and LAG 'hand'. In Ladakh རྡོག་རྗུ་ KHARJI, རྡོག་རྗུ་ THUG.PA (E) < CT 'noodle', རྡོག་རྗུ་ 'CHA.RGYU (E) < CT 'chew' + nominalizer thus 'things to eat'.

501. Meal. In many Tibetic areas, the word for 'meal' is not different from the word for 'food'. The names of different meals, such as 'breakfast', 'lunch' and 'dinner' are not always distinguished, and vary greatly from region to region. Some examples: བུ་ ZAM 'meal, food' (Am, Kh, Sh), ཚོད་ ZAN (Ba, Pur) 'meal, food', ལྟོ་ LTO (Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Dz) 'meal', ལྟོ་བཅའ་ LTO.BCA 'topca/ (Sp) 'food, meal', རྡོག་རྗུ་ KHALAG 'meal, food' (Ü), རྡོག་རྗུ་ TSHALZAR (La) 'meal', རྡོག་རྗུ་ KHARJI (La), རྡོག་རྗུ་ 'TSHAL.MA 'breakfast, meal' (La) < CT, རྡོག་རྗུ་ 'DZAR.BA 'lunch' (sometimes 'dinner') < CT 'provision journey'. རྡོག་རྗུ་ GRO.THUNG (Tö), རྡོག་ NANG.JA 'breakfast, lit. 'inside tea' (Am), རྡོག་ DROS.JA (Am) 'lunch', རྡོག་ NURTSHA (Am) 'dinner'.

502. Flour རྗེ་ PHYE [PW] < CT. This is pronounced རྗེ་ PHE in western regions. It also occurs with a suffix རྗེ་ PHYEM. It usually designates all types of flour and powder. Compound words are also attested: རྗེ་ BAG.PHYE (Ü), རྗེ་ BAG.PHE (La, Pur) 'wheat flour' རྗེ་ GRO.ZHIB (Ü) < CT 'wheat powder' is also used.

504. Roasted Barley རགས་ YOS [FFR] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Am, E, Kh, etc) < CT. In Ladakh, རགས་ YOSZA is found. In rNgawa (Am), རགས་ RNGOS, derived from the verb RNGO(D) 'to roast, to fry', is used. The word is not found in some dialects.
505. TSAMPA/ROASTED FLOUR シャンプー RTSAMPA [PW] < CT. In many regions, the word tsampa designates ‘roasted highland barley flour’. The word རྩམ་པ་ RTSAMPA is found nearly in all the dialects, but in the western (La, Pur) and southern languages (Dz), the root གེ་ PHYE meaning ‘flour’ is used. It is pronounced གེ་ PHE in the Western regions: ཀན་པེ/ nganp'e/ (La), ཀན་པེ/ nasp'e/ (Pur). Note that, in some regions of lower altitude, roasted flour or tsampa is made of other crops such as wheat, corn, or even peas: སྱིན་པེ/ şanp'e/ (La), གཞོས་པོན་ TSHOS.BON / ts’osbon/ (Pur) ‘roasted ground peas’, རྩབ་ RTSAB / tsap/ (La, Pur) ‘ground sprouts of wheat’, དཀར་པེ KAR.PHYE (Dz) ‘flour made from roasted wheat’.

506. TSAMPA DOUGH シャンプードウ JUG [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Dz, Tö, Lj: Nyoma, etc.). < CT. Dough made of tsampa or roasted flour with butter tea is the staple food in many Tibetic areas. ཁོལ་lag KHOLAG [FFW] (La, Za). In some regions such as Amdo, the word シャンプードウ RTSAMPA is also used to designate the dough.

507. TSAMPA POLENTA シャンプーポレントャ ZAN [FFW] (Sh, Tö, Lj, etc.) ‘cooked dough’ < CT. ག་བ་ PABA (La, Za, Pur) ‘a polenta-like cooked dough usually of barley’.

508. TSAMPA PORRIDGE シャンプーポーリット JA.SRUL (La), JA.SKUL (Pur), JA.JALDUR (Ü, Ts, Za), རྟོགས་ སྐྱོ་མ་ SKYO.MA (Ü), སྐྱོ་ཁེ SKYO.KHE (Kh) porridge of hot tea with roasted flour, and sometimes milk.

509. COOKED DOUGH DISHES. A number of local dishes are made with cooked dough (see also NOODLE SOUP below). For example, in Ladakh, a dish called བླུ་སྐྱུ། SKYU (La, Za) includes dough pasta, potatoes, turnips or other vegetables, usually with meat; བླུ་སྐྱུ། CHU.TAGI (La) lit. ‘water bread’ is a more sophisticated version of skyu, mainly differing in the shape of the pasta, which is formed in བོན་ཧི། བམ་ Khun pragok ‘donkey’s ears’. བྲ་པ་ PB.PU (La, Pur, Za) ‘wheat or buckwheat flour dumplings with a sauce made of ground apricot kernels’ (pers. comm. Norman 2017). In central Tibet and Ladakh, བ་གཅིག་གླུ་ BAG.TSHA.MAR.KHU ‘cooked dough mixed with butter, sugar and cheese’. The names and the recipes greatly vary from one region to another.

510. TSAMPA BUTTER シャンプーバター PHYEMAR [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Ts, Ü, Kh) < CT. ག་བདོ་ MAR.ZAN (Ü, Ts, La) ‘tsampa, butter and brown sugar’.
511. BREAD/PANCAKE • ཁུར་ KHUR. • ནོར་ GIR. √ གོར་ GOR [FFW] (Ba, Pur, Sh, Kh) < CT √ གོར་ GOR ‘round’. The bread in many areas resembles a thick round pancake, and can be referred to as གོར་ GIR. (Am), གཉེར་ KUR (Sh), གཉེར་ KHUR.BA (Ba), གཉེར་ KHUR.RA (Yol), གཉེར་ KHUR.U (Yunnan), གཉེར་ KHU’U (Lho), གཉེར་ TaGIR (Za), or གཉེར་ TaGI (La, Pur). Other roots are attested: གོར་ GIR. BAG.LEB (Ü, Ts) < CT lit. ‘flat dough’, and གོར་ GIR. KHAM.BIR (Sh). There are many sorts of bread, including ཐུག་ KHUR.RA (Pur, La) ‘round bread with butter and sugar’, འབྲུག་ KHUR (La), and གོར་ GIR. SKYA (Am) ‘bread baked in ashes’. Note that གཉེར་ KHUR.RA (La) means ‘fried dough eaten at New Year’, which corresponds to བཀའ་པོ/k’apse/ in Tibet.

512. MOMO, DUMPLING མོག་མོག་ MOG.MOG [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Sh, Dz). This is generally pronounced /momo/, except in Purik and Ladaks /mokmok/. Other words are attested: བོ་འབོ་ TSHOD.MA (Am) < CT བོ་འབོ་ BO.BO (S Kh), རྡོ་འབོ་ BAO.DZI (E) < Chin. 蒸子 baozi. Together with noodle soup, momos are the most popular dishes in Tibetic regions.

513. SOUP (with noodles, etc.) དགུག་ THUG [PR] < CT related to བསྟན་ MTHUG ‘thick’. This is normally followed by a suffix བསྒམ་ PO SKAM.PA lit. ‘dry noodle’, བོུ སྐམ་པོ་ CH’U MAN ‘chow mein’ < Ch. 炒面 chaomian.

514. NOODLE/PASTA བསྐམ་པོ་ THUG.PA SKAM.PO (Ü, Ts) lit. ‘dry noodle’, བསྐམ་པོ་ CH’U MAN ‘chow mein’ < Ch.
515. **BROTH, SOUP** ขุའ bystand 'fluid, juice, gravy, soup', ཡར་རུས་ DRUM,KHU (Ü, Ts) 'meat soup', བུ་རུས་ RUS,KHU (Za) lit. 'bone soup', ཆུ་།ུ། SHA,KHU (Am) and སྒྲུ་ TRU (Ko) designate meat soup. The word དཀྲུམ་ THANG (Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am, etc) < Chin. བཏང is widely used for 'broth' or 'thin soup'. It is also used in Tibetan medicine for 'decoction'.

516. **MEAT** ཁ་ SHA (pur) < CT. The main pronunciations are /sha/ (most languages), /ʃ'a/ (central Kh, Hor) and /ʃ'a/ (Am). In some marginal dialects of Southern Kham, གཉའ་ SHAGNYA < GNYA 'cut' is used. The honorific forms are ཆཀྲུམ་ DKRUM (Ü, Ts) and སྲུམ་ SRUMS (La, Za).

517. **MEAT RICE STEW** མཔའི། BRAS (Ü, Ts) < CT lit. 'meat rice'. A frequent dish of Central Tibet consisting of a rice and potato stew or curry with meat (yak, beef or mutton).

518. **POTATO DISHES**. Although potatoes were only introduced to Ladakh, Tibet, and the Himalayas at the end of the nineteenth century, they have become an important food throughout the entire area. There are a dozen names for this crop (see **POTATO**) within the Tibetic area. Among the various dishes made with potato, we can mention three: རྣ་ཁོག་མོག་ MOG (Ü) 'potato dumplings', རྣ་ཁོག་འབྲོ་ཚོས་ TSHOS (Ü) 'potato and meat stew' (Ü), and རྣ་ཁོག་ལྟེ་ RLKUR (Sh), 'potato pancake', which is similar to the **paratha** of Northern India and even more similar to the **latkes** of central and eastern Europe. Finally there is the well-known Bhutanese dish called རྣ་ཁོག་ཐོ་མོ། KEBADAR.TSHIL (Dz) 'cheese potato curry', which is served with rice.

519. **DRESIL/TIBETAN SWEET RICE** BRAS, SIL (Ü, Ts, La, etc.) is rice mixed with butter, sugar raisin and other dried fruits.

520. **CURRY** SPAGS (La, Pur, Za). This refers to a curry sauce (masala) or any dish of vegetables or meat that is eaten with a staple food (rice, barley flour or bread).

521. **CHILI AND CHEESE CURRY** རེ་མ་དར་ TSHIL (Dz) lit. 'chili cheese'. A well-known Bhutanese dish consisting of a chili curry prepared with cheese and served with rice.
522. **OIL** སྣུ། མ་ **SNUM** [FFW] (Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Dz, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT.
In most languages and dialects, this is pronounced /ˈnum/ or /ˈnum/ or /ˈnum/, but in Dzongkha it is realized as ˈsnum/ /num/. In some dialects, མར་ཧུམ་ **MAR KHU** 'butter liquid' is used. In Thewo, /num/ is used. Some dialects of Amdo, as well as Thewo, use བི   /yi/ < CT 'mustard seed'. In Drugechu, /jom/ is found. This is widely considered to be a borrowing of the Chinese you ཐིའི་ 'oil', but this is not the case. In Ladakh, མར་ནག་ **MAR NAG** 'vegetable oil' (mustard) < CT lit. 'black butter'. The word /do/ is attested in Yunnan; ཐི /n'om/ and བི /n'i/ are found in Purik < CT 'sesame', and may be related to Urdu tel 'oil'.

523. **FAT** སྣུ། རི། **TSHIL** [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Kh, Ü, Ts, Am) < CT. Sometimes followed by a suffix སྣུ། རི།. The root ག་ཅ་ < CT 'white' is used in south Kham.

524. **MILK** ག་ཅ་ **OMA** [PW] < CT. The tonal languages other than Dzongkha realize this with a low tone /ˈoma/, but Dzongkha employs a high tone /ˈom/, and for this reason is written ག་ཅ་ /ˈom/. The variant བཅོས་པ་ **O,RJEN(Pur)** < CT 'raw milk' is used in some Western languages. Of the few rare exceptions that have been reported, the form ག་ཅ་ /sho/ used in Choća-ngača in Bhutan and Rongdrak (Kh) is derived from the old word for 'milk' in Tibetan, attested in OT (see Bálek 2018a). We can safely reconstruct PT *ZHŌ for 'milk'. The term is still used in CT, thus the sentence: ག་ཅ་ བཞོ། བཞོ། བ་ **ZHŌ BZHŌ**. The root ག་ཅ་ < CT 'white' is used in south Kham.

525. **BUTTER** མར་ **MAR** [PW] < CT. Originally related to the root བིམ་ **DMAR**, found in the Zhangzhung and Tamangic languages and meaning 'gold' (Honda 2009). Another root བི་ 'yo' is found in some eastern dialects, such as Thewo.
526. BUTTERMILK ཁར་བ་ DARBA [FFW] (Pur, La, Yol, Kh, Ü, Ts, Dz, Sh, Dz, Am, etc.) < CT. This is pronounced /darba/ in Purik, but in most languages as /tara/.

527. YOGHURT གཞོ་ ZHO [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Sh, Dz, Am, Kh, E, etc) < OT 'milk' and CT 'milk' or 'yoghurt'. Compound words are exceptionally found with the meaning 'yoghurt', such as དཀར་ཆུ་ DKA.R.CHU 'white water' (Sherpa) and དཀར་ཆུ་ བོད་ བོད་ སྐེན་ སྐེན་ LOG.PI.'OMA.lit. 'turned milk' (Ba), སྦུར་ ZHO.RI.PA (Cho) < CT སོར་ ZHO.RUL lit. 'rotten milk', རེ་མ་ 'ORE (E) < CT རེ་མ་ O.RUL 'lit. rotten milk', བོད་པོ་ལ་ PHO.TSHA.Pi 'turned milk' (Gyaltang, Chagthreng). It is interesting that, in Purik, the word རེ་མ་ 'ORE (Pur) is used for 'yoghurt' which is probably its original meaning.

528. CHEESE རྭུ་ཞུར་ PHYUR [PR] < CT. This is normally followed by a suffix: རྭུ་ཞུར་ བ་ /čura/. Other words are attested: རྭུ་ཞུར་ རེ་པོ་ /čurpe/ (La, Ü) 'hard dried cheese'. Other roots are attested: སྦུར་ཞུན་ THUD.ZHUN (Am) and ཥྭ་རྒྱུ་ TSHWA.DAR.TSHIL (Dz), ཥྭ་ སྒྲ་ཕེ་ LAPO 'fresh cheese' (La) and སྦུར་ སྒྲ་ལྷ་ LANA (Hor) 'kind of cheese'.

529. CHEESE CONFECTION (type of) རྭུ་ཞུན་ THUD [FFR] (Am, La, Hor, Kh, E, Ü, Ts), རྭུ་ཞུན་ZHUN (Am) 'a type of sweetended cheese < CT 'melted fat'.

530. CURD SALAD ཁྲང་ཐུ དྲུག་ཤ་ GRANG.THUR (La, Za), སྦུར་ TSHAMIG (Pur, Ba). This is a cold dish made of spicy pickles or chutney with curds or buttermilk.

531. SAUSAGE རྭུ་ རྒྱུ་མ་ RGYU.MA [PW] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Am, Kh, etc) < CT 'intestine', རྭུ་ རྒྱུ་ kHRAG.SHA lit. 'blood meat' (Drugchu).

532. SALT རྭུ་ TSHWA [PW] < CT. The glide W found in CT form TSHA.WA has no reflex in the Tibetic languages. It is quite possible that the letter W used in CT was artificially added to distinguish the word 'salt' from TSHA 'hot'. In some Amdo dialects (Čängsha, Thrika, etc), རྭུ་ TSHAKHU is used. Balti has lost the word and borrowed from Burushaski /payu/.
533. SUGAR མ་ར་ KA.RA or མ་ར་ KHARA [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT. མ་ར་ (La, Ba, Pur) and BYE.MA KA.RA (Ü, Ts, Am) are found. Other compounds are attested: ལ་རོ་ BYE.ZHIB (Tö, Kh), ས་རོ་ DKA.RZHIB (Tö), ལ་མ་ KH.KA.RYMA (Am), ལ་རོ་ KH.KA.RA ‘crystal sugar’ (Am). The word ཆུ་རོ་ BURAM (E), ཁུ་རོ་ GU.RAM (Dz, Yol) < CT ‘molasses’ is sometimes used for ‘sugar’, but many dialects (La, Za, Ü, Ts) have both words. In some dialects of Kham, གྲུབ་ SBRANG < CT གྲུབ་ SBRANG.RTSI ‘honey’ is used for ‘sugar’. The loanword གུན་ /chini/ from Hindi–Urdu is also widely used. In some areas of Kham, the loanword གུན་ /tang/ is used < Chin. 糖 tang.

534. SICHUAN PEPPER [Zanthoxylum piperitum] G.YER.MA [PW] (Ts, Ü, Hor, E, Kh, Am, Sh, Yol, etc) < CT. the variant ཆུ་མ་ is frequently attested (Kh). In Yolmo and Sherpa (SW), the word is followed by a velar nasal final such as གཅུ་མ་ /emn/ which may be an archaic plural form. In some languages it acquires the meaning of ‘chili, hot pepper’. This is the case in Bhutan and Ladakh: གཅུ་མ་ /ˈtma/ (Dz), གཅུ་མ་ /nyerma/ (Pur, La, Za). See below. In Ladakh, black peper is called གེ་མ་ /bale/ PHARILU < CT གེ་མ་ PHOBARILU.

535. CHILI/HOT PEPPER སྲི་པེན། SL.PEN or སྲུ་པེན། SUR.PEN is widely used in Ü and Tsang, whereas ལ་ཙི་ /la ts/ or /la č/ borrowed from the Chinese 辣子 lazi and 辣椒 lajiao, are mainly used in Am, Kh and E. In some areas གྲུ་ tso DMAR.TSHA (Am, Yol, etc.), lit. ‘red hot’, or the variant གྲུ་ tso /martsi/ (Sh, Yol) lit. ‘red spice’, is used. In the area of Dartsendo (Kh), ག་ tso /he zo/ is widely used. This word form looks like a loanword from Sichuan Mandarin 海椒 hatjiao, but this would be a little surprising. In southern Kham, /bogu/, /pagu/ (perhaps related to སྦོད་རྒོད་ SPOD.RGOD lit. ‘wild spice’), /ja yu/ (perhaps related to RGYA.RGOD lit. ‘wild Han Chinese’), etc. are used. In some areas, we find ཁུ་མ་ /ˈtma/ (Dz), ཁུ་མ་ /nyerma/ (Pur, La, Za) < CT. ཁུ་མ་ G.YER.MA ‘Sichuan pepper’. The words བྱེ་དེ་ TSHA. ‘TE ‘hot’ (La, Pur) and བྱེ་དེ་ (Pur) ‘burning mouth’ are also widespread. The Bhutanese dish གུན་ /tang/ ZE.MADAR.TSHIL ‘chili cheese curry’ served with rice uses this spice.
536. **SPICES** མི་ག མི་ག་ SHAN (,U, Ts) lit. ‘meat helper, meat spices’. མི་ག་ BROAD.BRZN ‘condiments’.

537. **Egg** མི་ག མི་ག་ SGO (Sp, Yol, U, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am, etc) < CT. མི་ག་ SGO.LO (LJ). A few other stems are found: Balti and Purik have སྲ་ཤེས་ BYA.BZHON /bya’zhon/, which literally means ‘bird’s milk’ (see ‘Milk’). For ‘egg’, Sherpa has སྲ་ཤེས་ BYA.MEN.TOK /é-mentok/ lit. ‘bird flower’. Thewo has /dova/ whose etymology is not certain, but could derived from སྲ་ཤེས་ RDO.DKAR ‘white stone’. Ladoks has borrowed སྲ་ཤེས་ /ul/ from Kashmiri.

538. **Alcohol (strong)** མི་ག་ ARAG [FFW] < CT < Arabic عرق ‘arag’ an anise-flavored alcohol drink’ through Persian or Turkic (‘raki’). It is sometimes followed by the Tibetan root སྲ་ KHU ‘liquid, juice’. སྲ་ KHU. The word སྲ་ chang, which in most areas designates ‘barley beer’, is used in Amdo (though not in Ngawa) for any type of alcohol, including Chinese 白酒 baijiu, vodka, brandy, etc. The compound སྲ་ KHU. CHANG.RAG is also attested. In Spiti, Khunu and some other southern or western regions, one finds apple and apricot སྲ་ KHU. ARAK.

539. **Chang** སྲ་ chang ‘Tibetan barley beer’ [PW] < CT. This is usually pronounced /çang/ or /çu/. In Tsang and Tö, where chang is highly appreciated, there are many names for this beverage: སྲ་ KHU. /qoson/ (Tö), སྲ་ KHU. /i/ (Ts), སྲ་ KHU. /deman/ (Ts), སྲ་ KHU. /kom/ (Ts). Note that in the periphery of the Tibetic linguistic area, people also drink an alcoholic drink made from millet, which they also call chang. One also finds སྲ་ KHU. CHANG.RAG ‘rice chang’, སྲ་ KHU. RGUN.CHANG ‘wine’ lit. ‘grape chang’ (made in the Brokpa region of Ladakh and in Kham). Amdo people generally do not drink or make chang (barley beer), but they refer to it as སྲ་ KHU. NAS.CHANG lit. ‘barley chang’ or སྲ་ KHU. CHANG.SER ‘yellow chang’. Balti people also usually avoid chang because of Islamic Sharia, but it was formerly drunk by them, and the word སྲ་ chang is still found in Baltistan. In many Tibetic areas, both chang and arak coexist. The former is made of barley, whereas arak may refer to rice alcohol or other type. The difference between chang and arak may also be based on alcoholic strength: chang is relatively weak (usually 4% ABV, though sometimes more) whereas arak is a strong spirit, which may be
distilled *chang*. Finally a semantic difference may be related to the transparency: *chang* is ‘muddy’ or of a dark color whereas *arak* is transparent.

540. **TEA** ≠ **JA** [PW] < CT from Chin. བ་ cha. This in most languages is pronounced /ča/. The honorific is གསོལ་ཇ་ GSOL JA. There are various kinds of tea across the Tibetic areas (see below). One common strong infusion of black tea is called ཀན་ལེགས་/THANG (Ū, Ts, La) or དུ་ནག་ KHUNAG (La) ‘salted black tea’.

541. **BUTTER TEA** ཀན་ལེགས་ JA SRUB, MA [PW], alt. ཀན་ལེགས་ JA SRUS, MA (Ū, Ts) < ‘churned tea’. ཀན་ལེགས་ JA SUS, MA (La). This designates tea prepared traditionally in a churn with butter (sometimes milk) and salt. Today, it is often made with an electric mixer. Butter tea is found in most areas from Central Tibet and Kham to Bhutan and Baltistan (and beyond even in the Pamir (Tajikistan), but is usually not found in Amdo. A variety of names are used: ཀན་ལེགས་ དཀོར་ རེས་/DKROG, JA (Kh) ‘churned tea’, སྲུ་ སྐོ རེས་/SRU, JA (Dz) ‘churned tea’ or ངོ་པོ བོད་ /BOD, JA ‘Tibetan tea’ (Ū, Ts), ངོ་པོ བོད་/JAKHA, TE ‘/ča’ante’ (La) lit. ‘bitter tea’, ཤུ་ སྐབས་ /payu ča/ (Ba) ‘salt tea’, སྨ་ དཀོར་ /Nam, KinJA ‘salt tea’ (Pur) < Urd, Pers. ‘salty tea’, ཤུ་ སྐབས་ GUR, GUR, JA ‘churned tea’ (used by Kashmiri).

542. **SWEET MILK TEA** ཀུན་ལེགས་ རྒྱ་མ་ JA MNGAR, MO [PW] tea with added milk and sugar, similar to *chai* (Indian tea). Some Kham dialects call it ཀུན་ལེགས་ /ča karo/ ‘white tea’.

543. **SALTY MILK TEA** ཀུན་ལེགས་ ཀ བ་ JA, MO ‘lit. ‘milk tea’. A traditional drink in Amdo made of hot milk, tea, salt and water. Sometimes, ཀུན་ལེགས་ ཁ བ་ JA is just made of milk with water and salt, and does not contain tea.

544. **BOILED WATER** འིག་མཚ་ CHU KHOL, MA (Ū, Ts), འིག་མཚ་ CHU, SKOL (La, Am).

545. **CIGARETTE/TOBACCO** བཀུར་ རྫོ་ /THLAMAG [PW] < Bengali *tamak*, *tamaka* or Nep. *tamakhu* and ultimately from Arawakan (a Carribean language). The variants ཁ་ རྫོ /THAMAKHA, ཁ་ རྫོ /THAMAKHU (Pur), ཁ་ རྫོ /THAM, KHU (Dz) are also attested. In eastern languages, the Tibetan word དུ་ /DU, BA < CT (lit.) ‘smoke’ (Kh, Am) is used in this sense.
546. **SNUFF** ལུང་ SNA.XTH.A (Û, Ts) < CT (La) lit. 'nose tobacco'. སྣ་ སྣ་.THAG /snat'ak/ (La) and སྣ་ སྣ་.THAG /snadu' 'nose smoke' (Am). The habit of taking snuff was widespread in Tibet and is still practiced by some old people. The word /nasar/ is used in Purik.

547. **PAAN** སྣ་ སྣ.THAG (Ü, Ts) < CT./DOG.MA (Dz) lit. 'capsule'. This stimulant made of areca nut, betel leaf and lime is highly appreciated in Bhutan and some regions of the southern Himalayas.

548. **MEDICINE** སྨན་ SMAN [PW] < CT. This refers to any kind of medicine such as བོད་ སྨན་ BOD.SMAN 'Tibetan medicine', also called ཞེས་བོད་ GSO.BA.RIG.PA 'sowa rigpa', རྒྱལ་ སྨན་ RGYA.NAG GI SMAN 'Chinese medicine', རྒྱལ་ སྨན་ RGYA.GAR GI SMAN 'Ayurvedic or Indian medicine', རྒྱུས་ སྨན་ NUB.PHYOGS.PA'TMAN'Western medicine', etc. The following proverb tells us something about the traditional Tibetan diet: ས་ལ་སྨན་ཤ་ལ་ཤ་སྨན་ SA·LA SA·SMAN 'soil is medicine for the soil, meat is medicine for the flesh'; that is, it is recommended to eat meat. However, the twenty-first century so far has begun to show some changes in this, and several movements in the Tibetic areas advocate eating less or no meat.

549. **HONEY** སྲུང་ སྲུང་ R. SBRANG.RTSI [PW] < CT lit. 'nectar of bees/flying insects'. It is pronounced in various ways: སྲུང་ R. SBRANG.RTSI (Pur), སྲུང་ R. SBYANG.RTSI (Ba), སྲུང་ R. RANG.RTSI (Sh, La). In some languages, the word is abbreviated to the first syllable སྲུང་ SBRANG / 'dang' (Sp), སྲུང་ SBYANG / 'jang' (Dz), སྲུང་ SBANG / 'bong' (Ko), སྲུང་ RANG (Sh). The Yolmo word སྲུང་ R. SBRANG.RTSI /tip-pray/ is derived from an unclear root plus སྲུང་ SBRANG. In Kham and Amdo, the word སྲུང་ SBRANG.SKYAG lit. 'bee excrement' is attested. སྲུང་ BU.BA is used in Gyàlthang.

550. **CREAM** སྲུང་ སྲུང་ SPRY [PW] < CT. This generally means 'cream of milk', but in northern Amdo Drogpa dialects, it refers to the first milk (colostrum), which is very creamy. The root is sometimes combined with the root སྲུང་ སྲུང་ /ospis/ (Pur). The word སྲུང་ 'O.KHA lit. 'milk surface' is used in several areas (Am, etc.) to refer to film on milk.
ANIMAL

551. ANIMAL སེམས་ཅན། SEMS CAN [FFW] (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Hor, E, Sp, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT ‘having a mind, sentient being’ (in Buddhist texts, this term includes human beings). སྲོག་ཆགས། SROG CHAGS (may include human beings) [FFW] (La, Am, etc.) < CT ‘having a srog or soul’, དུད་འགྲོ། DUD GRO (Yol, Ü, Ts, Tö, La, Za) < CT ‘bent walking’. དབྱོལ་སོང་། BYOL SONG (Ba, Pur, La, Tö) < CT ‘one who flees’. གུགས་པ། PHYUGS MA (Sh) < CT ‘cattle’. None of these five words are complete matches for the hypernym ‘animal’. They often refer to larger animals and mammals, rather than insects.

552. WILD HERBIVOROUS ANIMAL རི་དབྱངས། RLDWAGS [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. This designates mainly deers and wild sheep and goats, and not smaller animals like rabbits.

553. CARNIVOROUS ANIMAL གཅན་གཟན། GCAN GZAN [FFR] < CT. གཅན་GCAN is sometimes used alone. See LEOPARD.

554. CATTLE (BLACK), LIVESTOCK. Tibetic populations often make a distinction between yaks and dzos, which remain in the high pasture, and domestic cattle, which usually remain near the house or in a cowshed. The first of these are referred to as རྒྱ་ཕྱུགས། RAG PHYUGS [FFW] < CT ‘black cattle’. Another broad term for this category is གུང་Nor [FFW] (Kh, Hor, E, Am, Dz) < CT ‘wealth’. It is pronounced གུང་NONG in Lhoke. Thus in most pastoralist areas of Tibet, yaks and dzos are referred to as གུང་Nor. However, this term is used in Purik area to designate ‘sheep and goats’. It is interesting to note that the term གུང་PHYUGS ‘cattle’ is itself derived from CT གུང་PHYUG ‘rich’. The use of terms such as Nor and PHYUGS, both referring to ‘wealth’, show that ‘cattle’ are considered an important source of income for these populations. Other terms designating yaks and dzos can be encountered, such as རྒྱ་སྤུ་ནག་ KHAL MA ‘load animal’ (usually yaks) and རྒྱ་ཟོག་ ZOG (E) ‘cattle’, which originally means ‘goods, merchandise’. More marginally, we find ཀླ་མ། KHAL MA lit. ‘black hair’ (Ü), གླ་ཆེ་དག་ CHE DAG (Ts). In Purik, the term is རྒྱ་བཟངས། RLZANGS /rliangs/ < CT རི་བཟངས། ‘sent to the mountain’.
555. **Domestic Cattle.** Bulls, steers, and cows are often referred to as 'domestic cattle' *sga phyugs* [FFW] < CT lit. 'door cattle'. The terms *ba phyugs* lit. 'cow cattle', *phyugs zog* (Am), *gnag phyugs* are also heard. Note that in Purik, the word *phyugs* means the 'best sheep' or 'best goat', which is sacrificed for the new year.

556. **Sheep and Goats.** In most areas, sheep and goat are grouped together and called *r ayud*. In Purik *nor* < CT 'wealth' is used for 'sheep and goat'.

557. **Bull.** *glang* [PR] < CT. Often occurs with a suffix: *rgbang* *glang go* (Ü), *rgbang to* (Pur, La) is also attested. In the eastern Section, *nor* is used for 'bull' whereas some Amdo areas emply *zog* for this. In most areas, there is no distinction between 'bull' and 'ox' or 'steer'. In some languages, *glang* is used with *ba* 'cow', yielding the compound *ba glang* 'cattle'.

558. **Ox.** *glang* [PR] < CT. See Bull.

559. **Cow.** *ba* [PR] < CT. In many languages, this is used in combination with *glang* 'bull, steer, ox': *rgbang* *glang* (Sh). In Choća-ngača *jowa* designates 'cow', whereas *’ba* /’ba/ is used to refer to a crossbreed of mithun and cow.

560. **Calf.** *be* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT or *beto* (Pur), *betso* (La). In some dialects, words for young animals are only formed by following the name of the animal by *chung* or *chung chung* 'small' or the noun *phrug* 'child'.

561. **Buffalo.** *mahr* [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz). < CT. This animal is only found on the margins of the Tibetic area, particularly in the southern Himalayas in Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim (India).

562. **Yak (male).** *gyag* [PR] < CT; or as *gyag pho* (Yol). In Hor, *khal* lit. 'load, burden' is used. In Minyak Rabgang, *khal ma* lit. 'cattle for carrying load' is used. In Gyalthang (Kh), the form *shwo ta* is used,
which might originate from གུན་རྟུལ།  ‘treasure horse’ In pastoralist areas, there are many terms to designate yaks depending on different sex, age, function, and so on (see *BRUG.MO.MTSHO* 2003; *Sung & LHABYAMS.RGYAL* 2005, Tournadre 2014b, and this book, Chapter 11).

563. YAK *(female)* ངའབྲི། [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways /bri/ (Pur), /dri/ (Ü, La), /mbə/ (Hor), etc. *bri* is sometimes followed by the suffix *mo*: ངའབྲི་མོ།. Sherpa makes use of another root གནག་ GNAG < CT ‘female yak’, derived from *NAG* ‘black’.

564. DZO *(male hybrid of a yak and a cow)* མཛོ། [PW] < CT. This is pronounced /"dzō/, /dzo/, /dzo/ (most languages), /zo/ (Pur, Za, Sh), etc. Also found is མཛོབ་ /zopkyok/ (Sh).

565. DZOMO *(female hybrid of yak and cow)* མཛོ་མོ། [PW] < CT.

566. TÖLPO *(male hybrid, usually of a bull and dzomo)* རྟོལ། [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Ts, Am). Pronounced /tol/ (La), /turu/ (Pur) རྟོལ་པོ།. The word རྟོལ་མཛོ། is also attested (Ba).

567. TÖLMO *(female hybrid usually of bull and dzomo)* རྟོལ་མོ། [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ts, Am) /tolmo/ (La), /turmo/ (Pur).

568. GARPO *(male hybrid usually of yak and dzomo)* ཀར་པོ། [FFW]. ཀར་བ། ཀར་ུ། /garu/, (La, Pur, Am) are also attested.

569. GARMO *(female hybrid usually of yak and dzomo)* ཀར་མོ། [FFW] (La, Pur, Am).

570. HORN ་_[PR] < CT 'horn'. The root དང་ RWA is sometimes used alone. In most languages, དང་ RWA is pronounced /ra/, but is interesting to note that the pronunciation in some languages still reflects the presence of the *wazur* དང་ /rua/ (Cho) /rowa/ (Yol). A suffix is usually used, such as such as *CO, GO, KYOG* or *BO*. དང་ RWA /račo/ or /recho/ < CT ‘horn head’, or དང་ RUCHO (La), དང་ RWA/CT ‘horn head’, དང་ RWA/KYOG, དང་ RWA/KYOG (Sh) < CT ‘crooked horn’, དང་ RWA/RISK < CT ‘horn summit’.

571. PHU gyakā RTA ‘treasure horse’.
571. **HOOF** རྫོིན་ RMIG [PR]. The variant རྫོིན་ RMYIG (Am) is also attested. Generally, the root is followed by a suffix: རྫོིན་ RMIG.PA. In Amdo, སུག་པཞི་ SUG.BZHI lit. 'four-limb' is also used. The term རྰབ་ 'horn' (Norman 2019) is also used for 'hoof' in Ladakh.

572. **YAK DUNG** བ་ LCI [PR] < CT. This is generally followed by the suffix བ་ LCI.PA, and is pronounced in various ways: /cba/ (La), /ce/ (Za), /cia/ (Sp, Tö), /cow/ (Ü, Ts, Kh), /coa/ (Am), /ce/ (Am). In Thewo-mā, the compound words ཤུ་ནོར་ NORSKYAG lit. 'black cattle excrement' or ཤུ་ནོར་ BASKYAG lit. 'cow excrement' are used (even for yak dung!). In Purik and Zanhar ཤུ་ནོར་ SILLANG is used. Some dialects make a difference between dried and wet yak dung. In Amdo, the dry dung is called ཨོང་པ་ ONG.PA. In Nagchu, the wet dung is called རོ། བ་ RNYO.PA, whereas in Purik རོ། བ་ BASKYAG lit. 'cow excrement' is used for 'wet yak dung'. In some high-altitude Tibetic areas, yak dung is vital for heating and cooking since there are no trees or bushes.

573. **SHEEP/GOAT PELLETS** རིལ་ RILMA [PW] (Pur, La, Hor, Sh, etc) < CT derived from རིལ་ RIL 'spherical'. In some dialects such, as Sherpa and Ladaks, the word becomes རིལ་མང་ RIL.MANG, /rilang/ (or /rilbang/ in Purik), which may be an archaic plural form. In some dialects of Kham, ལུགས། ལུགས། LUG.SKYAG < 'sheep excrement' is used. ལུགས། RALLUD < 'goat manure'. In Ladakh and Zangskar, ལུགས། SGRIG.PA RILMA < rikpa/ refer to 'chunks of goat or sheep dung from the pen floor'. Sheep and goat pellets as well as rikpa are used for fuel and fertilizer.

574. **SKIN (of animal)** བགས་ LPAGS, PAGS [PR], normally followed by a suffix pa: བགས་ PAGS.PA (Ü, Ts, Yol, Kh, etc.). བགས་ PAGS.PA (Ba). Other suffixes are attested, such as བགས་ PAGS.KO (Dz), བགས་ PAGS.TE (E: Th), བགས་ PAGS.U (Sh). The word is used for the skin of many animals (sheep, goat, tiger, etc.). In some southern Kham dialects, no distinction is made between 'skin' and 'leather'.

575. **LEATHER** བགས་ KO.BA [PW]. The word བགས་ KO.BA is used for leather made from the skin of cattle (yak, cow, dzomo), but not of other animals. In some
western dialects (Sp), the word འབྲེང་བ་ ‘BRENG.BA’ lit. ‘leather rope’ is used. Ladaks has the form རྒྱུན་ ‘GYUN’ ‘leather strip’.

576. HAIR (BODY/ANIMAL) སྤུ་ [PR] < CT. བསྟན་པོ་ ‘BA.SPU’ is found very marginally in some Amdo dialects, while in Ngari འབྲུག་ ‘SPA.TOG’ is attested. རལ་ /ral/ or /real/ is used in Purik (see GOAT HAIR).

577. YAK HAIR རྟྭི་པ་ [PW] < CT. This tsi’pa ‘yak hair’ is used with the softer khulu ‘yak wool’ to make the pastoralists’ black tents. This word is unknown in some areas of the southern Himalayas and Kham (except its northern region).

578. YAK WOOL/CATTLE HAIR རྡྫུ་ [PW] < CT ‘Soft yak wool’.

579. WOOL (SHEEP) རལ་ [PR] < CT. In some dialects of Kham, ར་ ‘RA.SPU’ lit. ‘goat hair’ or བལ་ ‘BAL’ lit. ‘sheep hair’ is used.

580. WOOL (GOAT) རལ་ [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za); རིག་ བལ་ (Yol) also written རིག་ རྣ་ (Kh) lit. ‘goat hair’ or བལ་ (Yol) ‘goat wool’ are used. This word is unknown in some areas, such as the southern Himalayas and eastern Tibet. The term ‘pashmina’ used in English and other European languages is derived from Persian pashm ‘wool’. Shahtoo (a term borrowed from Kashmiri) is a name of the wool of the Tibetan antelope, an endangered species. The populations of Western Tibet, Ladakh and Zangskar have traditionally traded pashmina with Kashmiris, who make shawls. Nowadays, the production of shawls and other pashmina clothes has also begun in Ladakh.

581. TAIL རང་ [FFR] (La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT, often followed by a suffix: རང་ རང་མ་, and རང་ རུང་ རང་ (Pur, Kh, etc.), also followed by a suffix རང་ རུང་ རུང་ རང་ (Pur), རུང་ རུང་ རུང་ (Pur, Kh, etc.)
582. **HORSE** ṛṭa [PW] < CT. In Amdo a herd of horses is called ལལོ LALO. In the mBalhag dialect (Kh), KHUR MA 'horse' may be derived from CT KHUR 'to carry'. In sNyingthong dialect (Kh), ḌG is used < ḍG MA 'mare'.

583. **PONY** ṛṭe RTU [PW] < CT. Cf. CALF. ཐུ་/t'uru/ (Pur, La, Za) is also attested.

584. **STALLION** ṛṭ ṛṭapho [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. གསེབ་ GSEB is also used.

585. **MARE** ṛṭ ṛgod MA [FFW] < CT 'wild'. ṛṭ ṛtamo is also used.

586. **SHEEP** ལུ་ LUG [PR] < CT. Other terms are exceptionally found ལུ་དམེ /luak/ 'sheep (generic)' in Purik. Khöpokhok (E), /sa je/ is used for 'sheep', of unclear origin.

587. **RAM** གྱེ་ THONG PA is used in some areas (La, Za), བལ་ KHAL BA (La).

588. **EWE** ར་ MĀMO [FFW] < CT. In Balti and Purik ལུ་ LUG designates specifically 'ewe'. ལུ་དམེ LUG MA, ལུ་དོན་ LUG MO and ལུ་ཤུག་ MOLUG are also attested for 'ewe'.

589. **LAMB** ལུ་དུ། LUG GU [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. Cf. CALF. ལུ་དུ། LUG,PHRUG lit. 'sheep child'. In Balti ལུ་ དུ། LUBU derived from CT ལུ་ LUG is used.

590. **GOAT** ṛ ṛ [PR] < CT. ṛ ṛ RAMA is also widespread. In Purik, ṛ ṛ RAG /rak/ is used for 'goat (generic)'.

591. **MALE GOAT / BILLY GOAT** ṛ ṛ ṛpho [FFW]; ṛ ṛ /rabak/ is used in Purik for 'billy goat'.

592. **FEMALE GOAT** ṛ ṛ RAMA [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT.

593. **KID** ṛ ṛ ṛphrug [PW] < CT. Cf. CALF. ṛ ṛ ṛ is also attested.

594. **MULE** ṛ ṛ drel [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. The variant ṛ ṛ Dre GU (La) is attested. The word is not found in Baltistan, where it is replaced by a compound ṛ ṛ BONG RTA 'donkey-horse', ṛ ṛ སྐ མ་ ṛ ṛ RA MA lit. 'small
pony'. Some dialects use the same word as 'donkey': ཀུ་རུ་ KU RU (Kh). A word of unclear origin is attested in Th-To. In Ladaks the word ཀུ་རུ་ lit. 'pony' is used.

595. DONKEY དོན་ BONG [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: དོན་ BONG BU in CT. In some languages, the suffix is different དོན་ BONG GU (Ú, Dz, etc.) or དོན་ BONG LU/wonglu/ (Am). The word ཀུ་རུ་ KU RU occurs in Kham and Kongo. This root is also attested in Purik: ཀུ་རུ་ KURU and Zanhar ཁུན་ KURUG for 'baby donkey'. In Southern Kham, another root reconstructed as *ཀྲུ་ KRUL is also found.

596. PIG མོ་ PHAG [PR] < CT. Some languages use a suffix: ལོ་ PHAG PA. In Amdo, the word is a regular reflex of ལོ་ PHAG LU pronounced ʰɑŋɡ/ 'hay/hu/’. Some languages in Kham, such as Minyak Rabgang and Lithang, use ལོ་ PHAG RGAN (lit. CT ‘old pig’) to denote just ‘pig’. The Serpo dialect (E) uses /ʔa gu/ for ‘pig’. The Sogwo dialect (Am) uses /lu lu/ as well. In some dialects spoken in eastern Tibetan area, the word ལོ་ PHAG normally implies ‘black pig’ and in an adjective meaning ‘white’ (see WHITE) is added to designate ‘white pig’. Pigs are raised by cultivators in various areas particularly in Khamgo, Kham, Thewo and Central Tibet. They are traditionally neither raised nor eaten by pastoralists in Jangthang and Western Tibet. Pigs are also not found in Ladakh and Baltistan.

597. BOAR ལོ་ PHAG [PR]. ལོ་ PHAG PHO and ལོ་ PHAG PHA are also attested. In Chagthreng (Kh), /p’o wa/ is used.

598. SOW ལོ་ PHAG [PR]. ལོ་ PHAG MO, ལོ་ PHAG MA. In Chagthreng (Kh), /mo wa/ is used. The female deity དོར་ PHAGMA Dorje Phagmo ‘Vajravārāhī’ lit. ‘vajra sow’ is a tantric deity of Vajrayāna Buddhism.

599. PIGLET ལོ་ PHAG PHRUG [FFW] < CT. This form normally has a /p’/-sound, as /p’j/ in Gyalthang (Kh) and /p’a lu/ in Melung (Kh), but also occurs as /pu/ in sDerong (Kh) and as /pa la/ in Tsharethong (Kh). Some words for piglet have a fairly unclear origin, such as /ʔa ȵu/ in Serpo (E), /ʔa gu/ in Zhongu (E) and /ʔa mu/ in Čone (E). In Minyak Rabgang, ལོ་ PHAG CHUNG.CHUNG and ལོ་ PHAG BO.TSI are used.
600. WILD BOAR [FFW] < CT. རི་ཕག་ RPHAG lit. 'mountain pig', རྒོད་ RGD [FFW] < CT. lit. 'wild pig'.

601. CAMEL རང་མོང་ RNGAMONG [FFR] or the variant རང་བོང་ RNGABONG (La). The trisyllabic form རི་ཐེང་མོང་ THENG.RNGAMONG is used in some Yunnan dialects.

602. DOG གི་ KHITI [PR] < CT. In some dialects (e.g., Tö, Sherpa, Chagthreng (Kh)), this form is unaspirated: གེ་ KHYI. In some dialects of Amdo, it is followed by a suffix GU: KHITI.GU, which may be in order to avoid confusion with གུ་ CHU 'water'. This form is also used in Amdo pastoralists' communities as the humilific form. Dzongkha has གེ་རོ་ KHITI.RO < KHITI.GU < CT lit. 'old dog' to denote 'dog'. Another root གེ་ མི་ SROKHITI.MI, probably an ideophone, is present in some Amdo dialects. It is often combined with KHITI.SAPO to denote 'dog wolf' is often used for 'jackal'.

603. BITCH (FEMALE DOG) གི་མོ་ KHYIMO [PW] Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. གི་ KHITI, མོ་ MCHOTI.

604. CAT སྲེལ་ LI [FFR] (Kh, E, Am, Lho). The most frequent root for 'cat' used throughout Tibetan areas is སྲེལ་ LI. Although not attested in CT, it is found under various forms such as སྲེལ་ ZLILI /ZLI /ZLILI, /ZLILI, /ZLILI, /ZLILI or སྲེལ་ ZLILI /ZLILI /ZLILI in many regions, including Kham, Amdo, Kongpo and Lhoke. Another word, སྲེལ་ BYLALA [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Tö, Skh, Dz) < CT < Skr. !बडाल bylala (Laufer 1916), is used in CT and found in many western dialects such as Tö, Ladakhi, Balti and also in some southern dialects such as Melung (Kh). The form སྲེལ་ BYLILA /YLILA is used in Dzongkha. Other roots are also attested: some dialectal forms such as སྲེལ་ ZLMI (Ú) derive from another literary word སྲེལ་ ZHUM.BU, which may be related to the verb སྲེལ་ ZHUM 'to be afraid, to fear' (thus, a 'fearful animal'). Another root སྲེལ་ MI, probably an ideophone, is present in some Amdo dialects. It is often combined with སྲེལ་ LI: སྲེལ་ ZLMI.MILA or སྲེལ་ ZLMI.MILA, སྲེལ་ ZLMI.MILA are used in Amdo pastoralists' area. The Kham Tibetan
spoken in the Minyag Rabgang area uses a form like /mõ dzə/, which has an unclear origin. In Lithang ṭshe /ṭs’e/ is attested. In the Southwestern section, we find /kuri/ or /guri/ in Nubri, Kyirong, Yolmo, etc. The Sherpa word SBER.MANG /bermang/ and Jirel SBER.MANG could be derived from SBAR.MO lit. ‘claws’. The word P.ISHI is used in Zanhar and variants of this form are found in Nyoma (Ladakh).

605. HARE ḍi: RLBONG [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. It is a compound word: Rl’ mountain + BONG ‘donkey’. The comparison between ‘hare’ and ‘donkey’ is due to the similarity of their long ears. The same type of compounding is attested in Persian and Hindustani: xargu lit. ‘donkey ear’. In many dialects, this word has the reflex RLGON (Hill 2006; 2011) and various pronunciation are heard: /ribong/, /riwong/, /rigong/, /rilong/, though Rongdrak and Khyungpo (Kh) use a similar pronunciation to CT. Some southern Kham dialects have another word derived from the compound SPANG.GYAG ‘yak of the prairies’.

606. RABBIT ḍi: YOS (CT). In most languages, hares and rabbits are not distinguished; see HARE.

607. CHICKEN ḍi DE [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, E.) < CT. The root ḍi DE is not found alone. It is usually preceded by the word BYA ‘bird’ ḍi ḍi: BYADE or followed by a suffix: ḍi DE.BO. The root ḍi BYA [FFR] (Kh, E, Am, Pur) is frequently used alone to mean ‘chicken’. ḍi BYABA (Am). It should not be confused with the class term ‘bird’, which is used with many large birds: BYAGLAG, BYAKHRUNG, BYAROGS, BYARGOD. In some languages such as southern Kham, Ladaks and Balti, the words ḍi BYAPHO ‘male bird’ and ḍi BYAMO ‘female bird’ refer to chickens. ḍi BYA < CT ‘bird’ is also used alone. In Dzongkha, a chicken is called ḍi KHYIM.BYA ‘house-bird’.

608. COCK, ROOSTER ḍi BYAPHO [FFW] < CT. ḍi BYADE.PHO [FFW]. ḍi DEBO [FFW].

609. HEN ḍi BYAMO [PW] < CT. ḍi BYADE.MO [FFW] < CT. ḍi DEMO.
610. CHICK भान्छ BYAPHRUG or भापु BYAPHRU [PW] < CT. यु पु ौ (SKh), यु रु पु BYEU.PHRUG, यु रु पु BYA.PAKA (SKh), दु पु DE.PHRUG (E).

611. WING ग्प GSHOG [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix PA: ग्पण्ड GSHOG.PA. In Sherpa instead of the suffix PA, there is a prefix A: अ ग्पण्ड. In Khungpo, there is another word धर र्द 'DAB.MA < CT 'petal'. A variant is also attested: in south Kham दु 'DAB.PA < CT lit. 'leaf, petal' is used.

612. FEATHER ग्स्र GRO, alt. ग्सो GYO [PW] < CT. This is sometimes preceded by the class term यु 'bird': यु ब्र 'BYAS.GRO. यु ब्र 'BYAS.PU (E, SKh, Pur). In Purik, small feathers are referred to as ग्सु /spulu/, whereas large feathers are called ग्स्र GRO. Sherpa uses the word अ ग्पण्ड A.GSHOG for both 'wing' and 'feather'. The feathers of eagles and other large birds are used to make arrows.

613. TIGER ग्सट GSTAG [PR] < CT. A few other words are found marginally: ग्सा मः GES.MES STAG lit. 'grandfather tiger' (Tshawarong). Tigers have disappeared from many areas and are only found in some areas of southeastern Tibet and the Himalayas. Many western and southern dialects have lost the word ग्सट STAG and use instead the word for 'snow leopard'. For example, ग्सान GSA is used in Yolmo and Purik.

614. LEOPARD ग्सि GYI 'lynx' [PR] (Ts, Ú, Kh, E, Am, Sh, Dz). < CT. The snow leopard is emblematic of Tibet, Ladakh and Baltistan. In some Western areas (Sp, La, Pur), the word ग्सान GCAN is used instead; this is derived from CT ग्सान GZAN 'carnivorous animal, predator'. Other words are also attested: ग्सान GSA 'snow leopard', ग्सान GUNG < CT 'leopard cat' (Cho).

615. LYNX ग्यट GYT 'lynx' [PR]. The alternative spelling ग्स्यट DBYI is also attested.

616. LION ग्सं ज GE [PR] < CT < Skr. सिंह. Lions are not found today in the region, but the animal is a symbol of strength and power and is often represented in iconography. It is also still used as a personal name in Ladakh, Baltistan and, to a lesser extent, in Tibet. The Balti name for the Indus river is ग्सं ज_संग SENG,GE CHU 'Lion River', and its Tibetan name is ग्सं ज_संग SENG,GE KHA, 'BAR. lit. 'flowing down (from) the lion’s mouth'. The term ग्सं ज_संग GANGS,SENG 'snow lion' refers to a mythological animal, a symbol of Tibet.
617. **DRAGON** རྒྱུ་ 'BRUG' [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, Lho) < CT. This is pronounced in many ways: /bruk/ (Pur), /bluq/ (Ba), /"ɖuʔ/ (Ü), /"ɖuγ/ (Am), /'bjuk/ (Dz), etc. The dragon is one of the twelve signs of Tibetan astrology (influenced by the Chinese system). It is an important mythological animal and is widely represented. 'BRUG.YUL 'dragon land' is the Tibetan name of Bhutan. It is worth noting that dragons are systematically associated with thunder in all the Tibetan languages. See also THUNDER.

618. **MONGOOSE** རེ་འུ་ 'NEULE < CT < Skr.

619. **CLAW** བརམ་ 'SBARMA [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts) < CT. བདེ་སྐར་/SDER (E, Am) [FFR], ཁོར་/zderma/, /zermo/ (Za), དགེ་མོ་ 'YAG.MO (E), ཁུ་མོ་ 'PRAD.MO (Pur).

620. **MONKEY** ལྷུ་ 'SPRA [PR] < CT. Its diminutive ལྷུ་ 'SPRE < CT is also widely attested. It is pronounced in many ways. In some dialects of Kham and Yolmo the words རྒྱ་མ་ 'RGAS.SPRE are found. In the southern and western languages, the Indic word ལྷུ་ 'manu and ལྷུ་ 'bandar are also used. In Purik ལེ་/shari/ is used.

621. **ELEPHANT** གླང་པོ་ 'GLANG.PO.CHE and its variant གླང་ཆེན་ 'GLANG.CHEN. གླང་མོ་ 'GLANG.MO.CHE [PW] < CT lit. 'big bull'. In Sherpa the word གླང་པུ་ 'langpu is derived from གླང་ 'bull+male'.

622. **WILD YAK** རྒྱུ་ 'BRONG [FFR] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, etc.). This is pronounced in various ways: /brong/ (Pur) /'dông/ (Ü), /"dông/ (Am), /'bong/ (Hor), etc. < CT. Wild yaks now remain only in the northern and western part of the high plateau, at an altitude of 5,000 m; in some areas, such as the southern Himalayas, this word is thus unknown. In some dialects (Thewo, Ladakhi) a compound word derived from རྒྱ་'G.YAG.RGOD lit. 'wild yak' is also used, while Balti uses another compound རྒྱ་'THANG.G.YAG 'plateau yak'.

623. **TAKIN** རྒྱུ་ཙེ་ 'DRONG GYIMSE or རྒྱ་ 'RAG.YA, the national animal of Bhutan.

624. **BLACK BEAR** [Selenarctos thibetanus] ངདམ 'DOM [PR] < CT. This word is pronounced /tom/ in most languages, but in the Pămbar dialect of Kham (from
the village of *PAD.DKAR*), *DOM* is pronounced */som/*. This is a regular reflex of initial alveolar *t/* in this dialect. The term *ZAMYESDOM* is also attested. In Balti the word *NAG.DREN* 'black dren' (< *DRED.MO*, see BROWN BEAR) is found. In Purik, the words *RTSWA.DREN* 'tsaṣen' lit. 'grass (eating) bear' and *SHL.DREN* 'shaṣen' 'meat (eating) bear' are used. See BROWN BEAR.

625. BROWN BEAR [*Ursus pruinosus*] rophe* DRED.MO* or rophe* DRED.MONG* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. This is pronounced in various ways: */dêmông/* (Ü), */dêmno/* (La), */dêmo/* (Za), etc. and refers to large brown bear that usually lives at high altitude on the plateau in Tibet, Ladakh and Baltistan. The word is unknown in some lower areas. rophe* DRED.MONG* are important figures in many stories, used to frighten children in a similar way as wolves in Europe. In pastoralist areas in Tö and Kham, a few other names for this animal are based on its physical characteristics: rophe* RTING.RIL* < CT lit. 'round heels', rophe* RTING.ZLUM* < CT lit: 'round heels', rophe* SPO.RO.RDO.ROGYAC* lit. 'grandad throwing stones', rophe* SBAR.ROGYAC* '(one who) scratches with claws'. The meaning of the word rophe* MARGA* found in Yülshül is not clear, but could be derived from *RGA(S)* 'to be old' and thus mean 'old female one'.

626. PANDA rophe* DOM KHRA.KHRA* < CT rophe* DOM* 'bear'+rophe* KHRA.KHRA* 'variegated'. rophe* BYLLA.DOM* < CT rophe* BYLLA* 'cat'+rophe* DOM* 'bear' probably a calque from the Chinese *熊猫 xiongmao.* Pandas are found in Sichuan in the eastern Tibetic area and in the traditional Qiangic-speaking area.

627. JACKAL or DHOLE [*Cuon alpinus*] rophe* PHAR.BA* [FFW] < CT. Some languages use a form reanalyzed as rophe* PHARA.* In Purik rophe* KYL.SPYANG* 'dog wolf' is often used for 'jackal'.

628. WOLF rophe* SPYANG.KHU* [PW] alt. rophe* SPYANG.KU* and rophe* SPYANG.KI* < CT. In Chagthreng the root rophe* SPYANG* is used alone for 'wolf'. Some southern languages use another word: rophe* PHARIV* (Dz), rophe* PHARA* derived from CT rophe* PHAR.BA* 'jackal'.
629. **FOX** སྨ [PR] or its variant སྨ་< CT. The root may be used alone (Kh, Am) but in many languages, a suffix is added: སྨ་ WAMO (Ü, Ts, Am), སྨ་ AM (Dz), སྨ་ 'ALTSE (Sp, Tö), སྨ་ WALTSE (La, Za), སྨ་ རལ་ sgél (Sh). In some languages the word སྨ་ SBRE designates a kind of fox. In some dialects སྨ་ 'A RGOD lit. ‘wild one’ is used marginally.

630. **DEER** དྲ [PR] < CT. ‘deer’, ‘hart’, ‘stag’. This is usually followed by a suffix དྲ་ KHWA ‘barking deer’ is also attested (Sh, Yol).

631. **IBEX** ཡུ། [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö) < CT. This is a wild goat with large horns very abundant in Western Tibet, Ladakh and Baltistan. It is often depicted on protohistorical rock art in these regions. It is also featured in traditional dances in Ladakh.

