

### PART 3. – TIBETIC 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<sup>1</sup> (see Chapter 10). This is the case, for example, with the following words:

སྐར་མ་ *SKAR.MA* ‘star’, སྙུར་ *SKYUR* ‘sour’, སྐ་ *SKRA* ‘hair’, ཁ་ *KHA* ‘mouth’, ཁམ་ *KHAB* ‘needle’, ཁྲག་ *KHRAG* ‘blood’, རྒྱ་ *RGAD* ‘old (for animated beings)’, སྒོ་ *SNGO* ‘blue’ (or *SNGON*), ལྷག་ *LCAGS* ‘iron’, ལྗེ་ *LCE* ‘tongue’, ལྷ་ *CHU* ‘water’, མཆིན་པ་ *MCHIN.PA* ‘liver’, ཉ་ *NYA* ‘fish’, ཉེ་ *NYE* ‘near’, དུག་ *DUG* ‘poison’, མདའ་ *MDA* ‘arrow’, ཉན་ *NAG* ‘black’, ཕག་ *PHAG* ‘pig’, བྱ་ *BYA* ‘bird’, མིང་ *MING* (archaic form མྱིང་ *MYING*), མི་ *MI* ‘human being’ (archaic form མྱི་ *MYI*), མིག་ *MIG* ‘eye’ (archaic form དྲླིག་ *DMYIG*), མེ་ *ME* ‘fire’ (archaic form མྱེ་ *MYE*), སྨན་ *SMAN* ‘medicine’, རྩ་ *RTSWA* ‘grass’, ཚ་ *TSHA* ‘hot’, མཚོ་ *MTSHO* ‘lake’, བ་ *WA* ‘fox’, ཟམ་ *ZAM* ‘bridge’, ལྷ་ *ZLA* ‘moon’ (archaic form ལྷ་ *SLA*), རུས་པ་ *RUS.PA* ‘bone’, རིང་ *RING* ‘long’, ལམ་ *LAM* ‘road’, ཤ་ *SHA* ‘meat’, ཤེས་ *SHES* ‘to know’, ཤི་ *SHI* ‘die’, ཤིག་ *SHIG*

1. For example, here are some pandialectal roots that can be reconstructed in Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB): *MTHO* ‘high’ < PTB \*to ‘high’; *ZAM(-PA)* ‘bridge’ Bur. tam-tâ < PTB \*dzam ‘bridge’; *SHA* ‘meat’ Bur. sâ < PTB \*sya ‘animal, body’; *PHAG* ‘pig’ Bur. wak < PTB: \*wak ‘pig’; *SNGO* (and derivatives) ‘blue, green’ < \*jow ‘blue, green’; *SO* ‘tooth’ Bur. swâ < PTB \*swa ‘tooth’; *SKYUR* < PTB \*kyur / \*kywar ‘acid, sour’; *LAM* ‘road’ Bur. lam < PTB \*lam ‘road’; *SMAN* ‘medicine’ < PTB \*man ‘medicine’; *MIG/MYIG* ‘eye’ Bur. myak < PTB \*mik / \*myak ‘eye’; *SHING* ‘wood’ Bur. sac < PTB \*sinj / \*sik ‘wood’. The reconstruction of PTB used here is from Matisoff (2003).

'louse', ཤིང་ *SHING* 'wood', སེམས་ *SEMS* 'mind', སེར་བ་ *SER.BA* 'hail', སོ་ *SO* 'tooth' and སྤུ་ *SRAM* 'otter'.

The pandialectal words also include **numbers** such as གཅིག་ *GCIG* 'one', གཉིས་ *GNYIS* 'two', གསུམ་ *GSUM* 'three', བཞི་ *BZHI* 'four', ལྔ་ *LNGA* 'five', རྩ་ *DRUG* 'six', བརྒྱད་ *BRGYAD* 'eight', དགུ་ *DGU* 'nine', བཅུ་ *BCU* 'ten', བརྒྱ་ *BRGYA* 'hundred' and སྔ་ *STONG* 'thousand'.

Other (nearly) pandialectal words include **ancient loanwords**, such as སེང་གེ་ *SENG.GE* 'lion' (< Sanskrit), པད་མ་ *PAD.MA* 'lotus' (< Sanskrit), ཅན་དན་ *TSAN.DAN* 'sandalwood' (< Sanskrit), བྱི་ལ་ *BYI.LA* 'cat' (< *biḍāla* Sanskrit), ཇ་ *JA* 'tea' (< Chinese), ཅོག་ཅོ་ *COG.TSE* 'table' (< Chinese) and ཡ་རག་ *PA.RAG* 'alcohol' (< Persian < Arabic).

A number of pandialectal words are more specific to the Tibetic languages. These include:

▪ **the numeral** བདུན་ *BDUN* 'seven';

▪ **nouns** such as ཀེང་པ་ *RKANG.PA* 'leg', སྒྲིང་པ་ *SKUD.PA* 'thread', ཁྲིང་པ་ *KLAD.PA* 'brain', ལ་བ་ *KHA.BA* 'snow', གླི་ *GRI* 'knife', ལློ་ *GLO* 'lung', མགོ་ *MGO* 'head', ཁྲིང་ཆེན་ *GLANG.CHEN* 'elephant' and its archaic variant ཁྲིང་པོ་ཆེ་ *GLANG.PO.CHE* (lit. 'great ox'), རྩུ་མ་ *RGYU.MA* 'intestine', དགུན་ *DGUN* 'winter', སྒོ་ *SGA* 'saddle', སྒྲིམ་ *SGAM* 'box', འབྲོག་པ་ *BROG.PA* 'pastoralist, name of an ethnic group', མགར་པ་ *MGAR.BA* 'blacksmith', མཁས་པ་ *MKHAS.PA* 'expert', རྒྱལ་པོ་ *RGYAL.PO* 'king', ལྷང་མ་ *LCANG.MA* 'willow', ཆ་ *CHA* 'pair', རྟག་པ་ *RTAGS* 'sign', རྟ་ *RTA* 'horse', སྟག་ *STAG* 'tiger', སྟོན་ *STON* 'autumn', ཐང་ *THANG* 'prairie', རྩོ་ *RDO* 'stone', རྩི་མ་ *DRI.MA* 'smell', རྟན་པ་ *NAD.PA* 'patient', རས་ *NAS* 'barley', གནམ་ *GNAM* 'sky', པགས་པ་ *PAGS.PA* 'skin', དཔེ་ *DPE* 'model', སྤྲ་ *SPRA* 'monkey', ཕྱི་ *PHYI* 'outside', འཕྱི་བ་ *PHYI.BA* 'marmot', བལ་ *BAL* 'wool', འབྲུ་ *BU* 'insect', བྱེ་མ་ *BYE.MA* 'sand', བག་ *BRAG* 'rock', བར་ *BRANG* 'chest', མེ་རྟག་ *ME.TOG* 'flower' (archaic form མེན་རྟག་ *MEN.TOG*), ཅོ་ *RTSA* 'vein', ཆང་ *TSHANG* 'nest', ཆོ་ *TSHE* 'life span', མཛོ་ *MDZO* 'hybrid of yak and cow', གཞུ་ *GZHU* 'bow', ཟོར་བ་ *ZOR.BA* 'sickle', གཟི་ *GZI* 'agate stone', གཡག་ *G.YAG* 'yak', གཡུ་ *G.YU* 'turquoise', རེ་བ་ *RE.BA* 'hope', རླུང་ *RLUNG* 'air', ལ་ *LA* 'mountain pass', ལོ་ *LO* 'year', ལུད་ *LUD* 'manure', ལྷམ་ *LHAM* 'boot', ལྷག་པ་ *SHUG.PA* 'juniper', ཤེལ་ *SHEL* 'crystal', གསེར་ *GSER* 'gold', སྤུ་ *SRAB* 'horsebit', སྤུ་མ་ *SRAN.MA* 'bean, pea' and སྟོག་ *STOG* 'life energy, breath';

▪ **verbs** such as (CT present and past forms): འབྲུད་ *KHRUD*/བཀྲུས་ *BKRUS* ‘to wash’, འབྲི་ *BRI*/བྲིས་ *BRIS* ‘to write’, འདྲི་ *DRI*/བྲིས་ *DRIS* ‘to ask’, འཚོང་ *TSHONG*/བཙོངས་ *BTSONGS* ‘to sell’, དགོས་ *DGOS* ‘to need’, བསྐྱར་ *BSGYUR* ‘to change’, གཅོག་ *GCOG*/བཅག་ *BCAG* ‘to break’, རྗེད་ *RJED*/བརྗེད་ *BRJED* ‘to forget’, རྩོག་ *TSHIG* ‘to burn’, ལྟ་ *LTA* ‘to look’, ལྟོལ་ *SKOL*/བསྟོལ་ *BSKOL* ‘to boil’, འཁོལ་ *KHOL*/ཁོལ་ *KHOL* ‘to be boiled’, ལང་ *LANG*/ལངས་ *LANGS* ‘to stand up’, ཟ་ *ZA*/བཟས་ *BZAS* or ཟོས་ *ZOS* ‘to eat’,<sup>2</sup> ཤར་ *SHAR* ‘to rise; east’, ལུབ་ *NUB* ‘to sink; west’, སྤྲོང་ *SRUNG* ‘to protect’ and འཕུར་ *PHUR*/ཕུར་ *PHUR* ‘to fly’;

▪ **adjectives**, especially adjectives of color, such as དམར་ *DMAR* ‘red’, དཀར་ *DKAR* ‘white’, སེར་ *SER* ‘yellow’, བྲང་ *DRANG* ‘straight, honest’, མཐོ་ *MTHO* ‘high’, ཕུག་ *PHYUG* ‘rich’, ལྗང་ *STONG* ‘empty’, གཅངས་ *GTSANG.MA* ‘clean’, སྒབ་ *SRAB* ‘thin’, སྒྱིད་ *SKYID*, རྩིང་ *RNYING* ‘old (of things)’, མངར་ *MNGAR* ‘sweet’;

▪ **some grammatical words**, such as མ་ *MA* ‘negation’, ཡིན་ *YIN* ‘to be’, ཡོད་ *YOD* ‘to have’, both used as auxiliaries.

Some of these words may also appear in Tibetospheric languages such as the Tibeto-Himalayan, Qiangic and rGyalrongic 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 ‘*CHA*’ lit. ‘to chew’ is found instead of *ZA* in a few heterodox languages (Semkyi Nyida 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 \**li* 'cat'. This root is not attested in CT, probably because it was replaced at an early stage by the Sanskrit loanword ལྷིལ་ *BYI.LA*. The root \**nyok* 'child' is attested in several Eastern languages as ལྷོག་ལྷོག་ *NYAG.NYOG* or ལྷོག་ལྷོག་ *LA.NYOG*. The word 'to carry' is conveyed by the root ལྷོག་ *BAG* \*/*ṇbak*/, 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**

The greatest linguistic diversity is found in the phonetics. A limited number of lexical words share the same origin throughout the Tibetic-speaking area (see the HCTL, in Chapter 12.), but nonetheless *differ in pronunciation*. These words are pronounced according to the regular reflexes of each language, or even dialect. They include ཤ་ *SHA* ‘meat, flesh’, ཁྲག་ *KHRAG* ‘blood’, སྟ་ *SO* ‘tooth’, མཆིན་པ་ *MCHIN.PA* ‘liver’, སྐར་མ་ *SKAR.MA* ‘star’, མཚོ་ *MTSHO* ‘lake’, ལྷ་ *CHU* ‘water’, སེར་བ་ *SER.BA* ‘hail’, ལྷགས་ *LCAGS* ‘iron’, བྱེ་མ་ *BYE.MA* ‘sand’, མདའ་ *MDA* ‘arrow’, དམག་ *DMAG* ‘iron’, འབྲུག་ *BRUG* ‘dragon’, སྦྲུལ་ *SBRUL* ‘snake’, རྟ་ *RTA* ‘horse’, ཉ་ *NYA* ‘fish’, རྩ་ *DOM* ‘bear’, རྩ་ *NAS* ‘barley’, གཅིག་ *GCIG* ‘one’, གཉིས་ *GNYIS* ‘two’, གསུམ་ *GSUM* ‘three’ (and all the numbers up to ‘ten’), བྱེ་ *PHYE* ‘to open’, འཇུང་ *THUNG* ‘to drink’, སེས་ *SHEs* ‘to know’, བཀག་ *BKAG* ‘to block, stop’, འབྲི་ *BRI* ‘to write’, ལྟ་ *LTA* ‘to watch, look at’, ལྗེ་ *SKYE* ‘to grow’, དགོས་ *DGOS* ‘to want’, ཤི་ *SHI* ‘to die’, བཀྲ་ *BKRU* ‘to die’ and ལྷ་ *RKU* ‘to steal’.

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:

སྐྱ *SKRA* ‘hair’: /kra/, /t̪a/, /ʂa/, /kya/, /cha/, /cha/, /s’a/ (note that several languages use other roots or compound words to designate ‘human hair’; see HCLT). བྱེམ་ *BYE.MA* ‘sand’: /byama/, /byanga/, /pema/, /t͡ɕema/ /b̥im/ /ʃhema/, /sema/, /tsema/.

སྐྱུ *SBRUL* /ʔbrul/, /ʳbul/, /rul/, /ruv/, /d͡u:/, /d͡ul/, /bü/, /bi/, /xwu/, /wu/.

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 ལྟོན་ཁ་ *STON.KHA*, ལྟོན་པོ་ *STON.PO*, or simply ལྟོན་ *STON*; another example is the root *SLA* ‘clear, thin (of liquid)’: ལྷ་མོ་ *SLA.MO*, ལྷ་པོ་ *SLA.PO*, ལྷ་འདྲེ་ *SLA.’DE*. The roots ལྷ་ *SRU* and ལྷ་ *ZHANG* – respectively ‘maternal aunt’ and ‘maternal uncle’ – appear either with suffixes or with a prefix: ལྷ་ལྷ་ *ʔA.SRU*, ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *SRU.MO*, ལྷ་ལྷ་འདྲེ་ *ʔA.ZHANG*, ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *ZHANG.PO*. There may also be differences arising from reduplication of the stem, as opposed to affixation: for example, ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *SRAB.PO* or ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *SRAB.MO* ‘thin (tissue)’ versus ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *SRAB.SRAB*; ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *NAG.PO* or ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *NAG.MO* versus ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *NAG.NAG* ‘black’; ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *DMAR.PO* or ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *DMAR.MO* versus ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་པོ་ *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 ལྷ་ལྷ་ *GLAG* versus ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ *BYA.GLAG* ‘eagle’, ལྷ་ *KHRA* versus ལྷ་ལྷ་ *BYA.KHRA* ‘hawk’, ལྷ་ *RGOD* versus ལྷ་ལྷ་ *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’; ལྡེ་མིག་ *LDE.MIG* and ལྡེ་མྱིག་ *LDE.MYIG* ‘key’; མེ་ཏོག་ *ME.TOG* and མེན་ཏོག་ *MEN.TOG* ‘flower’; ལྱི་ *LCI* and ལྱིད་ *LJID* ‘heavy’; དུ་བ་ *DU.BA* and དུད་པ་ *DUD.PA* ‘smoke’; ཅི་ *CI* and ཅི་ *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’: ཁང་ *KHANG*, ཁྱིམ་ *KHYIM*.  
 ‘face’: རྩ་ *NGO*, གདོང་ *GDONG*.  
 ‘snow’: ཁབ་ *KHA.BA*, གངས་ *GANGS* (and the variant ཁངས་ *KHANGS*).  
 ‘spring’: དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་ *DPYID.KA*, སོས་ཀྱི་ *SOS.KA*.  
 ‘to see’: མཐོང་ *MTHONG*, རིག་ *RIG*.  
 ‘to arrive’: སླེབས་ *SLEBS*, ཐོན་ *THON*.  
 ‘to place, put’: བཞག་ *BZHAG*, བོར་ *BOR*.  
 ‘new’: གསར་པ་ *GSAR.PA*, སོ་མ་ *SO.MA*.  
 ‘hard, solid’: སྒ་ *SRA*, མཐའ་གསལ་ *MKHREGS*.  
 ‘cold’: འཁྱག་ *KHYAG*, གྲང་ *GRANG*.  
 ‘day’: ཉིམ་ *NYI.MA*, ཞག་ *ZHAG*.  
 ‘yesterday’: མདུན་ *MDANG*, ཁ་རྩུང་ *KHA.RTSANG*, etc.  
 ‘what’: གང་ *GANG*, ཅི་ *CI*.

Three main roots:

- ‘to hear’: གོ་ *GO*, ཐོས་ *THOS*, རྩོམ་ *TSHOR*.  
 ‘village’: གྲོང་ *GRONG*, ཡུལ་ *YUL* and སྡེ་ *SDE*.

Four or more roots:

- ‘body’: གཟུགས་ *GZUGS*, ལུས་ *LUS*, ཕུང་ *PHUNG* and འགོ་ *RGO*.  
 ‘belly’ or ‘stomach’: གྲོད་པ་ *GROD.PA*, ཕོ་བ་ *PHO.BA*, གསུམ་པ་ *GSUS.PA* and ལྷོ་བ་ *LTO.BA*.

‘to do’: བྱེད་ *BYED/*བྱས་ *BYAS*, ལས་ *LAS*, བགྱིད་ *BGYID/*བགྱིས་ *BGYIS*, འཚོས་ *’CHOS/*བཅོས་ *BCOS*.

‘to be afraid, to fear’: འཇིགས་ *’JIGS*, ཞེད་ *ZHED*, སྐྱག་ *SKRAG*, ཞེད་ *ZHED*, བྱིད་ *BRED*, ལུས་ *ZHUM*, རྟངས་ *DNGANGS* and འཛོག་ *’DROG*. All these items originally had similar but slightly different meanings in CT or OT: འཇིགས་ *’JIGS* and སྐྱག་ *SKRAG* ‘to be terrified, terrorized, scared’, ལུས་ *ZHUM* ‘to be discouraged, intimidated, afraid’, བྱིད་ *BRED* ‘to be alarmed, depressed’, རྟངས་ *DNGANGS* ‘to gasp, to pant (from surprise or fear), to fear, to be out of breath’, འཛོག་ *’DROG* ‘to be startled/frightened/scared’ (often used of horses). Even in the presence of various roots, one or two terms may be predominant and found in several sections. In this example, འཇིགས་ *’JIGS* is predominant in the majority of languages, whereas སྐྱག་ *SKRAG* is found in eastern Tibet.

It is interesting to note ‘dog’ has essentially one root in all the Tibetic languages, but there are more than eight roots for ‘cat’ (see the HCTL).

The 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: མགོ་སྐྱ་ *MGO.SKRA* ‘head hair’, མགོ་སྐུ་ *MGO.SPU* ‘head, body hair’, མགོ་སྐྱ་ *MGO.SGRO* ‘head feather’, སྐྱ་སྐུ་ *SKRA.SPU* ‘hair, body hair’ and ཅོ་ཏོག་ *CO.TOG*, a form found in Old Tibetan (< *co* ‘head’ + *to/tog* ‘top’) (see HCTL). The word ‘weather’ may appear as various compounds: གནས་གཤིས་ *GNAM.GSHIS* lit. ‘sky temperament’, གནས་ངོ་ *GNAM.NGO* ‘sky face’, གནས་ལྗོངས་ *GNAM.ZLA* ‘sky moon/time’. The word ‘cave’ is often a compound, but the form of the compound varies in modern languages: བྲག་ཕུག་ *BRAG.PHUG* ‘rock hole’, བྲག་ཁུངས་ *BRAG.KHUNGS* ‘rock hole’ ས་འོང་ *SA.DONG* ‘earth hole’.

Some lexical classes are more subject to variation than verbs or even nouns: these include intensifiers (e.g. *very*, *terribly*), quantifiers (e.g. *all*, *some*, *many*, see the HCTL, Chapter 12) and evaluative adjectives (e.g. *good* and *bad*; see the HCTL). The variation in nominal roots is generally more significant than the variation in verbal

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.<sup>3</sup> 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 བུ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། *BKRA.SHIS BDE.LEGS* /ˈtashi ˈtelek/<sup>4</sup> ‘best wishes’ is generally used in Common Tibetan in Central Tibet and among the the Tibetan diaspora. The two other pervasive greetings are ཁམས་སངས། *KHAMS.SANGS* /k’amsang/ ‘are you well?’ (lit. ‘are you refreshed? are you in high spirits?’) and its variant ཁམས་བཟང། *KHAMS.BZANG* /k’amzang/ ‘are you well?’ lit. ‘are you healthy?’; this has an honorific form, སྐུ་ཁམས་སངས། *SKU KHAMS.SANGS* /<sup>(s)</sup>ku ˈk’amsang/, which is ubiquitous (from Ladakh to Bhutan and also Central Tibet). There is also a form བདེ་མོ། /ˈdemo/, 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 ‘Trashī delek’ བཏཱ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། *BKRA.SHIS 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 ལྷོ་རྩོ་བདེ་ལེགས། *SGNGA.DROBDE.LEGS* /ˈŋa ‘telek/ and ཞོགས་པ་བདེ་ལེགས། *ZHOGS.PABDE.LEGS* /ˈshokpa ‘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 ལྷོ་མ་ནི། /ˈk’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 བཏཱ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། *BKRA.SHIS BDE.LEGS* /ˈtashi ‘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་འགོ་ག། *GA.PAR ‘GRO-KA* /ˈk’apa: ‘to-ka/ ‘where are you going?’ or ག་པར་ཕྱིན་པ། *GA.PAR PHYIN-PA* /ˈk’apa: ‘chinpa/ ‘where have you been?’, or their honorific variants: ག་པར་ཐེབས་ཀ། *GA.PAR PHEBS-KA* /ˈk’apa: ‘p’ep-ka/ ‘where are you going?’ and ག་པར་ཐེབས་པ། *GA.PAR PHEBS-PA* /ˈk’apa: ‘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: ར་ཕར་ཅ་དེར་འགོ་གི་ཡིན། *NGA PHAR-TSADER 'GRO-GLYIN* / 'nga ˈp'artsa ˈt'er ˈtɔ-giyin/ 'I am going just over there' or ར་ཡར་འགོ་གི་ཡིན། *NGA YAR 'GRO-GLYIN* / 'nga ˈyar ˈtɔ-giyin/ 'I am going up' or ར་མར་འགོ་གི་ཡིན། *NGA MAR 'GRO-GLYIN* / 'nga ˈmar ˈtɔ-giyin/ 'I am going down' but sometimes the answer may be more specific: མི་ཅིག་བཅའ་གར་འགོ་གི་ཡིན། *MI GCIG BTSAL-GAR 'GRO-GLYIN* / 'mi ˈčik ˈtsä:-kar ˈtɔ-kiyin/ '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 Zhikatsé because of the urban way of life, they may simply say: ཐོ་པ་ཅེ་པ་འོ། *PHEBS-PO* / ˈp'e(p)-o/ '(you) go'.

A more polite expression corresponding to 'welcome' is frequently used for greeting in Central and Tsang provinces: ཕྱག་ཐེགས་གནང་བྱུང། *PHYAG PHEBS GNANG BYUNG* / ˈt͡ɕa: ˈp'ep ˈnang-čung/ '(you) have come!'. The traditional answer is འགས་ཡོད། *LAGS-YOD* / ˈla: ˈyö:/ 'I am here'. In Kongpo, a usual greeting is སླེབས་ཡིན། *SLEBS-YIN* / ˈle(p) ˈyin/ '(you) have arrived!'.<sup>1</sup>

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་འགས། *BYON.PA LEGS* (literally: 'well come'), abbreviated to བྱོན་འགས། *BYON.LEGS*, which has a reading pronunciation /jönlek/; in Tö Ngari it is colloquially pronounced /'jönle'/.<sup>2</sup>

In Ladakh, Spiti and other Western regions, the generic salutation ཇུ་ལེ། *JU.LE* /jule/ is very common. This is probably derived from CT ཇུ་འགས་ *ZHU.LAGS*. The form ཇུ་ *ZHU* is the ubiquitous humilific form of address (< CT 'to say, ask, beg, inform', use to address a superior or to politely address an equal), while འགས་ *LAGS* – pronounced ལེ *LE* in Ladaks – is a polite enclitic address word that is very frequent in CT. Note that in Purik, the form ཇུ་ *ZHU* is used in a way similar to ལེ *LE* in Ladaks and to ཇུ་ *KYA* (of unclear origin) in Zanghar, as a generic expression of politeness. For example, in Ladakh: ཇུ་མ་ལེ་ *PA.MA-LE* 'mother (H)' corresponds to ཇུ་མ་འགས་ *PA.MA-LAGS* 'mother (H)' in Common Tibetan.

The Purik form ཡེ་འཕྱུ་ *YA'A.ZHU* /ya:zhu/ 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 ཕྱོན་ལེགས་ *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 ཕྱག་འཚུལ་ *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 འཇུ་ལེ་ *DKA'-PA-THAL* /ˈka ˈpa-tʰi/ (< འཇུ་ལེ་ཐལ་ *DKA'-PE-THAL*) (Kh) and འཇུ་ལེ་བྱུང་། *DKA'-PE-BYUNG* /ˈka ˈa-shung/ (Hor) (< འཇུ་ལེ་བྱུང་། *DKA'-PE-BYUNG*). The expected answers, even if you are very tired, are respectively: འཇུ་ལེ་ཐལ་། *DKA'-MA-THAL* /ˈka-ma-tʰi/ and འཇུ་ལེ་བྱུང་། *DKA'-MA-BYUNG* /ˈka-ma-shung/ '(I) am not tired'. In the Hor speaking area, a similar expression is used: འཇུ་ལེ་ཐལ་། *DKA'.LAS* /ˈkalä ˈka-thi/. The Amdo equivalent is འཇུ་ལེ་ཐལ་། *PA-DKA'-THAL* /a-ˈka-tʰa/, to which the expected answer is again: འཇུ་ལེ་ཐལ་། *MA-DKA'-THAL* /ma-ˈka-tʰa/ '(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), /ˈopgya/ in Tsang and /ˈoji/ in Jonda Kham.

In eastern Tö (Dangra Yumtsho), one hears the expression སྤུ་ལོ་། *SLA-LOS* /ˈla-lö/ 'is it easy?' and the expected answer: སྤུ་ལོ་འདྲུག་། *SLA-'ONG-'DUG* /ˈlao ˈdoʔ/<sup>5</sup> which is derived from CT སྤུ་ལོ་འདྲུག་། *SLA.MO '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* /ˈlam ˈnye/ 'Has the road been short?', which is answered ཉེ་ཐལ་། *NYE-THAL* /ˈnye-tʰi/ 'It has been short!', regardless of travel conditions.

5. Vowel nasalization is a regular sound change with the suffixes *MO* 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 སྒོད་སྦྱིད་ཆེ། *SDOD.SKYID CHE* /<sup>h</sup>dö `kyi `č'e/ 'Was the stay pleasant?', to which the answers is ཆེ་ཐི། *CHE-THAL* /<sup>h</sup>č'e-t'i/ < ཆེ་ཐལ་ '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: ཟ་ཟ་ཅ་ཐོན། *ZAN ZA PA-THON* /sē sa pa t'ün/ '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 ཁམས་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:

སྐྱ་གཟུགས་བདེ་ཤི་ཡིན་པས། *SKU.GZUGS BDE.PO YIN-PAS* /<sup>h</sup>kusu' 'tepo 'yin-pä/ lit. 'is (your) body well?' or simply བདེ་ཤི་ཡིན་པས། *BDE.PO YIN-PAS* /<sup>h</sup>'tepo 'yin-pä/. The usual answer to those questions is བདེ་ཤི་ཡིན། *BDE.PO YIN* /<sup>h</sup>'tepo 'yin/, or the more emphatic form བདེ་ཤི་རྒྱུད། *BDE.PO BDE-KYANG* /<sup>h</sup>'tepo 'te-kyang/ 'I am perfectly well!'.

In Amdo, the most common greeting is རྩོད་བདེ་མོ། *KHYOD BDE.MO* /č'o <sup>b</sup>demo/, which is a variant of the above expression. It is sometimes abbreviated to བདེ་མོ། *BDE.MO* /<sup>b</sup>demo/. The habitual answer is simply: བདེ་མོ། *BDE.MO* /<sup>b</sup>demo/. This form is also frequently used in Kham. Amdo-speakers in the Kham region also employ the greeting ལ་བདེ། *PA-BDE* /pa <sup>b</sup>de/ 'good morning', though only in the morning.

A similar but more sophisticated expression is also used in Ü-Tsang: སྐྱ་དྲུའི་གསལ་ཐང་། *SKUDKYIL GSAL-THANG* /<sup>h</sup>ku kyi: /<sup>h</sup>sä:t'ang/ 'Is the mandala of your body clear and healthy?'.

In Purik, aside from ཏ་ཡའ་ཞུ། *YA'A.ZHU* /ya:zhu/, the traditional Arabic greeting *Salam Alekhum* ས་ལམ་ལའེ་ཁུམ། *SA.LAM PA.LE.KHUM* is also used.<sup>6</sup>

6. Derived from Arabic /as-salāmu 'alaykum/ (عَلَيْكُمْ السَّلَام) '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 these expressions are related to the verbs བཞུགས་ *BZHUGS* ‘stay (H)’ and བེགས་ *PHEBS* ‘go (H)’.

In Central Tibet and Tsang, the usual way of saying ‘goodbye’ to a person who is leaving is གཤམ་མེགས་མོ། *GA.LE PHEBS-PO* / ‘k’ale ‘p’e(p) (o)/ ‘(Please) go quietly’, while གཤམ་བཞུགས་མོ། *GA.LE BZHUGS-PO* / ‘k’ale ‘shu: (o)/ ‘(Please) sit or stay quietly’ is said to the one who stays. These forms are sometimes abbreviated as བཞུགས་མོ། *BZHUGS-PO* / ‘shu: o/ ‘(please) stay’ and བེགས་མོ། *PHEBS-PO* / ‘p’e(p)-o/ ‘(please) go’.

In some parts of Kham and Kongpo, a similar expression is used: གཤམ་སྟང་། *GA.LE SONG* / ‘kale ‘song/ ‘go quietly’, however, a form which seems to be its abbreviation, གཤམ་། *GA.LE* /kale/, is also frequently attested.

In Ü-Tsang, the honorific expressions བཞུགས་གནད་འཇག་གོ། *BZHUGS.GDAN ‘JAG-GO* / ‘shu: ‘täñja:-ko/ ‘please stay (or sit)’, སྐྱབས་བཞུགས་གནད་གོ། *SKU.BZHUGS GNANG-GO* / ‘kushu: ‘nang-go/ ‘please stay’, and ཆེན་མོ་སྐྱུར་གནད་གོ། *CHIBS.SGYUR GNANG-GO* / ‘č’ipkyur ‘nang-go/ ‘(please) turn the horse’ are used.

The expression འཇུ་ལེ། /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 ཆེ་རིང་། *TSHER.RING* /ts’erī/ ‘(wish you) long life’ or སྐྱུ་ཆེ་རིང་། *SKU TSHE.RING* /ku ts’erī/ ‘long life (to your) body!’, རེ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཆེ་རིང་། *DALO BRGYA TSHE.RING* /ta lo ja ts’erī/ ‘a hundred years, long life!’, and in Kandze and Derge ཆེ་རིང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་། *TSHE.RING BKRA.SHIS* /ts’erī tashi/. The expression མཁུ་ཆེ་རིང་མོ། *PA.ZHUTSHE RING.MO* /azhu ts’e ringmo/ ‘wish (you) long life’ is employed in Purik.

In Amdo, བདེ་མོ་བྱོས། *BDE.MO BYOS* /<sup>b</sup>demo ‘shi/ and བདེ་མོ། *BDE.MO* /<sup>b</sup>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' ཨ་ཁུ་ *PA.KHU* /ak'a/ is used to designate both 'paternal uncle' and 'monk'. In Central Tibet, the word for 'paternal aunt' ཨ་ནེ་ *PA.NE* /ane/ or /ani/ also designates a 'nun', in which case, it is sometimes written ཨ་ནི་ *PA.NI* /ani/. In Central Tibet, the word for 'elder sister', ཨ་ཙག་ *PA.CAG* /aça:/, is derived from CT ཨ་ཙེ་ *PA.CHE*. The term ཨ་ཙེ་ *PA.CE*, which is also clearly derived from ཨ་ཙེ་ *PA.CHE* 'elder sister', is also used to designate both 'woman' and 'wife'. Again, the CT terms ཨ་ཇོ་ *PA.JO* 'elder brother' and ཇོ་ཇོ་ *JO.JO* 'elder brother' have yielded the terms ཙོ་ཙོ་ *CO.CO* and ཙོ་ཙག་ *CO.COG* /čöčo:/ in Common Tibetan. The terms ཙོ་ཙག་ལགས་ *COG.LAGS* 'elder brother (H)' and ཨ་ཙག་ལགས་ *PA.CAG.LAGS* 'elder sister (H)' are used respectively for 'man' and 'woman', and also by extension for 'husband' and 'wife'. In Lhasa, the term ཨ་པོ་ཧོར་ *A.PO HOR* '(elder) brother Hor', designates pastoralists from Nagchu.

The use of kinship terms sometimes extends to animals (such as bears, monkeys or even insects).<sup>7</sup> In some Kham areas, monkeys are ཨ་རྒྱས་སྤྲེལ་ *PA.RGAS SPREL*, which literally means 'grandfather monkey', while bears are called ཨ་བྱེས་རྒྱུ་ *PA.MYESDOM* lit. 'grandfather Bear'. In some areas of Tö, the Tibetan bear *dremong* is called ཨ་པོ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ *PA.PO RDO.RGYAG* 'brother throwing stones'. In Tshawarong and Sikkim, tigers are referred to as ཨ་མེས་སྤྲེལ་ *PA.MES.STAG* and ཨ་ཇོ་སྤྲེལ་ *PA.JO STAG* (Lho) respectively, both meaning 'grandfather tiger'. In many stories found throughout Tibet and the Himalayas, the parrot is frequently called ཨ་ཁུ་ནེ་ཙོ་ *PA.KHUNE.TSO* lit. 'uncle parrot'. In Purik, there is the legend of ཨ་བེ་སྤྲེལ་ཇོ་མོ་ *PA.BI SRINJA.MO* 'grandmother spider' (or

7. This strategy is also found in Indo-Aryan languages.

its variant འཇོ་མིན་ཇོ་མོ་ *PA.NI SRIN JAMO* ‘auntie spider’), a giant spider who eats humans (note that the term *SRIN JAMO* is the usual word for ‘spider’ in this region; see the HCTL). There is also the term འཇོ་བུ་མཐུ་མཐུ་ *PA.BI THAG.MKHAN* ‘spider’ lit. ‘weaving grandma’ (Kharu), and Norman (2019) mentions a kind of insect pupa called འཇོ་བུ་མཐུ་མཐུ་ *PA.BI NYI.MA GAR.SHAR* lit. ‘grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise’. In many areas ‘moths’ are referred to as འཇོ་བུ་མཐུ་མཐུ་ *RGAD.MO ME.LCEB* or འཇོ་བུ་མཐུ་མཐུ་ *PA.YIS ME.LCEB*, both meaning ‘old woman jumping into the fire’. Note that in Zanhar, grasshoppers are referred to as འཇོ་བུ་མཐུ་མཐུ་ *PA.BI GSER.MGAR.MO* lit. ‘grandmother goldsmith’. All these kinship terms used to designate animals may point to ancient totemic or shamanic practices, but also to legends that have been forgotten.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, celestial bodies (such as the sun or the moon) may also be referred to using kinship terms. In Čäntsha Amdo, the sun and the moon may be referred to as འཇོ་བུ་མཐུ་མཐུ་ *PA.KHUNYI.MA* ‘uncle sun’ and འཇོ་བུ་མཐུ་མཐུ་ *PA.MAZLA.BA* ‘mother moon’. The gender of the moon and the sun are not always the same: in the Sherpa area, the name of the moon འཇོ་བུ་མཐུ་མཐུ་ *PUG.LA* is derived from འཇོ་བུ་མཐུ་མཐུ་ *PA.KHUZLA* ‘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.<sup>9</sup>

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 *oniichan* ‘address term for an elder brother’, whereas the reference term is *ani*. The ‘address term for an elder sister’ is *oneechan* whereas the reference term is *ane*. 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.<sup>10</sup> 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 རྒྱལ་གསལ་ *JO.LAGS* ‘elder brother (H)’ and ཡུལ་ཆེ་གསལ་ *A.CHE-LAGS*, also written འཕུལ་གསལ་ *PA.LCAG-LAGS*<sup>11</sup> ‘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: རྒྱལ་གྱི་ /aja/ (Rebgong), ཡུལ་ /apa/ (Themchen), འཕུལ་ /aga/ (Dazhi), འད་ /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: ཕུ་པོ་ *PHU.BO* ‘elder brother’, ཕུ་མོ་ *PHU.MO* ‘elder sister’, ཇམ་ཇོ་ *PAJO* ‘elder brother’, ཇམ་ཇེ་ *PA.CHE* ‘elder sister’, ལུ་པོ་ *NU.BO* ‘younger brother’, ལུ་མོ་ *NU.MO* ‘younger sister’, མིང་པོ་ *MING.PO* ‘brother’, མིང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* ‘sister’, གཅེན་པོ་ *GCEN.PO* ‘elder brother’, གཅེན་པོ་ *GCUNG.PO* ‘younger brother’, གཅེན་མོ་ *GCEN.MO* ‘elder sister’ and གཅེན་མོ་ *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 སྤུན་ *SPUN*. Another common root is མིང་མིང་ *MING.SRING* (Kh, La), or its archaic variant མྱིང་མྱིང་ *MYING.SRING* (Am), a compound of མིང་(པོ་) *MING(.PO)* ‘brother’ and མིང་(མོ་) *SRING(.MO)* ‘sister’. In Kham and Amdo, one also encounters the word ཤ་ཉེ་ *SHA.NYE* which is a compound of ཤ་ *SHA* ‘flesh’ and ཉེ་ *NYE* ‘close’.

Here are some examples of the lexical terms for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ across the Tibetic area:

Skardo Balti:

Elder brother: ཀ་ཀ་ *KA.KA* /kaka/

Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: ཕོ་པོ་ *PHO.NO* /p’ono/

Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling]: མིང་མོ་ *MING.MO* /mingmo/ (< མིང་པོ་)

Elder sister: ཇམ་ཇེ་ *PA.SHE* /ashe/ (< ཇམ་ཇེ་ *PA.CHE*)

Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: མིང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* /stringmo/

Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: ལོ་མོ་ *NO.MO* /nomo/

Purik Kargil:

Elder brother: ཀ་ཀ་ *KA.KA* /kaka/

Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: ལོ་ལོ་ *NO.NO* /nono/

Younger brother [in rel. to a female] (CT: གཅེན་པོ་): མིང་མོ་ *MING.MO* /mingmo/

Elder sister: ཇམ་ཇེ་ *PA.CHE* /ač’e/

Younger sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: མིང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* /stringmo/

Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling] (CT: གཅུང་མོ་): རོ་མོ་ *NO.MO* /nomo/

Leh Ladaks:

Elder brother: ཨ་ཙྰ་ *PA.CHO* /ač'o/

Younger brother: རོ་ *NO* /no/ and རོ་ལོ་ *NO.NO* /nono/

Elder sister: ཨ་ཅེ་ *PA.CHE* /ač'e/

Younger sister: རོ་མོ་ *NO.MO* /nomo/

Brother [in relation to a female sibling]: མིང་པོ་ *MING.PO* /mingpo/

Sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྤྲིང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* /sringmo/

Themchen Amdo:

Elder brother [in relation to a male sibling]: འུ་རྩ་གན་ *HUR.RGAN* (< ཕུ་གན་) /hurgän/

Elder brother [in relation to a female sibling]: ཨ་པ་ *PA.PA* /apa/

Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: འུ་ཅུ་ *NU'U* /nu/

Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling] (CT: གཅུང་པོ་): མྱིང་པོ་ *MYING.BO* /nyangwo/<sup>12</sup>

Elder sister: ཨ་ཅེ་ *PA.CHE* /ač'e/

Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྤྲིང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* /sringmo/

Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: རུ་མོ་ *NU.MO* /nəmo/

Tsigorthang Amdo:

Elder brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: འུ་རྩ་གན་ *HUR.RGAN* (< ཕུ་གན་) /hurgän/

Elder brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: མྱིང་གན་ *MYING.RGAN* /<sup>m</sup>nyangrgän/

Younger brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: འུ་ཅུ་ *NU'U* /nu/

Younger brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: མྱིང་པོ་ *MYING.BO* /<sup>m</sup>nyangwo/

Elder sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: སྤྲིང་གན་མ་ *SRING.RGAN.MA* /sangganma/ 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.

ཨ་ཆེ་ *ʔA.CHE* /ache/

Elder sister: ཨ་ཆེ་ *ʔA.CHE* /ač'e/

Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྤྲུང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* /sɤngmo/

Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: ལུ་མོ་ *NU.MO* /nəmo/

Sogwo (central) Amdo:

Elder brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: ཨ་ག་ *ʔA.GA* /aga/<sup>13</sup>

Elder brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: མྱུང་བོ་ *MYING.BO* /<sup>m</sup>nyungwo/ or ཆེ་བོ་ /č'ewo/

Younger brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: ཁུན་(ལུན་)ཅུང་བ་ *SPUN CHUNG.BA* /xun č'ungwa/ Younger brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: མྱུང་བོ་ *MYING.BO* /<sup>m</sup>nyungwo/ or ཅུང་བ་ *č'unwawo* /

Elder sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: ཨ་ཆེ་ *ʔA.CHE* /ač'e/

Elder sister [in rel. to a female sibling]: ཨ་ཆེ་ *ʔA.CHE* /ač'e/

Younger sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: སྤྲུང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* /sɤngmo/ Younger sister [in rel. to a female sibling]: ཁུན་(ལུན་)ཡུ་མོ་ *xunya nəmo* /

Derge Northern Route Kham:

Elder or younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: ཤ་ཉེ་ *SHA.NYE* /ˈx'anye/

Elder or younger brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: མྱེང་པོ་ *MYENG.PO* /'nyengpo/

Elder or younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྤྲུང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* /ˈsengmo/

Elder or younger sister [in rel. to a female sibling]: སྤུན་ཡམ་ *SPUN.YAMA* /ˈpün 'yama/

Lhagang Minyag Rabgang Kham:

Elder brother: ཨ་རྒྱ་ *ʔA.RGYA* /'ʔa ja/ Younger brother: ིི་ཏི་ *'ti ti* / (Chinese loan)

Elder sister: ཨ་ཅེ་ *ʔA.CE* /'ʔač'e/

13. ཨ་རྒྱ་ in Rebgong and Tsekhok.

Younger sister: མེ་མེ་ *ME.ME* / 'meme/ (Chinese loan)

Hor (Amdo county):

Elder brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: ཕུ་རྒྱ་ནག་ *PHU.RGAN* / 'p'ugän/

Elder brother [in relation to a female sibling]: འུ་བུ་ *ʔA.BU* / 'abə/

Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: རུ་ཚུང་ *NU.CHUNG* / 'noshung/

Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling]: མིང་པོ་ *MING.PO* / 'mingpo/

Elder sister: འཛེ་ *ʔA.CHE* / 'ače/

Younger sister: འུ་ཕྱུང་ཡ་ *SPUN.YA* / 'pünya/

Wadmar Cone:

Elder brother: འུ་རུ་ཁུ་ *ʔA.NU'U* / ʔa nu/

Younger brother: འུ་ཕྱུང་བ་ *SPUN.BA* / hō fia:/

Elder sister: འཛེ་ *ʔA.CHE* / ʔa čə/

Younger sister: སྤྱིང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* / ʃe hō/

The forms for 'younger brother' and 'sister' are reference terms. Proper names are required when addressing them.

sTaglo dPal skyid:

Elder and younger brother: ཤ་ཉེ་ *SHA.NYE* / x'a nyə/

Elder and younger sister: སྤྱིང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* / ʃä: mə/

These are reference terms. To be more specific, one can add ཆེ་ *CHE* for older siblings, and ཚུང་བ་ *CHUNG.BA* for younger siblings to each of these terms.

Proper names are required when addressing them.

Lhasa Tibetan (and Common Tibetan):

Elder brother: ཅོ་ཅོ་ག་ *CO.CO* / 'čočo:/ < རྒྱ་ནག་

Younger brother and younger sister: འོ་ག་མ་ *'OG.MA* / ^hokma/

Elder sister: འཛེ་ག་ *ʔA.CAG* / 'ača:/ < འཛེ་ *ʔA.CHE*



Lhoke (Gangtok):<sup>14</sup>Elder brother: འུ་ཙུ་ *PA.CU* (< འུ་ཇོ་) /-aču/Younger brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: འུ་ཕུན་ལོ་ *SPUN.LO* /-pünlo/Younger brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: འུ་ཕུ་མིང་ *PHA.MING* /-p'aming/Elder sister: འུ་མི་ *PA.ZHI* /-azhi/Younger sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: འུ་ཕུ་མིང་ *BU.SRINGM* /-p'usim/ (< ཕུ་མིང་མོ་)Younger sister [in rel. to a female sibling]: འུ་ཕུ་ *NUM* /-num/ (< ཕུ་མོ་)Spiti (Yiki):Elder brother: འུ་ཙུ་ *PA.CO* /-ačo/Younger brother: ཕུ་ཙུ་ *NO.BO* /-no:/

Elder sister: འུ་མེ་ /-ače/

Younger sister: ཕུ་མོ་ /-nomo/

Tsamang (Tokari) Choča-ngača:Elder brother: འུ་ཙུ་ *PA.CO* /-ačo/ (< འུ་ཇོ་)Younger brother: ཕུ་ཙུ་ *MYUNG.PO* /-nyungpo/ (< ཕུ་ཙུ་པོ་)Elder sister: འུ་མེ་ *PA.HE* /-ahe/ (< འུ་མེ་)Younger sister: ཕུ་མོ་ *NUMO* /-numo/ (< ཕུ་མོ་)**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 *SA.YA* 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.

14. /ayi/ ‘any elder woman’, /agya/ ‘any elder man’ in Lhoke.

▪ Nouns:

ཁ་ལག་ *KHALAG* ‘mouth and hand’ (CT), ‘mouth and hand (washing)’ (La), ‘food’ (Ü).

དུས་ཚོད་ *DUS.TSHOD* ‘time’ (CT), ‘time’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), ‘hour’ (Am, Kh), ‘watch’ (Am).

ཅུ་ཚེད་ *CHU.TSHOD* ‘hour’ (CT), ‘hour’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), ‘time/hour’ (SKh).

སྒོར་མོ་ *SGOR.MO* ‘monetary unit, round (coin) (CT)’, ‘monetary unit’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), ‘money, monetary unit’ (Am, Kh).

དངུལ་ *DNGUL* ‘silver’ (CT): ‘silver, money’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), ‘silver’ (Am, Kh), ‘silver, money, monetary unit’ (Kh).

ས་ཡ་ *SA.YA* means ‘one million’ in CT, which also expresses this meaning as འབུམ་བུ་ *BUM.BCU*, but ‘ten million’ in Ts; i.e. equivalent in meaning to CT བྱེ་བ་ *BYE.BA* or འབུམ་བརྒྱ་ *BUM.BRGYA*.

སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ *SPYI.TSHOGS* ‘society’ (Ü, Ts, Am, etc.), ‘parliament’ (Dz).

བོད་ *BOD* ‘Tibet’ (CT): ‘Tibet’ (most languages), ‘lower valleys of Central Tibet’ (Nyemo), ‘Tibetan Buddhist area’ (Ba).

ཡ་ཤུ་ *PA.KHU* ‘paternal uncle’ (CT), ‘paternal uncle’ (most languages), ‘elder brother’ (Am: Rebgong), ‘monk’ (Am).

ཡ་ཕ་ *PA.PHA* (CT), ‘father’ (most languages), ‘elder brother’ (Am: Rebgong, Kangtsha). Note there are several other words for ‘father’, such as ཡ་གྱུ་ /a’gya/ in some Amdo dialects, and ཡ་ཏ་ /ata/ in Balti (see HCTL).

ཡ་ཇོ་ *PA.JO* ‘elder brother’ (CT), ཡ་ཙོ་ *PA.CO* ‘elder brother’ (La), ཡ་ཇོ་ *PA.JO* ‘grandfather’ (Lho).

ཇར་ *CHANG* ‘alcohol drink’ (CT), ‘barley beer’ (Ü, Ts, etc.), ‘alcohol’ (Am), ‘dark or non-transparent alcohol’ (Kh, Za, La).

དཔེ་ཆ་ *DPE.CHA* ‘book’ (CT), ‘Tibetan-style book’ (Ü, Ts), ‘book’ (Am).

ཤོག་བུ་ *SHOG.BU* ‘paper’ (CT), ‘paper’ (pandialectal), ‘book’ (Ba).

རྒྱུ་ཚེ་ *RKANG.TSE* ‘socks’ (Pur, Ba), ‘trousers’ (La).

- ཐུར་མ་ *THUR.MA* (ཐུར་མང་ *THUR.MANG*) ‘spoon’ (Ü, La, etc.), ‘chopstick’ (Kh Am).
- ཡུལ་ *YUL* ‘place’ (CT), ‘region’ (Kh), ‘country, region’ (Ba), ‘village’ (Dz, Am, Sh) (spelled གཤམ་ *G.YUS* in Dzongkha and ཡུལ་བ་ *YUL.BA* in Amdo), ‘homeland, home’ (Am).
- རྒྱ་མཚོ་ *RGYA.MTSHO* ‘ocean’ (CT), ‘ocean, sea’ (Ü-Ts, Kh, Am, etc.); ‘river’ (Ba, Pur).
- ལྷང་མ་ *LCANG.MA* ‘willow tree’ (most languages), ‘tree’ (La, Za).
- སེམས་ཅན་ *SEMS.CAN* ‘sentient beings’ (CT), ‘animal’ (Ü, Tsang).
- ལུག་ *LUG* ‘sheep’ (CT), ‘sheep’ (most languages), ‘ewe’ (Ba).
- མར་ *MAR* ‘butter’ (CT), ‘butter’ (most languages), ‘butter, oil’ (Ba).
- སྤགས་ *SPAGS* ‘barley dough’ (Ü, Ts, etc.), ‘any curry or dish accompanying staples (rice, bread or barley dough)’ (La, Za).
- ཞོ་ *ZHO* ‘milk’ (OT), ‘yoghurt’ (CT), ‘yoghurt’ (most languages), ‘milk’ (Cho).
- ཚོན་མ་ *TSHOD.MA* ‘vegetable’ (La), ‘dumpling’ (Am).
- རྩུབ་ *RKUB* (CT): ‘buttock’ (most languages), ‘vagina, female genitals’ (La, Sh).<sup>15</sup>
- དཔྱི་ *DPYI* (CT): ‘hip’, often with a suffix as *DPYI’GO* (most languages), ‘vagina, female genitals’ (Ba, Pur).
- སྤྱ་ *SPU* ‘body hair’ (most languages), ‘pubic hair’ (Ba).
- སྒོ་ང་ *SGO.NGA* ‘egg’ (CT), ‘egg’ (Ü, Tsang, etc.), ‘testicles’ (Sh).
- རོགས་པ་ *ROGS.PA* ‘companion’ (CT), ‘companion’ (Ü, Ts, Am, etc.), ‘boyfriend, girlfriend’ (Am: Cäntsha).
- Pronouns:
- ཁོང་ *KHONG* ‘they’ (OT), ‘s/he’ (honorific) (CT), ‘s/he’ (honorific) (Ü, Tsang, etc.), ‘they’ (Dz), ‘they (H)’ (La).
- ཁྱེད་ *KHYED* ‘you (plural)’ (OT), ‘you (singular, H)’ (CT), ‘you (singular, honorific)’ (Ü, Tsang, etc.), ‘you (plural, H)’ (Dz).

15. 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.

མོ་རང་ *MO.RANG* ‘she’ (CT), ‘she’ (many languages), ‘he/she’ (Lhasa).

▪ Adjectives/adverbs:

ཡག་ *YAG* ‘good, well’ (CT): ‘good, well’ (many languages), ‘beautiful’ (Am).

བདེ་མོ་ *BDE.MO* ‘well, peaceful’ (CT): ‘well’ (many languages), ‘beautiful’ (La, Za, Pur).

མཉམ་ *MDANG* ‘last night’ (OT): ‘yesterday’ (Sh, La, Sp, Cho, Drug).

མོ་རེངས་ *THO.RENGS* ‘dawn’ (CT): ‘tomorrow’ (Sharkhok, Thewo, Khöpokhok, La, Za).

▪ Verbs:

རྩོད་ *RTSE* ‘to play’ (CT), ‘to play’ (Ü, Ts, Sh, Kh, etc.), ‘to dance’ (La, Ba, Am).

ཐོན་ *THON* ‘to go out, to leave, to come out, to come’ (CT), ‘to leave’ (Ü, Ts, etc.), ‘to come’ (Am), ‘to complete’ [Aux] (Kh).

བརྒྱལ་ *BRDAB* ‘to hit, to collide with, to fold’ (CT), ‘to beat, to bang, to collide with’ (Ü, Ts, etc.), ‘to kill’ (Ba).

འཇོག་ *DZEGS* ‘to climb’ (CT), ‘to climb’ (Ü, Ts, etc.), ‘to climb, to have sex’ (Am).

ཞོན་ *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 ལྟངས་ *LCANG.MA* < CT ‘willow’ is used in western languages (La, Za, Pur) to replace the CT generic word (hypernym) ལྷོང་པོ་ *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 case with the hypernym དཔེ་ཆ་ *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; སྤྱུ་ *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 རྩིགས་ *’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 སྐྱལ་ *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’ དཔེ་ཆ་ *DPE.CHA* is not used in Balti, which instead uses the word མོག་བུ་ *SHOG.BU*, with the original meaning of ‘paper’. The strategy of metonymy is sometimes used with taboo words: for example, the classical word སྤྱ་ *STU* ‘vagina’ has been replaced by དཔྱི་ *DPYI* < CT ‘hip’ in Purik and by རྩུབ་ *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 འཇམ་ *’JA*, or more marginally, the variant གཞམ་ *GZHA*. However, in two cases, the traditional words have been replaced by metaphorical expressions: ཉི་མམ་ཆུ་འབྲུང་མ་ *NYI.MA-SCHU ’THUNG-MA* (Pur) ‘The sun is drinking water’ and གཞམ་ཆུ་འབྲུང་ *GZA’CHU ’THUNG* (Za) ‘the planet is drinking water’. Another example is the replacement of the pandialectal word འཕྱི་བ་ *’PHYL.BA* ‘marmot’ by སྒྲོམ་ཆེན་ *SGOM.CHEN* ‘great meditator’, because marmots hibernate and remain as still as yogis! In some northern Kham dialects, the pandialectal word སྐྱེས་ *SKYES* ‘to be

born' has been replaced by the expression མིག་ཕྱེས་ *MIG PHYES* 'to open the eyes'.<sup>16</sup> In some languages (Amdo, Purik and Balti), the quasi-pandialectal verb ན་ *NA* 'to be sick' has been replaced by the verb ཁོས་ *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 ལྷགས་རྩ་ *LCAGS.RTA* lit. 'iron horse' for 'bicycle' and ལྷགས་བྱ་ *LCAGS.BYA* 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 འབག་འབག་ *'BAG, 'BAG* (Ü, Ts) and ཕད་ཕད་ད་ *PHAD.PHAD.DA* (Pur). Some dialects (Central Tibet) use the word ལྷ་མ་མ་ཞི་ *BLA.MA.MA.NI* 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 ཕུད་ཕུད་ *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 *be dunia umadan* 'come to the world' is now used. The word *hargus* '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 & LHA.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 རྩ་ NOR 'cattle',<sup>17</sup> a generic term derived from the term for 'wealth', སྒྲ་ལོ་ *SNALO* 'a peaceful yak without a horn (that one can easily ride)', འབྲོང་ 'BRONG' 'wild yak', ཁལ་ *KHAL* 'pack yak'. One also finds a lot of terms designating hybrids: མཛོ་ *MDZO* 'male dzo, a crossbreed of a male yak and a female cow', མཛོ་མོ་ *MDZO.MO* 'female dzo, a crossbreed of a male yak and a female cow', མཛོ་རྩ་ *MDZO.RGOD* 'undomesticated dzo', རྩ་ལ་པོ་ *RTOL.PO* 'male hybrid, usually of a bull and dzomo', རྩ་ལ་མོ་ *RTOL.MO* 'female hybrid usually of bull and dzomo', འག་པོ་ *GAR.PO* 'male hybrid usually of yak and dzomo', འག་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: ལྷུ་བ་ *LCL.BA* 'yak dung', རྩ་པ་ *RTSID.PA* 'tsipa, yak coarse hair', ལུ་ལུ་ *KHU.LU* 'khulu, soft yak wool'.

Some of these terms are unknown to cultivators. See also the HCTL, as well as Hoshi et al. (2020).

CHART XI.1. – Vocabulary related to yaks

| Age     | Generic term  | Male                      | Female                   |
|---------|---|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Any age | ཐོག་ནག་ <i>ZOG.NAG</i>                              | གཡག་ <i>G.YAG</i>         | འབྲི་ <i>'BRI</i>        |
| 1 year  | བེ་ལུ་ <i>BE'U.LU</i>                               | ཕོ་བེ་ལུ་ <i>PHO.BE'U</i> | མོ་བེ་ལུ་ <i>BE'U.LU</i> |
| 2 years | ཡར་བེ་ལུ་ <i>YAR.BE'U</i> (or ཡར་ལུ་ <i>YAR.U</i> ) | ཕོ་ཡར་ <i>PHO.YAR</i>     | མོ་ཡར་ <i>MO.YAR</i>     |
| 3 years | ཤར་ <i>SHAD</i>                                     | ཕོ་ཤར་ <i>PHO.SHAD</i>    | མོ་ཤར་ <i>MO.SHAD</i>    |

<sup>17</sup> In some areas, this term designates only black cattle (mainly yaks, dri, dzo, and dzomo) but in the eastern section it refers to any kind of cattle.

|                      |                                      |  |   |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| 4 years              | —                                    | སོ་གཉིས་ <i>SO GNYIS</i>                               | སོ་གཉིས་མ་ <i>SO GNYIS.MA</i> <sup>18</sup> |
| 5 years              | —                                    | སོ་བཞི་ <i>SO.BZHI</i><br>or གཡེན་ <i>G.YI'U</i>       | སོ་བཞི་མ་ <i>SO BZHI.MA</i>                 |
| 6 years              | —                                    | སོ་དྲུག་ <i>SO DRUG</i>                                | སོ་དྲུག་མ་ <i>SO DRUG.MA</i>                |
| 7 years              | —                                    | ཁ་གང་ <i>KHA GANG</i><br>or གཡལ་གཤམ་ <i>G.YAG GSAR</i> | ཁ་གང་མ་ <i>KHA GANG.MA</i>                  |
| 8 years              | ཁ་གང་ལོ་གཉིས་ <i>KHAGANG LOGCIG</i>  | —  | —   |
| 9 years              | ཁ་གང་ལོ་གཉིས་ <i>KHAKANG LOGNYIS</i> | —  | —   |
| 10 years<br>and more | —                                    | གཡལ་རྒྱན་ <i>G.YAG.RGAN</i>                            | འབྲི་རྒྱན་ <i>'BRL.RGAN</i>                 |

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 ལྷ་སྒྲིབ་སྒྲེ་བརྒྱད་ *LHA.SRIN.SDE BRGYAD* ‘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*, མ་མོ་ (*MA.MO*) *mamo*, སྒྲིབ་པོ་ (*SRIN.PO*) *sinpo*, གནོད་སྦྱིན་ (*GNOD.SBYIN*) *nöjin*, མི་འམ་ཅི་ (*MI'AM.CI*) *miamci*, ས་བདག་ (*SA.BDAG*) *sadak*, གཞི་བདག་ (*ZHI.BDAG*) *zhidak*, བཅན་ (*BTSAN*) *tsän*, ལུ་ (*KLU*) *lu*, གཉན་ (*GYAN*) *nyän*, བདུད་ (*BDUD*) *dü*, ལྷ་ (*LHA*) *lha*, ཡུལ་ལྷ་ (*YUL.LHA*) *yüllha*, འདོད་ལྷ་ (*'DOD.LHA*) *dölha*, གཟའ་ (*GZA'*) *za*, དམུ་ (*DMU*) *mu*, རྒྱལ་པོ་ (*RGYAL.PO*) *gyälpo*, འདོན་ (*'DON*) *dön*, གདུག་འདྲེ་ (*GDUG.'DRE*) *dugdre / dongdre*, གདོན་འདྲེ་ (*GDON.'DRE*) *döndre*, འབྲུང་པོ་ (*'BYUNG.PO*) *jungpo*, རོ་ལང་ (*RO.LANG*) *rolang*, འདས་ལོག་ (*DAS.LOG*) *dälok*, etc. Additionally, some areas have their own specific spirits and supernatural creatures. This is the case in Ladakh with the སྤ་ལུ་ *'balu* /, 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 Tibetan cultures. These include ལུ་ *lu*, གཉན་ *nyän* and བཅན་ *tsän*, which are often

18. The authors provide the term /mo hnyi/ in the chart, but *SO GNYIS.MA* in the text.



the object of everyday offerings.<sup>19</sup> Other important types include the ཡུལ་ལྷ་ *yüllba* and གཞི་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་རྩེ་ *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་རྩེ་ *SNYING.RJE* in its colloquial use essentially means ‘poor dear’ or ‘miserable person’. Additionally, in Ü and Tsang, the corresponding adjectives སྙིང་རྩེ་པོ་ *SNYING.RJE.PO* and སྙིང་རྩེ་འདྲེ་ *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.<sup>20</sup> Fish are traditionally not eaten, an attitude which may in some cases be motivated by a fear of dangerous waters and the belief in ལྷ་ *KLU*, who dwell in water. In most areas, attempts to elicit fish names may result in terms such as ཉ་ *NYA* ‘fish’ (generic), གསེར་ཉ་ *SER.NYA* ‘golden fish (symbol of happiness and utility)’, རྩ་མྱིན་ *CHU.SRIN* ‘marine monster, crocodile’, ཉ་ཆེན་ *NYA.CHEN* ‘big fish, whale’, ལྟང་མོ་ *LCONG.MO* ‘tadpole’, ཉ་ཕྱིས་ *NYA.PHYIS* ‘oyster’ and ཉ་སྦྱགས་ *NYA.SKYOGS* ‘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 *lha* d’en haut (*steng lha*), devant soi pour les *bitsan* du milieu (*bar bitsan*), vers le sol pour les *klu* 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 ཕ་ཁ་ལེབ་ *PHA.KHA.LEB* 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 *Zangyu cizu yanjiu* ‘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:<sup>21</sup>

- ལོ་ *LKO* ‘leather’,<sup>22</sup> ལོ་བ་ *KO.BA* ‘leather’, ‘hide boat’, ལོ་ཆ་ *GO.CHA* ‘armour’, ལོ་ཁ་ *GO.KHRAB* ‘harness’, ལོ་ས་ *GOS* ‘cloth’, ལོ་ས་ཆེན་ *GOS.CHEN* ‘brocade’, ལོ་ན་ *GON* ‘to wear’, ལྷོན་ *GYON* ‘to wear’, བལོ་ *BGO* (*BGOS*, *BGOS*) ‘to wear, to make wear’. This word family is derived from a root \**ko*, which is related to clothing and armour.
- མཐོ་ *MGO* ‘head’, མཐོ་ཕྱི་ *MGO.RTSOM* or འཐོ་ཕྱི་ *GO.RTSOM* ‘to begin, to start’, འཐོ་པ་ *GO.PA* ‘chief, leader’, རི་མཐོ་ *RI.MGO* ‘mountain peak, top (lit. ‘mountain head’), མཐོ་ན་པོ་ *MGON.PO* ‘protector’, འཐོ་ *GO* ‘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).
- འཁོར་ལོ་ *KHOR.LO* ‘wheel’, འཁོར་ *KHOR* ‘to turn, spin’, འཁོར་ *KHOR* ‘entourage’, དཔོན་འཁོར་ *DPON.KHOR* ‘lord and retinue, master and servants’, སྐོར་ *SKOR* ‘to turn round, revolve, encircle’, སྐོར་བ་ *SKOR.BA* ‘circumambulation’, ལྷ་སྐོར་ *LTA.SKOR* ‘sightseeing, visit, tour’, ཉེ་སྐོར་ *NYE.SKOR* ‘vicinity, surrounding’, ལྷ་འཁོར་ *KLAD.KOR* ‘zero’ (lit. ‘circle above’), རྩ་ཁོར་ *RNA.KOR* ‘earring’, འགོར་ *GOR* ‘to take time, to elapse’, འགོར་པོ་ *GOR.PO* ‘time-consuming, slow’, འགོར་ལམ་ *GOR.LAM* ‘a

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’.

longer road, a detour', སྐོར་སྐོར་ *SGOR.SGOR* 'round, circular', སྐོར་མོ་ *SGOR.MO* 'currency unit, round (coin)', གོར་བ་ *GOR.BA* 'a type of (round) bread', གོར་གོར་ *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'.

▪ ཁ་ *KHA* 'mouth, surface, opening, shore', ཁ་ཁྱུག་ *KHARGYAG* 'to close (an object)', ཁ་ཕྱེ་ *KHAPHYE* 'to open (an object)', བཀའ་སློབ་ *BKA'SLOB* 'advice, teaching (H)', སྐད་ *SKAD* 'sound, language'. Thus, the root *\*ka* is related to the mouth, openings, sound and language. In many languages, such as French, English, Russian, Hebrew and Persian, the word for 'language' is derived from the word for 'tongue', or from the word for 'lips', as in Hebrew. In Tibetic languages, however, the words 'language' *SKAD* (most languages) or *KHA* (Dz, Cho) are derived from the root meaning 'mouth'.

▪ ཁག་པོ་ *KHAG.PO* 'difficult', དཀག་པོ་ *DKAGS.PO* 'difficult', དཀ་འཕལ་ *DKA'.LAS* 'hardship'. འགག་ *'GAG* 'to be obstructed, halted, blocked', གག་པ་ *GAG.PA* 'diphtheria', གེག་པ་ *GEG.PA* 'diphtheria', འགག་ནད་ *'GAG.NAD* 'diphtheria', གེག་པ་ *GEGS* 'obstacle, hindrance', བགེག་པ་ *BGEGS* 'obstructing force, noxious spirit, hindering demon', དཀག་ *DKAG* 'to congeal, to coagulate', ལོ་སྐག་ *LO.SKAG* 'blocked year, unlucky year', ལོ་སྐྱེག་ *LO.SKYEG* 'blocked year', 'unlucky year', སྐོག་ *'GAG* 'to block, to stop', ཉག་སྐྱ་ *HAG.SGRA* 'throat-clearing sound', ཁེག་ *KHEG* 'to be blocked'. Thus the root *\*kag* is related to 'difficulty' or 'obstacle'.

▪ སྐམ་ *SKAM* བསྐམ་ *BSKAM* བསྐམ་པ་ *BSKAMS* 'to become dry', སྐམ་པ་ *SKEMS* 'to dry something', སྐམ་ས་ *SKAM.SA* 'dry land', སྐམ་ *SKAM* 'dry dairy cattle', ཁ་སྐམ་ *KHA SKOM* 'to be thirsty' (lit. 'to have a dry mouth'), ཞལ་སྐྱེམ་ *SKYEM* 'drink, beverage (H)', ཞལ་སྐྱེམ་པ་ *ZHAL.SKYEMS* 'to be thirsty (H)'.

▪ འབྲུམ་ *'BRUM* 'smallpox',<sup>23</sup> རྒྱུན་འབྲུམ་ *RGUN 'BRUM* 'grape', འཕྲག་འབྲུམ་ *'KHYAG 'BRUM* 'goose-flesh', སྐྱུམ་མ་ *SBRUM.MA* 'pregnant woman', ཕྱུམ་ *PHRU.MA* 'womb, uterus', རུམ་ *RUM* 'womb, uterus', རུམ་ *RUM* 'cuddling with someone to

23. In which the skin develops fluid-filled blisters.

warm up', ལུམ་ *LHUMS* 'womb'.

▪ རྩ་ *CHUNG* (past རྩས་ *CHUNGS*) 'to be small', རྩན་མ་ *CHUN.MA* 'second wife, younger spouse', རྩ་བཅད་ *CUNG.ZAD* 'a little', གཅུང་པོ་ *GCUNG.PO* 'younger brother', སྒྱུ་ *SKYUNG* (*BSKYUNG, BSKYUNG, SKYUNG*) 'to make smaller'.

▪ ལྟ་ *LTA* (*BLTAS, BLTA, LTOS*) 'to look at', བཟོ་ལྟ་ *BZO.LTA* 'shape', འདི་ལྟ་ཉེ་ *D.LTAS.TE* 'like this', འདི་ལྟར་ *D.LLTAR* 'like', ལྟ་དམོ་ *LTA.MO* 'show', ལྟ་ས་བཟང་ *LTAS.BZANG* 'good sign', ལྟ་ས་ངན་ *LTAS NGAN* 'bad sign', ལྟ་ས་ *LTOS* (*bltos*) 'to rely upon, concerning', རོ་ལྟ་ *NGO.LTOS* 'master and servant', རྟ་ *DALTA* now (lit. 'look now').

▪ བུག་པ་ *BUG.PA* 'hole, cave', འབུག་ *BUG* (དབུག་ *DBUG*, ཕུག་ *PHUG*) 'to pierce a hole' འབིག་ *BIG* (འབིག་ས་ *BIGS* ཕིག་ས་ *PHIGS*) 'to pierce a hole', ཕུག་པ་ *PHUG.PA* 'a cave'; in our analysis this is probably also cognate with the following words: སྤྱག་ *SBUG* 'innermost room or place in a house', ཕུག་ས་བསམ་ *PHUGS.BSAM* 'ideal, hope', ཕ་ *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'.

▪ མཐོ་པོ་ *MTHO.PO* 'high', མཐོན་པོ་ *MTHON.PO*, ཐོན་ *THO.RDOL* lit. 'high stones, stones piled up to indicate a boundary' (same meaning as ཐོལ་པ་ *THO.YOR* and ཐོ་པོ་ *THO.PO*). ཐོད་ *STOD* 'upper part', ཐོད་ *THOD* 'above', ཐོད་པ་ *THOD.PA* 'skull, forehead', ཐོད་ *THOD* 'turban', ཐོད་གྲུ་ *THOD.RGAL* 'passing over the summit' (technical term in the Dzogchen school). This word family clearly indicates that the root \**to* is related to 'height' or the 'upper part' of an entity.

▪ ཟ་ *ZA* 'to eat', ཟས་ *ZAS* 'food', ཟན་ *ZAN* 'kneaded tsampa', བཟའ་ཚང་ *BZA'.TSHANG* 'married couple', བཟའ་བཅའ་ *BZA'.BCA* 'edible food', བཟའ་མི་ *BZA'.MI* 'husband and wife'.

▪ ཤ་ *SHA* 'flesh, meat', བཤོར་ *BSHOR* 'pursue, hunt', ཤན་པ་ *SHAN.PA* 'butcher', ཤེན་པ་ *SHEN.PA* 'butcher', གཤེད་མ་ *GSHED.MA* 'executioner, murderer', བཤའ་ *BSHA* 'portion, share', ཤེས་པ་ *SHE.SBYOR* 'copulation', ཤ་གསལ་ *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’, གྲེབ་ *SDEB* ‘join together’, གྲེབ་ལ་ *SDEB.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 a དཔེ་ཆ་ *DPE.CHA* ‘Tibetan-style book’, which is unbound.

▪ འབྲག་ *THAG* (pres.) བཏགས་ *BTAGS* (past) ‘to weave’, འབྲག་ཁྲི་ *THAG.KHRI* ‘loom’, བཏགས་མ་ *BTAGS.MA* ‘reed (tool for weaving)’, བཏག་ *BTAG* ‘reed’, བྲགས་མ་ *THAGS.MA* ‘female weaver’, བྲག་པ་ *THAG.PA* ‘rope’, བྲག་སྦྱིབས་ *THAG.LCIBS* ‘thimble used for sewing rope’, བྲག་རིང་ *THAG.RING* ‘long distance (lit. ‘long rope’), བྲག་འགྲུངས་པོ་ *THAG* ‘GYANGS.PO ‘long distance’, བྲག་ཉི་ *THAG.NYE* ‘close distance’, བྲག་གཙོད་ *THAG.GCOD* ‘to decide’ (lit. ‘to cut the rope’). 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 Tibetic 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 (Ü), Kham (Kh), Amdo (Amdo), 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 (Tö), 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).

The word list used for the HCLT was adapted to the Tibetan cultural environment and contains a number of frequent words that reflect important aspects of Tibetic cultures. These words refer to concepts that either have special significance in the Tibetic world or are more specifically related to Tibetic environments and cultures. For example, they include animal and tree names such as ‘domesticated yak’, ‘wild yak’, ‘dri (female yak)’, ‘dzo (hybrid of yak and cow)’, ‘mule’, ‘black bear’, ‘Tibetan bear’, ‘tiger’, ‘leopard’, ‘crow’, ‘eagle’, ‘dragon’, ‘marmot’, ‘monkey’, ‘otter’, ‘vulture’, ‘wolf’, ‘lion’, ‘elephant’, ‘juniper tree’, ‘willow tree’, etc.; food names, such as ‘butter’, ‘cream’, ‘chang’, ‘barley’, ‘roasted barley’, ‘potentilla’, ‘snuff’, etc.; various artefacts, products and objects, such as ‘churn’, ‘bellows’, ‘leather’, ‘chinaware’, ‘wooden bowl’, ‘yak dung’, ‘yak hair’, ‘yak wool’, ‘incense’, ‘fumigation’, ‘turquoise’, ‘zi agate’, ‘sheepskin coat’, ‘banak (black yak-hair tent)’ and so on.

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’, ‘yüllha (local deity)’, ‘sonam (merit)’, ‘compassion’, ‘patience’, ‘monastery’, ‘monk’, ‘Buddha’, ‘beads’, ‘stüpa’, ‘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 lexicon also provides a number of words and neologisms related to modern concepts and technologies, such as: ‘airplane’, ‘bank’, ‘bicycle’, ‘car’, ‘electricity’, ‘newspaper’, ‘office’, ‘post office’, ‘hospital’, ‘photograph’, ‘movie’, ‘radio’, ‘restaurant’, ‘rifle’, ‘telephone’, ‘watch’, etc. The motivation for providing such terms was to show the creative potential of the various Tibetic languages.

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.<sup>1</sup> It may be rendered by several terms derived from CT, such as སེམས་ཅན་ *SEMS.CAN* lit. ‘having a mind, sentient being’, དུད་འགྲོ་ *DUD.GRO* lit. ‘(one which) walks bending’, སྒྲུལ་སྐྱོད་ *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’,

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 འབྲུ་ *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 འབྲུ་ *BU* ‘crawling insects, including worms and other small animals’ and སྐྱང་བྲུ་ *SBRANG.BU* ‘winged insects’. The word life does not have a direct equivalent, and can be translated by two words: སྲོག་ *SROG* and ཚེ་ *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’,<sup>2</sup> ‘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 འཁུར་ *KHUR* ‘to carry on the back’ and འཁྱེར་ *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’ གཤམ་ *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 བཟུག་ *BLUG*, which has the meaning of both ‘to pour (a liquid)’ and ‘to put (a solid into a container)’.

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 *SOR.MO* for ‘finger’ and ‘toe’, the word མཚན་མོ་ *MDZUB.MO* ‘index finger’ can be used to refer to some the fingers, e.g. མཐའ་མོ་ *MTHE.BONG* ‘thumb’, མཚན་མོ་ *MDZUB.MO* ‘index finger’, གུང་ *GUNG* ‘middle finger’, སྒྲིན་མཚན་ *SRIN.MDZUB* ‘ring finger’, མཐའ་མོ་ *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 མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ *PHO.ROGS* and ཁ་ཏ་ *KHA.TA* 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, སྐུར་ཏོ་ *SKUR.TO* and སྐུར་མོ་ *SKYUR.MO* both mean ‘acid’, and ཁེར་རོ་ *KHER.RO* and ཁེར་འདུག་ *KHER.’DUG* both mean ‘alone, lonely’, but སྐུར་ཏོ་ *SKUR.TO* and ཁེར་རོ་ *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 སྤྲེན་ *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 གནས་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, གདམ་མོ་ *RGAD.PO* ‘old man’ or གདམ་མོ་ *RGAD.MO* ‘old woman’, rather than by an adjective. Very often, the equivalents

of English adjectives such as ‘quick’ and ‘slow’ – མགྱོགས་པོ་ *MGYOGS.PO* and ལ་ལེ་ག་ལེ་ *GA.LEGA.LE* 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 རྩོད་ *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 CTD (preprint 2001; 2018), Norman (2019), Abdul Hamid (1998), Sprigg (2002), Koshal (1982), the Dzongkha Development Committee (DDC) dictionaries, van Driem (1998), *SKAL.BZANG ’GYUR.MED* & *SKAL.BZANG DBYANGS.CAN* (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: pandialectal 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 *\*li* 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 *\*sru* ‘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

*simha*. 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  $\diamond$  *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-Mä, 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:  $\diamond$  ལུས་མོ་ *LUS.MO* (Kh, Ko), ལུས་པོ་ *LUS.PO* (Kh, Yol),  $\diamond$  ལུས་བོ་ *LUS.BO* (Sp). Another root, ཕུང་ *PHUNG* (Am, Skh) < CT ཕུང་པོ་ *PHUNG.PO* 'aggregate' is often attested in Southern Kham and in Amdo, where it is pronounced  $\diamond$  ཕུང་པོ་ /hungngo/. 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  $\diamond$  རྒྱུ་ *RGO* /'go/ (Ba) may be derived from the CT word རྒྱུ་ *SGO* 'door' since, in Buddhist

philosophy, the body is considered to be a ‘door’ (the སྒོ་གཡུམ་ *SGO.GSUM* or three doors are ‘body’, ‘speech’ and ‘mind’). Roerich’s dictionary mentions the word འོ་སྒོ་ *SGO.LO* with the meaning ‘body, face’. See also འོ་སྒོ་ *SGO.BO* ‘stature, height (of person)’ (La) < CT འོ་སྒོ་ *SGO.BO* (Norman 2019), འོ་སྒོ་ཕྱག་ *SGO.PHYAG* (La) ‘to prostrate’. There are also other plausible hypotheses: /‘go/ might be derived from Zhangzhung /rko/ ‘body’ (cf. Matisoff). Finally, the form /‘go/ may be related to the honorific root སྒྱ་ *SKU* ‘body (H)’ (Ü, Ts, La, Dz).

2. **HEAD** མགོ་ *MGO* [PR] pronounced /<sup>m</sup>go/ (Am: dr) /<sup>n</sup>go/ (Kh) and /go/ in most languages. It may occur alone as མགོ་ *MGO* (most languages) or འོ་མགོ་ *MGU* (Dz), but is sometimes followed by a suffix. མགོ་སྒོ་ *MGO.BO* also attested in CT, མགོ་བ་ *MGO.BA*, འོ་མགོ་རུ་ *MGO.TU* (Am). The honorific root is དབྱ་ *DBU* (Ü, Ts, La, Dz).
3. **HAIR** སྒྱ་ *SKRA* [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ts, Ü Dz, Jir, etc.) < CT. Various pronunciations are attested: སྒྱ་ /skra/ (Pur), འོ་མ་ /‘ta/ (Ü, Ts), འོ་སྒོ་ /sa/ (La, Za), འོ་སྒྱ་ /‘kya/, /‘ča/ (Am), /‘ča/ (Dz), /‘kya/ (Lho), etc. There are a number of other terms, usually compound words, across the Tibetic area: ཙོ་ཏྱ་ག་ *CO.TOG* lit. ‘head summit’ is found in Eastern Tibet (Kham and Amdo) < CT ཙོ་ *CO*, an archaic word for ‘head’ and ཏྱ་ག་ *TOG* ‘summit’. Other compound words are also used, such as མགོ་སྒྱ་ *MGO.SPU* (Ho, Kh, Pur) ‘head hair’, སྒྱ་སྒྱ་ *SKRA.SPU* ‘hair-(body)hair’, མགོ་སྒྱ་ *MGO.SKRA* ‘head hair’, མགོ་སྒྱོ་ *MGO.SGYO* /<sup>n</sup>gojo/ (Am: Dzorge) < CT མགོ་སྒྱོ་ *MGO.SGRO* ‘head feather’. The word རལ་ *RAL* for ‘(head) hair’ in Baltistan is probably related to CT རལ་པ་ *RAL.PA* ‘dreadlock, long hair’. The Tibetan emperor Thritsuk Detsän (*KHRI GTSUG LDE BTSAN*) was also common 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** དཔལ་ *DPRAL* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ko, etc.) < CT. The root དཔལ་ *DPRAL* is pronounced in various ways: འོ་པལ་ /‘pral/ (Pur), འོ་པལ་ /‘pä:/ (Ü), འོ་པལ་ /‘tal/ (Tö, Jir), etc. It is often followed by a suffix: འོ་པལ་མགོ་ *DPAL.MGO* (Ü), དཔལ་བ་ *DPRAL.BA* (Tö, Yol), འོ་པལ་ཏེར་ *DPAN.TER* (Ko). The root ཐོད་ *THOD* [FFR] (Kh, Ho, Ts, Tö, Lho, Am, La, Za) < CT ‘skull’ is also frequently attested. It is followed by a suffix: ཐོད་པ་ *THOD.PA*. The root *THOD* is cognate with

words such as མཐོ་ *MTHO* ‘high’ and མཉོད་ *STOD* ‘upper part’. In Yolmo, ཏ /murtsa/, which might be related to འབྲུང་མུ་ *BUR.RTSA* ‘eminent place’, is used.

5. **EYE** མིག་ *MIG* [PW] < CT. Its archaic form མྱིག་ *MYIG*, pronounced /<sup>m</sup>nyək/ in Amdo, is used in some eastern Tibetan languages and is attested in OT. It is originally derived from the root དྲླིག་ *DMYIG*. The high tone of མིག་ *MIG* /<sup>h</sup> mi(k)/ in many central and southern dialects confirms the existence of the preradical in earlier forms. མིག་ཏོ་ *MIG.TO* (Dz) and མྱིག་རྩོ་ *MYIG.RDO(G)* (Am) are also attested. The honorific forms are སྤྱན་ *SPYAN* (Ü, Ts, Dz, La, Lho, etc.) and གཟིགས་མིག་ *GZIGS.MIG* (Ba, Pur).
6. **EYELID** མིག་ལྗགས་ *MIG.LPAGS* [PW] < CT lit. ‘eye skin’. The archaic form མྱིག་ལྗགས་ *MYIG.LPAGS* is attested in Amdo.
7. **EYEBROW** མིག་སྒྲ་ *MIG.SPU* [PW] < CT. It is pronounced in various ways: /mikspu/ (La, Pur), /<sup>h</sup> mikpu/ (Ü, Ts), /mifu/ (Za), etc. In CT, མིག་སྒྲ་ *MIG.SPU* literally means ‘eye hair’; སྒྲིན་མ་ *SMIN.MA* [FFW] (Pur) < CT ‘eyebrow’, མིག་སྒྲ་ *MIG.SMA* (La) ‘eye moustache’, ཏ མིག་ཅ་ *MIG.TSA* (Yol).
8. **EYELASH** ཇིམ་ *RDZIMA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Dz, Sh, Kh, Am, Jir, etc.). A number of compound words are also found, such as ཏ མིག་ཇིམ་ *MIG.RDZIM* lit. ‘eye eyelash’ (Dz), ཏ མིག་གཤོག་ *MIG.GSHOG* (La, Za, Pur) lit. ‘eye wing’. མིག་སྒྲ་ *MIG.SPU* (Yol) < CT ‘eye hair’. Some dialects confuse ‘eyelash’ and ‘eyebrow’.
9. **NOSE** སྒྲ་ *SNA* [PR] < CT. Various pronunciations are attested: /<sup>h</sup>na/ (La, Pur), /<sup>h</sup>na/, /<sup>h</sup>na/ (Am), /<sup>h</sup>n’a/ (Kh), /<sup>h</sup>na/ (Ü, Ts, Ho, Sh), /<sup>h</sup>ha/ (Dz), etc. This root is usually followed by a second syllable: སྒྲ་འགོ་ *SNA.GO*, སྒྲ་པ་ *SNA.PA*. The Dzongkha word ཏ ཧ་པ་ /hapa/ is derived from སྒྲ་པ་ *SNA.PA*. Compound words are attested: སྒྲ་ཁྲངས་ *SNA.KHUNGS* lit. ‘nostril, nose hole’, སྒྲ་ཁྲུག་ *SNA.KHUG* lit. ‘nose curve’, ཏ སྒྲ་མདོ་ *SNA.MDO* (Am), སྒྲ་གདོང་ *SNA.GDONG* lit. ‘front of nose, bridge of the nose’, ཏ སྒྲ་ཚུལ་ *SNAM.TSHUL* (Pur). The honorific form is ཤངས་ *SHANGS* (Ü, Ts, Dz, La, Lho, etc.).
10. **EAR** རྩ་ *RNA* [PR] < CT. Various pronunciations are attested: /<sup>h</sup>na/ (Am), /<sup>h</sup>na/ (La, Pur), /<sup>h</sup>na/ (Ko, Ho), etc. The root can be used alone རྩ་ *RNA* (Ba, Pur, Am), but in some languages, it is followed by མཚོག་ *MCHOG* ‘perfect, sublime’: རྩ་མཚོག་



*RNA.MCHOG* (Th, Ga, Yol, Dz, La, Jir) or by a suffix: རྩ་བ་ *RNA.BA*. In some cases, the root *RNA* has lost its radical *N* and is pronounced /a/ as འཕ་མཚོག་ *PA.MCHOG* /-ʔamčo(k)/ (Ü, Ts, Tö, Dz). The honorific form is ལྷན་ *SNYAN* or ལྷན་ཅོག་ *SNYAN.COĞ* (Ü, Ts, Dz, La, Lho, etc.).

11. **FACE** རྩ་བ་ *NGO* [FFW] (Kh, Ho, Tö, Am, La, Ba) < CT. Another root is also widespread: གནོད་ *GDONG* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Dz) < CT. It is often followed by a suffix: གནོད་པ་ *GDONG.PA*. The combination of both roots is attested: རྩ་གནོད་ *NGO.GDONG* (Ts, Sh). In some languages, both roots are used with different meaning: རྩ་ *NGO* is used for ‘emotional or social face’ and གནོད་ *GDONG* is used for the ‘physical face’ (Norman 2019). For example, རྩ་ *NGO* is used in expressions such as རྩ་ཚ་ *NGO.TSHA* ‘to be ashamed’ (lit. ‘hot face’, or རྩ་ཤེས་ *NGO.SHES* ‘to recognize, to know somebody’ lit. ‘to know the face’). More marginally, there are also compounds with the word *KHA* ‘mouth’: འཕ་སྒྱི་ *KHA.SKYE* (Ko), འཕ་ *KHA.NGO* (Th, Kh). The honorific forms are ཞལ་རས་ *ZHAL.RAS* (Ü, Ts), བཞིན་རས་ *BZHIN.RAS* (Ü, Ts) and ཞལ་གནོད་ *ZHAL.GDONG* (La).
12. **CHEEK** འགྲམ་པ་ *GRAM.PA* or འགྲུམ་པ་ *GYAM.PA* [PR] < CT related to འགྲམ་ *GRAM* ‘side’. Various pronunciations of the root are attested: /gram/ (Pur), /jam/ (Dz, Am), /ɟam/ (Ü, Ts), etc. Other words are also found: མཁུར་ཚོས། *MKHUR.TSHOS* (Ba, Dz, Pur) < lit. ‘cheekbone’ (CT).
13. **MOUTH** འཕ་ *KHA* [PW] < CT. Some dialects in Kham and the eastern section use མཚུ་པ་ *MCHU.PA* or མཚུ་ཏོ་ *MCHU.TO* /ɕulto/ (Za, derog.) < CT lit. ‘lip, beak’. The honorific form is ཞལ་ *ZHAL* (Ü, Ts, Dz, La, Lho, etc.).
14. **LIP** མཚུ་ *MCHU* [PR] < CT. མཚུ་ *MCHU* (Am, Kh, E, Dz), འཕ་མཚུ་ *MCHU.TO* (Ü, Yol), འཕ་མཚུ་ *KHAMCHU* (Ba). An original compound is attested in Ladakh: འཕ་ལྷགས་ *KHAL.PAGS*: /kʰalpaks/ (La), /kʰalfak/ (Za) < lit. ‘mouth skin’. In many languages, there is an additional distinction between ‘upper lip’ ཡ་མཚུ་ *YAMCHU* and ‘lower lip’: མ་མཚུ་ *MAMCHU*. Furthermore, in many languages, the word for ‘lip’ is identical to ‘beak’.
15. **MOUSTACHE** འཕ་སྒྱི་ *KHA.SPU* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Ho, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT ‘mouth hair’. Other words include འཕ་ར་ *PA.RA* (Ü, Kh, etc.), ལྷ་ར་ *SMARA* (Ü, CT), འཕ་ས་

དལ་ *SAM.DAL* (La, Za, Pur), ཏུམ་དལ་ *SNAM.DAL* (Ba), ལྷུང་རུ་ *KHYUNG.RU* (Am), CT ‘garuda horn’. In some dialects there is confusion between ‘moustache’ and ‘beard’.

16. **BEARD** ལ་སྐྱ་ *KHA.SPU* [FFW] < CT. There are a number of words across the Tibetic area: ལྷ་ *RGYA* or ལྷ་བོ་ *RGYA.BO* (Am, Ü, Yol, etc.), ཏུམ་གྲ་ *SMA.GRA* (Ba), /smiangra/ (Pur), ཏུམ་དལ་ *SAM.DAL* (La), ཏུམ་གྲ་ཞེས་ *GYAM.ZHOL* (Dz) < CT. The term ལྷ་བོ་ *RGYA.BO* is derived from CT ལྷ་ *RGYA* ‘beard’. In some languages, ལྷ་བོ་ *RGYA.BO* refers rather to a ‘bearded man’; ཏུམ་གྲ་ཞེས་ *POG.TSHOM* (Am: Sog) < CT ཏུམ་གྲ་ཞེས་ *PAG.TSHOM*, ཏུམ་གྲ་ཞེས་ *GRAM.RTSID* (Am: Sog) < CT lit. ‘cheek-yak hair’, ཏུམ་གྲ་ཞེས་ *GRAM.SPU* (Am: Sog) < CT lit. ‘cheek-hair’.

17. **CHIN** མ་ནེ་ *MA.NE* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT or the variant མ་ལེ་ *MA.LE* (La, Za). Other words are attested: ཀོས་ཀོ་ *KOS.KO* (Ba, Pur), ཀོས་སྐྱུང་ *KOS.SMYUNG* (Ü), ‘pointy chin’, ཀོས་མ་ *KOS.MA* (Yol), ཏུམ་མ་གཤམ་ *MA.MGAL* (Dz) < CT ‘lower jaw’, ཏུམ་མ་ *ZALTAB* (Dz) ‘jaw’, ཏུམ་གྲ་ཞེས་ *POG.MA* (Ü) ‘lower chin’, ཏུམ་མ་ *PO.KHU* /uku/ (Sh), ཏུམ་ཀོ་ *PO.KO* (Jir) < CT.

18. **THROAT** ཏུམ་གྲ་ *POG* [FFR] (Kh, Am) < CT. ཏུམ་གྲ་མ་ *POG.BA* (Am), ཏུམ་གྲ་མ་དུད་ *POG.MDUD* (Am) or ཏུམ་གྲ་མ་དུད་ *POG.MDUD* lit. ‘Adam’s apple’; མིད་ *MID* or མིད་ *MYID* [FFR] (Ü, E, Sh, Jir): མིད་པ་ *MID.PA* /mikpa/ (Ü), མིད་ *MYID* (E), མིད་ *MID* (E), མིད་ཐག་ *MID.THAG* (Am); མགུལ་ *MGUL* (Am, Yol); ལྷོག་མ་ *LKOG.MA* (La, Pur, Ba, Kh); མཛིང་པ་ *MJING.PA* (Yol) < CT ‘neck’. The honorific form is མགུལ་ *MGUL* (Ü, Ts, etc.).

19. **JAW**: see CHIN.

20. **NECK** སྐེ་ *SKE* [PR] < CT, which is pronounced in various ways: /ke/ (La), /she/ (Za), /ke/ (Ü), etc. མཛིང་པ་ *MJING.PA* < CT usually ‘back of the neck’ (Ü, Jir, Yol, etc.). ཏུམ་གྲ་ཞེས་ *ZHING.LTAG* (Pur).

21. **SHOULDER** རྩ་གྲ་ *PHRAG* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Tö, Ts, Ü, Yol, Kh, E, Am, etc.) < CT ‘upper arm’. This root is pronounced in various ways: རྩ་གྲ་ /p’rak/ Pur, Kyir), ཏུམ་གྲ་ /p’yak/ (Pur: Chiktan), ཏུམ་གྲ་ /p’ak/ (Tö: Ger), ཏུམ་གྲ་ /t’ak/ (Ü), ཏུམ་གྲ་ /t’ak/ (Am), etc. It is often followed by a suffix: རྩ་གྲ་མ་ *PHRAG.MA* or རྩ་གྲ་པ་ *PHRAG.PA*. Another root རྩ་གྲ་ *DPUNG* [FFR] (Pur, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Jir, etc.) <

CT ‘shoulder’ is frequently attested, and is pronounced /<sup>s</sup>pung/ (Pur), /<sup>s</sup>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.MA*, དཔུང་པོ་ *DPUNG.PO*, དཔུང་མགོ་ *DPUNG.MGO*. Other words are also attested, such as རོ་སྟོད་ *RO.STOD* (lit. the upper part of the back).

**22. SHOULDER BLADE** སོག་པ་ *SOG.PA* [PW] < CT, སོགས་པ་ *SOGS.PA* (La, Pur) སོག་རྩ་ *SOG.HWA* (Am). In Dzongkha, དཔུང་རུས་ *DPUNG.RUS* lit. ‘shoulder bone’ is used.

**23. ARM (UPPER)** དཔུང་ *DPUNG* < CT and ཕྱག་ *PHRAG*: see SHOULDER. For the lower arm, see HAND.

**24. ELBOW** གུ་མོ་ *GRU.MO* [PW] < CT. Some variants are found: གུ་མོ་ *GRU.MO* (Ü, Ts), གུ་མོ་ *GYU.MO* (Am), གུ་རུ་རུ་མོ་ *GRU.DU.RU.MO* (Ü). Archaic forms are also attested: \* གེ་མོགས་ *GRE.MOGS*, གེ་མོ་འཛོང་ *GRE.MO.’JONG* (La, Za), གེ་མོགས་ *GRE.MOGS* (Pur, Ba). The distinction between གུ་དོང་ *GYU.DONG* ‘inner part of the elbow’ and གུ་འགོ་ *GYU.’GO* ‘external part of the elbow’ is attested (Am, Yol).

**25. HAND/LOWER ARM** ལག་ *LAG* [PR] < CT. The word ལག་ *LAG* refers to the lower arm (ལག་ར་ *LAG.NGAR*) from the elbow to the hand (ལག་འགོ་ *LAG.’GO*). It is generally followed by a suffix: ལག་པ་ *LAG.PA* (Bal, Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor), ལག་ག་ *LAG.GWA* (Am) or ལག་འགོ་ *LAG.’GO*, ལགས་ *LAGP* (Dz), ལག་ཀོ་ *LAG.KO* (Lho). In the Nagchu area (Hor), སྒར་ར་ *SBAR.RA* < CT lit. ‘handful’ is attested < CT སྒར་མོ་ *SBAR.MO*; ཕྱག་ *PHYAG* /ts’ä?/ (Ho: Bachen) < CT ‘hand (H)’.

**26. WRIST** ལག་ཚླགས་ *LAG.TSHIGS* [FFR] (La, Pur, Kh, Am, Dz, etc.) < CT ‘hand joint’, མཁྱིག་པ་ *MKHRIG.PA* ‘Ü, Ts’, སྒྲག་པ་འི་གཏེན་ /p’rakpi ga/ lit. ‘joint of the arm’ (Ba).

**27. FINGER** √ མཚུབ་ *MDZUB* or √ མཚུག་ *MDZUG* [FFR] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Am, Kh, Yol, Jir, Dz) < CT ‘index finger’. མཚུབ་མོ་ *MDZUG.MO* (Dz), མཚུབ་དོག་ *MDZUG.TOG* (Sh), མཚུག་གུ་ *MDZUG.GU* (Ü, Ts, Am, Kh, Pur). The root མཚུབ་ *MDZUB* is cognate with the verb འཚུགས་ *’DZUGS* ‘to point with the finger’ and originally designates only the ‘index finger’. The CT word for ‘finger’ is སོར་མོ་ *SORMO*; this is still used, for example, in some Amdo dialects. Balti uses སེན་མོ་ *SEN.MO*, which originally

meant ‘fingernail’ in CT. The origin of the Spiti words ཇན་མོ་ /tänmo/ and ཇན་ཙོ་ /tänze/ is not clear.

**28. PALM** ལག་མཐེལ་ *LAG.MTHIL* [PW] < CT. The form ལག་པའི་མཐེལ་ *LAG.PA’I 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* ‘thumb’, ཇ་མཐེ་ཆེ་ *MTHE.CHE* (Kh) ཇ་མཐེ་བོ་ཆེ་ *MTHE.BO.CHE* (Nubra), མཐེ་རྒྱ་ན་ *MTHE.RGAN* (Am: Lab), མཐེ་རྒྱ་ན་མ་ *MTHE.RGAN.MA* (Am: Čäntsha), ཇ་མཐེ་པོ་ *MTHE PO* (Ü, Ts, Pur, Yol), ཇ་མཐེ་འོ་མཐེ་འོ་ *MTHE’O.MTHE’O* /t’yo’t’yo/ (Ba), ཇ་ལག་མཐེ་འོ་ *LAG.MTHE’O* (La) lit. ‘hand thumb’, ཇ་ཨམ་མཐེ་བོང་ *?AM.MTHE.BONG* (Dz) lit. ‘mother thumb’; མཐེ་རྒྱ་ན་ *MTHE.RGAN* lit. ‘elder *MTHE*’ མཐེབ་མོ་ *MTHEB.MO*. The root མཐེ *MTHE* could be related to མཐེལ་ *MTHA* ‘extremity, edge’. If this etymology is correct, it could explain why some languages use the same root for ‘little finger’ in the word མཐེ་ལྷ་ཚུང་ *MTHE’U.CHUNG* lit. ‘little *MTHE*’. The thumb and the little finger would thus correspond respectively to the ‘big and small extremity fingers’.

**30. NAIL** སེན་མོ་ *SEN.MO* [PW] < CT. The word for ‘nail’ in Balti is ཇ་ཟེར་མོ་ /zermo/ which is probably related to the root གཟེར་ *GZER* ‘peg, (iron or wooden) nail’ or ‘to plant’. Note that སེན་མོ་ *SEN.MO* means ‘finger’ in Balti.

**31. BACK (of body)** སྒལ་པ་ *SGAL.PA* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz) < CT or སྒལ་བ་ *SGAL.BA* (Am). Other roots are attested: རྒྱུབ་ *RGYAB* (Tö, Kh, Ba, Yol) < CT ‘(at the) back’, སྒླེད་པ་ *SKED.PA* (La, Za, Pur, Ba) < CT ‘waist’. In many dialects there is a distinction between the upper back, སྟོད་ *STOD*, རོ་སྟོད་ *RO.STOD*, འོག་སྟོད་ *KHOG.STOD*, སྟིང་ཁ་ *SNYING.KHA*, ཇ་གཤུལ་ *GSHUL* /ɣshul/ (Ba) (< ? CT ཤུལ་ *SHUL* ‘trace’, ‘after’, hence ‘back’) and the lower part of back: རྩ་ར་ *TSHANG.RA*, སྒླེད་པ་ *SKED.PA*, etc. – a feature shared with many Asian languages. However, in some dialects, these words may refer to the entire back. The word སྒལ་ཚིག་ *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་ལུང་ *MCHAN.KHUNG* (Ü, Ts), མཆན་འོག་

*MCHAN.*'OG, མཆན་ཡོག་ *MCHAN.YOG* /changyok/ (Pur, Am), མཆན་ཀླ་ལུག་ *MCHAN.KU.LUG* (La, Za), བཞའ་འོག་ *BZHA.*'OG, ཏཱ་ཙེ་འོག་ *ZE.TSE.*'OG (Dz).

33. **CHEST** བྲ་ *BRANG* [PR]. The root is pronounced in various ways: བྲ་ /brang/ (Pur, Ba, Cho), /tang/ (Tö, Sp, La, Am), ཏ་བྲ་ /pang/ (Ü), བྲ་ /<sup>h</sup>jang/ (Dz), བྲ་ /p'yang/ (Lho), etc. In many languages, it is followed by a suffix: བྲ་ལོག་ *BRANG.KHOG*, ཏ་བྲ་རྟ་ *BRANG.DA* /shō ta/ (Kh: Sh), ཏ་བྲ་འགོ་ *BRANG.*'GO, ཏ་བྲ་དོ་ *BYANG.DO* /<sup>h</sup>jangdo/ (Dz), བྲ་གོག་ *BYANG.GOG* /p'yangko/ (Lho). ཏ་ཙེ་འོག་ *TSHE.KHOG* is used in Sherpa.

34. **BREAST (woman's), TEAT** ལུ་མ་ *NU.MA* [PR] < CT 'breast' < ལུ་ *NU* 'to suck' and འོ་མ་ *O.MA* (Ü, Yol, etc.) lit. CT 'milk', སི་པི་ *PL.PI* (La, Pur).

35. **BELLY/STOMACH** སྒོད་པ་ *GROD.PA* [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, etc.) < CT. This word is pronounced in various ways: /krotpa/ (Pur), /tɔtpa/ (La), /<sup>h</sup>tota/ (Tö), ཏ་སྒོད་པ་ *GYODP* /<sup>h</sup>jö:p/ (Dz), /<sup>h</sup>jop/ (Lo), or as the variant སྒོད་ལོག་ *GROD.KHOG* /<sup>h</sup>öko?/ (Ü); འོ་བ་ *PHO.BA* [FFW] (Dz, Am, Ü, Yol, etc.) འོ་མ་ *PHOW* (Dz), ཏ་ཕོ་རུང་མ་ *PHO.CUNGM* (Dz); ཏ་རྟ་བ་ /howa/ (Am), རྟ་ཁ་ *HO.KHA*, ལྟོ་བ་ *LTO.BA* /toa/ (Pur), ལྟོ་ལུ་ /-tou/ (Dz) < CT, related to ལྟོ་ *LTO* 'food'; གསུས་པ་ *GSUS.PA* (Kh, Jir, E: Th, Lho) < CT. གསུས་པོ་ *GSUS.PO* (Lho). These four roots have similar meanings in CT: 'stomach' or more generally 'belly'. The CT word *GROD.PA* is more specifically used for 'stomach' but in some modern languages, it means 'belly'. In Amdo and some other regions the word སྒོད་པ་ *GROD.PA* and its variant ཏ་སྒོད་པུ་ /çopə/ (Am) only refer to animals' stomachs. ལོག་པ་ *KHOG.PA* < CT is used in Sherpa. In Ladaks, སྒྲིང་ཁ་ is also used for 'abdominal pain' (Norman 2019).

36. **NAVEL** ལྷེ་བ་ *LTE.BA* [PW] < CT. Often pronounced /<sup>(l)</sup>tea/. The reflex ཏ་ལྷེ་ /l'e/ (Sh) is exceptional.

37. **WAIST** སྒྲིང་པ་ *SKED.PA* [PW] < CT. In some dialects, the word སྒྲིང་པ་ *SKED.PA* or སྒྲིང་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).

38. **MENSTRUATION** ལྷ་མཚན་ *ZLAMTSHAN* < CT 'month sign', སྒྲིང་པ་ *SKED.PA* (Ü), སྒྲིང་པ་ ཏ་གཞང་ཁག་ *GZHANG.KHRAG* (La), ལུག་ *KHYAG* (Am) < CT 'blood'.

39. **BUTTOCKS** རུབ་ *RKUB* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Sp, E: Th) < CT, originally < CT ‘bottom’. Other roots are also found: མོང་ *ʔONG* and མཐུང་ *ʔANG* [FFW] (Tö, Am, Dz, Lho) are widespread: མོང་དོ་ *ʔONG.DO* [FFW] < CT (Tö, Am, Kh), མོང་དོང་ *ʔONG.DONG*; མོང་ཤ་ *ʔONG.SHA* (Am), ཏུ་བུ་ *ʔA.BU* (Dz); ཏུ་བུ་ *ʔANG.BU* (Lho); མོང་དོ་ /čongdo/ is attested in Tö. Another CT root, དཔྱི་ *DPYT* [FFW] (Sh, E: Th), /spi/ (La), /fi/ (Za) < CT ‘hip’, ‘hipbone’, is also fairly frequent, as in ཏུ་འགོ་ *DPYL.GO* (Thewo-mä), ཏུ་ཤེ་མཐུང་ /pelang/ (Sh). Other forms are also found, such as ཏུ་འཕོ་ *PHOM* /phom/; ཏུ་པོ་པོ་ *ponpon* (Ba) < CT འཕོངས་ཚོས་ *PHONGS.TSHOS*, also meaning ‘buttocks’, and ཤ་སྒྲ་ *SHA.SNA* (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** འོག་སྒྲོ་ *OG.SGO* < CT ‘under door’. སྒྱག་དོང་ *SKYAG.DONG* lit. ‘feces hole’; སྒྱག་ཁུངས་ *SKYAG.KHUNGS* ‘feces hole’ (Am), སྒྱག་སྒྲོང་ *SKYAG.SNOD* (Za) lit. ‘feces container’, རུབ་ *RKUB* (Pur), ཏུ་བོ་འོ་དོ་ *BO.LO (DONG)* (La), ཏུ་ཚོ་འོ་དོ་ *TSO.LO (DONG)* (La).
41. **PENIS** མཐུང་ *MJE* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Yol, Tö, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, Am) < CT. It is pronounced /m̥je/ (Am), /m̥je/ (Tö, Kh) /je/ (Ts, Ü, Ba), /zhe/ (Pur). མཐུང་རན་ *MJE.NGAN* lit. ‘wicked penis’ is also used (Am). Another frequent word is རྒྱིག་པ་ *RLIG.PA* [FFW] (Ü, Yol, etc.) < CT. A compound འབྲུ་ལུ་ *BULU* (Am) lit. ‘little worm’ is also attested. ཁ་ལོ་ *KHALO* (Za) ‘head of the penis’.
42. **TESTICLE** སྒོང་དོག་ *SGONG.DOG* (Ü), སྒོང་ང་ *SGONG.NGA* (Yol, Sh) < CT ‘egg’; ཁ་ལོ་ *KHALO* (Za), སྒོ་མ་ *SGO.MA* /yoma/ (Pur), སྒོ་ཁུལ་ /yotul/ (Pur), ལྷིག་པ་ *LTIG.PA* (La) cognate with CT རྒྱིག་པ་ *RLIG.PA* ‘penis’, རྒྱིག་རིལ་ *RLIG.RIL* (Am).
43. **SPERM** ཐིག་ལེ་ *THIG.LE* < CT ‘essential drop’, ལུ་བ་ *KHU.BA* (Ü, Am) < CT. མ་ནུ་ *MANU* (La) < CT.
44. **VAGINA** སྒྱུ་ *STU* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Dz, Yol) < CT. Other words are found, such as རུབ་ *RKUB* (La, Yol) < lit. ‘buttocks’, ཏུ་གཉེ་མ་ *GNYA.MA*, ཏུ་སྒྲ་མ་ *SNYA.MA* (Am), ཏུ་བྲུ་ *BYA.LU* (Am) < CT བྲུ་ལེ་ *BYA.LE* ‘clitoris’ and སྒྱི་ /pi/ (Pur) < CT དཔྱི་ *DPYT* ‘hip’.

45. **CLITORIS** \*བྱ་ལྗེ *BYA.LCE* [PW] lit. ‘hen’s tongue’ or CT བྱ་ལེ *BYA.LE*. It is often pronounced /čale/; ཏ་ལེ *ȚALI* (Am). In the folk tradition, the clitoris is said to be similar to hen’s tongue. The archaic form ཏ་བྱ་ལྗེ *BYA.LCE* /byalče/ is found in Balti. A Balti proverb says བལ་བེས་སི་ལག་མིང་གི་བཀལས་ན་ཨ་མའི་བྱ་ལྗེ་ཚད། *BAL.BIS-SI LAG.PING GRI BKALS-NA A.MO’I BYA.LCE CHOD* ‘if a child has a knife in his hand, he may even cut his mother’s clitoris (*BYA.LCE*)’.
46. **THIGH** བརྩ་ *BRLA* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, La, Za) < CT. བརྩ་ག་ *BRLA.SHA* (Ü, Ts, La, Za), བརྩ་དོ་ *BRLAD.DO* (Dz), ཆན་ *CHANA* (LSham), གཟུག་ *GZUG* (Ba), ལུམ་ *LDUM* /dum/ (Pur), /ཏ་བཟོ་/ṭzo/ (Southern Kh, E.), ཏ་སྤལ་སྤྲག་པ་/balnakpa/ (Sh). The last two words are of unclear origin.
47. **KNEE** √ བུས་ *PUS* or its variant ཏ་བུས་ *PUGS* [PR] < CT. Normally followed by a suffix: བུས་མོ་ *PUS.MO* (Ü, Ts, Yol), ཏ་བུས་མོ་ *BUS.MO* /wimo/ (Am), བུས་འགོ་ *PUS.GO* (Kh), ཏ་མིས་མུང་ *PIS.MUNG* (Sh), ཏ་མིག་མོ་ *PIG.MO* (La) ཏ་བུགས་མོ་ *BUGS.MO* (Ba), ཏ་བུགས་མོ་ *PUGS.MO*. In Khöpokhok and Sharkhok (E), ཚིགས་འགོ་ *TSHIGS.GO* < CT lit. ‘on the joint is used. In Thewo (E), the word རང་གཏོང་སྒང་ *NGAR.GDONG.SGANG* < CT lit. ‘shin-above’ is used.
48. **CALF** ལྷ་ *NYWA* [PR] < CT. ལྷ་ག་ *NYWA.SHA* /nyasha/ is also frequently used. ལྷ་ལྷིག་ /nyaldik/ (La), ཏ་ལྷ་བྱི་ *NYA.BRI* (Hor), ཏ་ལྷ་རི་ *NYA.RI* (Am), ཏ་མིས་པ་ /pimpa/ (Pur, Yol).
49. **FOOT** ཀླང་ *RKANG* [PR] < CT. ཀླང་ *RKANG* (SKh, E.), ཀླང་པ་ *RKANG.PA* (Ü, Ts, Sh, Yol, etc.), ཀླང་བ་ *RKANG.BA* (Am), ཀླང་མ་ *RKANG.MA* (Ba, Pur), ཀླང་མ་ *RKANGM* /-ka:m/ (Dz), ཏ་ཀླང་གུ་ *RKANG.GU* /hangku/ (Za). See also LEG. The honorific ཞབས་ *ZHABS* (Ü, Ts, La, Dz, Yol) is frequently used.
50. **ANKLE** ཀླང་ཚིགས་ *RKANG.TSHIGS* [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am) < CT ‘the joint of the foot’. Other words of unclear origin are attested: ཏ་ཀླང་མའི་གཏེ་ /kangmai gat/ (Ba), ཏ་ཀླང་ལུང་ /telung/ ‘ankle bone’ (Sh), ཏ་མོང་ལོ་ /monglo/ ‘ankle bone’ (La).
51. **SKIN** བགས་པ་ *PAGS.PA* [PW] < CT. alt. form ལྷགས་པ་ *LPAGS.PA*, ཏ་བགས་པ་ *BAGS.PA* (Ba). In some Amdo and Hor dialects, the term ཏ་བགས་གུ་ *PAGS.GWA* is only used for the skin of tigers, bears and other animals, whereas the term ཏ་སྤྱི་མོ་

*SKYI.MO* is used for ‘human skin’. ལྷ་ལུ་ *SHU.LU* (La) is also attested for ‘skin’ < CT ར་ལུ་ *BSHU* ‘to peel’.

52. **WRINKLE** གཉེར་མ་ *GNYER.MA* [PW] < CT, ལུ་ *SUL* (La, Za, Pur). It also refers to the pleat of Ladakh women’s dress.

53. **WOUND** མ་ *RMA* [PW] < CT. Some dialects use མ་ཁ་ *RMA.KHA* (lit.) ‘surface of the wound’ for ‘wound’.

54. **FLESH** ཤ་ *SHA* [PW] < CT. The word is pronounced /sha/ in most languages but as /ŋ’a/ in many dialects of Amdo and /x’a/ in several dialects of Kham. See MEAT.

55. **BLOOD** ཁག་ *KHRAG* [PW] < CT. The word is pronounced in various ways: ཁག་ /k’rak/ (Pur), /’t’ak/ (Ü, Ts, Kh), ཁྱག་ *KHYAG* /č’aχ/ (Am).

56. **VEIN/PULSE** རྩ་ *RTSA* [PW] < CT. Often pronounced /’tσα/ or /tσα/ but realized as /sa/ in Zangskar and Spiti. In some dialects, it is sometimes preceded by the word *KHRAG* ‘blood’: ཁག་རྩ་ *KHRAG.RTSA*. In the Phuri dialect (Kh), the word ཁག་ལམ་ *KHRAG.LAM* lit. ‘road of blood’ is used. The pulse plays an important role in Tibetan medical diagnosis. The term རྩ་ *RTSA* has also the meaning of ‘channel’ in the Tibetan yogic practices called རྩ་རླུང་འབྲུལ་འཁོར་ *RTSA.RLUNG ’PHRUL. ’KHOR*. The two concepts of ‘channel’ and ‘vein’ are distinct.

57. **BRAIN** ཁྲད་པ་ *KLAD.PA* [PW] < CT ‘brain’ lit. ‘(on the) top’. ཁྲད་ *KLAD* sometimes occurs alone. The variant འདྲ་པ་ *LDAD.PA* /’datpa/ is used in Ladaks, Purik and Zangskar, and is probably a result of metathesis. The form ཁྲད་ *KLAD* alone and མགོ་ཁྲད་ *MGO.KLAD* lit. ‘head brain’ are also attested.

58. **BONE** རུས་ *RUS* [PR] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix: རུས་པ་ *RUS.PA* /ruspa/ (La, Pur), /rufa/ (Za), རུས་ཐོག་ *RUS.THOG*, རུས་ཁོག་ *RUS.KHOG*, (Ü, Ts, Yol), etc.

59. **SPINE** སྒལ་ཚིགས་ *SGAL.TSHIGS* [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, E, Am, etc.) < CT. གཞུང་རུས་ *GZHUNG.RUS* lit. ‘the middle bone’ (Pur).



60. **RIB** རྩེ་མ་ *RTSIB.MA* [PW] < CT. This item is usually pronounced /'tsi(p)ma/ or /tsi(p)ma/, but in some western languages (Za, Sp), it is realized as /sima/. The variant རྩེ་ག་གུ་ *RTSIG.GU* (Am) is also attested.
61. **JOINT** རྩེ་གས་ *TSHIGS* [PW] < CT. The final /s/ is still pronounced in the Western regions (La, Pur).
62. **TOOTH** རྩེ་ *SO* [PW] < CT. Note the irregular pronunciation རྩེ་ /sa/ in Sherpa. The honorific form རྩེ་མ་ *TSHEMS* (Ü, Ts, Dz, La) is frequent.
63. **CUSPID/CANINE TOOTH** རྩེ་མ་ *MCHE* [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix: རྩེ་མ་ *MCHE.BA* རྩེ་མ་ *MCHO* (Am). The compound word རྩེ་མ་ *MCHE.SO* lit. 'canine-tooth' is also found, and is also used for 'tusk'. རྩེ་མ་ *KHYL.SO* (Yol), lit. 'dog-tooth' is also attested.
64. **TONGUE** རྩེ་ *LCE* [PR] < CT. རྩེ་ *LCE* (Am, Ba, La, Dz, Pur, etc.); རྩེ་ལེ་ *LCE.LE* (Yol, Ü, Ts, Am, etc.) may be derived from CT རྩེ་ལེ་ *LCE.LEB* lit. 'flat tongue', རྩེ་ནེ་ *LCE.NE* (Hor); རྩེ་ལོ་ *LCE.GO* (Kh) is also attested.
65. **LUNGS** རྩེ་ *GLO* [PR] < CT. In many dialects, the root is followed by a suffix: རྩེ་མ་ *GLO.BA* often pronounced /loa/ or /l'oa/.
66. **HEART** རྩེ་ *SNYING* [PW] < CT. Other roots are marginally attested རྩེ་མ་ *SEMS* (E, Kh: Gyälthang) < CT 'mind', རྩེ་མ་ *BSAM* (E), རྩེ་མ་ *KHOG.PA* or རྩེ་མ་ *KHOG.MA* (Yol) < CT 'rib-cage', རྩེ་མ་ *SEMS.BU* (Am). Many dialects distinguish རྩེ་མ་ *SEMS* 'emotional heart' from རྩེ་ *SNYING* 'physical heart' (Norman 2019).
67. **LIVER** རྩེ་མ་ *MCHIN.PA* [PW] < CT. The variant རྩེ་མ་ *MCHIN.MA* (Pur) is also attested.
68. **SPLEEN** རྩེ་མ་ *MTSHER.PA* [PW] < CT, alt. རྩེ་མ་ *MTSHER.BA*, རྩེ་མ་ *MCHER.PA* (La, Pur).
69. **KIDNEY** རྩེ་མ་ *MKHAL.MA* [PW] < CT.
70. **GALL BLADDER/BILE** རྩེ་མ་ *MKHRIS.PA* [PW] or རྩེ་མ་ *MKHRIS.BA* (Am). The variant རྩེ་མ་ *MKHRIGS.PA* is used in Purik and Ladaks. In modern Balti, another word /χo/ is used. It is possibly related to CT རྩེ་ *KHA* 'bitter'.

71. **INTESTINE** √ རྩུ་ *RGYU* [PR] < CT. Normally followed by a suffix: རྩུ་མ་ *RGYU.MA*. ‘Large intestine’ is རྩུ་དཀར་ *RGYU.DKAR* or དཀར་པོ་རྩུ་མ་ *DKAR.PO RGYU.MA* (Pur, Ba), lit. ‘white intestine’ or རྩུ་སྒྲོམ་ *RGYU.SBOM*, while the ‘small intestine’ is རྩུ་ནག་ *RGYU.NAG* lit. ‘black intestine’ or རྩུ་ནག་རྩུ་མ་ *NAG.PO RGYU.MA* (Pur, Ba) or རྩུ་ཚུང་ *RGYU.CHUNG*. The word ཅི་རི་ *TSL.RI* (La) for ‘small intestine’ is attested in Ladakh.
72. **HIPBONE** དཔྱི་ *DPYI* [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT. This is often followed by a suffix, as in དཔྱི་མགོ་ *DPYI.MGO* (Ts, Ü). ལྷ་ཚུར་ *STA.ZUR* is used in Purik.
73. **EXCREMENT/FECES** སྦྱག་ *SKYAG* [PR] < CT In most languages, this is followed by the suffix *PA*: སྦྱག་པ་ *SKYAG.PA*, སྦྱོག་ག་ *SKYOG.GWA* (Am). Also attested is ཙོ་ *TSO* ‘animal feces’ (La).
74. **DIARRHEIC STOOL** རྩེ་མ་ *RNYANG.MA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts), རྩེ་པ་ *RNYANG.BA* (Am), རྩེ་པ་ *RNYANG.PA* (La).
75. **URINE** གཅིན་ *GCIN* [FFR] < CT. This is pronounced ཅིན་ *LCIN* /<sup>h</sup>cin/ in some western languages (La, Za, Pur). It is often followed by a suffix: གཅིན་པ་ *GCIN.PA*. In some dialects, the word ཚུ་ *CHU* ‘water’ is used to refer to urine. In Hor, northern Kham and Amdo, རྩེ་ *RDZING* lit. ‘water reservoir’ is used. The word ཆབ་གསལ་ *CHAB.GSANG* lit. ‘secret water’ is the honorific.
76. **FART** ཕྱེན་ *PHYEN* [FFR] (Kh, E, Jir, Pur, Za) < CT, ཕེན་ *PHEN* (Pur, Za, Lho), ཕྱེན་ ི་ *PHYEN.DRI* (La, Kh, E), རྩུག་ ི་ *RTUG.DRI* (Ü, Ts) < CT lit. ‘shit smell’, གཡག་ *G·YAG* (Am, Hor). In Amdo and Hor, གཡག་ *G·YAG* refers to the sound, whereas རུལ་རྩུག་ *RUL.RTUG* (Am) and བོ་རྩུ་ *BO.RGYU* (Hor: Am) mean a fart with the accompanying bad smell. རུལ་ ི་ *RUL.DRI* 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** རྩུ་ལ་ *RNGUL* [PR] < CT. This usually occurs in compound words such as རྩུ་ལ་ཚུ་ *RNGUL.CHU* lit. ‘water sweat’ and རྩུ་ལ་ནག་ *DNGUL.NAG*, lit. ‘black sweat’. The archaic form ངམུ་ལ་ཚུ་ *DMUL.CHU* (Pur, La) is also attested.

78. **SALIVA** ལ་ཚུ་ *KHA.CHU* [PW] < CT ‘mouth water’. ཏ་མཆིལ་མག་ *MCHIL.MAG* ‘saliva, spit’ (La, Za) and མཆིལ་མར་ *MCHIL.MANG* (Yol) < མཆིལ་མ་ *MCHIL.MA* < CT ‘spittle’ is also used.
79. **TEAR** སྨིག་ཚུ་ *MIG.CHU* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, E, etc.) < CT lit. ‘eye water’. Another archaic form is also attested: མྱིག་ཚུ་ *MYIG.CHU* (Am). The root མཆི་ *MCHI* < CT ‘tear’ is often followed by a suffix: མཆི་མ་ *MCHI.MA* (Pur), མཆི་བ་ *MCHI.BA*.
80. **PUS** རྩག་ *RNAG* [PW] < CT.
81. **SOUND/VOICE** སྐད་ *SKAD* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, E, Am, etc.) < CT and སྒྲ་ *SGRA* [FFW] < CT, ཀུ་ཚོ་ *KU.CHO* (La), ཏ་གྲེ་བ་ *GRE.BA* /tɕa/ (La).
82. **CORPSE** རྩ་ *RO* [PW] < CT. The word རྩ་ *RO* is used for animals and human beings. However, in some dialects, the use of *RO* for human being is considered impolite. For human corpses, one also finds ཕུང་པོ་ *PHUNG.PO* ‘aggregate’ (Ü), བེམ་བོ་ *BEM.BO* /wembo/ ‘lifeless object’ (Amdo), བཟུང་/vzər/ (Amdo, northern Kokonor), སྤུར་ *SPUR* /ˈpur/ (La), /fur/ (Za) < CT ‘corpse’. The word མེན་ཏོག་ *MEN.TOG* ‘flower’ is used in Purik, Zanghar and Ladaks as a respectful word for ‘corpse’. In Amdo, the word རྩ་ *RO* is used for ‘body’ in the humilic register (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.4 for honorifics).

### THE PERSON, HUMAN ACTIVITIES and FEELINGS

83. **LIFE-FORCE, SOUL** སྒོག་ *SROG* [PW] < CT. Pronounced in several ways: /stroq/ (Ba, Pur), /sok/ (La, Za), /ˈsoʔ/ (Ü, Kh), /ˈtoʔ/, /ˈsoʔ/ (Ts, Sh), etc.
84. **LIFE SPAN** ཚེ་ *TSHE* [PW] < CT. The compound མི་ཚེ་ *MI.TSHE* lit. ‘human life’ is widespread. The name ཚེ་རིང་ *TSHE.RING* ‘long life’ is found in many regions.
85. **HUMAN BEING, PERSON** མི་ *MI* [PW] < CT. The form མྱི་ *MYI*, which is used in Amdo, is attested in OT. An exceptional form, ཏ་ནི་ *NI*, is attested in the Southern Kham area. The CT word མི་ *MI* ‘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, ཆེ་མི་ *CHE.MI* < CT ‘big person’ designates an adult or elder person.

**86. A PEOPLE** མི་དཔངས་ *MI.DMANGS* [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་དཔངས་ *MI.DMANGS*, is currently used in Common Tibetan and in Amdo under the variant མྱི་དཔངས་ *MYI.DMANGS*. Traditionally the word འབངས་ *BANGS* ‘subject’ was used in the sense of ‘people’. Another traditional word derived from CT, མི་སེར་ *MI.SER*, 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, འོ་པ་ *SPOD* is used. See TIBET.

**88. CHINESE (HAN)** ལྷོ་མི་ *RGYA.MI* [PW] < CT. The word is abbreviated as ལྷོ་ *RGYA* in some languages of Eastern Tibet. A modern compound ལྷོ་རིགས་ *RGYA.RIGS* ‘ethnic Han’ lit. ‘Chinese race, type’, is also widely used. In Baltistan, the root ལྷོ་ *RGYA* is now nearly lost and people use the Urdu-English word /çin/ ‘Chinese’ followed by the nominal suffix *pa*: འོ་ཅིན་པ་ *CIN.PA* (Ba, Pur).

**89. MONGOL** སོག་པོ་ *SOG.PO* [FFW] སོག་བོ་ *SOG.BO*.

**90. TURKIC PEOPLE** ཧོར་ *HOR* [FFW]. Note that ཧོར་ *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** འཇར་ *JANG*.

**92. ETHNIC GROUP** མི་རིགས་ *ML.RIGS* [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 མྱ་རིགས་ *MYL.RIGS*. However, it is often understood as a literary word, and thus does not always follow the regular sound correspondences.

**93. BUDDHIST** ནང་པ་ *NANG.PA* [PW]. The term བོད་པ་ *BOD.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་ *MU.STEGS.PA*.

**95. MUSLIM** ཁ་ཆེ་ *KHA.CHE* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT.

This is derived from *KHA.CHE.YUL* ‘Kashmir’. The word མྱོས་མྱོས་ *HWOS.HWOS* /xɛxɛ/ (alt. ཉེ་ཉེ་ *HE.HE*) borrowed from Chinese 回回 *huihui* ‘Hui, Chinese Muslim’, is found in many Amdo and Kham dialects. In the Minyak area, a term derived from ཀླུ་ཁྲོ་ *KLA.KLO* < CT ‘barbarian’ is used. In addition, there are other expressions referring to Muslims, such as མགོ་དཀར་ *MGO.DKAR* lit. ‘white head’ (because white headwear) and རྒྱ་མོག་ *RGYA.SOG* lit. ‘Chinese Mongol’ (Am). In Lhasa, there are two Muslim communities, the Lhasa Khache ཁ་ཆེ་ *KHA.CHE* from Kashmir and the འོ་རྟ་པ་ལིན་ 河坝林 Hebalin community, who are Chinese Muslims. In Ladakh, a word derived from ཕྱི་པ་ *PHYL.PA* /č’ipa/ ‘outsider’ is often used, but the Buddhists may use བལ་ཉི་ *BAL.TI* (La) to refer to Shī‘ah Muslims and /k’ache/ to refer to Sunnis. In the Purik and Balti areas, the word འོ་སྤུལ་མན་ /musulman/ is used. ཡར་གོན་ *Arghon* is used for mixed families descended from Muslim (Sunni) traders and Ladakhi women.

**96. CHRISTIAN** ཡེ་ཤུ་ *YE.SHU*.

**97. FOREIGNER** ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ *PHYL.RGYAL* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Yol, etc.) < CT

‘outer kingdom’, ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་ *PHYL.RGYAL.PA* ཕྱི་གླིང་ *PHYL.GLING* alt. འོ་ཕྱི་གླིང་ *PHI.GLING* (FFW), lit. ‘outer island or continent’, ཕྱི་མི་ *PHYL.MI* (Dz) ‘outer person’, ཉེ་མི་ /hep’i/ < ‘hippie’ was used in Purik and other places in Ladakh. In Jirel, མི་འཕྲང་པ་འཛི་མི་ *MI’LUNG.PA-’IMI* ‘person from another country’ is found. མི་འཛི་ཡུལ་ *MI’YUL* lit. ‘people’s country’; མྱི་འཛི་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ *MYI’YUL KHAM*s 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’.  $\diamond$   $\text{ཨང་རེས་པ་}$  /angrespa/ from Hindi-Urdu ‘English person/foreigner’ and  $\text{མགོ་མེར་}$  *MGO.SER* ‘yellow head’ are also commonly used (La, etc). In Yunnan, a Chinese loan 洋人 *yangren* is also used.

**98. OLD MAN**  $\text{རྒྱུ་པོ་}$  *RGAD.PO* [PW] < CT verb  $\text{རྒྱ་}$  *RGÄ*,  $\text{རྒྱས་}$  *RGAS* ‘to be old’. The word is pronounced in various ways:  $\text{རྒྱུ་པོ་}$  /ˈgätpo/ (Pur, La, Am),  $\text{རྒྱུ་པོ་}$  /yätpo/ (Za), /ˈkä:po/ (Ü, Ts). The variants  $\text{རྒྱས་པ་}$  *RGAD.PA* /ˈgɛ:pa/ (Dz) and  $\text{མི་རྒྱུ་}$  *MI.RGAN* (Pur) are also used. The honorific word  $\text{བཞེས་པོ་}$  *BGRES.PO* is used in some areas (Ü, Ts). See also OLD (adjective), GRANDFATHER.

**99. OLD WOMAN**  $\text{རྒྱུ་མོ་}$  *RGAD.MO* [PW] < CT. The variant  $\text{རྒྱུ་མོ་}$  *RGAN.MO* is also encountered. Another term derived from CT  $\text{ཡ་ཕྱི་}$  *YA.PHYI* ‘grandmother’ frequently refers to old women (Am, Ba). This is pronounced  $\diamond$   $\text{ཡ་ཡིས་}$  /ayi/ in Amdo. The honorific word  $\text{བཞེས་མོ་}$  *BGRES.MO* is used in some areas (Ü, Ts). See also OLD (adjective), GRANDMOTHER.

**100. YOUNG MAN**  $\text{གཞོན་པ་}$  *GZHON.PA* or  $\text{གཞོན་ལུ་}$  *GZHON.NU* [FFW] < CT.  $\text{ཕོ་གསར་}$  *PHO.GSAR* (lit.) ‘new male’,  $\text{གསར་ལུ་}$  *GSAR.RU* lit. ‘new malee’ and  $\text{སྟག་ཤར་}$  *STAG.SHAR* are also frequent in Kham and Amdo.  $\text{ཁྱུག་ཐོང་}$  *KHYOG.THONG* (Pur, La) is also sometimes heard. In some western languages, the Persian loanword /jawan/ is used.

**101. YOUNG LADY**  $\text{གཞོན་མ་}$  *GZHON.MA*,  $\text{གཞོན་ལུ་མ་}$  *GZHON.NU.MA* [FFW] ‘young woman’, The compound  $\text{མོ་གསར་}$  *MO.GSAR* lit. ‘new female’ is also frequent in Kham and Amdo.  $\text{སྟག་ཤར་}$  *SMAN.SHAR* (Kh, Am) is also attested.  $\text{ན་ཅུང་}$  *NA.CHUNG* (La).

**102. ANCESTOR**  $\sqrt{\text{མེས་}}$  *MES*, alt. form:  $\sqrt{\text{མྱེས་}}$  *MYES* [PR] < CT  $\text{མེས་པོ་}$  *MES.PO* ‘forefathers, ancestors’, or  $\text{ཡ་མྱེས་ཡང་མྱེས་}$  *YA.MYES.YANG.MYES* (Hor, Am) lit. ‘grandfathers and greatgrandfathers’.  $\diamond$   $\text{ཨ་ཏ་མེས་པོ་}$  *PA.TA MES.PO* (Pur),  $\diamond$   $\text{པ་མེས་པོ་}$  *PHAME.PO* (La, Za),  $\text{ཡ་ཁྱེ་མེ་མེ་ཡ་}$  *PA.KHYE ME.ME.YA* (Yol).

**103. GRANDFATHER**  $\sqrt{\text{མེས་}}$  *MES* [PR] < CT, alt.  $\text{མྱེས་}$  *MYES* < OT ‘ancestor’.  $\diamond$   $\text{མེ་}$  *ME.ME* (Tö, La, Sp, Yol, etc.) < \* $\text{མེས་མེས་}$  *MES.MES*;  $\diamond$   $\text{མེ་པོ་}$  *ME.PO* (Ba),  $\text{ཡ་མྱེས་}$  *YA.MYES* /a<sup>m</sup>nye/ (Am, Ho, Kh). Other roots are also attested:  $\text{ཡ་རྒྱས་}$  *PA.RGAS* (Dz),  $\text{ཡ་རྒྱུ་}$  *PA.RGAN* (Ko) lit. ‘the old one’ (with the  $\text{ཡ་}$  *PA* used to designate

relatives), ཡ་པོ་ *PA.PO* (Ba, Pur), ཡ་པ་ཆེ་ *PA.PA.CHE* (Am), པ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ *PARGA.RGA* (Sh) lit. ‘old father’, ཡ་ཇོ་ *PA.JO* (Lho). The words སྟོ་བོ་ *SPO.BO*, འོ་པོ་ *PO.PO* and the honorific form སྟོ་ལགས་ *SPO.LAGS*, which is used in Central and Southern Tibet, are cognate with པོ་ *PHO* ‘male’ (the spelling སྟོ་ *SPO* does not reflect an old form and is probably an innovation). Jirel has རྒྱ་དཔོ་ *RGOD.PO* < CT ‘strong, untamed’.

- 104. GRANDMOTHER** ཡ་ཕྱི་ *PA.PHYI* [FFW] (E, La, Ba, Sp) < CT. The word is pronounced in ways ཡ་ཕྱི་ /ashi/ (E), འོ་ཡི་ *PA.YI* (Am, Kh, Ho), འོ་ཡི་ *PA.PHI* (La, Ba), འོ་ཡི་ *PA.BI* (Pur, La, Za), འོ་ཡི་ *PA.PHI* (Tö), འོ་ཡི་ *PA.BI* (Sp, Yol). Other words include འོ་ཡ་ *PA.YA* (Ko, SouthKh), འོ་ཡ་ *PA.RGYA* (SouthKh), ཡ་ལྟོ་ *PA.NYO* (Lho). Two areas, Central Tibet and the southern Himalayas, make use of other roots: འོ་མ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ *MA.MARGA.RGA* /mama gaga/ lit. ‘old mother’ (Sh), འོ་མ་ (Kh:Minyak) *MA.MA*, འོ་མ་རྒྱ་ *PA.ANG RGAS* /anggä/ < CT འོ་མ་རྒྱ་ *PA.MA+RGAS* lit. ‘old mother’. Words such as འོ་མོ་ *MO.MO* མོ་བོ་ *MO.BO* /momo/ and the honorific form མོ་ལགས་ *MO.LAGS* are cognate with CT མོ་ *MO* ‘female’. Jirel has རྒྱ་དམོ་ *RGOD.MO* < CT ‘strong, untamed’.

- 105. MAN.** There is no specific term or general concept for ‘man’, in the sense of ‘adult male’. CT used the word སྟོ་བྱ་ *SKYES.BU* for this purpose. In the modern languages, several terms convey this meaning. འོ་ལྟོ་ *HO.SKYES* (Am) < CT པོ་ *PHO*. *SKYES*. The term མི་ *MI* རྒྱ་ *MYI* ‘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** བྱ་མེད་ *BUD.MED* [FFW] < CT, alt. བྱ་མྱེད་ *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): \*བྱ་དམན་ *BU.DMAD* lit. ‘child+low’. The word is pronounced in various ways བྱ་མེད་ *BUD.MED* (Ts, Tö, Yol), བྱ་མྱེད་ *BUD.MYED* (Am), འོ་བེ་མི་ *BER.MI* (Sh). Other related words include: འོ་བེ་མེད་མི་ *BAN.MED.MI* (Jir), འོ་མོ་བྱ་ *MO.BUD* (Lho) < ? མེད་བྱ་ *MED.BUD*; Another classical term is also used: མོ་སྟོ་ *MO.SKYES* (Am) <

CT. There is a rich varieties 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 རྒྱལ་མོ་ *NAG.MO* (Kh, Hor, Am, Tö) < CT lit. ‘black one’. འབྲུ་མོ་ལྷ་ག་ *BU.(MO.)NAG* (Kh) is also attested. Other terms include འབྲུ་ཆགས་ *NAG.CHAGS* (Am, Kh) lit. ‘the one who loves black (deeds)’. Another root frequently encountered is སྤྲན་ *SMAD* or རྒྱལ་མོ་ *DMAN* ‘inferior’: འབྲུ་ཆགས་ *SMAD.CHAGS* (Ko) lit. ‘the one who loves inferior (deeds)’. སྤྲན་ལྷ་ག་ *SKYE.DMAN* (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. སྤྲན་བཟང་མོ་ *SMAN.BZANG.MO* or སྤྲན་བཟང་མོ་ *SMA.BZANG.MO* ‘woman’ are also attested in Amdo and Kham. སྤྲན་ *SMAN* and སྤྲ་ *SMA* are probably related to སྤྲན་ *SMAD* in the word འབྲུ་སྤྲན་ *BU.SMAD* found, for example, in Milaräpa’s biography with the meaning ‘mother and child’. Other terms for ‘woman’ are mostly derived from words designating female relatives: ཡ་ཕྱི་ *PA.PHYI* ‘grandmother’ (Am), ‘mother’ ཡ་ཆེ་ *PA.CHE* ‘elder sister’ (Ü, La), འཇ་སྤྱ་ *MA.SRU* (Am) འཇ་སྤྱ་ *AM.SRU* /-pamsu/ (Dz) < ཡ་མ་ *PA.MA* and སྤྱ་ *SRU* ‘aunt (paternal)’, ཡ་ནེ་ *PA.NE* ‘paternal aunt’ (Sp, Pur), འབྲུ་སྤྲན་ *BU.SRING* (Ba) < *BU* ‘child’ + *SRING* ‘sister’. Finally ‘women’ are simply called by the words འབྲུ་མོ་ *BU.MO* (Tö, Kh, La, Za) ‘girl’, རྒྱལ་མོ་ *RGAN.MO* ‘old lady’ (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** ཡ་ཕ་ *PA.PHA* [PW] < CT. Often pronounced /ʔapa/ or /ʔaba/ with an unaspirated consonant, ཕ་ཕ་ *PAPHA*. In some dialects in southern Kham, ཕ་རྒྱལ་ *PHA.RGAN* lit. ‘old father’ is used. There are other forms such as འབྲུ་རྒྱལ་ *PA.RGYA* in Amdo or འབྲུ་རྒྱལ་ *PA.TA* in Baltistan and Purik, which could be borrowed from Turkic languages, but this is not certain, since the form འབྲུ་རྒྱལ་ *PA.TA* is also found in other dialects, such as Kongpo, with the meaning ‘brother’. In Daan (Kh), འབྲུ་རྒྱལ་ *PA.DI*



is used, which may be borrowed from Chinese 爹 *die*. The honorific forms are ཡུ་ལགས་ *P.A.LAGS* or ཡལ་ *YAB* ‘father of an honored person’.

**108. MOTHER** མ་མ་ *MA.MA* [PW] < CT In some dialects from southern Kham, the root མ་ *MA* alone is used. In the Lithang and Lhagang dialects (Kh), one finds མ་རྒྱལ་ *MA.RGAN* lit. ‘old mother’. In a few languages, other words are used: མ་ཙེ་ *PA.CE* (Th) < ‘elder sister’; མ་འི་ *PAI* (Dz) < CT མ་བྱི་ *PA.PHYI* ‘grandmother’. The respectful terms are མ་མ་ལགས་ *A.MA-LAGS* ‘mother (H)’ ཡུ་མ་ *YUM* ‘mother of an honored person’.

**109. PARENTS** བ་མ་ *PHA.MA* [PW] < CT lit. ‘father-mother’. In Amdo, this is pronounced ཏ་མ་ /hama/. མ་ཏ་མ་ *PA.TA PA.MA* (Pur, Ba). In some Southern Kham dialects, མ་པ་མ་མ་ *PA.PHA PA.MA* is used in order to avoid sound changes that would happen. There is also the form ཡལ་ཡུ་མ་ *YAB.YUM* ‘parents of an honored person (H)’.

**110. CHILD** (see also BOY and GIRL) བྱིས་ *BYIS* [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 ཏ་ཞ་བྱིས་ *ZHA.BYIS* or ཞ་ཡིས་ *ZHA.YIS* /shayi/ (Am), /shashi/ (Am, Th), also sometimes spelled ཏ་བྱིས་ *BYA.BYIS*. However, given that it is pronounced /zhayi/ in Ngawa, the spelling ཏ་ཞ་བྱིས་ *ZHA.BYIS* is justified. In other languages, it often occurs with the lexeme ཚ་ *TSHA* < CT ‘nephew’ or ‘grandson’ or སྒྲིང་ *SRING* ‘younger sister’: \* བྱིས་ཚ་ *BYIS.TSHA*. For example, we find /p’isa/ (Ts), /peza/ (Yol) and ཏ་བེས་ཟ་ /p’eza/ (Sh, Jir), ཏ་བེས་ཁྲིང་ /p’iŋ/ < \* བྱིས་སྒྲིང་ *BYIS.SRING* (Tö). In Balti, ཏ་བལ་བྱིས་ *BAL.BYIS* /balbis/ is a compound made of བྱིས་ *BYIS* and /bāl/ ‘young, child’, a loanword from the neighboring Dardic languages. The second frequent root is རྩུ་ *PHRU* or རྩུག་ *PHRUG* [FFR] (Ü, Ko, Ho, La, Ba, Pur, Sp) < CT རྩུ་ *PHRU* ‘child or young of any animal’. The root may be used alone, as in Balti and Purik རྩུ་ /p’ru/, but is usually followed by a diminutive suffix, as in རྩུག་གུ་ *PHRUG.GU*, ཏ་རྩུ་ *tu:* (Sp), ཏ་པུ་གུ་ /puku/ (Ü, Ko), /t’ugu/ (La, Za) and རྩུ་ཐ་ *PHRU.PHRA* (Ba). In Amdo, རྩུ་གུ་ *PHRU.GU* /t’əgə/ is also used, but refers to ‘young of animals’ as in CT, and even to objects, e.g. སྐྱམ་རྩུག་ *SGAM.PHRUG* ‘small box’. This is also attested in

Balti: གློ་ཕུ་ *SGOM.PHRU* ‘small box’ < CT གློ་ཕུ་. The combination of the two roots for ‘child’ is attested in Kham: ཕུ་གྱིས་ *PHRUG.BYIS*. Apart from these two frequent roots, there is considerable variation for the word ‘child’ in Tibetic languages. Words derived from the compounds བུ་ཚ་ *BU.TSHA* (Cho, Am) and བོ་ཚོ་ *BO.TSO* (Lho), from བུ་ *BU* ‘son, boy’ and from ཚ་ *TSHA* ‘grandson’ can be encountered. Other words not attested in CT are also found: these are usually onomatopoeic word, baby babbling sounds, or motherese: གློ་ལོ་ *PO.LO* (Ts), གློ་ལུ་ *PA.LU* (Dz), གློ་གློ་ *GA.GA* and གློ་ལློ་ *PA.GA* in Kham. Another root for ‘child’ not found in CT is \*ཉྱ་གྱི་ *NYOG*: གྱི་གྱི་གྱི་ *NYAG.NYOG* or གློ་ཉྱ་གྱི་ *PA.NYOG* in Kh and E, as well as གློ་ཉྱ་ *PO.NYE* (Lho). See also གློ་བྱ་གྱི་ *BYA.NYOG* ‘many kids, gang of kids’ (Am), གློ་ཉྱ་གྱི་རྒྱུ་ *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་ཚ་ *BU.TSHA* (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Dz, Am) < CT ‘son, nephew’. It is pronounced in various ways, such as བུ་ཚ་ /buts’a/ (Pur, La), གློ་བུ་ཚ་ /‘b’us/ (Dz) and གློ་བོ་ཚོ་ /‘p’otso/ (Lho). In several languages, the word is derived from roots that designate a child: བྱིས་ *BYIS* < CT. For example, \*བྱིས་ཚ་ *BYIS.TSHA* (Ts, Sh, etc.) and the compound \*བུ་བྱིས་ཚ་ *BU.BYIS.TSHA* ‘boy child’ (Yol, etc.). In Amdo, ‘boy’ is a reflex of \*བྱིས་ལུ་ *BYIS.LU* /shilə/, but is sometimes spelled གློ་ཞི་ལུ་ *ZHI.LU*, which corresponds to the pronunciation attested in pastoralists’ dialects such as Golok and Ngawa. 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་ཚ་ *BU.MO 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 \*བྱིས་མོ་ *BYIS.MO* /shimo/ lit. ‘female child’. In modern Amdo, it is also spelled གློ་ཞི་མོ་ *ZHI.MO* /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 /wə/. Compound words made with the lexeme བུ་ *BU* are also encountered: བུ་ཚ་ *BU.TSHA* lit. ‘son-nephew’ (Am, La, Ba, Pur); བུ་ཚུང་ *BU.CHUNG* lit. ‘little son’. The root བྱིས་ *BYIS* < CT ‘child’ is also used for this

meaning: \*བྱིས་ཚ་ *BYIS.TSHA* lit. ‘child-nephew’ pronounced འབྲིས་ས་ /pisa/ (Ts), and in Amdo འབྲིས་ལུ་ *BYIS.LU*. The honorific form is ལྷས་ *SRAS* (Ü, Ts, La, Dz, Lho, etc.)

114. **DAUGHTER** ལྷ་མོ་ *BU.MO* [PW] < CT. The root ལྷས་ *BYIS* < CT ‘child’ followed by the feminine suffix *MO* is also used for this meaning: \*བྱིས་མོ་ *BYIS.MO* /shimo/ lit. ‘female child’. (See GIRL.) The honorific form is ལྷས་མོ་ *SRAS.MO* (Ü, Ts, La, Dz, Lho, etc.)

115. **DAUGHTER-IN-LAW** མཉའ་མ་ *MNA’MA* [PW] < CT ‘daughter-in-law’ derived from མཉའ་ *MNA’* ‘oath’. This is pronounced མཉའ་མ་ /nama/ (La), འབྲུག་མ་ /naŋa/ (Ba), འབྲུག་མ་ /-nam/ (Dz), འབྲུག་མ་ /-na:/ (Tö, Kh), etc. Note that in Dzongkha, འབྲུག་མ་ *MNA’MA* /nam/ has also acquired the sense of ‘sister-in-law’. Another frequent root is བཀ་མ་ *BAG.MA* [FFW] (Ba, Ts, Lho, Am, etc.) < CT ‘bride, newly married wife’ related to བཀ་ལྷན་ *BAG.STON* ‘marriage ceremony’ (see also MARRY). This is pronounced in various ways: འབྲུག་མོ་ *BAG.MO* /baŋmo/ (Ba), བཀ་མ་ /waŋma/ or /waŋmo/ (Am), བཀ་མ་ /<sup>h</sup>p’agma/ (Ts), འབྲུག་མ་ /‘pa:m/ (Lho), etc. Although a few languages have maintained the distinction between the meanings of མཉའ་མ་ *MNA’MA* ‘bride’ and བཀ་མ་ *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** མཉའ་པ་ *MAG.PA* [PW] < CT. Reflexes of the variant འབྲུག་པ་ *DMAG.PA* are also attested (Am, Tö, Dz). In Dzongkha, this word is spelt འབྲུག་པ་ *RMAGP*. The etymology could suggest that the word is derived from འབྲུག་ *DMAG* ‘army, sentinel, guard’ and thus that the son-in-law is considered ‘protection for his new family’. The term མཉའ་པ་ *MAG.PA* is often used as well to designate the ‘bridegroom’ or ‘husband’ who lives with his wife’s family. བཀ་པོ་ *BAG.PO* (Ba) is also attested. See MARRY.

118. **BRIDEGROOM**: see SON-IN-LAW.

119. **GRANDSON** ཚ་བོ་ *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 ཏ་ཏི *NA.TI* (Sh) < Nep., ཏ་སུན་ཅེ *SUN.TSE* (SKh) < Chin. 孙子 *sunzi*, or ཏ་སུན་སུན *SUN.SUN* (SKh) < Chin. 孙孙 *sunsun*. Even in such cases, ཚོ་བོ *TSHA.BO* 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 བུ་འི་བུ *BU'I.BU* 'son's son' or བུ་མེ་འི་བུ *BU.MO'I.BU* 'daughter's son'.

**120. GRANDDAUGHTER** ཚོ་མོ *TSHA.MO* [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** མིང་སྤྱིང་ *MING.SRING* (Kh, La) or its archaic variant མྱིང་སྤྱིང་ *MYING.SRING* (Am, E) < CT (see below '(younger) brother' and '(younger) sister'). A frequent root སྤུན་ *SPUN* < CT often designates 'siblings', but also more generally 'kinsfolk' and 'relatives': སྤུན་ *SPUN* (Am), སྤུན་ཁྱེག་ *SPUN.KYAG* (Ü, Ts), སྤུན་ལྷ་ *SPUN.ZLA* (La), སྤུན་མཆེད་ *SPUN.MCHED* (Am). The word ཤ་ཉེ *SHA.NYE* (Kh, Am) < CT ཤ་ *SHA* 'flesh' and ཉེ *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** ཨ་ཙོ་ *PA.CHO* [FFW] (La, Lho, Sp, Cho, etc.) or the variant ཙོ་ཙོག་ *CHO.CHOG* /čöčö/ (Ü) < CT respectively ཨ་ཙོ་ *PA.JO* and ཙོ་ཙོ་ *JO.JO*. There are some limited variations in the pronunciation, such as ཨ་ཙུ་ *PA.CU* (Lho). In CT, གཅེན་པོ་ *GCEN.PO* is also used. Other words are attested. The main terms are: ཤ་ཉེ *SHA.NYE* /x'anye/ (Kh; Derge, etc.), ཏ་ཀ་ཀ་ *KAKA* (Bal, Pur), ཨ་ག་ *PA.GA* (Am: Sogwo), ཨ་རྒྱ་ *PA.RGYA* (Am: Chabcha), ཏ་ཨ་པ་ *PA.PA* (Am), ཨ་བུ་ *PA.BU* (Hor), ཨ་ད་ *PA.DA* (Yol), ཕུ་རྒྱན་ *PHU.RGAN* (Am, Hor) < CT ཕུ་ *PHU* 'elder brother' + *RGAN* 'old'; ཏ་མྱིང་པོ་ *MYENG.PO* /nyengpo/ (Kh), མྱིང་རྒྱན་ *MYING.RGAN* (Am) < CT *MING.PO* '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: ཕུ་རྒན་ *PHU.RGAN* vs. ཨ་པ་ *PA.PA* (Am) (Am: Themchen), ཕུ་རྒན་ *PHU.RGAN* vs. མྱིང་རྒན་ *MYING.RGAN* (Am: Tsigorthang). See Section 11.5 for details.

**124. ELDER SISTER** ཨ་ཆེ་ *PA.CHE* [PW] < CT. There are some variations in the pronunciation of this, such as འུ་ཞི་ *PA.ZHI* /azhi/ (Yol, Lho), འུ་ཤེ་ *PA.SHE* /ashe/ (Ba), འུ་ཉེ་ *PA.HE* /-ahe/ (Cho), འུ་ཅག་ *PA.CAG* /-ača/ (Ü, Ts). In CT, གཅེན་མོ་ *GCEN.MO* is also used. A few other terms are attested: སྤྱང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* /sengmo/ (Kh) and སྤྱང་རྒན་མ་ *SRING.RGAN.MA* /sangganma/ (Am), སྤུན་ཡ་མ་ *SPUN.YA.MA* /pünyama/ (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: སྤྱང་རྒན་མ་ *SRING.RGAN.MA* vs. ཨ་ཆེ་ *PA.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 ལུ་ *NU* or ལོ་ *NO* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Am, Hor, etc.) < CT ལུ་ལོ་ is frequently attested: ལོ་ལོ་ *PHO.NO* (Ba), ལོ་ལོ་ *NO.NO* /nono/ (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, etc.), ལུ་ལུ་ *NU'U* (Am), ལུ་ལུང་ *NU.CHUNG* (Hor). For b), the root མིང་ *MING* and its archaic variant མྱིང་ *MYING* are frequently attested: མིང་པོ་ *MING.PO* [FFR] (La, Hor, etc.) < CT and the variants མིང་མོ་ *MING.MO* (Ba, Pur), མྱིང་པོ་ *MYING.BO* /nyangwo/ (Am), མྱིང་པོ་ *MYENG.PO* (Kh: Derge), ཕ་མིང་ *PHA.MING* (Lho). Other words are also found: སྤུན་ལུང་བ་ *SPUN.CHUNG.BA*, སྤུན་ལོ་ *SPUN.LO* (Lho), ལུང་བ་ *CHUNG.BA* (Am), /xun č'ungwa/, ཤ་ཉེ་ *SHA.NYE* /x'anye/ (Kh), འོག་མ་ *'OG.MA* (Ü) < CT *'OG*. ‘under’. In CT, གཅུང་པོ་ *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 སྤྱང་མོ་ *SRING.MO* [FFR] < CT is frequently attested (Ba, Pur, La, Am, Kh, etc.), ཐུ་སྤྱང་མ་ *BU.SRINGM* /p'usim/ (Lho) < ཐུ་སྤྱང་མོ་ *BU.SRING.MO*. For b), the word ལུ་མོ་ *NU.MO* frequently occurs: ལོ་ལོ་ *NO.NO* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Sp, La) or ལུ་མོ་ *NU.MO* (Am, Cho), ལུ་མ་ *NUM*

(Lho) < CT ལུ་མོ་ *NU.MO*. In CT, གཅུང་མོ་ *GCUNG.MO* is also used. Other words are attested, such as ལྷུན་ཡ་མ་ *SPUN.YA.MA* (Kh), ལྷུན་ཡ་ *SPUN.YA* (Hor), འོག་མ་ *'OG.MA* (Ü) < CT 'OG. 'under'. In CT, གཅུང་མོ་ *GCUNG.MO* 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. ཨ་ཁུ་ *PA.KHU* is widely used as an address term for an unfamiliar older male person; in some dialects (such as Minyak Rabgang), ཨ་ཁང་ *PA.ZHANG* is used. See PATERNAL UNCLE and MATERNAL UNCLE.

**128. UNCLE (PATERNAL)** ཨ་ཁུ་ *PA.KHU* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. In Amdo, the term ཨ་ཁུ་ *PA.KHU* also refers to monks. Some very few dialects use a different root, such as ཨ་གན་ *PA.ARGAN* lit. 'elder' in Kongpo. Some dialects (e.g. Am: Sog) make no difference between paternal and maternal uncles, using only ཨ་ཁང་ *PA.ZHANG*; 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: འུ་ཏ་ཆོ་གྲོ་ *PA.TA CHO.GO* (Ba, Pur) and འུ་པ་ཆེན་མོ་ *PA.PA CHEN.MO* (Sham, LJ, etc.) or simply ཨ་པ་ *PA.PA* (Sham) refer to the 'big father' whereas འུ་ཏ་ཅུང་ཅོ་ *PA.TA CUNG.TSE* (Ba, Pur), འུ་ཅོ་ཅོ་ *TSE.TSE* (Pur), and འུ་ཅོ་ *BA.TSE* (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 འུ་ཅེ་ཅེ་/čača/ is used by Ladakhi Muslims.

**129. UNCLE (MATERNAL)** √ ཁང་ *ZHANG* [PR] < CT. ཨ་ཁང་ *PA.ZHANG*, ཁང་པོ་ *ZHANG.PO*, ཁང་ཁང་ *ZHANG.ZHANG*. In Purik, འུ་ཁང་ཆོ་གྲོ་ *PA.ZHANG CHO.GO* 'big *azhang*' (Pur) for 'mother's elder brother' and འུ་ཁང་ཅུང་ཅོ་ *PA.ZHANG CUNG.TSE* for 'mother's younger brother'. Note that in Ladakh, the term ཨ་ཁང་ *PA.ZHANG* is a term of address for monks. In some Kham dialects, འུ་བུ་ /pa bu/ is used. In some dialects where the difference between maternal and paternal uncle is not made, the word ཨ་ཁུ་ *PA.KHU* is used for both. The term འུ་པང་ /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: ཨ་ནེ་ *PA.NE*, ཨ་ཅེ་ *PA.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)** √ ནེ་ *NE* [PR] < CT. ཨ་ནེ་ *PA.NE* /ani/ (Ü, Am, Yol), ཨ་ཉི་ *PA.NYI* (Lho), ནེ་ནེ་ *NE.NE* (Pur, Ba) are found in nearly all the languages. Un Purik, ཏ་ནེ་ཚོ་ལོ་ *NE.NE CHO.GO* ‘big aunt’ and ཏ་ནེ་ཅུང་ཅོ་ *NE.NE CUNG.TSE* ‘little aunt’ are used respectively for ‘father’s elder sister and ‘father’s younger sister’. For the ‘intermediary’ uncles and aunts, the word བར་པ་ *BAR.PA* lit. ‘intermediary’ is attested (Pur). Note that in Central Tibet, the term ཨ་ནེ་ *PA.NE* also refers to nuns. In some dialects (Minyak Rabgang), ཨ་ལ་ *PA.LA* is used. A few languages do not distinguish ‘paternal aunt’ from ‘maternal aunt’, and thus may use the root \*ནེ་ *NE* for both meanings, or conversely may use the root \*སྟུ་ *SRU* ‘maternal aunt’ for both maternal and paternal aunts (see below). For example, Sherpa makes use of the word ཏ་ལུ་ *PA.LU* < CT ཨ་སྟུ་ *PA.SRU*, and some Amdo dialects use ཏ་ཨ་ཅེ་སྟུ་མོ་ *PA.CE SRU.MO*. Other roots are other found: ཨ་ཕྱི་ *PA.PHYI* /ashe/ (Th, Am) < CT ‘grandmother’ or ཨ་ཅེ་ *PA.CE* < CT ‘elder sister’.

**132. AUNT (MATERNAL)** √ སྟུ་ *SRU* [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. ཨ་སྟུ་ *PA.SRU* (Ts), སྟུ་མོ་ *SRU.MO* (Ü), ཏ་ས་སྟུ་ *MA.SRU* (Am) < lit. ‘mother maternal aunt’. Other roots are other found: ཨ་ཕྱི་ *PA.PHYI* /ashe/ (Th, Am), /achi/ (Ko) < CT ‘grandmother’, ཨ་མ་ *PA.MA* (Dz) < CT ‘mother’ and ཨ་ཅེ་ *PA.CE* (Am) or ཅེ་ཅེ་ *CE.CE* (Yol) < CT ‘elder sister’. The words ཏ་ཨ་ནེ་ *PA.NE* and ནེ་ནེ་ *NE.NE* < CT ‘paternal aunt’ are also used for ‘maternal aunt’ in Minyak Rabgang, Balti and Ladaks. The word ཨ་རྒན་ *PA.RGAN* lit. ‘(the) elder’ is used in some languages of Southern Kham. In a number of languages, compound words meaning ‘small mother’ are attested: ཏ་ཨ་མ་ཅུང་མ་ *PA.M.CUNG.M* (Dz), ཏ་ཨ་མ་ཅུང་ *PA.M.CUNG* (Lho), མ་ཅུང་ *MA.CHUNG* (Ba, La Tö, Sp), ཏ་ཨ་མོ་ཅུང་ཅོ་ *PA.MO*

*CUNG.TSE* (Ba), འུ་མ་ཙེ་ *PA.MA.TSE* (Pur). In most cases, this refers only to the mother's younger sister; the words, མ་ཆེན་ *MA.CHEN* (Sp, Tö), ཡུ་མ་ཆེན་ *PA.MO CHO.GO* (Ba, Pur) and ཡུ་མ་ཆེན་མོ་ *PA.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 their 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** ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ *KHYIM.TSHANG* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'house nest'. The variant ཁྱིམ་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', རྟ་ཚང་ *DUD.TSHANG* 'household, family' < CT lit. 'smoke nest'. Another root is also found: རྩ་ *NANG* < CT 'inside'; རྩ་ཚང་ *NANG.TSHANG* (La, Za) 'inside nest', རྩ་མི་ *NANG.MI* 'inside people' or ཟན་ཟོས་ *ZAN.ZOS* (Pur) lit. 'food eating (companion)'. The word འཁོར་བ་ *KHOR.BA* (Am: Sog) 'family' < CT 'circle' is also used.

**136. RELATIVE/COUSIN** གཉེན་ *GNYEN* [FFR] < CT, སྤྱན་ *SPUN*, འགཟུག་ *SHA.KHYAG* (Am) < CT 'flesh and blood'.

**137. GROUP OF FAMILIES** ཕ་སྤྱན་ *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 ལྷ་བོ་ *ZLA.BO* (Ü) < CT 'assistant, cooperator, friend, husband, wife' and some compound words such as མི་རྒྱལ་ *MI.ROGS* (Tö) 'human companion'; ཆོ་རྒྱལ་ *TSHE.ROGS* (Tö) 'life companion' (Tö, Kh, Ho); འདུག་རྒྱལ་ *DUG.ROGS* (Tö) 'staying companion'. Other words include མི་ *MI* or མྱི་ *MYI* (Kh, Ho, Am, Pur) < CT 'person, man'; མག་པ་ *MAG.PA* (Dz, La, Am, Pur) < CT 'groom'; བདག་པོ་ *BDAG.PO* < CT 'master'; ལྷ་ཁུ་ /ལུ:/ (Sp)



probably < CT ཨ་ཁུ་ *ʔA.KHU* ‘paternal uncle’; ཁྱེ་ག་ *KHYO.GA* (Ü, Ts, Yol, Sh) < CT ‘man’; ཁྱེ་པོ་ *RGAD.PO* (Kh, Am) < CT ‘old one’, རྟོ་སྤྱེ་ *HO.SKYE* (Am) < རོ་སྤྱེ་ *PHO.SKYE* ‘male’, སྤྱེ་པ་ *SKYE.PA* (Am). In Purik, ཨ་ཤི་པ་ *ʔA.SHI.PA* < ‘honor’ (Pur).

**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’: བྱ་མེད་ *BUD.MED* (Yol, etc.), བྱ་མྱེད་ *BUD.MYED* (Am, etc.), མོ་བྱ་ *MO.BUD* (Lho), བེ་མོ་ *BER.MI* (Sh), བེ་མོ་ *BEN.ME* (Jir), རག་མོ་ *NAG.MO*, རག་ཆགས་ *NAG.CHAGS*, སྤྱེ་དམན་ *SKYE.DMAN* (see WOMAN).
- b) One finds སྤྱེ་པོ་ *ZLA.BO* < CT ‘companion’, བཟའ་སྤྱེ་ *BZA’.ZLA* < CT ‘eating companion’, བཟའ་ཆར་ *BZA’.TSHANG* CT ‘eating nest’, བཟའ་མོ་ *ZAN.ZOS* (Ba) < CT ‘eating meal (together)’, བཟའ་ཆར་ *BZA’.TSHANG* CT ‘eating nest’, ཟམ་མོ་ *ZA.MA.MO* (Am) < CT ‘food + female’, གནས་མོ་ *GNAS.MO* < CT ‘hostess, mistress of the house’, འདུག་རྟོགས་ *DUG.ROG* (Kh) < ‘staying companion’, ཆོ་རྟོགས་ *TSHE.ROGS* (Kh) ‘life companion’
- c) ཨ་ཡིས་ *ʔA.YIS* < *ʔA.PHYI* ‘grandmother’ (Am), ཨ་ཅེ་ *ʔA.CE* or ཨ་ཅག་ *ʔA.CAG* ‘elder sister’ (Ü), ཨ་ནེ་ *ʔA.NE* ‘aunt’ (Pur), ཨམ་སྤྱེ་ *ʔAM.SRU* /ʔamsu/ (Dz) < \* ཨ་མ་སྤྱེ་མོ་ *ʔA.MA SRU.MO* lit. ‘mother aunt’, བྱ་སྤྱིང་ *BU.SRING* /bustring/ (Ba) < CT བྱ་མོ་སྤྱིང་ *BU.MO.SRING* ‘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 མནའ་མ་ *MNA’.MA* lit. ‘bride’ (La, Za, Dz) or རག་མ་ *BAG.MA* are also used as ‘wife’, ལྷམ་ *LCAM* ‘honorific for ‘wife’ in Ladaks.
- e) Finally, age is also at the origin of some words referring to ‘wife’: ཁྱེ་པོ་ *RGAN.MO* ‘old one’ or རྩེ་མ་ *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)** ཡུག་པོ་ *YUG.PO* < CT ཡུག་བ་ *YUG.ZA* (In Purik /yuksa/ and /yuksamo/ means somebody who has never been married), པོ་རྒྱུང་ *PHO.RGYANG* (Pur).
141. **WIDOW (FEMALE)** ཡུག་མོ་ *YUG.MO* < CT ཡུག་བ་མ་ *YUG.ZA.MA*, མོ་རྒྱུང་མོ་ *MO.RGYANG.MO* (Pur).
142. **TWINS** མཚེ་ *MTSHE* [PR] < CT མཚེ་ *MTSHE* (Am, SKh) མཚེ་མ་ *MTSHE.MA*; མཚེ་གུ་ *MTSHE.MA* /ts'eki/ (Am); མཚེ་ཕུག་ *MTSHE.PHRUG*. The term ཆོང་ཡ་ *TSHANG.YA* (Pur, Sham) < CT lit. 'match, equal in a nest'.
143. **ORPHAN** དྲ་ཕུག་ *DWA.PHRUG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Sp, Kh, Am) < CT. རྟོ་ཚེ་/totse/ (Pur), རྟོ་ཚེ་/tatse/ (La, Sham, Yol).
144. **MERCHANT** ཆོང་པ་ *TSHONG.PA* [PW] < CT lit. 'seller' [PW]. Other words are found marginally, such as ཆོང་རྟོན་ *TSHONG.DPON* 'chief of seller' and ཁེ་བ་ *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 ཞེམ་ཆེ་ *?EM.CHI* (La, Ü, Ts, Dz) borrowed from Mongolian; this word is quite frequent. The word ལྷ་རྟེ་ *LHA.RJE* < CT lit. 'divine lord' is used in Kham and Ladakh. More marginally, one also finds འལ་མ་ */alwa/* (Sp) or ལྷུང་འཚོ་ *DRUNG.TSHO* (Dz), འཚོ་བྱེད་ *TSHO.BYED* (Am) < CT lit. 'curer'. The English loanword 'doctor' is also frequently used in India and Nepal.
146. **FARMER** ཞིང་པ་ *ZHING.PA* [FFW] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT ཞིང་ *ZHING* 'field' with a suffix. Some languages of eastern Tibet use the word རོང་པ་ *RONG.PA* or རོང་བ་ *RONG.BA* /rongwa/ (Am, Kh) < CT རོང་ 'lower valley', followed by a suffix. Other more marginal terms are also used, including སོ་ནམ་པ་ *SO.NAM.PA* (La) < CT 'cultivator', འབྲུག་པ་ */zamindar/* (Ba) (< Pers.), འབྲུག་པ་ *SA.GYED.PA* (Ba, Pur), འབྲུག་པ་ *ZHING.BAD.PA* (La). Interestingly, the

word བོད་ས་ *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 ལྷ་སྐ་ས་ *SL.PA* (< Urd and Pers.) is used in Ladakh. The English loanword ‘military’ is also used in some areas.

**148. PASTORALIST/CATTLE BREEDER** འབྲོག་ས་ *'BROG.PA* [PW] < CT *'BROG* ‘remote place, uncultivated land’. This is pronounced in various ways: /brokpa/, /dɔkpa/, /<sup>m</sup>dɔqɣwa/, ལྷ་འབྲོག་ས་ /<sup>h</sup>jo:p/, etc. The word འབྲོག་ས་ *'BROG.PA* designates breeders of animals (yak, dzo, sheep, goats, etc.), who are traditionally nomads. Note that, in Balti and Purik, the word འབྲོག་ས་ *'BROG.PA* refers to ‘Broskat-speaking people’ (who speak an Indo-Aryan language) and is not related to pastoralism. Marginally, other words such as བྱང་ས་ *BYANG.PA* lit. ‘northern people’ (La), ཐང་ས་ *THANG.PA* (Ba) < CT lit. ‘people (from the high) plains’ are also found. རེ་བོ་ས་ *RE.BO.PA* (LJ) lit. ‘black tent people’. The word ར་རྩི་ *RA.RDZI* < CT lit. ‘goat herder’ is also used in Ladakh.

**149. AGROPASTORALIST** ས་མ་འབྲོག་ *SA.MA.'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), འབྲོག་མ་རོང་ *'BROG.MA.RONG* (Am), ཡུལ་མ་འབྲོག་ *YUL.MA.'BROG* (Kh), བོད་མ་འབྲོག་ *BOD.MA.'BROG* (Ts: Nyemo), ཞིང་མ་འབྲོག་ *ZHING.MA.'BROG* (Kh, Am), ཞིང་འབྲོག་མ་ *ZHING.'BROG.MA* (Kh), འབྲོག་ཞིང་ཁ་སྤྱད་ *'BROG.ZHING KHA.SPROD* (Kh: Lithang), ཞིང་ཕྱེད་འབྲོག་ཕྱེད་ *ZHING.PHYED.'BROG.PHYED*, རོང་ཕྱེད་འབྲོག་ཕྱེད་ *RONG.PHYED.'BROG.PHYED*. The compound words are made up of འབྲོག་ *'BROG* ‘pasture’, the negation *MA*, and various terms designating farmers: CT རོང་ *RONG* lit. ‘lower valleys, gorge’, ཞིང་ *ZHING* lit. ‘cultivated field’, ས་ *SA* ‘field, earth’, ཡུལ་ *YUL* ‘village’ and བོད་ *BOD*, which here refers to ‘(lower valleys of Central) Tibet’.

150. **SHEPHERD** རྩི་པོ་ *RDZI* [PR] < CT ‘to watch, to keep’. This is usually followed by a suffix, as in རྩི་པོ་ *RDZI.BO*, or appears as part of a compound: ལུག་རྩི་ *LUG.RDZI* ‘sheep shepherd’, རྩི་པོ་ *RA.RDZI* ‘goat shepherd’, རྩི་པོ་ *NOR.RDZI* ‘yak shepherd’, བཞོན་པ་ *BZHON.PA* (La, Pur) lit. milker (male), བཞོན་མ་ *BZHON.MA* lit. milker (female).
151. **CARPENTER** ཤིང་བཟོ་ *SHING.BZO* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT ‘wood craftsman’. ཤིང་མཁན་ *SHING.MKHAN* (Pur, La), lit. ‘wood expert’. Sometimes, བཟོ་ *BZO* ‘craftsman’ is used alone.
152. **BLACKSMITH** མགར་བ་ *MGAR.BA* [PW] < CT. This word is pronounced in various ways: /garba/ (Ba, Pur), /<sup>m</sup>gwara/ (Am), མགར་མ་ *MGARWA* /‘ga:u/ (Dz), /<sup>n</sup>gara/ (Ho, Kh), /‘gara/, /‘gara/ (Ü, Ts, Sh, etc.), etc. ལྷགས་རྩེ་མ་ *LCAGS.RDUNG MA* ‘iron beating’ and ལྷགས་བཟོ་ *LCAGS.BZO* ‘iron making’ are also attested. The Nepali loanword /kami/ is used in Nepal.
153. **CORPSE-CUTTER** ལྷོ་བས་ལྷན་ *STOBS.LDAN* (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘strong one’. The variant ལྷོ་གས་ལྷན་ *STOBS.LDAN* and the term རོ་རྒྱལ་པ་ *RO.RGYAB.PA* are also attested. Sky burial is 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** རྩོན་པ་ *RNGON.PA* [FFW] (Eastern regions) < CT. This noun is derived from CT རྩོན་ *RNGON* ‘to hunt’ or རི་དྲགས་རྩོན་ *RI.DWAGS.RNGON* ‘to hunt game’. Other words are also attested: ལིངས་པ་ *LINGS.PA* (La, Pur), ཁྱི་ར་བ་ *KHYI.RA.BA* (Tö) < CT, a term derived from the noun ཁྱི་ར་ *KHYI.RA* ‘hunting’, from ཁྱི་ *KHYI* ‘dog’, followed by a nominal suffix; in some Amdo dialects, འབུ་ཅི་ *BU’U CHI* < Chin is used. Some languages may form the noun ‘hunter’ with a compound of རི་དྲགས་ *RI.DWAGS* ‘game animal’ followed by a lexical verb or light verb: བདཱ་ *BDA* ‘follow’, བཏང་ *BTANG* LV, འཚོར་བ་ *’CHOR* ‘hunt’, བསད་ *BSAD* ‘to kill’. The compound ག་བདཱ་ *SHWABDA* lit. ‘follow-deer’ is also attested.
155. **COOK** མ་བྱན་ *MA.BYAN* or མ་ཆེན་ *MA.CHEN* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT. ཇ་མ་ *JA.MA* (Am) < CT lit. ‘tea maker (female)’; འབ་ཆེང་པ་ *THAB.TSHANGP* (Dz), lit. ‘kitchen-er’ (like French ‘cuisinier’), ཟ་མ་ལས་མཁན་ *ZA.MA LAS.MKHAN*, ཟན་བཟོ་ *ZAN.BZO* lit. ‘meal maker’ (SKh). འཚ་རྩི་སྒྲུ་མཁན་ *KHAR.JI SKOL.MKHAN* ‘meal cooker’ (La),

◊ ཟན་ཚུ་སྒོལ་མཁན་ *ZAN.CHU SKOL.MKHAN* (Pur) ‘boiler of water (for the) meal’.  
 ◊ གཡོས་སྒོལ་ *G.YOS.SKOL* (Am), ◊ གསོལ་ཐབ་ *GSOL.THAB* (Am). The loanword ◊ ཧ་  
 སི་རི་པ་ *HA.SI.RI.PA* is found in Balti.

**156. MUSICIAN** རོལ་མོ་བ་ *ROL.MO.BA* (CT), རོལ་ཆ་བ་ *ROL.CHAB.A* (CT), རོལ་དབྱངས་  
 བ་ *ROL.DBYANGS.BA*, སྤྲ་ཆ་བཏང་མཁན་ *SBA.CHABTANG.MKHAN* (Ü, Ts). In Ladakh,  
 a caste of itinerant musicians is called མོན་ Mon or འབེ་ད་ Beda *BE.DA*.

**157. HERO** དཔལ་པོ་ *DPA'.BO* [PW] < CT. The syllable དཔལ་ *DPA'* is found in SKh.  
 Other compounds are also attested, such as དཔལ་རྩོད་ *DPA'RGOD* ‘strong/wild  
 hero’. The compounds བྱ་རྩོད་ *BU.RGOD* ‘wild boy, strong boy’ and མྱི་རྩོད་  
*MYI.RGOD* ‘wild man, strong man’ are found. ཁྲམ་པ་ *KHRAM.PA* (Pur) is attested.

**158. HEROINE** དཔལ་མོ་ *DPA'.MO* [PW] < CT.

**159. TRANSLATOR** སྐད་སྒྱུར་ *SKAD.SGYUR* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Dz, Sh, Kh,  
 Am) < CT lit. ‘to change language’. The word ལོ་ཙ་བ་ *LO.TSA.BA* < Skt. *locchava*  
 lit. ‘eye of the world’, which was used to designate Tibetan translators of canonical  
 texts, is also attested. In Purik, སྐད་ཤེས་ *SKAD.SHES* is found. In the eastern area, a  
 Chinese loan ཐོང་སི་ /t'ongsa/ < Chin. 通事 *tongshi* ‘interpreter’ is also used.

**160. EXPERT** མཁས་པ་ *MKHAS.PA* [PW] < CT. མཁས་པ་ *MKHAS.PA* /k'aspa/ (La),  
 /k'efa/ (Za), མཁའ་ཕྱ་ /k'amu/ (Sh), མཁས་པ་ *MKHASP* /-k'ä:p/ (Dz), མཁས་བ་  
*MKHAS.BA* /m'k'(w)iwa/ (Am). Marginally other words are found: འབྱང་པ་  
*BYANG.PA* (Am) < CT ‘to assimilate completely, to know’ and བྱང་ཚུབ་པ་  
*BYANG.CHUB.PA* < CT ‘expert, enlightened’ are also attested. In Purik the form  
 ལག་ཤེས་ *LAG.SHES* (Pur) < CT lit. ‘hand knowledge’ is found.

**161. BEGGAR** √ སྒྲོང་ *SPRANG* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Lho, Sh, etc.) < CT. This is usually  
 followed by a suffix: སྒྲོང་པོ་ *SPRANG.PO*, སྒྲོང་པུ་ *SPE.RANG.PU* /perangpu/ (Sh),  
 སྒྲོང་ཀ་ *SPYANG.KA* /-p'čangka/ (Dz), སྒྲོང་སྒྲོང་ *SPYANG.SLONG* /-pyanglong/  
 (Lho), སྒྲོང་གོ་ *SPANG.GO* /-panggo/ (Ü). The root སྒྲོང་ *SLONG/SLANG* ‘to beg’ is  
 found in various dialects in forms such as སྒྲོང་མཁན་ *SLONG.MKHAN* (Ts, Tö) and  
 སྒྲོང་མཁན་ *SLANG.MKHAN* /ltsangk'an/ (Pur, La) < CT lit. ‘one who begs’, as well  
 as as the compound words སྒྲོང་སྒྲོང་ *SPRANG.SLONG* (Ts, Kh), ལྷོ་སྒྲོང་ *LTO.SLONG*  
 (Ko), ཟས་སྒྲོང་ *ZAS.SLONG* ‘to beg (for) food’. The word སྒྲུ་མི་ *SKRU.MI* < CT སྒྲུ་མ་

*SKRU.MA* ‘beggar’ is used in Kham. In some areas, the word refers to the supposed geographic origin of beggars: *ཁམས་པ་* *KHAMS.PA* ‘Kham-pa’ in Kongpo, *རྒྱ་སྤང་* *RGYA.SPRANG* ‘Chinese beggar’ in Amdo and *ཨ་མདོ་སྤང་གོ་* *PA.MDO SPANG.GO* (Ü) lit. ‘Amdo beggar’ in Central Tibet. The word *ཨ་རོགས་* *A.ROGS* (Ko) refers to the greeting ‘Hey friend!’ used by beggars; *ཨ་སྐྱོ་བ་* *PA.SKYO.BA* (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** *རྒྱ་སྤང་* *RKUN.MA* [PW] < CT. Derived from the verb *རྒྱ་* *RKU* ‘to steal’. *རྒྱ་སྤང་* *RKU.MA* (Ü, Ts) is used in many areas. The form *རྒྱ་སྤང་* *RKUN.PA* is attested in Balti and *རྒྱ་མེན་* *RKU.MEN* in Yolmo. In Dzongkha, a word /aw/ derived from *འར་པ་* *AR-PA* lit. ‘bandit’ is used. The compound form *འར་ཇག་* *AR.JAG* is also attested.
- 163. ROBBER** *ཇག་པ་* *JAG.PA* [PW] < CT. Other words are also attested, e.g. *འོ་སྐྱོག་མཁན་* *RKOG.MKHAN* < CT *ལྟོག་* *LKOG* ‘do something secretly’, *འཕྲོག་མི་* *PHROG.MI* < CT *འཕྲོག་* *PHROG* ‘take by force’. *དག་ཇག་* *DGRA.JAG* and *ཁམས་པ་* *KHRAM.PA* are also used. Robbery was traditionally practiced in some pastoralist areas of Amdo and Kham.
- 164. PATIENT** *ནད་པ་* *NAD.PA* [PW] < CT. This is derived from the nominal form *ནད་* *NAD* of the verb *ན་* *NA* ‘to be sick’, followed by a suffix *PA*. It is pronounced *ནད་པ་* /natpa/ (La, Pur, Am), /nä:pa/ (Ü, Ts), *ནད་པུ་* /‘nepu/ (Sh), *ནད་པ་* /\_nep/ (Dz). In Southern Kham and the Eastern area, words derived from *ཁོལ་* *KHOL* ‘to boil, be sick’ are used, e.g. *ཁོལ་ནད་* *KHOL.NAD*.
- 165. FRIEND** *གྲོགས་* *GROGS* or *རོགས་* *ROGS* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Lho, Am, Dz, Yol, etc.) < CT related to the verb *འགྲོགས་* *GROGS* ‘to accompany’. *གྲོགས་* *GROGS* (La), *གྲོགས་པོ་* *GROGS.PO* (Ü); *གྲོགས་ཀྱ་* *GROGS.KU* (Lho); *གྲོགས་མོ་* *GROGS.MO* (Ü) ‘female friend’; *རོགས་* *ROGS* (Kh) and *འོ་རོགས་ཀྱ་* *ROGS.HWA* (Am) < CT *རོགས་པ་*; *བུ་ཚ་རོགས་* *BU.TSHA.ROGS* ‘male friend’ (Kh), *བུ་མོ་རོགས་* *BU.MO.ROGS* ‘female friend’ (Kh); *ཆ་རོགས་* *CHA.ROGS* (Dz). Other words are also attested: *ཤག་པོ་* *SHAG.PO* (Kh) < CT ‘cell, room’ lit. ‘room mate’. The CT root *མཛེལ་* *MDZA* is also attested: *འོ་ཁྲུལ་* *ZLAL.MDZA* /dalza/ (Sh) < CT *ཁྲུལ་* *ZLA* ‘companion’ + *མཛེལ་* *MDZA* ‘friend’;

མཛེའ་བོ་ *MDZA'.BO* /dzawo, dzago/ (La), མཛེའ་མོ་ *MDZA'.MO* /dzamo/ 'female friend' (La). The words བཟང་ས་ *BZANG.SA* (Am) < CT lit. 'excellent person', བཟང་ས་མ་ *BZANG.SA.MA* or བཟང་ས་རྒྱན་ས་ *BZANG.SARGYAN.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. རྒྱ་མཁན་ *RG.A.MKHAN* (Ba) < CT lit. 'loving one' is also attested. ཨ་ཙོ་ནོ་ *PA.CHO.NO* < CT lit. 'elder (and) younger brother' is used in Purik. The word ལུ་ལིག་ /ulik/ was also used in Purik and is still heard in traditional songs. Nowadays, the word *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 འགྲོ་རོགས་ 'GYO.ROGS /joroχ/ (Am) < འགྲོ་རོགས་ 'GYO.ROGS is also used in Amdo for 'companion'. The word རོགས་མོ་ *ROGS.MO* 'female companion, lover' is also found in some languages. In northern Amdo, རོགས་པ་ *ROGS.PA* and འགྲོ་གས་ བཟང་ 'GROGS.BZANG often means 'girlfriend' or 'boyfriend'. The forms ཨ་རོགས་ *A.ROGS* and ཨ་རོགས་མ་ *A.ROGS.MA* are also attested for 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend'. ཡ་ཏོ་ *YA.TO* (La, Pur, Sp) is frequent in Western languages. རྩོ་པ་ *PHRO.PA* is used all over Ladakh.

**167. ENEMY** དག་ *DGRA* [PR] < CT. དག་ *DGRA*, དག་བོ་ *DGRA.BO* (Ts, La, etc.). འགྲོ་ཡ་ *DGYA.YA* (Am). In Balti the form རྒྱ་ *RG.A* (Ba) may correspond either to the loss of the postinitial *R* or to a metathesis of *G* and *R*. One also finds མི་དག་མཁན་ *MI.DGA'.MKHAN* (Ba, Pur, La) < CT lit. 'non-loving one'. The loanword *dushman* < Urd. And Pers. is also heard in Ladakh.

**168. KING** རྒྱལ་པོ་ *RGYAL.PO* [PW] < CT. alt. རྒྱལ་བོ་ *RGYAL.BO*. *Pasha* is also used in Purik.

**169. QUEEN** རྒྱལ་མོ་ *RGYAL.MO* [PW] < CT. In some Amdo dialects, this word is pronounced /<sup>r</sup>jalmo/ as opposed to /<sup>r</sup>jawo/ 'king'.

**170. ARISTOCRAT** སྐུ་རྒྱ་ག་ *SKU.DRAG* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, La, etc.) < CT.

171. **OFFICIAL** རྒྱ་ཤོས་ *DRAG.SHOS* (Dz) < རྒྱ་ *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་སྲིད་ *SDE.SRID*, རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ *RGYAL.TSHAB*.
173. **ZHABDRUNG** ཞབས་བླ་མ་ < 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, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Yol). In Amdo དཔོན་ *DPON* (pronounced /xwon/) 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 thangkha painters have a high status in the Tibetan societies. In a marginal way, other forms are attested for ‘chief’: ཏཱ་ཁ་འགོ་ *KHA.’GO*, ཏཱ་ཁ་འགོ་ *KHA.’PHRO*. In Purik, ཏཱ་སར་གོ་རོ་ /sargoro/ (< Pers.) is used.
175. **REPRESENTATIVE** ཚབ་ *TSHAB* [PR] < CT. ཚབ་པོ་ *TSHAB.PO*, རོ་ཚབ་ *NGO.TSHAB*. The honorific form is also widespread: སྐུ་ཚབ་ *SKU.TSHAB*. Some languages have loanwords.
176. **VILLAGE LEADER** འགོ་པ་ *’GO.PA* [PW] < CT. alt.forms འགོ་པ་ *’GO.BA* (Am). In Dzongkha རྒྱལ་པ་ *RGASP* /ˈge:p/ lit. ‘elder’ is used for ‘village head’ whereas འགོ་པ་ refers to a ‘military rank’. Some languages also use འགོ་འཁྲིད་ *’GO.KHRID* < CT ‘leader’, lit. ‘head leading’. ཏཱ་མོ་དཔལ་ *Mokhdam* < Pers < Arab is used in Balti and Purik. See also CHIEF.
177. **TEACHER** དགེ་རྒན་ *DGE.RGAN* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ‘old virtuous (one)’. The honorific form is རྒན་ལགས་ *RGAN.LAGS*. In some dialects, this word is replaced by another compound སྐྱབ་དཔོན་ *SLOB.DPON* ‘master of teachings’ (Dz, La, Sharkhok, Yol, etc.), སྐྱབ་སའ་ན་ *SLAB.MKHAN* /ltsap-k’an/ (Ba, Pur) ‘one who teaches’. In some Kham dialects, ཏཱ་ལོ་སི་ *LA’O SI*, a loanword from the Chinese 老师 *laoshi*, has been used, whereas in the Himalaya, the Indian ཏཱ་ཁུ་ *guru*, the Persian ཏཱ་ཁུ་ *ustad* and the English ཏཱ་ཁུ་ *teacher* and *master* have sometimes been borrowed. In Sangdam (Myanmar), the word ས་ར་ *S.ARA* /s’əra:/



has been borrowed from Burmese. In Purik མུན་ཤི་ *MUN.SHI* ‘teacher’ is used for respectful address as རྒྱ་ལགས་ *RGAN.LAGS* in Central Tibet

- 178. CIVIL SERVANT/GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE** ལས་བྱེད་པ་ *LAS.BYED.PA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Ko, Tö, Am, Kh), གཞུང་ཞབས་ *GZHUNG ZHABS* 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 མུ་ལཱ་ཟིམ་ *MU.LA.ZIM* < Hindi–Urdu < Arab.
- 179. WORKER** བཟོ་བ་ *BZO.PA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts), བཟོ་བ་ *BZO.BA* (Am) < CT. བཟོ་ *BZO* ‘make’. Another root ལས་ *LAS* ‘work’ has produced many words, such as: ལས་མི་ *LAS.MI* (La, Pur) ‘workman’, གླེ་པ་ *GLA.PA*, ལས་བྱེད་མི་ *LAS.BYED.MI*, ‘one who works’. In the modern Tibetan administration (Am, Kh, Ü, Ts, etc.), the term ལས་བྱེད་པ་ *LAS.BYED.PA* means ‘cadre, clerk, staff member’.
- 180. PAINTER** (thangkha painter) ལྷ་བློ་བ་ *LHA.BRIS.PA* (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘deity painter’, ལྷ་རིས་མཁས་པ་ *LHA.RIS.MKHAS.PA* (Yol), གཤམ་པ་ *GA'.PA* (Sh) < CT མཁས་པ་ *MKHAS.PA* ‘expert’, ལྷ་བཟོ་བ་ *LHA.BZO.BA* (Am) < CT ‘deity maker’. In Ladaks and Purik རོཝོན་ *DPON* (pronounced /ˈpon/) is used for ‘master, artist painter’.
- 181. TAILOR** འཛེས་བྱ་བ་ *TSHEM.BU.BA* [PW] < CT འཛེས་ *TSHEM* ‘to sew’. The loanword ཇེ་ལམ་ *HE.LAM* is used in Balti. In the Eastern section and Amdo, the word བཟོ་བ་ *BZO.BA* is used. See WORKER. The Nepali loanword ཇ་མེ་ *DA.ME* is used in some languages of the southern Himalayas.
- 182. BUTCHER** ཤམ་པ་ *SHAN.PA* [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, etc.) < CT cognate with བཤམ་པ་ *BSHA'.BA* ‘to slaughter’ and ཤམ་ *SHA* ‘meat’. In some areas, this word may also mean ‘bloodthirsty’ or ‘great meat-eater’. In Yunnan, the term ཕག་བཤམ་ *PHAG.BSHA* ‘pig slaughter’ is widespread. ཤམ་ལས་བཟོ་མཁན་ /shablas tangk'an/ (Pur) lit. ‘person working with meat’, ཤམ་ཚོང་པ་ /shapt's ongpa/ (La, Pur) lit. ‘meat-seller’ are also attested.
- 183. LAY PERSON** མི་སྒྱུ་ *MI.SKYA* [FFW] (Ü Ts, Am, etc.) < CT ‘gray person’. སྒྱ་བོ་ *SKYA.BO* lit. ‘gray’ (La). མི་ནག་ *MI.NAG* lit. ‘black person’.

184. **BLIND PERSON** ཞར་བ་ *ZHAR.BA* [PW] < CT ‘one-eyed, blind in one eye’, often used in the compound མིག་ཞར་བ་ *MIG ZHAR.BA*. In some languages, ཏ ཞར་ལོག་ *ZHAR.KHOG* (Ü, La, Am), ལོང་བ་ *LONG.BA* (La, Hor) < CT ‘blind’ is used together with ‘eye’: མྱིག་ལོང་ *MYIG.LONG* (Kh). ཏ མྱིག་དཀར་ *MYIG.DKAR* ‘white eye’ is also attested in many southern Kham dialects. Also དམུས་ལོང་ *DMUS.LONG* (Am) < CT ‘blind’
185. **DEAF PERSON** འོན་པ་ *’ON.PA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz, Jir, etc.) < CT ‘deaf or its variant ཏ ཡོན་པ་ *YON.PA* (Hor). In some languages (Kh), it is used with ‘ear’: རྩ་འོན་ *RNA. ’ON* lit. ‘ear deaf’ and རྩ་ལོང་ *RNA.LONG* ‘ear blind’. The feminine form is also found འོན་མ་ *’ON.MA* (e.g. Jir). The word ཏ བན་བེན་ *BAN.BEN* is used in Balti and རྒྱུད་ *RGUD* /yut/ (La, Ba) < CT རྒྱུད་ *RGUD* ‘to decline, to be weak’ (Norman 2019).
186. **IDIOT/FOOL** ལྷགས་པ་ *LKUGS.PA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz, Sh, etc.) < CT ‘mute, stupid, idiot’. གླེན་ *GLEN* [FFR] < CT ‘stupid’: གླེན་པ་ *GLEN.PA* གླེན་མ་ *GLEN.MA* (Kh, Ba, La, etc.), ཏ གློ་བོ་ /lu:/ (Am), ཏ ལྷན་རྩོལ་ *KLAD.RDOL* lit. ‘punctured brain’, ཏ ཉན་ལྷང་ *HAN.LDANG* (La, Pur, Za).
187. **MADMAN/CRAZY PERSON/LUNATIC** ལྷོན་པ་ *SMYON.PA* [PW] < CT a nominal form of the verb ལྷོན་ *SMYO* ‘to be crazy’. The words ལྷོན་མ་ *SMYON.MA* and ལྷོན་མོ་ *SMYON.MO* are also heard for the feminine form. Marginally, other roots are found, such as Balti ཏ ལྷན་བུད་ *KLAD.BUD* (Ba) < CT lit. ‘out of the brain’, ཏ ལྷན་ཞིག་ *LDAD.ZHIG* (Pur) < CT *KLAD.ZHIG* lit. ‘destroyed brain’. ཏ འཚོལ་ལོང་ *’CHO.LONG* ‘confused’ (Dz, Pur).
188. **MUTE** ལྷགས་པ་ *LKUGS.PA* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Dz, Sh, etc.) < CT; see also IDIOT/FOOL. Also found are ཏ ངག་མེད་ *NGAG.MED* < CT lit. ‘without speech’, ཏ རྩན་རིག་ *RKAN.RDIG* (Pur) < CT lit. ‘stuttering palate’, ཏ ལྷེ་ཁད་ *LCE.KHVAD* /<sup>h</sup>ce xat/ ‘sticky tongue’ (Ba), ཏ ཉན་ལྷང་ *HAN.LDANG* (La), ཏ གློ་བོ་ /lu:/ (Am).
189. **PRISONER** བཅོན་པ་ *BTSON.PA* [PW] < CT. Alt. form བཅོན་བ་ *BTSON.BA*, བཅོན་མ་ *BTSONMA* /tsöm/ (Dz). In a few Amdo dialects, alternative words such as ཁྲིམས་པ་ *KHRIMS.PA* (Am: Ng) derived from ཁྲིམས་ *KHRIMS* ‘law’ and ལོ་ཁེ་བ་ /lok’ewa/ 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 སྤྱིན་བདག་ *SBYIN.BDAG* ‘sponsor, benefactor’ < CT lit. ‘donor, sponsor’ is also widespread. ཏཱ་ཤེ་པ་ *PA.SHL.PA* (Pur) is also attested. The Chinese and Urdu loanwords ཏཱ་ལོ་པ་ *laoban* and ཏཱ་ལི་པ་ *malik* are also used.
- 191. GUEST** √ མགོན་ *MGRON* [PR] < CT མགོན་ *MGRON* ‘feast, banquet’ usually followed by a suffix: མགོན་པོ་ *MGRON.PO* (Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Ü, Ts, Kh, etc.). Other suffixes are attested: མགོན་པ་ *MGRON.PA* (Ba), ཏཱ་མགོན་པ་ *MGRONM* / ‘göm/ (Dz). In Amdo, Cone (E) and Kham, the word འགྲུལ་བ་ *GRUL.BA* < CT lit. ‘traveler’ is frequent in this sense.
- 192. TRAVELER** འགྲུལ་པ་ *GRUL.PA* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Hor, Kh, etc.) < CT འགྲུལ་ *GRUL* ‘to travel’, འགྲུལ་མི་ *GRUL.MI* (Yol, La). The word བེས་པ་ *BES.PA* (La, Pur, Ba) is also attested < CT བེས་པ་ *BYES.PA*. Note that in some dialects in eastern Tibet, this word also means ‘guest’; see GUEST.
- 193. SERVANT** √ གཞོན་པ་ *G.YOG* [PR] < CT. Usually followed by a suffix: གཞོན་པོ་ *G.YOG.PO* (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, La, Ba, etc.); the form གཞོན་མོ་ *G.YOG.MO* ‘female servant’ is also attested in some languages. ལག་གཞོན་པ་ *LAG.G.YOG* (Pur) is also used.
- 194. ANGER** སྔོ་ *SPRO* [FFW] (La, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT. The word སྔོ་ *SPRO* < CT ‘wrath’ is pronounced in various ways: as སྔོ་ / ʈo/ (Kh), ཏཱ་སྔོ་ / rpo/, /xwo/, /fo/ (Am) and the variant ཏཱ་སྔོ་ *SRO* / ʂo/ (Am, La, Za). The word ཁྲོ་ *KHRO* / ཁྲོས་ *KHROS* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La) < CT and the compound ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ *KHONG.KHRO* (Ü, Ts, Lho), is also frequently found. In Balti, ཁྲོས་ *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: ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ལང་ *KHONG.KHRO LANG* ‘to get angry’, སྔོ་ལང་ *SPRO LANG* ‘to get angry’. The word རྩིག་པ་ *TSHIG.PA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT verb *TSHIG* ‘to burn’ is related to the metaphor of ‘burning inside’. It is found in other areas as ཏཱ་རྩིག་པ་ *TSHIG.GA* (E: Th) (In Amdo *TSHIG.GA* corresponds to a mild anger, whereas སྔོ་ལང་ *SPRO LANG* ‘to get angry’ corresponds to a stronger anger), ཏཱ་རྩིག་པོ་ *RTSIGP* / tsi:p/ (Dz), ཏཱ་རྩིག་པོ་ *RTSIG.KO* (Lho). The form is often used in the

compound verb: ཚོག་པ་ཟ་ *TSHIG.PAZA* ‘to be angry’, lit. ‘to eat fire’. The verb འབར་ *’BAR* ‘to be angry’ < CT ‘to burn’ is also used in Amdo. In southern Kham, the compound word གླིང་ཁ་ *SNYING KHA* < CT *SNYING* ‘heart’ + *KHA* ‘bitter’ is widely used. The word གཤ་ */xa/* ཁ་ཅན་ */xačan/* is found in Balti and Purik. In the expression */xa ong-nget/* ‘is getting angry’, */xa/* is probably derived from CT ཁ་ཁྱིག་ *KHA (TIG)* ཁ་ཤོ་ *KHA (PO)* ‘bitter’. Another word གར་ *NGAR* < CT ‘vigor, intensity’ is attested in Northern Kham and Hor: གར་ལང་ *NGAR.LANG* ‘to get angry’. Other ways to express ‘anger’ are related to air: རླུང་ལང་ *RLUNG LANG* ‘to get angry (Ü) < lit. ‘air is rising’, གློ་བ་ཁ་ *GLO.BA KHA* /<sup>h</sup>loa k’a/ ‘lungs are out’ (Pur). Note also that Purik uses གླིང་དབུགས་ *SNYING DBUGS* /snyingsbuds/ [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’; སྤོ་ *SRO* < ‘to warmed by fire/the sun’; ཁྲོ་ *KHRO* < ‘cauldron’; ཚོག་ *TSHIG* < ‘to burn’ (smth. burning), འབར་ *’BAR* < ‘to burn’ (fire burning).