632. **BLUE SHEEP** [Pseudois nayaur] གླ་བ་ PW (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. Blue sheep, also called ‘bharal’, are very frequent in Tibet and in the Himalayan regions.

633. **GAZELLE** [Procapra picticaudata] རྒོ་བ་ (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). Gazelles are common in the Jangthang area.

634. **ANTELOPE** [Anthelops hodgsoni] གཙོད /tsö/ (Ü, Ts), /tsos/ (La), also called ‘chiru’ in Indian English. The Tibetan antelope is an endangered species, having been hunted for its valuable warm wool, which is used to make Shahtoosh shawls.

635. **ARGALI SHEEP** [Ovis ammon hodgsoni] གན་ GNYAN ‘argali’; a type of wild sheep with huge horns.

636. **RIVER/MUSK DEER** རླ་ GLA [PR] < CT. Usually followed by a suffix: རླ་ GLABA (Ü, Ts), རླ་ GLACUM (Dz). རླ་ ROPO.TSE (Pur) is also attested.

637. **MUSK** རླ་ GLARTSI [PW] < CT (Pur, La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am).

638. **ONAGER** [Equus hemionus kiang] རྡེ་ RKYANG [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. Kyang are similar to zebras and are common in the Jangthang area. In some dialects such as Kham, Thewo and Balti, compound words are used: རྡེ་ རྡེ་ BONG, RGOD ‘wild donkey’ and རྡེ་ རྡེ་ THANG, BONG ‘prairie donkey’, རྡེ་ རྡེ་
639. OTTER ཀྲ་སྲམ་[PR] < CT ཀྲ་སྲམ་’water otter’ is frequently attested. In Balti, ཆུ་ཁྱེ་ CHU.KHYI < CT lit ‘water dog’ is used alongside ཀྲ་སྲམ་ SRAM. In gYagrwa (Kh), /wu:/ is used. The compound རྡ་སྲམ་ BRAG.SRAM’rock otter’ (Za) is attested but refers to another species. Otter skin is traditionally used for high-quality Tibetan robes.

640. MOUSE སྑིན་འབུ བྱི or ※བྱུ [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Kh, Am) < CT. This is followed by the suffix ṝA, ṝBYL, ṝBYOBA (Ba). The form ※བྱུ could correspond to the Proto-Tibeto-Burnman form, and some dialects reflect a final /u/ sound. ༠ བྱི་བྱུ TSUNG.BI (Yol), ༠ བྱི་PL.TSE (Pur), ༠ བྱི་SA.BILLIG (La) lit. ‘earth mouse’, བྱི་BYL.TSI (Dz). Another root, བྱི་TSI, is widespread, and probably represents onomatopoeia. བྱི་TSI བྱི་TSI (Ü) or བྱི་TSI བྱི་TSI (Am).

641. PIKA [Ochotona spp.] ཆུ་སྲམ་[FRF] (La, Za, Ts, Ü, Hor, Am) < CT usually pronounced /abra/ (Ü, Hor) but also /zebra/ (Za) and /rdabra/ (La).

642. MARMOT སྐྱིད་པྱི་ [PW] (Pur, La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh) < CT. The word སྐྱིད་པྱི་ is pronounced in many ways, e.g.: སྐྱིད་པྱི་ PHYL.BA /ˈpi/ (Pur, La, Za), /ˈpía/ (Tö, Sp), /ˈpie/ (Sh), /ts’awa/ (Kh, Hor), /sh’uwa/ (Kh, Hor), /seya/ (Kh), /sh’awa/ (Am), /sh’uwa/ (Dz) སྐྱིད་པྱི་ PHYLPHI /ˈçi/ (Ü, Ts), etc. In some dialects, a metaphorical expression is used to designate the rodent: སྒོམ་ཆེན་ SGOM.CHEN ‘great meditator’ (because it hibernates!). Conversely yogis are sometimes ironically referred to as ‘marmots’. The compound ཁ་ཕག་ KHAPHAG, a calque from Chinese 雪猪 xuezhu ‘snow pig’, is found in some Kham dialects. In many areas of Himalayas and southern Kham, the marmot is not found and there is no word for it.

643. BIRD སྐྱིད་bya [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT and the diminutive སྐྱིད་byu [PW] < CT lit. ‘small bird’. It is interesting to note that Purik makes a difference between སྐྱིད་bya/bya/ ‘flightless birds’ and སྐྱིད་BE’u/byu/ ‘flying birds’.
644. **NEST** བྱ་ཚང་ **BYA.TSHANG** [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz) < CT 'bird nest' or the variant བྱ་འུ་ཚང་ **BYE.TSHANG** < CT 'fledgling nest'. The word བྱ་ **TSHANG** is also used alone and means 'nest, den, lair'. In Purik /bya xotu/ lit. 'bird temporary house' is used.

645. **DUCK** ཆུ་བྱ་ **CHU.BYA** [FFW] (Pur, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The word ཆུ་ **BYA** is used as a generic word for 'water bird', which is its literal meaning in CT. Ladaks uses ཆུ་ཙེ་ **CHUSREG** lit. 'water patridge'. Sometimes the word གེང་པ་ **NGANG.PA** is used (see GOOSE). The Urdu loanword /batak/ is also attested. For the type of duck called གུར་པ་ **NGUR.PA**, some languages use སྐྱེ་ བྱེ་ **YA.ZI**, a Chinese loanword 鴨子 (E).

646. **GOOSE** གེང་པ་ **NGANG.PA** [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT.

647. **DOVE/PIGEON** གྲུང་རོན་ **PHUG.RON** [PW] < CT lit. 'cave/hole ron (pigeon)'

In some areas of Kham, the syllable structure is reanalyzed and the phonetic form can correspond to གྲུང་ **PHUGRON**. In many dialects, due to a metathesis, the word is pronounced གྲུང་གོན་ **PHUR.GON** /p’urgon/. A word of unclear origin, ཡུ་མ་ **MU.KHU** (LJ: Nyoma), is also attested.

648. **CRANE** ཁྲུང་ **KHRUNG** [PR] < CT. Usually reduplicated as ཁྲུང་ཁྲུང་ **KHRUNG.KHRUNG** or preceded by the class term **BYA** as བྱ་ཁྲུང་ **BYA.KHRUNG**.

649. **EAGLE** གླ་ **GLAG** [FFR] (La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT, usually combined with the class term ཁྱ་ **BYA’bird**: ཁྱ་ GLAG. The form GLAG could be related to an older * KHLAG, since the voiceless initial is attested in the Southeastern Kham dialects. Eagles are not found in all the regions. In some areas, people may confuse various species of large birds and used the terms ཁྱ་ གྲོད་ **BYA.RGOD** < CT 'vulture', དཀར་ **THANG.KAR** (Pur) < CT 'Tibetan white vulture', and གླ་ **BYA.KHRA** < CT 'hawk' for 'eagle'.

650. **HAWK** ཁྱ་ **KHRA** alt. མ་ **KHYA** [PW] < CT. This is often preceded by the class term 'bird': བྱ་ KHRA. In the sKobsteng dialect (Kh), the initial consonant is a uvular /q/ , which may suggest that the original sound of this word was uvular.
651. VULTURE [BYARGOD] [PW] < CT ‘lit. ’wild bird’. In some dialects (Kh, L: Durbuk, Nyoma), the word [RGOD] is used alone. Other terms are also attested in some regions: THANG.DKAR < CT ‘Tibetan white vulture’, SKYAG.GLAG (La) Gypaetus barbatus, ’bearded vulture’ and GLAG.KHYI (Sp) lit. ’eagle-dog’. The term for ’vulture’ is sometimes confused with ’eagle’ and ’hawk’. Vultures are common in Tibet but less frequent in other regions of the Tibetic area, such as Ladakh. See EAGLE and HAWK.

652. OWL [UG.PA] [PW] < CT  ❍ UG.HWA.

653. BAT [BYAMA.BYI] [FFW] < CT ’half-bird half-mouse’. For ’bat’ or ’flying fox’, other words are attested, such as MTSAN.BYI ’night mouse’ (La, Za), PHA.WANG (Ü) and DGA.HALUNG (Am).

654. MAGPIE [SKYA.KA] [FFW] (Ts, Ú, Kh, Am) < CT. KHWA.TA KHRA.BO ’variegated crow’, KAR.BU.KHRID (La, Za). Many variants are attested, e.g. /xasham buru/, /xasham buʈ/, etc. (Purik).

655. HOOPOE * [PU.PU] [FFR] (Pur, La, Ts, Ú). CT  ❍ PUSHUD. This is usually designated by the onomatopoeia /pu(t)pu(t)/, /ututut/, often followed by a disyllable: /pu.PU.KUSHUD (Ú). /pushukshali/ (La), /pu/PU.TSE (La), /pu.PUD/PUD/putput/ (Pur), /pu.PUD/ututut/ (Za), etc. It is interesting to note that the verb describing the hoopoe’s cry in French is puputer. In Sherpa /HAS.NGAN.PUSHID < CT LT.AS.NGAN ’bad omen’ +pushi. In Amdo, the word SHING.RTAMO (Am) is attested but may refer to ’woodpecker’. In summer, hoopoes are frequently seen in Tibet and Ladakh and many other areas of the region. As the Sherpa name suggests, this bird is not thought well of.

656. RAVEN [Corvus corax tibetanus]  ❍ ROG [FFW] (La, Sp, Ts, Ú, Hor, Kh, Am, Sh, Yol) < CT. The root is not found alone and often occurs as PHO.ROG < lit. ’male raven’. The class term ’bird’ is sometimes added: KHYI.BYAI PHO.ROG or BYA.BYAI. Several variants are found, including  ❍ GWO.RAG /gworak/ (Sh),  ❍ ʈʃagur/ /ǥarəʔ/ (Tö), ʈʃαrə / ʈʃαrəʔ/ (Sp) and ʈʃαrə / ʈʃαrəʔ/ (Ts), which may be derived from ʈʃαrə PHO.ROG. A raven is a
black crow larger than the common crow (see below). In many regions, the raven is considered a good omen, while the common crow sometimes has negative connotations. The raven is used to represent deities. Its name appears in the form of protectors and deities such as མགོན་པོ་བྱ་རོག་གདོང་ MGON.PO BYA.ROG DGONG ‘raven face protector’, a form of Mahakāla. In dialects of some regions where ravens are uncommon, no distinction is made between ravens and common crows.

657. CROW [Corvus macrorhynchos tibetosinensis] མཁྲི་པ་ KHWATA [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Kh, La, etc.) < CT, or preceded by the class term མཁྲི་ BYA.KHWATA. In Sherpa this bird is called ག་ལ་ /kalak/ < KHWATA. Some other forms are found, such as གོ་ལ་ JO.LA/ /jola/ (Dz, Lho), གོ་ PHO.ROG (Pur).

658. RED-BILLED CHOUGH (Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax himalayanus) འཆོག་ན་ LCUNG.KA or འཆོག་ SKYUNG.KA [FFW] (La, Sp, Ú, Kh) < CT. This type of crow with a red beak is common on the Tibetan plateau and in the Himalayas. It is often considered an auspicious bird in folktales in Kham.

659. SKYLARK འཇོལ་མོ JOL.MO < CT. This bird is often mentioned in Classical Tibetan poetry.

660. PHEASANT སྨ་བྱ་ RMA.BYA < CT. lit. ‘mountain bird’.

661. PARTRIDGE བྲེས་པ་ SREG.PA [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT.

662. SNOWCOCK ཉུང་ GONG.MO (La, Ú) < CT.

663. CUCKOO རྒྱན་ KHU.YUG [FFW] (Ts, Ú, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT. རྒྱན་ KHU.YUG. Sprigg mentions འཆོག་ན་ LCUNG.KA for Balti (see above RED-BILLED CHOUGH). The Hindi loanword /koyal/ is used in the Himalayas.

664. PEACOCK རྨ་བྱ་ RMA.BYA [PR] < CT probably from Skr. मधुर mayura. It is pronounced /mabja/ (La), /mapa/ (Ú, Ts, Yol), etc. The following variants are also attested: རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA, རྨ་ RAYA.

665. TORTOISE རི་སྨྲ་ RUS.SBAR [PW] < CT lit. ‘bone-frog’. In Purik /kačwa/ is a loanword < Urdu.
666. SNAKE སྨྲི་སྲུལ་ SBRUL [PR] < CT. This is pronounced in many ways: སྨྲི /'brul/ (Pur), /'bul/ (Ba), སྨྲི /'rul/ (La), /ruv/ (Am) /'qul/ (Kh), /'qul/ (Sp), སྨྲི /'bül/ (Dz), /bül/ (Ho), སྨྲི /'rul/ (Ko), སྨྲི /'ruv/ (Am: Dz), /wu/ (Am), etc. In the sKadgrag dialect (Kh), སྨྲི་སྲུལ་ བུ.SBRUL. lit. ‘worm-snake’ is used. A few dialects have a form with a prenasalisation only for ‘snake year’, such as /'qu/ in Rongbrag (Kh), which may imply a relation to the reconstructed PTB form *smrul.

667. FROG སྨྲལ་པ་ SBAL.PA [PW]. This is pronounced in many ways: /'balpa/ (Ba, Pur), /balpa/ (Tö), /balwa/ (Sp, Sh), /bä:pa/ (Ü, Kh, Ho), /yäwa/ (E: Th), /bawa/ (Am), /zawa/ (Am), /xwawa/ (Am), /'bä:p/ (Dz) < CT. In some languages in the eastern area, R occurs as a glide before the vowel: སྨྲལ་པ་ SBRAL.PA /rwawa/ or /'wawa/ (Am).

668. FISH ཉ་ NYA [PR] < CT. In some southern dialects of Kham, this is pronounced with a nasalized vowel, as if it has a nasal final.

669. CRAWLING INSECT ཡ་ བུ̀' BU [PR] < CT. ཡ་ བུ̀ ' BUB (Dz). Sometimes this forms compounds, such as སྨྲི་བུ་ SBRANG.BU, from སྨྲི བུ་ SBRIN.BU ‘insect, vermin’, ཡ་ བུ̀ ' HA.BU (Ba). Many languages and dialects group ‘crawling insects’ and ‘worms’ together (see WORM).

670. WORM སྨྲི SBRIN (Ba, Pur, Am). See ཡ་ བུ̀ 'BU above.

671. FLYING INSECT སྲི སྲྱུང་ SBRANG [PR] < CT. The root is often followed by a suffix: སྲི་སྲྱུང་ SBRANG,MA, སྲི་སྲྱུང་ SBRANG,MA, སྲི་སྲྱུང་ SBRANG,BU. The root is pronounced in many ways: སྲི /'brang/ (Pur), སྲི /'rang/ (La), སྲི /'bong/ (Ts), སྲི /'pang/ (Ü) /'bong/ (Ko), སྲི /'jam/ (Dz), སྲི /'xwang/ (Am: Dz), སྲི /'rang/ (Am), etc. In some dialects of Amdo and Balti, the word སྲི སྲྱུང་ BUNG,MA (< CT ‘honey bee’) is used. The root སྲི སྲྱུང་ SBRANG is opposed to ཡ་ བུ̀ 'BU ‘crawling insect’; cf. WORM.

672. HONEY BEE སྲི སྲྱུང་ BUNG,MA (La, Za, Sp, Kh, Am) < CT. Some dialects have a reflex of སྲི སྲྱུང་ BUNG,MA. Many languages use the root སྲི སྲྱུང་ SBRANG.BU ‘flying insect’ to form compound words meaning ‘honey bee’: སྲི སྲྱུང་ SBRANG.BU (Kh), སྲི སྲྱུང་ SBRANG.NOR.BU (Ü) < CT lit. ‘flying insect jewel’, སྲི སྲྱུང་ SBYANG.SER lit.
‘yellow fly’ (Ba), སྦྲང་རྩི་ཧའུ་/sbrangrtsi hau/ ‘honey fly’ (Pur), ལྗི་བ་[PW] < CT, the compound མི་ཤིག khyi.shig or མི་ཤིག kyl.shig ‘dog louse’ (Dz, Ba, Pur, Za, Yol, etc.) is frequently found.

673. FLEA དོ་གམ་/sdom/ < CT, the compound མི་ཤིག khyi.shig or མི་ཤིག kyl.shig ‘dog louse’ (Dz, Ba, Pur, Za, Yol, etc.) is frequently found.

674. LOUSE མི་ཤིག [PW] < CT (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz).

675. BED BUG ཇེ་བོང་/dre.bong/ (Ladakh: Rongkat), ཇེ་བོང་/dre.bong/ (LJ: Nyoma). In Kham one also encounters ཇེ་བོང་/dre.bong/ (Am, E).

676. FLY སྦྲང་ནག་/sbrang.nag/ < CT, སྦྲང་/sbrang/ ‘flying insect’. སྦྲང་བུ་/sbrang.bu/, སྦྲང་ནག་/sbrang.nag/ lit. ‘black flying insect’, སྦྲང་ཐ་/sbrang.tha/ (Am). མི་ཤིག [PW] < CT (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz).

677. MOSQUITO བུ་ལུང་/bu.lung/ < CT, བུ་/bu/ (La). བུ་/bu/ ‘poison flying insect’. The word བུ་/bu/ is also attested, In Gyaltang (Kh) the word བུ/ta shi/ of unclear origin, is used. ང་ང་ཙེ/čarı/ (La, Za) is used.

678. SPIDER རྙུན་/sdom/ < CT related to the verb རྙུན་/sdom/ ‘to attach, to bind’ (see BIND). Many other words are attested throughout the region: རྙུན་མཁན་/sdom.mkhon/ (Am: xun), རྙུན་མཁན་/sdom.mkhon/ (Hor), རྙུན་མཁན་/sdom.mkhon/ (Dz), རྙུན་མཁན་/sdom.mkhon/ lit. ‘round demon’ (Sh), རྙུན་མཁན་/sdom.mkhon/ lit. ‘insect laying out thread’ (Za, La).

679. LIZARD རྩངས་པ་/rtsangs.pa/ < CT. ལེ་བཙོག་པ་/le.btsog.pa/ (Za, LJ: Durbuk) < ? རྩངས་པ་/rtsangs.pa/ (Pur, Yol, etc.) < CT. སྨིན /srin/, སྨིན /srin/ lit. ‘bad karma’, སྨིན /srin/ lit. ‘meat insect’. Note that several words (Sh, La) include the root རྗུ་/rgu/ lit. ‘insect laying out thread’ (Za, La), རེ་བཙོག་/rebtsog.pa/ (Za, LJ: Durbuk) < ? རྩངས་/rtsangs.pa/ (Pur, Yol, etc.) < CT. སྨིན /srin/, སྨིན /srin/, སྨིན /srin/.
Lizards are found on the Tibetan plateau and in the Himalayas.

Scorpions, ants, grasshoppers, and scorpions are not found in all regions, but they do exist in Central Tibet, Baltistan, and elsewhere. In some areas, they symbolise protection against obstacles. In Tsang, they are often painted on the external wall of a house.

Insects chanting may be derived from an onomatopoeia /ak/ or /tsak/. Metaphors are also used:

‘cancer’.

Purik and Sham, a loanword is attested:

/grog ma/ in Tsang, they are often painted on the external wall of a house.

grasshopper /bu, chag apa/ is used. This seems to be an exception.

Grasshopper /bu, chag apa/ is a loanword from English < Greek helikopterbu/ < English < Greek Helicopter is used in Ladakh. A recent ‘Sino-Tibetan’ compound is attested in Drugchu: /bu, f\'/lit. ‘insect airplane’ < Tib. /bu/ + Chin. 'f\'. Although dragonflies do fly, the term ‘bu’ is usually reserved for worms and flightless insects – it is used. This seems to be an exception.

Butterfly /phye, ma leb/ is a metaphor suggesting that the dragonfly’s buzz resembles a lama chanting mani. /Phye, ma leb/ is possibly derived from a loanword from Greek Helicopter. Although dragonflies do fly, the term ‘bu’ is usually reserved for worms and flightless insects – it is used. This seems to be an exception.
CHEM.LH.AMO is used whereas in Minyak Rabgang (Kh), ཆེའི་འབུ་ 'ba’bu' is used. In Drugchu, /pi bi t’a ro/ is used.

686. MOTH དུ་མདུ་ MUG, PA < CT. Compound words are also found such as བར་འབུ་ བར་འབུ་ LCEB, DER, MA (Lhasa). In many languages (Hor, Tö, Am), the compound རྒད་པོ་མེ་ལྕེབ་ RGAD, PO, MELCEB lit. 'old man jumping in the fire' is used. The variants རྒད་མེ་ལྕེབ་ RGAD, ME, LCEB and ཨ་ཡིས་མེ་ལྕེབ་ (Am) ‘old woman jumping in the fire’, and simply མེ་ལྕེབ་ MELCEB (Pur, La, Za) ‘jumping in the fire’ are also attested.

CLOTHING AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

687. THREAD སྒུད་ SKUD [PR] < CT. Normally followed by a suffix PA: སྒུད་པ་ SKUD, PA (Pur, La, Yol, E, Ú, Ts, etc.), སྒུད་པ་ SKUDP (Dz). Other suffixes are also attested: སྒུད་དོ་ SKUD, DO (Am: Ng), སྒུད་རུ་ SKUD, RU (Ho). The Sherpa word སྒུད་དོ་ /šutok/ also probably derives from སྒུད་དོ་ SKUD, DO. In southern Kham, རས་སྒུ RAS, SKUD lit. ‘cloth thread’ is often used.

688. CLOTH see COTTON (CLOTH).

689. COTTON (CLOTH) རས་ RAS [PR] < CT. In Baltistan, the Urdu word کپ ‘kapás’ is often used instead. The word སྲིིན, བིལ srin, bal ‘worm wool’ is used in many dialects to designate the cotton plant.

690. SILK དར་གོས་ DAR, GOS < CT. The word དར་གོས་ GOS, CHEN ‘brocade’ (La, Ú) < CT is widespread. དར་གོས་ GOS (Am) is sometimes also used for ‘silk’. ཀུན་་རས་ BU, RAS 'bug cloth'. Loanwords are also attested, such as གྲུའུ་ཙི་ GRU, TSI /ʈsi/ (Ú) < Chn., གྲུའུ་ཙི་ reshim/ (La, Pur) < Urd.

691. CHUBA/ CLOTH ROBE བོད་གོས་ BOD, GOS [FW] < CT. This refers to the traditional Tibetan dress for men and women, called druba in Common Tibetan (see CLOTHES). The term རྣ་ go and རྣ་ bgo are used in Bhutan and Sikkim. བོད་གོས་ BOD, GOS (Kh, E) lit. ‘Tibetan dress’. In Bhutan go refers only to men’s dress, which is shorter than the Tibetan chuba, reaching only the knees. The term དོད་པ་ DKYI, RA < CT དོད་པ་ DKRI, RAS lit. ‘wrapped cloth’ is used in Bhutan and སུལ་མ་ SUL, MA lit. ‘pleated (dress)’ in Ladakh for women’s dress. Other terms
are also attested བྱུ བ་ PHU PA /ˈuːpa/ (Ü, Ts), བྱུ བ་ BYU BA /ˈuːwa/ (Sh), which are probably loanwords from Persian: jobbe; Turkish: ğüb; and ultimately borrowed from Arabic /jubba/, which is also the source of the French word jupe 'skirt' (Rey 1992). The word བྱུ བ་ LWA (Am, E) should be mentioned (see CLOTHES); it is often preceded by རས བྱུ བ་ RAS LW A RING MO GON CH A S 'long coat' is used in Purik.

692. MONASTIC CLOTHING དགུས་ CHOS GOS < CT lit. 'dharma clothes' or དགུས་ ཞྭ LWA < CT lit. 'monk's garment' refers to the traditional kasaya, which is monks' and nuns' clothing in the Buddhist and Bön tradition. Monastic clothing includes: བློ་ དགེ་ STOD GAG 'vest' (or བློ་ བུ་ SNAM SBYAR for bikshus), བློ་ བུ་ རྡོ་་ཅེ་ KH GON RGYA 'upper shawl', རྡོ་་ཅེ་ རུམ་ཐབས་ SHAM THABS 'lower garment', བློ་ བུ་ GZAN 'monk's warm cape, monk's assembly garment'. Finally monks and nuns often wear a བློ་ བུ་ ZLA GAM 'hat' (see HAT below).

693. CLOTHES བྲག་ GO S or བྲག་ GON PR < CT 'to wear'. The root often appears with a suffix: བྲག་ འགག་ DUG SLOG, བྲག་ བྲག་ AM BRAG or བྲག་ བྲག་ SNAM BRAG, which is used alone in Amdo for 'clothes', but is often combined with བྲག་ GO S LWA. The forms བྲག་ LAG [FFR] (Ba, La, Sp Ts, To) and བྲག་ LAG GON LAG are also encountered. Other words are attested marginally. Interestingly, the word for 'clothes' used in Common Tibetan and Lhasa dialect, བྲག་ DUG SLOG, is of unclear origin. This is also the case with the Sherpa word for 'clothes', བྲག་ /manjal/. བྲག་ BKAB CHA (Yol) is derived from BKAB 'to cover'. In Yunnan, a Naxi loanword /bu la/ is widely used for nontraditional clothes. In Gyalthang, /ba 't'a/ is also used.

694. POCKET (TRADITIONAL) བྲག་ S NAM BRAG /snam dam/ (La), བྲག་ BRA G /ambah/ (Ü), བྲག་ RUM; a pocket formed by the upper front part of traditional robes.
695. SHIRT སྟོད་ཐུང་ [FFW] (La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Sh, etc.) < CT ‘upper short (clothes)’. སྟོད་ཐུང་ DRILLEN (La) is also attested. སྟོད་ཐུང་ STOD.TSE for ‘shirt’ and སྟོད་ཐུང་ TSHILLEN ‘undershirt’ are used. STOD.THUNG is used for both traditional shirts and modern shirts. In some Tibetan areas, /tsʰji/, a borrowing of the Chinese 衬衣 chenyi, is frequent. The Hindi–Urdu loanword /kamiz/ is also used in India and Nepal.

696. TROUSERS གོས་ཐུང་ [FFR] < CT lit. ‘short clothes’ རྐང་སྣམ་ RKANG.SNAM (E, Kh, La, Am) < CT lit. ‘leg cloth’. རྐང་སྣམ་ DOR.MA [FFR] (Pur, La) < CT DOR ‘pair’. སྟོད་ཙེ་ STOD.TSE for ‘shirt’ and སྟོད་ཙེ་ TSHI.TSE for both traditional shirts and modern shirts. In some Tibetan areas, /tsʰji/, a borrowing of the Chinese 衬衣 chenyi, is frequent. The Hindi–Urdu loanword /kamiz/ is also used in India and Nepal.

697. SKIRT སྨད་གཡོགས་ [FFR] < CT. In eastern areas, སྨད་གཡོགས་ qunzi is also used. Skirts are not traditional in the Tibetic areas.

698. APRON གང་དགན་ PANG.GDN. [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. In Ü, Tsang and some other areas, only married women wear aprons, whereas in other areas (such as Kham and Amdo) all women wear them. གང་ཁེབས་ PANG.KHEBS is attested in Ladakh.

699. HAT རྒྱང་ཐུ་ ZHWA [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. This is found alone, as རྒྱང་ཐུ་ ZHWA (Am), but is normally followed by a suffix: རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ ZHWA.MO (Ü, Ts, Yol), རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ ZHWA.YE (Kh), རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ ZHWA.U (Hor), རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ ZHWA.PO (Kh), རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ ZHWA.O /'zh'am/ (Dz), རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ ZHWA.MUNG (Sh). Other words are also used, such as རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ BOG.TO < CT ‘type of yellow hat’ in Kongpo, རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ RMOG.PA < CT RMOG ‘helmet’, རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ /nating/ (Ba), རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ /tibi/ (La) and རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ /topi/ (Pur) < Urdu; Also རྒྱང་ཐུ་ཐུ་ THOD ‘turban’ (Pur, La) < CT.

700. BELT སྐེ་རགས་ SKE.RAGS [FFR] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT.

701. SOCK བུ་སུ་ PUSU or བུ་མོ་སུ་ PUSU.SU < Mong. The Tibetan compound བུ་སུ་ RKANG.SHUB ‘leg case’ (La), བུ་སུ་ RKANG.TSE (Pur, Ba). In the Chinese area, the loanword ཚོས་ wazi is frequently used. ཚོས་RKANG.BO < CT ‘foot + penetrate, get into’ is also attested.
The root LHAM is nearly pandialectal. It is sometimes followed by a suffix: LHAM.GOG, KO.LHAM 'leather boot' is also heard in Amdo. These often refer to the traditional Tibetan felt boot. This root also means 'shoe' in many dialects (see SHOE). This word can exceptionally be pronounced /ham/. Other words such as /papu/ (La, Pur), /kratpa/ 'a traditional type of boot' (La, Pur) and ZON.PA < CT are also attested (Yol, etc.). Borrowings of the Chinese words 马靴 maxue and 靴子 xuezi are also used.

For modern leather shoes, various loanwords from Hindi जूता /juta/ are encountered. In some languages, the word LHAM refers to any shoe. /papu/ is heard in Ladaks and Purik. The Chinese 鞋 xie (/xai/ in Sichuanese) is also attested.

The word lokpa corresponds to a traditional fur coat made of sheep or goat skin worn by pastoralists. The word is derived from SLOG.PA, which means 'reverse side (of a sheepskin)'. This word is regularly pronounced /ts'oxwa/ /ts'okpa/ in some Northern Kham Hor dialects, and /tsakpa/ in Purik and /lakpa/ in Ladaks. The compounds प्रत्येक स्लोग पलन्त्रा LPAGS.SLOG.PA are also used. Several unetymological spellings are also used, such as प्रत्येक स्लोग पलन्त्रा PAGS.TSHAG.TSAG.RTSA.G. In Ladakh, lokpa are usually worn by women whereas शंझ स्लोग shanglak refers to the traditional fur coat worn by males. Some warmer regions do not have this word.

In Ladakh, TSHA.RU is used in Ladaks. Note that, in Purik, /ts’aru/ has a different meaning, referring to the trim of a coat made with long fur.

The term RIN.PO.CHE < CT 'precious' is also attested for this meaning. For बंग बु bang.ba (La, Pur), see 'STOREHOUSE'.
707. ORNAMENT རྒྱན་ [PR] < CT. Sometimes followed by the word CHA ‘pair’; རྒྱན་ཆ་ [CHA]. བཏག་ཆ་ [BTAG.CHABTAG.CHALI] is used in Purik, བཏག་སྐེ་ [BTAG.SKE]. བཏག་སྐེ་ [BTAG.SKE] lit. ‘beads attached to the neck’.

708. CORAL འབླྱུ་ [PR] < CT. A frequently used material for hair ornaments and jewelry.

709. TURQUOISE ཤུ་ [PR] < CT. The turquoise is an emblematic and symbolic stone of the Tibetan culture.

710. PEARL བཏག་ཆ་ [CHA]. བཏག་སྐེ་ [BTAG.SKE] lit. 'beads attached to the neck'.

711. AMBER སྤོས་ཤེལ་ [PW] < CT.

712. EARRING རྣ་ལོང་ [FFW] < CT. Other words, like རྣ་ཆ་ [CHA] (Pur), སྒར་ལོང་ [SGAR.LONG] (Sp, Tö), ལོང་ [LONG] (Minyak Rabgang) and རྣ་ཁུག་ [RNA.KHUG] (SKh) lit. 'seduced by ear'.

713. NECKLACE སྐེ་དཀྲིས་ [SKE.DKRIS] < CT. སྐེ་དཀྱིས་ [SKE.DKYIS], སྐེ་རྒྱན་ [SKE.RGYAN], ལོག་མཆྲིས་ [LOG.MCHING] (Pur), སྐེ་ [SKE], སྐེ་ཆ་ [SKE.CH] (Pur, La, Za).

714. RING (ON FINGER) རྣ་དྲོག [RNA.DRUG], རྣ་དྲོག [RNA.DRUG] lit. 'to invite somebody' lit. 'to pull the carpet'. Many types of carpets are attested.
They include ས་གདན་SA GDAN 'floor rugs', བམ་SALI 'floor rugs' (La), མཁྲལ་གདན་KHRA.LGDAN, ས་ལི་SA LI 'floor rugs' (La), མཁྲལ་གདན་KHRA.LGDAN 'bed rugs', ཚོགས་གདན་TSHOGS.GDAN 'carpet for a row of monastics', རྩྭ་གདན་RTSWA.GDAN 'throne-fitting seat' (for lamas, kings). The word GDAN is also used for cushions and mattresses: འབོལ་གདན་BOL.GDAN 'stuffed cushions', ཉལ་གདན་NYAL.GDAN 'sleeping mattress', རྩྭ་གདན་RTSWA.GDAN 'straw mat', etc. The word ལྕུ / l'ara/ or / l'ali/, used in Baltistan for 'carpet' along with the word /qalin/ (Urdu, Pers), is also found in Jangthang and means 'blanket', ཀམ་པར་ལི་KAM.PAR.LI 'instrument or place to sit', དགོས་གདན་GOS.GDAN 'brocade carpet' (Am).

718. BLANKET མལ་གཟན་MAL.GZAN (Hor) 'thick woollen blanket' < CT, རྡུ་CHARA [FW], བཙུགས་ཕྲུག་BTSUGS.PHRUG (U, Ts) 'thick woollen blanket', བཙུགས་ཕྲུག་BTSUGS.THUL (Za, La), བཙུགས་THULU, དུག་NyAL.THUL (Am), རྡུ་KAM.PAR.LI (U, Ts).

719. THING/MERCHANDISE ཐིག་CA.LAG [PW] (La, U, Ts, Am, Dz, Kh, Ho, Sh, etc.) < CT. The variant ཐིག་CA.GA (Am, Kh) is also attested. Another word, འབྲུགས་པོ་DNGOS.PO < CT lit. 'object' (Am), and the compound འབྲུགས་CA.DNGOS (Dz) are used. In southern Kham, /se pa/ and /she pa/ are widely used; these may be related to འབྲུག་SPYAD.PA lit. 'thing for use'.

720. TABLE གྲོག་GROG.RTSE [PW] (Pur), also spelled གྲོག་LCOG.RTSE < Chin. ཟུང་zhuozi. This designates both Tibetan traditional low tables and modern western tables. However, for the latter, a pronunciation reflecting the modern Chinese word is used: གྲོག་GROG.RTSE.

721. CHAIR, STOOL བཀྲུབ་པྱག་RKUB.BKYAG (U, Ts.) < CT lit. 'supporting buttocks'. The word བཀྲུབ་པྱག་RKUB.BKYAG with the same meaning is used in Kham, Hor and Amdo, and a variant བཀྲུབ་པྱག་RKUB.BTEGS is used in Sherpa. Several languages also use a compound with the word བཀྲུབ་KHRI 'throne': བཀྲུབ་KHRI (Pur); བཀྲུབ་KHRI/USHENG < CT 'small throne wood' (La, Sp, Tö), བཀྲུབ་RKANG.KHRI < CT lit. 'leg throne', བཀྲུབ་KHRI 'buttocks throne' (Kh), བཀྲུབ་RGYAKHRI (Lho). The word བཀྲུབ་པྱག་BKYAG.SDOD (E) lit. 'support seat'. The Chinese borrowings 板凳 bandeng and 板子 dengzi are also frequently
used in the eastern Tibetan areas of China; གྲུ་སི་ karsi (La, Pur) < कुसः karsi (Hindi–Urdu).

722. BED སྲི་ KHRI [PR] < CT ‘throne’. In some eastern dialects, especially in Amdo and Gyālthang (Kh), the word སྲི་ KHRI is pronounced differently when it means ‘bed’ and when it means ‘throne’. In many dialects, a compound word རྟྨ་ སྲི་ NYAL.KHRI < CT lit. ‘sleeping throne’ (U, Ts, Kh, Am, Sp, etc.). The compounds རྟྨ་ NYALSA (Ü, Ts, Kh), རྟྨ་ NYAL.TSA (Pur) and རྟྨ་ MALS (La, Sh) are also attested in many areas; they mean both bed and sleeping, and in Kham usually refer to a bedroom. In some pastoral areas where beds are not used, this word is unknown and a Chinese loan 床 chuàng > སྲི་ KHRENG or སྲི་ KHRONG is used. སྲི་ HULDZIN is a type of bed warmed by a fire found in Amdo area.

723. BOX གྲུ་ SGAM [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts, La, Sh, Yol, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT. In some areas, another word also found in CT is used: གྲུ་ SGROM [FFR] (Dz, Ba, Lh, Sp, Pur) < CT.

724. LOCK སྒོ་ lcags [FFW] (U, Ts, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT lit. ‘door iron’, རེ་ ZWA (Am) < CT ‘padlock’, སྒོ་ lcags.khug, སྒོ་ lcags.khug (SKh). In some dialects, the term for KEY (see below) may be used to designate locks: ཤུ་ DZIS is a type of bed warmed by a fire found in Amdo area.

725. KEY སྒོ་ lcags.dmyig [PW] (Sp, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. The variant སྒོ་ lcags.dmyig is attested in the Eastern region (Am, Kh, E). Various specific pronunciations are attested: སྒོ་ lcags.dmyig (Ts), སྒོ་ lcags.dmyig (To), སྒོ་ lcags.dmyig (Sp, Ba, Sh), སྒོ་ lcags.dmyig (Dz). Some Kham dialects have the forme སྒོ་ lcags.dmyig.BU, which may be derived from སྒོ་ lcags, or more probably from རེ་ ZWA ‘to lock’. Another word is attested in the western areas: སྒོ་ DULIG (La, Sp), སྒོ་ DULIG, पह. KULIG (La, Za, Pur) lit. ‘open key’. In some Southern Kham, there is no word for ‘key’ and they use the lexicalized phrase སྒོ་ lcags.khug ‘door-opening instrument’.

726. GLASS སྒྲིལ SHEL [PR] < CT. Some languages use a loanword such as /shisha/ (Pur) < Urdu.
727. **MIRROR** མེ་ལོང་ (*ME.LONG*) [FFR] (La) < CT ‘mirror’ is used in some areas (Ba, La, Am), and the variant མིའོང་ མེ་ལོང་ is found in South Kham, but in other areas, these terms may refer to an ‘astrological mirror’ – a metallic coin-like object showing the twelve astrological signs, traditionally attached to the waist. The compound བུག་ཐོ་མེ་ལོང་ ‘knee mirror’ is used in many western and southern areas to mean ‘kneecap’. There are other words for ‘mirror’, such as ཉེ་ཤེལ་ གོ་ ཕེ ཏེ་ (Ü, Ts, Am, etc.) < CT ‘face glass’.

728. **BROOM** གཏ་ལོ (PHYAG.MA) [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. གཏ་ལོ (PHYAG) (Dz), གཏ་ལོ རོ་ (GDUNG.MA) (Ba), གཏ་ལོ རོ་ (ZHULI) (Pur), གཏ་ལོ རོ་ (OL.MO) (La, Za), གཏ་ལོ རོ་ (SDUD.MA) (Am).

729. **LIGHT (ELECTRIC)** གློ (GLOG) [PR] < CT ‘lightning’, གློ རོ རོ (GLOG.ME) (Dz), གློ རོ རོ (DKAR.ME) (E). In the Chinese area, the loan གློ རོ རོ (for heating) (La, Ba, Pur) < buhari (Pers.)

730. **GARBAGE** གད་སྙིགས་ (*GAD.SNYIGS*) [FFR] < CT is mainly literary and a number of words of unclear origin are attested. གད་སྙིགས་ /K‘ems/, /k’ims/ < ‘floor’ is used in Ladakh. གད་སྙིགས་ (KHYIM.SA) (Am).

731. **STOVE** མ་ (THAB) [PR] < CT. Stoves (thab) are used for cooking and heating. The root is often followed by a suffix མ་ (KA); མ་ མ་ (THAB.KA). Loanwords are sometimes attested, such མ་ མ་ (BO.GAR) (for heating) (La, Ba, Pur) < buhari (Pers.)

732. **THREE-STONE FIREPLACE or TRIVET** བད་པུ་ (SGYED.PU) [PW] < CT.

This traditional way of making fire with three stones is still widely used. The word is essentially the same over the entire area. Iron trivets are also encountered. The word བད་པུ་ (SGYED.PU) is also heard. In some eastern areas, བད་པུ་ (RKANG.GSUM) < CT ‘three-legged’ is used. The word བད་པུ་ (SGYED.PU) is also found in some Buddhist rituals such as བད་པུ་ བད་པུ་ (GCOD). The expression བད་པུ་ བད་པུ་ བད་པུ་ (SGYED.PU SPUNG.GSUM) ‘gyetpu, three brother stones’ is also found. In some dialects, such as Hor, the word བད་པུ་ (SGYED.PU) has acquired the meaning of ‘stove’.
733. BELLOWS སྦུད་པ་ SBUD.PA [PR] < CT SBUD 'to light, set on fire' (SBUD < PHU 'blow'). Another frequent word to refer to 'bellows' is ལྷའེ་མོ་ KHOLO.MO (To, Kh, Am), derived from the root ལྷའེ KHOL 'to boil'. Other words are also attested, such as ལྷོ་དཔའ་ RLOUNG.TSHUM < CT 'closing air' (Dz), ལྷོ་ སྐེ /x'an/ (Kh), ལྷོ་ སྐེས་ /xänkoms/ (Ho), ལྷོ་ PHULUN 'bell pipe' (Pur).

734. KNIFE གྲི། GRI [PR] < CT or the variant ངི། GYI (Am). Often followed by རང་ CHUNG 'small': གྲི་ རང་. In some eastern dialects, the Chinese word 刀子 daozi is also used. In Yolmo, a Nepali loanword /karta/ is used.

735. LADLE བྱུགས་ SKYOGS [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. བྱུགས་མགོ་ SKYOGS.MGO (Am). In the Eastern section, this word is generally not known and is replaced by other words, such as ཉི་ བེ་ KHEM.CHEN lit. 'large spoon'. འབུ་ ZAR.BU 'wooden ladle' (Pur, La, Za), འབུ་ KRATSU (Pur, La, Za), འབུ་ THUM.BU (Pur, La, Za). In the southern Himalayas and Ladakh, འབུ་ chomcha < Pers. is found.

736. SPOON བྱུགས་ KHEM.BU or its variant བྱུགས་ KHYEM.BU [FFW] (Pu, Kh, Am, Yol, etc.) < CT. བྱུགས་ KHEM.BU (Am) lit. 'iron spoon'. In Central and southern areas, the word བྱུགས་ THUR.MA or བྱུགས་ THUR.MANG (La, Za) < CT 'stick' is used, but this means 'chopsticks' in Amdo. In some languages, the word བྱུགས་ SKYOGS 'ladle' refers to a 'spoon'. In Southern Kham, a few dialects have a form བྱུགས་ KHALDE of unclear origin. བྱུགས་ PHON /p'o/ (Pur).

737. CHOPSTICKS བྱུགས་ THUR.MA (Am), བྱུགས་ KHATUR. In Southern Kham, /ʔa shö/ or /shö/ is used. Note that བྱུགས་ THUR.MA means 'spoon' in Central Tibet and Ladakh. In Central Tibet, a loanword from Chinese is used: བྱུགས་ KHÖTSE < 贮子 kiazi.

738. BOWL ཆུའི། CAN.NE or ལྷ་ སྐུ། CANE 'wooden bowl' [FFW] (Ts, Am, Sh) < CT, མོ་ སྐུ། PHOR 'bowl' [FFR] < CT. It is often followed by a suffix PA or diminutive BU: བྱུགས་ PHOR.PA (U), བྱུགས་ PHOR.PA (Dz, Lho), བྱུགས་ PHOR.BU (Ko, Kh, Hor), བྱུགས་ PHO.TO (Ba, Pur, La). Traditionally bowls were mostly made of wood. However, now in many dialects, one finds compound words: བྱུགས་ PHING.PHOR for 'wooden bowl' and བྱུགས་ KHAGS.PHOR for 'metallic bowl'. In some areas such
as Ladakh and Baltistan or Tö Ngari, the term མ་ི་ KO.RE 'bowl' or 'cup' (Ba, La, Sp, Tö) < KOR/GOR 'round'.

739. CUP (CHINAWARE) དཀར་ཡོལ KAR.YOL [PW] < CT 'white +?'. The word is pronounced in various ways: དཀར་ཡོལ /karyol/ (Pur, La) དཀར་ཡེ /kayē/ (Ko), ཁཀར་པཐུང /karī/ (Kh, Ho), དཀར་ཇལ /karol/ (Ba), ཁཀར་ཡུ /kayu/ (Dz), ཁཀ་ཡུ /kayung/ (Sh). A loanword from Chinese, ཁཀ་དབེ dawan, is also found (LJ).

740. DISH/PLATE སྡེར་མ་ SDER.MA [FW] < CT, སྡེ SDER or ཕོ་ SHER.SDER. The Chinese碟子 diezi is often used in the Eastern section. However, we note that the sounds of 碟 die and 菓 SDER are quite similar. The loanword བག་ TBA.G (< Pers.) is used in Purik. Thali (Hindi–Urdu) is also used in Ladakh.

741. BOTTLE རྗེས་ DAM [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Am). This appears as རྗེས་ བེ DAM.BE or རྗེས་ DAM.BI (Ts, A), རྗེས་ བི SBYIS (Dz). In Central Tibet and Kham, the compound words སྐེལ་ རྗེས་ DAM.SHEL < CT 'lit. crystal bottle' and སྐེལ་ བུམ SHEL.BUM are found. Chinese loanwords are widely used in E and Kh, such as pingzi 瓶子 'bottle' and pingping 瓶瓶 'bottles'. In the Tibetic areas in China, a Chinese loanword 热水瓶 reshuiping is also frequently used. See also BOTTLE. The loanword 'thermos' is also used in India and Nepal.

742. EARTHEN JAR རྡེ་ རྡེ་ SLEL.PO [PW] < CT 'clay'. Often followed by a suffix: རྡེ་ རུས་ SLEL.KHOG, རྡེ་ རུས་ པོ སླེལ་ SLEL.BO (Am), རྡེ་ རུས་ རོ་ SLEL.MO (Sh). While the regular reflex of SL is /ts/ in some North Kham and Hor areas, the word is also pronounced /tse(l)po/ in Western varieties and /siwo/ in Amdo.

744. BASKET (carried on the back) སླེལ་ རིབ་ SLEL.PO [PW] < CT or its variants སླེལ་ TSEL.PO (Ba, La Sp, Pur), སླེལ་ SEL.PO (Kh), སླེལ་ SEL.BO (Am), སླེལ་ SLEL.MO (Sh). While the regular reflex of SL is /ts/ in some North Kham and Hor areas, the word is also pronounced /tse(l)po/ in Western varieties and /siwo/ in Amdo.

745. NEEDLE བཀོད་ KHAB [PR] < CT.
746. **NAIL (FASTENER)** གཟེར་ GZER < CT and its variant ‘འཛེར་ DZER PR < CT ‘nail’, cognate with མཚེར་ TSHER ‘thorn’. It also occurs as གཟེར་བུ་ GZER.BU. These terms may designate both wooden and iron nails. Derivations such as ‘འཛེར་མ་ DZER.MA, གཟེར་མ་ GZER.MA and compounds such as གཟེར་དཀར་ GZER.DKAR < CT ‘white nail’ གཟེར་ནག་ GZER.NAG < CT ‘black nail’, ལྕགས་གཟེར་ LCAGS.GZER ‘iron nail’ (Yol, etc.) and ལྕགས་འཛེར་ LCAGS.DZER are found. Some eastern dialects use the Chinese loanword བི་ས་ dzingzi. The word ལེར་ p'eret/ (Pur) is of unclear origin.

747. **SCISSORS** བོས་ཏེ JEM.TSE [FFW] (Ú, Ts) < CT < Chin. བོས jianzi. The pronunciation བོས་ཏེ JAM.DZIS /ca’di:/ is also attested. The variant བོས་པ་ JEMP.A is also widespread. བོས་ཏེ KHE.GYI (Am) < CT བོས་ཏེ KHE.GRI ‘scissors’. Another loan form, བོས མདོར jian dao, is often used. In central Ladakh, བོས་ཏེ CHAN.PA is used, whereas བོས་ཏེ DUG.HAD is used in Sham and Purik.

748. **HAND GRINDING STONE** རང་འཐག་ RANG, ‘ཤུ་ སྐོ RAG, ‘མཆིག་ MCHIG, སྐོར་ LAG, SKOR. Used to grind tsampa.

749. **BUCKET (WOODEN)** རོཞོ་ ZO, རོཞོཞོ ZOM [PR] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix: རོཞོ་ རོཞོ་བ་ ZO.BA /za/ (Am, Pur). The variants རོཞོ་ ZOM and རོཞོ་ ZEM are also frequent. Many compounds include ‘water’ or milk’, depending on function, རོཞོ་ CHU.DAM (Sh), རོཞོ་ CHU.ZOM རོཞོ་ CHU.ZEM (Pur), རོཞོ་ ZON ZEM ‘milk bucket’ (Pur).

750. **CHURN** བདྲུག་ སྲུམ་ MDONG [PR] < CT. Churn are basic tools for making butter and Tibetan salt (butter) tea. Butter churns are usually larger than tea churns. In many dialects, the root is followed by a suffix: བདྲུག་ བདྲུག་ སྲུམ་ MDONG.MO (Ba, Pur, La, Tö, Sh, Yol, Ú, Ts. Am.). There are several compound words such as རྒྱ་མདོང་ RGYA.MDONG (Lho) < CT ‘mix churn’, བོད་མེད་ བོད་མེད་ བདྲུག་ སྲུམ་ RGYA.MDONG (Ho) < CT ‘large churn’ བོད་མེད་ ZHO.MDONG (Pur) < CT ‘milk churn’ (see MILK) and བོད་མེད་ JAMDONG (Lho, Ba). In some Amdo and Kham dialects, the root རོཞོ་ ZO < CT ‘bucket, pail’ (see above) is used for ‘churn’, either alone or as a compound word: རོཞོ་ རོཞོ་ DRUGS.RZO < CT ‘shake bucket’, རོཞོ་ JAZO (Kh) ‘tea churn’ < CT lit. ‘tea bucket’. Other words are attested རོཞོ་ རོཞོ་ རོཞོ་ JAS.RUBM (Dz) ‘tea shaker’ < CT lit.
‘tea shake + suffix’, जानजो JABZHIG (Kh, Ho), ज्ञान KRO.UL (Sh), and गुर GUR. GUR in Ladaks and Purik of unclear origin.

CULTURAL OBJECTS and ABSTRACT CONCEPTS

751. TOOL लाङचा LAG.CHA [PW] < CT. Some languages use the same form as THING.

752. MEASURE ट्साठ TSHAD [PR] < CT. Loanwords may also be used, such as /taba/ (Pur).

753. LINE थिङ THIG [PR] < CT.

754. WEIGHING SCALES तोग RGYAMA (Ts, Ü) < CT; त्स्र Srang (Pur, Za, Dz) < CT. The word त्स्र SKAR (Pur, Ba) is also attested. These three words refer to scales used for different purposes, but any of them can also refer to a ‘weighing scales’ by metonymy. There is also a hand-held scales called a न्या NYAG.(Ü, Ts, La) < CT. See TO WEIGH.

755. AXE ब्रेक STARE [PW] < CT. This word also means ‘chopper’.

756. HAMMER थोबा THO.BA [PW] < CT.

757. SAW तोगल SOG [PR] < CT. The words तोगल CHE SOG.LE (Ü, Ts) and ब्तोगल BX.CAD.SOG (La, Za) lit. ‘cut-saw’ are widespread. In some dialects loanwords from other TB languages are used, such as /tsa kə ra/ (Kh: Rongdrak), /bA sə de/ (Kh: Zhollam) and /bA sə/ (Kh: Daan < Bai). Loanwords from Hindi–Urdu, such as /ara/, /are/ (La, Pur, Sp), are attested.

758. PLOUGH थोंग THONG [FFR] (La, To, Yol, Ts, Sp, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT or थोंग पा THONG.PA < CT ‘plough iron’. गुल्ल GSHOL [FFR] (La, Ba, Pur) < CT ‘wooden part of the plough’. Various compound words containing these two roots are attested, such as थोंग गुल्ल THONG,GSHOL ‘plough’ (Ü), थोंग गुल्ल GSHOL LCAGS (Am) lit. ‘plough iron’, थोंग गुल्ल SHING,GSHOL (Am) ‘wooden plough’, गुल्ल गुल्ल GSHOL LCAGS ‘plough iron’ (La). The compound गुल्ल मदा GSHOL.MDA refers to the part of the plough into which metal blade is placed. Another root appears in some compound words र्मो RMO ‘to plough’. This verb is often followed by a noun or a nominalizer, forming a compound such as र्मो गुल्ल.
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RMOLCAGS (Am, Sh) < CT lit. ‘plow iron’. RMOBYED (Kh) < CT lit. ‘plow iron’. RMOZHING RMOLCAGS (E: Th). The Dzongkha word for ‘plough’ is of unclear origin: KHAMIG. Let us finally mention one important tool related to traditional plowing, the ‘yoke’, which joins two yaks or dzos carrying the plough: GNYA.SHING < CT ‘neck wood’ or RMON.DOR < CT ‘plough pair’.

759. SLING [FFR] < CT. GYUG.RDO /yukdo/ (La, Za), GUR.RDO < CT. GUR.DUG (Sh), GUR.CAGS (Am), GUR.CHA (Am). Slings are traditionally used by pastoralists to guide cattle.

760. HOE, MATTOCK [FFR] < CT. SKA (E) of unclear origin is also attested. TOG.TSE (La, Za, Yol).

761. PETROL, PETROLEUM [FFR] < CT. RDO.SNUM [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am) < CT ‘stone’ + ‘oil’. SNUM [FFR] (La, Za) < CT ‘earth’ + ‘oil’ is also used for ‘kerosene’. The term SNUM, which simply means ‘oil’, is used alone in some dialects. S.MAR (La) lit. ‘earth butter’ is used in Ladakh for ‘kerosene, diesel oil’. In Tibet, the loan 汽油 qiyow is also used, while in India the English terms gasoline and petrol are used.

762. ROPE [PR] < CT. This root is related to the verb THAG ‘to weave’ (see below). Generally followed by a suffix: THAG.PA, THAG.GU.

763. MANURE [PR] < CT. In Sherpa and Yolma, a word derived from CHAS < CT ‘fodder for horses’ is used. ME < CT ‘fire’ is widespread in the Eastern section.

764. SICKLE [PW] < CT. This is pronounced /zorba/ in Balti and Purik but ZORBA /sora/ in most languages.

765. LOOM [PR] < CT lit. ‘weaving throne’. THAGS.THAG (Am). Other words are attested THAGS.SHING (Ba, Dz) < CT lit. ‘weaving wood’, T’aksha/ (La, Za), T’aksha/ (Dz). THRUL.THAGS < CT lit. ‘ingenious, magic weaving’ (Dz).
766. **CONCH** ᅠ’ **DUNG** [PW] < CT. The conch plays an important role in Buddhism and Bön, being used as a musical instrument in some rituals. It is also frequently mentioned in classical literature. In religious contexts, the term often appears in a compound word དུང་དཀར་ **DUNG.DKAR** lit. 'white conch'. Many young people only know the compound དུང་དཀར་ **DUNG.DKAR** 'white conch' as a religious term. In Balti, the word ᅠ’ **DUNG** 'conch' is not known and the word ᅠ’ **DUNG** /’akos/ is used instead. བོད་རི་ **BOD.RIS** is used in E and SKh < CT ‘BOD’ to call’.

767. **SHELL** མགྲོན་བུ་ **MGRON.BU** 'shell, cowry' [FFR] < CT also spelled མགྲོན་པུ་ **MGRON.PU**. In Ladak, this is pronounced ཁམ་ /rumbu/. The word རྟགས /’akos/ is used in Purik and Balti. Shells and cowries also play a significant role in Tibetan traditional cultures. They often serve as ornament in girls’ hair, particularly among pastoralists. They are also used in the game of ‘dice’, དྲེ་ **SHO**, which is widespread in the Tibetic areas.

768. **MACHINE** ཤུལ་འཁོར་ **PHRUL.KHOR** [FFW] < (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, Dz) CT lit. ‘magic wheel’. ཤུལ་ **PHRUL** and ཤུལ་ཆས་ **PHRUL.CHAS** (Dz) are also attested. The Chinese jiqi 机器 and the English machine, engine are also used.

769. **GIFT** བཀྲགས་ **GDUGS** [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. Various compounds are attested depending on use: བཀྲགས་དཀར་ **GDUGS.DKAR** 'white umbrella' is a religious symbolic object well-known in Tibetan culture. The Hindi–Urdu loans /chata/ and /chatiri/ are used in Ladakh.

770. **UMBRELLA** རྒྱུན་ **GDUGS** [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The Hindi–Urdu loans /chata/ and /chatiri/ are used in Ladakh.

771. **WHEEL** འཁོར་ལོ་ **KHOR.LO** [PR] < CT. ཤིག་ **SYIR.RI** (Sham, see Norman 2019) corresponds to an archaic form. The word རྲི་ **BO.LO** of unclear origin, is used in Southern Kham.
772. **STICK** ཆ་པ་ **DBYUG.PA** or ཆ་པ་ **GYUG.PA** < CT. Various words are found e.g. ཆ་པ་ **R TEN.GA** (E), ཆ་པ་ **BER.KA** (Pur, La, Za, Yol) < CT. ཆ་པ་ **WO.CO** (Am).

773. **SADDLE** ཌ ག **SGA** [PR] < CT. In many dialects, this forms a compound with **RTA’horse**: ག ག **RTA.SGA** or ག ག **RTA’SGA** lit. ‘horse saddle’, pronounced /těgal/ in Sherpa. The compound ག ག **SGA’LCAGS’’saddle iron’ is found in Spiti.