195. **DISEASE/SICKNESS** ནད་ *NAD* [FFR] (La, Ba, Lho), ན་ཚ་ *NA.TSHA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Kh, Am) < CT, ནད་ཚད་ *NAD.TSHAD* (Pur) < CT verb ན་ *NA* ‘to be ill, sick’. The second syllable ཚ་ *TSHA* or ཚད་ *TSHAD* originally means ‘heat/hot or burning acute pain’. ཟུར་མོ་ *ZUR.MO* (La, Za) is also attested in Western languages. See also ‘to be sick’ in the verb section.
196. **FEVER** ཚ་ *TSHA*/ཚད་ནད་ *TSHAD.NAD* [FFW] (Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz, Ba, La, Jir, etc.) < CT ‘heat, fever’: ཚ་ *TSHA* (Kh) ཚ་བ་ *TSHA.BA* (Ü, Yol); ཚད་པ་ *TSHAD.PA*.
197. **COLD/INFLUENZA** ཆས་པ་ *CHAM.PA* [PW] < CT. གཞུག་ *’KHYAG* < CT ‘cold’; གྲང་ *GRANG* < CT ‘cold’; In Amdo, a compound word is attested རྩོས་འཁྱག་ *DROS. ’KHYAG* < CT ‘warm–cold’. A few compounds are frequently heard: འགྲོས་ཆས་ *’GOS.CHAM* ‘epidemic cold’, ལྷ་ཆས་ *SNA.CHAM* ‘nose cold’, རིམས་ཆས་ *RIMS.CHAM* ‘influenza, flu’, འགྲུལ་ཆས་ *’GUL.CHAM* ‘cold (H)’.
198. **HOPE** རེ་བ་ *RE.BA* [PW] < CT. གེ་ཆ་ *RE.CHA* is found in Lhoke. གཏུང་ *GDYANG* (Ba) < CT གདེང་ *GDENG* ‘trust’, གཏུང་མ་ *GDYANG.MA* (Pur). In the

southern Himalayas (Yol, Jir) the loanword ཨ་སི་ /as/ is used (from Hindi आशा /asya/).

199. SELF རང་ *RANG* [PW] < CT. In some Southern Kham dialects, the words རང་རང་ *NGA.RANG* < CT ‘myself’, འུ་རང་ *’U.RANG* < CT ‘ourself’ and even རང་ *NGA* are used for ‘self’.

### RELIGION and SPIRITUALITY

200. RELIGION ཆོས་ *CHOS* [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་ *CHOS* [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 སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ *SANGS.RGYAS.PA’I CHOS.LUGS* [PW] < CT lit. ‘Buddhists’ religion’. Also རྣམ་པའི་ཆོས་ *NANG.PA’I CHOS* < CT lit. ‘dharma of insiders’, opposed to བྱི་པའི་ཆོས་ *PHYI.PA’I CHOS* < CT lit. ‘dharma of outsiders’ referring to religions other than Buddhism.

203. BÖN RELIGION བོན་ *BON* [PW] < CT.

204. ISLAM ཁ་ཆེའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ *KHA CHE’I CHOS.LUGS* [FFW]

205. CHRISTIANITY ཡེ་ཤུའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ *YE.SHU’I CHOS.LUGS* [FFW]

206. HINDUISM ཉིན་དུའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ *HIN.DU’I CHOS.LUGS* [FFW]

207. DOCTRINE, VIEW ལྟ་བ་ *LTA.BA* [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, E, Am) < CT ལྟ་ *LTA* ‘to look at’.

**208. BELIEF (FAITH)** རྟོག་པ་ *DAD.PA* [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, E, Am) < CT The word གཤེད་པ་ *GDENG.PA* is also found in Kham. See TRUST, འགྱུང་ *GDYANG* /rdyang/ (Pur).

**209. DEITY (MALE)/GOD** ལྷ་ *LHA* [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 Bön 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 ལོ་ན་ /xoda/ 'Lord, God', derived from the Persian خدا /xodâ/, is used in Balti and Purik. It appears in some texts such as the Khache Palu, spelt གོ་བད་ *GO.BRDA*. In Eastern Tibet, Christians sometimes refer to Jesus as ལྷ་ *LHA* 'deity'. The word དཀོན་མཆོག་ *DKON.MCHOG* 'jewel' < CT 'rare and supreme' or གནས་གྱི་བདག་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་ *LHA.MO* [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 གཞི་བདག་ *BZHI.BDAG* < CT 'lord of the soil'. Another form རི་བདག་ *RI.BDAG* 'mountain deity' is also attested; this might have arisen through phonetic confusion with གཞི་བདག་ *BZHI.BDAG*. Each deity has a *LHA.BDAG* 'guardian of the deity' (La, Za) < CT. In some areas, the word and the concept might be absent.

**212. GHOST** འདྲེ་ *'DRE* [PR] < CT. Many compound words are also attested ལྷ་འདྲེ་ *LHA.'DRE* (SKh, La) < CT 'deity ghost'; ལྷ་གས་འདྲེ་ *SNGAGS.'DRE* (SKh) < CT 'mantra ghost', ཤི་འདྲེ་ *SHI.'DRE* (La); གདུག་འདྲེ་ *GDUG.'DRE* /donde/ (Central) < CT 'poisonous, malevolent ghost', གདོན་འདྲེ་ *GDON.'DRE*. In some areas (e.g., Amdo), other words such as བདུད་ *BDUD* < CT 'demon' are attested. In Southern Kham, the word འདྲེ་ *'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, Ü, 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་ *SANGS* ‘awakened’ and རྒྱས་ *RGYAS* ‘expanded’. A few rare languages use other words instead of སངས་རྒྱས་ *SANGS.RGYAS*, such as ཨ་ལྷ་ /ʔa<sup>h</sup>la/ (E: Čone), ལྷ་ *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 སྐུ་ *SKU* ‘statue’.
215. **SAMSĀRA** འཁོར་བ་ *'KHOR.BA* [PW] < CT. This word for ‘saṃsāra’, referring to the cycle of existence, is derived from the verb འཁོར་ *'KHOR* ‘to spin’.
216. **KARMA** ལས་ *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** ལྷ་མ་ *BLAMA* [PW] < CT. In some dialects, especially in southern Kham, this word also designates a ‘reincarnated lama’.
218. **REINCARNATED LAMA, TRULKU** སྐུ་ལྷ་ *SPRUL.SKU* [PW] < CT ‘Emanation body’ < Skt. nirmāṇakāya. This is pronounced /tulku/ (Sp, Tö, Ts) འཇུ་ལྷ་ /sulsku/ (La) and /sul'u/ (Za) in some Western languages. In Amdo the word ཨ་ལགས་ *ʔA.LAGS* is often used instead of སྐུ་ལྷ་ *SPRUL.SKU*.
219. **ABBOT** མཁན་པོ་ *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** གྲལ་པ་ *GRWA.PA* [FFW] (La, Za, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, etc.) < CT lit. གྲལ་ *GRWA* ‘college, section’ + nominal suffix. The word དགེ་སློང་ *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 ཨ་ཁུ་ *ʔA.KHU* (Am, Kh, E) < CT ‘paternal uncle’ is used in several Eastern languages while ཨ་ཙམ་ *ʔA.ZHAM* < CT ‘maternal uncle’ is used as an address in Ladakh. མེ་མེ་ལཱ་ *ME.ME.LA* lit. ‘grandfather’ is attested in the Nubra

region. 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་རེ་ *BAN.DE* is also used; this ultimately comes from the Sanskrit and Pali *वन्दे vande* or *bande* ‘venerable’, (lit. ‘I praise’, an address term for ‘monk’). This ‘bande’ should not to be confused with another loanword བན་ཏི་ཏ་ *PAN.DITA* ‘Pandit’, which means ‘expert, scholar’; derived from this in turn is the word བན་ཆེན་ *PAN.CHEN* ‘great pandit’, often used in the compound བན་ཆེན་བླ་མ་ *PAN.CHEN BLA.MA*. In some regions (Ladakh, Nepal, etc.), the word བླ་མ་ *BLA.MA* ‘lama’ may also convey the meaning of ‘monk’. The literary word དགེ་འདུན་པ་ *DGE, DUN.PA* < CT ‘(person) longing for virtue’ may be marginally used in the spoken languages.

**221. NUN** ཇོ་མོ་ *JO.MO* [PW] < CT ‘noblewoman, lady’. In some areas, the compound ཡ་ནེ་ཇོ་མོ་ *YA.NE JO.MO* ‘aunt nun’ or simply ཡ་ནེ་ *YA.NE* ‘aunt’ (Ü, Ts) is used; རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ *RJE.BTSUN.MA* ‘reverend lady’ is found in Dechen (Kh). In some areas, the term མཁའ་འགྲོ་ *MKHA’.*GRO ‘dākinī’ may also be used for ‘nun’. ཆོས་མཛད་ *CHOS.MDZAD* is the honorific form in Ladakh (Norman 2019).

**222. MONASTERY STEWARD, KEY-HOLDER** དགོན་གཙུག་ *DKON.GNYER* [PW] < CT. དགོན་གཙུག་ *DGON.GNYER*

**223. TANTRIC PRIEST, NGAGPA** ལྷགས་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 ལྷགས་ *SNGAGS* ‘mantra’ is cognate with the root *NGAG* ‘speech’. Note that in Balti ལྷགས་ *SNGAGS* means ‘to hypnotize using the voice/sound’ (as with snakes). In Amdo, the word for ‘tantric priest’ is རོ་མོ་ */xwon/* derived from CT དཔོན་ *DPON* ‘chief, leader’. The variant ཡ་ལུ་ དཔོན་ *PA.KHU DPON* is also attested. In Yunnan, the term མཚམས་པ་ *MTSHAMS.PA* ‘hermit, one on retreat’ is found.

**224. ASTROLOGER** རྩིས་པ་ *RTSIS.PA* [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. དབོན་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** མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ *MKHA'.'GRO.MA* or མཁའ་འགྲོ་ *MKHA'.'GRO* [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 practionner of Bön and Shamanism: these include ལྷ་པ་ /l'apa/ < CT 'spirit medium', རཔ་འབོ་ /pawo/ < CT 'hero', ལྷ་བོན་ /labön/, གཏམ་པ་ /tampa/ < CT 'story teller', འབྲང་ཐིང་ /bongthing/ (in Sikkim)

**227. AGHA (ISLAMIC CLERIC)** འལ་ཁྲོ་ /aya/ (Ba, Pur). These *agha* wear black turbans.

**228. SHEIKH (ISLAMIC CLERIC)** ཤེའི་ག་ /shak, sheix/ (Ba, Pur). Sheikhs wear white turbans.

**229. MULLAH** འལ་ཁྲོ་ *A.HWON* /aχon/ (Ba, Pur, Am) < Pers. *axond* آخوند also borrowed as Chin. 阿訇 *ahong*. མུལ་ཁྲོ་ /mulvi/ is used by Sunni Muslim.

**230. FORTUNE TELLER** མོ་པ་ *MO.PA* [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT མོ་བྱང་མོ་ *MO.BTAB.MO* (Ba) lit. 'someone who makes divinations (*mo*)' (the verb *BTAB* 'to plant' is used here as a light verb). མོ་བྱང་མཁའ་ན་ *MO.BTAB.MKHAN* (La, Za) བལ་བྱང་མ་ /p'al tangma/ (Pur) 'divination performed by opening a book in the Persian way'. /estaxara/ 'divination with a mala'.

**231. HELL** རྩུལ་བ་ *DMYAL.BA* [FFW] (La, Sp, Yol, Ts, Ü, Tö, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. The word is pronounced in many ways: /ˈnyalba/, nyala/, etc. The alternative རྩུལ་ཁམས་ *DMYAL.KHAMS* < CT 'hell realm' is found in Kham. One often finds the expression: ཚ་རྩུལ་ *TSHA.DMYAL* 'hot hell' and གང་རྩུལ་ *GRANG.DMYAL* 'cold hell'. The Arabic word ཇ་ཉ་ནམ་ *JA.HA.NAM* is used in Purik and Balti.

**232. MONASTERY** དགོན་ *DGON* [PR] < CT ‘refuge, protection’ and cognate with མགོན་ *MGON* ‘protector, lord, guardian’. From these roots, we find the derivations དགོན་པ་ *DGON.PA* and དགོན་སྡེ་ *DGON.SDE*. ལྷ་ས་ *GRWA.SA* lit. ‘monk place’ (in Western areas) and ལྷ་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་ *DGON.PA*. In some Amdo and Kham areas, the word is also attested འབྲོག་སྡེ་ *BROG.SDE* lit. ‘unit of solitude’.

**233. TEMPLE** ལྷ་ཁང་ *LHA.KHANG* [PW] < CT lit. ‘deity house’. In several dialects of Kham and Ladakh, དགོན་པ་ *DGON.PA* is also used with the same meaning and *lhakhang* refers to the home chapels, also called མཚོད་ཁང་ *MCHOD.KHANG*. Other words designating religious buildings may be used instead of temple: e.g. ལམས་ཚན་ *KHAMS.TSHAN* ‘section of a monastery, college with monks from the same region’, ཚོགས་ཁང་ *TSHOGS.KHANG* lit. ‘assembly hall’, འདུ་ཁང་ *DU.KHANG* < CT ‘assembly hall’, etc.

**234. CHAPEL (PRIVATE)** མཚོད་ཁང་ *MCHOD.KHANG* < CT ‘offering room’.

**235. MOSQUE** ལ་ཆེ་ལྷ་ཁང་ *KHA.CHELHA.KHANG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, La, etc) < CT ‘Muslim temple’. The word *khache* is derived from Kashmir ལ་ཆེ་ཡུལ་ *khacheyül*. The Baltis use ཕྱག་ཁང་ *PHYAG.KHANG* lit. ‘hand-house’ for *masjid* ‘mosque’. This term is also used by Tibetan Muslims in Lhasa. In Baltistan and Ladakh, other words such as ཏམ་ས་ར་ *matamsara* ‘Matamsarai, mourning hall’, ཨི་མམ་བར་ག་ *imambarga* or *imambara* and ཁན་ཁ་ *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་ཎི་ *MA.NI* [PW] < CT < Skr maṇi. ‘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་རྩོམ་ *MA.NIRDO.BUM*), prayer wheels (མ་ཎི་འཁོར་ལོ་ *MA.NI 'KHOR.LO*), water powered prayer wheels (མ་ཎི་ཆུ་འཁོར་ *MA.NI CHU. 'KHOR*), ལྷ་མ་མ་ཎི་ *BLA.MA MA.NI* ‘Buddhist storyteller’, see also DRAGONFLY, etc.

- 237. PRAYER-WHEEL** མ་ཎི་ཁོ་ལོ་ལོ་ *MA.NI 'KHOR.LO* [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT lit. 'mani (jewel)-wheel', often simply called a 'mani'. See MANI. Other words are attested: དུང་ཕྱུར་ *DUNG.PHYUR* 'large prayer wheel' (lit. 'conch wheel'), མ་ཎི་ལག་བསྟོར་ *MA.NI.LAG.BSKOR* 'hand-operated prayer wheel', མ་ཎི་མཐེབ་བསྟོར་ *MA.NI.MTHEB.BSKOR* lit. 'thumb turn' table-top prayer wheel'.
- 238. PRAYER FLAG** དར་རྩེག་ *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. རྩེ་རྩེ་ *RLUNG.RTA* [PW] lit. 'wind horse' also spelled རྩེ་རྩེ་ *KLUNG.RTA* lit. 'river horse' (alt. རྩེ་རྩེ་ *RLUNG.DAR*), refers to a particular type of prayer flag which depicts five animals: a horse in the center, and a garuḍa, 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 དར་ཆེན་ *DAR.CHEN* 'big pole with prayer flag', དར་གྱི་ལྷ་ལྷི་ *DAR-GYILDA.LDI* and བ་དན་ *BA.DAN* 'banner'.
- 239. INCENSE** སྤོས་ *SPOS* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. The word is pronounced in many ways: /<sup>h</sup>pos/ (Pur, La), /<sup>h</sup>pu/ (Am), /<sup>h</sup>pö:/ (Ü), /<sup>h</sup>po:/ (Kh, Ho), /χu:/ (Am: Ng), /fi/ (Am: Dzorge), /foe/ (Za). This is also attested in a compound form, སྤོས་དཀར་ *SPOS.DKAR*. Other words are found, such as འྲི་ཞིས་ *DRIZHIM* (Ba), lit. 'nice smell', འྲི་བཟང་ *DRI BZANG* (Am) lit. 'excellent smell, སྤོས་འྲི་བཟང་ *SPOS DRI BZANG*. The term བསངས་ *BSANG*, which generally means FUMIGATION (see next) is also used in some dialects to mean 'incense'.
- 240. FUMIGATION** བསངས་ *BSANGS* [PW] < CT 'purification'. The word might be related to Pers. *Esfand*, *sepand* < *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 Tibetan area, even in the Muslim Purik area and even beyond. Fumigation is usually performed with fragrant plants (juniper, rodhodendron, *khampa* artemisia, etc.). The combination སྒོས་བསངས་ *SPOS.BSANGS* is also attested in Kham (Lhagang), whereas བསངས་ཤུག་ *BSANGS.SHUG* (La, Pur) is used in Western languages.

**241. STUPA** མཚན་རྟེན་ *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 Tibetan areas and beyond in the Tibetosphere.

**242. CAIRN-LIKE ALTAR** ལྷ་ཐོ་ *LHA.THO* [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, etc.) < CT lit. ‘deity+high’. The word is widespread in Western Tibetan 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** ལ་རྩེ་ *LA.RTSE* [PW] < CT. Alt. spellings: ལ་བཙས་ *LA.BTSAS*, ལབ་རྩེ་ *LAB.RTSE*. This refers to the ubiquitous stone cairns found all over the Tibetan area and which are frequent in other mountainous areas of the world. *Laptse* may also be more complex and have a function similar to the Lhatho. In Purik area, they are often called *chörten*. ཐོ་ཡོར་ *THO.YOR*, ཐོ་ལོ་ *THO.LO*, and ཐེ་གོར་ *THE.GOR* are related to the word ཐོ་པོ་ *THO.PO* ‘pile of stones marking a border or a path’.

**244. CLAY OFFERINGS/TSHATSHA** ཚ་ཚ་ *TSHA.TSHA* [FFW] small conical offerings made of moulded clay.

**245. CYMBALS** སིལ་སྒྲན་ *SIL.SNYAN* ‘small cymbals’ [FFW] < CT, སྒྲན་ཆལ་ *SBUG.CHAL* or སྒྲན་ *SBUG*. [FFW] ‘large cymbals’ < CT. An Urdu loanword is used in Balti: ཅང་ *CANG*.

**246. BELL** རྩིལ་བུ་ *DRIL.BU* [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), ཅོལ་རིང་ *TSIL.DRING* (La), གྲིལ་བོང་ *DRIL.BONG* (Pur) and གྲིང་གྲིང་ *TING.TING* (Dz, Lho). In Balti, along with an Urdu borrowing གླན་ཁྲི་ *GHAN.TI*, the word ཟངས་འགྲལ་ /zanggul/ is used; this may be derived from *ZANGS* ‘copper’ and ‘*GUL* ‘to move’.

**247. THANGKA** ཐང་ཀ་ *THANG.GA* [PW] < CT. The variants ཐང་ཀ་ *THANG*. and ཐང་ཀ་ *THANG.GA* are also attested. Thangkas are Tibetan Buddhist or Bönpo 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** འབག་ *BAG* [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. In Dzongkha the form is འབག་པ་ *BAGP* /‘ba:p/. The compounds མཛོད་འབག་ *GDONG.BAG* lit. ‘face mask’ and འབག་མགོ་ *BAG.MGO* ‘mask head’ are also attested in Kham. ཁ་སྒྲིས་ *KHA.SRIS* ཁ་རས་ *KHA.RAS*, གུ་ལུམ་ /gulum/ (Pur, La).

**249. CEMETERY** དུར་ཁྲོད་ *DUR.KHROD* [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. In many areas, this 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, དུར་ཁྲོད་ *DUR.KHROD* refers to burial sites. Ladaks, Kham and several other regions (Eastern section) use the term དུར་ས་ *DUR.SA*. སྤུར་ཁང་ *SPUR.KHANG* (La), རོ་ཁང་ *RO.KHANG* (La). In many areas, the དུར་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 མ་ཟར་ཐང་ *MA.ZAR.THANG* lit. ‘cemetery plain’ (*MA.ZAR* Pers.+ *THANG* Tibetan) is used in Balti and Purik.

**250. SKY BURIAL** བྱ་གཏོར་ *BYA.GTOR* (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT ‘destroyed/scattered (by the) birds’ is used for ‘sky burial’. In Ladakh, བྱ་སྤྱིན་ *BYA.SBYIN* (Durbuk) is attested. The orthography བྱ་དུར་ *BYA.DUR* lit. ‘bird funeral’ is also used (Jangbu Dorje Tshering, pers. comm., quoting Dungkar Lobzang Thrinle). In the Ngari area, it is called གྲམ་བརྒྱལ་ *GRAMBRGYAB* 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 Tibetan 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 Tibetan area in Buddhist and Bönpo areas. ལྷ་གཏོར་ *KLU.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** དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ *DKYIL. 'KHOR* [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT ‘inner circle’ The sanskrit loanword མན་པ་ *MAN.DAL* is also used in the offering ritual of the mandala.

**253. KHATA/CEREMONIAL SCARF** ཁ་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 ཁ་བཏགས་ *KHA.BTAGS* has been borrowed into Chinese as 哈达 *hada* (under Mongolian influence), into Russian as *xadak* (*xadak*), and into some Western languages, such as French or English *khata*. Other words are found in the Tibetan area, such as དར་ཁ་ *DAR.KHA* (Kh) or ཁ་དར་ *KHA.DAR* or simply དར་ *DAR* (Dz) < CT ‘silk’. མགུལ་དར་ *MGUL.DAR* and མཇལ་དར་ *MJAL.DAR* are the honorific forms.

**254. CEREMONIAL SHAWL.** In Bhutan, a shawl called འཕགས་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 གཟན་ *GZAN* (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho). In Ladakh, ཅ་དར་ *TSADAR* ‘shawl’ /tsadar, tsazar/ < Pers. *chador* is worn at funerals.

**255. RITUAL** ཆོ་ག་ *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་གྲོ་ *RIM.GRO*, ལྷ་རིམ་ *SKU.RIM*, ཞབས་བཏུན་ *ZHABS.BRTAN*, བསྐང་གསོལ་ *BSKANG.GSOL* ‘mending and petition ritual’.

- 256. OFFERINGS** མཆོད་པ་ *MCHOD.PA* [PW], a religious offering.
- 257. DONATION** ཞལ་འདེབས་ *ZHAL. 'DEBS* [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.). This is frequently used in Buddhist and Bön contexts for donations to a lama or monastery. In Ladakh, the word རེལ་ *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** གཤུ་ *GA'U* [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 སྤྱང་སྒྲམ་ *SRUNG.SGAM* are also attested, e.g. in the Eastern section. In Purik and Baltistan the word ཏ་ཐེའོ་ /tawis/ is used to refer to an amulet with verses of the Qur'ān inside it.
- 259. TSHETHAR/RELEASING ANIMALS** ཚེ་ཐར་ *TSHE.THAR* [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT *TSHE* 'life' + *THAR* 'to set free'. 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** སྒྲགས་ *SNGAGS* [PR] < CT. This also has the meaning of 'charm', 'spell'. Sometimes the term གཟུངས་སྒྲགས་ *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 སྒྲགས་ *SNGAGS* is cognate with འགྲ་ *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་བརྟན་ *SKU.BRNYAN* lit. 'reflection/image of the body'; *LHA.SKU* ལྷ་སྐུ་ lit. 'divine body'.

**262. PRAYER BEADS/MĀLĀ** √ རྩེང་ *PHRENG* [PR] < CT. The root normally appears with suffixes as རྩེང་བ་ *PHRENG.BA*, འཕྲུལ་རྩེང་མ་ *PHRENG.MA* or འཕྲུལ་མ་ *PHENG.MA*. The Arabic word *tazbi* 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 Vajrayana Buddhism and translates the Sanskrit word ‘vajra’, meaning ‘thunderbolt’. It is also a frequent name for Buddhists and Bönpos.

**265. SWASTIKA** གཡུང་རྩུང་ *G·YUNG.DRUNG* [PW] < CT. The *zungdrung* 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 འཕྲུལ་མ་ *THA.RAS* is used in Muslim rituals (Pur).

**267. DAGGER (RITUAL)** ཕུར་པ་ *PHUR.PA* [PW] < CT ཕུར་བ་ *PHUR.BA* (Am).

**268. MERIT** བསོད་ནམས་ *BSOD.NAMS* [PW] < CT *BSOD* ‘merit, luck’ + *NAMS* (?) ‘good deeds’. The concept comes from Buddhist doctrine. བསོད་བདེ་ *BSOD.BDE* (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ü, Tz, Kh, Am) is also used with a similar meaning བསོད་བདེ་ཅན་ *BSOD.BDE.CAN* (La). It is often used as a personal name (female or male).

**269. VIRTUE** དགེ་བ་ *DGE.BA* [PW] < CT

**270. PATIENCE** བཟོད་པ་ *BZOD.PA* [PW] < CT. The word is often used in Buddhist teachings, as ‘patience’ is one of the pāramitas (transcendant virtues). In some areas, one encounters other terms such as བསྐྱེད་ *BSRAN* ‘endurance, patience’, or the compounds བཟོད་བསྐྱེད་ *BZOD.BSRAN* ‘patience’ (Am), སྤུག་རུས་ *SDUG.RUS* ‘perseverance, resilience, tolerance of hardship’ and ངང་རྒྱུད་ *NGANG.RGYID* (Sh)



‘patience’ < CT རང་རྒྱལ་ *NGANG.RGYUD* ‘nature (of mind)’, temperament’. However, some rural dialects seem to lack this abstract concept.

**271. COMPASSION** སྙིང་རྩེ་ *SNYING.RJE* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT སྙིང་ *SNYING* ‘heart’ + རྩེ་ *RJE* ‘lord’. This Buddhist notion is one of the pāramitas (transcendant virtues). However, some rural dialects do not use this concept. The word སྙིང་རྩེ་ *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 ཡང་ལོ་ *YANGALO* (Hor, Am) < CT ཡང་བ་ *YANGABA* ‘frightening, unbearable’; ཤཱ་ཤཱ་ *SHA.TSHA* ‘have compassion’ as well as ‘love, adore’ < CT རྩེ་ཆ་ *JE.KHA* ‘pain (in the) flesh’ or སྒྲིག་པ་ *SDIG.PA* (Pur, La) or སྒྲིག་པ་རིག་ *SDIG.PA.RIG* ‘poor dear’ < CT ‘sin’. In Amdo the word བྱང་སེམས་ *BYANG.SEMS* ‘altruistic mind’ is used for ‘compassion’. A few forms of South Kham can be reconstructed as འོ་སྒྲོ་མ་ཚིམ་ *BLO.MA.TSHIM* ‘not satisfying’.

**272. FAULT** སྒྲིན་ *SKYON* [PR] < CT. འོ་སྒྲིན་ *SKYEN* in Sherpa. Also found with a suffix as སྒྲིན་ཆ་ *SKYON.CHA*. Other words are marginally found: གེམ་ *GEM*, ཞན་ *ZHAD* (Am) < CT ‘stain’; the variant ཞན་ *ZHAN* is also attested.

**273. SIN** སྒྲིག་པ་ *SDIG.PA* [PW] < CT. The word is cognate with སྒྲིག་པ་རྩེ་ཆ་ *SDIG.PA.RWA.TSA* ‘scorpion’ and སྒྲིག་སྒྲིན་ *SDIG.SRIN* ‘crab’, probably because these are perceived as negative creatures. In Ladakh, ཉེས་པ་ *NYES.PA* (Pur, La) < CT ‘fault’ is used.

**274. GRADE** རིམ་ *RIM* [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix as རིམ་པ་ *RIM.PA*. This is a rather literary word that is used in a religious context. A few compounds are attested: བང་རིམ་ *BANG.RIM* ‘terrace’, གྲལ་རིམ་ *GRAL.RIM* ‘rank’, སྐྱལ་རིམ་ *SKAS.RIM* ‘step of a staircase, ladder’; ཐེམ་པ་ *THEM.PA* (Pur) ‘threshold’ is also attested.

**275. GARUDA** བྱ་ཁྱུང་ *BYA.KHYUNG* or ཁྱུང་ *KHYUNG* [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT བྱ་ *BYA* + ཁྱུང་ *KHYUNG* ‘large bird or eagle’. The Garuda is a mythical bird of Hinduism, also found in the Buddhist and Bön culture.

**276. NĀGA/ LU** ལུ་ *KLU* [PW] < CT. *Nāgas* 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 ལྷ་མོ་ *KLU.MO*. In Old Tibetan, it is written as ལྷུ་ *KHLU*.

## NATURAL ENVIRONMENT and GEOGRAPHY

**277. WORLD** འཛམ་གླིང་ *DZAM.BU.GLING* [PW] < CT, འཛམ་བླ་ *DZAM.BU* < Skr.

जम्बुद्वीपः jambudvīpaḥ, ‘Rose Apple Continent’ + གླིང་ *GLING* ‘island’ < CT, a continent described in Hindu and Buddhist cosmology. Thus འཛམ་གླིང་ *DZAM.BU.GLING* and its shorter variant འཛམ་གླིང་ *DZAM.GLING* are Sanskrit–Tibetan compounds. Another frequent word is འཛིག་རྟེན་ *JIG.RTEN* (La, Ü, Ts, etc.) lit. ‘basis (*RTEN*) of destruction (*JIG*)’ which reflects the Buddhist notion of impermanence. Balti and Purik use མི་ཡུལ་ *MI.YUL* lit. ‘people’s place’ and Ladaks employs སྤྱི་ *SRID* /sit/ ‘mundane world’ < CT lit. ‘potential world’.

**278. SKY** གནམ་ *GNAM* [PR] < CT. A compound word གནམ་མཁའ་ *NAM.MKHA*’ < CT

lit. ‘sky-space’ is widespread (La, Ü, Ts, Kh). In Sharkhok and Khöpokhok (E), the sky is called གནམ་སྒོན་པོ་ *GNAM SNGON.PO* lit. ‘blue sky’, གནམ་འགོ་ *GNAM. GO* lit. ‘sky above’. དགའ་ *DGUNG* ‘up above, sky’ is also used in Amdo.

**279. SUN** ཉི་མ་ *NYI* [PR] < CT. The root is sometimes used without a suffix in

compound words such as ཉི་མ་ *NYI.ZLA* ‘sun and moon’ (lit. *NYI* ‘sun’ + *ZLA* ‘moon’), otherwise, it is normally followed by the suffix *MA*: ཉི་མ་ *NYI.MA*. In Khöpokhok and Baima, ཉི་བ་ *NI.BA* /næ/ is used, but this is not a reflex of the CT word. In some dialects in Southern Kham (Gyälthang), གནམ་ལྷ་ *GNAM.LHA* (lit. sky-deity) and ཉི་བ་ལ་ *NANGS.LA* are used.

**280. LIGHT** འོད་ *OD* [PR] < CT. This root is often used in the compound འོད་ཟེར་

*OD.ZER* ‘light beam’. Another root མདངས་ *MDANGS* is used in Dzongkha, derived from CT ‘brightness’. དཀར་ *DKAR* (E) and *DKAR.MDANGS* དཀར་མདངས་ < CT ‘white radiance’. Balti people use both འོད་ *OD* and the Arabic loanword ལྷུ་ *NUR*. In Ladakh, འོད་ *OD* also means ‘electricity’. Jirel has ཉི་མ་དག་ *RNAM.DAG* < ? CT ‘pure’.

**281. MOON** ཟླ་ *ZLA* [PR] alt. ཟླ་ *SLA* < CT. The word for ‘moon’ is identical or similar to ‘month’, as in many languages.<sup>3</sup> The root ཟླ་ *ZLA* is often followed by a suffix *BA*: ཟླ་བ་ *ZLA.BA*. However, some languages have compound words (CT, Kh, To, southern Himalayas), such as ཟླ་དྭགས་མོ་ *ZLA.DKAR.MO* or ཟླ་དྭགས་ཟླ་དྭགས་ *ZLA.DKAR* ‘white moon’, ཟླ་ཤེལ་ *ZLA.SHEL* ‘moon crystal’ (Ko), དུང་ཟླ་ *DUNG.ZLA* ‘conch moon’ (Am). The Melung dialect (Kh) uses /<sup>h</sup>le gɛ: mō/, which may also be derived from *ZLA.DKAR.MO*; in Balti and Purik, the word འློ་ཟླ་ /<sup>h</sup>zot/ (Pur, Ba) /<sup>h</sup>daot/ (Za) is derived from *ZLA* ‘OD’ ‘light [of the] moon’; in Ladaks and Zanhra, the moon is called ཟླ་ཀྱི་མོ་ *ZLA.KYIR.MO* or ཟླ་ཀྱི་ཟླ་ *ZLA.KYIR* lit. ‘round moon’. In Sherpa and Yolmo, the first element of the compound འློ་ཟླ་ལ་ *YUG.LA* /ukla/ or འློ་ཟླ་བ་ *YU.ZLA.BA* /aw dawa/ is not clear, but may be from \*ཨ་ལུ་ཟླ་བ་ *YU.KHU SLA.BA* lit. ‘uncle moon’. In Myigzur, ཨ་ནེ་ཟླ་ *YU.NE ZLA* /<sup>h</sup>enə<sup>h</sup>da/ < CT ‘aunt moon’ is used. In Yolmo, ཟླ་ཡུམ་ *ZLA.YUM* lit. ‘mother (H) moon’ is used. འློ་ཚེ་ལ་བ་ /ačo lo/ ‘moon’ lit. ‘elder brother moon’ (< OT ཨ་ཚེ་ *A.CO* ‘elder brother’ + ཟླ་ (བ) *SLA* (*BA*) ‘moon’) is used in Choča-ngača. 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.

**282. STAR** ལྷ་ར་མ་ *SKAR.MA* [PW] < CT. It is pronounced in various ways: ལྷ་ར་མ་ *SKAR.MA*, /<sup>h</sup>karma/ (La, Ba, Pur), /<sup>h</sup>karma/ (Am), /<sup>h</sup>-karma/ (Ü, Ts, Tö, NKH), འློ་ལྷ་ར་མ་ *SKAR.MA* /<sup>h</sup>ka:m/ (Dz). In the Daan dialect (Kh), ‘star’ is /<sup>h</sup>gu ma:/. In many languages and dialects, ལྷ་ར་མ་དྭགས་ *SKAR.MDA* < CT ‘star+arrow’ is used for ‘shooting star’.

**283. WEATHER** གནམ་གཤིས་ *GNAM.GSHIS* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT *GNAM* ‘sky’ + *GSHIS* ‘temperament’. Other compounds are also found e.g., གནམ་ལོ་ *GNAM.LO* (Am) lit. ‘face of the sky, temper of the sky’. The compound word འློ་ཟླ་ལ་ *GNAM.LA* (La, Za), འློ་ཟླ་ཟླ་ *GNAM.ZLA* /namza/ (Pur) < lit. ‘sky month’ is used and these words are also used for ‘season’. Some southern Kham and Eastern dialects have /yi:/ < ? CT འློ་ཡིད་ *YID* ‘mind’; this etymology is possible since, in the

3. e.g. Chinese: 月 *yue* ‘month, moon’, Japanese: 月 *tuki* ‘month, moon’, Russian: месяц *mesjats*, English ‘month’ and ‘moon’, Romanian lună ‘month, moon’, Persian mah ماه ‘month, moon’.

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 ཁོར་ཡུག་ *KHOR.YUG* ‘environment’. The word ཁད་ *KHAD* < CT ‘distance, time, surface’ is also used in Amdo for ‘weather’, e.g. ཁད་འཇམ་ *KHAD 'JAM* ‘the weather is nice’ (lit. soft). Unlike English or Russian, which have specific words such as ‘weather’ and ‘погода’, 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** སྒྲིན་ *SPRIN* [FFR] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Ho, Kh, E, Am) < CT ‘cloud’. In some languages, this is following by the suffix pa: སྒྲིན་པ་ *SPRIN.PA*. The most archaic pronunciation /sprin/ is found in Purik. Two other terms are found: མུན་པ་ *MUN.PA* (Ba) < CT ‘darkness’, མུན་ནག་ *MUN.NAG* (Kh: Yunnan) < CT ‘darkness’, ཏ་མ་མུན་ *MA.MUN* < CT ‘fog’ (La); ཏ་སྒྲིན་ *SRAMUG* (Dz) is a compound of སྒྲིན་ *sra* ‘hard’ and མུག་ *MUG(PA)* < CT ‘fog’; མུག་པ་ *MUG.PA* (Jir, Yol). The word ཏ་ཁུང་པོ་ *HUNG.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: སྒྲིན་དཀར་ *SPRIN.DKAR*, but in Yunnan (Kh) they are associated with black color, as in སྒྲིན་ནག་ *SPRIN.NAG* (Byagzhol). There can also be associations with red: སྒྲིན་དམར་ *SPRIN.DMAR* ‘red cloud’ (Pur). The compound མུག་ནག་ *SMUG.NAG* is also attested.

**285. FOG** མུག་པ་ *SMUG.PA* [FFR] (Ü, Ts) < CT or མུག་ནག་ *SMUG.ZHAG* (Am). In some dialects, the word has come to designate low clouds or any type of cloud. The CT word ན་བུན་ *NA.BUN*, མུན་པ་ *MUN.PA* ‘mist, fog’ (Pur), མ་མུན་ *MA.MUN* (Za La) < CT ‘darkness’ is also attested.

**286. THUNDER** འབྲུག་ *'BRUG* [PW] < CT ‘dragon’. See DRAGON. In all Tibetic languages, storms are associated with dragons, and thunder corresponds to the noise of the dragon: འབྲུག་བོས་ *'BRUG BOS* /bluq bos/ (Ba, Pur) ‘The dragon has called’, འབྲུག་གྲགས་ (གྲགས་) *'BRUG GRAGS* /ndəχ čəχ/ ‘the dragon has made a sound’

(Am); འབྲུག་སྒྲོན་བརྒྱུད་ 'BRUG.SKAD BRGYAB /ḍukkä: gyap/ (U, Ts, Kh) 'it has made the dragon noise', འབྲུག་ལྷིར་ 'BRUG LDIR (La), འབྲུག་སྒྲོན་ '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་འགྲུལ་ GNAM 'GUL < CT lit. 'sky move' refers to 'thunder in a clear sky'. In Hor dialect, this phenomenon is referred to as སྐམ་སྒྲོན་ SKAM.GLOG 'dry lightning'. A few dialects use the same word as lightning (see below).

**287. LIGHTNING** ཐོག་ THOG [FFW] (Ü, Ts, etc.) < CT 'top, roof and metaphorically 'lightning (from the top)'. It is followed by a verbaliser རྒྱུག་ RGYAG 'to hit': ཐོག་རྒྱུག་ THOGRGYAG. ཐོག་ THOG is also used for 'thunder' in some dialects (e.g. Kham). The root སྒྲོན་ GLOG (Pur, Dz) < CT 'lightning' is also attested. The expressions འབྲུག་སྒྲོན་ SKAM.GLAG (La, Za) 'dry lightning' and སྒྲོན་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 ཐོག་ལྷགས་ THOGLCAGS '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 ཐོག་ THOG.

**288. WIND** རྒྱུར་ RLUNG [PW] < CT 'wind, air'. The term is used alone as རྒྱུར་ RLUNG /lung/ (Ü), /lu:/ (E: Th), or with a suffix: རྒྱུར་པོ་ RLUNG.PO, རྒྱུར་ས་པོ་ RLUNGS.PO /lungspo/ (La), /lufo/ (Kharu), རྒྱུར་བུ་ RLUNG.BU (Ts) < CT, རྒྱུར་མ་ RLUNG.MA (Lho). In Yunnan the compound རྒྱུར་དམར་ RLUNG.DMAR < CT 'storm', lit. 'red air' is used. In Purik and Ladaks རྒྱུར་བྲག་ RLUNG.DRAG 'strong wind' is attested. The word ལྷགས་པ་ LHAGS.PA or ལྷགས་བ་ LHAGS.BA [FFW] (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Th, etc.) < CT 'cold or freezing wind' is also frequent. In Cone (E) and Čantsa (Am) བསེར་བུ་ BSER.BU < CT 'cold wind, breeze' is used. འར་རུ་ RA.RU is 'wind' or 'whirlwind' in Purik. In Tö, the word འུར་ 'UR is derived from a CT ideophone which depicts the sound of the wind. See also AIR.

**289. RAIN** ཆར་པ་ CHAR.PA [FFW] < CT. alt ཆར་བ་ CHAR.BA. The verb 'to rain' is formed with the noun ཆར་པ་ CHAR.PA followed by various verbalisers such as:

*BTANG* ‘send’, *BABS* ‘go down, fall’, *’ONG* ‘come’, *BRGYAB* ‘hit’: ཆར་པ་བཏང་/བབས་/བརྒྱབ་/འོང་ *CHAR.PABTANG/BRGYAB/’ONG*. In some eastern languages (Kh, Am), there is no specific noun for ‘rain’. In these cases, གནས་ *GNAM* (Kh, Am, Ko) < CT ‘sky’ and ལྷ་ *CHU* (Kh) < CT ‘water’ are used for ‘rain’. The use of གནས་ *GNAM* alone can refer to ‘rain’, but only where the context allows this; for example ལ་ཕྱིད་གནས་དེ་སྤྱིད་ཐལ་ *KHA.RTSANG GNAM DE SKYID-THAL* (Am) which, depending on the context may mean ‘yesterday, the rain was nice’ or ‘yesterday the weather was nice’ (Jangbu Dorje Tshering, pers. comm.). In some dialects in the E section, the word གནས་ *GNAM* means ‘rain’ whereas གནས་སྤྱིན་ *GNAM.SNGON* lit. ‘blue sky’ means ‘sky’. In Eastern languages, compound verbs are frequently made of the noun གནས་ *GNAM* ‘sky’ followed by the verb འབབ་ *BABS* ‘go down, fall’: གནས་འབབ་ *GNAM.BAB* (Kh, Am, Ko) lit. ‘the sky is falling’. The verb འབབ་ *BAB* may also be used alone if the context is clear. In some dialects, a few types of rain are distinguished: e.g. in Amdo, འབབ་ཞོད་ *’BAB.ZHOD* or ཆར་ཞོད་ *CHAR.ZHOD* ‘long lasting rain’, ཆར་གྲ་ *CHAR.SHA* ‘shower, downpour’, སྤྱིན་བསིལ་ *SPRIN.BSIL* ‘cool drizzle’, ཆར་རྒྱུང་ *CHAR.RDUNG* (La) ‘downpour’.

**290. DROP** ཐིགས་ *THIGS* [PR] < CT. Often followed by the suffix ཐིགས་པ་ *THIGS.PA* (Ba, La, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor). Some languages also have compound words such as ཐིགས་ལྷ་ *THIGS.CHU* lit. ‘drop-water’ (Am) or ལྷ་ཐིགས་ *CHU.THIGS* lit. ‘water-drop’ (Dz).

**291. RAINBOW** འཕམ་ *’JA’* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Dz, Jir, Sh, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The compound འཕམ་ཚོན་ *’JA’.TSHON* < CT ‘rainbow color’ (E) is attested in some languages, and another form གཞམ་ *GZHA’*, also attested in CT, is used in Lhoke, Thewo, Paskyi, Khöpokhok and Yunnan Kham. Balti uses གཞམ་ *GZA’*. Purik and Zanhari have innovated original words for ‘rainbow’: ལྷ་ཉིམས་ལྷ་འབྲུང་མ་ *NYI.MA-S CHU ’THUNG.MA*, /nyimas ču t’unma/ (Pur) ‘sun-drinking-water’ (this expression is also used in Hor dialects), and གཞམ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་ *GZA.CHU. ’THUNG* (Za) ‘planet-drinking-water’.

**292. SNOW** ལ་བ་ *KHA.BA* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Dz, Jir, Sh, Hor, Kh) < CT, གངས་ *GANGS* (Ü, Ts, Kh, etc.) < CT ‘ice’ and the alt. form ལ་ངས་ *KHANGS*

(Am). The verb ‘to snow’ is formed by adding a verb བབས་ *BABS* ‘to go down’, བཏང་ *BTANG* ‘to send’ or བརྒྱབ་ *RGYAB* ‘to make, to hit’, དེག་ *RDEG* ‘to beat’ (Jir) after the noun: ཁ་བ་ *KHA.BA*, གངས་ *GANGS* or འཇངས་ *KHANGS*. In Babzo (E) and a few Amdo dialects, a uvular form /qʰa(:)/ is attested.

**293. HAIL** སེར་ *SER* [PR] < CT. Usually followed by a suffix: སེར་བ་ *SER.BA* and usually pronounced /sera/ or /s’era/. Marginally, compound words such as འོ་སེར་ རྩ་ *SER.CHU* lit. ‘hail water’, སེར་གྲགས་ *SER.GRAGS* (SKh), འོ་ཟེར་བ་བྲུ་ *ZER.BA.DRU* /zerbaɖu/ (Pur), འོ་སེར་ར་བྲུ་ /seraru/ (La) < CT སེར་བ་བྲུ་ *SER.BA.DRU* ‘hail ball’, ཆར་ཐོག་ *CHAR.THOG* (Am) ‘hail with large hailstones’ are also encountered.

**294. DROUGHT** ཐན་པ་ *THAN.PA* [PW] < CT. གནས་སྐྱམ་ *GNAN.SKAM* (Pur, La, SKh) lit. ‘dry sky’ is used. ས་སྐྱམས་ *SA.SKAMS* < CT ‘dry earth’ is found in SKh. རྩ་ཤོན་ *CHU.DKON* (La) < CT ‘water shortage’. The root ཐན་ *THAN* means ‘bad omen, disaster’ is used in various compounds: སྐྱམ་ཐན་ *SKAM.THAN* ‘drought’, lit. ‘dry disaster’, འབྲུ་ཐན་ *BU THAN* ‘locust plague’.

**295. EARTHQUAKE** ས་འགྲུལ་ *SA. ’GUL* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Am) < CT ས་ཡོམ་ *SA.YOM* [FFW] (Ü, 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** བཟོ་ *BA.MO* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Am) < CT ‘frost’, alt. འབ་ *BAB* (Am); སེད་ *SED* (Sh, Ü, Ts) [FFR] < CT ‘frost kill’ related to བསེད་ *BSAD* ‘kill’. The form བེད་ *BAD* found in CT is also attested in Kham. ཐིད་པོ་ *PHID.PO* ‘frozen’ (in Ladakh) < CT ཐིད་ *PHYID* ‘to freeze’ (see Jäschke).

**297. ICE** འཇུག་པ་ *’KHYAG.PA* [FFW] < CT. གངས་ *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 ཆབ་རྩམ་ *CHAB.ROM* (Kh, E) and its overanalyzed form འོ་ཆེན་མ་ *CHA.BROM* (Kh), as well as དར་ *DAR* (Yol, Hor, Am, La), are also rather widely used. In Hor Nagchu and Ladakh, དར་ *DAR* refers to the ice formed over a stream or a lake. Other words of unclear origin, such as འོ་ཤར་ *SHAR* Nagchu (Hor), and འོ་གྲོག་ *GROG* (SKh) are also encountered.

**298. GLACIER/SNOWY MOUNTAIN** གངས་རི་ *GANGS.RI* 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 འབྲུག་རོམ་ *'KHYAG.ROM*, ཆབ་རོམ་ *CHAB.ROM* and འབྲུག་ཁྲུང་ *'KHYAG.KLUNG*.

**299. CREVASSE** སེར་ག་ *SER.GA* or སེར་ཀ་ *SER.KA* [FFW] < CT ‘crack’.

**300. FIRE** མེ་ *ME* [PW] < CT alt. མྱེ་ *MYE* < OT (Am, Kh, E). The great majority of dialects have a reflex of CT མེ་ *ME* but the form in some dialects of eastern Tibet corresponds to reflexes of the archaic form མྱེ་ *MYE* 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** དུད་པ་ *DUD.PA* or དུབ་ *DU.BA* [PW] < CT. The archaic form དུད་པ་ *DUD.PA* /tutpa, dutpa/ is generally found in the western and southern languages (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Jir), whereas the variant དུབ་ *DU.BA*, lacking the final consonant of the first syllable, is attested in the central and eastern languages (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am). A compound དུན་ག་ *DU.NAG* is also found. In southern Kham area, a Chinese loan 烟 *yan* is also attested.

**302. AIR** རླུང་ *RLUNG* [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways, as /l'ung/ (Kh:mBalhag, Ba, La), /-lung/ (Ü, Ts), /<sup>h</sup>long/ (Am), etc. A form with a suffixed *MA* is also encountered: རླུང་མ་ *RLUNG.MA* (Ko, Lho), རླུང་མ་ *RLUNG.MA* (Dz), རླུང་མ་ *RLUNG.MA* (La) /lungspo/, /lufo/ (Kharu). In Yunnan, དབྲུག་མ་ *DBUGS* < CT ‘breath’ is pronounced /<sup>h</sup>bɔʔ/ (see also BREATH, WIND). ལུ་ *PHU* ‘air in something inflated’ (like a tire) is quite common (Ü, Ts, La).

**303. BREATH** དབྲུག་མ་ *DBUGS* [PW] < CT. Ladaks has preserved the pronunciation /uks/, but most languages have /uk/. Purik still has ལྷིང་དབྲུག་མ་ *SNYING.DBUGS* /<sup>h</sup>nying-<sup>2</sup>buks/ for ‘sigh’, which is a very conservative reflex of *DBUGS*. Balti and Purik use the loanword /hish/ or /his/ for ‘breath’.

**304. STEAM** རླངས་ *RLANGS* [PR] < CT. The root alone is attested (e.g. Jir), but usually occurs with a suffix: རླངས་པ་ *RLANGS.PA* /langspa/ (La), /langfa/ (Za), alt. forms རླངས་བ་ *RLANGS.BA* (Am), རླངས་མ་ *RLANGSM* /<sup>h</sup>la:m/ (Dz). Several



dialects, like mBalhag (Kh), rNgawa (Am) and Purik have a voiceless initial:  
 ཏྲཱངས་པ་ *LHANGS.PA*, ཁ་རྒྱངས་ *KHA.RLANGS* (La) is also common.

**305. HOT SPRING** ལྷ་ཚན་ *CHU.TSHAN* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, La, etc.) < CT ‘hot water’ ལྷ་ཁོལ་ *CHU.KHOL* (Am) < CT ‘boiling water’, ལྷ་རྩན་ *CHU.DRON* [FFW] (Ba, Pur) CT ‘warm water’.

**306. SOIL/GROUND** ས་ *SA* [PW] < CT.

**307. MOUNTAIN/HILL** རི་ *RI* [PW] < CT. In some dialects, other words are attested such as སྒང་ *SGANG* (Am) < CT ‘ridge’, གངས་ *GANGS* (Sp, Dz) < CT ‘snow, ice’ (Dz), བྱ་ག *BRAG* < CT ‘rock’ (Ba, E), རྩ་ *RDZA* (Am, E) < CT ‘slate’, ལ་ *LA* < CT ‘mountain pass’ (Kham, southern Himalaya).

**308. SUMMIT, PEAK** རྩེ་ *RTSE* [PW]. Sometimes followed by a suffix: རྩེ་མོ་ *RTSE.MO*, རྩེ་འགོ་ *RTSE.’GO* (SKh), རི་འགོ་ *RI.’GO* (La, Za).

**309. PASS (MOUNTAIN)** ལ་ *LA* [PW] < CT. Note that in some dialects, *LA* means ‘mountain’ (see above). The terms ལ་ཁ་ *LA.KHA* and ལ་མོ་ *LA.MO* are also attested. ཉག་ *NYAG* or ཉག་ག་ *NYAG.GA* ‘small pass’ lit. notch, indenture’ is also used.

**310. VALLEY** ལུང་ *LUNG* [PR] < CT. The root ལུང་ *LUNG* alone is used in a few dialects. The suffixes *PA* and *MA* are frequently attested in some languages: ལུང་པ་ *LUNG.PA* (Ü), ལུང་པོ་ *LUNG.PO* (Lho), ལུང་མ་ *LUNG.MA*, ལུང་བ་ *LUNG.BA*, e.g. ཏྲཱུངས་ *LUNG.MA* (Dz) /ɽum/. Dzongkha also uses another root གཤོང་ *GSHONG*. The word རྩོང་ *RONG* (Ba) < CT ‘deep valley, gorge’ is widespread. Other words are attested, such as ཞིང་ *ZHING* (E) < CT ‘field’ and ཁོག་ *KHOG* (SouthKh) < CT ‘interior (of the body)’; this last appears in many toponyms related to U-shape glacial valleys, see Appendix.

**311. UPPER PART OF A VALLEY** ཕུ་ *PHU* [FFW] < CT. This word does not exist in in Kham, Amdo or the E section. In Amdo, the compound word ལུང་བ་མགོ་ *LUNG.BAMGO* (Am) < CT ‘valley head’ is attested.

**312. LOWER PART OF A VALLEY** མདའ་ *MDA* [FFW] < CT. The compound ལུང་མདའ་ *LUNG.MDO* < CT ‘valley confluence’ is used in Amdo.

313. **CLIFF** གཡང་ *G·YANG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) གཡང་ས་ *G·YANG.SA*. The word གཡང་པ་ *GAD.PA* [FFW] (Kh, La, Pur, Dz) ‘sandy cliff’ < CT ‘slope’, བྱག་ *BRAG* [FFR] (Kh, Yol) < CT ‘rock’ is also used. The toponym རོང་མི་བྱག་འགོ་ *RONG.MI.BRAG* ‘GO (the full name of Rongdrak) lit. means ‘the town on the cliff of the rGyalrong people’. The word མཐའ་ *MTHA*’ < CT ‘edge’ is attested in Amdo. See the proverb: འཇིག་རླུང་གི་མཐའ་མེད་ *MI-SKYAG-NAMTHA*’MED ‘If one is not afraid, there is no cliff!’
314. **ROCK** བྱག་ *BRAG* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT and བྱལ་ *BYAG* (Lho) བྱག་ *BYAG* (Dz). Some dialects do not distinguish a rock from a stone, thus རྩ་ *RDO* ‘stone’ is also used for ‘rock’. That is also the case in some dialects of English. The compound བྱག་རྩ་ *BRAG.RDO* < CT ‘small rock’ is also attested. འོ་ལོ་ *PHO.LONG* /p’olong/ (La) < CT ཕ་བོང་ *PHA.BONG* ‘large rock’, ཕོང་ས་ *PHONGS* (Pur) is used for ‘large boulder’. In Lhasa, ཕ་བོང་ཁ་ *PHA.BONG.KHA* designates a very old monastery built on the side of a giant boulder.
315. **STONE** རྩ་ *RDO* [PW] < CT. This is usually pronounced /do/ and is sometimes followed by a suffix: རྩ་བ་ *RDO.BA* (La, Ba, Pur, Ho, Kh, Am) < CT. Often pronounced /dowa/ or /’dwa/ This word is also found in CT. The forms རྩ་ལོག་ *RDO.LOG* and རྩ་ལོག་མ་ *RDO.LOG.MA* < CT རྩ་ལོག་ལོག་ *RDO.LOG.LOG* lit. ‘round stone’ are used in Southern Kham.
316. **CAVE** ཕུག་ *PHUG* [PR] < CT ‘cave, grotto’, cognate with the verb འབྲིགས་ *’BIGS* ‘to pierce’. It is used alone ཕུག་ *PHUG* (Jir, Sh, Sp) or with suffixes as རྩ་ཕུག་གུ་ *PHUG.GU* (Kyi), ཕུག་པ་ *PHUG.PA* (Kyi, Yol, Kh). In many languages, one finds a compound word derived from བྱག་ཕུག་ *BRAG.PHUG* (Ü, Ts, La, Am) < CT ‘rock cave’ or its variants བྱག་ཕུག་ *BAG.PHUG* (Ko), བྱལ་ཕུག་ *BYAG.PHUG* (Th, Dz), རྩ་ཕུག་གུ་ *BYAG.KUG* /p’yaku/ (Lho). Other compounds are attested in eastern Tibet: བྱག་ཁུངས་ *BRAG.KHUNGS*, བྱག་ཁུངས་ *BAG.KHUNGS* (E, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ‘rock, hole’; ས་ཕུག་ *SA.PHUG* (Am) < CT lit. ‘earth cave’. Finally, the compound ཕུག་ཁུངས་ *PHUG.KHUNGS* < CT ‘cave hole’ is used in some Kham dialects. The term རོང་ *DONG* sometimes reduplicated རོང་རོང་ *DONG.DONG* or the compound ས་རོང་ *SA.DONG* ‘earth hole’ are found in Southern Kham. In Baltistan, the word འཁོར་ */kor/* (< Dard) is a loanword, but one also hears འབའ་ཉོ་ */baho/* (Pur, Ba),

/bago/ (La) < འབ་འཕོ་ *BA'BO* 'hole, cave, cavern' (Jäschke) or འབ་འཕོ་ *BA'SGO* 'cave door'. The Balti བྱ་ཁོག་ *BRAG.KHOG* < CT 'rock inside' does not mean 'cave' but 'shelter under a rock'. For 'cave', སྤྱི་བས་ *SKYIBS* is used in Amdo.

**317. WATER** ལྷ་ *CHU* [PW] < CT. Languages with an honorific register, often employ ཆེན་ *CHAB* [PW] 'water (H)' < CT. However, in Ladakh, སྤྱི་མས་ལྷ་ *SKYEMS.CHU* [H] (La) < CT 'beverage (H)' + 'water' is used in the honorific.

**318. RIVER** གཙང་པོ་ *GTSANG.PO* [PW] < CT 'large river' was originally used for the Yarlung Tsangpo river ཡར་ལྷུང་གཙང་པོ་ *YAR.KLUNG GTSANG.PO*, and now usually designates a large river. The compound གཙང་ལྷ་ *GTSANG.CHU* (Dz, Lho) < CT lit. 'river water' is also attested in some languages. In many regions (Kh, E, etc.) ལྷ་ *CHU* < CT 'water', as in ལྷ་པོ་ *CHU.BO* (Am), ལྷ་ཆེན་ *CHU.CHEN* lit. 'big water' or ལྷ་ཀ་ *CHU.KA* (Pur: Wakha), or གཤ་ལྷ་ *GYAM.CHU* (Am) < CT གཤ་ *GRAM* 'river bank', also denote 'river'. In Melung (Kh), ལུང་བ་ *LUNG.BA* < CT lit. 'valley' is used, whereas in Balti and Purik rivers are called ལྷ་མཚོ་ *RGYA.MTSHO* 'ocean' lit. 'large lake' /gya<sup>m</sup>ts'o/ (Pur), /gyats'o/ (Ba). For small rivers and streams གྲོག་པོ་ *GROG.PO* (Pur, La) < CT 'ravine'.

**319. LAKE** མཚོ་ *MTSHO* [PR] < CT. The diminutive forms མཚོ་ལྷ་ *MTSHE'U* and མཚོ་ལྷ་ *MTSHO.PHRUG* (Am) 'small lake' are found. ལྷིང་ཀ་ *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** ལྷ་མཚོ་ *RGYA.MTSHO* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT ལྷ་ *RGYA* 'vast area' + མཚོ་ *MTSHO* 'lake'. In some dialects of southern Kham, མཚོ་ *MTSHO* is used, ལྷ་མཚོ་ལྷ་པོ་ */samandar/* < Urd (Pur).

**321. IRRIGATION DITCH** ཀ་ *RKA* [FFW] (Pur, La, Za, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. The compound ལྷ་ཀ་ *CHU.RKA* lit. 'water ditch' is found. Another word is widely attested: ཡུར་བ་ *YUR.BA* [FFW], /yurba/ (Pur), /yura/ (La, Za), ལུར་བ་ *UR.BA* /hura/ (LJ: Durbuk), མ་ཡུར་ *MA.YUR* 'main irrigation ditch'.

**322. WAVE** རྒྱ་བས་ *RBA.RLABS* [FFW] (Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Dz, Kh, Am) < CT. Various compounds are also attested ལྷ་བ་ *CHU.RBA* 'water wave', རྒྱ་བས་ *CHU.RLABS* 'water wave', ལྷ་ལྷ་ *CHU.LBAG* (La), ལྷ་འི་འི་པ་ *CHU'IRIM.PA* (Sh) lit.

‘water step’, ལྷ་གཉེར་ *CHU.GNYER* < CT lit. ‘water wrinkle’ འུ་ལྷ་གྲ་ *CHU.LJAG* (Pur). The term /ɛˈuɛ/ < *CHU*+? is widespread in the Eastern Section. The origin of the second syllable is not clear.

**323. WELL** ལྷ་དོང་ *CHU.DONG* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Dz) < CT, རོང་ལྷ་ *DONG.CHU* (Am), ལྷ་མོ་ *KHRON.PA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh) < CT. ལྷ་མོ་ *KHRON.BU* ‘small well’, ལྷ་མིག་ *CHU.MIG* ‘spring’ < CT ‘water eye’; ལྷ་རྩེ་ *CHU.RDZING* < CT ‘pool, reservoir’ also used for ‘well’, and འུ་ཟིང་ *ZING* (Za) < རྩེ་ *RDZING* is also sometimes encountered.

**324. SPRING** ལྷ་མིག་ *CHU.MIG* [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 ལྷ་མྱིག་ *CHU.MYIG* (Am, Kh, E) is also attested in Eastern Tibet. The term ལྷ་མགོ་ *CHU.MGO* (lit. ‘water head’) is attested for ‘source of a river’ and even for ‘spring’. ལྷིང་ཀ་ *LDING.KA* < CT lit. ‘pond’ is also used. Note that in many regions, the word ལྷུང་ལྷ་ *GRUB.CHU* ‘miraculous water’ < CT is attested for ‘sacred spring’.

**325. WATERFALL, CASCADE** [FFW] \* ལྷ་འཕྱར་ *CHU.PHYAR* (Ba, La, Jir, Yol), ལྷ་འཆར་ *CHU.CHAR* (La, Yol), ལྷ་འཆར་ར་ *CHU.L.CHAR.RA* (Jir). The compound རབ་ལྷ་ *RBAB.CHU* alt. འབབ་ལྷ་ *BAB.CHU* (Ü, Ts, Am) is also well attested.

**326. DIKE** རགས་ *RAGS* [PR] < CT. The compound ལྷ་རགས་ *CHU.RAGS* (lit. ‘water dike’) is widespread. ལྷ་སྟོར་ *CHU.SKYOR* is also found.

**327. ROAD** ལམ་ *LAM* [PW] < CT. Sometimes followed by a suffix: ལམ་ཁ་ *LAM.KHA* (La, Ts, Ü). The compounds ལྷ་ལམ་ *RGYALAM* < CT ‘large road’ and གཞུང་ལམ་ *GZHUNG.LAM* < CT ‘central or middle road’ usually designate main roads.

**328. PRAIRIE/PLAIN** ཐང་ *THANG* (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) [FFW] ‘flat prairie, plain, steppe’. ཐང་ཁ་ *THANG.KHA* is also attested (Za). In Amdo the word ཐང་ *THANG* also means ‘floor’. In Sherpa, the word ལྷིངས་མ་ *SDINGS.MA* is used and is derived from the root ལྷིངས་ *SDINGS* ‘plateau’; བདེ་ཕོ་ *BDE.PHO* < CT བདེ་ *BDE* ‘easy (going)’ is also found.

- 329. GRASSY FIELD, GRASSLAND, MEADOW** སྤང་ *SPANG* [PW] < CT. The initial consonant cluster of སྤང་ *SPANG* is pronounced in many ways: /<sup>h</sup>p/, /<sup>h</sup>s/, /<sup>h</sup>ʃ/, /xw/, etc. Other words are found, such as ལྗམ་ *RTSWA.THANG* lit. ‘grass plain’, འོལ་ *’OL* (Ba, Pur) < CT ‘clover, lucerne, trefoil’.
- 330. FIELD** ཞིང་ *ZHING* [PR] < CT. The CT word originally ‘region, arable land’. In Ü and Ts, the root is followed by the suffix KHA ཞིང་ཁ་ *ZHING.KHA*. The compound ས་ཞིང་ *SA.ZHING* < lit. ‘earth field’ is also found (Am). ས་ *SA* ‘field’ < CT lit. ‘earth, soil’ occurs in the Eastern section. In Southern Kham, ལྷུ་ཞིང་ *CHU.ZHING* CT ‘water field’ and in Dzongkha: འབྲུ་ཞིང་ *’BYA.ZHING* < འབྲས་ཞིང་ *’BRAS.ZHING* ‘rice field’ used for ‘paddy field’.
- 331. FARMING AREA** རྩོང་ས་ *RONG.SA* [FFR] (Am, Kh) < CT རྩོང་ས་ *RONG* ‘deep valley, gorge’. Attested forms include རྩོང་པ་ས་ཆ་ *RONG.PASA.CHA*, ཞིང་ས་ *ZHING.SA* (Ü, Ts), ཡུལ་ཚོ་ *YUL.TSHO* < CT lit. ‘village group’ (SouthKh), ལྷུང་ས་ *KLUNGS* (La). This word comes from CT ལྷུང་ *KLUNG* ‘river and cultivated land’.
- 332. PASTORAL AREA** འབྲོག་ས་ *’BROG.SA* [PR] < CT འབྲོག་ *’BROG* ‘solitude, wilderness’ + *SA* ‘place’ (Am, Kh); འབྲོག་ *’BROG* (Pur), འབྲོག་པ་ས་ཆ་ *’BROG.PASA.CHA* (Am, Kh), འབྲོག་པ་འི་ས་ཆ་ *’BROG.PA’ISA.CHA* (Ü, Ts), འབྲོག་པ་ *’BROG.PA* (E).
- 333. SAND** བྱེ་མ་ *BYE.MA* [PW] < CT. This is pronounced in many ways: /pyama/ (Pur), /byanga/ (Ba), /pema/ (La), /<sup>h</sup>pema/ (Tö, Sh), /<sup>h</sup>čema/ (Ü, Ts), /<sup>h</sup>im/ (Dz), /<sup>h</sup>shema/ (Am), /<sup>h</sup>sema/ (Kh), /<sup>h</sup>tsema/ (Kh, Hor), etc.
- 334. DUST** ཐལ་ *THAL* [PR] < CT or ཐལ་བ་ *THAL.BA*, ཐལ་དྭགས་ *THAL.DKAR* (SouthKh) lit. ‘white dust’ ཐལ་དུམ་ *THAL.DUM* (Ba), ‘dust’ ཐལ་རྩུབ་ *THAL.RTSUB* (La, Za). Another widespread root is རྩུལ་ *RDUL* (Am, La) < CT ‘dust’, ‘atom’, ‘pollen’, ས་སུབ་ /sasup/ (Pur) < ས་རྩུབ་ *SA.TSHUB*. See ASHES.
- 335. ASHES** ཐལ་ *THAL* [PR] < CT or ཐལ་བ་ *THAL.BA* (Yol, Kh, Pur, Am). Compound words are also attested: གོ་ཐལ་ *GO.THAL* (Ü, Ts, Dz) and the variant གོག་ཐལ་ *GOG.THAL* (La, Za), ཐལ་ཅིར་ *THAL.TSIR* (Ba), ཐལ་རྩུབ་ *THAL.RTSAM* (Sh), ཐལ་དྭགས་ *THAL.DKAR* (Kh), and རྩོ་ཐལ་ *RDO.THAL* (Kh).

336. **MUD** འདས་བག་ *DAM.BAG* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT, or the alt. form: འདས་པ་ *DAM.PA* (CT), འདས་ *DAM* (Pur), འདག་པ་ *DAG.PA* (Yol), འཇམ་བ་ *JAM.BA* (Am) related to འཇམ་མ་ *JAM.MA* ‘gruel, soup’, ཏྲུ་ལག་ *KALAG* (La, Za).

337. **FOREST** རྒྱལ་ས་ *NAGS* [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. This word is related to རྒྱལ་ *NAG* ‘black’ or ‘dark’. Various compound words are also attested, such as ཤིང་རྒྱལ་ *SHING.NAGS* (Ü) < CT ‘wood forest’, རྒྱལ་ཚལ་ *NAGS.TSHAL* (Kh, E, Lho) < CT ‘forest+grove’ and རྒྱལ་རི་ *NAGS.RI* < lit. CT ‘mountain forest’ e.g. ཏྲུ་རྒྱལ་ */na:ʈi/* (Sh). The word རི་ *RI* (Yol, etc.) < CT ‘mountain’ is also sometimes used alone for ‘forest’. Also found are རྒྱལ་ཚོགས་ *NAGS.TSHOGS* (La) < lit. forest+ forest’ (*TSHOGS* originally meant ‘grouping’ in CT), ཚོགས་ *TSHOGS* < CT ‘set, mass, crowd’ and ཚོགས་གསེབ་ *TSHOGS.GSEB* (Nubra); རྒྱལ་མཚམས་ *RDZA.NAGS* is attested in Southern Kham, ལྷང་གསེབ་ས་ ཏྲུ་ *LCANG.GSEBS* lit. ‘among trees’ in Purik (*LCANG* means ‘willow’ in CT), and ཏྲུ་མག་ཚལ་ *PHAG.TSHAL* < CT ‘behind grove’ in Amdo. The Hindu–Urdu and Persian loanwords */jāngal/* ‘wild forest’ and */bag/* ‘planted forest’ are also heard.

338. **GOLD** གསེར་ *GSER* [PW] < CT. In many dialects from the Eastern section, such as Čone and Sharkhok, the word is གསེར་རྒྱལ་ *GSER.NAG* lit. ‘black gold’.

339. **SILVER** དུལ་ *DNGUL* [PW] < CT. A variant དུལ་ *DMUL* is found in some northwestern languages, where it is realized as */ˤmul/*, */ʕmul/* (Ba, La, Pur, Sp).

340. **COPPER** ཟངས་ *ZANGS* [PW] < CT. This occurs in some dialects with a suffix: ཟངས་མ་ *ZANGS.MA* (E). The word རྒྱལ་ *RAG* is also used (see below).

341. **BRASS** ར་གན་ *RA.GAN* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). The root ར་གན་ *RAG* is also used alone (La, Am). Both words are also found in CT. In Balti, the word ཏྲུ་བ་མ་ */bramas/* is used.

342. **IRON** ལྷགས་ *LCAGS* [PW] < CT. This is pronounced in various ways: ལྷགས་ */čaks/* (La, Pur), */čak/*, */ča:/*, etc.

343. **LEAD (METAL)** ལྷ་ཉེ་ *ZHA.NYE* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Kh, Am). In some dialects (E), the second syllable becomes */ne:/*: ལྷ་ཉེ་ *ZHA.NE*. The word ཏྲུ་རིན་ཁྱི་ *RIN.DI* (La, Pur, Ba), < ? ཏྲུ་མེ་ལྷ་ *RIL.MDE’U* ‘round bullet’ used in northwestern languages

is related to traditional use of lead for bullets; འཇམ་མཐོ་ *MDA'MGO* < CT lit. 'arrow head' is also attested.

**344. RUST** གཙམ་ *G TSA'* or བཙམ་ *B TSA'* [FFW] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Yol, Dz, Kh, Am) < CT, as well as གཡམ་ *G-YA'* [FFW] (Ba, La, SKh) < CT. The word ཟངས་ *ZANGS* (La) < CT 'copper' is also marginally attested.

**345. ZI (AGATE)** གཛི་ *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་རྩ་ *SHEL.RDO* is another word found for crystal. See also GLASS.

**347. DIAMOND** བལམ་ *PHALAM* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh) < CT. Compound words are also attested: རྩ་བལམ་ *RDO PHALAM* (Th), རྩ་རྩེ་བལམ་ *RDO.RJE PHALAM* (Am, Dz, Sh, Lho), རིན་མོ་ཆེ་ *RIN.MO CHE* (Pur). Diamonds are not known in some languages.

**348. CHARCOAL** སོལ་ *SOL* [PR] < CT སོལ་བ་ *SOL.BA* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Ts, Ü, Am). It is usually pronounced /sola/; སོལ་ཏོག་ *SOL.TOG* (Sh); སོལ་མོ་ *SOL.MO* (Dz); འགསོལ་ལས་ *SOL.KHAS* (Am).

**349. PLACE** ས་ཆ་ *SA.CHA* [PW] < CT. Some languages use the compound ས་གནས་ *SA.GNAS* (Kh, La, Dz) or the words ས་ *SA* < CT 'soil, earth', གནས་ *GNAS* < CT '(holy) place' or མལ་ས་ *MAL.SA* (Pur). Urd. /jaga/ is also used in Ladakh.

**350. TIBET** བོད་ *BOD* [PW] < CT. This is pronounced in various ways: /bot/ (Pur, Ba), /pot/ (La, Za, Sp), /p'ö:/ (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་ཡུལ་ *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 \**ṣpod* because of its pronunciation with preaspiration as /<sup>h</sup>pe/ (Serpo), /<sup>h</sup>pe:/ (Čone).

## SPACE and TIME

**351. DISTANCE** རྒྱལ་ཐག་ *RGYANG.THAG* [FFW] < CT The word རྒྱལ་བུ་ *RGYANG.BU* is also attested (Yolmo). ཉེ་རིང་ *NYE.RING* < CT lit. ‘close-far’ is used in some languages for ‘distance’ (note that in some dialects, *NYE.RING* 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 than adjectives such as ‘far’ and ‘near’.

**352. DIRECTION** ཕྱོགས་ *PHYOGS* [PW] < CT. Often occurs in the compound ལ་ ཕྱོགས་ *KHA.PHYOGS*. The word རོས་ *NGOS* (Pur) < CT ‘side’ is also attested.

**353. EAST** གར་ *SHAR* [PW] < CT ‘east, to rise’. This is often followed by the word *PHYOGS* ‘direction’ or ལ་ *KHA* ‘mouth, surface’: གར་ཕྱོགས་ *SHAR.PHYOGS*, གར་ལ་ *SHAR.KHA* (Ba), གར་ས་ *SHAR.SA* (Pur). Jirel has a loanword: ཏུ་ལུ་བ་ *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** ལུ་ *NUB* [PW] < CT ‘west, to sink’. Often followed by the word ཕྱོགས་ *PHYOGS* ‘direction’ or ལ་ *KHA* ‘mouth, surface’: ལུ་ཕྱོགས་ *NUB.PHYOGS*, ལུ་ལ་ *NUB.KHA* (Ba), ལུ་ས་ཉི་ */gasnyi/* (Pur) lit. ‘sunset, old sun’. Jirel has a loanword: ཏུ་པ་ཤེས་ */pashim/* < Nep. Several places in Kham employ */l’a/* for ‘west’.

**355. SOUTH** ལྷོ་ *LHO* [PW] < CT. Some languages have a loanword. This is the case in Balti and Purik ཏུ་ཇཱ་ལུ་ */jaanub/* < Pers. and Jirel ཏུ་ཅིན་ */dačín/* < Nep.



- 356. NORTH** བྱང་ *BYANG* [PW] < CT. Loanwords are used in some languages on the periphery of the Tibetan area, such as in Balti (Pur) with ཤིམཤམ་ /shimaal/ < Pers. and in Jirel with འུལ་ཏུར་ /utar/ < Nep.
- 357. MIDDLE, BETWEEN** བར་ *BAR* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT ‘in between’. Additionally, དཀྱིལ་ *DKYIL* ‘center’ is also used in Kham and Eastern languages. The compound བར་དཀྱིལ་ *BAR.DKYIL* (Yol) is also attested. ལྷུག་ *SBUG* < CT ‘inside’ is used in Dzongkha, and གཞུང་ *GZHUNG* (La).
- 358. CENTER** དཀྱིལ་ *DKYIL* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. Other words are found: དབུས་ *DBUS* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Am) < CT; གཞུང་ *GZHUNG* (La), < CT. The word ལྷུག་ *SBUG* (Dz) < CT ‘inside’ is also used. ལྷེ་གནས་ *LTE.GNAS* < CT ‘main place’ lit. ‘navel place’ is used for ‘central place’.
- 359. SIDE** ཕྱོགས་ *PHYOGS* [PW] < CT. The archaic pronunciation /p’yoks/ (Pur) is attested. Other roots are attested: ཟུར་ *ZUR* < CT ‘corner’ འགས་ *GRAM* < CT ‘side, cheek’, ལོགས་ *LOGS* < CT ‘corner’. འདི་ངོས་ལ་ *’DINGOS.LA* (La) ‘towards this side’. The expressions ཕར་ཁ་ *PHAR.KHA* and ཕར་ངོས་ *PHAR.NGOS* ‘on the other side’ are widespread.
- 360. LEFT** གཡོན་ *G-YON* [PR] < CT ‘left’ derived from the verb གཡོ་ *G-YO* ‘deceive’, often with a suffix: གཡོན་པ་ *G-YON.PA* གཡོན་མ་ *G-YON.MA*. Some compound words are also used: གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་ *G-YON.PHYOGS* (Pur). Alternative words are attested: གཡས་ངན་ *G-YAS.NGAN* lit. ‘bad right’ (E: Th.); ཕྱི་ལོགས་པ་ *PHYI.LOGS.PA* (Sh) lit. ‘outsiders’ (way)’. In some dialects (E, SKh), there is an opposition between the demonstrative forms མཆོ་ *TSHUCT* < ‘hither’ and དེ་ *DE* < ‘that’ (medial) or between མཆོ་ *TSHUCT* < ‘hither’ and ས་ *PHA* < ‘that’ (distal), which are used as directionals. This new system may have been adopted because གཡས་ and གཡོན་ *G-YAS G-YON* sound very similar in these dialects. Loanwords are also found, e.g. in Jirel with འདེབ་རེ་ /debre/ < Nep.
- 361. RIGHT** གཡས་ *G-YAS* [PR] < CT Compound and derived words are also attested: གཡས་པ་ *G-YAS.PA* /yaspa/ (Sham), /yafa/ (Za); གཡས་ཕྱོགས་ *G-YAS.PHYOGS*. In Thewo, འདེབ་པ་ *G-YAS.BZANG* lit. ‘good right’ is used. In Balti and Kham (Chathreng, Gyälthang), a compound འདྲང་ལག་ *DRANG.LAG* <

lit. 'honest hand' is used. Other words such as རྩང་ *DRANG* /tang, trang/ lit. 'straight' (Kh, Serpo, Pur), བདེན་ *BDEN* (Yunnan) < 'true' and ནང་ལོགས་པ་ *NANG.LOGS.PA* (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'] མདུན་ *MDUN* [FFW] (Pur, La, Za, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT (related to *GDONG*). གནོད་ *GDONG* < CT 'face' or གནོད་ཁ་ *GDONG.KHA* (Dz, Sh), མདུན་ཁ་ *GDUN.KHA* (Lho). A third root is frequently attested in Kham and Amdo: སྟོན་ *SNGON* and སྟ་ *SNGA* < CT 'before' (normally related to 'time', but here used for space) and derived forms such as འཇུག་ *SNGUN*, འཇུག་ཚོ་ *SNGUN.TSHO*, འཇུག་སྟོ་ *SNGO.SO*. Finally a word རྩེབ་ *RTSIB* < 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. BESIDE** རྩ་ *RTSA* (Ü, Ts, Lho), འགམ་ 'GRAM (La) < CT 'cheek', མཐའ་མ་ *MTHA'.MA* (La), རྩེ་ལྷ་ *LDO.'IKA* (La), རྩེབ་ལྷ་ *RTSIB.NA* (Am).

**364. BACK** ['behind, at the back of'] རྩེབ་ *RGYAB* [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Yol, Lho) < CT. Another word ལྷག་ *LTAG* < CT 'behind' is attested: འཇུག་ལྷག་ *LTAG.RTSA* (Ts), འཇུག་ལྷག་ *LTAG.GA* (Am). Marginally other forms are also encountered, such as འཇུག་ལྷག་ *GZHUG* (Am), མཐུག་ *MJUG* (Kh, Za) < CT 'tail', and འཇུག་ལྷག་ *PHYIS.SO* (Th).

**365. OUTSIDE** རྩེ་ *PHYI* [PW] < CT. The word is pronounced in many ways: /p'i/, /p'ɛ'i/, /ɛ'i/, /sh'i/, /s'ə/, etc. Many compound words are attested རྩེ་ལོགས་ *PHYI.LOGS* 'out side', རྩེ་ཕྱོགས་ *PHYI.PHYOGS* lit. 'out direction', འཇུག་ཕྱོགས་ *PHYI.TSOG.NA* (Am). རྩེ་ཁ་ *PHYI.KHA* lit. 'out surface'. The word བེ་སྟ་ *PHI.STA* /p'ista/ (Pur) is attested. Some dialects of southern Kham have the form རྩེབ་ *RGYAB* < CT 'behind'.

**366. INSIDE** ནང་ *NANG* [PW] < CT. In Thewo, there is a compound word: གཞིས་ནང་ *GZHIS.NANG* /ɣənā/. འཇུག་ལོགས་ *NANG.GOL.TIG* (Pur).

367. **CORNER** ཟུར་ *ZUR* [FFW] < CT. A few dialects have reflexes from \*གཟུར་ *GZUR* (Ba), ཟུར་ཁ་ *ZUR.KHA* (Am), ན་ཟུར་ *NA.ZUR* (Yol), ཟུ་ *GRU* (La, Pur) < CT ‘elbow, corner’. In South Kham, the form /ta:koʔ/ is of unclear origin.
368. **SURROUNDINGS** མཐའ་སྐོར་ *MTHA'.SKOR* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT, ཉེ་སྐོར་ *NYE.SKOR* [FFW] < CT. ཁར་ཁོར་ *KHAR.KHOR* (Pur).
369. **BORDER** ས་མཆོམས་ *SAMTSHAMS* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E: Th, Am, Dz) < CT lit. ‘earth limit’. The root མཆོམས་ *MTSHAMS* ‘limit’ is also used alone. The Balti word /χmurdo/ could be derived from རྩོད་རྩོད་ *DMOD.RDO* ‘swear stone’ (because conflicting parties may swear on border stones or pillars that they will respect a peace treaty). Also found are འཆོར་རྩགས་ *TSHER.RTAGS* (Pur) < CT ‘thorn sign’, ‘border’ (between two countries) and བར་རྩགས་ *BAR.RTAGS* border (between two fields).
370. **ON** སྟེང་ *STENG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT. Other frequently attested words for the postposition ‘on’ include སྒང་ *SGANG* (Yol, Ü, Ts, Hor, Am) < CT ‘high place, ridge, hill’; ཁ་ *KHA* (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Dz, Th) < CT ‘mouth, surface’; ཐོག་ *THOG* (Th, Ho, Am: Ng, Ü) < CT ‘roof’. More marginally, other forms are also used: ལྷན་ *KLAD* (Am) or ལྷན་ཀྱ་ *KLAD.KA* (Th) < CT ‘above, brain’ and ལྷ་ *GU* (Dz) < CT འགོ་ *GO* ‘head’. ཡར་ *YAR* ‘up there’ is attested in the eastern section. ལྷག་ *LTAG* (La) ‘above, over’. It appears that all the postpositions 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** འོག་ *OG* [PW] < CT. The variant ཡོག་ *YOG* is also widespread (Pur, La, Tö, Ho, Am: Chabcha). Some other words are marginally attested: ཞབས་ *ZHABS* (Kh) < CT ‘foot (H), bottom’, ཞོམ་ *ZHOL* < CT ‘lower part’, ལྷག་ *GAB* (Sp) whose origin is not clear.
372. **UPWARDS/UP** ཡར་ *YAR* [FFW] (Yol, Ü, Ts, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT. The variant ལྷ་ *AR* is also found in Kham. The term གྱེན་ *GYEN* [FFW] (Pur, La) or ལྷ་ *GYEN* /ken/, /gen/ < CT ‘uphill’ is also frequently attested. ཁ་ཏོར་ /k'hatot/ is used in Purik. A few languages have other forms: ལྷ་ *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་ཐེངས་ *YAR PHEBS* 'come in', ཡར་མར་འགྲོ་ *YAR 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: འོ་མིར་ *SIR* (Kh), འོ་ཐིར་ *PHIR* (Hor) < CT ཐྱིར་ *PHYIR* 'outside, back, behind, after + dative'. As we have seen above, the word 'down' is sometimes interpreted as 'back'. ཞོ་ལ་ *ZHOL* < CT 'lower part' and ཡོག་ལ་ *YOG.LA* (Pur) < CT 'under' are also attested.

**374. EDGE** མཐའ་ *MTHA'* [PW] < CT. ཟུར་ *ZUR* (Pur, La) may also be used for this meaning.

**375. BOTTOM** མཐིལ་ *MTHIL* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E: Th, Am, Dz) < CT. ལག་ཐིལ་ *LAG.MTHIL* lit. 'bottom of the hand' means 'palm of the hand'. In Kham and Amdo ཞབས་ *ZHABS* < CT 'foot (H)' is used.

**376. TIME** ལྷས་ *DUS* [PR] < CT. In some dialects, ལྷས་ *DUS* may be used alone (Am, Dz, Kyi, Ba) but the compound ལྷས་ཚོན་ *DUS.TSHOD* [PW] < CT lit. 'time measure' is found in nearly all the regions. The root ཚོན་ *TSHOD* used alone is attested in Drugchu (E). In some Kham varieties and south Himalayan dialects (Yol), ལྷ་ཚོན་ *CHU.TSHOD* < CT 'water measure, hour, clock' is used for 'time'. In the Phuri dialect (Kh), /s'ə ts'e?/, whose first syllable is of unclear origin, is used (cf. WATCH). འཇགས་ *WAGS* /waqs/ (La, Pur) < Pers. and Arab *waqt*.

**377. HOUR** ལྷ་ཚོན་ *CHU.TSHOD* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E: Th, Dz) < CT: 'water measure, hour'. In Amdo and the Eastern Section, the word ལྷས་ཚོན་ *DUS.TSHOD* [FFW] (Am) < CT lit. 'time measure' is generally used. A few languages have borrowed words such as འགྲན་ཏེ་ *GHAN.TA* /gan̪ta/ (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Jir, Yol) < Hin., Urd. 'hour (duration)' and གྲུ་ཏི་ *GHA.DI* /ga̪di, ga̪ri/ (Ba, Pur, La, etc.) < Hin. Urd. 'clock'.

**378. TODAY** དེ་རིང་ *DE.RING* or the variant འདི་རིང་ *DI.RING* [PW] < CT. Some dialects have a reflex of a form འ་རིང་ *'A.RING* /ɦa ri/ (Sh) or ཨ་རིང་ *PA.RING*: /'pa ri/ (in Yunnan Kh), /'ha ri/ (Kh: Sangdam).

**379. YESTERDAY** ཁ་རྩ་ *KHARTSANG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT 'yesterday (morning)'; ཁ་རྩ་ *KHARTSANG* is pronounced in various ways: འ་རྩ་ /k'a:tsa/ (Dz), ཁ་སང་ /k'asang/ (Ts), འ་ཁེ་ས་ /k'ä:sa/ (Ü), etc. In Melung (Kh), /k'e tsə ma/ is used, while /k'a ɱma/ is found in Muli (Kh). སང་ *MDANG* [FFW] (La, Ba, Sp, Tö, Yol, Sh, Jir, E: Drugchu, Lho) < CT 'yesterday (evening)'. In Balti and Purik, གུང་དེ་ *GUN.DE* /gunde/ or གོང་དེ་ /gonde/ < ? དགོང་ *DGONG*. Sprigg mentions the word འར་ཆག་ལ་ /k'arč'akla/, which is probably related to ཁ་རྩ་ *KHARTSANG*.

**380. DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY** ཁས་ཉིན་ *KHAS.NYIN* [FFW] (Ü, Am, LJ: Durbuk) < CT. ཁས་ཉིན་ *KHAS.NYI.MA* (Ts, Kh) is also attested. ཁ་རྩ་ཞག་ *KHARTSANG.ZHAG* (La, Pur).

**381. TOMORROW** ནངས་པར་ *NANGS.PAR* [FFW] (Hor, Kh, Am, Dz, Ko) < CT. The variants ནངས་མོ་ *NANGS.MO* (Sp, Sham), ནངས་དཀར་ *NANGS.DKAR* (Am) and *NANGS.KHA* (Am) are also attested. Drugchu /na na/ might be derived from འ་ནངས་ནངས་ *NANGS.NANGS*, སང་ཉིན་ *SANGS.NYIN* [FFW] (Ü, Kh, Am: Ch, Dz) < CT; the shorter form སང་ *SANG* is also found (Ts). Other words are used more marginally: some forms are derived from བོ་རེངས་ *THO.RENGS* < CT 'dawn': འ་བ་ར་ *THA.RA* (Th), འ་ཐོ་རེ་ *THO.RE* (Sharkhok, La, Ba, Za). Tö dialects have a word derived from CT ལྷ་རྩོ་ *SNGA.DRO* 'morning'. The Sherpa word འ་ས་ལ་ *ZALA* /sala/ might be derived from གཟའ་ *GZA* 'planet'. The origins of འ་ས་ཀེ་ *HAS.KE* /haske/ (Ba), and འ་ས་ཀྱེ་ *PAS.KYE* /askye/ (Pur) and འ་བེ་ལ་ /bela/ (Ba) are unclear.

**382. DAY AFTER TOMORROW** གནངས་ *GNANGS* [PW] < CT. The compound གནངས་ཉིན་ *GNANGS.NYIN* and གནངས་ཉིན་ཀ་ *GNANGS.NYIN.KA* are also attested. CT and the modern Tibetic languages not only have specific lexical terms for 'day after tomorrow', but also employ གཞེས་ *GZHES* [PW] < CT (and the compound གཞེས་ཉིན་ *GZHES.NYIN*) for 'three days from today' and དགུ་ཉིན་ *DGU.NYIN* for 'four days

from today'. Some languages such as Balti and Purik use, instead of གཞེས་ *GZHES*, the variant འཇེས་ *RDZES*, related to CT འཇེས་ *RJES* 'after'.

**383. TONIGHT** རོ་དགོང་ *DO.DGONG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT lit. 'this evening'. The variants དེ་དགོང་ *DE.DGONG* (Am) and ད་དགོང་ *DA.DGONG* are also attested. In some Kham dialects, ཨ་རུབ་ *ʔA.NUB* is used. In some languages, there is no specific word: མཚན་ལ་ *MTSHAN.LA* (Pur) or འདི་རིང་མི་ཉག་ *'DLRING PHI.TOG* (La), 'today's evening'.

**384. LAST NIGHT** མདང་ *MDANG* [FFR] (La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, etc.) < CT 'yesterday', རུབ་(མོ) *NUB(.MO)* 'evening night': མདང་ *MDANG* may occur alone (Am, Kh), or in combination with རུབ་ *NUB* མདང་རུབ་ *MDANG.NUB*, ལ་རུབ་ *KHA.NUB* < CT 'night before last' ཕྱི་ཚེ་ *PHYI.DRO* 'afternoon' e.g. མདང་དགོང་ *MDANG.DGONG* (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Jir), འམདར་དགོང་ *MDAR.DGONG* (Hor) འམདར་མོ་ཕྱི་ཚེ་ *MDANGMO.PHYI.RU* (Dz), མདང་རུབ་ *MDANG.NUB*, མདང་ཞེས་བི་ *MDANG.NEM.BI* (Sh), མདང་མཚན་ *MDANG.TSHAN* (Kh), རུབ་སོང་ *NUB.SONG*, གུན་དེ་མཚན་ལ་ *GUN.DE MTSHAN.LA* (Pur) འམདར་མི་ཉག་ *MDANG.PHI.TOG* (La).

**385. MORNING** རྩ་ *DRO* [FFR] (Ts, Tö, Sh, Dz, Am) < CT 'noon'. The similarity between 'morning' and 'tomorrow' is frequent in many languages, including Swedish, German, Japanese and Spanish. རྩ་ *DRO* may occur with a suffix as རྩ་པ་ *DRO.PA* (Dz, Lho) or རྩ་ལ་ *DROB.LA* (Sh). In many languages, the root ལྷ་/ ལྷན་ *SNGA/SNGON* < CT 'early' is also attested: ལྷ་ཚེ་ *SNGA.DRO* (Yol, Am), ལྷ་ཉག་ *SNGA.TOG* (La, Ts, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT lit. 'before noon', ལྷན་མོ་ *SNGON.MO* (Pur). Another root ཞོགས་ *ZHOGS* [FFR] < CT 'morning' is essentially found in Central Tibet and many Kham dialects: ཞོགས་པ་ *ZHOGS.PA* or variants ཞོགས་གེ་ *ZHOGS.GE* (Ü), ཞོགས་ལ་ *ZHOGS.KHA* (Kh), ཞོགས་ད་ *ZHOGS.DA* (Ko). The Balti word འཇུགས་པ་ *GYOGS.PA* is probably an archaic form of ཞོགས་པ་ *ZHOGS.PA*. It is interesting to note that in this language, the word 'morning' is related to the word འཇུགས་ *GYOGS* 'to be the first to arrive, precede in time' (cf. Sprigg) and is cognate with མཇུགས་པ་ *MGYOGS.PA* < CT 'quick, fast'. The root ནངས་ *NANGS* [FFR] < CT 'morning' is well attested ནངས་ལྷ་ *NANGS.SNGA* (Kh), ནངས་དི་ *NANGS.DI* (Am). Other words

are also found: འོ་མ་ལོ་ *THO.RE* (La) < CT ‘dawn’, འགཟའ་ལ་ *GZA’.LA* (Kh), and འགཟའ་ར་ *GZA’.RA* (Am), which may be derived from གཟའ་ *GZA’* ‘planet’.

**386. NOON** ཉིན་གུང་ *NYIN.GUNG* [PW] < CT lit. ‘middle of the day’ or its variants ཉི་མའི་གུང་ *NYI.MA’IGUNG* ‘middle of the day’ (Kh, Am, Sh) and ཉིན་ཁྲུང་/nyitk’yung/ (Pur). Sometimes it is found in a short form like ཉིན་མོ་ *NYIN.MO* (Sp). The word ཉི་གུང་ *NYI.GZHUNG* (Kh) lit. ‘mid-day’ is attested in Kham. Some languages have forms derived from the CT word རྩ་ *DRO* [FFW] < CT ‘noon’: འོ་མ་མ་རྩ་ *NGIN.MA DRO* (Ba), འོ་མ་གུང་ *DRO.GZHUNG* (Kh., Hor), འོ་མ་གུང་ *DRO.GA*. In Purik, ཚན་པ་ *TSHAD.PA* CT ‘heat’ is used.

**387. EVENING/AFTERNOON** ཕྱི་རྩ་ *PHYL.DRO* [FFW] < CT lit. ‘after noon’, ཕྱི་གུང་ *PHYL.THOG* [FFW] < CT lit. ‘on after’, དགོང་ *DGONG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘evening’. The CT word སྟོན་ *SROD* ‘evening (from dusk)’ is attested in South Kham, but is rather rare. For the compound word with ཕྱི་ *PHYI* ‘after’, the following forms are attested: འོ་མ་ཉིན་གུང་ *PHI.TOG* (Tö, Sh, Sp, La, Pur), འོ་ཕྱི་རྩ་ *PHYI.RU* (Dz, Am), འོ་ཕྱི་རྩ་ *PHVYL.RU* (Lho), ཕྱི་རྩ་ *PHYL.DRO* (Kh), འོ་ཕྱི་གུང་ *PHYI.GI* (Kh). Forms derived from དགོང་ *DGONG* include དགོང་མོ་ *DGONG.MO* (Yol, Kh, Hor, Am), འོ་དགོང་མོ་ *DGOS.MO*, དགོང་དག་ *DGONG.DAG* (Ü, Ts), འོ་དག་དགོང་ *DAG.DGONG* (Am), འོ་དགོང་ལ་ *DGONG.KHA* (Am), འོ་དགོང་ཕིན་ *DGONG.PHIN* (Am). In many dialects, the distinction between ‘evening’ and ‘(late) afternoon’ is generally not made. In Yunnan (Kh), /ma k’a/ or /ma 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** མཚན་ *MTSHAN* [FFR] < CT. མཚན་ *MTSHAN* can be used alone (Am: Ng, La, Ba, Ts), but is often followed by a suffix or the adjective *NAG* ‘black’: མཚན་མོ་ *MTSHAN.MO* (Sp, Mus, Am), མཚན་ནག་ *MTSHAN.NAG* (Ü, Kh, Hor). མཚན་རིང་ *MTSHAN.RING* lit. ‘long night’ is also found. Other words are also attested, e.g. ལྷབ་ *NUB* (Yol), ལྷབ་མོ་ *NUB.MO* [FFW] (Dz, Am) < CT ‘night, evening’ derived from the verb ལྷབ་ *NUB* ‘to sink, to disappear’; འོ་མ་མོ་ (Am) < CT ‘evening’ and འོ་མོ་ལྷ་ *DGO.MU* (Sh). Marginally attested are compound words such as འོ་གནམ་ནག་ *GNAM.NAG* (Ts) lit. ‘black sky’ and འོ་བྱ་བོས་ *BYA.BOS* (Ba) ‘end of the night’ (lit.

‘the rooster called’). In some dialects in South Kham and Zangskar, the word ཕྱི་ལོ་ *PHYI.DRO* (see EVENING) /phiro/ (Za) is attested.

**389. MIDNIGHT** ནམ་ཕྱེད་ *NAM.PHYED* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, etc.) < CT lit. ‘half sky’, ནམ་གྲུང་ *NAM.GUNG* (Am), མཚན་ཕྱེད་ *MTSHAN.PHYED* [FFW] (La, Pur) < CT lit. ‘half night’, ལྷུ་ཕྱེད་ *NUB PHYED* (Yol, Jir) < CT lit. ‘half night’, མཚན་དཀྱིལ་ *MTSHAN.DKYIL* (La).