774. **STIRRUP** ག ག **YOB** [PR] < CT **YOB’stirrup**. ག ག **YOB.CHEN** (Nubra). The variant ག ག **OB** (Ho) is also attested. The forms ག ག **OB.CHEN** (La, Th, Am, Ba) and ག ག **EB.CHEN’epé’an’ (Ba, Pur) are widespread. The compound ག ག **RTA’RKANG’LCAGS’horse foot iron’ is attested in SKh.

775. **GLASSES (SPECTACLES)** ག ག **MYIG.SHEL** [FFW] (Û, Ts, etc.) < CT lit. ‘eye+crystal’. The variant ག ག **MYIG.SHEL** is found in the Eastern regions. The reverse forms are also attested: ག ག **SHEL.MIG** (Yol) ‘crystal eye’ or its variant ག ག **SHEL.MYIG** (Kh). Other terms are also found such as ག ག **MIG.RWA** (La, Sp, Pur) or ག ག **MIG.RWA’epé’ (Ba, Pur) < CT ‘eye horn’ or ག ག **MIG.KHRAB’horse foot iron’ is attested in Skh.

776. **STAMP** ག ག **THEL.TSE**. < CT ‘stamp, seal’. ག ག **THEL’is alone used alone (E). ག ག **THAM.GA** (Am) and ག ག **DAM.PHRUG’seal’ are also widespread. The loanword ག ག **/mo(h)or’ (La, Za, Pur) < Pers. is also found.

777. **POSTAL STAMP** ག ག **SBRAG.DZIN** < CT ‘postal receipt’ < Urdu /dak/ ‘post’+ Tib. **DZIN’ receipt’ is used in Central Tibet. ག ག **GREM,RTAGS’distribution sign’ is used in Bhutan. In Ladakh, **ticket** is used for stamps. The Chinese loanword is 郵票 **youpiao**.

778. **MONEY** ག ག **DNGUL** [FFW] (Û, Ts, Tö, Ko, Kh) and its variant ག ག **DMUL** (Sp, Ba, La) < CT **DNGUL’silver’**. Other words include ག ག **SGOR.MO** (Am, Th) < CT ‘round’, ག ག **TRU’/tiru/ (Dz), perhaps derived from ག ག **TIG.HRUG’small pieces’ (also the name of a Kongpo soup made of small pieces of meat); ག ག **TENG.KA’silver coins’ are
also used. The word མཁྲི་ KHRI is used in some Amdo pastoralist areas. There are also loanwords ཪེ་ཤ་ /pesha/ from Urdu ہسیپ /paisa/, མཁྲི་ སྒོར་ /pesha/ (La, Pur) from English 'penny' and 銭 qian from Chinese. The old Chinese loanword སྒོར་ སྒོར་ DONG.TSE < 'copper' is also heard in some Amdo dialects.

779. MONEY (COINS/BANKNOTES) སྒོར་མོ་ SGOR.MO [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Am) < CT SGOR.MO related to རུས་ GORG or རུས་ SGOR.SGOR 'round', and its archaic variant དཀོར་མོ། KYIR.MO (La, Pur) < དཀོར་མོ། KYIR.KYIR 'round'; སྒྲུལ་ DINGUL or སྒྲུལ་ DMUL (Pur), སྒྲུལ་ DINGUL.KRAM (Dz) < CT 'silver coin' (see above ཕྱིམ་ཀ་ TAM.KA) and T.A.YANG (Kham) 'silver dollar', a loanword from Chinese 大洋 dayang, are also used. The ancient loanword སྒོར་ སྒོར་ DINGUL.KRAM is no longer used in the modern languages.

780. WORD གཞིག་ TSHIG [FFR] < CT pronounced གཞིགས་ TSHIGS /ts’siks/ in Ladakh. However some dialects use a word derived from གཏམ་ GTAM 'speech' (Sh) or བློ་ བློ་ DPE.RA (Ba) < 'example'. ཚ་ར སྒྱི་ /haraf/ < Pers. is used in Purik. The concept of 'word' is considered rather technical by some pastoralists and peasants, and in some cases they have difficulty providing an example of this concept.

781. LETTER ཡིག་ YIG or ཡིག་ YA GE [PR] < CT. The word designates both letters of the alphabet and epistles, as well as literary languages. Balti uses a different word to designate epistles: གཞིག་ SHOG.SHOG (Pur) 'paper-paper'.

782. PAINTING/DRAWING རི་མོ་ RI.MO [PW] (La, Sp, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. In some eastern areas, a loanword from Chinese 画画 huahua is also widely used. སྡེ་བས་ SDEBS 'joined' (Ü, Ts); and སློ་བ་ SLOB DEB < lit. 'learn book' for textbooks and schoolbooks. The term སྒོར་པུ། SHOG.PU < CT 'paper' is
used in Baltistan and Purik for 'book'. དཔེ་ཆ་ *YlGe* (Kh) lit. 'letter' is also attested. The words དཔེ་ཆ་ *Dpe.cha* and དཔེ་ཆ་ *YlGe* refer to both Tibetan religious books and the western type of books, but adjectives may be used to distinguish the two: སྣ་རིང་ *Sna.ring* 'long nose' for the Tibetan format and བོད་སྤོད་ *Bo.tshod* 'sewed head' for the western type.

784. **NOTEBOOK** བྲིས་དེབ་ *Bris.deb* < CT. In the eastern areas, the Chinese borrowed 本子 *benzi* is often used. གཏི་/ka:fi, kapi/ (Pur) lit. 'copy'.

785. **PAPER√** ཤོག་ *Shog* [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a diminutive suffix derived from རུ་ *Shog.Bu*, རུ་ *Shog.Gu*, or reduplicated as in Eastern section, Purik and Balti: ཤོག་ *Shog.shog*.

786. **PEN** སྨྱུག་ *Smyug* [PW] (La, Za, Ú, Kh, Am) < CT 'small bamboo' is used. The variant སྨྱུང་ *Smyung* (Yol) is attested. Some Kham and Amdo dialects use a compound word with the verb བི་ *Bri* 'to write': སྨྱུག་ *Smyug Ri* (To) or སྨྱུག་ *Smyug thur* (To) lit. 'writing bamboo', སྨྱུག་ *Smyug spyad* (Am) 'instrument (for) writing', བི་ *Bri* *Smyug* (Kh) < 'write+instrumental nominaliser'. Some loanwords such as བི་ *Pen* (Sh, La) < English and བི་/ *Bi* or 錫筆 *qianbi* from Chinese are used. རྩི་/ *Rtsi* aber < arabic 'cane, pen' is also attested.

787. **INK** སྣག་ *Snag* [PW] < CT and related to *Nag* 'black'. Sometimes སྣག་ *Snag* is used alone. རྩི་ *Rtsi* < CT 'varnish' (Pur). In the eastern area, a Chinese loan 墨水 *moshui* or *meisui* (Sichuanese pronunciation) is often used.

788. **KNOWLEDGE** ཡོན་ཏན་ *Yon.tan* [PW] < CT. The concept may be lacking from some dialects, and phrases might be used instead, such as རྟོགས་པར་བེད་ *Rtogs.par.bed* 'ancestor example learning' (Am). The noun སེས་ *Shes* < verb སེས་ *Shes* 'to know' is used in Purik.

789. **DICTIONARY** གཞིག་མཛོད་ *Tshig.mdzod* [FFW] < CT 'word storage' is used in most dialects, but the concept of a dictionary is absent from some rural areas, and in other places the Chinese 字典 *zidian*, Hindi-Urdu शब्दकोश *shabdakosh* or English words are used, depending on the area.
790. LANGUAGE མི་སྐད་ [PW] (La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT
'sound', also cognate with mouth. Various pronunciations are attested: /kat/ (La, Pur), /kät/ (Am), /käl/ (Am), /xat/ (Za), /ká/ (Ú, Ts, Lho), etc. A few other
words are also used: མི་KHÅ (Dz) < CT 'mouth', མི་གྲིི GTAM (Yol) < 'speech,
story', བི་DPE.RA, རྟྫ་SKAD GTAMS NYAD (Sh), རྟྫ་ZLAU /lðau/ (Za) < CT རྟྫ་ZLO 'repeat, recite' are used. In Jirel, the word 'language' is a loanword from ལོ་/bat/ < Hindi and Nepali ལོ་/bat/.

791. TIBETAN SPOKEN LANGUAGE བོད་སྐད་ [PW] (Ba, Pur, La,
Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, E, Hor, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. The word BOD SKAD
designates all the Tibetic languages spoken within Tibet in the traditional
provinces of Ü-Tsang, Kham and Amdo (or in terms of the modern Chinese
administration, Tibet Autonomous Region and the Tibetan Autonomous
Prefectures). Additionally, the word may also be apply in a loose way to non-
Tibetic languages spoken natively by Tibetans.

792. TIBETAN SCRIPT བོད་ཡིག་ [PW] see ALPHABET. The traditional word བོད་ཀྱི་ཀ་ཁ་ BOD-KYI KA KHA 'vowels and
consonants' is widely attested. It is also sometimes referred to as SAMBHO.TA
script, after its creator. The Tibetan alphabet is technically an
alphasyllabary (see Chapter 5) of Indiam origin. The term བོད་ཡིག་ BOD.YIG means
both the Tibetan script and the written Tibetan language. See ALPHABET.

793. ALPHABET བོད་ཀྱི་ [PW] < CT. KA and KHA are the first two letters of
the Tibetan alphabet or alphasyllabary, just as the first two letters of the Greek
script 'alpha' and 'beta' have yielded the word 'alphabet'. The term བོད་ཀྱི་ BOD.YIG is also frequently used to mean the Tibetan alphabet, but is very
ambiguous as it also refers to the written language (see TIBETAN WRITTEN
LANGUAGE). The name བོད་ཀྱི་ཀྲ་ BOD-KYIKAKHA 'Tibetan alphabet', བོད་ཀྱི་ཀྲ་
SAMBHO.TA YLGE 'Sambhota script' or simply བོད་ཀྲ་YLGE 'script' are also
sometimes used. The term བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲོ་ YIG.GZUG lit. 'letter shape', which refers to
'calligraphy', is also sometimes used to refer to the alphabed. The word བོད་ཀྲ་
GSAL.BYED 'consonant' is used with the meaning of 'alphabet' in some areas.
794. TIBETAN WRITTEN LANGUAGE བོད་ཡིག་ BOD.YIG [PR]. The term BOD.YIG refers to written Tibetan. It may designate both Classical Tibetan (also referred to as རྒྱུ་ན་སྲོལ་བོད་ཡིག་ RGYUN.SROL.BOD.YIG), or Modern Written Tibetan (also called དེང་དུས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཡིག་ DENG.DUS.KYI.BOD.YIG). In the Tibetan regions of India (Ladakh, Spiti, Sikkim) and Nepal, the term bodyig or bodyik is also used in official documents in English to refer to the Tibetan written language (see also TIBETAN SCRIPT above).

795. NAME མིང་ MING [PR] < CT. The variant མྱིང་ MYING is attested in the Eastern regions (Am, Kh, E). Many dialects of Kham have a word whose vowel does not reflect the rhyme ING: /nyɔ̃/, /nyˈ/, etc. In some other dialects (CT, Yolmo), the final nasal is realized as /n/ such as མིན་ /min/ which would imply a reconstructed form *M(IN). In Balti and Purik, the word མིང་བཏགས་ MING.BTAGS lit. ‘attaching name’ is used. The honorific form མཚན་ MTSHAN is widespread in Ü, Tsang, Ladaks, Dzongkha and Lhoke.

796. FAMILY NAME རུས་མིང་ RUS.MING < CT ‘bone name’. རུས་ RUS is sometimes used alone. Various dialects in E and Kh use the Chinese word 姓 xing. In some areas (La, Za, etc.), the term མཁྱེན་པའི་མིང་ KHANG.PAI.MING or མཁྱེན་ KHANG.MING or མཁྱེན་ grong.ming < CT ‘house name’ is used. In Purik the word /pa/ < CT suffix is used to name a particular family, e.g. ཤུ་དཔ་ /daut-pa/ ‘the Daut family’, སེང་པ་ /sengge-pa/, ‘the Sengge family’, ལྷ་བས /watse-pa/ the Watse family. The sentence མཁྱེན་པའི་མིང་ཁྱེན་པའི་མིང་ KHÖE.PA.LACIZER.BAD means ‘what is his family name’ (lit. ‘how is called his /pa/’). In many Tibetan areas, people do not have family names and instead use two given names.

797. SIGN རྐྱ བཤags RTAGS [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Hor, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT.

798. NEWSPAPER རྒྱུན་ཤོག་ GSAR.SHOG < CT lit. ‘new paper’ and ཀྲེང་པོ་ TSHAGS.PAR ‘filter print’ are widely used. There are also loanwords from Chinese 报纸 baozhi, Nepali གོར་ཁ་པ་ཏ་ར་ gork’a patra/ (in Sherpa), and Arabic
and Urdu اخبار axbar ‘information’, as گزار/ /agbar/ (Ba, Pur, La). The first newspaper published in Tibetan, གནས་ཚུལ་/ LA DWAGS-KYI ZAG.BAR, appeared in Ladakh in 1904.

799. NEWS گཙི་པོ་/ GSR, GYUR < CT lit. ‘new become’. گཞི་/ GNSTSHUL (La) < CT situation, 信号 BRDA’(E, Am) < CT ‘sign, designation, indication’. اخبار/ /xabar/ < Pers. is also used (Ba, Pur, La).

800. STORY སྒྲུང་/ SGRUNG or སྒྱུང་/ SGYUNG [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Hor, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. The word is pronounced in many ways depending on the region: སྒྲུང་/ zgrums/ (Pur), སྒྲུལ་/ tum/ (Lhasa), སྒྲུང་/ sung/ (Tö, Ts, Sp), སྒྲུངས་/ sungs/ (La), སྒྲུལ་/ sung/ (Dz), སྒྲུལ་/ zom/ (Kh), སྒྲུ་/ rung/ (Ba, La), etc. However, two other roots are also found: སྒྲུམ་/ GTAM ‘speech’ and དཔེ/ DPE ‘example’ (Sh). Various compounds are also attested, including སྒྲུམ་དཔེ/ GTAM.DPE (Hor), དཔེ་གཏམ/ DPE.GTAM (Yol), སྒྲུམ། ངའ/ GTAM.RGYUD (Dz), ུའ/ GNA.BSHAD (Am), ལུང་/ GNA.GTAM (Sh).

801. PROVERB/SAYING སྒྲུམ་/ GTAMLPE [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) or the variant སྒྲུལ་/ DPYEGTAM (Dz) < CT ‘speech+model’. Other compounds are attested, including སྒྲུམ་/ GTAMLBO (Ba), སྒྲུམ་/ GTAMLLE (Pur), སྒྲུམ་/ KHALDPE (Dz, La) < ‘mouth, language+example’. The term སྒྲུམ་/ GTAMLGYUD < CT ‘legend’ (‘speech+’) is used in some dialects for ‘proverb’. See also STORY.

802. RIDDLE ཀྱུ་/ LDE’ (Ü, Ts) < CT; སྒྲུམ་/ GARTSHIG (Ü, Ts) < CT, སྒྲུམ་/ KHED (Am), སྒྲུམ་/ TSHOD (Pur), སྒྲུམ་/ TSHODLE (La). Riddles traditionally played a significant role in the education of children, particularly in pastoralist communities.

803. SONG སྒྲུམ་/ GLU [PR] < CT. The verb ‘to sing’ is formed from this by adding a verbalizer: སྒྲུམ་/ len ‘to take’, སྒྲུམ་/ btang ‘to send, let go’, སྒྲུམ་/ then ‘to pull, draw’: སྒྲུམ་/ GLULEN (Kh, Am, Tö), སྒྲུམ་/ lu ling/ (Sh), སྒྲུམ་/ GLUBTANG (Tö, Ts, Sp, La, Ba), སྒྲུམ་/ GLUTHEN (Dz). Another word སྒྲུམ་/ GZHAS [FFR] (Ü, Kh, Kyir, Am) < CT is also attested in various areas. Originally སྒྲུམ་/ GLU and
GZHAS referred to different concepts: a GLU has a slow rhythm while a GZHAS has a rapid rhythm. Pastoralists have best preserved the GLU type. In some areas, both terms are still used, but in many dialects only one of the two terms is used and the distinction is lost. In some areas, a compound of both terms is attested: GLU.GZHAS (Ü, Dz). GLU.DBYANGS (Am: Ngawa) < CT 'song melody' also occurs. Other words are encountered more marginally, such as GLU.GZHAS/layi/ (Am) 'love song', GZHAS.BKUG (Hor) < CT 'to charm with sound' and ZHABS.KHRA (Dz), this last also referring to a dance strongly associated with singing (< CT? 'embroidered boot'). Some dialects use other forms of unclear origin, such as /ʔa lɑ/ (Phuri, Kh), perhaps derived from the chant uttered at the beginning of the Gesar, /ala la/. The Chinese words 歌 ge (go in Sichuan Mandarin) and 唱歌 changge (canggo in Sichuan Mandarin) are also used.

DANCE BRO [PR] < CT 'dance'. In some languages of the Eastern section, this is pronounced ḍro (E: Th). Many dialects also use compound words, such as ZHABS.BRO (Sh, Lh, Tö) or ZHABS.RO (La, Tö, Yol, Ü, Sh) < CT lit. 'foot dance'. The word 'foot' refers to a feature of Tibetan dances, which involve stamping steps in rhythm to the beat. In Hor, the word GZHAS 'song' followed by the verb KHRAB is used. That points again the strong relation between 'song' and 'dance' (see SONG). In some Tibetan areas, one also finds the noun RTSES (La, Pur) or RTSED.RO (La, Tö, Yol, Ü, Sh) < CT RTSED.MO 'game', which is followed by the verb RTS < CT 'to play' (La, Pur, Ba, Sp, Am) or a light verb such as BTANG. The word GAR is also found in CT is used in Spiti and Mustang. In Yunnan (Kh), ḍṭḥọ TSHALAG of unclear origin is also used.

DRUM RNGA [PW] < CT. Various kinds of drums and tabla are found, particularly in the Western languages. The words ḍì/ diang/ (Ba), ḍ∰/qingjang/ (La), ḍ∰/daman/ (La, Pur, Ba) and ḍ∰/daps, dáf/ (< Pers.) are found. ḍṬṅ PREFIX DA.MĀ.RU (Skr) is used for the small drums in Buddhist and Bon rituals.
806. **SINTOOR** [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT, ཡང་འཇི (La).

This is a kind of hammer dulcimer.

807. **FLUTE** [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ú, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. In some dialects of the Eastern section, the terms རྒྱ་གླིང་ 'Chinese flute' and སྨྱུག་གླིང་ are used instead of དྲུང་བུ་ 'leg flute'. This is a ritual trumpet made of a human thighbone used in tantric practices. The word is widespread in Tibetan areas and beyond in the Tibetosphere.

808. **TIBETAN OBOE** [PW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ú, Ts, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT lit. 'Chinese flute'. This is used in Buddhist ritual music. Double reed musical instruments similar to this are also found in Persia and modern Iran, India and China. The word གུ་ན (Pers.) refers to Persian oboe used for nonreligious music in Baltistan and Ladakh.

809. **DRANYEN/TIBETAN LUTE** [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'pleasant sound'. This is often pronounced /dabnyen/. The term མདའ་ཕོངས་ is used in Ladakh. The dranyen (or kophong) is found in most areas of Tibet, Ladakh, Spiti, Bhutan and Northern Nepal.

810. **MANDOLIN** [PR]. This is a popular instrument in Amdo.

811. **BOW (FOR HUNTING)** [PR]. Note that in Purik, གཞུ་ ར་ are made of ibex horn and bows made of wood are called དྲང་ཁུང་ /drangkung/ or /drangk'uk/.

812. **ARROW** [PR] < CT. In some eastern dialects, this is confused with 'bow', or understood to refer to 'a bow and arrow'. The compound མདའ་གཞུ་ 'MDA'GZHU is also attested.

813. **ARROW (WEDDING)** [FFW] (Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho) < CT. བཐོན་ Ts.A.GA (Pur, La) < CT. These terms are used in archery.
815. ARCHERY མདའ་རྩེ MDA.RTSES [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am) or མདའ་ མདའ་རྩེ (La, Za, Ba) is a very popular sport in most Tibetic areas from Baltistan and Ladakh to Sikkim and Bhutan, and of course in Amdo and Kham. མདའ་ལོ་ MDA.LO (La) is also attested.

816. HORSE RACE རྟ་རྒྱུག RTA.RGYUG [FFW] (La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am). This is very popular in many areas.

817. POLO བོ་ལོ PO.LO [FFW] also spelled སྤོ་ལོ SPO.LO < CT 'ball'. The polo game is very popular in Baltistan and Ladakh. Larger villages all have polo grounds.

818. GUN/RIFLE མེ་མདའ་ MDE.MDA' [FFW] (Ts, Ú, Hor, Kh, E) or the archaic variant བོའུ་ BO.U, which may be derived from བོས་ BOS 'rifle', is also attested: བོས་མ དེའུ་ /wudi/ (Am), བོས་ཙེ་ /wutse/ (Am). རིན་ /rindi/ is sometimes used in the western languages (Ba, La, Za, Pur). The Hindi-Urdu loanword གོ་ལི་ goli, guli/ is widely used in the Tibetic speaking areas of Nepal and India.

819. BULLET མདེ་ MDE.U [PW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ú, Lho) < CT lit. 'small arrow' or མདའ་ MDA' (Kh, Hor, E, Am) 'arrow'. Another root བོའུ་ BO.U, which may be derived from བོས་ BOS 'rifle', is also attested: བོའུ་ /wudi/ (Am), བོའུ་ /wutse/ (Am). རིན་ /rindi/ is sometimes used in the western languages (Ba, La, Za, Pur). The Hindi-Urdu loanword གོ་ལི་ goli, guli/ is widely used in the Tibetic speaking areas of Nepal and India.

820. SPEAR མདུང་ MDUNG [PR] < CT. The word /sneza/ (< Pers.) is used in Purik.

This word is not known in the eastern section.

821. TRAP རྙི་ RNYI [FR] (Pur, La, Ú, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. Pronounced /nyi/ (Ú, Ts) or /snyu/ (Ba, La, Pur). Some dialects from Kham use a voiceless nasal initial exceptionally /ny'/. It sometimes appears in a compound word: རྙི་ /rnyi/ (La) < CT lit. 'net trap'. Several other words are also attested. Balti has /jantrí/, a loanword from Urdu. Ladaks also uses the root བོའུ་ STEM or བོའུ་ LTEM < CT
‘squeeze’, སྤེན་ལ་ LDEM.PA (see CTDT): GALTEM སྤེན་ལ་ GALTEM, སྤེན་ལ་ BILTEN means ‘mouse trap’ in Purik. Sherpa has སྤེན་ལ་ TOR.BA.

822. POISON སྤེན་ལ་ DUG [PR] < CT. In Gyalthang, the word སྤེན་ལ་ BDUD derived from CT ‘demon’ is used. Note that in some areas in Kham and Kongpo there was a black-magic tradition of putting poison in the food of guests.

823. NET སྤེན་ལ་ DRWA or སྤེན་ལ་ DRA [FFR] < CT. Frequently followed by a suffix BA: སྤེན་ལ་ DRA.BA. This word is also used for ‘internet’. The loanword སྤེན་ལ་ /jali/ (Pers) is used in Purik and Ladaks.

824. DICE སྤེན་ལ་ SHO [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Hor, Kh, Dz). The word སྤེན་ལ་ COLO /colo/ is attested in some areas (La, Yol). The game of sho is very popular, particularly in the Central and Western areas. The game is not practiced and the word is unknown.

825. WATCH/CLOCK སྤེན་ལ་ CHUTSHOD [FFW] (Ü, TS, Tö, Sh, La) < CT lit. ‘water measure’ recalling the depydra or ‘water clock’ of ancient civilizations (Greek, Persian, Chinese, Indian, Egyptian). The etymology ‘water measure’ confirms that the Tibetans, like their Indian and Chinese neighbors, used water clocks to measure time. The compound སྤེན་ལ་ DUS.TSHOD (Am, Ba, Dz) < CT lit. ‘time measure’ is also frequent. སྤེན་ལ་ CHUTSHOD’KHOR.LO and སྤེན་ལ་ DUS.TSHOD’KHOR.LO < CT lit. ‘time wheel’ are also attested. In some Tibetic languages spoken in India and Nepal, Hindi–Urdu loanword are found as སྤེན་ལ་ /GLHARI/ and སྤེན་ལ་ /LAG.GHARI/ (Pur), lit. ‘hand clock’, are found.

826. FILM སྤེན་ལ་ GLOG.RNYAN [PW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz) < CT ‘Electricity/lightning image or reflection’. Some languages have words derived from སྤེན་ལ་ LTAD.MO CT ‘show’, such as Sherpa སྤེན་ལ་ SRIL.MU (Sh) and Spiti སྤེན་ལ་ LTAN.MO. Loanwords are used in some areas, such as the Chinese 电影 dimyng and the English picture as སྤེན་ལ་ /p'ilim/, cinema as /silema/, movie as /muwi/, and སྤེན་ལ་ BESE.KOB from bioscope (a projector developed in 1895).

827. CAMERA སྤེན་ལ་ PAR.CHAS [FFW] < CT ‘print/picture-device’ (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Dz, Lh). In Amdo other compounds, such as སྤེན་ལ་ DPAR.LEN.SPYAD
'picture taker' and བར་བརྒྱབ་ས་ PAR RGYAB.SA 'picture taker' (Kh) are also used. In the eastern area, xiangji ◊ shangji/ < Chin. 相机 is widely used, and in India, Pakistan or Nepal, the English camera can be heard, pronounced ◊ པེ་མ་/kemra/.

828. PHOTOGRAPH བར་ PAR or བར་པར། DPAR [PR] < CT 'print'. This word was traditionally used for 'woodblock printing' (see WOODBLOCK). The English ◊ /foto/ and Urdu ◊ /naksha/ are also used.

829. WOODBLOCK བར་ SHING.PAR [PW] < CT 'print wood'. Sometimes བར་ SHING.PAR lit. 'wood print' is also used. Despite the development in recent years of computer printing techniques, traditional xylography is still used in Tibet, Bhutan and the southern Himalayas. Traditional printing houses are called བར་ཁང་ PAR KHANG < CT 'print house'.

830. RADIO རླུང་ RLUNG.PHRIN [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT 'air message'. རྱག་པོ་ RGYANG.BSGRAGS 'resound from far away'. In Kongpo, the word is derived from ལྱག་པོ་ SGAM,GZHAD < CT SGAM 'box' + GZHAD 'song', whereas in some Kham dialects, the word རྱག་པོ་ SKAD.PHAR < CT 'sound transmigration' can be heard. Other words are borrowed from the Chinese 广播 guangbo 'broadcasting' or 收音机 shouyinji 'radio' or from the English radio.

831. TELEPHONE བཀྲ་ KHAPAR [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh). This word, often considered to be Tibetan (lit. KHA 'mouth', and PAR 'picture') is most probably borrowed from Urdu خبر xabar 'news' (ultimately from Arabic). Other words of Tibetan origin are found: ལློག་པ་ GLOG.BRDA (Ho) < CT 'lightning/electricity signal', ལློག་ ལྲོ་ GLOG.SKAD (Kh) 'electricity voice', རྱག་པྲི་ RGYUD.PHRIN (Dz) 'line message', but in many cases, the word has been borrowed. The calque of telephone, རྱག་པོ་ RGYANG.LAB 'distance speech', is used in formal Ladaks. The most common sources are the Chinese 电话 dianhua and the English (tele)phone. The verb 'to phone' is formed by adding a verbalizer after the noun. Frequently attested verbalizers include བཏང་ BTANG 'to send' and རྭ་ RGYAB 'to hit', but in Yunnan རྒྱུ་ད་ RDUNG 'beat' is generally used, which is a calque from Chinese 打电话 da dianhua 'call', lit. 'beat the phone'. Nowadays, the term བཀྲ་ཁོངས་པ་ LAG.THOG
KHAPAR 'handheld telephone' refers to 'mobile phone, cell phone', but in Amdo the term གཞུ་ཞིན་ has been borrowed from Chinese 手机 shouji.

832. TELEVISION བརྙན་འཕྲིན། BRNYAN.PHRIN [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'image/reflection-message'. In the Tibetan diaspora, ངགས་མཐོང་རླུང་འཕྲིན། GZUGS.MTHONG RLUNG.PHRIN lit. 'see-shape/form air message' is also used. Another frequent term, ཆུང་མཐོང་ RGYANG.MTHONG (La) literally means 'far vision'. In many dialects spoken in China and even in Myanmar, a Chinese loanword 电视 dianshi is used. In the southern Himalayas, the English word TV is borrowed.

833. STATUS/POSITION གོ་ས་ GO.SA [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT. The word may be pronounced གོག་ས་ GOG.SA (Tö, Sp) or གོར་ས་ GOR.SA (Kh). Another word is also frequently attested: གོ་གནས་ GO.GNAS (Kh, Am, Dz), རེ་བུ རེ་འབུ THEM.BA (Pur).

834. SITUATION གནས་ཚུལ། GNAS.TSHUL [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT GNAS'to be located, to stay' + TSHUL 'way'. Alternative words are also attested གནས་སྟངས་ GNAS.STANGS (Dz, Sh), གནས་ལུགས་ GNAS.LUGS (La), or གཅོའི་ CHAS.TANGS (Sp) or རྡོ་ཀྱུན /namza/ (Pur) lit. 'weather'. The Hindi-Urdu word /halat/ is commonly used in Ladakh. In some rural areas, people have difficulty providing an equivalent for this abstract term.

835. POWER དབང་ DBANG [PR] < CT. In most languages, this is pronounced /wang/ or /ang/. Marginally it is also realized as /bong/ (Kh), /bang/ (Cho), /ɔŋ/ (Am). In many languages, the term is followed by the suffix བུ ལྟ་ CHA: དབང་ CHA. A second root is attested in the western languages ངག འཛ. NGAD /ngat/ (Pur, La, Za).

836. LIVELIHOOD, WAY OF LIFE འཚོ་བ་ TSHO.BA [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT. རེ་བུ MLTSHE may be used in some areas (e.g. Pur). རེ་བུ TSHE.PHID is also attested in Ladaks.

837. SALARY གླ གླ གླ GLA [PR] < CT. Many dialects use the form with a suffix: གླ. GLA.CH. An alternative word is also attested in some areas: གོངས་ PHOGS [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö), གས་ PHOGS (Am), གླ. GLA.PHOGS. The two words may exist
in a single dialect with slightly different meanings. A Chinese loan *gongzi* 工资 is also used in many Kham dialects. In Nepal, India and Pakistan, the Urdu /tanxâh/ < Pers. or the Nepali /talab/ are used.

838. **TAX** གྲལ་ KHRL, གྲལ་ KHyal [PR] < CT. In Kham, 税 shui, 財政 'BABS is also used. འབབས་/bon/ or འོ་ུན་/sut/, of unclear origin, are used in Purik.

839. **PRICE** གོང་ GONG [PW] < CT ‘price’. Another word རིན་ RIN [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Tö, Dz) < CT ‘value’ or རིན་པ་ RIN.PA is found in many areas. The compound word རིན་གོང་ RIN.GONG is also attested.

840. **REASON** རྒྱུམ་ཚན་ RGYU.TSHAN [PW] (La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. In some languages, the word རིན་དག་ RIN.DAG (Pur) or རིན་དོག་ RIN.DOG (Sh) < CT ‘meaning’ are used.

841. **PAIN, SUFFERING** སྡུ་ག་བསྔལ་ SDUG.BSNGAL < CT (La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz, Sh). This usually refers to the emotional suffering often described in Buddhist teachings. སྡུ་ SDUG alone is attested; other words refer more to physical pain: རིན་པ་ ZUR.MO (La, Za) < CT རིན་ ZUG (Ü, Yol), རིན་ རིན་ རིན་ རིན་ ZUG.GZER < CT ‘acute pain’, རིན་ NASHA (Ü, Ts) < CT; རིན་ NAGS is also used in Ladaks.

842. **MISTAKE** མོད་འཁྲུལ་ NOR.PHRUL (La, Sp, Ü, Ts). The loanword /galat/ comes from Urdu /ghalat/. See MAKE A MISTAKE.

843. **DIFFERENCE** √ རྡུག་ KHYAD [PR] < CT. The word རྡུག་ KHYAD.PAR is widespread. Other words are attested རྡུག་ རྡུག་ MA.DRASA (Kh) < CT ‘being not similar’. རྡུག་ S.SO < CT ‘separate, distinct’. The loanword རྡུག་ PHARAG < Urd. Pers. and Arab. قَرْف Farq is frequently used in India, Nepal and Pakistan.

844. **LAW** རྒྱུན་ KHRLMS [PR] < CT. The loanword /qanun/ (< Arabic and ultimately Latin and Greek canon) is also common in India.

845. **EXAMPLE** རོ་ DPE [PW] < CT. It is pronounced བ་ Dpes /pes/ (Ba, Pur). Note that the word which originally means ‘example, model’ has also often acquired the meaning of ‘story, tale, proverb’ in some regions. The word is also used
as an intensifier ‘very’ in Ü, Kham, and Am. The Classical word དཔེར་བརྗོད་ is used in some dialects.

846. AUSPICIOUSNESS བཀྲ་ཤིས་ [PW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. In most languages, this is pronounced /ṭashi/, but also occurs as /ṭas/i/ (La). It features in the traditional New Year greeting བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་ ’auspicious and excellent (wishes)’. /ṭashi(s)/ is also a frequent person name throughout the Tibetic area in Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and India. Marginally, other words may be used instead, such as རྩ་མོ་ ’auspicious and excellent (wishes)’, and རྩ་མོ་ ’great compassion’ (sometime abbreviated as རྩ་མོ་ THUGS.CHE). Other frequent words include བཀའ་དྲིན་ ’great reward’, and མཁར། KHADRO (Am) ’auspicious, lucky’ lit. ‘warm mouth’. This last form is sometimes followed by བཀྲ་ཤིས་ KHADRO.TSHE.RING’auspicious (wishes) and long life’ places the emphasis on the gratitude. The words རུ་ལེ ’JULIE’ (used also for ‘hello’, ‘bye, bye’, etc.), and རུ་ཞུ། ’O.ZHU’ are commonly used in Ladakh for ‘thanks’. དེ་ཡག་པྱང་ YAG.BYUNG (Ü) lit. ’It was good’, བྲ་སྐུལ་ SRA.THAL (Am) lit. ’It was good’, བྲ་ཚལ་ BZANG.GDA’ or བྲ་ཚལ་ ’warm mouth’ (E: Sharkhok, Khöpokhok, Thewo and Čone), བྲ་ཙལ་ BKA.THAL (Minyag, Kh), བྲ་ཚལ་ ’O.BKYAL lit. ’exhausted’ (Kh). In Balti and Purig the form དཔེ་པོ་ ’YE.RE.SHA.SDE’/yere shazde/ ’your benevolence’ is used, it could be derived from བྲྭ་སྡེ་ BSHA.SDE (Ba, Pur) ’benevolence, grace’ < CT བཙན་ BSHA’ ’share, allowance’. More local words include དབྱཱིག་ནི་ GYAR.(s)NANG (SKh) of unclear origin and its emphatic form དབྱི་དབྱིག་ནི་ GYAR.(s)NANG.DPA’,SHOD (Dechen, Kh), དབྱི་དབྱིག་ YAR.RDAB (Melung, Kh), དབྱི་དབྱིག་ ’O.GRAG (sDerong and Chagthreng, Kh), དབྱི་དབྱིག་ KHA.REN (Gyälhang, Kh), དབྱི་དབྱིག་ NANG.RDZI (Rongdrak, Kh), etc., དབྱི་དབྱིག་ BAG.SHAS (Pur).

848. TRACE རེས་ [PR] < CT. Reflexes of རེི་ RDZES and རེི་ ZHES are attested in the western languages (Ba, Pur, La, Sp). Often occurs in compound
words such as རྒྱ་རི་ 'footprint' and ལག་རིས 'handprint'. The term སུལ་ 'trace, ruin' is also found, as is the compound རིས་ན་ སུལ (Dz).

849. **SHAADOW** རྒྱིས **GRIB** [PR] < CT. Generally followed by a second syllable MA, NAG, PHYOGS: རྒྱིས་ཟླ་ MA: རྒྱིས་༞ ཟླ་ NAG: རྒྱིས་འབྲུབ་ MA: རྒྱིས་འབྲུབ་ NAG: རྒྱིས་འབྲུབ་ PHYOGS < CT 'black shadow', རྒྱིས་འབྲུབ་ PHN: རྒྱིས་འབྲུབ་ BSIL < CT 'cool' is attested in Purik and the compound རིས་ན་ སུལ (Dz).

850. **COLOR** མདོག་**MDOG** [PR] < CT. This is sometimes used with the root མ་ 'mouth, surface': མ་མདོག་ KHA: མ་མདོག་ MDOG. The root མངོན་ TSHOS and its variant མངོན་ TSHON < CT 'dye, paint' is also attested in many dialects (Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am): མངོན་ TSHOS.GZHI < CT, མངོན་ TSHOS.MDOG. Marginally, གནའ SNAKHA < CT 'sort'. The word ཆུ་ RKYA of unclear origin is attested in Lhoke. In Balti, Ladaks and Purik the Urdu loanword གནའ /rang/ < Pers གན is used.

851. **DREAM** རྨལ་ལམ་ **RMILLAM** [PW] (Hor, Kh, Sh, Kyir, Yol, Jir, Lj: Durbuk) or the archaic variant རྨལ་ལམ་ GNYITLAM [PW] lit. 'dream path'. The word རྨལ་ RMYI < CT lit. 'sleep path' is also attested in most other areas (Ba, Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Dz, etc.).

852. **IDEA** བསམ་བློ **BSAMBLO** (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The words བསམ་ TSHUN < CT lit. 'way of thinking' and བསམ་ PA (Kh, La, Za) are also attested, བསམ་ TSHUN (E), བསམ་ DMIGS/miks/ (Pur) < CT 'visualization'.

853. **TYPE** རིགས **RIGS** [PR] < CT. The words རིགས SNJ (La), རིགས SNAKHA (Dz) and རིགས RNAM.PA (Sh) are also used.

854. **UTILITY** གནའི་ལས་ **PHAN.THOGS** [PR] < CT PHAN lit. 'to be useful' and THOGS 'to hold'. In Amdo the word is pronounced གནའི་ལས /hantox/.
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PHAN.KHE < CT ‘useful + interest’ is attested in Balti. A few Amdo dialects, as well as Sherpa and Yolmo, use another compound, GO.CHOD < CT ‘useful’.

855. MIND ཉེས་པས་SEMS [PR] < CT. ཉེས་པས་BSAM.PA. In Gyälthang dialect (Kh), this word is pronounced གེ་མ་/shu/, which represents a palatalized form of SEMS. BLO < CT ‘intellect’ is also used in some dialects.

856. INTELLECT, MIND BLO [PR] < CT. See MIND.

857. APPEARANCE བཟོ་ལྟ་BZO.LTA [FFR] (Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, etc.). A /b/ is often heard after the first syllable, which corresponds to an innovative genitive found in many compound words (see Chapter 8): བཟོ་ལྟ་BZO.LTA /sopta/ (Ü, Ts, etc.) or /b/zosta/ (Ba), /zosta/ (La, Pur). An alternative form བཟོ་ལྟ་TSHUGS.KA is attested in Amdo. རྡོ་ལྟ་DRA.TSHUL (SKh), བིའ་TSHUL (Am).

858. MEANS ཉི་ཐང་THABS [PR] < CT ‘means, method’ or the variant རྨ་ཛེ་STARS (Pur). The word has acquired the meanings of ‘opportunity’ in some dialects. The root THABS is usually followed by SHES ‘know’: ཉི་ཐང་ཤེས་THABS.SHES. The compound BLO THABS < CT ‘intellectual means’ is also attested. In some languages, the word ཊི་ཛེ་BKOD.PA (Am, E, Sh) is used, whereas in Balti, the word ཀྲ་LAM ‘way, road’ is used. Finally གི་ལྡན་JUS lit. ‘strategy’ is found in some Kham dialects.

859. MEANING ཀྲ་DON [PR] < CT. In some dialects it is followed by the syllable DAG: ཀྲ་ཐང་DON.DAG. Sometimes this word has acquired other meanings such as ‘reason’, ‘aim’ or ‘(have) something to do’. The Hindi–Urdu loanword /matlap/ is widely used in India and Pakistan.

860. PRIVILEGE, RIGHTS རྨ་མ་THOB.THANG [FFR] (La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. In some dialects, the word has other meanings, such as ‘reward’. The word ཀྲ་མ་DRANG is sometimes used instead. The word is not known in some rural areas.

6. This form is found in the name SEMS.KYNYLZLA ‘Shangri-La, sun and moon in the mind’, which was recently employed to render the Chinese pronunciation of Shangri-La, ‘Xianggelila’.
861. **STRENGTH (PHYSICAL)** ཤུགས་SHUGS [FFW] (Ba, La, Zö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Hor, Sh, Dz) < CT. Another word སེད། SHERD [FFW] (Pur, La, Kh, E, Am) is attested in many dialects (Pur). The root སོབ། STOBS [FFW] (Ba, Ts, Am) < CT is also widespread. The compound སོབ་ཤུགས། STOBS.SHUGS is also frequent. The word སྟོབ་ NGAD (Pur, La) < CT ‘property, strength’ (for weather, medicine) is attested in some western languages (see POWER). More marginally, a few words of unclear origin are also found: སུགས། GAS (Hor), སྦྱི། DBYIGS (Am) and སྲིབས། REM.PA (Sp).

862. **ORDER (SPOKEN)** སྟོ་། BKA’ [FFW]

863. **PEACE** སྦྱི། ZHYEDE (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT. The word ‘peace’ refers to an abstract concept that is not always available in remote rural areas. When the word is used, it is usually derived from སྦྱི། ZHYEDE. ཚུམ། CHAMS.MO is attested in Purik.

864. **WAR** སྦྱི། DMAG [PR] < CT. In some dialects, the word has acquired the meaning of ‘army’ and ‘soldier’. It is sometimes used in compounds: སྦྱི། DMAG.'KHRUG (Dz), སྦྱི། THAB.MO (Pur). A loanword of Persian origin, སྦྱི། jang, is often used in India.

865. **VICTORY** སྦྱི། RGYAL.KHA [PR] < CT སྦྱི། DRAG is also attested. སྦྱི། RGYAL /'gyal/ (Pur, La).

866. **COUNTRY, STATE** སྦྱི། RGYAL.KHAB [PR] < CT. The word སྦྱི། RGYAL.SRID < ‘vast world’ is attested in Balti. In ordinary speech in Ladakh, the word སྦྱི། YUL (La) often means ‘country’.

867. **EXPERIENCE** སྦྱི། སྦྱི། NYAMS.MYONG [FFW] (Sp, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT. The short form སྦྱི། NYAMS (Yol) is also attested. སྦྱི། MTHONG.GOMS (La) < lit. ‘to see+habit’ and སྦྱི། RGYUS (La) < CT ‘knowledge, familiarity’. The origin of /'nyoks/ (Pur) is not clear.

868. **HABIT** སྦྱི། GOMS.GSHIS (Ü), སྦྱི། RNYOGGS (La), སྦྱི། LOBS (La).
Many compound words are attested: བྲེལ་ལུགས་ LUGS, SROL, བྲེལ་སྲོལ་ GROLUGS, ལུགས་འགྲོ་ PR LUGS, ལུགས་གོམས་ SUGOMS, SROL, ལྡུད་ SNGAR.RGYUN, ལུགས་སྲོལ་ SNGAR.SROL.

This is derived from the verb 'brel' to bind, to tie'.

In the eastern area, a Chinese loan 开 kaihui is frequently used. The English word is also used in India.

Often followed by a suffix དྲི་མ་ DRI MA. A homonym meaning 'dirt' is found in many dialects. In some dialects of Amdo, the root རོ BRO, which originally meant 'taste', is used.

经常 followed by a suffix རོ BRO. The forms རོ་བུ BRO.BA and རོ་ལྷ BYO.LHA are used in Dzongkha. The word རོ RO derived from BRO is also attested. Western languages, as well as some languages in the southern Himalayas (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, etc.), have preserved reflexes of the old CT form རོ་ད་ BROD. In some dialects, དྲི་མ་ DRI MA 'flavor' is also used for 'taste'.

In some areas, the word མཁར་ MKHAR refers to a stone tower (cf. D’Arragon 2005).

The oldest surviving palace in Tibet with a stone tower is a MKHAR called ཡུམ་བུ། བླ་མཁར་ YUM.BU.MKHAR (alternatively called ཡུམ་བུ་སྒང་ YUM.BU.SGANG), located in Lhokha prefecture. Another word, རྫོང་ RDZONG < CT, is also frequently attested. Since dzongs were traditionally the seat of the Tibetan administration, the word came to designate 'districts'. The national language of Bhutan is called རྫོང་ཁ་ RDZONG.KHA 'the administrative language' (lit. the dzong language). Districts in Bhutan are called རྫོང་ཁག་ RDZONG.KHAG.

This is sometimes followed by a suffix རོང་ GRONG.PA, རོང་ལེགས་ GRONG.GSEB. Two other words are also frequently attested: ཡུལ་ YUL < CT 'place'. In
Dzongkha, the orthography reflects the high tone: ལྟོགས་ GYUS < འལྟོགས་ YUL. In Amdo and Kham, འལྟོགས་ YUL and འལྟོགས་ YUL.BA designates more specifically the ‘home village’ or simply ‘home’. འལྟོགས་ YUL.PA ‘person from one’s village’. Another root བེལ SDE < CT ‘section, tribe, domain’ is used in many Amdo dialects to refer to ‘village’. It is often followed by a suffix BA: བེལ SDE.BA.

876. BRIDGE རྫམ་ ZAM [PR] < CT. Usually with the suffix PA: རྫམ་ ZAMP.A (La). Alternative archaic forms are attested, such as རྫམ་ ZAMP.A (Nubra, Sham, Pur) and རྫམ་ DZAM (SKh). The word རྫམ་ SKYIN.TSE designates ‘simple bridge made of two logs’ (Pur, Sham).

877. HOMETOWN/MOTHERLAND རྟྨུ་ PHA.YUL. [PW] < CT. lit. ‘father land’. In some regions, འལྟོགས་ YUL.BA is also used.

878. HOUSE མཁང་ KHANG [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: མཁང་ KHANG.PA (La, Yol, Ú, Ts, etc.), མཁང་ KHANG.BA (Am), མཁང་ KHANG.MA (Pur), but is also used in many compound words related to houses, such as ཐེག་ KHANG.BA ‘medicine house’, རྗུན་ JAKHANG ‘tea house’, etc. In some dialects (Am, Kh, E, La), མཁང་ KHANG is prenasalized as གཔོ་ KHANG in compound words. Another word, འཁྲིམ་ KHYIM [FFW] (Yol, Dz, Lho Ko, Kh, E) < CT ‘dwelling-place, home, family’ (see also FAMILY), is very frequent in the Southern and Eastern regions. In several dialects of Kham and in the eastern section, the forms /sh'i/, /x'i/, /hi/ are probably related to KHYIM. The term འབོད་ NANG < CT ‘inside’ (e.g. Ts, Pur) is also used to designate a house. In Purik and Ladaks, རྟོགས་ BRANG.SA ‘rented house, dwelling place’ is also attested. In Thewo /ɾa/, possibly derived from དགུས་ GZHIS < ‘estate, plot of land’ is used. In Drugchu (E), /ɾa/, related to བྲོང་ SBRANK.NANG.

879. ROOF རྒྱོ་ THOG [FFR] < CT ‘top, roof’. This is often followed by the suffix KHA: རྒྱོ་ KHOG.KHA. Alternative forms are found, such as the compounds རྒྱོ་ KHANG.THOG lit. ‘house top’ (La), རྒྱོ་ KHANG.STENG lit. ‘house upper part’. The word རྒྱོ་ BH.KAB.CH lit. ‘cover’ is used in Yolmo. In most Tibetic areas, roofs are flat and may serve as terraces for drying straw, cereals, fruits, etc. In
southern Kham and Kongpo, as well as in the southern Himalayas, a flat roof deck is protected from rain and snow by a wooden framework with a pitched roof, usually covered by wooden shingles or stone slabs.

880. INN, HOTEL མགྲོན་ཁང་ MGRON.KHANG < CT ‘guest house’ [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Sp, Am). Alternative words are attested: མགྲོན་ཁྱིམ་ MGRON.KHYIM (Dz) lit. ‘guest house’, pronounced མགོན་ཁྱིམ་ MGON.KHYIM. The term རྒྱུལ་ཁང་ GRUL.KHANG lit. ‘traveler house’ is also used. In the Jangthang region and other remote places, མགོན་ཁང་ JAKHANG ‘tea house’ also serve as small inns. Loanwords from Chinese such as 招待所 zhaodaisuo ‘hostel, tavern’ and English ‘hotel’ are also heard.

881. RESTAURANT མགྲོན་ཁང་ MGRON.KHANG < CT ‘house (for) eating’. The term is found throughout the Tibetan area, as well as in most other areas: in Ladakh, Sikkim, and Bhutan. Hotel is used in Ladakh for ‘restaurant’ (as in other places in India). Note that in Purik, the word zakhang indicates the main room where one lives (and eats) in winter.

882. TEA HOUSE མགྲོན་ཁང་ MGRON.KHANG. In remote rural areas, jakhang traditionally provide not only tea, but also food and accommodation.

883. KITCHEN མཛོད་ཅིང་ MDZOD.TSHANG [FFR] (Ú, Ts, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT ‘stove, fireplace nest’. The term བྱན་ས་ BYAN.SA lit. ‘kitchen, cook place’ (La), refers to a sitting room with a stove. མགྲོན་ཁང་ MGRON.KHANG, བང་མཛོད་ BANG.MDZOD ‘food house’ (Pur). Balti uses a loanword ཐེ་སི་རི་པ་ /hasiripa/.

884. STOREHOUSE མདོ་ཅིང་ MDZOD [PR] /zot/ (Pur) < CT ‘depository, treasure, store-house’. The compounds མདོ་ཅིང་KHANG ‘store house’, མདོ་ཅིང་BANG.MDZOD ‘granary’, མདོ་KHANG lit. ‘grain’ (La), མདོ་ BANG.SKHANG lit. ‘grain house’ are also found.

885. WATERMILL རང་འཐག་ RANG.THAG [PW] < CT lit. ‘autogrinder’. This refers to small buildings with a watermill that grind barley for tsampa. Other terms are attested: གྲུ་འཐག་ CHU.THAG lit. ‘water-grinder’, གྲུ་SKOR lit. ‘water-spin’, མཁྱིག་ MCHIG < CT ‘mill’.
886. **COWSHEd** བ་ར་ **BA.RA** (Pur) < CT 'cow yard, fence'. བ་ཁང་ **BA.KHANG** is also used.

887. **PIGSTY** བག་པ་ **PHAG.RA** < CT 'pig yard, fence'. བག་ཁང་ **PHAG.KHANG** and བག་ཚང་ **PHAG.TSHANG** are also used.

888. **STABLE** ང་ར་ **RT.A.RA** (Pur) < CT 'horse yard, fence', ང་ཁང་ **RT.A.KHANG** is also attested.

889. **SHEEPFOLD** ཕག་པ་ **PHAG.RA** (Pur) < CT 'sheep yard, fence'. ཕག་ཁང་ **PHAG.KHANG** and ཕག་ཚང་ **PHAG.TSHANG** are also used.

890. **WALL** གྱང་ **GYANG** [PR] < CT. In some Western languages (Ba, Pu), the alternative form གྱར་ **RGYANG** is used. This term refers to traditional rammed earth walls. Another frequent word is གོ་ལྣ་ **RTSIG.PA** [FFR] (Pur, La, Yol, Ts, Kh, Dz) < CT. The word གོ་ལྣ་ **MKHAR** < CT 'castle' is frequent in the Eastern section.

891. **WOOD** སྒོ་ **SGO** [PR] < CT.

892. **PILLAR** ཡ་ **KA** [PR] < CT. Usually with a suffix ཡ་བ་ **KA.BA** (Ü, Ts, Kh, etc.), ཡ་ཁྲི་ **KA.W./kau/ (Dz) < CT.

893. **DOOR** སྒོ་ **SGO** [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: /zgo/ (Ba, La, Pur), /rgo/, /ɦgo/ (Am), /ɣo/ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Sh, Dz), /zga/ (Za), etc. The variants སྒོ་མོ་ **SGO.MO**, སྒོ་མོ་ **SGOM** (Lho), སྒོ་པོ་ **SGO.BO** are also attested.

894. **WINDOW** སྒེ་འུ་ **SGE.U** [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Am, etc.) < CT 'white/light hole'. It is alternatively spelled སྒེ་འུ་ **SKARKHUNG' star hole' and pronounced སྒེ་འུ་ /karung/ in Sherpa. It may refer to a 'window' in a house or to an aperture at the top of the tent or house which is left open to let the light in, but can be covered against rain or snow. At night stars might be seen through this 'window' (note that in English, the etymology of 'window' is not related to 'light' but to 'wind'; the original literal meaning is 'wind-eye'). Another somewhat common term, though less pervasive, is སྒེ་འུ་ **SGE.U.KHUNG** [FFW] < CT 'small door opening, hole' (Ü, Ts, Am), སྒེ་འུ་ **SGE.U.CHUNG**. In
Balti and Purik, the word Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /barban/ is used. In Amdo Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /draṭa < CT 'lattice' is used.

895. STAIR/LADDER ★ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /skrais/ or Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /skas/ [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /kas/ (Ba), /ˈkä:/ (U), Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /ˈgas/ (La). It is used alone in many areas (Kh, Am), but may be followed by a suffix or another root: Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /skas/ (Am), Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /skas.k/ (Ba, Pur), Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /skas.k/ (La)

896. BEAM Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /gdung/ [PR] < CT. In most areas, this word is followed by a suffix: Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /gdung.ma/ < CT 'ladder'. For smaller beams used in a ceiling, the terms Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /lcam/ and Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /gral.bu/ (Pur, La, Za) are used. Both terms Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /gdung/ and Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /lcam/ are used in a symbolic way to refer to 'lineage': Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /gdung.ṛgyud/.

897. TENT Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /gur/ [PR] < CT 'cotton tent' (usually white). This is used in summer for picnics and for ceremonies. Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /sbra/ [PR] 'black yak hair tents' are traditionally used during the rest of the year by pastoralists. In Ladaks, Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /reb./ 'black yak hair tent' < CT Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /reb./ 'coarse material woven from yak hair'. In some dialects, the difference is sometimes indicated by the color Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /nag/ 'black' or Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /dkar/ 'white': Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /sbra.nag/ 'black tent' versus Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /sbra.dkar/ 'white tent'. There is also a compound word Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /sbra.gur/ in southern Kham, Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /g.yab/ lit. 'veranda, shelter' is used. Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /g.yog/ < CT 'to cover' is also attested.

898. GARDEN Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /ldum.ra/ [FFR] < CT. This word also serves as an alternative name of the Nubra valley. Other words for 'garden' include Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /tshas/ (La, Pur, Za), Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /rab./ 'fence, enclosure', Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /sgo./ 'yard, courtyard', Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /sgo.lda/ lit. 'yard garden', also Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /bag/ (Pur, La) < Pers. 'ornamental garden'.

899. TOILET Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /gsang.spyod/ [FFR] < CT 'secret use'. Other words are attested: Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /spyod.khang/ < lit. 'use house', Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /chagra/ or Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /chag.s/ 'chagra.khang' < lit. 'manure place', Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ Ḟ /skyag.khang/ 'excrement'
house’ (Kh). བདེས་པའི་ BDE.SPYOD (La, Za) lit. ‘(cabinet of) ease’, ཆབ་གསང་ CHAB.GSANG [H] (Ü, La), ཆབ་ཁང་ CHAB.KHANG < lit. ‘water house’. Some pastoralist and rural regions do not have toilets.

900. THRONE མཁྲི་ KHRI [PR] < CT. མཁྲིས་ KHRIS (La). This form is the same as ‘BED’, but the pronunciation can differ in some dialects in Amdo and Gyüthang (Kh), with the meaning ‘throne’ being pronounced closed to the literary form. མཁྲིས་ KHRIS (Pur).

901. SHOP བཙོང་ཁང་ TSHONG.KHANG [PW] < CT. ‘sale house’. In Balti, བཙོང་མཛོད་ TSHONG.MDZOD lit. ‘sale store’ is used. ལྷོ་ /hati/ (La, Pur) < Panjabi. The Urdu loanword duka:n is also used.

902. SCHOOL སློབ་གྲྭ SLOB.GRWA [PW] < CT སློབ SLOB’teach’ + གྲྭ GRWA’college’. This is pronounced སྲི་བླ་ SBLR.GRWA in Central Tibet; in some areas, the word SLOB,GRWA is absent and replaced by the expression ཤིགས་ YLGE.SLOB.SA or ཤིགས་ YLGE.SBYO.N.GSA, lit. ‘place for learning letters’. The Chinese words 學校 xuexiao or xuxiao (in Sichuan Mandarin) and 學堂 xuetang or xuotang (in Sichuan Mandarin) are also widely used in Kham. The English loanword ེན་པ་ SLKHUL < school is also found in Sherpa, Purik, Ladaks and in some dialects in the southern Himalayas. The Arabic loanwords مدرسة MALDRAS.SA (marṣasa) and مکتب MAG.TAB are also used in Baltistan and Purik.

903. BANK དངུལ་ཁང་ DNGUL.KHANG < CT ‘money-house’ is used nearly everywhere, except in Baltistan. However the Chinese 銀行 jinhang and English bank have also been borrowed.

904. POST OFFICE. Various terms are used. Post offices were probably first established in Tibet by the Mongols, and their traditional Tibetan name is ཤིགས་ YIG.ZAM < CT ‘letter bridge’. Loanwords are used too, such as the Chinese 郵局 youju and the English post office, both of which are recent. An old loanword from Urdu and Pers. རྫུ་ཁམ་/dzak khana/ has been tibetanised as སྲག་ཁང་ SBRAG.KHANG, and is used in Ladakh and Central Tibet. The modern Dzongkha word བྲིག་ཁང་ GREM.KHANG is made up of ‘GREM’ broadcast’ and KHANG
‘house’. Sherpa uses the word འུ་ལག་‘ULAG’ ‘compulsory post service’, borrowed from Mongolian.