**390. NEW MOON**, referring to both the lunar phase and the beginning of the lunar calendar. ནམ་གང་ *NAM.GANG* (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘full sky’, ཆོས་པ་གཅིག་ *TSHES.PA GCIG* [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. ‘first day (of the lunar calendar)’. ཟླ་འགོའི་ ཟློན་ *ZLA.’GO’I ZLOD* /lza goe lzot/ (Pur) lit. ‘moon of the beginning of the month’.

**391. FULL MOON** ཉ་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). བཅུ་བཞི་གང་མའི་ཟློན་ /čuzhbzhi gangmi lzot/ (Pur) lit. ‘full moon of the fourteenth day (of the lunar calendar)’.

**392. ZODIAC** འོ་སྐྱར་བཅུ་གཉིས་ *LO.SKOR BCU.GNYIS* [PW] < CT ‘the twelve years (of) the cycle’. The word for ‘animal sign’ is འོ་རྟགས་ *LO.RTAGS* (Ü, Ts, Jir) or འོ་བ་ *LO.BA*, འོ་ཤ་ *LO.SHAN* in South Kham; the term འོ་རྟགས་ *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 through out 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** ཕྱི་ལོ་ *BYI.LO* [PW] < CT

**394. OX YEAR** གླང་ལོ་ *GLANG.LO* [PW] < CT

**395. TIGER YEAR** ལྷག་ལོ་ *STAG.LO* [PW] < CT



396. **RABBIT YEAR** ཡོས་ལོ་ *YOS.LO* [PW] < CT. Some dialects lack the form ཡོས་ *YOS*, and use རི་གོང་ *RI.GONG* < རི་བོང་ *RI.BONG* ‘hare’ instead.
397. **DRAGON YEAR** འབྲུག་ལོ་ *BRUG.LO* [PW] < CT
398. **SNAKE YEAR** སྦྱུལ་ལོ་ *SBRUL.LO* [PW] < CT
399. **HORSE YEAR** རྩ་ལོ་ *RTALO* [PW] < CT
400. **SHEEP YEAR** ལྷག་ལོ་ *LUG.LO* [PW] < CT. In some dialects this is called ར་ལོ་ *RALO* ‘goat year’, under the influence of the Chinese name for this year of the cycle.
401. **MONKEY YEAR** སྦྱེལ་ལོ་ *SPREL.LO* [PW] < CT
402. **ROOSTER YEAR** བྱ་ལོ་ *BYALO* [PW] < CT
403. **DOG YEAR** ཁྱི་ལོ་ *KHYI.LO* [PW] < CT
404. **PIG YEAR** ཕག་ལོ་ *PHAG.LO* [PW] < CT
405. **MONTH** ལྷོ་ *ZLA* [PR] < CT or its archaic variant ལྷོ་ *SLA*. These is pronounced in various ways: /<sup>h</sup>za/ (Ba, Pur), /<sup>h</sup>da/ (La), /<sup>h</sup>ða/ (Za), /<sup>h</sup>ta/, /<sup>h</sup>da/ (Ü, Ts, Hor), /do/ (Cho), /<sup>h</sup>dza/ (Am), /<sup>h</sup>dza/ (Kh), ལ་ *LA* /<sup>h</sup>la/ (Sh), ལྷོ་ *SLA* /<sup>h</sup>la/ (E: Th), etc. It is often followed by a suffix: ལྷོ་བ་ *ZLABA* (Ü, Ts, Tö, etc.) /<sup>h</sup>tawa/, /<sup>h</sup>dawa/ or /<sup>h</sup>da:/, ལྷོ་ཕ་ *ZLAW* /<sup>h</sup>dau/ (Dz), ལྷོ་བ་ /<sup>h</sup>doa/ (Cho).
406. **MONTH NAMES (MODERN)**. The names of the month in Tibetan and most Tibetic areas are: ལྷོ་བ་དང་ལོ་ *ZLA.BADANG.PO* ‘first (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་གཉིས་པ་ *ZLA.BA GNYIS.PA* ‘second (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་གསུམ་པ་ *ZLA.BA GSUM.PA* ‘third (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་བཞི་པ་ *ZLA.BA BZHI.PA* ‘fourth (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་ལྔ་པ་ *ZLA.BA LNGA.PA* ‘fifth (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་རྩ་པ་ *ZLA.BA DRUG.PA* ‘sixth (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་བདུན་པ་ *ZLA.BA BDUN.PA* ‘first seventh (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་བརྒྱད་པ་ *ZLA.BA RGYAD* ‘eight (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་དགུ་པ་ *ZLA.BA DGU.PA* ‘ninth (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་བརྒྱ་པ་ *ZLA.BA BCUPA* ‘tenth (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་པ་ *ZLA.BA BCU.GCIG.PA* ‘eleventh (lunar) month’, ལྷོ་བ་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་པ་ *ZLA.BA BCU.GNYIS.PA* ‘twelveth (lunar) month’.
407. **MONTH NAMES (TRADITIONAL)**. With the introduction of the Kālacakratantra calendar in the eleventh century, the months were named after the lunar mansions, the names of which were translated from Sanskrit: མཚུ་ལྷོ་བ་

*MCHU ZLA.BA*, དཔོ་ཁྲ་བ་ *DBO ZLA.BA*, ནག་པ་ཁྲ་བ་ *NAG.PA ZLA.BA*, ས་ག་ཁྲ་བ་ *SA.GA ZLA.BA*, སྒོ་ཁྲ་བ་ *SNRON ZLA.BA*, ལྷ་ཁྲ་བ་ *CHU ZLA.BA*, གོ་བཞིན་ཁྲ་བ་ *GRO.BZHIN ZLA.BA*, ཁུམས་ཁྲ་བ་ *KHRUMS.STOD ZLA.BA*, དབྱུ་ཁྲ་བ་ *DBYU.GU ZLA.BA*, སྒྲིན་ལྷ་ཁྲ་བ་ *SMIN.DRUG ZLA.BA*, མགོ་ཁྲ་བ་ *MGO ZLA.BA* and ལྷ་ཁྲ་བ་ *RGYAL ZLA.BA*. Of these, only Saga Dawa remains widely known, because Vajrayāna Buddhists commemorate the paranirvāṇa of the Buddha during it. Another traditional way of naming the months was the *Hor* 'Mongolian' calendar (ཏྲ་ཁྲ་ *HOR.ZLA*), which names month by ordinal numbers: ཏྲ་ཁྲ་དང་པོ་ *HOR.ZLA DANG.PO*, ཏྲ་ཁྲ་གཉིས་པ་ *HOR.ZLA GNYIS.PA*, ཏྲ་ཁྲ་གསུམ་པ་ *HOR.ZLA GSUM.PA* and so on. During the Tibetan Empire, the months were often named by seasons: དཔྱིད་ཁྲ་བ་ *DPYID.ZLA RA.BA* 'first spring month', དཔྱིད་ཁྲ་འབྲིང་པོ་ *DPYID.ZLA 'BRING.PO* 'middle spring month', དཔྱིད་ཁྲ་མཐའ་ཚུར་ *DPYID.ZLA MTHA'.CHUNG* 'last spring month', དབྱར་ཁྲ་བ་ *DBYAR.ZLA RA.BA* 'first summer month', དབྱར་ཁྲ་འབྲིང་པོ་ *DBYAR.ZLA 'BRING.PO* 'middle summer month', དབྱར་ཁྲ་མཐའ་ཚུར་ *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.<sup>4</sup> These partly reflect the system used during the Tibetan empire and are based on the rhythm of agriculture. The three spring months are གནས་རྩོས་ *GNAM.DROS*<sup>5</sup> 'climate (lit. sky) warms up', སྤྱདས་པ་ *SBYANGS.PA* /byaspa/ lit. 'preparation (of the field)', མཐའ་ཚུར་ *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 གནས་སྒྲོན་སྒྲོན་ *GNAM.SNGON SA.SNGON* lit. 'blue sky, green (lit. blue) earth', མེན་ཏྲོག་རྒྱས་པ་ *MEN.TOGRGYAS.PA* lit. 'blossoming flowers', ལྷ་སྒྲིན་ *CHU.SMIN* lit. 'ripe water'. The

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་མ་ *MTSHAN, NYIN MNYAM, MA* lit. ‘equinox’, ཕུགས་མོ་ *PUGS, MO* ‘poksmo (knee)’, ལག་ཟོན་ *LAG, ZOD* /laksot/ or /laksor/ lit. ‘hand resting’. The three winter months are ལོ་གསར་ *LO, GSAR* Losar ‘new year’, མ་མ་ནི་ *MA, MA, NI* ‘Mamani’ (name of a dish served during a festival in this month, which is the coldest of the year), ལྷུང་ཅེ་ཚེས་ */ts’ungtse ts’es/* (< ? *CHUNG, TSE MTSHAMS*) ‘the small limit’. Most of these names are no longer known by younger generations.

**408. DATE** ཚེས་ *TSHES* [PR] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix: ཚེས་པ་ *TSHES, PA* or ཚེས་བ་ *TSHES, BA* (Am). The Urdu word تاريخ /tarex/ is frequently used in some dialects and is pronounced ཏ་རེས་ /tare/. The word ཅི་རུག་ /‘tsiruk/ < rtsi ‘to count’ is used in Purik.

**409. DAY** ཉིན་ *NYI, MA* [FFW] (Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh) < CT ‘sun’. The archaic form ཉིན་ *NYIN* [PW] < CT ‘day’ is also encountered. Another root is attested: ཞག་ *ZHAG* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Kh) < CT ‘a day and a night, a twenty-four hour cycle’. It occurs alone as ཞག་ *ZHAG* (Ba, Pur, La) or followed by a suffix, as ཞག་མ་ *ZHAG, MA* (La), ཞག་པོ་ *ZHAG, PO* (Kh, La). The compound ཉི་ཞག་ *NYI, ZHAG* is attested in Kham.

**410. DAYS OF THE WEEK** གཟའ་ *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 peripheral 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*, *angáru*, *bódu*, *bréspu*, *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་ལྷ་བ་ *GZA' ZLA.BA* 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་ལོ་ *ZLA DANG.PO* 'first day', གཟའ་གཉིས་པ་ *ZLA GNYIS.PA* 'second day', and so on are used: these are calques of the Chinese 星期一 *xingqi yi*, 星期二 *xingqi er*, and so on.

411. **MONDAY** གཟའ་ལྷ་བ་ *GZA' ZLA.BA* [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་ལྷ་ག་པ་ *GZA' LHAG.PA*.

413. **WEDNESDAY** གཟའ་ལྷ་ག་པ་ *GZA' LHAG.PA* [PW] < CT lit. 'Mercury celestial body'. In Dzongkha: འགཟའ་ཕུར་པ་ *ZLA' PHURP*.

414. **THURSDAY** གཟའ་ཕུར་པ་ *GZA' PHUR.BU* [PW] < CT lit. 'Jupiter celestial body'. In Dzongkha: གཟའ་པ་སངས་ *GZA' PA.SANGS*.

415. **FRIDAY** གཟའ་པ་སངས་ *GZA' PA.SANGS* [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་ཉི་མ་ *GZA' NYI.MA*.

417. **SUNDAY** གཟའ་ཉི་མ་ *GZA' NYI.MA* [PW] < CT lit. 'sun celestial body'. In Dzongkha: འགཟའ་ལྷ་མ་ *GZA' ZLAW* lit. 'moon day'.

418. **MONTH** ལྷ་ *ZLA* [PW] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix, as in ལྷ་བ་ *ZLA.BA*.

419. **YEAR** ལོ་ *LO* [PW] < CT. Most languages do not make a distinction between 'year' and 'age'.

420. **HUMAN AGE** ལོ་ *LO* [PW] < CT. Some dialects use ལོ་ཚེ་ *LO.TSHE*; the honorific form དགུང་ལོ་ *DGUNG.LO* refers to 'age, (number of) years'. In Purik, age is instead counted in ལྷོར་ *SKOR*, which are cycles of twelve years. So གསུམ་ལྷོར་ *GSUM.SKOR* 'three cycles of twelve = thirty-six years old', བཞི་ལྷོར་ '4 × 12 = forty-eight years old', etc.

**421. RECENTLY** ཉི་ཆར་ *NYE.CHAR* [FFW] < CT ཉི་ཐུབ་ *NYE.THUB* (La), ཉི་སྒོ་ *NYE.SNGON* (Am).

**422. THIS YEAR** དེ་ལོ་ *DA.LO* < CT. In several dialects, དེ་ཚེས་ *DO.TSHIG* (Am) is used. འདི་ཅིག་ *DI.CIG* (Sham, Pur), དུས་ཅིག་ *DUS.CIG* (Dz). Some words with this meaning have unclear origin: /to: shi/ (Thewo, E), /tə̃ ci:/ (Khöpokkhok, E), /tsa če/ (Rongdrak, Kh), /ta ʈdzu/ (Thoteng, Byagzhöl, Qizong, Kh), /ʔa čʰi/ (Yungling, Kh), and /ʔa ji/ (Budy, Kh).

**423. LAST YEAR** ན་ཉིད་ *NA.NING* [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. ལྷ་ཉིན་ *ZLA.NYIN* (Ü, Ts), ན་ཉིད་ *NA.HING* (Dz), སྔ་ལོ་ *SNGON.LO* lit. ‘year before’ is also marginally attested.

**424. NEXT YEAR** √ སང་ *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’: སང་ལོ་ *SANG.LO*, སང་ལོ་ད་ *SANG.PHOD* (Am., Kh., Dz, Sherpa), དུས་སང་ *DUS.SANG* (Ü), སང་ཉིད་ *SANG.NING* (Hor: Nagchu) and related forms such as /s’o ji/ (E) and /s’ö t’e/ (Kh: Chathreng). Other words are also found: ནངས་མོ་ *NANGS.MO* (La), ནངས་དཀར་ *NANGS.DKAR* (Tö; ‘morning’ is often related to ‘the next day or a future period’); ལོ་གཞུག་མ་ *LO GZHUG.MA* (Am), ལོ་རྒྱུས་མ་ *LO RJE.S.MA* (CT), ལོ་ཕྱི་མ་ *LO PHYI.MA* (Thewo), དེ་ཕྱི་ *DA.PHYI* lit. ‘next year’ (Am, Kh). In some dialects of southern Kham, words of unclear origin are used: /p’a: ri/ (Lithang, Kh.), /ʔa fii/ (sDerong and Gyälthang, Kh). བྱ་ཟེར་ *BYA.ZER* /byazer/ is attested in Purik.

**425. IN THE PAST/ANCIENT TIMES** གནའ་སྔ་མོ་ *GNA’SNGA.MO* [FFW] < CT or the variant གནའ་སྔ་མ་ *GNA’SNGA.MA*, གནའ་དུས་ *GNA’DUS*. ཞག་ཞིག་ *ZHAG.ZHIG* (Pur), སྔ་མོ་ལོ་དུས་ *SNGON.MA’IDUS* (La).

**426. NOW** ད་ *DA* [PW] < CT. the root ད་ *DA* is sometimes used alone (Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Kh, E, etc.), but also occurs in compounds: ད་ལྟ་ *DALTA* [FFW] (Ü, Tö, Sh, Am, etc.) < CT ད་ *DA* ‘now’ + ལྟ་ *LTA* ‘to look’. The word ད་ལྟ་ *DALTA* is pronounced variously as /tata/, /tanda/, /taha/, /tala/, /ʔala/ or ད་ལྟོ་ *DALTO* /d’ato/ (Dz). In Drugchu, ལྟ་ *LTA* is also used alone. Other words which contain the root *DA* such

as /ta se/ are used. ད་རེ་ *DA.RE* /dare/ (Pur), དག་ས་ *DAG.SA* /daksa/ (La). In the Kyiyül dialect (Kh: Pomborgang), བར་བར་ *THANG.THANG* is used.

**427. NOWADAYS** དེང་སང་ *DENG.SANG* [FFW] < 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་ཉིན་ *DE.RING SANG.NYIN* (CT), དེ་རིང་ཐོ་རེས་ *DE.RING THO.RENGS* (E: Th), ད་རེས་ནངས་ས་ *DA.RES NANGS.PA* (Dz) or དེང་སང་ནང་ཀ་ *DENG.SANG NANG.KA* (Am), while the latter can be exemplified as མདང་དེ་རིང་ *MDANG DE.RING* (La, Cho) or དེ་རིང་ཁ་རྩ་ *DE.RING KHA.RTSANG* (Kh). Other formations are also frequent: ད་ཞག་ *DA.ZHAG*, རོ་ཞག་ *DO.ZHAG* (Km), རོ་ཆོག་ས་ *DO.TSHIGS* (Am) and ཉེ་ཆར་ *NYE.CHAR* (E) are also used. ད་རེ་དུས་ལ་ *DARE.DUS.LA* (Pur).

**428. BEFORE** ལྔ་ *SNGA*/སྔ་ *SNGON* [FFW] (La, Pur, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT. This is used as a postposition and a connector. ལྔ་ *SNGA* /<sup>s</sup>nga/ (La), ལྔ་ལ་ /hunla/ (La) < CT ལྔ་ལ་ *SNGON*; ཉེ་མ་ /hema/ < ལྔ་ *SNGA* (Dz). In some dialects, the words མདུན་ *MDUN* (Ba) ‘in front of’, འགོ་མ་ *GO.MA* (La) and ཐོག་མ་ *THOG.MA* (Yol) are attested.

**429. AFTER** རྗེས་ *RJES* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz, Pur) < CT ‘trace’ and རྩིང་ *RTING* /<sup>t</sup>ing/ (La) < CT ‘heel, end’, ལུག་ལ་ *RJES* (Am) < CT ‘tail’. རྩལ་ན་ *RGYAB.NA* /rgyapna/ (Pur).

**430. SPRING** དཔྱིད་ *DPYID* [FFR] < CT (Ba, Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, etc.). The root is pronounced in various ways: /<sup>p</sup>it/ (Pur, Ba, La), /fit/ (Za), /pi/ (Tö, Sp), /çi:/ (Ü, Ts), /<sup>s</sup>hit/ (Am), /<sup>s</sup>hil/ (Am), etc. It occurs alone as དཔྱིད་ *DPYID*, but is more often followed by a suffix: དཔྱིད་ཀ་ *DPYID.KA* (Ü, Ts, Tö, Ü, Am). The word སྔ་ས་ཀ་ *SOS.KA* or སྔ་ཁ་ *SO.KHA* [FFR] (Am, E: Th, Dz, Sh, Tö) < CT ‘early spring’ is also widely attested. Some dialects have both སྔ་ས་ཀ་ *SOS.KA* ‘early spring’ and དཔྱིད་ཀ་ *DPYID.KA* ‘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** དབྱར་ *DBYAR* [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: /<sup>h</sup>byar/ (Pur), /<sup>h</sup>ja/ (Dz), /yar/ (La), /-yar/ (Ü, Ts). It occurs alone as དབྱར་ *DBYAR* (Pur, Ba, La), but is often followed by the suffix *KHA*: དབྱར་ཁ་ *DBYAR.KHA* (Ü, Ts, Yol), དབྱར་ཁ་ *DBYAR.KHA* (Lho), དབྱར་རུ་ *DBYAR.RU* (Sh), དབྱར་ངོ་ *DBYAR.NGO* (Kh). Compound words are also attested, such as གནམ་བྱ་ *GNAM.BYA* (Dz). When a dialect has words for only two seasons (warm and cold), དབྱར་ *DBYAR* refers to the warm season. In Yolmo /erk'a/ 'monsoon' (June–August), derived from *DBYAR.KHA*, is used. Some dialects simply say ཚ་ *TSHA* and འབྲུག་ *KHYAG* for the 'hot' and 'cold' seasons.

**432. AUTUMN** ལྷན་ *STON* [PR] < CT. Ist sometimes occurs alone as ལྷན་ *STON* (Pur, Ba, La, Sh), but in most dialects the root *STON* is followed by a suffix: ལྷན་ཁ་ *STON.KHA*. It is interesting to note that the root ལྷན་ *STON* 'autumn' is found in several words related to feasts, such as ལྷན་མོ་ *STON.MO* 'feast' and བག་ལྷན་ *BAG.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': སོས་ཀ་ *SOS.KA* (E Thewo mä), སེར་ཁ་ *SER.KHA* (Dz).

**433. WINTER** དགུན་ *DGUN* [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: /<sup>h</sup>gun/ (Pur, Ba, La), /<sup>h</sup>gən/ (Am), /yun/ (Za), /gun/ (Sh), /kün/ (Ü, Ts, Dz), etc. It occurs alone as དགུན་ *DGUN* (Pur, Ba, La, Dz), usually followed by a suffix: དགུན་ཁ་ *DGUN.KHA* (Ü, Tö), དགུན་པོ་ *DGUN.PO* (Ts), དགུན་པུ་ *DGUN.PU* (Sh), དགུན་ངོ་ *DGUN.NGO* (Kh), etc. If a dialect has names for only two seasons (warm and cold), as in Southern Kham and the Southern Himalayas, དགུན་ *DGUN* refers to the cold season. In Yolmo, སེར་བང་ /sert'ang/ or སེར་ཁ་ /serka/ 'cold season (dry season?)' may be related to སོས་ཀ་ *SOS.KA* 'early spring'.

**434. NEW YEAR** འོ་གསར་ *LO.GSAR* alt. འོ་སར་ *LO.SAR* [PW] < CT lit. 'new year', འོ་སྤྱང་ *LO.SRUNG* (Lho). There are in fact different new year celebrations in different areas: The Kongpo New Year ཀོང་པོ་འོ་གསར་ *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 ལྷོགས་སྤྱོད་འོ་གསར་ *LTOGS.SLALO.GSAR* in Tsang province, ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་འོ་གསར་ *LA.DWAGS-KYT LO.GSAR* in Ladakh and Sikkimese New Year

འབྲས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ལོ་སྤང་ *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’ སོ་ནམ་ལོ་གསར་ *SO.NAM LO.GSAR* falls on the first day of the twelfth month (usually in January). ‘The Royal New Year festival’ རྒྱལ་པོ་ལོ་གསར་ *RGYAL.PO LO.GSAR* 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.

435. **FESTIVAL** རྩེ་ཆེན་ *DUS.CHEN* [FFW] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The word རྩེ་ཆེན་ *STON.CHEN* (La) < CT རྩེ་མོ་ཆེན་མོ་ *STON.MO CHEN.MO* ‘great feast, banquet’ is also attested (see also AUTUMN). ལྟན་མོ་ *LTAN.MO* (La) < CT ལྟན་མོ་ *LTAD.MO* ‘show’ is also attested.

## PLANTS

436. **TREE** √ སྤང་ *SDONG* [FFR] (Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT ‘trunk’ usually followed by a suffix སྤང་པོ་ *SDONG.PO*, སྤང་བོ་ *SDONG.BO* (Am, E: Th, Yol). སྤང་མ་ *SDONG.MA* (Hor). The root ཤིང་ *SHING* [FFW] (Sh, Dz) < CT ‘wood’ is also widespread: ཤིང་ *SHING* (Dz, Lho), ཤིང་སྤང་ *SHING.SDONG* (Ts, Ü), ཤིང་མོ་ *SHING.MO* ཤིང་ཕུང་ *SHING.PHUNG* (Kh). In some areas such as Ladakh and Minyak Rabgang, the word ལྷང་མ་ *LCANG.MA* lit. ‘willow’ (La, Pur, Kh: Minyak Rabgang), an emblematic and widespread tree, is used to designate all trees. The word ཏ་བྱུ་ཀྲ་ /buta/ used in Spiti, Garzha, Khunu is of Hindi origin. ཏ་ལག་རྩུགས་ *LAG.TSHUGS* is used for ‘sapling’ and recently planted trees (Norman 2019). In some areas, one finds sacred trees called ལྷ་ཤིང་ *LHA.SHING* ‘divine tree’, ལྷ་ལྷང་ *LHALCANG* (La) ‘divine willow or tree’. The Bodhi tree or ‘tree of enlightenment’ is called བྱང་རྒྱལ་ཤིང་ *BYANG.CHUB SHING*. In CT, the term རྩེ་པ་ *LJON.PA* or རྩེ་ཤིང་ *LJON.SHING* is often used for ‘tree’.

437. **ROOT** རྩ་རྩ་ *RTSAD* or རྩ་ *RTSA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT. རྩ་བ་ *RTSA.BA* is widespread. རྩ་པ་ *RTSAD.PA* (Am) and རྩ་རྩ་ *RTSAR.KYI* (Yol) are also attested. The forms རྩ་རྩ་ *RTSARA* (Sh, La) and རྩ་ཏོ་ *RA.TO* (Dz) point to an etymon



\**ra*. The word པ་རྩ་ /patrak/ (La, Ba, Pur) < CT པ་ཐག *BA.THAG*. Some dialects use རྩ་ལ་ *RGYAS,PA* lit. ‘growing, increasing’ (Kh).

**438. LEAF** ལོ་མ་ *LO.MA* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT. The variants /lobma/ and /lodma/ are also found in western languages (as well as in some compounds). ལ་བ་ཏི *LAB.TI* (Yol) and ར་བ་མ་ *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 ཏ་ན་ལོ་ /nalo/ in Sharkhok (E), /ʔa laʔ/ in Gyälthang (Kh), /pu lu/ in sNyingthong (Kh) and /sh’ü ma/ in Khöpokhok (E).

**439. FLOWER** མེ་རྩ་ག *ME.TOG* [PW] < CT or its variant མེ་རྩ་ག *MEN.TOG* (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Tö, Yol, Kh: Gyälthang, Sh, Lho, Cho, etc.). In some Kham and Hor dialects, the pronunciation ཏ་མེ་རྩ་ག *ME.ROG* (Kh, Hor) is found. The archaic form མེ་རྩ་ག *MEN.TOG* is also attested in ancient documents, for example on the ninth-century stele of *Khromchen* in *Lhartse* district in Tö province (See *KHA.SGANG BKRA.SHIS TSHE.RING*, 2001: 79). In Baltistan, མེ་རྩ་ག་ལྷན་མོ་ *MEN.TOGLTAN.MO* (Ba) the ‘Flower Festival’ is one of the best known festivals.

**440. PLANT** རྩ་ཤིང་ *RTSISHING* [PW] < CT, རྩ་ *RTSWA* [PW] < CT.

**441. GRASS, SMALL PLANT** རྩ་ *RTSWA* [PW] < CT. The archaic pronunciation with a reflex of the *wazur* is attested in a few regions: /<sup>h</sup>tswa/ (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 རྩ་ *SNGO* < CT ‘green’.

**442. MEDICINAL PLANT** རྩ་ལྷན་ *RTSWA.SMAN* [PW] < CT ‘herbal medicine’. The variant ལྷན་ལྷན་ *SMAN.RTSWA* lit. ‘medicinal plant’ is also attested. Tibetan medicine is largely based upon medicinal plants.

**443. LOTUS** པ་ད་མ་ *PAD.MA* [PW]. The variant པ་ད་མ་ *BAD.MA* (Am) /warma/ or /wanma/ is attested. The word *PAD.MA* is often preceded or followed by a class term ‘flower’: མེ་རྩ་ག་པ་ད་མ་ *ME.TOG PAD.MA*, མེ་རྩ་ག་པ་ད་མ་ *MEN.TOG PAD.MA* པ་ད་མ་ མེ་རྩ་ག་ *PAD.MAME.TOG*.

444. **SUNFLOWER** ཉི་མ་མེ་དྲོག་ *NYI.MAME.TOG* [FFW] (Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT lit. 'sun flower'. In Southern Kham, ཀྱ་ཙེ་མེ་དྲོག་ *KWA.TSE ME.TOG* (lit. 'flower of edible seeds') is also used (a Sino-Tibetan loanword from 瓜子 *guazi* 'edible seeds, sunflower seeds'). The word མྱོང་རྒྱལ་ *STONG.RGYAS* /stongrgyas/ is found in Purik. Also found are གང་ལ་ཉི་ཤར་ *GANG.LA.NYI.SHAR* (La) and ཉི་མ་མགོ་གུས་ *NYI.MA MGO GUS* (Sham).
445. **RHODODENDRON** (type of) ཨ་དྲོ་མེ་དྲོག་ *ʔE.TO ME.TOG* (Dz), ཏུ་ཨར་དྲོ་མེ་དྲོག་ *ʔAR.TO MEN.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 བ་ལུ་མེ་དྲོག་ *BALUME.TOG* 'type of azalea', ལྷག་མའི་མེ་དྲོག་ *STAG.MA'IME.TOG* 'type of azalea', etc.
446. **HOLLYHOCK** ཉལ་མེ་དྲོག་ *HALO ME.TOG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, La, Dz). A very common flower in the monastery yard of Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh, etc.
447. **WILLOW** ལྷང་མ་ *LCANG.MA* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. See TREE. ལྷང་སྒྲོང་ *LCANG.SDONG* (E) lit. 'willow tree', ལྷང་རྒྱལ་ *RGYA.LCANG* (Am) lit. 'chinese willow', མལ་ལྷང་ *MAL.LCANG* (Pur), lit. 'lower place tree', འབྲོག་ལྷང་ *BROG.LCANG* (Pur) 'pasture willow'.
448. **JUNIPER** ལྷག་པ་ *SHUG.PA* [PW] < CT. ལྷག་ལྷག་ *RGYA.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** ཐང་ཤིང་ *THANG.SHING* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The word སྒྲོན་ཤིང་ *SGRON.SHING* < CT 'torch tree' is also used for 'pine' in some varieties in Kham.
450. **FIR** གཞོམ་ཤིང་ *GSOM.SHING* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.
451. **POPLAR** ལྷུང་པ་ *SBYAR.PA* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The word /yulat/ is also found in Ladakh.
452. **BIRCH** ལྷག་པ་ *STAG.PA* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.
453. **OAK** ཐེར་ཤིང་ *PER.SHING* [FFW] (Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.

454. **BAMBOO** ལྷུག་མ་ *SMYUG.MA* (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) [FFW] < CT. ལྷུག་མ་ *SBA.SHING* (Dz), གཞུ་མ་ *GZHU.SHING* (Cho) lit. ‘bow tree’ ཉིག་ལྷུག་ *HIG.CUM* ‘type of small bamboo (Dz).
455. **MULBERRY** འོ་སེ་ *O.SE* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur) < CT.
456. **WALNUT** ལྷར་ཁ་ *STAR.KHA* [PW] (alt. ལྷར་ཀ་ *STAR.KA* or ལྷར་ག་ *STAR.GA*) < CT. Also found are ལྷར་ཀོ་ *STAR.KO* (Dz) and ལྷར་ག་ ལྷར་ག་ *PAR.GA STAR.GA* (Hor). In some dialects of Southern Kham, /hko: ʰdo/ (Nyayülzhap), may be derived from ལྷོར་རྩོ་ *SGOR.RDO* lit. ‘round stone’, /kə tuwʔ/ (Mairi), /kə ʰdɿ/ (Lamdo), /ʰgə ʰdɔ:/ (Daan) are used. Walnut is an emblematic tree found in lower valleys in most Tibetic regions.
457. **PEACH** ཁམ་བུ་ *KHAM.BU* [FFW] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT, ཁམ་ *KHAM* (Dz), ཁམ་སེར་ *KHAM.SER* < ‘yellow peach’; in Tibet, ཐའོ་ཙེ་ *THAO.TSE* < Chin. 桃子 *taozi* is also used.
458. **APRICOT** ལུ་ལི་ *CULI* [FFW] (La, Pur, Ba, Sp), མངའ་རིས་ཁམ་བུ་ *MNGA’.RIS KHAM.BU* (Ü, Ts) < CT (lit. ‘Ngari peach’), ཁམ་བུ་ *KHAM.BU* (Am). In Ladakh, ཕ་ཉིང་ *PHA.TING* (La) and ལྷམ་མན་ *HAL.MAN* (Pur) refer to a variety of good apricots with an edible kernel.
459. **APPLE** ཀུ་ཤུ་ *KU.SHU* [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Sp, Kh), ཤཱུ་ *SHA’U* (Yol, Sh), ཕིན་གྲོ་ *PHIN.GWO* (Am) < Chin. 苹果 *pingguo*. In Hor dialect, ཤིང་ཉོག་ *SHING.TOG* < CT ‘fruit’, is used for ‘apple’.
460. **PEAR** ལི་ *LI* (Ü, Ts) < CT < Chin. སིལ་ལི་ *SIL.LI* (E. SKh), ལྷུ་ཉི་ *NYU.TI* (Pur, La).
461. **PLUM** ཤིང་ཉོག་པ་ལམ་ *SHING.TOG PA.LAM* (Ü, Ts), ལུ་ལི་ *CULI* (Am).
462. **TANGERINE/ORANGE** ཚ་ལུ་མ་ *TSHALU.MA* (Ü, Ts, Hor) < CT. This is found as, e.g., ཚ་ལུ་ *TSHALU* (Cho). Other forms include ལྷུ་སིལ་ *RGYA.SIL* (Am), lit. ‘Chinese fruit’ and སན་ར་ */santara/* (Pur).
463. **MANGO** ལམ་ *AM* /am/ [FFW] (Cho, La, Pur) < CT ལམ་ *AM.MRA* < Hindi–Urdu, ཤིང་ཉོག་ལམ་ *SHING.TOG AM* (Ü, Ts, etc.).
464. **FIG** བ་ཀུ་ *BA.KU*, ཙོང་སེ་ *CONG.SE*, མི་རྒན་ལམ་ཚོག་ *ML.RGAN AM.CHOG* (Hor) lit. ‘old man’s ear’.

465. **PERSIMMON** ཡ་མའི་ཉོར་བུ་ *PA.MRA'I NOR.BU*. The Chinese loanword /shitsə/ 柿子 *shizi* is also used.

466. **GRAPE** རྒྱུ་འབྱུང་ *RGUN. 'BRUM* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, E) < CT or simply རྒྱུ་ *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*). ལུ་ཐའོ་ *PHU.THA'O* (SKh) < Chin. 葡萄 *putao*. Grapes grow in South-Eastern Tibet and in Brokyul in the lower Indus valley in Ladakh.

467. **POMEGRANATE** སེ་འབྱུ་ *SE. 'BRU* < CT.

468. **SEABUCKTHORN** ཚོར་མང་ *TSHER.MANG* (La) < CT 'thorn'. A kind of thorny tree with edible berries.

469. **THORN** འཚོར་མ་ *'TSHER.MA* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.

470. **FRUIT** སིལ་ *SIL* (Am: Xun) < CT སིལ་ཏོག་ *SIL.TOG* (Am) 'top fruit', ཤིང་ཏོག་ *SHING.TOG* (Ü, Ts, Lho) < CT lit. 'top of the tree', ཏོག་འབྱུང་ *'BRUM*, འབྱུང་བུ་ *'BRUM.BU* (Kh: Dechen) < CT 'grape', ཤིང་འབྱུ་ *SHING. 'BRU* (Kh: Minyak Rabgang), ཤིང་འབྱས་ *SHING. 'BRAS* (Hor) < CT 'tree fruit'. ཏོག་ཟས་ *KHA.ZAS* (La, Ba, Pur). The Chinese loanword 水果 *shuiguo* 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*] དབྱར་རྩ་དགུན་འབྱུ་ *DBYAR.RTSWA DGUN. 'BU* FFW] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) 'summer grass, winter worm' or simply འབྱུ་ *'BU* (Kh) lit. 'worm', འབྱུ་སྐྱམ་ *'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** འབྱུ་ *'BRU* [PW] < CT. ཐོག་ /t'ok/ (Pur), རྩོན་ཐོག་ *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 ལྷུ་ *CHUM* ‘cooked rice’ in Dzongkha and Lhoke, and ལྷུ་མ་ *DRUS.MA* ‘polished rice’ < ‘millet’, originally from འབྲུ་ *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 ས་ལོན་ *SALON*.
475. **EAR (PLANT)** སྟི་ *SNYI* < CT. སྟི་མ་ *SNYI.MA* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, E, Am), སྟི་མགོ་ *SNYI.MGO* (La), ལོ་མགོ་ *LO.MGO* (E), ནས་མགོ་ *NAS.MGO* lit. ‘barley head’ is used in South Kham and Ladakh.
476. **WHEAT** གོ་ *GRO* [PW] < CT and the variants ག་གྲ་ *GRA* (Sh) and གྱོ་ *GYO* (Am, Lho). Wheat in Dzongkha is designated by the word ཀར་ /ka:/ which is probably derived from དྭ་ཀར་ *DKAR* ‘white’. Some dialects of Amdo use གྱོ་ *SNGO*, in which case /kəɾə/ is used for ‘barley’ (cf. BARLEY). ནས་ *NAS* < CT ‘barley’ is used in Gyälthang and Yolmo.
477. **BARLEY** [*Hordeum vulgare*] སོ་བ་ *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*] ནས་ *NAS* [PW] < CT. In some Tö dialects, the root འབྲུ་ *BRU* ‘grain, crop’ is used instead of ནས་ *NAS*. In some dialects (Yunnan and Nepal), another word ལྷུ་ཀར་ལྷུ་ *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. *MILLA RAS.PA’I RNAM.THAR*).

479. **BUCKWHEAT** བྲོ་བོ་ *BRA.BO* [PW].

480. **MILLET** མེ་ *KHRE* < CT (Kh), but other words such as ཇ་ཁྱར་ /gyar/ (Sherpa) and གྱལ་གར་ *GYA.GAR* /kyaga/ (Yolmo) are found; ཅ་ /č'a/ (Pur, Sham). Within the Tibetan area, millet grows in the southern Himalayas, as well as in the southeastern and northwestern regions at lower altitude.

481. **OAT** ཡུག་པོ་ *YUG.PO* (La) < CT.

482. **CORN (MAIZE)** མ་རྩོམ་ལོ་རྩོག་ *MA.RMOS LO.TOG* [FFW] (Ü) < CT lit. 'the unploughed crop', འབྲས་མོ་དགའ་འཛོམ་ 'BRAS.MO DGA'.DZOM 'the rejoicing crop' (Ts), ཀེན་ཙོང་ *KEN.TSONG* (Lho), and ཨ་ཤོམ་ *ʔA.SHOM* (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'a 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** ཚལ་ *TSHAL* [FFW] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor) < CT < Chin. 菜 *cai*. Sometimes it is preceded by the adjective མྱ་ *SNGO* lit. 'blue/green' མྱ་ཚལ་ *SNGO.TSHAL* 'green vegetable' (E, Am), མྱ་ན་ (E). Another root found in Amdo, Ladakh and southern Kham is *TSHOD* lit. 'cooked', which is sometimes followed by a suffix *MA*: ཚོད་མ་ *TSHOD.MA* (Pur, La, Yol, SKh, Am). ལྷུམ་པ་ *LDUM.PA* (Am, La) is also attested, and ཡོ་མ་ *YO.MA* is used in Gyälthang (Kh).

484. **MUSTARD** ཡུངས་དྭགས་ *YUNGS.DKAR* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Am) < CT 'white mustard' or the variant ལྷུངས་ཀྱར་ *NYUNGS.KAR* (La). An important oil crop. ཡུངས་ནག་ *YUNGS.NAG* 'black mustard' is also attested.

485. **RADISH** ལ་ཕུག་ *LA.PHUG* [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, ect) < CT < Chin. 萝卜 *luobo*; ལ་ཏུག་ *LA.HUG* (Am), ལྷུར་པོ་ /'durpo/ is attested in Purik.

486. **TURNIP** ལྷུང་མ་ *NYUNG.MA* [PW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Am etc.) < CT. ཇ་ལྷུ་ལག་ *MU.LAG* (Pur).

487. **CARROT** ལ་ཕུག་དམར་པོ་ *LA.PHUGDMARPO* (Dz), རྩོད་ལ་ཕུག་ *HONGLA.PHUG* (Ü, Ts), ས་རག་རྩར་མན་ *SARAG TURMAN* (La), ཨ་ལ་ཕུ་ *WA.LA.PHRU* (Pur).
488. **SPINACH** ས་ལག་ *PALAG* (La, Pur, Ba, Sh) < Hindi–Urdu, མེའོ་ཚལ་ *PO'O.TSHAL* (Ts, Ü, Am, Kh) < Chin. 菠菜 *bocai*.
489. **CABBAGE** མེ་ཚལ་ *PE.TSHAL* (Ü, Ts) < Chin. 白菜 *baicai*, གློ་བེ་ *GHO.BI* (La) < Hindi–Urdu.
490. **ONION** རྩོ་ *TSONG* [PW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, 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 རྩོ་དཀར་ *TSONG.DKAR* and words derived from *SGOG.PA* (see GARLIC).
491. **GARLIC** གློག་པ་ *SGOG.PA* (Pur) [PW] < CT. Some dialects of Kham (e.g. Kyidyül) use གློག་ *SGOG*.
492. **GINGER** √ གླ་ *SGA* [PW] < CT བཅའ་གླ་ *BCA'.SGA* (La, Ba, Kh, Am), གླ་བཅའ་ *LGA.BCA'*, གླ་སྐྱུག་ *SGA.SMUG* (U, Ts, Hor), རྒྱེ་ཤར་ *RGYE.SHAR* (Sh), རྩོ་གར་ */tongara/* (Pur). In Amdo གླ་སེར་ *SGA.SER* means 'turmeric'.
493. **POTATO** རྩོག་ལོག་ *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 རྩོག་ *ZHOG* 'to put (*imperative stem*)' and ལོག་ *KHOG* '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 རྒྱེ་གོ་མ་ *RGYA.GRO.MA* and རྒྱེ་གོ་ *RGYA.GRO* literally meaning 'Chinese potentilla' are used. Variants are also attested, including རྒྱེ་ཡུང་གོ་མ་ *RGYA.YUNG GRO.MA*. On the southern slopes of the Himalaya, in Nepal and Bhutan, the root \*ཀྱེ *kye* is used, for example in རྩེ་ */he/*, in Dzongkha ཀེ་བ་ *KE.BA* /-kewa/, in Lhoke ཀྱེ་ */kyu/*. This root is found in other TB languages such as Limbu and means 'yam'. A compound word རི་ཀྱེ་ *RLKYE* is also found in the Sherpa and Jirel areas: རི་ཀྱེ་ *RLKI* (Sherpa) and

རེ་གེ *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 of Persian origin *آلو* *alu* ʔA.LU has been borrowed. Some words such as /dō gwa/, /jā lu/, /jā bu/, /ko ko/, /nā ja:/ used in Kham are of unclear origin.

**494. BEAN** སྒན་མ་ *SRAN.MA* [PW] < CT. The word སྒན་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་སྒན་ *RGYA.SRAN* lit. ‘Chinese bean’ and རྒན་སྒན་ *SRAN.MA* ‘black bean’. Some dialects of southern Kham uses /ʔa l’a/. In India and Nepal, the Hindi loanword दाल *DAL* ‘dal’ is used for non-local varieties of bean.

**495. PEA:** see BEAN.

**496. LENTIL:** see BEAN.

**497. MUSHROOM** ཤ་མོ་ *SHAMO* [PW] < CT. ཤ་མུང་ *SHAMUNG* (Sh) and ཤ་མོ་ཤ་མོ་ *SHA.PO.SHAMO* (Pur) are also attested. The various species of mushroom usually contain the root ཤ་ *SHA* ‘flesh’. དྭ་ཤ་ *DKAR.SHA* ‘white mushroom’ (usually *Agaricus*), བེར་ཤ་ *PER.SHA* ‘oak mushroom’, སེར་ཤ་ *SER.SHA* ‘yellow mushroom’, ཤ་མོ་རྒྱང་རིང་ *SHAMO RKANG.RING* ‘Caesar’s mushroom (*Amanita caesarea*)’. However in Southern Kham, the names of some species lack the root *sha*. གུ་ཤ་ /kwashang/ is attested in (Pur). The proverb ཤ་མེད་ན་ཤ་མོ་ཤ་མོ་ཤ་མོ་ རྒྱུ་མོ་ མེད་ན་མོ་མོ་མོ་མོ་མོ་ *SHAMED NASHAMO SHARED, ROGSMED NAJO.MO ROGSED* ‘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, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. གྲོ་མ་ *GYO.MA* (Am), གྲོ་མ་ *GROM* (Dz). Other words are attested very marginally e.g. གྲོ་མ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ *ʔA.KA.BU.LU* < ‘baby worm’ (Kh: mBalhag) and གྲོ་མོ་ /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** ཟ་བུ་ *ZWA.BU* [FFW] (Ü, Ts), ཟ་ཚོད་ *ZWA.TSHOD* (La), ཟ་ཁྱུག་གེ་ *ZWA.KHYUG.GE* (Am).

## FOOD

500. **FOOD** ཟ་མ་ *ZA.MA* [FFW] (Am, Kh, Sh) < CT, ཟ་མ་ *ZAM* (Lho) and ཟ་ན་ *ZAN* (Ba, Pur, Skh) < CT ‘food’, ‘eat + *nominal suffix*’ are the most common words. The variant ཟ་ས་ *ZAS* (Yol) < CT is also attested. Another widespread root is ལྟོ་ *LTO* (Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Dz) < CT. In Central Tibet, ཁ་ལག་ *KHALAG* is a compound word made of *KHA* ‘mouth’ and *LAG* ‘hand’. In Ladakh ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *KHAR.JI*, ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *THUG.PA* (E) < CT ‘noodle’, ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *’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 meal, such as ‘breakfast’, ‘lunch’ and ‘dinner’ are not always distinguished, and vary greatly from region to region. Some examples: ཟ་མ་ *ZA.MA* ‘meal, food’ (Am, Kh, Sh), ཟ་ན་ *ZAN* (Ba, Pur) ‘meal, food’, ལྟོ་ *LTO* (Dz, Ts) ‘meal’, ལྟོ་བཙུང་ *LTO.BCA* /topčə/ (Sp) ‘food, meal’, ཁ་ལག་ *KHALAG* ‘meal, food’ (Ü), ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *TSHAL.ZAR* (La) ‘meal’, ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *KHAR.JI* (La), ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *’TSHAL.MA* ‘breakfast, meal’ (La) < CT, ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *’DZAR.BA* ‘lunch’ (sometimes ‘dinner’) < CT ‘provision journey’, ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *GRO.THUNG* (Tö), ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *NANG.JA* breakfast, lit. ‘inside tea’ (Am), ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *DROS.JA* (Am) ‘lunch’, ལྟོ་ཁ་ལྟོ་ *NUB.TSHA* (Am) ‘dinner’.

502. **RICE**: see RICE in the section on PLANTS.

503. **FLOUR** ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ *PHYE* [PW] < CT. This is pronounced ལྟོ་ *PHE* in western regions. It also occurs with a suffix: ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ *PHYE.MA*. It usually designates all types of flour and powder. Compound words are also attested: ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ *BAG.PHYE* (Ü), ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ *BAG.PHE* (La, Pur) ‘wheat flour’ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ *GRO.ZHIB* (Ü) < CT ‘wheat powder’ is also used.

504. **ROASTED BARLEY** ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ *YOS* [FFR] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Am, E, Kh, etc) < CT. In Ladakh, ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ *YOS.ZA* is found. In rNgawa (Am), ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ *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** ལྷམ་པ་ *RTSAM.PA* [PW] < CT. In many regions, the word *tsampa* designates ‘roasted highland barley flour’. The word ལྷམ་པ་ *RTSAM.PA* is found nearly in all the dialects, but in the western (La, Pur) and southern languages (Dz), the root ལྷམ་ *PHYE* meaning ‘flour’ is used. It is pronounced ལྷམ་ *PHE* in the Western regions: རྩྭ་ལྷམ་ /ˈnganp’e/ (La), རྩྭ་ལྷམ་ /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: ལྷམ་ལྷམ་ /ṣanp’e/ (La), ལྷམ་ལྷམ་ *TSHOS.BON* /ts’osbon/ (Pur) ‘roasted ground peas’, ལྷམ་ *RTSAB* /ˈtsap/ (La, Pur) ‘ground sprouts of wheat’, ལྷམ་ལྷམ་ *KAR.PHYE* (Dz) ‘flour made from roasted wheat’.

**506. TSAMPA DOUGH** ལྷམ་པ་ *SPAGS* [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 Tibetan areas. ལྷམ་པ་ *KHO.LAG* [FFW] (La, Za). In some regions such as Amdo, the word ལྷམ་པ་ *RTSAM.PA* is also used to designate the dough.

**507. TSAMPA POLENTA** ལྷམ་པ་ *ZAN* [FFW] (Sh, Tö, LJ, etc.) ‘cooked dough’ < CT. ལྷམ་པ་ *PA.BA* (La, Za, Pur) ‘a polenta-like cooked dough usually of barley’.

**508. TSAMPA PORRIDGE** ལྷམ་པ་ *JA.SRUL* (La), *JA.SKUL* (Pur), ལྷམ་པ་ *JALDUR* (Ü, Ts, Za), ལྷམ་པ་ *SKYO.MA* (Ü), ལྷམ་པ་ *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 ལྷམ་པ་ *SKYU* (La, Za) includes dough pasta, potatoes, turnips or other vegetables, usually with meat; ལྷམ་པ་ *CHU.TA.GI* (La) lit. ‘water bread’ is a more sophisticated version of *skyu*, mainly differing in the shape of the pasta, which is formed in *bongbu namchok* ‘donkey’s ears’. ལྷམ་པ་ *PRA.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, ལྷམ་པ་ལྷམ་པ་ *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** ལྷམ་པ་ *PHYE.MAR* [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Ts, Ü, Kh) < CT. ལྷམ་པ་ལྷམ་པ་ *MAR.ZAN* (Ü, Ts, La) ‘tsampa, butter and brown sugar’.

- 511. BREAD/PANCAKE** \*ལུར་ *KHUR*, \*གིར་ *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 གོ་རེ་ *GO.RE* (Am), གུར་ *KUR* (Sh), གུར་བ་ *KHUR.BA* (Ba), གུར་ར་ *KHUR.RA* (Yol), གུ་བ་ *KHU.BA* (Yunnan), གུ་ལུ་ *KHU’U* (Lho), ཏ་གིར་ *TA.GIR* (Za), or ཏ་གི་ *TA.GI* (La, Pur). Other roots are attested: བག་ལེག་ *BAG.LEB* (Ü, Ts) < CT lit. ‘flat dough’, and ལམ་བིར་ *KHAM.BIR* (La). There are many sorts of bread, including མར་ལུར་ *MAR.KHUR* (Pur, La) ‘round bread with butter and sugar’, ཐལ་ལུར་ *THAL.KHUR* (La), and གོར་སྐྱ་ *GOR.SKYA* (Am) ‘bread baked in ashes’. Note that ལུར་ར་ *KHUR.RA* (La) means ‘fried dough eaten at New Year’, which corresponds to ལ་ཟམ་/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: ཚོད་མ་ *TSHOD.MA* (Am) < CT ག་འོ་འོ་ *’BO.’BO* (SKh), ག་འོ་འོ་ *BAO.DZI* (E) < Chin. 包子 *baozǐ*. Together with noodle soup, momos are the most popular dishes in Tibetic regions.
- 513. SOUP (with noodles, etc.)** √ཐུག་ *THUG* [PR] < CT related to མཐུག་ *MTHUG* ‘thick’. This is normally followed by a suffix ཐུག་པ་ *THUG.PA*. Soups are usually prepared with noodles or pasta and with meat or vegetables. There are many kinds of pasta or noodle soups, such as བོད་ཐུག་ *BOD.THUG* ‘Tibetan noodle (soup)’, རྒྱ་ཐུག་ *RGYA.THUG* ‘Chinese noodle (soup)’, འཐེན་ཐུག་ *’THEN.THUG* ‘pulled flat noodle (soup)’, and བག་ཐུག་ *BAG.THUG* ‘soup made with small round pieces of dough’. In Ladakh, ཐུག་སིར་ *THUG.SING* refers to a ‘broth made with barley flour’. In central Kham area, the /po ta/ is widely used for ‘noodle soup’, while in Balti the word is ག་ལེ་ *BA.LE*. In the Eastern section, /sh’i hku/ is used. A Chinese loanword is used in Amdo /χudəχ/ < 馄饨 *hūntun* (wonton, dumpling soup). In some cases, soup does not contain pasta or noodles, such as འབྲས་ཐུག་ *’BRAS.THUG* ‘rice soup’, སྣན་ཐུག་ *SRAN.THUG* ‘bean soup’, ཟླ་ཐུག་ *ZWA.THUG* ‘nettle soup’, etc.
- 514. NOODLE /PASTA** ཐུག་པ་སྐམ་པོ་ *THUG.PA SKAM.PO* (Ü, Ts) lit. ‘dry noodle’, ཚོད་མན་ *CHO’UMAN* ‘chow mein’ < Ch. 炒面 *chaomian*.

- 515. BROTH, SOUP** ལུ་བ་ *KHU.BA* ‘fluid, juice, gravy, soup’, དཀྲུམ་ལུ་ *DKRUM.KHU* (Ü, Ts) ‘meat soup’, ལུ་བ་ལུ་ *RUS.KHU* (Za) lit. ‘bone soup’, ཤ་ལུ་ *SHA.KHU* (Am) and ཏི་རུ་ *TIRU* (Ko) designate meat soup. The word ཐང་ *THANG* (Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am, etc) < Chin. 汤 *tang* is widely used for ‘broth’ or ‘thin soup’. It is also used in Tibetan medicine for ‘decoction’.
- 516. MEAT** ཤ་ *SHA* (pur) < CT. The main pronunciations are /sha/ (most languages), /x’a/ (central Kh, Hor) and /ɬ’a/ (Am). In some marginal dialects of Southern Kham, ཤ་གཉེན་ *SHA.GNYA* < *GNYA* ‘cut’ is used. The honorific forms are དཀྲུམ་ *DKRUM* (Ü, Ts) and ལུ་ལུ་ *SRUMS* (La, Za).
- 517. MEAT RICE STEW** ཤ་འབྲས་ *SHA.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: ཞོག་ཞོག་མོག་མོག་ *ZHOG.KHOG.MOG.MOG* (Ü) ‘potato dumplings’, ཞོག་ཞོག་གོབ་ཚོས་ *ZHOG.KHOG.GOB.TSHOS* (Ü) ‘potato and meat stew’ (Ü), and ཏི་ཀི་ཀུར་ *RI.KI.KUR* (Sh), ‘potato pancake’, which is similar to the *parantha* of Northern India and even more similar to the *latkes* of central and eastern Europe. Finally there is the well-known Bhutanese dish called ཏི་ཁེ་བ་དར་ཚོལ་ *KE.BA.DAR.TSHIL* (Dz) ‘cheese potato curry’, which is served with rice.
- 519. DRESIL/TIBETAN SWEET RICE** འབྲས་སིལ་ *BRAS.SIL* (Ü, Ts, La, etc.) is rice mixed with butter, sugar raisin and other dried fruits.
- 520. CURRY** ལྷགས་ *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** ཏི་ཁེ་བ་དར་ཚོལ་ *KE.BA.DAR.TSHIL* (Dz) lit. ‘chili cheese’. A well-known Bhutanese dish consisting of a chili curry prepared with cheese and served with rice.

**522. OIL** ལྷུམ་ *SNUM* [FFW] (Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Dz, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT.

In most languages and dialects, this is pronounced /<sup>s</sup>num/, /num/ or /n<sup>u</sup>m/, but in Dzongkha it is realized as ལྷུམ་ /hum/. In some dialects, མར་ལྷུ་ *MAR.KHU* ‘butter liquid’ is used. In Thewo, /ŋu/ is used. Some dialects of Amdo, as well as Thewo, use གཡིས་ /yi/ < CT ‘mustard seed’. In Drugchu, /ju/ is found. This is widely considered to be a borrowing of the Chinese *you* 油 ‘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; ཐོ་རོན་ /p<sup>o</sup>ron/ and ཁྱིམ་ /til/ are found in Purik < CT ‘sesame’, and may be related to Urdu *tel* ‘oil’.

**523. FAT** ཆོམ་ *TSHIL* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Kh, Ü, Ts, Am) < CT. Sometimes followed by a suffix ཆོམ་ལུ་. The root རྟམ་ < CT ‘white’ is used in south Kham.

**524. MILK** རོམ་ *O.MA* [PW] < CT. The tonal languages other than Dzongkha realize this with a low tone /<sup>o</sup>foma/, but Dzongkha employs a high tone /<sup>o</sup>pom/, and for this reason is written ཞོམ་ *ʔOM*. The variant རོ་རྩེན་ *O.RJEN* (Pur) < CT ‘raw milk’ is used in some Western languages. Of the few rare exceptions that have been reported, the form ཞོ *ZHO* /sho/ used in Choča-ngača in Bhutan and Rongdrak (Kh) is derived from the old word for ‘milk’ in Tibetan, attested in OT (see Bialek 2018a). We can safely reconstruct PT \**ZHO* for ‘milk’. The term is still used in CT, thus the sentence: ཞོ་ལས་ནི་མར་ཁོན་འབྱུང་གི་འབྲུ་མར་མི་འབྱུང་ངོ། *ZHO LAS NI MAR KHONA’BYUNG GI’BRUMAR MI’BYUNG NGO* means ‘only butter is obtained from milk, not (cereal) oil,’ (in *KUN.BZANG BLA.MA’I ZHAL.LUNG* folio 113), or ཞོ་བཞོ་བ་ *ZHO BZHO.BA* ‘to milk (an animal)’ (lit. ‘to milk the milk’, see also ‘TO MILK’). *ZHO* clearly does not mean ‘yoghurt’ in these examples. The terms ཞོ་མཛོང་ *ZHO.MDONG* ‘churn’ lit. ‘milk-churn’, ཞོན་ཟེམ་ *ZHON.ZEM* ‘milk bucket’ (see BUCKET), and the honorific form ཆབ་ཞོ་ *CHAB.ZHO* ‘milk (H)’ also confirm the older meaning of ཞོ་ *ZHO*.

**525. BUTTER** མར་ *MAR* [PW] < CT. Originally related to the root རྟམ་ *DMAR*, found in the Zhangzhung and Tamangic languages and meaning ‘gold’ (Honda 2009). Another root ཡོ་ ‘yo’ is found in some eastern dialects, such as Thewo.

**526. BUTTERMILK** དར་བ་ *DAR.BA* [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** ལོ་ *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 དྭ་ལྷ་ཆུ་ *DKAR.CHU* ‘white water’ (Sherpa) and ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ *GYUR.PI’O.MA*, ལོ་གྲུ་ལྷ་མོ་ *LOG.PI’O.MA* lit. ‘turned milk’ (Ba), ལོ་རྩ་ལྷ་ *ZHO R.LPA* (Cho) < CT ལོ་རྩ་ལྷ་ *ZHO RUL* lit. ‘rotten milk’, ལོ་རྩ་ *O.RE* (E) < CT ལོ་རྩ་ལྷ་ *O RUL* ‘lit. rotten milk’, ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ *< CT* lit. ‘white cheese cake’ (Gyälthang, Chagthreng). It is interesting that, in Purik, the word ལོ་མ་ *O.MA* (Pur) is used for ‘yoghurt’ which is probably its original meaning.

**528. CHEESE** ལྷ་ལྷ་ *PHYUR* [PR] < CT. This is normally followed by a suffix: ལྷ་ལྷ་ *PHYUR.BA* (Am, Kh, Ü, Ts, etc.). In many dialects, it is pronounced ལྷ་ལྷ་ */č’ura/*. Other words are attested: ལྷ་ལྷ་ *PHYUR.PHE* /č’urpe/ (La, Ü) ‘hard dried cheese’. Other roots are attested: ལྷ་ལྷ་ *THUD.SKAM* (SKham) and དར་ཆོ་ལྷ་ *DAR.TSHIL* (Dz), ལྷ་ལྷ་ *LA.PO* ‘fresh cheese’ (La) and ལྷ་ལྷ་ *LANA* (Hor) ‘kind of cheese’.

**529. CHEESE CONFECTION (type of)** ལྷ་ལྷ་ *THUD* [FFR] (Am, La, Hor, Kh, E, Ü, Ts), ལྷ་ལྷ་ *ZHUN* (Am) ‘a type of sweetened cheese < CT ‘melted fat’.

**530. CURD SALAD** ལྷ་ལྷ་ *GRANG.THUR* (La, Za), ལྷ་ལྷ་ *TSHAMIG* (Pur, Ba). This is a cold dish made of spicy pickles or chutney with curds or buttermilk.

**531. SAUSAGE** ལྷ་ལྷ་ *RGYU.MA* [PW] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Am, E, Kh, etc) < CT ‘intestine’, ལྷ་ལྷ་ *KHRAG.SHA* lit. ‘blood meat’ (Drugchu).

**532. SALT** ལྷ་ *TSHWA* [PW] < CT. The glide *w* found in CT form *TSHWA* 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 (Čängtsha, Thraka, etc), ལྷ་ལྷ་ *TSHA.KHU* is used. Balti has lost the word and borrowed from Burushaski ལྷ་ལྷ་ /payu/.

**533. SUGAR** ཀ་ར་ *K.A.RA* or ཁ་ར་ *KH.A.RA* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT. ཁ་ར་ (La, Ba, Pur) and གྱེ་མ་ཀ་ར་ *BYE.MA K.A.RA* (Ü, Ts, Am) are found. Other compounds are attested: གྱེ་ཞིབ་ *BYE.ZHIB* (Tö, Kh), དཀར་ཞིབ་ *DKAR.ZHIB* (Tö), ཀ་ར་གྱེ་མ་ *K.A.RA.BYE.MA* (Am), རྫོག་ར་ *RDO.K.A.RA* ‘crystal sugar’ (Am). The word བྱ་ར་ *BU.RAM* (E), འགྱ་ར་ *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, སྒྲ་ *SBRANG* < CT སྒྲ་རྩི *SBRANG.RTSE* ‘honey’ is used for ‘sugar’. The loanword འོ་ཉི་ /čini/ from Hindi–Urdu is also widely used. In some areas of Kham, the loanword /t’ang/ is used < Chin. 糖 *tang*.

**534. SICHUAN PEPPER** [*Zanthoxylum piperitum*] གཡེ་ར་མ་ *G.YER.MA* [PW] (Ts, Ü, Hor, E, Kh, Am, Sh, Yol, etc) < CT. the variant ཞེ་ར་མ་ is frequently attested (Kh). In Yolmo and Sherpa (SW), the word is followed by a velar nasal final such as ཞེ་ར་མ་ */ermanj/*, 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: ཞེ་མ་ */ˈɣema/* (Dz), ཞེ་ར་མ་ */nyerma/* (Pur, La, Za). See below. In Ladakh, black pepper is called བ་རི་ལུ་ *PHA.RIL.LU* < CT བོ་བ་རི་ལུ་ *PHO.BA.RIL.LU*

**535. CHILI/HOT PEPPER** སི་པེན་ *SLPEN* or སུར་པེན་ *SUR.PEN* is widely used in Ü and Tsang, whereas ལ་ཙོ་ */la tsə/* or */la čo/*, borrowed from the Chinese 辣子 *lazi* and 辣椒 *lajiao*, are mainly used in Am, Kh and E. In some areas དམར་ཚ་ *DMAR.TSHA* (Am, Yol, etc.), lit. ‘red hot’, or the variant དམར་རྩི་ */marts/* (Sh, Yol) lit. ‘red spice’, is used. In the area of Dartsendo (Kh), /ɸu tso/ or /he zo/ is widely used. This word form looks like a loanword from Sichuan Mandarin 海椒 *haijiao*, but this would be a little surprising. In southern Kham, /bəgu/, /pəgu/ (perhaps related to སྒོད་ཞོད་ *SPOD.RGOD* lit. ‘wild spice’), /ja<sup>h</sup>go/, (perhaps related to *RGYA.RGOD* lit. ‘wild Han Chinese’), etc. are used. In some areas, we find ཞེ་མ་ */ˈɣema/* (Dz), ཞེ་ར་མ་ */nyerma/* (Pur, La, Za) < CT. གཡེ་ར་མ་ *G.YER.MA* ‘Sichuan pepper’. The words འོ་ཉི་ *TSHA.ʼTE* ‘hot’ (La, Pur) and ལ་ཚོག་ (Pur) ‘burning mouth’ are also widespread. The Bhutanese dish ཞེ་མ་དར་ཚོལ་ *ɣE.MA.DAR.TSHIL* ‘chili cheese curry’ served with rice uses this spice.

536. **SPICES** ག་སྒྲན་ *SHA.SMAN* (Ü, Ts) lit. ‘meat helper, meat spices’. བོ་ཇུ་ས་ *BRO.RDZAS* ‘condiments’.

537. **EGG** སྒོ་ར་ *SGO.NGA* or སྒོ་ར་ *SGONG* [FFW] (Sp, Yol, Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am, etc) < CT. སྒོ་ལོ་ *SGO.LO* (LJ). A few other stems are found: Balti and Purik have ཏྲ་བཞོན་ *BYA.BZHON* /bya<sup>h</sup>zhon/, which literally means ‘bird’s milk’ (see ‘MILK’). For ‘egg’, Sherpa has < ཏྲ་མེན་ཏོག་ *BYA’MEN.TOK* /č-mentok/ lit. ‘bird flower’. Thewo has /doya/ whose etymology is not certain, but could be derived from རྩོ་དཀར་ *RDO.DKAR* ‘white stone’. Ladaks has borrowed ལུ་ལ་ /l’ul/ from Kashmiri.

538. **ALCOHOL (strong)** ཨ་རག་ *RA.RAG* [FFW] < CT < Arabic عرق ‘araq’ ‘an anis-flavored alcohol drink’ through Persian or Turkic (‘raki’). It is sometimes followed by the Tibetan root ལུ་ *KHU* ‘liquid, juice’: ཏྲ་རག་ལུ་ *RAG.KHU*. The word ཆང་ *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 ཆང་རག་ *CHANG.RAG* is also attested. In Spiti, Khunu and some other southern or western regions, one finds apple and apricot ཨ་རག་ *arak*.

539. **CHANG** ཆང་ *CHANG* ‘Tibetan barley beer’ [PW] < CT. This is usually pronounced /č’ang/ or /č’ə/. In Tsang and Tö, where *chang* is highly appreciated, there are many names for this beverage: སྒོ་བཞོན་ /tosen/ (Tö), ཏྲ་མི་ /i/ (Ts), ཏྲ་འདེམ་ལྷ་ /demnaʔ/ (Ts), ཏྲ་སྒོ་མ་ /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 འབྲས་ཆང་ *BRAS.CHANG* ‘rice *chang*’, སྒྲུག་ཆང་ *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 རྩ་ཆང་ *NAS.CHANG* lit. ‘barley *chang*’ or ཆང་མེར་ *CHANG.SER* ‘yellow *chang*’. Balti people also usually avoid *chang* because of Islamic Sharia, but it was formerly drunk by them, and the word ཆང་ *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** ཇ JA [PW] < CT from Chin. 茶 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 ཇ་བར་ JA.THANG (Ü, Ts, La) or ལུ་ནག་ KHU.NAG (La) ‘salted black tea’.
- 541. BUTTER TEA** ཇ་སྤུ་མ་ JA SRUB.MA [PW], alt. ཇ་སྤུ་མ་ JA SRUS.MA (Ü, Ts) < ‘churned tea’. ཇ་སྤུ་མ་ 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: དཀྲོག་ཇ་ DKROG.JA (Kh) ‘churned tea’, སྤུ་ཇ་ SRUJA (Dz) ‘churned tea’ or བོད་ཇ་ BOD.JA ‘Tibetan tea’ (Ü, Ts), ཇ་ཁ་འདྲེ་ JAKHA.’TE /ča k’ante/ (La) lit. ‘bitter tea’, ས་ཡུ་ཇ་ /payu ča/ (Ba) ‘salt tea’, ནམ་ཀིན་ཇ་ NAM.KINJA ‘salt tea’ (Pur) < Urd, Pers. ‘salty tea’. གུར་གུར་ཇ་ GUR.GUR.JA ‘churned tea’ (used by Kashmiri).
- 542. SWEET MILK TEA** ཇ་མར་མོ་ JA MNGAR.MO [PW] tea with added milk and sugar, similar to *chai* (Indian tea). Some Kham dialects call it ཇ་དྲཀར་པོ་ JADKAR.PO /ča karo/ ‘white tea’.
- 543. SALTY MILK TEA** འོ་ཇ་ ’O.JA lit. ‘milk tea’. A traditional drink in Amdo made of hot milk, tea, salt and water. Sometimes, འོ་ཇ་ ’O.JA is just made of milk with water and salt, and does not contain tea.
- 544. BOILED WATER** ལྷུ་ཁོལ་མ་ CHUKHOL.MA (Ü, Ts), ལྷུ་སྒོལ་ CHU.SKOL (La, Am).
- 545. CIGARETTE/TOBACCO** ཐ་མག་ THA.MAG [PW] < Bengali *tamak*, *tamaka* or Nep. *tamakhu* and ultimately from Arawakan (a Carribean language). The variants ཐ་མ་ཁ་ THA.MA.KHA, ཐ་མ་ལུ་ THA.MA.KHU (Pur), ཐ་མ་ལུ་ THAM.KHU (Dz) are also attested. In eastern languages, the Tibetan word དུ་བ་ DU.BA < CT (lit.) ‘smoke’ (Kh, Am) is used in this sense.

546. **SNUFF** ལྷ་ཐ་ *SNA.THA* (Ü, Ts) < CT (La) lit. ‘nose tobacco’. ལྷ་ཐག་ *SNA.THAG* /snat’ak/ (La) and ལྷ་དུ་ *SNA.DU* ‘nose smoke’ (Am). The habit of taking snuff was widespread in Tibet and is still practiced by some old people. The word /nasoar/ is used in Purik.

547. **PAAN** རྟག་མ་ *DOG.MA* (Dz) < CT རྟག་ *DOG* ‘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** ལྷ་ན་ *SMAN* [PW] < CT. This refers to any kind of medicine such as བོད་ལྷ་ན་ *BOD.SMAN* ‘Tibetan medicine’, also called གམ་བ་རིག་པ་ *GSO.BA.RIG.PA* ‘sowa rigpa’, རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ལྷ་ན་ *RGYA.NAG GI SMAN* ‘Chinese medicine’, རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ལྷ་ན་ *RGYA.GAR GYI SMAN* ‘Āyurvedic or Indian medicine’, རྩ་ཕྱོགས་པའི་ལྷ་ན་ *NUB.PHYOGS PA’I SMAN* ‘Western medicine’, etc. The following proverb tells us something about the traditional Tibetan diet: ས་ལ་ས་ལྷ་ན་ཤ་ལ་ཤ་ལྷ་ན་ *SA-LA SA.SMAN SHA-LA SHA.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 Tibetan areas advocate eating less or no meat.

549. **HONEY** ལྷ་རྩ་མོ་ *SBRANG.RTSI* [PW] < CT lit. ‘nectar of bees/flying insects’. It is pronounced in various ways: ལྷ་རྩ་མོ་ *SBRANG.RTSI* (Pur), ལྷ་རྩ་མོ་ *SBYANG.RTSI* (Ba), ལྷ་རྩ་མོ་ *RANG.RTSI* (Sh, La). In some languages, the word is abbreviated to the first syllable ལྷ་རྩ་ *SBRANG* /’dang/ (Sp), ལྷ་རྩ་ *SBYANG* /’bjang/ (Dz), ལྷ་རྩ་ *SBANG* /bong/ (Ko), ལྷ་རྩ་ *RANG* (Sh). The Yolmo word ལྷ་རྩ་མོ་ */tip-pran/* is derived from an unclear root plus ལྷ་རྩ་ *SBRANG*. In Kham and Amdo, the word ལྷ་རྩ་མོ་ *SBANG.SKYAG* lit. ‘bee excrement’ is attested. ལྷ་རྩ་མོ་ *BU.BA* is used in Gyälthang.

550. **CREAM** ལྷ་ཤི་ *SPRI* [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 ལྷ་ཤི་ *’O* ‘milk’ as in ལྷ་ཤི་ལྷ་ཤི་ */ospis/* (Pur). The word ལྷ་ཤི་ལྷ་ཤི་ *’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’, བྱོལ་སྣང་ *BYOL.SONG* (Ba, Pur, La, Tö) < CT ‘one who flees’, ཕྱུགས་མ་ *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་དྭགས་ *RI.DWAGS* [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.** Tibetan 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 རྒྱུགས་ *NAG.PHYUGS* [FFW] < CT ‘black cattle’. Another broad term for this category is རྒྱ་ *NOR* [FFW] (Kh, Hor, E, Am, Dz) < CT ‘wealth’. It is pronounced འོ་རྒྱ་ *NONG* in Lhoke. Thus in most pastoralist areas of Tibet, yaks and dzos are referred to as རྒྱ་ *NOR*. However, this term is used in Purik area to designate ‘sheep and goats’. It is interesting to note that the term ཕྱུགས་ *PHYUGS* ‘cattle’ is itself derived from CT ཕྱུག་ *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 ཁལ་མ་ *KHAL.MA* ‘load animal’ (usually yaks) and རྩོག་ *ZOG* (E) ‘cattle’, which originally means ‘goods, merchandise’. More marginally, we find སྤུ་ནག་ *SPU.NAG* lit. ‘black hair’ (Ü), ཆེ་དག་ *CHE.DAG* (Ts). In Purik, the term is རི་བཟངས་ *RI.BZANGS* /ri<sup>b</sup>zangs/ < CT རི་བཟངས་ ‘sent to the mountain’.

**555. DOMESTIC CATTLE.** Bulls, steers, and cows are often referred to as ‘domestic cattle’ ལྷོ་ཕུགས་ *SGO.PHYUGS* [FFW] < CT lit. ‘door cattle’. The terms བ་ཕུགས་ *BA.PHYUGS* lit. ‘cow cattle’, ཕུགས་ཟོག་ *PHYUGS.ZOG* (Am), གནག་ཕུགས་ *GNAG.PHYUGS* are also heard. Note that in Purik, the word ཕུགས་ *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 ར་ལུག་ *RALUG*. In Purik རོར་ *NOR* < CT ‘wealth’ is used for ‘sheep and goat’.

**557. BULL** ལྷང་ *GLANG* [PR] < CT. Often occurs with a suffix: འཕྲང་གོག་ *GLANG.GOG* (Ü), འཕྲང་རྟོ་ *GLANG.TO* (Pur, La) is also attested. In the eastern Section, རོར་ *NOR* is used for ‘bull’ whereas some Amdo areas employ ཟོག་ *ZOG* for this. In most areas, there is no distinction between ‘bull’ and ‘ox’ or ‘steer’. In some languages, ལྷང་ *GLANG* is used with བ་ *BA* ‘cow’, yielding the compound བ་ལྷང་ *BA.GLANG* ‘cattle’.

**558. OX** ལྷང་ *GLANG* [PR] < CT. See BULL.

**559. COW** བ་ *BA* [PR] < CT. In many languages, this is used in combination with ལྷང་ *GLANG* ‘bull, steer, ox’: བ་ལྷང་ *BA.GLANG*. It also occurs with a suffix: བ་མོ་ *BA.MO*, བ་མུང་ *BAMUNG* (Sh). In Choča-ngača འཛོ་བ་ /jowa/ designates ‘cow’, whereas བ་ /‘ba/ is used to refer to a crossbreed of mithun and cow.

**560. CALF** བེའུ་ *BE’U* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT or བེའོ་ /beto/ (Pur), བེའོ་ /betso/ (La). In some dialects, words for young animals are only formed by following the name of the animal by ཚུང་ *CHUNG* or ཚུང་ཚུང་ *CHUNG.CHUNG* ‘small’ or the noun ཕུག་ *PHRUG* ‘child’.

**561. BUFFALO** མ་རྟེ་ *MA.HE* [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz). < CT. This animal is only found on the margins of the Tibetan area, particularly in the southern Himalayas in Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim (India).

**562. YAK (male)** གཡག་ *G.YAG* [PR] < CT; or as གཡག་ཕོ་ *G.YAG.PHO* (Yol). In Hor, ཁལ་ *KHAL* lit. ‘load, burden’ is used. In Minyak Rabgang, ཁལ་མ་ *KHAL MA* lit. ‘cattle for carrying load’ is used. In Gyälthang (Kh), the form /ˈshwo ta/ is used,

which might originate from ཕུགས་རྩ་ *PHYUGS.RTA* ‘treasure horse’. In pastoralist areas, there are many terms to designate yaks depending of different sex, age, function, and so on (see *BRUG.MO.MTSHO* 2003; Sung & *LHA.BYAMS.RGYAL* 2005, Tournadre 2014b, and this book, Chapter 11).

**563. YAK (female)** འབྲི་ *BRI* [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways /bri/ (Pur), /qi/ (Ü, La), /<sup>m</sup>bə/ (Hor), etc. *BRI* is sometimes followed by the suffix *MO*: འབྲི་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་ *MDZO* [PW] < CT. This is pronounced /<sup>m</sup>dzo/, /<sup>n</sup>dzo/, /dzo/ (most languages), /zo/ (Pur, Za, Sh), etc. Also found is མཛོ་བྱུག་ /zopkyok/ (Sh).

**565. DZOMO (female hybrid of yak and cow)** མཛོ་མོ་ *MDZO.MO* [PW] < CT.

**566. TÖLPO (male hybrid, usually of a bull and dzomo)** རྟོལ་ *RTOL* [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Ts, Am). Pronounced /<sup>t</sup>tol/ (La), /<sup>t</sup>turu/ (Pur) རྟོལ་པོ་ *RTOL.PO*. The word རྟོལ་མཛོ་ *RTOLMDZO* is also attested (Ba).

**567. TÖLMO (female hybrid usually of bull and dzomo)** རྟོལ་མོ་ *RTOL.MO* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ts, Am) /<sup>t</sup>tolmo/ (La), /<sup>t</sup>turmo/ (Pur).

**568. GARPO (male hybrid usually of yak and dzomo)** འགཔ་པོ་ *GAR.PO* [FFW]. འགཔ་བ་ *GAR.BA*, འགཔ་བུ་ *GAR.BU* /garu/, (La, Pur, Am) are also attested.

**569. GARMO (female hybrid usually of yak and dzomo)** འགཔ་མོ་ *GAR.MO* [FFW] (La, Pur, Am).

**570. HORN** རྩ་ *RWA* [PR] < CT རྩ་ *RWA* alt. རྩ་ *RU*. The root རྩ་ *RWA* (Cho, SKh) is sometimes used alone. In most languages, རྩ་ *RWA* is pronounced /ra/, but is interesting to note that the pronunciation in some languages still reflects the presence of the *wazur*: རྩ་ /rua/ (Cho) /rowa/ (Yol). A suffix is usually used, such as such as *CO*, *GO*, *KYOG* or *BO*. རྩ་ཚོ་ *RWA* /račo/ or /recho/ < CT ‘horn head’, or རྩ་ཚོ་ *RU.CHO* (La), རྩ་འགོ་ *RWACT* ‘horn head’, རྩ་ཁྲོག་ *RWA.KYOG*, ཡར་ཁྲོག་ *BAR.KYOG* (Sh) < CT ‘crooked horn’, རྩ་རྩེ་ *RWARTSE* < CT ‘horn summit’.

571. **HOOF** མིག་ *RMIG* [PR]. The variant མྱིག་ *RMYIG* (Am) is also attested.

Generally, the root is followed by a suffix: མིག་པ་ *RMIG.PA*, མྱིག་པ་ *RMYIG.PA*. In Amdo, ལྷག་བཞི་ *SUG-BZHI* lit. ‘four-limb’ is also used. The term རྩ་འགོ་ *RWA.’GO* ‘horn’ (Norman 2019) is also used for ‘hoof’ in Ladakh.

572. **YAK DUNG** ལྷི་ *LCI* [PR] < CT. This is generally followed by the suffix *BA*: ལྷི་

བ་ *LCL.BA*, and is pronounced in various ways: /<sup>l</sup>ça/ (La), /<sup>l</sup>çe/ (Za), /čia/ (Sp, Tö), /čowa/ (Ü, Ts, Kh), /<sup>l</sup>čo/ (Am), /<sup>l</sup>če/ (Am). In Thewo-mä, the compound words རྩོད་སྐྱག་ *NOR.SKYAG* lit. ‘black cattle excrement’ or བ་སྐྱག་ *BA.SKYAG* lit. ‘cow excrement’ are used (even for yak dung!). In Purik and Zanghar ཤི་ལང་ *SHILANG* is used. Some dialects make a difference between dried and wet yak dung. In Amdo, the dry dung is called ཨོང་བ་ *ONG.BA*. In Nagchu, the wet dung is called རྩོད་བ་ *RNYO.BA*, whereas in Purik བ་སྐྱག་ *BA.SKYAG* lit. ‘cow excrement’ is used for ‘wet yak dung’. In some high-altitude Tibetan areas, yak dung is vital for heating and cooking, since there are no trees or bushes.

573. **SHEEP/GOAT PELLETS** རིལ་མ་ *RIL.MA* [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*, /rilmang/ (or /rilbang/ in Purik), which may be an archaic plural form. In some dialects of Kham, ལུག་སྐྱག་ *LUG.SKYAG* < ‘sheep excrement’ is used. ར་ལུད་ *RA.LUD* < ‘goat manure’. In Ladakh and Zangskar, མྱིག་པ་ *SGRIG.PA* རིག་པ་ /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)** ལྷགས་ *LPAGS*, བགས་ *PAGS* [PR], normally followed by a

suffix *pa*: བགས་པ་ *PAGS.PA* (Ü, Ts, Yol, Kh, etc.). རྩགས་ལྷ་ /waqqwa/ (Am), བགས་པ་ *BAGS.PA* (Ba). Other suffixes are attested, such as བགས་ཀོ་ *PAGS.KO* (Dz), བགས་ཏེ་ *PAGS.TE* (E: Th), བཟུ་ *PA’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** ཀོ་བ་ *KO.BA* [PW]. The word ཀོ་བ་ *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 རྩུན་ RGYUN 'leather strip'.

**576. HAIR (BODY/ANIMAL)** སྩུ་ *SPU* [PR] < CT. བ་སྩུ་ *BA.SPU* is found very marginally in some Amdo dialects, while in Ngari སྩུ་ཏོག་ *SPA.TOG* is attested. རལ་ *RAL* /ral/ or /real/ is used in Purik (see GOAT HAIR).

**577. YAK HAIR** རྩེད་པ་ *RTSID.PA* [PW] < CT. This *tsipa* '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** ལུ་ལུ་ *KHU.LU* [PW] < CT 'Soft yak wool'.

**579. WOOL (SHEEP)** བ་ལ་ *BAL* [PR] < CT. In some dialects of Kham, ར་སྩུ་ *RA.SPU* lit. 'goat hair' or ལུག་སྩུ་ *LUG.SPU* lit. 'sheep hair' is used.

**580. WOOL (GOAT)** རལ་ *RAL* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za); ལེ་ན་ *LE.NA* (La, Za, Tö) also written ལེ་སྩུ་ *LE.SNA*. The word རལ་ *RAL* /ral/ (Za) or /real/ (Pur) is used for 'coarse goat wool', whereas ལེ་ན་ *LE.NA* /lena/ is used for 'fine goat wool' or 'pashmina'. In Central Tibet, Hor and Amdo, ར་ལུ་ལ་ *RA.KHUL* < CT 'goat *khulu*' is heard, whereas ར་རྩེད་ *RA.RTSID* is used for coarse goat wool. In some dialects, ར་སྩུ་ *RA.SPU* (Kh) lit. 'goat hair' ར་བ་ལ་ *RA.BAL* (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'. *Shahtoosh* (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** རྩ་ *RNGA* [FFR] (La, Za, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT, often followed by a suffix: རྩ་མ་ *RNGA.MA*, and གཞུག་ *GZHUG*/མཞུག་ *MJUG* [FFR] (Pur, Kh, etc.), also followed by a suffix *MA*: གཞུག་མ་ *GZHUG.MA* (Pur), མཞུག་མ་ *JUG.MA*, ཞིན་དོ་ *ZHIN.DO* (Ba)

582. **HORSE** ཏྲ *RTA* [PW] < CT. In Amdo a herd of horses is called ལ་ལོ་ *LALO*. In the mBalhag dialect (Kh), ཏྲུར་མ་ *KHUR.MA* ‘horse’ may be derived from CT *KHUR* ‘to carry’. In sNyingthong dialect (Kh), /<sup>h</sup>gɔ̃/ is used < སྒོད་མ་ *RGOD.MA* ‘mare’.
583. **PONY** རྩུ་ *RTE’U* [PW] < CT. Cf. CALF. ལུ་ */t’uru/* (Pur, La, Za) is also attested.
584. **STALLION** ཏྲཱོ་ *RTA.PHO* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. གསེབ་ *GSEB* is also used.
585. **MARE** སྒོད་མ་ *RGOD.MA* [FFW] < CT ‘wild’. ཏྲཱོ་ *RTAMO* is also used.
586. **SHEEP** ལུག་ *LUG* [PR] < CT. Other terms are exceptionally found ལུག་ */luak/* ‘sheep (generic)’ in Purik. Khöpokhok (E), /sa ʰje/ is used for ‘sheep’, of unclear origin.
587. **RAM** ཐོང་པ་ *THONG.PA* is used in some areas (La, Za). ཁལ་བ་ *KHAL.BA* (La).
588. **EWES** མ་མོ་ *MA.MO* [FFW] < CT. In Balti and Purik ལུག་ *LUG* designates specifically ‘ewe’. ལུག་མ་ *LUG.MA*, ལུག་མོ་ *LUG.MO* and མོ་ལུག་ *MO.LUG* are also attested for ‘ewe’.
589. **LAMB** ལུ་གུ་ *LU.GU* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. Cf. CALF. ལུག་ཕུག་ *LUG.PHRUG* lit. ‘sheep child’. In Balti ཏྲུ་བུ་ *LU.BU* derived from CT ལུག་ *LUG* is used.
590. **GOAT** ར་ *RA* [PR] < CT. ར་མ་ *RA.MA* is also widespread. In Purik, རག་ *RAG* /rak/ is used for ‘goat (generic)’.
591. **MALE GOAT / BILLY GOAT** ར་ཕོ་ *RA.PHO* [FFW]; ར་བག་ */rabak/* is used in Purik for ‘billy goat’.
592. **FEMALE GOAT** ར་མ་ *RA.MA* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT.
593. **KID** ར་ཕུག་ *RA.PHRUG* [PW] < CT. Cf. CALF. རེུ་ *RE’U* is also attested.
594. **MULE** རྩེ་ལ་ *DREL* [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. The variant རྩེ་གུ་ *DRE.GU* (La) is attested. The word is not found in Baltistan, where it is replaced by a compound བོང་ཏྲ་ *BONG.RTA* ‘donkey-horse’, རྩུ་ཨ་ཀ་ *RTE’U ʔA.KA* lit. ‘small



pony'. Some dialects use the same word as 'donkey': ཀུ་རུ་ *KU.RU* (Kh). A word རྒྱ་*ḡA.DGA'* of unclear origin is attested in Th-Tö. In Ladaks the word རྒྱ་ lit. 'pony' is used.

**595. DONKEY** བོང་ *BONG* [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: བོང་བུ་ *BONG.BU* in CT. In some languages, the suffix is different བོང་གུ་ *BONG.GU* (Ü, Dz, etc.) or བོང་ལུ་ *BONG.LU* /wonglə/ (Am). The word ཀུ་རུ་ *KU.RU* occurs in Kham and Kongpo. This root is also attested in Purik: ཀུ་རུ་ *KU.RU* and Zanhra ཀུ་རུ་ག་ *KU.RUG* for 'baby donkey'. In Southern Kham, another root reconstructed as \*ཀུ་ལ་ *KRUL* is also found.

**596. PIG** ཕག་ *PHAG* [PR] < CT. Some languages use a suffix: ཕག་པ་ *PHAG.PA*. In Amdo, the word is a regular reflex of \* ཕག་ལུ་ *PHAG.LU* pronounced ཏ་ཧལ་ལུ་ /haylu/. Some languages in Kham, such as Minyak Rabgang and Lithang, use ཕག་རྒྱ་ *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 Tibetic area, the word ཕག་ *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 Kongpo, 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** ཕོ་ཕག་ *PHO.PHAG* [PR]. ཕག་ཕོ་ *PHAG.PHO* and ཕག་པ་ *PHAG.PHA* are also attested. In Chagthreng (Kh), /p'o wa/ is used.

**598. SOW** མོ་ཕག་ *MO.PHAG* [PR]. ཕག་མོ་ *PHAG.MO*, ཕག་མ་ *PHAG.MA*, ཕག་ཨ་མ་ *PHAG ḡA.MA*. In Chathreng (Kh), /mo wa/ is used. The female deity རྡོ་རྗེ་ཕག་མོ་ Dorje Phagmo 'Vajravārāhī' lit. 'vajra sow' is a tantric deity of Vajrayāna Buddhism.

**599. PIGLET** ཕག་ཕྱུག་ *PHAG.PHRUG* [FFW] < CT. This form normally has a /p'/-sound, as /p'je/ in Gyälthang (Kh) and /p'a lu/ in Melung (Kh), but also occurs as /pu:/ in sDerong (Kh) and as /pə lu/ in Tsharethong (Kh). Some words for piglet have a fairly unclear origin, such as /ʔa ŋu/ in Serpo (E), /ʔa gu/ in Zhongu (E) and /ʔa mu/ in Čone (E). In Minyak Rabgang, ཕག་ཆུང་ཆུང་ *PHAG CHUNG.CHUNG* and ཏ་ཕག་བོ་ཅོ་ *PHAG.BO.TSI* are used.

600. **WILD BOAR** [FFW] < CT. རི་ཕག་ *RI.PHAG* lit. ‘mountain pig’, ཕག་གོད་ *PHAG.RGOD* [FFW] < CT. lit. ‘wild pig’.

601. **CAMEL** རྩ་མོང་ *RNGA.MONG* [FFR] or the variant རྩ་བོང་ *RNGA.BONG* (La). The trisyllabic form རྩ་བེང་མོང་ *THENG.RNGA.MONG* is used in some Yunnan dialects.

602. **DOG** ཁྱི་ *KHYI* [PR] < CT. In some dialects (e.g. Tö, Sherpa, Chagthreng (Kh)), this form is unaspirated: ཁྱི་ *KYI*. In some dialects of Amdo, it is followed by a suffix *GU*: ཁྱི་གུ་ *KHYI.GU*, which may be in order to avoid confusion with ཆུ་ *CHU* ‘water’, which is pronounced the same as ཁྱི་ *KHYI* in many Amdo dialects. Minyak Rabgang and Lithang (Kh) use ཁྱི་རྩ་ག་ *KHYI.RGAN* < CT lit. ‘old dog’ to denote ‘dog’. This form is also used in Amdo pastoralists’ communities as the humilific form. Dzongkha has རོ་ཁྱི་ *RO.KHYI* < རོ་གས་ཁྱི་ *ROGS.KHYI* lit. ‘companion/helper dog’. སྲང་ཁྱི་ *SRANG.KHYI* (La, Za) and ཐང་ཁྱི་ *THANG.KHYI* (Pur) are used for ‘wild or stray dog’. Another root རྩ་པ་ /χaba/ is used in Amdo for small dogs. ཁྱི་སྦྱང་ *KHYI.SPYANG* lit. ‘dog wolf’ is often used for ‘jackal’.

603. **BITCH (FEMALE DOG)** ཁྱི་མོ་ *KHYI.MO* [PW] Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. ཁྱི་མ་ *KHYI.MA*, མ་ཁྱི་ *MA.KHYI*.

604. **CAT** \*ལི་ *LI* [FFR] (Ko, Kh, E, Am, Lho). The most frequent root for ‘cat’ used throughout Tibetan areas is \*ལི་ *LI*. Although not attested in CT, it is found under various forms such as རྩ་ལི་ *PA.LI* /pa li/, /pa la/, /pa lju/, /lu:/ and /pu li/ or ལི་ *LLI* /lə la/ in many regions, including Kham, Amdo, Kongpo and Lhoke. Another word, སྦྱི་ལ་ *BYI.LA* [FFR] (Ba, Pur La, Tö, SKh, Dz) < CT < Skr. बिडाल *biḍāla* (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 རྦྱི་ལི་ *BYILI* /pčili/ is used in Dzongkha. Other roots are also attested: some dialectal forms such as ཞི་མི་ *ZHI.MI* (Ü) derive from another literary word ཞུམ་བུ་ *ZHUM.BU*, which may be related to the verb ཞུམ་ *ZHUM* ‘to be afraid, to fear’ (thus, a ‘fearful animal’). Another root \*མི་ *MI*, probably an ideophone, is present in some Amdo dialects. It is often combined with ལི་ *LI*: རྩ་མི་ལི་ *MIS.LI* /milə/ or རྩ་མི་ལི་འུ་ *MLI’U*, རྩ་མི་མི་ *MIS.MIS* are used in Amdo pastoralists’ area. The Kham Tibetan

spoken in the Minyag Rabgang area uses a form like /mō dza/, which has an unclear origin. In Lithang ཏཱ་ཙེ་ 'O.TSHE /fiots'e/ is attested. In the Southwestern section, we find ཏཱ་རི་ /kuri/ or /guri/ in Nubri, Kyirong, Yolmo, etc. The Sherpa word ཏཱ་མང་ SBER.MANG /'bermang/ and Jirel ཏཱ་མ་ SBER.MANG could be derived from SBAR.MO lit. 'claws'. The word ཏཱ་ཤི་ PL.SHI is used in Zanhar and variants of this form are found in Nyoma (Ladakh).

**605. HARE** རི་ཁོང་ RI.BONG [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT.

It is a compound word: RI '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: خرگوش *xarguš* lit. 'donkey ear'. In many dialects, this word has the reflex རི་གོང་ RI.GONG (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 སྤང་གཡག་ SPANG.GYAG 'yak of the prairies'.

**606. RABBIT** ཡོས་ YOS (CT). In most languages, hares and rabbits are not distinguished; see HARE.

**607. CHICKEN** རྩ་ DE [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, E.) < CT. The root རྩ་ DE is not found alone. It is usually preceded by the word BYA 'bird' བྱ་ཤིང་ BYA.DE or followed by a suffix: རྩ་བོ་ DE.BO. The root བྱ་ BYA [FFR] (Kh, E, Am, Pur) is frequently used alone to mean 'chicken'. བྱ་བོ་ BYA.BO (Am). It should not be confused with the class term 'bird', which is used with many large birds: བྱ་ལྷན་ BYA.GLAG, བྱ་ཁྲུང་ BYA.KHRUNG, བྱ་རོག་ BYA.ROGS, བྱ་གློད་ BYA.GLOD. In some languages such as southern Kham, Ladaks and Balti, the words བྱ་ཕོ་ BYA.PHO 'male bird' and བྱ་མོ་ BYA.MO 'female bird' refer to chickens. བྱ་ BYA < CT 'bird' is also used alone. In Dzongkha, a chicken is called ཁྱིམ་བྱ་ KHYIM.BYA 'house-bird'.

**608. COCK, ROOSTER** བྱ་ཕོ་ BYA.PHO [FFW] < CT. བྱ་ཤིང་ཕོ་ BYA.DE.PHO [FFW]. རྩ་བོ་ DE.BO [FFW].

**609. HEN** བྱ་མོ་ BYA.MO [PW] < CT. བྱ་ཤིང་མོ་ BYA.DE.MO [FFW] < CT. རྩ་མོ་ DE.MO.

610. **CHICK** བྱ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *BYA.PHRUG* or བྱ་ལྷོ་ *BYA.PHRU* [PW] < CT. བྱ་ལྷོ་ *BYE'U* (SKh), བྱ་ལྷོ་ *BYE'U.PHRUG*, བྱ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ *BYA.ṂA.KA* (SKh), དེ་ལྷོ་ *DE.PHRUG* (E).
611. **WING** གཤོག་ *GSHOG* [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix *PA*: གཤོག་པ་ *GSHOG.PA*. In Sherpa instead of the suffix *PA*, there is a prefix *A*: འགཤོག་ *ṂA.GSHOG*. In Kongpo, there is another word འདབ་མ་ *'DAB.MA* < CT 'petal'. A variant is also attested: in south Kham འདབ་པ་ *'DAB.PA* < CT lit. 'leaf, petal' is used.
612. **FEATHER** ལྷོ་ *SGRO*, alt. ལྷོ་ *SGYO* [PW] < CT. This is sometimes preceded by the class term *BYA* 'bird': བྱ་ལྷོ་ *BYA.SGRO*. བྱ་ལྷོ་ *BYA.SPU* (E, SKh, Pur). In Purik, small feathers are referred to as ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ /spulu/, whereas large feathers are called ལྷོ་ *SGRO*. Sherpa uses the word འགཤོག་ *ṂA.GSHOG* for both 'wing' and 'feather'. The feathers of eagles and other large birds are used to make arrows.
613. **TIGER** ལྷོ་ *STAG* [PR] < CT. A few other words are found marginally: ལྷོ་མེས་ *ṂA.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 ལྷོ་ *STAG* and use instead the word for 'snow leopard'. For example, གཅན་ *GCAN* is used in Yolmo and Purik.
614. **LEOPARD** གཅན་ *GZIG* [FFR] (Ts, Ü, 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 གཅན་ *GCAN* is used instead; this is derived from CT *GCAN.GZAN* 'carnivorous animal, predator'. Other words are also attested: གཅན་ *GSA* 'snow leopard', གཅན་ *GUNG* < CT 'leopard cat' (Cho).
615. **LYNX** གཅན་ *G-YT* 'lynx' [PR]. The alternative spelling གཅན་ *DBYT* is also attested.
616. **LION** སེང་གེ་ *SENG.GE* [PR] < CT < Skr. सिंह *simha*. 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 སེང་གེ་ཆུ་ *SENG.GE CHU* 'Lion River', and its Tibetan name is སེང་གེ་ཁ་འབབ་ *SENG.GE KHA.BAB* lit. 'flowing down (from) the lion's mouth'. The term གངས་སེང་ *GANGS.SENG* 'snow lion' refers to a mythological animal, a symbol of Tibet.

**617. DRAGON** འབྲུག *'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), /<sup>h</sup>du?/ (Ü), /<sup>n</sup>dəχ/ (Am), /<sup>h</sup>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. འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ *'BRUG.YUL* 'dragon land' is the Tibetan name of Bhutan. It is worth noting that dragons are systematically associated with thunder in all the Tibetic languages. See also THUNDER.

**618. MONGOOSE** རྩེ་ལེ་ *NE'U.LE* < CT < Skr.

**619. CLAW** སྒར་མ་ *SBAR.MA* [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts) < CT. སྒྲེ་ *SDER* (E, Am) [FFR], སྒྲེ་མ་ *SDER.MA* /<sup>h</sup>derma/, /zermo/ (Za), ཡག་མོ་ *YAG.MO* (E), སྒར་མ་ *PRAD.MO* (Pur).

**620. MONKEY** སྒྲེ་ *SPRA* [PR] < CT. Its diminutive སྒྲེ་ཁྱེ་ *SPRE'U* is also widely attested. It is pronounced in many ways. In some dialects of Kham and Yolmo the words འཕྱ་རྒྱུ་མ་ *PA.RGAS.SPRA'U* < CT 'old monkey', འཕྱ་རྒྱུ་མ་ *PA.RGAS* 'old one', and འཕྱ་རྒྱུ་ *PA.SPRA'U* are found. In the southern and western languages, the Indic word མ་རྩེ་ *manu* and བན་དར་ *bandar* are also used. In Purik འཕྱ་རྒྱུ་ /shari/ is used.

**621. ELEPHANT** སྒྲང་པོ་ཆེ་ *GLANG.PO.CHE* and its variant སྒྲང་ཆེན་ *GLANG.CHEN*, སྒྲང་མོ་ཆེ་ *GLANG.MO.CHE* [PW] < CT lit. 'big bull'. In Sherpa the word འཕྱ་རྒྱུ་ /langpu/ is derived from སྒྲང་པོ་ *GLANG.PO* 'bull+male'.

**622. WILD YAK** འབྲོང་ *'BRONG* [FFR] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, etc.). This is pronounced in various ways: /brong/ (Pur) /dqong/ (Ü), /<sup>m</sup>dqong/ (Am), /<sup>n</sup>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 གཡག་རྩོད་ *G.YAG.RGOD* lit. 'wild yak' is also used, while Balti uses another compound ཐང་གཡག་ *THANG.G.YAG* 'plateau yak'.

**623. TAKIN** འབྲོང་གིམ་ཅེ་ *DRONG GYIM.TSE* or ར་རྩེ་ *RA.GYA*, the national animal of Bhutan.

**624. BLACK BEAR** [*Selenarctos thibetanus*] རྩེ་མ་ *DOM* [PR] < CT. This word is pronounced /tom/ in most languages, but in the Pämbar dialect of Kham (from

the village of *PAD.DKAR*), *DOM* is pronounced /sɔm/. This is a regular reflex of initial alveolar /t/ in this dialect. The term ལ་མྱེས་དོམ་ *PA.MYES DOM* is also attested. In Balti the word འག་རྩེན་ *NAG.DREN* lit. ‘black *dren*’ (< *DRED.MO*, see BROWN BEAR) is found. In Purik, the words ལྷ་རྩེན་ *RTSWA.DREN* /ʼtsoadɛn/ lit. ‘grass (eating) bear’ and ཤ་རྩེན་ *SHA.DREN* /shaɛn/ ‘meat (eating) bear’ are used. See BROWN BEAR.

**625. BROWN BEAR** [*Ursus pruinus*] རྩེན་མོ་ *DRED.MO* or རྩེན་མོང་ *DRED.MONG* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. This is pronounced in various ways: /ɛdemɔŋ/ (Ü), /ɛɛnmo/ (La), /ɛɛtmo/ (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. རྩེན་མོང་ *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: འུ་རྩེན་རིལ་ *RTING.RIL* < CT lit. ‘round heels’, འུ་རྩེན་རྩུམ་ *RTING.ZLUM* < CT lit. ‘round heels’, འུ་སྤོ་བོ་རྩེན་ལྷ་ *SPO.BO RDO.RGYAG* lit. ‘grandad throwing stones’, འུ་སྤར་ལྷ་ *SBAR.RGYAB* ‘(one who) scratches with claws’. The meaning of the word འུ་རྩེན་ *PA.RGA.MA* found in Yülshül is not clear, but could be derived from *RGA(S)* ‘to be old’ and thus mean ‘old female one’.

**626. PANDA** རོམ་ཁ་ཁ་ *DOM.KHRA.KHRA* < CT རོམ་ *DOM* ‘bear’ + ཁ་ཁ་ *KHRA.KHRA* ‘variegated’. བྱི་ལ་རོམ་ *BYLLA.DOM* < CT བྱི་ལ་ *BYLLA* ‘cat’ + རོམ་ *DOM* ‘bear’ probably a calque from the Chinese 熊猫 *xiongmao*. Pandas are found in Sichuan in the eastern Tibetan area and in the traditional Qiangic-speaking area.

**627. JACKAL or DHOLE** [*Cuon alpinus*] འཕར་བ་ *PHAR.BA* [FFW] < CT. Some languages use a form reanalyzed as འཕར་ར་ *PHA.RA*. In Purik ཁྱི་སྤྱང་ *KHYI.SPYANG* ‘dog wolf’ is often used for ‘jackal’.

**628. WOLF** སྤྱང་ཁུ་ *SPYANG.KHU* [PW] alt. སྤྱང་ཀུ་ *SPYANG.KU* and སྤྱང་ཀི་ *SPYANG.KI* < CT. In Chagthreng the root སྤྱང་ *SPYANG* is used alone for ‘wolf’. Some southern languages use another word: འཕར་ལ་ *PHARW* (Dz), འཕར་ར་ *PHAR.RA* derived from CT འཕར་བ་ *PHAR.BA* ‘jackal’.

629. **FOX** ཨ་ *WA* [PR] or its variant འ་ 'A < CT. The root may be used alone (Kh, Am) but in many languages, a suffix is added: ཨ་མོ་ *WA.MO* (Ü, Ts, Am), འམ་ 'AM (Dz), འ་མེ་ 'A.TSE (Sp, Tö), ཨ་མེ་ *WA.TSE* (La, Za), ཨ་གཟིག་ *WA.GZIG* (Sh). In some languages the word སྒྲི་ *SBRE* designates a kind of fox. In some dialects རྒྱ་ *RGOD* lit. 'wild one' is used marginally.
630. **DEER** ཤ་ *SHWA* [PR] < CT. 'deer', 'hart', 'stag'. This is usually followed by a suffix ཤ་བ་ *SHWA.BA*. ཁ་ཤ་ *KHA.SHWA* 'barking deer' is also attested (Sh, Yol).
631. **IBEX** སྒྲི་ *SKYIN* [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*] གན་འབ་ *GNA'.BA* [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*] རྒྱ་བ་ *RGO.BA* (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). Gazelles are common in the Jangthang area.
634. **ANTELOPE** [*Anthelops hodgsoni*] གཙོ་ད་ *GTSOD* /tsö/ (Ü, Ts), /ʈsɔs/ (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*] གཤམ་ *GNYAN* 'argali'; a type of wild sheep with huge horns.
636. **RIVER/MUSK DEER** གླ་ *GLA* [PR] < CT. Usually followed by a suffix: གླ་བ་ *GLA.BA* (Ü, Ts), གླ་ཅུམ་ *GLA.CUM* (Dz). རོ་པོ་མེ་ *RO.PO.TSE* (Pur) is also attested.
637. **MUSK** གླ་ཅི་ *GLA.RTSE* [PW] < CT (Pur, La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am).
638. **ONAGER** [*Equus hemionus kiang*] རྒྱ་མ་ *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: འ་བོ་རྒྱ་ *BONG.RGOD* 'wild donkey' and འ་བོ་ཐང་ *THANG.BONG* 'prairie donkey', འ་བོ་

རྩྭ་ *THANG.RTA* ‘prairie horse’. In a few areas, the animal is not known and the dialect may not have a word for it.

**639. OTTER** སྐལ་ *SRAM* [PR] < CT ལྷ་སྐལ་ *CHU.SRAM* ‘water otter’ is frequently attested. In Balti, ལྷ་ཁྱི་ *CHU.KHYI* < CT lit. ‘water dog’ is used alongside སྐལ་ *SRAM*. In gYagrwa (Kh), /wu:/ is used. The compound བྲག་སྐལ་ *BRAG.SRAM* ‘rock otter’ (Za) is attested but refers to another species. Otter skin is traditionally used for high-quality Tibetan robes.

**640. MOUSE** རྩྭ་ *BYI* or \* ལྷ་ *BYU* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Kh, Am) < CT. This is followed by the suffix *BA*: རྩྭ་བ་ *BYI.BA*, རྩྭ་བ་ *BYOBA* (Ba). The form \* ལྷ་ *BYU* could correspond to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman form, and some dialects reflect a final /u/-sound. འུ་ལྷ་བ་ *TSUNG.BI* (Yol), འུ་ལྷ་བ་ *PL.TSE* (Pur), འུ་ལྷ་བ་ *SA.BI.LIG* (La) lit. ‘earth mouse’, རྩྭ་ཙོ་ *BYI.TSI* (Dz). Another root, ཙོ་ཙོ་ *TSI*, is widespread, and probably represents onomatopoeia. ཙོ་ཙོ་ *TSI.TSI* (Ü) or ཙོ་ཙོ་གྲ་ */tsə gə/* (Am).

**641. PIKA** [*Ochotona spp.*] ཡ་བ་ *PA.BRA* or རྩྭ་བ་ *RDZA.BRA* [FFR] (La, Za, Ts, Ü, Hor Am) < CT usually pronounced /abra/ (Ü, Hor) but also /zebra/ (Za) and /dzabra/ (La).

**642. MARMOT** རྩྭ་བ་ *PHYL.BA* [PW] (Pur, La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh) < CT. The word *PHYL* is pronounced in many ways, e.g.: རྩྭ་བ་ *PHYL.BA* /p'ia/ (Pur, La, Za), /p'ia/ (Tö, Sp), /p'e/ (Sh), /ts'əwa/ (Kh, Hor), /sh'uwa/ (Kh, Hor), /seya/ (Kh), /sh'əwa/ (Am), འུ་ལྷ་བ་ */p'ə'iu/* (Dz) རྩྭ་ཕི་ *PHYL.PHI* /-č'ibi/ (Ü, Ts), etc. In some dialects, a metaphorical expression is used to designate the rodent: སྐྱོ་མ་ཆེན་ *SGOM.CHEN* ‘great meditator’ (because it hibernates!). Conversely yogis are sometimes ironically referred to as ‘marmots’. The compound ལ་ཕག་ *KHA.PHAG*, 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** རྩྭ་ *BYA* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT and the diminutive རྩྭ་ *BYE'U* [PW] < CT lit. ‘small bird’. It is interesting to note that Purik makes a difference between རྩྭ་ *BYA* /bya/ ‘flightless birds’ and རྩྭ་ *BE'U* /byu/ ‘flying birds’.



644. **NEST** བྱ་ཚར་ *BYA.TSHANG* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz < CT ‘bird nest’ or the variant བྱེ་ཚར་ *BYE’U.TSHANG* < CT ‘fledgling nest’. The word ཚར་ *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་བྱ་ *CHU.BYA* is used as a generic word for ‘water bird’, which is its literal meaning in CT. Ladaks uses ཆུ་སྒྲིག་ *CHU.SREG* lit. ‘water partridge’. Sometimes the word རང་པ་ *NGANG.PA* is used (see GOOSE). The Urdu loanword /batak/ is also attested. For the type of duck called རྩ་པ་ *NGUR.PA*, some languages use ཏ་ཡཾ་ *YA.ZI*, a Chinese loanword 鴨子 *yazi* (E).
646. **GOOSE** རང་པ་ *NGANG.PA* [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT.
647. **DOVE/PIGEON** ཕུག་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 ཏ་ཕུ་རོན་ *PHU.GRON*. In many dialects, due to a metathesis, the word is pronounced ཕུར་གོན་ *PHUR.GON* /p’urgon/. A word of unclear origin, མུ་ཁུ་ *MUKHU* (LJ: Nyoma), is also attested.
648. **CRANE** ཁུར་ *KHRUNG* [PR] < CT. Usually reduplicated as ཁུར་ཁུར་ *KHRUNG.KHRUNG* or preceded by the class term *BYA* as བྱ་ཁུར་ *BYA.KHRUNG*.
649. **EAGLE** གླག་ *GLAG* [FFR] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT, usually combined with the class term བྱ་ *BYA* ‘bird’: བྱ་གླག་ *BYA.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 བྱ་རྩོད་ *BYA.RGOD* < CT ‘vulture’, ཐང་རྟ་ *THANG.KAR* (Pur) < CT ‘Tibetan white vulture’, and བྱ་ཁ་ *BYA.KHRA* < CT ‘hawk’ for ‘eagle’.
650. **HAWK** ཁ་ *KHRA* alt. ཁ་ *KHYA* [PW] < CT. This is often preceded by the class term ‘bird’: བྱ་ཁ་ *BYA.KHRA*. In the sKobsteng dialect (Kh), the initial consonant is a uvular /q<sup>h</sup>/, which may suggest that the original sound of this word was uvular.

**651. VULTURE** བྱ་ཁྱོད་ *BYA.RGOD* [PW] < CT (lit.) ‘wild bird’. In some dialects (Kh, LJ: Durbuk, Nyoma), the word ཁྱོད་ *RGOD* is used alone. Other terms are also attested in some regions: ཐང་དྭགས་ *THANG.DKAR* < CT ‘Tibetan white vulture’, སྐྱུག་ཁྲུག་ *SKYAG.GLAG* (La) *Gypaetus barbatus*, ‘bearded vulture’ and ཁྲུག་ཁྱི་ *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 Tibetan area, such as Ladakh. See EAGLE and HAWK.

**652. OWL** ལྷག་པ་ *UG.PA* [PW] < CT ལྷག་རྩ་ *UG.HWA*.

**653. BAT** བྱ་མ་ཁྱི་ *BYA.MA.BYI* [FFW] < CT ‘half-bird half-mouse’. For ‘bat’ or ‘flying fox’, other words are attested, such as མཚན་ཁྱི་ *MTSHAN.BYI* ‘night mouse’ (La, Za), ཕ་མར་ *PHA.WANG* (Ü) and ལྷག་པ་རྩ་ལོང་ *DGA’.HALUNG* (Am).

**654. MAGPIE** སྐྱུ་ཀ་ *SKYA.KA* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. ཁ་ཏྲ་ཁ་ཐོ་ *KHWA.TA KHR.A.BO* ‘variegated crow’, ཁ་ཏྲ་བྱ་ཁྱིད་ *KHA.DRANG BU KHRID* (La, Za). Many variants are attested, e.g. ཉ་ཤམ་བུ་ཁྱིད་ /xasham buru/, /xasham buṭu/, etc. (Purik).

**655. HOPOE** \*བུ་བུ་ *PU.PU* [FFR] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü). CT བུ་བུ་ *PU.SHUD*. This is usually designated by the onomatopoeia /pu(t)pu(t)/, /ututut/, often followed by a disyllable: བུ་བུ་བུ་བུ་ *PU.PU.KHU.SHUD* (Ü). བུ་བུ་ག་ལི་ /pushukshali/ (La), བུ་བུ་ཙོ་ *PU.PU.TSE* (La), བུ་བུ་ *PUD.PUD* /putput/ (Pur), ལུ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ /ututut/ (Za), etc. It is interesting to note that the verb describing the hoopoe’s cry in French is *puputer*. In Sherpa ལྷས་ངན་བུ་ཤིད་ *LHAS.NGAN.PU.SHID* < CT *LTAS.NGAN* ‘bad omen’ + *pushi*. In Amdo, the word ཤིང་རྩེ་ *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*] རྩོག་ *ROG* [FFW] (La, Sp, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, Sh, Yol) < CT. The root is not found alone and often occurs as ཕོ་རྩོག་ *PHO.ROG* < lit. ‘male raven’. The class term ‘bird’ is sometimes added: བྱ་ཕོ་རྩོག་ *BYA.PHO.ROG* or བྱ་རྩོག་ *BYA.ROG*. Several variants are found, including ལྷོ་རྩོག་ *GWO.RAG* /‘gworak/ (Sh), ལྷག་པ་རྩོག་ /‘garo?/ (Tö), ག་རྩོག་ /‘garo?/ (Sp) and ལྷོ་རྩོག་ /‘oro?/ (Ts), which may be derived from ཕོ་རྩོག་ *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་གཞོན་ *MGON.PO BYA.ROG DGONG* ‘raven face protector’, a form of Mahākāla. In dialects of some regions where ravens are uncommon, no distinction is made between ravens and common crows.

**657. CROW** [*Corvus macrorhynchus tibetosinensis*] ཁྱ་ཏྱ་ *KHWA.TA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, La, etc.) < CT, or preceded by the class term བྱ་ཁྱ་ཏྱ་ *BYA.KHWA.TA*. In Sherpa this bird is called ཀ་ལག་ /-kalak/ < *KHWA.TA*. Some other forms are found, such as ཏ་ཨོ་ལ་ *PO.LA* /-pola/ (Dz, Lho), པོ་རོག་ *PHO.ROG* (Pur).

**658. RED-BILLED CHOUGH** (*Pyrhcorax pyrrhcorax himalayanus*) ལྷུང་ཀྱ་ *LCUNG.KA* or ལྷུང་ཀྱ་ *SKYUNG.KA* [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, 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** རོལ་མོ་ *JOL.MO* < CT. This bird is often mentioned in Classical Tibetan poetry.

**660. PHEASANT** རི་བྱ་ *RI.BYA* < CT. lit. ‘mountain bird’.

**661. PARTRIDGE** སྒེག་པ་ *SREG.PA* [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT.

**662. SNOWCOCK** གོང་མོ་ *GONG.MO* (La, Ü) < CT.

**663. CUCKOO** ཁུ་བྱུག་ *KHU.BYUG* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT. ཁུ་བྱུག་ *KHU.YUG*. Sprigg mentions ལྷུང་ཀྱ་ *LCUNG.KA* for Balti (see above RED-BILLED CHOUGH). The Hindi loanword /koyal/ is used in the Himalayas.

**664. PEACOCK** རྩ་བྱ་ *RMA.BYA* [PR] < CT probably from Skr. मयूर *mayūra*. It is pronounced /mabja/ (La), /mapča/ (Ü, Ts, Yol), etc. The following variants are also attested: རྩ་ཡ་ *RMA.YA*, བྱེ་ལུ་རྩ་ཡ་ *BYE'U.RMA.YA*, བྱེ་ལུ་རྩ་ *BYE'U.RMA*, མེན་ཇ་ *MEN.JA* /menja/ (Pur).

**665. TORTOISE** རུས་སྒལ་ *RUS.SBAL* [PW] < CT lit. ‘bone-frog’. In Purik /kačwa/ is a loanword < Urdu.

**666. SNAKE** སྒྲུ་ *SBRUL* [PR] < CT. This is pronounced in many ways: སྒྲུ་ /<sup>h</sup>brul/ (Pur), /<sup>h</sup>bul/ (Ba), འྲུ་ /rul/ (La), /ruv/ (Am) /<sup>h</sup>dü:/ (Ü), /<sup>h</sup>dü:/ (Kh), /<sup>h</sup>dul/ (Sp), འྲུ་ /<sup>h</sup>bü/ (Dz), /<sup>h</sup>bü?/ (Ho), /bi/ (Ko), འྲུ་ /xwu/ (Am: Dz), /wu/ (Am), etc. In the sKadgrag dialect (Kh), འྲུ་ སྒྲུ་ 'BU.SBRUL lit. 'worm-snake' is used. A few dialects have a form with a prenasalisation only for 'snake year', such as /<sup>h</sup>du:/ in Rongbrag (Kh), which may imply a relation to the reconstructed PTB form \*smrul.

**667. FROG** སྒྲུ་པ་ *SBAL.PA* [PW]. This is pronounced in many ways: /<sup>h</sup>balpa/ (Ba, Pur), /balba/ (Tö), /balwa/ (Sp, Sh), /bä:pa/ (Ü, Kh, Ho), /yäwa/ (E: Th), /bawa/ (Am), /zawa/ (Am), /xwawa/ (Am), /<sup>h</sup>bä:p/ (Dz) < CT. In some languages in the eastern area, *R* occurs as a glide before the vowel: སྒྲུ་པ་ *SBAL.PA* /rwawa/ or /<sup>w</sup>rawa/ (Am).

**668. FISH** མྱ་ *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** འྲུ་ རུ་ *BU* [PR] < CT. འྲུ་ལ་ *BUB* (Dz). Sometimes this forms compounds, such as སྒྲུ་འྲུ་ *SRI.BU*, from སྒྲུ་འྲུ་ *SRIN.BU* 'insect, vermin', མྱ་འྲུ་ *HA.BU* (Ba). Many languages and dialects group 'crawling insects' and 'worms' together (see WORM).

**670. WORM** སྒྲུ་འྲུ་ *SRIN* (Ba, Pur, Am). See འྲུ་ *BU* above.

**671. FLYING INSECT** སྒྲུ་འྲུ་ *SBRANG* [PR] < CT. The root is often followed by a suffix: སྒྲུ་འྲུ་ *SBRANG.MA*, འྲུ་འྲུ་ *SBANG.MA*, སྒྲུ་འྲུ་ *SBRANG.BU*. The root is pronounced in many ways: སྒྲུ་ /<sup>h</sup>brang/ (Pur) འྲུ་ /rang/ (La), /<sup>h</sup>rang/ (Ts), འྲུ་ /<sup>h</sup>pang/ (Ü) /<sup>h</sup>bong/ (Ko), འྲུ་འྲུ་ /<sup>h</sup>jam/ (Dz), འྲུ་འྲུ་ /xwang/ (Am: Dz), /rwang/ or /<sup>w</sup>rang/ (Am), etc. In some dialects of Amdo and Balti, the word འྲུ་འྲུ་ *BUNG.MA* (< CT 'honey bee') is used. The root སྒྲུ་འྲུ་ *SBRANG* is opposed to འྲུ་ *BU* 'crawling insect'; cf. WORM.

**672. HONEY BEE** འྲུ་འྲུ་ *BUNG.MA* (La, Za, Sp, Kh, Am) < CT. Some dialects have a reflex of འྲུ་འྲུ་འྲུ་ *BUNG.MA*. Many languages use the root སྒྲུ་འྲུ་ *BRANG* 'flying insect' to form compound words meaning 'honey bee': སྒྲུ་འྲུ་ *SBRANG.BU* (Kh), འྲུ་འྲུ་འྲུ་ *SBANG.NOR.BU* (Ü) < CT lit. 'flying insect jewel', འྲུ་འྲུ་འྲུ་ *SBYANG.SER* lit.

‘yellow fly’ (Ba). སྤྲང་ཙི་ཧུ་ /sbrangrtsi hau/ ‘honey fly’ (Pur), བུང་མེར་ BUNG.SER (La) ‘hornet’, ཏོང་ཟེ་ TONG.ZE (Pur, La, Za) ‘stinging insect’.

673. **FLEA** ལྷི་བ་ LJL.BA [PW] < CT, the compound ཁྱི་ཤིག་ KHYI.SHIG or ཁྱི་ཤིག་ KYI.SHIG ‘dog louse’ (Dz, Ba, Pur, Za, Yol, etc.) is frequently found.

674. **LOUSE** ཤིག་ SHIG [PW] < CT (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz).

675. **BED BUG** འདྲེ་ཤིག་ ’DRE.SHIG (Ü, Dz), ཅ་རི་ CA.RI /čari/ (La, Za) is used.

676. **FLY** སྤྲང་ནག་ SBRANG.NAG [FFW] < CT སྤྲང་ SBRANG ‘flying insect’. སྤྲང་བུ་ SBRANG.BU, སྤྲང་ནག་ SBRANG.NAG lit. ‘black flying insect’, སྤྲང་ཐ་ SBRANG.THA (Am). ཧུ་ /hau/, of unclear origin, is used in Purik.

677. **MOSQUITO** དུག་སྤྲང་ DUG.SBRANG < CT ‘poison flying insect’. The word འབུ་ བུ་ ’BULUNG is also attested, In Gyälthang (Kh) the word /ʈa shi/, of unclear origin, is used. ཏ་ཟང་གི་ /zanggi/ (Pur, La) ‘a mosquito-like biting insect’. ཨ་ང་ཅི་ PA.NGA.TSE (Am). The Hindi loanword word *macchar* is also used in India.

678. **SPIDER** སྤོམ་ SDOM < CT related to the verb སྤོམ་ SDOM ‘to attach, to bind’ (see BIND). Many other words are attested throughout the region: ཏ་སྤོམ་མ་སྤོར་ SDOM.MA.SKOR (Am: xun), ཏ་སྤོམ་འཐགས་ SDOM.’THAGS (Hor), ཏ་བབ་ཤེམ་ BAB.SHEM (Dz), ཏ་སྤྱན་གོང་གོང་ SRIN.GONG.GONG lit. ‘round demon’ (Sh), ཏ་སྤྱན་ཇ་ མོ་ SRIN.JA.MO (Sham, Pur), འདྲེ་བོང་ ’DRE.BONG (Ladakh: Rongkat), འདྲེ་རྒྱང་བརྒྱུད་ ’DRE.RKANG BRGYAD (LJ: Nyoma). In Kham one also encounters ཏ་རྒྱལ་ཀ་ར་ RGYA.KA KARA (Tsharethong and Sakar) and ཏ་རྒྱལ་ཀ་ར་ RGYA.KA.RA (Am, E). ཏ་ཐགས་མ་ཁན་ THAGS.MKHAN lit. ‘weaver’ (Pur, Ba), ཏ་ཐག་རན་འབུ་ THAG.RAN. ’BU lit. ‘insect laying out thread’ (Za, La). ཏ་ལེ་བཙོག་པ་ LE.BTSOG.PA (Za, LJ: Durbuk) < ? ལས་བཙོག་པ་ lit. ‘bad karma’, ཤ་འབུ་ SHA. ’BU (Yol) lit. ‘meat insect’. Note that several words (Sh, La) include the root སྤྱན་ SRIN ‘demon’ or འདྲེ་ ’DRE ‘ghost, demon’, which shows how spiders are considered. Some dialects make a difference between various types of spiders depending on the size.

679. **LIZARD** རྩངས་པ་ཁ་རལ་ RTSANGS.PA KHA.RAL (Ü, Ts) ཏ་རྩངས་པ་ RTSANGS.PA (Pur, Yol, etc.) < CT. གལ་ཆི་ལིག་ GAL.CHILIG (La), གལ་ཆིག་ GAL.CHIG (La), རྩིགས་

ས་ *RMYIGS.SA* (Am), ས་རྒྱུགས་ *SA.MYIGS* < CT རྒྱུགས་པ་ *RMIGS.PA*. Lizards are found on the Tibetan plateau and in the Himalayas.

**680. SCORPION** རྒྱུག་པ་ར་རྩ་ *SDIG.PA RA.RTSA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh), འགྲུལ་རྩ་ *SGAL.TOS* (Pur). 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.

**681. ANT** རྒྱུག་མ་ *GROG.MA* [PW], རྒྱུག་མ་ *GYOG.MA* (Am) < CT. The plural form རྒྱུག་མང་ *GROG.MANG* (Yol) is also used. The archaic form འགྲུལ་མ་ *GRE.MOG*. 'BU is still found in Ladaks འགྲུལ་མ་འབྲུལ་ཅིག་ (La), འགྲུལ་མ་ /kimok/ (Ba), འབྲུལ་ཅིག་མ་ 'BU *TSIG.MA*. In Southern Kham, a reflex of རྒྱུ *GRE* is also attested. In Purik and Sham, a loanword is attested: འཁར་ཁ་རྩ་ /xarxatu/ < Skr? kharkata 'cancer'.

**682. GRASSHOPPER** འབྲུ་ཆ་ག་པ་ 'BU *CHA.GA.PA* [FFW] < CT 'locust, grasshopper', ཆ་ག་འབྲུ *CHA.GA*. 'BU (Za), ཆ་ག་པ་ལི་ *CHAG.PA.LI* (Yol), ཡ་ཆ་ག་ཆ་ག་པ་ *PA.TSHAG.TSHAG.PA* (Ü), ཆ་ག་པ་ཅིག་ *TSHAG.PA.CIG* (Am). These various names are probably derived from an onomatopoeia /čak/ or /tsak/. Metaphors are also used: ཡ་མི་ག་མེར་མགར་མོ་ *PA.BIGSER.MGAR.MO* lit. 'grandmother goldsmith' (Za).

**683. BEETLE** རྒྱུ་ *SBUR* [FFR] < CT. རྒྱུ་པ་ *SBUR.PA* (La, Za), བསེ་ལེ་རྒྱུ་ཤོག་ *BSE.LE SBUR.GOG* /selebägo/ (Ü), རྒྱུ་ཤོག་ *SBUR.GOG* (Hor, Kh).

**684. DRAGONFLY** འབྲུ་བླ་མ་མ་ཉི་ 'BU *BLA.MAMA.NI* < CT lit. 'mani lama worm' འབྲུ་བླ་མ་ 'BU *LAMA*, a metaphor suggesting that the dragonfly's buzz resembles a lama chanting manis. ཉི་ལི་ཀོབ་ཏེར་འབྲུ་ /helikopterbu/ < English < Greek *Helicopter* is used in Ladakh. A recent 'Sino-Tibetan' compound is attested in Drugchu: འབྲུ་རྩི་ཇི་ 'BU *FE.JI* lit. 'insect airplane' < Tib. འབྲུ་ 'BU + Chin. 飞机 *feiji*. Although dragonflies do fly, the item 'BU – usually reserved for worms and flightless insects – is used. This seems to be an exception.

**685. BUTTERFLY** རྒྱུ་མ་ལེབ་ *PHYE.MA.LEB* [FFW] < CT. Related forms are attested: རྒྱུ་མ་ལེབ་ *PHYE.MA.KHA.LEB*, རྒྱུ་མ་ལེབ་ཅོ་ *PHYE.MA.LAB.TSE* (Am), བེ་མ་ལེབ་ཅོ་ *PE.MA.LAB.TSE* (Pur, La). Alternative compounds include: ཉི་མ་ལེབ་ལེབ་ *NYI.MA.LEB.LEB*, ཡ་ཁོ་པ་ད་མ་ *PA.KHO.PAD.MA* in Melong (Kh). In Lhasa, ཅེམ་ཅེལ་མོ་

*CEM, CE LHA, MO* is used whereas in Minyak Rabgang (Kh), འབའ་འབྲུ་ 'BA'.BU is used. In Drugchu, /pi bi t'a ro/ is used.

- 686. MOTH** ལྷག་པ་ *MUG.PA* < CT. Compound words are also found such as ལྷུབ་འདྲེ་མ་ *LCEB. DER.MA* (Lhasa). In many languages (Hor, Tö, Am), the compound ཁྲན་པོ་མེ་ལྷུབ་ *RGAD.POME.LCEB* lit. 'old man jumping in the fire' is used. The variants ཁྲན་མོ་མེ་ལྷུབ་ *RGAD.MO ME.LCEB* and ལ་ཡིས་མེ་ལྷུབ་ *LA.YIS ME.LCEB* (Am) 'old woman jumping in the fire', and simply མེ་ལྷུབ་ *ME.LCEB* (Pur, La, Za) 'jumping in the fire' are also attested.

### CLOTHING AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

- 687. THREAD** √ ལྷན་ *SKUD* [PR] < CT. Normally followed by a suffix *PA*: ལྷན་པ་ *SKUD.PA* (Pur, La, Yol, E, Ü, Ts, etc.), ལྷན་པ་ *SKUDP* (Dz). Other suffixes are also attested: ལྷན་དོ་ *SKUD.DO* (Am: Ng), ལྷན་རུ་ *SKUD.RU* (Ho). The Sherpa word ལྷན་དོ་ཁྲ་ /sutok/ also probably derives from ལྷན་དོ་ *SKUD.DO*. In southern Kham, རས་ལྷན་ *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 کپاس 'kapās' is often used instead. The word སྤྲེན་བལ་ *SRIN.BAL* 'worm wool' is used in many dialects to designate the cotton plant.
- 690. SILK** དར་གོས་ *DAR.GOS* < CT. The word གོས་ཆེན་ *GOS.CHEN* 'brocade' (La, Ü) < CT is widespread. གོས་ *GOS* (Am) is sometimes also used for 'silk'. འབྲུ་རས་ *BU.RAS* 'bug cloth'. Loanwords are also attested, such as གུའུ་ཅི་ *GRU'U.TSI* /t'utsi/ (Ü) < Chn., རེ་ཤིམ་ /reshim/ (La, Pur) < Urd.
- 691. CHUBA/ CLOTH ROBE** གོས་ *GOS* [FFW] < CT. This refers to the traditional Tibetan dress for men and women, called *chuba* in Common Tibetan (see CLOTHES). The term གོ་ *GO* and བགོ་ *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 དཀྱི་ར་ *DKYI.RA* < CT དཀྱིས་རས་ *DKRIS.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 ལྷུ་པ་ *PHYU.PA* /č'upa/ (Ü, Ts), ལྷུ་བ་ *BYU.BA* /'č'uwa/ (Sh), which are probably loanwords from Persian: *jobbe* جوبه; Turkish: *Cübbe*; and ultimately borrowed from Arabic جُبَّة /jubba/, which is also the source of the French word *jupe* 'skirt' (Rey 1992). The word ལྷ་ *LWA* (Am, E) should be mentioned (see CLOTHES); it is often preceded by *RAS*: རས་ལྷ་ *RAS.LWA* རིང་མོ་གོན་ཆས་ *RING.MO GON.CHAS* 'long coat' is used in Purik.

**692. MONASTIC CLOTHING** ཆོས་གོས་ *CHOS.GOS* < CT lit. 'dharma clothes' or ལྷ་ཆས་ *GRWA.CHAS* < 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: སྟོད་འགག་ *STOD.* 'GAG' 'vest' (or སྟོས་སྦྱར་ *SNAM.SBYAR* for bikshus), གཟན་ *GZAN* 'upper shawl', ཤམ་ཐབས་ *SHAM.THABS* 'lower garment', སྒྲ་གས་ *ZLA.GAM* 'monk's warm cape, monk's assembly garment'. Finally monks and nuns often wear a ཞྭ་ *ZHWA* 'hat' (see HAT below).

**693. CLOTHES** གོས་ *GOS* or གོན་ *GON* [PR] < CT 'to wear'. The root often appears with a suffix: གོས་རྒྱ་ *GOS.RGYU* (Tö), གོས་སེ་ *GOS.SE* (Ts, Kh), གོས་ཟེ་ *GOS.ZE* (Kh), གོན་རྒྱ་ *GON.RGYU* (Ts, Am), གོན་ཆ་ *GON.CHA* (Pur, La), གོས་པ་ *GOS.PA* /'k'äpa/ (Ko), གོས་སྒྲོག་ *GO.SLOG* (Ts, Tö). Another very frequent root is ལྷ་ *LWA* < CT 'woolen material', which is used alone in Amdo for 'clothes', but is often combined with གོས་ *GOS*: གོས་ལྷ་ *GOS.LWA* (Am), གོ་ལྷ་ *GO.LWA* (Dz) < གོས་ལྷ་ *GOS.LWA*. The forms གོས་ལག་ *GOS.LAG* [FFR] (Ba, La, Sp Ts, Tö) and གོན་ལག་ *GON.LAG* are also encountered. Other words are attested marginally. Interestingly, the word for 'clothes' used in Common Tibetan and Lhasa dialect, གྲུག་སྒྲོག་ *DUG.SLOG*, is of unclear origin. This is also the case with the Sherpa word for 'clothes', གམའན་ཇ་ /manja/. བཀའ་ཆ་ *BKAB.CHA* (Yol) is derived from *BKAB* 'to cover'. In Yunnan, a Naxi loanword /bu la/ is widely used for nontraditional clothes. In Gyälthang, /ha 't'a/ is also used.

**694. POCKET (TRADITIONAL)** སྒྲམ་བྲག་ *SNAM.BRAG* /snamɖak/ (La), ཨམ་བྲག་ *ʔAM.BRAG* /amba:/ (Ü), རུམ་ *RUM*; a pocket formed by the upper front part of traditional robes.



695. **SHIRT** ལྷོད་ཐུང་ *STOD.THUNG* [FFW] (La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Sh, etc.) < CT ‘upper short (clothes)’. འྲི་ལེན་ *DRILEN* (La) is also attested. ལྷོད་ཅེ་ *STOD.TSE* for ‘shirt’ and ཆོལ་ལེན་ *TSHIL.LEN* ‘undershirt’ are used. *STOD.THUNG* is used for both traditional shirts and modern shirts. In some Tibetan areas, /ts’õji/, 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་ *GOS.THUNG* [FFR] < CT lit. ‘short clothes’ ཀར་སྒྲམ་ *RKANG.SNAM* (E, Kh, La, Am) < CT lit. ‘leg cloth’. རྩོལ་མ་ *DOR.MA* [FFR] (Pur, La) < CT *DOR* ‘pair’ སྒྲམ་བུ་ *SNAM.BU* (Kh: Dechen) < CT ‘woolen cloth’, ཡོག་སྒྲམ་ *YOG.SNAM* (Tö) lit. ‘undercloth’, ཀར་ལམ་ *RKANG.LAM* lit. ‘leg path’, ཆག་སྟེན་ *CHAG.STEN* (La), ཀར་ཅེ་ *RKANG.TSE* (La).
697. **SKIRT** ལྷོད་གཡོགས་ *SMAD.G.YOGS* [FFR] < CT. In eastern areas, འྲུན་ཇི་ a Chinese loan 裙子 *qunzi* is also used. Skirts are not traditional in the Tibetic areas.
698. **APRON** བར་གདན་ *PANG.GDAN* [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. བར་ཁེབས་ *PANG.KHEBS* is attested in Ladakh.
699. **HAT** ལྷ་ *ZHWA* [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. This is found alone, as ལྷ་ *ZHWA* (Am), but is normally followed by a suffix: ལྷ་མོ་ *ZHWA.MO* (Ü, Ts, Yol), འྲུ་འགོ་ *ZHWA.GO* (Kh, Am), འྲུ་ཡེ་ *ZHWA.YE* (Kh), འྲུ་ལུས་ *ZHWA.US* (Hor), འྲུ་པོ་ *ZHWA.PO* (Kh), འྲུ་མོ་ *ZHWA.MO* /‘zh’am/ (Dz), འྲུ་ཐུང་ *ZHWA.MUNG* (Sh). Other words are also used, such as འབོག་ཏྟ་ *BOG.TO* < CT ‘type of yellow hat’ in Kongpo, འཕྱག་པ་ *RMOG.PA* < CT *RMOG* ‘helmet’, འན་ཏྟིང་ /nating/ (Ba), འན་ཅི་ /tibi/ (La) and འན་ཅི་ /topi/ (Pur) < Urdu; Also ཐོད་ *THOD* ‘turban’ (Pur, La) < CT.
700. **BELT** ལྷ་རགས་ *SKE.RAGS* [FFR] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT.
701. **SOCK** ལུ་སུ་ *PU.SU* or ལུ་མོ་སུ་ *PU.MO.SU* < Mong. The Tibetan compound ཀར་ལྷན་ *RKANG.SHUB* ‘leg case’ (La), ཀར་ཅེ་ *RKANG.TSE* (Pur, Ba). In the Chinese area, the loanword 袜子 *wazi* is frequently used. ཀར་འབོག་ *RKANG.BOG* < CT ‘foot + penetrate, get into’ is also attested.

**702. BOOT** ལྷམ་ *LHAM* [PR] < CT. The root *LHAM* is nearly pandialectal. It is sometimes followed by a suffix: ལྷམ་གོག་ *LHAM.GOG*. ཀོ་ལྷམ་ *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 ཧྷམ་ /ham/. Other words such as པ་ཕུ་ /papu/ (La, Pur), ཀྲཏ་པ་ /kratpa/ ‘a traditional type of boot’ (La, Pur) and ཟོན་པ་ *ZON.PA* < CT are also attested (Yol, etc.). Borrowings of the Chinese words 马靴 *maxue* and 靴子 *xuezi* are also used.

**703. SHOES.** For modern leather shoes, various loanwords from Hindi जूता /juta/ are encountered. In some languages, the word ལྷམ་ *LHAM* refers to any shoe. པ་ཕུ་ /papu/ is heard in Ladads and Purik. The Chinese 鞋 *xie* (/xai/ in Sichuanese) is also attested.

**704. FUR-LINED JACKET** སློག་པ་ *SLOG.PA* or སླག་པ་ *SLAG.PA* [PR] < CT. The word *lokpa* corresponds to a traditional fur coat made of sheep or goat skin worn by pastoralists. The word is derived from སློག་པ་ *SLOG.PA*, which means ‘reverse side (of a sheepskin)’. This word is regularly pronounced འོ་ཙྰ་ཁྱ་ /tsoxwa/ འོ་ཙྰ་པ་ /tsopa/ or /tsakpa/ in some Northern Kham Hor dialects, and /tsakpa/ in Purik and /l’akpa/ in Ladaks. The compounds ལྷག་སློག་ *LPAGS.SLOG* lit. ‘reversed skin’ and སློག་ལྷག་ *SLOG.LPAGS* are also used. Several unetymological spellings are also used, such as པགས་ཚག་ *PAGS.TSHAG*, པགས་ཙྰ་ག་ *LPAGS.RTSAG*. In Ladakh, *lokpa* are usually worn by women whereas ཤང་སླག་ *SHANG.SLAG* *shanglak* refers to the traditional fur coat worn by males. Some warmer regions do not have this word.

**705. LAMBSKIN COAT** ཚ་རུ་ *TSHA.RU* [FFW] (Hor, Ts, Ü, SKh) < CT. ཚ་རུ་ *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.

**706. TREASURE** རྩོལ་བ་ *NOR.BU* [PR] < CT. The term རྩོལ་ཆེ་ *RIN.PO.CHE* < CT ‘precious’ is also attested for this meaning. For བང་བ་ *BANG.BA* (La, Pur), see ‘STOREHOUSE’.

707. **ORNAMENT** རྒྱལ་ *RGYAN* [PR] < CT. Sometimes followed by the word *CHA* ‘pair’: རྒྱལ་ཆ་ *RGYAN.CHA*. བཏག་ཆ་ཉ་ལི་ *BTAG.CHA.HA.LI* is used in Purik, བཏག་སྐྱེ་ཨ་ལི་ *BTAG.SKE.ṖA.LI* lit. ‘beads attached to the neck’.
708. **CORAL** ལྷ་རུ་ *BYU.RU* [PR] < CT. A frequently used material for hair ornaments and jewelry.
709. **TURQUOISE** གཡུ་ *G-YU* [PR] < CT. The turquoise is an emblematic and symbolic stone of the Tibetan culture.
710. **PEARL** ལུ་རྟིག་ *MU.TIG* [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT < Skr मृत्तिका, *muktikā*. Some dialects lack a word for ‘pearl’.
711. **AMBER** སྐྱེས་ཤེལ་ *SPOS.SHEL* [PW] (Pur, La, Ü, Kh, E, Am) < CT.
712. **EARRING** རྩ་ལོང་ *RNA.LONG* [FFW] < CT. Other words, like ཨ་ལོང་ *ṖA.LONG* and ཨ་ལི་ *ṖA.LI*, are also found. Other forms include: རྩ་ཆ་ *RNA.CHA* (Pur), སྐྱར་ལོང་ *SGAR.LONG* (Sp, Tö), ལོང་ཐུག་ *LONG.THUG* (Minyak Rabgang) and རྩ་ལུག་ *RNA.KHUG* (SKh) lit. ‘seduced by ear’.
713. **NECKLACE** སྐྱེ་དྲིས་ *SKE.DKRIS* [FFW] < CT. སྐྱེ་དྲུམ་ *SKE.DKYIS*, སྐྱེ་རྒྱན་ *SKE.RGYAN*, ལོག་མཆིང་ *LOG.MCHING* (Pur), སྐྱེ་ཆ་ *SKE.CHA* (Pur, La, Za).
714. **RING (ON FINGER)** མཚུབ་དྲིས་ *MDZUB.DKRIS* [FFW], མཚུབ་དྲུམ་ *MDZUB.DKYIS* (Am), རྩིག་ཁེབས་ *TSHIGS.KHEBS* [FFW]. མཚུབ་ལུབ་ *MDZUB.SHUB* (SKh, E), གསེར་དུབ་ *GSER.GDUB* /sorup/ (La, Pur).
715. **BRACELET** ལག་གདུབ་ *LAG.GDUB* < CT. In several areas of Kham, ལག་ཉུག་ *LAG.NYUG* is used. The Amdo equivalent is གདུབ་གུ་ *GDUB.GU*.
716. **FELT** √ ཕྱིང་ *PHYING* [PR] < CT. ཕྱིང་བ་ *PHYING.BA* (Am). ཕྱིང་མ་ *PHYING.MA* (Ba, Pur). Not found in all languages.
717. **CARPET** གདན་ *GDAN* [PR] < CT ‘seat’, ‘bolster’ (probably derived from *GDA* ‘to sit’) and ལྟན་ *STAN* (La, Pur) ‘mat, cushion’, བཙུག་གདན་ *BTSUG.GDAN* (La) ‘carpet’. As in Central Asia and Kashmir, carpets traditionally play an important role in Tibetic cultures. This may be associated with pastoralism. The importance of carpets is also clearly reflected in the Classical expression གདན་འདྲེན་ *GDAN.ʼDREN* ‘to invite somebody’ lit. ‘to pull the carpet’. Many types of carpets are attested.

They include ས་གདན་ *SA.GDAN* ‘floor rugs’, ས་ལི་ *SALI* ‘floor rugs’ (La), ཁལ་གདན་ *KHRAL.GDAN*, ཁ་གདན་ *KHA.GDAN* ‘bed rugs’, ཚོགས་གདན་ *TSHOGS.GDAN* ‘carpet for a row of monastics’, སྒྲི་གདན་ *KHRI.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’, ལྗམ་གདན་ *RTSWA.GDAN* ‘straw mat’, etc. The word ཆ་ར་ /č’ara/ or /č’ali/, used in Baltistan for ‘carpet’ along with the word /qalin/ (Urdu, Pers), is also found in Jangthang and means ‘blanket’, འདུག་གདན་ *DUG.GDAN*, སྒྲོང་ས་ *SDOD.SA* (SKh) lit. ‘instrument or place to sit’, གོས་གདན་ *GOS.GDAN* ‘brocade carpet’ (Am).

**718. BLANKET** མལ་གཟན་ *MAL.GZAN* (Hor) ‘thick woollen blanket’ < CT, ཆ་ར་ *CHARA* [FFW], བཙུགས་ཕུག་ *BTSUGS.PHRUG* (Ü, Ts) ‘thick woollen blanket’, བཙུགས་ཐུལ་ *BTSUGS.THUL* (Za, La), ཐུལ་ལུ་ *THUL.LU*, ཉལ་ཐུལ་ *NYAL.THUL* (Am), ཀམ་པར་ལི་ *KAM.PAR.LI* (Ü, Ts).

**719. THING/MERCHANDISE** ཅ་ལག་ *CALAG* [PW] (La, Ü, Ts, Am, Dz, Kh, Ho, Sh, etc.) < CT. The variant ཅ་ག་ *CA.GA* (Am, Kh) is also attested. Another word, དོངས་པོ་ *DNGOS.PO* < CT lit. ‘object’ (Am), and the compound ཅ་དོངས་ *CA.DNGOS* (Dz) are used. In southern Kham, /se pa/ and /she pa/ are widely used; these may be related to སྤྱད་ས་ *SPYAD.PA* lit. ‘thing for use’.

**720. TABLE** ཅོག་ཅེ་ *COG.RTSE* [PW] (Pur), also spelled ལྷོག་ཅེ་ *LCOG.RTSE* < Chin. 桌子 *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་ཅེ་ *GROG.RTSE*.

**721. CHAIR, STOOL** ལྷུབ་བྲག་ *RKUB.BKYAG* (Ü, Ts.) < CT lit. ‘supporting buttocks’. The word ལྷོང་བྲག་ *PONG.BKYAG* with the same meaning is used in Kham, Hor and Amdo, and a variant ལྷོང་བཏེགས་ *PONG.BTEGS* is used in Sherpa. Several languages also use a compound with the word སྒྲི་ *KHRI* ‘throne’: ལྷོ་སྒྲི་ *KHRI* (Pur); སྒྲི་ལྷོ་ *KHRI’U.SHING* < CT ‘small throne wood’ (La, Sp, Tö), ལྷོ་སྒྲི་ *RKANG.KHRI* < CT lit. ‘leg throne’, ལྷོང་སྒྲི་ *PONG.KHRI* ‘buttocks throne’ (Kh), ལྷོ་སྒྲི་ *RGYA.KHRI* (Lho). The word ལྷོ་བྲག་སྒྲོད་ *BKYAG.SDOD* (E) lit. ‘support seat’. The Chinese borrowings 板凳 *bandeng* and 凳子 *dengzi* are also frequently

used in the eastern Tibetan areas of China; ཏུ་སེ་ *kursi* (La, Pur) < कुर्सी *kursi* (Hindi–Urdu).

**722. BED** ཟླ་ *KHRI* [PR] < CT ‘throne’. In some eastern dialects, especially in Amdo and Gyälthang (Kh), the word ཟླ་ *KHRI* is pronounced differently when it means ‘bed’ and when it means ‘throne’. In many dialects, a compound word ཉལ་ཟླ་ *NYAL.KHRI* < CT lit. ‘sleeping throne’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Sp, etc.). The compounds ཉལ་ས་ *NYAL.SA* (Ü, Ts, Kh), ཉལ་ཙ་ *NYAL.TSA* (Pur) and མལ་ས་ *MAL.SA* (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 *chuang* > ཟླ་ཁེང་ *KHRENG* or ཟླ་ཁོང་ *KHRONG* is used. ཏུ་འཛིས་ *HU.DZIS* is a type of bed warmed by a fire found in Amdo area.

**723. BOX** སྒམ་ *SGAM* [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts, La, Sh, Yol, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT. In some areas, another word also found in CT is used: སྒོམ་ *SGROM* [FFR] (Dz, Ba, Lh, Sp, Pur) < CT.

**724. LOCK** སྒོ་ལྷགས་ *SGO.LCAGS* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT lit. ‘door iron’, ཟླ་ *ZWA* (Am) < CT ‘padlock’, ཏུ་ལྷགས་ལུག་ *LCAGS.KHUG*, ཏུ་སྒོ་ལུག་ *SGO.KHUG* (SKh). In some dialects, the term for KEY (see below) may be used to designate locks: ཏུ་ལིག་ *KU.LIG* is used in the western languages (Pur, La, Za).

**725. KEY** ལྷེ་མིག་ *LDE.DMIG* [PW] (Sp, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. The variant ལྷེ་ལྷིག་ *LDE.DMYIG* is attested in the Eastern region (Am, Kh, E). Various specific pronunciations are attested: ལྷེ་མག་ *LDE.MAG* (Ts), ལྷེ་འིང་ *LDE.ING* (Tö), ལི་མིག་ *LLMIG* (Sp, Ba, Sh), ཏུ་ལྷེ་མིག་བུ་ *LDE.DMIG.BU* (Dz). Some Kham dialects have the forme ཏུ་གཟེ་ /ze/, which may be derived from ལྷེ་ *LDE*, or more probably from ཟླ་ *ZWA* ‘to lock’. Another word is attested in the western areas: ཏུ་ཏུ་ལིག་ *KU.LIG* (La, Sp), མེ་ཏུ་ལིག་ *PHE.KU.LIG* (La, Za, Pur) lit. ‘open key’. In some Southern Kham, there is no word for ‘key’ and they use the lexicalized phrase སྒོ་ཕྱེ་ས་ *SGO.PHYE-SA* ‘door-opening instrument’.

**726. GLASS** ཤེལ་ *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 ཡ་ལོང་ *PA.LONG* 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 ཏུག་མེ་མེ་ལོང་ *PUG.MOME.LONG* ‘knee mirror’ is used in many western and southern areas to mean ‘kneecap’. There are other words for ‘mirror’, such as རོ་ཤེལ་ *NGO.SHEL* < CT ‘face glass’, མཐོང་ཤེལ་ *MDONG.SHEL* < CT ‘face glass’, ཤེལ་སྒོ་ *SHEL.SGO* (Ü, Ts, Am, etc.) < CT ‘glass door’ and རོ་ལྷ་ *NGO.LTA* < CT ‘face look’. ཡ་ལི་ན་ *PA.YI.NA* (Pur) < Pers. آینه.

**728. BROOM** ཕྱག་མ་ *PHYAG.MA* [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. ཕྱག་མ་ *PHYAG.MA* (Dz), ཏུང་མ་ *GDUNG.MA* (Ba), ཞུ་ལི་ *ZHU.LI* (Pur), འོལ་མ་ *OL.MO* (La, Za), སུད་མ་ *SDUD.MA* (Am).

**729. LIGHT (ELECTRIC)** གློག་ *GLOG* [PR] < CT ‘lightning’, གློག་མེ་ *GLOG.ME* (Dz), དཀར་མེ་ *DKAR.ME* (E). In the Chinese area, the loan 灯 *deng* is widely used. འོད་ *’OD* (La, Pur) or *bijili* (Hindi–Urdu).

**730. GARBAGE** གན་སྒྲིག་མ་ *GAD.SNYIGS* [FFR] < CT is mainly literary and a number of words of unclear origin are attested. ཁྱིམ་མ་ *KHYIM.SA* /k’emsa/, /k’imsa/ < ‘floor’ is used in Ladakh. ཁྱིམ་ཕྱག་མ་ *KHYIM.PHYAGS* (Am).

**731. STOVE** ཐབ་ *THAB* [PR] < CT. Stoves (*thab*) are used for cooking and heating. The root is often followed by a suffix *KA*; ཐབ་ཀ་ *THAB.KA*. Loanwords are sometimes attested, such as བོ་གར་ *BO.GAR* (for heating) (La, Ba, Pur) < buhari (Pers.)

**732. THREE-STONE FIREPLACE or TRIVET** སྒྱེད་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 སྒྱེད་རྩོ་ *SGYED.RDO* is also heard. In some eastern areas, ཀར་གསུམ་ *RKANG.GSUM* < CT ‘three-legged’ is used. The word སྒྱེད་པུ་ *SGYED.PU* is also found in some Buddhist rituals such as གཅོད་ *GCOD*. The expression སྒྱེད་པུ་སྒྲན་གསུམ་ *SGYED.PU SPUN.GSUM*. ‘*gyetpu*, three brother stones’ is also found. In some dialects, such as Hor, the word སྒྱེད་པུ་ *SGYED.PU* has acquired the meaning of ‘stove’.

- 733. BELLOWS** ལྷུང་པ་ *SBUD.PA* [PR] < CT *SBUD* ‘to light, set on fire’ (*SBUD* < *PHU* ‘blow’). Another frequent word to refer to ‘bellows’ is ཁོ་ལ་མོ་ *KHOL.MO* (Tö, Kh, Am), derived from the root ཁོ་ལ་ *KHOL* ‘to boil’. Other words are also attested, such as ལྷུང་འཕྲུམ་ *RLUNG. TSHUM* < CT ‘closing air’ (Dz), ཁ་ཤོ་མོ་ */x’än/* (Kh), ཁ་ཤོ་ལྷུང་ */xänkom/* (Ho), ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ *PHU.NU* ‘blow pipe’ (Pur).
- 734. KNIFE** གྲི་ *GRI* [PR] < CT or the variant གྲི་ *GYI* (Am). Often followed by ཆུང་ *CHUNG* ‘small’: གྲི་ཆུང་. In some eastern dialects, the Chinese word 刀子 *daozi* is also used. In Yolmo, a Nepali loanword /karta/ is used.
- 735. LADLE** སྒྲུགས་ *SKYOGS* [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. སྒྲུགས་མགོ་ *SKYOGS.MGO* (Am). In the Eastern section, this word is generally not known and is replaced by other words, such as ཁེམ་ཆེན་ *KHEM.CHEN* lit. ‘large spoon’. ཟར་བུ་ *ZAR.BU* ‘wooden ladle’ (Pur, La, Za), ཀྲ་ཙུ་ *KRA.TSU* (Pur, La, Za), ཐུམ་བུ་ *THUM.BU* (Pur, La, Za). In the southern Himalayas and Ladakh, ཅམ་ཅ་ *chamcha* < Pers. is found.
- 736. SPOON** ཁེམ་བུ་ *KHEM.BU* or its variant ཁྱེམ་བུ་ *KHYEM.BU* [FFW] (Pu, Kh, Am, Yol, etc.) < CT. ལྷུགས་ཁེམ་ *LCAGS.KHEM* (Am) lit. ‘iron spoon’. In Central and southern areas, the word ཐུར་མ་ *THUR.MA* or ཐུར་མང་ *THUR.MANG* (La, Za) < CT ‘stick’ is used, but this means ‘chopsticks’ in Amdo. In some languages, the word སྒྲུགས་ *SKYOGS* ‘ladle’ refers to a ‘spoon’. In Southern Kham, a few dialects have a form ཁ་ལྷེ་ *KHALDE* of unclear origin. ཐོ་གོན་ *PHO.GON* /p’oyon/ (Pur).
- 737. CHOPSTICKS** ཐུར་མ་ *THUR.MA* (Am), ཁ་ཐུར་ *KHA.THUR*. In Southern Kham, /ʔa shō/ or /shō/ is used. Note that ཐུར་མ་ *THUR.MA* means ‘spoon’ in Central Tibet and Ladakh. In Central Tibet, a loanword from Chinese is used: ཁོ་འི་ཅེ་ *KHO’ITSE* < 筷子 *kuaizi*.
- 738. BOWL** ཅན་ནེ་ *CAN.NE* or ཅན་ནེ་ *CANE* ‘wooden bowl’ [FFW] (Ts, Am, Sh) < CT, ཐོར་ *PHOR* ‘bowl’ [FFR] < CT. It is often followed by a suffix *PA* or diminutive *BU*: ཐོར་པ་ *PHOR.PA* (Ü), ཐོར་པ་ *PHORP* (Dz, Lho), ཐོར་བུ་ *PHOR.BU* (Ko, Kh, Hor), ཐོ་ཏོ་ *PHO.TO* (Ba, Pur, La). Traditionally bowls were mostly made of wood. However, now in many dialects, one finds compound words: ཤིང་ཐོར་ *SHING.PHOR* for ‘wooden bowl’ and ལྷུགས་ཐོར་ *LCAGS.PHOR* for ‘metallic bowl’. In some areas such

as Ladakh and Baltistan or Tö Ngari, the term ཀོ་རེ་ *KO.RE* ‘bowl’ or ‘cup’ (Ba, La, Sp, Tö) < *KOR/GOR* ‘round’.

**739. CUP (CHINAWARE)** དཀར་ཡོལ་ *DKAR.YOL* [PW] < CT ‘white +?’. The word is pronounced in various ways: དཀར་ཡོལ་ /karyol/ (Pur, La) དཀར་ཡེ་ /-ka:ye/ (Ko), ང་དཀར་རུལ་ /-karü/ (Kh, Ho), དཀར་རོལ་ /karol/ (Ba), ང་དཀར་ཡུ་ /-ka:yu:/ (Dz), ང་ཀཡུང་ /-kayung/ (Sh). A loanword from Chinese, ང་དམེན་ *DA.WEN* < Chin. 大碗 *dawan*, is also found (LJ).

**740. DISH/PLATE** སྒེར་མ་ *SDER.MA* [FFW] < CT, སྒེར་ *SDER* or ཁ་སྒེར་ *KHA.SDER*. The Chinese 碟子 *diezi* is often used in the Eastern section. However, we note that the sounds of 碟 *die* and སྒེར་ *SDER* are quite similar. The loanword ང་བྱ་བག་ *TA.BAG* (< Pers.) is used in Purik. *Thali* (Hindi–Urdu) is also used in Ladakh.

**741. BOTTLE** དམ་ *DAM* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Am). This appears as དམ་བེ་ *DAM.BE* or དམ་བི་ *DAM.BI* (Ts, A), དམ་སྒྱིམ་ *DAM.SBYIS* (Dz). In Central Tibet and Kham, the compound words ཤེལ་དམ་ *SHEL.DAM* < CT ‘lit. crystal bottle’ and ཤེལ་བུམ་ *SHEL.BUM* are found. Chinese loanwords are widely used in E and Kh, such as *pingzi* 瓶子 and *pingping* 瓶瓶. English /botol/ is also found (Pur, La).

**742. EARTHEN JAR** རྩ་ *RDZA* [PR] < CT ‘clay’. Often followed by a suffix: རྩ་མ་ *RDZA.MA*, རྩ་ཁོག་ *RDZA.KHOG*, འལ་ཅེ་ *AL.TSE* (La).

**743. THERMOS FLASK** ཇ་དམ་ *JA.DAM* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, Am) < *JA* ‘tea’ and *DAM* ‘bottle’; ཇ་དམ་ *TSHA.DAM* [FFW] ‘hot bottle’, ཇ་ཤེལ་ *TSHA.SHEL* ‘hot glass’. In the Tibetan 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.

**744. BASKET (carried on the back)** སྒྲེལ་པོ་ *SLEL.PO* (Ü) [PW] < CT or its variants ང་ཅེལ་པོ་ *TSEL.PO* (Ba, La Sp, Pur), ང་སེལ་པོ་ *SEL.PO* (Kh), ང་སེལ་པོ་ *SEL.BO* (Am), སྒྲེལ་མོ་ *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** ཁམ་ *KHAB* [PR] < CT.



**746. NAIL (FASTENER)** གཞེར་ *GZER* < CT and its variant འཛེར་ *'DZER* [PR] < CT 'nail', cognate with ཚོར་ *TSHER* 'thorn'. It also occurs as གཞེར་བུ་ *GZER.BU*. These terms may designate both wooden and iron nails. Derivations such as འཛེར་མ་ *'DZER.MA*, གཞེར་མ་ *GZER.MA* and compounds such as གཞེར་དཀར་ *GZER.DKAR* < CT 'white nail' གཞེར་ནག་ *GZER.NAG* < CT 'black nail', ལྷགས་གཞེར་ *LCAGS.GZER* 'iron nail' (Yol, etc.) and ལྷགས་འཛེར་ *LCAGS.'DZER* are found. Some eastern dialects use the Chinese loanword 钉子 *dingzi*. The word ཐེ་རེད་ /p'eret/ (Pur) is of unclear origin.

**747. SCISSORS** ཇེས་ཙེ་ *JEM.TSE* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT < Chin. 剪子 *jianzi*. The pronunciation ཇེས་འཛིས་ *JAM.'DZIS* /ča<sup>n</sup>dzi:/ is also attested. The variant ཇེས་པ་ *JEM.PA* is also widespread. ཁེ་གྲི་ *KHE.GYI* (Am) < CT ཁེ་གྲི་ *KHE.GRI* 'scissors'. Another loan form, 剪刀 *jiandao*, is often used. In central Ladakh, ཆན་པ་ *CHAN.PA* is used, whereas དུ་གཏོད་ *DU.GHAD* is used in Sham and Purik.

**748. HAND GRINDING STONE** མཆིག་ *MCHIG*, རང་འབྲག་ *RANG.'THAG*, ལག་སྒོར་ *LAG.SKOR*. Used to grind tsampa.

**749. BUCKET (WOODEN)** མོ་ *ZO*, མོམ་ *ZOM* [PR] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix: མོ་བ་ *ZO.BA* /zoa/ (Am, Pur). The variants མོམ་ *ZOM* and ཟེམ་ *ZEM* are also frequent. Many compounds include 'water' or 'milk', depending on function, ཚུ་དམ་ *CHU.DAM* (SKh), ཚུ་མོམ་ *CHU.ZOM* ཚུ་ཟེམ་ *CHU.ZEM* (Pur), ཞོན་ཟེམ་ *ZHON.ZEM* 'milk bucket' (Pur).

**750. CHURN** མདོང་ *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: མདོང་མོ་ *MDONG.MO* (Ba, Pur, La, Tö, Sh, Yol, Ü, Ts. Am.). There are several compound words such as ལྷུབ་མདོང་ *SRUB.MDONG* (Lho) < CT 'mix churn', ལྷུ་མདོང་ *RGYA.MDONG* (Ho) < CT 'large churn' ཞོ་མདོང་ *ZHO.MDONG* (Pur) < CT 'milk churn' (see MILK) and ཇེས་མདོང་ *JAM.MDONG* (Lho, Ba). In some Amdo and Kham dialects, the root མོ་ *ZO* < CT 'bucket, pail' (see above) is used for 'churn', either alone or as a compound word: དཀྲུགས་མོ་ *DKRUGS.BZO* < CT 'shake bucket', ཇེ་མོ་ *JA.ZO* (Kh) 'tea churn' < CT lit. 'tea bucket'. Other words are attested ཇེ་སྒུབ་མ་ *JA.SRUB.M* (Dz) 'tea shaker' < CT lit.

‘tea shake + suffix’, ཇ་བཞིག་ *JA.BZHIG* (Kh, Ho), ཀྲོ་ལུམ་ *KRO.LUM* (Sh), and གུར་གུར་ *GUR.GUR* in Ladaks and Purik of unclear origin.

## CULTURAL OBJECTS and ABSTRACT CONCEPTS

**751. TOOL** ལག་ཆ་ *LAG.CHA* [PW] < CT. Some languages use the same form as THING.

**752. MEASURE** ཚད་ *TSHAD* [PR] < CT. Loanwords may also be used, such as /taba/ (Pur).

**753. LINE** ཐིག་ *THIG* [PR] < CT.

**754. WEIGHING SCALES** རྒྱ་མ་ *RGYAMA* (Ts, Ü) < CT; སྒར་ *SRANG* (Pur, Za, Dz) < CT. The word སྐར་ *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 ཉ་ག་ *NYA.GA* (Ü, Ts, La) < CT. See TO WEIGH.

**755. AXE** ལྷ་རེ་ *STARE* [PW] < CT. This word also means ‘chopper’.

**756. HAMMER** ཐོ་བ་ *THO.BA* [PW] < CT.

**757. SAW** རྩ་ག་ *SOG* [PR] < CT. The words རྩ་ག་ལེ་ *SOG.LE* (Ü, Ts) and བཅད་ལེ་ག་ *BCAD.SOG* (La, Za) lit. ‘cut-saw’ are widespread. In some dialects loanwords from other TB languages are used, such as /tsə ka ra/ (Kh: Rongdrak), /hsA de/ (Kh: Zhollam) and /‘fuu:/ (Kh: Daan < Bai). Loanwords from Hindi–Urdu, such as /ara/, /are/ (La, Pur, Sp), are attested.

**758. PLOUGH** ཐོང་ *THONG* [FFR] (La, Tö, Yol, Ts, Sp, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT or ཐོང་པ་ *THONG.PA* < CT ‘plough iron’, གཤོལ་ *GSHOL* [FFR] (La, Ba, Pur) < CT ‘wooden part of the plough’. Various compound words containing these two roots are attested, such as ཐོང་གཤོལ་ *THONG.GSHOL* ‘plough’ (Ü), ཐོང་ལྷགས་ *THONG.LCAGS* (Am) lit. ‘plough iron’, ཤིང་གཤོལ་ *SHING.GSHOL* (Am) ‘wooden plough’, གཤོལ་ལྷགས་ *GSHOL.LCAGS* ‘plough iron’ (La). The compound གཤོལ་མདའ་ *GSHOL.MDA* refers to the part of the plough into which metal blade is placed. Another root appears in some compound words རྩོ་ *RMO* ‘to plough’. This verb is often followed by a noun or a nominalizer, forming a compound such as རྩོ་ལྷགས་

*RMOLCAGS* (Am, Sh) < CT lit. ‘plow iron’, མོ་བྱེད་ *RMOLBYED* (Kh) < CT lit. ‘plow iron’, ཞིང་མོ་ལྷགས་ *ZHINGRMOLCAGS* (E: Th). The Dzongkha word for ‘plough’ is of unclear origin: ཏ་ལ་མིག་ *KHAMIG*. Let us finally mention one important tool related to traditional plowing, the ‘yoke’, which joins two yaks or dzos carrying the plough: གཉལ་ཤིང་ *GNYA’SHING* < CT ‘neck wood’ or མོན་དོར་ *RMON.DOR* < CT ‘plough pair’.

759. **SLING** ལུར་རོ་ *UR.RDO* [FFR] < CT. གཡུག་རོ་ *G-YUG.RDO* /yukdo/ (La, Za), ལུར་རུག་ *UR.RDUG* (Sh), ལུར་རོ་ *SGU.RDO*, ལུར་ལྷགས་ *URLCAGS* (Am), ལུར་ཆ་ *UR.CHA* (Am). Slings are traditionally used by pastoralists to guide cattle.

760. **HOE, MATTOCK** འཛར་ *JOR* [FFR] < CT. ལྷ་ *SKA* (E) of unclear origin is also attested. རྟག་ཅོ་ *TOG.TSE* (La, Za, Yol).

761. **PETROL, PETROLEUM** རྟེན་སྒྲུབ་ *RDO.SNUM* [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT ‘stone’+ ‘oil’. ས་སྒྲུབ་ *SA.SNUM* [FFR] (La, Za) < CT ‘earth’+ ‘oil’ is also used for ‘kerosene’. The term སྒྲུབ་ *SNUM*, which simply means ‘oil’, is used alone in some dialects. ས་མར་ *SAMAR* (La) lit. ‘earth butter’ is used in Ladakh for ‘kerosene, diesel oil’. In Tibet, the loan 汽油 *qiyou* is also used, while in India the English the terms *gasoline* and *petrol* are used.

762. **ROPE** ཐག་ *THAG* [PR] < CT. This root is related to the verb ཐག་ *THAG* ‘to weave’ (see below). Generally followed by a suffix: ཐག་པ་ *THAG.PA*, ཐག་གུ་ *THAG.GU*.

763. **MANURE** ལུད་ *LUD* [PR] < CT. In Sherpa and Yolma, a word derived from ཆས་ *CHAS* < CT ‘fodder for horses’ is used. མེ་ *ME* < CT ‘fire’ is widespread in the Eastern section.

764. **SICKLE** མོར་བ་ *ZOR.BA* [PW] < CT. This is pronounced /zorba/ in Balti and Purik but མོར་ར་ *ZOR.RA* /sora/ in most languages.

765. **LOOM** འབག་ཁྲི་ *THAG.KHRI* (Ü, La) < CT lit. ‘weaving throne’. ཐགས་འབག་ *THAGS. THAG* (Am). Other words are attested ཐགས་ཤིང་ *THAGS.SHING* (Ba, Dz) < CT lit. ‘weaving wood’, ཐགས་ཆ་/t’aksha/ (La, Za), འཕྲུལ་ཐགས་ *PHRUL.THAGS* < CT lit. ‘ingenious, magic weaving’ (Dz).

766. **CONCH** ལྷ་ *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 ལྷ་དྭགས་ *DUNG.DKAR* lit. ‘white conch’. Many young people only know the compound ལྷ་དྭགས་ *DUNG.DKAR* ‘white conch’ as a religious term. In Balti, the word ལྷ་ *DUNG* ‘conch’ is not known and the word ཆཀོས་ /č’akos/ is used instead. འབོད་ར་ *BOD.RA* is used in E and SKh < CT *BOD* ‘to call’.
767. **SHELL** མགོན་བུ་ *MGRON.BU* ‘shell, cowry’ [FFR] < CT also spelled མགོན་བུ་ *MGRON.PU*. In Ladaks, this is pronounced ལུམ་བུ་ /rumbu/. The word ཆཀོས་ /č’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’, ཤོ་ *SHO*, which is widespread in the Tibetic areas.
768. **MACHINE** འཕྲུལ་འཁོར་ *PHRUL.KHOR* [FFW] < (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, Dz) CT lit. ‘magic wheel’. འཕྲུལ་ *PHRUL* and འཕྲུལ་ཆས་ *PHRUL.CHAS* (Dz) are also attested. The Chinese *jīqì* 机器 and the English *machine, engine* are also used.
769. **GIFT** ལག་རྟགས་ *LAG.RTAGS* (La, Ü, Ts, Am, etc.) < CT lit. ‘hand sign’. རྟག་རྟགས་ *DGA’RTAGS* (Am, etc.), རྟགས་ *RTAGS* (La, Pur, Yol) < CT ‘sign’ is sometimes used alone. རྩན་པ་ *RNGAN.PA* (Ü, Ts, La, Pur) ‘reward’ < CT is also widespread. In Kham, the word འབག་ *BAG* ‘gift’ may be derived from ‘to bring’ (see BRING).
770. **UMBRELLA** གདུགས་ *GDUGS* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. Various compounds are attested depending on use: ལྷ་གདུགས་ *CHU.GDUGS*, ཆར་གདུགས་ *CHAR.GDUGS* for ‘rain umbrella’ < CT ‘rain umbrella’, and ཉི་གདུགས་ *NYIGDUGS* for ‘parasol’ < CT ‘sun umbrella’. གདུགས་དྭགས་ *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. ཉི་སྒྲིབ་ *NYI.SGRIB* (La, Pur) is used for ‘parasol’ in Ladakh.
771. **WHEEL** འཁོར་ལོ་ *KHOR.LO* [PR] < CT. སྒྱིར་རི་ *SGYIR.RI* (Sham, see Norman 2019) corresponds to an archaic form. The word འབོ་ལོ་ *BO.LO*, of unclear origin, is used in Southern Kham.

772. **STICK** དབུག་པ་ *DBYUG.PA* or རྒྱུག་པ་ *RGYUG.PA* < CT. Various words are found e.g. རྟེན་ག་ *RTEN.GA* (E), བེར་ཀ་ *BER.KA* (Pur, La, Za, Yol) < CT. ཏམ་ཙཾ་ *PO.CO* (Am).

773. **SADDLE** སྒ་ *SGA* [PR] < CT. In many dialects, this forms a compound with *RTA* 'horse': རྟ་སྒ་ *RTA.SGA* or རྟ་འི་སྒ་ *RTA'ISGA* lit. 'horse saddle', pronounced /tegal/ in Sherpa. The compound སྒ་ལྷགས་ *SGA.LCAGS* 'saddle iron' is found in Spiti.

774. **STIRRUP** ཡོབ་ *YOB* [PR] < CT *YOB* 'stirrup'. ཡོབ་ཆེན་ *YOB.CHEN* (Nubra). The variant འོབ་ *'OB* (Ho) is also attested. The forms ཏའོབ་ཆེན་ *'OB.CHEN* (La, Th, Am, Ba) and ཏའེབ་ཆེན་ *'EB.CHEN* /epč'an/ (Ba, Pur) are widespread. The compound རྟ་ཀླར་ལྷགས་ *RTA.RKANG.LCAGS* 'horse foot iron' is attested in SKh.

775. **GLASSES (SPECTACLES)** མིག་ཤེལ་ *MIG.SHEL* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, etc.) < CT lit. 'eye+crystal'. The variant མྱིག་ཤེལ་ *MYIG.SHEL* is found in the Eastern regions. The reverse forms are also attested: ཤེལ་མིག་ *SHEL.MIG* (Yol) 'crystal eye' or its variant ཤེལ་མྱིག་ *SHEL.MYIG* (Kh). Other terms are also found such as ཏམིག་རྩ་ *MIG.RWA* (La, Sp, Pur) or ཏམྱིག་རྩ་ *MYIG.RWA* (Am) < CT 'eye horn' or ཏམིག་ཁྲབ་ *MIG.KHRAB* < CT 'eye armour' (Ba, Pur). Some languages, such as Purik, distinguish between eyeglasses worn for protection, མིག་ཁྲབ་ *MIG.KHRAB* (such as sunglasses), and eye glasses worn to assist sight, མིག་རྩ་ *MIG.RWA*.

776. **STAMP** ཐེལ་ཙེ་ *THEL.TSE*. < CT 'stamp, seal'. ཐེལ་ *THEL* is alone used alone (E). ཐམ་ག་ *THAM.GA* (Am) and དམ་ཕུག་ *DAM.PHRUG* 'seal' are also widespread. The loanword ཏམོ་ཏྲོར་ /mo(h)or/ (La, Za, Pur) < Pers. is also found.

777. **POSTAL STAMP** སྒྲག་འཛིན་ *SBRAG.'DZIN* < CT 'postal receipt' < Urdu /ḡak/ 'post'+ Tib. 'DZIN 'receipt' is used in Central Tibet. འགྲེམ་རྟགས་ *'GREM.RTAGS* 'distribution sign' is used in Bhutan. In Ladakh, *ticket* is used for stamps. The Chinese loanword is 邮票 *youpiao*.

778. **MONEY** དངུལ་ *DNGUL* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Tö, Ko, Kh) and its variant དམུལ་ *DMUL* (Sp, Ba, La) < CT *DNGUL* 'silver'. Other words include སྒོར་མོ་ *SGOR.MO* (Am, Th) < CT 'round', ཏི་རུ་ *TL.RU* /-tiru/ (Dz), perhaps derived from ཏིག་རྩུབ་ *TIG.HRUG* 'small pieces', (also the name of a Kongpo soup made of small pieces of meat); ཏེར་ཀ་ *TENG.KA* (Sh) and ཏེར་ཀ་ *TANG.KA* (Yol) < ཏེར་ཀ་ *TAM.KA* 'silver coins' are

also used. The word *ཁྲི་* *KHRI* is used in some Amdo pastoralist areas. There are also loanwords *པེ་ཤ་* /pesha/ from Urdu *پیسہ* /paisa/, *པེ་ནེ་* *PE.NE* (La, Pur) from English ‘penny’ and *钱* *qian* from Chinese. The old Chinese loanword *རྟ་ཙེ་* *DONG.TSE* < ‘copper’ is also heard in some Amdo dialects.

**779. MONEY (COINS/BANKNOTES)** *སྒོར་མོ་* *SGOR.MO* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Am) < CT *SGOR.MO* related to *གོར་གོར་* *GOR.GOR* or *སྒོར་སྒོར་* *SGOR.SGOR* ‘round’, and its archaic variant *འཁྲིར་མོ་* *KYIR.MO* (La, Pur) < *ཁྲིར་ཁྲིར་* *KYIR.KYIR* ‘round’; *དངུལ་* *DNGUL* or *དམུལ་* *DMUL* (Pur), *དངུལ་ཀྲམ་* *DNGUL.KRAM* (Dz) < CT ‘silver coin’ (see above *འཁྲམ་ཀྲ་* *TAM.KA*) and *TA.YANG* (Kham) ‘silver dollar’, a loanword from Chinese *大洋* *dayang*, are also used. The ancient loanword *དི་ན་ར་* *DINARA* is no longer used in the modern languages.

**780. WORD** *ཚོག་* *TSHIG* [FFR] < CT pronounced *ཚོགས་* *TSHIGS* /ts’iks/ in Ladakh. However some dialects use a word derived from *གཏམ་* *GTAM* ‘speech’ (Sh) or *དཔེ་ར་* *DPE.RA* (Ba) < ‘example’. *འཁྲ་རྩ་* /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 *ཡི་གེ་* *YL.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: *ཤོག་ཤོག་* *SHOG.SHOG* (Pur) ‘paper-paper’.

**782. PAINTING/DRAWING** *རི་མོ་* *RLMO* [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. *འཁྲ་ཤ་* /naksha/ is used in Purik and Ladaks.

**783. BOOK** *དཔེ་ཆ་* *DPE.CHA* [FFW] (La, Sp, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. In Amdo and Classical Tibetan, this term is used to designate any kind of book. However, in many areas, the term is reserved for the religious Tibetan book format. In some areas (La, Kh, Am), Tibetan religious books are sometimes simply referred to as *ཆོས་* *CHOS* ‘dharma’. For books in the western codex format, three main words are used across the area: *ཀྲ་ཏབ་* *KL.TAB* (La, Dz, Lho) < Pers. < Arab; *དེབ་* *DEB* < CT *སྡེབས་* *SDEBS* ‘joined’ (Ü, Ts); and *སློབ་དེབ་* *SLOB.DEB* < lit. ‘learn book’ for textbooks and schoolbooks. The term *ཤོག་པུ་* *SHOG.PU* < CT ‘paper’ is

used in Baltistan and Purik for ‘book’. ཡི་གེ *YI.GE* (Kh) lit. ‘letter’ is also attested. The words དཔེ་ཆ *DPE.CHA* and ཡི་གེ *YI.GE* refer to both Tibetan religious books and the western type of books, but adjectives may be used to distinguish the two: ལྷ་རིང་ *SNARING* ‘long nose’ for the Tibetan format and འགོ་ཚེས་ *GO.TSHEM* ‘sewed head’ for the western type.

**784. NOTEBOOK** རིས་དེབ་ *BRIS.DEB* < CT. In the eastern areas, the Chinese borrowed 本子 *benzi* is often used. ཀམ་པི་ /ka:fi, kapi/ (Pur) lit. ‘copy’.

**785. PAPER** འོག་ *SHOG* [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a diminutive suffix derived from *bu*: འོག་བུ་ *SHOG.BU*, འོག་གུ་ *SHOG.GU*, or reduplicated as in Eastern section, Purik and Balti: འོག་འོག་ *SHOG.SHOG*.

**786. PEN** ལྷ་གུ་ *SMYU.GU* [PW] (La, Za, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT ‘small bamboo’ is used. The variant ལྷ་ *SMYUNG* (Yol) is attested. Some Kham and Amdo dialects use a compound word with the verb འབྲི་ *BRI* ‘to write’: ལྷ་རི་ *SMYUG.RI* (Tö) or འབྲི་ལྷ་གུ་ *BRI.SNYUG* (Tö) lit. ‘writing bamboo’, འབྲི་ཐུར་ *BRI.THUR* ‘stick (to) write’ or འབྲི་ལྷ་གུ་ *BRI.SPYAD* (Am) ‘instrument (for) writing’, འབྲི་ས་ *BRI.SA* (Kh) < ‘write+instrumental nominaliser’. Some loanwords such as བེན་ *PEN* (Sh, La) < English and 笔 *bi* or 铅笔 *qianbi* from Chinese are used. ཀམ་པི་ /qalam/ (Pur) < Arabic ‘cane, pen’ is also attested.

**787. INK** ལྷ་གུ་ཚ་ *SNAG.TSHA* [PW] < CT and related to *NAG* ‘black’. Sometimes ལྷ་གུ་ *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, esuch as ལ་ཁྱེས་དཔེ་སློབ་ lit. ‘ancestor example learning’ (Am). The noun ཤེས་ *SHES* < verb *SHES* ‘to know’ is used in Purik.

**789. DICTIONARY** ཚིག་མཛོད་ *TSHIG.MDZOD* [FFW] < CT lit. ‘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 *śabdakośa* or English words are used, depending on the area.

**790. LANGUAGE** ལྟན་ *SKAD* [PW] (La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT ‘sound’, also cognate with mouth. Various pronunciations are attested: /<sup>s</sup>kat/ (La, Pur), /<sup>k</sup>ät/ (Am), /<sup>k</sup>äl/ (Am), /xat/ (Za), /<sup>k</sup>ä/ (Ü, Ts, Lho), etc. A few other words are also used: ལ་ *KHA* (Dz) < CT ‘mouth’, གཏམ་ *GTAM* (Yol) < ‘speech, story’, དཔེ་ར་ *DPE.RA*, གཏམ་སྟན་ *GTAM.SNYAD* (Sh), ལྟུ་ *ZLAU* /<sup>l</sup>öau/ (Za) < CT ལྟ་ *ZLO* ‘repeat, recite’ are used. In Jirel, the word ‘language’ is a loanword from བཱ་ /bat/ < Hindi and Nepali ब्रात /bāt/.

**791. TIBETAN SPOKEN LANGUAGE** བོད་སྐད་ *BOD.SKAD* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, 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་ *BOD.YIG*, བོད་ཀྱི་ཀ་ལ་ *BOD-KYI KA.KHA* [PW] see ALPHABET. The traditional word ལ་ལི་ཀ་ལི་ *LA.LI KA.LI* lit. ‘vowels and consonants’ is widely attested. It is also sometimes referred to as ལ་ལི་སྟོན་ *SAM.BHO.TA* script, after its creator. The Tibetan alphabet is technically an alphasyllabary (see Chapter 5) of Indian origin. The term བོད་ཡིག་ *BOD.YIG* means both the Tibetan script and the written Tibetan language. See ALPHABET.

**793. ALPHABET** ཀ་ལ་ *KA.KHA* [PW] < CT. *KA* and *KHA* are the two first 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་ཡིག་ *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་ཀ་ལ་ *BOD-KYI KA.KHA* ‘Tibetan alphabet’, ལ་ལི་སྟོན་ *SAM.BHO.TA YI.GE* ‘Sambhota script’ or simply ཡི་གེ་ *YI.GE* ‘script’ are also sometimes used. The term ཡིག་གཞུག་ *YIG.GZUGS* lit. ‘letter shape’, which refers to ‘calligraphy’, is also sometimes used to refer to the alphabet. The word གསལ་བྱེད་ *GSAL.BYED* ‘consonant’ is used with the meaning of ‘alphabet’ in some areas. ལ་



ལིབ་བེ་ *ALIB.BE* (Pur) is used in Purik and Balti, being named after the first two letters of the Arabic script.

**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་སྟོལ་བོད་ཡིག་ *RGYUN.SROL BOD.YIG*), or Modern Written Tibetan (also called དེང་དུས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཡིག་ *DENG.DUS KYI BOD.YIG*). In the Tibetic 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*: /nyõ/, /nyã/, 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(Y)IN*. In Balti and Purik, the word མིང་བདག་ས་ *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 ཁང་པའི་མིང་ *KHANG.PA'I MING* or ཁང་མིང་ *KHANG.MING* or ཁྲོང་མིང་ *GRONG.MING* < CT ‘house name’ is used. In Purik the word /pa/ < CT suffix is used to name a particular family, e.g. དཱུཏ་པ་ /daut-pa/ ‘the Daut family’, སེང་གེ་པ་ /sengge-pa/, ‘the Sengge family’, /watse-pa/ the Watse family. The sentence ཁོའི་པ་ལ་ཅི་ཟེར་བད་ *KHO'E-PA-LA CIZER.BAD* means ‘what is his family name’ (lit. ‘how is called his /pa/’). In many Tibetic areas, people do not have family names and instead use two given names.

**797. SIGN** རྟགས་ *RTAGS* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Hor, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT.

**798. NEWSPAPER** གསར་ཤོག་ *GSAR.SHOG* < CT lit. ‘new paper’ and ཚགས་པར་ *TSHAGS.PAR* ‘filter print’ are widely used. There are also loanwords from Chinese 报纸 *baozhi*, Nepali གོར་ཁ་པ་ར་ /gork'a patra/ (in Sherpa), and Arabic

and Urdu اخبار *axbar* ‘information’, as འགྲུབ་ */agbar/* (Ba, Pur, La). The first newspaper published in Tibetan, ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་འགྲུབ་ *LA.DWAGS-KYI ʔAG.BAR*, appeared in Ladakh in 1904.

**799. NEWS** གསལ་འགྲུབ་ *GSAR.ʼGYUR* < CT lit. ‘new become’. གནས་ཚུལ་ *GNAS.TSHUL* (La) < CT situation, བདན་ *BRDAʼ* (E, Am) < CT ‘sign, designation, indication’. ལ་ཕར་ */xabar/* < Pers. is also used (Ba, Pur, La).

**800. STORY** སྒྲུང་ *SGRUNG* or སྒྲུང་ *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: སྒྲུམ་མ་ */zgrums/* (Pur), ཏྲུམ་ */tʊm/* (Lhasa), ཏྲུང་ */ʃung/* (Tö, Ts, Sp), ཏྲུངས་ */ʃungs/* (La), ཏྲུང་ */sung/* (Dz), ཏྲོམ་ */zom/* (Kh), ཏྲུང་ */rung(s)/* (Ba, La), etc. However, two other roots are also found: གཏམ་ *GTAM* ‘speech’ and དཔེ་ *DPE* ‘example’ (Sh). Various compounds are also attested, including གཏམ་དཔེ་ *GTAM.DPE* (Hor), དཔེ་གཏམ་ *DPE. GTAM* (Yol), གཏམ་བུ་ *GTAM.BU* (Th), ལ་དཔེ་ *KHA.DPE* (NKh, E), གཏམ་རྒྱུད་ *GTAM.RGYUD* (Dz), གནད་བཤད་ *GNAʼ.BSHAD* (Am), གནད་གཏམ་ *GNAʼ.GTAM* (SKh).

**801. PROVERB/SAYING** གཏམ་དཔེ་ *GTAM.DPE* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) or the variant དཔྱེ་གཏམ་ *DPYE.GTAM* (Dz) < CT ‘speech+model’. Other compounds are attested, including གཏམ་སྒྲོ་ *GTAM.BLO* (Ba), ཏྲུམ་ལེ་ *GTAM.LE* (Pur), ལ་དཔེ་ *KHA.DPE* (Dz, La) < ‘mouth, language+example’. The term གཏམ་རྒྱུད་ *GTAM.RGYUD* < CT ‘legend’ (‘speech+’) is used in some dialects for ‘proverb’. See also STORY.

**802. RIDDLE** ལྡེ་ལུ་ *LDEʼU* (Ü, Ts) < CT; གཤམ་ཚིག་ *GAB.TSHIG* (Ü, Ts) < CT, ལེད་ *KHED* (Am), གཏམ་ཚིག་ *TSHOD* (Pur), ཚིག་ལེ་ *TSHOD.LE* (La). Riddles traditionally played a significant role in the education of children, particularly in pastoralist communities.

**803. SONG** ལུ་ *GLU* [PR] < CT. The verb ‘to sing’ is formed from this by adding a verbalizer: ལེན་ *LEN* ‘to take’, བཏང་ *BTANG* ‘to send, let go’, འཐེན་ *ʼTHEN* ‘to pull, draw’: ལུ་ལེན་ *GLULEN* (Kh, Am, Tö), ཏྲུ་ལིང་ */lu ling/* (Sh), ལུ་བཏང་ *GLUBTANG* (Tö, Ts, Sp, La, Ba), ལུ་འཐེན་ *GLU ʼTHEN* (Dz). Another word གཞམ་ *GZHAS* [FFR] (Ü, Kh, Kyir, Am) < CT is also attested in various areas. Originally ལུ་ *GLU* and

གཞས་ *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: ལྷ་གཞས་ *GLU.GZHAS* (Ü, Dz), ལྷ་དབྱངས་ *GLU.DBYANGS* (Am: Ngawa) < CT ‘song melody’ also occurs. Other words are encountered more marginally, such as ལ་གཞས་ *LA.GZHAS* /layi/ (Am) ‘love song’, ཏྟན་བླུག་ *SKAD.BKUG* (Hor) < CT ‘to charm with sound’ and ཞབས་ཁ་ *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 la/ (Phuri, Kh), perhaps derived from the chant uttered at the beginning of the Gesar, /alala talala/. The Chinese words 歌 *ge* (*go* in Sichuan Mandarin) and 唱歌 *changge* (*canggo* in Sichuan Mandarin) are also used.

**804. DANCE** རྩོ་ *BRO* [PR] < CT ‘dance’. In some languages of the Eastern section, this is pronounced ཏུ་ /tso/ (E: Th). Many dialects also use compound words, such as ཞབས་རྩོ་ *ZHABS.BRO* (Sh, Lh, Tö) or ཞབས་རོ་ *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 གཞས་ *GZHAS* ‘song’ followed by the verb ཁབ་ *KHRAB* is used. That points again the strong relation between ‘song’ and ‘dance’ (see SONG). In some Tibetic areas, one also finds the noun རྩེས་ *RTSES* (La, Pur) or རྩེད་འཛོ་ *RTSED.’JO* (Za) < CT རྩེད་མོ་ *RTSED.MO* ‘game’, which is followed by the verb རྩེ་ *RTSE* < CT ‘to play’ (La, Pur, Ba, Sp, Am) or a light verb such as བྱང་ *BTANG*. The word གར་ *GAR* is also found in CT is used in Spiti and Mustang. In Yunnan (Kh), ཏཙ་ལག་ *TSHALAG* of unclear origin is also used.

**805. DRUM** རྩ་ *RNGA* [PW] < CT. Various kinds of drums and tabla are found, particularly in the Western languages. The words རི་འང་ /diang/ (Ba), རིང་ཇང་ /dingjang/ (La), ར་མན་ /daman/ (La, Pur, Ba) and རྩས་ /daps, daf/ (< Pers.) are found. ར་མ་རུ་ *DAMA.RU* (Skr) is used for the small drums in Buddhist and Bon rituals.

806. **SINTOOR** ལྷུ་མེད་ *RGYUD.MANG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT, ཡང་ལྷུ་ *YANG.LJI* (La).

This is a kind of hammer dulcimer.

807. **FLUTE** གླིང་བུ་ *GLING.BU* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. In some dialects of the Eastern section, the terms གླིང་ *RGYA.GLING* < CT ‘Chinese flute’ and ལྷུ་གླིང་ *SMYUG.GLING* are used instead of གླིང་བུ་ *GLING.BU*. ཀླང་གླིང་ *RKANG.GLING* lit. ‘leg flute’ 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** གླིང་ *RGYA.GLING* [PW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ü, 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 ལུ་ན་ *SUR.NA* (< Pers.) refers to Persian oboe used for nonreligious music in Baltistan and Ladakh.

809. **DRANYEN/TIBETAN LUTE** ལྷ་སྟན་ *SGRA.SNYAN* [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT lit. ‘pleasant sound’. This is often pronounced /dabnyen/. The term ཀོ་ཕོང་ *KO.PHONGS* is used in Ladakh. The *dranyen* (or *kophong*) is found in most areas of Tibet, Ladakh, Spiti, Bhutan and Northern Nepal.

810. **MANDOLIN** ལྷུང་ལེན་ *RDUNG.LEN*. This is a popular instrument in Amdo.

811. **BOW (FOR HUNTING)** གཞུ་ *GZHU* [PR]. Note that in Purik, གཞུ་ *zhu* are made of ibex horn and bows made of wood are called འྲང་ཁུང་ *DRANG.KHUNG* /drangkung/ or /drangk’uk/.

812. **ARROW** མདན་ *MDA’* [PR] < CT. In some eastern dialects, this is confused with ‘bow’, or understood to refer to ‘a bow and arrow’. The compound མདན་གཞུ་ *MDA’.GZHU* is also attested.

813. **ARROW (WEDDING)** མདན་དར་ *MDA’.DAR*. Wedding arrow carried by the bride.

814. **TARGET** འབེན་ *BEN* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho) < CT. ཙ་ག་ *TSA.GA* (Pur, La) < CT ཙ་ག་ *TSHA.GA*. These terms are used in archery.

- 815. ARCHERY** མདན་ཕྱེད་ *MDA'.RTSED* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am) or མདན་ཕྱེས་ *MDA'.RTSES* (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. མདན་པངས་ *MDA'.PHANGS* (La) is also attested.
- 816. HORSE RACE** རྩ་རྒྱུག་ *RTA.RGYUG* [FFW] (La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, 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་མདན་ *ME.MDA'* [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, E) or the archaic variant མྱེ་མདན་ *MYE.MDA'* (Am) < CT *ME.MDA'* lit. 'fire arrow'. In some dialects, one finds other words containing *MDA'* 'arrow', such as མདན་བ་ *MDA'.BA* (Kh: Rongdrak) and ལག་མདན་ *LAG.MDA'* lit. 'hand arrow' (Dz). Other words include ཏུ་བག་ *DU.BAG* (Ba, La), ཏུ་ཕག་ *DU.WAG* (Pur, Sp, Za) < Urd. < Pers. توڨان /tofang/ (also pronounced as /tofak/), ཏེ་ཕག་ *ME.WAG* /mewak/ (Sh), ཏེ་བག་ *ME.BAG* (Yol), ཏེ་བོ་ *BO'U* or ཏེ་བས་ *BOS* 'rifle, gun' (Am, Hor, E), pronounced /bo/ (Hor), /wu/ (Am), /wi/ (Am). Finally འཕོང་ *'PHONG* lit. 'archery' (Kh, Th) is also found.
- 819. BULLET** མདེན་ *MDE'U* [PW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Lho) < CT lit. 'small arrow' or མདན་ *MDA'* (Kh, Hor, E, Am) 'arrow'. Another root བོ་ཏུ་ *BO'U*, which may be derived from བོ་ས་ *BOS* 'rifle', is also attested: བོ་ས་མདེན་ /wudi/ (Am), བོ་ས་ཅོ་ /wutse/ (Am). རིན་རི་ /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** མདྲུང་ *MDUNG* [PR] < CT. The word /sneza/ (< Pers.) is used in Purik. This word is not known in the eastern section.
- 821. TRAP** རྩི་ *RNYI* [FFR] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. Pronounced /nyi/ (Ü, Ts) or /snyu/ (Ba, La, Pur). Some dialects from Kham use a voiceless nasal initial exceptionally /ny'ə/. It sometimes appears in a compound word: རྩི་རྩི་ *RGYA.RNYI* (La) < CT lit. 'net trap'. Several other words are also attested. Balti has /jantri/, a loanword from Urdu. Ladaks also uses the root སྟེམ་ *STEM* or སྟེམ་ *LTEM* < CT

‘squeeze’, ལྗེས་པ་ *LDEM.PA* (see CTDT): *GALTEM* ག་ལྗེས་ *GALTEM*, བི་ལྗེས་ *BILTEM* means ‘mouse trap’ in Purik. Sherpa has ཏོར་བ་ *TOR.BA*.

**822. POISON** དུག་ *DUG* [PR] < CT. In Gyalthang, the word བདུད་ *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** ལྷ་ *DRWA* or ལྷ་ *DRA* [FFR] < CT. Frequently followed by a suffix *BA*: ལྷ་བ་ *DRA.BA*. This word is also used for ‘internet’. The loanword ཇའི་ */jali/* (Pers) is used in Purik and Ladaks.

**824. DICE** ཤོ་ *SHO* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Hor, Kh, Dz). The word ཅོ་ལོ་ *CO.LO* /čolo/ is attested in some areas (La, Yol). The game of *sho* is very popular, particularly in the Central and Western areas. In some other areas the game is not practiced and the word is unknown.

**825. WATCH/CLOCK** ལྷ་ཚོད་ *CHU.TSHOD* [FFW] (Ü, TS, Tö, Sh, La) < CT lit. ‘water measure’ recalling the *clepsydra* 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 དུས་ཚོད་ *DUS.TSHOD* (Am, Ba, Dz) < CT lit. ‘time measure’ is also frequent. ལྷ་ཚོད་འཁོར་ལོ་ *CHU.TSHOD 'KHOR.LO* and དུས་ཚོད་འཁོར་ལོ་ *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 གླའི་ *GHA.RI* and ལག་གླའི་ *LAG.GHA.RI* (Pur), lit. ‘hand clock’, are found.

**826. FILM** ལྷོག་བརྒྱན་ *GLOG.RNYAN* [PW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz) < CT ‘Electricity/lightning image or reflection’. Some languages have words derived from ལྷན་མོ་ *LTAD.MO* CT ‘show’, such as Sherpa ལྷོལ་མུ་ *SRIL.MU* (Sh) and Spiti ལྷན་མོ་ *LTAN.MO*. Loanwords are used in some areas, such as the Chinese 电影 *dianying* and the English *picture* as བྱིག་ཅར་, *film* as བྱི་ལིམ་ /p'ilim/, *cinema* as /silema/, *movie* as /muwi/, and བེ་སེ་ཀོབ་ *BE.SE.KOB* from *bioscope* (a projector developed in 1895).

**827. CAMERA** པར་ཆས་ *PAR.CHAS* [FFW] < CT ‘print/picture-device’ (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Dz, Lh). In Amdo other compounds, such as དཔར་ལེན་སྒྱུད་ *DPAR.LEN.SPYAD*

‘picture taker’ and བར་བརྒྱབ་ས་ *PAR.RGYAB.SA* ‘picture taker’ (Kh) are also used. In the eastern area, *xiangji* འཕྲི་རྒྱུ་ /shangji/ < Chin. 相机 is widely used, and in India, Pakistan or Nepal, the English *camera* can be heard, pronounced འཕྲི་མ་ར་ /kemra/.