905. OFFICE ལས་ཁུངས LAS KHUNGS < CT lit. ‘source of work’, དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་DPE MDZOD KHANG lit. ‘work house’. Other than these, borrowings of the Chinese 办公室 bangongshi, the English office and the Persian /daftar/ (La, Pur) are found.

906. LIBRARY དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་DPE MDZOD KHANG [PW] < CT ‘store house for pechai’, usually refers to traditional monastery libraries, and not to public or private libraries. It is now also used for university libraries. In several areas, this word is unknown to speakers because there are no monasteries or cultural institutions. In Purik, མི་ལུ་དཔེ་མཛོད་SHOG BUKHANG is used (lit. ‘book house’). See BOOK.

907. PRISON, JAIL བཙོན་ཁང་BTSON KHANG [PW] (La, Ts, Ü) < CT ‘prisoner house’. There is an alternative form བཙོན་ར་BTSON RA. In Balti and Purik, the compound སྒག་ཁང་SGAG KHANG lit. ‘arrest house’ is used. In Sherpa, the word /k'angpa maru/ < བཙོན་ཁང་KHANG,PA DMAR,PO ‘red house’ is used. In Eastern Tibet, དོ་ཅེ་LOKE < Chin. 老改 laogai is also found.

908. FACTORY བོ་གྲྭ། BZO GRWA [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. ‘fabrication corner or department’, བོ་ཁང་BZO KHANG (E), བོ་གྲྭ། BZO GRWA KHANG (La), 工厂 gongchang or 工 chang alone are also often used in Khamb. བཅོ་ཁང་BCO KHANG/ʂok'ang/ (Pur).

909. HYDROELECTRIC PLANT གློག་ཁང་GLOG KHANG [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT ‘electricity house’. གློག་CHU GLOG,‘OD lit. ‘water electric light’ (La).

910. FAIR/MARKET མཉི་KHROM [PW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Ba, Sp) < CT. In some dialects, the word is followed by a second syllable: མཉི་ KHROM RA (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ‘market place/enclosure’ or མཉི་ KHROM KHA (Dz). Alternative words are found such as མཉི་ TSHONG RA (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ‘sale place/enclosure’, པར་ SRANG ‘market, small street’. In Khöpokhok, པེ་NOYA ‘buying place’ is used. In Yolmo, /kyasa/ is used. There are borrowings, such as བཛན་ bazaar (from Urdu, originally Persian) and བར། hati from Nepali /hat/, in some southern
Himalayan dialects. In the eastern area, the Chinese loan 菜市场 caishichang is also used.

911. GOVERNMENT སྲིད་དགུང་ SRID.GZHUNG [FFW] < CT or ལྷུན་ GZHUNG (La) ལྷུན་ GTSO.GZHUNG (La) < CT is used. Dialects in India, Nepal and Pakistan use the Hindi-Urdu word འཁོར་ /sarkar/.

912. BOAT, SHIP གྲུ་ GRU [PW] (La, Ü, Ts, Am, Sh, Lho) < CT. The form གྲུ་ GRU.GZINGS is also attested. Balti has borrowed the word འཁོར་ /nayo/ from the Dardic languages. In Ladakh, a Persian loanword མཚོ་ TRIS /kiʃ/ (Pur, La) is also used. In Yunnan (Kh), བ་ WA is used instead. This word also means 'fodder container for pigs' because of its similar form to a ship.

913. TRAIN མེ་འཁོར་ ME.KHOR [PW] < CT མེ་ 'fire + འཁོར་ 'wheel'. The term ལྷུན་ LCAGS. RTA < CT lit. 'iron bird' is widely spread, especially in Kham and Amdo Drogpa dialects. The variants ལྷུན་RKANG.GA RI < CT མེ་ 'leg' and འཁོར་ 'car' borrowed from Hindi-Urdu. The other words used in Tö, Kh and Am are བྱ་ lcags RTA 'iron horse' and འཕྲུལ་ PHRUL.RTA 'magic horse' (also used for 'motorcycle'). Chinese loanwords such as 自行车 zixingche and 单车 danche are also used in Kham. The English loanword /sikel, saikel/ (Pur, Sh) is attested.

914. AIRPLANE གནམ་གྲུ་ GNAM.GRU [FFW] < CT 'sky vessel' is very common (Ü-Ts, Kh, La, Dz). Other words are attested. The root འརྲུལ་ GNAM.BYA < CT lit. 'iron bird' is widely spread, especially in Kham and Amdo Drogpa dialects. The variants ལྲུང་ RLUNGS. SKOR.RISHIN 'flying plank', which is normally used in epics to designate the 'flying carpets'. Various loanwords are used on the periphery, including words from Chinese 飞机 feiji, English 'airplane' and Hindi-Urdu जहाज jhatz.

915. BICYCLE རྗུང་ འཁོར་ RKANG.KHOR [FFW] < CT 'leg-wheel' is used in Literary Tibetan and in Dzongkha. In Common Tibetan and Lhasa, the compound word རྗུང་RKANG.GAR.I < CT རྗུ་ 'leg' and འཁོར་ 'car' borrowed from Hindi-Urdu. The other words used in Tö, Kh and Am are ལྷུན་ lcags RTA 'iron horse' and འཕྲུལ་ PHRUL.RTA 'magic horse' (also used for 'motorcycle').
916. **MOTORCYCLE** ལུགས་ཤེས་ 'ZAG.ZAG (Ü, Ts) [FFW] of onomatopoeic origin. The loanword ཤེས་་ 'motorbike' or bike is also used (Dz, La). ལུགས་ཤེས་ 'PAB.PAD.DA/p’atp’ata/ is used in Purik and ལུགས་ཤེས་ 'PHRUL.RTA' magic horse' in Amdo.

917. **CAR** རྣང་འཁོར་ 'RLANGS.KHOR [FFW] < CT 'steam wheel' and its variant རྣང་འཁོར་ 'SNUM.KHOR < CT 'oil-wheel' are attested in modern Literary Tibetan and some languages (Lho, Dz). The word རུ་ /satu/ (La) < CT 'earth vessel' is also attested, as opposed to ‘airplane’ (lit. ‘sky vessel’), but rarely used. However in many languages, one finds loanwords from Chinese, English and Hindi-Urdu, depending on the area: རྣ་༅ གི མི་ 'CHILKHRE < 车 'qiche, རུ་ཐོ་ '车子 chezi, རུ་། 'MO.TA/ma' < 'motor' (Ü, Ts, Sh); or རུ་ /kar/ (Ba, La) < 'car'; རུ་ ག་ 'GA.RI (La, Ba, Pur) and རུ་ ག་ 'GA.DRI (Kh) < Urdu /qari/.

918. **ELECTRICITY** འིང་ 'GLOG [FFW] < CT ‘lightning’. In Dzongkha, the compound word འིང་ 'GLOG.ME (lit. 'fire lightning') is used. In Ladakh, the word འིང་ 'GLOG.OO < CT ‘light’ is used. Within the eastern Tibetosphere, the Chinese loanword སྤྱན་ 'dian is frequently used, while in India, Nepal and Pakistan སྤྱན་ 'bijli' is used. The Hindi-Urdu word /bijli/ is used.

919. **HOSPITAL** རྟོན་ཁང༅ 'SMAN.KHANG [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, To, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT ‘medicine + house’. This may refer to both traditional Tibetan hospitals or Western-type hospitals. However for the former, the term རྟོན་ཁང༅ 'SMAN.RTSIS.KHANG < CT ‘medicine and astrology house’ is often used.
DEMONSTRATIVES, PRONOUNS and PROFORMS

920. **THIS** (proximal demonstrative) ཆི། **Di** [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.

This word was originally pronounced /di/, and some dialects retain the denti- 
allo vocal plosive /d/; other dialects have preserved only /ni/, /d/ or 
/t/, e.g. ཆི། **Di**/dzi/ ཆི། **ni**/ (Ts), /na/ (E: Th, Rongbrag, Kh). Another 
demonstrative found in OT, ཁི། **Di** could explain modern forms, such as ཁི། **Di**/dzi/ (Cho), /wo 
ko/ (Kh: mPhagri), /ʔa ko/ (nJol, Kh), /ʔo no/ (mBalhag, Kh), /ʔa k'o/ (Budy, Kh), etc. High tone forms ཁི། **Di**/ dzi/ are used in Kham and Dzongkha respectively. In Melung (Kh), the form is 
/ma/. Other than these, ཁི། **KH** is also used as 'this'; see HE/SHE/IT.

921. **THAT** (medial demonstrative or referent already mentioned) ཆི། **DE** [FFR] 
(La, Pur, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. Various alternative pronunciations derived from the 
following forms are also attested: ཁི། **Di**/dzi/ (Am), ཁི། **Di**/dzi/ (Sh), ཁི། **Di**/dzi/ (Lamdo, 
Kh). Amdo and the Paskyid dialect (E) use ང་ **GAN** for 'that'. Some dialects of 
Tsang and Kham use ཁི། **KH** < CT 'third person pronoun' for 'that'. ཁི། **AU** 
/au/ is found in Purik. A few dialects of Kham may reflect the OT 
demonstrative ཁི། **Di**/dzi/ (Th), ཁི། **Di**/dzi/ (Sh), ཁི། **Di**/dzi/ (Kh), ཁི། **Di**/dzi/ (Am), 
/ʔo no/ (mBalhag, Kh), /ʔa k'o/ (Budy, Kh), etc. High tone forms ཁི། **Di**/dzi/ are used in Kham and Dzongkha respectively. In Melung (Kh), the form is 
/ma/. Other than these, ཁི། **KH** is also used as 'this'; see HE/SHE/IT.

922. **THAT** (over there, distal demonstrative) ཁི། **PHA** [PR] < CT 'that over there'. 
This often occurs in compound words such as ཁི། **PHA**/dzi/ (Ü, Kh, Lj: Durbuk), ཁི། **PHA**/dzi/ (Kh), ཁི། **PHA**/dzi/ (Ho), ཁི། **PHA**/dzi/ (Th), ཁི། **PHA**/dzi/ (Am), ཁི། **PHA**/dzi/ (Sh). In Amdo and some western
dialects, ལ་ PHA is pronounced ལ་ HA: པ་ PHAG (Am, Ts), ལ་ PHA. GAN (Am). Some compound words are found: པ་ PHEN (Sp), ལ་ PHE (Cho), ལ་ PHE (Tö), ལ་ PHEN (Dz). The forms ལ་ LA and ལ་ LA are also frequent. Some dialects (e.g. Kham or Spiti) make no distinction between medial and distal demonstratives.

923. HERE དེ་ NLNA, དེ་ DIR [FFW] (Kh, Am) < CT 'this'+NA locative case.
One also encounters the variants དེ་ NLNA (Kh), དེ་ NLNA (Kh), which may be reduced to དེ་ NLNA. Another frequent word is དེ་ DIR [FFW] (Kh) < CT 'this'+RU purposive case. It is pronounced in various ways: དེ་ NLNA (Ts), དེ་ RL (Sp, La). The variant དེ་ DIR (Sham) is also attested and is pronounced /dä:/ (Ü, Sh, Am), དེ་ RL (Ho). Finally, the form དེ་ KI (La) derived from CT དེ་ KI (Ba, Pur, Sham) is also attested.

924. THERE (medial) དེ་ DENA [FFW] < CT, དེ་ DER, དེ་ DEKA, དེ་ DEKA [DE PHYOGS. Other forms are attested, such as དེ་ RAKA (Pur).

925. OVER THERE (distal) ལ་ PHA [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a locative suffix: ལར་ PHAR, ལར་ PHANA, ལར་ PHARA and its variant ལར་ HARA (Am), ལར་ NLNA [PRU] (Pur).

926. THITHER ལར་ PHAR < CT. In western dialects (Ladakhi, Balti), the prefix ལ་ is used: ལར་ RUI.

927. HITHER ལར་ TSHUR < CT, ལར་ TSHURRE.

928. I (first person singular) བོ་ NGA [PW] < CT. The form བོ་ BDAG [h] (Ts) and བོ་ BA’ (Sp) are used as humilific forms. In Drugchu, བ’ is used, which might be related to CT བ’ 'I'. In Daan (Kh), བ’ is used; this is similar to the Chinese word 俺 'I', but it is not likely to be a loanword.

929. YOU (second person singular) བོ་ KHYOD 'you' [FFW] (Am, Kh, Ho, Ü, Dz etc.) < CT. The variant བོ་ HO is also attested (Kh). In some Central and Western languages བོ་ KHYOD 'you' is offensive. The root བོ་ RANG < CT 'self' is used in some dialects (Ü, Ts, La). Honorific forms are derived from བོ་ KHYED 'you' [H], བོ་ NYED [H] or the variant བོ་ NGE [H] lit. 'we'. These are usually
followed by the syllable རང་ 'self': མཁྱེད་རང་ [H], (Û, Pur), རེ་རེའི་ རང་ [H] (Ts), or རེ་རེའི་ སྤྱེར་ རང་ [La], ཉེ་རང་ [YERANG] [H] (Pur, Ba). Dzongkha has ས་ /na/ [H].

930. HE/SHE/IT (third person singular) རོ་ KHOR [FFW] (Pur, Kh, Ho, Ú, Ts, Sh, La, Ba, Dz) < CT. The variant རོ་ སྤེལ་ KHODGI /k’orga/ (Am) is often attested in some eastern dialects, the word གནས་ KHONG (La, Ts, Ú, Dz), གནས་ KHOPA (Sh) which are derived from the archaic plural of རོ་ KHOR.

931. SHE རེ་ MO < CT. Most dialects do not make a distinction between he and she, but some have a specific form for feminine nouns derived from རེ་ MO < CT (Ba, Ts, Ú, Sh, Dz, Am), often followed by a suffix རེ་ སྤེལ་ MO RANG (Ú, Ts), རེ་ སྤེལ་ MO DGI /morga/ (Am).

932. WE (first person plural) ※ རེ་ སྤེལ་ NGED < CT ‘elegant form for I, me’. རེ་ སྤེལ་ NGED is used with the meaning ‘we’ in some Tö dialects, Ladakh (Durbuk) and in some Southern Himalayan languages (Jir, Kyir). It probably corresponds to the archaic plural form of ས་ NGA. However most languages use compound forms: a) ས་ NGA + collective marker [PW] < CT, b) ས་ NGED T (elegant) + collective marker, c) ས་ སྤེལ་ BDAG T (humilific) + collective marker. Here are the most frequent forms found in the various languages: ས་ NGATSJO (Ú, Kh), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGARANGTSHO (Ú, Kh), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGACH’O (Am), or ས་ NGACHO (Am), ས་ NGACA (Pur), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGACAG (Lho, Ts, Cho) and various derived forms such as ས་ སྤེལ་ NGAZHA (La), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGAYA (Ba), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGACAS (Dz), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGATSHANG (Am), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGAZO (Am), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGABRIGS (Am), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGAYUL (Kh: Batang), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGED, RNAMS (Kh: Derge), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGED, THAMS (Kh: Derge), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGED, KHEDE (Kh), ས་ སྤེལ་ NGED, LOGS, SKOL (Th), ས་ སྤེལ་ BDAGCAG (Ts), ས་ སྤེལ་ BDAG, PU (Sh).

933. WE (first person plural inclusive). Many dialects have distinctive forms for exclusive and inclusive pronouns. For the exclusive forms, see above. The inclusive forms (which include the addressee) are often derived from the archaic pronoun
934. YOU (second person plural). For a limited number of languages, the form ※ KHYED (Dz, Jir, IJ, etc.) conveys a second-person plural meaning: 'you' (plural). Note that, in CT, KHYED refers to the second-person singular in the honorific register: ‘you’ (singular) [H]. The CT singular honorific form ※ KHYED is thus derived from the plural archaic form ※ KHYED, still attested in a few languages (see 8.1.2). However, most modern languages usually have compound forms and use collective markers: a) ※ KHED.RANG ‘you’ (sing) [H] + collective marker; b) ※ KHED.RANG ‘you (sing)’ + collective marker; c) ※ NYED or ※ NYE + collective marker. Here are the most frequent forms found in the various languages: ※ KHYED.RANG.TSHO (Ü, Ts), ※ KHYED.CHÓ (Am), ※ KHYED.BZO (Am), ※ KHYOD.CAG (Am, La) or ※ KHYOD.ZHA (La), ※ KHYED.KHE (Hor). For honorific forms, we find ※ NYED.RANG.TSHO [H] (Ü), ※ NYE.ZHA [H] (La) or ※ NYED.CAG [H], ※ NABU [H] (Dz), ※ NYE.DANG (Sham), ※ YEN.DANG (Pur).

935. THEY (third person plural). For a limited number of languages, the form ※ KHONG (La, Dz, etc.) conveys a third-person plural meaning: ‘they’. Note that in CT ※ KHONG indicates a third-person singular meaning in the honorific: ‘he/she (H)’ and. The CT honorific form ※ KHONG is thus derived from a plural archaic form ※ KHONG still attested in a few languages (see 8.1.2). In most modern languages, the form for ‘they’ is derived from ※ KHO < CT ‘he’ (+ ※ RANG) + collective marker. The honorific form ※ KHONG + collective marker is also used. In eastern Tibet, the demonstrative ※ KAN/GAN + collective marker is also attested. The most frequent forms found in the various languages: ※ KHONG (Pur, La, Dz, Yol, etc.), ※ KHO.RANG.TSHO (Ü), ※ KHO.TSHO [H] (Ü, Ts), ※ KHO.CHÁBO (Am).
936. WHAT གང་ GANG [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Sh, Am) < CT. གང་ GANG and its reduced form ག་ GA are often followed by a suffix: RE, DE, ZO, etc., are widespread: གང་ GANG (Ts, Sh, Kh), གན་ GAN (Lho), ག་ GARE (Ü), ག་ GADE (Kh), ག་ GAZO (Kh), etc. The other widespread root is གཟུ། G PLAY and its archaic form ཟུ། CHI [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö), /ɕ/ (Hor, Kh), /ɕ/ (Ko), /ɕ/ CHLZIG (Am). The word ག་ CI in Dzongkha is derived from the combination of the two roots གང་ GANG and གཟུ། G PLAY.

937. WHO སུ་ SU [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh) < CT. It is pronounced /su/, /sə/ /sɯ/. Only a few languages use the CT root གང་ GANG, which in CT also means 'what' and 'who': གང་ GANG /kɔ/ (E: Th) and ག་ GA (Dz), ཆ་ KA (Lho), ང་ KAY (Cho). In the Yungling and sPomtserag dialects (Kh), the word ག་ CI in Dzongkha is used. (See HOW MANY/MUCH.)

938. WHEN ནམ་ NAM [FFR] (Ba, Pur La, Sp, Sh, Am, Kh, Dz) < CT. Other words are attested: ངམ་ TSHOD (Am). In some Amdo dialects, the compound ངམ་ TSHOD lit. 'when-measure' is used. In some areas, the compound ངམ་ TSHOD lit. 'what time' is found. When asking the time, ངམ་ TSHOD lit. 'what measure of time' or ངམ་ TSHOD CHUTSHOD GATSHOD are also used. In Minyag Rabgang (Kh), ངམ་ TSHOD GA is used. (See HOW MANY/MUCH.)

939. WHERE (locative) ག་ GA or གང་ GANG + suffix [PR]. This word is generally formed by the interrogative pronoun 'what' followed by a case marker -RLA (dative), DU/RU (purposive), -NA (locative) or a suffix: གན་ GAN (Ba, Pur), གན་ GARA (Hor), གན་ GALLA (Kh), གན་ GARU (La, Za), གན་ GANA (kane, La), གན་ GANI (Sh), གན་ GANGNA (Ts, Am), གན་ GAPA (Ü), གན་ GATE (Dz).

940. WHERE (directional). Some dialects have a distinct form to indicate 'where' when related to a movement or a direction. This is the case for example of Amdo: གན་ GANGNGA < GANG + dative.

941. FROM WHERE (from which place) ག་ GA or གང་ GANG [PR] + elative/ablative case. This word is generally formed by a pandialectal interrogative pronoun GA(NG) lit. 'what' followed by a case marker NALS (elative), LAS (ablative),
KYIS (ergative): ལ་ནས་  G.A.N.A.S (La), ལ་ན་  G.A.N.A (Sham), ལ་ན་  G.A.N.G.GI (Am), ལ་ན་  G.A.N.G.NAS (Am) in Sherpa, the form ལ་ན་ G.A.N.I.N.MA is used.


943. HOW MANY/MUCH. Few languages have a simple word for how many: ལ་ན་  TSAM (Ba, Pur, La, Za) < CT 'about', approximately'; རུ་ DU/ta/ (Am), /tə/ (Kh) < CT; ར་  TSHO (Sh) < CT TSHOD 'measure'. In most cases there are compound words: 'what' and 'how' followed by the word ར་  TSHOD 'measure' or ལ་ན་  TSAM 'about': ལ་ན་  G.A.T.S.H.O.D (Û), ལ་ན་  G.A.T.S.H.A.D (Û, Ts), ལ་ན་  G.A.S.A.D (Hor), ལ་ན་ J.I.T.S.A.M, ལ་ན་  J.I.T.S.H.O.D, ལ་ན་  G.A.D.E.C.I.G (Dz), ལ་ན་  G.A.D.E.M.C.I.G (Dz). In some Kham dialects, other forms related to GA in CT, such as /ka 'dzwe/ (Sakar, Kh), /ka 'le/ (Yungling and mBalhag, Kh), are used.


NUMERALS

945. NUMBER བ་ནས་  G.A.N.G.G.R.A.N.G.S.K.A [FFR], བ་ནས་  G.A.N.G.S.K.A [FFR], བ་ནས་  G.Y.A.N.G.S.K.A (Am). An old astrological tradition is attested in most Tibetic areas and specific names for the numbers up to ten million are well known in Classical Tibetan and most modern languages. The Tibetan numbers are the same throughout the area (with of course different pronunciation), and are normally
used both in traditional fields (lunar calendar, Buddhist philosophy, etc.) as well as in contemporary fields of knowledge. However, throughout the Tibetic-speaking area, foreign numbers (Chinese, Hindi-Urdu or English, depending on the area) are often used for phone numbers, counting money, etc.

946. ZERO མཁོར་ KLAD.KOR [FFR] (Ü, Dz, La) < CT ‘round above’; བརྡོ་ KHOR.KOR (Am) < CT ‘round dot’, རིག་ KHOR.THIG (Am) < CT ‘round dot’, བཅོ་ TSAG (La).

947. ONE ལྷོན་ GCIG [PR]. In Nagchu, as well as in some Amdo, Hor, Northern Kham and Eastern dialects, the form ལྷོན་ GTSIG is widely used. In Rongbrag (Kh), /do zhi/ is used, which is probably related to བོད་ ZHIG.

948. TWO ལྟོག་ GNYIS [PR]. In southern Kham, /nə/ or /ni/ is frequently used. Additionally, /ma/ is used in some Yunnan dialects (Kh: Yanmen, Budy, Zhollam, Daan, mBalhag, etc.). In the mThachu dialect (Kh), the form corresponding to GNYIS is used as a number itself, and /ma/ is used when counting a quantity.

949. THREE རུས་ GSUM [PR].

950. FOUR བཞི། BZHI [PR]. In Purik, the conservative pronunciation is still heard /bzhi/, and in many cases it is realized as [bdzi].

951. FIVE དཀྲ་ LNGA [PR]. /nya/ is used ub Zhongu (E). In some dialects of Minya Rabgang (Kh), /Na/ is used, which may be influenced by the Darmdo Minya form /Na/. In some dialects in Markham (Kh), /ŋwa/ is used, perhaps influenced by Larong sMar /ŋwa/. Balti and Purik have a denasalized form ལར་ /ŋa/.

952. SIX ཚོ་ DRUG [PR]. As expected, this is usually pronounced as a retroflex /tuk/, but Purik and Balti have the archaic pronunciation /truk/ (cf. PTB 抜-k-ruk). In many dialects of Yunnan Kham, this word is pronounced with a high tone as /tə/ or /tə/.

953. SEVEN ཤོས་ BDUN [PR].

954. EIGHT འབྲགྱད་ BRGYAD [PR].
955. **NINE** ᛟན་ *DGU* [PR].

956. **TEN** ཤ་ *BCU* [PR]. Frequently followed by ཕེ་མ་ *THAM.PA* 'exact'.

957. **ELEVEN** ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.GCIG* [PW]. Alt. form: ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.GTSG* (Amdo, Hor Nagchu and Eastern Section).

958. **TWELVE** ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.GNYIS* [PW]. In a part of southern Kham, ཤ་ནུ་ *BCU.MI* is used. See TWO.

959. **THIRTEEN** ཤ་ཏུས་ *BCU.GSUM* [PW].

960. **FOURTEEN** ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.GZHI* [PW].

961. **FIFTEEN** ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.LNGA* [PW]. ཤ་ཏུ་/ཤུ་ (Bz).

962. **SIXTEEN** ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.DRUG* [PW]. In some languages, this is pronounced ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.RUG*.

963. **SEVENTEEN** ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.BDUN* [PW].

964. **EIGHTEEN** ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.BRGYAD* [PW].

965. **NINETEEN** ཤ་ཏུ་ *BCU.DGU* [PW].

966. **TWENTY** སྦུ་ *NYI.SHU* [PW]. ཤ་ཏུ་ *KHAL.GCIG* is used in vigesimal systems.

967. **THIRTY** སྦུ་ *SUM.CU* [PW].

968. **FOURTY** སྦུ་ *BZHL.BCU* [PW]. ཤ་ཏུ་ *KHAL.GNYIS* is used in vigesimal systems. For 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 (but not for 20 and 30), some dialects of Drugchu use *PO for 'tens': སྦུ་ *PO.BZHI* སྦུ་ *PO.LNGA*.

969. **FIFTY** སྦུ་ *LNG.ABCU* [PW].

970. **SIXTY** སྦུ་ *DRUG.CU* [PW]. ཤ་ཏུ་ *KHAL.GSUM* in vigesimal systems.

971. **SEVENTY** སྦུ་ *BDUN.CU* [PW].

972. **EIGHTY** སྦུ་ *BRGYAD.CU* [PW]. ཤ་ཏུ་ *KHAL.BZHI* in vigesimal systems.

973. **NINETY** སྦུ་ *DGU.BCU* [PW].

974. **HUNDRED** སྦུ་ *BRGYA* [PR]. ཤ་ཏུ་ *KHAL.LNGA* in vigesimal systems.

975. **THOUSAND** སྦུ་ *STONG* [PR].
976. TEN THOUSAND KHRI [PR].
977. HUNDRED THOUSAND BUM [PR].
978. MILLION S.L.YA [FFR].
979. TEN MILLION BYE,BA [FFR].
980. HUNDRED MILLION BYE,BA [FFR].
981. BILLION THER.BUM [FFR].
982. HALF PHYED [PR]. In Minya Rabgang (Kh), it is followed by /ke/: PHYED.KE. In some Amdo varieties, the words TSHAL.BA < CT ‘piece’ and SHA.TSHAL are used.
983. FIRST DANG.PO [PW]. Often preceded by /angs/ or /a/: གམ་དང་པོ་ GSOL.JA GANG MCHOD ‘please drink a (cup of) tea’.
984. ONE (WITH CLASSIFIER) GANG [PR] (Ba, Pur, La) TSHAL.BA < CT, pronounced /t'eng/ or /t'ang/; TSHAR [FFW] (Pur, La, Am) < CT, pronounced /ts'er/ (Pur, La). A classifier is used when counting: TSHAR.POG.GNYIS ‘twice’, TSHAR.POG.GSUM ‘thrice’. བན་ LAN (Ü, La) < CT. In Minyak Rabgang, བན་ UR is used. རུ་སྒོས་ཅིག་ SKOR.BAG.CIG (La) lit. ‘one turn’ is also attested.
985. PAIR CHA [PW], ZUNG [FFW] (Pur, La) or རུ་རུ་ GZUNG < CT ‘couple’.

ADJECTIVES, QUANTIFIERS AND INTENSIFIERS
988. BIG CHE, CHEN [PR] < CT. CHE.PO, CHEN.MO, CHO.PO (Sham), CHO.GO / oyo/ (Bal, Pur). The word ཤུ་ pobo/ (Ko) and རུ་ bom/ (Dz.) are derived from CT ‘big (rope)’; see BIG
The origin of the Sherpa /gyirpu/ and Jirel /goppo/ is not clear, but they might be derived from རྒོད་པོ 'strong, untamed'. The word རྒྱ་པ་ 'extensive, large, abundant' is found in southern Kham. Some dialects spoken in Yunnan (Kh) and in the eastern section also use other forms, such as /´day na/ (Gyälthang), /´de na/ (Byagzhol) or /´ʔəjĩ/ (Melung). In some cases, the roots གེ གེ, གེ གེ do not designate the same size, with གེ གེ being bigger than གེ གེ.

**989. SMALL/LITTLE √ ལྷེ། CHUNG [PR]**. This is either reduplicated or followed by a suffix: ལྷེ། CHUNG.CHUNG, ལྷེ། CHUNG.BA, ལྷེ། CHUNG.NUN (La) < CT 'very little', ལྷེ། CHUKUN (Sp), ལྷེ། TSHUN.TSE (Ba, Pur) related to CT ལྷེ། CHUN.TSE; ལྷེ། PHRAMO (see THIN) also used in Balti. In Sherpa, ལྷེ། PRG.PE /ikpe/ and in Jirel ལྷེ། PREG.PRE /ekte/ are used. They are probably related to ལྷེ། PHRA 'thin'. In south Kham, there are many dialectal words with an unclear origin: /´ka ka/ (nJol, Kh), /´mye/ (Kh: Gyälthang), and /ši lu/ (Kh: sNyingthong).

**990. BIG (DIAMETER) √ ལྷེ། SBROM or ལྷེ། SBOM < CT [PR]**. This is usually followed by a suffix: ལྷེ། SBROM.PO /brompo/ (Pur), /drompo/ (Sp), ལྷེ། SBOM.PO (most dialects) < CT, ལྷེ། ROM.PO (La, Tö, some dialects of Kh., E. and Am). This word is normally used for the description of large cylindrical objects, such as ropes and pillars but is also applied to overweight people in Ladaks and to 'low' voice in some areas (Ü, La, Yol, etc.). In Dzongkha, the word ལྷེ། SBOM / bom/ (Dz.) has acquired the general meaning of 'big'.

**991. SMALL (DIAMETER) √ ལྷེ། PHRA [PR] < CT, followed by an adjectival suffix:** ལྷེ། PHRA.PO, ལྷེ། PHRA.LO, alt. ལྷེ། PHA.PO, ལྷེ། PHA.LI (Kh); ལྷེ། PHRAMO (Ba, Pur), alt. ལྷེ། PHRE,ME (Sh), ལྷེ། PHRA.DE (Ts, Tö), ལྷེ། PHY.ALSI (Dz). It is also applied to thin people in Ladaks and to high voice (Ü, La).

**992. HIGH √ ལྷེ། MTHO or ལྷེ། MTHON [PR]**. This root is usually followed by a suffix PO, ལྷེ། MTHON.PO (La, Ts, Ü, Jir), ལྷེ། MTHON.MO (Pur); the short form ལྷེ། MTHO is attested with other adjectival suffixes. ལྷེ། MTHO.BA, or reduplicated ལྷེ། MTHO.MTHO.
PART 3 – CHAP. 12. – Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon

993. LOW √ དམའ་ DmA’ [PR]. This root is often followed by a suffix: དམའ་མོ་ DmA’.MO (Ko, Kh, Th, Ba, Am), alt. དམའ་མུ་ DmA’.MU (Yol, Jir, Sh), དམའ་པོ་ DmA’.PO (Kh, Ho, Pur), དམའ་འདེ DmA’.DE (Ts), དམའ་ལེ་ལེ་ DmA’.LE (Dz), or is reduplicated: དམའ་དམའ་ DmA’.DMA’.

994. LONG √ རིང་ RING [PR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, To, Dz, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, Lho). This root is followed by a suffix: རིང་པོ་ RING.PO (Ü, Kh, Sp), རིང་པུ་ RING.PU (Sh), རིང་མོ་ RING.MO (Ba, La), རིངམོ་ RING.MO (Dz), རིང་བ་ RING.BA (Am), རིང་གེ་ RING.GE (Ts, Sh), རིང་ལེ་ RING.LE (Ho).

995. SHORT √ ཐུང་ THUNG [PR]. In some dialects, the root is reduplicated: ཐུང་ཐུང་ THUNG THUNG (Ü, Kh, Am), in others it is followed by a suffix: ཐུང་མོ་ THUNG.MO (Ko, Kh, Th, Ba, Am), alt. ཐུང་མུ་ THUNG.MU (Yol, Jir, Sh), ཐུང་པོ་ THUNG.PO (Kh, Ho, Pur), ཐུང་འདེ THUNG.DE (Ts), ཐུང་ལེ་ལེ་ THUNG.LE (Dz), or is reduplicated: ཐུང་དུང་ THUNG.DUNG (Dz), ཐུང་བ་ THUNG.BA (Am), ཐུང་ལྡུས་ THUNG.LE (Dz), ཐུང་ལེ་ THUNG.LE (Dz), ཐུང་མི་ THUNG.MI (Jir). The dental nasal ཐུན་ THUN is attested in Tö.

996. FAR དགུ་རིང་ THAG.RING [PW] < CT lit. ‘long rope’. ཡངས་པོ་ YANGS.PO (Ü, Kh, Th, Ba, Am), ཡངས་མོ་ YANGS.MO (Ko, Kh, Th, Ba, Am), ཡངས་ལེ་ལེ་ YANGS.LE (Dz). Another variant found in Tsetang is ཤིག་རང་པོ་ THAG.RGYANG.PO < lit. ‘distant rope’. In Yunnan, the word ཤིག་རང་ RGYANG.RING < CT ‘long distance’ is widely used.

997. NEAR √ རྩིབ་ RTSIB [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Am). This root is often followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, DE: རྩིབ་པོ་ RTSIB.PO, རྩིབ་མོ་ RTSIB.MO, རྩིབ་ལེ་ RTSIB.LE. In many languages, the compound རྩིབ་ རྩིལ་ RTSIB.RTSIB lit. ‘short rope, close distance’ is used, often followed by a suffix: རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ RTSIB.RTSIB.RTSIB. In some languages, compound words such as རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ RGYA.CHEN.PO ‘large area’, alt. རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ RGYA.CHEN.MO (Sh) or རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ GU.YANGS.PO are used. རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ རྩིལ་ RTSIB.RTSIB.RTSIB <
999. NARROW √ ཁོང་ DOG [FFR] (Ú, Ts, Am). This root is often followed by a suffix: ཁོང་ DOG.PO, ཁོང་ DOG.MO, ཁོང་ZHENG.CHUNG (Kh: Chagthreng), ཁོང་ PHAL.MED (Pur), ཁོང་ PHAL.MO (Ba, Pur, L) lit. 'thin'.

1000. THICK (FABRIC or FLAT OBJECT) √ རུག་ MTHUG [PR] < CT. This is followed by an adjectival suffix PO, MO, etc: རུག་ MTHUG.PO (Ú, Pur), རུག་ MTHUG.PO (Jir, Sh), རུག་ MTHUG.MO (Am). The variant རུག་ STUG also attested in CT is found in several Amdo dialects and Baltistan: རུག་ STUG.PO. In Dzongkha, the compound རུག་པགས་པ་ tu:pakpa/ (lit. 'thick skin') is used for 'thick'.

1001. THIN/FINE (FABRIC or FLAT OBJECT) √ སྲབ་ SRAB [PR]. The onset སྲ may be pronounced in various ways /sr/, /str/, /ʂ/, /ʈ/, /s/, /ʃ/, etc. This is usually followed by an adjectival suffix: སྲབ་ SRAB.PO (Ú, Kh), སྲབ་ SRAB.MO (Am), སྲབ་ SRAB.LO (Ho), སྲབ་ SRAB.GU (Kh), སྲབ་ SRAB.HIGKH (Dz), སྲབ་ SRAB.PO (Ú, Kh), སྲབ་ SRAB.MO (Am), lit. 'thin'. Some dialects lack a clear concept for 'thin'.

1002. DEEP √ རང་ ZAB [FFR] (Ú, Ts, Am, Dz). This root is followed by a suffix: རང་ ZAB.PO, རང་ ZAB.MO, རང་ ZAB.TOG.TO (Dz). In many dialects, the root is compounded with the noun གཅིག/ གཞིང 'bottom', as in གཅིག/ གཞིང ZAB.PO (Ú) or གཅིག/ གཞིང ZAB.MO (Am), lit. 'deep bottom', both meaning 'deep'. གཅིག/ KONG.DRO (La), /sombu/ (Pur) < CT 'deep hole'. Some dialects lack a clear concept for 'deep'.

1003. SHALLOW. See DEEP + negation. Many languages of the world do not have a specific adjective for 'shallow'. The word སྲབ་ may be used (see THIN/FINE (FABRIC or FLAT OBJECT), as can words meaning LOW.

1004. THICK/DENSE/STRONG (LIQUID) √ རིག་ GAR [FFR] (Ba, La, Ú, Ts) < CT རིག་ GAR.PO (Ú), རིག་ GAR.BA (La, Ba). Other roots are attested: བྱ རི སྲ བ་ [FFR] < CT: བྱ རི སྲ.BA (Kh), བྱ རི སྲ.BE (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Yol) and བྱ རི
**KHA.BO**, (Am) < CT 'bitter'. This may apply to soup, tea or alcohol and, in the case of tea and alcohol, it acquires the meaning 'strong'. Some dialects may have preserved both roots with a slightly different meaning.

1005. **THIN/CLEAR/WEAK (LIQUID)** √ སླ་ [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am). The stem is pronounced in several ways /tsa, la, etc./ and is usually followed by a suffix such as སླ་འདེ [Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Jir, Ts], སླ་མོ [Kh], སླ་ལ་ [Ú], སླ་ BO (Am), སླ་ སྲ་ LHASLI (Dz), སྲ་ སྲི། SING.SING (Pur, La).

1006. **FULL** གང་ [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am). In some dialects of Southern Kham, གང་ སྲི། RGYAS is used for 'full'.

1007. **EMPTY** √ སྲི། STONG [PR]. This is followed by the suffixes PA or MA: སྲི། སྲི། STONG,PA, སྲི། སྲི། STONG,MA (Ba, Pur), སྲི། སྲི། STONGM (Dz). (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am.)

1008. **SQUARE** ལཱ་བཞི། GRU.BZHI [PW] < CT ‘four corners’ ལཱ་བཞི། BZHI,GRU (Am) ‘four corners’, ལཱ་བཞི། BZHI,GRU ‘four box’.

1009. **CIRCULAR/ROUND** སྒོར་ SGOR or རྗེ་ KYIR [PR] < CT. Often reduplicated སྒོར་ སྒོར་ SGOR SGOR, སྒོར་ སྒོར་ SGOR SGOR. Suffixes are also attested: སྒོར་ སྒོར་ སྒོར་ སྒོར་ SGOR.MU (Yol). The variant རྗེ་ KYIR is attested in Western areas (La, Ba, Pur). In some dialects of Southern Kham, རུ་པ་ LOLO is used < CT རུ་པ་ LOG,LOG 'sth. round that is wrapped up' (cf. Goldstein 2001).

1010. **SPHERICAL/ROUND** རིལ་ RIL [PR] < CT. Often reduplicated རིལ་ རིལ་ RIL.RIL. Suffixes are also attested: རིལ་ རིལ་ RIL.MU (Yol).

1011. **FLAT** √ བེབ་ LEB [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am) < CT. The root is usually reduplicated: བེབ་ བེབ་ LEB LEB (Pur, La, Ts, Ú). In Melong (Kh) བེབ་ བེབ་ RING.RING, བེབ་ བེབ་ THIG.THIG (Pur), བེབ་ བེབ་ TING.TING (La).

1012. **SHARP, POINTED** √ རེ། RNO [FFR] (La, Za, Yol, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am). Often with a suffix, རེ། རེ། RNON.PO. The root རེ། RTSE 'point' is also widespread: རེ། རེ། RTSE.CAN [FFR], རེ། རེ། RTSE.MO, རེ། རེ། TSEP.TSEP (La), རེ། རེ། TSAP.TSAP (Pur), རེ། རེ། CHOD.MO (Pur) < 'which can cut'.
1013. CROOKED, BENT √ རྡོ་རོང་KYOG [PR]. Often reduplicated: རྡོ་རོང་ KYOG (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, etc.), རྡོ་རོང་ GUG.GUG (Kh). The suffix ཝོ་ is also attested: རྡོ་རོང་ GUG.PO.

1014. STRAIGHT √ རྡོ་རྒྱང་DRANG [PR]. Often followed by a suffix PO, MO: རྡོ་རྒྱང་ DRANG.PO and རྡོ་རྒྱང་ DRANG.MO (Am), རྡོ་རྒྱང་ DRENG.PU (Sh), རྡོ་རྒྱང་ KHA.DRANG (La). In many dialects, this is also used in metaphorical sense of ‘honest’. རྡོ་རྒྱང་ GSHENG.MO is found in many dialects of Southern Kham but its origin is unclear.

1015. BLACK √ མཚན་NAG [PR]. Generally followed by a suffix PO, MO: མཚན་པོ་ NAG.PO (Ü, Ts, Pur), མཚན་པོ་ NAG.PO or reduplicated: མཚན་པོ་ NAG.MO (Kh). In some dialects of Southern Kham, the following forms are attested: མཚན་ NAG.TO, མཚན་ NAG.SGANG.

1016. WHITE √ རྡོ་རྒྱུ་DKAR [PR]. In most dialects, DKAR is followed by the suffix PO, PHO, BO: རྡོ་རྒྱུ་ DKAR.PO (Ü), རྡོ་རྒྱུ་ DKAR.PH (Ba). The following pronunciations are also attested: རྡོ་རྒྱུ་ DKAR.RU (Tö, Sh), རྡོ་རྒྱུ་ DKAR.RO (Am), རྡོ་རྒྱུ་ DKAR.P / ka:p/ (Dz). In some Kham dialects, the root is reduplicated: རྡོ་རྒྱུ་ DKAR.DKAR (Kh).

1017. RED √ རྡོ་རྒྱུད་DMAR [PR]. Often followed by a suffix PO, PHO, BO, SENG: རྡོ་རྒྱུད་ DMAR.PO (Pur), རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ DMAR.PH (Ba), རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ DMAR.MO (Am), རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ DMAR.PO / matp/ (Dz), རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ DMAR.MO (Ü), རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ DMAR.RTS (Kh: Melong), རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ DMAR.SENG (SKh) < CT ‘light red’. May be reduplicated, as in རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ DMAR.DMAR, especially in eastern Tibet. The root རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ DMAR may be related to རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ MAR ‘butter’, and to the root རྡོ་རྒྱུན་ mar ‘gold’, found in some TB languages such as Zhangzhung (cf. BUTTER).

1018. YELLOW √ མི་SER [PR]. It is usually followed by a suffix PO, PHO or BO, SENG: མི་ SER.PO (Pur), མི་ SER.PH (Ba), མི་ SER.MO (Am), མི་ SER.PO / 'ser/ (Am), མི་ SER.PH / 'seru/ (Sh), མི་ SER.PO / 'ser/ (Dz). The reduplicated form is attested in Kham: མི་ SER.SER. Etymologically, this root is related to མི་ SER.GSER ‘gold’.

1019. BLUE √ ཆུ་ SNGO or ཆུ་ SNGON [PR] ‘blue’ and ‘green’ < CT ‘green, blue color, herb, plant’. It can be followed by a suffix: ཆུ་ SNGON.PO (Pur), ཆུ་ SNGO.
SNGON.MO, རོ་རོ་པར་SNGO.SNGO. The reduplicated form རོ་རོ་SNGO.SNGO is used, especially in Northern Kham. In most dialects (Kh, Ho, Am, E), both the ‘blue’ of the sky and the ‘green’ of grass are designated by this root. The word རོ་རོ་MTHING.GA is used in some dialects to designate a dark blue color; it is derived from རོ་རོ་MTHING, a type of blue stone (azurite or lapis lazuli).

1020. GREEN ཡོ་ཤྱ། LIANG.KHU [PW] < (cf. BLUE) ‘dark green’. This is derived from the CT word ཡོ་ཤྱ། LJANG ‘seedling, sprout’. In most dialects, it means ‘dark green’, but designates a brownish color in Balti, Ladakhs and Purik. Many dialects lack an independent form for ‘green’; the form for ‘blue’ then also denotes ‘green’.

1021. GRAY ཤེ། SKYA [PR] < CT. This is either followed by a suffix, as in ཤེ། SKYA.BO, or reduplicated as ཤེ། ཤེ། SKYA.SKYA. Other forms are ཤེ་ཧ་ོ་THAL.MDOG(La), ཤེ་ཧ་ོ་KHAM.BA(La).

1022. MULTICOLOR or BLACK AND WHITE རྒྱུ་ KHRA [PR] < CT. This stem is usually followed by a suffix, as in རྒྱུ་ KHRA.BO (La Ba, Sp, Dz) and རྒྱུ་ KHRA.MO (Kh), or reduplicated as རྒྱུ་ KHRA.KHRA (Ü, Ts), རྒྱུ་ KHRA.KHRO (Pur), རྒྱུ་ KHRA.KHRA.BAKHRA (Ü), རྒྱུ་ KHRA.KHRO (Am). In some dialects, the word just means black and white but in most dialects, it means multicolored. It may also mean ‘splendid’ by semantic extension.

1023. HEAVY རི་ LCID and རི་ LJID [PR]. These two roots are found in CT. They are followed by the suffixes རི་ PO, རི་ MO, རི་ དེ OR by རི་ DI, རི་ CAN, རི་ DRAGS, རི་ དེ LCID.PA (Kh), རི་ དེ LCID.DE (Ts), རི་ དེ LCID.TE (Pur), རི་ དེ LCID.DE (Sp), རི་ དེ LCID.TE (La). The reduplicated form རི་ དེ LCID.CAN (La), རི་ དེ LCID.MO (Kh, Th, Am), རི་ དེ LCID.DE LCID.CAN (Ba), རི་ དེ LCID.DE LCID.DRAGS (Lho).

1024. LIGHT (NOT HEAVY) རི་ YANG [PR]. This is followed by suffixes: རི་ YANG.MO (Kh, Pur, La, Am), རི་ YANG.PO (Ü), རི་ YANG.YANG (Kh).

7. The spelling LCINTE is used in some dictionaries see e.g. Abdul Hamid (1998). The stem རི་ LCID is noted རི་ LCIN in order to note the nasalization of the suffix: /nte/. It does not indicate that there is a modification of the stem. In general, the spelling ‘de’ is sufficient to indicate prenasalization, which is present in all the dialects with this suffix.
The root **GSAL** is usually followed by a suffix: **GSAL.PO** (Ü, Ts, Kh, La, Ba, Pur), **GSAL.BO** (Am, Sp), **GSAL.MO** (Ko, Kh), **GSAL.MU** (Sh), **GSAL.LO** (Ho), **GSAL.TOG.TO** (Dz), **GSAL.DRAGS** (Lho), **DKAR.DKAR** < 'white white'.

This is usually followed by a suffix: **DWANGS.MA** (Ü, Ts, Kh, La, Ba, Pur), **DWANGS.PO** (Am, Sp), **DWANGS.MO** (Ko, Kh), **DWANGS.SI** (Sh), **DWANGS.LO** (Ho), **DWANGS.DRAGS** (Lho), **SKA.DRAGS** (Dz). The Balti form **TSAG.SI** /tsagma/ (Ü, Ts) is used for 'pure'. Another root **DAG** < CT lit. 'pure correct' is also used for 'clean': **DAG.DAG** (Am), **DAG.DAG** (Ba). In Ladakh, **LYAGS.MO** (Pur) and **LAGS.MO** (La) < **LEGS.MO** 'good' are used for 'clean'.

This is usually followed by a suffix: **BTOSG.PA** (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am), **BTOSG.PA** (La), **BTOSG.PA** (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am), **BTOSG.PA** (La), **BTOSG.PA** (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am), **BTOSG.PA** (La). However some languages have a different term, such as **KHAMS.LO.SI** /k’amo sisi/ (Dz). Note that **KHAMS.LO** is also used in Ladaks for 'disgusting', **KHAMS.LO** /kamlok/ (Pur).

In Balti, the word **SHOGS.MO** (Ba) is used and may be related to **MGYOGS**. In Amdo the word **MGYOGS.PA** (Ü, Ts), **MGYOGS.PA** (Pur, La). In Balti, the word **SHOGS.MO** (Ba) is used and may be related to **MGYOGS**. In Amdo

8. In Balti, the preradical **G** was replaced by **L** through analogy. The syllable onset /ts/ is frequent in Balti and is a reflex of **SL**. Note also that the velar nasal has disappeared due to a dissimilation rule (see 9.10.6).
another root is used: རེ་མས་ REMS < CT 'diligent': དེ་རེ་མས་ REMS.MA (Am), དེ་རེ་མས་ REMS.REMS. In Sherpa, the word རེ་མས་ GRIM.PU is derived from GRIM 'tensed'. Zhollam (Melung, Kh) uses ལ་ ma /'la ma/, often reduplicated: ལ་མ་ LAMA.LAMA. དེ་རེ་མས་ TSHABS.TSHABS < CT 'urgent' is used in South Kham. འབྲ་མ་ MALAG is used in Lhoke.

1031. SLOW/SLOWLY རེ་ གེ་ GALE and its variant རེ་ གེ་ GOLE [PR] < CT, generally used as an adverb. The word རེ་ གེ་ GOLE may be derived from the CT verb 'GOR' to take time'. In most cases, the root is reduplicated: རེ་ གེ་ GALE GALE (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh), རེ་ གེ་ GALE GOLE (Kh), རེ་ གེ་ GOLE GOLE (Sh), རེ་ གེ་ KULE KULE (La, Pur, Ba), རེ་ གེ་ GOLE JAD (Dz), ག་ལེ་ GALS GALUS (Lho). In some areas, རེ་ གེ་ GALE (often in association with the verb 'to go') serves also as the interjection 'goodbye' < '(to go) slowly'. In Amdo, the word རེ་ གེ་ DALMO < CT 'relaxed' is used for 'slow'.

1032. EARLY ག་ SNGA [PR], generally used as an adverb. Usually followed by a suffix: ག་ SNGAMO (Tö, Kh, Ho, Am, Sp), ག་ SNGAMU (Sh), ག་ SNGAPO (Ü), ག་ SNGADE (Ts) or ག་ SNGON.KHYAG (Ts), ག་ SNGASE (Kh, Th, Am). ག་ SNGATSE (Kh), ག་ SNGATOG (La), ག་ HASA (Dz) < ག་ SNGASE. In Spiti, the word ག་ THORE derives from CT ག་ RENG.S "dawn" and in Lhoke ག་ DRO.LAS < CT DRO 'morning, noon'; words derived from the root ག་ MGYOGS (see FAST) are also attested: ག་ MGYOGS.PA (La), ག་ MGYOGSE (Pur). Balti has lost this root and uses Urdu loanwords such as /jaldi/ or /ts'e li/ /waxsik'a/ (Pur).

1033. LATE ག་ PHYI [PR], generally used as an adverb. It is usually followed by a suffix PO, MO, ག་ PHYLMO, ག་ PHYLPO, ག་ PHYLBO, ག་ PHYLPDO. The root PHYI pronounced in many ways, such as: ག་ /și/i/ (Kh), /sh’a/ (Am), /ts’i/ (E: Ts) /șťi/ (Kh), /șťi/ (Dz), /p’i/ (Sh, Tö, Sp, Lho). Other roots are also found: ག་ RNING < CT 'heel, after': ག་ /tingna/ (La), ག་ /tangma/ (Am), ག་ /gzhug.nas/ (Am), ག་ /gyang.po/Ts < CT. In some languages, the verb ག་ GOR (Pur, La) is used as a verb predicate to mean 'to be late'. This is derived from the CT verb for 'take a long time'.
1034. **DRY** \(\sqrt{\text{skam}}\) [PR]. It is usually followed by a suffix `PO, MO, PA, /sú/`, etc. `skam.PO, skam.MO`.

1035. **WET** \(\sqrt{\text{rlon}}\) [PR]. Usually followed by the suffix `PA` or `MA`: `rlon.PA` (La), `rlon.MA` (Kh), `rlon.DE` (Am, Ü) `gher.PA` (Pur) and `/ge wa/` (Skh) are both derived from CT `gher` ‘moisture’.

1036. **FAT** \(\sqrt{\text{rgyags}}\) [FFR] (La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: `rgyags.PA` (La, Ü, Ts, Kh) or `rgyags.MO` (Kh), `rgyags.DE` `gher` `rgyags.drgs` (Lho). Another word `tshon.po` < CT ‘fat, greasy’ (for food or animals) is used in Amdo. In Balti and Purik the word `sbramo` and `rom.po` (La) < CT ‘big (for cylindric objects)’ are used. `tshil.can` ‘greasy’ < CT is also attested.

1037. **THIN** \(\sqrt{\text{sha sakam po}}\) [FFR] (Ü, Pur, La, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT lit. ‘dry meat/flesh’. The variants `sha skam, sha skam` are also used. Other words such as \(\sqrt{\text{phrag ya}}\) and \(\sqrt{\text{phrams mo}}\) (La, Pur) < CT `phra` ‘small diameter’ are also attested.

1038. **HARD/SOLID** \(\sqrt{\text{sa}}\) [FFR] (Pur, La, Ts, Sp, Yol, Dz, Am) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: `sra.mo` (Kh, Am), `sra.o` (Ba), `sra.de` / `sand/` (Ts, Sp), `sra,gi, sra.te` / `sang/` (La, Pur), `sra,gi, sra,dz` (Sh, Yol), `sra.krag.krag` / `sáτák/` (Dz). In some dialects, an alternative root `mkrregs` [FFR] is used: `mkrregs.mo` (Yol, Ü, Kh), `mkrregs` `mkrregs,lo` (Ho), `gong,po, gong,po` (Am).

1039. **SOFT/Flexible** \(\sqrt{\text{snyt}}\) [FFR] (La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT. This is usually followed by the suffixes `PO, MO` or reduplicated: `snyt.PO, snyt.MO` (Am), `snyt.snyt, snyt` (Kh). The root `sob` [FFR] < CT: `sob, sob` ‘soft, fragile’ is also frequently attested. `bol,gle` < CT ‘soft, relaxed’, `bol,mo` ‘bol,mo` (La), `ltur,ltur` (Pur).

1040. **Strong (of PERSON)** \(\sqrt{\text{drag po}}\) [FFR] (La, Ts, Ü, etc.) < CT. `shugs.chen.po` (Am, Ü, etc.). `stobs.chen.po` (Am, Ü, etc.).
1041. **WEAK** (of PERSON) རོག་ ZHAN.PA < CT. རོག་ ZHAN.PO. Some languages use a phrase such as རོག་སེམས་ DBANG.MED.PA lit. 'without power', རོག་ཤེས་ SHUGS.MED.PA lit. 'without force', རོག་ཤེས་ SHED.MED.PA lit. 'without strength'.

1042. **ROUGH, COARSE** འདི་རྨ་ RTSUB [PR] < CT. Usually followed by the suffix PO, འདི་སྨ་ RTSUB.PO (Pur) or འདི་དྲུ། RTSING.KHE (La).

1043. **SMOOTH, SOFT** འཇམ་ JAM [PR] འཇམ་ PO (Ü, La), འཇམ་ JAM.PA, འཇམ་ JAM.LCUG.LCU (Dz).

1044. **TIGHT** བེད་ DAM [PR] < CT. Usually followed by the suffix PO or MO: བེད་པོ་ DAM.PO, བེད་མོ་ DAM.MO. Some languages use other roots: རྒྱུན་ DRANG.DRANG (Pur) < 'upright', སྤྲོ་ SRA.MO (Am) < CT 'hard'. Some dialects of Southern Kham use the same word as 'hard, solid' (see HARD). In some dialects, it has a metaphorical sense related to discipline 'tough'.

1045. **LOOSE, LAX** ཞོད་ LHOD [PR] < CT. Either used alone (La, Ba), followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, or CAN: ཞོད་ LHOD.PO (La), ཞོད་ LHOD.MO, ཞོད་ LHOD.CAN. Can also be reduplicated: ཞོད་ LHOD.LHOD (Pur).

1046. **RELAXED** ཞོད་ LHOD [FFR] (Ü, Kh, Am); ཞོད་ LHOD.LHOD རྨ་ DAL.MO [FFW] (La, Ts, Kh, Am, Sh, Pur), བོད་ཤེས་ལེགས་ GO.LE.BAD (Dz), བོད་ཤེས་ལེགས་ BAD (Dz). See LOOSE or SLOW.

1047. **RIGHT, EXACT** སྙན་ཐག་ TAG.TAG [FFR]. See also RIGHT/SUITABLE (BE) in the verb section.

1048. **WRONG**; see 'BE WRONG' in the verb section.

1049. **NEW** བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་索་ GSAR [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, Lho) < CT usually followed by a suffix such as PA, BA, MA: བོད་ gsar.PA, བོད་ gsar.PA (Am), བོད་ gsar.BA (Yol, Sh), བོད་ gsar.PU /'sarp/ (Dz), བོད་ བོད་ GSAR.PU (Lho).