**828. PHOTOGRAPH** བར་ *PAR* or དཔར་ *DPAR* [PR] < CT ‘print’. This word was traditionally used for ‘woodblock printing’ (see **WOODBLOCK**). The English འཕྲི་ཏོ་ /foto/ and Urdu འཕྲི་ཏོ་ /naksha/ are also used.

**829. WOODBLOCK** བར་ཤིང་ *PAR.SHING* [PW] < CT ‘print wood’. Sometimes ཤིང་པར་ *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** རྒྱུ་འཕྲིན་ *RLUNG.PHRIN* [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT ‘air message’. རྒྱུ་འཕྲིན་གས་ *RGYANG.BSGRAGS* ‘resound from far away’. In Kongpo, the word is derived from སྒམ་གཞན་ *SGAM.GZHAD* < CT *SGAM* ‘box’ + *GZHAD* ‘song’, whereas in some Kham dialects, the word སྒྲ་འཕར་ *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** ཁ་པར་ *KHA.PAR* [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: སྒྲོག་བརྒྱུ་ *GLOG.BRDA* (Ho) < CT ‘lightning/electricity signal’, སྒྲོག་སྒྲ་ *GLOG.SKAD* (Kh) ‘electricity voice’, བརྒྱུ་འཕྲིན་ *BRGYUD.PHRIN* (Dz) ‘line message’, but in many cases, the word has been borrowed. The calque of *telephone*, རྒྱུ་ལབ་ *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 བརྒྱབ་ *RGYAB* ‘to hit’, but in Yunnan རྒྱུ་ *RDUNG* ‘beat’ is generally used, which is a calque from Chinese 打电话 *da dianhua* ‘call’, lit. ‘beat the phone’. Nowadays, the term ལག་ཐོག་ཁ་པར་ *LAG.THOG*

*KHA.PAR* ‘handheld telephone’ refers to ‘mobile phone, cell phone’, but in Amdo the term འཕྲུག་ཐེམ་ has been borrowed from Chinese 手机 *shouji*.

**832. TELEVISION** བརྒྱན་འཕྲིན་ *BRNYAN.PHRIN* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. ‘image/reflection-message’. In the Tibetan diaspora, གཟུགས་མཐོང་རྒྱུང་འཕྲིན་ *GZUGS.MTHONG RLUNG.PHRIN* lit. ‘see-shape/form air message’ is also used. Another frequent term, རྒྱང་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 འོག་ས་ *GOG.SA* (Tö, Sp) or གོར་ས་ *GOR.SA* (Kh). Another word is also frequently attested: གོ་གནས་ *GO.GNAS* (Kh, Am, Dz), ཐེམ་པ་ *THEM.PA* (Pur).

**834. SITUATION** གནས་སྐྱུ་ *GNAS.TSHUL* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT *GNAS* ‘to be located, to stay’ + *TSHUL* ‘way’. Alternative words are also attested གནས་སྐྱུང་ས་ *GNAS.STANGS* (Dz, Sh), གནས་ལུགས་ *GNAS.LUGS* (La), or ཆ་སྐྱུང་ས་ *CHA.STANGS* (Sp) or རས་ཆེ་ */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), */ɣang/* (Am). In many languages, the term is followed by the suffix ཆ་ *CHA*: དབང་ཆ་ *DBANG.CHA*. A second root is attested in the western languages འཕྲུག་ *NGAD* */ngat/* (Pur, La, Za).

**836. LIVELIHOOD, WAY OF LIFE** འཕྲུག་པ་ *TSHO.BA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT. མི་ཆོ་ *MI.TSHE* may be used in some areas (e.g. Pur), ཆོ་ཕིད་ *TSHE.PHID* is also attested in Ladaks.

**837. SALARY** གླ་ *GLA* [PR] < CT. Many dialects use the form with a suffix: གླ་ཆ་ *GLA.CHA*. An alternative word is also attested in some areas: ཕོགས་ *PHOGS* [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö): རྟོགས་ *HOGS* (Am), གླ་ཕོགས་ *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** ལལ་ *KHRAL*, ལལ་ *KHYAL* [PR] < CT. In Kham, 税 *shui*. འབབས་ *'BABS* is also used. ཏ་བོན་ /bon/ or ཏ་སུད་ /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** རྒྱུ་མཚན་ *RGYU.MTSHAN* [PW] (La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. In some languages, the word རོན་དག་ *DON.DAG* (Pur) or རོན་རོག་ *DEN.DOG* (Sh) < CT 'meaning' are used.
841. **PAIN, SUFFERING** སྤུག་བསྐྱེད་ *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. སྤུག་ *SDUG* alone is attested; other words refer more to physical pain: ཏ་ཟུར་མོ་ *ZUR.MO* (La, Za) < CT ཟུག་ *ZUG* (Ü, Yol), གཞེར་མོ་ *ZER.MO* (Pur); ཟུག་གཞེར་ *ZUG.GZER* < CT 'acute pain', ན་ཚ་ *NA.TSHA* (Ü, Ts) < CT; ཏ་ནགས་ *NAGS* is also used in Ladaks.
842. **MISTAKE** རྩོམ་འཁྲུལ་ *NOR. 'PHRUL* (La, Sp, Ü, Ts). The loanword /galat/ comes from Urdu /ghalat/. See MAKE A MISTAKE.
843. **DIFFERENCE** འཕྲ་ *KHYAD* [PR] < CT. The word འཕྲ་པར་ *KHYAD.PAR* is widespread. Other words are attested མ་འདྲ་ས་ *MA. 'DRA.SA* (Kh) < CT 'being not similar'. སོ་སོ་ *SO.SO* < CT 'separate, distinct'. The loanword ཏ་པ་རག་ *PHA.RAG* < Urd. Pers. and Arab. فرق *Farq* is frequently used in India, Nepal and Pakistan.
844. **LAW** ལྷིམས་ *KHRIMS* [PR] < CT. The loanword /qanun/ (< Arabic and ultimately Latin and Greek *canon*) is also common in India.
845. **EXAMPLE** རེ་ *DPE* [PW] < CT. It is pronounced ཏ་རེས་ *DPES* /ɛpes/ (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་བཞིན་ *DPER.BROJD* ‘example’ is used in some dialects.

**846. AUSPICIOUSNESS** བཀྲ་ཤིས་ *BKRA.SHIS* [PW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. In most languages, this is pronounced /tashi/, but also occurs as /tashis/ (La). It features in the traditional New Year greeting བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་ *BKRA.SHIS BDE.LEGS* ‘auspicious and excellent (wishes)’. /tashi(s)/ is also a frequent person name throughout the Tibetan area in Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and India. Marginally, other words may be used instead, such as བཟང་མོ་ *BZANG.MO* (Pur).

**847. THANKS** ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ *THUGS.RJE.CHE* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Sh, Yol, etc.) < CT ‘great compassion’ (sometime abbreviated as ཐུགས་ཆེ་ *THUGS.CHE*). Other frequent words include བཀའ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ *BKA’.DRIN.CHE* (Am, La, etc.) lit. ‘great reward’, and འཕྲོ་ཆེ་ *KHA.DRO* (Am) ‘auspicious, lucky’ lit. ‘warm mouth’. This last form is sometimes followed by འཕྲོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ *KHA.DRO BKRA.SHIS* ‘auspicious and lucky’, འཕྲོ་ཆེ་རིང་ *KHA.DRO TSHE.RING* ‘auspicious (wishes) and long life’ places the emphasis on the gratitude. The words རུ་ལེ་ *JU.LE* (used also for ‘hello’, ‘bye, bye’, etc.), and འོ་ཞུ་ *O.ZHU* are commonly used in Ladakh for ‘thanks’. ཡག་བྱུང་ *YAG.BYUNG* (Ü) lit. ‘(It) was good’, སྤྲ་ཐལ་ *SRA.THAL* (Am) lit. ‘(It) was good’, བཟང་གཤམ་ *BZANG.GDA* or བཟང་ཐལ་ *BZANG.THAL* lit. ‘(It) was excellent’ (E: Sharkhok, Khöpokhok, Thewo and Čone), བཀའ་ཐལ་ *BKA’.THAL* (Minyag, Kh), འོ་བརྒྱལ་ *O.BRGYAL* lit. ‘exhausted’ (Kh). In Balti and Purig the form འཇེ་རེ་ཤེ་ *YE.RE SHA.SDE* /yere shazde/ ‘your benevolence’ is used, it could be derived from བཤམ་ཤེ་ *BSHA’ SDE* (Ba, Pur) ‘benevolence, grace’ < CT བཤམ་ *BSHA* ‘share, allowance’. More local words include འཇེ་སྒྲ་ *GYAR.(S)NANG* (SKh) of unclear origin and its emphatic form འཇེ་སྒྲ་དཔལ་ཤོད་ *GYAR-(S)NANG DPA’.SHOD* (Dechen, Kh), འཇེ་རལ་ *YAR.RDAB* (Melung, Kh), འོ་གྲག་ *O.GRAG* (sDerong and Chagthreng, Kh), འཇེ་རེན་ *KHA.REN* (Gyälthang, Kh), འཇེ་རྩི་ *NANG.RDZI* (Rongdrak, Kh), etc., འཇེ་ཤིས་ *BAG.SHIS* (Pur).

**848. TRACE** རྗེས་ *RJES* [PR] < CT. Reflexes of འཇེས་ *RDZES* and འཇེས་ *ZHES* are attested in the western languages (Ba, Pur, La, Sp). Often occurs in compound

words such as ཀང་རྩེས་ *RKANG RJES* ‘footprint’ and ལག་རྩེས་ *LAG. RJES* ‘handprint’. The term ལྷུ་ *SHUL* < CT ‘trace, ruin’ is also found, as is the compound རྩེས་ལྷུ་ *RJES.SHUL* (Dz).

**849. SHADOW** གྲིབ་ *GRIB* [PR] < CT. Generally followed by a second syllable *MA*, *NAG*, *PHYOGS*: གྲིབ་མ་ *GRIB.MA*, གྲིབ་ནག་ *GRIB.NAG* < CT ‘black shadow’, གྲིབ་ཕྱོགས་ *GRIB.PHYOGS* < CT ‘shadow direction’. གྲིབ་ཀྱག་ *GRIB.KYAG*. བསིལ་ *BSIL* < CT ‘cool’ is attested in Purik and the compound གྲིབ་བསིལ་ *GRIB.BSIL* is found in Kham and Spiti. Many words of unclear origin are attested: e.g. /na ʔga/ (sDerong, sPomtserag, Kh), /ʔa ŋa/ (Gyälthang, Tormarong, Kh), /yu yu/ (Byagzhol, Kh), /yɔ yɔ/ (Melung, Kh).

**850. COLOR** མདོག་ *MDOG* [PR] < CT. This is sometimes used with the root ཁ་ *KHA* ‘mouth, surface’: ཁ་མདོག་ *KHA.MDOG* or མདོག་ཁ་ *MDOG.KHA*. The root ཚོས་ *TSHOS* and its variant ཚོན་ *TSHON* < CT ‘dye, paint’ is also attested in many dialects (Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am): ཚོས་གཞི་ *TSHOS.GZHI* < CT, ཚོས་མདོག་ *TSHOS.MDOG*. Marginally, ལྷ་ཁ་ *SNA.KHA* < CT ‘sort’. The word འུ་རྒྱལ་ *RKYA* of unclear origin is attested in Lhoke. In Balti, Ladaks and Purik the Urdu loanword འུ་རྒྱལ་ *rang* / < Pers رنگ is used.

**851. DREAM** རྩི་ལམ་ *RMI.LAM* [PW] (Hor, Kh, Sh, Kyir, Yol, Jir, LJ: Durbuk) or the archaic variant རྩི་ལམ་ *RMYL.LAM* (Am, Kh) < CT lit. ‘dream path’. The word གཉིད་ལམ་ *GNYID.LAM* [PW] lit. ‘sleep path’ is also attested in most other areas (Ba, Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Dz, etc.).

**852. IDEA** བསམ་སྒྲོ་ *BSAM.BLO* [PW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The words བསམ་སྒྲོ་ *BSAM.TSHUL* (Kh, Am) < CT lit. ‘way of thinking’ and བསམ་པ་ *BSAM.PA* (Kh, La, Za) are also attested, འཇུ་སྒྲོ་ *DRAN.TSHUL* (E), དམིགས་ *DMIGS* /ˈmiks/ (Pur) < CT ‘visualization’.

**853. TYPE** རིགས་ *RIGS* [PR] < CT. The words ལྷ་ *SNA* (La), ལྷ་ཁ་ *SNA.KHA* (Dz) and རྩམ་པ་ *RNAM.PA* (Sh) are also used.

**854. UTILITY** བན་ཐོགས་ *PHAN.THOGS* [PR] < CT *PHAN* lit. ‘to be useful’ and *THOGS* ‘to hold’. In Amdo the word is pronounced ཧན་ཐོགས་ /hantox/. འུ་བན་ཐོགས་

*PHAN.KHE* < CT ‘useful + interest’ is attested in Balti. A few Amdo dialects, as well as Sherpa and Yolmo, use another compound, གོ་ཚོད་ *GO.CHOD* < CT ‘useful’.

**855. MIND** སེམས་ *SEMS* [PR] < CT. བསམ་པ་ *BSAM.PA*. In Gyälthang dialect (Kh), this word is pronounced ཏ་བུམ་ /shü/, which represents a palatalized form of *SEMS*.<sup>6</sup> སྒྲོ་ *BLO* < CT ‘intellect’ is also used in some dialects.

**856. INTELLECT, MIND** སྒྲོ་ *BLO* [PR] < CT. See MIND.

**857. APPEARANCE** བཞེས་པ་ *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): ཏ་བཞེས་པ་ *BZO.BLTA* /sop̥ta/ (Ü, Ts, etc.) or /<sup>b</sup>zosta/ (Ba), /zosta/ (La, Pur). An alternative form ཏ་ཚུགས་ཀྱི་ *TSHUGS.KA* is attested in Amdo. ཏ་འབྲ་ཚུལ་ *DRA.TSHUL* (SKh), ཚུལ་ *TSHUL* (Am).

**858. MEANS** ཐབས་ *THABS* [PR] < CT ‘means, method’ or the variant ལྟམས་ *STABS* (Pur). The word has acquired the meanings of ‘opportunity’ in some dialects. The root *THABS* is usually followed by *SHEs* ‘know’: ཐབས་ཤེས་ *THABS.SHEs*. The compound སྒྲོ་ཐབས་ *BLO THABS* < CT ‘intellectual means’ is also attested. In some languages, the word བཀོད་པ་ *BKOD.PA* (Am, E, Sh) is used, whereas in Balti, the word ལམ་ *LAM* ‘way, road’ is used. Finally ལུས་ *JUS* lit. ‘strategy’ is found in some Kham dialects.

**859. MEANING** རྟོན་ *DON* [PR] < CT. In some dialects it is followed by the syllable *DAG*: རྟོན་དག་ *DON.DAG*. Sometimes this word has acquired others 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** ཐོབ་ཐང་ *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 དབང་ *DBANG* is sometimes used instead. The word is not known in some rural areas.

6. This form is found in the name *SEMS-KYI NYI.ZLA* ‘Shangri-La, sun and moon in the mind’, which was recently employed to render the Chinese pronunciation of Shangri-La, ‘Xianggelila’.

**861. STRENGTH (PHYSICAL)** སྒྱུག་པ་ *SHUGS* [FFW] (Ba, La, Za, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Hor, Sh, Dz) < CT. Another word སྒྱེད་ *SHED* [FFW] (Pur, La, Kh, E, Am) is attested in many dialects (Pur). The root སྒྱུབ་ *STOBS* [FFW] (Ba, Ts, Am) < CT is also widespread. The compound སྒྱུབ་པ་ལྷན་པ་ *STOBS.SHUGS* is also frequent. The word རྩ་ *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: དབུགས་གས་ *DBUGS.GAS* (Hor), དབྱིགས་ *DBYIGS* (Am) and རེས་པ་ *REM.PA* (Sp).

**862. ORDER (SPOKEN)** བཀའ་ *BKA'* [FFW]

**863. PEACE** ཞི་བདེ་ *ZHI.BDE* (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 ཞི་བདེ་ *ZHI.BDE*. ཆམས་མོ་ *CHAMS.MO* is attested in Purik.

**864. WAR** དམག་ *DMAG* [PR] < CT. In some dialects, the word has acquired the meaning of ‘army’ and ‘soldier’. It is sometimes used in compounds: དམག་འབྲུག་ *DMAG.KHRUG* (Dz). འཐབ་མོ་ *THAB.MO* (Pur). A loanword of Persian origin, འཛང་ *jang*, is often used in India.

**865. VICTORY** རྒྱལ་ཁ་ *RGYAL.KHA* [PR] < CT དྲག་ *DRAG* is also attested. རྒྱལ་ *RGYAL* /'gyal/ (Pur, La).

**866. COUNTRY, STATE** རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ *RGYAL.KHAB* [PR] < CT. The word རྒྱ་སྤྱི་ *RGYA.SRID* < ‘vast world’ is attested in Balti. In ordinary speech in Ladakh, the word ཡུལ་ *YUL* (La) often means ‘country’.

**867. EXPERIENCE** ཉམས་མྱོང་ *NYAMS.MYONG* [FFW] (Sp, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT. The short form ཉམས་ *NYAMS* (Yol) is also attested. མཐོང་གོམས་ *MTHONG.GOMS* (La) < lit. ‘to see+habit’ and རྒྱུས་ *RGYUS* (La) < CT ‘knowledge, familiarity’. The origin of ཉམ་ལོ་མཁོ་ (Pur) is not clear.

**868. HABIT** གོམས་གཤེས་ *GOMS.GSHIS* (Ü), རྒྱུགས་ *RNYOGS* (La), འོབས་ *LOBS* (La).

**869. TRADITION** ལུགས་ *LUGS* [PR], སྒོལ་ *SROL* [FFR]. Many compound words are attested: ལུགས་སྒོལ་ *LUGS.SROL*, འགྲོ་ལུགས་ 'GRO.LUGS, གོམས་སྒོལ་ *GOMS.SROL*, སྒར་གྲུག་ *SNGAR.RGYUN*, སྒར་སྒོལ་ *SNGAR.SROL*.

**870. RELATION** འབྲེལ་ 'BREL འབྲེལ་བ་ 'BREL.BA [PW] < CT. This is derived from the verb 'BREL 'to bind, to tie'.

**871. MEETING** ཚོགས་འདུ་ *TSHOGS. 'DU* < CT. In the eastern area, a Chinese loan 开会 *kaihui* is frequently used. The English word is also used in India.

**872. SMELL** འྲི་ *DRI* [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix འྲི་མ་ *DRI.MA*. A homonym meaning 'dirt' is found in many dialects. In some dialects of Amdo, the root འྲི་ *BRO*, which originally meant 'taste', is used.

**873. TASTE/FLAVOR** འྲི་ *BRO* [PR] < CT often followed by a suffix: འྲི་བ་ *BRO.BA*. The forms འྲི་མ་ *BRO.BA* and འྲི་ལྗང་ *BYO.LHA* are used in Dzongkha. The word འྲི་ *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 འྲི་ *BROD*. In some dialects, འྲི་མ་ *DRI.MA* 'flavor' is also used for 'taste'.

## BUILDING, INFRASTRUCTURE, TRANSPORTATION

**874. FORTRESS, CASTLE** མཁར་ *MKHAR* [FFW] (Pur Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Am) < CT. 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.BUBLA.MKHAR* (alternatively called ཡུམ་བུ་བླ་སྒང་ *YUM.BUBLA.SGANG*), located in Lhokha prefecture. Another word, འྲོང་ *RDZONG* [FFW] < 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 འྲོང་ཁ་ *RDZONG.KHA* 'the administrative language' (lit. the dzong language). Districts in Bhutan are called འྲོང་ཁག་ *RDZONG.KHAG*.

**875. VILLAGE** འྲོང་ *GRONG* [FFR] < CT. This is sometimes followed by a suffix: འྲོང་པ་ *GRONG.PA*, འྲོང་གསེབ་ *GRONG.GSEB*. Two other words are also frequently attested: ཡུལ་ *YUL* [FFR] (La, Pur, Za, Sp, Yol, Dz, Jir, etc) < CT 'place'. In

Dzongkha, the orthography reflects the high tone: འགཡུས་ *G-YUS* < ཡུས་ *YUL*. In Amdo and Kham, ཡུས་ *YUL* and ཡུས་བ་ *YUL.BA* designates more specifically the ‘home village’ or simply ‘home’. ཡུས་པ་ *YUL.PA* ‘person from one’s village’. Another root སྡེ་ *SDE* < CT ‘section, tribe, domain’ is used in many Amdo dialects to refer to ‘village’. It is often followed by a suffix *BA*: སྡེ་བ་ *SDE.BA*.

**876. BRIDGE** ཟས་ *ZAM* [PR] < CT. Usually with the suffix *PA*: ཟས་པ་ *ZAM.PA* (La). Alternative archaic forms are attested, such as རྫས་པ་ *RDZAM.PA* (Nubra, Sham, Pur) and འཛས་ *DZAM* (SKh). The word སྐྱུན་ཅོ་ *SKYIN.TSE* designates ‘simple bridge made of two logs’ (Pur, Sham).

**877. HOMETOWN/MOTHERLAND** པ་ཡུས་ *PHA.YUL* [PW] < CT. lit. ‘father land’. In some regions, ཡུས་བ་ *YUL.BA* is also used.

**878. HOUSE** √ ཁང་ *KHANG* [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: ཁང་པ་ *KHANG.PA* (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, etc.), ཁང་བ་ *KHANG.BA* (Am), ཁང་མ་ *KHANG.MA* (Pur), but is also used in many compound words related to houses, such as སླུན་ཁང་ *SMAN.KHANG* ‘medicine house’, ཇེ་ཁང་ *JA.KHANG* ‘tea house’, etc. In some dialects (Am, Kh, E, La), ཁང་ *KHANG* is prenasalized as འཁང་ *KHANG* in compound words. Another word, ཁྱིམ་ *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/, /hī/ are probably related to *KHYIM*. The term ཁོང་ *NANG* < CT ‘inside’ (e.g. Ts, Pur) is also used to designate a house. In Purik and Ladaks, བྲང་ས་ *BRANG.SA* ‘rented house, dwelling place’ is also attested. In Thewo /ʋə/, possibly derived from གཞིས་ *GZHIS* < ‘estate, plot of land’ is used. In Drugchu (E), /hə/, related to སྤྱ་ *SBRA* ‘tent’ is used, and is often followed by ཁང་ *NANG*: འཁྱ་ཁང་ *SBRA.NANG*.

**879. ROOF** རོག་ *THOG* [FFR] < CT ‘top, roof’. This is often followed by the suffix *KHA*: རོག་ཁ་ *THOG.KHA*. Alternative forms are found, such as the compounds ཁང་རོག་ *KHANG.THOG* lit. ‘house top’ (La), ཁང་སྟེང་ *KHANG.STENG* lit. ‘house upper part’. The word འགག་ཆ་ *BKAB.CHA* 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** མགོན་ཁང་ *MGRON.KHANG* < CT ‘guest house’ [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Sp, Am). Alternative words are attested: མགོན་ཁྱིམ་ *MGRON.KHYIM* (Dz) lit. ‘guest house’, pronounced མགོན་ཁྱིམ་ *MGON.KHYIM*. The term འགྲུལ་ཁང་ *GRUL.KHANG* lit. ‘traveler house’ is also used. In the Jangthang region and other remote places, ཇ་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** ཟ་ཁང་ *ZAKHANG* [FFR] < 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** ཇ་ཁང་ *JAKHANG*. In remote rural areas, *jakhang* traditionally provide not only tea, but also food and accomodation.

**883. KITCHEN** ཐབ་ཚར་ *THAB.TSHANG* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT ‘stove, fireplace nest’. The term བྱན་ས་ *BYAN.SA* < ‘kitchen, cook place’ (La), refers to a sitting room with a stove. ཇ་ཁང་ *JAKHANG*, ཟ་ཁང་ *ZAN.KHANG* ‘food house’ (Pur). Balti uses a loanword ཏ་སི་ཁི་པ་ /hasiripa/.

**884. STOREHOUSE** མཛོད་ *MDZOD* [PR] /zot/ (Pur) < CT ‘depository, treasure, store-house’. The compounds མཛོད་ཁང་ *MDZOD.KHANG* ‘store house’, བང་མཛོད་ *BANG.MDZOD* ‘granary’, བང་ *BANG* lit. ‘grain’ (La), བང་ཁང་ *BANG.KHANG* lit. ‘grain house’ are also found.

**885. WATERMILL** རང་འབྲུག་ *RANG. THAG* [PW] < CT lit. ‘autogrinder’. This refers to small buildings with a watermill that grind barley for tsampa. Other terms are attested: ལྷ་འབྲུག་ *CHU. THAG* lit. ‘water-grinder’, ལྷ་སྒོར་ *CHU.SKOR* lit. ‘water-spin’, མཆིག་ *MCHIG* < CT ‘mill’.



886. **COWSHED** བ་ར་ *BA.RA* (Pur) < CT ‘cow yard, fence’. བ་ཁང་ *BA.KHANG* is also used.
887. **PIGSTY** ཕག་ར་ *PHAG.RA* < CT ‘pig yard, fence’. ཕག་ཁང་ *PHAG.KHANG* and ཕག་ཚང་ *PHAG.TSHANG* are also used.
888. **STABLE** ཉ་ར་ *RTA.RA* (Pur) < CT ‘horse yard, fence’, ཉ་ཁང་ *RTA.KHANG* is also attested.
889. **SHEEPFOLD** ལུག་ར་ *LUG.RA* (Pur) < CT ‘sheep yard, fence’. ལུག་ཁང་ *LUG.KHANG*, དང་རྩ་ */dangra/* (for goat and sheep) (La, Pur).
890. **WALL** གླང་ *GYANG* [PR] < CT. In some Western languages (Ba, Pu), the alternative form རྒྱང་ *RGYANG* is used. This term refers to traditional rammed earth walls. Another frequent word is རྩེག་པ་ *RTSIG.PA* [FFR] (Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz) < CT. The word མཁར་ *MKHAR* < CT ‘castle’ is frequent in the Eastern section.
891. **WOOD** ཤིང་ *SHING* [PR] < CT.
892. **PILLAR** √ཀ་ *KA* [PR] < CT. Usually with a suffix *BA*: ཀ་བ་ *KA.BA* (Ü, Ts, Kh, etc.). གླམ་ *KAW* /-kau/ (Dz) < CT.
893. **DOOR** གོ་ *SGO* [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: /<sup>h</sup>go/ (Ba, La, Pur), /<sup>h</sup>go/, /<sup>h</sup>go/ (Am), /<sup>h</sup>go/ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Sh, Dz), /yo/ (Za), etc. The variants གོ་མོ་ *SGO.MO*, གོ་མོ་ *SGOM* (Lho), གོ་བོ་ *SGO.BO* are also attested.
894. **WINDOW** དཀར་ཁུང་ *DKAR.KHUNG* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Am, etc.) < CT ‘white/light hole’. It is alternatively spelled སྐར་ཁུང་ *SKAR.KHUNG* ‘star hole’ and pronounced གླུ་ཁུང་ /-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 གེ་ཁུང་ *SGE’U.KHUNG* [FFW] < CT ‘small door opening, hole’ (Ü, Ts, Am), གེ་ཁུང་ *SGE’U.CHUNG*. In

Balti and Purik, the word འབར་བན་ /barban/ is used. In Amdo འབར་ *DRAMA* < CT 'lattice' is used.

**895. STAIR/LADDER** \* སྐས་ *SKRAS* or སྐས་ *SKAS* [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: སྐས་ /kas/ (Ba), /'kä:/ (Ü), \*སྐས་ /'t̪ä/ (Ts, Yol), འབར་ /sas/ (La). It is used alone in many areas (Kh, Am), but may be followed by a suffix or another root: སྐས་ *SKAS* (Am), སྐས་ཀྱི་ *SKAS.KA* (Ba, Pur), འབར་ཀྱི་ *SRAS.KA* (La) སྐས་པ་ *SKRAS.PA* (Yol), སྐས་ཀྱི་ *SKRAS.KA* (Ba), སྐས་འཛེག་ *SKAS. 'DZEG* (Ü, Ts), ཐེམ་སྐས་ *THEM.SKAS* (Ba, Pur, La, Za). Traditionally many stairs were carved from a single beam.

**896. BEAM** གདུང་ *GDUNG* [PR] < CT. In most areas, this word is followed by a suffix: གདུང་མ་ *GDUNG.MA*, མ་གདུང་ *MA.GDUNG* (Pur). For smaller beams used in a ceiling, the terms ལུམ་ *LCAM* and གལ་བུ་ *GRAL.BU* (Pur, La, Za) are used. Both terms གདུང་ *GDUNG* and ལུམ་ *LCAM* are used in a symbolic way to refer to 'lineage': གདུང་རྒྱུད་ *GDUNG.RGYUD*.

**897. TENT** གུར་ *GUR* [PR] < CT 'cotton tent' (usually white). This is used in summer for picnics and for ceremonies. སྤྲ་ *SBRA* [PR] 'black yak hair tents' are traditionally used during the rest of the year by pastoralists. In Ladaks, རེ་བོ་ *RE.BO* 'black yak hair tent' < CT རེ་བ་ *RE.BA* 'coarse material woven from yak hair'. In some dialects, the difference is sometimes indicated by the color *NAG* 'black' or *DKAR* 'white': སྤྲ་ནག་ *SBRA.NAG*, རྒྱ་གུར་ *NAG.GUR* 'black tent' versus སྤྲ་དྲུག་དྲུག་ *SBRA DKAR.DKAR* 'white tent'. There is also a compound word སྤྲ་གུར་ *SBRA.GUR*. In southern Kham, གཡལ་བ་ *G-YAB* lit. 'veranda, shelter' is used. གཡོག་ *G-YOG* < CT 'to cover' is also attested.

**898. GARDEN** ལུམ་ར་ *LDUM.RA* [FFR] < CT. This word also serves as an alternative name of the Nubra valley. Other words for 'garden' include ཚས་ *TSHAS* (La, Pur, Za), ར་བ་ *RA.BA* 'fence, enclosure', སྒོ་ར་ *SGO.RA* 'yard, courtyard', སྒོ་ལུམ་ *SGO.LDUM* lit. 'yard garden', also བག་ *bagh* (Pur, La) < Pers. 'ornamental garden'.

**899. TOILET** གསང་སྤྱོད་ *GSANG.SPYOD* [FFR] < CT 'secret use'. Other words are attested: སྤྱོད་ཁང་ *SPYOD.KHANG* < lit. 'use house', ཆག་ར་ *CHAG.RA* or ཆག་ས་ *CHAG.SA* (Pur, La, Za) < lit. 'manure place', སྤྱལ་ཁང་ *SKYAG.KHANG* 'excrement

house' (Kh). བདེ་སྤྱོད་ *BDE.SPYOD* (La, Za) lit. '(cabinet of) ease', ཆབ་གསར་ *CHAB.GSANG* [H] (Ü, La), ཆབ་ཁང་ *CHAB.KHANG* < lit. 'water house'. Some pastoralist and rural regions do not have toilets.

**900. THRONE** ཁྱི་ *KHRI* [PR] < CT. ཁྱིས་ *KHRIS* (La). This form is the same as 'BED', but the pronunciation can differ in some dialects in Amdo and Gyälthang (Kh), with the meaning 'throne' being pronounced closed to the literary form. གྲལ་ *GRAL* (Pur).

**901. SHOP** ཚོང་ཁང་ *TSHONG.KHANG* [PW] < CT. 'sale house'. In Balti, ཚོང་མཛོང་ *TSHONG.MDZOD* lit. 'sale store' is used. ཉ་ཉི་ /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 བསྐྱབ་གྲྭ་ *BSLAB.GRWA* in Central Tibet; in some areas, the word *SLOB.GRWA* is absent and replaced by the expression ཡི་གེ་སློབ་ས་ *YI.GE SLOB.SA* or ཡི་གེ་སྦྱང་ས་ *YI.GESBYONG.SA*, lit. 'place for learning letters'. The Chinese words 学校 *xuexiao* or *xuoxiao* (in Sichuan Mandarin) and 学堂 *xuetang* or *xuotang* (in Sichuan Mandarin) are also widely used in Kham. The English loanword སི་ཁུལ་ *SLKHUL* < *school* is also found in Sherpa, Purik, Ladaks and in some dialects in the southern Himalayas. The Arabic loanwords མ་དྲ་ས་ *MADRA.SA* (< مدرسة *madrasa*) and མག་ཏབ་ *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 银行 *yinhang* 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 ཡི་གེ་ཟས་ *YIG.ZAM* < CT 'letter bridge'. Loanwords are used too, such as the Chinese 邮局 *youju* and the English *post office*, both of which are recent. An old loanword from Urdu and Pers. ڈاک خانہ, ཁློ་ཁྱ་ན་ < /dakxana/ has been tibetanised as སྤྲལ་ཁང་ *SBRAG.KHANG*, and is used in Ladakh and Central Tibet. The modern Dzongkha word འགྲེམ་ཁང་ *'GREM.KHANG* is made up of *'GREM* 'broadcast' and *KHANG*

'house'. Sherpa uses the word ལུ་ལག་ 'U.LAG 'compulsory post service', borrowed from Mongolian.

**905. OFFICE** ལས་ཁུངས་ *LAS.KHUNGS* < CT lit. 'source of work', ཡིག་ཚང་ *YIG.TSHANG* lit. 'letter nest'. Another form is ལས་ཁང་ *LAS.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 *pechas*', 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, མོག་བྱ་ཁང་ *SHOG.BU.KHANG* is used (lit. 'book house'). See BOOK.

**907. PRISON, JAIL** བཅོམ་ཁང་ *BTSON.KHANG* [PW] (La, Ts, Ü) < CT 'prisoner house'. There is an alternative form བཅོམ་ར་ *BTSON.RA*. In Balti and Purik, the compound སྒྲག་ཁང་ *SGAG.KHANG* lit. 'arrest house' is used. In Sherpa, the word /k'angpa maru/ < ཁང་པ་དམར་པོ་ *KHANG.PA DMAR.PO* 'red house' is used. In Eastern Tibet, ལོ་ཁྱེ་ *LO.KE* < Chin. 劳改 *laogai* is also found.

**908. FACTORY** བཟོ་གླེ་ *BZO.GRWA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'fabrication corner or department', བཟོ་ཁང་ *BZO.KHANG* (E), བཟོ་གླེ་ཁང་ *BZO.GRWA.KHANG* (La), 工厂 *gongchang* or 厂 *chang* alone are also often used in Kham. བཟོ་ཁང་ *BCO.KHANG* /<sup>ɕ</sup>ok'ang/ (Pur).

**909. HYDROELECTRIC PLANT** སྒོག་ཁང་ *GLOG.KHANG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT 'electricity house'. ལྷུ་འཁྲལ་ལྷན་ *CHU'I GLOG.*'OD lit. 'water electric light' (La).

**910. FAIR/MARKET** ཁྲོམ་ *KHROM* [PW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Ba, Sp) < CT. In some dialects, the word is followed by a second syllable: ཁྲོམ་ར་ *KHROM.RA* (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT 'market place/enclosure' or ཁྲོམ་ཁ་ *KHROM.KHA* (Dz). Alternative words are found such as ཚོང་ར་ *TSHONG.RA* (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT 'sale place/enclosure', སྤང་ *SRANG* 'market, small street'. In Khöpokhok, ཉོ་མ་ *NYO.SA* 'buying place' is used. In Yolmo, /kyasa/ is used. There are borrowings, such as ལོ་ཁྱེ་ *bazaar* (from Urdu, originally Persian) and ཧར་ *har*/ཧའི་ *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་གཞུང་ *SRID.GZHUNG* [FFW] < CT or གཞུང་ *GZHUNG* (La) གཙོ་བྱུང་ *GTSO.GZHUNG* (La) < CT is used. Dialects in India, Nepal and Pakistan use the Hindi-Urdu word सारकार /sarkar/.

**912. BOAT, SHIP** གུ་ *GRU* [PW] (La, Ü, Ts, Am, Sh, Lho) < CT. The form གུ་གཞིངས་ *GRU.GZINGS* is also attested. Balti has borrowed the word नौ /nayo/ from the Dardic languages. In Ladakh, a Persian loanword گیس‌تری *KIS.TRI* /kisti/ (Pur, La) is also used. In Yunnan (Kh), 筏 *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་ *ME* ‘fire + འཁོར་ *'KHOR* [wheel]’. The term རི་ལི་ *RLI* /rili/ (Ü, Ts), /reil/ (Pur) /rel/ (La), which is used in Central Tibet, is a loanword from English ‘railway’. The Chinese *huoche* 火车 is also used in some Eastern regions.

**914. AIRPLANE** གནམ་གུ་ *GNAM.GRU* [FFW] < CT ‘sky vessel’ is very common (Ü-Ts, Kh, La, Dz). Other words are attested. The root ལུགས་བྱ་ *LCAGS.BYA* < CT lit. ‘iron bird’ is widely spread, especially in Kham and Amdo Drogpa dialects. The variants བྱ་གུ་ *BYA.GRU* ‘bird vessel’ and གནམ་བྱ་ *GNAM.BYA* (Rebgong Drogpa) ‘sky bird’, གནམ་རེལ་ *GNAM.REL* (Pur) lit. ‘sky train’. Worth noting is the Balti word འུ་རྒྱ་སྐོར་རི་ཤལ་ *RLUNG.SKOR RI.SHAN* ‘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 जहाज़ *jha:z*.

**915. BICYCLE** ཁང་འཁོར་ *RKANG.'KHOR* [FFW] < CT ‘leg-wheel’ is used in Literary Tibetan and in Dzongkha. In Common Tibetan and Lhasa, the compound word ཁང་ག་རི་ *RKANG.GARI* < CT *RKANG* ‘leg’ and *GARI* ‘car’ borrowed from Hindi-Urdu. The other words used in Tö, Kh and Am are ལུགས་རྟ་ *LCAGS.RTA* ‘iron horse’ and འཕྲུལ་རྟ་ *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.

**916. MOTORCYCLE** འབག་འབག་ *'BAG. 'BAG* (Ü, Ts) [FFW] of onomatopoeic origin. The loanword མོ་ཁོར་བཞེག་ 'motorbike' or *bike* is also used (Dz, La). ཕད་ཕད་ད་ *PHAD.PHAD.DA* /p'atp'ata/ is used in Purik and འཕྲུལ་རྟ་ *'PHRUL.RTA* 'magic horse' in Amdo.

**917. CAR** རྒྱུངས་འཁོར་ *RLANGS. 'KHOR* [FFW] < CT 'steam wheel' and its variant ལྷུམ་འཁོར་ *SNUM. 'KHOR* < CT 'oil-wheel' are attested in modern Literary Tibetan and some languages (Lho, Dz). The word ས་བླུ་ /saṭu/ (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: ཏ་ཆི་ཁྲེ་ *CHL.KHRE* < 汽车 *qiche*, ཏ་ཆེ་ཇོ་ < 车子 *chezi*; མོ་ཁོར་ *MO.TA* /moṭa/ < 'motor' (Ü, Ts, Sh); or ཀར་ /kar/ (Ba, La,) < 'car'; ག་རི་ *GARI* (La, Ba, Pur) and ག་རི་ *GADRI* (Kh) < Urdu گاری /gari/.

**918. ELECTRICITY** གློག་ *GLOG* [FFW] < CT 'lightning'. In Dzongkha, the compound word གློག་མེ་ *GLOG.ME* (lit. 'fire lightning') is used. In Ladakh, the word གློག་འོད་ *GLOG.'OD* < CT 'light' is used. Within the eastern Tibetosphere, the Chinese loanword 电 *dian* is frequently used, while in India, Nepal and Pakistan بجلی the Hindi-Urdu word /bijli/ is used.

**919. HOSPITAL** ལྷན་ཁང་ *SMAN.KHANG* [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, 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 ལྷན་རྩིས་ཁང་ *SMAN.RTsis.KHANG* < CT 'medicine and astrology house' is often used.

## DEMONSTRATIVES, PRONOUNS and PROFORMS

920. **THIS (proximal demonstrative)** འདི་ *DI* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.

This word was originally pronounced /<sup>n</sup>di/, and some dialects retain the dental-alveolar prenasalized plosive /<sup>n</sup>d/; other dialects have preserved only /n/, /d/ or /t/, e.g. འདི་འུ་ *DI'U* /diu/ འདི་ཀྱི་ *NI* /ni/ (Ts), /nə/ (E: Th, Rongbrag, Kh). Another demonstrative found in OT, འུ་ *U*, may lie at the origin of several modern forms, such as འདི་ཀྱི་ *I* /ə/ or /i/ (Hor), /i/ (La), འདི་མི་ *i* /i/ (Sp) and འདི་གཡིས་ *yi* (Yangdri, Kh). Reconstructed compound demonstratives like \*འུ་འདི་ *'U.DI*, \*འུ་ཁོ་ *'U.KHO* and \*འུ་ཀྱི་ *'U.KA* could explain modern forms such as འདི་འོ་ *'odi* (Cho), /wo: ko/ (Kh: mPhagri), /ʔa də ka/ (nJol, Kh), /yi ku/ (Kh: Tsharethong), /ʔo no/ (mBalhag, Kh), /ʔa k'o/ (Budy, Kh), etc. High tone forms འུ་འདི་ཡ་ *'DI*, འུ་འདི་ཡ་ *NI* are used in Kham and Dzongkha respectively. In Melung (Kh), the form is འུ་ *ma* /ma/. Other than these, ཁོ་ *KHO* is also used as 'this'; see HE/SHE/IT.

921. **THAT (medial demonstrative or referent already mentioned)** རེ་ *DE* [FFR]

(La, Pur, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. Various alternative pronunciations derived from the following forms are also attested: འདི་འུ་ *DU* (Am), འདི་འདི་ *DI* (Sh), འདི་འདི་ *DRE* /tɛ:/ (Lamdo, Kh). Amdo and the Paskyid dialect (E) use གཤམ་ *GAN* for 'that'. Some dialects of Tsang and Kham use ཁོ་ *KHO* < CT 'third person pronoun' for 'that'. འུ་འུ་ *'AU* /au/ is found in Purik. A few dialects of Kham may have reflexes from the OT demonstrative འུ་ *U* combined with རེ་ *DE* or ཀྱི་ *KA*, such as འདི་འདི་འུ་ *'O.DE* /ote/ (Cho, La), /ʔa jo:/ (Rongdrak, Kh), /ʔo tə/ (Kh: Tormarong), /ʔo t'ə/ (mBalhag, Kh). Note that in Ladaks, /ote/ may designate 'near the addressee' or 'related to the addressee' (Norman 2017, pers. comm.; Koshal 1982). The form འདི་འུ་ཀྱི་ *'U.KA* /ʔu kə/ (nJol, Kh) is also attested. More marginal forms such as /kwa:/ (Kh: lCagspel), /mə rə/ (Kh: mPhagri) and /<sup>n</sup>dyɔ: re/ (Kh: Daan) are also attested.

922. **THAT (over there, distal demonstrative)** བ་ *PHA* [PR] < CT 'that over there'.

This often occurs in compound words such as བ་གི་ *PHA.GI* (Ü, Kh, LJ: Durbuk), \*བ་རེ་ *PHA.DE* (Kh), བ་མི་ *PHI.RI* (Kh), བ་མི་ *PHI.RA* (Ho), བ་ཕྱུགས་ *PHA.PHYOGS* (Th), \*བ་མེ་ *PHA.PO* (Sh). In Amdo and some western

dialects, བ་ *PHA* is pronounced ཧ་ *HA*: ཏ་གི་ *HA.GI* (Am, Ts), ཏ་ར་གན་ན་ *HARA.GAN.NA* (Am). Some compound words are found: ཏ་འོ་མི་ *'O.PHI* (Sp), འོ་མེ་ *'O.PHE* (Cho), འུ་གི་ *'U.GI* (Tö), ཏ་ཨ་མི་ *PA.PHI* (Dz). The forms ཏ་ཨ་ *PA* (La) and ཨ་འུ་འུ་ *PA'U'U* /au:/ (Pur) are also frequent. Some dialects (e.g. Kham or Spiti) make no distinction between medial and distal demonstratives.

**923. HERE** འདི་ན་ *'DL.NA*, འདི་ར་ *'DIR.FFW*] (Kh, Am) < CT *'DI* 'this' + *NA* locative case.

One also encounters the variants ཏ་འི་ན་ *'I.NA* (Kh), ཏ་ཨ་ན་ *PA.NA* (Kh), which may be reduced to འ་ *NA* (Dz, Th). Another frequent word is འདི་རུ་ *'DL.RU* [FFW] (Kh) < CT *'DI* 'this' + *RU* purposive case. It is pronounced in various ways: ཏ་འུ་རུ་ *NU.RU* (Ts), ཏ་འི་རུ་ *'I.RU* (Sp, La). The variant འདི་ར་ *'DIR* (Sham) is also attested and is pronounced /dä:/ (Ü, Sh, Am), ཏ་ཨི་ར་ *PI.RA* (Ho). Finally, the form ཏ་འི་ཀ་ *'I.KA* (La) derived from CT འདི་ཀ་ *'DI.KA* (Ba, Pur, Sham) is also attested.

**924. THERE (medial)** དེ་ན་ *DE.NA* [FFW] < CT, དེ་ར་ *DER*, དེ་ཀ་ *DE.KA*, དེ་ཕྱགས་ *DE.PHYOGS*. Other forms are attested, such as ཏ་ཨ་ཀ་ *PA.KA* (Pur).

**925. OVER THERE (distal)** བ་ *PHA* [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a locative suffix: བ་ར་ *PHAR*, བ་ན་ *PHANA*, བ་ར་ *PHARA* and its variant ཧ་ར་ *HARA* (Am), ཨ་འུ་ཨ་ཀ་ *PA'U.PAKA* (Pur).

**926. THITHER** བ་ར་ *PHAR* < CT. In western dialects (Ladakhi, Balti), the prefix ཨ་ *PA* is used: ཨ་རུ་ *PA.RU*.

**927. HITHER** ལྷུ་ར་ *TSHUR* < CT. ལྷུ་ར་ར་ *TSHUR.RA*.

**928. I (first person singular)** ར་ *NGA* [PW] < CT. The form བདག་ *BDAG* [h] (Ts) and ཏ་འབའ་ *'BA'* (Sp) are used as humilific forms. In Drugchu, འ་ /fa/ is used, which might be related to CT འུ་ *'U*. In Daan (Kh), /ʔā/ is used; this is similar to the Chinese word 俺 *an* 'I', but it is not likely to be a loanword.

**929. YOU (second person singular)** ཁྱེད་ *KHYOD* 'you' [FFW] (Am, Kh, Ho, Ü, Dz etc.) < CT. The variant ཏ་ཁྱེད་ *HO* is also attested (Kh). In some Central and Western languages ཁྱེད་ *KHYOD* 'you' is offensive. The root ར་ *RANG* < CT 'self' is used in some dialects (Ü, Ts, La). Honorific forms are derived from ཁྱེད་ *KHYED* 'you' [H], ཏ་ཉེད་ *NYED* [H] or the variant ཉེ་ *NYE*; རེད་ *NGED* [H] lit. 'we'. These are usually



followed by the syllable རང་ *RANG* ‘self’: རྩེད་རང་ *KHYED.RANG* [H], (Ü, Pur), འཕྲིན་རང་ *NYED.RANG* [H] (Ts), or འཕྲིན་རང་ *NYE.RANG* (La), ཡེ་རང་ *YE.RANG* [H] (Pur, Ba). Dzongkha has རྩ་ /na:/ [H].

**930. HE/SHE/IT (third person singular)** ཁོ་ *KHO* [FFW] (Pur, Kh, Ho, Ü, Ts, Sh, La, Ba, Dz) < CT. The variant འཕྲིན་ཁོ་ *KHO.DGI* /k’orgə/ (Am) is often attested in Amdo. In some eastern dialects, the word ཀན་ *KAN*/ གན་ *GAN* lit. ‘that’ or དེ་ *DE* ‘that’ are used. Many dialects also have honorific forms based on ཁོང་ *KHONG* (La, Ts, Ü, Dz), ཁོང་པ་ *KHONG.PA* (Sh) which are derived from the archaic plural of ཁོ་ *KHO*.

**931. SHE** མོ་ *MO* < CT. Most dialects do not make a distinction between *he* and *she*, but some have a specific form for feminine nouns derived from མོ་ *MO* < CT (Ba, Ts, Ü, Sh, Dz, Am), often followed by a suffix མོ་རང་ *MO.RANG* (Ü, Ts), འཕྲིན་མོ་ *MO.DGI* /morgə/ (Am).

**932. WE (first person plural)** \*རེད་ *NGED* < CT ‘elegant form for *I, me*’. རེད་ *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 ར་ *NGA*. However most languages use compound forms: a) ར་ *NGA* + *collective marker* [PW] < CT, b) རེད་ *NGED* ‘I’ (elegant) + *collective marker*, c) བདག་ *BDAG* ‘I’ (humilific) + *collective marker*. Here are the most frequent forms found in the various languages: ར་ཚོ་ *NGA.TSHO* (Ü, Kh), ར་རང་ཚོ་ *NGA.RANG.TSHO* (Ü, Kh), ར་ཆེན་ *NGA.CHA’O* (Am), or ར་ཚོ་ *NGA.CHO* (Am), ར་ཅ་ *NGA.CA* (Pur), ར་ཅག་ *NGA.CAG* (Lho, Ts, Cho) and various derived forms such as འཕྲིན་ཚོ་ *NGA.ZHA* (La), འཕྲིན་ཡ་ *NGA.YA* (Ba), འཕྲིན་བཅས་ *NGA.BCAS* (Dz), འཕྲིན་ཚུང་ *NGA.TSHANG* (Am), འཕྲིན་ཚོ་ *NGA.ZO* (Am), འཕྲིན་རིགས་ *NGA.RIGS* (Am), འཕྲིན་ཡུལ་ *NGA.YUL* (Kh: Batang), རེད་རྣམས་ *NGED.RNAMS* (Kh: Derge), རེད་ཐམས་ *NGED.THAMS* (Kh: Derge), རེད་ཁོང་ *NGED.KHED* (Kh), རེད་ལྷོགས་སྐོལ་ *NGED.LOGS.SKOL* (Th), བདག་ཅག་ *BDAG.CAG* (Ts), འཕྲིན་ཅག་ *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

འོ་ 'O or ལུ་ 'U: ལུ་གུ་ 'U.GU, འོ་གོ་ 'O.GO (LJ: Durbuk), འོ་སྐོལ་ 'O.SKOL, འོ་རོང་ 'O.RONG (Sh), ལུ་ཁོ་ 'U.KHO (Am), ལུ་ཆའོ་ 'U.CHA'O (Am), ལུ་ཟོ་ 'U.ZO (Am), ལུ་རེ་ 'U.RE (Ts), but forms derived from ར་ NGA are also found: འོ་ར་ང་ NG.A.DANG (La, Ba, Pur).

**934. YOU (second person plural).** For a limited number of languages, the form \*ཁྱེད་ *KHYED* (Dz, Jir, LJ, etc.) conveys a second-person plural meaning: 'you' (plural). Note that, in CT, ཁྱེད་ *KHYED* refers to the second-person *singular* in the *honorific* register: 'you' (singular) [H]. The CT singular honorific form ཁྱེད་ *KHYED* is thus derived from the plural archaic form \*ཁྱེད་ *KHYED*, still attested in a few languages (see 8.1.2). However, most modern languages usually have compound forms and use collective markers: a) ཁྱེད་(རང་) *KHYED.(RANG)* 'you' (sing) [H] + *collective marker*; b) ཁྱེད་(རང་) *KHYOD.(RANG)* 'you (sing)' + *collective marker*; c) ཉིད་ *NYED* or ཉིད་ *NYID* + *collective marker*. Here are the most frequent forms found in the various languages: ཁྱེད་རང་ཚོ་ *KHYOD.RANG.TSHO* (Ü, Ts), འོ་ཁྱེད་ཚོ་ *KHYOD.CHO* (Am), འོ་ཁྱེད་བཟོ་ *KHYOD.BZO* (Am), ཁྱེད་ཅག་ *KHYOD.CAG* (Am, La) or འོ་ཁྱེད་ཅག་ *KHYO.ZHA* (La), འོ་ཁྱེད་ཁོ་ *KHYED.KHE* (Hor). For honorific forms, we find ཁྱེད་རང་ཚོ་ *KHYED.RANG.TSHO* [H] (Ü), འོ་ཉིད་ཅག་ *NYE.ZHA* [H] (La) or འོ་ཉིད་ཅག་ *NYID.CAG* [H], འོ་ནུ་བུ་ *NA.BU* [H] (Dz), འོ་ཉིད་ང་ *NYEN.DANG* (Sham), ཡེན་ང་ *YEN.DANG* (Pur).

**935. THEY (third person plural).** For a limited number of languages, the form \*ཁོང་ *KHONG* (La, Dz, etc.) conveys a third-person plural meaning: 'they'. Note that in CT ཁོང་ *KHONG* indicates a third-person *singular* meaning in the *honorific*: 'he/she (H)' and. The CT honorific form ཁོང་ *KHONG* is thus derived from a plural archaic form \*ཁོང་ *KHONG* still attested in a few languages (see 8.1.2). In most modern languages, the form for 'they' is derived from ཁོ་ *KHO* < CT 'he' (+རང་ *RANG*) + *collective marker*. The honorific form ཁོང་ *KHONG* + *collective marker* is also used. In eastern Tibet, the demonstrative ཀན་ *KAN*/གན་ *GAN* + *collective marker* is also attested. The most frequent forms found in the various languages: are ཁོང་ *KHONG* (Pur, La, Dz, Yol, etc.), ཁོ་རང་ཚོ་ *KHO.RANG.TSHO* (Ü), ཁོང་ཚོ་ *KHONG.TSHO* [H] (Ü, Ts), ཁོ་ཆབ་ *KHO.CHA.BO* (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), གར་ *GARE* (Ü), གད་ *GA.DE* (Kh), གཙ་ *GA.ZO* (Kh), etc. The other widespread root is ཅི་ *CI* and its archaic form ཅི་ *CHI* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Hor, Ko, Kh) < CT: ཅི་ *CI* /çi/ (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö), /čə/ (Hor, Kh), ཙ་ /čə/ (Ko), ཅི་ཅི་ག་ *CHI.ZIG* (Am). The word ག་ཅི་ *GA.CI* in Dzongkha is derived from the combination of the two roots གང་ *GANG* and ཅི་ *CI*.

**937. WHO** ལུ་ *SU* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh) < CT. It is pronounced /su/, /sə/ /s'ɯ/. Only a few languages use the CT root གང་ *GANG*, which in CT also means 'what' and 'who': གང་ *GANG* /kə/ (E: Th) and ག་ *GA* (Dz), ཀ་ *KA* (Lho), ཀ་ཡི་ *KAYI* (Cho). In the Yungling and sPomtserag dialects (Kh), the word /shə/, of unclear origin, is used.

**938. WHEN** ནམ་ *NAM* [FFR] (Ba, Pur La, Sp, Sh, Am, Kh, Dz) < CT. Other words are attested: ནམ་ཚད་ *NAM.TSHOD* (Am). In some Amdo dialects, the compound ནམ་ཚད་ *NAM.TSHOD* lit. 'when-measure' is used. In some areas, the compound ག་དུ་ *GA.DUS* (Ts, Ü) lit. 'what time' is found. When asking the time, ག་དུ་ཚད་ག་ཚད་ *DUS.TSHOD GA.TSHOD* lit. 'what measure of time' or ཅུ་ཚད་ག་ཚད་ *CHU.TSHOD GA.TSHOD* are also used. In Minyag Rabgang (Kh), ཅུ་ཚད་ག་ *CHU.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 *-R/LA* (dative), *DU/RU* (purposive), *-NA* (locative) or a suffix: གར་ *GAR* (Ba, Pur), གར་ *GARA* (Hor), གར་ *GALA* (Kh), གར་ *GARU* (La, Za), གར་ *GANAS* /kane/ (La), ག་ནི་ *GANI* (Sh), གང་ན་ *GANG.NA* (Ts, Am), ག་པར་ *GAPAR* (Ü), ག་ཏེ་ *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: གང་ར་ *GANG.NGA* < *GANG* + dative.

**941. FROM WHERE (from which place)** ག་ *GA* or གང་ *GANG* [PR] + *relative/ablative case*. This word is generally formed by a pandialectal interrogative pronoun *GA(NG)* lit. 'what' followed by a case marker *NAS* (relative), *LAS* (ablative),

*KYIS* (ergative): གན་ *G.A.NAS* (La), གན་ *G.A.NA* (Sham), གང་གི་ *G.ANG.GI* (Am), གང་ན་ *G.ANG.NAS* (Am) in Sherpa, the form གན་མ་ *G.A.NI.MA* is used.

**942. HOW.** Many forms are attested, generally compounds of the interrogative pronoun ‘what’ (see above) or ཇི་ *JI* < CT ‘how’ and a second syllable: ག་དྲ་ *GA.DRA*, འག་ཚུག་ *GA.TSUG* (La, Pur) /kazuk/, འག་ཚུག་ *TSUG*, འག་དམ་ *G.A.DEM*, ཇི་དྲ་ *JI.DRA*, ཅི་དྲ་ *CI.DRA*, ཆི་མོ་ཟེག་ *CHI.MO.ZIG* (Am).

**943. HOW MANY/MUCH.** Few languages have a simple word for *how many*: འུ་ཙམ་ *TSAM* (Ba, Pur, La, Za) < CT ‘about’, approximately; ཏུ་ *DU* /tə/ (Am), /tuu/ (Kh) < CT; ཚོ་ *TSHO* (Sh) < CT *TSHOD* ‘measure’. In most cases there are compound words: ‘what’ and ‘how’ followed by the word ཚོ་ *TSHOD* ‘measure’ or ཙམ་ *TSAM* ‘about’: ག་ཚོ་ *GA.TSHOD* (Ü), ག་ཚད་ *G.A.TSHAD* (Ü, Ts), ག་སད་ *G.A.SAD* (Hor), འུ་ཙམ་ *JI.TSAM*, འུ་ཚོ་ *JI.TSHOD*, འག་དེ་ཅིག་ *G.A.DE.CIG* (Dz), འག་དམ་ཅིག་ *G.A.DEM.CIG* (Dz). In some Kham dialects, other forms related to *GA* in CT, such as /ka<sup>n</sup>dzwe/ (Sakar, Kh), /kəle/ (Yungling and mBalhag, Kh), are used.

**944. WHY.** There is no simple word for ‘why’. Several constructions are attested: a) ‘what’ + AUX (ཡིན་ *YIN* ‘to be’, etc.): ག་རེ་ཡིན་ན་ *G.ARE.YIN.NA* (Ü); གང་ཡིན་ *G.ANG.YIN* (Kh), ཅི་ཡིན་ *CI.YIN* (Kh), རྩ་བ་གང་ཡིན་ *RTSA.BA.GANG.YIN* (E:Th), འུ་ཙམ་ *CHES* (Am) < CT ཆི་ཡིས་ *CHI.YIS* ‘by what’, ཆེ་ག་ *CHE.GA* (Am), འུ་ཆི་ཟེག་ག་ *CHI.ZIG.GA* (Am), ཆི་ཟེག་ཡིན་ན་ *CHI.ZIG.YIN.NAS* (Am); b) ‘what’ followed by the verb ‘to do’: ག་རེ་བྱས་ནས་ *G.ARE.BYAS.NAS* (Ü), གང་བྱས་ནས་ *G.ANG.BYAS.NAS* (Ts), འག་ཅི་འབད་ *G.A.CI.BAD* (Dz), ཅི་བྱེད་ *CLBYED* (Kh); c) ‘what’ + dative: ཅི་ལ་ *CLLA* (Sh), ཅི་ལ་ *CI.A* (Ba, Pur, La). In Ladaks, ཅི་མི་འ་ *CL.PHI.A*, derived from ཅི་ཕྱིར་ *CL.PHYIR* ‘why’, is used.

## NUMERALS

**945. NUMBER** གང་གྲངས་ *ANG.GRANGS* [FFR], གྲངས་ཀྱི་ *GRANGS.KA* [FFR], གྲངས་ཀྱི་ *GYANGS.KA* (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** ལྷན་ཀོར་ *KLAD.KOR* [FFR] (Ü, Dz, La) < CT ‘round above’; ཀོར་ཐིག་ *KOR.THIG* (Am) < CT ‘round dot’, ཐིག་ལེ་ *THIG.LE* (Am) < CT ‘round dot’, ཅན་ *TSAG* (La).

**947. ONE** གཅིག་ *GCIG* [PR]. In Nagchu, as well as in some Amdo, Hor, Northern Kham and Eastern dialects, the form གཅིག་ *GTSIG* is widely used. In Rongbrag (Kh), /də zhi/ is used, which is probably related to ཞིག་ *ZHIG*.

**948. TWO** གཉིས་ *GNYS* [PR]. In southern Kham, /ˈnə/ or /ˈni/ is frequently used. Additionally, /ˈmə/ is used in some Yunnan dialects (Kh: Yanmen, Budy, Zhollam, Daan, mBalhag, etc.). In the mThachu dialect (Kh), the form corresponding to *GNYS* is used as a number itself, and /mə/ is used when counting a quantity.

**949. THREE** གསུམ་ *GSUM* [PR].

**950. FOUR** བཞི་ *BZHI* [PR]. In Purik, the conservative pronunciation is still heard /ˈbzi/, and in many cases it is realized as [zbzi].

**951. FIVE** ལྷན་ *LNGA* [PR]. /ˈnya/ is used in Zhongu (E). In some dialects of Minyak Rabgang (Kh), /ˈNa/ is used, which may be influenced by the Darmdo Minyak form /ˈNa/. In some dialects in Markham (Kh), /ˈŋwa/ is used, perhaps influenced by Larong sMar /ˈŋwa/. Balti and Purik have a denasalized form ཀ་ *ka*.

**952. SIX** ལྷན་ *DRUG* [PR]. As expected, this is usually pronounced as a retroflex /tʃuk/, but Purik and Balti have the archaic pronunciation /truk/ (cf. PTB \*d-k-ruk). In many dialects of Yunnan Kham, this word is pronounced with a high tone as /ˈtʃʌ?/ or /ˈtʃʌ?/.

**953. SEVEN** བདུན་ *BDUN* [PR].

**954. EIGHT** བརྒྱད་ *BRGYAD* [PR].

955. NINE དག རྒྱ *DGU* [PR].
956. TEN བཅུ་ *BCU* [PR]. Frequently followed by ཐམ་པ་ *THAM.PA* ‘exact’.
957. ELEVEN བཅུ་གཅིག་ *BCU.GCIG* [PW]. Alt. form: བཅུ་གཅིག་ *BCU.GTSIG* (Amdo, Hor Nagchu and Eastern Section).
958. TWELVE བཅུ་གཉིས་ *BCU.GNYIS* [PW]. In a part of southern Kham, འབཅུ་མི་ *BCU.MI* is used. See TWO.
959. THIRTEEN བཅུ་གསུམ་ *BCU.GSUM* [PW].
960. FOURTEEN བཅུ་གཞི་ *BCU.GZHI* [PW].
961. FIFTEEN བཅུ་ལྔ་ *BCO.LNGA* [PW]. བཅུ་ལོ་ /*čoka*/ (Ba).
962. SIXTEEN བཅུ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ *BCU.DRUG* [PW]. In some languages, this is pronounced འབཅུ་རུག་ *BCU.RUG*.
963. SEVENTEEN བཅུ་བདུན་ *BCU.BDUN* [PW].
964. EIGHTEEN བཅུ་བརྒྱད་ *BCO.BRGYAD* [PW].
965. NINETEEN བཅུ་དག རྒྱ *BCU.DGU* [PW].
966. TWENTY ཉི་ཤུ་ *NYI.SHU* [PW]. ཁལ་གཅིག་ *KHAL GCIG* is used in vigesimal systems.
967. THIRTY ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ *SUM.CU* [PW].
968. FORTY བཞི་བཅུ་ *BZHI.BCU* [PW]. ཁལ་གཉིས་ *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’: \*པོ་བཞི་ *PO.BZHI* \*པོ་ལྔ་ *PO.LNGA*.
969. FIFTY ལྔ་བཅུ་ *LNGA.BCU* [PW].
970. SIXTY ལྔ་གཅིག་ *DRUG.CU* [PW]. ཁལ་གསུམ་ *KHAL GSUM* in vigesimal systems.
971. SEVENTY བདུན་ལྔ་ *BDUN.CU* [PW].
972. EIGHTY བརྒྱད་ལྔ་ *BRGYAD.CU* [PW]. ཁལ་བཞི་ *KHAL BZHI* in vigesimal systems.
973. NINETY དག་བཅུ་ *DGU.BCU* [PW].
974. HUNDRED བརྒྱ་ *BRGYA* [PR]. ཁལ་ལྔ་ *KHAL LNGA* in vigesimal systems.
975. THOUSAND ལྔ་ལྔ་ *STONG* [PR].

976. TEN THOUSAND མི་ *KHRI* [PR].
977. HUNDRED THOUSAND འབྲུམ་ *'BUM* [PR].
978. MILLION ས་ཡ་ *SA.YA* [FFR].
979. TEN MILLION བྱེ་བ་ *BYE.BA* [FFR].
980. HUNDRED MILLION རྩུ་ཕྱར་ *DUNG.PHYUR* [FFR].
981. BILLION ཐེར་འབྲུམ་ *THER.'BUM* [FFR].
982. HALF བྱེད་ *PHYED* [PR]. ཐེད་ *PHED* (Pur, La) usually followed by *KA*: བྱེད་ཀ་ *PHYED.KA*. In Minyak Rabgang (Kh), it is followed by /ke/: བྱེད་ཀེ་ *PHYED.KE*. In some Amdo varieties, the words ཚལ་བ་ *TSHAL.BA* < CT 'piece' and འཇམ་མཁའ་ *SHA.TSHAL* are used.
983. FIRST དང་པོ་ *DANG.PO* [PW]. Often preceded by *PANGS* or /pa/: ཡང་དང་པོ་ *DANG.PO*, ལྷ་དང་པོ་ *SNGADANG.PO*, འགོ་གཅིག་ *'GO.GCIG*, འཇམ་ལ་ *SNAN.LA* (Pur).
984. ONE (WITH CLASSIFIER) གང་ *GANG* [PR] (Ba, Pur, La) གསོལ་ཇ་གང་མཚན་ /འདྲོན་ *GSOL.JA GANG MCHOD* / 'DON' please drink a (cup of) tea'.
985. TWO (WITH CLASSIFIER) རྫོ་ *DO* [PR] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). In the mThachu dialect (Kh), the form corresponding to *GNYIS* is used as a number itself, and /-mə/ used when counting a quantity.
986. TIME, OCCASION ཐེངས་ *THENGS* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Nubra, Am) < CT, pronounced /t'eng/ or /t'ang/; ཚར་ *TSHAR* [FFW] (Pur, La, Am) < CT, pronounced /ts'ar/, /ts'er/ (Pur, La). A classifier is used when counting: ཚར་པོག་གཉིས་ *TSHER.POG.GNYIS* 'twice', ཚར་པོག་གསུམ་ *TSHER.POG.GSUM* 'thrice'. ལན་ *LAN* (Ü, La) < CT. In Minyak Rabgang, ལུར་ *'UR* is used. སྐོར་བ་གཅིག་ *SKOR.BA GCIG* (La) lit. 'one turn' is also attested.
987. PAIR ཆ་ *CHA* [PW], ཟུང་ *ZUNG* [FFW] (Pur, La) or གཟུང་ *GZUNG* < CT 'couple'.

#### ADJECTIVES, QUANTIFIERS AND INTENSIFIERS

988. BIG √ ཆེ་ *CHE*, ཆེན་ *CHEN* [PR] < CT. ཆེན་པོ་ *CHEN.PO*, ཆེན་མོ་ *CHEN.MO*, ཆོ་པོ་ *CHO.PO* (Sham), ཆོ་གོ་ *CHO.GO* /č'oyo/ (Bal, Pur). The word འཕྲོ་པོ་ /'pobo/ (Ko) and སྒོམ་ *SBOM* /'bom/ (Dz.) are derived from CT 'big (rope)'; see BIG

(DIAMETER). The origin of the Sherpa /gyirpu/ and Jirel /goppo/ is not clear, but they might be derived from རྒྱལ་པོ་ *RGOD.PO* ‘strong, untamed’. The word རྒྱལ་པོ་ *RGYAS.PA* < CT ‘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 /‘ṇə ji/ (Melung). In some cases, the roots ཆེ་ *CHE*, ཆེན་ *CHEN* do not designate the same size, with ཆེན་ *CHEN* being bigger than ཆེ་ *CHE*.

**989. SMALL/LITTLE** √ རྒྱུང་ *CHUNG* [PR]. This is either reduplicated or followed by a suffix: རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་ *CHUNG.CHUNG*, རྒྱུང་བ་ *CHUNG.BA*, འཇུང་རྒྱུང་ *CHUNG.NGUN* (La) < CT ‘very little’, འཇུང་ཀུན་ *CHU.KUN* (Sp), འཇུང་ཙེ་ *TSHUN.TSE* (Ba, Pur) related to CT རྒྱུང་ཙེ་ *CHUN.TSE*; སྤ་མོ་ *PHRA.MO* (see THIN) also used in Balti. In Sherpa, སྤ་ག་པེ་ *PRIG.PE* /tikpe/ and in Jirel སྤ་ག་པེ་ *PREG.PRE* /tekte/ are used. They are probably related to སྤ་ *PHRA* ‘thin’. In south Kham, there are many dialectal words with an unclear origin: /‘ka ka/ (nJol, Kh), /‘me: mye/ (Kh: Gyälthang), and /‘shə lu/ (Kh: sNyingthong).

**990. BIG (DIAMETER)** √ \*སྤྱུམ་ *SBROM* or སྤྱུམ་ *SBOM* < CT [PR]. This is usually followed by a suffix: འཇུང་སྤྱུམ་པེ་ *SBROM.PO* /brompo/ (Pur), /drompo/ (Sp), སྤྱུམ་པེ་ *SBOM.PO* (most dialects) < CT, འཇུང་སྤྱུམ་པེ་ *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 སྤྱུམ་ *SBOM* /‘bom/ (Dz.) has acquired the general meaning of ‘big’.

**991. SMALL (DIAMETER)** √ སྤ་ *PHRA* [PR] < CT, followed by an adjectival suffix: སྤ་པེ་ *PHRA.PO*, སྤ་བོ་ *PHRA.BO*, alt. འཇུང་སྤ་པེ་ *PHA.PO*, འཇུང་སྤ་གི་ *PHA.GI* (Kh); སྤ་མོ་ *PHRA.MO* (Ba, Pur), alt. འཇུང་སྤ་མོ་ *PHRE.ME* (Sh), འཇུང་སྤ་མོ་ *PHRA.DE* (Ts, Tö), འཇུང་སྤ་མོ་ *PHYA.SI.SI* (Dz). It is also applied to thin people in Ladaks and to high voice (Ü, La).

**992. HIGH** √ མཐོ་ *MTHO* or མཐོན་ *MTHON* [PR]. This root is usually followed by a suffix *PO*: མཐོན་པེ་ *MTHON.PO* (La, Ts, Ü, Jir), མཐོན་མོ་ *MTHON.MO* (Pur); the short form མཐོ་ *MTHO* is attested with other adjectival suffixes. མཐོ་བ་ *MTHO.BA*, or reduplicated མཐོ་མཐོ་ *MTHO.MTHO*.



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་འདྲེ་ *DMA'.DE* (Ts), དམའ་ལེ་ལེ་ *DMA'.LE.LE* (Dz), or is reduplicated: དམའ་དམའ་ *DMA'.DMA'*.
994. **LONG** √ རིང་ *RING* [PR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, 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), རིང་མོ་ *RING.MO/ri:m/* (Dz), རིང་བ་ *RING.BA* (Am), རིང་གེ་ *RING.GE* (Ts, Sh), རིང་ལོ་ *RING.LO* (Ho).
995. **SHORT** √ ལུང་ *THUNG* [PR]. In some dialects, the root is reduplicated: ལུང་ལུང་ *THUNG THUNG* (Ü, Kh, Am), while in others it is followed by a suffix: ལུང་བ་ *THUNG.BA* (Kh, Am). Other dialects have forms derived from འུ་ལུང་ལུང་ *THUNG.NGUN* (La), འུ་ལུང་ལུ་ *THUNG.NGU* (Dz, La), alt. འུ་ལུ་ལུ་ *THU.GUN* (Sp), འུ་ལུ་ལུ་ *THUG.THUG* (Pur); ལུང་མ་ *THUNG.MA*, cf. འུ་ལུ་མེ་ *THUR.ME* (Sh), འུ་ལུ་མི་ *THUNG.MI* (Jir). The dental nasal ལུན་ *THUN* is attested in Tö.
996. **FAR** ཐག་རིང་ *THAG.RING* [PW] < CT lit. 'long rope'. ཐག་རིང་ *THAG.RING* (Dz, Pur), ཐག་རི་ *THAG.RI* (Jir), usually followed by a suffix: ཐག་རིང་པོ་ *THAG RING.PO* (Ü), ཐག་རིང་པུ་ *THAG.RING.PU* (Sh), ཐག་རིང་གེ་ *THAG.RING.GE* (Ts). Another variant found in Tsang is ཐག་རྒྱང་ *THAG RGYANG*, < lit. 'distant rope'. In Yunnan, the word རྒྱང་རིང་ *RGYANG.RING* < CT 'long distance' is widely used.
997. **NEAR** √ ཉེ་ *NYE* [PW]. Often followed by a suffix such as *PO, MO, \*DE*: ཉེ་མོ་ *NYE.MO* (Ba, Pur, La), ཉེ་པོ་ *NYE.PO*. In many languages, the compound ཐག་ཉེ་ *THAG.NYE* lit. 'short rope, close distance' is used, often followed by a suffix: ཐག་ཉེ་པོ་ *THAG NYE.PO*, ཐག་ཉེ་མོ་ *THAG NYE.MO*, ཐག་ཉེ་འདྲེ་ *THAG NYE.DE* (Ts). ཐག་ལུང་ *THAG.THUNG* is also attested. Other ways to express proximity are found such as: རྩེབ་ *RTSIB* < CT 'rib' (cf. French 'à côté').
998. **BROAD** √ ཡངས་ *YANGS* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Am). This root is often followed by a suffix, usually *PO, MO*: ཡངས་པོ་ *YANGS.PO*, ཡངས་མོ་ *YANGS.MO*. In some languages, compound words such as རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ *RGYA CHEN.PO* 'large area', alt. རྒྱ་ཆེན་པུ་ *RGYA CHEN.MU* (Sh) or ལུ་ཡངས་པོ་ *GU.YANGS.PO* are used. རྒྱ་ཆེན་ *ZHANG.CHEN* (La) <

CT; ཞེང་ ZHENG, ཞེང་ངར་ ZHENG.NGAR (Kh: Chaktreng), ཕལ་ཅན་ PHAL.CAN (Pur, La).

**999. NARROW** √ རྟག་ DOG [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Am). This root is often followed by a suffix: རྟག་པོ་ DOG.PO, རྟག་མོ་ DOG.MO, ཞེང་ཅུང་ ZHENG.CHUNG (Kh: Chagthreng), ཕལ་མེད་ PHAL.MED (Pur), ཕྲ་མོ་ PHRA.MO (Ba, Pur, L) lit. ‘thin’.

**1000. THICK (FABRIC or FLAT OBJECT)** √ མཐུག་ MTHUG [PR] < CT. This is followed by an adjectival suffix PO, MO, ཏ LO, etc: མཐུག་པོ་ MTHUG.PO (Ü, Pur), མཐུག་པུ་ MTHUG.PU (Jir, Sh), མཐུག་མོ་ MTHUG.MO (Am). The variant ཐུག་ STUG also attested in CT is found in several Amdo dialects and Baltistan: ཐུག་པོ་ STUG.PO. In Dzongkha, the compound ཐུག་པགས་པ་ /tu:pakpa/ (lit. ‘thick skin’) is used for ‘thick’.

**1001. THIN/FINE (FABRIC or FLAT OBJECT)** √ སྒབ་ SRAB [PR]. The onset SR may be pronounced in various ways /sr/, /str/, /s̥/, /t̪/, /s/, /sh/, etc. This is usually followed by an adjectival suffix: སྒབ་པོ་ SRAB.PO (Ü, Kh), སྒབ་པོ་ SRAB.BO (Ba, Am), ཏ སྒའ་མོ་ SRA.MO (La) /<sup>s</sup>tra-ngo/ (Ba), /<sup>s</sup>tramo/ (Pur), ཏ སྒབ་མུ་ SRAB.MU (Jir), སྒབ་ལོ་ SRAB.LO (Ho), སྒབ་གུ་ SRAB.GU (Kh), སྒབ་ཁིག་ཁི་ SRAB.KHIG.KHI (Dz), སྒབ་འཕྲོད་འཕྲོད་ SRAB.’PHROD.’PHROD (Dz), སྒབ་ཤོག་ཤོ་ SRAB.SHOG.SHO (Dz). In some dialects, the root is reduplicated: སྒབ་སྒབ་ SRAB.SRAB (Ü, Kh) /taptap/.

**1002. DEEP** √ ཟབ་ ZAB [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Am, Dz). This root is followed by a suffix: ཟབ་པོ་ ZAB.PO ཟབ་མོ་ ZAB.MO, ཟབ་ཉོག་ཉོ་ ZAB.TOG.TO (Dz). In many dialects, the root is compounded with the noun གཏིང་ GTING/ གདིང་ GDING ‘bottom’, as in གཏིང་ཟབ་པོ་ GTING ZAB.PO (Ü) or གཏིང་ཟབ་མོ་ GTING ZAB.MO (Am), lit. ‘deep bottom’, both meaning ‘deep’. ཀོང་རྩ་ KONG.DRO (La), /xombu/ (Pur) < CT ལུང་ ‘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 སྒབ་ SRAB may be used (see THIN/FINE (FABRIC or FLAT OBJECT)), as can words meaning LOW.

**1004. THICK/DENSE/STRONG (LIQUID)** √ གར་ GAR [FFR] (Ba, La, Ü, Ts) < CT གར་པོ་ GAR.PO (Ü), གར་བ་ GAR.BA (La, Ba). Other roots are attested: སྐ་ SKA [FFR] < CT: སྐ་མོ་ SKA.MO (Kh), སྐ་འདེ་ SKA.’DE (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Yol) and ལ་འོ་

*KHA.BO*, ཁ་མོ་ *KHA.MO* (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)** √ སྒྲ་ *SLA* [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). The stem is pronounced in several ways /tsa, l’a, la, etc./ and is usually followed by a suffix such as འདྲ་ལྟ་ *SLA.DE* (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Jir, Ts), སྒྲ་མོ་ *SLA.MO* (Kh), སྒྲ་པོ་ *SLA.PO* (Ü), སྒྲ་བོ་ *SLA.BO* (Am), འཇུ་སི་སི་ *LHA.SI.SI* (Dz), འ་སིང་སིང་ *SING.SING* (Pur, La).

**1006. FULL** གར་ *GANG* [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). In some dialects of Southern Kham, རྒྱལ་ *RGYAS* is used for ‘full’.

**1007. EMPTY** √ སྟོང་ *STONG* [PR]. This is followed by the suffixes *PA* or *MA*: སྟོང་པ་ *STONG.PA*, སྟོང་མ་ *STONG.MA* (Ba, Pur), སྟོང་མ་ *STONGM* (Dz). (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am.)

**1008. SQUARE** གུ་བཞི་ *GRU.BZHI* [PW] < CT ‘four corners’ བཞི་གུ་མ་ *BZHI.GRU.MA* (Am) ‘four corners’, བཞི་སྒྲམ་ *BZHI.SGAM* ‘four box’.

**1009. CIRCULAR/ROUND**, √ སྒོར་ *SGOR*, གོར་ *GOR* or ཀྱིར་ *KYIR* [PR] < CT. Often reduplicated as སྒོར་སྒོར་ *SGOR SGOR*, གོར་གོར་ *GOR.GOR*. Suffixes are also attested: སྒོར་མུ་ *SGOR.MU* (Yol). The variant ཀྱིར་ཀྱིར་ *KYIR.KYIR* is attested in Western areas (La, Ba, Pur). In some dialects of Southern Kham, འུ་འུ་ *LO.LO* is used < CT འོག་འོག་ *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་མུ་ *RIL.MU* (Yol).

**1011. FLAT** √ ལེབ་ *LEB* [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The root is usually reduplicated: ལེབ་ལེབ་ *LEB LEB* (Pur, La, Ts, Ü). In Melong (Kh) རིང་རིང་ *RING.RING*, ཐིག་ཐིག་ *THIG.THIG* (Pur), ཏིང་ཏིང་ *TING.TING* (La).

**1012. SHARP, POINTED** √ རྩ་ *RNO* [FFR] (La, Za, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). Often with a suffix. རྩ་ལོ་ *RNON.PO*. The root རྩ་ *RTSE* ‘point’ is also widespread: རྩ་ཅན་ *RTSE.CAN* [FFR], རྩ་མོ་ *RTSE.MO*, འཇུ་ཅན་ *TSEP.TSEP* (La), འཇུ་ཅན་ *TSAP.TSAP* (Pur), རྩ་ཅན་ *CHOD.MO* (Pur) < ‘which can cut’.

1013. **CROOKED, BENT** √ ཁྱོག་ *KYOG* [PR]. Often reduplicated: ཁྱོག་ཁྱོག་ *KYOG.KYOG* (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, etc.), གུག་གུག་ *GUG.GUG* (Kh). The suffix ལོ་ is also attested: གུག་ལོ་ *GUG.PO*.
1014. **STRAIGHT** √ འྲང་ *DRANG* [PR]. Often followed by a suffix *PO, MO*: འྲང་ལོ་ *DRANG.PO* and འྲང་མོ་ *DRANG.MO* (Am), འྲེང་ལོ་ *DRENG.PU* (Sh), ཁ་འྲང་ *KHA.DRANG* (La). In many dialects, this is also used in metaphoric sense of ‘honest’. གཤེང་ལོ་ *GSHENG.MO* is found in many dialects of Southern Kham but its origin is unclear.
1015. **BLACK** √ རྒྱ་ *NAG* [PR]. Generally followed by a suffix *PO, MO* རྒྱ་ལོ་ *NAG.PO* (Ü, Ts, Pur) རྒྱ་ལོ་ *GNAGPO* /-na:p/ (Dz), རྒྱ་མོ་ *NAG.MO* or reduplicated: རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ *NAG.NAG* (Kh). In some dialects of Southern Kham, the following forms are attested: རྒྱ་ཏོ་ *NAG.TO*, རྒྱ་སྒྲང་ *NAG.SGANG*.
1016. **WHITE** √ དཀར་ *DKAR* [PR]. In most dialects, *DKAR* is followed by the suffix *PO, PHO, BO*: དཀར་ལོ་ *DKAR.PO* (Ü, Pur) དཀར་ལོ་ *DKAR.PHO* (Ba). The following pronunciations are also attested: དཀར་རུ་ *DKAR.RU* (Tö, Sh), དཀར་རོ་ *DKAR.RO* (Am), དཀར་པོ་ *DKARP* /-ka:p/ (Dz). In some Kham dialects, the root is reduplicated: དཀར་དཀར་ *DKAR.DKAR* (Kh).
1017. **RED** √ དམར་ *DMAR* [PR]. Often followed by a suffix *PO, PHO, BO, MO, SENG*: དམར་ལོ་ *DMAR.PO* (Pur), དམར་ལོ་ *DMAR.PHO* (Ba), དམར་ལོ་ *DMAR.BO* (Am), འདྲམར་ལོ་ *DMARPO* /-ma:p/ (Dz), དམར་མོ་ *DMAR.MO* (Ü), དམར་རུ་ *DMAR.RTSA* (Kh: Melong), དམར་སེང་ *DMAR.SENG* (SKh) < CT ‘light red’. May be reduplicated, as in དམར་དམར་ *DMAR.DMAR*, especially in eastern Tibet. The root དམར་ *DMAR* may be related to མར་ *MAR* ‘butter’, and to the root \*mar ‘gold’, found in some TB languages such as Zhangzhung (cf. BUTTER).
1018. **YELLOW** √ སེར་ *SER* [PR]. It is usually followed by a suffix *PO, PHO* or *BO*. སེར་ལོ་ *SER.PO* (Pur), སེར་ལོ་ *SER.PHO* (Ba), སེར་ལོ་ *SER.BO*. Alternative pronunciations are སེར་རོ་ *SER.RO* (Am) /s’ero/, /s’eru/ (Am), སེར་རུ་ *SER.RU* /seru/ (Sh), སེར་པོ་ *SERPO* /-se:p/ (Dz). The reduplicated form is attested in Kham: སེར་སེར་ *SER.SER*. Etymologically, this root is related to གསེར་ *GSER* ‘gold’.
1019. **BLUE** √ སྒོ་ *NGO* or སྒོན་ *NGON* [PR] ‘blue’ and ‘green’ < CT ‘green, blue color, herb, plant’. It can be followed by a suffix: སྒོན་ལོ་ *NGON.PO* (Pur), སྒོན་ལོ་

*SNGON.MO*, སྒོ་སེང་ *SNGO.SENG*. The reduplicated form སྒོ་སྒོ་ *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 མཐིང་ག་ *MTHING.GA* is used in some dialects to designate a dark blue color; it is derived from མཐིང་ *MTHING*, a type of blue stone (azurite or lapis lazuli).

**1020. GREEN** ལྗང་ཁུ་ *LJANG.KHU* [PW] < (cf. BLUE) ‘dark green’. This is derived from the CT word ལྗང་ *LJANG* ‘seedling, sprout’. In most dialects, it means ‘dark green’, but designates a brownish color in Balti, Ladaks and Purik. Many dialects lack an independent form for ‘green’; the form for ‘blue’ then also denotes ‘green’.

**1021. GRAY** √ ལྗམ་ *SKYA* [PR] < CT. This is either followed by a suffix, as in ལྗམ་བོ་ *SKYA.BO*, or reduplicated as ལྗམ་ལྗམ་ *SKYA.SKYA*. Other forms are ཐལ་མདོག་ *THAL.MDOG* (La), ཁམ་པ་ *KHAM.BA* (La).

**1022. MULTICOLOR or BLACK AND WHITE** √ ཁ་ *KHRA* [PR] < CT. This stem is usually followed by a suffix, as in ཁ་བོ་ *KHRA.BO* (La Ba, Sp, Dz) and ཁ་མོ་ *KHRA.MO* (Kh), or reduplicated as ཁ་ཁ་ *KHRA.KHRA* (Ü, Ts), ཁ་ཁོ་ *KHRA.KHRO* (Pur), ཁ་ཁ་བ་ཁ་ *KHRA.KHRA.BA.KHRA* (Ü), འཁྱེ་ཁྱེ་ *KHYA.KHYA* (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** √ ལྗེད་ *LJI* and √ ལྗེད་ *LJID* [PR]. These two roots are found in CT. They are followed by the suffixes བོ་ *PO*, མོ་ *MO*, འདྲེ་ *’DE* or by འདྲི་ *’DI*, ཅན་ *CAN*, རྒྱས་ *DRAGS*: ལྗེད་མོ་ *LJID.PO* (Ü, Tö, Kh), ལྗེད་པ་ *LJID.PA* (Kh), འལྗེད་འདྲེ་ *LJID.’DE* (Ts), འལྗེད་འདྲེ་ *LJID.’TE* (Pur), འལྗེད་འདྲེ་ *LCI’DE* (Sp), འལྗེད་འདྲེ་ *LCI.’TE* /’cinte/ (La),<sup>7</sup> འལྗེད་ཅན་ *LCID.CAN* (La), ལྗེད་མོ་ *LJID.MO* (Kh, Th, Am), ལྗེད་འལྗེད་ *LCO.’O*, ལྗེད་ཅན་ *LJID.CAN* (Ba), ལྗེད་འལྗེད་ *LJID.LO* (Ho), ལྗེད་རྒྱས་ *LJID.DRAGS* (Lho).

**1024. LIGHT (NOT HEAVY)** √ ཡང་ *YANG* [PR]. This is followed by suffixes: ཡང་མོ་ *YANG.MO* (Kh, Pur, La, Am), ཡང་མོ་ *YANG.PO* (Ü), ཡང་ཡང་ *YANG.YANG* (Kh).

7. The spelling *LCIN.TE* is used in some dictionaries see e.g. Abdul Hamid (1998). The stem ལྗེད་ *LJI* is noted འལྗེད་ *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.

- 1025. CLEAR** √གསལ་ *GSAL* [PR] < CT. In many languages, the word has a mainly abstract meaning. The root *GSAL* is usually followed by a suffix: གསལ་པོ་ *GSAL.PO* (Ü, Ts, Kh, La, Ba, Pur), གསལ་བོ་ *GSAL.BO* (Am, Sp), གསལ་མོ་ *GSAL.MO* (Ko, Kh), གསལ་མུ་ *GSAL.MU* (Sh), གསལ་ལོ་ *GSAL.LO* (Ho), གསལ་ཏྲོག་ཏྲོ་ *GSAL.TOG.TO* (Dz), གསལ་རྒྱགས་ *GSAL.DRAGS* (Lho), དཀར་དཀར་ *DKAR.DKAR* < ‘white white’.
- 1026. CLEAR/TRANSPARENT** √དྲམ་ *DWANGS* [PR]. This is usually followed by a suffix: དྲམ་མ་ *DWANGS.MA*, དྲམ་པོ་ *DWANGS.PO*, དྲམ་མོ་ *DWANGS.MO*, སིང་ *SING.SING* /singsing/ (Pur).
- 1027. MUDDY** ཉམ་པོ་ *NYOG.PO* [FFR] (Sp, Kh, Am) < CT ཉམ་མ་ *NYOG.MA*, ཉམ་ཉམ་ *NYOG.NYOG*, ས་ཁུ་ *SA.KHU* (Sp), སྐ་འདྲེ་ *SKA.TE* (Pur).
- 1028. CLEAN** √གཙང་ *GTSANG* [FFR] (Tö, Dz, Kh, Am, Sh). This is usually followed by a suffix: གཙང་མ་ *GTSANG.MA* (Ü, Tö, E: Th, Am, La), འགཙང་མ་ *GSANG.MA* (Sp), འགཙང་གེ་ *GTSANG.GE* (Ts), འགཙང་གེ་ *GTSANG.GE* (Sh), འགཙང་མོ་ *GTSANG.MO* (Ko), འགཙང་ལོ་ *GTSANG.LO* (Ho: Am), གཙང་རྒྱགས་ *GTSANG.DRAGS* (Lho), འགཙང་ཏྲོག་ཏྲོ་ (Dz). The Balti form འཙག་མ་ *TSAG.MA* /<sup>8</sup>tsaxma/ (< CT གཙང་མ་ *GTSANG.MA*) is used for ‘pure’. Another root དག་ *DAG* < CT lit. ‘pure correct’ is also used for ‘clean’: དག་དག་ *DAG.DAG* (Am), དག་ *DAG* (Ba). In Ladakh, འཕྱགས་མོ་ *LYAGS.MO* (Pur) and ལགས་མོ་ *LAYS.MO* (La) < CT ལེགས་མོ་ *LEGS.MO* ‘good’ are used for ‘clean’.
- 1029. DIRTY** √བཙོག་ *BTSOG* [PR]. This is usually followed by a suffix: བཙོག་པ་ *BTSOG.PA* (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am), བཙོག་པོ་ *BTSOG.PO* (La), བཙོག་པོ་ *BSOG.PO* (Za), ལྷུག་བཙོག་ *SKYUG.BTSOG* (Am). However some languages have a different term, such as འམས་ལོག་སི་སི་ *KHAMS.LOG.SI.SI* /<sup>8</sup>k’amlo sisi/ (Dz). Note that འམས་ལོག་ *KHAMS.LOG* is also used in Ladaks for ‘disgusting’, འམས་ལོག་ */xamlök/* (Pur).
- 1030. FAST (RAPID)** √མགྲོགས་ *MGYOGS* [FFR] (La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho). མགྲོགས་པོ་ *MGYOGS.PO* (Ü, Ts), མགྲོགས་པ་ *MGYOGS.PA* (Pur, La). In Balti, the word མོགས་མོ་ *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 /<sup>8</sup>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: རེམས་ *REMS* < CT ‘diligent’: འཇམས་མ་ *REMS.MA* (Am), འཇམས་རེམས་ *REMS.REMS*. In Sherpa, the word གླིམ་པུ་ *GRIM.PU* is derived from *GRIM* ‘tensed’. Zhollam (Melung, Kh) uses ལ་མ་ /‘la ma/, often reduplicated: ལ་མ་ ལ་མ་ *LA.MA LA.MA*. ཚབས་ཚབས་ *TSHABS.TSHABS* < CT ‘urgent’ is used in South Kham. མ་ལག་ *MA.LAG* is used in Lhoke.

**1031. SLOW/SLOWLY** གཤེ་ *GALE* and its variant གོལེ་ *GO.LE* [PR] < CT, generally used as an adverb. The word གོལེ་ *GO.LE* may be derived from the CT verb ‘GOR’ ‘to take time’. In most cases, the root is reduplicated: གཤེ་ གཤེ་ *GALE GALE* (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh), གཤེ་ གོལེ་ *GALE GO.LE* (Kh), གོལེ་ གོལེ་ *GO.LE GO.LE* (Sh), འཇུལེ་ འཇུལེ་ *KU.LE KU.LE* (La, Pur, Ba), འགོལེ་འབད་ *GO.LE ‘BAD* (Dz), གཤུས་གཤུས་ *GALUS GALUS* (Lho). In some areas, གཤེ་ *GALE* (often in association with the verb ‘to go’) serves also as the interjection ‘goodbye’ < ‘(to go) slowly’. In Amdo, the word དལ་མོ་ *DAL.MO* < CT ‘relaxed’ is used for ‘slow’.

**1032. EARLY** √ སྒ་ *SNGA* [PR], generally used as an adverb. Usually followed by a suffix: སྒ་མོ་ *SNGA.MO* (Tö, Kh, Ho, Am, Sp), འཇུ་མུ་ *SNGA.MU* (Sh), སྒ་པོ་ *SNGA.PO* (Ü), སྒ་འདེ་ *SNGA.’DE* (Ts) or སྒྲོན་འབྲག་ *SNGON.’KHYAG* (Ts), སྒ་སེ་ *SNGA.SE* (Kh, Th, Am), སྒ་ཙེ་ *SNGA.TSE* (Kh), སྒ་ཏོག་ *SNGA.TOG* (La), ཉ་ས་ *HA.SA* (Dz) < སྒ་སེ་ *SNGA.SE*. In Spiti, the word བོ་རེ་ *THO.RE* derives from CT བོ་རེངས་ *THO.RENGS* ‘dawn’ and in Lhoke ལྷོ་ལས་ *DRO.LAS* < CT *DRO* ‘morning, noon’; words derived from the root མགྱོགས་ *MGYOGS* (see FAST) are also attested: མགྱོགས་པ་ *MGYOGS.PA* (La), མགྱོགས་སེ་ *MGYOGS.SE* (Pur). Balti has lost this root and uses Urdu loanwords such as /jalɖi/ جلدی, or མགས་སི་ལ་ /waxsik’a/ (Pur).

**1033. LATE** √ ཕྱི་ *PHYI* [PR], generally used as an adverb. It is usually followed by a suffix *PO, MO*: ཕྱི་མོ་ *PHYI.MO*, ཕྱི་པོ་ *PHYI.PO*, ཕྱི་བོ་ *PHYI.BO*, ཕྱི་པོ་ *PHYI.PO*. The root *PHYI* pronounced in many ways, such as: ཕྱི་ /č’i/, /sh’i/ (Kh), /ʃh’ə/ (Am), /ts’i/ (E: Th) /s’i/ (Kh), /č’i/ (Dz), /p’i/ (Sh, Tö, Sp, Lho). Other roots are also found: ཇིང་ *RTING* < CT ‘heel, after’: ཇིང་ན་ /‘tingna/ (La), ཇིང་མོ་ /‘tangmo/ (Am), གཞུག་ནས་ *GZHUG.NAS* (Am), འགྱང་པོ་ *GYANG.PO* (Ts) < CT. In some languages, the verb འགོར་ ‘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** √ སྐམ་ *SKAM* [PR]. It is usually followed by a suffix *PO*, *MO*, *PA*, /sĩ/, etc. སྐམ་པོ་ *SKAM.PO*, སྐམ་མོ་ *SKAM.MO*.
1035. **WET** √ ལྷན་ *RLON* [PR]. Usually followed by the suffix *PA* or *MA*: ལྷན་པ་ *RLON.PA* (La), ལྷན་མ་ *RLON.MA* ལྷན་འདྲེ་ *RLAN.'DE*, གཤེར་པ་ *GSHER.PA* (Pur) and /sɛ wa/ (Skh) are both derived from CT གཤེར་ *GSHER* 'moisture'.
1036. **FAT** √ རྒྱགས་ *RGYAGS* [FFR] (La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: རྒྱགས་པ་ *RGYAGS.PA* (La, Ü, Ts, Kh) or རྒྱགས་མོ་ *RGYAGS.MO* (Kh), རྒྱགས་རྒྱགས་ *RGYAGS.DRAGS* (Lho). Another word ཚོན་པོ་ *TSHON.PO* < CT 'fat, greasy' (for food or animals) is used in Amdo. In Balti and Purik the word སྦྱོམ་པོ་ *SBROM.PO* and རོམ་པོ་ *ROM.PO* (La) < CT 'big (for cylindric objects)' are used. ཚོལ་ཅན་ *TSHIL.CAN* 'greasy' < CT is also attested.
1037. **THIN** ཤ་སྐམ་པོ་ *SHASKAM.PO* [FFR] (Ü, Pur, La, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT lit. 'dry meat/flesh'. The variants ཤ་སྐམ་ *SHA SKAM*, ཤན་སྐམ་ *SHAN SKAM* are also used. Other words such as ཏུཕག་ *PHRAG.YA* and ཕུམོ་ *PHRA.MO* (La, Pur) < CT *PHRA* 'small diameter' are also attested.
1038. **HARD/SOLID** √ སྒ་ *SRA* [FFR] (Pur, La, Za, Sp, Yol, Sh, Dz, Am) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: སྒ་མོ་ *SRA.MO* (Kh, Am), སྒ་འོ་ *SRA'O* (Ba), སྒ་འདྲེ་ *SRA.'DE* /ˈsande/ (Ts, Sp), སྒ་འདྲི་ *SRA.'DI*, སྒ་འདྲེ་ *SRA.'TE* /sante/ (La, Pur), སྒ་དྲི་ *SRA.DI* (Sh, Yol), སྒ་ཁྲག་ཁྲག་ *SRA.KRAG.KRAG* /ˈsəʁakʁa/ (Dz). In some dialects, an alternative root མཐེགས་ *MKHREGS* [FFR] is used: མཐེགས་པོ་ *MKHREGS.PO* (Yol, Ü, Kh), མཐེགས་ལོ་ *MKHREGS.LO* (Ho), རྒྱུང་དོ་ *GYONG DO* (Am).
1039. **SOFT/FLEXIBLE** √ སྦྱི་ *SNYI* [FFR] (La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT. This is usually followed by the suffixes *PO*, *MO* or reduplicated: སྦྱི་པོ་ *SNYI.PO*, སྦྱི་མོ་ *SNYI.MO* (Am), སྦྱི་སྦྱི་ *SNYI.SNYI* (Kh). The root སོབ་ *SOB* [FFR] < CT: སོབ་སོབ་ *SOB.SOB* 'soft, fragile' is also frequently attested. འཛོལ་ལེ་ *BOL.LE* < CT 'soft, relaxed', འཛོལ་མོ་ *BOL.MO* (La), ལུར་ལུར་ *LTUR.LTUR* (Pur).
1040. **STRONG (of PERSON)** དྲག་པོ་ *DRAG.PO* [FFR] (La, Ts, Ü, etc.) < CT, རྒྱགས་ཆེན་པོ་ *SHUGS CHEN.PO* (Am, Ü, etc.), སྦྱོབས་ཆེན་པོ་ *STOBS CHEN.PO* (Am, Ü, etc.).



- 1041. WEAK (of PERSON)** ཞན་པ་ *ZHAN.PA* < CT. ཞན་པ་ *ZHAN.PO*. Some languages use a phrase such as དབང་མེད་པ་ *DBANG MED.PA* lit. ‘without power’, རྒྱལ་མེད་པ་ *SHUGS MED.PA* lit. ‘without force’, སྡེད་མེད་པ་ *SHED MED.PA* lit. ‘without strength’.
- 1042. ROUGH, COARSE** √ ལྷུབ་ *RTSUB* [PR] < CT. Usually followed by the suffix *PO*. ལྷུབ་པོ་ *RTSUB.PO* (Pur) or ལྷུབ་མོ་ *RTSUB.MO*, རྩིང་ཁེ་ *RTSING.KHE* (La).
- 1043. SMOOTH, SOFT** √ འཇམ་ *JAM* [PR] འཇམ་པོ་ *JAM.PO* (Ü, La), འཇམ་པ་ *JAM.PA*, འཇམ་ལྷུག་ལྷུ་ *JAM.LCUG.LCU* (Dz).
- 1044. TIGHT** √ དམ་ *DAM* [PR] < CT. Usually followed by the suffix *PO* or *MO*: དམ་པོ་ *DAM.PO*, དམ་མོ་ *DAM.MO*. Some languages use other roots: དྲང་དྲང་ *DRANG.DRANG* (Pur) < ‘upright’, སྤྲུལ་མོ་ *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 metaphoric sense related to discipline ‘tough’.
- 1045. LOOSE, LAX** √ ལྷོད་ *LHOD* [PR] < CT. Either used alone (La, Ba), followed by a suffix such as *PO*, *MO*, or *CAN*: ལྷོད་པོ་ *LHOD.PO* (La), ལྷོད་མོ་ *LHOD.MO*, ལྷོད་ཅན་ *LHOD.CAN*. Can also be reduplicated: ལྷོད་ལྷོད་ *LHOD.LHOD* (Pur).
- 1046. RELAXED** √ ལྷོད་ *LHOD* [FFR] (Ü, Kh, Am); ལྷོད་ལྷོད་ *LHOD.LHOD* དལ་མོ་ *DAL.MO* [FFW] (La, Ts, Kh, Am, Sh, Pur), འགོར་ལེ་འབད་ *GO.LE. BAD* (DZ), གཤེག་ལེ་ *GALE GALE* (Th). See **LOOSE** or **SLOW**.
- 1047. RIGHT, EXACT** ཏག་ཏག་ *TAG.TAG* [FFR]. See also **RIGHT/SUITABLE** (BE) in the verb section.
- 1048. WRONG:** see ‘BE WRONG’ in the verb section.
- 1049. NEW** མོ་མ་ *SO.MA* ‘new’ [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT; གསར་ *GSAR* [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, Lho) < CT usually followed by a suffix such as *PA*, *BA*, *MA*: གསར་པ་ *GSAR.PA*, གསར་བ་ *GSAR.BA* (Am), འགསམ་པ་ *GSAM.BA* (Yol, Sh), འགསར་པ་ *GSARP* /-sa:p/ (Dz), འགསར་ཕུ་ *GSAR.PU* (Lho).
- 1050. OLD (of OBJECT)** √ རྩིང་ *RNYING* [PR] < CT usually followed by a suffix such as *PA*, *BA*, or *MA*: རྩིང་པ་ *RNYING.PA* (Ü, Kh), རྩིང་བ་ *RNYING.BA* (Am) or རྩིང་མ་ *RNYING.MA* (Am, Pur), འཇམ་པ་ *RNYINGM* /-nyi:m/ (Dz), རྩིང་ཀྱ་ འཇམ་པ་ *RNYING.KU* (Lho).

**1051. OLD (of PERSON)** √ *རྒྱན་* *RGAD*, √ *རྒྱན་* *RGAN*, √ *རྒྱས་* *RGAS* [PR] < CT. The three stems are derived from the verb *རྒྱ་* *RGÄ* ‘to become old’ and are often used as a substantive for *རྒྱན་པོ་* *RGAD.PO* ‘old man’ or *རྒྱན་མོ་* ‘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*: *རྒྱན་པོ་* *RGAD.PO* (Kh, Tö, Ho, Ba, La), *རྒྱས་པ་* *RGAS.PA* (Ba), *རྒྱས་པ་* *RGADP* /’gɛ:p/ (Dz), *རྒྱན་འཁོག་* *RGAN.’KHOG* (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho), *རྒྱན་པ་* *RGAN.(PA)* meaning either ‘old’ or ‘older’, or reduplicated as *རྒྱན་རྒྱན་* *RGAD.RGAD* (Kh), *རྒྱ་རྒྱ་* *RGÄ.RGÄ* (Sh). 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: *འགཞོན་ཏ་* *GZHEN.TA* (Sh), *འགཞོན་མ་* *GZHONM* /’zhöm/ (Dz). Other words derived from *GSAR* ‘new’, such as *འགས་ར་ར་* *GSAR.RE* are attested (Th). In many regions (Ba, Kh, Am and E), compound words such as *ན་གཞོན་* *NA.GZHON* lit. ‘young age’, *ལོ་རྒྱུད་* *LO.CHUNG* lit. ‘small age’, *ལོ་གཞོན་* *LO.GZHON* lit. ‘young age’ are used. The adjective *ཆུང་* *CHUNG* ‘small’ is also used. /javan/ < Urdu and Pers. is found in Purik.

**1053. GOOD** √ *ཡག་* *YAG* [FFR] (Ü, Kh, Sp, Kh, Ko) < CT usually followed by a suffix such as *PO*, *MO*, *PA*: *ཡག་པོ་* *YAG.PO* (Ü, Kh, Sp, Yol), *ཡག་མོ་* *YAG.MO* (Kh, Ko), *ཡག་པ་* *YAG.PA* /yoqɣwa/ (Am); *ལེགས་* *LEGS* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Dz) < CT ‘excellent’ usually followed by a suffix such as *MO*: *འེས་མུ་* *LES.MU* (Sh), *འེགས་མོ་* *LYAGS.MO* (Ba, Pur) or another component: *འེགས་ཤོམ་* *LEGS.SHOM* (Dz), *ལེགས་* *LEGM* (Lho). Other roots are also found, such as *དགའ་* *DGA’* < CT ‘joyful, rejoicing’: *འདྲེ་* *DGA’.* *’DE* (Ts); *སྒ་* *SRA* (Am); < CT ‘solid’ (the spelling *སྒལ་* *SRAL* is also found; though not clearly motivated, it does match the real pronunciation; the etymology of ‘good’ as ‘solid’ is understandable; *རྒྱལ་* *RGYAL* < CT ‘victorious, royal’: *རྒྱལ་ལ་* *RGYAL.LA* (La, Pur), *བཟང་* *BZANG* < CT ‘excellent’ (Kh), *ཉན་* *NYAN* < CT ‘suitable’, *བ་* *BA* ‘suitable’, *འཕྲུག་* *RED* < CT ‘right’. In the Zhollam dialect (Kh), /<sup>h</sup>pjA/, of unclear origin, is used.

**1054. BAD** √ རྩ་ *NGAN* [PR] < 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*: རྩ་པ་ *NGAN.PA* (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, La, Ba), རྩ་མ་ *NGANM* / 'ngem/ (Dz), རྩ་པོ་ *NGAN.PO* (Lho). Another root ལྷུག་ *SDUG* [FFR] < CT 'pain, misery' (hence 'miserable, sad, bad') is frequent. It is usually followed by a suffix such as *PO, MO, LO*: ལྷུག་པོ་ *SDUG.PO* (Ts, Tö, Kh), ལྷུག་གོ་ /'duχo/ < ལྷུག་པོ་ (Am: Ng), ལྷུག་མོ་ *SDUG.MO* (Kh), ལྷུག་པོ་ *SDUG.LO* (Ho: Am) or another component: ལྷུག་ཆགས་ *SDUG.CHAGS* (Ü), ལྷུག་ལྷུག་ *SDUG THUG* (Am). The Spiti forms ལྷུ་བ་ *THU.BA* /t'uwa/ and ལྷུ་རི་ *THU.RI* might also be derived from ལྷུག་ *SDUG*. In some dialects, the adjective stem བཙོག་ *BTSOG* 'dirty, wicked' is used to create a compound མེས་མ་བཙོགས་ *SEMS.BTSOGS* (Am) or ཞེ་བཙོགས་ *ZHE.BSTOGS* (Am) 'dirty, wicked mind', with the meaning of 'bad', or is used alone with a suffix བཙོག་པོ་ *BTSOG.PO* /'tsokpo/ (La, Pur, Yol), /sokpo/ (Za). Other roots related to sadness or misfortune are also encountered: བཀ་མ་ཤེས་པ་ /'tʃamaship/ (DZ) < CT 'unfortunate', ལྷས་རྩ་ *LTAS.NGAN* (Am) < CT 'bad sign'; ལྷོ་རྩ་གས་ *SKYO.DRAGS* (Lho) < CT *SKYO* 'sad, poor' or མ་ལེགས་ *MA.LEGM* 'not good' (Lho). In Sherpa, the word for 'bad' is ལྷོག་པུ་ *GOG.PU* < CT ལྷོག་པོ་ *GOG.PO* 'decrepit, ruined'. The Balti word ཅང་མིན་ *CANG.MIN* < CT 'not anything, hence worthless and bad'. The Amdo word ལྷ་ཉ་མ་ or ལྷ་མ་མ་ *LA.HAMA* /a χa ma/ or /ʔa x'a ma/ is of unclear origin.

**1055. EXCELLENT/GOOD-NATURED** √ བཟང་ *BZANG* [PR] < CT, usually followed by a suffix བཟང་པོ་ *BZANG.PO* or བཟང་མོ་ *BZANG.MO*. This stem often refers to people. Other words are attested: ཡག་ *YAG*, ལེགས་ *LEGS*. The Amdo word for 'good', 'excellent' is སྤ་ *SRA* (see GOOD). In Ü, རྩེ་ག་ *RTSE.GRA* and in Lhoke རྩེ་ག་ *RDZIG.DRAGS* are used.

**1056. EXPENSIVE** རྩོད་ཆེན་པོ་ *GONG CHEN.PO* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT lit. 'big value', རྩོད་ཆེན་ *GONG CHEN* (Lho), རྩོད་མཐོ་པོ་ *GONGMTHO.PO*. In Kham and Amdo, དཀོན་པོ་ *DKON.PO* (Kh, Am) < CT 'rare' is often used. In Western dialects (Ba, Sp, Kyir), the word ཁུས་པོ་ *GUS.PO* /kuspo/ (La) < CT 'dear' is attested. In Purik and Ladaks, རིན་ཅན་ *RIN.CAN* < CT 'precious'.

**1057. CHEAP** √ཁེ *KHE* [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, La and Dz.) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix such as *PO, MO*; ཁེམོ *KHE.MO* (La), ཁེམོ *KHYE.MO* (Sp, Yol), ཁེཔོ *KHE.PO* (Ü, Ts). In Amdo the word used is སྒམོ *SLA.MO* /'tsamo/, derived from སྒ *SLA* 'thin, easy' (see EASY and THIN). Other words are attested: གོང་དམའ་དམའ་ *GONG.DMA',DMA'* lit. 'low price'; གོང་བདེམོ *GONG.BDE.MO* (Kh) lit. 'good price'; ཏིན་ཅོ་ /nyintse/ < ? ཏུང་ཅོ་ *NYUNG.TSE* 'little' (Ba); རིན་མེད་ *RIN.MED* < CT 'no value' (Pur), but in Purik and Baltistan, the Urdu word سستا /sasta/ is also often used.

**1058. BEAUTIFUL** √མཛེས་ *MDZES* [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*: མཛེས་པོ་ *MDZES.PO* མཛེས་པ་ *MDZES.PA*. The noun མཛེས་མ་ *MDZES.MA* means 'beautiful woman'. In many dialects (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh), the adjective རྩིག་པོ་ *RDZIG.PO* < CT 'impressive, imposing, prestigious' is used for male beauty. For attractive females, one finds the following compounds: སྦྱིང་རྩི་པོ་ *SNYING.RJE.PO* lit. 'noble heart' (Ü, Ts), སྦྱིང་རྩི་མོ་ *SNYING.RJE.MO* 'pretty' (La). Other words are found across the area, which may refer to animated beings or to objects: ཏུང་འཇའ་རིས་མོ་ *'JA'.RISMO* /'jarim/ lit. 'rainbow image' (Dz), ཏུང་བྱ་ཆེ་ཆེ་ *BYA.CHI.CHI* (Dz) lit. 'suitable, beautiful (object)' or ཏུང་བྱ་ཆེ་གི་ /'bya č'iki/ (Cho). In many Amdo dialects, the word ཡག་ *YAG*, ཡག་མ་ *YAG.MA* < CT 'good' is used to mean 'pretty, beautiful'. In southern Kham, the compound ཏུང་མྱིག་ཡག་ *MYIG.YAG* lit. 'good eye' is also encountered for 'beautiful'. In the Western areas, the word བདེམོ་ *BDE.MO* (La, Pur, Ba, Sp) < CT 'well, nice' is used whereas དག་འག་ *DGA'.SHA* occurs in Balti. In Kham, the word འབོལ་པོ་ *BOL.PO* < CT 'relaxed, enjoyable' is also attested. In Lhoke, ཏུང་ཅང་རྒྱས་ *CANG.DRAGS* is used.

**1059. UGLY** མདོག་ངན་ *MDOG.NGAN* (Ü) < CT 'bad appearance' or མདོག་ཉེས་ *MDOG.NYES* < CT 'bad appearance'. བཅོག་པོ་ *BTSOG.PO* (Pur, La, Za), སྐྱུག་བཅོག་ *SKYUG.BTSOG* (Am). See also BAD and DIRTY. These words may refer both to bad appearance and immoral behaviour.

**1060. HOT (TEMPERATURE)** √ *ཚ་* *TSHA* [PR] usually followed by a suffix such as *PO, MO, 'DE, TOG.TO, PA, DU, LO*: *ཚ་འདྲེ་* *TSHA.'DE* pronounced /-ts'ande/or /-ts'andi/ (Ts, Am, Sh, La, Sp), *འཇམ་ཚ་འདྲེ་* *TSHA.'TE* (Pur), *ཚ་པོ་* *TSHA.PO* (Ü, Am), *ཚ་མོ་* *TSHA.MO* (Ho, Kh), *འཇམ་ཚ་དུ་* *TSHA.DU*, *འཇམ་ཏོག་ཏོ་* *TSHA.TOG.TO* (Dz), *ཚ་དྲགས་* *TSHA.DRAGS* (Lho), *འཇམ་ལོ་* *TSHA.LO* (Ho). In some dialects of southern Kham, /sa/ or /s'a/ is used, possibly derived from *TSHA*. The form *ཚ་དྲ་* *TSHAD* [PR], a nominal derivative of *TSHA*, is also encountered: *ཚ་དྲ་པ་* *TSHAD.PA* (Ba), *ཚ་དྲ་མོ་* *TSHAD.MO* (Kh). In some dialects, the root *ཁོལ་* *KHOL* < CT 'to boil' is used: *ཁོལ་མ་* *KHOL.MA* (Am: Chabcha) 'hot'. The compound word *ཚ་ཁོལ་* *TSHA.KHOL* is found in Kham.

**1061. COLD (TEMPERATURE)** √ *གྲང་* *GRANG* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Dz, Kh, Am) or *གྲུང་* *GYANG* < CT, The cluster *GR* of *GRANG* is pronounced in various ways /gr/, /t/, /ky/, /ts/, /č/, etc. and the root is usually followed by a suffix such as *MO, GE, DRAGS*: *གྲང་མོ་* *GRANG.MO* /grangmo/ (Pur), /tangmo/ (Ü, La, Za), *འཇམ་མོ་* *GRAG.MO* /graymo; draymo/ (Ba) (see Section 9.10.6 on nasal dissimilation), *འཇམ་གེ་* *GRANG.GE* (Ts, Sh), *འཇམ་མོ་* *DZANG.MO* /tso:mo/ (E: Th), *འཇམ་མོ་* *GYANGM* /j'am/ (Dz), *འཇམ་དྲགས་* *GYANG.DRAGS* (Lho). The other root for 'cold', which refers to external temperature, is *འཁྱལ་* *'KHYAG* [FFR] < CT 'to freeze'. It is usually followed by a suffix such as *PO, LO, PA*: *འཁྱལ་མོ་* *'KHYAG.MO* (Kh), *འཁྱལ་ཏོ་* *'KHYAG.TO* (Am), *འཁྱལ་པོ་* *'KHYAG.PO* (Kh), *འཁྱལ་ལོ་* *'KHYAG.LO* (Hor), *འཁྱལ་གྲུ་* *'KHYAG.GWA* /<sup>n</sup>č'aywa/ (Am: Ng), *འཁྱལ་པ་* *'KHE.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 *གྲང་* *GRANG* while *འཁྱལ་* *'KHYAG* 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: *ལྷགས་ཁ་* *LHAGS.KHA* < CT *ལྷགས་པ་* *LHAGS.PA* 'wind' (Kh), *བསིལ་མོ་* *BSIL.MO* (Kh, Th) < CT *བསིལ་* *BSIL* 'cool'.

**1062. WARM** √ *དྲོ་* *DRO* [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix, such as *PO, MO*: *དྲོ་པོ་* *DRO.PO* (Ü, Kh, Am), *དྲོ་མོ་* *DRO.MO* (Lho), *དྲོན་པོ་* *DRON.PO* (Tö, Kh, Am), *དྲོན་*

མོ་ *DRON.MO* (La, Tö, Kh, Am, Pur), འོ་རྩོག་ཏོ་ *DRO.TOG.TO* (Dz), རྩོམ་ *DRONM* (Lho). In some dialects, a word meaning 'hot' is used for 'warm'.

**1063. COOL** √ བསིལ་ *BSIL* [PR] (La, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am), generally followed by a suffix: བསིལ་མོ་ *BSIL.MO*, བསིལ་པོ་ *BSIL.PO*.

**1064. DIFFICULT** √ དཀའ་ *DKA'* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Dz, Kh, Am, Lho). Generally followed by a suffix such as *PO* or *MO*: དཀའ་མོ་ *DKA'.MO* /'kamo/ (Am) /kamo/ (Kh), དཀའ་པོ་ *DKA'.PO*, འོ་དཀའ་པོ་ *DKA'.LO* (Hor). Many dialects use a compound like དཀའ་ལས་ *DKA'.LAS* (La) or འོ་དཀའ་བླས་ *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: ལས་དཀའ་ *LAS DKA'* (lit. 'hard work'). Other roots such as ཁག་ *KHAG* and its variant འོ་དཀགས་ *DKAGS* [FFR] are used. ཁག་ *KHAG* and འོ་དཀགས་ *DKAGS* < CT 'difficult', are probably derived from the root བཀག་ *DKAG* [Pass], དགག་ *DGAG* [Fut] 'to obstruct'. This is usually followed by a suffix such as *PO*: ཁག་པོ་ *KHAG.PO* (Ts), གཔོ་ *GA.BO* (Sp), དཀགས་པོ་ *DKAGS.PO* /kaksपो/ (La), དཀགས་མོ་ *DKAGS.MO* /xamo/ (Za). Many dialects have compounds of a noun དཀའ་ལས་ *DKA'.LAS* 'hard work' followed by an adjective, such as ཁག་པོ་ *KHAG.PO* 'difficult' or ཚ་པོ་ *TSHA.PO* 'hot'; for example: དཀའ་ལས་ཁག་པོ་ *DKA'.LAS KHAG PO* (Ü), དཀའ་ལས་ཁག་དྲགས་ *DKA'.LAS KHAG.DRAGS* (Lho), དཀའ་ལས་ཚ་དྲགས་ *DKA'.LAS TSHADRAGS* (Lho), དཀའ་ལས་ཚ་འདི་ *DKA'.LAS TSHA 'DI* (Sh). The Dzongkha word is also a compound: ལཱ་ཁག་ *LA.KHAG* < CT ལས་ཁག་ *LAS.KHAG*. Some dialects (Kh, Ba) also use the root ལྷི་ *LJI* / ལྷི་ *LCI* 'heavy' (see HEAVY), ལྷུག་ *SDUG* 'bad'. (See BAD.)

**1065. EASY** √ ལྷ་ *SLA* [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT 'thin (liquid), easy'. This stem is pronounced in several ways /'tʂa/, /tʂa/, /l'a/, /la/, etc. and is usually followed by a suffix such as *'DE.MO*: ལྷ་འདེ་ *SLA.'DE* (Sp, Jir, Ts), ལྷ་པོ་ *SLA.PO* (Ü), ལྷ་མོ་ *SLA.MO* /laong/ (Tö), འོ་ལྷ་མོ་ *STSA.MO* /'tsamo/ (Am) < ལྷ་མོ་ *SLA.MO*, ལྷ་པོ་ *SLA.MO* /'tsamo/ (Pur), འོ་ལྷ་པོ་ *STSA.LO* (Hor). Many dialects use a compound of the noun ལས་ *LAS* 'work' with the adjective ལྷ་ *SLA*: ལས་ལྷ་པོ་ *LASSLA.PO* (Ü), ལས་ལྷ་མོ་ *LASSLA.MO* (Tö, Kh, Am), འོ་ལས་ལྷ་པོ་ *LASSLA.MU* (Sh). In some dialects, other

roots are attested, such as འཇམ་ *JAM* < CT ‘soft, tender’: འཇམ་ཉྒྲག་ཏྲ་ *JAM.TOG.TO* (Dz), འཇམ་ཆེ་ཆེ་ *JAM.CHE.CHE* (Lho), or བདེ་ *BDE* < CT ‘nice, good’: བདེ་མོ་ *BDO.MO* /<sup>b</sup>do-ngo/ (Ba).

**1066. DANGEROUS** ཉྒྲག་ཁ་ཅན་ *NYEN.KA.CAN* [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz) < CT. ཉྒྲག་ཁ་ཚལ་ *NYEN.KA TSHA.PO* lit. ‘hot danger’, སྒྲག་བྲ་ *SKRAG.DRA* (Kh) < CT ‘something frightening’, འཛིགས་པ་ *JIGS.PA* (La), འཛིགས་མོ་ *JIGS.MO* (Pur) < CT ‘frightening’. ཅ་སིང་པུ་ *CA.SING.PU* (Sh) < CT ཅ་སྤྲུན་པོ་ *CA.SUN.PO* ‘troublesome’.

**1067. IMPORTANT, SIGNIFICANT** གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ *GAL CHEN.PO* [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh) < CT ‘great significance’ and its variants: གལ་ཆེན་མོ་ *GAL CHEN.MO* (Kyr), གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ *GAR CHEN.PO* (Kh, Ho), གལ་ཆེ་ *GAL CHE* (E: Th), གལ་ཆེན་ *GAL CHEN* (Am), གལ་ཆེ་རྒྱགས་ *GAL CHE.DRAGS* (Lho). Another root frequently attested in Western languages is ཁག་ *KHAG* [FFR] (Ba, La, Sp, Dz, etc.) < CT ‘responsibility’: ཁག་ཅན་ *KHAG.CAN* (Ba, La), ཁག་ཆེ་ *KHAG CHE* (Dz), འཁག་ཆེ་ཉྒྲག་ཏྲ་ *KHAG CHE.TOG.TO* (Dz), ཁག་ཆེན་ལུ་ *KHAG CHEN.MU* (Sh).

**1068. TASTY** √ ཞིམ་ *ZHIM* [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix: ཞིམ་པོ་ *ZHIM.PO* (Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts), འཁྱུ་ཞིམ་པུ་ *ZHIM.PU* (Sh, Lho), ཞིམ་ལོ་ *ZHIM.LO* (Hor), འཁྱུ་ཞིམ་པོ་ *ZHUM.PO* (Ba), འཁྱུ་ཞིམ་ཉྒྲག་ཏྲ་ *ZHIM.TOG.TO* (Dz).

**1069. SOUR** √ སྦྱར་ *SKYUR* [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix, such as *MO*, \**LO, PO*; སྦྱར་མོ་ *SKYUR.MO* (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Am), སྦྱར་པོ་ *SKYUR.PO* (Yol), འཁྱུ་མོ་ *SKYURPO* /-kyu:p/ (Dz), སྦྱར་ལོ་ *SKYUR.LO* (Hor), འཁྱུ་མོ་ *SKYUR.RO* (Am), འཁྱུ་མོ་ *SKYUR.RU* (Sh), འཁྱུ་མོ་ *SKYUR.TO* (Am).

**1070. SWEET** √ མངར་ *MNGAR* [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix such as *MO*: མངར་མོ་ *MNGAR.MO* (Pur, La, Za, Ü, Sp, Yol, Hor, Kh), མངར་ལུ་ *MNGAR.MU* (Sh), འཁྱུ་མངར་མོ་ *MNGAR.MO* /-nga:m/ (Dz), མངར་པོ་ *MNGAR.PO* (Ts), སྦྱར་ *SBRANG* (Kh) < CT ‘honey (bee)’. In some Amdo dialects this root is replaced by ཞིམ་ *ZHIM* < CT ‘tasty’. This is a little surprising, since Tibetans are usually not fond of sweet foods.

**1071. BITTER** √ ཁ་ *KHA* and its variant འཁག་ *KHAG* [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix such as *BA, PO, MO, TIG*, \**DE*: ཁ་པོ་ *KHA.PO*, ཁ་བ་ *KHA.BA*, ཁ་མོ་ *KHA.MO*, འཁྱུ་ཁ་པོ་ *KHA.DE*, འཁྱུ་ཁ་པོ་ *KHA.TE* /xante/or /qante/ (Pur, Sham), ཁ་ཉྒྲག་ *KHA.TIG*,

ཁག་ཉིག་ *KHAG.TIG* (Jir), ཁག་ཀུ་ *KHAG.KU* (Lho). 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 ཁ་ *KHA* had an uvular in Proto-Tibetic, and thus differed from ཁ་ *KHA* ‘mouth’, although both words were written identically.

**1072. SPICY/HOT** ཁ་ཚ་ *KHA TSHA* [PW] < CT ‘hot mouth’. This is generally followed by a suffix: ཁ་ཚ་ *KHA TSHA* (Tö, Kh, Am), ཁ་ཚ་པོ་ *KHA TSHA.PO* (Tö, Kh, Am), ཁ་ཚ་འདྲེ་ *KHA TSHA.’DE* (Ts, Sp, Sh), ཚ་འདྲེ་ *TSHA.’TE* /ts’ante/ (Pur, La), ཁ་ཚོག་ *KHA.TSHIG* (Pur).

**1073. ASTRINGENT** √ བསྐྱ་ *BSKA* [PR]. བསྐྱ་བ་ *BSKA.BA*, བསྐྱ་མོ་ *BSKA.MO*, བསྐྱ་བོ་ *BSKA.BO*, བསྐྱ་ན་སྤག་པ་ *BSKAN.SPAG.PA* /ʰkanʰpakpa/ (Pur). Some dialects do not distinguish astringent and bitter, as in ཁ་འདྲེ་ *KHA.’TE* (La).

**1074. RICH** ཕུག་ √ *PHYUG* [PR] < CT. The initial cluster *PHY* may be pronounced in various ways /p’y/, /č/, /ʰč/, /ʰsh/, /ts/, /sh/, /s/. The stem is usually followed by the suffix *PO*: ཕུག་པོ་ *PHYUG.PO* /p’yukpo/ (Ba, Pur), /č’ukpo/ (La, Za), /ʰč’ukpo/ (Ü, Ts, Tö), ཕུག་པུ་ *PHYUG.PU* /ʰč’ukpu/ (Sh, Jir), ཕུཾཕུག་པུ་ *PHVYUG.PU* /ʰp’yukpu/ (Lho), ཕུག་པོ་ *PHYUGPO* /ʰč’up/ (Dz), ཕུག་པོ་ /ʰsh’əxo/ (Am). Another root related to ‘wealth’ is རྒྱ་ *NOR*, དཔུལ་ཡོད་ *DNGUL.YOD* is attested in Myanmar Kham dialect.

**1075. POOR** √ སྒྱོ་ *SKYO* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, La, Sh, Ko, Am) < CT ‘sad’ usually followed by a suffix: སྒྱོ་པོ་ *SKYO.PO* (Ü, Ts, Kh), སྒྱོ་བོ་ *SKYO.BO* (La), སྒྱོ་བུ་ *SKYO’U* (Sh), སྒྱོ་མོ་ *SKYO.MO* (Ko), སྒྱོ་ལོ་ *SKYO.LO* (Hor: Am). དཔུལ་ *DBUL* [FFR] < CT ‘poor’, usually followed by a suffix དཔུལ་པོ་ *DBUL.PO* (La, Ts, Kh, E: Th), or forming a compound: དཔུལ་པོ་ལོ་ *DBUL.PHONGS* < CT *PHONGS* ‘poor’ (Tö). Other roots are attested, such as སྤྲ་ *SPRANG* < CT ‘beggar’ or སྤྲ་མ་ *SKRU.MA* < CT ‘beggar’ (see BEGGAR): སྤྲ་པུ་ *SPRANG.PU* (Yol), སྤྲ་ཀ་ *SPYANG.KA* /ʰchangka/ (Dz). One also finds expressions related to misery or suffering, such as སྤྲུལ་བ་ཅན་ *DMYAL.BA.CAN* (Ba, La) < CT lit. ‘hell being’, སྤྲིག་པ་ *SDIG.PA* (Pur), སྤྲུག་པོ་ *SDUG.PO* < lit. ‘suffering person’ (Kh, Hor, La). In some languages, we find constructions with a negation: སྤྲུ་མེད་ *RGYU.MED* (Am): lit. ‘without wealth’, མེད་



པོ་ *MED.PO*, བྱེད་པོ་ *MYED.PO* lit. ‘without’ (Am, Sp), འཕྲུལ་པོ་ *PHE.MED* lit. ‘without flour’ (Pur).

**1076. FRESH** གསར་པ་ *GSAR.PA* and སོ་མ་ *SO.MA* (La, Pur, etc.). See NEW. In some languages, the words སོས་པ་ *SOS.PA* (Ü), སོས་མ་ *SOS.MA* (Ts) are attested.

**1077. DEAD:** see DIE in the verb section.

**1078. CLEVER/BRIGHT** √ སྤྱང་ *SPYANG* [FFR] (Ba, La, Sp, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Pur) < CT. Often followed by a suffix སྤྱང་པོ་ *SPYANG.PO* or སྤྱང་མོ་ *SPYANG.MO* (this latter of females), སྤྱང་ *GRUNG* [FFR]; སྤྱང་པོ་ *GRUNG.PO* (Ü, Sp), སྤྱང་གེ་ *GRUNG.GE* (Ts), སྤྱང་རྒྱས་ *GYUNG.DRAGS* (Lho). Some compounds are also attested: རིག་པ་ཅན་ *RIG.PA.CAN* (La) < ‘endowed with intelligence’ རིག་པ་རྩ་ *RIG.PA.RNO* < CT ‘sharp intelligence’ (Kh), རིག་པ་(གསལ་མོ་) *RIG.PA (GSAL.MO)* < CT ‘(clear) intelligence’ (Kh), རིག་ཡག་ *RIG.YAG* (Am) < ‘good intelligence’, མཛོད་རིག་ཆེ་རྒྱས་ *MNO.RIG.CHE.DRAGS* (Lho), དཔྱིག་པ་ཅན་ *DMYIGS.CAN* (Pur, Ba) ‘someone who has ideas’.

**1079. STUPID** ལྷགས་པ་ *LKUGS.PA* [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘dumb, mute, stupid’ (Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz); ལྷན་ *GLEN* [FFR] < CT ‘silly, stupid, fool’, often followed by a suffix or reduplicated ལྷན་པ་ *GLEN.PA* (Pur, Sp, Kh, Am), ལྷན་ལྷན་ *GLEN.GLEN*, ལྷན་གོག་ *GLEN.GOG*, ལྷན་པོ་ *BLUN.PO* [FFR] < CT ‘stupid, idiot’ (Sp, Kh, Am), ལྷོ་ལུ་ /lu:/ (Am). The word ལྷན་ལྷན་ *HAN.LDANG* (Pur, La) and ལྷན་པོ་ *MUN.POG* < CT ལྷན་པོ་ *RMUN.PO* (related to *MUN* ‘darkness’) are often used in the western languages. Finally the root ལྷོངས་ *RMONGS* < CT ‘ignorant’ is used in some languages.

**1080. HONEST** √ རྩང་ *DRANG* [PR] < CT. Generally followed by a suffix *PO* or *MO*: རྩང་པོ་ *DRANG.PO* རྩང་མོ་, *DRANG.MO*, རྩང་བུ་ *DRANG.PU*. See STRAIGHT. A few languages use other word, such as རེད་ *RED* ‘correct’, སྤྱིང་ཆོག་ *SNYING.TSHIG* (Pur).

**1081. HAPPY** √ སྤྱིད་ *SKYID* [PR] < CT ‘well, happy’. Generally followed by a suffix: སྤྱིད་པོ་ *SKYID.PO* (Pur, La, Za, Sp, Ü, Ts, Lho), སྤྱིད་མོ་ *SKYID.MO* (Kh); སྤྱིད་ལོ་ *SKYID.LO* (Hor) or reduplicated སྤྱིད་སྤྱིད་ *SKYID.SKYID* (Kh). Other roots are also used: དགའ་ *DGA*’ < CT ‘to like’, as in Dz. དགའ་ཉོག་ཉོ་ *DGA’.TOG.TO*, དགའ་འདི་ *DGA’.DI* (La), དགའ་མོ་ *DGA’.MO* (La), སེམས་དགའ་བོ་ *SEMS DGA’.BO* (Lho), བདམོ་

*THAD.MO*, ཐད་ལ་ཅན་ *THAD.KHA.CAN* (Pur). The honorific ལྷོ་པོ་ < CT ‘nice, merry’  
མཉེས་པོ་ < CT.

**1082. WELL/SAFE** √ བདེ་ *BDE* [PR] < CT ‘well, comfortable’ generally followed by  
a suffix: བདེ་མོ་ *BDE.MO* (Am, Kh), འབདེ་ལྷ་ *BDE.MU* (Sh), བདེ་པོ་ *BDE.PO* (Ü), འབདེ་  
འདེ་ *BDE.DE* (Ts), འབདེ་ལོ་ *BDE.LO* (Ho), འབདེ་ཏོག་ཏོ་ *BDE.TOG.TO* (Dz). Note that  
in some western languages, བདེ་མོ་ *BDE.MO* has acquired the meaning ‘beautiful’.  
(See BEAUTIFUL.) འབྲུག་ *RGYAL* (Pur), འབདན་པོ་ *BRTAN.PO* (La).

**1083. SAD** √ ལྷུག་ *SDUG* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp) < CT. Generally followed by a suffix  
*PO* or *MO* ལྷུག་པོ་ *SDUG.PO* (Pur, La, Sp), ལྷུག་ཅན་ *SDUG.CAN* (Ba), or in compounds  
such as ལེམས་ལྷུག་ *SEMS.SDUG* (Am) < lit. ‘sad heart’; another root ལྷོ་ *SKYO* [FFR]  
< CT ‘bad, poor, sad’ is frequently found: ལྷོ་ *SKYO* (Dz, Sh), ལྷོ་པོ་ *SKYO.PO* (Tö), ལྷོ་  
མོ་ *SKYO.MO* (Tö), or in compounds such as ལེམས་ལྷོ་ *SEMS.SKYO* (Ü, Dz, Lho) < lit.  
‘sad heart’, ལེམས་ཚ་ *SEMS.TSHA* (SKh) < lit. ‘painful heart’, རུགས་ཅན་ /tuksčan/  
(Pur), ལོ་ལྷོ་ཅན་ /xoltočan/ (Pur) lit. ‘bitter stomach’, མཚོར་ལ་ *MTSHER.KHA* (La,  
Yol) < CT cognate with མཚོར་པ་ *MTSHER.PA* ‘spleen’.

**1084. ALONE** √ གཅིག་ *GCIG* [PR] < CT ‘one’, √ ལེར་ *KHER* [FFR] < CT ‘alone,  
solitary’, ལྷོ་ *RKYANG* [FFR] < CT ‘only, alone’. The stem གཅིག་ *GCIG* is normally  
followed by the suffix *PO* (or one of its variants): གཅིག་པུ་ *GCIG.PU* (Ü, Sh), གཅིག་པོ་  
*GCIG.PO* (Sp, La, Pur), འགཅིག་ཀུ་ *GCIG.KU* (Lho), འགཅིག་གོ་ /čixo/ (Am) or  
reduplicated གཅིག་གཅིག་ *GCIG.GCIG* (Ba); གཅིག་གཅིག་ཅ་ *GCIG.GCIG.TSA* (Pur); the  
stem ལེར་ *KHER*, followed by various suffixes is mostly found in Eastern and  
Northern Tibet: འལེར་རེ་མ་ *KHER.RE.MA* (Kh, Ho), འལུར་རུ་མ་ *KHUR.RU.MA* (Ho),  
འལེར་མོ་ *KHER.MO* (Am), འལེར་རོ་ *KHER.RO* (Am), འལེར་རེ་ *KHER.RE* (Am), ལེར་  
འདུག་ *KHER.DUG* (Am); the stem ལྷོ་ *RKYANG* often is often followed by a suffix:  
ལྷོ་མ་ *RKYANG.MA* (Sh), ལྷོ་པོ་ *RKYANG.PO* (La), ལེར་ལྷོ་ *KHER.RKYANG* (Am).  
Various compounds are also attested: གཅིག་ལྷོ་ *GCIG.RKYANG* (Tö), ལྷོ་མ་གཅིག་  
*RKYANGM.GCIG* (Dz).

**1085. SIMILAR** √ འདྲ་ *DRA* [PR] < CT. This may be used alone with a predicative  
function (Am, Dz), but is usually followed by a suffix: འདྲ་པོ་ *DRA.PO* (Ü, Kh), འདྲ་  
མོ་ *DRA.MO* (Ko, Kh, Tö) pronounced /<sup>n</sup>d̪amo/ (Kh), /d̪aon/ (Tö), འདྲ་བོ་

'*DRA.BO* (Lho), འདྲ་ལེ' *DRA.LE* (Kh), འདྲ་ལོ' *DRA.LO* (Ho), འདྲ་འདྲེ' *DRA.'DE* (Ho) or is reduplicated: འདྲ་འདྲ' *DRA.'DRA* (Ts, Kh, Am, La, Pur). In some rare cases, it may occur in a compound རིགས་འདྲ' *RIGS 'DRA* (Am), lit. 'similar type' (see the CTDT). A few other roots are attested. They include གཅིག' *GCIG* (see below SAME), used alone (Am) or in a compound གཅིག་འདྲ' *GCIG.'DRA*, གཅིག་པ་རང' *GCIG.PA.RANG* (Sh), འོགས' *TSOGS* (La, Pur) or its variant འོགས' *COGS* (Kyr); རང་བཞིན' *NANG.BZHIN* (Ts, Sp) < CT, ལྟར' *LTAR* (Tö) or its variant ལྟ་བུ' *LTABU* (Tö) < CT; རང་ལྟར' *NANG.LTAR* (Sp); བཟོ་ལྟ' *BZO.LTA* (Pur) < CT 'shape'.

**1086. SAME/IDENTICAL** √ གཅིག' *GCIG* [PR] < CT 'one'. This can be used alone as གཅིག' *GCIG*, but is more often followed by a suffix *PA*: གཅིག་པ' *GCIG.PA* (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Sh), འོགས་པ' *GTSIG.PA* (NKh, Hor), གཅིག་གཅིག' *GCIG.GCIG* (La). Dzongkha has འོགས་པ' *GCIGP*, འོགས་གཅིག་པ' *COG GCIGP* (Dz). In this latter form, the root འོག' *COG* is probably cognate with \**COGS* 'similar'. The word འོགས་པ་འོགས་' *TSOGS.SA TSOGS* /tsoksatsoks/ (Pur) is attested. In many languages (Am, etc.), a word meaning འདྲ' *DRA* 'similar' is used (see SIMILAR above).

**1087. STRANGE** √ མཚན' *MTSHAR* [PR] < CT 'wonderful, strange', normally followed by a suffix: མཚན་ལེ' *MTSHAR.LE* (Kh), མཚན་ལོ' *MTSHAR.LO* (Ho). However, in many cases (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Sh), a compound of the noun *KHYAD* and the adjective *MTSHAR* (.PO), lit. 'strange particularity', is used: ལྟ་མཚན' *KHYAD.MTSHAR* (Ts, Sp, Am) or ལྟ་མཚན་པོ' *KHYAD.MTSHAR.PO* (Ü, Tö), ལྟ་མཚན་འདྲེ' *KHYAD.MTSHAR.'DE* (Ts), ལྟ་མཚན་རུ' *KHYAD.MTSHAR.RU* (Sh). Another frequent word is ཡ་མཚན' *YA.MTSHAN* [FFR] (La) < CT 'surprising, wonderful' (Ts, Kh, Am, La), ཡ་མཚན' *NYA.MTSHAN* (Sp). In Dzongkha, another word is derived from the CT verb ཉ་ལས' *HALAS* 'to be astonished, surprised': ཉ་ལས་སི་སི' *HALAS.SI.SI*. Finally in Ladakh, another word ཉང་ཉང' *HRANG.HRANG* < CT ཉེང' *HRENG* 'single', thus 'singular, unusual', is used. Other words are ལོགས' /lokso/ (Pur), མི་འདྲ' *MI.'DRA* (La). Purik also borrows འཇིབ' /ajib/ from Persian.

**1088. OTHER** √ གཞན' *GZHAN* [PR]. This stem can be used alone (Sp, Jir, Kh, Am), but it is often followed by a suffix: གཞན་པ' *GZHAN.PA* (Am, Ts, Kyir, Yol, Tö)

pronounced འཕྱེན་པ་ /yänpa/ in Tö and /yampa/ in Sh; གཞན་མ་ *GZHAN.MA* (Ba, La, Pur, Sp); གཞན་དག་ *GZHAN.DAG* (Ba, La, Pur, Sp). The compounds གཞན་མི་ *GZHAN.MI* (Dz, La, Ba) and གཞན་མོ་ *GZHAN.MO* (Lho) are also attested. ཁ་ཁ་ *KHA.KHA* < ‘separate’ is also heard. In some Kham and Amdo dialects, the terms དེ་མིན་ *DE MIN* < CT lit. ‘not the one’ and འཕྱེན་པ་ *MIN.BA* lit. ‘not being’ are attested. In Amdo, /zi/ and /akuv/ are also used, and are of unclear origin. In Balti འཕྱེན་པོ་ *DE.BO* lit. ‘that one’ is attested. ཡང་ཅིག་ *YANG.CIG* /yangčik/ (Pur).

**1089. ALL** ཆོས་མ་ *TSHANG.MA* [PW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, La) < CT. This is related to ཆོས་ཆོས་ *CHA.TSHANG* ‘entire, all’ and the verb ཆོས་ *TSHANG* ‘to be complete’, probably derived from ཆོས་ *TSHANG* ‘nest, lair, den’ and meaning by metonymy all the individuals living in the same home. Another widespread root is གང་ *GANG* [FFW] < CT ‘full’ or its variant སྒང་ *SGANG*: གང་ག་ *GANG.GA* (Ü, Ts), སྒང་ག་ *SGANG.GA* (Ü, Ts), སྒང་པོ་ *SGANG.PO* (Ts, Sp; La), གང་ཡས་ *GANG.YAS* (Ts), གང་མ་ *GANG.MA* (Ba, Pur), གང་ར་ *GARA* (Dz) < \*གང་རང་ *GANG.RANG*, གང་ར་ *GARA*, འགའི་རེ་ *GA’I RE* (Sh). The main CT word ཐམས་ཅད་ *THAMS.CAD* meaning ‘all’ is also marginally attested (Lho, etc.). One also finds the word ཀུན་ *KUN* [FFW] (SK, E, Am: Ngawa) < CT ‘all, omni-’, which in CT is used to translate the Skr *sarva* in the compounds ཀུན་ཁྱབ་ *KUN.KHYAB* ‘all embracing’ and ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ *KUN.MKHYEN*, ‘omniscient’. In the modern languages, it is sometimes followed by a suffix: ཀུན་པོ་ *KUN.PO*. The root ཡོངས་ *YONGS* < CT ‘whole, entire’ is attested in Tö as ཡོངས་ཆོད་ *YONGS.TSHAD*. The word ཆ་ཁྱབ་ *CHA.KHYAB* < CT ‘encompassing’ is used in Dzongkha. A number of words of unclear origin are also attested. These include འོ་ཆོད་ *O.TSHAD* /otsi/ (Kh), ཡི་ཀུ་ *YL.KU* /yəkə/ (Am), ཏྲན་མ་ *HANAS* /hani, handi/ (Am), ཏྲེན་གོ་ *SDEB.GO* /depko/ (Am), ཏོབ་ *TOP* /top/ (Sp), ཏེ་རི་ *TE.RI* /teri/ (Sh), ཏེ་ལེ་ *KHE.LE* /k’ele/ (Lho), ཏེ་ག་ *SAG* /sak/ (Pur). The Hindi-Urdu loanword *pura* is also widely used in the Himalayas.

**1090. 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་མོ་ *MANG.MO* (Pur), མང་མུ་ *MANG.MU* (Sh), མང་གེ་ *MANG.GE* (Ts), མང་བ་ *MANG.BA* (Am). There are other forms attested in various dialects, such as \*བྲེད་པོ་ *BRED.PO*

/ˈtɛpo/ (Tsang) < CT *BRED* ‘to be afraid, be terrible’; འཇམ་ཤེས་ /ˈlesha/ (Dz) (probably derived from འཇམ་ཤེས་ *LEGS* ‘good’), འཇམ་ཤེས་ /eshin/ (Balti), /ko ča/ (nJol, Kh), འབེལ་པོ་ *BEL.PO* (Ü), /be: pu/ (Kh: Lhagang), རྒྱལ་པ་ *RGYAS.PA* (Kh), འཇམ་ནང་ *MI.NANG* (Sp).

**1091. FEW** √ རྒྱུང་ *NYUNG* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: རྒྱུང་པོ་ *NYUNG.PO* (Kh), རྒྱུང་མེ་ *NYUNG.ME* (Sh), རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་ *NYUNG.NGUN* (La), རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ *NYU.GUN* (Sp), རྒྱུང་བ་ *NYUNG.BA* (Am), རྒྱུང་ཙེ་ *NYUNG.TSE* (Pur, Za), རྒྱུང་སེ་ *NYUNG.SE* (Am), or reduplicated རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་ *NYUNG.NYUNG* (Ü, Kh). Alternative terms are attested, and are often derived from the root \*ཙེ་ *TSI*: ཙེ་ཙེ་ *TSIS.TSE* (Am), ཙེ་གེ་ *TSIS.GE* (Am), ཙེ་པིག་ *TSA.PIG* (La), ཡུ་ཙེ་པིག་ *PA.TSI.PIG* (Dz), རེ་རེ་ *RE.RE* (La).

**1092. SOME, A FEW** ལ་ལ་ *L.A.LA* [FFW] (Tö, Am, E: Th), ལ་ལུ་ *L.A.LU* (Dz), ལ་རེ་ *LA.RE* (Ts) < CT. Many words for ‘some’ are found among the various dialects. Another root found in several dialects is འགཤ་ *GA*’ or ཁ་ *KHA* followed by a suffix: ཁ་ཤས་ *KHA.SHAS* (Ü), འགཤ་ཤས་ *GA’.SHAS* (Ts), ཁ་ཅིག་ *KHA.CIG* (La), ཁ་ལུ་ *KHA.KHUR* (Am), འགཤ་རེ་ *GA’.RE* (Hor, Kh). Elements use to form words for ‘some’ often include ཅིག་ *CIG* ‘one’ and རེ་ *RE* ‘one, every’. Other words are attested: རེ་གཉིས་ *RE.GNYIS* (Hor, Kh), རེ་གཉིས་ཙེ་ *RE.GNYIS.TSA* /renyits/ (Kh), རེ་ཤེ་ *TSHO.RE* (Kh), ཡུ་ཙེ་རེ་ *PA.TSI.RE* (Dz), ཡུ་ཙེ་ཅིག་ *PA.TSI.CIG* (Dz), རྒྱལ་པ་ཅིག་ *DAG.PA.CIG* (Dz), རྒྱལ་ཅིག་ *HRAR.CIG* /sarčik/ (Pur), ཙེ་ཅིག་ *TSE’.CIG* (Sh).

**1093. A LITTLE (BIT), SOME.** Many words are found in the Tibetic-speaking area for this concept: རྟོག་ཙམ་ *TOG.TSAM* (Ts) /tokts/, རྟོག་ཙམ་ *TEG.TSAM* /täts/ (Ü), རྟོག་ཙམ་ *TIG.TSAM* /tikts/ (Hor), རྟོག་ཅིག་ *TI.GA.CIG* (E: Th), སྒྱེ་ཙེ་ *PIG.TSI* (Tö), སྒྱེ་ཚད་ *SHIG.TSHAD* (Hor), རྩམ་ཚད་ *RDZAD.TSHAD* /dzäts/ (Kh), རྩམ་སྒྱེ་ *RDZAS.SNA* /dzäna/ (Kh), སྒྱེ་ལྷེ་ལྷེ་ *DI.GE.DI.DE* (Am), ཙེ་ཙེ་ཟེག་ *TSIS.TSI.ZIG* /tsitsəzək/ (Am), ཙེ་གེ་ཙེ་གེ་ *TSA.GE.TSE.GE* (Am), ཙེ་གེ་ཟེག་ *TSE.GE.ZIG* /tsegəzək/ (Am), ཙེ་པིག་ *TSA.PIG* (La), ཡུ་ཙེ་ཅིག་ *PA.TSI.CIG* (Dz), ལུ་མ་གྲ་ཅིག་ *DUM.GRA.CIG* (Dz), ལུ་མ་ཙེ་གེ་ *DUM.TSA.CIG* (Hor), སྒྱེ་པེ་ *PRIG.PE* /tikpe/ (Sh), ཡུ་ཙེ་ག་ *A.NYOG* (Ko).

**1094. VERY.** As in many other language families of the world, the intensifier ‘very’ shows a great diversity of forms in the modern Tibetic languages. Some examples

are: ཏ་ཅང་ *HA.CANG* (Ü, La) < CT, ཞེ་བླགས་ *ZHE.DRAGS* (Ü) < CT, ཞེ་གི་ *ZHE.GI* (Am), ཞེ་ཐག་གི་ *ZHE.THAG.GI* (Am), གཤིས་ཀྱི་ *GSHIS.KI* (Am). These words contain the root ཞེ་ *ZHE* which means ‘mind’ in Old Tibetan. The idea of ‘incomparable’ is also underlying some expressions: དཔེ་མེད་ *DPE.MED* (Am) lit. ‘unequaled’, ‘without (other) example’, ཡ་མེད་ *YA.MED* ‘not a pair (incomparable)’. A number of words are related to ‘fear’, and thus equivalent of the English *terribly, horribly*: སྐྱག་མོ་ *SKRAG.MO* (Kh), སྐྱག་མ་ *SKRAG.MA* (Hor), སྐྱག་སྦྱད་ *SKRAG.SPYAD* (Kh), ཐེད་པོ་ *BRED.PO* (Ts), འདྲགས་ཤས་ *DROGS.SHAS* (La) lit. ‘frightening’, etc. The word ཤི་མ་གྱི་ *SHI.MA.SHI* (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’: གནམ་ *GNAM* (Ko), གནམ་མེད་ས་མེད་ *GNAM.MED SA.MED* (Dz). Other words include ལེ་ཤ་ *LE.SHA* (Dz), ལེབ་ *LEB* (Lho), སྟོགས་གི་ *STOBS.GI*, ཆེན་པོ་ *CHEN.PO* (Kh) < CT ‘big’. Additionally, some words of unclear origin are also used: ཨ་ལ་ *ALA* (Sh), མི་ནང་ *MI.NANG* (Sp), མ་ན་ *MA.NA* (Pur), མའ་ *MA* (La), ཉོན་གྱི་ *HON.GI* (Am), ཨ་ཐུར་གྱི་ *A.THUR.GI* (Am) lit. ‘the most’, འཇུག་གུ་ *JUG.GU* (Ts), ཨམ་དང་ *AM.DANG* (Ts), སྒེག་མ་ *SREG.MA* (Kh), etc.

## VERBS

**1095. BE** [*egophoric or neutral copulative verb*] ཡིན་ *YIN* [V1] [PR] < CT or the variant ཏ་ཡིན་ *YIN* (Dz, Lho). In nearly all the languages, the negative of ཡིན་ *YIN* employs the portmanteau morpheme མིན་ *MIN* [PR] often pronounced: ཏ་མན་ *MAN*, ཏ་མེན་ *MEN*. The only exception is Dzayül, which has preserved an archaic form: མ་ཡིན་ *MA-YIN* is used. There are also many compound forms. See Chapter 8.3.3.3.

**1096. BE** [*factual copulative verb*] རེད་ *RED* [FFW] (Ü, Kh, Hor, Am), ཏ་སྒད་ *SBAD* [FFW] (Ts, Lho) or ར་ *RBA* (Ts, Lhokha) < CT བྱེད་ *BYED*, ཏ་འདག་ *DAG* [FFW] (Tö), ཡིན་ཇ་ *YIN.DZA* (Sh), ཡིན་འདག་ *YIN.DAG* (LJ), ཡིན་ཞོག་ *NOG* (La), ཡིན་ *YIN* (Pur, Ba), ཡིན་ *YIN* (Dz), ཡིན་པ་ *YIN.PA* (Yol), ཏ་གིས་ *GIS/gi* / < ? CT འཇུར་ *GYUR* (E: Th), སྐྱང་ *SNANG* (Kh: Zhol.), ཏ་བེན་ *ZIN* (Kh: Gyälthang).<sup>9</sup> 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*] རེད་བཞག *RED.BZHAG* [FFW] (Ü), རེད་འགི་ *RED.'GI* (NKh), འུ་ཨིན་མས་ *?IN.MAS* (Dz), འུ་ཨིན་ཞོག་ *YIN.NO* (La), ཨིན་གྲག་ *YIN.GRAG* (La, Sp), འུ་ཨིན་ཅུག་ *YIN.TSUG* (La, Pur, Ba). See Chapter 8.3.3.3.

**1098. EXIST** [*egophoric or neutral existential verb*] ‘I have, there is/are’ ཡོད་ *YOD* or the variant འོད་ *'OD* [V1] [PW]. In nearly all the languages, the negative of ཡོད་ *YOD* employs the portmanteau morpheme མེད་ *MED* [PR] or མྱེད་ *MYED* (Am, E). The only exception is Dzayül, the which has preserved the archaic form མ་ཡོད་ *MA-YOD*. There are also many compound forms (see Chapter 9). In Southern Kham, the existential verbs for animate things (human and animals) are འདུག་ *'DUG* and སྡོད་ *SDOD*.

**1099. EXIST** [*sensory existential verb*] ‘there is/are’ འདུག་ *'DUG* or its variant འུ་ཨིན་ག་ *NUG* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Dz, Sh, La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Lho). Other roots such as གདའ་ *GDA'* /da/ [FFW] (Kh, Ho); གྲག་ *GRAG* or འུ་ཨིན་ག་ *RAG* [FFW] (La, LJ, Ba: Turtuk, Nubra, Sp, Tö, Kh) [*non visual sensory*]; འུ་ཨིན་ག་ *'GI* (Kh: Derge, Lithang) /<sup>n</sup>gə/; སྤང་ *SNANG* (Kh, Phänpö, Nubra, Ba: Turtuk) འུ་ཨིན་ག་ *YOD.GI* (Am) /yokə/, ཡོད་ *YOD* (Cho) are also attested.

**1100. EXIST** [*factual & inferential verb*] ‘there is/are’: ཡོད་རེད་ *YOD.RED* (Ü), འོད་རེད་ *'OD.RED* (Hor, Tö) འོད་རེད་ *'OD.DE.RED* (Tö Drokpa), ཡོད་ལེ་རེད་ *YOD.LE.RED* (NKh), ཡོད་ལེ་འགི་ *YED.LE.'GI* (E:Th), ཡོད་ནི་རེད་ *YOD.NI.RED* (Am), འུ་ཨིན་སྤང་ *YOD.SBAD* (Lho) or ཡོད་པོ་སྤང་ *YOD.PO.SBAD*, ཡོད་པ་ཨིན་མས་ *YODP.IN.MAS* (Dz), ཡོད་མཁན་ཞོག་ *YOD.MKHAN.NO* (La), ཡོད་ཀྱག་ *YOD.KYAG* (La), ཡོད་པ་ཨིན་མས་ *YODP.IN.MAS* (Dz), ཡོད་ *YOD* (Ba, Pur), ཡོད་པ་ *YOD.PA* (Yol).

**1101. HAVE:** see EXIST.

**1102. MAKE** བཟོ་ *BZO* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བཟོ་བཟོས་ *BZO(s)*. In Ladaks and Purik, the verb བཟོས་ *BCO(s)* (La) /<sup>s</sup>co/ (Pur) < CT; see DO.

**1103. DO** བྱས་ *BYAS* or བྱེད་ *BYED* [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT བྱེད་ བྱས་ བྱ་ བྱོས་ (present, past, future and imperative stems, respectively) *BYE/ (A/O)(D/S)*. This is found in most languages and dialects. Various pronunciations are attested: བྱས་ /bya(s)/ (Ba), བས་ /ba(s)/ (Pur), བྱོས་ /pya/ (Lho), བའ་ *bä*/ (Dz) (note that this form is derived from བྱས་ *BYAS*, but the

official orthography is འབད་ 'BAD), ཏུ་ཡས་ /ye/, ཏུ་བེད་ /pe/ (Tö, Yol), /ɛe:/ (Ü), /'she/, /'se/ (Kh), /j'i/ (Am), etc. Other roots include ལས་ *LAS* (Kh) < CT 'act, work' and the archaic form བགྱིད་ *BGYID* < CT བགྱིད་ བགྱིས་ བགྱི་ གྱིས་ (*B*)*GYI(D/S)* (Sh, Jir, Thewo (E)). In Ladaks, the verb བཅོས་ (*B*)*CO(S)* < CT འཚོས་ བཅོས་ བཅོས་ ཚོས་ (*B*)*C(H)O(S)* 'to make, repare, cure' is used (concerning the spelling of *BCO*, see Zeisler 2004: 616). The honorific forms are གནང་ *GNANG* (Ü, Ts) < CT, མཛད་ *MDZAD* (La) < CT, བསྐྱོན་ *BSKYON* < CT (Ü).

**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 ལས་ཀྱི་ *LAS.KA* 'work', 'action' or 'things to do', བྱ་བ་ *BYA.BA* 'action', གཞིལ་གྱི་ *G-YOG* 'service'. These nouns are followed by verbs such as བྱེད་ *BYED* 'to do', ལས་ *LAS* 'to do, to work', འགྱིད་ 'GYID' 'to do', བརྒྱལ་ *BRGYAB* lit. 'to hit', and བཅོས་ *BCOS* 'to make, transform': ལས་བྱས་ *LAS BYAS* (Ba, Pur, Yol), ཏུ་ལྷ་འབད་ *LA 'BAD* (Dz) < CT ལས་བྱས་ *LAS BYAS*, ལས་ཀྱི་བྱས་ *LAS.KA BYAS* (Tö, Ts, Ü), ལས་ཀྱི་ལས་ *LAS.KA LAS* (Kh, Am), ལས་བཅོས་ *LAS BCOS* (La), ལས་འགྱིད་ *LAS 'GYID* (E: Th), ལས་ཀྱི་འགྱིད་ *LAS.KA 'GYID* (Sh), ཏུ་ཀམ་ གྱིད་ *KAM* (< Nep) *GYID* (Jir), ཏུ་བྱ་བ་ཡེད་(བྱེད་) *BYA.BA YED* (Am) or just ཡེད་(བྱེད་) *YED* (Am), བྱ་བ་ལས་ *BYA.BA LAS* (Am), ཏུ་གཞིལ་གྱི་བྱས་ *G-YOG BYAS* (Lho), ཏུ་གཞིལ་གྱི་བྱས་ *G-YOG RKYABS* (Lho).

**1105. LOVE/LIKE** རྟག་ *DGA'* [V2] [PR] (Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Sh, Lho) < CT 'rejoice, like'. Other verbs are attested in some dialects འབད་ 'THAD (Ba, Pur, La) < CT 'to be pleasant'. གཅེས་ *GCHES* (La, Pur) < CT 'love'. In several dialects of southern Kham, ཏུ་གནང་ *GDANG*, perhaps related to གནད་ *GDUNG* 'desire, long for', is used. In Gyälthang, རྟག་ *DGOS* is used for this meaning. In some dialects, one finds compounds, such as ཏུ་སེམས་ལ་འགྲུ་ *SEMS.LA 'GRWA* (Jir) < CT 'to fit (lit. go to) the mind', ཏུ་མིག་ལ་འགྲུ་ *MIG.LA 'GRWA* (Jir) < CT 'to fit (lit. go to) the eye', e.g. ཏུ་སེམས་ཐེབས་ *SEMS.THEBS* (Yol) < CT 'to be touched, moved'.

**1106. HAVE SEX** རྟག་ *RGYO* [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts,) < CT རྟག་ བརྒྱལ་ བརྒྱལ་ (*B*)*RGYAG* related to CT རྟག་ *RGYAG*/ བརྒྱལ་ *BRGYA* 'to hit, to strike', a



form used in Balti: བརྒྱལ་ *BRGYAB* (Ba) < CT ‘hit’ which has retained the conservative form. Some dialects use an LVC: རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་ *RGYO RGYAB* (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྦྱང་བྱེད་ *CHAGS SPYOD BYED*, འཇིག་སྦྱང་བྱེད་ *KHRIG SPYOD BYED* ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: འཛོམས་ *DZEGS* < CT ‘to climb’ (Am), ཞོན་ *ZHON* ‘to ride’ གཡམ་ *G-YAB* lit. ‘to move to and fro, hither and thither’ (Am), ཕོ་རྒྱལ་ *PHORGYAG* lit. ‘to hit the belly’ (Am). The verb ལྷུག་ *BLUG* ‘to put into, to pour’ is also attested (Ü). The verb ཉལ་ *NYAL* < CT ‘to sleep’ or མཉམ་དུ་བཞུད་ *MNYAM, DUBSDAD* < CT ‘to stay with’ are also used for this meaning.

**1107. MOVE (HOUSE)/CHANGE LOCATION** སྦྱོ་ *SPO* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT སྦྱོ་, སྦྱོས་ *SPO(S)*, དཔོར་ *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): རོགས་བྱེད་ *ROGBYED* (Yol, etc.), རོགས་པ་བྱེད་ *ROG.PA BYED* (Ü, Ts, Am), རོགས་རམ་བྱེད་ *ROGS.RAM BYED* (Ü, Ts), རོགས་རམ་བྱིས་ *ROGS.RAMBYAS* (Lho), འོགས་རྩ་ཡེད་ *ROG.HWAYED* (Am), འོ་འ་གྱིད་ *RO’A GYID* (Jir), ཡ་ཏོ་བ་(བྱེད་) *YA.TO BA* (Pur), འོ་ཡ་ཏོ་བ་ཙོ་ *YA.TO.BCO* (La), འོ་ལཱ་མཛའ་གྱིད་ *ZLAL.MDZA’ GYID* (Sh), ཆ་རོགས་འབད་ *CHA.ROGS’BAD* (Dz).

**1109. BIND/TIE/ATTACH** བསྐྱམས་ *SDAM* or བྲེམ་ *SDEM* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Sp, Kh, Ho, E: Th, Am, Yol) < CT བསྐྱམས་ སྦྱོས་ སྦྱོས་ *(B)SDA/(O)M(S)*, related to the adjective དམ་པོ་ *DAM.PO* ‘tight’; འཛིང་ *’CHING* (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Tö) [FFW] < CT འཛིང་ བཅིངས་ བཅིང་ ཆིངས་ *(’/B)C(H)ING(S)*.

**1110. PROTECT/GUARD/LOOK AFTER** སྦྱང་ *SRUNG* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] (La, Ba, Pur Ü, Ts, Tö, Sp, Kh, Ho, E: Th, Jir, Am) < CT, སྦྱིན་ *SRIN* (Sh), སྦྱོབ་ *SKYOB* or སྦྱལ་ *SKYAB* (La, Yol, Ü, Am, Kh).

**1111. DEFEND:** see PROTECT.

**1112. PUT/PLACE** བཞག་ *BZHAG* [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Yol, Jir, Ü, Ts, Am, Lho) /zhak/, /sha?/ < CT འཛོམ་ བཞག་ བཞག་ ཞོག་ *(’/JOG, (B)ZHA/(O)G*. In the Western languages, the word འབོར་ *BOR* [FFR] (Tö, Sp, La, Ba) < CT འབོར་ བོར་

(<sup>2</sup>)*BOR* ‘throw, abandon, forsake’. In these languages, the verb བཞག་ *BZHAG* (Ba, Pur) is also used but means ‘keep’.

**1113. CARRY** འཇུར་ *'KHUR* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, La, Tö, Yol, Ts, Hor, Kh, Am, Jir, Sh, etc.) < CT འཇུར། ཇུར། (<sup>2</sup>)*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 འཇུར་ *'KHYER* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ü, Am, etc.), \*འབག་ *'BAG* ‘carry’ [V2,+Ctr] (Kh, Dz, Lho).

**1114. BRING/CARRY AWAY/TAKE AWAY** འཇུར་ *'KHYER* or འཇུར་ *'KHER* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Jir, Am) < CT འཇུར། ཇུར། (<sup>2</sup>)*KHYER* ‘carry (towards a place), bring or take away’. By default, འཇུར་ *'KHYER* usually means ‘take away’. It is often associated with secondary verbs of motion: འཇུར་ཕྱིན་ *'KHYER PHYIN* ‘take away’ lit. ‘take go’, འཇུར་ཡོང་ *'KHYER YONG* ‘take come’, sometimes abbreviated འཇུར་ *'KHYONG* (La). Sometimes directional prefixes are used: ཕར་ཇུར་ *PHAR-'KHYER*, ཇུར་ཇུར་ *TSHUR-'KHYER*. Note that འཇུར་ *'KHER* and འཇུར་ *'KHYONG* are often used as secondary verbs in the Western languages (Ba, Pur). In some languages (Yol, etc.), the verb འཇུར་ *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་འོང་ *'BAG.'ONG* ‘to bring’ vs. \*འབག་འཇུར་ *'BAG.'GYO* (Dz), འབག་སྟེ་འཇུར་ *'BAG.STI'GYU* (Lho).

**1115. SEND (LETTER, etc.)** བཏང་ *BTANG*, བཏང་ *BTONG* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Jir, Kh, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT. Another frequent word is སྐར་ *SKUR* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT སྐར་, བསྐར་ བསྐར་ སྐར་ (*B*)*SKUR* ‘to entrust to carry’ related to འཇུར་ *'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 འགེལ་ བཀལ་ དགེལ་ ཁོལ་ (*B*)*K(H)A(/O)L* cognate with the pandialectal noun ཁལ་ *KHAL* ‘a load’. This word

is very similar in meaning to the word སྐུར་ *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 བརྒྱུ་ *BRDZANG* (Yol) < CT ‘to dispatch’ is used in some Southern languages.

- 1116. LIFT/RAISE** [+Ctr] བཏེག་ *BTEG* [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] < CT འདེགས་ བཏེག་ ཐེག་ (')*DEG(S)* (B)*T(H)EG*. བཏེག་ *BTEG* (Jir), ཏ་བཏག་ *BTAG* /<sup>s</sup>tak/ (La, Tö, Am), ཏ་བཏུག་ *BTYAG* /<sup>s</sup>tyak/ (Ba, Pur); བཏུག་ *BKYAG* [FFW] (Nubra, Yol, Sh, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT འགྲོགས་ བཏུགས་ ཏུག་ ཏ་སྐྱོགས་ (')*GYOG(S)*, (B)*K(H)YA(O)G(S)*.
- 1117. TAKE/FETCH** ལེན་ *LEN* [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT ལེན་ སྒྲངས་ སྒྲང་ ལོངས་ *LEN* (B)*LA(O)NG(S)*. In Ladaks, this is pronounced རེན་ /nen/. In some dialects, the form ལོན་ *LON* is used.
- 1118. CATCH** འཛིན་ 'DZIN བཟུང་ *BZUNG* [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འཛིན་ བཟུང་ བཟུང་ ཟུང་ 'DZIN (B/G)*ZUNG*. Various pronunciations are attested: བཟུམ་ (La) ཏ་ཟུན་ /zun/ (Pur), ཏ་ཟེམ་ /sim/ (Ü), etc. The verb འཇུས་ 'JUS (Ü, Am) is also used with a similar meaning.
- 1119. BUY** ཉོ་ *NYO* [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT ཉོ་ ཉོས་ *NYO(S)*. In Balti, the word ལེན་ < CT ‘take’ is used instead (see TAKE). The honorific form གཞིགས་ *GZIGS* ‘to buy’ is used in Central Tibet.
- 1120. SELL** བཅོངས་ *BTSONGS* རྩོང་ *TSHONG* [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT འཛོང་ བཅོངས་ བཅོང་ རྩོངས་ (B)*TS(H)ONG(S)*. In some western and southern languages (Ba, Yol, etc.), the word བསྐྱུར་ *BSGYUR* < CT ‘to change’ is used (see CHANGE).
- 1121. RECITE/REPEAT** སྐྱོར་ *SKYOR* [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Sp, Am) < CT སྐྱོར་ བསྐྱུར་ *SKYOR, BSKYAR*; འདོན་ 'DON (La, Tö, Ü, Am). Sometimes this is used as a compound: ཁ་འདོན་ *KHA'DON* (+LV) < CT འདོན་ བཏོན་ གཏོན་ ཐོན་ (/G)*DON* (B)*T(H)ON* < ‘cause to go out, come out, pronounce, repeat, recite’. In Amdo, it has come to mean ‘read aloud’; མོལ་ *MOL* [H] (Pur, La), སྐྱོགས་ *SGROGS* (Kyir, La) < CT (see READ). In some languages (Ü, Yol, etc.), the expression མ་ཉི་བགྲངས་ *MA.NIBGRANGS* < CT lit. ‘to count manis’ means ‘to recite (mantras)’.

**1122. READ** ལྟ་ *LTA* [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] < CT ལྟ་ བལྟ་ བལྟས་ ལྟས་ (*B*)*LTA(S)*/*LTOS* ‘to look at’ (Ü, Kh, Am), འདོན་ *DON* (Am) < CT (see COME OUT); སྒྲོགས་ *SGROGS* or བསྒྲག་ *BSGRAG* [FFR] (La, Yol, Kh, Am, Lho) < CT སྒྲོགས། བསྒྲགས། བསྒྲག་ སྒྲོགས་ (*B*)*SGRA(/O)G(S)* ‘to proclaim, broadcast’. In Ladaks, this is pronounced རྟག་ /rok/ but is used only for the reading of religious books; གྲོག་ *GLOG* [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Sp, Dz) < CT གྲོག་ བཀྲགས་ བཀྲག་ གྲོགས་ (*B*)*KLA(/O)G(S)* ‘to read (aloud)’. Some dialects make a distinction between ‘to read silently’ and ‘to read aloud’ (Ü, Ts, etc.). འདོན་ *DON* [FFR] (Am, Kh) < CT འདོན་ བཏོན་ གཏོན་ ཐོན་ (*/G*)*DON(B)T(H)ON* < CT (see COME OUT). In Balti, the verb ཟེར་ *ZER* < CT ‘to say’ is used in the expression ཤོག་བུ་ཟེར་ *SHOG.BUZER* lit. ‘say a book’. གསེལ་ *GSIL* (La, Pur) < CT ‘to produce a sound (H)’. A few dialects have honorific forms: གཟིགས་ *GZIGS* (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘to see, look at’.

**1123. COMPARE** ལྟར་ *SDUR* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ལྟར་ བལྟར་ (*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)** (སྒོ་/ཁ་) ལྷག་ (*SGO/KHA*) *RGYAG* [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Tö, Yol, Ü, Kh, Hor, La, Ba, Am) < CT ( see ‘hit’), བཙུག་ *BCUG* [FFR] (Pur, La, Ba) < CT see ‘to insert/put in’; སྡེམ་ *SDEM*/བསྡེམས་ *BSDAMS* [FFR] (Ts, Kh) < CT see ‘to bind’; བཙད་ *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 སྒོ་ *SGO* ‘door’ or by ཁ་ *KHA* ‘lid’ (< CT ‘mouth’).

**1126. CLOSE (EYE/MOUTH)** བཙུམ་ *BTSUM* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT འཛུམ་ བཙུམ་ བཙུམས་ ཙུམས་ *DZUM(B)TS(H)UM(S)*. This is usually preceded by the noun མིག་ *MIG* ‘eye’ or ཁ་ *KHA* ‘mouth’: e.g. ཁ་བཙུམ་ *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)** (སྒྲོ་/ཁ་) བྱེ་ (*SGO/KHA*) *PHYE* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT འབྱེད་ བྱེ་ རྩེ་ བྱེས་ (*/D*)*BYE(D)*, *PHYE(S)*. This is pronounced unaspirated in some dialects (La, Durbuk). The verb is normally preceded by the noun སྒྲོ་ *SGO* ‘door’ or its variant སྒྲོ་མོ་ *SGO.MO* or by ཁ་ *KHA* ‘lid’ (< CT ‘mouth’): e.g. སྒྲོ་བྱེ་ *SGO PHYE*.
- 1129. OPEN (EYE/MOUTH/LEG)** གདང་ *GDANG* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT གདང་ གདངས་ གདང་ གདོངས་ (*G*)*DA* (*/O*)*G(S)*. The verb བེ་ *PHE* (Pur, La) ‘to open’ is also used. བྱེད་ *PHYED* /p’et/ ‘to open eyes (for the first time)’ < CT ‘to be separated’.
- 1130. WEAVE** འཐག་ *THAG* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT འཐག་ བཏགས་ བཏག་ འཐོག་ (*B/*)*T(H)AG(S)*, *THOG* ‘weave with a loom’. Sometimes preceded by the noun *THAGS* ‘weaving’, as: ཐགས་འཐག་ *THAGS THAG*. In the Tibetic languages, this verb usually also means ‘grind’.
- 1131. GRIND.** See WEAVE.
- 1132. BRAID/KNIT** སྒྲ་ *SLA* [PR] < སྒྲ་ བསྒྲས་ བསྒྲ་ སྒྲས་ (*B*)*SLA/O(S)* ‘weave by hand, braid, knit’.
- 1133. CHANGE** བསྒྱུར་ *BSGYUR* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བྱུར་ བསྒྱུར་ བསྒྱུར་ བྱུར་ (*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 སྐད་བསྒྱུར་ *SKAD SGYUR* lit. ‘change language’ means ‘translate’ in most languages (see TRANSLATE). In Purik, སྒྲེབ་ *SDEB* /°dep/ (Pur) < CT ‘joint, combine, barter’ སྒྲེབ་ བསྒྲེབ་ བསྒྲེབས་ སྒྲེབས་ (*B*)*SDEB(S)* is used.
- 1134. VARY, CHANGE** འགྱུར་ *’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** ན་ *NA* [V1] [FFR] (Sp, Jir, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Lho). A few other roots are attested: ཁོལ་ *KHOL* ‘to boil’ (Am, Ba, Th, Pur) derived from the metaphoric meaning of ‘to boil’, related to the sensation of fever. The root ཟུག་ *ZUG* is attested in some areas (Ü, La, Sp) and refers to acute pain < CT ‘to be stung,

pricked'. The forms ལུར་ *ZUR* or ལུར་མོ་ *ZUR.MO* (La), ལག་ཟེར་མོ་ *GZER.MO* (Pur) are also attested. They are also related to acute pain and are related to གཟེར་ *GZER* < CT 'nail'. The two roots may combine (Sp, La): ལུག་གཟེར་ *ZUG.GZER*. The root ཚ་ *TSHA* < CT 'hot' is also attested to mean 'acute pain'. It also occurs in the light verb construction རྒྱུ་ཚ་བྱུང་ *NA.TSHA BTANG* 'to feel a pain'. Additionally, ལུག་ *KHUG* 'to be bent' is also found in a few dialects (Kh, E). The honorific form ལྷུང་ *SNYUNG* 'to be sick' is widespread (Yol, Ü, Ts, La, Sh, Dz).

**1136. RECOVER (FROM ILLNESS)** ལྷག་ *DRAG* [V1] [FFW] (Tö, Yol, Ü, Ts, Jir, Kh, Dz, Lho, Am) < CT (inv.). The verb སོས་ *SOS* (Kh) < CT 'to heal, recover' or གསོས་ *GSOS* (Dz) < 'to cure' is also widely attested. ལྷངས་ *DWANGS* (Dz) < CT 'to be clear(ed)', རྒྱལ་ *RGYAL* (La, Pur) < CT 'to be victorious'. The word འདོད་ *DOD* /dot/ is used in Purik and Ladaks.

**1137. BE COLD/FREEZE** འཁྱལ་ *KHYAG* [FFR] (Pur, La, Yol, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, etc.) lit. 'freeze' or the variant འཁེ་ *KHE* (Jir); གྲང་ *GRANG*, གྲམ་ *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 འཁྱལ་ *KHYAG* for endopathic feeling and གྲང་ *GRANG* for external cold (Ü, La), whereas other dialects do the opposite (Am, LJ: Durbuk). The word འཁེ་ *KHENG* is used in Hor dialects to mean 'to freeze' for water, etc.

**1138. ERR/MAKE A MISTAKE** མོར་ *NOR* [V1] [PR] < CT. འཕྱུལ་ *PHRUL* (La), འཕྱུག་ *PHYUG* (Am) < CT. འཛོལ་ *DZOL* (Am) < CT.

**1139. BE WRONG** མོར་ *NOR* [V1] [PR]. In some dialects, མ་མེད་ *MA-RED* lit. 'be not right', གཤེད་པ་མ་མེད་ *GDEN.PA MA-RED* is also used. The word /yalat/ (Pur, La) is also attested < Pers. See ERR.

**1140. FEAR/BE AFRAID** འཛིགས་ *JIGS* [V2] [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Tö, Sp, Yol, Sh, Lho, Ko) < CT. In some languages, such as Sherpa, the root is used as a noun འཛི་བ་ *JILBA* (Jir, Sh), འཛིགས་མོ་ *JIGS.MO* (Ko) < CT འཛིགས་པ་ *JIGS.PA*, followed by a verb ལང་ *LANG*. The root སྐྱལ་ *SKRAG*, alt. སྐྱལ་ *SKYAG* is also widespread [FFR] (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT. Other roots are more marginal: ཞེད་ *ZHED* (Ü) < CT, ཟེད་ *BRED*

- (Ts) < CT, རྟངས་ *DNGANGS* (Am, Th) < CT ‘to be panicked’, འཛྱག་ *’DROG* (Dz, Pur, La, Za) ‘to be startled’ < CT ‘to be startled, frightened, scared, shy (for horses).
- 1141. WIPE** ཕྱིས་ *PHYID* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT འབྱིད་ ཕྱིས་ རྟི་ ཕྱིས་ (*/D*)*BYI(D) PHYI(S)*. The verb སྒྲིག་ *SGRIG* < CT ‘arrange’ is marginally used for ‘wipe’ in Southern Kham.
- 1142. HIDE/CONCEAL (something)** སྒྲས་ *SBAS* [V2,+Ctr] < CT སྒྲེད་ སྒྲས་ སྒྲོས་ *SBED SBA(/O)S*. Note the Amdo-specific pronunciation  $\diamond$  /zi/ in some cultivators’ areas. Other roots are attested: བཀའ་ *BKAB* < CT ‘to cover, to conceal’ (bivalent) see COVER. In Kham and Amdo, the verb སྐྱད་ *SKUNG* < CT ‘bury, do secretly’ (probably cognate with ལུང་ *KHUNG* ‘hole’) is also found with the meaning ‘to hide’. In Amdo (Sogwo)  $\diamond$  གླེབ་ *GLEB*, of unknown origin, is used.
- 1143. HIDE (oneself)** ཡིབ་ *YIB* [V1,+Ctr] [PR] < CT. ཡིབ་ ཡིབས་ *YIB(S)* ‘hide oneself and its monovalent form གཤམ་ *GAB* meaning ‘to hide oneself (Ü) are found. In some areas འཇབ་ *JAB* (Sp, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT ‘to lie in ambush’ is used.  $\diamond$  གླུམ་ *GLUM* (Am).
- 1144. INSERT/PUT INTO/POUR** བཅུག་ *BCUG* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, Kh, Am, Ts, Tö) < CT འཇུག་ བཅུག་ གཞུག་ ཅུག་ (*/*)*JUG (G)ZHUG (B)C(H)UG*. The root གླུག་ *BLUG* [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’.  $\diamond$  བསྐྱས་ *BSDUS* (Am) < CT ‘gather’.
- 1145. PLANT (TREES, etc.) / STICK IN** བཅུགས་ *BTSUGS* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འཇུགས་ བཅུགས་ གཞུགས་ ཅུགས་ (*B*)*TS(H)UGS*, (*/*)*DZUGS*, (*G*)*ZUGS*. Balti uses the word སྒྲོ་ *SPO* < CT ‘to change, to move’.
- 1146. PLANT/SOW (A FIELD)** བཏབ་ *BTAB* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འདེབས་ བཏབ་ གཏབ་ ཐོབ་ (*B*)*T(H)A(/O)B*, (*/G*)*DE(/A)B(S)*.
- 1147. BLEND/MIX** སྒེ་ *SRE* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT སྒེ་ *SRE* བསྒེས་ བསྒེས་ བསྒེས་ (*B*)*SRE(S)*. Note that the initial cluster *SR* is pronounced in various ways as /t/, /s/, /ʃ/, /str/.
- 1148. MIX/TO BE MIXED (UP)** འཛྱེ་ *DRE* [V1] < CT.

1149. **FRY/ROAST/GRILL** རྩོ་ *RNGO* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT རྩོ་ བཞོས་ བཞོ་ རྩོས་ (*B*)*RNGO*(*S*). In the southern Kham area, a voiceless nasal appears instead, as if it were རྩོ་ *SNGO*. Another root is རྩོག་ *SREG* [PR] < CT རྩོག་ བཞོགས་ བཞོག་ རྩོགས་ (*B*)*SREG*(*S*). རྩོ་ *RNGO* and རྩོག་ *SREG* have very similar meanings, but *RNGO* often means ‘fry’ whereas *SREG* is more used for ‘grill’, ‘roast’ and also ‘burn something’. More marginally, in the western and southern languages, the root ལྷམ་ *SLAM*/ལྷོས་ *SLOM* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Jir) < OT ‘roast a little’ is found.
1150. **WEIGH** ལྷར་ *SKAR* or its variant ལྷར་ *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 *bre* or *khal*. Other verbs are found: འཇལ་ *JAL* (Kh) or བཅར་ *BCAR* /ཅར་ (Pur) < ? CT འཇལ་ *JAL* བཅལ་ *BCAL* < CT ‘repay, measure, weigh’, བཏུག་ *BKYAG* (Ü) < CT ‘to lift’ འཏུག་ བཏུགས་ བཏུག་ ཏུག་ (‘) *GYOG*, (*B*)*K*(*H*)*YA*(*O*)*G* usually in the compound རྒྱུ་མ་བཏུག་ *RGYA.MA BKYAG* (Am), འདེགས་ *DEGS* (La) ‘to lift’ < CT. The word ཚད་ *TSHAD* (Am) < CT ‘to measure’ is also attested.
1151. **PRAISE** བསྟོད་ *BSTOD* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT. In Central Tibet, it appears with an LVC: བསྟོད་ར་བཏང་ *BSTOD.RA BTANG*. Other words are attested: བསྟུགས་ *BSNGAGS* < CT. བཏུག་ *BKYAG* < CT ‘to lift’ (see above).
1152. **EAT** ཟ་ *ZA* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ཟ་ བཟས་ བཟའ་ ཟས་ (*B*)*ZA*(*O*)(*S*). In a couple of eastern dialects, such as southern Kham or E, the root འཇལ་ ‘*CHA*’ < CT lit. ‘to chew’ is used. In some dialects, both roots are used, with ཟ་ *ZA* referring to ‘soft food’ (bread, etc.) and ‘*CHA*’ refers to ‘hard food’ (meat, etc.). The honorific forms བཞེས་ *BZHES* (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz), མཚོད་ *MCHOD* (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘to offer’, འདོན་ *DON* < CT ‘to offer’ (La).
1153. **BE EATEN/CONSUMED (with sensation)** ཟ་ *ZA* [V1] [FFR] < CT ཟ། བཟས། བཟའ་ (*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’ ཚོག་པ་ཟ་ *TSHIG.PA ZA* or ‘doubt’ ཐེ་ཚོསས་/དྲོགས་པ་ཟ་ *THE.TSHOMS/DOGS.PA ZA*. See DOUBT.
1154. **DRINK** འཐུང་ *THUNG* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འཐུང་ བཏུངས་ བཏུང་ འཐུངས་ (‘/B)*T*(*H*)*UNG*(*S*). Many languages use its present stem འཐུང་ *THUNG*. Some few



dialects have an innovative form for the imperative: ཏུང་ *SNUNG* (Am: Mewa). In some dialects (Pur, La), the verb ‘to drink’ also means ‘to smoke’. The honorific forms བཞེས་ *BZHES* (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz), མཆོད་ *MCHOD* (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘to offer’, འདོན་ ‘*DON* (La) < CT or བསྐྱུས་ *BSNAMs* [HH] (La) < CT ‘to take (H)’.

- 1155. GO** [V1,+Ctr] འགོ་ ‘*GRO* [FFW] (Ba, LJ, Yol, Jir, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Dz, Am) < CT འགོ་ སང་/ཕྱིན་ འགོ་ སང་ ‘*GRO SONG PHYIN*. Most dialects have a form directly derived from CT འགོ་ ‘*GRO*. In some dialects (Balti, Rongdrak and Yunnan), the form འགོ་ ‘*GO* is attested, whereas འགྱོ་ ‘*GYO* is used in Amdo and Dzongkha and འགྱུ་ ‘*GYU* in Lhoke. Many dialects have suppletive forms for the past and imperative. The present stem is nearly pandialectal: འགོ་ ‘*GRO*/འགྱོ་ ‘*GYO*, with some exceptions in the western languages which have ཆ་ ‘*CHA* (Pur, La) < CT ‘get ready for the trip’. In most dialects, the past stem is སང་ ‘*SONG*. In the Minyag dialect (Kh), འགོ་ ‘*GRO* means ‘to go’ or ‘to walk’ in all their tenses, while སང་ ‘*SONG* means ‘to leave’ or ‘to go away’. Other frequent roots are also used, such as ཐལ་ ‘*THAL* ‘to go (past)’ (Kh, Am), ཕྱིན་ ‘*PHYIN* ‘to go (past)’ (Ü). The root བརྒལ་ ‘*BRGAL* ‘to go’ < 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. འགྱུལ་ ‘*GRUL* ‘to go, walk’ (La) is also attested. འདོང་ ‘*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 རྒྱུགས་ ‘*RGYUGs* (Ü) lit. ‘run!’. The honorific form ཐེབས་ ‘*PHEBS* ‘to go’ < CT is used as the honorific in many languages (Ü, Ts, NKH, Am, Dz). In Amdo this is pronounced ཏེབས་ ‘*HEBS* /hep/ < CT ཐེབས་ ‘*PHEBS*. In Balti, the honorific form for ‘to go’ is གཤགས་ ‘*GSHAGs* /shaxs/ < CT གཤགས་ ‘*GSHEGS*. In Ladaks and Purik, the honorific form སྐྱོད་ ‘*SKYOD* < CT is very frequent.

- 1156. COME** ཡོང་ ‘*YONG* or its archaic form འོང་ ‘*ONG* [V1] [PW] < CT. The imperative corresponds to a suppletive form འོག་ ‘*SHOG* < CT གཤགས་ ‘*GSHEGS*. In Balti, the honorific form for ‘to come’ (in all tenses) is གཤགས་ ‘*(G)SHAGs* < CT གཤགས་ ‘*GSHEGS*. In Ladaks, the main honorific form is སྐྱོད་ ‘*SKYOD* < CT. The honorific form ཐེབས་ ‘*PHEBS* ‘to go’ < CT is used as the honorific in many languages (La, Ü, Ts, Kh).

**1157. ARRIVE** སླེབས་ *SLEBS* [v1] [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, La, Jir, Lho etc.) < CT.

This may be pronounced in various ways, such as /<sup>ˈ</sup>lep/, འཕྲིལ་ *LHEBS* /<sup>ˈ</sup>lep/, འཕྲིལ་ *RTSEBS* /<sup>ˈ</sup>tsep/. In Dzongkha, the word འཕྲོད་ *LHOD* and its variant འཕྲོད་ *HOD* /hō/ are used. The root ཐོན་ *THON* [FFR] < CT *THON* ‘come out’ is found, for example, in Amdo, Thewo, Balti and northern Kham (Yu). The root བྱོན་ *BYON* < CT ‘to arrive (H)’ is also attested, e.g., in Gyälthang, Lhoke and some Tö dialects. འཕྲོར་ *BYOR* < CT ‘to receive’ is found in Central Tibet. Another word ཐེབས་ *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 /<sup>ˈ</sup>peʔ/, and used for the nonhonorific register. In Balti, the honorific form for ‘to arrive’ གཤགས་ (*G*)*SHAGS* < CT གཤགས་ *GSHEGS* is used.

**1158. COME BACK** ལོག་ *LOG* [v1 + Ctr] [PW]. This is often preceded by the prefix *TSHUR*. In some languages, ལྷུ་ལོང་ *TSHUR-’ONG* ‘come hither’ is also used.

**1159. MAKE COME BACK** སློག་ *SLOG* [v2 + Ctr] [PW]. This also means ‘to return an object’. Reflexes of འཕྲོག་ *ZLOG* /rdzok/ are also attested.

**1160. GO TO MEET** བསུ་ *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 བསུ་ཐུ་ *BSUS.PHYE* /susp’e/ ‘butter on a plate with tsampa’. Note the Amdo proverb: བསུ་ཐག་མ་ཐུང་སྒྲུལ་ཐག་མ་རིང་ *BSUTHAGMA-THUNG SKYAL THAGMA-RING* ‘Welcoming, go far; seeing off, don’t go far’.

**1161. ACCOMPANY/SEE OFF** སྒྲུལ་ *SKYAL* [v2, + Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Jir, Lho, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor) སྒྲུལ་ བསྐྱལ་ བསྐྱལ་ སྒྲུལ་ (B)*SKYA* (/E/O)*L*. 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 ཐར་ *PHAR* ‘thither’.

**1162. CHASE/PURSUE** འདྲོད་ *DED* (La), བདའ་ *BDA*’ (Pur). In southern Kham, སྒྲུལ་ *SNYA* /ny’a/ and སྒྲེག་ *SNYEG* < CT *SNYEG* ‘to follow, pursue’ are used.

1163. **JUMP** མཚོང་ *MCHONG* [V1+Ctr] [PW] < CT མཚོང་ མཚོངས་ མཚོང་ མཚོངས་ *MCHONG(S)*. The pronunciation མཚོམ་ *MCHOM* is found in some areas (Ü). A few other verbs are attested: འཕག་ *PHAG* < CT ‘to move upwards’.
1164. **FLY** འཕུར་ *PHUR* [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འཕུར་ ཕུར་ (‘) *PHUR*. In some southern Kham dialects, ལྷིང་ *LDING* < CT ‘flow, float’ is found. In Ladaks (Leh) ལུར་ *UR*, is used and is probably related to the Hindi-Urdu /ur/ ‘to fly’.
1165. **DESCEND/GO DOWN** འབབ་ *BAB* [V1+Ctr] [PW] < CT འབབ་ བབས་ འབབ་ བོབ་ (‘) *BA(O)B(S)*, མར་འགོ་ *MAR. GRO*.
1166. **FALL (for precipitation)** འབབ་ *BAB* [V1] [PW] < CT འབབ་ བབས་ འབབ་ (‘) *BAB(S)*. In many languages, this verb is used for precipitation (rain, snow, hail). The controllable verb འབབ་ *BAB* ‘to descend, go down’ and the noncontrollable verb འབབ་ *BAB* have the same lexical root, differing only by the existence of the imperative stem བོབ་ *BOB*. Thus, from the semantic point of view of Tibetan languages, ‘to fall’ is ‘to descend in a noncontrollable way’.
1167. **MAKE FALL/DESCEND** བབ་ *PHAB* [V2+Ctr] [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT འབབས་ དབབ་ བབ་ བོབ་ (‘) *BEB(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** ལུང་ *LHUNG* and ལུང་ *LTUNG* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Jir Am, Kh) < CT. *LTUNG* is often used for a ‘moral fall’. Other verbs are attested: ཟག་ *ZAG* [FFR] (Ü) < CT, འགྲིལ་ *GRIL* or རིལ་ *RIL* ‘stumble, fall’ < CT ‘to fall, roll down’, འབུད་ *BUD* (Pur, La); འགྲེལ་ *GYEL* (Pur, La, Tö, Ü) < CT ‘to fall’.
1169. **WEAR (CLOTHES/SHOES)** གོན་ *GON*/ གྱོན་ *GYON* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT. In some dialects of Kham, the two forms are used with a different meaning: གྱོན་ *GYON* is used for clothes and shoes, whereas གོན་ *GON* for accessories such as earrings, bracelets, etc. For ornaments and eyeglasses, the verb བརྟག་ *BTAG* ‘to attach’ is used in some areas (Ü, Ts, La, etc.)
1170. **WAIT** སྒུག་ *SGUG* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT སྒུག་ བསྒུགས་ བསྒུག་ སྒུགས་ (B) *SGUG(S)*. The verbs སྒྲིང་ *SRING* < CT ‘to make long’ or སྒྲུང་ *SRUNG* < CT ‘keep’ are used in

some western languages (La, Pur, Za). ཏ་དང་བྱ་(བྱེད་) *DANGBYA(BYED)* /dang ba/ (Pur). The word /dat/ (Ba) is also attested.

**1171. BLOW** འབྲུད་ *BUD* [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Sp, Kh, Jir) < CT འབྲུད་ ལྷས་ འབྲུད་ ལྷས་ (')*BU(S/D)* or ཕུ་ *PHU* (Pur, Lho, etc.). In some languages, one finds a compound verb: ཕུ་བརྒྱལ་ *PHU BRGYAB* (Yol, Ü, Ts), ཕུ་བྱ་ *PHU BYA* (Ba), ཕུ་བཏང་ *PHU BTANG* (La).

**1172. KILL** བསད་ *BSAD* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT གསོད་ བསད་ གསད་ མོད་ (*B/G*)*SA(/O)**D*. Other roots are very marginally attested: བརྒྱལ་ (*B*)*RDAB* (Ba) < CT རྒྱལ་ བརྒྱལ་ བརྒྱལ་ རྒྱལ་ *RDEB(S)*, (*B*)*RDE(A/O)**B(S)* 'to knock down'. སྤྲུ་ *SPUR* (Kyir) < CT 'to cause to fly'. བཤམ་ *BSHA* 'to slaughter' is also attested in Gyälthang. The verb is also used in some dialects for inanimate object: གློག་བསད་ *GLOG BSAD* 'switch off the light' (lit. 'kill the light'). In Amdo, the verb མཐུལ་ *MTHUL* < CT is used for this purpose.

**1173. DIE** ཤི་ *SHI* [PW] < CT འཛི་ ཤི་ འཛི་ *'CHI/SHI*. In some dialects, this is also used for certain inanimate entities with the metaphorical meaning 'finished, dead', such as མེ་ཤི་ *MESHI* 'the fire has gone out', འོ་མ་ཤི་ *O.MASHI* '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': སྐྱུ་གློངས་ (*SKU*) *GRONGS* (Ü, La), གཤགས་ *GSHAGS* (Ü, Ba) < CT 'to go', གཤགས་ *GSHEGS*, སྐྱུ་གཤགས་ *SKU GSHEGS* (La), འདས་ *DAS* < CT 'to pass (away)', བརྒྱལ་ *BRGAL* (Pur, Ba) < CT 'to cross'. གྱུར་ *GYUR* (Pur, Ba) < CT 'to be transformed', མེད་མོང་ *MED SONG* 'to be no more' or the variant མེད་དེ་བྱུད་མོང་ *MED.DE BUD-SONG* (Dolpo), དཔྱུགས་འཐེན་ *DBUGS 'THEN* lit. 'drag breath' (Yol). The expressions འོད་མོང་ *'OD SONG* 'to pass (away) in light', མཇའ་འོད་མོང་ *'JA-'A SONG* 'to pass (away) in the rainbow', ཡལ་མོང་ 'to fade away, to vanish' (Dolpo). The understatement often used in Amdo is noteworthy: མ་འཚམས་ཐལ་ *MA, 'TSHAMS-THAL* '(S/he) lost his/her health'.

**1174. HIT/BEAT** རྩུང་ *RDUNG* [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho) < CT རྩུང་ བརྩུངས་ བརྩུང་ རྩུངས་ (*B*)*RDUNG(S)*, རྩུག་ *RGYAG* [FFR] (Ü) < CT རྩུག་ བརྩུག་ རྩུག་ *RGYAG (B)RGYA(/O)**B* 'to hit'; གཞུ་ *GZHU* (Ü, Ts) < CT 'to hit, strike, throw', བརྒྱལ་ *BRDAB* < CT རྒྱལ་ བརྒྱལ་ བརྒྱལ་ རྒྱལ་ *RDEB(S)*, (*B*)*RDA(/O)**B(S)* 'to knock down'. གཉོག་ *GYOG* (Am) < CT.