1050. **OLD** (of OBJECT) འདི་ནི་ RNYING [PR] < CT usually followed by a suffix such as PA, BA, or MA: འདི་ནི་ RNYING.PA (Ü, Kh), འདི་ནི་ RNYING.BA (Am) or འདི་ནི་ RNYING.MA (Am, Pur), འདི་ནི་ RNYING.MA /'niim/ (Dz), འདི་ནི་ RNYING.KU (Lho).
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1051. OLD (of PERSON) √ རྒད་ RGAD, √ རྒན་ RGAN, √ རྒས་ RGAS [PR] < CT. The three stems are derived from the verb རྒ་ RGA 'to become old' and are often used as a substantive for རྒད་པོ་ RGAD.PO 'old man' or རྒན་མོ་ RGAN.PO 'old woman' (Kh, Ba, La, Pur), but may also function as adjectives (see OLD MAN and OLD WOMAN). They are usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, KHOG: རྒད་པོ་ RGAD.PO (Kh, Tö, Ho, Ba, La), རྒན་ རྒྱུད་ RGAN.PO (Ba), རྒས་ རྣལ་ rgas.pn 'old age' (Dz). The compound ལོ་ལོན་ LO.LON < CT 'having reached years' is used in Amdo.

1052. YOUNG √ གཞོན་ GZHON [FFR] < CT. The stem is used as a substantive (see YOUNG MAN, YOUNG LADY) but may also function as an adjective. It is usually reduplicated as གཞོན་ གཞོན་ GZHON.GZHON (Ü, Ts, Tö, Am) or followed by a suffix: གཞོན་ གཞོན་ 'small age' (Sh), གཞོན་ གཞོན་ 'small age' (Sh). Other words derived from GSAR 'new', such as གསར་ རེ་ GSAR.RE are attested (Th). In many regions (Ba, Kh, Am and E), compound words such as འཇིག་ཧེལ་ NAGZHON lit. 'young age', རྣལ་ ལོ་ CHUNG lit. 'small age', ལོ་ གཞོན་ LO.GZHON lit. 'young age' are used. The adjective གཞོན་ CHUNG 'small' is also used. /javan/ < Urdu and Pers. is found in Purik.

1053. GOOD √ དགའ་ YAG [FFR] (Ü, Kh, Sp, Kh, Ko) < CT usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, PA: དགའ་ བོ་ YAG.PO (Ü, Kh, Sp, Yol), དགའ་ རོ་ YAG.MO (Kh, Ko), དགའ་ བོ་ རོ་ YAG.PA (Am); དེ་བོ་ LEGS [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Dz) < CT 'excellent' usually followed by a suffix such as MO, KHOG: དེ་མོ་ LEGS.MO (Kh), བོ་ སློ་ རོ་ LEGS.DE (Ts), ཝོ་ SRA (Am); < CT 'solid' (the spelling སྱེ་ SRL is also found; though not clearly motivated, it does match the real pronunciation; the etymology of 'good' as 'solid' is understandable; དགའ་ RGyal.LA (La, Pur) < CT 'victorious, royal'; ཞོུ་ སྲོ་ RGyal.DE (La, Pur) < CT 'excellent' (Kh), སྲོ་ NYAN < CT 'suitable', ར་ BA 'suitable', བོ་ RED < CT 'right'. In the Zhollam dialect (Kh), /’hpjA/, of unclear origin, is used.
1054. BAD √ རྣོང་ [PR] < CT (Ba, La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz, Lho). This is often followed by a suffix such as PO, or more rarely POM. རྣོང་ [PR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, La, Ba). རྣོང་/ ngem/ (Dz), རྣོང་/ ngan PO (Lho).

Another root ལྕན་ [SDUG] < FFR < CT (Ba, La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz, Lho). This is often followed by a suffix such as PA, or more rarely PO MA:

ངན་པ་ [NGAN PA] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, La, Ba), ལྕནམ་ [NGANM] (Lho).

Another root སྡུག་ [Sdag] < CT 'pain, misery' (hence 'miserable, sad, bad') is frequent. It is usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, LO:

སྡུག་པ་ [SDUG PO] (Ts, Tö, Kh), སྡུག་མོ་ [SDUG MO] (Am: Ng), སྡུག་པོ་ [SDUG PO] (Lho).

In some dialects, the adjective stem བཙོག་ [BTSOG] 'dirty, wicked' is used to create a compound སེམས་བཙོགས་ [SEMS.BTSOGS] (Am) or རོ། རོ། བཙོག་ [ZHE.BTSOGS] (Am) 'dirty, wicked mind', with the meaning of 'bad', or is used alone with a suffix བཙོག་པོ་ [BTSOG PO] (Ts, Tö, Kh, Am).

In some dialects, the word for 'bad' is གོག་པུ་ [GOG PU] < CT 'decrepit, ruined'. The Balti word གང་མིན་ [CANG.MIN] < CT 'not anything, hence worthless and bad'. The Amdo word ཀྲ་ཧ་མ་ [ʔA.HAMA] or /ʔa x’a ma/ is of unclear origin.

1055. EXCELLENT/GOOD-NATURED √ རཞེན་ [BZANG] < CT, usually followed by a suffix རཞེན་པོ་ [BZANG PO] or རཞེན་མོ་ [BZANG MO]. This stem often refers to people. Other words are attested: རྡེ་ [YAG], ལེགས་ [LEGS]. The Amdo word for 'good', 'excellent' is སྲ་ [SRA] (see GOOD). In Ü, རྡེ་ [RTSE.GRA] and in Lhoke རོ་ [RDZIG.DRAGS] are used.

1056. EXPENSIVE གོང་ཆེན་ [GONG CHEN] < CT lit. 'big value', གོང་མཐོ་ [GONG MTHO]. In Kham and Amdo, བཀོན་ [DKON] (Kh, Am) < CT 'rare' is often used. In Western dialects (Ba, Sp, Kyir), the word གུས་ [GUS] (Lho) < CT 'dear' is attested. In Purik and Ladaks, རིན་ [RIN] < CT 'precious'.
1057. **CHEAP** √ མཐོ་ [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, La and Dz.) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO: མཐོ་ KHE.MO (L), མཐོ་ KHYE.MO (Sp, Yol), མཐོ་ KHE.PO (Ü, Ts). In Amdo the word used is མཐོ་ SLAMO /tsamo/, derived from མཐོ་ SLA 'thin, easy' (see EASY and THIN). Other words are attested: མཐོ་ གོང་དམའ་དམའ་ PO, PB (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, La and Dz.) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, PB: མཐོ་ གོང་དམའ་ PB (La), མཐོ་ གོང་དམའ་ PB (Sp, Yol). In many Amdo dialects (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh), the adjective མཐོ་ རྫིག་པོ་ PO < CT 'impressive, imposing, prestigious' is used for male beauty. For attractive females, one finds the following compounds: མཐོ་ སྙིང་རྗེ་པོ་ PO, PB lit. 'noble heart' (Ü, Ts), མཐོ་ སྙིང་རྗེ་ PB 'pretty' (La). Other words are found across the area, which may refer to animated beings or to objects: མཐོ་ གོང་དམའ་ གོང་དམའ་ PB (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT 'good' is used to mean 'pretty, beautiful'. In southern Kham, the compound མཐོ་ གོང་དམའ་ PB (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT 'bad appearance' or མཐོ་ གོང་དམའ་ PB (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT 'bad appearance'. In the Western areas, the word མཐོ་ PB < CT 'well, nice' is used whereas མཐོ་ PB occurs in Balti. In Kham, the word མཐོ་ PB < CT 'relaxed, enjoyable' is also attested. In Lhoke, མཐོ་ PB གོང་དམའ་ PB < CT 'bad appearance' or མཐོ་ PB (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT 'bad appearance'. See also BAD and DIRTY. These words may refer both to bad appearance and immoral behaviour.

1058. **BEAUTIFUL** √ རྒྱལ་ [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT. This root is normally gender-neutral, but in many languages one finds a lexical distinction for the beauty of women and men, just as in English 'beautiful' and 'handsome'. The stem MDZES is often used for adjectives and nouns for describing women, and is usually followed by a suffix such as PO, PA, MA: རྒྱལ་ MDZES.PO རྒྱལ་ MDZES.PA. The noun རྒྱལ་ MDZES.MA means 'beautiful woman'. In many dialects (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh), the adjective རྒྱལ་ PB < CT 'good eye' is also encountered for 'beautiful'. In the Western areas, the word རྒྱལ་ PB < CT 'relaxed, enjoyable' is also attested. In Lhoke, རྒྱལ་ PB གོང་དམའ་ PB < CT 'bad appearance' or རྒྱལ་ PB (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT 'bad appearance'. See also BAD and DIRTY. These words may refer both to bad appearance and immoral behaviour.
1060. **HOT (TEMPERATURE)** √ ཞེས་ TSHA [PR] usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, DE, TOG, TO, PA, DU, LO. ཞེས་ TSHA DE pronounced /'ts'ande/or /'ts'andi/ (Ts, Am, Sh, La, Sp), ཞེས་ TSHA TE (Pur), ཞེས་ TSHAO (U, Am), ཞེས་ TSHA MO (Ho, Kh), ཞེས་ TSHA DU (Dz), ཞེས་ TSHA TOG TO (Dz), ཞེས་ TSHADRAKS (Lho), ཞེས་ TSHALLO (Ho). In some dialects of southern Kham, /sa/ or /s'a/ is used, possibly derived from TSHA. The form ཞེས་ TSHAD [PR], a nominal derivative of TSHA, is also encountered: ཞེས་ TSHAD PA (Ba), ཞེས་ TSHAD MO (Kh). In some dialects, the root ཕོལ་ KHOL < CT 'to boil' is used: ཕོལ་ KHOL MA (Am: Chabcha) 'hot'. The compound word ཞེས་ KHOL is found in Kham.

1061. **COLD (TEMPERATURE)** √ ཀྲང་ GRANG [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Dz, Kh, Am) or ཀྲང་ ཡགེ་ KYANG < CT. The cluster GR of GRANG is pronounced in various ways /gr/, /ʃ/, /ky/, /ts/, etc. and the root is usually followed by a suffix such as MO, GE, DRAGS: ཀྲང་ རོ་ GRANG MO /grangmo/ (Pur), /ʃaŋmo/ (Ü, La, Za), ཀྲང་ རོ་ GRANG MO /grangmo; drango/ (Ba) (see Section 9.10.6 on nasal dissimilation), ཀྲང་ GE (Ts, Sh), ཀྲང་ རོ་ DZANG MO /ʃaːmo/ (E: Th), ཀྲང་ KYANGM /ʃam/ (Dz), ཀྲང་ KYANG, DRAGS (Lho). The other root for 'cold', which refers to external temperature, is སྒྱུར་ KYAG [FFR] < CT 'to freeze'. It is usually followed by a suffix such as PO, LO, PA: སྒྱུར་ KYAG MO (Kh), སྒྱུར་ KYAG PO (Kh), སྒྱུར་ KYAG, TO (Am), སྒྱུར་ KYAG, LO (Hor), སྒྱུར་ KYAG, GWA /ʃaːgwə/ (Am: Ng), སྒྱུར་ KYAG, PA (Jir). In many Tibetan dialects, different words are used for 'cold' referring to external temperature (such as weather) and the internal (endopathic) feeling of cold. For example, in Central Tibet, the root for cold (weather) is ཀྲང་ GRANG while སྒྱུར་ KYAG is used for the inner feeling of cold, but these two roots are used in the reverse way in some dialects of Amdo. Some dialects, however, do not make this difference. Additionally some other roots are also found: འབྲུགས་ KHAGS KHA < CT འབྲུགས་ KHAGS PA 'wind' (Kh), འབྲུགས་ BSIL MO (Kh, Th) < CT འབྲུགས་ BSIL 'cool'.

1062. **WARM** √ ཀྲོ་ DRO [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix, such as PO, MO: ཀྲོ་ DRO, PO (U, Kh, Am), ཀྲོ་ DRO, MO (Lho), ཀྲོ་ DRO, PO (Tö, Kh, Am), ཀྲོ་ DRO
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Dron (La, Tö, Kh, Am, Pur), Dron tog to (Dz), Dronm (Lho). In some dialects, a word meaning ‘hot’ is used for ‘warm’.

1063. Cool √ bsil [FR] (La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am), generally followed by a suffix: bsil mo, bsil po.

1064. Difficult √ dka [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Dz, Kh, Am, Lho). Generally followed by a suffix such as po or mo: dka mo /kamo/ (Am) /kamo/ (Kh), dka po, dka lo (Hor). Many dialects use a compound like dka’las (La) or dka’blas [FFR] (Pur) < CT ‘hard work’, usually used as a noun meaning ‘difficulty’ or as a predicative adjective (‘it is difficult’). In southern Kham, some dialects also use this compound, but the order is reversed: dka’las bsil (lit. ‘hard work’). Other roots such as khag and its variant dka’gās [FFR] are used. Khag and dka’gās < CT ‘difficult’, are probably derived from the root dka [Pass], dga [Fut] ‘to obstruct’. This is usually followed by a suffix such as po: gabo khag po (Ts), gabo dpam po/xamo/ (La), dka’gās mo/kamo/ (Za). Many dialects have compounds of a noun khag ‘work’ dka’las ‘hard work’ followed by an adjective, as khag po ‘difficult’ or tsha po ‘hot’; for example: dka’las khag po (Ü), dka’las khag drags (Lho), dka’las tshad drags (Lho), dka’las tsha’di (Sh). The Dzongkha word is also a compound: las khag < CT las khag. Some dialects (Kh, Ba) also use the root lji/lci ‘heavy’ (see Heavy), dza’gās ‘bad’. (See Bad.)

1065. Easy √ sla [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT ‘thin (liquid), easy’.

This stem is pronounced in several ways /tsa/, /ts/, /ltsa/, etc. and is usually followed by a suffix such as de, mo: sla de (Sp, Jir, Ts), sla mo (Ü), sla laong (Tö), sla tsam po/tsam po/ (Am) < sla mo, sla laong (Pur), sla tsala po (Hor). Many dialects use a compound of the noun las ‘work’ with the adjective sla: las sla po (Ü), las sla laong (Tö, Kh, Am), las sla’mo (Sh). In some dialects, other
roots are attested, such as 'JAM' < CT 'soft, tender': 'JAM.TOG.TO (Dz), 'JAM.CHE.CHE (Lho), or 'BDE' < CT 'nice, good': 'BDO.MO /do-ngo/ (Ba).

1066. DANGEROUS  NYEN.KA.CAN [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz) < CT. 'hot danger', 'something frightening'. 'JIGS.PA (La), 'JIGS.MO (Pur) < CT 'frightening'. 'CASING.PU (Sh) < CT 'troublesome'.

1067. IMPORTANT, SIGNIFICANT  GAL CHEN.PO [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh) < CT 'great significance' and its variants: 'GAL.CHEN.MO (Kyir), 'GAR.CHEN.PO (Kh, Ho), 'GAL.CHE (E, Th), 'GAL.CHEN (Am), 'GAL.CHE.DRAGS (Lho). Another root frequently attested in Western languages is 'KHAG [FFR] (Ba, La, Sp, Dz, etc.) < CT 'responsibility': 'KHAG.CAN (Ba, La), 'KHAG.CHE (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Am), 'KHAG.PU (Sh), 'KHAG.TOG.TO (Dz), 'KHAG.CHEN.MU (Sh).

1068. TASTY √ ZHIM [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix: 'ZHIM.PO (Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts), 'ZHIM.PU (Sh, Ü, Tu), 'ZHIM.MO (Am), 'ZHIM.TOG.TO (Dz).

1069. SOUR √ SKYUR [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix, such as 'MO, 'LO.PU', 'SKYUR.MO (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Am), 'SKYUR.PU (Yol), 'SKYUR.PO (Dz), 'SKYUR.PO/kyu:p/ (Sh), 'SKYUR.PU (Hor), 'SKYUR.MO (Am), 'SKYUR.MU (Sh), 'SKYUR.MO (Am).

1070. SWEET √ MNGAR [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix such as 'MO, 'MNGAR.MO (Pur, La, Za, Ü, Sp, Yol, Hor, Kh), 'MNGAR.MU (Sh), 'MNGAR.MO/ngar/m/ (Dz), 'MNGAR.PO (Ts), 'MNGAR.PU (Am), 'SBRANG (Kh) < CT 'honey (bee)'. In some Amdo dialects this root is replaced by 'ZHIM < CT 'tasty'. This is a little surprising, since Tibetans are usually not fond of sweet foods.

1071. BITTER √ KHA and its variant 'KHA [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix such as BA, PO, MO, TIG, 'DE: 'KHA.PU, 'KHA.BA, 'KHA.MO, 'KHA.DE, 'KHA.TE/xante/or /qante/ (Pur, Sham), 'KHA.TIG,
The stem KHA is pronounced with an uvular plosive /q/ or a velar fricative /x/ in some languages of Amdo and Kham and in some Purik dialects. The existence of these uvular initials allows us to hypothesize that the root KHA had an uvular in Proto-Tibetic, and thus differed from "KHA' mouth", although both words were written identically.

**1072. SPICY/HOT** का त्सा KHA TSHA [PW] < CT 'hot mouth'. This is generally followed by a suffix: का त्सा (To, Kh, Am), का त्सा पो (To, Kh, Am), का त्सा (Ts, Sh), tsha te /ts'ante/ (Pur, La), का त्सा KHA TSHIG (Pur).

**1073. ASTRINGENT** भ्ल्ग BSKA [PR]. भ्ल्ग BSKA.BA, भ्ल्ग BSKA.MO, भ्ल्ग BSKA.BO. भ्ल्ग BSKA.PA /'kan'pakpa/ (Pur). Some dialects do not distinguish astringent and bitter, as in भ्ल्ग KHA. TE (La).

**1074. RICH** फ्ल्ड BHYUG [PR] < CT. The initial cluster PHY may be pronounced in various ways /p'y/, /č'/, /pč'/, /fš'/, /ts'/, /sh'/, /s'/. The stem is usually followed by the suffix PO: फ्ल्ड BHYUG.PO /p'yukpo/ (Ba, Pur), /č'ukpo/ (La, Za), /č'ukpo/ (U, Ts, Tö), फ्ल्ड BHYUG.PO /č'ukpol/ (Sh, Jir), फ्ल्ड BHYUG.PO /p'yukpol/ (Lho), /č'ukpo/ (Sh), फ्ल्ड BHYUG.PO /'/č'up/ (Dz), /š'axo/ (Am). Another root related to 'wealth' is फ्ल्ड NOR, फ्ल्ड DNGUL.PA < CT 'wealth'.

**1075. POOR** फ्ल्ड SKYLO [FFR] (U, Ts, Kh, La, Sh, Ko, Am) < CT 'sad' usually followed by a suffix: फ्ल्ड SKYLO.PO (U, Ts, Kh), फ्ल्ड SKYLO.BA (La), फ्ल्ड SKYLO.PO (Sh), फ्ल्ड SKYLO.MO (Ko), फ्ल्ड SKYLO.LO (Hor: Am). मुहल्ड DBUL [FFR] < CT 'poor', usually followed by a suffix फ्ल्ड DBUL.PO (La, Ts, Kh, E: Th), or forming a compound: फ्ल्ड DBUL.PHONGS < CT PHONGS' poor' (Tö). Other roots are attested, such as फ्ल्ड SPRANG < CT 'beggar' or फ्ल्ड SKRUMA < CT 'beggar' (see BEGGAR): फ्ल्ड SPRANG.PO (Yol), फ्ल्ड SPYANG.KA /'changka/ (Dz). One also finds expressions related to misery or suffering, such as फ्ल्ड DMYAL.BA.CAN (Ba, La) < CT lit. 'hell being', फ्ल्ड SDIG.PA (Pur), फ्ल्ड SDUG.PO < lit. 'suffering person' (Kh, Hor, La). In some languages, we find constructions with a negation: फ्ल्ड RGYU.MED (Am): lit. 'without wealth', फ्ल्ड
3. **MED.PO, བོ་MED.PO** lit. ‘without’ (Am, Sp), གཞི་MED. PO lit. ‘without flour’ (Pur).

1076. **FRESH** གསར་པ་GSAR.PA and བསོ་མ་SOS.MA (La, Pur, etc.). See NEW. In some languages, the words བསོས་པ་SOS.PA (Ü), བསོས་མ་SOS.MA (Ts) are attested.

1077. **DEAD**: see DIE in the verb section.

1078. **Clever/Bright** སྤྱིད་SPYANG [FFR] (Ba, La, Sp, Yol, Ú, Ts, Kh, Pur) < CT. Often followed by a suffix སྤྱིད་པོ་SPYANG.PO or སྤྱིད་མོ་SPYANG.MO (this latter of females), རིག་པ་RIG.PA < CT ‘endowed with intelligence’ རིག་པ་རོ་RIG.PA.RNO < CT ‘sharp intelligence’ (Kh), རིག་པ་(GSAL.MO) RIG.PA (Ü) < CT ‘(clear) intelligence’ (Kh), རིག་ཡག་RIG.YAG (Am) < ‘good intelligence’, རྨོ་དང་RMUN.PO < CT ‘dumb, mute, stupid’ (Sp, Kh, Am), མུན་པོག་MUN.POG (related to MUN ‘darkness’) are often used in the western languages. Finally the root རྨོ་ངུས་RMONGS < CT ‘ignorant’ is used in some languages.

1079. **Stupid** འོ་GKS.PA [FFW] (Ú, Ts) < CT ‘dumb, mute, stupid’ (Sp, Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz), འོ་GLEN [FFR] < CT ‘silly, stupid, fool’, often followed by a suffix or reduplicated འོ་GLEN.PA (Sp, Kh, Am), འོ་GLEN.GLEN.GLEN.PA.< CT ‘stupid, idiot’ (Sp, Kh, Am), འོ་/lu:/ (Am). The word འོ་HAN.LDANG (Pur, La) and འོ་MUN.POG < CT འོ་RMUN.PO (related to MUN ‘darkness’) are often used in the western languages. Finally the root འོ་ RMONGS < CT ‘ignorant’ is used in some languages.

1080. **Honest** སྐྱིད་SKYID.PA < CT ‘well, happy’. Generally followed by a suffix: སྐྱིད་SKYID.PO (Pur, La, Za, Sp, Ú, Ts, Lho), སྐྱིད་SKYID.MO (Kh); སྐྱིད་SKYID.LO (Hor) or reduplicated སྐྱིད་SKYID.SKYID (Kh). Other roots are also used: སྐྱིད་DGA’ < CT ‘to like’, as in Dz. སྐྱིད་DGA’TOG,སྐྱིད་DGA’DI (La), སྐྱིད་DGA’MO (La), སེམས་སྐྱིད་SEMS.DGA’BO (Lho), སྐྱིད་
1082. **WELL/SAFE** √ འཐོ་ བསྟེད་ [PR] < CT ‘well, confortable’ generally followed by a suffix: འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.MA (Am, Kh), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.MU (Sh), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.PO (Ú), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.DE (Ts), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.LO (Ho), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.TOG. TO (Dz). Note that in some western languages, འཐོ་ བསྟེད་ has acquired the meaning ‘beautiful’. (See BEAUTIFUL.) འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.RGYAL. (Pur), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.BRTAN.PO (La).

1083. **SAD** √ འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SDUG [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp) < CT. Generally followed by a suffix: འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SDUG.PO (Pur, La, Sp), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SDUG.CAN (Ba), or in compounds such as འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SEMS.SDUG (Am) < lit. ‘sad heart’; another root: འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SKYO [FFR] < CT ‘bad, poor, sad’ is frequently found: འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SKYO (Dz, Sh), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SKYO.PO (Tö), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SKYO.MO (Tö), or in compounds such as འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SEMS.SKYO (Ú, Dz, Lho) < lit. ‘sad heart’, འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.SEMS.TSHA (SKh) < lit. ‘painful heart’, འཐོ་ བསྟེད་ /tukčen/ (Pur), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་ /soločan/ (Pur) lit. ‘bitter stomach’, འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.MTSHER.KHAR (La, Yol) < CT cognate with འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.MTSHER.PA’spleen’.

1084. **ALONE** √ འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.GCIG [PR] < CT ‘one’, √ འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.KHER [FFR] < CT ‘alone, solitary’, འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.RKYANG [FFR] < CT ‘only, alone’. The stem འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.GCIG is normally followed by the suffix: འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.GCIG.PU (Ú, Sh), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.GCIG.PO (Sp, La, Pur), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.GCIG.KU (Lho), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་ /ixo/ (Am) or reduplicated འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.GCIG.GCIG (Ba); འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.RKYANG.GCIG.TSA (Pur); the stem འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.KHER, followed by various suffixes is mostly found in Eastern and Northern Tibet: འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.KHER.RE.MA (Kh, Ho), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.KHUR.RU.MA (Ho), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.KHER.MO (Am), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.KHER.RO (Am), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.KHER.RE (Am), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.KHER.DUG (Am); the stem འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.RKYANG often is often followed by a suffix: འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.RKYANG.MA (Sh), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.RKYANG.PO (La), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.KHER,RKYANG (Am). Various compounds are also attested: འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.RKYANG.GCIG.RKYANG (Tö), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.RKYANG.GCIG (Dz).

1085. **SIMILAR** √ འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.DRA [PR] < CT. This may be used alone with a predicative function (Am, Dz), but is usually followed by a suffix: འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.DRA.PO (Ú, Kh), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་.DRA.MO (Ko, Kh, Tö) pronounced /ďamo/ (Kh), /ďoŋ/ (Tö), འཐོ་ བསྟེད་ < CT.
1086. **SAME/IDENTICAL** √ གཅིག་ \( (PR) \langle CT \) ‘one’. This can be used alone as གཅིག་, but is more often followed by a suffix \( PA \): གཅིག་པ་. In many cases (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Sh), a compound of the noun \( KHYAD \) and the adjective \( MTSHAR \), lit. ‘strange particularity’, is used: ཁྱད་མཚར་. Another frequent word is ཡ་མཚན་ \( (FFR) \langle CT \) ‘wonderful, surprising’ (Ts, Kh, Am, La), ཉ་མཚན་ \( (Sp) \). In Dzongkha, another word is derived from the CT verb ཡ་ལས་ \( ‘to be astonished, surprised’: ཡ་ལས་ི་ི་. Finally in Ladakh, another word is derived from the CT verb ཌྷརེ་ \( ‘single’, thus ‘singular, unusual’, is used. Other words are འཇིབ་ \( from Persian.

1088. **OTHER** √ གཞན་ \( (PR) \). This stem can be used alone (Sp, Jir, Kh, Am), but it is often followed by a suffix: གཞན་པ་.
pronounced ལཐམ་ མེ /yänpa/ in Tö and /yampa/ in Sh; ལོག་ རྟག་ GZHAN,MA (Ba, La, Pur, Sp); ལོག་ རྟག་ GZHAN,DAG (Ba, La, Pur, Sp). The compounds ལོག་ རྟག་ GZHAN,MI (Dz, La, Ba) and ལོག་ རྟག་ GZHAN,MO (Lho) are also attested. སྤྱི་ KHAKHA < 'separate' is also heard. In some Kham and Amdo dialects, the terms ཇེ་ མི་ DE MIN < CT lit. 'not the one' and འི་ མི་ MIN,BA lit. 'not being' are attested. In Amdo, /zi/ and /akuv/ are also used, and are of unclear origin. In Balti ལེ་བོ་ʔ E,BO lit. 'that one' is attested.

1089. MANY/MUCH √ མང་ MANG [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: མང་པོ་ MANG,PO (Ü, La), མང་མི་ MANG,MO (Pur), མང་མི་ MANG,MU (Sh), མང་མི་ MANG,GE (Ts), མང་མི་ MANG,BA (Am). There are other forms attested in various dialects, such as མང་པོ་ MANG,PO.
shows a great diversity of forms in the modern Tibetic languages. Some examples

\[\text{Dum za gic (Am), RDZAS, /shis/} \]

for this concept:

\[\text{DAG, TSHO, \& gera} \]

'some' often include

\[\text{Kha, shas} \]

Another root found in several dialects is

\[\text{La, \& gera} \]

followed by a suffix:

\[\text{Nyung, Nyung, Ngun (La), Nyung, Gun (Sp), Nyung, Ra (Am), Nyung, Tse (Pur, Za), Nyung, Se (Am), or reduplicated Nyung, Nyung (}\text{Ü, Kh). Alternative terms are attested, and are often derived from the root \text{Gig Tse} (Am), \text{Gig Tse} (Am), \text{Gig Tse} (Am), \text{Gig Tse} (Am).\]

As in many other language families of the world, the intensifier 'very' shows a great diversity of forms in the modern Tibetan languages. Some examples
are: བ་ཅང་ (Ü, La) < CT, ལེ་གནས་ (ZHE, DRAGS) (Ü) < CT, ལེ་ བསོད་ (ZHE, GI (Am), རོ་གནས་ (THAG, GI (Am), རོ་གནས་ (GSHI, GI (Am)). These words contain the root བ་ (ZHE which means 'mind' in Old Tibetan. The idea of 'incomparable' is also underlying some expressions: ཨེས་པ་ (DPE, MED (Am) lit. 'unequaled', 'without (other) example', ཨེས་པ་ (YA, MED 'not a pair (incomparable'). A number of words are related to 'fear', and thus equivalent of the English terribly, horribly: རིག་མོ (SKRAG, MO (Kh), རིག་མ་ (SKRAG, MA (Hor), རིག་ཕྱེད་ (SKRAG, SPYAD (Kh), དཔེར་པོ་ (BRED, PO (Ts), རིག་གི (DRAGS, SHAS (La) lit. 'frightening', etc. The word བིབ་མ་ (SHI, MA (Ü) lit. 'deadly, dead not dead' also illustrate the tendency to hyperbole. The 'sky' as an example of the 'infinite' is also included in some words or expressions meaning 'very': བསྡེ་ནམ་ (GNAM (Ko), བསྡེ་ནམ་ བསྡེ་ནམ་ (GNAM, MED SAMED (Dz). Other words include སེ་ཤེ (LESHA (Dz), སེ་ཤེ (LEB (Lho), སྲོན་འབྱུར་ (STOBS, CHEN, PO (Kh) < CT 'big'. Additionally, some words of unclear origin are also used: དབབ་ (ZI, LEB, བཤེས་ (MINANG (Sp), བཤེས་ (MA (Pa) 'big'. Other words include གནམ་ (GNAM (Ko), གནམ་མེད་ (GNAM, MED SA (Dz). There are also many compound forms. See Chapter 8.3.3.3.

9. Note, despite the phonological proximity, this form is not a reflex of YIN, but is derived from another lexical verb – probably ZIN 'to seize, capture'.
1097. **BE** [inferential copulative verb] ཤེས་བཀའ་ RED.BZHAG [FFW] (Ú), ཤེས་བཀའ་ RED.DZ (NKh), ལོ་ཐོ་མ་ཞིག་ ZIN.MAS (Dz), ལོ་ཐོ་མ་ཞིག་ YIN.NOG (La), ལོ་ཐོ་མ་ཞིག་ YIN.GRAG (La, Sp), ལོ་ཐོ་མ་ཞིག་ YIN.TSUG (La, Pur, Ba). See Chapter 8.3.3.3.

1098. **EXIST** [epoehoric or neutral existential verb] 'I have, there is/are' སྦོེ བོད། or the variant སྦོེ བོད། [v1] [PW]. In nearly all the languages, the negative of སྦོེ བོད། YOD employs the portmanteau morpheme སྦོེ MED [PR] or སྦོེ MYED (Am, E). The only exception is Dzayiül, the which has preserved the archaic form སྦོེ བོད།. There are also many compound forms (see Chapter 9). In Southern Kham, the existential verbs for animate things (human and animals) are སྦོེ བོད། 'DIU and སྦོེ བོད། SDOD.

1099. **EXIST** [sensory existential verb] 'there is/are' སྦོེ བོད། 'DIU or its variant སྦོེ བོད། NUG [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Dz, Sh, La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Lho). Other roots such as སྦོེ GDA'/da/ [FFW] (Kh, Ho); སྦོེ GRAG or སྦོེ RAG [FFW] (La, LJ, Ba: Turtuk, Nubra, Sp, Tö, Kh) [non visual sensory]; སྦོེ GI (Kh: Derge, Lithang) /'gy/; སྦོེ SNANG (Kh, Phänpo, Nubra, Ba: Turtuk) སྦོེ YOD.DI (Am) /yeka/, སྦོེ YOD (Cho) are also attested.

1100. **EXIST** [factual & inferential verb] 'there is/are'; སྦོེ བོད། YOD.RED (Ú), སྦོེ བོད། 'OD.RED (Hor, Tö) སྦོེ བོད། 'OD.DE.RED (Tö Drokpa), སྦོེ བོད། YOD.LRED (NKh), སྦོེ བོད། YED.LRED (E:Th), སྦོེ བོད། YOD.NLRED (Am), སྦོེ བོད། YOD.SBAD (Lho) or སྦོེ བོད། YOD.PSBD, སྦོེ བོད། YOD.PIN.MAS (Dz), སྦོེ བོད། YOD.MKH.NINO (La), སྦོེ བོད། YOD.KYAG (La), སྦོེ བོད། YOD.PIN.MAS (Dz), སྦོེ བོད། YOD (Ba, Pur), སྦོེ བོད། YOD.PA (Yol).

1101. **HAVE**: see EXIST.

1102. **MAKE** རྣམ་ BZO [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT རྣམ་ BZO(S). In Ladaks and Purik, the verb སྦོེ བོད། BCO(S) (La) /'co/ (Pur) < CT; see DO.

1103. **DO** སྦོེ བྱས་ or སྦོེ བྱད། [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT སྦོེ བྱས་ [DE/MS] (present, past, future and imperative stems, respectively) BYE/ (A/O)(D/S). This is found in most languages and dialects. Various pronunciations are attested: སྦོེ བྱས་/ba(s)/ (Ba), སྦོེ བྱས་/ba(s)/ (Pur), སྦོེ བྱས་/bya(s)/ (Lho), སྦོེ བྱས་/bá/ (Dz) (note that this form is derived form སྦོེ བྱས་ BYAS, but the
official orthography is ལས'BAD), ཤེ་ /ye/, རོ་ /pe/ (Tö, Yol), /ėe/ (Û), /she/, /se/ (Kh), /ʃi/ (Am), etc. Other roots include ལས LAS (Kh) < CT 'act, work' and the archaic form བྱིད'GYID < CT བྱིད'GYI བྱིས'GYI (b)GYI(D/S) (Sh, Jir, Thewo (E)). In Ladaks, the verb བཅོས BCOS < CT འཆོས་བཅོས་བཅོས་ཆོས BGYI (B)GYI (D)GYI < CT 'to make, repair, cure' is used (concerning the spelling of BCO, see Zeisler 2004: 616). The honorific forms are རྣང GNANG (Û, Ts) < CT རྡོ་པ་ MDZAD (La) < CT, བསྐྱོན BSKYON < CT (Û).

1104. WORK (TO) 'work' + LV [V2+Ctr]. The compound verb or light verb construction (LVC) meaning 'to work' is formed of a noun meaning 'work', 'action' or 'service', followed by a light verb with the general meaning 'to do'. There are three main roots representing the noun 'work': ལས LAS or བཀྲ བྱས LAS BYA 'work', 'action' or 'things to do', བྱིད'GYID 'to do', and བཅོས BCOS 'to make, transform': ལས བྱས LAS BYAS (Ba, Pur, Yol), ལས བྱས LAS BYAS (Dz) < CT ལས བྱས LAS BYAS, བཀྲ བྱས LAS BYAS (Tö, Ts, Û), བཀྲ བྱས LAS BYAS (Kh, Am), བཀྲ བྱས LAS BCOS (La), བཀྲ བྱས LAS BYA'GYID (E: Th), བཀྲ བྱས LAS'GYID (Sh), བཀྲ བྱས KAM (Nep) 'GYID (Jir), བཀྲ བྱས' BYABA YED (Am) or just བཀྲ བྱས YED (Am), བཀྲ བྱས BYABA LAS (Am), བཀྲ བྱས'GYID BYAS (Lho), བཀྲ བྱས'GYID BYA'GYAB (Lho).

1105. LOVE/LIKE ཀ་པ་ DGA' [V2] [PR] (Ba, La, Sp, Û, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Sh, Lho) < CT 'rejoice, like'. Other verbs are attested in some dialects གཞི'THAD (Ba, Pur, La) < CT 'to be pleasant'. གཞི'CHES (La, Pur) < CT 'love'. In several dialects of southern Kham, གཞི'GDANG, perhaps related to གཞི'GDUNG 'desire, long for', is used. In Gyalthang, གཞི'DGOS is used for this meaning. In some dialects, one finds compounds, such as བསྟས་ལ་འགྲུབས་SEM.S.LA'GRWA (Jir) < CT 'to fit (lit. go to) the mind', བསྟས་ལ་འགྲུབས་ MIG.LA'GRWA (Jir) < CT 'to fit (lit. go to) the eye', e.g. བཞིས་མེད་SEM.THERS (Yol) < CT 'to be touched, moved'.

1106. HAVE SEX རྒྱོ RGYO [V2+Ctr] [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts) < CT རྒྱོ རྒྱོ 'to hit, strike', a
form used in Balti: नेक्न BRGYAB (Ba) < CT 'hit' which has retained the conservative form. Some dialects use an LVC: བོད་ RGYO RGYAB (U, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions བོད་པོ་པོ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, བོད་པོ་པོ་ KHRIG SPYOD BYED 'to have sexual intercourse, to make love' are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphorical expressions are used: བོད་པོ་ PB 'to climb' (Am), བོད་པོ་ ZHON 'to ride' བོད་པོ་ G‧ YAB lit. 'to move to and fro, hither and thither' (Am), བོད་པོ་ PHO RGYAG lit. 'to hit the belly' (Am).

The verb བོད་པོ་ BLUG 'to put into, to pour' is also attested (Ü). The verb བོད་པོ་ NYAL < CT 'to sleep' or བོད་པོ་ MNYAM. DU BSDAD < CT 'to stay with' are also used for this meaning.

1107. MOVE (HOUSE)/CHANGE LOCATION བོད་པོ་ SPO [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT བོད་པོ་ SPO(S), བོད་པོ་ DBOR (Am).

1108. HELP 'friend/ companion'+ LV [FFW] [V2,+Ctr] < CT lit. 'to do help'. The compound verb (LVC) 'to help' is formed of a noun 'companion, helper' followed by a light verb (LV) with the general meaning 'to do' (see DO). བོད་པོ་ ROG BYED (Yol, etc.), བོད་པོ་ ROG.PA BYED (U, Ts, Am), བོད་པོ་ ROG.RAM BYED (U, Ts), བོད་པོ་ ROG.RAM.BYAS (Lho), བོད་པོ་ ROG.HWAYED (Am), བོད་པོ་ RO'AGYID (Jir), བོད་པོ་ YATO BA (Pur), བོད་པོ་ YATO.BCO (La), བོད་པོ་ ZLAL.MDZA.GYID (Sh), བོད་པོ་ CHAR.ROGS.BAD (Dz).

1109. BIND/TIE/ATTACH བོད་པོ་ SDAM or བོད་པོ་ SDEM [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, U, Ts, Tö, Sp, Kh, Ho, E: Th, Am, Yol) < CT བོད་པོ་ SPO(S), བོད་པོ་ DBOR (B)SDA/(O)M(S), related to the adjective བོད་པོ་ DAM.PO 'tight'; བོད་པོ་ CHING (Pur, La, U, Ts, Tö) [FFW] < CT བོད་པོ་ DAM.PO 'tight' (B)JING(S).

1110. PROTECT/GUARD/LOOK AFTER བོད་པོ་ SRUNG [V2,+Ctr] [PR] (La, Ba, Pur, Ts, Tö, Sp, Kh, Ho, E: Th, Jir, Am) < CT, བོད་པོ་ SREN (Sh), བོད་པོ་ SKYAB or བོད་པོ་ SKYAB (La, Yol, Ü, Am, Kh).

1111. DEFEND: see PROTECT.

1112. PUT/PLACE བོད་པོ་ BZHAG [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Yol, Jir, Ü, Ts, Am, Lho) /zhag/, /sha/ < CT བོད་པོ་ BZHAG བོད་པོ་ JOG (B)ZHAL/(O)JG. In the Western languages, the word བོད་པོ་ BZHAG [FFR] (Tö, Sp, La, Ba) < CT བོད་པོ་ BZHAG.
(')BOR ‘throw, abandon, forsake’. In these languages, the verb བཞག་ BZHAG (Ba, Pur) is also used but means ‘keep’.

1113. CARRY བདུད་ ‘KHUR [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, La, Tö, Yol, Ts, Hor, Kh, Am, Jir, Sh, etc.) < CT བདུད་ ‘KHUR ‘carry (particularly on back, head or shoulder), bear a burden or responsibility (also used for pack animals)’. Some dialects, such as Amdo and Yolmo, have preserved the distinction ‘to carry on back, head, shoulder’ versus ‘to carry in the hands’, whereas others no longer make this distinction and all words simply mean ‘to carry’. Two roots are also attested བདེ་ ‘KHYER [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (U, Am, etc.), ※འབག་ ‘BAG ‘carry’ [v2,+Ctr] (Kh, Dz, Lho).

1114. BRING/CARRY AWAY/TAKE AWAY བདེ་ ‘KHYER or ※འབག་ ‘KHER [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Jir, Am) < CT བདེ་ ‘KHYER ‘carry (towards a place), bring or take away’. By default, བདེ་ ‘KHYER usually means ‘take away’. It is often associated with secondary verbs of motion: བདེ་དུ་ ‘KHYER PHIN ‘take away’ lit. ‘take go’, བདེ་ ‘KHYER YONG ‘take come’, sometimes abbreviated ※འབག་ ‘KHYONG (La). Sometimes directional prefixes are used: བདེ་ ‘PHAR-KHYER, བདེ་ ‘TSHUR-KHYER. Note that ※འབག་ ‘KHER and ※འབག་ ‘KHYONG are often used as secondary verbs in the Western languages (Ba, Pur). In some languages (Yol, etc.), the verb ※འབག་ ‘THOGS < CT ‘to seize’ means ‘to carry in the hands or arms’. The root ※འབག་ ‘BAG ‘carry’ is used in several dialects of Kham, Dzongkha and Lhoke, but is not attested in CT. It may be used with secondary verbs indicating movement: ※འབག་ ‘BAG, ONG’ to bring’ vs. ※འབག་ ‘BAG, GYO (Dz), ※འབག་ ‘BAG, STI GYU (Lho).

1115. SEND (LETTER, etc.) བཏང་ ‘BTANG, ལ་ ‘BTONG [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Jir, Kh, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT. Another frequent word is བཏང་ ‘SKUR [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT བཏང་, བསྐྱུར་ ‘SKUR ‘to entrust to carry’ related to བཏང་ ‘KHUR ‘carry (on the back)’ (see CARRY above). It is used also to describe making someone carry a load. Some western and southern languages (La, Ba, Dz), use another word བཀལ་ ‘BKAL [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur) /kal/ < CT བཀལ་ ‘BKAL ‘a load’. This word
is very similar in meaning to the word སྐྱོར་ SKUR just mentioned, which is mainly used in central and eastern Tibet. It refers to the sending of objects (letter, presents, food, etc.) by loading them on yaks or horses. Another root བོ་ཐོན་ BRDZANG (Yol) < CT ‘to dispatch’ is used in some Southern languages.

1116. LIFT/RAISE [+Ctr] གཏེག་ BTEG [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] < CT བོན་གཏེག་ ཁྱེན་ (°DEG(S) (B)T(H)EG. གཏེག་ BTEG (Jir), ◊ ཁྱེན་ BTEG /tak/ (La, Tö, Am), ◊ ཡན་ BTKAG /tyak/ (Ba, Pur). ཁྱེན་ BKYAG [FFW] (Nubra, Yol, Sh, Ú, Kh, Am) < CT བཞེག་པ་ ཁྱེན་ (°GYOG(S), (B)K(H)YA/(O)G(S).

1117. TAKE/FETCH བྲག་ LEN [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT བྲག་ སྐྱོར་ བྲག་ LEN (B)LA/(O)NG(S). In Ladaks, this is pronounced བྲག་/men/. In some dialects, the form བྲག་ LEN is used.

1118. CATCH དབྱེན་ DZIN དབྱེན་ BZUNG [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT ཁྱེན་ དབྱེན་ དབྱེན་ 'DZIN (B)GYUNG. Various pronunciations are attested: ཁྱེན་ (La) ◊ དབྱེན་ /zun/ (Pur), ◊ དབྱེན་ /sim/ (Ú), etc. The verb ཁྱེན་ JUS (Ú, Am) is also used with a similar meaning.

1119. BUY དབྱེན་ NYO [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT ཁྱེན་ དབྱེན་ NYO(S). In Balti, the word ཁྱེན་ < CT ‘take’ is used instead (see TAKE). The honorific form ཁྱེན་ GZIGS ‘to buy’ is used in Central Tibet.

1120. SELL ཁྱེན་ BTSONGS ཁྱེན་ TSHONG [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ཁྱེན་ ཁྱེན་ ཁྱེན་ (B)TS(H)ONG(S). In some western and southern languages (Ba, Yol, etc.), the word ཁྱེན་ BGYUR < CT ‘to change’ is used (see CHANGE).

1121. RECITE/REPEAT ཁྱེན་ SANG [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (La, Ú, Ts, Tö, Sp, Am) < CT ཁྱེན་ ཁྱེན་ ཁྱེན་ SANG, BSKYAR; ཁྱེན་ DON (La, Tö, Ú, Am). Sometimes this is used as a compound: ཁྱེན་ KHA'DON (+LV) < CT ཁྱེན་ ཁྱེན་ ཁྱེན་ ཁྱེན་ (°G)DON (B)T(H)ON < ‘cause to go out, come out, pronounce, repeat, recite’. In Amdo, it has come to mean ‘read aloud; ཁྱེན་ MOL [H] (Pur, La), ཁྱེན་ SNGRS (Kyir, La) < CT (see READ). In some languages (Ú, Yol, etc.), the expression ཁྱེན་ ཁྱེན་ ཁྱེན་ MNI BGRangs < CT lit. ‘to count manis’ means ‘to recite (mantras)’.
1122. READ ལྟ་ LTA [v2,+Ctr] [FFR] < CT ལྟ་ འ་མེད་ ལྟ་ LTA (B)LTA(S)/LTOS' to look at' (Ü, Kh, Am), འདོན་ DON (Am) < CT (see COME OUT), བསྒྲགས་ SGROGS or བསྒྲགས་ BSGRAG [FFR] (La, Yol, Kh, Am, Lho) < CT བསྒྲགས་ བསྒྲགས་ བསྒྲགས་ (BSGRA/O)G(S)' to proclaim, broadcast'. In Ladaks, this is pronounced ཞེས་/rok/ but is used only for the reading of religious books. བསྒྲགས། LTA (S) LTOS' to read (aloud)'. Some dialects make a distinction between 'to read silently' and 'to read aloud' (Ü, Ts, etc.). འདོན་ DON (Am, Kh) < CT འདོན་ རྗོན་ རྗོན་ རྗོན་ 'to say' is used in the expression ལོག་ དུ་ རེ་ SHOG.BU ZER lit. 'say a book'. གླེགས་ GSIL (La, Pur) < CT see 'to produce a sound (H)'. A few dialects have honorific forms: སྒྲོགས་ GZIGS (U, Ts) < CT see 'to see, look at'.

1123. COMPARE སྡུས་ SDUR [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT སྡུས་ སྡུས་ (B)SDUR.

1124. CLOSE. The Tibetic languages usually make a distinction between various types of 'closing' (objects or body parts) and have different lexical items for CLOSE (DOOR/BOX) and CLOSE (EYE/MOUTH).

1125. CLOSE (DOOR/LID) བཙུམ་ BTSUM [v2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Tö, Yol, Ü, Kh, Hor, La, Ba, Am) < CT (see 'hit'), བཅུག་ BCUG [FFR] (Pur, La, Ba) < CT see 'to insert/put in'; བདག་/སྲབ་ SDEM/BSDAMS [FFR] (Ts, Kh) < CT see 'to bind'; བཅད་ BCAD [FFR] (Ba, Th, Jir, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT see 'to cut', བཀག་ BKAG 'to block'. Other forms are marginally found, including གཏུག་ GTUG (Kh) < CT see 'to touch, join'. These verbs are normally preceded by the noun བསྒོ་ SGO 'door' or by བཀློ་ KHA 'lid' (< CT 'mouth').

1126. CLOSE (EYE/MOUTH) ལག་ BTSUM [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ལག་ ལག་ ལག་ ལག་ 'eye' or བཀྲ་ KHA TSUM 'to shut the mouth, also metaphorically 'to shut up'.

1127. OPEN. The Tibetic languages usually make a distinction between various types of 'opening' (objects or body parts) and have different lexical items for OPEN (DOOR/BOX) and OPEN (EYE/MOUTH).
1128. OPEN (DOOR/LID) (སྒོ/ཁ) བྱེ་ (SGO/KHA) PHYE [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བྱེ་ལྔ བྱེ་དབྱེ་ (D)BYE(D), PHYE(S). This is pronounced unaspirated in some dialects (La, Durbuk). The verb is normally preceded by the noun བྱེ་ SGO’door’ or its variant བྱེ་མོ SGO.MO or by མི་KHA’lid’ (< CT ’mouth’): e.g. བྱེ་མོ SGO.PHYE.

1129. OPEN (EYE/MOUTH/LEG) རྣང་ (GDANG) [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT རྣང་ རྣངས་ རོངས་ (G)DA (/O)G(S). The verb རྣང་ PHE (Pur, La) ’to open’ is also used. རྣང་ PHYED/p’et/’ to open eyes (for the first time)’ < CT ’to be separated’.

1130. WEAVE བཏག་ (THAG) [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བཏགས་ བཏག་ བོག་ (B)/T(H)AG(S), ’THOG’ ’weave with a loom’. Sometimes preceded by the noun THAGS ’weaving’, as: བཏགས་ བཏག་ THAGS ’THAG’. In the Tibetic languages, this verb usually also means ’grind’.

1131. GRIND. See WEAVE.

1132. BRAID/KNIT སླ་ (SLA) [PR] < སླ་ སླ། སླ། སླ། སླ། (B)SLA/O(S) ’weave by hand, braid, knit’.

1133. CHANGE བསྒྱུར་ (BSGYUR) [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བསྒྱུར་ བསྒྱུར་ བསྒྱུར་ བསྒྱུར་ (B)SGYUR. In most cases, this means ’change’, but in some languages such as Balti, the root BSGYUR has the slightly different meaning ’to change direction’, ’to turn’, which is probably the original meaning. In the western languages, the word has come to mean ’exchange, sell’. The compound བསྐད་ བསྒྱུར་ SKAD SGYUR lit. ’change language’ means ’translate’ in most languages (see TRANSLATE). In Purik, སྙེན་ SDEB /’dep’ (Pur) < CT ’joint, combine, barter’ སྙེནའི་ སྙེན་ SDEB(S) is used.

1134. VARY, CHANGE ཁྱུར་ (GYUR) [V1] [PR] Monovalent (resulative) form of བསྒྱུར་ BSGYUR. In most cases, the word means ’to vary, change’ or ’to be changed’, but in some languages, such as Balti, it has come to mean ’to be sold out’.

1135. BE SICK/ILL ཀ ཀ (K) [V1] [FFR] (Sp, Jir, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Lho). A few other roots are attested: མཀྱོལ་ KHOL ’to boil’ (Am, Ba, Th, Pur) derived from the metaphoric meaning of ’to boil’, related to the sensation of fever. The root བཀྱུན་ ZUG is attested in some areas (Ü, La, Sp) and refers to acute pain < CT ’to be stung,
pricked'. The forms ૧⁄૨⁄૩ ZUR or ૧⁄૨⁄૩ ZURMO (La), ૧⁄૨⁄૩ ZURMO (Pur) are also attested. They are also related to acute pain and are related to ૧⁄૨⁄૩ GZER < CT 'nail'. The two roots may combine (Sp, La): ཤུ་བུ་ ZUG.GZER. The root ཤུ་ TSHA < CT 'hot' is also attested to mean 'acute pain'. It also occurs in the light verb construction ཤུ་བུ་ རུམ་བུ་ ZUG.MO (La), ཤུ་་བུ་ རུམ་བུ་ ZUG.MO (Pur) < CT 'to feel a pain'. Additionally, ཤུ་ KHUG 'to be bent' is also found in a few dialects (Kh, E). The honorific form ཤུ་ snyung 'to be sick' is widespread (Yol, Ü, Ts, La, Sh, Dz).

1136. RECOVER (FROM ILLNESS) ཤུ་ DRAG [v1] [FFW] (Tô, Yol, Ü, Ts, Jir, Kh, Dz, Lho, Am) < CT (inv.). The verb ཤུ་ sOS (Kh) < CT 'to heal, recover' or ཤུ་ GSOS (Dz) < CT 'to be clear(ed)', ཤུ་ RGYAL (La, Pur) < CT 'to be victorious'. The word ཤུ་ DOD /dot/ is used in Purik and Ladaks.

1137. BE COLD/FREEZE ཤུ་ KHYAG [FFR] (Pur, La, Yol, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, etc.) lit. 'freeze' or the variant ཤུ་ KHE (Jir); ཤུ་ GRANG, ཤུ་ GYANG [FFR] 'to be cold'. See COLD (adjective) about the difference between cold external temperatures and the internal (endopathic) feeling of cold. Some dialects use ཤུ་ KHYAG for endopathic feeling and ཤུ་ GRANG for external cold (Ü, La), whereas other dialects do the opposite (Am, LJ: Durbuk). The word ཤུ་ KHENG is used in Hor dialects to mean 'to freeze' for water, etc.

1138. ERR/MAKE A MISTAKE ཤུ་ NOR [v1] [PR] < CT. ཤུ་ PHRUL (La), ཤུ་ PHYUG (Am) < CT. ཤུ་ DZOL (Am) < CT.

1139. BE WRONG ཤུ་ NOR [v1] [PR]. In some dialects, ཤུ་ 'MA-RED lit. 'be not right', ཤུ་ 'GREN.PA MA-RED is also used. The word /yalat/ (Pur, La) is also attested < Pers. See ERR.

1140. FEAR/BE AFRAID ཤུ་ JIGS [v2] [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Tô, Sp, Yol, Sh, Lho, Ko) < CT. In some languages, such as Sherpa, the root is used as a noun ཤུ་ 'JIGS.MO (Ko) < CT. ཤུ་ JIGS.PA, following by a verb ཤུ་ LANG. The root ཤུ་ SKRAG, alt. ཤུ་ SKYAG is also widespread [FFR] (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT. Other roots are more marginal: ཤུ་ ZHED (Û) < CT, ཤུ་ BRED
1141. **WIPE** (Phyid) [V2,+Ctr] [PR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT ལེགས་ 'to be panicked', རོག་ 'to be startled' < CT 'to be startled, frightened, scared, shy (for horses).

1142. **HIDE/CONCEAL (something)** [Sbas] [V2,+Ctr] < CT སྦས་ 'to hide, do secretly' (probably cognate with གྲུང་ 'hole') is also found with the meaning 'to hide'. In Amdo (Sogwo) གླེ་བ 'Gleb', of unknown origin, is used.

1143. **HIDE (oneself)** [Yib] [V1,+Ctr] < CT. ཡིབ་ 'hide oneself' and its monovalent form རབ་ meaning 'to hide oneself (Ü) are found. In some areas འཇབ་ 'Jab (Sp, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT 'to lie in ambush' is used.

1144. **INSERT/PUT INTO/POUR** [Bcug] [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, Kh, Am, Ts, Tö) < CT བཅུག་ 'to pour'. The root བླུག་ [FFW] (Pur, Yol, Kh, Am, Ü, Dz) is also frequently attested. Depending on the language, these verbs may also be used for objects and liquids, thus also meaning 'to pour'. བསྡུས་ 'Bsdus (Am) < CT ‘to gather’.

1145. **PLANT (TREES, etc.) / STICK IN** [Btsugs] [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT བཙུགས་ 'to stick in'. Balti uses the word ག་ 'Spo < CT ‘to change, to move’.

1146. **PLANT / SOW (A FIELD)** [Btab] [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT བཏབ་ 'to sow'. The root བླུག་ [FFW] (Pur, Yol, Kh, Am, Ü, Dz) is also frequently attested.

1147. **BLEND/MIX** [Sre] [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT སྲེ 'to mix'. Note that the initial cluster SR is pronounced in various ways as /ʈ/, /s/, /ʂ/, /str/.

1148. **MIX / TO BE MIXED (UP)** [Dre] [V1] < CT.
1149. **FRY/ROAST/GRILL** र्गन्ग [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT र्गन्ग. In the southern Kham area, a voiceless nasal appears instead, as if it were र्गन्ग. Another root is स्रेग [PR] < CT ठोंठ ब्स་. और ठोंठ ल्लिम्प (b) र्गन्ग(s). In the southern Kham area, a voiceless nasal appears instead, as if it were र्गन्ग. Another root is स्रेग [PR] < CT ठोंठ ब्स་. और ठोंठ ल्लिम्प (b) र्गन्ग(s). र्गन्ग and ठोंठ ल्लिम्प have very similar meanings, but र्गन्ग often means 'fry' whereas स्रेग is more used for 'grill', 'roast' and also 'burn something'. More marginally, in the western and southern languages, the root ब्सས་ SLAM [v2] SLOM [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Jir) < OT 'roast a little' is found.

1150. **WEIGH** ཤིང་ SKAR or its variant ཤིང་ SGAR [v2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Yol, Jir) < CT. The verb SKAR implies weighing or measuring a quantity by using traditional volumes such as bren or khal. Other verbs are found: འཇལ་ JAL (Kh) or འཇལ་ BCAR //ṭar/ (Pur) < ? CT ठ्ङ्ङ ठ्ङ्ङ BCAL < CT 'repay, measure, weigh', ग्लག་ BKYAG (U) < CT 'to lift' ग्लག་ ग्लག་ ग्लག་ ग्लགः (b) GYO, (b) KsYA/(o)G usually in the compound ग्लག्स्तཾ RKHYAR (Am), ठ्ङ्ङ ठ्ङ्ङ 'DEGS (La) 'to lift' < CT. The word ठ्ङ्ङ TSHAD (Am) < CT 'to measure' is also attested.

1151. **PRAISE** ཤིང་ BSTOD [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT. In Central Tibet, it appears with an LVC: ཤིང་ ग्लག्स्तཾ BSTOD.RA. BSTANG. Other words are attested: ग्लག्स्तཾ BSNGAGS < CT. ग्लག्स्तཾ BKYAG < CT 'to lift' (see above).

1152. **EAT** ཤིང་ ZA [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ཤིང་ ग्लག་ ग्लག་ ग्लགः (b) ZA/(o)S. In a couple of eastern dialects, such as southern Kham or E, the root ཤིང་ 'CHA' < CT lit. 'to chew' is used. In some dialects, both roots are used, with ཤིང་ ZA referring to 'soft food' (bread, etc.) and 'CHA' refers to 'hard food' (meat, etc.). The honorific forms ग्लག्स्तཾ BZHES (U, Ts, Kh, Dz), ग्लག्स्तཾ MCHOD (U, Ts) < CT 'to offer', ग्लག्स་ DON < CT 'to offer' (La).

1153. **BE EATEN/CONSUMED (with sensation)** ཤིང་ ZA [v1] [FFR] < CT ཤིང་ (b) ZA(s). This verb, which convey the noncontrollable meaning of 'to be eaten, consumed with (sensation)' is used for physiological feelings such as 'itch' as well as psychological sensations and emotions such as 'anger' NAMS.PA ZA or 'doubt' འཇམ་ ལོག་ ཤིང་ THE.TSHOMS/DOGS.PAZA. See DOUBT.

1154. **DRINK** གྱི་ THUNG [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT གྱི་ གྱི་ གྱི་ གྱི་ (b) T(H)UNG(S). Many languages use its present stem གྱི་ 'THUNG.' Some few
dialects have an innovative form for the imperative: སྣུང་ SNUNG (Am: Mewa). In some dialects (Pur, La), the verb ‘to drink’ also means ‘to smoke’. The honorific forms བཞེས་ BZHES (Û, Ts, Kh, Dz), མཆོད་ MCHOD (Û, Ts) < CT ‘to offer’, དོན ‘DON (La) < CT or བསྨས་ BSNAMS [HH] (La) < CT ‘to take (H)’.

1155. GO [v1,+Ctr] ཤོག་ SHOG [FFW] (Ba, LJ, Yol, Jir, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Dz, Am) < CT ཤོག་ /SHOG/ < CT. In some dialects (Balti, Rongdrak and Yunnan), the form ཤོག་ ‘GO is attested, whereas ཤོག་ ‘GYO is used in Amdo and Dzonkha and རྒྱུགས་ RGYUGS (Ü) lit. ‘run!’. The honorific form རྒྱུགས་ /RGYUGS/ < CT ‘to cross’ is used in Sherpa as /gal/ (for the past) and in Yolmo as /kal/. The root བུད་ BUD < CT ‘to go out’ occurs in Garzha. ཅིགས་ GSHEGS ‘to go, walk’ (La) is also attested. ལོང་ DONG < CT ‘to proceed’ is used for the imperative in Purik. The imperative of ‘to go’ is often the same as the present stem but it may be distinct as ཤོག་ 'SHOG < CT'. The honorific form རྒྱུགས་ RGYUGS (Ü) lit. ‘run!’. The honorific form རྒྱུགས་ /RGYUGS/ < CT is used as the honorific in many languages (Û, Ts, NKh, Am, Dz). In Amdo this is pronounced རྒྱུགས་ /RGYUGS/ < CT རྒྱུགས་ /RGYUGS/ < CT. In Balti, the honorific form for ‘to go’ is འོང་ ONG [v1] [PW] < CT. The imperative corresponds to a suppletive form རྒྱུགས་ RGYUGS (Ü) lit. ‘run!’. The honorific form རྒྱུགས་ /RGYUGS/ < CT is used as the honorific in many languages (Û, Ts, NKh, Am, Dz). In Amdo this is pronounced རྒྱུགས་ /RGYUGS/ < CT. In Balti, the honorific form for ‘to come’ (in all tenses) is འོང་ 'ONG < CT འོང་ /ONG/ < CT. In Ladaks, the main honorific form རྒྱུགས་ RGYUGS < CT is very frequent.
ARRIVE ལེབས་ SLEBS [V1] [FFR] (Ū, Ts, Kh, Hor, La, Jir, Lho etc.) < CT. This may be pronounced in various ways, such as /'lep/, ༣ ལེབས་ LHEBS /'lep/, ༣ ལེབས་ RTSEBS /'tesp/. In Dzongkha, the word ༣ ལོའད་ LHOD and its variant ༣ ལོའད་ HOD /ho/ are used. The root ལེབས་ THON [FFR] < CT THON ‘come out’ is found, for example, in Amdo, Thewo, Balti and northern Kham (Yu). The root ལེབས་ BYON < CT ‘to arrive (H)’ is also attested, e.g., in Gyālthang, Lhoke and some Tö dialects. ལེབས་ BYOR < CT ‘to receive’ is found in Central Tibet. Another word ལེབས་ PHEBS < CT ‘to go, come, arrive (H)’ is used as the honorific in Amdo and northern Kham, but in many dialects of Yunnan (Kh) is pronounced /'pe/, and used for the nonhonorific register. In Balti, the honorific form for ‘to arrive’ ལེབས་ (G)SHAGS < CT ལེབས་ GSHEGS is used.

COME BACK ལོགེ LOG [V1+Ctr] [PW]. This is often preceded by the prefix TSHUR. In some languages, ལོག་ TSHUR-‘long’ come hither’ is also used.

MAKE COME BACK ལོགེ SLOG [V2+Ctr] [PW]. This also means ‘to return an object’. Reflexes of ལོགེ ZLOO /rdzok/ are also attested.

GO TO MEET ལེ་ BSU [FFW] < CT (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho). This is used to describing going to meet a guest or a friend: traditionally, a host could travel quite a long distance in order to greet a guest. In many Tibetic, areas such as Ladakh, they would traditionally welcome the guest with an offering of ལེ་ PHYE /susp'e/ ‘butter on a plate with tsampa’. Note the Amdo proverb: ལེ་སུ་བུག་པའི་ནུས་པས་རྟེན་པའི་ནུས་པས་བུག་པར་སུ་བུའི་ནུས་པས་རྟེན་པར་ལོག་པ་ཅོ་སུ་ལེ་སུ་སྐྱལ་པ་ཅིག་ཐུང་ ལེ་སུ་བུག་པའི་ནུས་པས་རྟེན་པའི་ནུས་པས་བུག་པར་སུ་བུའི་ནུས་པས་རྟེན་པར་ལོག་པ་ཅོ་སུ་ལེ་གཅིག་ཐུང་ ’Welcoming, go far; seeing off, don’t go far’.

ACCOMPANY/SEE OFF ལོག་ SKYAL [V2+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Jir, Lho, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor) ལོག་ PHAR ལོག་བསྐྱལ་ཐུང་པས་བསྐྱལ་ཐུང་པས་ SKYAL THAG MA-RING. This is used to accompany a guest home or see them off. Traditionally, a host could travel quite far with the guest or friend before saying farewell. This is often used with the directional ལོག་ PHAR ‘thither’.

CHASE/PURSUE རེ་ DED (La), ཚད་ BDA’ (Pur). In southern Kham, རེ་ SNYA /ny’a/ and རེ་ SNEYEG < CT SNEYG ‘to follow, pursue’ are used.
1163. **JUMP** རྒྱུད་ **MCHONG** [V1 + Ctr] [PW] < CT རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ MCHONG(S). The pronunciation རྒྱུད་ MCHOM is found in some areas (Û). A few other verbs are attested: འཕེལ་ ‘PHLAG < CT ‘to move upwards’.

1164. **FLY** འབྲུག་ **PHUR** [V1, + Ctr] [PW] < CT འབྲུག་/འབྲུག་ (’PHUR. In some southern Kham dialects, ཁྱེ བླེང་ ཆུ་ [V1] < CT ‘flow, float’ is found. In Ladaks (Leh) དྲུ་ ‘UR is used and is probably related to the Hindi-Urdu /uṛ/ ‘to fly’.

1165. **DESCEND**/ **GO DOWN** རྒྱུད་ ‘BAB [V1 + Ctr] [PW] < CT འབྲུག་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་/ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་/ རྒྱུད་/ རྒྱུད་ (’BAB(S), རྒྱུད་ MAR’GRO.

1166. **FALL** (for precipitation) རྒྱུད་ ‘BAB [V1] [PW] < CT འབྲུག་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ (’BAB(S). In many languages, this verb is used for precipitation (rain, snow, hail). The controllable verb རྒྱུད་ ‘BAB ‘to descend, go down’ and the noncontrollable verb རྒྱུད་ ‘BAB have the same lexical root, differing only by the existence of the imperative stem རྒྱུད་ BOB. Thus, from the semantic point of view of Tibetic languages, ‘to fall’ is ‘to descend in a noncontrollable way’.

1167. **MAKE FALL**/ **DESCEND** རྒྱུད་ **PHAB** [V2 + Ctr] [FFW] (Û, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT འབྲུག་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ (’PHAB(S), (D)BAB, PHA/’OB. This verb is used to make somebody dismount, but is also used describe rainmaking through religious practices.

1168. **FALL**/ **STUMBLE** རྒྱུད་ ‘BAB [V1] [PW] < CT འབྲུག་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ (’BAB(S). In some dialects of Kham, the two forms are used with a different meaning: རྒྱུད་ GYON is used for clothes and shoes, whereas རྒྱུད་ GON for accessories such as earrings, bracelets, etc. For ornaments and eyeglasses, the verb རྒྱུད་ BTAG ‘to attach’ is used in some areas (Û, Ts, La, etc.)

1169. **WEAR** (CLOTHES/SHOES) རྒྱུད་ **GON** [V2 + Ctr] [PW] < CT. In some dialects of Kham, the two forms are used with a different meaning: རྒྱུད་ GYON is used for clothes and shoes, whereas རྒྱུད་ GON for accessories such as earrings, bracelets, etc. For ornaments and eyeglasses, the verb རྒྱུད་ BTAG ‘to attach’ is used in some areas (Û, Ts, La, etc.)

1170. **WAIT** རྒྱུད་ **SGUG** [V2, + Ctr] [PR] < CT རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ (B)SGUG(S). The verbs རྒྱུད་ SRING < CT ‘to make long’ or རྒྱུད་ SRUNG < CT ‘keep’ are used in
some western languages (La, Pur, Za). \( \text{dang bya(byed)} \) \( \text{dang ba/} \) (Pur). The word \( /\text{dat}/ \) (Ba) is also attested.

1171. **BLOW** འཕོ་བུ་[V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Sp, Kh, Jir) < CT འཕོ་བུ་ འཕོ་བུ་ ("phu(s/d)" or \( \text{phu/} \)(Pur, Lho, etc.). In some languages, one finds a compound verb: ལུས་ནུག་ \( \text{phu brgyab} \) (Yol, Ü, Ts), ལུས་ \( \text{phu bya} \) (Ba), ལུས་ནུག་ \( \text{phu btang} \) (La).

1172. **KILL** འཕོ་ [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT འཕོ་ འཕོ་ འཕོ་ འཕོ་ \( (B/G)s4(o)d \). Other roots are very marginally attested: འཕོ་ \( \text{rde}(s) \), \( \text{rde}(a/o)/b(s) \)'to knock down'. ལུས་ \( \text{spur} \) (Kyir) < CT 'to cause to fly', ལུས་ \( \text{bsha} " \) 'to slaughter' is also attested in Gyalthang. The verb is also used in some dialects for inanimate object: ཤུགས་ \( \text{glog bsad} \) 'switch off the light' (lit. 'kill the light'). In Amdo, the verb ལུས་ \( \text{mthul} \) < CT is used for this purpose.

1173. **DIE** གི་ \( [PW] \) < CT གི་ གི་ གི་ གི་ \( \text{chi/shi} \). In some dialects, this is also used for certain inanimate entities with the metaphorical meaning 'finished, dead', such as གི་MEDSHI 'the fire has gone out', གི་MEDSHI 'the milk has gone sour'. Some dialects lack this use. People from Amdo sometimes find these expressions amusing. A few honorific forms are used for 'die, pass away': (ནུབ་) \( \text{gsongs} \) (Ú, La), ལུགས་ \( \text{gshags} \) (Ú, Ba) < CT 'to go', ལུགས་ \( \text{gshegs} \) (Pur, Ba) < CT 'to cross'. ལུས་ \( \text{gyur} \) (Pur, Ba) < CT 'to be transformed', ལུས་ \( \text{medsong} \) 'to be no more' or the variant ལུས་ \( \text{medsong} \) \( \text{med.de budi-song} \) (Dolpo), ལུས་ \( \text{dbugs} \) THEN lit. 'drag breath' (Yol). The expressions ལུས་ \( \text{od song} \) 'to pass (away) in light', ལུས་ \( \text{j4.a song} \) 'to pass (away) in the rainbow', ལུས་ \( \text{j4.a song} \) 'to fade away, to vanish' (Dolpo). The understatement often used in Amdo is noteworthy: ལུས་ \( \text{ma/} \) \( \text{tshams-thal} \) 'S/he lost his/her health'.

1174. **HIT/BEAT** མུ་ \( [V2,+Ctr] \) [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ú, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho) < CT མུ་ \( \text{rgung}s < \text{ct/} \), མུ་ \( \text{rgya} \) [FFR] (Ü) < CT མུ་ \( \text{rgya} \) \( \text{rde}(s) \), \( \text{rgya}(a/o)b \) 'to hit'; མུ་ \( \text{gzu} \) (Ú, Ts) < CT 'to hit, strike, throw', མུ་ \( \text{brda} \) (Ba) < CT 'to hit, strike', མུ་ \( \text{rde}(s) \), \( \text{brda}(a/o)b \) 'to knock down', མུ་ \( \text{gyog} \) (Am) < CT.
1175. GET/OBTAIN འོ་ཟོབ [v2] [PR] < CT. A few other roots are found e.g. རག ‘to touch’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT ‘to touch’. འོ་ཟོབ [Am] < CT ‘to touch’.

1176. RECEIVE [v2] འབྱོར. See GET.

1177. LIGHT (FIRE) སྤར [v2] [PR] < CT སྤར སྤར. In some dialects of southern Kham, འབྲ ཐེ [v1] ‘to burn’ is also used for this meaning. འབྲ ཐེ (Am) is also attested.

1178. MAKE A FIRE འབྲ [v1] ‘to send into fire’ (Dz), འབྲ [v2] [PR] < CT འབྲ. This verb is used to describe the burning of the fire itself, and does not apply to an object (see BE BURNED below). The word འབྲ ཐེ (La) is also attested.

1179. BURN འབྲ [v2] [PR] < CT འབྲ འབྲ འབྲ འབྲ. Some regions use a compound or a light verb construction: འབྲ ཐེ འབྲ ཐེ < CT འབྲ ཐེ འབྲ ཐེ འབྲ ཐེ (B)SREG(S). In some Kham dialects, འབྲ SREG is also used with a noncontrollable meaning.

1180. BURN འབྲ [v1] [PR]. This verb is used to describe the burning of the fire itself, and does not apply to an object (see BE BURNED below). The word འབྲ ཐེ (La) is also attested.

1181. BURN/BE BURNED འབྲ [v1] [PR]. In many languages, this word has acquired metaphorical meanings related to ‘anger’ or ‘jealousy’ (see ANGER).

1182. LOSE (an object, etc.) འབྲ ཡ་ [v2] [FFR] (Ba, Pur La, Tö, Jir, Sh) < CT; འབྲ [v2] [FFR] (U, Ts, Am) < CT འབྲ ཡ་ [FFR] (B)RLA/GO(S) ‘to lose, to destroy’. In some dialects of southern Kham, the word འབྲ LHA ‘to leave behind’, perhaps related to BRLAGS, is used. འབྲ ཡ་ [FFR] (E: Th, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ‘to abandon, to forsake’. འབྲ ཡ་ [FFR] [v2] [+Ctr] (La, Ba, Sp) ‘to lose (when one is not careful enough)’ < CT ‘see off’. In Lhoke, Dzongkha and some
Kham dialects (Markham), འབྱང་'BYANG (Dz, Kh) and འབྱེང་'BYANG (Lho) < CT ‘to be purified, to disappear’ are used. The verb ཤུད་SHUD < CT ‘slip, slide’ is also attested in northern Kham.

1183. FORGET རྗེ་འདེ་'RJED [v2] [PT] < CT རྗེ་བརྗེ་'BRonald. In some languages (Ba, Pur, Sp), this is pronounced རེ་འདེ་RZHEK. The well-known proverb རྗེ་ད་བྱེད་པ་དེ་བརྗེ་དགེ་'RJED PA ZEM,JBonald ‘when one has crossed the river, one forgets about the bridge; when one has recovered from illness, one forgets about the physician’ is often used to illustrate ingratitude.

1184. REMEMBER ཉེའི་Dran [v2,+ CTR] [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho, etc.). Alternative words are also found. In some dialects of southern Kham, the word ཉེའི་Dran is use with a directional marker: ཉེའི་འབྲང་Dran,aYar DRAN or even ཉེའི་འཕེལ་Dran,aPhar DRAN. In some languages, ཉེའི་Dran,Pa + LV is used: ཉེའི་Dran,Pa Gyd (Jir), etc. Balti, Ladakhi and Amdo employ a compound of ཉེའི་YID,DU ‘mind’+purposive case, lit. ‘in the mind’ followed by a verb ‘come, do, remain, etc.’: ཉེ་ལུས་ལུས་YID,DU Boys (La) or ཉེ་ལུས་YID,DU Boys (Ba), ཉེ་ལུས་YID,LA Boys (Am), ཉེ་ལུས་YID,DU Boys (Ba, Pur), ཉེ་ལུས་YID,DU Boys (Pur). In Spiti, the compound ཉེ་ལུས་ལུས་'ALL,LA Boys may be derived from ཉེ་ལུས་WALLE ‘lucid, clear (mind)+come’. The compound ཉེ་ལུས་ལུས་BSAM,PA GTONG lit. ‘send thought’ is also used (Gyālthang).

1185. GATHER/PICK UP (FIREWOOD, etc.) ཡུའི་THU [v2] [PR] < CT ཡུའི་RUG,SHUG pronouned ཡུའི་RUG (La) < CT ‘to pick up, pluck’. ཡུའི་SDUD (La, Sp, To, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT ‘to collect’. ཡུའི་GSHAG < CT ‘to split’ is used to collect wood in Dechen (Kham).

1186. UNDERSTAND རྫ་'HA GO [v2] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, To, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Dz, Lho) < CT. Most languages use this compound of རྫ་HA (perhaps onomatopoeic) with the verb རྫ་'GO ‘to hear’. The two forms may be separated by negation or by various adverbs. In some Amdo dialects, a variant of this compound is used རྫ་Gya,GO. In some regions, the verb རྫ་'GO (Am, Jir, etc.) < CT ‘to hear’ occurs alone. In some dialects of Kham, Amdo and Eastern, the verb ཤུད་SHES lit. ‘to
"know" is also used. In Čone (E), 'understand' and 'know' are the same word, རི་སེགས་ SHES, but the case of its undergoer is absolutive for 'understand' and ergative for 'know'. Balti and some Purik dialects use the verb ཞུད་ CHUD (Ba, Pur, Za) < CT 'to get into, understand, know' or རི་སེགས་ THOS (La) 'to understand (or hear) a religious teaching'. The honorific form རི་སེགས་ MKHYEN < CT is used for 'to understand' in some languages (Û, Ts, Dz).

1187. KNOW རི་སེགས་ [v2] [PR] < CT. This word also means 'to know how to do something'. Some languages, such as Lhasa and sDerong-njol (southern Kham), have a form with a nasal final or a nasalized vowel corresponding to རི་སེགས་ SHEN, probably by analogy with the honorific word རི་སེགས་ MKHYEN 'know (H)'. The honorific form རི་སེགས་ MKHYEN for 'to know' < CT is widespread (Û, Ts, Dz, La).

In Ladakh and Purik, the Hindi-Urdu loanword བ་ཏ་ PA.TA+ AUX is also frequently used.

1188. BE HUNGRY སྐོམ་ LTOGS [v1] [PR] < CT སྐོམ་ LTOGS. In many languages, the verb appears as a nominal incorporation, preceded by a noun such as དྲོད་ཁོག་ GROD.KHOG, སྲོད་ LTO, སྲོད་ PHO.BA or སྡུགས་ GSUS.PA which mean 'stomach' or 'belly'. A few languages use other derivations: སྲོད་ LTOGS.RE (Sp) < སྲོད་ LTOGS.BKRES and སྲོད་ LHO.BA LANG (Sh) < CT སྲོད་ LTOGS.PA + སྲོད་ LANG. Dzongkha uses སྲོད་ LTO.BKYES < CT སྲོད་ BKRES 'to be hungry (H)'; སྲོད་ LTO.BKRES (Lho). The honorific form སྲོད་ BKRES is used in some languages (Û, Ts), and སྲོད་ RIMS [H] (La) < CT 'archaic form' སྲོད་ SRIBS to be hungry' (Norman 2019).

1189. BE THIRSTY སྐོམ་ SKOM [v1] [PR] < CT སྐོམ་ SKOM(S). Usually this verb is preceded by མཚམས་ KHA 'mouth': སྐོམ་ KHA.SKOM. The root SKOM is related to SKAM, and thus KHA.SKOM could be literally rended as 'to have a dry mouth'. In Spiti སྐོམ་ SKOM.BKRES is used a compound which includes the honorific verb BKRES. The honorific form སྐོམ་ SKYEMS [H] is widespread (La, Ts, Û).

1190. OCCUR/HAPPEN ཚུང་ BYUNG [v1] [PR]. The variant ཤུང་ BYING < CT BYUNG is used in Ladakh. Other verbs are attested for this meaning, རི་སེགས་ THON (Û,
1191. GET ANGRY: see ANGER.

1192. TRANSLATE 西藏的 SKAD SGYUR [V2,+Ctr] [PW] (La). 读音为 SKADZLOG BYA < CT lit. 'to convert language' used in Balti. In some areas in Kham, a Chinese-Tibetan calque "THONG.SI RGYAG (Ch. 通事 tongshi 'interpreter' + RGYAG 'do') is used.

1193. BLOCK/STOP 阻塞 BKAG [V2,+Ctr] [PR] pronounced /kak/, /kaʔ/, etc. (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Jir, Lho) < CT pronounced /gaks/, /gak/, /gaʔ/, etc. 

1194. GET BLOCKED, BE STOPPED 堵塞 GAG [V1] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Jir, Lho) < CT pronounced /gaks/, /gak/, /gaʔ/, etc. 'to dam up water'.

1195. SEW 拼缝 BTSEM [V2,+Ctr] [PR] often pronounced /tsem/ < (La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho) < CT pronounced /gaks/, /gak/, /gaʔ/, etc. 'to dam up water'.

1196. ROT 摆动 RUL [V1] [PR] < CT. In some Kham dialects, 關係 MA-YAG lit. 'not good' is also used.

1197. PUT OUT TO PASTURE 讓出去 TSHO [V2,+Ctr] [PR] (La, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho) < CT 讓出去 讓出去 'TSHO(S). In some eastern areas, this word just means 'to leave domestic animals outside'.

1198. GIVE 趕 BYIN [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (in Ba, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, Sh) < CT 趕 byin BYIN/byin/ (Lho), /bin/ (Cho), /bin/ (Sh) /p/in/. In Balti, it is pronounced /byin/. Another root 趕 SPRAD [FFR] < CT 趕 byin SPRAD/(O)D 'to pass, communicate'.
make a present’. It should be noted that the roots སྟེར་ STER and བྱིན་ BYIN are sometimes used as suppletive verbs for the various tenses of the verb ‘give’ (Am, Sh). In Ladakh བཏང་ BTANG (La, Za, Pur) < CT ‘send, give’ is used. The root གཏོད་ GTOD /tö/ (Sp, SKh) < CT གཏད་ GTO/AD ‘to direct, hand over’ is also attested. The humilific root ཇུལ་ PHUL [La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz] < CT and the honorific གནང་ GNANG [H] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz), མཆོད་ MCHOD [H] (Ü, Ts) and སལ་ SAL [H] (La) < CT རྩལ་ RTSAL ‘offer’ ‘make offerings’ are also widespread.

1199. FULL (BE) རྒྱགས་ RGYAGS [v1] [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT རྒྱགས་ རྒྱགས་ (b)RGYAG(s) ‘to be full, satisfied’. In the western languages, this verb is used to mean ‘to become fat’ and འགྲང་ GRANG [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Tö, Ts) < CT འགྲང་ འགྲངས་ འགྲང་ GRANG (S) is used for ‘to be full’.

1200. MEET གཏོང་ THUG [v2] [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, Jir, Lho) < CT. Other roots are more marginal: འཕྲད་ PHRAD [v2] ‘to meet’ [FFR] (Sh, Dz, Lho) < CT. The form is written as འབྲི་ BRI (S) ‘to draw, write’. The initial cluster BR is realized in many ways, such as /br/, /ʈ/, /ɖ/, /p/, /č/. It is difficult to say if the initial cluster of ※སྦྲི SBRI (Pur) /z bri/ is inherited or is an innovation. The Balti form ཀྲིས་ RBI (S) may be explained by metathesis. The distinction between ‘draw’ and ‘write’ is made by the noun that precedes the verb: ཤིག་ རིས་ ‘write (letters)’, རི་མོ་ རི་ ‘draw (drawings)’, ཡི་གེ་ རིས་ ‘make a picture’ (Urdu) is also used in Ladaks. Note that the noun རིས་ RIS/RI is cognate with the verb རི་སི་ BRIS (b)RIS (see Hill 2005).

1201. LOOK/WATCH འི་ LTA [v2, +Ctr] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho) < CT འི་ ལེགས་ (b)LTA(s) ‘to look, watch’. Sherpa has a unique reflex, སྣ་ LHA. The honorific and humilific form རྩིགས་ GZIGS and the humilific མཇལ་ MJAL are widespread.
1203. SEE རེག་ MTHONG [v2] [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü) < CT. རེག་ RIG [FFW] (Hr, NKh, Am) < CT 'to know'. The latter is mainly found in the pastoralist areas of Nagchu, Kham and Amdo. The honorific and humilific forms, respectively གྱིགས་ GZIGS and མཇལ་ MJAL are widespread. མཇལ་ MJAL is used for the ordinary register in Melong.

1204. HEAR གོ། GO [v2] [FFW] (Sp, Tö, Ü, Am, Kh, Dz) < CT. Two other roots གཤེོར་ TSHOR [FFW] (La, Ba, Pur, SKh) < CT 'to feel' and གཞིས་ THOS [FFW] (Dromo, Yol, Lho, Dz) < CT 'to hear' are also encountered. The honorific form གསན་ GSAN (La, Yol, Ú, Ts, Dz, etc.) is widespread.

1205. LISTEN ཉན་ NYAN [v2, +Ctr] [PW] < CT ཉན་ ཉན་ ཉོན་ ((M)NYA/(O)N). The honorific form གསན་ GSAN (Ú, Ts, Dz, La) is widespread.

1206. DREAM རྒྱལ་ MTHONG + RMI [v2] or the archaic variant རྒྱལ་ MTHONG + RMYLAM (Am, Kh) < CT, lit. 'to dream the dream path'. རྒྱལ་ RMMLAM + MTHONG (Sh, Lho) < CT 'see a dream'. གྱིད་ ལྷུང་ MNYID.LAM MTHONG 'see a dream' (Ba, Pur, La). In most dialects, the construction གྱིད་ ལྷུང་ MNYID.LAM < CT 'sleep path' + LV is used: གྱིད་ ལྷུང་ MNYID.LAM BTANG (Ts, Ú, Dz, etc.).

1207. SHOW བསྟན། BSTAN/◊ སྟོན། LTAN [v2, +Ctr] [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü) < CT བསྟན་། སྟོན་ (B)STA/(O)N. This is derived from the root བྲན་ LTA (see LOOK/WATCH) preceded by the causative prefix 'to make look (at)' and followed by the suffix N. Some languages still have a reflex of བྲན་ LTAN (Ba, La, Am) and so the reconstructed form should be བྲན་SLTAN. Some languages use the syntactic construction བྲན་་ LTA 'JUG' make see'.

1208. CALL/INVITE བོད་ BOD or བོས་ BOS [v2, +Ctr] [FFW] (La, Am, Kh) < CT བོད་ 'BOD' (BO)D/S). Some compounds (with an LVC) are also found. For example, བན་ བྲུན་ SKAD BTANG lit. 'send voice', བན་ བྲུན་ SKAD BRGYAB (E: Th, Yol) lit. 'make voice', བན་ བྲུན་ SKAD ZER lit. 'tell voice' (Ba), བན་ བོད་ SKAD GTONG (Za), བོད་ བོད་ SKAD BOD lit. 'voice call', བོད་ བོད་ YONG ZER (Pur) 'say to come'.
1209. **BREAK** བཅག་ **BCAG** [v2, +Ctr] [PW] < CT རྡོག་ བཅག་ བཅག་ བོད་ (G/B)C(H)/O/AG. Another verb, དྲུག་ **DKRUM** [v2, +Ctr] (Dz) < CT རྡོག་ དྲུག་ དྲུག་ **DKRUM** (S) ‘smash, fracture, break’, is used in Dzongkha.

1210. **BREAK/BE BROKEN** བཅག་ **CHAG** [v1] [PW] < CT.

1211. **CUT** (ROPE/TREE) བཅད་ **BCAD** [v2, +Ctr] [PR] < CT བཅད་ བཅད་ བཅད་ (G/B)C(H)/O/AG. The Tibetan languages usually make a distinction between various types or methods of cutting: ‘cut a rope or tree’, ‘cut in small pieces’, ‘cut wool/hair, shear, shave off’, ‘cut grass, mow, reap’.

1212. **CUT**/BE **CUT** (ROPE/TREE) བཅད་ **CHAD** [v1] [PR].

1213. **DECIDE** ཐག་བཅད་ **THAG BCAD** [v2, +Ctr] [PR] < CT lit. ‘cut the rope’. Most languages use this metaphor to express ‘to decide’.

1214. **BE DECIDED** ཐག་ཆོད་ **THAG CHOD** [v1] [PR]. This is the anticausative (or resultative) form of the verb ‘decide’ (see above).

1215. **CUT** (INTO PIECES) གཏུབ་ **GTUB** [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ú, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho, Am). This is usually used for cutting meat into small pieces and for chopping wood. It is not found in all dialects. In southern Kham, བྲེ་ /’nya/ of unclear origin, is often used for this meaning.

1216. **CUT** (WOOL, HAIR) ཇེས་ **BREG** [PR]. A reflex of this, ཇེས་ **BRAG** is widespread.

1217. **CUT** (GRASS) རྔ་ **RNGA** [PR] < CT རྔ་ རྔ་ རྔ་ རྔ་ རྔ་ རྔ་ རྔ་ རྔ་ རྔ་ (S) རྔ་ (D/S). This usually refers to cutting meat, rice, potato and vegetables by boiling. The root རྔ་ **SKOL** ‘to boil’ is also used in some languages to mean ‘to cook’. See **BOIL**.

1218. **SHAVE/SHEAR** བཞར་ **BZHAR** [FFW] (Am, Kh, Ú, Ts) < CT བཞར་ བཞར་ བཞར་ བཞར་ བཞར་ བཞར་ (BZHAR) (O/R), བཞར་ **BRAG** < CT བཞང་ ཉེ་ ཉེ་ ཉེ་ ཉེ་ (*/BZRAG)(S) (Ba, Pur, La, Am, Kh, Ú, Ts).

1219. **COOK** དབུས་ **BTSOS** [v2, +Ctr] [PW] < CT དབུས་ དབུས་ དབུས་ དབུས་ (’/B/B/ZRS)(H)/O(D/S). This usually refers to cooking meat, rice, potato and vegetables by boiling. The root དབུས་ **SKOL** ‘to boil’ is also used in some languages to mean ‘to cook’. See **BOIL**.

1220. **COOK/BE COOKED** དབུས་ **TSHOS** [v1] [PW] < CT.
1221. BOIL བེབ་ གྲུབ་ [v2, +ctr, PR] < CT.

1222. BOIL/BE BOILED བེབ་ གྲུབ་ [v1] [PR] < CT.

1223. KNEAD ཆོ། ར་ [FFW] < CT. The derived form ཆོ། ར་ [Yol, Ú, Am, etc] < CT ‘to knead, to make dough’ is also widespread.

1224. BE NAMED ཤེར་ [FFR, FFW] (see CALL), ཽེར་ [Yol, Ü, Am, etc] < CT ‘to knead, to make dough’ is also widespread.

1225. TEACH བོས་ [v2, +ctr, FFR] < CT བོས་ བོས་ བོས་ བོས་ (B)SLABS (Ba, La, Pur, Ü, TS, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh) CT ‘to teach, learn’, which also means ‘teach’, is widespread. Syntactic constructions for ‘learn’ and ‘teach’ may be different, but are not always. There is thus sometimes ambiguity. In many dialects, the two roots form the compound noun བོས་ བོས་ བོས་ བོས་, which takes the verbaliser BYED to give བོས་ བོས་ བོས་ བོས་ BYED ‘to study’. In Ladakh, the verb བོས་ [BSIL, (La)] < CT is used.

1226. LEARN/STUDY སྟོད་ [v2, +ctr, FFR] < CT སྟོད་ སྟོད་ སྟོད་ སྟོད་ (B)SBYONG (Ba, La, Pur, Ú, TS, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh) CT ‘to teach, learn’, which also means ‘teach’, is widespread. Syntactic constructions for ‘learn’ and ‘teach’ may be different, but are not always. There is thus sometimes ambiguity. In many dialects, the two roots form the compound noun སྟོད་ སྟོད་ སྟོད་ སྟོད་, which takes the verbaliser BYED to give སྟོད་ སྟོད་ སྟོད་ སྟོད་ BYED ‘to study’. In Ladakh, the verb སྟོད་ [BSIL, (La)] < CT is used.

1227. KNOW (HAVING LEARNT) གཉེན་ གཉེན་ གཉེན་ གཉེན་ [v2, +ctr, FFR] < CT གཉེན་ གཉེན་ གཉེན་ གཉེན་ (B)SBYONG (Ba, La, Pur, Ú, TS, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh) CT ‘to teach, learn’, which also means ‘teach’, is widespread. Syntactic constructions for ‘learn’ and ‘teach’ may be different, but are not always. There is thus sometimes ambiguity. In many dialects, the two roots form the compound noun གཉེན་ གཉེན་ གཉེན་ གཉེན་, which takes the verbaliser BYED to give གཉེན་ གཉེན་ གཉེན་ གཉེན་ BYED ‘to study’. In Ladakh, the verb གཉེན་ [BSIL, (La)] < CT is used.

1228. GROW སྐྱེ སྐྱེ སྐྱེ སྐྱེ [v1] [FFR] < CT སྐྱེ སྐྱེ སྐྱེ སྐྱེ (B)SKYE (B)SKYE (B)SKYE (B)SKYE.

1229. BE BORN སྐྱེ [v1] [PR]; see GROW. Other words are marginally attested. Some dialects use metaphorical expressions, such as གྲུབ་ ཁྱེད་ བེ། ལ་ བོད་ ལུ་ ར་ /mik s’äʔ/ ‘open the eyes for the first time’ (see OPEN); ཤེས་drag < CT ‘to recover’. In
Amdo བཙས་ BTSAS /tsi/ < CT 'to be born' is attested; it is less plausible that it comes from གསོས་ GSOS (Am) < CT 'foster, raise'. The honorific forms འཁྲུངས KHRUNGS [H] (Ü) and གྲིམས LTAMS (La) are widespread in languages with honorific systems (Ü, Ts, La, Dz). The honorific form འཁྲུངས KHRUNGS is used for animals in Melung (Skh).

1230. GIVE BIRTH བསྐྱེ SKYE [v2] [PW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh, Am) < CT. See BE BORN. གསོས GSOS (Am) < CT 'foster, raise'. The two verbs 'to be born' and 'to give birth' differ in their syntax. Most languages have constructions of the type ར་མ་ལ་ཕྲུ་གུ་ བསྐྱེ MA-LA PHRU.GU SKYE, lit. 'to the mother a child is born'. The verb འདུག་ DUG < CT 'exist' is used in Southern Kham to mean 'to give birth'.

1231. BORROW, LEND (MONEY, TSAMPA) བསྐྱི་ SKYI [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, Dz, Sh, Am) < CT. This verb is generally used for grain or money. However, some languages (Ü, Ts) do not make this difference and use གཡར་ G‧YAR, which otherwise refers to borrowing an object that should be brought back, not replaced. Ladakhis thus find it amusing that Central Tibetans use the verb /yar/ to borrow 'soap', 'money', or 'rice' (see the next entry).

1232. BORROW, LEND (THINGS/TOOLS TO BE BROUGHT BACK) གཡར་ G‧YAR [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh, Am) < CT གཡར་གཡོར་ G‧YA(O)R. Another root is attested: ལི་ RNIA (Dz, Lho) < CT ལི་ RNIA. These are used for objects that should be given back and not replaced.

1233. WEEP/CRY གནུ་ NGU [v1,+/-Ctr] [PR] < CT གནུ་ NGU(S). Note that in Dzongkha the reflex has yielded a high tone and is written གནུ་ SNGU. In some Amdo dialects, a compound verb (LVC) is made of an onomatopoetic expression and a light verb: མིག་ཆུ་བཏང་ MIG.CHU BTANG [v1,+Ctr], མིག་ཆུ་ཤོར་ MIG.CHU SHOR [v1,-Ctr] 'to shed tears'. The honorific verb is བཤུམས་ BSHUM (La, Ü, Ts).
1234. BE ASHAMED [NGO, TSHA] < CT NGO 'face' + TSHA 'hot' [PW]. Another root KHREL < CT lit. 'embarrassment' (Kh, La, Pur, Ba). /tʃe jì/ (Rongdrak, Kh) and /tʃi/ (gYagrwa, Kh) may also be derived from this root.

1235. STAND (UP) [V1, + Ctr] LANG [PW] < CT LA/(O)NG(S). This is normally used with the directional marker YAR 'up'.

1236. MAKE STAND UP [V2, + Ctr] SLANG [PR]. Used for people and objects (to erect, place upright). In southern Kham, the causative form has been lost and a noncausative form LANG is used instead.

1237. COUGH LU [V1] [FFR] (Am, Kh, Sp) < CT 'cough'. This is sometimes used alone, but in most cases, the verb 'cough' is a compound verb made of a noun GLO 'lungs' or LUD(PA) 'a cough' followed by a verb KHOG (Pur, La) or LU or the verbaliser RGYAG [V1]: GLO BRGYAB (Ü, Am, Sh), GLO KHOG (Ts, Kh, Dz, Ba, La), GLO LULU (Kh, Th), GLO GSA (Lho), LUD PA LU (Am, Kh), LUD BRGYAB (Am), LUD BRGYAB (Sp, Ts), LUD KHOG (Am). The form SRUB often attested in Southern Kham may be derived from a CT verb SRUB meaning 'to rub'.

1238. CROSS (RIVER/PASS) RGAL [V2, + Ctr] [PW] < CT RGAL now means 'to go' (past). Some dialects simply use PHAR 'GRO'.

1239. DIVIDE/SHARE (b) GO(S) [V2, + Ctr] [PR] < CT 'divide+slaughter' followed by a light verb: MGO BSHA BRGYAB.

1240. COVER BKAB [V2, + Ctr] [PR] < CT 'cover, to conceal' ('GE/AB)BS(, b)KAB KHOB' to cover, to conceal'.

1241. TELL/SAY BSHAD [V2, + Ctr] [PW] (Ba, La, Tō, Ts, Ü, Lho, Kh, Am) < CT 'tell, explain'; ZER < PW (Ba, Pur, Tō, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT 'say'; LAB 'speak' [PW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Lho, etc.) <
CT. བོ (FFW) (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT བོ (BZLA(0)/S) 'to repeat'. This is usually pronounced /dzo/ in the present and /dze/ in the past. In some Amdo dialects, བོ (BZLAS) is a suppletive form for the past of the verb བོ (ZLA). In Kongpo and the southern Himalayas (Yol, etc.), བོ (S) 'to say, tell, teach' (h) < archaic form found in OT. བོ (ZH) 'to say, tell (h)'.

1242. TALK/SPEAK/CONVERSE. In the Tibetan languages, these verbs correspond to various compound verbs made up of a noun followed by a lexical verb or a light verb. The noun is generally related to language: སྐད་ (SKAD.CHA) 'talk, conversation, speech' < CT སྐད་ 'language, sound'; མ་ (KHABRA) < CT lit. 'mouth, sound, speech'; བོ་ (BRA) 'example, metaphor, illustration' + བོ (BLO) 'concept', etc. The verbs that follow these nouns are either lexical verbs, such as བཤད་ (BSHAD) 'to tell', པོ་ (GRAG) 'to resound, be heard' or ལབ་ (LAB) 'speak', or light verbs such as ད་ (BYED) 'to do', ཀྲ (RGYAB) 'hit', ང་ (BTANG) 'send'. Among the most frequent compound verbs are སྐད་ (SKADI) 'language, sound'; མ་ (KHABRA) < CT lit. 'mouth, sound, speech'; བོ་ (BRA) 'example, metaphor, illustration' + བོ (BLO) 'concept', etc. The verbs that follow these nouns are either lexical verbs, such as བཤད་ (BSHAD) 'to tell', པོ (GRAG) 'to resound, be heard' or ལབ་ (LAB) 'speak', or light verbs such as ད་ (BYED) 'to do', ཀྲ (RGYAB) 'hit', ང་ (BTANG) 'send'. Among the most frequent compound verbs are སྐད་ (SKADI) 'language, sound'; མ་ (KHABRA) < CT lit. 'mouth, sound, speech'; བོ (BRA) 'example, metaphor, illustration' + བོ (BLO) 'concept', etc. The verbs that follow these nouns are either lexical verbs, such as བཤད་ (BSHAD) 'to tell', པོ (GRAG) 'to resound, be heard' or ལབ་ (LAB) 'speak', or light verbs such as ད་ (BYED) 'to do', ཀྲ (RGYAB) 'hit', ང་ (BTANG) 'send'. Among the most frequent compound verbs are སྐད་ (SKADI) 'language, sound'; མ་ (KHABRA) < CT lit. 'mouth, sound, speech'; བོ (BRA) 'example, metaphor, illustration' + བོ (BLO) 'concept', etc. The verbs that follow these nouns are either lexical verbs, such as བཤད་ (BSHAD) 'to tell', པོ (GRAG) 'to resound, be heard' or ལབ་ (LAB) 'speak', or light verbs such as ད་ (BYED) 'to do', ཀྲ (RGYAB) 'hit', ང་ (BTANG) 'send'.
1243. **ASK** ལྟོས་ DRIS [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ལྟོས་ DRIS (')DRIS(s). Note that the initial cluster of ལྟོས་ DRIS is pronounced as a retroflex /ʈ/ in most languages. There are some exceptions such as Thewo, which has no retroflexes and uses an affricate /ch/ here instead, and Balti, which preserves the old pronunciation /tr/. Amdo has an aspirated form for the imperative: ལྟོས་ PHRIS. A few languages have LVC or noun incorporation, such as ལྟོས་ DRIS or ལྟོས་ DRLBA DRIS.

1244. **ANSWER/REPLY** ལན་ LAN + LV [v2,+Ctr] [PR]. There are no simple verbs in the Tibetic languages for 'to answer'. A number of compounds of a noun meaning 'answer' and a light verb or the lexical verb 'to return' ལོག་ ZLOG or ལོག་ SLOG are found. The noun in most languages is ལན་ LAN (or its variant ལོན་ LON) < CT 'answer': ལན་པརྒྱབ་ LAN BRGYAB (Ü, Ts, Kh, Sh), or the variant ལོན་ RKYABS (Lho), ལན་ LAN SLAB (Dz) < CT ལབ་ LAB 'to speak', ལན་ LAN BTAB (Kh, Am), ལན་ LAN BTANG (La), ལན་ LAN BTANG (Pur), ལོན་ LON BYED (To), ལོན་ LON RGYIB (Sp). In some rare cases, the noun is a compound: ལགས་ BKA'LAN (Th) lit. 'order answer', ལགས་ GTAM.LAN (Ba) lit. 'talk answer': ལགས་ BKA'LAN SLOG (Th), ལགས་ GTAM.LAN ZLOG (Ba), ལགས་ GTAMSLOG (Yol). One finally notes that some Amdo dialects have the expression ལྟོས་ RJE (Am) lit. 'say in return'. The eastern section has མཁས་ KHAS.BLANGS < CT 'to take with the mouth'. It is also possible, though improbable, that the form corresponds to an archaic verb ལན་ LAN not found in CT. Finally in Gyālthang, there is the form བོའི་ wo' 'to answer'.

1245. **EXCHANGE** རྗེ་ RJE [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT རྗེ་ RJE (')RJE(s). This is pronounced རྗེ་ BZHE in Balti and ལེ་ RJE in Ladaks. The verb རེ་ SDEB (La, Pur) is also used for this meaning. In some languages, such as Central Tibetan (Ü), there is light verb construction: རྗེ་ སྐྱེད་ RJE.PO BRGYAB.

1246. **LIE** རྗུན་ RDZUN [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts, Dz) < CT + V or LV < CT verb རྗུན་ RDZU 'to pretend, to fake, to forge'. རྗུན་ RDZUN BSHAD (Ü), རྗུན་ RDZUN BTANG (La), རྗུན་ RDZUN SLAB (Dz). Other roots are attested such as རུབ་ SHOP <
CT: ◊ཤོབ་བཏང་SHOB BTANG (Nubra) < CT, ◊ཤོབ་གཏམ་SHOB GTAM (Am), ◊ཤོབ་རྐྱིབས་SHOB RKYAB (Dz), ◊སྨ་བི Bryad (U), ◊ལྡོག་རྐྱིབས་RMO (NW). The variant ◊རྒྱོགས་RNGO is attested in Ladakh (Sham). In some languages, this verb is used as a compound verb: ◊སྨ་བི་འཇོག། SM BRGYAB (Ü, Ts, Tö), ◊འཇོག། A RKYAB (Tö). In Ladakh, the verb implies usually not only ploughing but also sowing at the same time. Otherwise, ◊ཞིང་སློ་ZHING SLOG lit. ‘to turn the field’ and ◊ཐོང་བཏང་THONG BTANG are used (Norman, pers. comm. 2017).

1248. RIGHT/BE SUITABLE ◆GRIG [V1] [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ü, TS, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh) < CT. Also found with the meaning ‘to be enough’. In central Kham, the verb ◊ཞེད་RDE is widely used. In Amdo ◊ཆོག་CHOG ‘to be possible’ is also used for this meaning. In Ladakh and Purik, the Hindi–Urdu loanword ◆THIG [ʈʰik], which is very similar to ◆GRIG, is also used.

1249. SHOUT ◆SKAD + LV [V1, + Ctr] [FFW]. ◆སྐད་བརྒྱབ་SKAD BRGYAB, ◆སྐད་འབོད་SKAD BOD, ◆སྐད་བཏང་SKAD BTANG, ◆སྐད་བཏབ་SKAD BTAB. In most languages, there is no simple verb to convey the meaning of ‘shout’, but ◆བོད་BOD < CT ‘call’, ◆སྐད་བྱོན་BTSOG BING (Pur). In the southern Himalayas, the construction ◆བཙོས་སྐད་འཐེན་BTSIR SKAD THEN (Yol) is attested. Other forms include the word ◆འུར་UR ‘onomatopoeia for noises, especially the wind’ with a light verb.

1250. HIRE ◆GLA [V2, + Ctr] [PW] < CT དབྱེ་ཞི་ཤི་ཤི GLA(O) (S). This is usually pronounced /la/ in most modern languages. In some western languages (La, Ba), ◆GLA is used as a noun and followed by a verb, e.g. ◆གླེགས་ཤེས་GLA LA KHYONG, མིང་ཤི་ཤི GLAKHAR LEN.

1251. BE DRUNK ◆བཟུ། RALI [V1] [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The verb ◆བཟུ། RALI may be used alone as in Amdo, but is often preceded by ◆ར ར་RA < ར་ར། ZARAG
'alcohol'. A pronunciation corresponding to རྫི་ RDZI is also attested. In some dialects རག་ལྟུ་ RAG RO (Skh) or ར་ོ་ RARO (La, Ba, Pur) < CT are used, e.g. རང་ལྟུ་ RARO GO (Ba) lit. 'to go drunk'; ལོག་པུང་ GO PHUG (Drugchu) lit. 'pierced head'.

1252. MILK/SQUEEZE སྤོ་ BZHO/ ཉོ JO [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Yol, U, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT སྤོ་ ཉོ་ སྤོ་ ཉོ་ (B)ZHOS, ('JO)S) derived from OT དེ་ ZHO 'milk'.

In some western languages, སྤོ་ BTSIR [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur) < CT སྤོ་ ཉོ་ སྤོ་ ཉོ་ ['JO]HTS'HIR 'to squeeze' (usually preceded by the noun 'milk'). See MILK.

1253. FIND རེ་ RNYED [V2] [FFW] (Sham, Pur, Am, Lho) < CT. Other roots are attested: e.g. སྐྱུ་ THOB [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Lho) < CT lit. 'obtain', སྐྱུ་ TSHOL (Kh, Dz) < CT སྐྱུ་ BTLA 'to look for'; སྐྱུ་ LON (Kh, Am), the resultative form of CT སྐྱུ་ LEN 'take'; སྐྱུ་ CHUD (Am) < lit. 'to get into'. In Balti the compound རག་ཐུན་ LAG-DU'UNG lit. 'to come in the hand' is used. In Southern Kham, སྐྱུ་ TSHUR KHA RAG lit. 'hither obtain' is attested.

1254. LOOK/SEARCH སྤོ་ BTSAL ཉོ་ TSHOL [PR] < CT སྤོ་ BTSAL 'to try to catch, to caress'. We can also mention here the CT expression སྤོ་ BTSAD BCAD 'to investigate, to explore' (lit. 'to cut the root').

1255. MARRY/WED. There is no simple verb in the Tibetic language for 'to marry'.

One finds a number of compounds of a noun – often related to the ideas of a 'meal or chang feast, banquet', 'bride' or 'relatives' – followed by a light verb. In central Tibet, the compound སྤོ་ སྤོ་ CHANG-SA+BRGYAB [V1,+Ctr] lit. 'to hold a barley beer (feast)' is used. Other nouns are used, such as སྤོ་ BAG STON 'bride feast' may be ultimately derived from སྤོ་ BAG 'meal, barley meal or

10. It is interesting to note that, in Ladakh, the BAG STON 'wedding reception party' is often held days or even years after the actual marriage (Norman, pers. comm. 2017).
If this is the case, these two words related to 'marriage' are related to drink. Also attested are བག་མ་ (BAG MA) 'bride', བག་ལེན་ (BAG LEN) 'bride taking', ལེན་ (LEN) 'relative taking', ལེན་ (LEN) 'relative, parent', ལེན་ (LEN) 'relative organizing', ལེན་ (LEN) 'relatives' feast'. These are followed by various light verbs, and thus we find the following compounds: བག་ལེན་བྱེད་ (BAG LEN BYED) (Tö), བག་ལེན་བཙོ (BAG LEN BZO) (Th), བག་ལེན་བཅོ་ (BAG LEN BCO) (La), བག་ལེན་ (BAG LEN BYA) (Ba, Pur), བག་ལེན་ (BAG LEN BYE) (Kham, Am), བག་ལེན་ (BAG LEN BYED) (Kh, Am), ལེན་ (LEN) 'relative, parent' sometimes spelled ལེན་ (LEN) 'to marry' correspond to 'hold a feast'. In Amdo, the terms བཟའ་བ་ (BZA BA) 'make spouse' and བཟའ་ཚང་བཅའ (BZA TSHANG BCA) 'promise couple' are also attested. Sherpa has borrowed the Nepali word /zendi/ in association with the verbaliser /kyi/ (< BGYID 'to do'): བེན་འེ་བི་ (BZEN DI BGYID) Each of the participants can also be emphasized: བག་མ་ (BAG MA) 'make bride' (La), ལེན་ (LEN) 'hold a feast'. In Amdo, the terms ལེན་ (LEN) 'to marry' correspond to ལེན་ (LEN) 'to sit'. Another frequent verb is ཀ་ (DUG) 'sit'. A third root used in Amdo, northern Kham and Hor is རུ་ (TSOG) 'to sit on the heels', derived from རུ་ (TSOG) 'squatting posture with knees upright'. The honorific form is nearly pandialectal: ལུགས་ (BZHUGS) (La, Ü, Ts, Dz) < CT, the high honorific ལུན་ཆགས་ (LDAN CHAGS) (La) is also attested. In some areas (Hor, Kham), a cake called ཐུ་ (THU) 'cheese and butter cake') see CHEESE CAKE with a yungdrung (swastika sign), symbolizing that the marriage is going to last, is made on the occasion of the wedding. In other areas, a giant torma is made of tsampa with butter flowers and auspicious signs.
Southern Kham the honorific is used with an ordinary meaning, though only for human beings.

1257. **LIVE/RESIDE** བསྡད་ BSAD or སྡོད། SDOD [V1,+Ctr] [PW] (L, Ü, Ts, Yol, Dz) < CT. The root དུག་ DUG (Pur, La, Hor, Kh, Am); see SIT. The honorific form is widespread: བཞུགས་ BZHUGS (H) [PW].

1258. **STAY** བསྡད། BSDAD or སྡོད། SDOD [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT. The root དུག་ DUG (Ho, Am, La, Ba, Pur) and ཀླུས་ LUS (Ba) lit. 'left behind' are also found. See SIT. བཞུགས་ BZHUGS (H) [PW].

1259. **WARM ONESELF** སྲོ། SRO [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT. This root is related to དྲོ་ DRO; see WARM (adjective). It is often used with 'fire': མེ་སྲོ། ME SRO 'warm oneself by the fire' (Pur, Za). མེ་འདེ ME DE (Nubra) 'warm oneself by the fire'. The verb དྲོ་ SGAR is used in South Kham; its origin is unclear. བསྟུག་ BTUG occurs in Yolmo (see BURN).

1260. **THINK** བསམ་ BSAM [V2] [FFW] (Pur, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT བསམ་ བསམས་ སེམས་ SEMS (B)SA/O)M(S). In some dialects, other roots are also used, such as འདོད་ DOD lit. 'to wish' (Amdo). Note that the original CT verb has an imperative form and is controllable (+Ctr). This is generally not the case of the modern forms. In order to express a controllable equivalent some languages have a compound form: བསམ་བློ བཏང་ BSAM BLO BTANG (Ü, Ts) 'to reflect upon' བསམ་ བསམ་ དང་ བརྒྱབ་ MNO BSAM BTANG DANG BRGYAB (Am).

1261. **RIDE (A HORSE/BICYCLE)** རོན་ ZHON [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, Yol, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am). Other words such as གྱུར་ RKYA < CT 'to move to another place' (Kh), གྱོད། KYER < CT 'to take' (Ho), སྒོགས། BCIB < CT 'to mount' (Am), བྲེོགས། 'DZEGS < CT 'to climb' (Am) are also used. The honorific དངོས། 'CHIBS (La, Ü, Ts); དངོས་ BRGYAB (Am).

1262. **LIE DOWN** ཉལ་ NYAL [PW] < CT ཉལ་ཉོ NYA/O)L. Other forms such as དྲོ་ RGYANG and གྲོ། LOG are used in many Eastern languages. In many areas, ཕྲོ།
པོ་ཉལ་ MNYAM.PONYAL, or simply ཉལ་ NYAL may also mean 'sleep with somebody, have sexual intercourse.' In order to avoid this meaning, other words are sometimes used; དགེལ་ 'GYEL (La) < CT 'to faint'. The honorific གཟིམས་ GZIMS is widespread.

1263. SLEEP ཉལ་ NYAL [PW] < CT ཉལ་ NYA/(O)L. The word is identical in most languages. In the Gyälthang dialect (Kh) /'yɔʔ/ is used and in Rongdrak (Kh) /'æɡe:/ is heard; both of unclear origin. In some languages, the verb is preceded by the noun GNYID 'torpor, sleep': ཁོ་བདོ་ GNYID NYAL (Ü). The honorific གཟིམས་ GZIMS is widespread.

1264. FALL ASLEEP གོད་ GNYID [PR] < CT 'sleep'. དགེལ་ 'GYEL (La) < CT 'to faint'. The honorific གཟིམས་ GZIMS is widespread. The word is identical in most languages. In the Gyälthang dialect (Kh) /'yɔʔ/ is used and in Rongdrak (Kh) /'æɡe:/ is heard; both of unclear origin. In some languages, the verb is preceded by the noun GNYID 'torpor, sleep': ཁོ་བདོ་ GNYID NYAL (Ü). The honorific གཟིམས་ GZIMS is widespread.

1265. SING: see SONG.

1266. DANCE བྲོ་ BRO + LV [V1+Ctr] [FFW] < CT རྩེ་ RTSE. བྲོ་ BRO BTANG (Ü, Ts, Tö, Yol, Sh), རྩེ་ རཀྱ རས་ ZHABS.RKRA (Lho). One also finds compound forms made with other nouns: རྩེ་ རཀྱ རས་ ZHABS.SKRABS.RKRA (Dz), or alternatively རྩེ་ རཀྱ རས་ ZHABS.KHRAB RKRA. In Hor (Nagchu), རྩེ་ རཀྱ རས་ lit. 'song' + 'trample' is used. This points again the close relation between 'song' and 'dance' (see SONG). The word བྲོ་ BRO is sometimes used alone, as བྲོ་ BRO (Kh) or བྲོ་ BYO (T: Th), as a verb 'to dance', or else as a noun 'dance' followed by a verb: བྲོ་ BRO RTSE < CT 'dance'+to play (Am), བྲོ་ BRO CHAM (Dz, Am, Kh) < 'CHAM < CT 'to dance a ritual mask dance'. Two additional roots are frequently attested: བྲོ་ RTSE 'to dance' (Ba, La, Am, etc) < CT 'to play, enjoy' (see below PLAY), བྲོ་ BRO RTSE.MO RTSE (Am, La) and the variant བྲོ་ BRO SEMJOS (Sp, Za), བྲོ་ BRO RTSES BTANG (Pur, La). བྲོ་ TSHALLA GDANG, of unclear origin, is used in Gyälthang.
1267. **DANCE (RITUAL)** འཆམ་ 'CHAM [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འཆམ་ འཆམ་ 'CHAM(S). Designates mask dances and ritual dances usually performed by monks. The term འཆམ་ 'CHAM is nearly pandialectal. Dialects which do not have this term may refer to these types of dance by the general term 'dance', as in Thewo གྲ འབྲ འབྲ (BRO).