1175. **GET/OBTAIN** ཐོབ་ *THOB* [V2] [PR] < CT. A few other roots are found e.g. རག་ *RAG* ‘to touch’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT ‘to touch’. ལོན་ *LON* (Am) < CT ‘to touch’.
1176. **RECEIVE** [V2] འབྱོར་ *BYOR*. See GET.
1177. **LIGHT (FIRE)** ལྷན་ *SPAR* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ལྷན་ ལྷན་ ལྷན་ ལྷན་ *SPA/OR*. In some dialects of southern Kham, འབར་ *BAR* lit. [V1] ‘to burn’ is also used for this meaning. བསྐྱོན་ *BSGRON* (Am) is also attested.
1178. **MAKE A FIRE** མེ་ (མྱེ) + འབྲུད་ *ME (MYE)* + *BUD* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ho, Kh, Am) < CT lit. ‘to blow the fire’ (see BLOW). The variant མེ་ཕུ་ *ME PHU* (Pur, Dz) is also attested. In other languages, the form མེ་བྲང་ *ME BTANG* (Ü, Ts, La, Ba, Sp). Other compound forms are attested: མེ་རྩོག་བྲང་ *ME TROG BTAB* (Hor) < མེ་སྒེག་བྲང་ *ME SREG BTAB* (see BURN) or མེ་སྐོང་ *ME SGONG* (Hor).
1179. **BURN** སྒེག་ *SREG* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT སྒེག་ བསྒེག་ས་ བསྒེག་ སྒེག་ས་ (*B*)*SREG(S)*. Some regions use a compound or a light verb construction: མེར་བྲང་ *MER BTANG* lit.: ‘to send into fire’ (Dz), མྱེ་བྲང་ *MYE.BTANG* (E), མེ་སྒེག་(ཁྲག)བྲང་ *ME.SREG BTANG* (Ü). མེ་བྲུག་ *MEBTUG* / *me tuk* / (La, Pur) < CT བདུག་ བདུག་ས་ བདུག་ བདུག་ས་ *BDUG(S)*. In some Kham dialects, སྒེག་ *SREG* is also used with a noncontrollable meaning.
1180. **BURN** འབར་ *BAR* [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 གཞེན་ *GZHEN* (La) is also attested.
1181. **BURN/BE BURNED** རྩིག་ *TSHIG* [V1] [PR]. In many languages, this word has acquired metaphorical meanings related to ‘anger’ or ‘jealousy’ (see ANGER).
1182. **LOSE (an object, etc.)** ལྷོར་ *STOR* [V2] [FFR] (Ba, Pur La, Tö, Jir, Sh) < CT; བརྒྱལ་ས་ *BRLAGS* (Ü, Ts, Am), < CT ལྷོག་ས་ བརྒྱལ་ས་ བརྒྱལ་ ལྷོག་ས་ (*B*)*RLA(/O)G(S)* ‘to lose, to destroy’. In some dialects of southern Kham, the word ལྷག་ *LHAG* ‘to leave behind’, perhaps related to *BRLAGS*, is used. འཛོར་ *BOR* [FFR] (E: Th, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ‘to abandon, to forsake’; སྐྱལ་ *SKYAL* [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), འབྱུང་ *'BYANG* (Dz, Kh) and འབྱུང་ *'BYVANG* (Lho) < CT 'to be purified, to disappear' are used. The verb སྒྱུད་ *SHUD* < CT 'slip, slide' is also attested in northern Kham.

**1183. FORGET** རྒྱུད་ *RJED* [V2] [PR] < CT རྒྱུད་ *(B)RJED*. In some languages (Ba, Pur, Sp), this is pronounced འཕྱུད་ *(R)ZHED*. The well-known proverb རྒྱུ་ཐོན་ནས་ཟམ་པ་བརྒྱུད་ནད་གྲག་ནས་ཞེས་ཇི་བརྒྱུད། *CHU THON-NAS ZAM.PA BRJED NAD GRAD-NAS PEM,JI BRJED*. '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** རྒྱན་ *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 རྒྱན་ *DRAN* is used with a directional marker: ཡར་རྒྱན་ *YAR-DRAN* རྒྱུར་རྒྱན་ *TSHUR-DRAN* or even ཡར་རྒྱན་ *PHAR-DRAN*. In some languages, རྒྱན་པ་ *DRAN.PA* + LV is used: རྒྱན་པ་གྱིད་ *DRAN.PA GYID* (Jir), etc. Balti, Ladakhi and Amdo employ a compound of ཡིད་དུ་ *YID.DU* 'mind' + *purposive case*, lit. 'in the mind' followed by a verb 'come, do, remain, etc.': ཡིད་དུ་ཡོང་ *YID.DU YONG* (La) or ཡིད་དུ་འོང་ *YID.DU 'ONG* (Ba), ཡིད་ལ་ཡོང་ *YID.LA YONG* (Am), ཡིད་དུ་བྱ་ *YID.DU BYA* (Ba, Pur), ཡིད་དུ་ལུས་ *YID.DU LUS* (Pur). In Spiti, the compound འལ་ལ་ཡོང་ *'ALLA YONG* may be derived from རྩ་ལེ་ *WALE* 'lucid, clear (mind)+come'. The compound བསམ་པ་གཏོང་ *BSAM.PA GTONG* lit. 'send thought' is also used (Gyälthang).

**1185. GATHER/PICK UP (FIREFWOOD, etc.)** འཐུ་ *'THU* [V2, +Ctr] [PR] < CT འཐུ་ བཏུ་ བཏུས་ *'འཐུས་*. Other forms are attested: སྒྱུག་ *SGRUG* pronounced རུག་ *RUG* (La) < CT 'to pick up, pluck', སྒྱུད་ *SDUD* (La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT 'to collect', གཤག་ *GSHAG* < CT 'to split' is used to collect wood in Dechen (Kham).

**1186. UNDERSTAND** ཉ་ཞོ་ *HA GO* [V2] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Dz, Lho) < CT. Most languages use this compound of ཉ་ *HA* (perhaps onomatopoeic) with the verb ཞོ་ *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 འཁྱུ་ཞོ་ *'GYA GO*. In some regions, the verb ཞོ་ *GO* (Am, Jir, etc.) < CT 'to hear' occurs alone. In some dialects of Kham, Amdo and Eastern, the verb ཞེས་ *SHES* lit. 'to

know’ is also used. In Čone (E), ‘understand’ and ‘know’ are the same word, ཤེས་ *SHES*, but the case of its undergoer is absolutive for ‘understand’ and ergative for ‘know’. Balti and some Purik dialects use the verb ཅུད་ *CHUD* (Ba, Pur, Za) < CT ‘to get into, understand, know’ or ཅོས་ *THOS* (La) ‘to understand (or hear) a religious teaching’. The honorific form མཆེན་ *MKHYEN* < CT is used for ‘to understand’ in some languages (Ü, Ts, Dz).

1187. **KNOW** ཤེས་ *SHES* [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 ཤ་ཤེན་ *SHEN*, probably by analogy with the honorific word མཆེན་ *MKHYEN* ‘know (H)’. The honorific form མཆེན་ *MKHYEN* for ‘to know’ < CT is widespread (Ü, Ts, Dz, La). In Ladakh and Purik, the Hindi-Urdu loanword པ་ཏ་ *PA.TA*+AUX is also frequently used.
1188. **BE HUNGRY** ལྟོགས་ *LOGS* [V1] [PR] < CT ལྟོགས་ *LOGS*. In many languages, the verb appears as a nominal incorporation, preceded by a noun such as གྲོད་ལོག་ *GROD.KHOG*, ལྟོ་ *LTO*, རོ་བ་ *PHO.BA* or གསུམ་པ་ *GSUS.PA* which mean ‘stomach’ or ‘belly’. A few languages use other derivations: ལྟོགས་རེ་ *LOGS.RE* (Sp) < ལྟོགས་བྱེས་ *LOGS.BKRES* and ལྟོ་བ་ལང་ *LHO.BA LANG* (Sh) < CT ལྟོགས་པ་ *LOGS.PA* + ལང་ *LANG*. Dzongkha uses ལྟོ་མ་བྱེས་ *LTOW.BKYES* < CT བྱེས་ *BKRES* ‘to be hungry (H)’ ; ལྟོ་པོ་ལྟོགས་ *GYOD.PO LTOGS* (Lho). The honorific form བྱེས་ *BKRES* is used in some languages (Ü, Ts), and རིམས་ *RIMS* [H] (La) < CT ‘archaic form’ སྦྲིབས་ *SBRIBS* ‘to be hungry’ (Norman 2019).
1189. **BE THIRSTY** སྐོམ་ *SKOM* [V1] [PR] < CT སྐོམ་ སྐོམས་ *SKOM(S)*. Usually this verb is preceded by *KHA* ‘mouth’: ཁ་སྐོམ་ *KHA SKOM*. The root *SKOM* is related to *SKAM*, and thus *KHA SKOM* could be literally rendered as ‘to have a dry mouth’. In Spiti སྐོམ་བྱེས་ *SKOM.BKRES* is used a compound which includes the honorific verb *BKRES*. The honorific form སྐྱེམས་ *SKYEMS* [H] is widespread (La, Ts, Ü).
1190. **OCCUR/HAPPEN** བྱུང་ *BYUNG* [V1] [PR]. The variant བྱིང་ *BYING* < CT *BYUNG* is used in Ladakh. Other verbs are attested for this meaning: ཐོན་ *THON* (Ü,

Ts, SKh, Lho), རེད་ *RED* (Nkh, Hor), ཡེད་ *YED* < CT བྱེད་ *BYED* ‘to do’, ཆ་ *CHA* (Pur, La) lit. ‘to go’.

**1191. GET ANGRY:** see ANGER.

**1192. TRANSLATE** སྐད་སྒྱུར་ *SKAD SGYUR* [v2,+Ctr] [PW] (La). སྐད་སྒྱོག་བྱ་ *SKAD.ZLOG BYA* < CT lit. ‘to convert language’ used in Balti. In some areas in Kham, a Chinese-Tibetan calque འདྲ་མཉམ་སྒྱུག་ *THONG.SI RGYAG* (Ch. 通事 *tongshi* ‘interpreter’ + *RGYAG* ‘do’) is used. སྐད་ཤེས་བས་ *SKAD SHESBA(S)* (Pur). ཡིག་སྒྱུར་ *YIG.SGYUR*.

**1193. BLOCK/STOP** བཀག་ *BKAG* [v2,+Ctr] [PR] pronounced /<sup>h</sup>kak/, /kak/, /kaʔ/, etc. (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Jir, Lho) < CT འགོག་ འགོག་ས་ བཀག་དགག་ ཁོག་ (/D)GA(/O/E)G(S), (B)K(H)A(/O)G. སྐྱེལ་ *SKYIL* (Pur, La) < CT ‘dam up water’.

**1194. GET BLOCKED, BE STOPPED** འགག་ *'GAG* [v1] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Jir, Lho) < CT pronounced /gaks/, /gak/, /gaʔ/, etc. འཁྱེལ་ *'KHYIL* (Pur, La) < CT ‘dam up water’.

**1195. SEW** བཅོས་ *BTSEM* [v2,+Ctr] [PR] often pronounced /tsem/ < (La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho, Am) CT འཛོས་ བཅོས་ བཅོས་ ཆོས་ (/B)TS(H)EM(S). In a few languages, the verb ‘sew’ occurs as a light verb construction: འཛོས་བྱ་+ཁྱུག་ *'TSEM.BURGYAG* (Ü, Ts). In the eastern section and some Kham dialects, the verb འབྲུས་ *'DRUS* < ‘CT ‘to make a hole’ is generally used.

**1196. ROT** རུལ་ *RUL* [v1] [PR] < CT. In some Kham dialects, མ་ཡག་ *MA-YAG* lit. ‘not good’ is also used.

**1197. PUT OUT TO PASTURE** འཛོ་ *TSHO* [v2,+Ctr] [PR] (La, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho) < CT འཛོ་ འཛོས་ འཛོ་ འཛོས་ *TSHO(S)*. In some eastern areas, this word just means ‘to leave domestic animals outside’.

**1198. GIVE** བྱིན་ *BYIN* [v2,+Ctr] [FFR] (in Ba, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, Sh) < CT བྱིན་ བྱིན་ བྱིན་ (S)BYIN. འབྱིན་ *BYIN*/p'in/ (Lho), /bin/ (Cho), བིན་ *BIN* (Sh) /p'in/. In Balti, it is pronounced འམིན་ *MIN*. Another root སྤྲད་ *SPRAD* [FFR] < CT སྤྲད་ སྤྲད་ *SPRA(/O)D* ‘to pass, communicate’, སྤྲེར་ *STER* (Am, Kh, Sh) < CT ‘to give,



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་ *GTO* /töt/ (Sp, SKh) < CT གཏོད་/གཏོད་ *GTO/AD* 'to direct, hand over' is also attested. The humilific root ཕུལ་ *PHUL* [h] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz) < CT and the honorific གནང་ *GNANG* [H] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz), མཆོད་ *MCHOD* [H] (Ü, Ts) and སྦས་ *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་ བརྒྱགས་ *(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་ *'GRANG(S)* is used for 'to be full'.

1200. **MEET** ཐུག་ *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 འཕྲད་ *PHYAD* /p'ä/ in Dzongkha and འཕྲད་ *PHYAD* in Lhoke. In Hor, the form འཕྲམ་ /p'om/ is attested, perhaps related to འཕྲུང་ *'PHUNG* 'to aggregate, to come together'. The honorific form མཇལ་ *MJAL* is widespread.

1201. **WRITE/ DRAW (PICTURE)** རྒྱུ་ *BRIS* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho) < CT རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་ *(')BRI(S)* 'to draw, write'. The initial cluster *BR* is realized in many ways, such as /br/, /t/, /d/, /p/, /č/, /f/. It is difficult to say if the initial cluster of \**SBRI* (Pur) /ʔbri/ is inherited or is an innovation. The Balti form རྒྱུ་ *RBI(S)* may be explained by metathesis. The distinction between 'draw' and 'write' is made by the noun that precedes the verb: ཡི་གེ་རྒྱུ་ *YL.GE.BRIS* 'to write (letters)', རི་མོ་རྒྱུ་ *RL.MO 'BRI* 'to draw (drawings)', འག་ག་བཅོ་ *NAG.SHABCO* 'make a picture' (Urdu) is also used in Ladaks. Note that the noun རིས་/རི་ *RIS/RI* is cognate with the verb རྒྱུ་ *(B)RIS* (see Hill 2005).

1202. **LOOK/WATCH** ལྟ་ *LTA* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ལྟ་ ལྟ་ ལྟ་ *(B)LTA(/O)(S)*. Sherpa has a unique reflex, ལྟ་ *LHA*. The honorific and humilific form གཞེགས་ *GZIGS* and the humilific མཇལ་ *MJAL* are widespread.

1203. **SEE** མཐོང་ *MTHONG* [v2] [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü) < CT. རིག་ *RIG* [FFW] (Hor, 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 གཟིགས་ *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 འཛོར་ *TSHOR* [FFW] (La, Ba, Pur, SKh) < CT ‘to feel’ and ཐོས་ *THOS* [FFW] (Dromo, Yol, Lho, Dz) < CT ‘to hear’ are also encountered. The honorific form གསན་ *GSAN* (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Dz, etc.) is widespread.
1205. **LISTEN** ཉན་ *NYAN* [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT ཉན་ མཉན་ མཉན་ ཉན་ (*M*)*NYA*(/O)*N*. The honorific form གསན་ *GSAN* (Ü, Ts, Dz, La) is widespread.
1206. **DREAM** སྤྱི་ལམ་སྤྱི་ *RMI.LAM* + *RMI* [v2] or the archaic variant སྤྱི་ལམ་སྤྱི་ *RMYI.LAM* + *RMYI* (Am, Kh) < CT, lit. ‘to dream the dream path’. སྤྱི་ལམ་མཐོང་ *RMI.LAM* + *MTHONG* (Sh, Lho) < lit. ‘see a dream’. གཉིད་ལམ་མཐོང་ *GNYID.LAM* *MTHONG* ‘see a dream’ (Ba, Pur, La). In most dialects, the construction གཉིད་ལམ་ *GNYID.LAM* < CT ‘sleep path’+ LV is used: གཉིད་ལམ་བཏང་ *GNYID.LAM BTANG* (Ts, Ü, Dz, etc.).
1207. **SHOW** བསྟན་ *BSTAN*/ཏ་ལྟན་ *LTAN* [v2,+Ctr] [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü) < CT བསྟན་ ལྟན་ (*B*)*STA*(/O)*N*. This is derived from the root ལྟ་ *LTA* (see LOOK/WATCH) preceeded by the causative prefix *S* ‘to make look (at)’ and followed by the suffix *N*. Some languages still have a reflex of ལྟན་ *LTAN* (Ba, La, Am) and so the reconstructed form should be \*སྟན་ *SLTAN*. Some languages use the syntactic construction ལྟ་འབྱུག་ *LTA JUG* ‘make see’.
1208. **CALL/INVITE** འབོད་ *BOD* or བོས་ *BOS* [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (La, Am, Kh) < CT འབོད་ བོས་ (*ʔ*)*BO*(D/S). Some compounds (with an LVC) are also found. For example, སྐད་བཏང་ *SKAD BTANG* lit. ‘send voice’, སྐད་བརྒྱལ་ *SKAD BRGYAB* (E: Th, Yol) lit. ‘make voice’, སྐད་ཟེར་ *SKAD ZER* lit. ‘tell voice’ (Ba), སྐད་གཏོང་ *SKAD GTONG* (Za), སྐད་འབོད་ *SKAD BOD* lit. ‘voice call’, ཡོང་ཟེར་ *YONG ZER* (Pur) ‘say to come’.

1209. **BREAK** བཅག་ *BCAG* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT གཅོག་ བཅག་ གཅག་ ཆོག་ (*G/B*)*C(H)O/AG*. Another verb, དཀྲུམ་ *DKRUM* [V2,+Ctr] (Dz) < CT དཀྲུམ་ དཀྲུམས་ དཀྲུམ་ དཀྲུམས་ *DKRUM(S)* ‘smash, fracture, break’, is used in Dzongkha.
1210. **BREAK/BE BROKEN** ཆག་ *CHAG* [V1] [PW] < CT.
1211. **CUT (ROPE/TREE)** བཅད་ *BCAD* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བཅད་ གཅོད་ ཆོད་ (*G/B*)*C(H)A(/O)D*. The Tibetic 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)** ཆད་ *CHAD* [V1] [PR].
1213. **DECIDE** ཐག་བཅད་ *THAGBCAD* [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, Yol, Ü, 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, ཏྲུ་ /ʾnya/, of unclear origin, is often used for this meaning.
1216. **CUT (WOOL, HAIR)** བྲེག་ *BREG* [PR]. A reflex of this, བྲག་ *BRAG*, is widespread.
1217. **CUT (GRASS)** ར་ *RNGA* [PR] < CT ར་ བརས་ བར་ རྩས་ *RNGA(/O)(S)*, བྲེག་ *BREG* (Am).
1218. **SHAVE/SHEAR** བཞར་ *BZHAR* [FFW] (Am, Kh, Ü, Ts) < CT བཞར་ བཞར་ བཞར་ བཞོར་ *BZHA(/O)R* ཏ་ འབྲག་ *BRAG* < CT འབྲེག་ བྲེགས་ འབྲེག་ བྲེགས་ (ʾ)*BREG(S)* (Ba, Pur, La, Am, Kh, Ü, Ts).
1219. **COOK** བཅོས་ *BTSOS* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འཛོད་ བཅོས་ བཅོ་ ཆོས་ (ʾ/*B*)*TS(H)O(D/S)*. This usually refers to cooking meat, rice, potato and vegetables by boiling. The root སྐོལ་ *SKOL* ‘to boil’ is also used in some languages to mean ‘to cook’. See **BOIL**.
1220. **COOK/BE COOKED** ཆོས་ *TSHOS* [V1] [PW] < CT.

1221. **BOIL** སྐལ་ *SKOL* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT.
1222. **BOIL/BE BOILED** སྐལ་ *KHOL* [V1] [PR] < CT.
1223. **KNEAD** སྦྱ་ *SBRU* [FFW] < CT. The derived form འུ་ *RU* (La, Pur) is found in Ladakh, འུ་ *RDZI* [FFW] (Yol, Ü, Am, etc) < CT ‘to knead, to make dough’ is also widespread.
1224. **BE NAMED** འཛོད་ *BOD* [FFR] (see CALL), ཟེར་ *ZER* (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho), མྱིང་ *MYING*. The word མྱིང་ *MYING* is considered a noun, but it can also behave as a verb meaning ‘X is named Y’ in Gyälthang. The constructions with ཟེར་ *ZER* require the name to be marked with the dative: མིང་ར་ཅི་ཟེར་རེད་ *MING-NGA CI ZER-RED* (La), མིང་ལ་ག་རེད་ཟེར་གྱི་ཡོད་རེད་ *MING-LA GA.RE ZER-GYI YOD.RED*. (Ü) ‘What is it called?’ lit. ‘for the name what is said?’.
1225. **TEACH** བསྐྱབས་ *BSLABS* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT སྦྱོབ་ བསྐྱབས་ བསྐྱབ་ སྦྱོབས་ (*B*)*SLA*(/O)*B*(S). The initial cluster *SL* may be pronounced in various ways: /l, lʰ, lts, ts, dz/: བསྐྱབས་ *BSLABS* (Hor, Am), སྦྱོབ་ *LHOB* (Dz). In some languages, compound words are also found: སྦྱོབ་ཚན་འཁྲིད་ *SLOB.TSHAN 'KHRID* ‘to give a lesson’ (Ü).
1226. **LEARN/STUDY** སྦྱོང་ *SBYONG* [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] < CT སྦྱོར་ སྦྱངས་ སྦྱར་ སྦྱོངས་ (*B*)*SBYA*(/O)(S). The verb བསྐྱབས་ *BSLABS* [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (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 སྦྱོབ་སྦྱོང་ *SLOB.SBYONG*, which takes the verbaliser *BYED* to give སྦྱོབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་ *SLOB.SBYONG BYED* ‘to study’. In Ladakh, the verb བསྐྱལ་ *BSIL* (La) < CT is used.
1227. **KNOW (HAVING LEARNT)** ལོབས་ *LOBS* (La, Za, Am) < CT, anticausative form of *BSLABS*. ཤེས་ *SHEs* < CT ‘to know’.
1228. **GROW** སྦྱེ་ *SKYE* [PW] [V1] < CT སྦྱེ་ སྦྱེས་ སྦྱེ་ *SKYE(S)*.
1229. **BE BORN** སྦྱེ་ *SKYE* [V1] [PR]; see GROW. Other words are marginally attested. Some dialects use metaphorical expressions, such as མིག་བྱེས་ /<sup>^</sup>mik s'ä?/ ‘open the eyes for the first time’ (see OPEN); འག་ *DRAG* < CT ‘to recover’. In

Amdo བཅོས་ *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 འབྱུངས་ *KHRUNGS* [H] (Ü) and ལྷམས་ *LTAMS* (La) are widespread in languages with honorific systems (Ü, Ts, La, Dz). The honorific form འབྱུངས་ *KHRUNGS* is used for animals in Melung (Skh).

- 1230. GIVE BIRTH** སྐྱེ་ *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 ཨ་མ་ལ་སྐྱེ་གུ་སྐྱེ་ *PA.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)** སྐྱི་ *SKYI* [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, Dz, Sh, Am) < སྐྱི་ བསྐྱིས་ བསྐྱི་ སྐྱིས་ (*B*)*SKYI(S)*. 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: རྟ་ *RNYA* (Dz, Lho) < CT རྟ་ རྟས་ རྟོས་. These are used for objects that should be given back and not replaced.

- 1233. WEEP/CRY** སྒྲ་ *NGU* [v1,+/-Ctr] [PR] < CT སྒྲ་ སྒྲས་ *NGU(S)*. Note that in Dzongkha the reflex has yielded a high tone and is written སྒྲུ་ *SNGU*. In some Amdo dialects, a compound verb (LVC) is made of an onomatopoeic expression and a light verb: རྟེ་འདེབས་ *HE+DEBS* < CT onomatopoeia+ ‘to plant’ meaning ‘to cry loudly’, མིག་ཚུ་བཏང་ *MIG.CHU BTANG* [v1,+Ctr], མིག་ཚུ་ཤོར་ *MIG.CHU SHOR* [v1,-Ctr] ‘to shed tears’. The honorific verb is བཤུམས་ *BSHUM* (La, Ü, Ts).

- 1234. BE ASHAMED** རྩོམ་ *NGO.TSHA* [FFR] < CT རྩོ་ *NGO* ‘face’+ མ་ *TSHA* ‘hot’ [PW]. Another root མེལ་ *KHREL* < CT lit. ‘embarrassment’ (Kh, La, Pur, Ba). /tɛʔ ji/ (Rongdrak, Kh) and /ɣtɕi:/ (gYagrwa, Kh) may also be derived from this root.
- 1235. STAND (UP)** [V1,+Ctr] ལང་ *LANG* [PW] < CT ལང་ ལངས་ ལོངས་ *LA(/O)NG(S)*. This is normally used with the directional marker ཡར་ *YAR* ‘up’. བཞེངས་ *BZHENG(S)* (La, Ü, Ts).
- 1236. MAKE STAND UP** [V2,+Ctr] སྒྲར་ *SLANG* [PR]. Used for people and objects (to erect, place upright). In southern Kham, the causative form has been lost and a noncausative form ལང་ *LANG* is used instead.
- 1237. COUGH** ལུ་ *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 སྒྲོ་ *GLO* ‘lungs’ or ལུད་(པ་) *LUD.(PA)* ‘a cough’ followed by a verb རྩོག་ *KHOG* (Pur, La) or ལུ་ *LU* or the verbaliser *RGYAG* [V1]: སྒྲོ་བྱས་ *GLOBRGYAB* (Ü, Am, Sh), སྒྲོ་ལྟ་ *GLOKHOG* (Ts, Kh, Dz, Ba, La), སྒྲོ་ལུ་ *GLOLU* (Kh, Th), འཕྲོ་བསལ་ *GLOGSA* (Lho), ལུད་པ་ལུ་ *LUD.PA LU* (Am, Kh), ལུད་བྱས་ *LUD BRGYAB* (Am), ལུད་པ་བྱས་ *LUD.PA BRGYAB* (Sp, Tö), ལུད་ལྟ་ *LUD KHOG* (Am). The form འཕྲོ་བྱས་ *SRUB* often attested in Southern Kham may be derived from a CT verb སྒྲུབ་ *SRUB* meaning ‘to rub’.
- 1238. CROSS (RIVER/PASS)** རྒྱལ་ *RGAL* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT རྒྱལ་ བརྒྱལ་ བརྒྱལ་ རྒྱལ་ (B)*RGAL(/O)L*. In Sherpa, the verb རྒྱལ་ *RGAL* now means ‘to go’ (past). Some dialects simply use ཕར་འགྲོ་ *PHAR* ‘GRO’.
- 1239. DIVIDE/SHARE** (B)*GO(S)* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བཞོད་ བཞོས་ བཞོ་ བཞོས་ (B)*RGOS*. In some languages, the verb consists of the noun བཞོ་བཤམ་ *BGO.BSHA* < CT ‘divide+slaughter’ followed by a light verb: བཞོ་བཤམ་བྱས་ *MGO.BSHA BRGYAB*.
- 1240. COVER** བཀའ་ *BKAB* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT འགེབས་ བཀའ་ དགའ་ རོབ་ གའ་ (‘)GE(/A)B(S), (B)*KAB KHOB* ‘to cover, to conceal’.
- 1241. TELL/SAY** བཤད་ *BSHAD* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] (Ba, La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Lho, Kh, Am) < CT ཤོད་ བཤད་ བཤད་ ཤོད་ (B)*SHA(/O)D* ‘tell, explain’; ཟེར་ *ZER* [PW] (Ba, Pur La, Tö, TS, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT ‘say’; ལས་ *LAB* ‘speak’ [PW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Lho, etc.) <

CT, ལྟོ *ZLO* [FFW] (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ལྟོ་བསྐྱུ་བསྐྱུ་ལྟོ་སྐྱུ་ (B)ZLA(/O)(S) ‘to repeat’. This is usually pronounced /dzo/ in the present and /dze/ in the past. In some Amdo dialects, བསྐྱུས་ *BZLAS* is a suppletive form for the past of the verb ཟེར་ *ZER*. In Kongpo and the southern Himalayas (Yol, etc.), ལྟོ་ *SMRA* < CT ‘speak’ is also attested. A few honorific verbs are attested: གསུངས་ *GSUNGS* (La, Ba) ‘to say, tell, teach (h)’ < CT; མོལ་ *MOL* (La, Ba) ‘to say (h)’ < archaic form found in OT. ལྟུ་ *ZHU* ‘to say, tell (h)’ < CT.

**1242. TALK/SPEAK/CONVERSE.** In the Tibetic 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: ལྟོ་ཆ་ *SKAD.CHA* ‘talk, conversation, speech’ < CT ལྟོ་ *SKAD* ‘language, sound’; ལ་ *KHA* < CT lit. ‘mouth, sound, speech’; ལ་བད་ *KHA.BRDA* < CT lit. ‘mouth, sound communication’; དཔེ་ར་ *DPE.SGRA* /spera/ < CT དཔེ་ *DPE* ‘example, metaphor, illustration’ + ལྟོ་ ‘sound’, ལྟོ་ *BLO* ‘concept’, etc. The verbs that follow these nouns are either lexical verbs, such as བཤད་ *BSHAD* ‘to tell’, གྲག་ *GRAG* ‘to resound, be heard’ or ལབ་ *LAB* ‘speak’, or light verbs such as བྱེད་ *BYED* ‘to do’, བརྒྱབ་ *RGYAB* ‘hit’, བཏང་ *BTANG* ‘send’. Among the most frequent compound verbs are ལྟོ་ཆ་བཤད་ *SKAD.CHA BSHAD* [V1,+Ctr] (Ü, Kh, Am), ལྟོ་ཆ་ཐོ་ (< ལྟོ་) *SKAD.CHA RDZO* (Kh), ལ་བད་ཡེད་ *KHA.BRDA YED* (*BYED*) (Am), (ལ་)གྲག་ (*KHA*) *GRAG* (Kh, Pur) and its variant ལ་གྲག་ *KHA.GYAG* (Am), དཔེ་ར་བཏང་ *DPE.RABTANG* (La, Ba, Pur), དཔེ་ལ་རྒྱག་ *DPE.LARGYAG* (Sh), ལྟོ་འཁྱུབ་ *BLO’O RKYAB* (Dz), ལྟོ་འཁྱུབ་ *BLO’O SLAB* (Dz). A few other compound verbs are also attested more marginally: ལ་ར་བཏང་ *KHA.RABTANG* (Ba), ལྟོ་བ་བཏང་ *SMRA.BABTANG* (Ts), ལོ་ལོ་བཤད་ *PHOB.LE BSHAD* (Tö), ལབ་བཏང་ *LABBTANG* (Tö), ལོ་ན་གྲོས་བཏང་ *LON.GROS BTANG* (Sp), གྲོས་བྱེད་ *GROS BYED* (Kh) ‘to consult’, ལྟོ་སྐྱུ་རྒྱབ་ *GYOS RKYABS* (Lho), ལྟོ་སྐྱུ་འཁྱུབ་ *SLAB’O LAB* /lao lap/ (Kh). Some of the compound verbs may convey slightly different meanings. In Amdo, ལྟོ་ཆ་བཤད་ *SKAD.CHA BSHAD* refers to ‘informal conversation’ whereas ལ་བད་ཡེད་ *KHA.BRDA’YED* (*BYED*) refers to ‘(serious) talk’. The expression ལ་གྲགས་ *KHA GRAGS* or ལ་གྲགས་ *KHA GYAGS* means ‘speak up’.

**1243. ASK** འཇིག་ *DRIS* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT འཇིག་ འཇིག་ འཇིག་ (')*DRI(S)*. Note that the initial cluster of འཇིག་ *DRI(S)* is pronounced as a retroflex /t/ 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: འཇིག་ *PHRIS*. A few languages have LVC or noun incorporation, such as སྐད་ཆ་འཇིག་ *SKAD.CHADRIS* or འཇིག་འཇིག་ *DRI.BADRIS*.

**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' སློག་ *ZLOG* or སློག་ *SLOG* are found. The noun in most languages is ལན་ *LAN* (or its variant ལོན་ *LON*) < CT 'answer': ལན་བརྒྱལ་ *LANBRGYAB* (Ü, Ts, Kh, Sh), or the variant འཇིག་ལན་ *LANRKYABS* (Lho), འཇིག་སློག་ *LANSLAB* (Dz) < CT ལབ་ *LAB* 'to speak', ལན་བཏང་ *LANBTAB* (Kh, Am), ལན་བཏང་ *LANBTANG* (La), སྐད་ལན་བཏང་ *SKAD.LANBTANG* (Pur), ལོན་བྱེད་ *LONBYED* (Tö), ལོན་བྱིབ་ *LONRGYIB* (Sp). In some rare cases, the noun is a compound: བཀའ་ལན་ *BKA'LAN* (Th) lit. 'order answer', གཏམ་ལན་ *GTAM.LAN* (Ba) lit. 'talk answer': བཀའ་ལན་སློག་ *BKA'LAN.SLOG* (Th), གཏམ་ལན་སློག་ *GTAM.LAN.ZLOG* (Ba), གཏམ་སློག་ *GTAM.SLOG* (Yol). One finally notes that some Amdo dialects have the expression འཇིག་ར་བཤད་ *PHYIR.RABSHAD* (Am) lit. 'say in return'. The eastern section has ལས་བྲངས་ *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 Gyälthang, there is the form /'wo/ 'to answer'.

**1245. EXCHANGE** རྩེ་ *RJE* [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT རྩེ་ བཟེ་ བཟེས་ རྩེས་ (*B*)*RJE(S)*. This is pronounced བཟེ་ *BZHE* in Balti and རྩེབ་ *RJEB* in Ladaks. The verb རྩེབ་ *SDEB* (La, Pur) is also used for this meaning. In some languages, such as Central Tibetan (Ü), there is light verb construction: རྩེ་ལོ་བརྒྱལ་ *RJE.POBRGYAB*.

**1246. LIE** རྩུན་ *RDZUN* [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts, Dz) < CT + V or LV < CT verb རྩུན་ *RDZU* 'to pretend, to fake, to forge'. རྩུན་བཤད་ *RDZUN.BSHAD* (Ü), འཇིག་ལན་ *RDZUN.BTANG* (La), འཇིག་སློག་ *RDZUN.SLAB* (Dz). Other roots are attested such as ཤོག་ *SHOP* <



CT: འོབ་བཏང་ *SHOB BTANG* (Nubra) < CT, འོབ་གཏམ་ *SHOB GTAM* (Am), འོབ་རྒྱབ་ *SHOB RKYAB* (Dz). འོ་སྤ་བཤད་ *SMA.BI BSHAD* (Ü), འང་རྒྱབས་ *'ANG RKYAPS* (Lho).

**1247. PLOUGH** རྩོ་ *RMO* [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT རྩོ་ རྩོས་ རྩོ་ རྩོས་ *RMO(S/D)*. The variant རྩོ་ *RNGO* is attested in Ladakh (Sham). In some languages, this verb is used as a compound verb: རྩོ་བརྒྱབ་ (Ü, Ts, Tö), རྩོ་བཏང་ (Tö). In Ladakh, the verb implies usually not only ploughing but also sowing at the same time. Otherwise, ཞིང་སྤྲོག་ *ZHING SLOG* lit. 'to turn the field' and ཐོང་བཏང་ *THONG BTANG* are used (Norman, pers. comm. 2017).

**1248. RIGHT/BE SUITABLE** འགྲིག་ *'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 རེད་ *RED* is widely used. In Amdo ཅོག་ *CHOG* 'to be possible' is also used for this meaning. In Ladakh and Purik, the Hindi–Urdu loanword ཐིག་ *THIG* [tʰik], which is very similar to འགྲིག་ *'GRIG*, is also used.

**1249. SHOUT** སྐད་ *SKAD* + LV [v1,+Ctr] [FFW]. སྐད་བརྒྱབ་ *SKAD BRGYAB*, སྐད་འབོད་ *SKAD 'BOD* < CT 'call', སྐད་བཏང་ *SKAD BTANG*, སྐད་བཏབ་ *SKAD BTAB*. In most languages, there is no simple verb to convey the meaning of 'shout', but འབོད་ *'BOD* < CT 'call' is marginally used alone. Other compound verbs are attested: in Kham, Hor and Amdo ཀྱི་བཏབ་ *KI BTAB* lit. 'onomatopoeic war sound + plant' is used. In north-western languages, one has: འཇོ་བྱ་ *QA'O BYA* (Ba), ཀུ་ཙོ་བཏང་ *KU.CO BTANG* (La), (the word ཙོ་ *CO* is related to *CA.CO* 'clamor; crowd sound'), སྐད་བཙོག་བིང་ *SKAD.BTSOG BING* (Pur). In the southern Himalayas, the construction བཙོར་སྐད་ *BTSIR.SKAD* 'THEN' (Yol) is attested. Other forms include the word ལུར་ *'UR* 'onomatopoeia for noises, especially the wind' with a light verb.

**1250. HIRE** གླ་ *GLA* [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT གླ་ གླས་ གླ་ གློས་ *GLA(/O)(S)*. This is usually pronounced /la/ in most modern languages. In some western languages (La, Ba), གླ་ *GLA* is used as a noun and followed by a verb, e.g. གླ་ལ་འཁྱོང་ *GLA-LA 'KHYONG*, གླ་ལ་འཁྱེད་ *GLA.KHARLEN*.

**1251. BE DRUNK** ར་བཞི་ *RABZI* [v1] [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The verb བཞི་ *BZI* may be used alone as in Amdo, but is often preceded by ར་ *RA* < ཨ་རག་ *ʔA.RAG*

‘alcohol’. A pronunciation corresponding to རྩི *RDZI* is also attested. In some dialects རག་རྩི *RAGRO* (Skh) or རརྩི *RARO* (La, Ba, Pur) < CT are used, e.g. འགོ་རྩི *RA.RO* ‘GO (Ba) lit. ‘to go drunk’; མགོ་ཕུག་ *GO PHUG* (Drugchu) lit. ‘pierced head’.

**1252. MILK/SQUEEZE** བཞོ་ *BZHO*/ འཛོ་ *JO* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Yol, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT འཛོ་ བཞོས་ བཞོ་ འཛོས་ (*B*)*ZHO*(*S*), (*’*)*JO*(*S*) derived from OT ཞོ་ *ZHO* ‘milk’. In some western languages, བཙོར་ *BTSIR* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur) < CT འཛོར་ བཙོར་ བཙོར་ ཞོར་ (*’/B*)*TS*(*H*)*IR* ‘to squeeze’ (usually preceded by the noun ‘milk’). See MILK.

**1253. FIND** རྟོད་ *RNYED* [V2] [FFW] (Sham, Pur, Am, Lho) < CT. Other roots are attested: e.g. ཐོབ་ *THOB* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Lho) < CT lit. ‘obtain’, འཛོལ་ *TSHOL* (Kh, Dz) < CT བཙོལ་ *BTSAL* ‘to look for’, འོན་ *LON* (Kh, Am), the resultative form of CT འེན་ *LEN* ‘take’; རྩུད་ *CHUD* (Am) < lit. ‘to get into’. In Balti the compound ལག་དུ་འོང་ *LAG-DU’ONG* lit. ‘to come in the hand’ is used. In Southern Kham, རྩུར་ ཁ་རག་ *TSHURKHARAG* lit. ‘hither obtain’ is attested.

**1254. LOOK FOR/SEARCH** བཙོལ་ *BTSAL* འཛོལ་ *TSHOL* [PR] < CT འཛོལ་ བཙོལ་ བཙོལ་ འཛོལ་ (*B/’*)*TS*(*H*)*A*(*/O*)*L*. Some dialects of Kham use the word རྟུག་ *NYUG* < CT ‘to try to catch, to caress’. We can also mention here the CT expression རྩུད་ བཙོར་ *RTSAD 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 རྩུང་ས་བརྒྱུབ་ *CHANG.SA+BRGYAB* [V1,+Ctr] lit. ‘to hold a barley beer (feast)’ is used. Other nouns are used, such as བག་སྟོན་ *BAG.STON*<sup>10</sup> ‘bride feast’ may be ultimately derived from བག་ *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).

porridge'.<sup>11</sup> 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', གཉེན་ལེན་ *GNYEN.LEN* 'relative taking', གཉེན་ *GNYEN* 'relative, parent', གཉེན་སྒྲིག་ *GNYEN.SGRIG* 'relative organizing', གཉེན་སྟོན་ *GNYEN.STON* 'relatives' feast'. These are followed by various light verbs, and thus we find the following compounds: བག་ལེན་བྱེད་ *BAG.LEN BYED* (Tö), བག་སྟོན་བཟོ་ *BAG.STON BZO* (Th), བག་སྟོན་བཅོས་ *BAG.STON BCOS* (La), བག་སྟོན་བྱ་ *BAG.STON BYA* (Ba, Pur), བག་མ་བརྒྱལ་ *BAG.MA BRGYAB* (Sp), གཉེན་སྒྲིག་བྱེད་ *GNYEN.SGRIG BYED* (Kh, Am), གཉེན་སྟོན་བྱེད་ *GNYEN.STON BYED* (Kh, Am), གཉེན་རྒྱུ་ sometimes spelled རྒྱུ་བས་ *GNYEN RKYAB/RKYABS* (Dz, Lho). In some dialects (Kh, Ho, Am), the word 'to marry' corresponds to སྟོན་མོ་བྱེད་ *STON.MO BYED* 'hold a feast'. In Amdo, the terms བཟའ་བ་བྱེད་ *BZA'.BA BYED* lit. 'make spouse' and བཟའ་ཚང་བཅའ་ *BZA'.TSHANG BCA'* lit. 'promise couple' are also attested. Sherpa has borrowed the Nepali word /zendi/ in association with the verbaliser /kyi/ (< *BGYID* 'to do'): བཟའ་དེ་བགྱིད་ *BZEN.DI BGYID*. Each of the participants can also be emphasized: བག་མ་བཅོ་ *BAG.MABCO* lit. 'make bride' (La), མནའ་མ་སོང་ *MNA'.MA SONG* lit. 'she went as a bride' (to her husband's family), མག་པ་བཏང་ *MAG.PABTANG* lit. 'he was sent as a bridegroom', བག་མ་ཁྱེད་ *BAG.MA KHYONG* 'the bride was brought into the family'. Finally, we ought to mention the old practice of bride abduction, བག་མ་རྒྱུ་ *BAG.MA RKU* lit. 'bride stealing', which is still acted out in some areas. Kidnapping of grooms is also attested, though very rarely!

1256. **SIT** བསྐྱད་ *BSDAD* or སྐྱད་ *SDOD* [V1,+Ctr] [FFW] (LJ, Ü, Ts, Yol, Dz) < CT སྐྱད། བསྐྱད། (*B*)*SDAD/SDOD* 'stay, sit'. Another frequent verb is འདུག་ *DUG* [FFW] (Pur, La, Hor, Kh) < CT 'sit'. A third root used in Amdo, northern Kham and Hor is ཅོག་ *TSOG* 'to sit on the heels', derived from ཅོག་པུ་ *TSOG.PU* 'squatting posture with knees upright'. The honorific form is nearly pandialectal: བཞུགས་ *BZHUGS* (La, Ü, Ts, Dz) < CT, the high honorific ལྡན་ཆགས་ *LDAN CHAGS* (La) is also attested. In

11. In some areas (Hor, Kham), a cake called *thü* (sort of '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** བཞུག་ *BSDAD* or སྡོད་ *SDOD* [V1,+Ctr] [PW] (LJ, Ü, Ts, Yol, Dz) < CT. The root འདུག་ *'DUG* (Pur, La, Hor, Kh, Am); see SIT. The honorific form is widespread: བཞུགས་ *BZHUGS* (H) [PW].

**1258. STAY** བཞུག་ *BSDAD* or སྡོད་ *SDOD* [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT. The root འདུག་ *'DUG* (Ho, Am, La, Ba, Pur) and ལུས་ *LUS* (Ba) lit. 'left behind' are also found. See SIT. བཞུགས་ *BZHUGS* (H) [PW].

**1259. WARM ONESELF** སྤོ་ *SRO* [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT. This root is related to སྤོ་ *DRO*; see WARM (adjective). It is often used with 'fire': མེ་སྤོ་ *ME.SRO* 'warm oneself by the fire' (Pur, Za). མེ་འདྲེ་ *ME.'DE* (Nubra) 'warm oneself by the fire'. The verb སྒར་ *SGAR* is used in South Kham; its origin is unclear. བཏུག་ *BTUG* occurs in Yolmo (see BURN).

**1260. THINK** བསམ་ *BSAM* [V2] [FFW] (Pur, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT མེས་མ་ བསམ་ མེས་ མེས་ *SEMS (B)SA(/O)M(S)*. In some dialects, other roots are also used, such as འདོད་ *DRAN* lit. 'to remember' (Kham, Hor), མེན་ *MNO* [FFW] (Tö, Sh, Yol, Lho, Dz and other Southern Himalayas) 'to think' < CT, and even 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་ སྤོ་བཏང་ *BSAM.BLO BTANG* (Ü, Ts) 'to reflect upon' མེན་བསམ་གཏང་ *MNO.BSAM BTANG* (Dz). The honorific form is དགོངས་ *DGONGS* (La, Ü, Ts); འདྲང་བརྒྱལ་ *'DANG BRGYAB* (Am).

**1261. RIDE (A HORSE/BICYCLE)** ཞོན་ *ZHON* [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, Yol, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am). Other words such as ཀློ་ *RKYA* < CT 'to move to another place' (Kh), ཁྱེར་ *KHYER* < CT 'to take' (Ho), བཅིབ་ *BCIB* < CT 'to mount' (Am), འཛོགས་ *'DZEGS* < CT 'to climb' (Am) are also used. The honorific འཛིབས་ *'CHIBS* (La, Ts, Ü) < CT is widespread.

**1262. LIE DOWN** ཉལ་ *NYAL* [PW] < CT ཉལ་ *NYA(/O)L*. Other forms such as ཀླུང་ *RGYANG* and འོག་ *LOG* are used in many Eastern languages. In many areas, མཉམ་

པོ་ཉལ་ *MNYAM.PO NYAL*, or simply ཉལ་ *NYAL* may also mean ‘sleep with somebody, have sexual intercourse’. In order to avoid this meaning, other words are sometimes used: འགྱེལ་ *GYEL* (La) < CT ‘to faint’. The honorific གཞིམས་ *GZIMS* is widespread.

**1263. SLEEP** ཉལ་ *NYAL* [PW] < CT ཉལ་ ཉལ་ *NYA(/o)L*. The word is identical in most languages. In the Gyälthang dialect (Kh) /‘yɔʔ/ is used and in Rongdrak (Kh) /‘h̥ge:/ is heard; both of unclear origin. In some languages, the verb is preceded by the noun *GNYID* ‘torpor, sleep’: གཉིད་ཉལ་ *GNYID NYAL* (Ü). The honorific གཞིམས་ *GZIMS* is widespread.

**1264. FALL ASLEEP** གཉིད་ *GNYID* [PR] < CT ‘sleep’. གཉིད་ཁུག་ *GNYID KHUG* [FFW] (Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Am) *GNYID* + *KHUG* < CT ‘sleep+ be under control’ is often preceded by the noun *GNYID* ‘torpor, sleep’. གཉིད་ཤོར་ *GNYID SHOR* ‘escape to sleep’ གཉིད་བཏང་ *GNYID BTANG* (Pur, La) is also attested. In eastern languages, གཉིད་ *GNYID* functions as a verb [FFW] (Am, Kh).

**1265. SING:** see SONG.

**1266. DANCE** རབས་ཐོ་ *ZHABS.BRO* + LV [v1,+Ctr] [FFW] < CT རབས་ཐོ་བཏང་ *ZHABS.BRO BTANG* (Ü, Ts, Tö, Yol, Sh), འཕྲུལ་ཐོ་བཏང་ (< བརྒྱལ་) *ZHABS.BRO RKYABS* (Lho). One also finds compound forms made with other nouns: འཕྲུལ་ཐོ་བཏང་ *ZHABS.SKRABS RKYAB* (Dz), or alternatively རབས་ཐོ་བཏང་ *ZHABS.KHRAB RKYAB*. In Hor (Nagchu), གཞུང་ཐོ་བཏང་ *GZHAS SKRABS* lit. ‘song’+‘trample’ is used. This points again the close relation between ‘song’ and ‘dance’ (see SONG). The word ཐོ་ *BRO* is sometimes used alone, as ཐོ་ *BRO* (Kh) or ཐོ་ *BYO* (E: Th), as a verb ‘to dance’, or else as a noun ‘dance’ followed by a verb: ཐོ་ཅེ་ *BRO RTSE* < CT ‘dance’+‘to play’ (Am), ཐོ་འཆས་ *BRO CHAM* (Dz, Am, Kh) < ‘CHAM < CT ‘to dance a ritual mask dance’. Two additional roots are frequently attested: ཅེ་ *RTSE* ‘to dance’ (Ba, La, Am, etc) < CT ‘to play, enjoy’ (see below PLAY), ཅེ་མོ་ཅེ་ *RTSED.MO RTSE* (Am, La) and the variant ཅེ་མོ་ཅེ་ *SEM.JO SES* (Sp, Za), ཅེ་མོ་ཅེ་ *RTSES BTANG* (Pur, La). ཅེ་མོ་ཅེ་ *TSHALA GDANG*, of unclear origin, is used in Gyälthang.

- 1267. DANCE (RITUAL)** འཆས་ 'CHAM [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འཆས་ འཆསས་ 'CHAM(S). Designates mask dances and ritual dances usually performed by monks. The term འཆས་ '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 ལྷོ BYO (ལྷོ BRO).
- 1268. PLAY/AMUSE ONESELF** རྩེ RTSE [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT རྩེ བརྩེ བརྩེས་ རྩེས་ (B)RTSE(S). When it designates the generic activity of playing, this verb is preceded by an incorporated noun: རྩེད་མོ་རྩེ RTSED.MO RTSE; ཡངས་ YENGs < CT 'to distract'. འགྲེངས་པ་རྩེ G-YENGs.PARTSE /yangspa 'tse/ (Pur, La), /yangfa se/ (Za). འཇལ་བྱེད་ TSHALABYED in Gyälthang.
- 1269. STEAL** རྒྱུ RKU [V1,+Ctr] [PR] < CT རྒྱུ བརྒྱས་ བརྒྱ རྒྱས་ (B)RKU(S). In some dialects, the verb is preceded by an incorporated noun: རྒྱུ་མ་རྒྱུ RKU.MA RKU (Ü, Ts). The verb འཕྲོག་ PHROG is also attested.
- 1270. LICK** ལྷག་ LDAG [PW] < CT ལྷག་ བལྷགས་ བལྷག་ ལྷགས་ (B)LDAG(/O)G(S). The word is sometimes pronounced ལྷག་ GLAG. Many dialects use the expression ལྷོ་ལྷག་ ZHO LDAG lit. 'to lick yoghurt' to mean 'to eat yoghurt', but in other dialects the verb 'to drink' is used: ལྷོ་འཐུང་ ZHO 'THUNG 'to drink yoghurt'.
- 1271. LAUGH** དགོད་ DGOD [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT དགོད་ བགད་ བགད་ དགོད་ (B/D)GA(/O)D. Some languages have lost the trace of the final D: འདག་ 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: གད་མོ་བགད་ GAD.MO BGDAD 'to laugh' lit. 'to laugh laughter': གད་མོ་ཤོར་ GAD.MO SHOR [-Ctr] lit. 'to burst out laughter'. དགོད་བཏང་ DGOD BTANG (Pur).
- 1272. VOMIT/THROW UP** སྦྱུག་ SKYUG [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT སྦྱུག་ བསྦྱགས་ བསྦྱུག་ སྦྱུགས་ (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: སྦྱུག་པ་ སྦྱུག་ lit. 'to vomit vomit'.

1273. **ESCAPE/FLEE** འབྱོལ་ *'BROS* [V1,+Ctr] [FFW] (Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT འབྱོལ་ འབྱོལ་ གྲོལ་ འབྱོལ་ (')*BROS*. In some languages, the verb བྱད་ *BUD* (Ba, Kh, Pur) 'to get away, to get loose' is used.
1274. **LOSE/HAVE ESCAPE** ཞོར་ *SHOR* [V2] [FFW] (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Lho) < CT འཕྲོར་ ཞོར་ འཕྲོར་ *'CHOR SHOR*. This verb differs from *'BROS* in the sense that the 'escape' is from the point of view of the one from whom the escapees have fled: ཏྲ་ཞོར་ *RTA SHOR* 'the horses have escaped, he has lost the horses'. ཞོར་ *SHOR* is also used as a light verb in many languages. In Ladakh, the verb བྱད་ *BUD* < CT འབྱད་ བྱད་ (')*BUD* 'to come out, become separated' is also used for this meaning.
1275. **REST** རལ་གསོ་ *NGAL GSO* [V1,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, Sp, Tö, Dz, Sh, La, Ba) < CT 'to recover from fatigue'; རལ་འཕྲོ་ *NGAL 'TSHO* (La). In some languages, the form རལ་གསོ་ *NGAL.GSO* is used as a noun and followed by a light verb: རལ་གསོ་བརྒྱལ་ *NGAL.GSO BRGYAB* (Ü, Ts, Kh). Another compound verb is frequent in Eastern languages: མལ་སྟོ་ *MAL SRO* (Am, Kh, Ho) < CT 'to warm up one's bed'; see WARM ONESELF. The verb སྟོ་ *SRO* is nearly always preceded by the noun *MAL*. In some languages, the form མལ་སྟོ་ *MAL.SRO* is used as a noun and followed by a light verb: མལ་སྟོ་བརྒྱལ་ *MAL.SRO BRGYAB* (Am, Kh, Hor). ཐང་གསོ་ *THANG GSO* is attested in some southern languages (Yol, etc.).
1276. **RECOGNIZE/KNOW** རྩ་ཤེས་ *NGO SHES* [V2] [PW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts) < CT རྩ་ *NGO* 'face' + ཤེས་ *SHES* 'to know'. This compound is quite pervasive. In Ladaks, a reduplicated form is also attested: རྩ་ཤེས་ཤེས་ *NGO SHES SHES* 'to be familiar with'. Some few dialects may use the verb ཤེས་ *SHES* alone. In some languages such as Balti, another compound verb, རྩ་བློན་བྱ་ *NGO ZIN BYA* < CT རྩ་ *NGO* 'face' + འཛིན་ *'DZIN* 'to capture, seize' + LV.
1277. **DRIVE (car, etc.)/PILOT (airplane, etc.)** མོ་ཏྲ་/གནམ་གྲུ་ + བཏང་ *MO.TA/ GNAM.GRU + 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': མོ་ཏྲ་བཏང་ *MO.TA + BTANG* (Ü), ལྷུ་མ་འཁོར་བཏང་ *SNUM. 'KHOR + BTANG* (Dz). Two other verbs are attested: ལྷུ་མ་འཁོར་སྟོར་ *RLANGS 'KHOR + SKOR* (Am) < 'to turn'. In the western languages (Ba, Pur, La), ག་རི་སྤུལ་ *GARI SRUL*, using verb

སྒུལ་ *SRUL* < ‘to make go’ (Jäschke), related to CT འགྲུལ་ ‘*GRUL*’ is found. In some areas of Kham, a Chinese loan 开 *kai* is used.

**1278. RISE** ཤར་ *SHAR* [PW] < CT འཆར་ ཤར་ འཆར་ ‘*CHAR.SHAR*’ ‘to rise, emerge’. This is used in the expression ཉི་མ་ཤར་ *NYI.MA.SHAR* ‘the sun rises’. The word ‘east’ is derived from this verb (see EAST).

**1279. SINK** ལུབ་ *NUB* [PW] < CT. This means ‘to sink, to go down’ and is used in the expression ཉི་མ་ལུབ་ *NYI.MA.NUB* ‘the sun sets’. The word ‘west’ is derived from this verb (see WEST). The word རྒམ་ *RGAS* < CT ‘get old’ is used in Purik and Ladaks. In the eastern section, one finds a word འཛེས་ ‘*DZES*’ of unclear origin.

**1280. RIPE (BE)** སྒྲིན་ *SMIN* [V1] [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am) or སྒྲིལ་ *SMYIN* < CT.

**1281. WASH** བུལ་ *BKRU* བུལ་ *BKYU* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འབྲུད་ བུལ་ བུལ་ ལུས་ ‘(’/B)K(H)RU(D/S)’. The honorific form བསེལ་ *BSIL* ‘wash [H]’ is attested in some languages (La, Ü, Ts, Dz).

**1282. TURN/SPIN** འཁོར་ ‘*KHOR*’ [V1] [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am). The archaic variant འགྲིར་ ‘*GYIR*’ is also attested in some languages such as Dzongkha and Brokpa in Bhutan, and is cognate with the Ladaks word ཁྱིར་ཁྱིར་ *KYIR.KYIR* ‘round’ and Balti ཁྱིར་ཁྱིར་བྱ་ *KYIR.KYIR.BYA* ‘encircle’.

**1283. MAKE TURN/TURN AROUND** [V2 +Ctr] [PW] སྐྱར་ *SKOR* (Ba, Pur, La, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am). Archaic forms are attested in some languages, such as འཁྱིར་ *SKYIR* /kir/ (Sh), འབྲིར་ *BSGYIR* (Dz), འཁྱིར་ ‘*KHIR*’ (Jir). Some dialects in South Kham used the aspirated form འཁོར་ ‘*KHOR*’ for this meaning.

**1284. CATCH COLD:** see COLD/INFLUENZA.

**1285. RESEMBLE:** see SIMILAR.

**1286. LEAD/GUIDE** འཁྱིད་ ‘*KHRID*’ [V2 +Ctr] [PW] < CT འཁྱིད་ ཁྱིད་ འཁྱིད་ ཁྱིད་ ‘(’)*KHRID*. In some languages (Am, Dz) the form is འཁྱིད་ ‘*KHYID*’.

**1287. WAKE UP** གཞིན་ལད་ *GNYID.SAD* [V1] [PW] (Nubra, LJ, Ts, Ü, Jir, Am) < CT *GNYID* ‘sleep, torpor’ *SAD*. In western and southern, languages the variant འཁྱིད་



ཚན་ *GNYID TSHAD* (Ba Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am, Sh) is used. The form གཉིན་  
ཚོར་ *GNYID TSHOR* (Dz) is also attested.

**1288. THROW/THROW OFF** རམང་ *'PHANG* [V2 + Ctr] [PW] (Ba Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am) < CT རམེན་ རམངས་ རམང་ རམོངས་ *'PHEN 'PHA(/O)NG(S)*. As expected, this is pronounced /hang/ in Amdo. In eastern and Central languages the collocation མདན་རམང་ *MDA' 'PHANG* 'arrow throw' means 'to shoot'. གཡུག་ *G-YUG* < CT (Am, Ü, Ts).

**1289. PULL/DRAW** རམེན་ *'THEN* [V2 + Ctr] [PW] < CT (inv.) 'pull'.

**1290. EXPEL/DRIVE OUT/TAKE OFF** རམུད་ *'PHUD* [V2 + Ctr] [PW] < CT (inv). This is often pronounced རམིད་ *'PHID*. As expected, it is pronounced /hət/ in Amdo. In many languages, this verb also conveys the meaning 'to take off clothes'.

**1291. GO OUT/AWAY, LEAVE** བུད་ *BUD* [V1, + Ctr] [FFW] (Kh, Am) < CT རལུད་ བུད་ (*'BUD* 'to come out, become separated', ཐོན་ *THON* [FFW] (Yol, Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh) < CT རཐོན་ ཐོན་ (*'THON* 'to go, come out'. In some dialects, the verb རགོ་ *'GRO* or སོང་ *SONG* < CT 'to go' is used. The phrase ཕྱི་ལ་འགོ་ *PHYI-LA 'GO* (E, SKh), ཕྱི་སྒྲ་སོང་ *PHYI-STASONG* (Pur), ཆ་ *CHA* (La).

**1292. TAKE OUT, CAUSE TO COME OUT** བཏོན་ *BTON* [FFW] < CT རཏོན་ བཏོན་ གཏོན་ ཐོན་ (*'G)DON (B)T(H)ON*. In northwestern languages, the verb ཕྱིད་ *PHYING* [FFW] (La, Pur) is used < CT རཕྱིན་ ཕྱུང་ རཕྱུང་ ཕྱུང་ *'BYIN/(D)P(H)YUNG*. བླང་ *BLANG* (Am).

**1293. COME OUT, EMERGE, COME UP** ཐོན་ *THON* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh) < CT རཐོན་ ཐོན་ (*'THON* 'to go (out)'. ཕྱིར་ *BYING* (La) 'to come out, to come up (problems, etc.)' < CT བྱུང་ *BYUNG*.

**1294. WIN** (རྒྱལ་ཁ་)ཐོབ་ (*RGYAL, KHA*) *THOB* [V2] [FFW] < CT (inv.). In southern Kham and western languages (La, Ba), the verb རྩག་ *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: མཁྲངས་ *MKHRANGS* (La, Ba) < CT 'solid, competent, clever' is also used for 'to succeed, win'; རཁེལ་ *KHEL* (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) ལམ་ *PHAM* [V2 (inv.)] [FFW] < CT.

**1296. CALCULATE/COUNT** རྩེ་ *RTSI* [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) རྩེ་ བརྩེ་ བརྩེ་ རྩེ་ (B) *RTSI(S)*. In some languages (Ü, Ts, La), the verb རྩེ་ *RTSI* alone has come to mean ‘to consider’. The root is also used to designate astrology: སྐར་རྩེ་ *SKAR.RTSES* lit. ‘star calculation’. The verb meaning ‘to count/calculate’ is sometimes a light verb: རྩེ་རྒྱུག་ *RTSES RGYAG*; རྩེ་བཏང་ *RTSES BTANG* (Pur, La). Another root, བབྲང་ *BGRANG* related to the noun གྲངས་ཀྱི་ *GRANGS.KA* ‘number’, also means ‘count’, particularly in central and southern languages. It sometimes occurs in an LVC (Ü, Ts): གྲངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུག་ *GRANGS.KARGYAG*.

**1297. TIRED (BE)** དཀའ་ *DKA’* (Am), དཀའ་ལས་ཁག་ *DKA’.LASKHAG* (Ü, Kh), ཐང་ཆད་ *THANG CHAD* (Ü, Ts, La, Yol, Dz, etc.), ཆད་ *CHAD* (Am) < CT ‘to be cut’, རལ་ *NGAL* (La).

**1298. CLIMB** འཛོགས་ *DZEGS* [V1,+Ctr] [PW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Jir, Kh) < CT. In most languages, this is pronounced as a reflex of འཛོགས་ *DZAGS* (La, Za, Ü, Ts), and འཛོགས་ *DZYAGS* (Ba). The form ཐུལ་ *THUL* (Pur) is of unclear origin. The word འགོས་ *GOS* < CT ‘transfer’ is used in Amdo.

**1299. WHET, SHARPEN** རྩར་ *RDAR* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Jir) < CT རྩར་ བརྩར་ བརྩར་ རྩར་ (R) *DA(/O)R*.

**1300. SWALLOW** མིད་ *MID* [PW]. Its archaic form མྱིད་ *MYID* (Kh, Am) is also found. This is often pronounced with a final *G* and with a high tone: མིག་ *MIG*, མིག་གཏོང་ *MIG GTONG* (Jir), མིག་པ་གཏོང་ *MIG.PA GTONG* (Ü). མྱིད་ *SMID* is also attested.

**1301. SMELL** ལྷུམ་ *SNUM* [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT ལྷུམ་/ ལྷུམ་/ ལྷུམ་ བལྷུམ་ ལྷུམ་ ལྷུམ་ལ་ (B) *SNU(/O/A)M(S)*. In most languages, the form is a reflex of ལྷུམ་ *SNUM*. Exceptionally (in Dz), there are reflexes of ལྷུམ་ *SNAM*, also attested in CT.

**1302. BEGIN** འགོ་བརྩུགས་ *GO + BTSUGS/ཚུགས་ TSHUGS* or ལུག་ *ZUG* [PW] < CT འགོ་ *GO* ‘beginning, head’, see འགོ་ *MGO* ‘head’ + བརྩུགས་ *BTSUGS* [V2,+Ctr] ‘to plant’

(see PLANT)/ཟུག་ *TSHUGS* or ཟུགས་ *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]. ཏ་འགས་ /riaks/ (Pur) of unclear origin is also attested.

**1303. DOUBT** རྟོགས་པ་ *DOGS.PA* + ཟ་ *ZA* [V1] [FFW] (Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Dz, Kh); ཐེ་ཚོས་ *THE.TSHOMS* + ཟ་ *ZA* [FFW] < CT རྟོགས་པ་ *DOGS.PA* or ཐེ་ཚོས་ *THE.TSHOMS* (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Dz, Kh) ‘doubt’ followed by the non controllable verb ཟ་ *ZA* or སྟེ་ *SKYE*. In Purik, མི་གདུང་མ་རིག་ *MI.GDYANG.MARIG* is attested. See BE EATEN/CONSUMED.

**1304. TRUST** ཡིད་ཆེས་ *YID CHES* [FFW] (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT ཡིད་ *YID* ‘mind’+ ཆེས་ *CHES* ‘believe’. ཏ་གདུང་འཁུར་ *GDYANG KHUR* (Ba, Pur) < CT གདེང་ *GDENG* + འཁུར་ *KHUR* ‘carry’, བདེན་ཆེས་ *BDEN CHES* (La) and བསམ་ *BSAM* ‘think’ are also attested.

**1305. RUN** རྒྱུགས་ *RGYUGS* [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 རྒྱུགས་ཤར་ *RGYUG.SHAR GLOD* (Ü, Ts) and བར་བཏང་ *BANG BTANG* (Pur, La) are also attested. This latter expression means ‘to gallop (of horses)’ in Amdo and CT.

**1306. CAUSE/MAKE** བཟུག་ *BCUG* [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü).

**1307. BRING UP/RAISE** གསོ་ *GSO* [PW].

**1308. TRY** ལྟ་ *LTA* (Ts, Ü, La) < CT ‘to look at’. ཐབས་བཅོས་ *THABS BCOS* < CT. སྟུགས་བ་ *PRA.LUGS.BA* (Pur), ཏུག་ *NYUG* (La), ཚོད་ལྟ་བུ་ *TSHOD.LTABYED* (Ü, Am).

**1309. PREPARE /ARRANGE** ག་སྒྲིག་བྱེད་ *GRA.SGRIG BYED* (Ts, Ü, La), གལ་སྒྲིག་བཅོ་ *GRAL.SGRIG BCO* (La), ཏ་ཡ་རིབ་(བྱ) *TA.YA.RI BA(BYA)* (Pur) < Urdu < Pers.; སྒྲུག་ *SGRUG* (Pur).

**1310. FINISH/ACCOMPLISH** ཚར་ *TSHAR* [V1] [PW] (La, Pur Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Dz, Kh, Am). Other roots such as ཟེན་ *ZIN* < CT ‘to be over with, finished’ (Sh, Jir, Sp, Kh) and its variant ཏ་ཞིན་ *ZHIN* (Dz), གུབ་ *GRUB* (La) < CT lit. ‘to achieve’, རྒྱུགས་

*RDZOGS* ‘to accomplish’ < CT, ཏམ་ *CHAMS* (Ba), ཇམ་ *CHOMS* (La, Pur, Za) are also used.

**1311. HAVE THE TIME** ཁོམ་ *KHOM* (La, Am, Kh, Dz), ལོང་ *LONG* (Ü, Ts). The combination ཁོམ་ལོང་ *KHOM.LONG* (Am) is attested.

**1312. ALLOW/PERMIT** ཇོག་ *CHOG* [VSEC] [FFW] (La, Ts, Ü). This is used a secondary verb. Some languages (Am, Kh, E) also use ཉན་ *NYAN*. བརྩག་ *BCUG* (Pur).

**1313. CAN/BE ABLE** ཐུབ་ *THUB* [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ü, TS, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh) < CT. Other literary roots are also used: ཉན་ *NYAN* ‘can’ (Ba, La, Pur), བ་ *BRA* or བ་ *BA* /wa/ (in Amdo) ‘dare, can’, ཇོག་ *CHOG*, ཤེས་ *SHES* ‘to know’ is also used for ‘can’. The word ཐུགས་ *TSHUGS* ‘to be planted, stable’ and ‘to endure’ has come to mean ‘to be able’ in Dzongkha. Sherpa has the word ཏུ་ *KHYE* for ‘to be able’. The form ཁ་རག་ *KHARAG* lit. ‘to obtain mouth (permission)’ is also attested.

**1314. WISH** འདོད་ *DOD* [VSEC] [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh) < CT (inv.). In Sherpa, the noun ཏའོར་པ་ *DOR.PA* < CT *DOD.PA* is attested. Another frequent verb is སྒྲོན་ *SMON* [FFR] (La, Kh) < CT (inv.). རྟོགས་ (Ba Pur), སྒྲིང་ *SNYING* [VSEC] (La), སྒྲིང་བོ་ *SNYING. BRO* (La).

**1315. DARE** འཕོད་ *PHOD* [VSEC] [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Am) < CT. In Amdo, this is pronounced ཏཱོད་ *HOD*; འཕྱུད་ *KHYUD* [FFW] (Ba, La), ལུས་ *NUS* [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Tö) < CT. In Amdo, the verb ཐུབ་ *THUB* is also used (see above CAN, BE ABLE), འཇིགས་པ་མེད་ *JIGS.PAMED* (Pur).

**1316. NEED/MUST** རྟོགས་ *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, /<sup>h</sup>gu:/ (as vowel lengthening). In this meaning, the verb is used as a secondary verb.

**1317. WANT** རྟོགས་ *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 Tibetan Area

At the extreme northwest of the area in Baltistan (Pakistan), we find the Karakoram range with the Chogori (འོ་ཚོ་གོ་རི་),<sup>1</sup> better known as K2, the Gasherbrum (འོ་དག་འུ་ཤ་འབྲུམ་), Masherbrum (འོ་མ་ཤ་འབྲུམ་), and the Saltoro ranges (འོ་སལ་ཏོ་རོ་གངས་རི་). The Nanga Parbat, which is located further west, is outside the Tibetan zone. On the Indian side of the border, we find the Saser Gangri (ས་སེར་གངས་རི་) also located in the Karakoram range, and then the Nun Kun massif in the proximity of the Zangskar (ཟངས་དཀར་གྱི་རི་རྒྱུད་), Ladakh (ལ་དུགས་གྱི་རི་རྒྱུད་) and Khunu ranges (ཁུ་ནུ་རི་རྒྱུད་). The Kinnaur Kailash ([ཁུ་ནུ་འི་]ཀེ་ལ་ཤ་གངས་རི་) near Rekong Peo marks the southwestern boundary of the Tibetan 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 Tibetan 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 (མཐོ་མཐོན་བང་) districts. Eastwards, the Shishapangma range (ཤེས་ཤ་ཕྱང་མ་) is located within the TAR in Nyalam County. On the Sino-Nepalese border lies the Jomolangma range (རྩོམ་ལྷང་མ་), 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་ལྷ་), 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 (རྩོམ་ལྷ་རི་), the ‘bride’ of Gangchen Dzönga and Mt. Gangkar Pünsum (གངས་དཀར་ཕུན་བསུམ་); these three ranges are each higher than 7,000 meters), as well as Kulha Gangri (ཁུ་ལྷ་གངས་རི་), are further east along the Sino-Bhutanese border. Mt. Masang Khyungdü (མ་སངས་ལྷུང་འདུས་) lies at the border between Sikkim, the Chumbi valley and Bhutan. Mt. Yarlha Shampo (ཡར་ལྷ་ཤམ་པོ་) is found in Lhokha prefecture

1. The name Chogori is the Balti pronunciation of *CHE.BORI* ‘the great mountain’.

at the border of Chusum, Tshomä and Lhüntse. A famous pilgrimage for Bönpos is Mt. Kongpo Bönnri (ཀོང་པོ་བོན་རི་) located in Nyingthri City. Mt. Bönpö Tsari (བོན་པོ་ཙ་རི་) is located in Nang County (TAR) and further east, the next great range is the Namchak Barwa (གནམ་ལྷ་གསལ་འབར་བ་) and the Gyällha Pälri (རྒྱལ་ལྷ་དཔལ་རི་) both located in Mänling (མྱེན་ཁྲིང་) 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 (གཞན་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་དྲི་ཤེ་), 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་རུ་བློ་) 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་གངས་དཀར་), is located in Kangding County (Tib. Dartsendo [དར་སྟེ་སེ་དོ་]) of Kandze TAP, Sichuan. Also located in Kandze Prefecture is Mt. Zhara Lhatse (བཞག་བླ་མ་ཙེ་) at the border between Kangding and Ta' a counties. Gyälmo Murdo (རྒྱལ་མོ་དམུ་དོ་) in Rongdrak and Kula (སྤུ་ལྷོ་), 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 Bayänkhar [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 (མཚུ་), and the Yangtze River or Drichu (འབྲི་ཆུ་).

Within Qinghai Province, the Amnye Machen range (ཨ་མྱེ་མཚན་ or ཨ་ཚན་གངས་རྒྱུ།) 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 (སྟོ་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 (གཡེ་མོ་ཐང་).<sup>2</sup> In eastern Tibet, the region traditionally called Dokham (སྟོ་ཁམས་) is often described as having ‘six plateaus’ (སྒྲང་དྲུག་ GANG-DRUK): Zälmo Gang (ཟལ་མོ་གླང་), Tshawang Gang (ཚ་བ་གླང་), Markham Gang (སྒྲུ་ཁམས་གླང་), Pombor Gang (ཕོ་བོ་ལོ་གླང་), Mardza Gang (འཕར་ཇུ་གླང་) and Minyak Rabgang (མི་ཉག་རབ་གླང་).

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 Tibetan 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་ཅུ་) at the prefecture city of Ngari.

2. This historical term does not refer to a precise location and is difficult to interpret in geographic terms.

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 (ཤཡོག་གཙང་པོ་) which is joined by the Siachen Tsangpo (སེ་ཅན་གཙང་པོ་) in the Nubra region. The Zangskar Tsangpo (ཟངས་ར་གཙང་པོ་), the upper course of which is called the Tsarap Tsangpo (ཚ་རབ་གཙང་པོ་), is also a tributary to the Indus near Nimmu in Ladakh and the Suru Tsangpo (སུ་རུ་གཙང་པོ་), which flows near Kargil.

The Langchen Khabap (གླང་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 [Piti Chu] (སྤི་ཉི་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),<sup>3</sup> both originate in the district of Lahul and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh.

The Mabja Khabap (མེ་བྲ་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་ལྷུང་གཙང་པོ་), the upper course of which is also called the Tamchok Khabap (རྩ་མཚོག་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

3. The traditional Tibetan names of the Chandra, Bhaga and Chenab rivers are not known.



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 (ཡང་ཆུ་ *MYANG.CHU*),<sup>4</sup> which runs through Gyantse and Zhikatsé.

One of the Yarlung Tsangpo tributaries is the Kyichu river (ཀྱི་ཆུ་) which runs through the capital, Lhasa. Further in the southeast is the Lhobrak Chu (ལྷོ་བྲག་ཆུ་), which originates in Lhobrak, crosses the Himalayas and becomes one of the main rivers in Bhutan, known as the Kuri Chu (ཀུ་རི་ཆུ་).

The Nyashang Chu (ཉ་བཤང་ཆུ་), called Niangjiangqu 娘江曲 in Chinese, also originates in southern Tibet, and flows from Tshona County through the Himalayas to join the Tawang Chu (རྟ་བླ་ཆུ་) and form the Drangme Chu (བྟ་མེད་ཆུ་), one of the main rivers of Bhutan.

In the Kongpo area, the Nyangchu (ཡང་ཆུ་ *NYANG.CHU*) starts near the Mila Pass, which separates Kongpo from Phänpo, and reaches the Yarlung Tsangpo in the Nyingthri area.

Further in the southeast of the TAR, is the Yiong Tsangpo (ཡིང་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 Tibetan areas are the Karnali (Nep. कर्णाली), the Kali Gandaki (Nep. काली गण्डकी), the Trisuli (Nep. त्रिशूली नदी; also called the Kyirong Tsangpo [ཀྱི་རོང་གཙང་པོ་] on the Tibetan side), the Sun Koshi (Nep. सुन कोशी; the upper course of which is also known as the Böchu [བོ་ཆུ་]) and the Arun (Nep. अरुण; 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.

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 Hâ, Samtse and Phuntsholing. It then flows through India and is known as the Torsa river.

The Wong Chu or Wang Chu (ཡང་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 (ཕུ་ན་གཙང་ཆུ་), also called the Mochu (མོ་ཆུ་), rises in Gâsa 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་ལྷེ་ཆུ་) originate in the mountains of Wangdue Phodrang District, near the Rinchen Dzö (རིན་ཆེན་མཛོད་) and the Gangkar Pünsum (གང་མ་དྭགས་ཕུན་སུམ་) ranges. The Mangde Chu then flows through Trongsa and Zh'ängang Districts.

The Čamkhar Chu (ཇམ་མར་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 (ཁུ་རི་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 (བྲང་མེད་ཆུ་; or བྲང་མེད་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 (ཁོ་ལོང་ཆུ་), flowing through Tashi Yangtse District. The Drangme river then flows through Pema Gatsel, Samdrup Jongkhar and Zh'ängang 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 (རྩ་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 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་གཤོང་ཆུ་).

The next major river after the bend of the Brahmaputra is the Gyälmo Ngülchu (རྒྱལ་མོ་རྩུལ་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 (ཅུ་སྐུ་གཙང་པོ་; Chin: Zhajiazangbu 扎加藏布), which flows into the Serling Tsho lake.

Nearly parallel to the Salween is the Dachu (ཐུ་ཆུ་), which is formed by the confluence of the Ngomchu (ངོ་མ་ཆུ་) and Dzachu (རྩ་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 (མའ་རྩ་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

ChangJiang 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 (ཐུ་ཤམ་), which flows through the eponymous district of Chumarlep.

The Nyagchu (ཉག་ཆུ་), called the Yalong Jiang 雅砻江 in Chinese, is an important river of Kham and southern Amdo-speaking area. The name Nyagchu is used after the confluence of the Dzachu ཇུ་ཆུ་ (which should not be confused with one of the Mekong tributaries described above) and the Dachu (Xianshui He 鲜水河). One of its main tributaries is the Lichu (ལི་ཆུ་), which runs through Lithang. The Nyagchu runs parallel to the Yangtze before finally joining it.

The Zungchu river (ཟུང་ཆུ་), which is called the Min Jiang 岷江 in Chinese, and one of its main tributaries, the Throchu (ཐོ་ཆུ་; 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 (རྒྱལ་རྩོད་རྒྱལ་མོ་དུལ་ཆུ་; Chin: Dadu He 大渡河) runs through Gyälrong, and the Amdo and Kham areas of Sichuan. It is thus named after the confluence of the Marchu (མཁར་ཆུ་) and Dochu (དོ་ཆུ་).

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 (འབྲུག་ཆུ་; Chin: Bailong Jiang 白龙江), which originates in Norteponrn Sichuan and runs through Gansu and western Sichuan before emptying into the Yangtze. In the same area is the *Karchu* (རྟ་ཁར་ཆུ་; Chin: Baishui Jiang 白水江), a large tributary of the Drugchu river.<sup>5</sup>

In Amdo, the main river is the Machu (མཁུ་ཆུ་), which is known as the Yellow river or Huanghe 黄河, the second longest river in China. It originates in the Bayänkhar mountains of Qinghai.

5. See *BOD-KYI SKYE, KHAM, KHOR, YUG* [Ecological Environment of Tibet]. [http://ecologicaltibet.blogspot.fr/2013/01/blog-post\\_5807.html](http://ecologicaltibet.blogspot.fr/2013/01/blog-post_5807.html)

The Chunak (མུ་ནག་; Chin: Heihe 黑河), which goes through Qilian county, is one of the longest rivers in China.

The Luchu (ལུ་མུ་; Chin: Taohe 洮河) is also located in Gansu, and goes through the eponymous county of Luchu.

The Sangchu (སང་མུ་; Chin: Xiahe 夏河) runs through Gansu Province and is a tributary of the Yellow river.

The Tsongchu (ཙོང་མུ་) flows through Xining and the lower region of Northeastern Amdo. One major tributary of the Tsongchu is the Julak Chu (འཇུ་ལག་མུ་), 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 Tibetan area.

In Baltistan, Kachura Tsho (འཁ་ཁུ་ར་མཚོ་) and Satpara Tsho (འཤ་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་རི་ལ་རི་ལ་) and Panggur Tsho (སྤང་གུར་མཚོ་). Western Tibet (TAR) is a region of great lakes. The main lakes are Mapham Yumtsho (མ་པ་མ་གཡུ་མཚོ་), also known as Manasarowar in Hindi, and Langa Tsho (ལ་ལྷ་མཚོ་), close to Mt. Kailash. Further west, we have Ngangla Ringtsho (ངང་ལ་རིང་མཚོ་), Tharo Tsho (ཐ་རོ་མཚོ་), Trashi Namtsho (བཀ་ཤིས་གནས་མཚོ་), Dangra Yumtsho (དང་ར་གཡུ་མཚོ་), Serling Tsho (གསེར་སྒྲིང་མཚོ་) and Mirik Gyangdram Tsho (མི་རིག་རྒྱུང་འགྲམ་མཚོ་). In the center of Tibet, in Lhasa Prefecture, we find a few large lakes, such as Namtsho Chugmo (གནས་མཚོ་ཕུག་མོ་), Yamdrok Yumtsho (ཡའ་རྟོག་གཡུ་མཚོ་), Phuma Yumtsho (ཕུ་མ་གཡུ་མཚོ་) and Dragsum Tsho or Basum Tsho (བྲག་གཡུ་མཚོ་). In Amdo (Qinghai), there are also a few large lakes, such as Kyaring Tsho (སྐྱ་རིང་མཚོ་), Ngoring Tsho (སྒོ་རིང་མཚོ་) and Tsho Ngönpo (མཚོ་སྒོན་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་མར་མཚོ་), Migö Tsho (མི་གོ་མཚོ་) and Wuxuhai 伍须海. The same is true for the Tibetan 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 Tibetan 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.

བླ་གྲ་ *BRAG* ‘rock’: ལྷོ་བླ་གྲ་ (*LHO.BRAG*) Lhobrak, a region in southern Tibet; བླ་གྲ་གཡམ་བ་ (*BRAG.G.YAB*) Drayap County; བླ་གྲ་འགོ་ (*BRAG.’GO*) Drango County.

ལ་ *LA* ‘mountain pass’: གདང་ལ་ (*GDANG.LA*) Dangla pass; གམ་པ་ལ་ (*GAM.PA.LA*) Khampala pass; གྱུ་མཚོ་ལ་ (*RGYA.MTSHO.LA*) Gyatshola pass; ཨ་ལུང་ཅུང་སྒོ་ལ་ (*WALUNG CHUNG SGO.LA*) Walungchung Gola valley in Nepal; ལ་ཅུང་ (*LA.CHUNG*) Lachung and ལ་ཅེན་ (*LA.CHEN*) Lachen, two villages in Sikkim.

ཉག་ག་ *NYAG.GA* ‘notch’: often used to refer to mountain passes, as in ཉི་ཟླ་ཉག་ག་ (*NYI.ZLANYAG.GA*) Nyida Nyagga pass, སྤང་ཡངས་ཉག་ག་ (*SPANG.YANGS NYAG.GA*) Pangyang Nyagga pass and ཉ་ཤུལ་ཉག་ག་ (*HA.SHUL NYAG.GA*) Hashul Nyagga pass.

རྩེ་ *RTSE* ‘summit’: used for mountain peak names, such as ལྷོ་རྩེ་ (*LHO.RTSE*) Lhotse and ལུབ་རྩེ་ (*NUB.RTSE*) Nubtse, but it is also an element of many place names across the entire Tibetan area. In Tibet, we find the following county names: གཤིས་ཀ་རྩེ་ (*GZHIS.KA.RTSE*) Zhikatsé, གྱུ་ལ་རྩེ་ (*RGYAL.RTSE*) Gyantse, སྟག་རྩེ་ (*STAG.RTSE*) Tagtse, ལྷ་རྩེ་ (*LHA.RTSE*) Lhatse, སྤང་དཀར་རྩེ་ (*SNADKAR.RTSE*) Nankartse, སྒེར་རྩེ་ (*SGER.RTSE*) Gertse, བལ་རྩེ་ (*BAL.RTSE*) Bältse, ཅེ་ཁོག་ (*RTSE.KHOG*) Tsekhok and དར་རྩེ་མདོ་ (*DAR.RTSE.MDO*) Dartsendo. In Bhutan, three district names contain the word *rtse*: བསམ་རྩེ་ (*BSAM.RTSE*) Samtse, ལྷུན་རྩེ་ (*LHUN.RTSE*) Lhüntsi and བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་རྩེ་ (*BKRA.SHIS G-YANG.RTSE*) Trashi Yangtse.

རི་ *RI* ‘mountain’: appears not only in mountain names, such as ཇོ་མོ་གླང་རི་ (*JO.MO.LHA.RI*) Jomolhari and རྩ་རི་ (*RTSA.RI*) Tsari, but also in the names of many towns, such as འིང་རི་ Dingri (*DING.RI*), ཟངས་རི་ (*ZANGS.RI*) Zangri, རི་བོ་ཅེ་ (*RI.BO.CHE*) Riwoche and ལྷ་རི་ (*LHA.RI*) Lhari.

སྒང་ *SGANG* ‘prominence, hill’: མཛོ་སྒང་ (*MDZO.SGANG*) Dzogang (TAR), གཞལ་སྒང་ (*GZHAL.SGANG*) Zhängang and བཀ་ཤིས་སྒང་ (*BKRA.SHIS.SGANG*) Trashigang (both in Bhutan) and སྒང་རྟོག་ (*SGANG.TOK*) Gangtok, the capital of the Sikkim state in India.

ཚུ་ཁ་ *CHU.KHA* ‘water mouth, water surface’ and the stem ཁོག་ *KHOG*: as pointed out by Xavier Becker (pers. comm.), these words are related to ཁོག་མ་ *KHOG.MA* ‘pot, earthen vessel’ and refer to rather specific geographic features. ཚུ་ཁ་ *CHU.KHA* usually designates high plateaus with surfacing and serpentine rivers. Such is the case for the following region names: མ་ཚུ་ཁ་ (*RMA.CHU.KHA*) Machukha, རྩ་ཚུ་ཁ་ (*RDZA.CHU.KHA*) Dzachukha and ནག་ཚུ་ཁ་ (*NAG.CHU.KHA*) Nagchukha.<sup>6</sup> ཁོག་ (*KHOG*) is used to designate U-shaped glacier valleys and occurs in the following region or county names: ཤར་ཁོག་ (*SHAR.KHOG*) Sharkhok, གཤེར་ཁོག་ (*GSER.KHOG*) Serkhok, ཚེ་ཁོག་ (*RTSE.KHOG*) Tsekhok, ཁོད་པོ་ཁོག་ (*KHOD.PO.KHOG*) Khöpokhok and དཔག་པོ་ཁོག་ (*DWAGS.PO.KHOG*) Dakpokhok.

རྩོང་ *RONG* ‘narrow deep valley, gorge, canyon’: occurs in many toponyms, such as སྤྱ་རྩོང་ (*SNYAN.RONG*) Nyänrong, ལྷོ་རྩོང་ (*LHO.RONG*) Lhorong, ཉག་རྩོང་ (*NYAG.RONG*) Nyagrong, རྩོང་བྲག་ (*RONG.BRAG*) Rongdrak,<sup>7</sup> སྤེ་རྩོང་ (*SDE.RONG*) Derong, རྩོང་ཡུལ་ (*RONG.YUL*) Rongyul, ལི་མི་རྩོང་ (*LIMLIRONG*) Limirong and ཀར་མ་རྩོང་ (*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.

ལུང་ *LUNG* ‘valley, country’: used in many place names, such as སྟོང་ལུང་བདེ་ཆེན་ (*STOD.LUNGBDE.CHEN*) Tönlung Dechen, འབའ་ལུང་ (*‘BA’.LUNG*) Balung, ལུང་མཛོ་ (*LUNG.MDO*) Lungdo, དགོན་ལུང་ (*DGON.LUNG*) Gönlung, ལུང་དགུ་ (*LUNG.DGU*) Lunggu and ལུང་ནག་ནག་ (*LUNG NAG.NAG*) Lunana. These places are located in Central Tibet, Kham, Gyälrong and Bhutan, respectively.

6. The place name, ཉག་ཚུ་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.



མདའ་ *MDA* ‘lower part of the valley’: also frequently appears in toponyms, such as འཛེ་མདའ་ (*JO.MDA*) Jonda, རྩ་མདའ་ (*RTSA.MDA*) Tsanda, མདའ་བཞི་ (*MDA.BZHI*) Dazhi, ཀོང་པོ་རྒྱ་མདའ་ (*KONG.PO RGYA.MDA*) Kongpo Gyamda. These places are located in Kham, Ngari, Amdo and Kongpo, respectively.

སྟོད་ *STOD* ‘upper’ and སྐྱད་ *SMAD* ‘lower’: frequently used as elements of place names, such as མདོ་སྐྱད་ (*MDO.SMAD*) Domä, another name for Amdo; མཚོ་སྐྱད་ (*MTSHO.SMAD*) Tshomä County; སྟོ་སྐྱད་ (*SPO.SMAD*) Pomä County; སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་ (*STOD.MNGA.RIS*) Tö Ngari region; སྟོད་ (*STOD*) Stot, a region of Ladakh; འབྲི་སྟོད་ (*BRI.STOD*) Dritö County; རྩ་སྟོད་ Dzatö County (*RDZA.STOD*); མ་སྟོད་ (*RMA.STOD*) Matö County and ཁུམ་སྟོད་ (*KHUM.STOD*) Khumtö or Khunde (according to the local pronunciation), a Sherpa village in the Khumbu area.

ཐང་ *THANG* ‘plain’: used in བྱང་ཐང་ (*BYANG.THANG*) Jangthang, as well as the following county names: རྒྱལ་ཐང་ (*RGYAL.THANG*) Gyälthang; ལི་ཐང་ (*LI.THANG*) Lithang; འབའ་ཐང་ (*BA.THANG*) Bathang; སྤུ་གོ་ར་ཐང་ (*RTSL.GOR.THANG*) Tsigorthang; རྩེད་ཐང་ (*RTSED.THANG*) Tsethang; རྩམ་ཐང་ (*DZAM.THANG*) Dzhamthang; དམར་ཐང་ (*DMAR.THANG*) Marthang; བུམ་ཐང་ (*BUM.THANG*) Bumthang, a district in Bhutan, and ལྷོ་སྟོན་ཐང་ (*GLO.SMON.THANG*) Lo Mönthang, the original name of Mustang.

ཆུ་ *CHU* ‘water’: used to name rivers, but many towns and counties are also named after a river that crosses their region, such as ནག་ཆུ་ (*NAG.CHU*) Nagchu, བསང་ཆུ་ (*BSANG.CHU*) Sangchu, ལུ་ཆུ་ (*KLU.CHU*) Luchu, མ་ཆུ་ (*RMA.CHU*) Machu, འབྲུག་ཆུ་ (*BRUG.CHU*) Drugchu, ཟུང་ཆུ་ (*ZUNG.CHU*) Zungchu, ཁོ་ཆུ་ (*KHRO.CHU*) Throchu, ཉག་ཆུ་ (*NYAG.CHU*) Nyagchu, འབྲི་ཆུ་ (*BRI.CHU*) Drichu, ཆུ་ཤུར་ (*CHU.SHUR*) Chushur, ཆུ་གསུམ་ (*CHU.GSUM*) Chusum and ཆུ་ཁ་ (*CHU.KHA*) Chukha, a district of Bhutan.

མཛོ་ *MDO* ‘confluence of rivers’: occurs in various Balti names, such as སྐར་མཛོ་ (*SKAR.MDO*) Skardo, the capital of Baltistan, and ཨ་རེན་མཛོ་ (*PA.REN.MDO*) Arendo. It also occurs in many place names in Tibet, such as ཨ་མཛོ་ (*PA.MDO*) Amdo, ཆབ་མཛོ་ (*CHAB.MDO*) Chamdo, སྐེ་དགུ་མཛོ་ (*SKYE.DGU.MDO*) Kyegundo,

དར་ཅེ་མདོ་ (*DAR.RTSE.MDO*) Dartsendo, གད་པ་སུམ་མདོ་ (*GAD.PA SUM.MDO*) Gäpa Sumdo and ལུང་མདོ་ (*LUNG.MDO*) Lungdo.

མཚོ་ *MTSHO* 'lake': used to designate the lakes across the plateau, such as མ་པམ་གཡུ་མཚོ་ (*MA.PHAM GYU.MTSHO*) Mapham Yumtsho, གནམ་མཚོ་ཕུག་མོ་ (*GNAM.MTSHO PHYUG.MO*) Namtsho Chugmo, མཚོ་སྒྲོན་པོ་ (*MTSHO SNGON.PO*) Kokonor Lake (or Qinghai), ཡར་འབྲོག་གཡུ་མཚོ་ (*YAR.'BROG G·YU.MTSHO*) Yarmdrok Yumtsho, མཚོ་མི་རིལ་རིལ་ (*MTSHO.MO RIL.RIL*) Tsomorilril, སྤང་གོང་མཚོ་ (*SPANG.GONG.MTSHO*) 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 Panggongtsho is situated in the TAR. This term also is part of place names, such as མཚོ་སྒྲོན་ (*MTSHO.SNGON*) Tshongön, the name for the Qinghai province; or county names, such as མཚོ་སྤྱ་ (*MTSHO.SNA*) Tshona County, མཚོ་སྤྲ་ (*MTSHO.SMAD*) Tshomä County and མཚོ་ཆེན་ (*MTSHO.CHEN*) Tshochen County.

ཤར་ *SHAR* 'east', ལྷོ་ *LHO* 'south', ལྷུ་ *NUB* 'west' and ལྷུང་ *BYANG* 'north': the cardinal directions also occur in the toponyms, such as ཤར་ཁོག་ (*SHAR.KHOG*) Sharkhok, ཤར་ཁུམ་བུ་ (*SHAR.KHUM.BU*) Shar Khumbu, ལྷོ་ཁ་ (*LHO.KHA*) Lhokha, ལྷོ་བྲག་ (*LHO.BRAG*) Lhodrak, ལྷོ་རོང་ (*LHO.RONG*) Lhorong, ལྷུ་ཅེ་ (*NUB.RTSE*) Nubtse, ལྷུ་རི་ (*NUB.RI*) and ལྷུང་ཐང་ (*BYANG.THANG*) Jangthang.

ས་ *SA* 'earth, place' and ཡུལ་ *YUL* 'place, village': occur in various place names, such as ལྷ་ས་ (*LHA.SA*) Lhasa, ས་སྐྱ་ (*SA.SKYA*) Sakya, ས་དགའ་ (*SA.DGA*) Saga, འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ (*BRUG.YUL*) Bhutan, རྩ་ཡུལ་ (*RDZA.YUL*) Dzayül, དཔལ་ཡུལ་ (*DPAL.YUL*) Pällyul, དམར་ཡུལ་ (*MAR.YUL*) Maryul and རོང་ཡུལ་ (*RONG.YUL*) 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.

ཆེན་ *CHEN* or ཆེ་ *CHE* 'big, great': one of the most frequently used adjectives, such as སྤྱ་ཆེན་ (*SBRA.CHEN*) Bachen, ཐེམ་ཆེན་ (*THEM.CHEN*) Temchen, བདེ་ཆེན་ (*BDE.CHEN*) Dechen, སྟོན་ལུང་བདེ་ཆེན་ (*STOD.LUNG BDE.CHEN*) Tönlung Dechen, སྟེང་ཆེན་ (*STENG.CHEN*) Tengchen, རི་བོ་ཆེ་ (*RI.BO.CHE*) Riwoche, མཚོ་ཆེན་

(*MTSHO.CHEN*) Tshochen, བོང་སྟག་ཐེམ་ཆེན་ (*BONG.STAG THEM.CHEN*) Bongtak Themchen, པཎ་ཆེན་ཞིང་ཁྱེ་ (*PAN.CHEN ZHING.SDE*) Pänchen Zhingde, མ་ཆེན་ (*MA.CHEN*) Machen, ནང་ཆེན་ (*NANG.CHEN*) Nangchen, ཟུ་ཆེན་ (*CHU.CHEN*) Chuchen and གངས་ཆེ་ (*GANGS.CHE*) Ghanche district in Baltistan.

དཀར་ *DKAR* ‘white’: occurs in many toponyms, such as ཟངས་དཀར་ (*ZANGS.DKAR*) Zangskar region, སྟར་དཀར་རྩེ་ (*SNA.DKAR.RTSE*) Nankartse, གོང་དཀར་ (*GONG.DKAR*) Gongkar, དཀར་མཛེས་ *Kandze* (*DKAR.MDZES*) in Kham and Spiti; and མལ་གྲོ་གུང་དཀར་ (*MAL.GRO GUNG.DKAR*) Mäldrogungkar, བྲག་དཀར་སྤྲེལ་ (*BRAG.DKAR SPREL*) Drakkar Trel and དར་དཀར་ནང་ (*DAR.DKAR.NANG*) D’agana, a district of Bhutan.

བག་ཤིས་ *BKRA.SHIS* ‘auspicious’: occurs in county or village names, such as བག་ཤིས་གླིང་ (*BKRA.SHIS.GLING*) Trashiling, བག་ཤིས་གཡང་རྩེ་ (*BKRA.SHIS G-YANG.RTSE*) Trashi Yangtse, བག་ཤིས་སྤང་ (*BKRA.SHIS.SGANG*) Trashigang and བག་ཤིས་སྤིངས་ (*BKRA.SHIS.SDINGS*) Trashiding.

གླིང་ *GLING* ‘island’: usually used in the names of monasteries, such as བག་ཤིས་གླིང་ (*BKRA.SHIS.GLING*) Trashiling, སྟན་གླིང་ (*SMAN.GLING*) Mänling and རྟས་གླིང་ (*RNAM.GLING*) Namling.

རྒྱལ་ *RGYAL* ‘king or victorious’: also common in toponyms, such as རྒྱལ་ཐང་ (*RGYAL.THANG*) Gyälthang, རྒྱལ་རྩེ་ *Gyantse* (*RGYAL.RTSE*) and རྒྱལ་མོ་རོང་ (*RGYAL.MO.RONG*) Gyälmorong or Gyälrong.