1268. **PLAY/AMUSE ONESELF** རྩེ RTSE [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT རྩེ རྩེ རྩེ རྩེ (B)RTSE(S). When it designates the generic activity of playing, this verb is preceded by an incorporated noun: རྩེ་འདེ་ RTSE.MO RTSE; རྩེ་ YENGS < CT 'to distract’. རྩེ་འདེ་ GYENGS.PA RTSE/ yangspa `tse' (Pur, La),/yangfsa `(Za).

1269. **STEAL** རྐུ་ RKU [V1,+Ctr] [PR] < CT རྐུ་ རྐུ་ རྐུ་ རྐུ་ (B)RKU(S). In some dialects, the verb is preceded by an incorporated noun: རྐུ་ རྐུ་ RKU.MA RKU (U, Ts). The verb རྐུ་ 'PHROG is also attested.

1270. **LICK** ལྡག་ LDAG [PW] < CT ལྡག་ ལྡག་ ལྡག་ ལྡག་ (O)G(S). The word is sometimes pronounced ཉླ་ GLAG. Many dialects use the expression ཉླ་ ZHO LDAG lit. 'to lick yoghurt' to mean 'to eat yoghurt', but in other dialects the verb 'to drink' is used, ཉླ་ ZHO THUNG 'to drink yoghurt'.

1271. **LAUGH** དགོད་ DGOD [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT དགོད་ དགོད་ དགོད་ དགོད་ (B/D)GA(O)D. Some languages have lost the trace of the final D, དགོད་ DGA' (not to be confused with the verb 'to like'). The verb is usually controllable, as in CT, and has an imperative form, but as with VOMIT (1272), it is possible to derive noncontrollable compound forms from this root. The verb is sometimes preceded by an incorporated noun: དགོད་པ་ GAD.MO BGDAD "to laugh" lit. 'to laugh laughter': དགོད་པ་ GAD.MO SHOR [-Ctr] lit. 'to burst out laughter'.

1272. **VOMIT/THROW UP** ལུག་ SKYUG [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT ལུག་ ལུག་ ལུག་ ལུག་ (B)SKYUG(S). The verb is usually controllable, as in CT, and has an imperative form, but it is possible to derive noncontrollable compound forms from this root. The verb is sometimes preceded by an incorporated noun: ལུག་ ལུག་ lit. 'to vomit vomit'.
1273. **ESCAPE/FLEE** རོས [v1,+Ctr] [FFW] (Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT རོས རོས རོས རོས (ʼbros). In some languages, the verb བུད [Ba, Kh, Pur] 'to get away, to get loose' is used.

1274. **LOSE/HAVE ESCAPE** ལེགས [FFW] (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Lho) < CT ལེགས ལེགས ལེགས ལེགས 'CHORSHER. This verb differs from ʼbros in the sense that the 'escape' is from the point of view of the one from whom the escapees have fled: རེགས RTASHOR 'the horses have escaped, he has lost the horses'. ʼbros is also used as a light verb in many languages. In Ladakh, the verb བུད BUD < CT བུད བུད བུད བུད ('bud) is also used to mean 'to come out, become separated'.

1275. **REST** གལ་གསོ [v1,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, Sp, Tö, Dz, Sh, La, Ba) < CT 'to recover from fatigue'; གལ་ཚོ NGALTSHO (La). In some languages, the form གལ་གསོ is used as a noun and followed by a light verb: གལ་གསོབརྒྱབ NGALGSO BRGYAB (Ü, Ts, Kh). Another compound verb is frequent in Eastern languages: འལ་སྲོ MAL SRO (Am, Kh, Ho) < CT 'to warm up one's bed'; see WARM ONESELF. The verb སྲོ SRO is nearly always preceded by the noun ʼMAL. In some languages, the form འལ་སྲོ MALSRO is used as a noun and followed by a light verb: འལ་སྲོབརྒྱབ MALSRO BRGYAB (Am, Kh, Hor). གལ་གསོ THANG GSO is attested in some southern languages (Yol, etc.).

1276. **RECOGNIZE/KNOW S.O.** གོ་ཤེས [v2] [PW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts) < CT གོ་ ʼNGO 'face' + ཤེས SHERS 'to know'. This compound is quite pervasive. In Ladakh, a reduplicated form is also attested: གོ་ཤེས ʼNGO SHERS SHERS 'to be familiar with'. Some few dialects may use the verb ཤེས SHERS alone. In some languages such as Balti, another compound verb, གོ་ཤེས གོ་ཤེས རུན་བཏང NGO ZIN BYA < CT གོ་འཛིན་འཛིན་ རུན་བཏང NGO 'face' + གོ་འཛིན་ʼdzin 'to capture, seize' + LV'.

1277. **DRIVE (car, etc.)/PILOT (airplane, etc.)** འོ་/གནམ་གྲུ་ + རུན་ MO.TA/ GNAKMGRU + BTANG (LV) [v1,+Ctr] [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Sh, Dz). The word 'car' ('airplane', 'boat' or other vehicle) is followed by the light verb BTANG < CT 'to send': རུན་བཏང MO.TA + BTANG (Û), རུན་བཏང SNUMBKHOR + BTANG (Dz). Two other verbs are attested: རུན་བཏང RLANGSKHOR + SKOR (Am) < 'to turn'. In the western languages (Ba, Pur, La), རུན་བཏང GARI SRUL, using verb
SRUL < 'to make go' (Jäschke), related to CT gend 'GRUL' is found. In some areas of Kham, a Chinese loan "kai is used.

1278. RISE མི་འགྲུལ། (PW) < CT འདུགས་པའི་འགྲུལ། 'CHAR SHAR' to rise, emerge'. This is used in the expression དྲུགས་པའི་འགྲུལ། NYIMA SHAR 'the sun rises'. The word 'east' is derived from this verb (see EAST).

1279. SINK འབྲུག་ (PW) < CT. This means 'to sink, go down' and is used in the expression དྲུག་པའི་འབྲུག་ NYI MA NUB 'the sun sets'. The word 'west' is derived from this verb (see WEST). The word རགས་ RGAS < CT 'get old' is used in Purik and Ladaks. In the eastern section, one finds a word རྒྱུས་ DZES of unclear origin.

1280. RIPE (BE) སྨིན་ (PW) (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am) or སྨྱིན། SMIYIN < CT.

1281. WASH བཀྲ་འབྲུག་ (PW) < CT འཁྲུད་པའི་འབྲུག་ (H/RU/D/S). The honorific form བསེལ། BSIL 'wash [H]' is attested in some languages (La, Ü, Ts, Dz).

1282. TURN/SPIN རྒྱུན། KHOR (PW) (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am). The archaic variant རྒྱུན། GYIR is also attested in some languages such as Dzongkha and Brokpa in Bhutan, and is cognate with the Ladaks word རྒྱུན། KYIR 'round' and Balti རྒྱུན། KYIR 'encircle'.

1283. MAKE TURN/TURN AROUND རྒྱུན། SKOR (Ba, Pur, La, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am). Archaic forms are attested in some languages, such as རྒྱུན། SKYIR /ki/ (Sh), རྒྱུན། BGYIR (Dz), རྒྱུན། 'KHIR (Jir). Some dialects in South Kham used the aspirated form རྒྱུན། KHOR for this meaning.

1284. CATCH COLD: see COLD/INFLUENZA.

1285. RESEMBLE: see SIMILAR.

1286. LEAD/GUIDE རྒྱུན། KHRIID (PW) < CT རྒྱུན། KHRIID. In some languages (Am, Dz) the form is རྒྱུན། KHRIID.

1287. WAKE UP ཕྱི་དུས། GNYID SAD (PW) (Nubra, LJ, Ts, Ü, Jir, Am) < CT GNYID 'sleep, torpor' SAD. In western and southern, languages the variant རྒྱུན། KHOR is used.
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1288. THROW/THROW OFF རང་ PHANG [v2 + Ctr] [PW] (Ba Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am) < CT རང་ རང་ རང་ 'PHEN PHA(O)NG(S). As expected, this is pronounced /hang/ in Amdo. In eastern and Central languages the collocation རང་ རང་ རང་ 'MDA’ PHANG ‘arrow throw' means 'to shoot'. སྐྱེལ་ G-YUG < CT (Am, Ü, Ts).

1289. PULL/DRAG རོག་ 'THEN [v2 + Ctr] [PW] < CT (inv.) 'pull'.

1290. EXPEL/DRIVE OUT/TAKE OFF རོག་ PHUD [v2 + Ctr] [PW] < CT (inv). This is often pronounced རོག་ རོག་ 'PHID'. As expected, it is pronounced /hort/ in Amdo. In many languages, this verb also conveys the meaning 'to take off clothes'.

1291. GO OUT/AWAY, LEAVE ཤུད་ BUD [v1, +Ctr] [FFW] (Kh, Am) < CT ལུ་ ཤུད་ 'BUD' to come out, become separated', ཤུན་ THON [FFW] (Yol, Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh) < CT ཤུན་ ཤུན་ 'THON 'to go, come out'. In some dialects, the verb ཤུན་ ཤུན་ ཤུན་ 'GRO or ཤུན་ ཤུན་ 'SONG < CT 'to go' is used. The phrase ཤུན་ ཤུན་ ཤུན་ 'PHYLLA GO (E, Skh), སྐྱེལ་ PHYSTASONG (Pur), མ་ CHA (La).

1292. TAKE OUT, CAUSE TO COME OUT ཤུན་ BTON [FFW] < CT ཤུན་ ཤུན་ ཤུན་ ཤུན་ ཤུན་ 'BTON' to get well' is used. The verb ཤུན་ ཤུན་ ཤུན་ ཤུན་ ཤུན་ 'BYIN/(D)P(H)YUNG. བློང་ BLANG (Am).

1293. COME OUT, EMERGE, COME UP ཤུན་ THON [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh) < CT ཤུན་ ཤུན་ 'THON 'to go (out)', སྐྱེལ་ BYUNG (La) 'to come out, to come up (problems, etc.) < CT སྐྱེལ་ BYUNG.

1294. WIN རྒྱལ་ KHOR (RGYAL.KHA) THOR [v2] [FFW] < CT (inv.). In southern Kham and western languages (La, Ba), the verb རྒྱལ་ DRAG < CT 'to recover, to get well' is used. The verb རྒྱལ་ RGYAL (La, Pur, Jir) < CT 'to be victorious' is also frequent. More marginally, one finds two other verbs: རྒྱལ་ རྒྱལ་ 'MKHRANGS (La, Ba) < CT 'solid, competent, clever' is also used for 'to succeed, win'; རྒྱལ་ KHOR (Kh).
< CT ‘to hit the exact point, to coincide’ and བླང་BLANG (Am) < CT ‘to take’ are sometimes used to mean ‘to win’.

1295. LOSE (a game, battle) གམ་PHAM [V2 (inv.)] [FFW] < CT.

1296. CALCULATE/COUNT རྩི་RTSI [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) རྩི་(b)RTSI(s). In some languages (Ú, Ts, La), the verb རྩི་RTSI alone has come to mean ‘to consider’. The root is also used to designate astrology: བཀར་RTSIS lit. ‘star calculation’. The verb meaning ‘to count/calculate’ is sometimes a light verb: རྩི་བརྩི་བཙིས་རྩིས་(B)RTSI (S).

Another root, བགྲང་BGRANG related to the noun བྲངས་ཀ་GRANGS,KA ‘number’, also means ‘count’, particularly in central and southern languages. It sometimes occurs in an LVC (Ú, Ts): བྲངས་ཀ་GRANGS,KA RGYAG.

1297. TIRED (BE) ཇྫེར་DKA (Am), ལེན་ལས་ཁག་DKA (Ü, Kh), ཁང་ཆད་THANG CHAD (Ü, Ts, Yol, Dz, etc.), ཆད་CHAD (Am) < CT ‘to be cut’, གལ་NGAL (La).

1298. CLIMB རྡེ་DZEGS [V1,+Ctr] [PW] (Ú, Ts, Yol, Jir, Kh) < CT. In most languages, this is pronounced as a reflex of རྡེ་DZAGS (La, Za, Ú, Ts), and རྡེ་DZYAGS (Ba). The form ལུང་THUL (Pur) is of unclear origin. The word རྡེ་DARG < CT ‘transfer’ is used in Amdo.

1299. WHET, SHARPEN རྡེ་RDAR [V2,+Ctr] [PW] (Pur, La, Ú, Ts, Kh, Am, Jir) < CT རྡེ་བརྡེ་རྡེ་རྡེ་རྡོར་(R)DA/(O)R.

1300. SWALLOW མིད་MID [PW]. Its archaic form བྱེད་MYID (Kh, Am) is also found. This is often pronounced with a final G and with a high tone: བྱེད་MIG, བྱེད་གཏོང་MIG GTONG (Jir), བྱེད་གཏོང་MIG.PA GTONG (Ú). བྱེད་SMID is also attested.

1301. SMELL སུན་SNUM [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT སུན/སུན་/སུན་/སུན་/སུན་/སུན་/སུན་/སུན་/སུན་/སུན་(B)SNU/(O/A)M(s). In most languages, the form is a reflex of སུན་SNUM. Exceptionally (in Dz), there are reflexes of སུན་SNAM, also attested in CT.

1302. BEGIN བོའི་GO + BTSUGS/མིའི་TSUGS or ཚུའི་ZUG [PW] < CT བོའི་’go’ beginning, head’, see བོ་MGO ‘head’ + བོའི་BTSUGS [V2,+Ctr] ‘to plant’
(see PLANT)/ཟུག་ TSHUGS or སྐྱེ་ TSHUGS [V1] 'to be planted, pricked'. The form ཟུག་ ZUG is found in some Western languages. Many languages (Ü, Ts, La, etc.) use both verbs and distinguish between the controllable form associated with an intentional agent and a noncontrollable form, which is not linked to an agent and is monovalent [V1]. ཐོག་ /riaks/ (Pur) of unclear origin is also attested.

1303. DOUBT ཀདོན་པ་ DOGS $+$ མ་ ZA [V1] [FFW] (Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Dz, Kh); མི་ ཀདོན་པ་ THE.TSHOMS $+$ ZA [FFW] < CT ཀདོན་པ་ DOGS.PA or འེ་ སྐྱེ་ THE.TSHOMS (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh) ‘doubt’ followed by the noncontrollable verb མ་ ZA or མ་ SKYE. In Purik, སྐྱེ་ ཀདོན་པ་ ML.GDYANG.MARIG is attested. See BE EATEN/CONSUMED.

1304. TRUST གིད་ སྐྱེ་ YID CHES [FFW] (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT གིད་ YID 'mind'+ སྐྱེ་ CHES 'believe'. གེ་ སྐྱེ་ རྡུ་ GDUB 'carry', གེ་ སྐྱེ་ སྐེ་ BDEN CHES (La) and གེ་ སྐེ་ BSAM 'think' are also attested.

1305. RUN འཉུ་ RGYUG [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. This is used for people as well as for inanimate objects and the elements (such as water). Compound verbs འཉུ་ ཚི་ RGYUG.SHR.GLOD (Ü, Ts) and ཚི་ སྐེ་ RANG.BTANG (Pur, La) are also attested. This latter expression means ‘to gallop (of horses)’ in Amdo and CT.

1306. CAUSE/MAKE ཨའི་ BCUG [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü).

1307. BRING UP/RAISE གསོ་ GSO [PW].

1308. TRY སྐི་ LTA (Ts, Ü, La) < CT ‘to look at’. གཞུན་ཐེམ་ གཞུན་ཐེམ་ Thabs BCOS < CT. གཞུན་ གཞུན་ PBULUGS.BA (Pur), གཞུན་ NYUG (La), གཞུན་ གཞུན་ TSHOD.LTABYED (Ü, Am).

1309. PREPARE/ARRANGE གྲུབ་ སྐྱོང་ GRAL.SGRIG.BYED (Ts, Ü, La), ཆེ་ སྐྱོང་ GRAL.SGRIG.BCO (La), གྲུབ་ སྐེ་ TAYARI.BA(BYA) (Pur) < Urdu < Pers.; ཆེ་ SGRUG (Pur).

1310. FINISH/ACCOMPLISH ཀདོན་ TSHAR [V1] [PW] (La, Pur Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Dz, Kh, Am). Other roots such as ཀདོ་ ZIN < CT ‘to be over with, finished’ (Sh, Jir, Sp, Kh) and its variant ཀདོ་ ZHIN (Dz), སྐྱེ་ GRUB (La) < CT lit. ‘to achieve’, འཐོབ་
RDZOGS 'to accomplish' < CT, སྐོམས་ CHAMS (Ba), སྐོམས་ CHOMS (La, Pur, Za) are also used.

1311. HAVE THE TIME ཀོམ་ KHOM (La, Am, Kh, Dz), གོང་ LONG (Ü, Ts). The combination ཀོམ་ LONG (Am) is attested.

1312. ALLOW/PERMIT ཇེང་ CHOG [VSEC] [FFW] (La, Ts, Ü). This is used as a secondary verb. Some languages (Am, Kh, E) also use མོན་ NYAN, བྲ་ BRA (Pur).

1313. CAN/BE ABLE མོན་ THUB [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh) < CT. Other literary roots are also used: མོན་ NYAN 'can' (Ba, La, Pur), བྲ་ BRA or མོན་ wa/ (in Amdo) 'dare, can', ངག་ CHOG, ལེའི་ SHES 'to know' is also used for 'can'.
   The word ཀུན་ TSHUGS 'to be planted, stable' and 'to endure' has come to mean 'to be able' in Dzongkha. Sherpa has the word མོན་ KHYE for 'to be able'. The form རྡོ་ KHARAG lit. 'to obtain mouth (permission)' is also attested.

1314. WISH འདོད་ DOD [VSEC] [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh) < CT (inv.). In Sherpa, the noun བྲ་ PHOD [FFR] (La, Kh) < CT (inv.) is pronounced བྲ་ PHOD; འཁྲུད་ KHYUD [FFW] (Ba, La), བྲ་ NUS [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Tö) < CT. In Amdo, the verb བྲ་ THUB is also used (see above CAN, BE ABLE), འཇིགས་པ་མེད་ JIGS. PA MED (Pur).

1315. DARE འཕོད་ PHOD [VSEC] [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Am) < CT. In Amdo, this is pronounced བྲ་ HOD; འཁྲུད་ KHYUD [FFW] (Ba, La), བྲ་ NUS [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Tö) < CT. In Amdo, the verb བྲ་ THUB is also used (see above CAN, BE ABLE), འཇིགས་པ་མེད་ JIGS. PA MED (Pur).

1316. NEED/MUST ཀོས་ Dgos [VSEC] [PW]. Interestingly, Ladaks, Balti and southern Kham are the only groups of dialects to have preserved the final s/gos/, or traces of it, /gus/ (as vowel lengthening). In this meaning, the verb is used as a secondary verb.

1317. WANT ཀོས་ Dgos [V2] [PW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ü, TS, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh, Lho, etc.).
   In this meaning, the verb is used as the main verb. It may also be used as a secondary verb: see NEED/MUST.
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Appendix 1. – The main Mountains, Rivers and Lakes of the Tibetic Area

At the extreme northwest of the area in Baltistan (Pakistan), we find the Karakoram range with the Choghori (◊ ཞྭ་གོ་རི།), better known as K2, the Gasherbrum (◊ བསྟད་པར་ཕྲུམ།), Masherbrum (◊ བསྟད་པར་ཕྲུམ།), and the Saltoro ranges (◊ སྲིམ་ཏོ་རོ་གངས་རི་). The Nanga Parbat, which is located further west, is outside the Tibetic zone. On the Indian side of the border, we find the Saser Gangri (◊ སྲིི་སེར་གངས་རི།) also located in the Karakoram range, and then the Nun Kun massif in the proximity of the Zangskar (◊ ཐང་བས་ཀྲག་ཚང་), Ladakh (◊ སྲིང་བས་ཀྲག་ཚང་) and Khunu ranges (◊ རྒྱུད་ཁུ་ནུ།). The Kinnaur Kailash (◊ ལྕོང་སྐྱེ་ཆུ་མཚོན་) near Rekong Peo marks the southwestern boundary of the Tibetic speaking area in Himachal Pradesh.

Further, in the southwest, are the first ranges belonging to the Himalaya mountain complex: in Uttarkashi District (Uttarkhand Pradesh) are the Bandarpunch range, which belongs to the Garhwal Himalayas; the Kumaon Himalayas with their highest peak, the Nanda Devi, just outside the Tibetic speaking area; the Dhaulagiri; and, at a distance of only thirty kilometers, the Annapurna range, which is located in Nepal and stretches across Manang, Kaski, Myagdi, Lamjung and Mustang (◊ སྡོམ་པ་ཐང་) districts. Eastwards, the Shishapangma range (◊ མུས་པུང་མ་) is located within the TAR in Nyalam County. On the Sino-Nepalese border lies the Jomolangma range (◊ སྲིག་ཆུར་བྲང་པོ་), also called Sagarmāthā in Nepali, and better known in the rest of the world as Everest. Continuing eastward the next great range is the Gangchen Dzönga (◊ གངས་ཆེན་མཛོད་ལྔ་), usually written Kangchenjunga in English (concerning our romanization, see 5.10), which is located at the border between Nepal and the Indian state of Sikkim. Mt. Jomo Lhari (◊ བྲུན་ལྷ་རྒྱུད་), the 'bride' of Gangchen Dzönga and Mt. Gangkar Pūnsum (◊ གངས་དཀར་སྤུན་མོ་; these three ranges are each higher than 7,000 meters), as well as Kulha Gangri (◊ རྒྱུད་ཁུ་ནུ།), are further east along the Sino-Bhutanese border, Mt. Masang Khyungsri (◊ མུང་པོ་བྲུན་པ་མེད་) lies at the border between Sikkim, the Chumbi valley and Bhutan. Mt. Yarlung Shampo (◊ རྒྱུད་པོ་ཨོ་མ།) is found in Lhokha prefecture.

1. ‘The name Choghori is the Balti pronunciation of CHE.BO RI ‘the great mountain’.
at the border of Chusum, Tshomä and Lhünte. A famous pilgrimage for Bönpos is Mt. Kongpo Bönri (ཀོང་པོ་བོན་རི་) located in Nyingthri City. Mt. Bönpo Tsari (བོན་པོ་ཙ་རི་) is located in Nang County (TAR) and further east, the next great range is the Namchak Barwa (གནམ་ཁར་བར་བ་) and the Gyälha Pälri (རྒྱལ་ལྷ་དཔལ་རི་) both located in Mänling (སྨན་གླིང་) County (TAR). They mark the end of the great Himalayan arc.

In Central Tibet, right at the center of the TAR is the Nyänchen Thanglha range (གཉན་ཆེན་ཐང་ལྷ་). It extends over one thousand kilometers in the Jangthang area (བྱང་ཐང་). Finally, in the western Tö Ngari region is Gang Tise (གངས་ཏི་སེ་), the Kailash range.

In the traditional eastern province of Kham, we find the following ranges: between the Dechen County of Dechen TAP (Yunnan) and Dzayül County of Nyingthri Municipality (TAR) is the Khawa Karpo massif (ཁ་བ་དཀར་པོ་) lit. ‘white snow’) which belongs to the Hengduan range 横断 at the border between Myanmar and China. The highest mountain in Myanmar is called Hkakabo Razi (ཁ་བ་དཀར་པོ་ར་ཟི་) a word made of Tibetan and Rawang terms: Khawa Karpo (Tib. ‘white snow’) and Razi (Rawang ‘peak’).

The next important mountain range, Minyak Gangkar (མི་ཉག་སྐར་དཀར་), is located in Kangding County (Tib. Dartsendo [རྩེ་མདོ]) of Kandze TAP, Sichuan. Also located in Kandze Prefecture is Mt. Zhara Lhatse (བཞག་བྲ་ལྷ་རྩེ་) at the border between Kangding and Ta’a counties. Gyälmo Murdo (རྒྱལ་མོ་དམུ་རྡོ་) in Rongdrak and Kula (སྐུ་བླ་), which is locally pronounced [skola] and known as Mt. Siguniang 四姑娘 in Chinese, are two of the sacred mountains of the regions.

The traditional province of Amdo is delimited in the west and southwest by the Dangla range གདང་ལ་, called Tanggula 唐古拉 in Chinese and located at the border between Nagchu Prefecture (TAR) and Qinghai Province.

Further north lies the Kunlun range 昆仑, which is a prolongation of Pamir. It delimits the frontier between the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the TAR. The Bayánkhar [Wayankhar] massif (བ་ཡན་མཁར་) an eastern extension of the Kunlun range, serves as a natural border between the traditional regions of Kham and Amdo, and separates the drainage areas of the Yellow River or Machu (རྨ་ཆུ་), and the Yangtze River or Drichu (འབྲི་ཆུ་).
Within Qinghai Province, the Amnye Machen range (ཨ་མྱེས་རྨ་ཆེན་ or  གཞག་རྨ་ཆེན་) forms a border between the Golok area and the Rebgong area.

Finally, the northern border of the Tibetan Plateau is marked by the Nan Shan range and the Qilian massif 祁连, a prolongation of Altyn Tagh. In Amdo, the Qilian massif, called Dola Ringmo (མདོ་ལ་རིང་མོ་) in Tibetan, forms the natural border between the provinces of Qinghai and Gansu.

Most of the mountains mentioned above are considered sacred by the various ethnic groups speaking Tibetic languages. The majority of the mountain summits are over 6,000 meters high, but many of them have an altitude of more than 7,000 meters.

A vast area of the Tibetan plateau is formed by high plains. These regions of grasslands play a fundamental role in cattle breeding. The two main areas of grasslands are the Jangthang (བྱང་ཐང་) extending in northwestern Tibet and Ladakh as well as the high plains of northeastern Tibet which are sometimes referred to as Yermothang (གཡེར་མོ་ཐང་). In eastern Tibet, the region traditionally called Dokham (མདོ་ཁམས་) is often described as having ‘six plateaus’ (སྒང་དྲུག་GANG-DRUK): Zälmo Gang (ཟལ་མོ་སྒང་), Tshawa Gang (ཚ་བ་སྒང་), Markham Gang (མཛང་ཁམས་སྒང་), Pombor Gang (སྤོ་འབོར་སྒང་), Mardza Gang (དམར་རྫ་སྒང་) and Minyak Rabgang (མི་ཉག་རབ་སྒང་).

The Tibetan plateau and its mountain ranges provide the main water supply for Asia. We will just mention here its main rivers and lakes. Let us begin with the main rivers from the western border of the Tibetic area.

Traditional Buddhist cosmology mentions the four great rivers of Sengge Khabap, Langchen Khabap, Mabja Khabap and Tamchok Khabap, which originate near Mt. Kailash. The mountain and the four great rivers are sacred not only for the Tibetan Buddhist, but also for Bönpos, Hindus and Jains.

The Sengge Khabap river (སེང་གེ་ཁ་འབབ་), which literally means ‘flowing from the lion’s mouth’, is better known as the Indus river. It originates in the Ngari region of Western Tibet and is augmented by the Garchu (གར་ཆུ་) at the prefecture city of Ngari.
The Indus river flows western towards Ladakh (India) and Baltistan (Pakistan), where it bears the name of Sengge Tsangpo (སེང་གེ་གཙང་པོ་ 'the Lion river'), before taking a sharp turn toward the south and finally reaching the city of Karachi. Its main tributary in Ladakh and Baltistan is the Shayok Tsangpo (སྦྱོག་གཙང་པོ་) which is joined by the Siachen Tsangpo (སེ་བ་ཅན་གཙང་པོ་) in the Nubra region. The Zanskar Tsangpo (ཟངས་དཀར་གཙང་པོ་), the upper course of which is called the Tsarap Tsangpo (ཚ་རབ་གཙང་པོ་), is also a tributary to the Indus near Nimbu in Ladakh and the Suru Tsangpo (སུ་རུ་གཙང་པོ་), which flows near Kargil.

The Langchen Khabap (ང་ཆེན་ཁ་འབབ་), which literally means the 'flowing from the mouth of the elephant', is better known as the Sutlej river (called the Garang-ti in Kinnauri). Its source is in the Ngari area of Western Tibet. It runs westward through Himachal Pradesh (India) and then into Punjab before ultimately joining the Indus river in Pakistan.

The Spiti Chu (སྤི་ཏི་ཆུ་) originates in the Kunzum range and is a tributary of the Sutlej river. The Pare Chu (པ་རེ་ཆུ་) is a tributary of the Spiti river, which flows from Mt. Shilla across Himachal Pradesh, Jammu Kashmir and Tsanda County (in China), and then back to Himachal Pradesh.

The Chandra river (lit. ‘Moon river’) and the Bhaga river (lit. ‘Lord river’ or ‘Luck river’), which form the Chenab river (also called the Chandrabhaga), both originate in the district of Lahul and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh.

The Mabja Khabap (རྨ་བྱ་ཁ་འབབ་ lit. ‘flowing from the peacock’s mouth’) corresponds to the source of the Karnali river (also called the Ghagra), which originates in western Tibet, not far from Purang County. The Karnali river is one of the main tributaries of the Ganges.

The Yarlung Tsangpo (ཡར་ཀླུངས་གཙང་པོ་), the upper course of which is also called the Tamchok Khabap (རྟ་མཆོག་ཁ་འབབ་ lit. ‘flowing from the great horse’s mouth’) in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, is usually known as the Brahmaputra river. The river originates in western Tibet near Mt. Kailash and crosses the entire plateau from west
to east. It then bends around the Namchak Barwa (the bending place is traditionally called Kongpo Chulhak), forming one of the world’s deepest canyons where it crosses the Himalayas before entering Assam, Bangladesh and eventually the Ganges delta.

In Central Tibet, one finds the Nyangchu (ཉང་ཆུ་ MYANG.CHU), which runs through Gyantse and Zhikatse.

One of the Yarlung Tsangpo tributaries is the Kyichu (སྐྱིད་ཆུ་) which runs through the capital, Lhasa. Further in the southeast is the Lhobrak Chu (ལོབ་ཁྲ་), which originates in Lhobrak, crosses the Himalayas and becomes one of the main rivers in Bhutan, known as the Kuri Chu (སྐུ་རི་).

The Nyashang Chu (ཉ་བཤང་ཆུ་), called Niangjiangqu 娘江曲 in Chinese, also originates in southern Tibet, crosses the Himalayas to join the Tawang Chu (ཨི་བོ་) and forms the Drangme Chu (དྲང་མེད་), one of the main rivers of Bhutan.

In the Kongpo area, the Nyangchu (ཉང་ཆུ་ NYANG.CHU) starts near the Mila Pass, which separates Kongpo from Phänpo, and reaches the Yarlung Tsangpo in the Nyingthi area.

Further in the southeast of the TAR, is the Yiong Tsangpo (ཡིད་འོང་གཙང་པོ་), a major tributary of the Pharlung Tsangpo (ཕར་ལུང་གཙང་པོ་), which joins the Yarlung Tsangpo near Pomä.

South of the Himalaya, in Nepal, the main rivers flowing across the Tibetic areas are the Karnali (Nep. काँगली), the Kali Gandaki (Nep. काली गण्डकी), the Trisuli (Nep. त्रिसूली नदी; also called the Kyirong Tsangpo [ཨི་ཞོང་གཙང་པོ་] on the Tibetan side), the Sun Koshi (Nep. सून कोशी; the upper course of which is also known as the Bochu [བོད་ཆུ་]) and the Arun (Nep. अरुण नदी; also called the Bumchu [བུམ་ཆུ་] in Tibet and the Dudh Koshi [Nep. दुध कोशी] in the Sherpa region).

In Bhutan, we find seven major rivers, all of which become tributaries of the Brahmaputra in India and Bangladesh.

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4. One should not confuse the MYANG.CHU (in Tsang) and the NYANG.CHU (in Kongpo). Both river names are pronounced Nyangchu, but are spelled differently.
- Western Bhutan: the Amo Chu (ཨ་མོ་ཆུ་) has its source in the Chumbi valley in Tibet (Dromo County), where it is called the Machu (མ་ཆུ་). The Amo Chu flows through the Bhutanese districts of Hà, Samtse and Phuntsholing. It then flows through India and is known as the Torsa river.

The Wong Chu or Wang Chu (ཝང་ཆུ་), which flows through the capital of Thimphu and the eponymous district, and then continues its course in the Paro and Chukha Districts. In its lower course in India, it is called the Raidāk river.

The Puna Tsangchu (སྤུ་ན་གཙང་ཆུ་), also called the Mochu (མོ་ཆུ་), rises in Gāsa district near the border between Bhutan and Tibet. It then flows through the Punakha, Wandue Phodrang, Dagana, and Tsirang Districts. On the Indian side of the border, the river is known as the Sankosh river.

- Eastern Bhutan: the two main sources of the Mangde Chu (མང་སྡེ་ཆུ་) originate in the mountains of Wangdue Phodrang District, near the Rinchen Dzö (རིན་ཆེན་མཛོད་) and the Gangkar Pünsum (གངས་དཀར་སྤུན་གསུམ་) ranges. The Mangde Chu then flows through Trongsa and Zh’amgang Districts.

The Čamkhar Chu (ལྕམ་མཁར་ཆུ་) also rises near the Gangkar Pünsum, flows through Bumthang and then joins the Mangde Chu in Zhemgang District. Both are tributaries of the Drangme Chu.

The Kuri Chu (སྐུརི་ཆུ་) is the next major river. As mentioned earlier, it originates in Lhobrak County on the Tibetan side of the border, then enters Bhutan in the Lhüntse District and flows through Mongar District before joining the Drangme Chu.

The last major river is the Drangme Chu (དྲང་མེད་ཆུ་; or གྲང་མའི་ཆུ་GRANG’MA’I CHU’). It originates in Tshona County in Tibet and flows through the Himalayas. It crosses the border in Trashigang District and is joined by the Kholong Chu (ཁོལོང་ཆུ་), flowing through Tashi Yangtse District. The Drangme river then flows through Pema Garsel, Samdrup Jongkhar and Zh’amgang Districts. When it reaches India, the river is known as the Manas river.
Further east in southeastern Tibet is the Loro Chu (ལོ་རོ་ཆུ་), which bears the name of Subansiri on the Indian side (Arunachal), and is a major tributary of the Brahmaputra river.

At the eastern border of the TAR is the Dzayül Chu (རྫ་ཡུལ་ཆུ་), which is called the Lohit river when it reaches the Arunachal and Assam states of India. It is another tributary of the Brahmaputra river.

The Irrawaddy is Myanmar’s largest river and is also called the N’mai river in Jingpho. One of its two headwaters originates in Dzayül County of the TAR, then runs through Yunnan Province for about eighty kilometers before entering Myanmar, and is then called the Drung river (Chi. Dulong Jiang 独龙江). In Tibet, its upper course is called the Ridong Chu (རི་གདོང་ཆུ་).

The next major river after the bend of the Brahmaputra is the Gyälmo Ngülchu (རྒྱལ་མོ་རྔུལ་ཆུ་), the upper reaches of which are called the Nagchu (ནག་ཆུ་), and which is better known as the Salween or Nu Jiang 怒江. It rises in the Dangla range and runs for about 1,000 kilometers through the Tibetan plateau (TAR and Yunnan) and then into Myanmar.

South of the Nagchu runs the Tsakya Tsangpo (རྩ་སྐྱ་གཙང་པོ་; Chin: Zhajiazangbu 扎加藏布), which flows into the Serling Tsho lake.

Nearly parallel to the Salween is the Dachu (ཟླ་ཆུ་), which is formed by the confluence of the Ngomchu (ངོམ་ཆུ་) and Dzachu (རྫ་ཆུ་) rivers, in Chamdo City. The Dachu, also pronounced Dzachu or Lachu depending on the dialects, is better known as the Mekong or by its Chinese name, the Lancang Jiang澜沧江. The Dachu, which originates near Dzatö County in Qinghai, flows for more than 1,000 kilometers through the Tibetan Plateau before reaching Yunnan Province. After that, it runs towards Laos, on the border with Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia and finally Vietnam.

Close to the Mekong is the Drichu river (འབྲི་ཆུ་ lit. ’female-yak river’) which bears this name after the confluence of the Damchu and the Marchu (དམར་ཆུ་). In its middle course, it is referred to as Jinsha Jiang 金沙江. The Drichu is the longest river in Asia (6,380 kilometers), and it is better known as the Yangtze (Yangzi Jiang 扬子江) or
Chang Jiang (长江, lit. 'long river'). The Drichu river originates in the Dangla range and runs for about 2,000 kilometers on the Tibetan Plateau.

In Tshongön (Qinghai), one important tributary of the Drichu is the Chumar (ཆུ་དམར་), which flows through the eponymous district of Chumarlep.

The Nyagchu (雅駒江, in Chinese, is an important river of Kham and southern Amdo-speaking area. The name Nyagchu is used after the confluence of the Dzachu (which should not be confused with one of the Mekong tributaries described above) and the Dachu (Xianshui He 鮮水河). One of its main tributaries is the Lichu (理都), which runs through Lithang. The Nyagchu runs parallel to the Yangtze before finally joining it.

The Zungchu river (岷江), which is called the Min Jiang (岷江) in Chinese, and one of its main tributaries, the Throchu (黒水; Chin: Heishui 黑水), are important rivers running through the eponymous counties of Zungchu and Throchu, as well as Mao County.

The Gyälrong Gyälmo Ngülchu (大渡河) runs through Gyälrong, and the Amdo and Kham areas of Sichuan. It is thus named after the confluence of the Marchu (森曲) and Dochu (道曲).

The Zungchu and the Gyälmo Ngülchu, which join south of Chengdu, are two important northern tributaries of the Yangtze.

Not far east of the Zungchu river, is the Drugchu river (白龍江; Chin: Bailong Jiang 白龙江), which originates in Norteponn Sichuan and runs through Gansu and western Sichuan before emptying into the Yangtze. In the same area is the Karchu (巴什江; Chin: Baishui Jiang 白水江), a large tributary of the Drugchu river.

In Amdo, the main river is the Machu (馬曲), which is known as the Yellow river or Huanghe 黄河, the second longest river in China. It originates in the Bayânkhar mountains of Qinghai.

The Chunak (ཞུན་བཀྲ; Chin: Heihe 黑河), which goes through Qilian county, is one of the longest rivers in China.

The Luchu (ཀླུ་ཆུ; Chin: Taohe 洮河) is also located in Gansu, and goes through the eponymous county of Luchu.

The Sangchu (བསང་ཆུ; Chin: Xiahe 夏河) runs through Gansu Province and is a tributary of the Yellow river.

The Tsongchu (ཞོང་ཆུ) flows through Xining and the lower region of Northeastern Amdo. One major tributary of the Tsongchu is the Julak Chu (འཇུ་ལག་ཆུ), which runs through Kangtsha and Semnyi (Menyuan 门源).

The Tibetan High Plateau and the Himalayan-Karakoram regions, where speakers of Tibetic languages have settled, have an extensive network of great lakes. Many of them are salt lakes, but one also finds fresh water lakes.

Let us begin with the main lakes from the western region of the Tibetic area.

In Baltistan, Kachura Tsho (ཀ་ཆུ་ར་མཚོ) and Satpara Tsho (སད་པ་ར་མཚོ) are located in Skardo District and are relatively small. Ladakh has three large lakes. One is the 130-kilometer-long Panggong Tsho (སྤང་གོང་མཚོ), which extends into the Ngari region on the other side of the Sino-Indian border. The two other lakes are Tshomo Rilril or Tshomo Riri (མཚོ་མོ་རིལ་རིལ་) and Panggur Tsho (སྤང་གུར་མཚོ).

Western Tibet (TAR) is a region of great lakes. The main lakes are Mapham Yumtsho (མ་ཕམ་གཡུ་མཚོ), also known as Manasarowar in Hindi, and Langa Tsho (ལ་ལྔ་མཚོ), close to Mt. Kailash. Further west, we have Ngangla Ringtsho (ངང་ལ་རིང་མཚོ), Tharo Tsho (ཐ་རོ་མཚོ), Trashi Namtsho (བཀྲ་ཤིས་གནམ་མཚོ), Dangra Yumtsho (དྭང་ར་གཡུ་མཚོ) and Mirik Gyangtrim Tsho (མི་རིག་གྱང་འགྲམ་མཚོ). In the center of Tibet, in Lhasa Prefecture, we find a few large lakes, such as Namtsho Chugmo (གནམ་མཚོ་ཕྱུག་མོ), Yamdrok Yumtsho (ཡར་འབྲོག་གཡུ་མཚོ), Phuma Yumtsho (ཕུ་མ་གཡུ་མཚོ) and Dragsum Tsho or Basum Tsho (བྲག་གསུམ་མཚོ) and Ngönpo (མཚོ་སྔོན་པོ) or Kokonor in Mongolian.

In Amdo (Qinghai), there are also a few large lakes, such as Kyaring Tsho (ཁྱ་རིང་མཚོ), Ngoring Tsho (སྔོ་རིང་མཚོ) and Tsho Ngönpo (མཚོ་སྔོན་པོ) or Kokonor in Mongolian.
By contrast, Kham and southeast Tibet does not have any large lakes. The main lakes found in Kham are Tsholha (མཚོ་ལྷ་), Naglung Tsho (ནག་ལུང་མཚོ), Khasar Tsho (མཁར་སར་མཚོ), Migö Tsho (མི་རྒོད་མཚོ) and Wuxuhai 伍须海. The same is true for the Tibetic area south of the Himalayas. In Sikkim, Guru Dongmar Tsho is the largest lake. Tsomgo or Tsongmo lake, which is one kilometer in diameter, is located near Gangtok.
Appendix 2. – Elements of Toponyms

Throughout the high plateau and the Himalaya over the whole Tibetic area, one finds toponyms for towns, villages, regions, lakes, rivers, mountains and passes that bear the same elements. A great number of place names are related to the local geography. They include terms such as ‘rock’, ‘pass’, ‘mountain’, ‘valley’, ‘water’ and so forth. Here are some examples.

བྲག་ ‘rock’: བྲག་གཡབ་ (Drayap County; བྲག་འགོ་ (Drango County).

ལ་ ‘mountain pass’: དང་ལ་ (Dangla pass; གམ་པ་ལ་ (Khampala pass; རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལ་ (Gyatshola pass; ཝ་ལུང་ཆུང་སྒོ་ (Walungchung Gola valley in Nepal; ས་ལ་ (Lachung and ས་ལ་ (Lachen, two villages in Sikkim.

ཉག་ ‘notch’: སྤང་ཡངས་ (Pangyang Nyagga pass and རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལ་ (Hashul Nyagga pass.

རྩེ་ ‘summit’: ལྷོ་རྩེ་ (Lhotse and བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ (Trashi Yangtse).

རི་ ‘mountain’: appears not only in mountain names, such as བསམ་རྩེ་ (Samtsi, ལྷུན་རྩེ་ (Lhüntsi and བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ (Trashi Yangtse).
SGANG 'prominence, hill':  མཛོ་སྒང་ (MDZO.SGANG) Dzogang (TAR),  གཞལ་སྒང་ (GZHAL.SGANG) Zhāngang and  བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒང་ (BKRA.SHI.SGANG) Trashigang (both in Bhutan) and  སྒང་ཏོག་ (SGANG.TOK) Gangtok, the capital of the Sikkim state in India.

CHU 'water mouth, water surface' and the stem KHOG: as pointed out by Xavier Becker (pers. comm.), these words are related to KHOG.MA 'pot, earthen vessel' and refer to rather specific geographic features. CHU usually designates high plateaus with surfacing and serpentine rivers. Such is the case for the following region names:  རྨ་ཆུ་ཁ་ (RMA.CHU.KHA) Machukha,  རྫ་ཆུ་ཁ་ (RDZA.CHU.KHA) Dzachukha and  འདང་ཆུ་ཁ་ (NAG.CHU.KHA) Nagchukha.6 KHOG is used to designate U-shaped glacier valleys and occurs in the following region or county names:  ཤར་ཁོག་ (SHAR.KHOG) Sharkhok,  གསེར་ཁོག་ (GSER.KHOG) Serkhok,  རྩེ་ཁོག་ (RTSE.KHOG) Tsekhok,  སློབ་པོ་ཁོག་ (KHO.PO.KHOG) Khöpokhok and  སྲིག་པོ་ཁོག་ (DWAGS.PO.KHOG) Dakpokhok.

RONG 'narrow deep valley, gorge, canyon': occurs in many toponyms, such as  མཉན་རོང་ (SNYAN.RONG) Nyänrong,  གློ་རོང་ (LHO.RONG) Lhorong,  གླླུ་རོང་ (NYAG.RONG) Nyagrong,  གླླུ་མོ སྒང་ (RONG.BRAG) Rongdrak,7 གླླུ་རོང་ (SDE.RONG) Derong,  གླུ་སྦྱར་ (RONG.YUL) Rongyul,  གླུ་མི སྒང་ (LLMI.RONG) Limirong and  རི་ལྟར གླུ་ (KAR.MA.RONG) Karmarong. Each of these counties is located in Tibet, mostly Kham, with the exception of Rongyul in Baltistan and the two last regions, which are in Nepal.

LUNG 'valley, country': used in many place names, such as  སྟོད་ལུང་བདེ་ཆེན (STOD.LUNG.BDE.CHEN) Tönlung Dechen,  བལུང་ (BA.LUNG) Balung,  ལུང་མདོ (LUNG.MDO) Lungdo,  དགོན་ལུང་ (DGON.LUNG) Gönlung,  དད་ལུང་ (LUNG.DGU) Lunggu and  འབྲུག་དཀར་ རྒྱན་ (LUNG.NAG.NAG) Lunana. These places are located in Central Tibet, Kham, Gyälrong and Bhutan, respectively.

6. The place name, ལྷོག་ཆུ་ཁ་ (NYAG.CHU.KHA) Nyagchukha, is an exception. It corresponds to a deep gorge.

7. The RONG in RONG.BRAG is originally related to RGYAL.MO.RONG, but the form RONG in this word also means a narrow deep gorge.
Elements of Toponyms

MDA ‘lower part of the valley’: also frequently appears in toponyms, such as འཇོ་མདའ་ (JOMDA) Jonda, རྩ་མདའ་ (RTSAMDA) Tsanda, མདའ་བཞི་ (MDABZHI) Dazhi, མདའ་བཞི་ (KONGPO RGYAMDA) Kongpo Gyamda. These places are located in Kham, Ngari, Amdo and Kongpo, respectively.

STOD ‘upper’ and SMD ‘lower’: frequently used as elements of place names, such as ལོ་རྒྱས་ (MTSHOSMAD) Tshomä County; དབྱེད་ (SPOLSMAD) Pomä County; དབྱེད་ (STODMNGA'RI) Tö Ngari region; སྲོམ་ (STOD) Stot, a region of Ladakh; བོ་རྒྱས་ (RBLSTOD) Drikö County; འབྲི་མཚོ (BRIMTSO) Dritö County; སྲོམ་ (RMASTOD) Matö County and མཐུ། (KHUMSTOD) Khumtö or Khunde (according to the local pronunciation), a Sherpa village in the Khumbu area.

THANG ‘plain’: used in འབྲོང་ (BYANGTHANG) Jangthang, as well as the following county names: རྒྱལ་ (RGYALTHANG) Gyālthang; ངང་ (LITHANG) Lithang; དབྱེད་ (RANGTHANG) Tseghang; ལྭང་ (RTSEDTHANG) Tsethang; ངང་ (RTSAMTHANG) Dzhamthang; དབྱེད་ (DMLARTHANG) Marthang; འབྲུག་ (BRTUGCHU) Drugchu; སྐྱེ་ (ZUNGCHU) Zungchu; ངང་ (KHIROCHU) Throchu, རྒྱལ་ (NYAGCHU) Nyagchu, སྐྱེ་ (BRLCHU) Drichu, བོ་ (CHUSHUR) Chushur, ཚུ་ (CHUGSUM) Chusum and མདོ (CHUKHA) Chukha, a district of Bhutan.

CHU ‘water’: used to name rivers, but many towns and counties are also named after a river that crosses their region, such as ནག་ (NAGCHU) Nagchu, འབྲུག་ (BSANGCHU) Sangchu, སྐྱེ་ (KLUCHU) Luchu, འབྲི་ (RMACHU) Machu, རྒྱལ་ (BRUGCHU) Drugchu, སྐྱེ་ (ZUNGCHU) Zungchu, ཟྲོམ་ (KHIROCHU) Throchu, རྒྱལ་ (NYAGCHU) Nyagchu, འབྲི་ (BRLCHU) Drichu, བོ་ (CHUSHUR) Chushur, ཚུ་ (CHUGSUM) Chusum and མདོ (CHUKHA) Chukha, a district of Bhutan.

MDO ‘confluence of rivers’: occurs in various Balti names, such as གློ་མངའ་ (SKARMADO) Skardo, the capital of Baltistan, and འབྲི་ (PARENMDO) Arendo. It also occurs in many place names in Tibet, such as འབྲི་ (PAMDO) Amdo, མདོ་ (CHARMDO) Chamdo, རྒྱུ་ (SKYE.DGUMDO) Kyegundo,
Dartsendo, Gäpa Sumdo and Lungdo.

MTSHO 'lake': used to designate the lakes across the plateau, such as Mapham Yumtsho, Namtso, Kokonor Lake, Yarmdrok Yumtsho, Tsomorilril, Panggongtso. The former three lakes are located in Tö Ngari, Amdo and Tsang, respectively, while the latter two are located in Ladakh. The eastern part of the Panggongtso is situated in the TAR. This term also is part of place names, such as Tshongön, the name for the Qinghai province; or county names, such as Tshona County, Tshomä County and Tshochen County.

SHAR 'east', LHO 'south', NUB 'west' and BYANG 'north'; the cardinal directions also occur in the toponyms, such as Sharkhok, Lhokha, Lhodrak, Lhorong, Nubse, Nubri and Jangthang.

SA 'earth, place' and YUL 'place, village': occur in various place names, such as Lhasa, Sakya, Saga, Dzayül, Pālyul, Maryul and Rongyul.

Apart from geographic features, many place names are related to cultural or religious symbols. Some adjectives of size, quality or color, usually related to positive or auspicious representations, occur as elements of toponyms.
Appendix 2. – Elements of Toponyms

(MTSHO.CHEN) Tshochen, བོང་སྟག་ཐེམ་ཆེན་ (BONG.STAG THEM.CHEN) Bongtak Themchen, གནོད་ཟེར་ཞིང་ (PANCHEN ZHING.SDE) Panchen Zhingde, ཀོང་ཆེན་ (RMACHEN) Machen, སྡེ་ཆེན་ (NANG.CHEN) Nangchen, སྡེ་ཆེན་ (CHU.CHEN) Chuchen and གནོད་ཆེན་ (GANGS.CHE) Ghanche district in Baltistan.

(izons 'white': occurs in many toponyms, such as ཟངས་དཀར་ (ZANGS.DKAR) Zangskar region, སློ་དཀར་རྩེ་ (SNADKAR.RTSE) Nankartse, གོང་དཀར་ (GONG.DKAR) Gongkar, ཕན་ཁོན་ Kangze (DKARRIDZES) in Kham and Spiti; and རྣམ་གླིང་ (MALGRO GUNG.DKAR) Mäldrogungkar, རྣམ་གླིང་ (BRAG.DKAR SPREL) Drakkar Trel and སྡོད་ཆེན་ (DARDKAR.NANG) D’agana, a district of Bhutan.

(BKASHIS 'auspicious': occurs in county or village names, such as བཀྲ་ཤིས་གླིང་ (BKRA.SHIS.GLING) Trashiling, བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་རྩེ་ (BKRA.SHIS.GYANG.RTSE) Trashi Yangtse, བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒང་ (BKRA.SHIS.SGANG) Trashigang and བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྡིངས་ (BKRA.SHIS.SDINGS) Trashiding.

(GLING 'island': usually used in the names of monasteries, such as བཀྲ་ཤིས་གླིང་ (BKRA.SHIS.GLING) Trashiling, སྨན་གླིང་ (SMAN.GLING) Mänling and རྣམ་གླིང་ (RNAM.GLING) Namling.

(RGYAL 'king or victorious': also common in toponyms, such as རྒྱལ་ཐང་ (RGYAL.THANG) Gyalthang, རྒྱལ་ (RGYAL.RTSE) Gyantse (RGYAL.RTSE) and རྒྱལ་ (RGYAL.MORONG) Gyälmorong or Gyärlong.
Appendix 3. – Maps of the Tibetic area

The following maps have been made by Xavier Becker and digitized by Alain Bruelle. The indexes have been elaborated by Xavier Becker in coordination with N. Tournadre and H. Suzuki. This appendix contains seven maps.

Map 1. – The Tibetic-speaking area at the heart of Asia
Map 2. – The Tibetic linguistic sections
Map 3. – The Tibetic groups of dialects (with an index)
Map 4. – The Tibetic languages and dialects (with an index)
Map 5. – The natural environment of the Tibetic area (with an index)
Map 6. – The human environment of the Tibetic area
Map 7. – The administrative units of the Tibetic area (with an index)

Note that the maps are modularized into multiple layers and one may select in the pdf file a specific layer or various layers according to the need. (It is possible to zoom in on the maps till 500%).
**INDEX OF MAP 3. – THE TIBETIC GROUPS OF DIALECTS**

A group of dialects may appear in several areas. In that case, the number of the group is repeated on the map. When a single group of dialect is spoken in an area, it is listed and numbered in column 2a. When two (or more) groups of dialects coexist in the same area, these mixed groups appear in the column 2b. When only Tibetic groups coexist, they are represented on the map by alternate color strips of the concerned groups (1, 9 and 10) with its numbers, e.g. 1+9. The Tibetic groups of dialects may also be spoken in areas where non-Tibetic languages are spoken. This case is represented on the map by the Tibetic group’s color with non-Tibetic black dots. In the index, this is indicated in column 2b by the Tibetic group’s number + non-Tibetic lower case letter, e.g. 8+a.

In the column 3, the number of the column 2a is located on the map. If numbers/letters appear in the column 2b, they are located after a semi-colon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Sections and groups</th>
<th>2a</th>
<th>2b</th>
<th>3. Location on the map</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A - Central Section</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tö-Pastoralists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1+9</td>
<td>E5, F6, I7; F4(2), G4(2), F5, G5, G6, H6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1+9+10</td>
<td>F5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1+10</td>
<td>E5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West-Tö-Cultivators</td>
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<td></td>
<td>D6, E6</td>
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<tr>
<td>East-Tö-Cultivators</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>G7, H7(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsang</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>J7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>J7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phäapo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>J7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhokha</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>J7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kongpo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8+a</td>
<td>K7; L7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8+b</td>
<td>K6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B - South-Eastern Section</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagehu-Hor</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1+9</td>
<td>H4(2), I4(2), I6; F4(2), G4(2), F5, G5, G6, H6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1+9+10</td>
<td>F5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyegu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1+9+10</td>
<td>I4, J4(2), L5; F5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1+10</td>
<td>E5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bachen</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>K5</td>
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<td>Khyungpo</td>
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<td>L6</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pümbar</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>L6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern-route</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14+c</td>
<td>N6; O6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14+d</td>
<td>N6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14+e</td>
<td>O6</td>
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### Appendix 3: Maps of the Tibetic area

#### Southern-route

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Map Locations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minyak-Rabgang</td>
<td>O6, O7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rongdrak</td>
<td>O6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzayül</td>
<td>M7, N7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derong-Jol</td>
<td>N7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chagthreng</td>
<td>N7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomborgang</td>
<td>O7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semkyi-Nyida</td>
<td>N8(2), O8(2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Minyak-Rabgang

- L7, M6, N7, O7(2); L7
- O6
- M7
- N7
- M7
- O7

#### Southern-route

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Map Locations</th>
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<tr>
<td>Minyak-Rabgang</td>
<td>O6, O7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rongdrak</td>
<td>O6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzayül</td>
<td>M7, N7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derong-Jol</td>
<td>N7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chagthreng</td>
<td>N7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomborgang</td>
<td>O7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semkyi-Nyida</td>
<td>N8(2), O8(2)</td>
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</table>

#### C - North-Eastern Section

<table>
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<th>Location</th>
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<th>Location on the map</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dungnak-rTarmnyik</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>N2, O2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwari</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>N2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsho-Ngonpo</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>N2, N3(2), M4, O4(2), P3, P4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rwanak</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>M4, O4(2); O4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngawa</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>O5(2), P5(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washul</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>N5, O6(2), N6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewa</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>P5, O6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gyalrongo-spheric-Amdo</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>O6(3), P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorka</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>N4, N5, O5(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labrang-Regong</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>O3, O4(2), P4; P4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tsongkha</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>N3, N4, O4(3), O3(3), P3(2); O3(2), P3</td>
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#### D - Eastern Section

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cone</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>P4(2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thewo-tö</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>P4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thewo-mä</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>P5</td>
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<td>Palkyi</td>
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<td>Drugchu</td>
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<td>Q5</td>
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<td>P5</td>
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<td>Baima</td>
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<td>Q5(3)</td>
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<td>Sharkhok</td>
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<td>P5</td>
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<td>Thromjekhok</td>
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<td>P5</td>
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<td>Zhongu</td>
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<td>Throchu</td>
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<td>P5</td>
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<td>E - North-Western Section</td>
<td>Brown area</td>
<td>Location on the map</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balti</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>B4(2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Purik</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>C4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nubra</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>C4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sham</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leh</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>C5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kharu</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>C5</td>
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<td>Zanhar</td>
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<td>C5</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>F - Western Section</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durbuk-Jangma</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>D5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nyoma-Jangma</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>D5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paldar</td>
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<td>C5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pangi</td>
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<td>C5</td>
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<td>Garzha</td>
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<td>C5</td>
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<td>Spiti</td>
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<td>D5</td>
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<td>Khunu-Tot</td>
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<td>D6</td>
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<td>Jadang</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humla</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>E6</td>
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<td>Karmarong</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>F7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolpo-CP</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>F7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-Monhthang</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>F7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyirong-Yolmo</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>G7(2), H8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherpa</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>H8(3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jirel</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>G8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Lhomi</td>
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<td>H8</td>
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<td>Gola</td>
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<td>H8</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H - Southern Section</th>
<th>Pink area</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drânjong (Lhoke)</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>Dromo</td>
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<td>I8</td>
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<td>I8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dur</td>
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<td>I8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choça-ngaça</td>
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<td>J8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mera-Sakteng</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>J8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF MAP 4. – THE TIBETIC LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

The index includes two parts:
- Part I lists 76 Tibetic languages or groups of dialects and 308 dialects.
- Part II lists 51 non-Tibetic units.

Part I - The Tibetic Languages and Dialects

Column 1

In the first column, we list the linguistic units. Here are the graphic conventions for the different linguistic levels: the sections are underlined in bold, the groups of dialects are in bold and the dialects in non-bold, for example:

North-Western Section (section), 1 – Balti (group of dialects), 1 – Rongdo (dialect). Note that these hierarchic units are also indicated on the map by various boundary lines (as shown on the map legend).

Very often the dialects bear the name of the district where they are located. If not, it is the name of the township, river, higher (suffix -tö) or lower (suffix -mä) valley, mountain range, people, tribe, region, etc. When there are two or more dialects in the same district, a second name will be added to differentiate them. It will be generally the name of the group of dialects to which it belongs, sometimes the name of the section. For instance: Tagse-Ü (no. 5.4) belonging to the group Ü (no. 5); and on the other hand Tagse-Phänpo (no. 6.3) belonging to another group, the group Phänpo (no. 6).

The name of the dialect may be followed by an indication about the way of life: a capital letter (P) or lower-case letter (p) which both refer to pastoralists. The mention (P) indicates that pastoralists are the traditional and dominant way of life whereas (p) means that pastoralists are present in the area along with cultivators or agropastoralists. When there is no indication, it means by default that the given dialect is traditionally spoken by cultivators or agropastoralists. In a few cases, dialects spoken in the same area may be distinguished by the way of life: ex. Tö pastoralists’ dialects (group 1) and Tö cultivators’ dialects (group 2). Hwari (P) (dialect 25.2) is spoken by pastoralists whereas Hwari (dialect 34.2) is spoken by cultivators.
Column 2 – Color and number of the dialect on the map

2a – Single dialect

Each dialect belongs to a dialect group which is itself included in one of the eight sections.
1 – The eight sections are identified on the map and in the index as follows:
- Central section, yellow-orange area;
- South-Eastern section, green area;
- North-Eastern section, red area;
- Eastern section, blue area;
- North-Western section, brown area;
- Western section, grey area;
- South-Western section, purple area;
- Southern section, pink area.
2 – Each of the seventy-six groups of dialects has a specific color, and each color is a shade of the color of the section to which it belongs.
3 – Each dialect has a specific numbering composed of two numbers separated by a dot: the first one is the number of the group to which it belongs; and each of the seventy-six groups of dialects has a unique number, from 1 to 76. The second one is the number of the given dialect within the group of dialects to which it belongs. For instance, Chabcha (26.5) belongs to the group of dialects number 26, and it is the dialect number 5 of this group.

2b – Mixed units

Moreover, in some limited cases, one may encounter situations whereby speakers of two (rarely three) dialects spoken cohabit in the same area. They are listed in the column 2b. There are two different types of mixed areas to consider.

1 – Tibetic dialects belonging to two different groups may coexist in a given area. They are represented by alternate oblique colored stripes of the concerned groups; this only applies for dialect groups 1, 9 and 10. e.g. 1.2 + 10.1 (Gegyä-Tö (P) + Gegyä-Kyegu (P)).
2 – Tibetic dialects may coexist with non-Tibetic units in an enclave within the Tibetic area. These are represented by the Tibetic group color with Tibetospheric
black dots and the Tibetic dialect number with the non-Tibetic lower-case letter, e.g. 8.1 (Kongpo) + a (Metok-Mönpa). Another example is 34.4 (Gönlung dialect) +o (Monguor, a Mongolic language), both of which are spoken in two different areas (see location P3 (2) in the column 3).

**Column 3 – Location**

The number of each Tibetic dialect (column 2a) or the combination number+letter for Tibetic+non-Tibetic (column 2b) is localized on the map within a square-like quadrilateral identified by letters for the longitude and numerals for the latitude. It provides the location of the number+letter on the map.

One has to note that it does not always cover the entire given area; for instance, the number 1.1 (Ruthok) is located in the area E5 but the area of Ruthok extends on several squares.

When the dialect is spoken at the same time in a purely Tibetic area (column 2a) and a (or several) mixed enclave(s) area(s) (column 2b), the location is mentioned for each number and each letter. For example, Nyagrong-Kham (14.9) is spoken in three areas: the first one, as a single dialect, with number 14.9 in the column 2a and location O6 in the column 3; the second one, as a mixed unit, with number 14.9+d in the column 2b and location N6 in the column 3; the third one, as mixed unit with number 14.9+e in the column 2b and the location O6. In the column 3 the locations of the two first areas, often on the same line, are separated by a semi-colon, because they belong to two different columns on the map. For example: O6; N6, i.e. O6 for 14.9 in the column 2a and N6 for 14.9+d in the column 2b. For the remaining line of the column 3, 14.9+e, there is no possible confusion. Sometimes a dialect is located in two (or three) different areas in the same square-like quadrilateral; the number of areas is indicated within brackets after the location. For example, the dialect 24.1, Sunan-Arik (P), located with N2 (2), appears twice in N2.

Sometimes, due to the lack of space in the area of a dialect, the number or the letter appears outside of this area. In this case, a small black line is drawn between the number and the dialect area.
**Remarks**

Very often one district includes only a single dialect. For instance, Kangtsha (no. 26.2).

However, a single district may also include several dialects (belonging in some cases to various groups or sections) located in various townships. This is for example the case of Nyemo-Tsang, (no. 4.5) and Nyemo-Hor (P), (no. 9.10).

Conversely a dialect may be spoken in different districts. It is the case of Derge (p), no. 14.4, which is spoken in four districts: Sershül (south part), Jonda (north-eastern part), Derge (entirely) and Pälyül (entirely).

In most cases, the Tibetic-speaking area is compact. But sometimes there are enclaves (15 in total) of non-Tibetic within the Tibetic area (see above and below). There are also a small number of isolated dialects outside the Tibetic area (13 in total), which are thus like islets of Tibetic in non-Tibetic areas. For instance, Maoniuping, (no. 22.6) is isolated within the Naxi area (= R).

In the column 3, the number of the column 2a is located on the map. If numbers/letters appear in the column 2b, they are located after a semi-colon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Linguistic unit</th>
<th>2a. Dialect code and color</th>
<th>2b. Mixed area code, color and black dots</th>
<th>3. Location on the map</th>
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<td>1.2+10.1</td>
<td>F5; E5</td>
</tr>
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<td>1.3+9.1</td>
<td>F4, G4, F5, G5</td>
</tr>
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<td>1.4+9.2</td>
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<td>Nyima-Tö (P)</td>
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<td>1.5+9.3</td>
<td>H6</td>
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<td>E5</td>
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<td>1.7</td>
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## Appendix 3. Maps of the Tibetic area

### West-Tö Cultivators

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<tr>
<td>Nyalam (P)</td>
<td>H7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dingri (P)</td>
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### East-Tö Cultivators

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<td>Dingri</td>
<td>H7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngamring</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rinpung (p)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Chushur-Tsang</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Gerru-Dromo-(p)</td>
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### Ü

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### Phänpo

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<td>Zangri</td>
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<td>Location</td>
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**Notes:**
- Green area indicates the location on the map.
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</table>
Part II - The Non-Tibetic Linguistic Units

For the non-Tibetic linguistic units the key-index has been reduced to the bare essentials.

Column 1 – Simplified alphanumeric formula

The first column includes the various phyla present on the map: Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Aryan, Turkic, Mongolic, Austro-Asiatic, Hmong-Mien, Tai-Kadai, Dravidian, Burushaski and Kusunda. For the first four phyla (I-IV), which are the most important for our purposes, the formula includes the number of the phylum as well as the family/branch. Within the Sino-Tibetan phylum there is a special branch for Tibetospheric Tibeto-Burman, I2 (column 3) beside non-Tibetospheric Tibeto-Burman, I3 (column 4). The other three phyla also include Tibetospheric languages, but fewer than the Sino-Tibetan phylum. For the six last remaining phyla, the formula is reduced to the mere reference number of the phylum, e.g. VII, the Austro-Asiatic phylum.

Column 2 – Linguistic unit

1 – Graphic convention

The graphic conventions for the different hierarchic linguistic levels are the same as above in Part one.

2 – The way of life

The way of life is also mentioned as for the Tibetic (see Part one, column 1).

3 – Limit of the specific area shown in the key on the map

The limit of the Tibetospheric specific area is indicated by a special border on the map only when it appears within the Tibeto-Burman family. Outside the Tibeto-Burman family, by contrast, the limit of the Tibetospheric area is replaced by the limit of the phylum (or the family/branch).

Column 3 – The Tibetosphere

Contrary to the other divisions based on the genetic filiation, the Tibetosphere is defined by areal criteria. In fact, it includes not only parts of some Sino-Tibetan branches but also linguistic units which belong to other phyla, such as Salar, “T” (Turkic), Brokskat-Shina, “m” (Indo-European) or Tshadam-Khoshot (P), “W”
Each of these linguistic units are similarly located in the vicinity of the Tibetic family and have been highly influenced by the Tibetic linguistic family and Vajrayana Buddhism; speakers of this division are generally followers of Vajrayana, except the speakers of Salar, "T" who are Muslims (see chapter 3 and 10).

**Enclaves and adjacent areas**

The Tibetospheric linguistic units are located either in enclaves within the Tibetic area or in adjacent areas outside the Tibetic area.

Within the Tibetic area, there are fifteen Tibetospheric enclaves. In these enclaves, which are mixed areas, the speakers of the non-Tibetic units cohabit with speakers of Tibetic languages.

3a – Lower-case letter of reference for the non-Tibetic unit code.

This column allows one to easily identify the reference number of the non-Tibetic unit, which is encoded as a lower-case letter from a to p. In each given phylum, only the linguistic unit of the enclave has been listed with mention of the corresponding subdivision in the index.

3b – Representation of the enclave on the map for the mixed area code.

**Color**: Tibetic group color with Tibetospheric black dots.

**Reference**: Tibetic dialect number with the Tibetospheric enclave lower-case letter.

**Example**: 15.1+a: Metok-Kham + Metok-Mönpa

3c – Adjacent area

Tibetospheric languages are also found outside and adjacent to the Tibetic area, forming a discontinuous crown. There are twenty-four such cases listed on the map. We do not provide the subdivision limits between them on the map.

The linguistic units of the adjacent areas, which are encoded with a capital letter from A to X, are represented on the map as follows.

**Color**: non-Tibetic yellow grey color with Tibetospheric black dots.

**Reference**: capital letter.

**Example**: A, Lahauli.
Column 4 – Non-Tibospheric units

The non-Tibetic remaining part, which does not belong to the Tibetosphere, is represented as follows.

**Color:** non-Tibetic yellow grey color.

Reference: Roman and sometimes Arabic number(s) from I2 to XIV. Some numbers are missing, because they are corresponding to phyla not represented on this map, but which will appear on the map “The Tibetic linguistic family at the heart of Asia,” which covers a wider area.

**Example:** IV, Mongolic phylum.

Column 5 – Location on the map

See the explanations given in the part one. In two cases, for Choyu (Qiangic) and for Monguor (eastern Mongolic), we use a semi-colon to note that the language is located in an enclave as well as in an adjacent area.
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<th>2</th>
<th>3a</th>
<th>3b</th>
<th>3c</th>
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### III - TURKIC PHYLUM

**III1** SOUTH-WESTERN-TURKIC (= Oghuz-branch)
- Tibetospheric South-Western-Turkic
  - Salar
  - | | P4

**III2** NORTH-EASTERN-TURKIC (= Siberian branch)
- Tibetospheric North-Eastern-Turkic
  - Western-Yughur
  - | | N2(2), O2

### IV - MONGOLIC PHYLUM

**IV1** EASTERN-MONGOLIC
- Tibetospheric Eastern-Mongolic
  - Eastern-Yughur (P)
    - n
    - | | 25+n
    - Monguor
      - o
      - 34.1+o
      - 34.3+o
      - 34.4+o
      - 34.8+o
    - Bonan
      - | | W

**IV2** WESTERN-MONGOLIC
- Tibetospheric Western-Mongolic
  - Sogwo-Arik-Khoshot (P)
    - p
    - 27.5+p
  - Tshadam-Khoshot (P)
    - | | X

### VII - AUSTRO-ASIATIC PHYLUM

**VII** I8, J9

### VIII - HMONG-MIEN PHYLUM

**VIII** P8, P9

### IX - TAI-KADAI PHYLUM

**IX** L9, M8(2), N8, O9
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Map 5
THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE TIBETIC AREA

The map provides a detailed view of the natural environment in the Tibetan region, illustrating various geographical features including mountain ranges, rivers, lakes, and forest types.

Key features include:
- High altitude zones such as the Qiangtang National Nature Reserve.
- Rivers like the Yarlung Zangbo and the Brahmaputra.
- Forest types such as coniferous evergreen forests.
- Important geographical markers like Liangchen Khabab and Panggongtsho.

The map also indicates the boundary of the Tibetan plateau, highlighting the unique ecosystems found in this region.
INDEX OF MAP 5. – THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE TIBETIC AREA

This index lists the main mountains, rivers and lakes of the Tibetic area (see also the appendix 1).

Part I. – Cordilleras and Mountain Ranges

The chart below lists twenty-one cordilleras as well as the main ranges and summits that are located in the Tibetic area. The names with asterisks do not appear on the map.

The names that also appear on three other maps (Map 2: The Tibetic linguistic sections; Map 6: The human environment of the Tibetic area; and Map 7: The administrative units of the Tibetic area) are indicated in bold.

In the column 4 (location), when two locations are separated by a dash, the first one corresponds to the name of a range (col 2) and the second to the name of a summit (col 3).

Note that two mountain ranges are abbreviated on the map: P = Pamir (located in B3), H = Hengduan (located in M7-N7).

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<tr>
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<th>LOCATION</th>
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<td>Täkilitagh</td>
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<td>1b</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1c</td>
<td>Longshou Shan</td>
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<td>2. ALTYNTAGH-DOLA RINGMO</td>
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<td>2c</td>
<td>Altyntagh</td>
<td>J2 - H3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2d</td>
<td>Dola Ringmo</td>
<td>O2 - N2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. QAUDAM SHAN</td>
<td>3a</td>
<td>Qaidam Shan (Tshadam Gangri)</td>
<td>L2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3b</td>
<td>Qinghai Nan Shan</td>
<td>O3, P3 - O3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. KUNLUN</td>
<td>4a</td>
<td>Kunlun</td>
<td>E4 - J3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4b</td>
<td>Burhan Budai Shan</td>
<td>E4, J3 - H3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4c</td>
<td>Amnye Machen</td>
<td>N4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4d</td>
<td>Min Shan</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. MARDZA GANG</td>
<td>6. WAYÄNKHAR</td>
<td>7. GYÄLMO MURDO</td>
<td>8. ZÄLMO GANG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a Mardza Gang</td>
<td>Mardza Gang</td>
<td>Nyänpo Yurtse</td>
<td>Ngawa Gang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b Ngawa Gang</td>
<td>6a Toze Gangri</td>
<td>F4</td>
<td>M4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b Kokoshili</td>
<td>6c Wayänkhar</td>
<td>I4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9. NINGJING</th>
<th>10. DANGLA</th>
<th>11. PURGYÄL GANGRI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9a Luma Jangthang</td>
<td>10a Aghil</td>
<td>11a Nganglong Gangri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b Ningjing</td>
<td>10b Margamri</td>
<td>G5, H5 - G5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9c Pombor Gang</td>
<td>10c Dangla</td>
<td>11b Muggar Gangri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10d Markham Gang</td>
<td>K5, L6 - L6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10e Hengduan-1* (H1 on the map)</td>
<td>11d Tshawa Gang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11e Hengduan -2* (H2 on the map)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 12. KARAKORAM- NYÄNCHEN THANGLHA |  |
|---------------------------------| | 12a Karakoram | 12b Kading Gangri |
| 12b Changla Pola                | K2 (Alt.: Choghorri) | F6 |
| 12c Nyänchen Thanglha           | J6, L6 - J6        |
| 12d Hengduan-3 (H3 on the map)  | J6, L6 - J6        |
| 12f Gaoligong Shan             | M7 |
| (also n° 19)                    | N8 |
### Appendix 3 – Maps of the Tibetic area

#### Part II – Water Courses & Lakes

The chart below lists the river drainage basins as well as the main rivers and their tributaries or subtributaries. The major lakes of the Tibetic area are also listed. To distinguish the 23 lakes from the water courses, the names of the lakes are preceded by a number and an "L". When there is not enough space on the map, instead of the river or lake name, a blue lower case letter appears on the map. The names with asterisks do not appear on the map.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix 3: – Maps of the Tibetic area</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>13. LADAKH - GANG TISE</strong></td>
<td><strong>F6</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a Ladakh gang</td>
<td>Nechung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13b Gang Tise</td>
<td>Kailash, Gang Rinpoche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13c Noshing Kansang</td>
<td>J7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13d Linbu Gangze Gabo</td>
<td>K6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14. GREAT HIMALAYA</strong></td>
<td><strong>D6, K7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Himalaya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14a Nanga Parbat</td>
<td>B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14b Nanda Devi</td>
<td>D6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14c Dhaulagiri</td>
<td>F7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14d Jomolangma (Alt.: Sagar-matha, Everest)</td>
<td>H7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14e Gangchen Dzönga, (Alt.: Kangchenjunga)</td>
<td>I8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14f Namchak Barwa</td>
<td>L7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15. SHIVALIK or PRE-HIMALAYA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a Shivalik</td>
<td>3 summits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15b Miri Hills</td>
<td>K8, L8 - L8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>16. NAGA HILLS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga Hills</td>
<td>L8 - L8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17. PATKOI</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patkoi</td>
<td>Hkakabo (other summit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>18. ANGPAWIN BUM</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angpawin Bum</td>
<td>Saramati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>19. GAOLIGONG (also n°12f)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaoligong</td>
<td>other summit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>20. MINYAK RABGANG</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minyak Rabgang</td>
<td>Minyak Gangkar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>21. QIONGLAI</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21a Daliang</td>
<td>P7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21b Qionglai</td>
<td>Kula (Alt.: Siguniang Shan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21c Chaping</td>
<td>Jiuding Shan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As expected, water courses and lakes have different names. In many cases, the upper course and the lower course of rivers have different names. Usually, the name of the upper course is in Tibetan, whereas that of the lower course is Chinese, Hindustani, Nepali, Burmese, Turkic or Mongolian. Some lakes also have different names, for example, Tsho Ngönpo (Tibetan), Khökhnuur (Mongolian), Kokonor (traditional transcription in English), Qinghahu (Chinese) and Blue lake (translation).

Note that in three cases, different rivers bear the same name. After each of these river names, the reference capital letter of the water course is given in brackets. The Dzachu (M) river, for example, belongs to the Mekong river drainage area. The two other cases are “Marchu (D) or (G)” and “Gyälmo Ngülchu (S) or (Y)”. Four interior drainage areas are relatively small, and a Roman numeral after the name in brackets appears in blue on the map, e.g. Tshomo Riri (I).

### 1. - Exterior drainage basins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drainage basin &amp; main rivers</th>
<th>Tributaries &amp; lakes names (L)</th>
<th>Sub-tributaries</th>
<th>Sub-sub tributaries</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indus river drainage basin</strong> [Sengge Tsangpo (Alt.: Sengge Khabap), Sindh* = Indus]</td>
<td>Gar Tsangpo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E5-C4-B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tsarap Tsangpo* , Zangskar Tsangpo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suru Tsangpo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shayok Tsangpo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gilgit* (g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hunza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Langchen Khabap, Surlej, Panjnad*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D6 - B6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spiti-chu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chandra*, Chenab, Chandrabhaga*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jhelum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ravi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 3. – Maps of the Tibet area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ganges river drainage basin [Bhagirati, Ganga* = Ganges]</th>
<th>D6-D7-G9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yamuna</td>
<td>C7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabja Khabap, Karnali, Ghagra</td>
<td>E6-E7-F8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panzang-chu*, Mugu Karnali</td>
<td>F7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maha Kali</td>
<td>E7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali Gandaki, Gandak</td>
<td>F7 - G8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyirong Tsangpo* - Trisuli (Nadi*)</td>
<td>G8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bum-chu, Arun, Sapt Koshi</td>
<td>H7 - H8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men-chu* (e)</td>
<td>H7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaru Tsangpo</td>
<td>I7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bö-chu*, Sun Koshi</td>
<td>H8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dush Koshi*</td>
<td>H8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunsu-chu*, Tamur</td>
<td>H8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brahmaputra river drainage basin [Yarlung Tsangpo (Alt.: Tamchok Khabap), Siang* = Dihang, Brahmaputra]</th>
<th>F6-I7-L7-J8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyi-chu</td>
<td>K6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarlung</td>
<td>J7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyang (chu*)</td>
<td>K7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharlung Tsangpo</td>
<td>L7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiong Tsangpo</td>
<td>L6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzayül-chu, Lohit</td>
<td>M7 - M7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zang-chu</td>
<td>M7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyel-chu, Subansiri</td>
<td>K7 - L7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuri-chu, Manas</td>
<td>J7 - J8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamzhol-chu* (t)</td>
<td>J7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawang-chu* (w), Drangme-chu*</td>
<td>J8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo-chu* (m), Puna*</td>
<td>I8 - I8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsang-chu*, Sankosh, Gangadhar*</td>
<td>I8 - I9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lachen-chu *(l), Tista</td>
<td>I8 - I9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River Drainage Basin</td>
<td>Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Irrawaddy</em> river drainage basin [Ridong-chu, Dulong Jiang*, Nmai-hka*, Ayeyarwady = Irrawaddy*]</td>
<td>M7 - M9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nam Tamai</td>
<td>M7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chindwin (Myit*)</td>
<td>M8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Salween</em> river drainage basin</td>
<td>J6 - L6 - N8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nag-chu, Gyälmo Ngül-chu (S), Nu Jiang*, Thanlwin* = Salween</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mekong</em> river drainage basin</td>
<td>L5 - L5 - L5 - N8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern source: Dzakar, Southern source: Dzanak, Dza-chu (M), Lancang Jiang* = Mekong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngom-chu</td>
<td>L5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yangtze</em> river drainage basin</td>
<td>L4 - J4 - K5 - K4 - M5 - N7 - O8 - P8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western source: Chumar-chu, Southern source: Mar-chu (Y), Eastern source: Dam-chu, Dri-chu, Jinsha Jiang, Yangzi Jiang* (Alt.: Yangtze Kiang and Chang Jiang*) = Blue river*</td>
<td>N5 - O7 - O8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dza-chu (Y), Nyag-chu, Yalong Jiang</td>
<td>N5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da-chu</td>
<td>N5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li-chu</td>
<td>O7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zung-chu, Min Jiang</td>
<td>P5 - P6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar-chu (G), Gyälmo Ngül-chu* (Y) = Gyälrong, Dadu He</td>
<td>O5 - P6 - P7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do-chu</td>
<td>O5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jialing Jiang* (Alt.: Bailong Jiang*)</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug-chu</td>
<td>P5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 1. - River drainage basins

#### Huang He river drainage basin
- Northern source, Ma-chu, Southern source, Kar-chu, Ma-chu, Huang He = Yellow river*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-basin</th>
<th>Drainage Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsong-chu = Huang Shui*</td>
<td>M4 - N5 - O4 - Q3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julak-chu = Datong He*</td>
<td>O3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu-chu = Tao He*</td>
<td>P4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weihe</td>
<td>Q4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Yuan Jiang river drainage basin
Yuan Jiang = Red river*

#### Xi Jiang river drainage basin

### 2. - Interior drainage areas (endorheic regions)

#### Aral sea drainage area
- Amu-darya* (a), Wakhja*, Wakhan*, Panj*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drainage Area</th>
<th>Drainage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yarkandsu, Tarimsu*</td>
<td>B3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tashkorganab* (k)</td>
<td>C3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karakashu</td>
<td>D3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keriyasu</td>
<td>E3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chärchansu</td>
<td>H3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Königisu</td>
<td>I1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meru-chu, Shulehe</td>
<td>N2 - M1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL- Lopnuur*, Lopnor</td>
<td>J1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Lopnor lake drainage area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drainage Area</th>
<th>Drainage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chunak = Hei He*, Shandan He, Ruo Shui, Naringol*</td>
<td>N2 - O2 - N1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

* = Indicates a river or lake name corresponding to the Chinese name.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tshadam - Kokonor lake drainage area</th>
<th>J3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kumkölsu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patāliksu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2L- Ayakkumköl</td>
<td>I3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naringol, Taijinarqol</td>
<td>K3 - K3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulaght Argol</td>
<td>J3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gormo-chu, Naiqol*</td>
<td>L3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shugingol</td>
<td>L4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhingde (chu*), Qaidamhe (Tshadam-chu*)</td>
<td>N4 - M3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yokro-chu</td>
<td>M4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangkang-chu</td>
<td>N3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3L- Tsho Ngönpo* = Khökhnuur* = Qinghaihu* = Kokonor = Blue lake*</td>
<td>O3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jangthang drainage area</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4L Markel Tshakha</td>
<td>H4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5L Mirik Gyangdram-tsho</td>
<td>I5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsapug-chu</td>
<td>E5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6L Panggong-tsho</td>
<td>D5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boktsang Tsangpo</td>
<td>H6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsakya Tsangpo</td>
<td>J5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7L Serling-tsho</td>
<td>I6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8L Langa-tsho* (h) (= Rakas Tal*)</td>
<td>E6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9L Mapham Yu-tsho (= Manasarovar Tal*)</td>
<td>E6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wamo Tsangpo</td>
<td>F6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10L Nganla Ringtsho</td>
<td>F6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11L Drangyer Tshakha</td>
<td>G6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bultok (Tsangpo*)</td>
<td>G6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12L Tharo-tsho</td>
<td>G6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13L Sengli-tsho</td>
<td>G6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX 3. – Maps of the Tibet area

#### Jangthang drainage area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Trashi Nam-tsho</td>
<td>G6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dangra Yu-tsho</td>
<td>H6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nyangtse-tsho</td>
<td>H6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kyaring-tsho</td>
<td>I6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Nam-tsho Chukmo</td>
<td>J6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Tibetan Himalaya drainage area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Tshomo Riri* (I)</td>
<td>D5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Palku-Tsho* (II)</td>
<td>G7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Tshomo Dramling* (III)</td>
<td>I7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ram-tsho* (IV)</td>
<td>I7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Yamdrok Yu-tsho</td>
<td>J7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF MAP 7. – THE ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS OF THE TIBETIC AREA

This map presents the administrative units of the Tibetic area within China, India, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan and Myanmar. It lists not only the states/provinces and prefectures but also all the districts/counties where these languages are spoken.

Within China, the Tibetic languages and dialects are spoken in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), as well as in the Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures (TAP) and Tibetan Autonomous Counties (TAC), which are included in the adjacent Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, and Yunnan. Tibetan dialects are also spoken in several counties which are situated in Chinese provinces but do not have an autonomous status. It is important to emphasize that nearly half of the Tibetan linguistic area of China is located outside of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Tibetan communities have been established in the second half of the twentieth century in other Chinese provinces. The main communities are found in the cities of Chengdu, Lanzhou, Beijing, Xi’an, Shenyang, Chongqing, Tianjin and Shanghai. These cities house a number of institutes linked to Tibetan culture, including middle schools, universities, and research centres. These communities, which are located in areas lying outside the scope of the map, except Lanzhou and Chengdu, are not listed in the index.

Within India, Tibetic languages and dialects are spoken in various states: the Union Territory of Ladakh (previously Jammu and Kashmir), Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, West Bengal and, in a marginal way, in Uttarkhand and Arunachal Pradesh.

Within Pakistan, a Tibetic language, Balti, is spoken in the autonomous administrative territory of Gilgit-Baltistan (formerly, the "Northern Areas").

Within Bhutan, Dzongkha, a Tibetic language, is spoken as a native language mainly in the western districts. Dzongkha, which is the national language of Bhutan, is also spoken elsewhere in the country as a second language. Other Tibetic languages are also spoken in various eastern and central districts.

In Myanmar, a Tibetic variety belonging to the Dzayül group is spoken in some villages of the Kachin state.
The Tibetic languages have an official status in some administrative units of the Tibetic area. This is for example the case for Tibetan in the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures in China but also for Dzongkha in Bhutan and Lhoke in Sikkim. Yet in many areas, the Tibetic languages do not have any official status.

Conversely, some administrative units that are officially affiliated to the Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures (in China) may only have smaller populations, who speak a Tibetic language as their native language. This is the case, for example, for Tibetans in the Tshonup Tibetan and Mongolian Autonomous Prefecture of Qinghai Province where five out of the seven administrative areas do not have any significant number of native Amdo Tibetan speakers. Similarly, some southern districts of Bhutan do not have significant communities who speak Tibetic languages as their native languages.

In such cases, we use an asterisk in front of the administrative unit to indicate the small number of native speakers of Tibetic languages. However, even in these areas, Literary Tibetan and Dzongkha (in Bhutan) may be used for administrative or religious purposes.

In the chart below, we provide the correspondences of the main administrative levels in the six countries. The township level does not appear neither on the map nor in the index. We leave a blank for the levels which are not relevant in a given country. The various administrative terms are systematically given in English and in Tibetan (or Dzongkha for Bhutan). For each country, correspondences in other languages, such as Chinese, Hindi, Urdu, Nepali, and Burmese are also provided. In China, the administrative units are officially respectively in Tibetan and Chinese whereas in Bhutan, they are in Dzongkha and English. For India, Pakistan, Nepal and Myanmar, we provide here the Tibetan equivalents for the Tibetan readers but they do not have any official status.
Correspondence between the main administrative levels of various countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>China</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>Nepal</th>
<th>Bhutan</th>
<th>Myanmar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: Province</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: State</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: Province</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: Province</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: State</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chin</strong>: 省 (sheng)</td>
<td><strong>Hindi</strong>: प्रदेश (Pradesh)</td>
<td><strong>Urdu</strong>: صوبہ (Sub-bah)</td>
<td><strong>Nep</strong>: प्रदेश (Pradesh)</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Bur</strong>: မိုင်းနယ်</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རྗུང་ཆེན་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རྗུང་ཆེན་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: Autonomous Region</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: Territory Union</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: Autoromoous territory</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: Provice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chin</strong>: 自治区 (zizhiqu)</td>
<td><strong>Hindi</strong>: केंद्र शासित प्रदेश (kendra shasit pradesh)</td>
<td><strong>Urdu</strong>: خود مختار علاقاً</td>
<td><strong>Nep</strong>: प्रदेश</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Nep</strong>: प्रदेश</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: Prefecture 1</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: District</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chin</strong>: 州 (zhou)</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Hindi</strong>: जिला (zila)</td>
<td><strong>Hindi</strong>: प्रदेश</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རྗུང་ཁྱེར</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རྗུང་ཁྱེར</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: County</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: District</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chin</strong>: 县 (xian)</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Hindi</strong>: प्रदेश</td>
<td><strong>Hindi</strong>: प्रदेश</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རྗུང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: town</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: District</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chin</strong>: 镇 (zhen)</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Hindi</strong>: तहसील</td>
<td><strong>Nep</strong>: गाउँपालिका</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རྗུང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: township</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: District</td>
<td><strong>Eng</strong>: District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chin</strong>: 乡 (xiang)</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Hindi</strong>: तहसील</td>
<td><strong>Nep</strong>: गाउँपालिका</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རྗུང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td><strong>Tib</strong>: རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Some prefectures (zhou) as well as counties (xian) are also designated as 市 (shi) or ཕྲོང་ཁྱེར (CHONG.KHYER) ‘city’ with the meaning of ‘prefecture level city’. One should also note that some prefectures and counties have an autonomous status: ‘Autonomous prefecture’, 自治州 (zizhizhou) རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ RANG.SKYONG KHUL and ‘Autonomous County’, 自治县 (zizhiixian), རང་སྐྱོང་རྫོང་ RANG.RDZONG.
The index below lists the various administrative units of the Tibetic area, and depending on their corresponding countries, their region, province, prefecture, city and district (or county). Headquarters at the prefecture level are indicated by the abbreviation ‘H’. In a number of cases, particularly in China, but also in India and Nepal, some counties have changed names over the years (in some cases several times). In order to help the reader, we provide former names (abbreviated FKA ‘formerly known as’) as well as some alternative names (abbreviated as Alt.).

On the map, the district or county names are either written out or represented by a lowercase letter which can be found in the index below. The names of district or county headquarters are not written in the index nor on the map, and their locations are symbolized by black dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative unit (region, prefecture, city, district/county, etc.) [English/Romanization]</th>
<th>Administrative unit [Tibetan, translit.]</th>
<th>Administrative unit [Chinese, pinyin]</th>
<th>Color on the map</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHINA</td>
<td>མཆོག་གོ</td>
<td>中国</td>
<td>Zhongguo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION</td>
<td>བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་</td>
<td>西藏自治区</td>
<td>Xizang zizhiqu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhasa City (prefecture level)</td>
<td>ལྷ་ས་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་</td>
<td>拉萨市</td>
<td>Lasa shi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: Lhasa District</td>
<td>ལྷ་ས་ཁྲེང་ཀོན་ཆུས་</td>
<td>拉萨城关区</td>
<td>Lasa Chengguan qu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damzhung County</td>
<td>མཆོག་ཁྲོང་ པད་</td>
<td>当雄县</td>
<td>Dangxiong xian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhündrup County</td>
<td>སྣེ་མོ་རྫོང་</td>
<td>林周县</td>
<td>Linzhou xian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyemo County</td>
<td>མི་དུ་རྫོང་</td>
<td>尼木县</td>
<td>Nimu xian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chushur County</td>
<td>འབྲུ་མཐར་རྫོང་</td>
<td>曲水县</td>
<td>Qushui xian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tönlung Dechen County</td>
<td>སྟོད་ལུང་དབྱུར་ཆེན་ པད་</td>
<td>堆龙德庆县</td>
<td>Duilongdeqing xian</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2. Formerly, until 2017: Village Development Committee.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Tibetan Name</th>
<th>Chinese Name</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tagtse County</td>
<td>སྟག་རྩེ་རྫོང་</td>
<td>达孜县 Dazi xian</td>
<td>J7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mäldroungkar County</td>
<td>མལ་གྲོ་གུདཀར་རྫོང་</td>
<td>墨竹工卡县 Mozhugongka xian</td>
<td>J6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngari Prefecture</td>
<td>མངའ་རིས་ས་ཁུལ་</td>
<td>阿里地区 Ali diqu</td>
<td>E5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gar County H: Sengge Khabap</td>
<td>སྐྱར་རྫོང་</td>
<td>嘎尔县 Gaer xian</td>
<td>E5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>སེང་གེ་ཁ་འབབ་</td>
<td>狮泉河镇 Shiquanhe zhen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruthok County</td>
<td>རུ་ཐོག་རྫོང་</td>
<td>日土县 Ritu xian</td>
<td>E5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsanda County</td>
<td>རྩ་མདའ་རྫོང་</td>
<td>札达县 Zhada xian</td>
<td>D6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purang County</td>
<td>གསྨུ་ཧྲེང་རྫོང་</td>
<td>普兰县 Pulan xian</td>
<td>E6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gegyä County</td>
<td>དགེ་རྒྱས་རྫོང་</td>
<td>革吉县 Geji xian</td>
<td>G6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gertse County</td>
<td>སྒེར་རྩེ་རྫོང་</td>
<td>改则县 Gaize xian</td>
<td>G5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshochen County</td>
<td>སྙེན་ཆེན་རྫོང་</td>
<td>错勤县 Cuoqin xian</td>
<td>G6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nagchu City</strong></td>
<td><strong>那曲市 Naqu shi</strong></td>
<td>那曲市 Naqu shi</td>
<td>K6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H: Sernye District</strong></td>
<td><strong>色尼区 Seni qu</strong></td>
<td>H: 色尼区 Seni qu</td>
<td>K6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FKA: Nagchu County)</td>
<td><strong>(那曲县 Naqu xian)</strong></td>
<td>(那曲县 Naqu xian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyima County</td>
<td>ཉི་མ་རྫོང་</td>
<td>尼玛县 Nima xian</td>
<td>H5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshonyi (Two lakes) Special zone</td>
<td>སྙེད་ཧྲུབ་གདན་ཤེང་</td>
<td>双湖特别区 Shuang Hu Tebiequ</td>
<td>I5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shäntsa County</td>
<td>ཤན་རྩ་རྫོང་</td>
<td>申扎县 Shenza xian</td>
<td>I6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>Pinyin</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangön County</td>
<td>DPAL. M'GON RDZONG</td>
<td>班戈县 Ban'ge xian</td>
<td>J6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amdo County</td>
<td>A.MDO RDZONG</td>
<td>安多县 Anduo xian</td>
<td>J5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyänrong County</td>
<td>SNYAN. RONG RDZONG</td>
<td>聂荣县 Nierong xian</td>
<td>K5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachen County</td>
<td>SBR. CHEN RDZONG</td>
<td>巴青县 Baqing xian</td>
<td>K5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhari County</td>
<td>LHAR. RDZONG</td>
<td>嘉黎县 Jiali xian</td>
<td>K6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biru County</td>
<td>'BRLU. RDZONG</td>
<td>比如县 Biru xian</td>
<td>K6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sok County</td>
<td>SOG RDZONG</td>
<td>索县 Suo xian</td>
<td>L6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamdo City</td>
<td>CHAR. MDO GRONG. KHYER</td>
<td>昌都市 Changdu shi</td>
<td>M6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: Kharo District</td>
<td>H. MKHAR. RO CHUS</td>
<td>H: 卡若区 Karuo qu (FKA: 昌都市 Changdu xian)</td>
<td>M6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengchen County</td>
<td>STENG. CHEN RDZONG</td>
<td>丁青县 Dingqing xian</td>
<td>L6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riwoche County</td>
<td>RIBO. CHE RDZONG</td>
<td>类乌齐 Leiwuqi xian</td>
<td>M6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonda County</td>
<td>JO. MDA' RDZONG</td>
<td>江达县 Jiangda xian</td>
<td>N6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pämbar County</td>
<td>DPAL. BAR RDZONG</td>
<td>边坝县 Bianba xian</td>
<td>L6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhorong County</td>
<td>LHO. RONG RDZONG</td>
<td>洛隆县 Luolong xian</td>
<td>L6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashö County</td>
<td>DPA'. SHOD RDZONG</td>
<td>八宿县 Baxiu xian</td>
<td>M6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drayap County</td>
<td>BRAG. G. YAB RDZONG</td>
<td>察雅县 Chaya xian</td>
<td>M6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonjo County</td>
<td>GO. JO RDZONG</td>
<td>贡觉县 Gongjue xian</td>
<td>N6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>English Name</td>
<td>Chinese Name</td>
<td>Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzogang County</td>
<td>MDZO.SGANG RDZONG</td>
<td>左贡县 Zuogong xian</td>
<td>M7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markham County</td>
<td>SMAR.KHAMS RDZONG</td>
<td>芒康县 Mangkang xian</td>
<td>N7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhikatse City</td>
<td>GZHIS.K.ARTSE GRONG.KHYER</td>
<td>日喀则市 Rikaze shi</td>
<td>I7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: Sandrubtse District (Alt.: Zhikatse County)</td>
<td>BSAM. GRUR.RTSE CHUS (Alt.: GZHIS.K.ARTSE RDZONG)</td>
<td>H: 桑珠孜区 Sangzhuzi qu (Alt.: 日喀则县 Rikaze)</td>
<td>z I7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drongpa County</td>
<td>'BRONG.PAR RDZONG</td>
<td>仲巴县 Zhongba xian</td>
<td>F6</td>
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### APPENDIX 3. – Maps of the Tibetic area

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### APPENDIX 3. – Maps of the Tibetic area

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<td>Gandaki pradeś</td>
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<td>གློ་མོན་ཐང་ / GLO.MON.THANG RDZONG</td>
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<td>Nuwakot District</td>
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<td>Sindhupalchok District</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROVINCE n°1</td>
<td>Administrative unit [Dzongkha, translit.]</td>
<td>Administrative unit Nepali, translit.</td>
<td>Color on the map</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
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<td>BHUTAN</td>
<td>ལྷུང་། སྦྱར</td>
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</table>

We remind readers here that the national language of Bhutan is Dzongkha. Nepali is not an official language in Bhutan and is no longer taught in the schools, unlike English and Dzongkha. However, many Bhutanese people also speak Nepali as a second language or third language, and in some southern districts (such as Samtsi, Tsirang, Sarpang and Samdrup Jongkhar), Lhotshampas (lit. ‘southern border dweller’), who are people of Nepalese descent, speak Nepali as a native language.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Jilla</th>
<th>Page</th>
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<tr>
<td>Punakha District</td>
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<td>Punakha jilla</td>
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<td>'Wangdi Phodr’a District</td>
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<td>Wandus Phodrang jilla</td>
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<td>Trongsa District</td>
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<td>d'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lhüntsi District (Alt.: Lhüntse)</td>
<td>BUM.THANG RDZONG.KHAG</td>
<td>Lhunce jilla</td>
<td>f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trashi’Yangtse District</td>
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<td>Trasi Yangce jilla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paro District</td>
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<td>Paro jilla</td>
<td>h'</td>
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<td>i'</td>
</tr>
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<td>‘Samtsi District (Alt.: Samtse)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Tsirang District</td>
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<td>Sirang jilla</td>
<td>m'</td>
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<td>Monggar District</td>
<td>MONG.SGAR RDZONG.KHAG</td>
<td>Mongar jilla</td>
<td>n'</td>
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APPENDIX 3. – Maps of the Tibetic area

1073
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Administrative unit [English /Romanization]</th>
<th>Administrative unit [Tibetan, translit.]</th>
<th>Administrative unit Burmese/romanization</th>
<th>Color on the map</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MYANMAR (Alt.: Burma)</td>
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<td>BAR.MA</td>
<td>Myanmar</td>
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<td>KACHIN STATE</td>
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<td>GACHIN MNGA’SDE</td>
<td>Kachin pyinay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Putao District</td>
<td>བོད་རིག་</td>
<td>PUTA’O RDZONG</td>
<td>Putao hkaruin</td>
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<th>Location</th>
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<td>Trashigang District</td>
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<td>BKRA.SHS.SGANG RDZONG.KHAG</td>
<td>Trashigang jilla</td>
<td>J8</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Pêmagatshã District</td>
<td>རྡོ་རྗེ་གནས་གཙུན་ཁང་</td>
<td>P.D.M.DGA’.TSHAL RDZONG.KHAG</td>
<td>Pemagachal jilla</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Samdru Jongkha District</td>
<td>བསམ་གྲུབ་ལྗོངས་མཁར་རྫོང་ཁག་</td>
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<td>*Sarpang District</td>
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<td>Sarpang jilla</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Zh’âmgang District</td>
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<td>GZHALM.SGANG RDZONG.KHAG</td>
<td>Shemgang jilla</td>
<td>J8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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OLAC (Open Language Archives Community): http://www.language-archives.org/
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Tshultrim (Ngaba, Sichuan), Zangbo (Basum lake, TAR), Südrön (Lhasa, TAR), Lachang Pema Gyaltsen (Zhikatse, TAR), Horkar Nomo (Nagchu, TAR), Lumbum Thar (Chabcha, Qinghai), Dawa Thar (Martö, Qinghai) Chökyong Tsho (Luchu), Dorje Tshetän (Labrang, Gansu), Kälzang Dorje (Xunhua, Qinghai), Gelek (Pämbar), Chime Wandü (Riwoche, TAR), Tamdrin (Thimphu, Bhutan), Abbas Khazmi (Skardo, Baltistan), Ngawang Tsering Shakspo (Leh, Ladakh), Mohammad Hasnain Sengge Tsering (Shigar, Baltistan), Ghulam Hassan Hasni (Skardo, Baltistan), Muhammad Raza Tasawor (Skardo, Baltistan), Bakir Haideri (Skardo, Baltistan), Hassan Hasnain (Khaplu, Baltistan), Gyurme Chodrak (Khumjung, Khumbu Nepal); Lhakpa Norbu Sherpa (Khumbu, Nepal), Geshe Sherap (Muli, Sichuan), Gyaltsen (Basum Lake, T.A.R), Phurpo Tshering (Tashiding, Silion Gompa, Sikkim), Kunzang Bhutia (Central Pandam, East Sikkim), Dorje Damdul (Gangyap, West Sikkim), Namdol Bhutia (Tashiding, Sikkim), Hissey Wongchuk (Tashiding, Sikkim), Chhering Chapel (Yikhim, Spiti), Nono Sonam Angdül (Kyuling, Spiti), Devi Dolma (Chang, upper Kinnaur), Lama Topgye (Chang, upper Kinnaur), Thupten Dorje Keshingpa (Khoksar, Lahul), Rigzin Angmo (Jispa, Lahul), Ghulam Haider (Khandi, Purik), Mohammad Sadiq Daavi (Khandi), Mukhtar Khan (Kargil), Lekh Raj Samten Choe phel (Pangi), Norbu Tundup (Chumathang, Ladakh), Kunzang Wangmo (Khyunggyam, Ladakh), Chonga Tsering (Puga Sumdo, Ladakh), Mohammad Sadiq Balti (Hardas, Ladakh), Akhon Basherat.
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From Sichuan: Zopo (Chagthreng, Kandze), Kunchog Phuntsho (Derge, Kandze), Yangcan Lhamo (Dartsendo, Kandze), rJamyang Wangcan (Sershul, Kandze), Tshultrim rGyamtsho (Dawpa, Kandze), Nortsemdze (rTa’u, Kandze), Trashi Droma (mDzorge, rNgawa), Karmay Samten Gyaltsen (Zungchu, rNgawa), rTamgrimntsho (mDzorge, rNgawa), Yeshemtsho (rNgawa, rNgawa), Tshelha (dMarthang, rNgawa), Lhamoskyi (Dartsendo, Kandze), Xiao Songying (Rongbrag, Kandze), Lai Shulin (Rongbrag, Kandze), Trashi Lhamo (Zungchu, rNgawa), Tshelha (Khodpokhog, rNgawa), Dawa Trashi (Dartsendo, Kandze), Lhungrub Paldan (Zungchu, rNgawa), Sonam nKhyungskyi (Zungchu, rNgawa), Sangsluskyab (mDzorge, rNgawa), Droma (mDzorge, rNgawa), Kunga mPhelgyas (rNgawa, rNgawa), Tshewang Chosdrag (rTa’u, Kandze), Drolkar (Nyagchukha, Kandze), Xiao Tianyun (Rongbrag, Kandze), Agrong (Rongbrag, Kandze), Yang Suzhen (Rongbrag+Kandze, Kandze), Tshanglhandzom (Muli, Liangshan), Tsherig Drolmo (Chagthreng, Kandze), Adro (Chagthreng, Kandze), Yongcan (Chagthreng, Kandze), Lozong (Chagthreng, Kandze), Shome (Chagthreng, Kandze), Yongdzon (Chagthreng, Kandze), Yongsal (Chagthreng, Kandze), Yangcan Droma (Chagthreng, Kandze), Deskyi (Dawpa, Kandze), Tshelha (Khodpokhog, rNgawa), Khagrag (Zungchu, rNgawa), rTamgrinntsho (mDzorge, rNgawa), rBrunbrul (mDzorge, rNgawa), Nyima (Lithang, Kandze), Kezong Lhamo (Derong, Kandze), Zhama (Derong, Kandze), Tsherig Dongrub (Derong, Kandze), Rigungdzin (Khodpokhog, rNgawa), Geshe Grayang (Zungchu, rNgawa), sByinba Dargye (Zungchu, rNgawa), Norbu (Rongbrag, Kandze), Kezong (Rongbrag, Kandze), rGyalkar (Dartsendo, Kandze), rGowa Trashi (Nyagchukha, Kandze), Sonam mTshomo (Lithang, Kandze), Ogan Tsherig (mBathang, Kandze), Kelzong Namgyal (mBathang, Kandze), Yeshe Wangmo (mBathang, Kandze), rDzantshen (Chagthreng, Kandze), Lozong Trashi (Derong, Kandze), Sonam Norbu (Derong, Kandze), Kezong Tsherig (Derong, Kandze), gYungdrun bsTandzin (Zungchu, rNgawa), Nyimamtsho (Zungchu, rNgawa), Tsherig Lhamo (sDerong, Kandze), Konchog Tsherig (Zungchu, rNgawa), Yama Chosmtsho (Kandze, Kandze), Wangchen Dargye (Dartsendo, Kandze), Thubstan Sherabs (rTa’u, Kandze),
mDosngags bs'Tandzin (rTa'u, Kandze), Sonam Wangmo (Dartsendo, Kandze), Wangga rDorje (Dartsendo, Kandze), Li Chunmei (Nyagchukha, Kandze), Sonam rGyamtsho (Dartsendo, Kandze), Tshulkhrims rGyamtsho (Dartsendo, Kandze), gYangndzom Lhamo (Dartsendo, Kandze), nChimed Lhamo (Dartsendo, Kandze), rGyathar (Dartsendo, Kandze), Aso (Dartsendo, Kandze), rGyamtsho Lhamo (Dartsendo, Kandze), Su Dafang (Dartsendo, Kandze) gYudron (Lithang, Kandze), bLobzang Lhamo (Lithang, Kandze), Kezong Drolma (Lithang, Kandze), dGelegs Wangpo (Lithang, Kandze), njamyang Dongrub (Lithang, Kandze), Yeshes mkhasgrub (Lithang, Kandze), Tshenjam (Lithang, Kandze), Kezong njamyang (Lithang, Kandze), Tanpa rGyalmtshan (Lithang, Kandze), Tshering Phuntshogs (Lithang, Kandze), rGyathar (Lithang, Kandze), YigsPel (Nyagchukha, Kandze), Tandzin Wangchen (Lithang, Kandze), Drolma gYangndzom (Lithang, Kandze), Tshering Samgrup (nBathang, Kandze), Tshering rGyamtsho (Lithang, Kandze), Sonam Drolkar (Lithang, Kandze), mTshamsrung rGyamtsho (Lithang, Kandze), bSampa Dongrub (Lithang, Kandze), Tshering gYongndzom (Lithang, Kandze), Thubstan bSamgrub (Lithang, Kandze), dGelegs Pasang (Lithang, Kandze), Orgyan Drolma (Nyagrong, Kandze), Sonam Tshemtsno (Nyagrong, Kandze)

From Yunnan: Tandzin Zangmo (rGyalthang, Dechen), Dawa Droma (rGyalthang, Dechen), Achen Chosmtsno (Melung, Dechen), Tseri Lhamo (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshering mTshomo (Melung, Dechen), Namgsal Droma (nJol, Dechen), Trashi Lhamo (nJol, Dechen), Dawa Droma (nJol, Dechen), Sonam Tsheri (Melung, Dechen), Thubten Tshulkhrim (rGyalthang, Dechen), Kezong Tshering (nJol, Dechen), Trashi mTshomo (nJol, Dechen), Sonam Lhamo (nJol, Dechen), Darmo (Melung, Dechen), He Yanqing (nJol, Dechen), Pema Chosdron (Karma Palmo; nJol, Dechen), Yangmntsho Drolma (Melung, Dechen), Sonam Tsheri (Melung, Dechen), He Huiju (Yongsheng, Lijiang), He Shengzhong (Yongsheng, Lijiang), He Shengwen (Yongsheng, Lijiang), Kezong Chosdron (nJol, Dechen), gYangdzom (rGyalthang, Dechen), He Qun (Melung, Dechen), He Chunzhi (Melung, Dechen), Li Yun (Melung, Dechen), Li Dan (Melung, Dechen), He Ziquan (Melung, Dechen), Sonam mTshomo (nJol, Dechen), Liu Sanmei (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshering Phuntsho (rGyalthang, Dechen), Lozong Droma
(rGyalthang, Dechen), Lhandzom (Melung, Dechen), gYangdzom (rGyalthang, Dechen), Pasang Tshering (Melung, Dechen), Norgyun Karma Yangcan (Yongsheng, Lijiang), Pema mTshomo (nJol, Dechen), Trashi Drima (nJol, Dechen), Achen Tseri (nJol, Dechen), Tandrin Chomtsho (nJol, Dechen), Dondrub Droma (nJol, Dechen), gYangmtsho Droma (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshe ring mTshomo (Yulong, Lijiang), Lozong Lhamo (rGyalthang, Dechen), Pema mTshomo (nJol, Dechen), Tshe ri Drolma (nJol, Dechen), Shodkar gYangdzom (Melung, Dechen), Kezong Lhamo (nJol, Dechen), Lozong Chukyi (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshe ring Lhamtsho (rGyalthang, Dechen), Kezong Chu gron (rGyalthang, Dechen), Kezong (rGyalthang, Dechen), Bai Yuyin (Gongshan, Nujiang), Rigdzin (Gongshan, Nujiang), Lozong (Gongshan, Nujiang), Kalzong (Gongshan, Nujiang), Byamba Lozong Tshulthrim (rGyalthang, Dechen), Trashi Phuntsho (rGyalthang, Dechen), Ngawang Phuntsho (rGyalthang, Dechen), Kalzong (rGyalthang, Dechen), Trashi Dongrub (rGyalthang, Dechen), Dongrub Tshering (rGyalthang, Dechen), Wangdus Tshering (rGyalthang, Dechen), Lozong rGyantshan (rGyalthang, Dechen), Lozong Tandzin (rGyalthang, Dechen), Chong rol Lhamo (nJol, Dechen), Tshe ring Lhamo (nJol, Dechen), Tshe ring Lhamo (rGyalthang, Dechen), Droma gYangdron (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshe ring gYangdron (nJol, Dechen), Sonam Lhamo (nJol, Dechen), Padma Lhamo (rGyalthang, Dechen), Droma gYangdzon (rGyalthang, Dechen), Karma Tshering (rGyalthang, Dechen), Dampa Sherab (Melung, Dechen), Sonam Tshering (rGyalthang, Dechen), Trashi Droma (rGyalthang, Dechen), Lozong (rGyalthang, Dechen), gSalmo (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshering Norbu (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshewa ng Lhamo (nJol, Dechen), Sonam Dorje (rGyalthang, Dechen), Dongrub Tshering (nJol, Dechen), Tshering Nyima (nJol, Dechen), Norbu (nJol, Dechen), Azong (nJol, Dechen), Trashi Dongrub (nJol, Dechen), Adron (nJol, Dechen), nJampel (nJol, Dechen), Sherab Wangdan (nJol, Dechen), Awang (rGyalthang, Dechen), Trashi Phuntsho (rGyalthang, Dechen), Ogyan (rGyalthang, Dechen), Trashi Phuntsho (nJol, Dechen), Thubtan Trashi (nJol, Dechen), Lozong (nJol, Dechen), Lozong (rGyalthang, Dechen), Norbu (rGyalthang, Dechen), Lozong Yiddan (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshering Lhamo (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshering Dongrub (rGyalthang, Dechen), Tshering Norbu
Post-scriptum

From Gansu: Kalzang Drolma (bLabrang, Gannan), Dekalmtsho (Cone, Gannan), bSamgrub (rMachu, Gannan), mBruggyalmkhar (gTsos, Gannan), Namgyal Tseten (Cone, Gannan), Bon gDugskar (mBrugchu, Gannan), dGralha Tshering (mBrugchu, Gannan), sGo Yullha (mBrugchu, Gannan), rNambyor Wangmo (Thewo, Gannan), sKarma Lhundrub (Thewo, Gannan), Tshering Drolma (Thewo, Gannan), dGathar Drolma (Thewo, Gannan), sMonlamtsho (Thewo, Gannan), Lhungrub (Thewo, Gannan), Tshering Drolma (Thewo, Gannan), dGathar Drolma (Thewo, Gannan), sMonlamtsho (Thewo, Gannan), Dawa Drolma (mBrugchu, Gannan)

From Qinghai: Sonam Wangyal (Khrika, mTsholho), Drolma Dongrub (Chabcha, mTsholho), Lhamo (Mangra, mTsholho), mGonborgye (Dowi, mTshoshar), mKhamoskyid (Khrika, mTsholho), mKhamomtsho (Rebgong, rMalho), Tsheskyi Wangmo (Khridu, Yulshul), rTamgrin Drolma (mKhawagsumdo, mTsholho), Phagmomtsho (Mangra, mTsholho), Wandergyal (Rebgong, rMalho), bLobrten rDorje (gCantsha, rMalho)

From Tibet Autonomous Region: Tshulkhrim Kelsang (Dingri, Zhikatse), Sanggye Droma (sMarkham, Chamdo), Sanggye Yeshe (Bachen, Nagchu), Tshering Phuntscho (rDzayul, Nyinrhi), Kesang Droma (Namling, Shigatse), Pema Chondzom (sMarkhams, Chamdo), Tashi Nyima (mDzogong, Chamdo), Tshering Lhamo (sMarkhams, Chamdo), Trashi (sMarkhams, Chamdo), Kelsang Lodru (rDzayul, Nyinrhi)

From Bhutan: Kinzang Dorje (Tashi Yangtse)